

Imagining the Mediterranean:
Disruption and Connectivity in Medieval Iberian Tales of the Sea

A Dissertation
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF
UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
BY

Nicholas Michael Parmley

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Adviser: Michelle Hamilton

June 2013

Nicholas Michael Parmley
© 2013

Acknowledgments

I am neither a rock nor an island. This dissertation would not have been possible without the assistance and guidance of countless individuals. I wish to express my sincerest thanks and humble appreciation to my advisor, mentor and friend, Professor Michelle Hamilton for her guidance and training throughout my graduate career. The passion and love she shows for her work, and the time and energy she invests in her students (including countless hours of proofing the present dissertation) is truly admirable and exemplary; to Professor Nicolas Spadaccini for his guidance and friendship, and for the many informal coffee chats in which he offered his honest perspective; to Professor Kathryn Reyerson for her love of the Mediterranean and her invaluable insight and expertise; and to Professor Barbara Weissberger for pushing me beyond my critical comfort zone and for encouraging boldness. Special thanks also to the many colleges and organizations that funded my research: to the U.S. Department of Education for supporting my Arabic language study; to Theresa Vann and her team at the Hill Museum & Manuscript Library for manuscript research funding; and at the University of Minnesota, my thanks to the Department of Spanish & Portuguese, College of Liberal Arts, and Center for Medieval Studies for their generous support of my research in the form of numerous grants and fellowships. Thanks to Liam Roodhouse for his artwork, and to Mary Ann Beattie, Kathren Lundquist, Meridith Cody and Jessi Girard for all they do that goes unnoticed. Thanks to my mother and father for their prayerful love and support, and lastly to my wife Aimee for her patience, encouragement and love; for her wisdom, insight and humility; for her grace, forgiveness and prayer; and for reading every word I wrote. To you all, I offer my sincere thanks.

For Aimee and Isaac,
I love you ridiculous.

בים דרכך במים רבים ועקבותיך לא נדעו (תהילים עז:כ)

Table of Contents

List of Figures	v
Introduction	1-18
Chapter 1	19-83
Chapter 2	84-140
Chapter 3	141-184
Chapter 4	185-249
Conclusion	250-255
Works Cited	256-286
Appendix	287-307

List of Figures

Figure 1	19
Figure 2	84
Figure 3	141
Figure 4	185

Introduction

“Navigation delivers man to uncertainty of fate; on water, each one of us is in the hands of his own destiny; every embarkation is, potentially, the last.”

(Michel Foucault, *Madness and Civilization*)

“Humans live their lives and build their institutions on dry land. Nevertheless, they seek to grasp the movement of their existence above all through a metaphoric of the perilous sea voyage.”

(Hans Blumenberg, *Shipwreck with Spectator*)

The last 50 years of globalization have been marked by concerns over the instability of boundaries and identities (including political, social, and religious). Consequently, modern notions of East and West have increasingly been challenged. The famous remark attributed to Alexander Dumas that “Africa begins at the Pyrenees” exemplifies the ambiguity of Spain’s position in that same dichotomy. The present dissertation problematizes the Mediterranean and how in the Middle Ages the sea that laps at Spain’s shores becomes an equally problematic paradigm of disruption and connectivity, exile and salvation. Thus I will investigate Iberian cultural production in a Mediterranean perspective. In particular, I will investigate how medieval Iberian texts in Romance, Arabic and Hebrew envision the sea as a representational space of suffering and loss, incoherence and confusion, as well as a path of salvation, imagined empire and the intellectual journey. To this end, I analyze texts from four medieval Iberian linguistic communities: the Hebrew sea poetry of Moses Ibn Ezra and Judah Halevi (Chapter 1),

the Arabic philosophical novel, *Hayy Ibn Yaqzān*, of Abu Bakr Ibn Tufayl (Chapter 2), the anonymous Castilian *Libro de Apolonio* (Chapter 3), and the Galician-Portuguese *Cantigas de Santa María* of Alfonso X, the Wise (Chapter 4). Such an approach, which considers different linguistic, confessional, and ethnic orientations, necessarily requires a familiarity and consideration of traditions and systems of thought that extend beyond the traditional borders of the Iberian Peninsula. This includes aspects of Jewish and Arabic history, philosophy, and literature, as well as recent critical methodologies proposed by Mediterranean (Ocean) Studies, which offers a reorientation of critical perspective beyond methodologies and frameworks imported from existing discourses and takes the sea as a primary point of inquiry. To this end, theories of cartography and space (particularly those of Michel de Certeau and Henri Lefebvre) will be useful to the investigation of what I call imagined geographies. In *The Production of Space*, Henri Lefebvre speaks of three categories of space: spatial practice, spatial representation, and representational space. Whereas the first two remind us of Certeau's binary that space is practiced place, the latter (or rather the trilogy of terms) allows us to consider how space is *lived*, *perceived* and *conceived*; that is, *imagined*. And it is in this way that we will investigate the Mediterranean not as a place, but conceptual space (imagined or otherwise) by and through which to re-frame considerations of medieval Iberian cultural production—revealing important cross-religious, linguistic and political connections. Moreover, this paradigm allows us to analyze different “Mediterraneans” or conceptual seas, such as the Atlantic Ocean of Alfonso X (Chapter 4) and the Indian Ocean of Ibn Tufayl (Chapter 2). Though geographically “real” in the historical sense, they are yet

imagined seas filtered through the cultural reality of life on, and in contact with, the western edge of the Mediterranean Sea, the space in and from which these authors write.

Despite the importance of the Mediterranean Sea, much literary scholarship of the twentieth century has fixed its gaze on the ports and hinterlands that mark only the beginning and end of maritime travel. My research responds to this lacuna by investigating medieval tales of the sea and seafaring produced by authors of the diverse linguistic and confessional communities that inhabited the Iberian Peninsula in the eleventh to thirteenth centuries. These historical groups not only thrived on the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, but many of them braved its depths, in turn creating complex networks of cultural exchange. And as the authors and subjects of these texts adhered to different faiths and wrote in several languages, the tales they tell reveal not only the rich cultural heritage of the Mediterranean, but a complex space of cross-cultural contact and exchange. Real or imagined, the tales these authors tell are of importance to our understanding of a diverse people and a rich cultural heritage of the Mediterranean. Written in Hebrew, Arabic, and Romance, by and for kings, clerics and exiles, the authors whose work I explore reveal a space of constantly shifting geographical boundaries, political frontiers, and religious identities. But before the protagonists of their tales arrive at port, wreck into land, or are swallowed by the sea, each entices us to consider their point of view, a perspective from amidst the tumultuous waves. Such a critical perspective, however, is not easily achieved. The concern of hispanomedievalism for the last 100 years has been focused primarily on Castile and a corresponding construction of Spanish national identity, which has privileged works such as the *Cid* or

Berceo's *Milagros* to the exclusion of other texts and traditions such as those in Hebrew and Arabic.

Américo Castro and the Cultural Studies Model of Hispanomedievalism

Spanish identity according to Américo Castro was intimately connected to the Muslim and Jewish cultures of the peninsula. The subtitle of his book is sufficient to remind the reader of who exactly he believes the Spanish to be: Christian, Muslims and Jews. The result for Castro was that the "Spaniard" entered history from a tridimensional society. As he would later write in *Realidad histórica española*, the Spanish conflict was an internal struggle amongst "castas." That is, the "Spanish Christian" alone was not enough; he came to the consciousness of himself already *islamizado*, calling himself "Christian" because his enemy called himself "Muslim." He writes, "Fuera del campo de batalla, el hacer del moro le fue indispensable, y la vida del cristiano y la del musulmán se compenetraron en múltiples modos" 'Beyond the field of battle, the way of the Moor was indispensable for [the Spaniard], and the Christian and Muslim ways of life were interrelated in many ways' (XXIII). More specifically, the intellectual efforts of Iberian Jews and Muslims were indispensable. And by consequence, without Muslims or Jews, the Spanish Christian Empire would not have been possible. It was a systematic denial and eventual expulsion of such knowledge that led to the notion of Spain's developmental retardation and identity crisis constructed by the Generation of 98 and vigorously countered by Pidal.

In their own way, scholars in the wake of Castro (including Menocal, Marquez Villanueva, Armistead and Monroe) operating under adaptations of his model of

convivencia, saw their research as helping to complete the picture of a multicultural Spain. Consequently, the new cultural studies model did not seek to insert new works *in place of* those studied by Pidal. Rather, their approach to criticism questioned his method, not his texts—though, admittedly, they might question Pidal’s definition of a “text.” At any rate, with the help of these pioneering scholars, among others, a renewed interest in heretofore ignored or marginalized literary works and peoples became an important (though still somewhat lacking) part of Hispanomedieval Studies. Practically speaking, the result of Castro’s work was a bifurcation in the field of Hispanomedieval Studies. It produced a new branch of hispanomedievalism devoted to a “cultural studies” approach to literature. But it did not do so at the expense of doing away with the philological branch of the discipline. For decades (and still today) the scientific side of our field has held fast and strong to the Pidalian model. To some degree the same criticism can be levied against the field of medieval studies in general. As Ann Middleton asserts in her analysis of the developing field of American and English Medieval Studies, only very recently have we begun to fully embrace the possibilities of what contemporary theory can do for our field.

This theoretical turn, if we may call it that, has had intriguing implications across the field. Throughout the 70’s and 80’s, waves of feminist and postcolonial theory provided new analytical frameworks with which to approach old texts in new ways. The most important of these is perhaps the 1979 publication of Edward Said’s *Orientalism*. Though Said’s focus conspicuously elided references to Spain (that complicated middle ground between “West” and “East,” both European and of the Orient), it enlivened productive debate much in the manner that Castro had over 30 years earlier, and provided

a new critical perspective to address the “other,” a term now ubiquitous if not mandatory for all critical analyses of textual (postcolonial) subjects. Paradoxically (and sadly), these theories only tangentially impacted the field of Hispanomedievalism until only very recently. Yet over the past two decades, the “orientalist” argument and the essentialism of Castro’s philosemitic model have been questioned and ultimately replaced in an attempt to better explore and understand the multicultural past and present of Iberia. In 1994, Homi Bhabha published *The Location of Culture* which was a key text in the development of hybridity studies and discussions of liminality and interstitial spaces. Other key voices were Gayatri Spivak and Paul Gilroy whose work, like that of Bhabha, responded to the multicultural awareness of the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, such as the model of Castro and his continuators. As Barbara Fuchs points out in *Exotic Nation*, the historiography of medieval and early modern Spain began to put pressure on older models of *convivencia* and *mujedarismo*, noting that “Critics of Castro have long maintained that in his efforts to link Spanish identity to the contribution of the Jews and Moors as well as Christians he unwittingly replicated the essentialism, and even the racism, of those whose timeless Gothic Spain he denounced” (2). She contends, and recent criticism on the field corroborates, that the concepts of hybridity and liminality are better suited to describe the medieval and early modern Iberian culture. Discussions and applications of hybridity theory have taken the field in fascinating directions. Such theoretical currents have been adopted in the work of scholars such as Gregory Hutcheson, Luis Girón Negrón, María Rosa Menocal, Ryan Szpiech, David Wacks and Michelle Hamilton (among others), and their work is a somewhat definitive declaration of the importance of Arabic and Hebrew to understanding the complexities of

medieval Iberia. In a broader sense, their scholarship embraces (and even problematizes) the nuanced model of hybridity that recognizes a shared past and present amongst Christians, Muslims and Jews, on the one hand, and Romance, Arabic and Hebrew on the other; all while acknowledging the imperfection and instability of that bond. Like their collective scholarship in general, it “problematizes modern readings of medieval Iberia and al-Andalus as a flat, unchanging site of harmonious coexistence between the three religious groups of the Peninsula . . . pointing instead to a more nuanced approach to specific moments and cultures” (Hamilton 3-4).

Though my training has been guided by considerations to the Castro model and the more nuanced approaches of hybridity and liminality studies, my work as a whole has been heavily influenced by new theoretical tendencies in the fields of geography, cartography and ocean studies. As methodological approaches to literature, however, they do not supplant or replace older models of inquiry; rather they offer a new perspective from which to view or problematize these same issues and texts. For instance, studies that stress hybridity or question the liminality of peoples and texts are generally privileged perspectives from the center. They look *at* the marginalized subject as an object of scrutiny and attempt to justify its existence or its study, its inclusion in the “canon.” There is nothing wrong with this; I certainly participate in this activity. However, my work also desires to engage the “others” where they are, to look not *at*, but to look *from* the liminal spaces and frontiers of Hispanomedieval literatures, and into the Mediterranean. I speak here of an awareness of shifted and shifting perspectives, and not as a claim for the ventriloquized enunciation of the “other”; admittedly, it is impossible for the critic to occupy or speak from these spaces in any literal sense.

And as we shall see, Iberia and the Mediterranean problematize the one-directional flow of power and influence proposed in the Saidian model, and a synthetic binary divide of East and West. Specifically, Said's work was focused on the cultural imperialism of England, France and the United States towards the Arabo-Islamic East. However, Iberian and Mediterranean histories and cultural production resist the paradigm of one people traveling to conquer (an)other—as in the crusading narrative, for example.¹ And in this, too, we see the limitation of the Castro model. Though it allows for both *convivencia* and conflict, and problematizes naïve Christian/Muslim binaries of influence, as a methodological paradigm it does not look beyond the Peninsula and into the Mediterranean space, where Iberia is both a participant *in* and product *of* a much broader matrix of contact and exchange.

Mediterranean Studies

The Mediterranean, as an analytical tool and methodological paradigm, allows us to look at these broader critical horizons beyond the traditionally accepted limits of Iberia, even while talking about Iberia. Here we can begin to ask important questions regarding the importance and relevance of older area studies or nationalist models of the epic for framing the medieval period in Iberia. For example, what exactly does the epic (like *El Cid*) have to do with Spanish identity? Or in French Studies, what is the usefulness of the *Chanson de Roland* for the construction of French identity. To be clear, I believe epic literature is important, but what I am suggesting is that our critical approach to such texts demands more nuance and context. And I believe Mediterranean

¹ The contrast of Iberian literature to the French crusading narrative will be developed in more detail in our discussion of the *Libro de Apolonio* (Chapter 3) and the *Cantigas de Santa María* (Chapter 4).

Studies offers us a powerful analytical tool to do just that. In particular, Mediterranean Studies offers a reorientation of critical perspective beyond methodologies and frameworks imported from existing discourses, and expands the traditional national literature approach of Spanish Studies to include aspects of Jewish and Arabic history and literature. Such an approach necessarily problematizes critical history as over-determined by nationalism or a sense of national belonging, questions the notion of origin, and ultimately interrogates the conception and ethics of place. Though these notions resonate with critical currents already existing in Iberian Studies, as outlined above, here the geographical limitations of the Castro model are resolved as our critical perspective is pushed beyond the Peninsula and into the Mediterranean space.

Recent studies by Iain Chambers, Sharon Kinoshita, and Karen Wigen, as well as the work of several scholars of medieval Iberia, including Josiah Blackmore and Brian Catlos, have underscored the contingency of cultural production on the Mediterranean space, and suggested that the Mediterranean be studied not merely as a geographical place, but as a conceptual space with which to re-frame the consideration of uprooted geographies and mutable and diversifying locality. It means questions like “Is the Mediterranean a bridge or a barrier?” become overly simplistic or even irrelevant. For Iberia, it means destabilizing the Castilian and Christian hegemonic interpretation of the “Christian” and “Spanish” *Cid* or nationalistic readings of Jiménez de Rada and Spain’s uninterrupted Visigoth legacy. Arguably, in fact, a more accurate reading of the cross-cultural complexities of *El Cantar de Mio Cid* reinforces the very concepts of contact and multiplicity the Mediterranean Studies model proposes. But it also presupposes that such multiplicity and complexity are not unique to the Peninsula. And beyond Iberia it means

allowing criticism to embrace the complexities of a shared and dynamic—even unstable—cultural history, where the Mediterranean (imagined or otherwise) is both complicated and enriched by the difference and connectedness of culture.

While my critical perspective *in and of* the Mediterranean takes as its point of departure the work of Fernand Braudel, who understands the Mediterranean as a *meeting place*, and the work of Horden and Purcell, who view the Mediterranean as defined by its connectivity, challenging the reader to forget the aerial perspectives of the Mediterranean brought to us by satellite images, and remember instead the practical experience of the sea, it is also, however, defined by my training in the cultures and languages of Iberia and therefore also in the awareness of the contingency and localness of discrete cultural production that cannot be erased by an overgeneralized category of “the Mediterranean.”² As such, my research envisions the Mediterranean not as merely a geographical place, but a conceptual space by and through which to re-frame considerations of medieval Iberian cultural production, revealing important cross-religious, linguistics, and political connections. Thus, though my dissertation focuses on medieval Iberia, methodological approaches provided by Mediterranean Studies allow my work to engage criticism of a more broadly conceived Iberia—in both time and space—which necessarily includes

² In *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Phillip II*, Fernand Braudel presents a socio-geographic study of the lands and people directly influenced by relations with, and proximity to the Mediterranean Sea. Although Braudel attempts to provide a panoramic view of the region as a whole, he does not espouse the idea of a unified Mediterranean. He states, “The Mediterranean is not even a *single* sea, it is a complex of seas” (17). S.D. Goitein’s *A Mediterranean Society* provides a helpful framework in which to structure any discussion of movement throughout the medieval Mediterranean space. Though his work focuses on the Jews in and around Cairo from the 11th to the 13th centuries, in his chapter on travel and seafaring, Goitein provides useful categories with which to build our own investigation of the larger Mediterranean and the movement of its diverse population. Ultimately, the Geniza records as presented by Goitein reveal a vibrant maritime community and demonstrate that both the lack of comfort and the danger involved in seafaring were in the end insufficient to discourage travel.

considerations of the various confessional and linguistic communities that inhabited the Peninsula, and the seas which lapped at Iberia's shores.

In Chapter 1 I examine the sea poetry of two prolific Andalusí Hebrew poets, Moses Ibn Ezra (c.1055-1138) and Judah Halevi (1075-1141). My analysis of the poetic images of the sea and seafaring in medieval Iberian Jewish literature are meant to enter into dialogue with the work of Jonathan Decker and his analysis of the representation of the protean garden in the verse and rhymed prose of medieval Iberian literature as well as recent criticism in the area of Mediterranean Studies. Decker contends that the Andalusí garden is a pseudo *locus amoenus* where under shaded palms wine flows and the subject sits in ease and repose. Here even Time is pliant and comforting. From the perspective of poetic imagery, he argues this garden is protean and yet a symbolic place of origin. The authors and works explored in this chapter share in this static/dynamic paradox. Yet the dynamic seascape inhabited by poetic imagery serves only to problematize the notion of origin. The sea and sea imagery become part of a web of representation for Jewish Andalusí authors, revealing the sea to be a liminal space (or no space) between origin and destination. And, just as a symbolic garden exists nowhere in real geography, the ship or poet at sea is symbolically nowhere, that is, it is placeless.

Consequently, the sea poetry of Judah Halevi and Moses Ibn Ezra literally and figuratively take us beyond the geographical boundaries of Iberia, and beyond the political limits of al-Andalus, in order to embrace the complexities of a shared and dynamic—even unstable—cultural history, where the Mediterranean (imagined or otherwise) is both complicated and enriched by the difference and connectedness of various cultures. And the space of the historical and poetic journeys is not merely one of

spatial practice, but also spatial representation; that is, imagined space. Though it denies a center, “[i]t embraces the loci of passion, of actions and of lived situations,” and is thus necessarily “directional, situational [and] relational, because it is essentially qualitative, fluid and dynamic” (Lefebvre 42). And as such, I investigate how the poetic imagery they employ to express their exile in spatial terms, reveals the sea to be a space of wandering and separation, bewilderment and loss. Furthermore, I discuss their sea poetry as a product of an individual teleological vision of both hope and despair which existentially strands the poet between origin and destination. Based on the goal or aim of individual longing, the maritime space as exile becomes different things to different men. While the act of wandering, for Halevi is a pious quest and a hope in divine restoration, leading them forward in time and space, for Ibn Ezra it is an impossible longing for a return to a place in time, whose ruins serve only to haunt its memory. For both, however, their verses reveal the devastating loss of their beloved homeland such that sweet Andalusí wine of which they sang in the garden poems of their youth is replaced by the brackish brine of the salted sea; and thus the joy of Sefarad, of culture and learning, is overwhelmed by the bitterness of exile.

From the imagined space of the sea as exile in Andalusí Hebrew letters, I turn in Chapter 2 to an examination of *Hayy Ibn Yaqzān*, a twelfth century Arabic philosophical treatise written by Abu Bakr Ibn Tufayl (1105-1185). Here I discuss the image of the island, the sea space of Hayy’s ascent, in connection with the imaginary of the twelfth-century Iberian Muslim philosophical voyage. I contend that this space, though imagined, is not a non-place void of spatial dimension like the “Isla No Fallada” of *Amadis de Gaula* or lacking the temporal status of Neverland in *Peter Pan*. Rather, given the

influence of shared Mediterranean traditions of geographical writing and cartography, the space of Hayy's intellectual journey can be mapped as a necessary space of origin or return, intimately connected to the 12th-century Mediterranean imaginary, and a space (in)to which we the readers are invited to travel in search of wisdom and truth. Moreover, Ibn Tufayl's knowledge and pursuit of Eastern Philosophy reveals a world of Islamic trade, travel and cross-cultural exchange which inevitably affected Hispano-Arab cultural horizons, and led to the conception of a much broader intellectual Mediterranean space. In particular, it reveals a world of intellectual travelers who were enchanted not by far off lands, but far off seas, at the very edges of their world, and their imaginations. And as such, I argue that the island of Ibn Tufayl's text, as an antipode to the philosophical space of authoritative knowledge (civilization), is inextricably linked to a growing knowledge and imagination of the sea, facilitated by advancements in cartography and extensive networks of maritime exchange. And though the place of Hayy's philosophical experimentation is an (is)land, it is not (main)land; and thus, contrary to the assertion of Hans Blumenberg and Simone Pinet, I contend that solid ground is not necessary for the exercise of philosophy. On the contrary, the maritime space Hayy inhabits, as distant from the structures and strictures of civilization, reveals that the beginning of philosophy and reason, and the purest path of man's ascent toward the divine, is possible only on floating foundations, in the midst of the sea (whether real or imagined).

After our discussion of Moses Ibn Ezra, Judah Halevi (Chapter 1) and Ibn Tufayl (Chapter 2), we now transition from the Semitic language of Hebrew and Arabic to the section of the dissertation that deals with Romance vernacular texts: the Castilian of the *Libro de Apolonio* and Galician-Portuguese in the case of the *Cantigas de Santa María*

(Chapters 3 and 4, respectively). Though linguistically the shift is great, the preceding chapters are meant to serve as cultural and philosophical foundation upon which to contextualize our reading of the remaining texts. These cultures all shared the Iberian space, and many of the authors represented here were polyglots, who were perhaps not only aware of each other's texts, but could read them without translation. Thus, it is here as we transition into an examination of Romance texts that the importance of the Mediterranean as methodological framework of analysis should be most clear. The authors and texts we will encounter in these chapters, though necessarily unique, participate in, and are products of, the traditions and practices we have just discussed.

In Chapter 3 I examine the anonymous thirteenth-century Castilian *Libro de Apolonio (Libro)*. I argue that the *Libro de Apolonio* is a book indicative of its location in both time and space. As a medieval Mediterranean tale of dubious Greek origin and composed in Castilian, it draws upon the Andalusí Muslim and Jewish views of the voyage, which I contend reflects what Houari Touati has called the “intellectual journey,” in reference to a similar motif in Mediterranean Muslim tradition from the eighth to thirteenth centuries called the *rihla fi-talab al 'ilm*.³ Moreover, and consequently, I argue the *Libro* can be read as an Iberian alternative to the Crusades, where juxtaposed with the violence and failed ethics of crusading, the reader is offered an invitation to the voyage as an intellectual journey. Thus, the maritime space in which these traditions coalesce and collide is, or can be, a space of learning, perhaps shared learning, where travel leads not to conflict, but to knowledge, wisdom, and salvation. Moreover, in the poem's description of the intellectual journey and the complexity of the sea space as both poison and cure, there is perhaps a thinly veiled critique of the failed ethics of crusading. The

³ Ar. الرحلة في طلب العلم (travel in search of knowledge)

images on the pages of the *Libro de Apolonio* reveal a fascination with the east and a yearning for distant lands and unknown places and Iberia's participation in a much broader and more intellectually nuanced and shared cultural Mediterranean space. And it is precisely during this time of crusade and conquest that the author of the *Libro* offers not simply a Christian, but a decidedly Mediterranean perspective of travel: seafaring is no longer relevant only to commerce or the religio-political violence of the crusading cause, but a (necessary) medium for access to knowledge and tradition, wherever and with whomever such knowledge might be found (Muslim, Christian, or Jew). That is, the impetus to travel at the heart of the *Libro* reveals Christian Iberia's intimate relationship with a broader medieval Mediterranean tradition of travel, according to which the (sea) voyage is intimately connected to the pursuit of knowledge and understanding.

The Castilian *Libro de Apolonio* and the Galician-Portuguese *Cantigas de Santa María* are contemporary works written or compiled on the Iberian Peninsula, but are composed in two different languages (or distinct Romance vernaculars). And though there are at times striking similarities between the two (images of shipwrecks, pilgrims and pirates), ultimately they each imagine Mediterranean empire in different ways. Whereas the imagined pilgrim-king of the *Libro* searches the Mediterranean alone for an intellectual past as an alternative to violent conquest, in the *Cantigas de Santa María*, the historical King Alfonso, invites "pilgrims" (including Muslims and Jews) from all over the world, not to fight a common enemy of the faith, but to build together an imagined empire with and upon the ruins of the Mediterranean past. As such, both the *Libro de Apolonio* and the *Cantigas* problematize and re-imagine a simplistic binary reading of Christian-Muslim conflict in the medieval Mediterranean. Rather, readings of the one-

directional flow of conquest and empire are complicated by the socio-political complexity and linguistic and confessional multiplicity of the Iberian maritime and economic space, both *in* and *of* the Mediterranean. As such, the *Cantigas*, like the *Libro de Apolonio*, is also concerned with literary and historical memory. Moreover, both of the texts present a vision of pilgrimage distinct from what we find in contemporary crusading narratives. Moreover, as we shall see, the variety and richness of Alfonsine sources (textual, visual and architectonic) reveal the synchronic breadth and diachronic depth of the text as a repository for alternative Mediterranean narratives: Greek, French, Iberian, African and Levantine—as well as Christian, Muslim and Jewish. As such, the *Cantigas* is also concerned with literary and historical memory. And it is precisely the Mediterranean, as a frame of analysis, that allows us to embrace this ambiguity, as well as the complexities of a shared and dynamic—even unstable—cultural history, where the Mediterranean (imagined or otherwise) is both complicated and enriched by multiplicity. Alfonso X, the Wise is not concerned with being “Spanish”; rather, the *Cantigas* seem to make obsolete such a limited frame of reference, and instead suggest the need for a much larger conceptual framework which allows for the consideration of a Mediterranean identity, which considers a multiplicity of narratives and which comprises a shared Mediterranean history and historical memory.

To this end, in Chapter 4 I explore how the authors and illuminators of the *Cantigas de Santa María* of Alfonso X, the Wise (1221-1284) employ the Marian maritime miracle not only to demonstrate the possibility of divine mediation, but how as royal troubadour and champion of the Queen of Heaven, the King of Castilla y León views himself (is viewed) as an indispensable participant to her intercessory and

redemptive activities, and thus shares in her restorative power—at least in geo-political and economic terms. Consequently, I argue that what falls within the reach of the Virgin’s miraculous influence emerges as a delimitation of the political authority and geographic (maritime) boundaries of an imagined Alfonsine Empire. Though the *Cantigas* present the space of the sea as one of peril and danger before the power of nature and the treachery of man, it is also a necessary space in which these songs of praise reveal the expansive powers of the Virgin, and thus of the Alfonso X by association. To do so, the reader is presented scenes of shipwreck, storm, and piracy, by which each *cantiga*’s three-part structure: physical crisis, divine remedy, and thanksgiving, consistently reveal a movement from disordered to ordered space. And though the *Cantigas* can and have been read as a personal and collective plea for salvation, I argue they can be equally understood as a textual and visual manifestation and mapping of Alfonso’s struggle for power over the sea(s) that lapped at Iberia’s shores. Whereas in the *Libro de Apolonio* an imaginary king travels the Mediterranean of the past, offering an alternative to the ethics of Crusade by re-imagining the maritime space as an intellectual path (Chapter 3), Alfonso X as an historical king uses the fictional space of the *Cantigas* to guide readers and characters as they travel the Mediterranean of the present (the 13th century). Moreover, concurrent with the creation of a new military maritime Order dedicated to the Virgin, in the *Siete Partidas*, Alfonso attempts to create and adapt a unified code of maritime law, which I contend developed the conceptual political framework of the sea Alfonso wishes to conquer, and which served to aid his efforts of maintaining economic sovereignty over a newly acquired coastal frontier, and

ultimately benefitting his struggle for the expansion of his imagined Mediterranean empire.

I hope to demonstrate through a reading and examination of these texts, both individually and together, how the Mediterranean offers us a reorientation of critical perspective which expands the traditional national literature approach and linguistic hegemony of Spanish Studies to include aspects of Jewish and Arabic history and literature. That being said, my critical perspective *in* and *of* the Mediterranean is defined by my training in the cultures and languages of Iberia and therefore also in the awareness of the contingency and localness of discrete cultural production that cannot be erased by an overgeneralized category of “the Mediterranean.” In this way, I hope to show how Iberia, as a space of cultural, linguistic and confessional multiplicity, may be viewed as emblematic of Mediterranean Studies as currently articulated. And with this tool in hand, we may explore how Iberian cultural production participates in—and is a product of—a more broadly conceived and shared Mediterranean space of cross-cultural contact and intellectual exchange.

Exchanging Sweet Wine for Bitter Brine:
Exile and the Sea in Medieval Iberian Hebrew Poetry



(Figure 1) © Liam Michael Roodhouse 2013

Al-Andalus (Muslim Spain) was for Muslims, Jews, and Christians alike, a vibrant society of intellectual learning and cultural production. Admittedly, however, given periods of violence and persecution, it was never a perfect model of tolerance and cohabitation. But it was indeed a remarkably diverse society, and for the Andalusí Jew who participated in weaving the threads of its cross-cultural tapestry, it was a Golden Age of belle-lettres. But, after the political turmoil brought upon the Iberian Peninsula during the Almoravid invasions of the twelfth century, it is clear that courtier rabbi poets such as Moses Ibn Ezra and Judah Halevi were left to ponder what was left of that enlightened epoch of knowledge and learning. Perhaps more importantly, they desired a path by which to seek and encounter anew the knowledge once housed and fostered in the wine gardens and palace courts of their beloved Andalus—perhaps ironically, the very gardens promoted and frequented by Muslim Caliphs, such as ‘Abdallāh ibn Buluggīn, the last prince of Zirid Granada (Chapter 1) and Abu Ya'qub Yusuf in the courts of Córdoba (Chapter 2). But both Halevi and Ibn Ezra would be dis-placed into exile, out of religious conviction (Judah Halevi), fleeing persecution (Moses Ibn Ezra) and seeking a new space of cultural revitalization—one with hope, the other in despair. And a central image to the poetic construction by which they chose to express this space of wandering was the sea.

Concerning the use of space and landscape in Judeo-Andalusí poetry, however, Decter remarks that “one feature common to all Hebrew poetry of the Andalusí period is a confined conception of space” (188). That is, he contends, “[t]he poet’s gaze is generally fixed within strict borders, focusing on the limits of the garden, perhaps looking up to the sky, but almost never beyond his immediate surroundings. Mention is seldom

made of places outside of al-Andalus, and when they are mentioned, those places appear as extremely distant” (188). But Decter further contends that history and literature converge in this period, bringing about a literary transformation which paralleled the geopolitical shifts of the post-Andalusi period. That is, “following the decline of Andalusi Jewry, Hebrew authors became very concerned with places, now casting an eye toward a broad world that individuals...could traverse with ease” (188). The layout of the world was being re-imagined. As such, with the fading memory of Islamic Iberia, the garden and garden poem became an icon of a past Andalusi culture. Alongside and metaphorically opposed to the confined garden space, we find the desert and forest in the literature of this transitional period. Though these images carry with them certain individual and specific cultural connotations, they came to represent exile and a separation from al-Andalus. And with their poems of estrangement written from Castile and Navarre and poems of a journey to Palestine, respectively, we see changes already by the mid-twelfth century in the verse of Ibn Ezra and Halevi.

Decter’s analysis of landscape and culture in describing Judeo-Andalusi literature is compelling and important to an understanding of changes in literary genre and poetic styles within the Judeo-Iberian tradition. In this transitional period of Judeo-Andalusi literature, there was also a gradual shift from the concept of confinement or enclosure to an eye that cast a broader glance to much more distant spaces. Though Decter contends that this trend was perceived more in the transition of genres, from poetry to narrative (literature in transition)—the *maqamat* of al-Harizi in particular—than in the internal development of prosody and poetic imagery (transition in literature), in the poetry of Ibn Ezra and Judah Halevi, we witness an internal transition of poetic imagery: from garden

to sea, from Spain to the wider Mediterranean space. Decter further contends that most early medieval Hebrew poets never wandered (literarily or literally) beyond their immediate surroundings. The mention of foreign lands is seldom made and when it is, such lands are presented as distant and unattainable—e.g. Palestine or Egypt. (Decter, 188) In the historical context of medieval Mediterranean travel, such assertions seem at odds with the vibrant maritime culture this study attempts to describe. But even Decter must admit that with the Golden Age of Hebrew belles-lettres, specifically the poetry of Samuel Ibn Nagrila (Ha Nagid), Solomon Ibn Gabirol, Moses Ibn Ezra, and Judah Halevi, there was a transition in geographical perspective, both real and imaginary—specifically with respect to the sea poetry of the latter two poets. And Judah Halevi in particular is an important case-study.

In the poetry of Ibn Ezra and Halevi explored below, I show that the sea and seafaring is as important an image and trope as the garden studied by Decter. The sea was not only utilized by the major poets of this period, but the sea as a space is at times intimately connected to the conception of place and, in particular, an understanding of the use of landscape in regards to Jewish exile. In 1013, after he was displaced from his home in Córdoba, Samuel the Nagid (d. 1056) writes in a poem that the wandering poet will “sew together the edge of one desert with another / and traverse the sea in every sailed ship” ‘ואתפר את שפת מדבר במדבר / ואקרע ים בכל שוחה קלועה’ (Decter 25; Samuel the Nagid, *Diwan (Ben Tehillim)* 210). Then as he speaks to the addressee of his verse he writes, “In [my soul] there is a garden for you / planted along the river of love” ‘ולך תוכה’ (25; 210).⁴ Here even Decter must admit that the

⁴ The superscription in Judeo-Arabic reads: *wa-lahu fi al-saba 'ind intiqalihi min qurtuba* (209). See also Decter, *Iberian Jewish Literature* 25.

exiled poet is caught between desert *and* sea as he longs for the more familiar and enticing landscape of the Andalusí garden (Decter 25). Consequently, I argue that Ibn Ezra and Judah Halevi manipulate the space of the sea as an image of exile and project it onto the reader's imaginary of the poet's (and pilgrim's) space of exile, loss, and separation. In particular, I contend that the sea poetry of Moses Ibn Ezra and Judah Halevi is a product of this period of socio-political transition in al-Andalus, specifically for Jews. And in contradistinction to the garden space and *locus amoenus* of the Andalusí past, it is the perilous maritime space which depicts their present suffering and portends their future. That is, in this Golden Age of Hebrew letters, the image of the garden is replaced by the image of the sea.

As such, in this chapter I discuss images of the sea and seafaring in medieval Iberian Jewish literature. The works selected here are meant to enter into dialogue with the work of Ross Brann and the notion of the "compunctious poet," as well as Jonathan Decter and his analysis of the representation of the protean garden in the verse and rhymed prose of medieval Iberian literature as well as recent criticism in the area of Mediterranean Studies. In *Iberian Jewish Literature: Between al-Andalus and Christian Europe*, Decter contends that the Andalusí garden is a pseudo *locus amoenus* where, under shaded palms wine flows and the subject sits in ease and repose. Here even Time is pliant and comforting. From the perspective of poetic imagery, he argues this garden is protean and yet a symbolic place of origin. "While the idealized garden is stable with respect to its physical accoutrements, its poetic existence is protean, always changing identity through imagery" (72). The authors and works this chapter comprises share in this static/dynamic paradox. Yet the dynamic seascape inhabited by poetic imagery

serves only to problematize the notion of origin. The sea and sea imagery become part of a web of representation for Jewish Andalusí authors, revealing the sea to be a liminal space (or no space) between origin and destination. And, just as a symbolic garden exists nowhere in real geography, the ship or poet at sea is symbolically nowhere, that is, it is placeless. As we mentioned in the Introduction, studies by Iain Chambers, Sharon Kinoshita, and Karen Wigen (among others) have suggested that the Mediterranean be studied not merely as a geographical place, but as a conceptual space with which to re-frame the consideration of uprooted geographies and mutable and diversifying locality. That is, the Mediterranean can be considered as an interpretive framework which necessarily problematizes critical history as over-determined by nationalism or a sense of national belonging and questions the notion of origin. Consequently, the sea poetry of Judah Halevi and Moses Ibn Ezra literally and figuratively take us beyond the geographical boundaries of Iberia, and beyond the political limits of al-Andalus, in order to embrace the complexities of a shared and dynamic—even unstable—cultural history, where the Mediterranean (imagined or otherwise) is both complicated and enriched by the difference and connectedness of culture. And the space of the historical and poetic journeys is not merely one of spatial practice, but also imagined space. In *The Production of Space*, Henri Lefebvre speaks of three categories of space: spatial practice, spatial representation, and representational space. Whereas the first two remind us of Certeau's binary that space is practiced place, the latter (or rather the trilogy of terms) allows us to consider how space is *lived*, *perceived* and *conceived*; that is, *imagined*. And though this space denies a center, "[i]t embraces the loci of passion, of actions and of lived

situations,” and is thus necessarily “directional, situational [and] relational, because it is essentially qualitative, fluid and dynamic” (Lefebvre 42).

My analysis of the sea poetry of the two prolific Judeo-Andalusi poets already mentioned: Moses Ibn Ezra and Judah Halevi, investigates how the poetic imagery they employ to express their exile in spatial terms, reveals the sea to be a space of wandering and separation, bewilderment and loss. Furthermore, I discuss their sea poetry as a product of an individual teleological vision of both hope and despair which existentially strands the poet between origin and destination. Based on the goal or aim of individual longing, the maritime space as exile becomes different things to different men. While the act of wandering for Judah Halevi is a pious quest and a hope in divine restoration, leading him forward in time and space, for Moses Ibn Ezra it is an impossible longing for a return to a place in time, whose ruins serve only to haunt its memory. And whereas Ibn Ezra conceives of the pain of exile as a lament of one having been abandoned, Judah Halevi writes of his abandoning al-Andalus and his journey across the sea in search of hope and salvation. For both, however, their verses reveal the devastating loss of their beloved homeland such that sweet Andalusian wine of which they sang in the garden poems of their youth is replaced by the brackish brine of the salted sea; and thus the joy of Sefarad, of culture and learning, is overwhelmed by the bitterness of exile.

Wine is a ubiquitous image in medieval Hebrew poetry of the Iberian Peninsula. Modeled on the content and themes of Andalusian Arabic poetry, wine is an integral component of garden and spring poetry, and in Hebrew verse it becomes a representative image of the affluent and prestigious culture of courtier rabbis. As Scheindlin reminds us in *Wine, Women, and Death*, this social reality is no less reasonably assumed from

Hebrew poetry as it is from the Arabic. “That some kind of wine-drinking entertainments occurred among the Jews is clear from Maimonides, who speaks of Jewish ‘elders’ and ‘pious men’ attending wine parties at which secular poems in Arabic and Hebrew were sung (21). Consequently, Scheindlin contends, it would be “futile to argue that the language and style of the poetry and the reality they describe are merely a literary fashion copied from Arabic poetry, and that therefore they do not necessarily reflect the experience of the poets” (21). As such, wine, and the wine party, is for the Iberian Jewish poet a powerful image which comes to represent a Golden Age of Andalusian culture, a poetic spring in whose garden the poet literally and figuratively reclined in repose, composing delicate and refined verses under the intoxicating enchantment of the grape’s fermented nectar.⁵

According to Jonathan Decker, a common feature of medieval Andalusian Hebrew poetry is a confined conception of space. And a fitting manifestation of this poetic tendency can be found in garden poetry. The delightful garden of Judeo-Andalusian poetry is not a sprawling untamed meadow beside a flowing river, but a protected urban space, the *hortus conclusus*, or enclosed garden. As Scheindlin points out, the gardens of medieval poetry have a setting in nature, but said nature is not wholly “natural.” The vagueness of images employed to describe the garden reveal a delightful ambiguity between animate and inanimate. As such, it becomes a completely artificial environment, carefully controlled and crafted. Scheindlin reminds us that wine parties were often held in enclosed patios within a building (such as the Lions’ Court of the Alhambra) which contained fountains, pools, meticulously designed and irrigated flower beds, and stone

⁵ For further studies on Arabo-Hebrew wine poetry, see Raymond Scheindlin, *Wine, Women, and Death: Medieval Hebrew Poems on the Good Life*; Arie Schippers, *Spanish-Hebrew Poetry and the Arabic Literary Tradition: Arabic Themes in Hebrew Andalusian Poetry*.

carvings which represented the image of local and exotic flora and fauna. This space was a reproduction of the untamed beauty of the outside world brought within protected walls. “In these garden poems nature has been completely subdued by art. Sitting there, one might lose the sense of boundary between the artificial and the real” (7).

Consequently, what we gather from poetry and rhymed prose produced in or about this space reveals an atmosphere that was highly structured and refined.⁶ It is a space of relaxation and respite, but it was also a space of privilege, set apart and protected within the walls of the home or palace. It was where the urban elite gathered to praise one another with elegiac verse and to celebrate the intoxicating qualities of wine, women, and song. In a set of short poems inviting Judah Ibn Ghayyat to a wine-drinking party, Judah Halevi offers the following portrayal:

הקבל פני דודך לרעים כי כבר
פנו פני היום אליהם ערף
אל נא תרפה מזחך מבא ושוד
שמש אשר יאיר ושמש ירף
לך גור ארי ישאג והאם גור ארי
ישאג בתוך יער ואין לו טרף
חוש אל כלי יחם כחם קיץ בתוך

הלב ועל היד כקר החרף (*Diwan Judah Halevi* 1:174)

Show your face to loving friends, I pray,

for the face of days has turned away

⁶ That is, these were not the raucous gatherings of the local public house (though we do see this in the *maqamat* of al-Hariri and al-Harizi). The ambience depicted in the imagery of the wine party shares the same sense of delicacy found in the form and structure of the poems composed about them: “highly structured, rich in conventional with, and amusing rather than hearty” (*Wine, Women, and Death* 24).

Let nought keep you from coming, and see
a sun that shines, and a sun lose sway
To you the lion's cub roars! And when the lion cub
roars in the forest shall he not find prey?
Make haste to a glass that warms the heart like summer
but is cold in the hand like a winter's day. (Brener 99)⁷

In search of a shared place of origin and a space of cultural refinement, Ibn Ezra's garden poetry seeks to create "new gardens" by either projecting gardens onto other objects or allowing the poem itself to serve as a site of the replacement garden (Decter 19-38).

Though these wine or garden poems deal with the pleasures of life enjoyed by Andalusian courtiers, there is frequent recognition of regret that life is short and pleasures are transient.⁸ As Scheindlin asserts, the wine poem's focus on spring reveals the poet's consciousness that "all this beauty will vanish; everything is headed towards destruction;

⁷ For an analysis of this poem, see Brener. As the last line suggests, wine continues to be an important image of garden poetry. Judah Halevi writes a short poem on the subject:

נטה אל בית ידיך ויינו / וכוס תסב כשמש על ימינו,
אדמדמ, טהרה אותו זכובית / עדי בושן פנינים מפנינו
הדרו ראתה ותצפנהו / עדי לא יכלה עוד הצפינו
יבואני ויניס כל יגוני / וזאת אות הברית ביני ובינו
ושרים אחרי נוגנים סביבי / למיניהם, וכל יפה למינו (DJH 2: 243)

Turn unto your friends' house and his wine, and his goblet
will circle round his hand like the sun in orbit
Purified the reddest red by glass
till rubies by its ruby were put to shame by it
Its splendor she saw, and concealed it,
till she could no longer conceal it.
When it comes inside me it puts all my sorrow to flight—
and that's the sign of the covenant between me and it!
And singers after musicians with their instruments
are all ranged around me, and beauties of both kinds sit. (Brener 76)

⁸ Ibn Ezra's poem "The garden dons a coat of many hues" 'כתנות פסים לבש הגן' for example, describes the beauty of the spring garden in transitional terms; that is, the warmth and life of spring emerges out of the cold shadows of winter Cole ; Brody, *Selected Poems of Moses Ibn Ezra* 102). Through the *carpe diem* motif, the poet implores the reader to choose the garden's pleasures given the brevity and vicissitudes of life. See Brody, *Selected Poems of Moses Ibn Ezra* 45.

spring arose out of winter and will return to winter just as day and night pursue each other in everlasting alternation” (26). In fact, while in exile Ibn Ezra writes poems in which he envisions returning to palaces where he had once frequented wine parties only to find they are overgrown and where gazelles once entertained, wolves now prowl.⁹ Inherent in this cycle, however, is the eventual rebirth of life from the throes of winter’s death; there is always the hope of return, a commentary on the vicissitudes of time.

For Decter, this period of transition in Hebrew letters is marked by the image of the barren desert or forest which stands in opposition to the garden’s pleasant aroma, repose, and cultural refinement. Decter explores Ibn Ezra’s use of the barren desert as a space that threatens danger with its carnivorous animals and leads one to weep over the

⁹ From Moses Ibn Ezra, “Come Let Us Seek the Spots” ‘מהררנא אלי מעוני’:

מהררנא אלי מעוני אהובים
 פזרם הזמן ונתרו חרבים;
 לעפרים אזי מעונים - והנם
 לכפרים מעון וגם־לזאבים!

אשמעה נאקת צביה תיליל
 מכלואי אדום ומאסר ערבים,
 על־אובה תבך ואלוף נעורים,
 ג־תענה במאמרים ערבים:
 סמכוני כבא־ישות ידידת,
 רפדוני במגדני האהבים! (Brody, *Selected Poems* 102)

Come, let us seek the spots where dwelled of old
 The folk beloved.

Fate bath scattered them,
 And only ruins of their homes remain.
 Where stood the shelter of the roes, behold
 The lair of lions and the wolves’ terrain.

I hear afar, the cry of the gazelle
 That wails in Edom’s keep, or Ismael’s chain;
 She weeps for her beloved One, estranged,
 The bridegroom of her youth.

Oh, may she sing
 For joy, instead of grief! Oh, may her words
 Find favor as aforesaid:
 “Me sustain
 With Thy endearments, as with flagons. Bring
 With sweets of love, my soul to life again! (102)

ruins of past glories.¹⁰ In a Hebrew *qasida*, Ibn Ezra writes that Time has “appointed me to live in a desert of wild beasts; / Beasts though they starve for a morsel of intellect” ‘רעו ימי-נער / והפקיד בי שכן מדבר פראים / פראים אך לפת-שכל רעבים’ (Decter 41; *Shirei ha-hol* 19).¹¹ And elsewhere in the *Shirei ha-hol* we read: “In the days of youth they pastured in the *garden of righteousness* but in old age they gather wood in the *forest of treachery*” ‘רעו ימי-נער / רעו ימי-נער / רעו ימי-נער / רעו ימי-נער’ (34; 26). While the garden is to represent al-Andalus, the forest is clearly meant to represent the Christian north, a space perceived as distant from urban and intellectual culture and in contrast to the sophistication and delight of Andalusian high culture. Juxtaposing the image of the garden with that of the desert or forest, Ibn Ezra’s poetry thus recalls a lost way of life—Andalusian exiles, like the poet, have been forced from their homes and homeland (the cultural refined gardens and dwellings of al-Andalus) and now wander in culturally barren places (Christian north).

I contend, however, that it is in these poets’ sea poetry that we see this contrast most clearly. For Moses Ibn Ezra, the cyclical flow of life, death and rebirth inherent in his garden poems, is halted in his sea poetry; there is no recurring cycle—all ends in destruction. This means the loss of an Andalusian past and the loss of friendship, something as transient as youth and beauty in his poems. Aptly, Ibn Ezra would write of his loss: “I drink in horror, and I mix the wine / With tears that from my melting eyes distill” ‘אשתה / אשתה / אשתה / אשתה’ (Scheindlin 26; *Shirei ha-hol* 157).¹² This mixing of wine and tears is compelling, but whereas in this poem the poet’s salted tears

¹⁰ In his “Why does Time hound me so” ‘מה לי זמן כואב יכאיב’ Ibn Ezra likens himself to a wandering sparrow in distress who hides before the threat of vultures and who now hears “only the wailing of jackals / and owls mourning in sorrow” ‘לא ישמע רק מספר תנים / או בריענה כי יתנווד’ (Cole 128; *HaShira* 380).

¹¹ He describes the ignorance of the men amongst whom he dwells, who “pretend to be wise but wise they are not” ‘הם מתחכמים אך לא’ and finishes the poem by returning to the desert trope: “The wind of their love is not a wind to winnow / but is like a dry wind that lays bare” ‘רוח אהבתם לא להבר / ולא לזרוח כרוח צח’ (Decter 42; *Shirei ha-hol* 19).

¹² For the full poem in Hebrew, see *Shirei ha-hol* 1:156-58.

gently mingle with sweet wine to produce a saddened moment of fleeting nostalgia, in the poets' sea poetry the briny depths held within the vast reserves of the sea violently invade the poet's memory, forever corrupting the Andalusian garden and the nectar that flows from its vine.

Moses Ibn Ezra

Born in Granada around 1055, Moses Ibn Ezra was renowned as a craftsman of the Hebrew language and leading theoretician of the Spanish school. Though Cole contends the Arabic title granted him—*sahib al-shuurta* (chief of police)—was purely honorific, he undoubtedly occupied a position of distinction in the kingdom of his birth (121). It seems that early on he recognized the talent of a young poet named Judah Halevi, whom he would later befriend and mentor. In general, it appears that Ibn Ezra and his family enjoyed relative affluence and tranquility until the Almoravid invasion of 1086 and the subsequent destruction of the Jewish community in 1090 (Carmi 104). After the confiscation of their fortunes, his brothers fled from Muslim Spain. Ibn Ezra remained for a time with his wife and seven children, though eventually he too would flee to the north leaving his family behind and wandering through the land of Edom, the Christian north (Scheindlin 252).¹³ His departure into exile was not onto the sea but to the Christian controlled north of the Peninsula. Unlike Halevi, who traveled across the Mediterranean Sea on his journey to Palestine, Ibn Ezra “spent the rest of his life wandering the Christian north, bemoaning the loss of his Andalusian world and its glories” (Cole 122). As many scholars have observed, his displacement from the rich culture of Andalus to the

¹³ Edom (Heb. אֶדוֹם) is the term used by Ibn Ezra and medieval Jews in general, particularly those in the diaspora, to refer to Rome and/or Christianity. See “Edom” (Edom as Rome) in *Encyclopaedia Judaica* 158.

Christian north was seen by the poet as a mental and spiritual suffering amongst wild beasts (Brann). Ibn Ezra bemoans his displacement from the rich culture of Andalus, portraying the suffering and loss of exile in the Christian north as an exile wandering among brutes. And in his sea poems, the cresting waves of his verse serve only to mimic and mock this pain.

In his *Kitāb al-muhādara wa al-mudhākara* (The Book of Discussion and Memorizing), composed in Judeo-Arabic, Ibn Ezra writes of his exile using a colorful collection of Arabic aphorisms to lament this sense of “long estrangement” (*al-ightirab*):

I am imprisoned in jail, nay, buried in a tomb. It is true what is said, “The intellectual is not more satisfied by that which gives him sustenance than he is by his homeland.” It is written in the Qur’an of the Arabs (4:66), “If we had ordered them to kill themselves or abandon their homes, only few would have done so.” “Killing oneself” and “leaving one’s home” are considered equivalent. It is also said, “Estrangement [*al-ghurba*] is one of the two prisons.” It is also said, “The foreigner [*al-gharib*] is one who has lost the social companions whose company he enjoys and the confidants upon whom he depends.” Another said, “The foreigner is like a plant whose land has been taken by night and has been deprived of drink: it is withered and does not bear fruit; it is faded and does not blossom.” (Decter 27)¹⁴

Ibn Ezra’s ability to bring a thorough integration of Arabic and Hebrew literary elements makes him representative of the Iberian-Hebrew Golden Age (Cole 121). His education comprised many kinds of learning. In addition to his knowledge of Hebrew grammar and of biblical and Talmudic literature, he was trained in the language, rhetoric and poetry of

¹⁴ Moses Ibn Ezra, *Kitāb al-muhādara wa al-mudhākara* 2, 4.

both Arabic and Hebrew. He was also well versed in the wisdom of Arab and Greek philosophy, and possibly had knowledge of Latin (Heinrich Brody 177). Brody writes, “His wide knowledge, his highmindedness, his genuine faith, his gentle humor, and his benevolence, brought him universal esteem and much affection” (xxi). As a preeminent Andalusí Jewish scholar, Ibn Ezra composed several treatises on literary theory and a large quantity of secular and liturgical poetry—the difference between these two not always being entirely clear. His two important Judeo-Arabic works are the *Kitāb al-muhādara wa al-mudhākara*, mentioned above, and the *Al-Maqalah bi-l-hadiqah fi ma’na al-majaz wa-l-haqiqa* (The Book of the Garden on Figurative and Literal Language). Written while he was in exile (ca. 1135), the first is a treatise on rhetoric which describes the importance of the Arab laws of poetics to the composition of Hebrew Andalusí poems (Scheindlin 60).¹⁵ The second is more of a theological work which, among others topics, deals with the metaphorical interpretation of anthropomorphic passages in the Hebrew Scriptures. As Scheindlin points out, his penitential poems (*selihot*) are perhaps the most impressive, noting that because of them he was often called *ha-Salhan* or *ha-Sallah* (‘The one who asks for Penitence’ or ‘Composes many penitential poems’) (Scheindlin 61).¹⁶ Most of these were strophic (according to *piyyutim* tradition), but he is also known for his short poems, rhymed prose, and *muwashshahat* (girdle poems), generally reserved for his profane poetry.

Though respected and renowned as one of “the three stars” fixed in the firmament of New-Hebrew Spanish poetry, Brody reminds us that Moses Ibn Ezra was one of the unhappiest in life, for misfortune followed him closely, even in death: “He had enemies,

¹⁵ See also Schreiner, *Le kitab al Mouhadara Wa-L-Moudhakara de Moise B. Ezra et ses sources*; and Scheindlin, “Rabbi Moshe Ibn Ezra on the *Legitimacy* of Poetry.”

¹⁶ See also Millas Vallicrosa, *Literatura hebraicoespanola* 80.

and he writes sadly of false friends” (xix). He also writes of the pain of his exile and his forced wandering amongst an ignorant Christian population. And though in his liturgical poetry Ibn Ezra expresses an unwavering devotion to God, hope in the redemption of Israel, and a rejection of fleeting terrestrial desires, the lament of his more profane verse, and particularly his sea poetry, reveals a longing for the pleasures of his youth and the companionship of colleagues. A prolific writer of wine and garden poetry in his early years, it is this space for which he longs, and all that it represented. Though a metaphorical sea carries him into exile, he yearns for the land of Sefarad and the refined culture of the Jewish elite who would gather there to compose panegyrics and love songs, and praises of wine and women. Most of all, in his exile he hungers for the company of his friends: the men of learning who inhabited that space. Consequently, Ibn Ezra’s notions of displacement or diaspora (*galut*) and estrangement (*ightirāb*), informed by the Andalusī Arabic literary tradition, and veiled in the imagery of the sea and seafaring, reveal in his poetry a familiar longing for the wine garden and the culture of his beloved al-Andalus.

Thus, in his lament of abandonment and estrangement, Ibn Ezra invites the reader to perceive his diasporic movements as that of a seafarer at the mercy and whim of the wind and waves.¹⁷ The poetic voice in such poems recognizes a sense of helplessness and lack of control experienced by the seafarer, though the traveler himself may be ignorant of the very circumstances that control him and the threat they pose. For apparently having never travelled at sea, it is intriguing that Ibn Ezra would choose the sea as the medium for his poetic vision of life and death; the forest and desert, as we have just discussed,

¹⁷ “Time” (זמן) is generally the trope used to describe the external force acting upon the poet in exile. The reader will remember the short poem of Ibn Ezra mentioned above in which he asks rhetorically, “Why does Time hound me so” ‘מה לי זמן כואב יכאיב.’

seem much more practical literary tropes.¹⁸ However, though he did not know the sea, he seems to have been well aware of its nature and its usefulness as metaphor. The image of the sea was a cultural and historical trope, found not only in literary models with which Ibn Ezra was familiar, but one his audience would have readily understood. Moreover, the ship at sea was also historically the means by which many of his friends and colleagues would leave him as they too moved into exile, forced or otherwise.¹⁹ Their departure became his departure, a separation not from the land of Sefarad but from those he loved.²⁰

¹⁸ Though there are no extant historical documents demonstrating that in his exilic wandering Moses Ibn Ezra travelled at sea or to destinations where sea travel could or would have been undertaken, his poetry is marked with sea imagery. His conception and perception of exile as seafaring can be summarized as follows: the ship at sea moves away from life towards death, denying the traveler (and poet) any hope of salvation. The moment of departure for the traveler is a disheartening day, for the wanderer is found amidst a “raging sea”.

¹⁹ See Ross Brann, “The Arabized Jews” in *The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature*.

²⁰ Stressing the importance of this human and fraternal element, in a Hebrew *qasida* (ode) Ibn Ezra weeps over the ruins of his beloved al-Andalus as a way to mourn those who inhabited that space.

עזבתימו הכי מתו מתיהם / והם בלתם כמו בתי כלאים
 והאישים נשמות למכונים / ואם-יפקדו פקדו רפאים
 לגרים אתאבה לא למגורים / ולמתאי חסדים לא לתאים
 ולבנים אכל לא ללבנים / ולבאים הכי לא למבואים (Shirei ha-hol 19)

I left for its people passed away;
 [the lands] are like prisons without them.
 The people are are dwellings' souls
 when [the people] are absent [the dwellings] seek after ghosts in vain.
 I yearn for inhabitants, not dwellings,
 for the people of good grace, not living chambers,
 And for people of understanding, not bricks,
 for those who come, not entryways. (Decter 41)

The poet reveals that his choice to leave al-Andalus is because of the pain and suffering of physical destruction at the hands of the Almoravid invaders, but as an emotional response to the loss of companionship. The inhabitants, people of good grace and understanding, which once filled this space with life, creating a vibrant intellectual culture, are now absent; they have “passed away.” Without them, al-Andalus as *place* is meaningless to the poet. It is for this reason that he too must leave. This concept of “weeping over ruins” is a conventional theme for Andalusí poets, both Hebrew and Muslim, with its roots in early Arabic verse form called the *qasida*. As Decter points out, Ibn Ezra here defends his use of this conventional theme: “This is not an attempt to undermine the conventional motif but is rather a defense of conventionality. The language suggests that Ibn Ezra may have been critiqued for holding confused priorities in utilizing the motif so liberally. Because he mentions dwellings so frequently, one might think that he had no feelings for people. The verses are meta-poetic; they explain that the motif of weeping over

Consequently, much of his poetry is filled with expression of his loneliness and abandonment. Appropriately for our purposes concerning maritime tropes, Cole writes of the grenadine poet, “the fusion of ethoi at the heart of his poetry acts in fact as ballast and keel against a deep and abiding melancholy” (121). Moreover, Ibn Ezra’s sea poetry reveals al-Andalus to exist only as an unreachable and unattainable memory. Destined to wander the Christian north, Ibn Ezra recalls the pain of separation and struggles with the ontological impossibility of return. Consequently, the sea becomes in his verses a space of bewilderment, perplexity and loss. Though scholars like Cole see in the entirety of his *diwan* the emergence of bittersweet tenderness towards the pain of exile, his sea poetry bemoans the loss of origin and denies the possibility of salvation; that is, there is nothing sweet to balance the bitterness. On the contrary, as we shall see, even the sweetness of wine, a ubiquitous synecdoche for Andalus high culture, is transformed by his exile into undrinkable brine.

In “The World” ‘בני עולם,’ though it shares intriguing similarities with the first two poems, Ibn Ezra uses the sea trope for a distinct purpose (Cole 130; *HaShira* 401).²¹ Earth, or the world, is invoked as the realm of sin or evil, the counterpart to the dwelling place of the divine. “Men of the world have the world in their heart”, the poet writes, and “it’s a flowing stream that won’t suffice / though the sea becomes its source” ‘היום נשיאם’ “it’s a flowing stream that won’t suffice / though the sea becomes its source” ‘היום נשיאם’ (Cole 130; *HaShira* 401). That is, worldly men have sinful hearts, and their insatiable sinful desire abounds by drawing from the vast reserves of the sea. In a unique inversion of the natural order or

ruins *means* longing for friends and that evoking it is an efficient manner of expressing the precise emotion of yearning for lost relationships.

²¹ In Peter Cole’s view, it is a semi-heretical discussion of original sin (473). He contends that “The poem presents the somewhat heretical implication that God set up man’s instinct for transgression from the start” (431).

flow, Ibn Ezra describes a stream that flows not towards the sea but from it, thus the maritime trope does not present the open sea as a destination or *telos*, but a source. This strange reversal seems to serve not only as hyperbole for quantity, that is, an allusion to the vast holdings of the sea as simile for the unquantifiable greed and avarice within man's heart, but also for quality; lost man, the wanderer, thirsts for the world, yet finds only salted water that never satisfies.

כאלו נתנו מימיו למלח

ולב צמא שתות אותם קראם

אלי פיהם המוניהם יגיחון

ואך לא ישברו לעד צמאם (Schirmann, *HaShira* 401)

as though its water turned to salt

when a parched heart called out to them—

they pour it from buckets into their mouths

but their thirst is never quenched (Cole 130)

Due to poetic inversion, the sweet waters of the flowing stream are tainted with the non-potable salted sea and what is meant to sate thirst is its very cause and origin. Through this poem's explicitly religious overtones, the reader is all but forced to read the poet's exile into these verses. Again, we are reminded not of Ibn Ezra's terrestrial exile, but his abandonment by those who left him. This poem, like "The Day to Come" 'מהיום הבא,' invokes the sea on different levels simultaneously; that is, his diatribe against the sea is twofold. First, the sea is presented as an admonition to those who seek its depths as a means to assuage what we might call the thirst of exile: an avaricious desire for culture and learning, abandoned by this separation. As we have discussed above, many of these

transitional poets thirst metaphorically for the wine garden of al-Andalus, a thirst not for the grape's nectar but Andalusian culture and companionship. Second, Ibn Ezra combines his rebuke with a lament of abandonment. Many, like Halevi and al-Harizi, in their thirst for religious devotion and learning, respectively, leave the sweet waters (wine included) of Sefarad behind as they embrace the possibilities of the sea. According to Ibn Ezra, their thirst will only increase, though they heap "buckets into their mouths."

Though Ibn Ezra's use of the sea as a space of exile, wandering and loss, between origin and destination, is not as highly developed as that found in the verse of Judah Halevi, it can be found in many of his poems during this transitional period. He questions if he is the sea in "How Long at Fate's Behest" 'עד אן בגלות,' his tears are a mighty sea of mourning in "Are my tears restrained" 'נטפי דמעות מער,' a lament for the death of Isaac Ibn Ezra, and in "Who will take revenge" 'הדמי תדרשו' the poet expresses his suffering and grief as a silent sea of darkness.²² In the latter, the maritime space is a malediction for the poet; it holds no blessing. Rather, the sea is a constant state of wandering void of catharsis and hope. There is no goal or *telos* for which he strives or longs to achieve, save the impossibility of return.

והליל בים אפלו מנדח

בלי רעש, וגליו לא נשואים

ומים רחבו ידיו בעיני,

ואין לו חוף ולא עבר לבאים (Carmi 328)

My night is plunged into a silent

sea of darkness, where no waves rise –

²² Hebrew text and English translation for the first two poems are from Brody, *Selected Poems* 2, 32; the latter can be found in Carmi 328.

a sea that is to me far wider than the sea;

for it has no coast, no shore for those who voyage. (328)

Exile has become a sea void of boundaries or shores; it is a liminal space between origin and destination, a space of endless wandering and separation. Navigation is useless, as even the dark night is overwhelmed by greater darkness; there are no stars by which to guide or right the ship. Even if there were, the poet has no terminus; he has no port of call. Thus, exile for Ibn Ezra is a painful recognition of the vast ontological placelessness of his present. Moreover, Time offers him no safe harbor in which to mitigate his pain or protect him from suffering. Lost in the past with no hope for the future, he writes, “I do not know if this night is long or short” ‘ולא אבין היארך או היקצר’ (Carmi 328). The boundlessness of sea in both space and time emulates the fatalism of his existence outside of the protected Andalusí wine garden, the *hortus conclusus*. It is as if God has banished him from the Garden and left him no path to salvation, only to wander in suffering, like a seafarer before the constant threat of a tempest and the forever distant and impossible task of returning or arriving.

In his short poem, “Let Man Remember” ‘ויזכר גבר,’ Ibn Ezra cautions man (*geber*) to remember that life’s journey leads inevitably to death (Cole 127; Carmi 327).²³ The act of remembering may be difficult, however, for the traveler’s movements are at times so small and incremental that he appears to be motionless: “each day he travels only a little / so he thinks he’s always at rest” ‘ולאט יסע כל יום מסע / אכן יחשב כי ינוח’ (Cole 127; Carmi 327). The poet compares the journey to that of a traveler at sea, “like someone sitting at ease on a ship / while the wind sweeps it over the depths” ‘על כנפי רוח’

²³ “Let man remember throughout his life / he’s on his way toward” ‘יזכר גבר בימי הייו / כי למות הוא לקוח’ (Cole 127; Carmi 327)

אך ידא / צי / איש שוקט על צי / (Cole 123; Carmi 327). The ship does not move on its own volition, but rather the winds carry it across the surface of the waters, with unknown origin and unknown purpose. The traveler, likewise, does not willfully move; instead, he is at the mercy of the ship which is commanded by the winds: he is twice removed from any self-determining act or agency. The traveler's direction and pace is not of his own choosing; his fate is dictated by external forces, and those on board the vessel experience relative calm, unaware they are being swept along.

ויזכר גבר בימי חייו

כי למות הוא לקוח

ולאט יסע כל יום מסע

אכן יחשב כי ינוח

רומה אל איש שוקט על צי-

אך ידא על כנפי רוח (Carmi 327)

Let man remember throughout his life

he's on his way toward death:

each day he travels only a little

so he thinks he's always at rest—

like someone sitting at ease on a ship

while the wind sweeps it over the depths. (Cole 127)

The emphasis on the traveler's near complete lack of volition and awareness of direction or velocity reflect the exile's (perhaps the poet's) encounter with historical forces beyond his control. The image of the depths conveys a sense of danger, yet the traveler is ignorant of the danger in his surroundings; he is unaware of the vast space that surrounds

him and the peril it threatens. Why, then, is the traveler at ease? By the logic of the poem—and a common medieval topos of life as journey—traveling is a pleasant but deadly voyage. The poet says that the traveler only *thinks* he is at rest; the traveler is unaware that he is headed towards certain doom. And the locus of death appears to be the destination of the ship at sea. And though death does not seem to be the traveler's intended terminus, the depths remain an ominous threat to the seafarer's life. The sea, then, is not what the traveler thinks it is, or rather, he has forgotten the journey's end, and perhaps the journey itself. And contrary to what we see in the *Libro de Apolonio* (Chapter 3), where the sea as a space of intellectual voyage is a path to knowledge, in Ibn Ezra, the sea becomes a space of estrangement and mental confusion: the sailor mistakenly believes he is at rest when in actuality he is being swiftly swept across the sea, slowly separated from the wisdom and culture of al-Andalus.

Here, knowledge (the understanding that life is a journey which leads to death) is to be sought after (remembered) because man has apparently forgotten. Or rather, the small and incremental movements of his journey have deceived the traveler into thinking he is at rest, thus revealing the sailor's state of loss and perplexity, and revealing his situational, and thus existential, ignorance.²⁴ The traveler of Ibn Ezra's poem knows neither where he is nor where he is going; in fact, he knows not that he travels at all. That is, the traveler he describes has yet to even recognize his state of loss. Thus, the poet urges the traveler to engage his reality, to remember: *יזכר*, and by consequence recognize his ignorance. While the first verse comprises the poet's call for man to embrace his wandering, the remaining verses describe the confusion of this state and its inevitable

²⁴ Comapre *bā'iyga* of Ibn Khafaja (1058-1138) known as "The Mountain Poem" in which he recounts emotion of yearning, sadness and alienation as he crosses the desert and leaves his beloved al-Andalus.

end. And the poetic voice warns that it is only after the traveler has embraced his reality as wandering devoid of origin that he can achieve an awareness of the end that awaits him. ‘Wake up!’ the poet exclaims, ‘your life is slipping away and your passions are misplaced.’ This notion is fairly common in medieval Iberian literature, well-known in sermons and penitential poetry of the period, and persists in later literary movements in Hebrew (Shem-Tov ibn Falaquera) and Romance (Jorge Manrique). Importantly, however, for Ibn Ezra the space of that journey is the sea, where it is the complacent and resting sailor is roused from his existential slumber. But Ibn Ezra’s poem presents a grimmer picture. Though he bids man to remember that he travels across the deep, the clarity of this realization is neither cathartic nor purgative. Rather, the poet reveals the traveler’s entire existence to be nothing more than a space of perplexity and confusion. We may ask, then, the following: subsequent to the traveler’s existential realization, a self-awareness we may call the *aporetic moment*, does he come to possess an agency with which to direct his newfound teleological consciousness? The poem’s answer resounds in the negative, for the reader will recall that the sailor is twice removed from any act of agency with which to even begin the search for an end. But such is perhaps not the poet’s aim, for he freely provides the reader with this knowledge: the inevitable *telos* of man, and all who wander in exile, is death. The only hope he has is the recognition of his existence as wandering and loss.

In a poem titled “From the Day to Come” ‘מהיום הבא,’ Ibn Ezra provides a description of the *telos* which he only just names in the verses of “Let Man Remember” (Cole 134; *HaShira* 406). Moreover, we again find here a depiction of the delights and comforts of the garden being replaced by the perils of the sea, where sweet Andalusian wine

is tainted with brine.²⁵ It is the third stanza of the poem, in which poet relates the sea to the final day of judgment and its terror. The arrival of the divine, and the surprise with which it has overwhelmed the complacent, is here compared to a seafarer overcome by a violent tempest at sea:

הוא היום המר
כתנור בוער
כמי הים ימר
(HaShira 406) וכמוהו סוער

This bitter day,
like a burning kiln,
will rage like the sea,
and like it turn (134-35)²⁶

²⁵ Though this is a religious poem, it is not liturgical. Cole writes in his introduction to Ibn Ezra, “. . . he is highly regarded for his devotional poetry, where his blending of elements from the Jewish religious tradition and the secular Arabic literature of the age” (121). He asserts that, at times, Ibn Ezra turns the latter “inside out, transporting the reader, from a Bedouin desert encampment to a synagogue and place of deepest devotion” (121).

²⁶ Compare Moses Ibn Ezra, “That Bitter Day” ‘יום הנדוד המר,’ which describes in similar terms the pain of departure:

יום הנדוד המר הנמהר
אותי ביין התאות השכיר
אשב משומם בין פראים אין
דורש לנפשי במ ולא מזכיר
לשמאל אני קורא-ואין עונה
(Ha Shira 381) אפנה עלי ימין-ואין מכיר

That rash and bitter day of departure
left me drunk with the wind of desire
Desolate now, I dwell among mules,
where no one sees to the needs of my soul.

I call to the left—there is no answer,
then turn to the right and find—only strangers. (Cole 127).

As we can see, in order to qualify the image of this bitter day, the poet offers two important similes: it is like an intense fire and a raging sea. The fire evokes the source of the smoke which arose in stanza one. At first man is mere witness to the rising of God's being (היִוֹתוֹ), from the furnace; here the reader is forced to confront the source of the fire's flame. To assist in describing the power and terror of this moment, the poet reaches a descriptive climax with his maritime associations. The words "rage" (סַעַר) and "turn" (יָמַר) are important to parse. Playing with the rhyme scheme *mar*, Ibn Ezra uses the verb *marah* in its imperfect form *yemar*. Though Cole's translation of the verb as *turn* is certainly adequate, it does not capture the entire meaning which seems to linger beneath the surface of the Hebrew text (127).²⁷ We find the same form of this verb in Joshua 1:18 to describe sinful men rebelling against the commandments of God, for which the outcome is certain death. This *turning* of the sea, then, is violent and rebellious. Furthermore, its turning speaks to the suddenness of the tempestuous event as an act of treachery and deception. The frequent nature of this event has made this now an idiom in the English language: the sea-turn which marks the transition from tranquil sea winds to thick weather. It is this sudden change and reversal which catches the seafarer unaware; remember he "lies there pleased" in existential slumber. In but a moment, the sailor's smooth sailing has met terrifying seas. Furthermore, the infinitive *to rage* (סַעַר) is here placed as an active participle (סוֹעֵר) which lends a sense of immediacy of motion and action to the event, further justifying the reading of (הוּא הַיּוֹם) as *this* day, though set in the future eschatological context of *the day to come*.

מֵהַיּוֹם הַבֹּא / וּמִפְּחַד הַיּוֹתוֹ

²⁷ See Jo Ann Hackett, *A Basic Introduction to Biblical Hebrew* 63-69 (Qal Prefix Conjugation), 85-90 ("Consecutive Preterite), and 91-96 (Qal Suffix Conjugation and *we-qatal* form).

כעשן מארבה / תעל מהומתו
תבוסתו רבה- / ומי יוכל שאתו
ומי העומד / בהראותו

שוקט ובוטח / אימה תבעתהו
ומות שוכה- / שואה תבואהו
ושוכב שמח- / צעקה תעירהו
תצא נשמתו / ישוב לאדמתו

הוא היום המר / כתנור בוער
כמי הים ימר / וכמוהו סוער
וכוס יין חמר / משכר כל נוער
ממהר תנומתו / לעדי-עד שנתו

אשרי אנוש יראה / באשוני מזמה
כי גאה תגאה / בצאתה הנשמה
ותעל ותשתאה / להיכלי החכמה

(HaShira 406-07) ותתור צדקתו / מנוחה לחנותו

From the day to come,
and the fear of His being
like the smoke from the furnace,
His terror will rise.
His wrath will be grievous,

and who could bear it—
for who will stand
when He arrives?

Terror will shake
the smug and complacent;
with death forgotten
destruction will take them.

They'll lie there please
when shouting will wake them—
their souls will depart
and to dust they'll return.

This bitter day,
like a burning kiln,
will rage like the sea,
and like it turn;
and the foaming wine
will confound the sober
and hasten their sleep
which will last forever.

Blessed is he

who sees in his mind
how the soul will leave
the body behind
and in wonder ascend
to Wisdom's Palace,
then in the righteous
rest in peace. (Cole 134-35)

Cole's translation brings to the surface this tension between future and present, a tension found in the imperfect verb choice and the added ambiguity of Ibn Ezra's frequent use of the active participle throughout the poem: standing, lying, terrorizing, hastening, and raging.²⁸ In this way, the text appears ambiguous if not purposefully ambivalent to future temporal clauses. Whereas most scholars translate the imperfect verb forms in this poem strictly and consistently in a future context (*will* rise, *will* rage, etc.), according to medieval Hebrew and biblical grammar rules, the simple imperfect form (i.e., as opposed to the inverted perfect) allows for broader temporal application; it can be used for present, future, or even conditional contexts. Furthermore, the poetic genre creates an even wider and more forgiving space for creative uses of semantics and grammar. Thus, a poem that begins by clearly marking a future *day to come*, may be simultaneously read vis-à-vis a present reality. Consequently, use of the demonstrative "this" instead of "that" to describe the bitter day, is a way to bring the reality of eschatological destruction temporally nearer to the poet and reader. Thus it is as equally apocalyptic as it is

²⁸ It is clear that the active participle is used at times for rhyme scheme: see the verse endings in stanza 3 where the rhyme scheme is *mar / oh-air, mar / oh-air, mar / oh-air* using varying verb-noun combinations. See Branns' commentary on Halevi's critique of quantitative prosody and the difficulty of adapting Arabic meter to Hebrew vowel rules (*The Compunctious Poet* 102)

invocative of the present suffering of exile. And whereas the sea was an inevitable space of *aporia* in “Let Man Remember”—the inescapable way to death—here the sea is that *telos* manifest, equally inevitable as it is promulgated by the jealous wrath of divine providence. The pain and suffering of the end *has arrived*, and the poet describes it in all its present horrors.

The second half of stanza three is perhaps most revealing of the poet’s time and space: he is steeped in the Andalusí tradition of wine poetry yet disillusioned by the *aporia* of his wandering and exile. To this end, Ibn Ezra incorporates wine imagery such that the violent sea turns to “foaming wine” (יין חמר)—what seems to be a correlation to the frothing sea. Thus, the departure of forced exile is a journey at sea, where still sweet wine becomes tainted with brackish sea water. What’s more, this wine does not enliven the travelers’ spirits but confounds him and will “hasten their sleep / which will last forever” ‘לעדי-עד שנתו / ממהר תנומתו’ (Cole 135; *HaShira* 407). Andalusí wine, then, is recalled not in a moment of pleasurable nostalgia imploring the reader to join him in the quiet repose of a shaded garden. Rather, wine is painfully invoked as the garden lost, as the bitter and brackish waters which the raging sea has turned to froth, drowning its victim and hastening their eternal sleep. Sweet water, good Andalusí wine, has been forever tainted. Not only is the wine diluted, but it is rendered lethal. That is, “foaming wine,” the sea, leads to death. The poetic voice speaks of abandonment and laments not only the loss of the land of al-Andalus but those who have left him for greater things across the sea—he mourns the loss of the men of letters and learning that made Iberia home. However, whereas Decker interprets nostalgia for the nectar of the garden’s vine as

a lament for lost Andalusí culture, here, it seems, exile's flight across the sea (imagined or otherwise) has rendered even its poetic memory undrinkable.

In his sea poetry, Ibn Ezra bemoans his suffering and loss in the Christian north as an exile wandering among brutes and the cresting waves of his verse serve only to mimic and mock the heart's pain. For Judah Halevi, that same pain is a path to a greater hope. Halevi embraces even the bewilderment of that same loss and wandering as carrying within it the potential for a cathartic moment of self-awareness, a productive state that stirs in him the desire to search for salvation. Consequently, that same space of which is for Moses Ibn Ezra like bitter wormwood, for Judah Halevi becomes a multivalent medium for the complexity and compunction of the poet's voice—the sea and the sea voyage brings both pain and pleasure; it is both poison and cure. As such, the maritime voyage for Halevi appears purgative or cathartic, because the one who travels is purged of his hubristic pretense of knowledge in order to recognize his ignorance. And it is here that the reader encounters the poetry of Judah Halevi.²⁹

Judah Halevi

²⁹ Though I do not contend Judah Halevi consciously writes with the Neo-Platonic notion of philosophical *aporia* in mind, here the poet essentially presents the sea as an aporetic space. Though for Plato, *aporia* was a cognate for mental confusion, bewilderment, or helplessness, an ontological space clearly reflected in these poets' use of the sea trope, this does not appear to be the end state for said philosopher—it is only the beginning. The successful philosopher will not only reach *aporia* but begin his search for knowledge once it is reached. Thus, it is not surprising to find that in the *Sophist*, this kind of *aporia* is purgative or cathartic, because the interlocutor is supposed to be purged of his hubristic pretense of knowledge and to come to recognize his ignorance (Politis 88). Whereas Politis presents Aristotle's necessity of *engaging aporiai* or *solving riddles*, Andrea Nightingale demonstrates that "Socrates clearly links *aporia* with the awareness of his own ignorance" such that one could define Socratic *aporia* as "the combination of the lack of expert knowledge and the *self-knowing awareness of this lack*" (15). That is, *aporia* is not ignorance pure and simple. Rather, "*aporia* includes the awareness that one is stuck or lost. A person who is not aware of being lost – not aware that he is mistaken or ignorant about something – is not in a state of *aporia*. He is simply lost or ignorant" (15). Furthermore, "the move from ignorance to *aporia* constitutes significant ethical improvement" (16).

Judah Halevi was “an unrivaled master of Hebrew and its prosody” and the if not the most famous, the most revered among medieval poets (Cole 143). Though he is perhaps most lauded for his poetry, *Kitāb al Khazari: Kitāb al-rad ya-l-dalil fi al-din al-dhalil* (The Book of the Kuzari: Defense of a Despised Faith), written in Arabic, was one of the most widely read prose works in that period.³⁰ Here, representatives from the three Abrahamic faiths (Judaism, Islam and Christianity) as well as a philosopher are gathered to present and defend their beliefs. Perhaps not unsurprisingly, the king and arbiter of the debate concludes that the rabbi has the most convincing argument. Though the subtitle of the work betrays the text as an apology for the tenets of Jewish faith, as a text of Iberian Jewish philosophy, it engages the complex relationship between theology and philosophy during the period, and reveals the techniques philosophers and/or theologians employed either reconcile or distinguish the two. Halevi was not only aware of similar discussions concerning Islamic theology, Aristotelianism (*falsāfa*) and mysticism in the North African and Iberian Muslim philosophical community, but having himself written philosophical and theological treatises in Arabic, he was not only familiar with, but indebted to the work of Ibn Sina, al-Ghazālī, and perhaps even Ibn Tufayl’s *Hayy Ibn Yaqzān* (Chapter 2).

Scholars have long debated the precise date of Halevi’s birth. If he were born in 1075, as most suggest, he would have been just fifteen years of age at the time of the Almoravid conquest of Granada, and yet have already made a name for himself as a rising star amongst the poetic elite of Muslim Spain.³¹ The matter of his place of birth is

³⁰ Ar. الكتاب الخزري: كتاب الرد و الدليل في الدين الذليل

³¹ Ann Brener suggests in *Judah Halevi and His Circle of Hebrew Poets in Granada* it is more reasonable to assume that his fame convincingly places his birth several years before the commonly cited date of 1075.

not much simpler. It was long thought that he was born in Toledo, conquered by Alfonso VI in 1085, but Hayyim Schirmann demonstrates that the proof text for that view (*Kitāb al-muhādara*) had been corrupted by scribal error (*Compunctious* 197).³² Subsequently, scholars such as Ross Brann have suggested the poet hailed from the city of Tudela in Navarre, concluding this to be the correct reading of the city about which Ibn Ezra writes concerning the birth of both Judah Halevi and Abraham Ibn Ezra.³³ But as Brener suggests, it is difficult to take that statement at face value given that Tudela was in Muslim hands until 1115 and Halevi quite clearly hails from Christian lands. As such, I concur with Ezra Fleischer's suggestions that until more information becomes available, we must resign ourselves to the vague conclusion that Halevi was born, or at least raised, in the Christian north.

After a series of remarkable epistolary exchanges that thoroughly impressed the great grenadine poet, Moses Ibn Ezra, Halevi was invited to Granada to join an elite circle of poets. As his letters to Moses Ibn Ezra reveal, his voyage to al-Andalus became an intellectual journey, and a rite of passage.³⁴ Using the language of pilgrimage, Halevi describes his journey not to Jerusalem but to the Muslim kingdom of Granada. As Brener points out, "in the context of his letter, Halevi's 'holy place' is Muslim Spain, the acknowledged center of Hebrew creativity and intellectual life" (31).³⁵ Not long after his arrival he became a celebrity amongst the elite scholars and poets of Andalusian Jewish society. As Brann writes, he surpassed all expectations as he grew to maturity, as a poet

Our poet certainly was a prodigy, for we are privy to an exquisite poem he penned before he had reached the age of twenty-four, at least if the letter of the text is to be trusted. (See Gabriel Levin).

³² See Hayyim Schirmann, "Where Was Judah Halevi Born?"

³³ See Moses Ibn Ezra, *Kitāb al-muhādara* 79, 42^a-43^b

³⁴ *Shalom rav / ve-yeshah' yikrav* (See Brener 29, footnote, 3)

³⁵ Halevi conveys a sense of moving west towards Granada even though he is moving to the south. This will be altered in his maturity as he realizes the folly of his southward jaunt and heads to the true east across the middle sea.

whose brilliance captured the imagination of his colleagues and won their envious acclaim (Brann 85).³⁶ Like many courtier-rabbis of his time, with his prestige came influence, and by mid-life he was given a post of honor as court physician and regarded as a respected leader in the community.³⁷ A letter dated to 1130 and written to an Egyptian Jew who was about to meet with Halevi, refers to our poet as “the quintessence and embodiment of our country [*jumlat biladina wa-ma ’naha*], our glory and leader, the illustrious scholar and unique and perfect devotee, R. Judah the son of al-Levi, may his Rock keep him” (Goitein, “Judaean-arabic Letters” 341-43).³⁸ Halevi had arrived.³⁹

His time in al-Andalus would be abruptly cut short, however, during the political turmoil unleashed on the peninsula during the same Almoravid rule which displaced his friend Ibn Ezra. For Halevi, his poetry of the period presents this (constructs) a moment of “conversion,” in which the poet turns away from Andalusian culture towards a stricter Jewish piety. Brann, however, suggests a connection between Iberia’s political instability and the poet’s theological misgivings. As we have already mentioned, the turn of the twelfth century was a period of great religious and political turmoil which, “threatened to shake the very foundations of Andalusian Jewish life” (Brann 87). And in his estimation:

³⁶ See Brann, *The Compunctious Poet* 85

³⁷ I speak here in general terms of the courtier-rabbi culture and the broader Andalusian Jewish community. Though Ann Brener convincingly argues for a “Granada period” in the poet’s life, Granada was certainly not the only city in which the poet worked and lived within the Muslim south. We know for example that Halevi spent considerable time with Judah Ibn Ghayyat in Lucena. See “First Contacts with Judah Ibn Ghayyat” in Brener.

³⁸ See S.D. Goitein, “Judaean-arabic Letters from Spain,” in *Orientalia Hispanica: sive studia F.M. Pareja octogenario dicata*, 341-43. See also, *The Compunctious Poet* 85.

³⁹ According to many sources, however, Halevi was considered a “foreigner” and “outsider.” Poet, scholar and friend of Judah Halevi, Judah Ibn Ghiyath greets Halevi as a “foreigner.” See Heinrich Brody, *Mivhar ha-shira ha-ivrit*, 190, l. 36. Halevi refers to himself as “the immigrant from Christendom” in one of his letters to Ibn Ezra (Shraga Abramson 404-5; and Ezra Fleischer 898-99) and in some of his poems (Brody and Habermann 1:20, l. 42; and Dov Jarden 1:57-63). See also Brann, “Judah Halevi” 268. Like Ibn Ezra, Halevi he would also travel (return) to the Christian north before he made his final departure from the Iberian Peninsula. In fact, quite a few trips between Muslim and Christian Spain have been documented revealing that the political, linguistic and cultural boundaries separating the north and south were more permeable and fluid than is generally supposed. See “Judah Halevi” 267.

The traditional Andalusí ideals of nobility, elegance, learning, and piety had yet to lose their power. But Aristotelian philosophy, public messianic speculation and activity, and migration to the courts of Christian Spain seemed to promise new ways of alleviating the anxiety brought by the Reconquista (Toledo, 1085), the Almoravid Berber invasion (1086), and occupation of al-Andalus (1090). Halevi's national and religious sensibilities are thought to have been deeply touched by these developments, and his spiritual odyssey is seen as his response to the socioreligious crisis that ensued. (87)

Moreover, in Halevi's poem "My heart is in the East" 'לבי במזרח' we are reminded that the poet no longer appears to view Muslim Spain as the center of Jewish culture (Cole 451; Brody. *Selected Poems of Jehudah Halevi* 2).⁴⁰ In fact, both Brann and Scheindlin suggest that Halevi's disillusionment at the corrupting nature of Greek wisdom and Arabic letters reveals in his later poetry a displacement of the center to the East. However, this is not the "east" of his earlier poems which alluded to the Iberian Christian north. Nor does it concern Muslim centers of learning in Arabia, Baghdad or Persia, as it does for Ibn Tufayl and his search for *al-hikma al-mushriqiyya*, "Oriental" wisdom (Chapter 2).⁴¹ Moreover, though he looks geographically east, it is not philosophical knowledge or *falsāfa* he pursues; he seeks salvation, and it is found on the shores of the Mediterranean in the holy shrine of Jerusalem. In the end, Halevi would be forced to

⁴⁰ See Brann, "Judah Haveli" in *The Literature of Al-Andalus* 272.

⁴¹ Like many Iberian Jewish and Islamic scholars of his day, he denounced "Greek wisdom" and Andalusí society's attachment to *al-arabiyya* (Arabism) and its corresponding *adab* (refined culture). Unlike Ibn Tufayl who explicitly attempts to reconcile Neo-Platonism and Islamic theology in *Hayy Ibn Yaqzān*, in the *The Kuzari*, Halevi rejects the influence of Greek philosophy (at least in theory), instead committing to what we might call *al-ibraniyya* (Hebraism). Importantly for our purposes, this led him to what Aharon Komem calls a "mystical rebirth" that changed his approach to the poetic craft. See Komem, "Between Poetry and Prophecy". In particular, Halevi's sea poems became a means through which he (and the reader) imagines pilgrimage and the spiritual journey.

choose between the perils of his beloved Sefarad and that of the sea; he would choose the latter and exile. Thus, whereas Ibn Ezra conceives of the pain of exile as a lament of one having been abandoned, Judah Halevi writes of his abandoning al-Andalus and his journey across the sea in search of hope and salvation. Consequently, not only was there a change in the poet's perception of, and participation in, Andalusian culture, but there was marked change (albeit incomplete) in the form and structure of Halevi's poetry. Believing his transformation to be complete and comprehensive, at one point Judah Halevi asserts he will never again write poetry.⁴² This of course was not to be the case, but the poet did adjust his form and style in terms of both convention and wit. As Yahalom reminds us, "he sought...to discard the monorhymed in favor of the strophic poem" (108). This can be seen masterfully in one of his sea poems of this new period, "He Counsels and Completes" 'יועץ ומקים' (Yahalom 112; *HaShira* 507).⁴³ Here he divides the verse-unit into four hemistiches, each consisting of exactly four syllables. He also builds the poem on parallel structure. The result, as Joseph Yahalom points out, is a "swift inner rhythm that matched both the tempest and the poundings of the heart" (109).

המו גלים / כרוץ גלגלים

ועבים וקלים / על פני הים

קדרו שמיו / ויחמרו מימיו

ועלו תהומיו / ונשאו דכים

וסיר ירתיח / וקול יצריח

⁴² His conversion was never complete, however. As many scholars have pointed out, Halevi's poems which denounce the Andalusian literary style employ none other than the Arabic quantitative prosody he so eloquently condemned in works such as *The Kuzari*. This, according to Ross Brann, is what makes him a compunctious poet: it is an emblem of a strained cultural ambiguity and ambivalence towards poetry; a precarious conflict between theory and praxis which lead to contradiction in literary, social, and religious commitments.

⁴³ Yahalom contends that this poem was possibly written as soon as Halevi had disembarked in Alexandria from Spain, while the journey was still fresh in his mind.

ואין משביח / להמון קשים (*HaShira* 507)

Waves whirling
tops whipping
clouds swift
over the sea.
Sky dims,
water spumes,
the deep brims
over and raises their tide
like a pot boiling
and a voice shouting
no one appeasing
the rough waters. (Yahalom 112)⁴⁴

Though Halevi's speaks of a very personal journey, the space of the voyage and the wanderer in that space are not by any means culturally privileged or set apart. That is, the sea is not a place reserved for the elite, refined, or even educated. And though the sea swarm with the masses (princes and paupers, dignitaries and degenerates) whose paths inevitably crisscross, intersect, and overlap, most importantly, in Halevi's verse it becomes a path of pilgrimage; the space across which the devout and pious must pass in order to atone for their sins and reach the shores of salvation. But the opposite shore is yet far off, perhaps unreachable. It is the liminal and intermediary maritime space of pilgrimage (wandering) that consumes both his prose and verse in this "conversion

⁴⁴ For an in depth interpretation and parsing of this poem, see See Yahalom, 112. Also, compare the notion of the "pot boiling" to al-Harizi, *Sefer Tahkemoni*, Gate 38, in which "the sea was turned into a seething pot" 'ונהפכו לנו לאויבים גלי המים' (Reichert 236; *Tahkemoni* 306).

period.” The anxiety of his exile (self-willed or otherwise) testifies to the sea as a space of confusion not order, travail not ease.

Halevi not only turns away from the closed space of the Andalusí garden, but opens his poetry and world up to the possibilities of the wider Mediterranean space. What is more, the wine/garden poem’s focus on spring reveals the poet’s consciousness that “all beauty will vanish, everything is headed towards destruction; spring arose out of winter and will return to winter just as day and night pursue each other in everlasting alternation” (Scheidlin 26).⁴⁵ Inherent in this loop is also the eventual rebirth of life from the throws of winter’s death; there is always the hope of rebirth. What we see here is a commentary on the vicissitudes of time. However, like his friend Ibn Ezra, in his sea poetry there is no recurring loop—all ends in destruction. And though Halevi’s sea poetry may have been composed with a similar delicacy of craft, the images he displays are in stark and at times violent contrast to the safety of the confined garden space. The garden setting for wine parties was enclosed both physically and culturally. That is, it was behind the walls of private buildings creating a privileged space for an elite class of that culture/city’s inhabitants. The sea space, as represented in Halevi’s poems, deconstructs both aspects of this structured garden as protected space. The seafarer in his verses wanders in an open untamed and unpredictable aqueous wilderness. Unlike the sea as ahistorical metaphor in the verse of Moses ibn Ezra, and the artificiality of nature found in Judeo-Andalusí garden poetry in general, Halevi’s sea poems convey simultaneously a sense of the “real” or historical experience within the maritime space. It is a wild and untamed natural scape beyond the control of man’s agency, where those who venture past the breakers become subject to the whim and will of both winds and waves. Furthermore,

⁴⁵ See Scheindlin, *Wine, Women, and Death* 26.

it becomes for the poet an imagined space of existential *aporia*, of loss and separation. But it is simultaneously for Halevi a space of hope in salvation, of unity with the divine. Thus, this maritime space is itself emblematic of the compunction and problematic ambivalence of Halevi's verse to a culture in transition. Whereas Ibn Ezra's *telos* of a return to the Andalus garden (as metaphor) is an impossible one, Halevi's conflicted loathing and longing of this same space *in time* ultimately reveals his pragmatic denial of this geographic return as an essential component to the realization of his arrival on the shores of Palestine, which is itself a return of another kind; it is a personal return to devout spirituality and piety, where his individual return is emblematic of eschatological longing: a longing for Israel's communal return to the Promised Land.

“If Only I Could Give” ‘מי יתנני כפר’ is a panegyric *muwashshah* (strophic poem) with a *kharja* (Cole 147; *DJH* 89)⁴⁶ Here Time, similar to what is seen in the verse of Ibn Ezra, despises the poet and forces him unwillingly to depart.⁴⁷ Leaving causes the poet great sadness which is expressed through poetic hyperbole and maritime imagery. What is fascinating for our purposes, is that the compunction and ambiguity of the poet as he contemplates his nearing and perhaps inevitable departure from Iberia, is his use of maritime images to convey the sadness of separation. Moreover, the section of the poem which is so charged with sea imagery is the only one in which specific references to land are present. The textual juxtaposition of land and sea, and the complexity of their

⁴⁶ See Tova Rosen, “The *muwashshah*” in *The Literature of Al-Andalus* 166-189.

⁴⁷ Time (*al-zaman*, Ar: زمان He: זמן) is a central theme in early Arabic elegiac poetry and remained common to both Arabic poetry in the Islamic era as well as Medieval Hebrew poetry. Arie Schippers notes that Time is closely related to the notion of the inevitability of fate, what he calls part of the consolation motif: “every human being has to face his Time of Death inevitability, every living being is bound to die” (260). Other common related notion of Time are the unpredictability of Fortune (*rayb al-zaman*) and the vicissitudes of Time, general expressed as the ‘daughter of Time.’

associated metaphors, creates an atmosphere of tension and anxiety which anticipates not only Halevi's departure, but the path of his pilgrimage.

From the very beginning of this *muwashshaha*, we are before a series of conventions: the motif of *ubi sunt* is dressed in the tradition of Arabic wine poetry and conveyed in the images of an Andalusian garden.⁴⁸ In the gardens of his past we find the familiar fawn, a synecdoche for the beloved in both Arabic and Judeo-Andalusian poetry.

מי יתנני / כפר לעפר ישקני

צופי וייני / מבין שני שפתות שני

(DJH 89) את-שעשועי / אזכר וטוב ירחי קדם

If only I could give

myself in ransom for that fawn

who served me honey wine

between two scarlet lips...

I think of all that pleasure

the best of months gone by (Cole 147)

Here the beloved is al-Andalus and the wine it serves is its rich and vibrant culture, such that his circle of poets and the intellectual elite of his time become the cups from which he imbibes: "my chalice was his mouth" 'מפיו גביעי' (Cole 148; DJH 90). But Halevi transitions from the sweet reminiscence of his youth to the sorrow of his imminent departure. This transition, both poetically and literally, appears to be depicted in the lines which end the opening sequence: "I drained its ruby dry" 'אמצה בדולה עם אדם' (148; 90).

That is, the poet remembers a past time and place fondly, where "love's hand brought us

⁴⁸ Using the Hebrew verb *to give* (יתנני), Cole asserts that the first verse of the poem is an allusion to Job 29: 2: "Oh that I were as in the months of old" 'מי-יתנני כירחי-קדם' (Cole 147; DJH 89). Again, it is not so much the place, as it is the people he will abandon.

near / and never did me harm” ‘אליו ולא תחטיאני’ but in the end he realizes it offered him only temporary pleasure of finite capacity, incapable of fulfilling his desires (148; 90). As such, this poem resonates with the complexity and ambiguity of painful loss and passionate longing. With a renewed sense of piety and religious devotion, the poet now rejects the shallow advances of the garden fawn, but yet weeps at the thought of his departure and separation.

ים סוף ידידי / מול ים דמעי כצות
כי על-כבדי / עיני בלי רהמניות
מיום צעדי / דרכו ארצות נכריות
עוני בעיני / יתן לפני ים שני
(DJH 90) פן ישטפני / אפחד, ואין מי ימשני

The Red Sea, my friends,
was parched beside my weeping,
and for my heart, my eyes
had not the least compassion,
from the day my footsteps
fell on foreign soil . . .
Sorrow in my eye
formed a second sea—
I feared that it would drown me
and no one pull me free. (Cole 148)

With intentional hyperbole, Halevi equates the measure of his tears before the prospect of departure to the depths of the sea. He asserts that his sorrow and the lacrimal torrent that

follows would overflow the boundaries set by the shore. The sea to which Halevi compares his tears provides the reader with a powerful biblical image. The Red Sea or Sea of Reeds (יַם סוּף) is the legendary body of water crossed by the nation of Israel as they fled from Pharaoh's pursuing armies in Exodus. The reference is a clear one, and one which links Halevi's individual journey across the Mediterranean Sea to that of the communal pilgrimage of Israel out of the desert and into the Promised Land. Like the ancient people of Israel, or Moses, Judah Halevi will travel across a perilous sea trusting only in the Lord to deliver him. Yet there is a complexity and emotional ambivalence to Halevi's departure which distinguishes it from the communal suffering of Israel as they transition from bondage to freedom. In the Exodus story, the crossing of the Sea of Reeds is a triumphant one, and cause for great celebration.⁴⁹ In Halevi's poem the impending moment of passage is bittersweet. Though a renewed sense of spiritual piety and religious devotion compel him to flee the land of Sefarad, he nevertheless weeps bitterly at his departure and the thought of loss; though he rejects it, Halevi's heart remains enamored by the enticing aroma of the Andalusian garden and the sweetness of its wine. His poetic persona leaves not the fetters of slavery binding him to the barren expanse of the desert, but rather the intellectual freedom of fertile and fruit-bearing wine gardens inhabited by great men of learning and culture.

Continuing the poem's imaginative hyperbole, the last four verses of this hemistich begin with the creation of another sea. The poet's tears are so great and flow so

⁴⁹ Though jubilation was demonstrated initially, after many years of wandering hungry and thirsty through the desert, the Exodus account (and later narratives in the *Book of Deuteronomy*) suggests that the Hebrews were so disappointed with how things had turned out that they began to express a willingness to return to Egypt where, though they would be slaves, at least they would have food to eat. Thus, the author(s) portray the people's anger toward Moses and grumblings toward God, manifest in their increasing belief that (perhaps) the LORD had purposefully led them into the desert to kill them. See for example, the *Book of Exodus* 16:1-3.

assiduously that his sorrow forms “a second sea” ‘ים שני’ that threatens his life, thus turning sorrow to fear: “I feared that it would drown me” ‘פן ישטפני / אפחד’ (148; 90). Drawing from his imagination or perhaps experience with the power and peril of the sea, the poet reveals the trauma and intensity of his emotions. Like a child who sobs uncontrollably when separated from his mother, chest heaving with the intensity of his longing, gasping desperately for air, so weeps the poet in the passion of his distress; he is drowning in his sorrow, he cannot breathe. Importantly, however, it appears that his suffering is (in part) self-inflicted. Is it not the poet’s tears which create the sea that in turn threaten his life? Indeed, the poet tells us: “the blame then is mine” ‘עשק...עלי המםי’ a reference poetically to his tears, but also to his culpability for pursuing the desires of his youth (148; 90). But, regardless of the cause of his suffering, the poet desires to be pulled free (ימשני) from the grip of the sea and saved from an untimely death. The Hebrew word used to convey this saving action evokes Psalm 18:17 which describes in maritime terms how the Lord rescues the psalmist from his pain and suffering: “He drew me out of many waters” ‘ימשני ממים רבים’ (Translation mine). Moreover, the fear Halevi is experiencing is perhaps not entirely a metaphorical anxiety caused by looking backwards. Another short poem entitled “My Soul Longed” ‘יום נכספה נפשי’ which expresses his longing for Jerusalem, is marked with a sense of fear as the poetic persona looks forward into and onto the path of his voyage Cole 167; *HaShira* 501). The poet writes, “My soul longed for the house of assembly / and trembled as fear of leaving came through me” ‘יום נכספה, יום נכספה, / נפשי לבית הועד / ויאחזני לנדודים רעד’ (167; 501).⁵⁰

This image of assembly in distant lands resonates with another of Halevi’s poems, “Heart at Sea,” also known as “Are you chasing youth past fifty” ‘התרדף נערות אחד המשים,’

⁵⁰ Compare *Exodus* 15:15.

a non-liturgical poem based on Psalm 107 in which the psalmist describes the gathering of the exiles from far off lands (Cole 165; *DJH* 160). In particular, verses 23-32 speak of those who went off to sea in ships, where they experienced the Lord's power in action, as he both stirred and quieted the sea, bringing the exiles safely to harbor. Halevi's poem speaks of this same power and this same space, and the anticipation of a journey onto and across the open sea.⁵¹ Much of the poem is devoted to a detailed description of the sea as a tempest enveloping the wandering sailor and floundering ship. And though the scene is contextualized by the poet's moral and spiritual struggle, here the sea is revealed as a space of both *aporia* and catharsis for the poet pilgrim. As such, in the midst of the voyage, the sea becomes simultaneously the path which leads the poet exile into a liminal space of wandering and loss, as well as a path of testing and purification on the poet pilgrim's journey to salvation and union with the divine. But first, the poem begins with a question of compunction and piety:

התרדף נערות אחד חמשים

וימיך להתעופף חמשים

ותברח מעבדת האלהים

ותכסף אל עבדת האנשים (*DJH* 160)

Are you still chasing youth past fifty,

Your days about to take wing—

as you turn from the service of God

and yearn for the service of men? (Cole 165)

⁵¹ At first glance, this sea poem seems to depict an historical journey possibly experienced by Judah Halevi after departing the shores of al-Andalus *en route* to Jerusalem. However, scholars have generally dated this poem to the period prior to Halevi's departure around 1139, a period in which the poet composed a series of poems expressing the anxiety of anticipation and his preparation for a coming voyage: "My heart is in the east," "How long will you lie" and "Won't you ask Zion," to name only a few (Cole 451).

After the spiritual dilemma is established, the familiar rebuking of anachronistic and idolatrous desire and the questioning of one's devotion, we are confronted with the impending journey: "Slow to prepare for your journey, / would you sell your share for stew?" 'ותעצל להצמיד לדרכך / ותמכר הלקך בנוזיך עדשים' (Cole 165; *DJH* 161).⁵² The rhetorical question presented in the opening verses are followed here by another. But, though it does not require an answer, it demands action. Here the dichotomy of yearning for God and yearning for men is given geographical significance. It suggests that the spiritual posture of turning from God and chasing the pleasures of youth is attached to place.⁵³ As such, the poetic voice expresses in spatial terms the act of turning towards God and rejecting the counsel of men. More specifically, seeking God's counsel and appeasing the Creator are intimately connected to the journey at sea.

Nearly half of the poem is devoted to the description of a storm-tossed sea. Dramatic in its content, it relates a ship floundering at sea; the vessel precariously rides the rising and falling waves, mounting it like a lion and descending like a snake. As the narrator focuses in on the ship and the power of the sea, we find that at the wind's mercy, cedar is like straw, cypress is like a reed, and iron is like hay; mast snaps, ballast sway, and "bodies give up their souls" 'ויקצו הגויות בנפשים' (Cole 166; *DJH* 162). The physical voyage is indeed a perilous one that strikes fear into those who venture over the deep and causes many to lose their lives.

וימומו וינומו קלעים

⁵² The slowness with which he prepares for his journey is likened to the impatience of Esau who sold his inheritance to his brother Jacob for a bowl of soup. (*Genesis* 25:27-34) That is, the heart that delays is for the Halevi an unfocused and undevoted heart that still yearns for the immediacy of physical desires. It stands in contrast to the patient disposition, which delights in the delayed gratification of a promise fulfilled. That is, the image contrasts the desire for reward in this life and a desire for reward in this next.

⁵³ See also the connection between the poet's "perverted past" and the place of "toil" found in his letter to R. Habib (Y. Ratshabi 271).

וינועו ויזועו קרשים
ויד רוח מצחקת במימ
כנשאי העמרים בדישים
ופעם תעשה מהם גרנות
ופעם תעשה מהם גדישים
בעת התגברם דמו נחשים
ועת החלשם דמו נחשים
וראשונים דלקום אחרונים
כצפענים ואין להם לחשים
וצי אדיר כקט יפל באדיר
והתרן והנם נהלשים
והתבה וקניה נבכים
כתחתים שנים כשלשים
ומשכי החבלים בהבלים
ונשים ואנשים נאנשים
ורוח חבלה מחבליהם
וקצו הגויות בנפשים
ואין יתרון לחזק התרנים
ואין חמדה לתחבלת ישישיים
ונחשבו לקש תרני ארזים
ונהפכו לקנים הברושים
ונטל חול בגב הים כתבן
וברזלי אדנים כחששים (DJH 161-62)

as sails flap and flutter
and the planks move swiftly along,
and the winds toy with the water,
like threshers of wheat and straw.

Now they flatten it out—
now it's raised in heaps.

Mounting it looks like a lion;
receding it writhes like snakes.

Without the charmers the latter
pursues the former and kills;
and the ship nearly topples
with weakening masts and sails.

Decks and compartments rattle,
stacked within the hull.

Men pull at the ropes
in pain, while others are ill.

Sailors are wounded by wind;
bodies give up their souls.

The mast's might is useless,
the veteran's wiles as well.

The cedar poles are like straw;
the cypress snaps like a reed.

Ballast of iron and sand

is tossed about like hay (Cole 166)

The depiction of travail at sea is vivid and compelling. Both man and ship have become helpless before the might of the wind and waves—images we will encounter again in Chapter 4, in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* written some 150 years later. Stout men, like strong cedar, are overwhelmed, and the tricks of the trade prove useless in the hands of even the most experienced seamen—the ship is sinking and men are dying. But even in the midst of this terror—or perhaps in anticipation of it—the poet paints this path as a refuge. This unexpected juxtaposition is expressed in the first verse that opens this violent tempest scene. And there is no turning back: “the ocean alone is your refuge / you have nowhere to turn” ‘ואקיננס לפניך למנוס / ואין מברח לך כי אם יקושים’ (Cole 165; *DJH* 161).

It is possible to read this verse ironically, such that the storm-tossed sea as refuge is offered in a mocking tone; that is, if the tempestuous sea is your refuge, you have no refuge at all. However, Halevi’s craft seems to call for greater depth of insight, and in my view, here he reveals the *realia* and metaphorical multi-valence of the maritime space for those living in the medieval Mediterranean: perilous for all who venture across its surface, it is a force of separation, yet for the heart that survives the pounding surge, it provides the hope of union, restoration and perhaps salvation. However, like the maritime space across which King Apolonio travels in the *Libro de Apolonio* (Chapter 3), the stormy sea as a refuge for this poet comes into clearer focus only if the travails of one’s travels are necessary for achieving some greater end, a higher *telos* that requires the crossing.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ Whereas in the *Libro de Apolonio*, that greater end appears to be knowledge and wisdom (Chapter 3), for Halevi the ultimate goal is salvation and redemption. As we shall see, Ibn Tufayl attempts to reconcile the two in *Hayy Ibn Yaqzān* (Chapter 2), and both are almost completely drowned out by Alfonso X in the

The command in verse eleven which exhorts the reader to “leave its counsel for God’s” ‘נטה מעל עצתה אל עצת אל’ is interrupted by what appears to be a subordinated clausal series of internal and moral ways in which the poet can turn towards the divine (165; 161). When the poetic voice returns to the primary clause, we are immediately confronted with the maritime journey: “your heart at sea won’t fail” ‘ואל ימוט בלב ימים’ ‘לבבל,’ thus connecting the poet’s spiritual leaving to a physical departure onto and across the sea (165; 161). By verse nineteen, the spiritual and physical journeys have converged into parallel course. To achieve this, the images of *heart* and *sea* are of utmost importance. As Hamori points out, the first mention of the heart is in a moral sense: “but don’t let your heart deceive you” ‘ואל תדרש בלב ולב רצונו’ (165; 161). It is then naturalized in verse seventy-two when the seafarer is found “in the heart of the sea” ‘בלב הים’ (166; 163). The poem, and the poet’s success, hinges on this moment, when the moral heart enters the natural space: the *heart at sea*. As Hamori asserts, the word “heart” (לב) links the moral world with the physical, revealing the *paysage moralisé* (80). The multivalence of this image creates a complex poetic expression of the allure of physical pleasures, devotion to God, and the pain of purification on the path to union with the divine. Most importantly, as we find in both *Hayy Ibn Yaqzān* (Chapter 2) and the *Libro de Apolonio* (Chapter 3), it points to the moral journey’s demand for a physical one.

Thus, the poetic voice exhorts himself to leave that spiritual space of ceaseless wanting for trust in the counsel of God, however perilous the path of his departure and deliverance may seem.⁵⁵ The sea voyage, and the maritime space, becomes more than

Cantigas de Santa María and the imperial pretensions manifest in the Marian maritime miracles of the Cycle of Santa María do Porto (Chapter 4).

⁵⁵ הלא אמרה לך עוד נפשך הון
ותאותה תבכר לחדשים

metaphor and allegory; it becomes for the departing pilgrim a physical and necessary step in the literal and spiritual movement towards the divine. It is more than just a departure, however. The poet's verse seems to suggest that one must travel in order to suffer the pain of purification that enables the heart to emerge pure and worthy to receive the blessing of divine union.

Echoing this calling, the poem transitions into the physical journey and crossing of the sea. In this light, the storm performs multiple tasks. As with the sea poetry of Ibn Ezra, the tempest at sea reflects the turmoil of exile and the pain of separation. The poet is to wander, helpless in the midst of a raging ocean without agency; his only hope is in the mercy and will of a seemingly silent divinity. But unlike Ibn Ezra, Halevi will choose this path of pain and suffering; he chooses to wander in the liminal space of exile between origin and destination. Even still, the pain he suffers at the power of the sea is no different. Rather, for the poetic voice of Halevi's verse, it simply holds another possibility—the desire is not to return, but to arrive. And to arrive at one shore, he must be willing to lose sight of another. Thus, that same aporetic space of wandering, loss, and separation, holds in its briny grip the hope of arrival, restoration, and union. As such, the maritime voyage, as parallel to the spiritual journey of the poet pilgrim who sails its

נטה מעל עצתה אל עצת אל
וסור מעל חמשת הרגשים (DJH 161)

Hasn't your soul been sated
with wanting that's always renewed?
Leave its counsel for God's—
And from your senses keep far (Cole 165)

One notes in verse twelve a neo-platonic rejection of the experiential knowledge of the lower physical world. The inner poetic voice cautions the poet to avoid all knowledge gained from the experience and knowledge of his senses.

depths, doubles as a space where the roaring sea purges the heart, purifying it and preparing it for union with the divine. This can be found in the poem's concluding verses.

The scene that follows the storm at sea employs a familiar near eastern trope, found in Jewish and Christian biblical narratives and the *maqamat* of both Hamadhani and al-Harizi.⁵⁶ As the storm rages and all seems lost, the poet tells of how those on board call upon the angels of the sea.⁵⁷ Yet the poetic voice makes a point to invoke specifically the God of the Jewish nation:

ועם יתפללו כל-איש לקדשו

ואת פנה לקדש הקדשים

ותזכר מפלאות ים-סוף וירדן

אשר על-כל-לבבות הם חרושים (DJH 162)

And all pray in their way—

but you turn to the Lord,

remembering how He parted

the Jordan and Moses' Sea (Cole 166)

This is a clear transition from the hesitant soul of the opening verses. In the midst of the storm, the poet appears to turn unflinchingly to his God. In the heart of the sea, amidst the swelling surf, Halevi reveals the faith of a storm-tested heart. It is now the purified soul

⁵⁶ The story of Jonah is one of many likely sources of Halevi's imagery; while at sea, the Hebrew Scriptures tell us that "the LORD sent a great wind on the sea, and such a violent storm arose that the ship threatened to break up" (917). In the midst of rough seas, all the sailors are crying out to their gods while Jonah sleeps soundly. Jonah instructs the men to throw him overboard and when they do so, the seas calm. There are obvious possible sources in the *maqama* of Hamadhani, but it is possible that it is a shared source. That is, research is still required to look at possible Arabic sources and one cannot deny altogether the possibility of Christian sources. Many of the New Testament parables and stories themselves draw on "Old Testament" images and motifs. *Luke* 8:25 remarks about Jesus of Nazareth that he, "got up and rebuked the wind and the raging waters; the storm subsided, and all was calm" (1042). The concept of the calming of the sea in literature will be discussed at length concerning the rhymed prose of Judah al-Harizi.

⁵⁷ For a detailed description of this scene, see Rina Drory, "Al-Hariri's Maqamat: A Tricultural Literary Product"

that calls to God. Consequently, the wandering poet who entered the aporetic space of the open sea, now reimagines that once-filled space of terror and separation as a path of purification.⁵⁸ And as the poet turns to God, the waters grow still.⁵⁹

The process of purification can be seen more clearly in verses fifty-five through fifty-eight where the manner in which the roaring seas are calmed is equated directly to the cleansing process.

תשבה למשביה שאון ים

בעת שוגרשו מימיו רפשים

ותזכר-לו זנור לבות טמאים

ויזכר-לך זכות אבות קדשים (*DJH* 163)

extolling Him who stills

the waves that toss up mire—

recalling your purity's merit,

as He recalls your father's. (Cole 166)

Andras Hamori remarks that in this context, “the Biblical allusion in v[erse] 28 is not only a rhetorical device used to create a purely verbal mosaic of free and received phrases,” but it also reminds the reader of Isaiah 57: 20, where “the wicked are like the troubled sea, when it cannot rest, whose waters cast up mire and dirt” (76). But Halevi

⁵⁸ In the 43rd Gate of Judah al-Harizi's *Tahkemoni*, we experience a similar phenomenon. The sea, as character, describes the benefit of its treachery and violence on the traveler's spirit. To take to the sea implies spiritual devotion and growth, Sea claims. The seafarer becomes a man of piety and religiosity, led to prayer precisely because of the sea's terror, while land is a harbor of sin and deceit where men scheme to betray each other and their God (276). As such, the sea's attributes are presented as the reason men are led to God. Sea speaks: “He who...comes within my domain becomes pious again, because I am pious. As long as he dwells within me, he will make many prayers to God” ‘ והיוצא ממל ויבא בתוכי, ישוב חסיד כי חסיד אנכי. ’ (Reichert 278; *Tahkemoni* 335).

⁵⁹ Importantly, Halevi again invokes the image of the Sea of Reeds, as we saw in “If Only I Could Give.” Here, however, it is not employed as a hyperbolic comparison of his grief and mourning, but rather as an expression of remembrance, when God delivered his people from suffering through the path of the sea. Consequently, a great peace follows the storm as Nature emulates the pilgrim's passage: as the sea transitions from tempest to tranquility, so too the restless soul is now at ease.

transforms this image, Hamori contends: “The heart will come through; it will emerge pure from its tumults; the dross will be cast out” (76). As the pilgrim passes from stormy sea to calm waters, his heart passes from impure (זנות) to pure (זכות).⁶⁰ The cleansing of the heart is emulated by stillness in the natural surroundings, and the sea becomes silent. The space of suffering has become the path of purification and a path to restoration.

Halevi presents the reader with a beautiful depiction of a star-speckled heavenly canopy reflected in the now placid surface of the sea:

וכוכבים בלב הים נבכים
כגרים ממעוניהם זרושים
וכדמותם בצלמם יעשו אור
בלב הים כלהבות ואשים
פני מים ושמים עדי ים
עדי ליל מטהרים לטושים
וים דומה לרקיע בעינו
שניהם אז שני ימים חבושים
ובינותם לבבי ים שלישי
בשוא גלי שבחי החדשים (DJH 163)

Stars in the currents stray,

like exiles driven from homes;

their image is there in the light,

⁶⁰ Many scholars (Goldstein, Brann, and Hamori) read this as a play on words between *zekhot* (purity) and *zekhut* (merit). I agree, however, with Brody and Harkavy that it should be read as a contrast between *zenot* (harlotry) and *zekhut*. As such, a more accurate translation should read: *As you remind him of the harlotry of impure hearts, He reminds you of the merit of your forefathers*. Thus, the purity of his heart after the storm comes not from his own actions but from the merit of his forefathers imbued upon him out of the Lord’s remembrance of the covenant.

in the heart of the sea, ablaze,
 as the water's surface and sky
 shine like polished gems.
 The abyss looks like the heavens,
 the two great seas are bound—
 and my heart, a third, between them,
 pounds with waves of praise. (Cole 166)

The parallel structure of verse sixty-nine relates the stars (כוכבים) to exiles (גרים), literally, strangers deprived of their homes. Now like the exiles who travel, the stars move across the sky reflected in the currents of the sea (in motion). Verses sixty-nine and seventy combine neo-platonic and biblical imagery: the exiles in the sea are a reflection of their true forms, the celestial bodies that move through the heavens and whose internal movement causes movement here on earth (and they were put in motion by God). As Hamori writes, “What are these *gerim*, the stars straying in the heart of the sea, but souls straying in this lower world?”⁶¹ However, the most striking aspect of these verses is the presentation of three seas. The reader will recall that in the creation account of Genesis, both the heavens and the seas are considered waters (המים); God creates an expanse that separates the two, the sky or firmament.⁶² Here what exists between the two great seas

⁶¹ Hamori writes that “the comparison of reflected lights to wandering exiles hints...that the divine light that had shone in their forefathers will once again shine in the purified souls of the returning exiles” (81). Thus echoing the aforementioned contradiction and replacement of *zenot* for *zekhot*. In similar fashion, in the *Kuzari*, iii, 19, Halevi writes that Jews pray that the Shekhinah will once again be revealed as it was to the prophets. This is perhaps the union and “cosmic harmony” of which Hamori contends the final lines of the poem are metaphor. Thus, Halevi speaks not only of his own salvation, nor even of his arrival to the Promised Land, but of a collective return and reunion to and with the divine.

⁶² *Genesis* 1:6-8: “And God said: ‘Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it divide the waters from the waters.’ And God made the firmament, and divided the waters which were under the firmament from the waters which were above the firmament; and it was so. And God called the firmament Heaven. And there was evening and there was morning, a second day” (JPS 1917).

(bound together) is the heart of the exiled seafarer, the poet Halevi. The water of his verse is so calm and still that the sky is duplicated in its reflection: “The abyss looks like the heavens.”⁶³ The stars’ reflections, then, and the subsequent creation and unification of the three seas, becomes an expression of spiritual union. And despite the stars’ reflections which bathe the final scene in heavenly light, neither is the sea a path to enlightenment; it is a path to purification not illumination. And unlike the protagonist Hayy of Ibn Tufayl’s tale as I explore in Chapter 2, any images of restoration or reunion, whether personal or collective, are to be interpreted through the lens of Jewish salvation history, not as the ends of purely philosophical inquiry.⁶⁴ And in this stillness in which these three seas are bound together, the image shifts: no longer are the external waves pounding the ship, but rather the internal “waves of praise” pound as the poet sings to the Lord for his salvation. As the violent sea is stilled and the heavens are quieted, not only his heart at sea, but his heart as sea, is stirred with emotion; every beat of his heart is a pounding wave of laudatory praise for this deliverance. Importantly, this poetic union is achieved through the metaphoric usage of maritime imagery. In fact, union takes place (metaphorically) in this poem while the pilgrim is still on the sea. He has passed through the storm, but the maritime space is a multivalent signifier allowing for the poet to speak only of a spiritual arrival. It is a calm sea, but the open sea, nonetheless.

Perhaps what lies before us, using the terms we employed at the outset, is the sea as both aporetic and cathartic: terrifying and alienating, yet purifying and unifying. The

⁶³ *Sotah* 17a: “blue resembles the sea, and the sea resembles heaven, and heaven resembles the Divine throne” (*The Talmud of Babylonia: An American Translation, XVII. Tractate Sotah*) 120.

⁶⁴ Further expressions of restoration can be seen in the image of dry bones being given life, a reference to *Ezekiel* 37: 1-14. This is also seen the *Kuzari*, iii, II, where Halevi the moralist speaks of the tribulation and eventual deliverance of Israel. Though these “dry bones” are not given life directly from the water that is the medium of his crossing, the juxtaposition of dry and wet is inviting.

contrast is made between the different natures or temperaments of the sea: stormy versus calm. This is both physical and metaphorical; as the pilgrim emerges from the storm at sea, the calm waters provide for him an image of hope—a prolepsis of his arrival to the Promised Land which he envisions while yet still far off. The conclusion of the poem depicts the final step of the process towards union with the divine, but not the physical and terrestrial space of arrival. Importantly, the imagery of this anticipated union is expressed in maritime tropes whilst the sailor pilgrim is still at sea, not on land. Whereas Psalm 107 recalls the journey of the gathered exiles across the sea and safely into harbor, the sailor of Halevi's verse never reaches the shore. How, then, are catharsis and union achieved in the poem? Though a spiritual turning towards God demands a departure from land into the sea, the *telos* of the poet's journey requires no corresponding physical arrival. Rather the process of union, like the process of purification, is both imagined by the poet *in the heart of the sea*. But, in the end, there is a shift from theory into practice. Hamori adeptly reminds us, "travel is for once not just an allegorical device; it is demanded by the moral journey" (83). And that travel is sea travel. Thus, the sea as wandering, separation and loss becomes a space of catharsis, a necessary space of struggle and striving by which the pilgrim and poet purifies himself as he reaches for the divine.⁶⁵

⁶⁵ The heart at sea is again expressed in the short prayer-like poem, "In the Heart" 'אמר בלב ימים' (Cole 168; *HaShira* 505). Here, the providential hand of the divine brings the poet comfort, causing him to urge the ship (sailor), the "heart in the heart of the sea" (אמר בלב ימים ללב רגו) to stand firm in faith, for salvation is for the true believer that weathers the storm. Similar to the *yam* rhyme scheme employed in "He counsels and completes," Halevi appeals to God in a manner similar to *Jeremiah* 5:22 in which the Lord "curbs the high seas." Halevi draws a parallel between the seafarer's heart, the ship, and the aqueous medium across which they travel; that is, the heart is a ship at sea. Joseph Yahalom writes of this imagery, "The anxious poet addresses his own heart in the midst of the foam-covered seas that strike terror in the heart. He deliberately blurs the boundaries between his pounding heart and the surging heart of the seas" (113). His heart is also one which trusts in the Lord: He who created the seas and set its limits, and He who is able to calm its surging swells, including the inner turmoil of the poet's heart.

A similar ambiguity of the sea space as poison and cure can be found in another sea poem by Halevi, “Has a flood washed the world” ‘הבא מבול ושם תבל חרבה’ (Cole 167; *HaShira* 506).⁶⁶ Invoking the Genesis story of Noah, the poet asks if the world has experienced a second deluge, for “there is no dry land to be seen” ‘ואין לראות פני ארץ חרבה’ (Cole 167; *HaShira* 506). Though the open space of the sea still threatens the poet with cresting waves—the Leviathan “churns the deep” ‘בהרתיחו מצולה’—we are no longer before a pilgrim who celebrates the path of purification (167; 506). Long after the seas have repeatedly raged then rested, then turned and calmed again, Halevi depicts the sheer vastness of the sea space and the monotony of its presence. The sea no longer offers the poet refuge. Rather, Halevi yearns for a comfort that can only be found in the sight of land, “The sight of a hill or reef would comfort me, / a stretch of empty desert delight me” ‘ובראות הר ושוחה לי מנוחה / וארץ הערבה לי ערבה’ (167; 506). In these verses, there is a confluence of comfort and pain. Again the reader is presented with the three elements of

אם תאמן באל, אשר עשה
הים ועד נצח שמו קים
אל יחרידך ים בשוא גליו
כי עמך השם גבול לים (*HaShira* 505)

If your faith is firm in the Lord who made
the sea—whose name endures for eternity—
the deep won’t frighten you with its swells,
for He who sets its bounds is near (Cole 168)

⁶⁶ Another poem which depicts the conflation of poison and cure, “I cry to God with a melting heart,” depicts the poet as he journeyed on the open sea, crying in anguish at the torment the seas have brought to those traveling over its depths: אצעק בלב נמס. The poet’s sense of helplessness at the sea’s wrath and rage are heightened by the failure of oarsmen and pilots to guide the ship: they “find not their hands” (מצאו ידים) (גם הכלים לא). In the midst of the tumult of the ocean’s tempest, the ship and sailor are “tossed about,” and riding the writhing waves they are “suspended between waters and heavens,” revealing the storm-tossed sea to be a liminal space of existential wandering (תלוי בבין מים ובין שמים and אנג). Once again, however, one notices a familiar carefully crafted conflict in Halevi’s experience with the sea: as both poison and antidote, it pains his heart yet leads him to salvation. Though it is fraught with peril, it is filled with hope, and the violence and peril he experiences are in the end “but a light thing” compared to the promise of Jerusalem (ונקל זאת עדי). Hebrew text and English translation from Brody, *Selected Poems of Judah Halevi* 29.

this journey: ship, sky and sea, but the concern is no longer the pounding waves of the deep, but rather its endless expanse.⁶⁷

As such, the poem expresses the juxtaposition of leaving and longing, suffering and hope. Its verses are filled with despair not only in the midst of raging waves, but before the infiniteness of liminality. The juxtaposition of land and sea dis-places the poet in and onto the placeless maritime space of his exilic wandering. But in spite of the sea and without a firm locus from which to announce the agency of his desires, the poet suddenly interjects with hopeful joy. His hope is not found in the placelessness of this space, but in a tree and hill.

And the waves of the sea do indeed continue to pound the ship, “pouring its waters across its boards” ‘כאלו היא ביד הים גנבה’ (Cole 167; *HaShira* 506). This time, the waters do not grow calm in response to the poet’s purified devotion. Rather, in the midst of the storm, questioning whether all life has perished, the soul rejoices even as waves rage against the ship. Union and restoration are not yet achieved—the sea is no longer conceived as a space in which such mystical ideas are possible. It is still a necessary path, but nothing more. Travel and travail are necessary as penitent suffering on the poet’s pilgrimage to the Holy Land, but while sailing across its surface, despair alone governs the way. Hope and joy are found in the destination, that place where sea meets land, not

⁶⁷ As Horden and Purcell have shown in the *The Corrupting Sea*, historically and geographically it is surprisingly difficult to reach a space completely beyond the sight of land while sailing in the Mediterranean (127). The sea is so narrow and dotted with islands, they argue that only a very few spaces in the region are beyond the visible reach of land. In fact, when a ship had “passed out of sight”, that is, passed into the high seas, it was alternately referred to as the “crossing” or *ta’diya*, a frequent term used to describe the event when a ship crossed from coastal waters into the high seas. But this is the perspective from land, not sea. Goitein notes that such phrases are reported with a sense of relief, not concern, as the coastal waters were notoriously more dangers than the high seas. The reader of Halevi’s poetry, however, must admit that though it is possible for his ship to have been out of sight of land, he is employing here a familiar image of fear and peril of the seas in order to more aptly describe the danger and helplessness of not only the sea and seafaring, but the historio-political circumstances that dis-placed him there. The sea is unique in Halevi’s writing (in contrast to Ibn Ezra) in that it is at times a reflection of both a literal and literary reality.

here, where there is “No man, no beast, no bird of the air” ‘ואין אדם ואין חיה ואין עוף’ (167; 506). And the sea is still torment for the poet, but not because it carries him away from his homeland, but because it does not carry him fast enough to Jerusalem. The poet has no desire *but* to reach his destination and gain salvation. Though at times Halevi’s thoughts turn to his homeland—or any stretch of land for that matter—the poet does not seem to show any remorse for having left his land of birth, but rather only for having abandoned his friends, a sentiment Ibn Ezra would have appreciated.⁶⁸

Scholars familiar with the poetic corpus of Judah Halevi would have followed his verses from the Christian north to the turmoil of the Andalusian south, from Sefarad to Cairo, where, as mentioned, he would remain while awaiting favorable winds to carry him to his destination, Jerusalem. In a Geniza letter from May 1141, we read:

All the ships going to Spain, al-Mahdiyya, Tripoli [Libya], Sicily, and Byzantium have departed and have encountered a propitious wind. However, the ship of the ruler of al-Mahdiyya [which was on its way eastward to Palestine] has not yet moved. Our master Judah ha-Levi boarded it four days ago, but the wind is not favorable for them. May God grant them safety. (Goitein 301)⁶⁹

In “On Friendship and Time” ‘מימי עלומים’, נדוד, ידענוך, נדוד, a poem devoted to Moses Ibn Ezra, the object of Halevi’s lament is not his decision to travel eastward but having to leave his friend (Cole 152; *HaShira* 459). Lamenting many of his friends and his sons with whom he traveled as far as Cairo, Halevi writes,

ולא חבר אנוש כי אם לפרד
להוציא מלאם אחד לאמים
ולולא נפרדו מאז בני איש
אזי לא מלאה ארץ עממים (*HaShira* 460)

Men are brought together, but only to part,
to yield from a single nation manifold nations:
earth’s peoples would never have scattered across it
if humankind had not known separation (Cole 152)

⁶⁹ Geniza document ULC Or 1080 J258v, margin, Trans. S.D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society* (301).

While waiting for adverse winds to turn in his favor, Halevi pens one of his last known poems. “This Breeze” ‘זה רוחך’ sings praise to the western wind that will carry him on to Jerusalem (Cole 170; Carmi 350). In an Andalusian style, evocative of friend and fellow poet Mose Ibn Ezra, Ha-Levi longs for a scented breeze and rebukes the gales that storm the sea; and though he longs for the east, it is the Andalusian-scented western winds that he awaits. He has abandoned Sefarad, yet seems to look fondly over his shoulder and compose one last verse to its laud.

זה רוחך, צד מערב, רקוח / הנרד בכנפיו והתפות,
מאוצרות הרוכלים מוצאך / כי אינך מאוצרות הרוח!
כנפי דרור תניף ותקרא לו דרור / וכמר-דרור מן הצרור לקוח
מה נכספו לך עם, אשר בגגלך / רכבו בגב הים עלי גב לוח!
אל נא תרפה ירך מן האני / כי יחנה הים וכי יפוח!
ורקע תהום וקרע לבב ימים, וגע / אל הררי קדש ושם תנוח,
וגער בקדים המסער ים עדי / ישים לבב הים כסיר נפוח.
מה יעשה אסור ביד הצור אשר / כעם יהי עצור, ועת שלוח?
אך סוד שאלתי ביד מרום, והוא / יוצר הרים ובורא רוח! (HaShira 504)

This breeze of yours is scented, West—

its wings are fragrant with apple and balm;
you've clearly come from the spice-traders' chests
and not from the heavens' stores of wind.

You spread the feathers of birds, and free me,

like scent wafting from purest myrrh.

We've all longed and waited for you,

prepared to ride the sea on a board,
so do not lift your hand from the sails,
whether the day declines or dawns,
but pound the deep and rend its heart
until you've reached the holy hills,
rebuking the East and its gales which cause
the sea, like a cauldron, to swell and seethe.
But what could one do, held back by the Lord,
bound today and tomorrow released?
My prayer's answer is in His hand—
who forms the mountains, and fashions the wind. (Cole 170)

For the poet, when the winds blow from the east, the sea lashes in torment, but the gentle winds from the west calm the sea. The western winds and the sea are no longer enemies united against the poet, stripping him of volition, sending him into exile, and crushing him in the depths—as we read in Ibn Ezra. Rather, the wind from the west—a sweet breeze emanating from the heart of *al-Andalus*—and the sea become allies of the poet and traveler, carrying him onward to salvation. Thus, though the poet laments his exile and wandering, his memory of Spain reveals a greater hope for the holy hills of Jerusalem. Under the spell of the enchanting wind-swept aroma of Andalusian spices, Ha-Levi attempts to reconcile his nostalgia for the west and his longing for the east. Moreover, the perils of the deep are calmed ultimately in his recognition of the sea as an ethical space over which only the Lord and his providential hand hold sway.⁷⁰ With

⁷⁰ Similar ambivalence in his hope of salvation is found in 'Stop the surging of the sea,' (which the Arabic heading tells us he wrote aboard ship) where he simultaneously thanks the eastern wind for keeping him at

divine guidance, the wind and sea are allies of the poet and traveler, carrying him to salvation.⁷¹

Conclusions

Whereas Ibn Ezra conveys the maritime space of one of wandering and bewilderment in liminality devoid of the hope of arrival or salvation, the sea poetry of Judah Halevi envisions this same space as possessing within it a cathartic antidote. Simultaneously, his poetry expresses the pain of separation and loss while promising a hope of redemption and restoration. Here however, Halevi's "exile" is problematic. Unlike Ibn Ezra, Halevi continued to live in Muslim Spain with relative security, albeit nomadic (not fully exilic) until the first decades of the 12th century. But he was not immune to the political unrest which plagued the Peninsula and would eventually seeking refuge at times in the Christian north from which his journey began. When he tired of the

port so he can stay with his benefactor, but pleas for the Lord not to stop the blowing of the western wind: "My God, break not the breakers of the sea" 'אלהי אל תשבר משברי ים.' For an analysis of this poem, see Joseph Yahalom, *Judah Halevi: Poetry and Pilgrimage* 158.

⁷¹ In a strikingly similar, albeit more concise, fashion, Halevi pens another poem which includes amongst its verses a tender longing for the western winds. In "My God, break not the breakers," Halevi captures in eight short verses the complex paradigm of his poetic compunction and his ambivalent use of the sea and seafaring as a multivalent trope of suffering and salvation.

אלהי אל תשבר משברי-ים
ואל-תאמר לצולת ים-צחרכי
עדי אודה חסדיך ואודה
לגלי ים ורוח מערבי
יקרבו מקום על אהבתך
ומעלי יסירון על ערבי
ואיך לא-יתמו לי משאלותי
(Brody, *Selected Poems of Jehuda Halevi* 20)

My God, break not the breakers of the sea,
Nor say Thou to the deep, 'Be dry,'
Until I thank Thy mercies, and I thank
The waves of thee sea and the wind of the west;
Let them waft me to the place of the yoke of Thy love,
And bear far from me the Arab yoke.
And how shall my desires not find fulfillment,
Seeing I trust in Thee, and Though art pledged to me? (20)

enticing but unsatisfying nectar of that Andalusí vine, he departed from the western shores of his homeland to become a pilgrim in search of a deeper and more meaningful and sacred piety. In Halevi's sea poetry, which comes from this very period of "conversion" and nomadism, cultural compunction becomes existential anxiety, richly expressed and reimagined in the space of the sea. Found in the space of wandering between origin and destination, Halevi's verses reveal the seafarer to be a highly complex philosophical subject left to negotiate the ambiguity of the maritime space. Thus, as in Ibn Ezra, the sea holds the power of destruction, leaves the pilgrim helpless and wandering in a boundless space of liminality. However, whereas the *telos* in Ibn Ezra's sea poetry is non-existent or impossibly nostalgic, Halevi's pursues a greater hope on the far side of the sea. Though the sea has the power to destroy, it also has the power to deliver those who travel over its depths to the shores of their salvation—his poetry shows a perhaps repentant pilgrim that truly saw his suffering as penance and preparation of deliverance.⁷²

The sea poetry of both Ibn Ezra and Halevi reflect on the existence of an overall purpose and end to exile and suffering. And both reveal teleological systems of thought that are extrinsic, in that they recognize God as the author and providential power over their destinies. Moreover, both reveal an eschatological urgency in their teleology. For each, however, that *telos*, or final cause, is unique. Ibn Ezra perceives exile as a ship at sea which carries the wanderer towards death and a denial of salvation. Thus, even the coming of the Lord on the day of salvation is like a "raging sea" on a "bitter day" (Cole 127). For Halevi, on the other hand, the sea is an ambivalent space of suffering and hope which both threatens the sailor's life yet brings Heaven closer. We know that Judah

⁷² Compare Dunash ben Labrat, "The Poet Refuses an Invitation to Drink" 'ואמר: אל תישן' (Carmi 280).

Halevi eventually set sail on the sea in search of learning, letters and salvation. It is perhaps not surprising, then, that his sea poetry continually looks forward to an eventual day of deliverance. Interestingly, however, such future-minded verse is discernibly marked with a complex nostalgia for the past and pleasures of al-Andalus. As Ross Brann reminds us, Halevi's poetic personae comes to reject the fleeting temptations of the Andalusian gardens of his youth, yet struggles to disentangle his soul completely from their fragrant and enticing aroma. In the sea poems of Ibn Ezra, we find a poet and exile who almost exclusively looks backwards to a glorified past. His lament fixates on the ruins of that same wine garden and the culture it fostered and represented, his verses longing for return. Thus, while Ibn Ezra's *telos* is the ontological impossibility of a remembered but unreachable past, the poetic voice of Halevi verse fixes his eyes, however hesitantly, on the golden shores of the promise of his salvation. Though like Ibn Ezra he fondly looks behind him as he travels across the sea of loss and suffering, the maritime space becomes simultaneously one of pilgrimage, where liminality is repurposed as an agent of catharsis and a component of arrival. In this complex space, suffering and pain are exchanged for the hope of salvation. Ibn Ezra reveals no such hope. The aporetic space of the sea serves only to carry him farther and farther from the desired but unattainable ruins of his past, or take from him the souls of those who once inhabited that space.

Whether due to the socio-political and cultural reality of twelfth-century Almoravid rule on the Iberian Peninsula or the existential crisis of personal theological misgivings, for both poets, their physical displacement into exile was accompanied by a parallel shift in poetic imaginary. Whereas they once praised the delights and joys of the Andalusian garden of wine, women and song, they now lamented the loss and separation of

their exile through the imagery of the sea and seafaring, a space where those who travel are constantly threatened by the perils of tempests and the threat of death. And just as the garden poem is replaced by a poetics of the sea, there in the imagined maritime space of their exilic wandering, the sweet and fragrant nectar of Andalusī wine for which they longed is forever destroyed by the brackish brine of the deep.

From this imagined space of the sea as exile in Andalusī Hebrew letters, I turn now to an examination of the twelfth-century Arabo-Islamic imagination of the insular maritime space and the philosophical voyage. As we shall see through an analysis of Ibn Tufayl's twelfth-century philosophical treatise *Hayy Ibn Yaqzān* (حي بن يقظان), while for the central protagonist the sea and seafaring is a space which threatens the purity of the intellectual and spiritual ascent, for others like Asāl, the maritime voyage becomes a path to knowledge, wisdom and union with the divine.

Philosophy on Floating Foundations:

The Island and Ethical Formation in Ibn Tufayl's *Hayy Ibn Yaqzān*



(Figure 2) © Liam Michael Roodhouse 2013

From the shore of al-Andalus and the dangerous seas of Halevi and Ibn Ezra's poetry, we turn to an imagined island, where an eleventh-century Andalusī philosopher, Ibn Tufayl, creates a fictional maritime and insular space in which to explore man's ethical awakening apart from the influence of society and the strictures of civilization, and in which we witness how the author frames Eastern philosophy in a Mediterranean context.

Hayy Ibn Yaqzān is a twelfth-century philosophical treatise written by Ibn Tufayl (Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn Abd al-Malik ibn Muhammad ibn Tufayl al-Qaisi al-Andalusī) in the form of a letter (*risāla*) addressed to a dear friend in which he responds to a request to reveal "the secrets of the oriental philosophy" mentioned by the great Persian physician and theologian Ibn Sīna (Abu 'Alī Ibn Sīna, or Avicenna by European scholars, 980-1037) (95).⁷³ In it, Ibn Tufayl recounts the story of three men: Hayy, Asāl and Salāmān.⁷⁴ Hayy is a castaway human child who is raised by feral animals on a deserted but bountiful island and left on his own to survive after the passing of his gazelle mother who weans him.⁷⁵ An autodidact, he dissects her deceased carcass and discovers that her death was the result of observable scientific processes. More importantly, as a result of systematic experimentation and discovery, Hayy determines that, aided by a guiding intuition which emanates from the eternal Source, Truth can be discerned through scientific inquiry and investigative reasoning of one's environment. After describing Hayy's fifty years of solitude and achievement of a mystical union with the divine, we are then introduced to the inhabitants of another island, a wise sage named

⁷³ English translation from Lenn Goodman, *Ibn Tufayl's Hayy Ibn Yaqzān*.

⁷⁴ In the sections devoted to Asāl and Salāmān I will discuss possible etymologies and origins of their names.

⁷⁵ The arrival of Hayy to the island is problematized from the very beginning; the author gives two possible accounts for his marooning or isolation. One account asserts his spontaneous generation from a careful balance in the temperament of the island's soil or clay. The other possibility is a tale of intrigue and honor which leads to loss and separation, and ultimately to a child at sea and castaway on a deserted island.

Asāl and his cousin and king Salāmān. Unaware of Hayy’s presence and thinking the island deserted, Asāl goes to the island searching for a life of solitude to pursue Truth similar to Hayy. There, Asāl encounters Hayy, and after teaching him language, recognizes that Hayy’s beatific visions not only agree with the tenets of his own religious tradition, but unlock many of its heretofore hidden secrets. In response, Asāl resolves to imitate Hayy as a saint and spiritual guide. However, after Asāl describes the spiritual and intellectual depravity of his society, Hayy is awakened to a social desire to share the Truth he has discovered and lead men to the path of the rightly guided.⁷⁶ Ultimately, this is ineffective as the king Salāmān and his entourage of elite intellectuals and learned scholars reject Hayy’s message of asceticism and *falsāfa* (philosophy). Hayy and Asāl return to their secluded island to live the rest of their days pursuing a state of mystical ecstasy and union with the divine.

In large part scholarship on Ibn Tufayl’s *Hayy Ibn Yaqzān*—when not concerned with its Greek sources and Hellenic traditions (Sami Hawi) or notions of Neoplatonism (Remke Kurke)—has tended to focus on its influence on western thought (Samar Attar) or its impact on western literature (Nawal Muhammad Hassan and Lenn Goodman). Comparative approaches have necessarily led some to read Ibn Tufayl in relation to his Muslim contemporaries (e.g. Ibn Bajja and al-Ghazālī) and local Maghrebi and Andalusī trends in Islamic philosophy and jurisprudence (Jim Colville and Lenn Goodman), while still others concentrate on the philosopher’s work as influenced by, and a response to, the

⁷⁶ I purposefully use the term *rightly guided* in order to allude to a thinly veiled critique apparent in Ibn Tufayl’s text by which he questions, even challenges, the accepted practices and traditions of institutionalized Islam in twelfth century. In Sunni Islam, “rightly guided” (*ar-rāshidūn*) refers to the first four caliphs after the death of Muhammad (Abu Bakr, Umar, Uthman and Ali)—Shī’a Islam only acknowledges the legitimacy of Ali. More generally, it can refer to all Muslim believers who bear witness to God’s oneness and the ultimate prophethood of Muhammad, and follow the teaching of *Hadith* and *Sunna* (Tradition).

principles of *al-hikma al-mashriqiyya* (Eastern Philosophy) mentioned by Ibn Sīna (Dimitri Gutas).⁷⁷ More recently, studies have attempted to trace the cross-cultural history of autodidacticism (Ben-Zaken) and problems of cosmopolitanism (Khalil Habib). Few, though, have addressed the space of Hayy’s metaphysical awakening as more than a “no-place” (Ben-Zaken), a utopia (Mahmoud Baroud) or a perfect place of Aristotelian excellence (Goodman). In this chapter, I will discuss the image of the island, the sea space of Hayy’s ascent, in connection with the imaginary of the twelfth-century Iberian Muslim philosophical voyage. I contend that this space, though imagined, is not a non-place void of spatial dimension like the “Isla No Fallada” of *Amadis de Gaula* (studied by Simone Pinet) or lacking the temporal status of Neverland in *Peter Pan*. Rather, given the influence of shared Mediterranean traditions of geographical writing and cartography, the space of Hayy’s intellectual journey can be mapped as a necessary space of origin or return, intimately connected to the twelfth-century Mediterranean imaginary, and a space (in)to which we the reader are invited to travel in search of wisdom and Truth.

Ibn Tufayl’s knowledge and pursuit of Eastern Philosophy, and his use of “oriental” sources, *a la* Ibn Sīna, and his twelfth-century reimagining of WaqWaq Island (الواق واق), reveals a world of Islamic trade, travel and cross-cultural exchange which inevitably affected Hispano-Arab spatial consciousness, and led to the conception of a

⁷⁷ The consensus of current scholarship translates *hikmat al-mashriqiyya* as “Eastern” or “Oriental Philosophy”— though some (L. Gauthier) elect instead to read *mashriqiyya* as *mushriqiyya* (Illuminative), in apparent reference to Illuminationist “theosophy”. (See George Hourani, “The Principle Subject of Ibn Tufayl’s *Hayy Ibn Yaqzān*” 42; Compare C.A. Nallino, “Filosofia ‘oriental’ od ‘illuminativa’ d’Avicenna?” 433-67; and Ryan Szpiech, “In search of Ibn Sīnā’s ‘Oriental Philosophy’ in Medieval Castile.” As Len Goodman asserts, however, though this reading is orthographically acceptable, historically it is premature in Avicenna and thematically unjustified in Ibn Tufayl (43). On the contrary, he contends, Ibn Tufayl’s use of the term *hikmat al-mashriqiyya* is done consciously in place of the Arabic *falsafa* of Greek origin. As such, it is employed with the explicit intention of conveying a geographical contrast, by which Ibn Tufayl presents a hope for non-Western wisdom to replace the unsatisfactory Greek model in the West. As a westerner, hoping to bring this eastern wisdom to the West, Avicenna, then, is meant as a contrarian model to the “Peripatetic” (43).

much broader intellectual Mediterranean space.⁷⁸ Moreover, it reveals a world of intellectual travelers who were enchanted not by far off lands, but far off seas, at the very edges of their world, and their imaginations. As such, I argue that the island of Ibn Tufayl's text, as an antipode to the philosophical space of authoritative knowledge (civilization), is inextricably linked to a growing knowledge and imagination of the sea, facilitated by advancements in cartography and extensive networks of maritime exchange. And though the place of Hayy's philosophical experimentation is an (is)land, it is not (main)land; and thus, contrary to the assertion of Hans Blumenberg and Simone Pinet, I contend that solid ground is not necessary for the exercise of philosophy. On the contrary, the maritime space Hayy inhabits, as distant from the structures and strictures of civilization, reveals that the beginning of philosophy and reason, and the purest path of man's ascent toward the divine, is possible only on floating foundations, in the midst of the sea (whether real or imagined).

With Houari Touati's study *Islam and Travel in the Middle Ages* as somewhat of an historical anchor, I will begin this chapter with a brief review of narrative and cartographic traditions of travel and of the concept of the intellectual journey in medieval Islam with which an Andalusí Muslim like Ibn Tufayl would have had extensive contact. However, though Ibn Tufayl's *Hayy Ibn Yaqzān* participates in (is a product of) Islamic and Mediterranean traditions of travel, where the pursuit of knowledge is linked to the voyage, at times it clearly breaks with this tradition by questioning the intellectual value of travel. Though much of the text narrates the spiritual *journey* of Hayy and describes the process and path of his mystical union with the divine as a voyage, it ultimately problematizes Islamic and broader Mediterranean traditions of travel which intimately

⁷⁸ The legend of *WaqWaq* has a complex history. It will be discussed in further detail below.

connected the pursuit of truth with the physical journey, as seen in the tradition of the *rihla fī talab al-‘ilm* (travel in search of knowledge). Instead, Ibn Tufayl’s text claims that Truth and pure knowledge can be achieved without the voyage, without the wisdom of men of learning, and indeed without society. That is, the knowledge one gains from traveling from place to place, learning from one scholar or another, reading from this book or that, is for the true philosopher a process veiled by an impenetrable artifice which like a dirty mirror can only imperfectly reflect the light it receives (Goodman 153-54). This truth is a mediated truth insufficient for ascent into pure wisdom which can be achieved only through a clear vision of things (*tabayyun*). Betraying his Neo-Platonic sympathies, the physical voyage, like that of all sub-lunar bodies, can only imperfectly reveal the realm of forms. Like Hayy, Ibn Tufayl demands something greater, higher, and purer. The intellectual journey as part of a physical voyage, however, has not altogether lost its purpose in the text. Though dangerous for Hayy, for others like Asāl—and, perhaps, Salāmān—it can and will prove beneficial.

From the very beginning we are given two possibilities for Hayy’s arrival on the deserted island. We are told by the author that while some believe he was cast into the sea by his mother and brought by a powerful current to the island’s shores, and thus beginning his life as a traveler, others relate that Hayy came into being on the island by spontaneous generation. Regardless of his method of “arrival,” for the first fifty years of Hayy’s life he does not travel from the island at all, and in this space he is able to learn everything there is to know about natural philosophy and metaphysics, including the Truth of God and knowledge of the supernal realm. Though this process necessarily takes place apart from the strictures and tradition of civilization and removed from the

influence of the polis, the text demonstrates that the philosophical and spiritual ascent is possible without the voyage.⁷⁹ And it is here, I argue, that Ibn Tufayl engages most clearly the principles of “first philosophy” and the “philosophy of nature” set forth by Aristotle in *De anima* and *Metaphysics*—as distilled through Ibn Sīna, Al-Farabi (872-950) and earlier Eastern philosophical traditions to which Ibn Tufayl had access. That is, in the first part of the tale, Ibn Tufayl is primarily concerned with understanding movement and change, particularly of living organisms, as well as a consideration of being in general, both unchanging (theology) and changing.

Following Hayy’s spiritual ascent, which he achieves through observation of the celestial bodies and contemplation of the mechanisms of the universe, however, Ibn Tufayl appears to turn (if only partially) from the inward spiritual journey back into the paradigm of travel as an intellectual journey. Consequently, there is a shift in philosophical focus by which the author begins to engage what we might call a more practical science. Here he considers actions (in the narrow sense) where the principles of natural philosophy and first philosophy are discussed in relation to the social and necessarily spatial dimensions of the body politic. And thus, I argue, it is in this section of *Hayy Ibn Yaqzān* that we begin to see echoes of Aristotle’s *Ethics* and *Politics*.⁸⁰ Here, a socio-theological desire is awakened in Hayy when an outsider named Asāl visits from

⁷⁹ Somewhat ironically, Ibn Tufayl veils his description of the mystical ascent within a narrative system of symbolism and metaphor he himself disparages:

لكننا مع ذلك لا نخليك عن اشارت نومي بها الى ما شاهده من عجائب ذلك المقام على سبيل ضرب المثال لا على سبيل فرع باب الحقيقة اذ لا سبيل الى الحقيقة بما في ذلك المقام لبل بالوصول اليه فاصغ (Gauthier 122)

I shall not leave you without some hint as to the wonders Hayy saw from this height, not by pounding on the gates of truth, but by coining symbols, for there is no way of finding out what truly occurs at this plateau of experience beside reaching it (Goodman 149).

⁸⁰ Again, it is unclear what direct access if any Ibn Tufayl had to Aristotle in the original Greek. His most direct sources are Ibn Sīna (980-1037) and later the great Arab and Hebrew commentators of Aristotle, Ibn Rushd (1126-1198) and Moses Maimonides (1135-1204), respectively.

a neighboring island. Consequently, Hayy travels to this adjacent society with the hopes of proselytizing its people and guiding them to the same Truth of which he had been witness by way of solitary contemplation and rational inquiry. But when this endeavor fails and Hayy's views are looked on with skepticism, his response transitions into what appears to be a commentary on ethics—that which is necessary for ordinary men to live well within the walls of civilization, within the polis and under the influence of its traditions. Ironically, while demonstrating the failure of travel for Hayy, Ibn Tufayl acknowledges the benefit of the intellectual journey (the pursuit of wisdom through travel) for the population of Salāmān's island, and perhaps even for Asāl himself. In the absence of an *a priori* space where by *'iyan* (direct observation) and *tabayyun* (a clear vision of things) alone man may achieve perfect knowledge of the divine, the wisdom of tradition sought through travel is not only possible, but beneficial, and perhaps necessary, for the salvation of the soul. Thus, though its individual parts might betray an uncertainty or seem contradictory in their approach to the usefulness of the intellectual journey, taken as a whole, the reader perceives a thoughtful philosopher who is weighing his options. And as a philosophical and theological treatise that attempts to reconcile reason and revelation, in which the characters speak of the social need of a good king and delineates the just actions (movements) of upright citizens, these aims, nevertheless, are ultimately subordinated to the author's teleological concerns of how simple men may achieve salvation. And it is with these men in mind that the text is concerned with the very practical and spatially-bound problem of where and how knowledge can be found or learned. For some endowed with superior intellect, like Hayy, physical travel is unnecessary, but for others, the majority, both study and the experience of travel are

necessary corollaries to belief. Thus, Ibn Tufayl destabilizes but does not wholly negate the conflation of travel and knowledge. He presents for the reader a problem germane to the concerns of medieval Muslim philosophers, theologians and mystics alike: to go or not to go, that is the question.

Traditions of Travel: Greek *autopsia* and Arabic *'iyan*

The Arabic name of the protagonist Hayy Ibn Yaqzān can be translated as “Life Son of Awake.”⁸¹ In contrast to Ibn Sīna’s *Hayy Ibn Yaqzān*, from which Ibn Tufayl borrows the title of his treatise and the name of his protagonist—not to mention its allegorical dimension—Hayy is no longer the Active Intelligence and incorporeal emanation of the First Cause; rather, he is human and more resembles the solitary being of Ibn Bajja (1095-1138)—though pushed to its extremes. In Ibn Sīna’s allegorical tale, Hayy is an elderly sage who instructs the narrator (human reason) about the nature of the universe. In Ibn Tufayl’s original adaptation, the narrator as theologian, philosopher and rational mystic, attempts the dangerous task of “describing” (through the life of Hayy) the reconciliation of revealed religion (*kalam*) and philosophy (*falsafa* or *al-hikma al-mushriqiyya*). Moreover, Ibn Tufayl explicitly conveys an interest in the geographic implications of the itinerancy of philosophy (Eastern Philosophy). From the very beginning he reminds the reader that there is a wealth of knowledge in the East that has not yet made it to the West (al-Andalus), including the works of Al-Ghazālī (1058-1111), Al-Farabi (872-950) and Ibn Mu’tazz (861-908).⁸² Such knowledge, “put into words and set down in books . . . is rarer than red sulfur, especially in our part of the world” *يحتمل ان*

⁸¹ This can be alternately translated as Life (or the Living One) son of the Awake (or Aware). See Iraj Dehghan, “Jāmi’s Salāmān and Asāl” 118.

⁸² See Goodman 96-97.

’يوضع في الكتب و تتصرف فيه العبارات . . . اعدم من الكبريت الاحمر ولا سيما في هذا [الصنع] الذي نحن فيه

(Goodman 99; Gauthier 11).⁸³ It is of little surprise, then, that Ibn Tufayl speaks so often

of the intellectual and spiritual journey in the language of travel. In fact, he equates

Hayy’s surname Yaqzān “Aware” with the concept of travel through the notion of

“arrival.” That is, his vision of ecstasy and union with the divine is for Hayy the end of a

journey. We read of this mystical union: “In himself and in other beings of his rank, Hayy

saw goodness, beauty, joy without end...known only by the aware, who arrive” ورأى لذاته ‘

’ولتلك الذات التي فى رتبته من الحسن والبهاء واللذة غير المتناهية . . . يعقله الا الواصلون العارفون

(153; 130-31). One could argue that Hayy is returning to his source; as the son (*ibn*) of Awake

(Yaqzān), the journey of Life (Hayy) is to seek and ultimately find the singular divine

primogenitor of all being, the Aristotelian Prime Mover (as conceived of by Avicenna).⁸⁴

Consequently, the tale of Hayy appears to articulate this ontological process in the

rhetorical vestments of travel, particularly in and of the Andalusī philosophical tradition,

itself an intellectual space steeped in a broader Mediterranean, and “Eastern” tradition of

knowledge and travel.⁸⁵

The link between knowledge and travel can be found in early Greek writing.

Though George Rawlinson’s translation of Herodotus renders *theoria* only as “one who

sees” (from the verb *theorein*, to observe), scholars such as Roxanne Euben have

suggested that in the *Histories*, Herodotus uses the term *theoria* simultaneously to define

⁸³ To this he adds, “Do not suppose the philosophy which has reached us in the books of Aristotle and Fārābī or in Avicenna’s *Healing* will satisfy you. . . .” ’ولا تظن ان الفلسفة التي وصلت الينا فى كتب ارسطو وابى نصر ‘ (Goodman 99; Gauthier 11-12). وفي كتاب الشفاء تفى بهذا الغرض الذى اردته

⁸⁴ Compare Ibn Sīnā’s Hayy as an emanation from the First Cause. See “Ibn Tufayl,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.

⁸⁵ Greeks, Romans, and medieval Christians, Muslims and Jews all shared similar notions of travel throughout the Mediterranean space, in both figurative and literal terms. As Hans Blumenberg contends in *Shipwreck with Spectator*, “Humans live their lives and build their institutions on dry land. Nevertheless, they seek to grasp the movement of their existence above all through the metaphors of the perilous sea voyage” (7).

the journey as well as the knowledge one gains from it. For example, Herodotus describes Anacharsis the Scythian as having “traversed much of the world on a *theoria* and throughout this had given evidence of his great wisdom,” anticipating the journeys of King Apolonio narrated in the 13th-century Iberian *Libro de Apolonio* as explored next in Chapter 3 (James Ker 314). And though Aristotle would emphasize the distinction between theory and praxis, Plato allowed for the notion of *theoria* to include practical applications, where, for example, one uses the wisdom from theory to interact better in daily life with daily things (*The Laws*, Book 12). As Roxanne Euben point out, the etymological possibilities of the Greek *theoros* allows for multiple meanings, which can carry theological implications, such that the prefix *thea* (light) or *theos* (God) is linked to the suffix *oros* (one who sees). She points out, in fact, that an early meaning of *theoros* was an envoy dispatched to the Oracle at Delphi such that “from the very beginning the theorist was sent to bring back the word of god” (36). But, to “travel and observe” is not “characteristically Greek” as Redfield reminds us (98). The connection between movement and knowledge is similarly suggested in the Arabic root *k-sh-f*, from which we derive the words explorer (*muktashif*) and inquiry (*kashf*). And as Euben suggests, and we must agree, the Islamic notion of travel in the search of knowledge (*talab al- 'ilm*) recalls the many connotations of the Greek *theoria* where embassies, pilgrimage, sightseeing, knowledge, and observation of others are all closely linked (36).⁸⁶

By the eighth century Islam was forced to deal with the problem of disappearing sources of knowledge and shifting authoritative centers into the Mediterranean (Touati 25-28). The Prophet and his companions were dead and those who had gleaned

⁸⁶ In his “Middle Commentaries,” Ibn Tufayl’s contemporary Ibn Rushd (Averroes) would confront as central to Aristotelian philosophical thought the notion of the theoretical versus the moral.

knowledge from them were also passing; thus, the difficulty of safe-guarding the transmission of knowledge and *al-hadith* from their sources grew more difficult (“Hadith”). And it is specifically in this period that Islam is becoming a Mediterranean presence. As they had once moved from Mecca to Medina, Muslims were now moving into and across the Mediterranean space. The Muslim *‘ilm*, as knowledge related to Islamic tradition, conceived of genealogical knowledge which called for all *hadith* to be authenticated by an unbroken chain of transmission (*isnad*). And as authoritative centers were moving westward (i.e. to Baghdad, Damascus and as far as Córdoba), the gathering of this information required travel—generally eastward. This is carefully and copiously documented in a genre of Islamic literature called *tabakat* (generations) or *‘ilm al-rijal* (knowledge of the transmitters of *hadith*). Intended to evaluate the narrators of *hadith*, it is at times necessary for the author to recount their travels in order to verify the authenticity of the *isnad*.⁵ But knowledge was not confined to the authority of tradition; for the intellectually curious medieval Mediterranean man, knowledge came in many forms, and could be found in many places. One *hadith* in particular cites the Prophet as encouraging his followers to “Seek knowledge, even if it be in China” (Netton, *EI*). And as we shall soon see, one of the foremost aims of Ibn Tufayl’s text is to question the ultimate authority of tradition.

Though there were many Muslim scholars who traveled for the purpose of seeking knowledge or verifying wisdom—e.g. Al-Jāhiz (776-868), Al-Mas’udi (896-956) and Al-Idrisi (110-1160)—perhaps the most well-known is fourteenth-century Muslim scholar and jurist Ibn Battuta who set out from Morocco on an intellectual journey across North Africa, the Arabian Peninsula, and China. His initial motivation to travel was the

Islamic pilgrimage to Mecca known as the *hajj*, itself emblematic of a multivalent use and understanding of travel in the Islamic world. Though primarily a religious pilgrimage, the *hajj* was also—or could be—“a study tour . . . of the heartland, and opportunity to acquire books and diplomas, deepen one’s knowledge of theology and law, and commune with refined and civilized men” (Ross Dunn 30). Though Ibn Battuta’s travels are representative of a much later literary tradition and more developed understanding of travel, they speak to shared notions of the intellectual journey and traditions proposed and formulated by earlier Muslim and Mediterranean scholars, whose desire for verifiability privileged the ocular observation of the eye-witness over oral and written testimony.⁸⁷

By the end of the ninth century travel had informed geography long enough that the model of Persian historian Balādhurī (ʿAḥmad Ibn Yaḥyā al-Balādhurī, d. 892), which privileged the oral transmission of knowledge, was already being called into question.⁸⁸ Rather, like Masʿudi, many followed the experientially-based model of ocular primacy. As Touati reminds us, Muslim scholar Al-Jāhiz, or “the pop-eyed man” (Abū ʿUthman ʿAmr ibn Baḥr al-Kinānī al-Baṣrī), “is among those who played an essential role

⁸⁷ Though *hadith*, *isnad* and *tabakat* unmistakably connect the search for knowledge with travel, all at times make allowances for intermediary observation and the transmission of hearing (*samaʿ*). Al-Muqaddasi (940-1000), for example, justifies the use of both hearing and writing as sources of testimony in the absence of the ocular witness in order to avoid *aporia*, a critical impasse. In fact, this is all but explicitly stated by Al-Muqaddasi by the manner in which he organizes his *Ahsan al-Taqasim fi Maʿrifat al-Awalim* (أحسن التقاسيم في معرفة الأقاليم) as a hierarchical categorization of the various sources of witness: “This book of ours, then, falls into three parts: first, what I myself have witness; second, what I have heard from persons worthy of confidence; and third, what I have found in books devoted to this subject” (Collins 3; *Ahsan al-Taqasim*). See also Jonathan Lyons, “Mapping the World” in *The House of Wisdom* (78-99, especially 90-91); and Houari Touati 133-42.

⁸⁸ See Balādhūrī, *Book of Conquests (Kitab Futuh al-Buldan)* which opens with the intermediary words: قال احمد بن يحيى بن جابر اخبرني جماعة من هل العلم بالحديث والسيرة وفتوح البلدان سقت حديثهم والخبرته ورددت من بعضه على “بعض ان رسول الله صلعم لها هاجر الى مدينة من مكة” Ahmad ibn Yahia ibn Jabir has said: ‘I have been informed by a group of specialists of traditions of the military action that the Prophet and the [Muslim] wars of conquest, whose words I have followed and summarized’ (de Goeje 2; Touati 128).

in promoting sight to the dignity of a positive tool for knowledge” (105). In fact, his *Book of the Round and the Square* is a plea for knowledge to be liberated from the tight-fisted grip of the principle of tradition. Touati notes this epistle had a wide circulation and reached as far as Andalusia, discussed by such scholars as Persian philologist Ibn Qutayba (828-885) and Arab philosopher Al-Tawhidi (923-1023) (Touati 106). But like Aristotle, Al-Jāhiz believed that the knowledge of experience, that gained by the senses (including sight), must be tempered by the authority of reason, which he saw as a necessary and unique tool with which to validate one’s understanding of the physical world of senses. That is, we should desire to achieve not just direct observation (‘*īyan*) but a clear vision of things (*tabayyun*).⁸⁹ Does Ibn Tufayl share this notion?

By the start of the tenth century, most Arab Muslim writers of the voyage—that is, geographical literature—were following the path first set out for them by Al-Jāhiz (as distilled from Greco-Roman as well as Persian, Indian and Chinese tradition). It was not until the twelfth century with Abu Bakr al-Arabi of Seville that we see the *rihla* emerge as an independent literary genre that narrated the voyage, but by the end of the 9th century a few important and well-known scholars, such as Al-Ya’qūbī (d. 897), were headed in this direction, giving this new geographical paradigm of sight (‘*īyan/autopsia*) primacy over the paradigm of sound.⁹⁰ For example, in the *Kitab al-Buldān*, Al-Yaq’ubi’s continued emphasis on visual testimony, as Touati contends, set up “an instance of truth saying that permits him to speak more legitimately about the lands that he has visited than someone who speaks of them never having left home” (129).⁹¹ A full

⁸⁹ Ar. عَيْن and تَبَيَّن, respectively.

⁹⁰ Notable exceptions to this include fictional narratives of the voyages of Sindbad and the *maqamat*.

⁹¹ The tales of Sindbad and the *maqamat* genre (Chapter 1) deliberately subvert this idea, demonstrating that even first-person accounts or tales of travel are untrustworthy. In Andalusī Hebrew tradition, see Judah

description of this literary method is beyond the scope of this investigation. What is important, however, are the elements of this tradition which the author of our study inherits and employs to construct and map the space of his philosophical thought experiment. That is, very early on in Arab-Islamic and Mediterranean geography (cartography and narrative), the conflation of sight and the voyage became an important if not necessary component to the acquisition of knowledge; the Arabic ‘*iyān* (observation) resembled *autopsia* (to see with one’s own eyes) of the ancient Greeks, such that a trustworthy witness was an eye-witness.⁹²

As we shall see in the following pages, whereas for both Al-Jāhiz and Al-Mas’udi the final authority against which all things must be tested is the Qur’an, or that which is attested in the *Hadith*, Ibn Tufayl, by way of his primary protagonist Hayy, submits even Scripture and Tradition to the validation of the personal experience of the rational intellect, philosophical knowledge and intuitive wisdom. That is, for our author, a clear vision of things (*tabayyun*) is gained first through direct observation (‘*iyān*)—first of the physical world, then the supernal. And though grounded in Ibn Sīna’s notion that *tabayyun* is possible only through the union of a person with the Necessary Existent, Ibn Tufayl appears to add to this that such clear vision of things is preferable to the Law, Commandments and Scripture, including the words of prophets (i.e. that witnessed

al-Harizi (1165-1225), *Sefer Tahkemoni* (The Book of Wisdom); in Arab tradition, see Judah al-Hariri of Basra (1054-1122), *Maqamat al-Hariri* (The Maqamat of al-Hariri); and in the Arab-Persian tradition, see Al-Hamadhāni (967-1007), *Maqamat Badi’ al-Zaman al-Hamadhani* (The Maqamat of Badi’ al-Zaman al-Hamadhani).

⁹² This is, of course, where we derive the English cognate for dissecting a deceased human body: autopsy. This term is particularly relevant to our discussion of *Hayy Ibn Yaqzān* given that the intellectual journey for Hayy begins in earnest when he quite literally performs surgery on the lifeless carcass of his gazelle mother by dissecting the cavities of her head, chest and abdomen in search of what might be blocking her life force (Hayy does not yet fully comprehend mortality). It is worth noting, that whereas for Herodotus (*Histories*) there is no apparent rupture between hearing and seeing, in Thucydides we see a clear privileging of direct or intermediary visual witness for the verification of historical knowledge (Hartog, *Le miroir d’Hérodote* 282; Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian Wars*, I.73; Smith translation 123). The importance of the visual witness will be discussed in further detail below.

through the subordinate sensations of sound or script).⁹³ Thus, Hayy’s journey is a philosophical endeavor which privileges rational experience and intuition over the symbolic veils of societal tradition and imitates the scientific methods of the geographer who holds the primacy of personal experience and ocular evidence over oral and written testimony.⁹⁴ But whereas for the geographer, knowledge correlates the witness and experience of itinerant travel, for Ibn Tufayl (by way of Hayy Ibn Yaqzān), the pursuit of knowledge as a spiritual journey requires no such voyage.

In fact, as we will now examine, for the first fifty years of his life, Hayy does not travel. As an infant, he lands or comes to be on an island, and there he learns everything he needs to know without leaving that space. And when he does travel by sea to an adjacent island, the venture is ultimately a failure. However, though Ibn Tufayl’s tale is an allegorical fiction and thus ultimately differs from the geographer’s text, by similar methods he attempts to describe for us (the reader) the reality of the mystical union he himself has experienced. And though admittedly standard in mystical literature, perhaps ironically, veiled in the symbolic language of allegory, “[f]or neither in popular language nor in specialized terminology can [he] find an expression for it” ‘اذ لا نجد في الالفاظ’⁹³ ‘الجمهورية ولا في الاصطلاحات الخاصة’ we are to value the author as a trustworthy eye-witness to the event(s) he narrates (Goodman 96; Gauthier).

⁹³ As we shall discuss below, Ibn Tufayl is not suggesting that the reader must live or exist *ex nihilo* on a deserted island. Rather, as a fictional allegory, he suggests that the story of Hayy will model the journey the genuine seeker (reader) is to take in intellectual terms. As Hourani notes, this is a decidedly non-Aristotelian notion of the mystical union of the *psyche* with the Prime Mover. See Marmura, “The Metaphysics of Efficient Causality in Avicenna”

⁹⁴ At least initially, Hayy does not travel in the literal or geographical sense. He comes to be (or is castaway, depending on which version you choose) on his island; and without venturing from its shores he is able to achieve the intellectual and philosophical ascent we have thus far spoken of in geographical terms. And though Hayy advances beyond the necessary physical eye-witness (*‘iyan*) toward an intuitive wisdom (*tabayyun*), the narrative makes it clear that Hayy does not need to leave the island.

In terms of the intellectual journey, for Hayy, pure ascent is not achieved through the knowledge of symbols or the hearsay of others (whether written or spoken); on the contrary, to access a higher understanding of the truth one is required to make the voyage (i.e. see with one's own eyes, *autopsia*). And it is in this sense that Ibn Tufayl offers the reader his novel, his narrative of the geography of this spiritual journey.⁹⁵ We are not merely to read the text and from it alone gain knowledge and wisdom, because words themselves hold no power of emanation by which we may be supremely enlightened: “Whenever anyone tries to entrust it to words or to a written page its essence is distorted and it slips into that other, purely theoretical branch of discourse” ومتى حاول احد ذلك وتكلفه ‘ (98; 10-11). Furthermore, Ibn Tufayl admits that he writes the story of Hayy *because* he cannot describe the journey: “You may be asking what is actually seen by those who undergo the experience and reach intimacy. If so, this is something which cannot be put into a book” اما ان تسال عما ‘ يراه اصحاب المشاهدة والذواق والحضور فى طور الولاية فى هذا مما لا يمكن اثباته على حقيقة امره فى كتاب (98; 10).

Like the *rihla* of Abu Bakr al-Arabi, Ibn Tufayl had no need to make his reader see by way of description. Rather, though still writing in the model of Al-Ya'qūbī, he composed a narrative of the spiritual journey out of a desire for the reader, if aptly equipped, to take the trip. Consequently, I argue, the tale of Hayy Ibn Yaqzān is not the description of a journey—which it is—but an invitation to the voyage. It is an invitation to navigate Al-Ghazālī's “perilous seas” of philosophical discovery. Moreover, Ibn

⁹⁵ This geography of the spiritual journey echoes earlier Christian spiritual voyages such as Boethius' *De Consolatio*, which is modeled on Plotinus, and which seems to be a model for Tufayl as well.

Tufayl encourages his reader to go beyond what he writes (the text of *Hayy Ibn Yaqzān*) in order that he may not accept what is said or written based on blind faith. He writes:

ولا نرضى لك الا ما هو اعلى منها . . . وانما نريد ان تحملك على المسالك التي قد تقدم عليها سلوكنا ونسبح بك في البحر الذي قد عبرناه او لا حتى يفي بك الى ما افضينا نحن اليه فتشاهد من ذلك ما شاهدناه (Gauthier 19).
وتتحقق ببصيرة نفسك كل ما تحققناه

I expect better of you . . . and want only to bring you along the paths in which I have preceded you and let you swim in the sea I have just crossed, so that it may bear you where it did me and you may undergo the same experience and see with the eyes of your soul all that I have seen (Goodman 103)

Otherwise, we are no better than Salāmān, the king who dares not leave the safety of his shores. We are invited not just to read the words of the text, but to search deeper, to the hidden meaning of things (*batin*). *Hayy Ibn Yaqzān* is not a written lecture we are to read passively; it is a port of embarkation or a gateway, in the words of Mahmoud Baroun, “through which the reader can enter into a drama that involves the individual soul and its struggle towards philosophical enlightenment” (109).

As the locus of this process of rational inquiry and intellectual development, the island as a philosophical space becomes an essential component and determining factor to the success of Hayy’s spiritual ascent. But what is the island? Where is it? And, what purpose does it serve in the philosophical and spiritual journey? More importantly, what does the image of this insular space tell us about how a twelfth-century Muslim philosopher and theologian like Ibn Tufayl conceived of his physical surroundings? That is, how does Ibn Tufayl map the space of *Hayy Ibn Yaqzān*? To answer these questions, we must first consider a particular formation in the midst of the sea: the island (*al-jazīra*).

I contend that the insular space of Hayy's ascent exists geographically and philosophically in opposition to the political space of knowledge and tradition—civilization.

Insularity: *WaqWaq* and the Medieval Muslim Imaginary

Though the toponym “WaqWaq” (*al-jazīra al-WaqWaq*) is not found in the Arabic text of Gauthier's edition of *Hayy* (Oxford manuscript), a gloss in the Arabic text of the British Museum manuscript of *Philosophus autodidactus sive Epistola Abi Jaafar Ebn Tophail de Hai Ebn Yokdhan* notes: “and it is [the island] of which Mas'udi spoke, upon which live the Maids of WaqWaq” ‘وهي التي ذكر المسعودي انها جوارى الوقواق’ (my translation; 26). Like other medieval geographic conceptions of space (namely Christian/“European”), Arabo-Islamic geography saw the Ocean as the limit of the Earth. For medieval geographers such as Al-Farabi, Al-Jāhiz and Mas'udi, the known world was represented as surrounded by the two bodies of the Embracing Sea: the Sea of Rum (Mediterranean) and the Sea of Fars (Indian Ocean). Mecca was most often at the center (Lyon 78-99).⁹⁶ Arab-Islamic geographers also generally viewed islands in the same manner as their Christian counterparts, inheriting shared traditions from Classical Antiquity, in which islands were inhabited by monsters, cannibals, and flora which gave the bearer everlasting life or eternal youth (Bermejo).⁹⁷ However, one of the most important and original Arab-Islamic contributions to medieval cartography was the island

⁹⁶ For an extensive study on travel and trade to, from and throughout these two major bodies of water, see S.D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society: the Jewish communities of the Arab world as portrayed in the documents of the Cairo Geniza*; and S.D. Goitein, *India Traders of the Middle Ages: documents from the Cairo Geniza* (also known as the *India Book*).

⁹⁷ For studies on the continuation of the Latin cartographic tradition in Arabic, see Vallvé Bermejo “Fuentes Latinas de los geógrafos árabes”; Molina, “Orosio y los geógrafos hispanomusulmanes.” For Islamic cartography in general, see Maqbul, *A History of Arab-Islamic Geography*; Maqbul, “Cartography of Sharif al-Idrisi.”

of WaqWaq. It has alternately been depicted as a chain of islands by Ibn al-Wardi and Al-Himyari, or a single island by Al-Ya'qūbī and Ibn Tufayl. Though both Ibn Tufayl and Al-Ya'qūbī place WaqWaq somewhere in the Indian Ocean, Ibn Tufayl's deserted island-scape contrasts the inhabited monarchy found in Al-Ya'qūbī's text. In his description of the seven seas one must cross in order to reach China, following oral tradition, Al-Ya'qūbī writes of the second sea called Larwi just east of Fars (India):

وهو بحر عظيم، وفيه جزائر الوقواق، وغيرهم من الزنج، وفي تلك الجزائر ملوك، وإنما يسار في هذا البحر بالنجوم، وله سمك عظيم، وفيه عجائب كثيرة وأمور لا توصف (Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī 207)

It is a big sea, and in it is the Island of Waqwaq and others that belong to the Zanj. These islands have kings. One can only sail this sea by the stars. It contains huge fish, and in it are many wonders and things that pass description. (Lunde 27)

Persian geographer Ibn Khurradadhbīh (Abu'l Qasim Ubaid'Allah ibn Khurradadhbīh, d. 912) places the island at the eastern edge of the Indian Ocean as the antipode of Qulzum, a city at the northern end of the Gulf of Suez.⁹⁸ Though in the majority of accounts WaqWaq is an uninhabited or sparsely populated island of strange and marvelous wonders, some versions describe the island as advanced and inhabited by large villages and an industrious population.⁹⁹

⁹⁸See Edmund C. Bosworth, "Ebn Kordadbeh" in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*. The literal antipode of ancient Qulzum would be somewhere in the South Pacific Ocean mid-way between Australia and South America. For an interactive map, see <http://www.zefrank.com/sandwich/tool.html>. The Arab tradition of *WaqWaq* as an usual tree from which women grow and are suspended by their hair from its branches actually finds its earliest known reference (though without a name) in a late 8th century Chinese source known as the *T'ung-tien*, written by Ta Huan. In it he recounts the stories that were told to his father by Arab sailors while he was a prisoner of war in Baghdad. In the 11th century, al-Biruni's *Kitab al-Hind*, based in large part on Sanskrit sources, rejects the wild stories that depict "a tree which produces screaming human heads instead of fruits" (Suárez 53). Al-Idrisi seemed to have similar distain for such fanciful tales and even repudiated al-Mas'udi who he asserts "tells us unbelievable stories which are not worth telling" (Suárez 53). See Thomas Suárez, *Early Mapping of Southeast Asia*; and al-Mas'udi, *Muruj al-Dhahab (Meadows of Gold)*.

⁹⁹ See, for example, Buzurg Ibn Shahriyar, *Kitab al Ajab al Hind*. The cartographic and literary history of the tradition of WaqWaq is much more complicate than I have even shown here. For a more detailed study

Given his familiarity with the writings of Al-Ya'qūbī and Al-Mas'ūdī, it is not unreasonable to assume Ibn Tufayl had at least some familiarity with this tradition, and it is perhaps with this model in mind that he places Hayy's island in the southern climes of the Indian Ocean.¹⁰⁰ In the first few lines of Gauthier's transcription of the Arabic in the Oxford manuscript of *Hayy Ibn Yaqzān*, Ibn Tufayl writes of:

ذكر سلفنا الصالح رضي الله عنهم ان جزيرة من جزائر الهند التي تحت خط الاستواء وهي الجزيرة التي يتولد بها الانسان من غير ام ولا اب لا بها اعدل بقاع الارض هواء اتمها لشروق النور الاعلى عليها
(Gauthier 20) استعدادا

Our forefathers, blessed be of memory, tell of a certain equatorial island, lying off the coast of India, where human beings come into being without father or mother. This is possible, they say, because, of all places on earth, that island has the most tempered climate. And because a supernal light streams down on it, it is the most perfectly adapted to accept the human form. (Goodman 103)

While it is unclear whether or not the island of Hayy is in fact the WaqWaq of historical, literary, and pseudo-geographical legend, the contemporary marginalia (though anonymous) which reads Hayy's island as WaqWaq becomes a valuable witness. And it is important and revealing that Ibn Tufayl should use it, however tenuously, as a point of reference. In a philosophical treatise steeped in the Neo-Platonic tradition of experiential rationalism, and composed during a period of advancement in maritime technology and

on the subject, consult Viré, “Wakwak, Wakwak, Wak Wak, Wak al-Wak, al-WakWak; Toorawa, “Waq al-Waq”

¹⁰⁰ It is interesting to note that for Andalusī authors the paradisiacal was general portrayed in the image of the courtly garden or *hortus conclusus*. As a *locus amoenus*, however, it was not apart from society but intimately connected to the urban center and a circle of intellectual elites, who praised the achievement of culture and letters, and indulged in the delights and pleasures of the sensory world. Compare Baroud who cites Pastor who suggests the possibility that Hayy's island is Sarandib or Ceylon, an island that most Muslim theologians suggest is the location of the Garden of Eden or the earthly paradise (101). See Chapter 2 concerning the poetry and compunction of Judah Halevi.

the science of cartography, why employ the image of an island whose existence even Al-Idrisi questioned as unverifiable and whose supposed legendary qualities are worthy of mockery? This question is difficult to answer, and it may not be answered here to the reader's complete satisfaction. But in addressing the issue, we are forced to consider more critically the island and its purpose in the text, and more importantly, the philosophical space of Hayy's spiritual ascent.

For Lenn Goodman, the island of *Hayy Ibn Yaqzān*, though void of any societal strictures, resembles in the theory the order of the Aristotelian *politeia*. Ben-Zaken has discussed the island space of Hayy's metaphysical awakening as a "no-place" largely irrelevant to geographic and cartographic epistemology. Mahmoud Baroud's pseudo etymological analysis of the Greek "utopia" (ουτοπία), which he argues derives from a pun based on the Greek "not" (οὐ) and "good" (εὖ), suggests the island of Hayy shares the composite meaning of "no place" and "good place." Though somewhat linguistically suspect, this analysis attempts a slightly more developed and nuanced notion of Hayy's island home.¹⁰¹ Baroud suggests, however, it is a utopia which can never be here and must always be nowhere, somewhere we do not know, for a utopia can never truly exist (95). This literary tradition is largely based on Plato's *Republic* which delineates the qualities and characteristics of a perfect society based on equality, justice and tolerance, void of poverty and misery.¹⁰² Similar examples in Islamic thought most notably include Al-Farabi's *Principles of the Views of the Citizens of the Best State*. There are two immediate problems with this model, however. First, the island of Hayy's "adventures" is

¹⁰¹ It must be noted that Baroud's interest in the image of the island at this point in his analysis is specifically concerned with genre and the question of categorizing *Hayy Ibn Yaqzān* as an example of utopian fiction. See Baroud, "Desert Islands and their Purpose."

¹⁰² See Plato, *Republic* 4.433d-e

not imagined as an ideal society. In fact, it is not a society at all; it is the absence of civilization and all strictures society offers. Second, according to Al-Farabi, following Plato and Aristotle, man cannot live in isolation and is incapable of realizing his highest potential except as a member of society. Though they are interested in the ascent of the individual intellect, for these philosophers the highest good of man is to create and govern the ideal polity, *al-madina al-fadila* and *ideodes politeia*, respectively. In contrast, Ibn Tufayl's island reveals an ethical philosophy which suggests the individual ascent to the Supreme Intellect is the highest aim of man, and is achieved—at least in theory—only in isolation and the absence of the polity.¹⁰³

By the ninth century, attempts were made to systematize the mystic experience. To do so, scholars frequently borrowed the well-known and image rich terminology of the voyage. Dhu al-Nun, for example described the mystical journey in terms of *ahwal* “states” or *maqamat* (stations or degrees) of mystical union (Touati 166).¹⁰⁴ Moreover, the monastic notion of *uns*, the tearing of oneself away from the world of mankind, had become one of the necessary stations through which one must pass in order to reach divine intimacy. Related to the term *insan* (mankind), it suggests a renunciation of society and sociability (whether political, economic or religious); it meant a complete abandonment of men in order to embrace *wahsha*, the savage solitary life in a state of nature (Touati 198-99). But whereas in Sufism, for example, this is a stage one normally must struggle to achieve, or arrive at, it is here, in that place (*hal/maqam*) where Hayy begins his journey.¹⁰⁵ This is the island of Hayy. And in the twelfth-century

¹⁰³ See Michael Sells, *Early Islamic Mysticism* 104.

¹⁰⁴ For a study of *maqam* and *ahwal*, see Dhahabi, *Siyar A'lam al-Nubala* 11:534.

¹⁰⁵ As we shall see in the following section, the struggle to achieve this state of *uns* more aptly describes the spiritual voyage of Asāl in contrast to both Hayy (as already arrived) and Salāmān (who never departs).

cartographically imbued parlance of an Andalusí philosopher and theologian attempting to reconcile not only revelation and reason, but the intellectual implications of Sufism, the island would have been an image easily recognized by the learned men to whom Ibn Tufayl's letter is directed: it is in unavoidable *maqam* (place) and *hal* (state) on the path of ascent. It is no longer an unknown or unmapped island on the edge of the *oikoumene* (known world), but a place as space (station as state) in which the philosopher must be, or to which he must arrive.

While many Muslim mystics traveled or wandered physically and geographically from place to place, such that their inward exploration mimicked their outward journey, some remained *in sitio*. Derived from the same root as *maqam*, those who stayed were called *muqimun* or residents, and those who travelled were called *musafirun* (from the Arabic root *s-f-r*, to travel). Given Hayy does not venture from the island for the first fifty years of his aesthetic life, it can be argued that he is a *muqimun*, as a resident and stationary mystic traveler. However, the notion of *muqimun* is intimately connected to the polity, in which the mystic remained, thus attempting from within the walls of society to achieve spiritual ascent. The obvious difference is quickly exposed, then—the *maqam* of Hayy is not a polity. On the contrary, the fundamental notion of the island for Hayy, as “the entire world,” acts as a space contrary to all elements and notions of landed civilization. Thus, though Hayy's spatial practice resembles that of the *muqimun*, his social practice (or lack thereof) resembles the itinerant life of a *musafirun*.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁶Another term borrowed from Sufism is the idea of the “vagabond saint” or *sa'ih*, a well-known figure in the *Qur'an*, cited among the nine categories of the sincere believers (*Qur'an* 9:112). Though as Touati points out, the term is broad enough to cover all types of wandering (including those not germane to the ascetic practices of hermits or monks), by the 11th century, and particularly after a notable commentary of this same Quranic verse by Qushayri in the *Lata'if al-Isharat*, the notion of *siyaha* was established (perhaps its historical meaning re-established) specifically as a spiritual endeavor in which one wanders in search of God (160-61). See also Ja'far al Sadiq, *Mishah al-Shari'ah* in which he employs the term for those who

To be clear, though these same terms are commonly employed in Sufism, I am not suggesting either Ibn Tufayl or the fictional character Hayy adhere to Sufi thought or practice. In fact, Hayy's philosophy clearly rejects the tenets of Sufism which deny or diminish the ability of the rational intellect to access the divine. Rather, in the tradition of Al-Ghazālī and Ibn Sīna, Hayy adheres to what can more accurately be described as an Aristotelian (pseudo-Alexander of Aphrodisias or Peripatetic) tradition of a pure and rational mysticism (or theosophy) built on the foundation of rational inquiry. Thus, we agree with Baroud's practical approach to *maqam*, where through experimentation and investigation of his environment, Hayy "gradually sort[s] out [his] daily physical and practical problems and eventually occup[ies] [himself] with philosophical and spiritual matters" (118).¹⁰⁷ He does so, however, without travelling, in the absence of the polity and removed from civilization.

For many Muslims of the twelfth century, after six centuries of Islamic conquest, "civilization" in the social and religio-political sense of the term is frequently equated with the *Dar al-Islam* (Abode of Islam). That is, civilization meant those lands under the rule of Islam and thus subject to its social, political, theological, and economic authority and influence. As we shall see more clearly in the following section, Ibn Tufayl appears

wander in God (110). Moreover, the term necessarily implies not only a search for teaching (*itibar*), similar to the aforementioned *musafirun*, but also intuition (*istibsar*). As an autodidact, the former is of no use to Hayy, but as physical being he shares the need for intuition. Without it, it is impossible for Hayy to contemplate the higher forms. How can a corporeal substance contemplate the non-corporeal without the assistance of an external guide? Ultimately, we know this guide finds its source in God, but also that it is in his search for, and contemplation of, intuition that Hayy discovers (comes to believe) that his true self is in fact a non-corporeal substance that uses his body as a tool with which to seek the divine Source. Thus, he is able to contemplate the divine because his has been given both the physical ability of vision (*basira*) and the higher faculty of inner sight (*basira*) from both of which is derived *istibsar* (Compare Greek *autopsia*).

¹⁰⁷ Allusions to the *maqamat* literary genre would not be lost on the twelfth-century reader, for in a similar (though certainly a more itinerant) manner, the traveling adventures of the protagonist take him from place to place on his journey for knowledge and understanding. Consider, for example, the Hebrew poet Judah al-Harizi (Chapter 1) whose *maqamat* known as the *Sefer Tahkemoni* tells of the Mediterranean travels of a rogue-trickster Hever as recounted by an equally untrustworthy narrator Heman. See note 28 on the subversive nature of the *maqamat*.

to suggest that the purest pursuit of knowledge must take place beyond that space, outside of Islam, and therefore apart from the authority of the *Qur'an*. As an intimate friend and advisor to Abu Ya'qub Yusuf al-Mansur, the caliph of the Islamic Almohad dynasty, could Ibn Tufayl possibly be saying this? To answer this question, it is necessary to understand the importance of the remaining two protagonists of his text (Asāl and Salāmān), as well as their motivations to, or not to, travel.

Asāl and Salāmān

Though many scholars focus their critical attention on Hayy and the philosophical implication of the personal and spiritual ascent toward the divine in the absence of societal convention (as we have discussed thus far), most either mention Asāl and Salāmān in passing or avoid the subject all together. And of the few who have discussed the presence of Asāl and Salāmān in the text, many view their participation in the story as either superfluous or aesthetically unnecessary.¹⁰⁸ Sami Hawi writes concerning the literary aspects and structure of the work that *Hayy Ibn Yaqzān* is actually two stories resulting from what he calls “a confusion between his artistic and philosophical needs” (47). In fact, Hawi contends that “after the culmination of Hayy’s career in union with God, *there seems to be no artistic reason* for the story to continue” (46). He goes on to delineate the literary damage the story suffers due to this unnecessary interruption of narrative flow, but correctly determines that Part IV of the novel was necessary for Ibn Tufayl “to present his views concerning the harmony of religion and philosophy” (47). We disagree, then, with Hawi’s characterization of the text as confused, and see rather an intentional shift in its philosophical focus from “natural philosophy” to “practical

¹⁰⁸ See Hawi, *Islamic Naturalism and Mysticism* 31-47.

science” in order to make the case for the integration of reason and revelation. It is for this purpose that Ibn Tufayl introduces Asāl and Salāmān (and the polis) into the narrative. That is, this is not merely the tale of a *philosophus autodidactus* (as the 1671 Latin translation suggests); nor is it the tale of Hayy Ibn Yaqzān, as thus far even we have been referring to it; in the words of the author what we read is “the story of Hayy Ibn Yaqzān and Asāl and Salāmān ‘قصة حي بن يقظان واسال وسلامان’ (Goodman 103; Gauthier 20, emphasis mine).¹⁰⁹

Why study Asāl and Salāmān? If, as Hawi initially suggests, everything that occurs after Hayy’s mystical union with divine is literarily superfluous, the appearance of Asāl and Salāmān at the end of the treatise becomes nothing more than an aesthetic release of tension (Hawi, Hourani and Goodman). Following the model of Leo Strauss in *Persecution and the Art of Writing*, both Hourani and Hawi suggest as much in their attempts to refute the conclusions of Gauthier who thought the harmony of philosophy and religion was the principle subject of *Hayy Ibn Yaqzān*.¹¹⁰ As Steven Harvey warns, however, such conclusions bare the methodological markings of George Ashwell, Simon Ockley and A.S. Fulton, who in their early edition of *Hayy Ibn Yaqzān* wholly disregarded the importance of the philosopher’s introduction (*iftitāhiyya al-khutba*) to the overall meaning and intention of his treatise.¹¹¹ But what does this *prooemia* tell us about the text? Unmistakably, Harvey asserts, the story of Hayy is meant to help the reader

¹⁰⁹ In the conclusion to the tale, Ibn Tufayl uses the term *nabā’* (news/word) instead of *qisah*. Compare *Philosophus autodidactus sive Epistola Abi Jaafar Ebn Tophail de Hai Ebn Yokdhan* 26 and 198.

¹¹⁰ See Hourani, “The Principle Subject of Ibn Tufayl’s *Hayy Ibn Yaqzān*”; Sami Hawi, *Islamic Naturalism and Mysticism*; Léon Gauthier, *Ibn Thofail: sa vie, ses oeuvres*. See also Goodman 47.

¹¹¹ A.S. Fulton writes at the beginning of his 1929 translation, *The History of Hayy Ibn Yaqzan*: “Ibn Tufayl wrote a short introduction to his romance, in which he discusses some of the views held by leading Muslim exponents of mystic philosophy before his time... This is omitted from Ashwell’s translation and from the 1731 edition of Ockley’s version. We also have omitted it since it contains nothing of general interest” (Fulton 37).

discover the secrets of Ibn Sīna’s “Oriental Philosophy” ‘الحكمة المشرقية’ (Goodman 95; Gauthier 4).¹¹² Without this perspective, however much of Ibn Tufayl’s reading of Ibn Sīna might be a misinterpretation of said philosophy, it is impossible to understand the nature of the parallel relationship between author and addressee and Hayy and Asāl (Harvey 18).¹¹³ And in the absence of such critical considerations, the tale of Hayy becomes nothing more than a fictitious philosophical romance, as Ashwell and Ockley concluded.

Thus, my interest in the text’s introduction, and “conclusion” or second part (what Hawi refers to as Part IV), is important to justify the subject matter of this study, namely the geographic and cartographic relationship to the novel, which intimately connected to the philosophical and mystic purpose of the work, as well as the importance not only of Hayy, but of Asāl and Salāmān in understanding how Ibn Tufayl maps the space of knowledge, and in particular the intellectual space of the medieval Mediterranean for a twelfth-century Andalusī Muslim (mystic) philosopher. As such, following Gauthier and, more recently, Goodman, for the remainder of the chapter I will discuss the shifting philosophical focus of the text towards a more “practical science” (like that found in *Ethics* and *Politics*) which examines the socio-theological and political implications of the space and movement of Asāl and Salāmān. Here the integration of reason to revelation is discussed in terms of the function of religion in society. Moreover, continuing the methodological framework of our study, structured by the image of the

¹¹² See Dimitri Gutas on Harvey, page 18 (note 11).

¹¹³ I am inclined to agree with Hawi that from the *bismallah* (invocation of God) to the *imma ba’du* (the text body, literally, “that which comes after”), there is no reason to suspect that Ibn Tufayl is using veiled terminology to present his argument, as he certainly is with his presentation of Hayy’s mystical ascent and supernal union with the divine. Though we must carefully sift through the language and make room for authorial interpretative error, in my view, there is no reason to question the authenticity of Ibn Tufayl’s remarks in the *khutba*. See Hourani, “The Principle Subject of Ibn Tufayl’s *Hayy Ibn Yaqzān*” 42.

voyage, I will discuss how the images of Asāl and Salāmān re-insert the text (at least partially) back into the paradigm of the voyage, exemplifying variant socio-theological practices of travel, and divergent philosophical approaches to the notion of travel in relation to the intellectual journey as understood and articulated by a twelfth-century Andalusī Muslim philosopher and theologian writing on the western edge of the Mediterranean but steeped in a philosophical, maritime and cartographic traditions which stretched from Persia to Iberia, to the Indian Ocean and back again.

What's in a Name?

In *Kitāb al-Isharāt wa-al-Tanbihāt* (The Book of Hints and Pointers), Ibn Sīna briefly mentions an early story of Salāmān and Absāl:

وإذا قرعه سمعك فيها يقرعه, وسرد عليك فيها تسمعه, قصة لسلمان, وأبسال. واعلم أن "سلامن" مثل ضرب لك. وأن "إبسال" مثل ضرب لدرجتك في العرفان إن كنت من أهله. ثم حل الرمز إن أظقت

(*Kitāb al-Isharāt* IV.48-51)

When thou hearest the story of Salāmān and Absāl, know that Salāmān is a symbol typifying thyself, while Absāl is a figure typifying thy degree of attainment in mystical gnosis. Resolve the problem if thou canst. (Dehghan 118)

When Fakhr al-Din Rāzi first analyzed this text, this “story” to which Ibn Sīna refers was unknown (Dehghan 118). Though he was admittedly puzzled by the words Salāmān and Absāl, he posited that perhaps by Salāmān, Ibn Sīna meant “Adam,” and by Absāl, “Paradise” (Corbin, *Avicenna* 206-7). Thus, according to Dehghan, “Adam’s exile from Paradise as a consequence of eating the forbidden fruit represented the descent of the Rational Soul as a result of indulgence in physical pleasure” (118-19).

Nasir al-Din Tusi contended that Salāmān symbolized the man on a quest (*talib*), and that Absāl was the aim or goal (*matlub*) of that quest. Though we no longer have Ibn Sīna's version of *Salāmān and Absāl*, to our great gain Al-Tusi penned the following summary of the work:

سلامان و أبسال كانا أخوين شقيقين و كان أبسال أصغرهما سنا وقد تربى بين يدي أخيه, ونسأ صبيح الوجه, عاقلا, متأدبا, عالما, عفيفا, شجاعا. وقد عشقته امرأة سلامان . . . وأبى أبسال عن مخالطة النساء . . . فقالت لسلامان زوج أخاك بأختي . . . وليلة الزفاف, باتت امرأة سلامان في فراش أختها . . . وقد تغيم السماء في الوقت بغيب مظلم, فلاح فيه برق, أبصر بضوئه وجهها فأزعجها, وخرج من عندها, وعزم على مفارقتها . . . وقد قال لسلامانك إنى أريد أن أفتح لك البلاد . . . عادت إلى المعاشقة, وقصدت معانقته فأبى وأزعجها . . . وظهر لهم عدو, فوجه سلامان أبسالاً إليه, في جيوشه, وفرقت المرأة في رؤساء الجيش أموالاً, ليرفضوه في المعركة, ففعلوا, وظفر به الأعداء, وتركوه جريحا وبه دماء, حسبوه ميتاً, فعطفت عليه مرصعة من حيوانات الوحش, وألقت حمة ثديها, واغتنى بذلك إلى أن انتعش وعوفى ورجع إلى سلامان وقد أحاط به الأعداء وأذلوه . . . أبسال وأخذ الجيش والعدة, وكر على الأعداء, وبددهم, واسر عظيمهم, وسوى الملك لأخيه ثم وأطأت المرأة, طابخه, وطاعمه, وأعطتهما مالا, فسقياه السم وكان صديقا كبيرا, نسباً, وعلماً, وعملاً . . . واعتم من موته أخوه, واعتزل ملكه إليه جلية الحال, فسقى المرأة, والطابخ, (Kitāb al-Isharāt IV.54-55) والطاعم, ثلاثتهم, ما سقوا أخاه ودرجوا

Salāmān and Absāl were half-brothers. Absāl, the younger, was raised by his brother, the king, and grew up to be a handsome and intelligent young man. Salāmān's wife fell in love with him. Absāl, however, did not return this love. In order to capture him she had Salāmān marry Absāl to her sister. On the wedding night Salāmān's wife slept in her sister's bed. A flash of lightning, however, revealed the deception to Absāl. In order to be separated from her, Absāl took an army and conquered various countries for his brother. When he returned

Salāmān’s wife still desired him, but he again repulsed her. Then an enemy appeared and Absāl was sent to fight them. Salāmān’s wife bribed the soldiers of his army to betray him, and he was left for dead on the battlefield. A suckling animal, however, nursed him back to health and he returned to his brother’s court to find him surrounded by enemies. Absāl again took the army and completely vanquished his brother’s enemies. Then Salāmān’s wife persuaded Absāl’s cook and butler to poison him and he died. Salāmān was so grieved that he gave up his kingdom. He prayed to God, and God told him what had happened. Then Salāmān made his wife, the cook, and the butler drink the same poison and they also died. (Dehghan 119).

It is not clear whether this is the version of the story Ibn Tufayl was familiar with, but we do know that he had read Ibn Sīna’s story and from it borrowed the names of Asāl and Salāmān. As such, the Salāmān and Absāl of Ibn Sīna’s text might lend us some insight into the meaning of Asāl and Salāmān in *Hayy Ibn Yaqzan*. The same can be said of a ninth-century Arabic translation by Hunayn ibn Ishāq al-‘Abadi of a supposed Greek text which, according to Al-Tusi’s summary, contained a story of a boy named Salāmān “born from the king’s semen outside a woman’s womb” and a woman named Absāl who “suckled him and brought him up” وأوضعتة . . . وأوضعتة ‘ (Dehghan 120; *Kitāb al-Isharāt* IV.51). Though Hunayn’s version of the story differs greatly from those of Ibn Tufayl and Ibn Sīna, it is worth quoting at least a portion of Al-Tusi’s summary of Hunayn:

كان في قديم الدهر، ملك ليونان والروم ومصر وكان يصادقه حكيم، فتح بتدبيره له، جميع الأقاليم، وكان الملك يريد ابنا يقوم مقامه، من غير أن يباشر امرأة فدبر الحكيم حتى تولد من نطفته في غير رحم امرأة،

ابن له, وسماه سلامان وأوضعتة امرأة, اسمها أيسلا وربته وهو بعد بلوغه عشقها, ولازمها, وهى دعتة إلى نفسها, وعلى الالتداذ بعاشرتها ونهاه أبوه عنها, وأمره بفارقتها, فام يطعه وهربا معا إلى ما وراء بحر المغرب وكان الملك آلة يطلع بها على الأقاليم, وما فيها, ويتصرف فى أهلها, فاطلع بها عليها ورق لهما, وأعطاهما ما عاسا به, وأهملهما مدة ثم إنه غضب من عقادى سلامان فى ملازمة المرأة, فجعلها بحيث يشتاق كل إلى صاحبه, ولا يصل إليه, مع أنه يراه, فتعذبا بذلك, وفطن سلامان به, ورجع إلى أبيه معتذرا ونبيه أبوه على أنه لا يصل إلى الملك الذى رشح له, مع عشقه أيسال الفاجرة, وإفاه لها فأخذ سلامان وأيسال كل منها يد صاحبه, وألقيا نفسيهما فى البحر, فخلصته روحانية الماء وأمر الملك, بعد أن أشرف وأيسال على الهالك وغرقت أيسال (*Kitāb al-Isharāt* IV.51-52) على الهالك وغرقت أيسال

In ancient times there was a king who held Byzantium, Greece, and Egypt.

Among his intimates was a Sage who opened for him all the lands (climes). The king wanted a son to take his place, but without cohabitating with a woman. Then the Sage thought of a way such that a son was born from the king's semen outside a woman's womb. He was named Salāmān. A woman named Absāl suckled him and brought him up. When he reached maturity, Salāmān fell in love with Absāl and stayed with her. She invited him to enjoy her embrace. His father forbade him her, and ordered him to stay away from her. Salāmān disobeyed his father, and the two lovers eloped together beyond the Western Ocean. The king had an instrument by which he could find out everything that happened in all the lands and by which he could manipulate the inhabitants of them. Through this instrument he found out about these two. He pitied them, bestowed upon them a source of sustenance, and left them alone for a time. Then he became angry because Salāmān continued in the company of the woman. So he put them in a position where each yearned for the other, but, although they could see one

another, they could not be united. So they were tortured by this. Salāmān became aware of this trick and returned apologetically to his father. The king warned him that he would not attain the kingdom for which he had been nominated as long as he loved the lewd woman Absāl. So Salāmān and Absāl caught hold of each other's hand and threw themselves into the ocean. Then by command of the king, the redeeming quality (spirituality) of the water saved Salāmān after he had been on the verge of destruction, but Absāl was drowned. (Dehghan 12)

Corbin's reading of the Persian Tusi's summary of Ibn Sīna's version of Salāmān and Absāl contends that "Salāmān is the practical intellect, and Absāl is the contemplative intellect." And he suggests it is this model of interpretation that Ibn Tufayl followed in *Hayy Ibn Yaqzan* (239). We must note, however, that scholars are not in agreement as to the spelling, let alone the meaning and purpose of Asāl. Some scholars have noted, for example, the variant spellings of the name and thus posit different meanings: Ibn Sīna's Absāl, derived from the Arabic root *b-s-l*, denotes courage, while Ibn Tufayl's Asāl, derived from the root *a-s-l* (to sharpen) projects intellectual acuity.¹¹⁴

¹¹⁴ See Hawi, *Islamic Naturalism and Mysticism* 14 (note 3). Though some scholars (Baroud and Habib) prefer Asāl to Absāl—viewing the latter as a corrupted spelling of "Asāl" due to scribal error—I am inclined, however, to agree with what seems to be the majority (Hawi, Attar, Hourani, *et al*) that Ibn Tufayl may have purposefully chosen Asāl in order to emphasize the subject's intellectual perception and insight, while simultaneously paying homage to the narrative tradition of Ibn Sīna and al-'Arabi—and that of Hunayn ibn Ishāq al-'Ibādi. Henry Corbin, on the other hand, stakes the claim that Tufayl in fact wrote Absāl and not "the corrupt" Asāl given that the former agrees with the majority of manuscripts and is the form to which Tufayl himself refers in the introduction (*History of Islamic Philosophy* 240). As Hawi contends, some scholars view Asāl as the misreading of an absent diacritical mark under the *sin* (s), which would have been read as a *bet-sin* (b-s), thus A[bs]āl and not A[s]āl. It is difficult to find any other justification for a reading of Absāl other than a strict borrowing from Ibn Sīna. The courageous connotation of the root *basara* fits the character of Ibn Sīna's protagonist, but not completely that of Ibn Tufayl's, whose safe island space does not demand the same level of emotion from him. (On the deterministic function of the island, see Calabrese 17-20; and Goodman 79. For a brief discussion of the Arabic translation of a supposed Greek source by Hunayn ibn Ishāq al-'Ibādi, see Iraj Dehghan, "Jami's Salāmān and Absāl.")

Regardless of these eponymous peculiarities, as Ibn Tufayl describes the society of the “other” inhabited island, it is clear that two men stand out: Asāl and Salāmān, for having achieved a higher level of intellectual awareness than the majority of the population. However, Salāmān, as king and spiritual leader, accepts and submits to the principles of mass religion and civil governance revealing himself to be a practical and social being, while Absāl is unable to adapt to these societal conventions and withdraws from the community, revealing his contemplative and solitary nature. For Corbin, the pensive and mystical qualities of Asāl evoke the model of Ibn Sīna. In Ibn Tufayl, however, Asāl takes on a unique moral function.

The Asāl of Ibn Tufayl

In *Hayy Ibn Yaqzān*, Asāl is a religiously trained and learned man. When he happens upon Hayy in the text, he (Asāl) had decided to renounce the distractions of his society and seek the ascetic life of a hermit in search of Truth. He sets out upon the ocean and happens upon what he believes to be an uninhabited island where he disembarks and begins his life of hermitage. The island is not deserted, however; it is the island of Hayy (in at least one extant witness, WaqWaq). Inevitably Hayy and Asāl happen upon each other, and though at first Asāl attempts to avoid Hayy, believing him to be another ascetic in search of solitude, Hayy’s curiosity is overwhelming and he begins to pursue Asāl, who in response attempts to flee:

واشتد حى بن يقظان في اثره حتى التحق به لما كان اعطاه الله من القوة والبسطة في العلم والجسم فالنترمه
(Gauthier 141). وقبض عليه ولم يمكنه من البراح

Hayy ran after him, and with the power of God and vigor had given him, not just mentally, but physically as well, he caught up with him and seized him in his grip from which he could not escape (Goodman 158-59).

Though Asāl is at first terrified of his captor, and unsure of who or what he was, he eventually attempts to communicate with him, and finding him without language, teaches him his own. In this way both Hayy and Asāl are able to share the knowledge and wisdom of their experiences, after which Asāl comes to understand that the state and station of enlightenment Hayy has reached was that which he seeks. And with Hayy's guidance, he would soon achieve it.

Unlike Hayy, however, Asāl does travel, and his ultimate enlightenment and spiritual ascent is made possible only after he journeys across the sea and meets a master (Hayy) from another *land*. And while Hayy begins his internal journey from a privileged space (which we have discussed above), Asāl must leave his land; that is, travel outside the sphere of institutional influence (religious, social, political).¹¹⁵ His apprehension of Truth is only possible beyond the ever-present distractions of society and the mediated reality its veils and symbols afford. And we would do well to remember that one of these veils is language, the phonic and graphic symbols of thought and meaning. For Asāl was a social being, a man of learning and letters. We read: “[I]n his passion for the study of the more sophisticated level of interpretation, [Asāl] had studied and gained fluency in many languages” (‘وكان اسال قديما لمحبه في علم والتأويل قد تعلم اطثر الالسن’ (Goodman 159; Gauthier 141-42). In contrast, Hayy had no language. But Ibn Tufayl presents Hayy not as ignorant of language and letters, as Baroud contends, but free from them. Even

¹¹⁵ Though not explicitly mentioned in the text, given the historical and intellectual context in which Ibn Tufayl writes, it seems reasonable to argue that the intended audience of this tale would have understood Asāl's travel as a voyage beyond the Dar al-Islam; that is, beyond the realm of Islamic influence.

language as a system of symbols with which to convey meaning is still nothing more than a veil, an artifice that impedes access to pure knowledge and wisdom.

For Plato and Aristotle, the philosopher's experience of the eternal is "unspeakable" (*arrheton*) and "without word" (*aneu logon*), respectively.¹¹⁶ Consequently, even if the greatest philosopher were to have discovered the eternal as Truth, the moment he attempts to recount or describe the experience by any means other than experience and pure contemplation (e.g. writing, speaking, etc.) his thoughts cease to focus on the eternal. In other words, he has left the *vita contemplativa* and necessarily entered the *vita activa*. In *The Human Condition*, Hannah Arendt further explains that for Aristotle and Plato the apprehension of Knowledge, "has no correspondence with and cannot be transformed into any activity whatsoever, since even the activity of thought, which goes on within one's self by means of words, is obviously not only inadequate to render it but would interrupt and ruin the experience itself" (20). As such, the origin story of Hayy apart from society *ab initio* signifies that Hayy has circumvented this epistemological impasse; Asāl has not. Like Hayy, Asāl is an intelligent and contemplative man of advanced philosophical understanding, but Asāl's awakening thus far finds its foundation within a system of symbols codified by social and political institutions, what Aristotle called *habitus*. Thus, when Asāl finally meets Hayy, his perspective of this strange hermit is mediated by the strictures of his *habitus*. As a man without language, in the eyes of Asāl, Hayy is lacking knowledge or at least a necessary tool by which to gain access to knowledge. This is at first frustrating for Asāl who, as a

¹¹⁶ See Plato, *Seventh Letter* (341c) and Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 1142a 25ff., 1178a 6ff. For a broader study, see Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition: A Study of the Central Dilemmas Facing Modern Man*.

polyglot, is unable to recognize the origin of Hayy's animalistic utterances.¹¹⁷ For the lettered and civilized Asāl, Hayy is untranslatable. But the attentive reader will have observed, as Ibn Tufayl himself tells us, "Not knowing how to speak did not prevent him from understanding" 'ولم يمنعه عن فهمه كونه لا يعرف الكلام ولا يتكلم'. In fact, "he witnessed what no eye has seen or ear heard, nor has it entered into the heart of man to conceive" 'وشاهد ما لا عين رأت ولا اذن سمعت ولا خطر على قلب بشر' (Goodman 149 Gauthier 141).¹¹⁸ Concerning this process Goodman's writes:

To the materialist the fact of consciousness is an insurmountable stumbling block—thus attempts at reduction of thought to behavior or to some mechanical reaction, to anything which it is not. Of these attempts one of the most persistent, if least satisfactory, is the attempt to reduce thought to some function of language or quasi-linguistic entity. . . . The difficulties of the reductionist position become clearer when it is realized how little protection for the vital distinction between intelligence and mere behavior is afforded by these views. Ibn Tufayl, for his part, feels no qualms about describing Hayy's thoughts as the products of an internal dialogue. The thought-experiment itself resolves the otherwise eternal wrangle as to which came first, the concept or the word: In isolation the linguistic act is inconceivable but the mental act remains. With a note of triumph Ibn Tufayl points to his success: the mind has been able to follow the progress of a human

¹¹⁷ We read that whilst Hayy was living with animals on the island he imitated their calls so well that "eventually his voice and theirs could hardly be distinguished" (34).

¹¹⁸ Compare 1 Corinthians II, 9; Isaiah LXIV, 4. See also Origen, *De Principiis* III, 4; Augustine, *Confessions* IX, 23.

being from near non-being to near the peak of human perfection without assuming the “help” of society or the intervention of language. (219)¹¹⁹

It is of course anachronistic to speak in colonial terms when discussing the arrival of Asāl to the island of Hayy, but the manner in which Asāl first confronts Hayy reveals on his part a sense of cultural (socio-religious) superiority by which Asāl feels compelled to civilize Hayy. He does this first by teaching him *his* language and customs and then by attempting to proselytize. One gets the sense that Asāl believes that by converting the non-believer and teaching him language, philosophy and religion, not only Hayy but Asāl himself might get closer to God. The reader, of course, anticipates the irony by which Asāl’s desire to impart knowledge and religion to Hayy unravels in his discovery that it is Hayy who is the bearer of the truth he seeks:

فلما سمع اسال منه وصف تلك الحقائق الذوات المفارقة لعالم الحس باوصافه الحسنى ووصف له ما امكنه وصفه مما شاهده عند الوصافه من الذات الواصلين والام المحجوبين لم يشك اسال فى ان جميع الاشياء التى وردت فى شريعته من امر الله عز وجل وملائكته وكتبه ورسله واليوم الآخر وجنته وناره هى امثلة هذه التى شاهدها هى بن يقظان (Gauthier 144)

Hearing Hayy’s description of the beings [of the celestial spheres] which are divorced from the sense-world and conscious of the Truth—glory be to Him—his description of the Truth Himself, by all His lovely attributes, and his description, as best he could of the joys of those who reach Him and the agonies of those veiled from Him, [Asāl] had no doubt that all the tradition of his religion about God, His angels, [writings] and prophets, Judgment Day, Heaven and Hell were symbolic representations of [the] things that Hayy Ibn Yaqzān had seen for himself. (160)

¹¹⁹ See note 204.

At this point, it becomes clear that Asāl is the convert and Hayy is the messenger and guide. But Hayy also recognizes that the religion of Asāl and his people conveys the truth that he had discovered on his own and that the messenger that brought that truth was rightly guided. As such, Hayy willingly witnesses to that truth, which, as Goodman points out, makes one wonder if Hayy was not a Muslim all along (231). Baroud writes that the revealed Law under which Asāl lives, “though inaccessible to reason and intuition, was by no means contrary to reason” (180). And it was specifically through the meeting of Hayy and Asāl that Ibn Tufayl is able to demonstrate this harmony. And this answers Hawi’s concern regarding the inclusion of Part IV (the episodes after Hayy has achieved an enlightened mystic state) as a confusion of artistic and philosophical needs. The meeting of Hayy and Asāl is clearly necessary in order for Tufayl to demonstrate that the teaching of reason and received tradition were in agreement. In fact, such are the words Ibn Tufayl employs to describe Asāl as witness to the unveiled truth of Hayy’s mystic experience—though we must note that these words could not describe Hayy nor could Hayy have uttered them given his unfamiliarity with Islamic tradition, or any tradition for that matter. Again, “Asāl had no doubt that the traditions of his religion . . . [were] were representations of these things that Hayy Ibn Yaqzān had seen for himself” ‘لم يشك اسال في ان جميع الاشياء التي وردت في شريعته . . . هي امثلة هذه التي شاهدها هي بن يقظان’ (Goodman 160; Gauthier 144). That is, “Reason and tradition were at one” ‘تطابق عنده’ (160; 144). Moreover, Ibn Tufayl makes it clear that the wisdom of Hayy’s experience supersedes that of Islamic tradition, for now “[a]ll his old religious puzzlings were solved; all obscurities, clear. Now he had a ‘heart to understand’” ‘ولم يبق عليه مشكل’ (160; 144).¹²⁰ ‘في الشرع الاتبين له ولا مغلق الا انفتح ولا غامض الا اتضح وصار من اولى الالباب

¹²⁰ *Qur’an* 50:36-37. Compare also the last sentence of Ibn Tufayl’s introduction to the text: “For the tale

Even after this moment of epiphany, however, Asāl is still in need of Hayy as a guide to improve his intellectual abilities, and seeing Hayy as a saint (*wali*) asks him to be his guide and teacher (*imam*).

وعند ذلك نظر الى حى بن يقظان بعين التعظيم والتوقير وتحقق عنده انه من اولياء الله الذين لا خوف عليهم ولا هم يحزنون فالتزم خدمته والافتداء به والاخذ باشارته فيما تعارض عنده من الاعمال الشرعية التي كان قد تعلمها في ملته (Gauthier 144-45)

[Asāl] looked on Hayy Ibn Yaqzān with newfound reverence. Here, surely was a man of God, one of those who “know neither fear nor sorrow.” He wanted to serve as his disciple, follow his example and accept his direction in those things which in [Asāl’s] own view corresponded to the religious practices he had learned in his society. (160-61)

As Goodman reminds us, Asāl’s request that Hayy be his guide reveals that he has not yet completely shed the trapping of his religion and its social conventions, such as the need for human authority (Goodman 230).¹²¹ Hayy, on the other hand (at least initially), has

[of Hayy Ibn Yaqzan] points a moral for all with heart to understand, ‘a reminder for anyone with a heart or ears to listen and to hear’” (Goodman 103; Guathier 20). Ibn Tufayl use of the term heart here does not refer to the physical organ but to the locus of understanding. See for example the author’s discussion of the heart during Hayy’s intellectual ascent:

فلا تعلق قلبك بوصف امر لم يخطر على قلب بشر فان كثيرا من الامور التي تخطر على قلوب البشر قد يتعذر وصفها فكيف بامر لا سبيل الى خطوره على القلب ولا هو من عالمه ولا من طوره ولست اعنى بالقلب جسم القلب ولا الروح الذي فى تجويفه بل اعنى به صورة ذلك الروح الفائضة بقواها على بدن الانسان فان كل واحد من هذه الثلاثة قد يقال له قلب ولا سبيل الى خطور ذلك الامر على واحد من هذا الثلاثة ولا تتأتى العبارة الاعما خطر عليها ومن رام التعبير عن تلك الحال فقد رام مستحيلا (Gauthier 121)

Do not set your heart on a description of what has never been represented in a human heart. For many things that are articulate in the heart cannot be described. How then can I formularize something that cannot possibly be projected in the heart, belonging to a different world, a different order of being? Nor by ‘heart’ do I mean only the physical heart or the spirit it encloses. I mean also the form of that spirit which spreads its powers throughout the human body. All three of these might be termed ‘heart’, but there is no way of articulating this experience in any of them, and only what is articulate can be expressed (Goodman 149).

¹²¹ Ibn Tufayl’s final comments regarding Asāl’s spiritual pursuit suggests his imperfection and that he will, in fact, never fully reach the station and state he seeks: “Asāl imitated [Hayy] until he approached the same heights, or *nearly so*” (165; 154, emphasis mine).

neither philosophical nor social need of Asāl. When Asāl describes his religious tradition and the divine vision revealed to them by their prophet, Hayy is not further enlightened from an internal ontological standpoint, but rather “understood all this and found none of it in contradiction with what he had seen for himself from his supernal vantage point”

‘ف فهم حى بن يقظان ذلك كله ولم ير فيه شيئا على خلاف ما شاهده فى مقامه الكريم’ (161; 145).¹²²

Consequently, we see that Asāl admires and respects Hayy and begins to imitate him.

“Asāl looked on Hayy Ibn Yaqzān with newfound reverence. . . . He wanted to serve as his disciple, follow his example and accept his direction. . . .” ‘و عند ذلك نظر الى حى بن يقظان ‘

(160; 145). It is true that after Asāl

describes the various practices of his religion Hayy “accepted these and undertook to

observe them” ‘فتلقى ذلك والتزمه’ but it seems reasonable to assume that the outward

symbols of Asāl’s religion were either already practiced by Hayy or irrelevant based on

his higher understanding and application of truth. Hayy says as much in his criticism of

the Law (*sharī‘ah*) (161; 146). He asks himself why the prophet (*al-rasūl*) “confine[d]

himself to these particular rituals and duties and allow[ed] the amassing of wealth and

overindulgence in eating, leaving men idle to busy themselves with inane pastimes and

neglect the Truth” ‘اقتصر على هذه الفرائض ووظائف العبادات وابعاح الاقتناء للاموال والتوسع فى المآكل ‘

(161; 146). The reader will remember that

Hayy already practiced a form of what we might call naturalist conservationism in the

form of asceticism and shunning of the material world: eating and drinking only what

would keep him alive, wasting nothing and protecting nature’s flora and fauna.

Concerning his physical needs, the author states:

¹²² It is important to note, as Baroud does, the irony for most Muslim readers of Ibn Tufayl’s text, specifically the image of Hayy desiring to save a society that had already received and was currently practicing a religion virtually indistinguishable from that of Islam.

ويتخير منها ما لم يكن في هذه كبير اعتراض على فعل الفاعل وذلك مثل لحوم الفواكه التي قد تناهت في الطيب وصلح ما فيها من البزر لتوليد المثل على شرط التحفظ بذلك البزر الا يا كله ولا يفسده ولا يلقيه في موضع لا يصلح للنبات مثل الصفاء والسبخة وخوها فان تعذر عليه وجود مثل هذه الثمرات ذات اللحم الغاذي كالتفاح والكمثرى والاجاص ونحوها كان له عند ذلك ان ياخذ اما من الثمرات التي لا يغذو منها الا نفس البزر كالجوز القسطل واما من البقول التي لم تصل بعد حد كمالها والشرط عليه في هذين ان يقصدا كثرها وجودا واقواها توليدا وان لا يستأصل اصولها ولا يفنى بزرها فان عدم هذه فله ان ياخذ من الحيوان او من بيضه والشرط عليه في الحيوان ان ياخذ من اكثره وجودا ولا يستأصل منه نوعا (Gauthier 111-12)

[He] decide[d] carefully what to eat so as to bring about the least opposition to the work of the Creator. Thus he could eat such things as the meat of fully ripened fruits, with seeds ready to reproduce, provided he was certain not to eat or harm the seeds or throw them in places unfit for vegetation—among rock or in salt flats or the like. If it was hard to find fruit with nourishing meat, such as apples, plums, and pears, then he would have to eat either fruits in which only the seed had food-value, such as nuts and chestnuts, or else green vegetables—on condition that he pick only the most abundant and prolific and be sure not to uproot them or destroy the seeds. If none of these were available, then he must eat meat or eggs, again being careful to take only from the most abundant and not root out a whole species. (144-45)

In regards to conservation, Hayy's aim is to imitate the three characteristics of the celestial bodies: they facilitate life (“the outpouring of spirit-form” ‘لفيضان الصور’); they are pure; and are continuously undistracted and aware of the Necessarily Existent (145; 114). Regarding his imitation of the first characteristic, we read:

فاما الضرب الاول فكان تشبيهه بها فيه ان الزم نفسه ان لا يرى ذا حاجة او علهة او مضره او عائق من الحيوان او النبات وهو يقدر على ازالتها عنه الا ويزيلها فمتى وقع بصره على نباس قد حجبه عن الشمس حاجب او تعلق به نبات آخر يؤذيه او عطش عطشا يكاد يفسده ازال عنه ذلك الحاجب ان كان مما يزول وفصل بينه وبين النبات المؤذى بفاصل لا يضر المؤذى وتعهده بالسقى ما امكنه ومتى وقع بصره على حيوان قد ارهقه سبع او نشب فى انشوطه او تعلق به شوك او سقط فى عينيه او اذنيه شىء يؤذيه او مسه ظماء او جوع تكفل بازالة ذلك كله عنه جهده واطعمه وسقاه ومتى وقع بصره على ماء يسيل الى سقى نبات (Gauthier) او حيوان وقد عاقه ممره ذلك عائق من حجر سقط فيه او جرف انهر عليه ازال ذلك كله عنه (114-15)

[He] imitated their action by never allowing himself to see any plant or animal hurt, sick, encumbered, or in need without helping it if he could. If he noticed a plant cut off from the sun, he would, if possible, remove what was screening it. If he saw one plant tangled in another that might harm it, he would separate the two so carefully that not even the weed was damaged. If he saw a plant dying for lack of water, he would water it as often as he could. When he saw an animal attacked by a predator, caught in a tangle, or stuck by a thorn, or with anything harmful in its eye or ear, or under pressure of hunger or thirst, Hayy did all he could to alleviate the situation and gave it food and water. Chancing to see an animal or plant's water-supply cut off by a fallen rock or a fragment swept away from the overhanging riverbank, he would always clear away the obstacle. (Goodman 146)

As such, society's laws and regulations (religious or otherwise) on money, welfare, property, etc. seemed to Hayy "inane" 'بالباطل' and "superfluous" 'تطويلا' (Goodman 161-62; Gauthier 146, 147). They would not need these laws, he contends, if people could understand things for the way they are. His criticism is as much of Asāl as it is of the

society from which he comes. But Hayy’s reproach comes from his naiveté, his belief that “all men had outstanding character, brilliant minds and resolute spirits” ‘الناس كلهم ذوو’ (162; 147). And Ibn Tufayl does not hold back the critical punches; he contends that Hayy “had no idea how stupid, inadequate, thoughtless, and weak willed they are, ‘like sheep gone astray, only worse’” ‘ولم يكن يدري ما هم عليه من البلادة’ (162; 147).¹²³ The author’s intellectual criticism is made possible only by the presence in the story of Asāl, and later Salāmān, according to whom Hayy is able to make his comparative evaluations. Hayy’s naïve belief in both the good and the intellectual capacity of mankind is also what awakens in him the misguided desire to enlighten the inhabitants of Asāl’s islands. As Asāl once saw Hayy, Hayy now perceives them; they are in need of salvation—a guide on the path to knowledge and wisdom of pure Truth, unmediated by the veil/symbols of religion/civilization.

The arrival of Asāl to Hayy’s island was necessary for Ibn Tufayl to discuss the relation of philosophy to religion. Perhaps his travel was necessary for the pursuit of knowledge and wisdom. And one could argue that in twelfth-century Iberian Islamic thought, a discussion of this topic was obligatory, at minimum as a task of self-defense and a defense of philosophy—if not also to assuage any reader concerns. “The harmony of religion and philosophy,” writes George Hourani, “had to be affirmed by a philosopher in an age and country that suspected *falsafah* of being non-Islamic. This was particularly true in the conservative Maghrib, and more so than ever after Al-Ghazālī’s attack on the philosophers. All this has been well explained by Gauthier in *La théorie d’Ibn Rochd*... where he shows that the establishment of this harmony was an indispensable

¹²³ He appears to speak here indiscriminately of all non-believers, not just Muslims.

preliminary to philosophizing” (45).¹²⁴ Corbin, on the other hand, contests Hourani’s view that the reconciliation of philosophy and religion is preliminary or exterior to the main philosophical subject matter of the text, instead arguing that the “principle subject” of the text is not the ascent of Hayy, but the answer to the question why the philosopher must be a solitary being.¹²⁵ Whether or not this is the ultimate aim of *Hayy Ibn Yaqzān* is unclear, but this notion is one of the most salient to be found in the interactions amongst the three main characters: Hayy, Asāl and Salāmān, to whom we now turn.

The Salāmān of Ibn Tufayl

Like Hayy, Asāl achieves a mystical union with the divine, and is presented by the author as similarly intellectually curious and spiritually intuitive. However, before his mystic experience he is an example of the intellectual contemplative soul within society (*musafirun*). Salāmān, on the other hand, does not attempt the mystical ascent, either *in sitio* or by way of the journey; he does not travel in search of wisdom. Similar to Aristotle’s concern with the notion of *politeia* (constitution) in the *Politics* and *Ethics*—a particular ordering or organization of the city state—Salāmān “believed in living within society and held it unlawful to withdraw” *كان يرى ملازمة الجماعة ويقول بتحريم المزالة*’ (Goodman 163; Guathier 150).¹²⁶ And though he is a learned man, in the terms of Islamic mysticism we have previously employed, he is neither *musafirun* nor *muqimun*. Instead,

¹²⁴ Hourani is here concerned with the principle subject of Ibn Tufayl’s thought experiment, which he argues is not a defense of the accord of philosophy and religion or the function of religion in society, as Gauthier had suggested in his attempted revival of Asāl and Salāmān as central figures to the narrative. Rather, in an admittedly somewhat obvious critical turn, Hourani argues that the principle subject of *Hayy Ibn Yaqzān* was, in fact, that which early scholarship once concluded: the personal and internal experience of mystical ascent. See Hourani, “The Principle Subject of Ibn Tufayl’s *Hayy Ibn Yaqzān*” 40-46.

¹²⁵ Thus he falls in the tradition of *Mishāh al-Shari’ah* of Ja’far al-Sādiq and the mystical vocabulary of solitude. See Ja’far al-Sādiq, *Mishāh al-Shari’ah* (Beirut: Muassasat al-Ajami lil-Matbu’āt, 1980). See also Ja’far al-Sādiq, *Tafsir al-Qur’ān al-adhim* (Misr: Matba’at al-Sa’ādah, 1908).

¹²⁶ See Aristotle, *Politics* III.1. See also Immanuel Brekker, *Aristotle’s Politics* 155.

the appearance of Salāmān in the text, during the journey and visit of Hayy and Asāl to the inhabited island, serves yet another purpose: a discussion of the function or place of religion in society (Hawi, Hourani, Goodman). It becomes clear that as king and spiritual leader of the densely populated (civilized) island, Salāmān comes to symbolize the “ideal of involvement” or distraction (*inharāf*), or that which is supremely rejected by Hayy in pursuit of the self and of the beatific vision. Salāmān, however, appears less concerned with himself as he is with others; that is, he has committed himself to civic affairs and public welfare. As such, Salāmān and his elite circle of religious leaders are suspicious of Hayy and his philosophical speculation, preferring the external interpretation of revelation provided by mass religion to Hayy’s internal and intuitively guided pursuit of pure truth.¹²⁷ We read of Hayy’s interaction with this elite group:

فشرع حى بن يقظان فى تعليمهم وبت اسرار الحكمة اليهم فما هو الا ان ترقى عن الظاهر قليلا واخذ فى وصف ما سيق الى فهمهم خلافة فجعلوا ينقبضون عنه وتشمئز نفوسهم عما يأتى به ويتسخطونه فى قلوبهم وان اظهروا له الرضا فى وجهه اكراما لغريبته فيهم ومراعاة لحق صاحبهم اسال وما زال حى بن يقظان يستلطفهم ليلا ونهارا ويبين لهم الحق سرا وجهارا فلا يزيدهم ذلك الانبوا ونفارا مع انهم كانوا لا يطلبون الحق من طريقه لا يأخذونه بجهة تحقيقه ولا يلتمسونه من بابيه بل كانوا يريدون معرفته من طريق الرجال (Gauthier 150-51)

Hayy Ibn Yaqzān began to teach this group and explain some of his profound wisdom to them. But the moment he rose the slightest above the literal [*zahir*] or began to portray things against which they were prejudiced, they recoiled in horror from his ideas and closed their minds . . . despite the fact that these were men who loved the good and sincerely yearned for the Truth. Their inborn infirmity simply would not allow them to seek Him as Hayy did, to grasp the true

¹²⁷ See Baroud 181-82.

essence of His being and see Him in His own terms. They wanted to know Him in some human way. (Goodman 163)

These men, the author is telling us, prefer literal interpretation to the inner meaning behind existence—which Ibn Tufayl uses an allegory to show. Salāmān’s suspicions, then, concern Hayy’s method of interpretation, which challenges the king’s prejudice of *zahir* (apparent meaning) over *batin* (hidden meaning). But his skepticism of Hayy’s strange philosophical notions is perhaps somewhat warranted. After all, Hayy is a foreigner who arrived on their island from the unknown. And to the extent that travel implies an encounter with the other, there are inevitably concerns over its association with corruption.¹²⁸ While travel had its obvious benefits it was also the means by which dangerous ideas (e.g. *falsāfa* in the form of Greek philosophy) could contaminate one’s culture. It is also clear, however, that Ibn Tufayl offers his text in the hopes of allaying some of these fears, and skillfully advocates a reconciliation of Aristotelian mystic philosophy and Islamic theology. Importantly, by imagining the space of this reconciliation as an island outside of all societal influence, Ibn Tufayl not so subtly addresses scholars’ geographic anxieties over leaving the Islamic (perhaps Maliki) sphere of influence. Hayy’s presence on the island suggests that the success of the philosophical journey is in fact contingent on a complete separation *ab initio* from civilization, even if the latter take the form of an Islamic polity. Furthermore, viewing the argument from the opposite direction, when Hayy travels *to* the island of Asāl and Salāmān he does so not to gain wisdom, for this he has already achieved *in absentia*. Rather he travels at the request

¹²⁸ Plato gives a warning about the risks of travel which is an echo of the Anacharsis story in Herodotus, who after returning to his homeland is killed for attempting to introduce foreign religious practice and traditions (*The Laws* Book 12; *Histories* 4.77). See also Ian Rutherford, “Theoric Crisis: The Dangers of Pilgrimage in Greek Religion and Society.”

of Asāl so that he might enlighten others (Muslims) by sharing his reasoned and revealed vision of Truth, which can be achieved unmediated by the veil of human interpretation—though admittedly Hayy still has to communicate this to them. Somewhat predictably, then, Salāmān is suspicious of Hayy’s extra-terrestrial ideas. But Hayy too is suspicious of the religion of Salāmān and the beliefs and practices of his society. And his skepticism is expressed in the terminology of Aristotelian ethics, where virtue is achieved by controlling the passions. “They have made their passions their god,” he observes, “and desire the object of their worship. . . . They are engulfed in ignorance. Their hearts are corroded by their possessions” ‘ قد اتخذوا الههم هواهم ومعبودهم شهواتهم . . . قد غمرتهم الجهالة واران ‘ ‘ corroded by their possessions’ ‘ على قلوبهم ما كانوا يكسبون (Goodman 163; Gauthier 151). In fact, Hayy expresses concern over the system of symbols that governs their access to knowledge, and ultimately finds it necessary to leave civilization, even if it be a society of Muslims, *in order to* successfully continue his journey. Thus we read: “Hayy saw clearly and definitely that to appeal to them publicly and openly was impossible. Any attempt to impose a higher task on them was bound to fail. . . . So, saying goodbye to them, the two [Asāl and Hayy] left their company and discretely sought passage back to their own island” ‘ والابصار بان له وتحقق على ‘ ‘ القطع ان مخاطبتهم بطريق الكماشفة لا يمكن وان تكليفهم من العمل فون هذا القدر لا يتفق . . . فودعاهم وانفصلا عنهم وتلطفوا فى العود الى جزيرتها (164, 165; 152, 154).

As we have pointed out elsewhere, Hayy does not contradict the teachings of Salāmān’s religion (i.e. Islam), but finds both their tradition (*hadith, tafsir* and *shariah*) and Scripture (*Qur’an*) to be unnecessary: “Hayy understood all of this and found none of it in contradiction with what he had seen for himself from his supernal vantage point . . . still there were [things] that surprised him and the wisdom of which he could not see”

ففهم حى بن يقظان ذلك كله ولم ير فيه شيئاً على خلاف ما شاهده فى مقامه الكريم . . . الا انه بقى فى نفسه امران ‘
 (161; 146). That is, he does not question that their prophet (Muhammad) was true, in the sense that he had achieved a vision similar to
 Hayy’s, but he finds it peculiar that such a prophet would communicate the knowledge he
 received in the enigmatic form of symbols. “[W]hy,” he asks, “did this prophet rely for
 the most part on symbols to portray the divine world, allowing man to fall into grave
 error?” ‘لم ضرب هذا الرسول الامثال للناس فى اكثر ما وصفه من امر العالم الالهى واضرب عن المكاشفة؟’
 (161; 146). Thus, when Hayy visits their island, he finds their methods (oral and written
 testimony) of rational observation and philosophical inquiry unnecessary, but not
 precisely wrong in a moral sense. When Asāl shares the teaching of the Prophet with
 Hayy, he “believed in this messenger and the truth of what he said” ‘فأمن به [الرسول] وصدقه ‘
 (161; 145). But the outward practices of worship, such as fasting, the poor
 tax, pilgrimage and prayer, Hayy judges as inane. “If people understood things as they
 really are . . . They would not need all these laws” ‘استغنوا . . . استغنته . . . ان الناس لو فهموا الامر على حقيقته . . .
 (162; 147). Their philosophy, he reasons, is a
 theology stuck in the world of symbols. In fact, he concludes they are cognitively
 incapable of accessing pure Truth, and have become so dependent on these symbols that
 glimpsing beyond the veil may destroy them. Hayy concludes (perhaps like their prophet)
 they are better left to trust what is heard and written about these things. That is, realizing
 the state of their ignorance:

ووصاهم بملازمة ما هم عليه من التزام حدود الشرع والاعمال الظاهرة وقلة الخوض فيما لا يعينهم
 والايمان بالمتشابهات والتسليم لها والاعراض عن البدع والاهواء بالسلف الصالح والترك لمحدثات الامود
 (Gauthier 153-54)

[Hayy] urged them to hold fast to their observance of all the statues regulating outward behavior and not delve into things that did not concern them, submissively to accept all the most problematic elements of tradition and shun originality and innovation, follow the footsteps of their righteous forbears and leave behind everything modern (Goodman 164-65).

Al-Farabi, Al-Ghazālī and even Judah Halevi (Chapter 1) had similar concerns. In fact, we read in the *Ihyā' 'Ulum ad-Din* of Al-Ghazālī:

واسع الأطراف مضطرب الأمواج قريب في السعة من بحر التوحيد فيه غرق طوائف من القاصرين ولم يعلموا أن ذلك غامض لا يعقله إلا العالمون ووراء هذا البحر سر القدر الذي تحير فيه الأكثرون ومنع من إفشاء سره المكاشفون والحاصل أن الخير والشر مقضى به وقد كان ما قضى به واجب الحصول بعد سبق المشيئة فلا راد لحكمه (*'Ulum ad-Din*, XXXV.1)

Religious speculation will create only confusion; the unwary navigator in the dangerous sea of monotheism will most likely capsize if he attempts to go it alone. He will become easy prey to heretical scavengers unless somehow his thoughts are salvaged by the suasion of *kalām*” (236-37).¹²⁹

According to Davidson, in *Al-Madīna al-Fādila*, Al-Farabi argues that human bodies, and the souls (intellects) that follow from them, are “differentiated from one another inasmuch as ‘the dispositions’ in matter ‘for [receiving] souls follow the blends [*mizājat*] of bodies” (Davidson 56).¹³⁰ Accordingly, though man is capable of knowing all things, not all men are capable of such knowledge; this is possible only for those who have attained the highest stage of human intellect: acquired intellect (49). And those who have developed their intellect but are yet bound by the “vicious characteristics in [their] souls”

¹²⁹ Paraphrase by Goodman.

¹³⁰ See Al-Farabi, *Al-Madīna al-Fādila* 17 (فب مرلتب الموجودات)

shall perish (Davidson 56). For Ibn Sīna, such men live in a “world of falsehood” and whose souls are hindered like a man who though he uses “a mount and gear in order to reach a certain place” is prevented from disposing of them after he arrives (Davidson 104, 105). That is, as Matthew Arnold contends, religion is necessary because “moral rules apprehended as ideas first, and then rigorously followed as law, are, and must be, for the sage only. The mass of mankind have neither force nor intellect enough to apprehend them clearly as ideas, nor force of character to follow them strictly as laws” (Arnold 187). Dogmatism, then, is sufficient for the masses. Ibn Tufayl shares this notion, understanding and accepting the function of religion as a civilizing influence and a tool to affirm and strengthen the resolve of its people and maintain social order. But for Hayy, that which cures the masses is his poison, and though he does not reject the vision of truth provided by traditional religion, the imagery and symbols civilization construct he sees only as obstacles to higher wisdom.

As we have discussed already at some length, other than circumambulating the island in imitation of the celestial bodies, scavenging in search of food, or the various movements necessary to conduct his scientific experimentation, beyond his visit to Asāl’s land, Hayy does not travel in physical/geographical sense of the word; that is, he does not travel from port to port in search of knowledge, in the model of *talab al-‘ilm* (Goodman 146-48). This tale is not about his “adventures” on the high seas. That is, however, until he is convinced to travel to the neighboring island of Asāl and Salāmān in the hopes of enlightening the population. Having failed and fearing that their ignorance and obsession with the physical world and its systems might obstruct him from *his* spiritual pursuit, he returns to his island and there he remains. Hayy’s motivation to travel across the sea to

another land was not to gain knowledge or wisdom from learned men, books or traditions. The knowledge these contain are nothing more than symbols of the Truth and higher wisdom which Hayy has achieved precisely in their absence. He has no need for travel and, in fact, after having traveled, he suggests this brief voyage was a mistake (164-65). If such is the case, one might ask if Ibn Tufayl is deconstructing and refuting the importance and benefit of the journey and the tradition of *talab al-‘ilm*. The text suggests that the physical journey, while important for some, is itself ultimately a symbolic process of ascension. By symbolic I do not mean that Ibn Tufayl was convinced it did not exist. Rather, as mentioned previously, the knowledge one gains from traveling from place to place, learning from one scholar or another, reading from this book or that, is for the true philosopher/mystic a process veiled by an impenetrable artifice which like a dirty mirror can only imperfectly reflect the light it receives (153). This truth is a mediated truth insufficient for ascent into pure wisdom which can be achieved only through a clear vision of things (*tabayyun*). Betraying his Neo-Platonic sympathies, the physical voyage, like that of all sub-lunar bodies, can only imperfectly reveal the realm of forms. Like Hayy, Ibn Tufayl demands something greater, higher, and purer, and the intellectual journey as part of a physical voyage does not altogether lose its purpose in the text. Though dangerous for Hayy, for others like Asāl—and, perhaps, Ibn Tufayl—the voyage has proven beneficial.

Conclusions

What we have thus far discussed in terms of abandoning or existing outside of civilization is in many ways a re-articulation of the main theme of this dissertation. The

Mediterranean space as a methodological paradigm with which to analyze and examine the texts and the cultures that produced them necessarily deconstructs or at a minimum problematizes the concept of national, confessional and linguistic identities, or a sense of national belonging, and questions the notion of origin. Hayy, and the true philosopher, has neither origin nor political affiliation. Though he is on land, he exists apart from “mainland” (civilization), and seeks Truth on the floating foundations of the insular space. But as we have seen in previous chapters and will again address in the following chapter on the *Libro de Apolonio*, being absent from land does not imply being nowhere. Rather, it implies, among others things, entering the philosophical space of the journey, the maritime space. Ibn Tufayl’s model of contact conceived in the image of the island requires deterritorialization, but not in the sense of a nomadism that leads to mixed forms of social interaction. It is not a movement away from place, but a state and station of being (*musafirun/muqimun*). Mill suggests that the acquisition of knowledge requires not detachment from the world but movement through it. Like Herodotus and Plato, we see hints of an acknowledged connection between the practice of *thoeria* (i.e. travel) and the attainment of knowledge.¹³¹

In contrast to both medieval Christian and Muslims cartographic representations of the *oikoumene* such as those of Al-Idrisi and Beatus of Liébana which depicted monsters, savages and pagans in the margins—specifically on islands—one could argue that in regards to the space of philosophical and ethical awakening, Ibn Tufayl envisions the island at the center of the map, with civilization at the margins.¹³² Monsters, then, as

¹³¹ See above discussion on Al-Farabi’s *al-madina al-fadila* and Neo-Platonist notions of the *ideodes politeia*.

¹³² In terms of Muqaddasi’s hierarchy (‘*’iyan, sama’*, and *kalām*) Hayys’ island as a space of experiential and intuitive vision is the most valuable method of observation.

mentally inferior and ethically compromised beings distracted by the multiplicity of the world of sensory perception, inhabit the polis; Hayy, on the other hand, who represents the uncorrupted mind awakened to the truth of unity, occupies the center. In the Middle Ages, this image is not unheard of. We are reminded that classical tradition viewed the world as an island or cluster of islands completely surrounded by the Ocean (Lyon 78-99). Before we extend this imagery too far, for even the best analogies eventually break down, it is important to note that even though Ibn Tufayl considers Hayy to have developed a sounder epistemology than the philosophical system of those who are distracted and deceived by a world of shadows and appearances (to use the language of the *Republic*), Hayy is clearly portrayed as unique, not normative. His uniqueness is not an aberration, however, but a characteristic of his exceptional mental capacities and extraordinary intuition, by which he is blessed by God with the potential to see beyond the artifice (*tabayyun*), to have a clear vision of things. In fact, Hawi sees Asāl's island as the analogue to Plato's cave: Like Asāl, Plato's released prisoner is mocked by his companions when he returns to the cave in order to educate them about what he had experienced. And also like both Hayy and Asāl, Plato's prisoner turns away from the affairs of men in order to pursue a life of solitude and the contemplation of truth (20).

It is in this sense that *Hayy Ibn Yaqzān* can be read as a map, where description does not present "reality" or "imitate" anything, but is there to suggest meaning. "This is particularly relevant to the relation between literary and cartographical practices," writes Pinet, "as description in cartographic writing and, especially, in maps—in the form of symbols that represent a city, a river, or a chain of mountains—is understood as related to

meaning rather than to a detailed or precise presentation of anything” (11).¹³³ This is precisely Ibn Tufayl’s critique of institutionalized religion and its practitioners; where the written or spoken Law and Tradition of revealed wisdom is meant to suggest meaning, many mistake it as reality. That is, the mistake of many is to confuse the signified with the signifier, and risk never breaking through the artifice.

This all has ethical (theological) and political implications. As Pinet points out in her answer to the question, “What is a map?” she contends that “the map is essentially a metaphor that describes human relations, power relationships, and hierarchies” (40). To this point, Avner Ben-Zaken points out that given its language, it is most likely that *Hayy Ibn Yaqzān* was intended not for the masses but for the a small group of intellectual elite or professional literati. In particular, he suggests that Ibn Tufayl’s text, as philosophy and *adab*, reconciles Almohad political theology and the older Andalusī philosophical tradition.¹³⁴ “Reconciling the philosophical open-mindedness of Sultan Abu Ya’qub Yusuf with his intolerance toward other religions, ideas, and customs seems perhaps impossible, but as Ben-Zaken suggests, Ibn Tufayl’s text appears to embody these contradictions. “He turns *Hayy Ibn-Yaqzān* into something like a guide for the perplexed for those who have not yet internalized the doctrine of divine unity” (28-9).¹³⁵ Echoing

¹³³ Pinet contends that a theory of fiction “where the intent is not in showing real spaces or addressing historical geographies, uses insularity as a way of building within [it] a series of hypotheses in the real” and a “laboratory of experiences for the subject” (107). Indeed, in the introduction (*khutbah*), Ibn Tufayl writes of figurative manner (*‘ala al-majāz*) in which he will express himself and describe the mystical journey of Hayy (6).

¹³⁴ Concerning *adab* and the author’s intended audience, Ben-Zaken writes, “It remains unclear for whom [Ibn Tufayl] wrote this allegorical telling of a philosophical system in the form of a story, leaving only the possibility that the intended audience for *Hayy Ibn-Yaqzan* were the professional literati, for whom the book signified not a form of entertainment but a part of their education. *Hayy Ibn-Yaqzan*, therefore, seems to lie not within a philosophical textual tradition but within the tradition of *adab*. . . . [He] offered the professional literati a tool with which to reconcile an older al-Andalusian philosophical tradition with Almohadi political theology” (28).

¹³⁵ Allusions to Moses Maimonides’ *The Guide for the Perplexed* should not be overlooked. Ben-Zaken’s chapter “Taming the Mystic” in *Reading Hayy Ibn-Yaqzan*, is in part a helpful descriptor of Ibn Tufayl’s

this notion, Dimitri Gutas contends that this spatial consciousness—and the mapping of placeless maritime spaces—is a means by which to express and evaluate man’s ethical formation free from the strictures of civilization, which are de facto echoes of Almohad institutions of power, and thus reflective of a shared Iberian-North African perspective. As such, Ibn Tufayl’s thought experiment is a dangerous one—he sails Al-Ghazālī’s perilous sea of monotheism. By attempting to describe the mystical experience, he runs the risk of all who attempt the impossible and who skirt the precipice of heresy, both pantheism and nihilism. Ibn Tufayl is keenly aware of such dangers, even mentioning the missteps of Al-Hallāj, the martyr, who was crucified in 922 for identifying himself with the Godhead in his attempt to describe the beatific experience. As Goodman points out, Ibn Tufayl appears to question the validity of the charges against Al-Hallāj, arguing instead that “His fault was an intellectual one: he did not adequately interpret and thus could not accurately express the content of the experience he underwent” (171).¹³⁶

It is thus that the character of Asāl enables Ibn Tufayl to discuss all religion as merely a symbol of spiritual truth, while the presence of Salāmān permits the author to mitigate the sting and apparent heresy of the former statement by articulating its necessary place in society, for without the veil the higher reality is inaccessible to most. Baroud argues, however, that Hayy’s failure on the inhabited island of Asāl and Salāmān reveals not a harmony between established religion and philosophy, but “an unbridgeable gulf between the ordinary mass of humanity and the few mentally superior” (184). Even

project; though his pursuit of wisdom with the help of reason (the passive intellect) and revelation (the active intellect) includes elements of mystical gnosis (“Oriental Philosophy”), the author seems to reign in the extreme views of medieval Sufism by anchoring them in, or hedging them between, the other two categories of philosophical inquiry.

¹³⁶ A similar discussion of inadequate interpretation will be considered in the following chapter on King Apolonio.

though Asāl and to some extent Salāmān are extraordinary men, they each have their limitations. And the inner vision of Salāmān, in particular, is paralyzed “because [his] attention is focused exclusively on the world of senses and because of their social habits” (Corbin, *Avicenna* 241). Access, then, is granted only to a select few, who have the discipline of renunciation.¹³⁷ Perhaps, as Khalil Habib contends, *Hayy Ibn Yaqzān* suggests that that for those who do not have a desert island of their own, the island space can be imagined, “where we philosophers can exercise prudence by practicing secrecy and irony . . . [There] his readers can live and even thrive as solitary philosophers while residing in imperfect cities” (113). In the absence of the island space, philosophers are to become *musafirun*. The rest of us, perhaps the lesser of us, are left with “culturally oriented dogmas [as] squint-eyed views of the Truth” (Goodman 73).

¹³⁷ Compare Judah Halevi (Chapter 2)

Medieval Mediterranean Travel as an Intellectual Journey:
Seafaring and the Pursuit of Knowledge in the *Libro de Apolonio*



(Figure 3) © Liam Michael Roodhouse 2013

The *Libro de Apolonio* has a rich and complicated history, both pagan and Christian, that stretches from the second century to the thirteenth century A.D. and from Asia Minor to the Kingdom of Aragon in the northeast of the Iberian Peninsula.¹³⁸ The thirteenth-century Castilian version of the story of Apolonio of present concern is in fact a poetic rendering of a much earlier Latin work known as the *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri*.¹³⁹ In it King Apolonio of Tyre leaves his kingdom to pursue the hand of the princess of Antioch, only to find that she has an incestuous relationship with her father the king of that land, from whom he flees. Lost at sea, Apolonio eventually marries the princess Luciana, daughter of King Architastres, after washing up onto the shipwrecked shores of Pentápolin. And when he once again sets out to sea, yearning to return to his native Tyre, a tempest separates him from both his wife and newborn daughter, Tarsiana. And as he wanders in exile she has her own adventures: captured by pirates and forced into slavery in the ports of Mitalena (Mytilenem), Tarsiana eventually earns her freedom by demonstrating her talents as a minstrel and riddler. Then, providentially reunited with her father when yet another storm at sea guides him to those shores, together they set out in search of Luciana, whom they find safe and sound as a priestess at Ephesus. And together they return triumphantly to Tyre, greeted by joyful cheers as they are welcomed by their countrymen.

The great majority of scholarship on the *Libro*—when not concerned with the *mester de clerecía* genre—has tended to focus on religious typology and the

¹³⁸ The *Libro*'s primary sources are the *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri*, the *Gesta Apollonii Regis Tyri metrica*, the *Phanteon* of Godofredo de Viterbo, the *Gesta Romanorum* and the *Carmina Burana*. For a detailed discussion of these sources, see Monedero 15–25 and Corbella 17–26.

¹³⁹ G.A.A. Kortekaas contends that the earliest extant Latin manuscripts of the Apolonio tradition are translations of a lost Greek Christianized version, which in turn is a later recension of an “original” pagan Greek text. Hard evidence for this supposed pagan Greek original, however, is scanty at best.

Christianization of a pagan text (Julian Weiss, Francisco Rico, T.E. Pickford, Marina Brownlee, Mary Jay Kelley and Ronald Surtz). The efforts of scholars such as Manuel Alvar and Patricia Grieve have largely been focused on the eponymous protagonist, Apolonio, as scholar king and Christian pilgrim. And Alan Deyermund has emphasized the text's relationship to European ecclesiastical tradition and folklore ("Motivos folklóricos"). Studies by Harriet Goldberg and, more recently, Matt Desing have begun to emphasize less researched characters such as Apolonio's daughter Tarsiana, who is a talented minstrel and clever riddler, and Apolonio's wife Luciana, who becomes both priestess and abbess ("Luciana's Story"). Surprisingly though, for a tale of travel that is literally centered geographically and narratively on the Mediterranean Sea, very little has been written about this maritime space or travel through it. Many scholars, including Deyermund and Brownlee, simply mention the sea in passing or disregard it as simply the medium by which the poet moves the plot or by which the protagonist lives a life of Christian pilgrimage.¹⁴⁰

Such readings of the *Libro*, in the context of the Christian *peregrinatio vitae*, while insightful, remain beholden to a decidedly European Christian ecclesiastical

¹⁴⁰ Dolores Corbella writes concerning the continuous travels of Apolonio, "el lector medieval se encontraba con un continuo peregrinaje del personaje, para el cual el 'mar' puede ser arquetipo de la dinámica de la vida, del exilio voluntario, pero también de la vida entendida como trayecto hacia un más allá" "The medieval reader confronted a continuous personal peregrination, for 'the sea' can be seen as an archetype for the dynamic nature of life, of voluntary exile, as well life understood as having a trajectory toward the beyond" (33). Alan Deyermund notes that in the poem one finds, "el concepto cristiano de la vida en este mundo como una romería hacia, un exilio de, nuestra patria" 'the Christian concept of terrestrial life as pilgrimage towards, an exile of, our homeland' ("Emoción y ética" 158). Marina Brownlee reminds us of the *peregrinatio vitae* as an important symbol of Christianity as early as Saint Augustine (168-170). And more than just the locus of life, Corbella adds that "El 'mar' . . . es lugar privilegiado de la muerte, pero también el renacimiento" "The 'sea' . . . is the privileged place of death, but also rebirth," thus making the sea a multivalent or at least ambivalent symbol (34). Rafael Lapesa contends that the *Libro de Apolonio* "es el poema del mar" 'the poem of the sea,' and Monedero suggests that the sea is not only the *leitmotif* of the text, but that "Sin el mar no existiría el *Poema*" 'Without the sea the Poem would not exist' (34). Though certainly accurate, in my opinion, these observations are given no further development or analysis in their respective scholarship. Note: The reference to Rafael Lapesa is made by Monedero on page 33. As of the publication date of this dissertation, I have been unable to locate this citation.

perspective, and are thus conspicuously underscored by the narrative of twelfth and thirteenth-century crusading chronicles, which depict the eastern Mediterranean—the geographic backdrop of the *Libro*—as a space of religious inspired imperial conquest and colonization. But such approaches neglect the reality of thirteenth-century Iberia’s participation in a much broader and more intellectually nuanced and shared cultural Mediterranean space. It is precisely during this time of crusade and conquest that the author of the *Libro* offers not simply a Christian, but a decidedly Mediterranean perspective of travel: seafaring is no longer relevant only to commerce or the religious-political violence of the crusading cause, but a (necessary) medium for access to knowledge and tradition, wherever and with whomever such knowledge might be found (Muslim, Christian, or Jew). That is, the impetus to travel at the heart of the *Libro* reveals Christian Iberia’s intimate relationship with a broader medieval Mediterranean tradition of travel, according to which the (sea) voyage is intimately connected to the pursuit of knowledge and understanding. Simply stated, the *Libro de Apolonio* is a book indicative of its location in both time and space: as a medieval Mediterranean tale of dubious Greek origin and composed in Castilian, it draws upon both Muslim and Jewish views of the voyage as an intellectual journey. As such, the narrative of Apolonio’s travels is necessarily set on the eastern Mediterranean Sea, the space in which these traditions coalesce and collide.

Moreover, in the poem’s description of the intellectual journey and the complexity of the sea space as both poison and cure, there is perhaps a thinly veiled critique of the failed ethics of crusading. The maritime imagery of the *Libro de Apolonio* reveals a fascination with the East and a yearning for distant lands and unknown places.

Looking east for the thirteenth-century Iberian Christian invoked a sense of itinerant pilgrimage and a nearly inevitable confrontation with the anxiety of the Crusades. During the Crusades, wave after wave of crusading armies would march across the continent or traverse the turbulent waves of the great sea toward the eastern shore. But the conflicting ambition of leaders and the jealousies of regional factions over several centuries revealed the impossibility of such a task (P. Thoreau).¹⁴¹ The discord and failure to cooperate and the inability or lack of impetus to effectively and consistently invest western resources in the east turned what was at first rapid progress into precipitous decline and failure (Riley-Smith).¹⁴² It is in the midst of this historical milieu that the *Libro* presents its literary map of the region. The eastern Mediterranean as a violent space of the crusade and its corresponding religio-political violence and conquest is repurposed in the *Libro*. In view of the failed efforts of the Crusades, to which even Christian pilgrimage was intimately related, an analysis of the sea voyage and its corresponding motivations to travel in the *Libro* re-imagines the sea and that same Mediterranean space as an intellectual path—a space where the failed ethics of crusade are replaced with the ethos of the intellectual (*talab al-‘ilm*) and religious (*hajj*) journey.

As such, in this essay I would like to move away from an exclusively Christian reading of the *Libro de Apolonio*.¹⁴³ To do so, I will discuss the maritime voyages of

¹⁴¹ P. Thoreau writes of the Frankish crusading contingent that they were “politically irresponsible” and were thus “torn apart by internecine struggle,” exhausting themselves in the pursuit of policies which revealed “a serious lack of consistent thought” (xx).

¹⁴² Admittedly, this is a topic of some debate. For two distinct views on the subject, see Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: a History*, and H.E. Mayer, *The Crusades*.

¹⁴³ We might first ask: Is Apolonio Christian? In “Mixed Message in the *Libro de Apolonio*,” Mary Jane Kelley contends that “a close reading [of the *Libro de Apolonio*] reveals that Christianity is only tenuously integrated into both the plot of the story and the characterizations of Apolonio, who emerges more as a passive courtly hero than as a model Christian” (1). Most scholars tend to disagree with Kelley’s secular view of the text, but perhaps there is room here for a reading that embraces Apolonio as both secular courtier and inexperienced and untested—certainly not model—Christian.

Apolonio within the framework of Muslim and Jewish traditions of travel and learning, as distilled from Greek (Neo-platonic) notions about the pursuit of knowledge. In particular, I am interested in how the Arabo-Islamic concept of the *rihla* might help to explain the motivation behind King Apolonio's travels, which I contend reflect what Houari Touati has called the "intellectual journey," in reference to a similar motif in Mediterranean Muslim tradition from the eighth-thirteenth centuries (Touati 11-44). Moreover, I aim to demonstrate how the image of the sea, particularly in storm, is the manifestation of that same intellectual space, where the sea strips the traveler (philosopher) of both physical vestments and intellectual vanities in order that he may first gain awareness of his ignorance, and only then pursue the true path to knowledge and wisdom. I contend that the traveler and his movements in and throughout the maritime space as intellectual journey can be understood in the context of medieval Arab and Jewish philosophical notions of perplexity and incoherence, concepts familiar to medieval Iberian readers from the work and commentaries of scholars such as Ibn Tufayl, Ibn Rushd and Moses Maimonides (among others) on Aristotle and Plato's understanding of the Greek *aporia* (ἀπορεία); it is both a state of confusion and wandering, and a necessary path to understanding. With this, I will to demonstrate two interrelated points. First, that Apolonio's motivation to travel and the various episodes in which the author narrates the sea he sails reveal a text that participates in, and was a product of, a more broadly conceived and shared multicultural medieval Mediterranean space. And second, that Apolonio's intellectual journey, as a movement from perplexity to understanding, is made possible only by way of the voyage: by sailing on stormy seas, and learning from experience both the blessings and travails of travel. Without this experiential knowledge,

Apolonio lacks the practical intelligence and wisdom to adequately interpret his surroundings, for his inability to interpret well is inextricably linked to his inexperience as a traveler. This is in contrast to the privileged station or state of Hayy's insular space of philosophical understanding and spiritual ascent. For here in the *Libro de Apolonio*, travel leads to wisdom and correct interpretation.

Before we directly address the text of the *Libro de Apolonio*, however, and in particular Apolonio's motivations to travel, it is imperative that we contextualize our analysis within the framework of medieval Mediterranean notions and traditions of travel.

Traditions of Travel

In *Travel in the Middle Ages* Jean Verdon contends that “[f]or a land civilization like that of the Middle Ages, the sea could only provoke fear, anxiety, and repulsion” (55). The sheer number of people that took to the sea, however, seems to problematize this view. S.D. Goitein writes in *A Mediterranean Society* that despite Nature's caprice and the perfidy with which it could render any journey a hazardous undertaking, “Mediterranean man in the Middle Ages was an impassioned and persevering traveler” (1.273). That is, despite even natural deterministic elements that disrupted the environment, there was constant movement that connected the region(s) of the Mediterranean and the peoples that inhabited them. In his study on the documents of the Cairo Geniza, Goitein reminds us of a vibrant maritime community in which both the lack of comfort and the danger involved in seafaring were in the end insufficient to discourage travel (273).¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁴ The Cairo Geniza is a collection of some 210,000 manuscript fragments in Hebrew, Arabic and Judeo-Arabic which were discovered in the basement of the Ben Ezra Synagogue in Fustat around 1896. They

Even for the people of pre-Islamic Arabia, travel was a way of life. As a consequence, the concept of travel was an important component of *jahiliyya*, or pre-Islamic poetry, and an integral part of the *qasida*, the predominant form of the Arabic poem. According to ninth-century historian, linguist and theologian Ibn Qutayba (828-885), the *qasida* or ode had a strict thematic order: it began with an erotic prelude (*nasib*), followed by a woeful yet skillfully composed tale of travels (*rihla*), and concluded with a panegyric (*madih*) (Gruendler). The poetic form of the *qasida*, and in particular the importance of the *rihla*, would continue to dominate Islamic poetry and eventually make its way into al-Andalus (Netton).¹⁴⁵ However, as Islam spread rapidly westward, the importance of the voyage became not just a poetic conceit, but also a matter of practical religious and intellectual concern as those who sought the knowledge of tradition were required to travel east. Consequently, later Islamic notions of the philosophical journey were conceived as distinct from the *rihla* of earlier Arab poetry: *al-rihla fi ṭalab al-‘ilm* (travel in search of knowledge), what I will refer to as the intellectual journey (Touati).

By the eighth-century Muslim thinkers and theologians was forced to deal with the problem of disappearing sources of knowledge and shifting authoritative centers into the Mediterranean (Touati 25-28). The Prophet and his companions were dead and those who had gleaned knowledge from them were also passing; thus, the difficulty of safeguarding the transmission of knowledge and *al-hadith* from their sources grew more difficult (“Hadith”). And it is specifically in this period that Islam is becoming a

were preserved, it is believed, due to the Jewish prohibition on the destruction of any document that may contain the name of God. It is a treasure trove for historians, archeologists, and literary and religious scholars, which speaks to the constant movement of medieval man on and throughout the Mediterranean space, and a testament to a uniquely diverse multicultural society.

¹⁴⁵ Many Andalusí poets wrote *qasidas* with *rihlas*. Ibn Khafaja, for example, was an important and well-known Iberian poet during the Almoravid period. For a detailed study, see Khadra Jarryusi.

Mediterranean presence. As the followers of Muhammad had once moved from Mecca to Medina, Muslims were now moving into and across the Mediterranean space. Jewish intellectuals like twelfth-century Iberian historian and theologian Ibn Daud also experienced anxiety over shifting sources of Talmudic and Halakhic knowledge, and a concern over *qabbalah*, as both oral tradition and received doctrine (Cohen). In fact, like the Jewish *qabbalah*, the Muslim *‘ilm*, knowledge related to Islamic tradition, conceived of genealogical knowledge which called for all *hadith* to be authenticated by an unbroken chain of transmission (*isnad*). And as authoritative centers were moving westward (i.e. to Baghdad, Damascus and as far as Córdoba), the gathering of this information required travel—eastward. This is carefully and copiously documented in a genre of Islamic literature called *tabakat* ‘generations’ or *‘ilm al-rijal* “knowledge of the transmitters of *hadith*.” Intended to evaluate the authenticity of *hadith*, it is at times necessary for the transmitter to recount their travels in order to verify the authenticity of the *isnad* (Thoreau).¹⁴⁶ But knowledge was not confined to the authority of tradition; for the intellectually curious medieval Mediterranean man, knowledge came in many forms, and could be found in many places. One *hadith* in particular cites the Prophet as encouraging his followers to “Seek knowledge, even if it be in China” (Netton).

An example of this can be found in the travels of medieval Muslim scholar and jurist Ibn Battuta who set out from Morocco on an intellectual journey across Ifriqiya (Africa), the Arabian Peninsula, and China. His initial motivation to travel was the Islamic pilgrimage to Mecca known as the *hajj*, itself emblematic of a multivalent use and understanding of travel for many Muslim scholars. Though primarily a religious

¹⁴⁶ See, for example, *The Great History* by Muhammad al-Bukhari and *al-Jarḥ wa al-Ta’dīl* by Ibn Abi Hatim.

pilgrimage, the *hajj* was also—or could be—“a study tour . . . of the heartland, and opportunity to acquire books and diplomas, deepen one’s knowledge of theology and law, and commune with refined and civilized men” (Dunn 30). Both part of and apart from the Crusades, medieval Christians also carried out pilgrimages to holy sites throughout the Mediterranean. And though for some the philosophical journey can be found among their many motivations to travel, depictions of medieval Christian itinerant intellectuals are limited, or rather undermined by chronicles of the Crusades and violent accounts of colonization and empire. Of course, Muslims were not alone in their understanding of travel as the pursuit of knowledge. Benjamin of Tudela was a twelfth-century Jewish geographer, ethnologist, and historian who traveled from northern Iberia to Europe, Asia, and Africa in search of authenticated knowledge.¹⁴⁷ It is thus that the voyage became important to the acquisition of knowledge; the Arabic *‘iyan* “observation” resembled the *autopsia* “to see with one’s own eyes” of the ancient Greeks, such that a sense of witness was both seeing and hearing (9). The Geniza letters written by both Muslims and Jews echo this idea, revealing a frequent maxim of medieval seafarers that “a man who is present sees what he who is absent cannot see” (Goitein 274). This emphasis on the importance of experiential knowledge is also central to medieval philosophical texts, as we explored in the last chapter on Ibn Tufayl’s allegorical novel *Hayy Ibn Yaqzān*, where

¹⁴⁷ This interest in historiography, geography, and ethnology shows how both Jews and Muslims were modeling themselves on Herodotus and, in general, Greek and Latin sources of Antiquity. In the *Kitab al-Fihrist* (The Book of the Index), Ibn al-Nadim suggests that the works of Plutarch, Plato, and Plotinus, as well as Homer and Herodotus, among others, were well known and even quoted in Arabic writings of the tenth century—for example, Ibn Fatik (*Mukhtar* 54) and Ibn Abi Usaybi`ah (*Tabaqat* 50). See Okasha El Daly: *Egyptology* (26, 62); Shlomo Pines: “An Arabic version of the *Testamonium Flavianum* and its Implications”; and Bayard Dodge: *The Fihrist of al-Nadim*.

inquiry and investigation are essential components of the intellectual journey, a notion wide-spread in Andalusí philosophical works.¹⁴⁸

The Iberian Jewish philosopher Moses Maimonides, who was intellectually indebted to Ibn Rushd and Aristotelian thought, writes *The Guide for the Perplexed*, as a guide to the reconciliation of religious duty and reasoned philosophical study, and a caution against the interpretive dangers that can lead men into perplexity (71-2). Ibn Rushd, an Arabic source for Maimonides' original work on Aristotle, published his philosophical treatise, *The Incoherence of the Incoherence* as a defense of his Aristotelian views in contrast to the problems of Islamic Neo-platonic as espoused by Al-Ghazālī in *The Incoherence of the Philosophers* (Van Den Bergh xii). Another Andalusí polymath and contemporary of both Ibn Rushd and Maimonides, the work of Ibn Tufayl was also marked by Aristotelian rationalism. As we saw in Chapter 2, he writes his short philosophical novel, *Hayy Ibn Yaqzān* "Life, Son of Awake," as a philosophical thought experiment of the intellect and self-discovery, in which he creates a fictional character in order to explore man's ethical formation as a movement from ignorance to knowledge, where "what a man achieves for himself is more satisfying than what he inherits from convention" (Colville xv). And just as for Ibn Tufayl, Ibn Rushd and Moses Maimonides, the intellectual pursuit cannot be separated from a sense of spiritual awakening, for the author of the *Libro*, Apolonio moves towards holy knowledge (to use Desing's terminology) not by abandoning reason, but by embracing it. One who is in a state of

¹⁴⁸ Medieval Iberian intellectual's familiarity with Ancient Greek philosophy is undisputed. Beginning with the Graeco-Arabic translation movement in eighth-tenth-century Baghdad known as the *Bayt Ul-Hikma* (House of Wisdom), and continued with vernacular translations of Greek and Arabic knowledge in the thirteenth-century courts of Alfonso X, medieval Mediterranean scholars and theologians had unprecedented access to the wisdom of Greek Antiquity. Steven Wasserstrom, in *Between Muslim and Jew*, reminds us that "S.D. Goitein characterized the relationship of Jews with Muslims in the first centuries of Islam as one of 'creative symbiosis'" (3). See Dimitri Gutas', *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture* and Jonathan Lyons, *The House of Wisdom: How the Arabs Transformed Western Civilization*.

perplexity has yet to reconcile the two. Notions of intellectually driven wanderlust can also be found in the fictionalized narratives of the *maqamat*, such of Judah al-Harizi's *Sefer Takhemoni*, in which the protagonist narrates his travels throughout the Islamic world (including the Mediterranean), as well as in translated narratives such as *Calila wa Dimna*. Whether out of concern for teleological and genealogical authority, the pursuit of philosophical truth, or the individual search for meaning, in no uncertain terms, knowledge and wisdom were products of the voyage—they necessitated travel.

One might ask what benefit it is for us to read the work of a thirteenth-century Christian cleric in the context of the Arabic and Hebrew intellectual journey. Heir to the cultural advances of al-Andalus (Muslim Spain), thirteenth-century Iberia was inhabited by large populations of Arabic speakers and Hebrew scholars. Nearly all the Iberian kings of the period—Pedro IV of Aragon, Sancho IV of Castile, and Alfonso X—employed Muslim and Jews in their courts. And some scholars believe Pedro I of Aragon even spoke Arabic (Pidal). These were hired as prized composers and musicians of learned Andalusí song and verse, translators, physicians and bureaucrats. Many participated in the ambitious intellectual projects of Christian universities and translation schools, such as Alfonso X's scriptorium, known as the Toledan School of Translators. Here, texts of intellectual voyage such as *Calila wa Dimna* were translated into Latin and Romance for the consumption of a broader Christian readership. Together, these interactions and relationships created a shared space of cultural and intellectual contact and exchange. It was a space, I argue, in which a thirteenth-century author writing in the northeast of the Iberian Peninsula, would have been familiar with the knowledge and wisdom housed in

Semitic and Greek, at least in translation. And perhaps his own adaptation of the tale of Apolonio's travels was inspired by a shared notion of the intellectual voyage.

Motivations to Travel

As a space of representational meaning, the textual space of departure connects the initial stages and motivations of Apolonio's adventures to the broader Mediterranean tradition of the *al-riḥla fi ṭalab al-ilm*, the intellectual journey discussed above. King Apolonio's movement from land to sea, from the relative safety of the shore into the treacherous space of maritime travel, is motivated by a matrix of intellectual anxieties, fears, and curiosities. But, to arrive at a clear understanding of Apolonio's travels, the reader must navigate the varying perspectives of narrators and protagonists who relate the king's departure, as well as the king's inconsistent and, at times, inaccurate understanding of events. Apolonio's inability to correctly read the circumstances of his journey problematizes our understanding of the intellectual identity of the *Libro*'s central protagonist and namesake, and perhaps speaks to a more nuanced complexity of the identity of the text that tells his tale. Apolonio's motivation when he first ventures from his native Tyre seems obvious: he is on a quest for the hand of King Antioco's daughter. Yet the king's departure does not appear to be motivated simply by amorous sentiment or matrimonial pretension; rather this opening scene suggests Apolonio's travels are a matter of intellectual significance. That is, in order to win the fair maiden, Apolonio, like all her suitors, is required to solve a riddle that encodes the King of Antioch's incestuous relationship with his daughter. The penalty for failure is harsh, however. A wrong answer will cost him his head: "la cabeça o la solución" 'your head or the solution' (21d). None

had yet successfully solved the riddle and consequently many were decapitated as a result. The danger does not seem to deter the king, however; rather, the poet suggests Apolonio is adequately prepared for the task. “Como era Apolonio *de letras profundado*, / por soluer *argumentos* era bien dotrinado; / entendió la fallença y el suçio pecado / como si lo ouiese por su ojo prouado” ‘Given Apolonio’s profound knowledge of lettres / and his ample training in the art of solving riddles / he understood the king’s failure and his appalling sin / as if he had seen it with his own eyes’ (22a-d). Although Apolonio solves the riddle, in doing so the king and his daughter are exposed and shamed and Apolonio must flee, failing to successfully acquire the princess’ hand in marriage. This is the first reference in the text to Apolonio’s intellect. Here it appears that he is a learned man, knowledgeable and well read, which allowed him to solve riddles (*soluer argumentos*). Was he reading commentaries on Aristotle and Plato and/or the original works of Averroes, Maimonides, and Ibn Tufayl, representative of the diverse intellectual culture reflected in his tale? This question, as relevant for Apolonio as it is for the author, will be discussed below. For now, we turn to the king’s demonstration of his intellectual prowess in the scholarly play of riddling. Was it this intellectual challenge that enticed him to travel?

Riddling was a common form of play in medieval literature (Deyermond, Clark, Goldberg).¹⁴⁹ As Harriet Goldberg points out, often riddling can be intrinsically unfair:

¹⁴⁹ On the Iberian Peninsula, we find elements of riddling in *El Conde Lucanor* and translations of the *Arabian Nights* and *Kalila wa Dimna*, and it was a common topic of medieval exegesis from both the Hebrew Scriptures and the Christian gospels. In *El Conde Lucanor*, Saladin must find the answer to “qual es la mejor cosa que ome puede aver en si” ‘what is the best man can be’ (247); in *The Book of Judges*, Samson asks his 30 companions, “Out of the eater, something to eat; / out of the strong, something sweet” (Judges 14:14); concerning the Christian Scriptures, Jesus of Nazareth was fond of using riddles and proverbs to confound both his followers and critics. Moreover, the art of riddling can be associated with the mysteries of cosmological or theological questions as well as practiced simply for recreation. Jan Huizinga writes, “As civilization develops, the riddle branches out in two directions: mystic philosophy on the one

“The poser wields absolute power” (59). Alan Deyermond stresses the importance of the riddle in setting the narrative in motion, but in the *Libro de Apolonio* it is specifically Antioco’s mis-use of riddling that puts Apolonio in motion, and sets the stage for his sally out to sea.¹⁵⁰ Moreover, the poet suggests that Apolonio decides to unveil the hidden truth to King Antioco and his court, not out of moral necessity or to rebuke Antioco’s unethical conduct, but in order to demonstrate his intelligence so that he may not be considered stupid. “Mas, por tal *que* no fuese por bauieca tenido, / dio a la pregunta buen responso conplido” ‘Yet, so that he might not be taken for a simpleton / he answered the question with a correct response’ (23cd). The riddle, then, becomes a device by which the reader is made privy not only to Apolonio’s intellectual prowess, but also his intellectual anxieties. Throughout the episode the poet emphasizes how important knowledge and learning are to the king; he desires that others recognize these qualities in him. Yet it seems that in the midst of attempting to demonstrate his intellectual competence and rhetorical dexterity (solving the riddle), he reveals precisely the opposite: a lack of wisdom and situational awareness.

The fact that the author of the *Libro* begins the text with a riddle, I argue, serves to contextualize the event and text in the rhetorical vestments of the intellectual journey (discussed above), central in Iberian philosophical tradition, itself based on a larger Mediterranean tradition stretching back to Aristotle. Central to this journey, as we shall see, is the idea that the knowledge one seeks is found in the very path one travels. That is,

hand and recreation on the other” (110-11). Todorov describes the economics of riddling in narrative as a “transformation of knowledge: ignorance or error are replaced by correct knowledge” (232).

¹⁵⁰ I speak here of Apolonio’s second departure to Tarso, because the riddle sequence is subsequent to Apolonio’s first sally from Tyre, when he travels to Antioch. As we will soon discover, the narrative was set in motion (the space of departure was created) long before the misfortune of the riddling scene in Antioch. It begins in Tyre in context of Apolonio’s relationship with his countrymen. See Deyermond, “Motivos folklóricos y técnica estructural en el *Libro de Apolonio*.”

knowledge is to be found not in places (i.e. ports as the beginning and end of maritime travel), but in and through the space of the intellectual journey: here, the sea and seafaring. But the sea Apolonio travels is the Mediterranean of the past: it is the Mediterranean of Homer and of Aristotle, of Greek and Eastern philosophy, dotted by ancient place names—Tyre and Antioch, Tarsus and Mytilenem (Lesbos)—relevant to thirteenth-century Iberia as a space of a shared historical memory. As such, Apolonio's journey is the legacy of a larger Mediterranean tradition of travel but articulated on the Peninsula through the Andalusi and Judeo-Iberian tradition of travel and learning. And these are distilled from Greek (Neo-platonic) notions about the pursuit of knowledge; in particular, the Arabo-Islamic concept of *al-rihla fi talab al-'ilm*.

When Apolonio sets sail toward Antioch, he does so to solve riddles, and to begin to work his way out of confusion. Though Apolonio clearly fails at this endeavor, such engagement is a crucial step in the process of his self-awareness. For many of the foremost Iberian intellectuals of the Middle Ages (whether Christian, Muslim, or Jew), the philosophical quest was not on an inevitable collision course with religion; rather, the enlightened individual was required to reconcile the paths of reason and revelation, to find the space where Scripture and philosophy converge. As such, medieval Iberian philosophy—in which the *Libro Apolonio* participates—asserted that the truest intellectual quest was not an abandonment of secular knowledge for holy knowledge, but an understanding that the two are inseparable.

Medieval Iberian philosophers conceived of this intellectual space as a state of confusion akin to the Greek *aporia*. Aristotle defines this as a philosophical puzzle, while Plato views it as a cognate for mental confusion, where the mental state of perplexity is

necessary for man to begin the path to knowledge, for it “divests the interlocutor of the presence of knowledge in a particular area and [brings] him to a recognition of his ignorance” (Politis 88). However, it would have been best known to contemporary Iberians, and perhaps the author of the *Libro*, through the philosophical notions found in Maimonides’ *The Guide for the Perplexed* and Ibn Rushd’s *Incoherence of the Incoherence*. It is precisely these authors (Christian, Muslim, and Jew) and their ideas that would have been circulating in thirteenth-century Iberian and informed the culture environment in which the author of the *Libro* composed his verse—and perhaps shed some light on the texts found in Apolonio’s library, *caldeas y latines*.

Patricia Grieve, in her study of Apolonio as a Christian king, contends that Apolonio falls into Antioco’s trap not because he is ignorant, but because his intellect is misdirected: “When he attempted to solve King Antioco’s riddle, Apolonio turned to his secular books and did not turn to God at all” (162). Grieve bases her conclusions on the fact that upon Apolonio’s return to Tyre after the riddling debacle, he cloisters himself in his private chambers seeking the right answer among his books and manuscripts. “Encerr[ó]se Apolonio en sus cámaras priuadas, / do tenié sus escritos y sus estorias notadas. / Rezó *sus* argumentos, las fazanyas passadas, / caldeas y latines, tres o quatro vegadas” ‘Apolonio cloistered himself in his private chambers / wherein he stored both writings and historical commentaries. / He consulted their arguments, the events of history, / (in) Caldean and Latin, three or four times’ (31a-d). Here the poet describes nothing less than the contents of a medieval royal library. As Manuel Alvar remarks, “vemos que hay libros (en latín y en hebreo), comentarios, tratados de retórica—en el amplísimo sentido medieval—, historias. Es decir, una colección que conformaba el saber

de un hombre laico del siglo XIII” ‘we see that there are books (in Latin and Hebrew), commentaries, rhetorical treatises—in the broadest medieval sense—histories. That is, a collection which comprised the knowledge of thirteenth-century layman’ (52).¹⁵¹ In particular, we read that Apolonio consults his annotated and commented (*notadas*) volumes, and, suggesting a sense of mastery, he then recites (*rezó*) their arguments, presumably from memory. He then consults exemplary and notable narratives of past events (*fazanyas passadas*), whether in the Semitic or Latin tradition. And he does this repeatedly in his attempts to understand the enigma of Antioco’s riddle. Grieve suggests that this moment of intellectual curiosity and confusion reveals Apolonio’s secular bookish acumen at the expense of his theological training and that even when surrounded by shelves of knowledge Apolonio remains confused (162). Both Grieve and Alvar suggest that these works in Latin and Chaldean exclude Scripture. However, Latin was the language of the Church and its writings, not to mention the Vulgate; and Hebrew and Aramaic—possible referents for *caldeo*—were the original languages of the *Tanakh* (Hebrew Bible). Consequently, it is not only possible but probable that Apolonio’s library contained Scripture, or at a minimum Christian theological texts in Latin. This does not, however, contradict Grieve’s observation of Apolonio’s inability to skillfully interpret texts or our assertion of his need to travel in pursuit of practical wisdom. He was confident, if not arrogant, in his intellect and learning, and now fails to comprehend the cause of his misfortune: “En cabo, otra cosa *non* pudo entender” (32a). In the end, the

¹⁵¹ Though my conclusions ultimately lie with Grieve and Alvar, it is unclear why the terms *caldeas* and *latines* should necessarily exclude Scripture. Moreover, *caldeo* is not a fixed linguistic referent in medieval Iberian literature; in works such as the *Caballero de Zifar* it is used to refer to Arabic (Walker 31–32). That there might also be Arabic philosophical or religious texts in Apolonio’s library only serves to underscore Iberia’s active participation in a much broader intellectual Mediterranean space.

king who is supposedly *de letras profundado* and *bien dotrinado*, simply does not understand.

Returning to the king's failed attempt at solving Antioco's riddle, Matt Desing sees in this scene Apolonio's negative association with texts, which he is unable to use skillfully, "Despite the aid of his texts, . . . he is unable to put positive action behind his correct answer to Antocio's riddle" (9). Desing's use of the term "action" is instructive; though Apolonio's intellectual understanding of the riddle is technically correct, Apolonio lacks the practical wisdom to adequately interpret the situation and act accordingly.¹⁵² His failure to put knowledge into action can be taken quite literally. As I mentioned previously, Apolonio's inability to interpret well is linked to his inexperience as a traveler. Put positively, action (travel) leads to knowledge and understanding—and correct interpretation.

While hiding from his own people, Apolonio realizes that even his native Tyre cannot provide him the intellectual comfort and refuge he long enjoyed. Tyre as a metonymy for a house of learning and the knowledge stored in books is now rejected by the king. The methods of learning fostered and promoted in this space have failed him.¹⁵³ And his decision to abscond from his native land may be seen as a rejection of the learning that heretofore had fashioned his understanding of self. In deciding to leave, the

¹⁵² Concerning the importance of interpretation in the *Libro*, Grieve writes that the poet "strings together examples of disciplines or intellectual activities in which the continuing theme is the masterful person who interprets well" (151). Though Desing critiques Grieve for not calling attention to Apolonio's inability to interpret Luciana's body as text, his criticism is equally valid for Apolonio's ability with Antioco's riddle. Here, however, the Hebrew and Latin texts he consults are not wrongly interpreted as much as they are insufficient; they require additional wisdom. Grieve seems to believe that Apolonio is "knowledgeable of the world" but lacks moral and spiritual character. She concludes that Apolonio's success as a riddle-solver is due to his practical wisdom, but it appears to be precisely the opposite: Apolonio fails at riddles *because* he lacks knowledge of the world—or at least the experience of it he gains from travel.

¹⁵³ For an extensive study of Apolonio's scholarly endeavors, see Manuel Alvar, "Apolonio, clérigo entendido."

king weighs his options, pondering whether to literally get lost (*perderse*) or take this opportunity to seek adventure and change his luck:

Dijo que non podia la verguen[c]a durar,
mas *quería* yr *perdersse* ó la *uentura* mudar.
de pan y de tesoro mandó mucho cargar,
metióse en *auenturas* por las ondas del mar. (34a-d)

The shame was too much for him to bear; / he wanted to lose himself or seek
adventure . / Thus he commanded much foodstuffs and treasure be loaded, / and
undertook adventures amidst the waves of the sea.

By wanting to lose himself, Apolonio reveals his desire for self-imposed exile; shame and fear have forced him to flee his homeland. On the other hand, travel, and particularly seafaring, could provide him an opportunity for adventure and the possibility of redemption. Inaction has failed him; perhaps action can save him.

The space of departure, as prologue to Apolonio's seafaring adventures, is perhaps best contextualized in terms of his relationship with the citizens of his native Tyre. The expressed criticism of Apolonio by his own people is that he lacked intelligence and skill, and was diminished in some capacity as a ruler *because* he had not travelled. By way of open criticism, they invite Apolonio to the voyage for the purpose of gaining that which he lacked: practical knowledge and wisdom. On the shores of shipwreck, Apolonio recalls:

Biuía en reyno viçioso y onrrado,
non sabía *de* cuyta, biuya bien folgado,
teníame por torpe y por menoscabado

porque por muchas tierras non auía andado (125a-d)

I lived in a kingdom of honor and plenty, / I knew not trouble, lived in great
peace, / they took me for simple and diminished / because I had not yet journeyed
to many lands.

As such, Apolonio's fear of being thought of as simple or stupid (*bauieca*) in the courts of Antioch comes into sharper focus now not only as a prideful act of intellectual vanity but perhaps as a response to his countrymen's implied desire for him to travel in the pursuit of knowledge. And Apolonio may have found subsequent justifications for his travels in love, fear, and humiliation, but it becomes readily apparent through his sorrowful reminiscence that the king ventured out onto the seas in order to do the very thing his subjects asked him to do: visit *muchas tierras*, and in doing so, gain the knowledge, wisdom, and experience they thought he lacked. This criticism of Apolonio reveals a specific cultural understanding of the concept, and benefits, of travel. And in this manner, the text suggests a causal connection between the voyage and understanding. We are before a familiar trope: the intellectual journey, in which the desire for knowledge motivates men to travel to distant lands, different peoples, and distinct cultures. The text suggests that one's homeland becomes an insufficient source of knowledge, and wisdom is attainable only by crossing the seas. But what does the Mediterranean space of this intellectual journey look like? And what wisdom is Apolonio to gain from it?

The Space of the Sea

Indicative of contemporary Jewish, Muslim and Christian intellectual concerns over correct interpretation, the initial riddle scene suggested Apolonio lacked the

practical intelligence and experiential knowledge to adequately interpret his surroundings; he was in a state of perplexity. And it is for this reason that Apolonio was motivated to travel. But as he moves from the relative safety of the shore into the perilous depths of the sea, I argue that Apolonio enters a larger *space* of complexity. In the Neoplatonic sense of engaging ambiguity in the material realm, the sea is presented as a space of confusion and contradiction, marked by joy and suffering, life and death. The wind-swept waves hold within their grasp both the terror and promise of the examined life, where travel on the tempestuous sea first divests the traveler (Apolonio) of all intellectual pretenses in order that through a process of self-discovery he might find the knowledge and understanding he seeks.¹⁵⁴ Thus, the various episodes which narrate the adventures and misadventures of Apolonio's maritime exploits reveal the sea to be a space of perplexity as well as a path to understanding. And it is a necessary path, for Apolonio's intellectual journey from ignorance to understanding is made possible only by way of the voyage. And as we have suggested, with the knowledge one gains from the voyage, Apolonio stands not only to overcome his intellectual anxieties and thus gain greater understanding, but to reclaim his honor, reunite with his family, and return triumphant to his native Tyre. Let us now turn to the space of Apolonio's travels and his intellectual journey. Though there are numerous episodes that take place at sea, I will narrow our focus to two voyages in particular that shed light on the nature and complexities of this space.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁴ The reader will remember Aristotle's contention that "[t]hose who search without first engaging with *aporiai* are like people who don't know where they need to be going; moreover, they do not even know whether or not they have found what they are searching for. For the end [of a search] is not clear to such a person, but it is clear to the person who has first considered the *aporiai*" (Politis 90). Concerning the "unexamined life," see Plato's *Apology*, 38a.

¹⁵⁵ As we briefly mentioned in the Introduction and will visit again in Chapter 4 on the *Cantigas de Santa María*, the perils of the maritime space in the *Libro* are not left to the high seas. As Jean Verdon reminds

The first voyage concerns Apolonio's flight from Tarsus to Pentápolin, taken in response to a violent decree sent by King Antioco.¹⁵⁶ The trip to Pentápolin begins with straight and steady winds and the sailors who steer the ship are “*buenos marineros que sabién <bien> la marina*” ‘good sailors who know the ways of the sea’ (103c). For these initial moments of the journey all is calm and seemingly under control, but the seasoned sailors, the texts tells us, “*conosçen los vientos que se camian ayña*” ‘they know well these winds are prone to sudden change’ (103d). The scene that follows provides the first of many descriptions of what we may call the sea turn. That is, from calm seas to violent gales—“*Avién vientos derechos, façiénles bien correr*” ‘With steady winds, they traveled swiftly’ (106b)—the reader and rider experience abrupt and menacing fluctuations in the ocean's temperament: mimicking, and influenced by, the similarly capricious nature of the wind, the sea “*cámiase priuado*” ‘quickly changed’ (107b). Importantly, the sea not only changes quickly, it angers easily: “*ensányase rafez*” ‘easily angered’ (107b). In a moment's notice, the wrath of the sea is provoked and steady winds become violent

us, plagues and dangers may befall even those who live near the shore and medieval man need not enter the sea to be threatened by its dangers. Concerning the Greeks and their understanding of proximity to the shore, M.C. Howatson and Ian Chilvers write, “Everything that is strange and fabulous [in the Greek world] is situated by the ‘streams of Ocean’”—though they refer here to the Titan god Oceanus (372). Like the craggy sea cliffs of Polyphemus' lair, sprayed by the salted sea-foam crashing into the rocks below, creating a briny fog which confuses the shores edge; or the Sirens who call sweetly from the distance, beckoning sailors to steer their seaworthy vessels into the rocky shoals. It is important to note, however, that Polyphemus, as a landed creature, occupies that liminal space is the son of Poseidon, the god of the sea. No such mythological beings appear in *Apolonio*, but a similarly confused space of land and sea is apparent, and at times populated by menacing creatures. And episodes of shipwreck, pirates and riddles demonstrate this spatial confusion.

¹⁵⁶ “*Del rey Antioco eres desafiado, / nin en çiudad ni en burgo non serás albergado: / quien matarte pudiere será bien soldado. / Si estorçer pudieres, serás bien auenturado*” ‘You have been challenged by the King of Antioch / neither in city nor hamlet shall you find refuge: / he who kills you shall be well compensated / if your able to return, blessed are you indeed’ (70a-d). It is worth noting that King Apolonio's journey to Tarso from Tyre was not a particularly safe or pleasant one. We are not given great detail, but after arriving at port, the poet tells us: “*Quando llegó, como llazdrado era, / fizo echar las áncoras luego por la ribera. / Vio logar adabte, sabrosa [co]stanera / por folgar del lazerio y de la mala carrera*” ‘When he arrived, battered as he was / he called for the anchors to be lowered near the shore. / He saw an appropriate place, a pleasant beach / on which to rest from the travail of his difficult journey’ (63a-d). No further information regarding what in particular made this a *mala carrera*, a difficult journey.

tempests presaging nothing but the sailor's destruction and death in the darkness of the sea's depths. With the winds' swift transformation, the sea is troubled and tossed into a furry; the sea has turned.

Boluiéronse los vientos, el mar fue conturbado;

nadauan las arenas, [a]l çielo leuantando;

non auié hí marinero *que* non fuese conturbado (108b-d)¹⁵⁷

The winds were turned, / the sea was confounded; / sand was stirred, / lifted to the heavens; / not a sailor was left untroubled

The violent tempest stirs and lifts the sands of the sea floor, whipping them around the ship, mucking the waters (109a). The powerful torrent of rain and wind reaches into the depths and thus the storm completely surrounds them from all directions, not only from all sides, but from above and below. The storm is sudden, it rises, and men are confounded.

This description of the maritime space is similar to scenes found in contemporary eleventh-thirteenth-century Iberian works, such as Alfonso X's *Cantigas de Santa María* (Chapter 4)—a work roughly contemporary with the *Libro*—and the verse of the Jewish poet scholar Judah Ha-Levi. In *CSM* 33 we read, “Hûa nv' ya per mar” ‘A ship journeyed by sea,’ when suddenly “tormenta levantar / se foi” ‘a storm arose’ (*CSM* 33.15, 17). In *CSM* 112, the battered ship is surrounded by a turbulent and murky sea, “d' agua volta

¹⁵⁷ Given the description of the disturbed sand (*nadauan las arenas*) presumably from the sea floor combining with the wind and waves and being lifted to the heavens, it appears the ship is still within sight of land when said danger appears. We are told also that the ship had only sailed about two hours from land when the winds suddenly changed. Can such trouble and danger befall a ship that remains so close to the shore? In *A Mediterranean Society*, S.D. Goitein remarks that when a ship had “passed out of sight,” that is, it was referred to as the “crossing” or *ta'diya*. The term is used to describe the event when a ship crossed from coastal waters out into the high seas and out of sight (Goitein 319). Interestingly, Goitein notes that such phrases are reported with a sense of relief, not concern. Thus it seems that coastal waters could be just as dangerous as the open seas.

con area” ‘water stirred with sand’ (CSM 112.32). And in CSM 267, the physical and psychological state of a storm-battered sailor emulates the sea: “coitado” ‘distressed’ and “atormentado” ‘storm-battered’ (CSM 267.63, 73). In Halevi’s poem Heart at Sea (Chapter 1), we read that both man and ship are helpless before the might of the sea in tempest. Stout men, like strong cedar, are overwhelmed, and the tricks of the trade prove useless in the hands of even the most experienced sailor: “The mast’s might is useless, / the veteran’s wiles as well” ‘ואין יתרון לחזק התרנים / ואין חמדה לתחבלת ישישיים’ (Cole 165–67; DJH 161-62).

Similarly, and perhaps expectedly, the mariners on Apolonio’s ship are frightened and distressed by their sudden change of fortune and the imminent prospect of wreck. In the confusion of tempestuous swells and violent winds, the sea asserts its influence on the sailors not only in physical terms, but psychologically as well. The ship and men not only flounder on, and in, the sea, but they are emotionally anguished and troubled (*conturbados*). It is compelling that prior to this moment in the text, the term *conturbado* is used only to describe the volatile temperament of the sea. And as it is here ascribed to the sailors, the reader thus perceives that the sea has overwhelmed them. And as a consequence the sailors have lost control, of self and sails.

los *que* era maestros non podién gouernar;
alçáuanse las naues, *queríense* trastornar
tanto *que* ellos mismos non se sabién conseiar.

Cuytóles la tempesta y el mal temporal:
perdieron el conseio y el gouierno capdal;

los árboles de medio todos fueron a mal. (109b-110c)

(those who were masters were unable to govern; / the ships lifted trying to break /
such that even they were unable to steer. / The storm and wicked winds troubled
them: / they lost the rudder and their way; / the center masts all came crashing
down.

As somewhat of a recapitulation of the event, we read only a few verses later a similar
description of King Apolonio's trials:

Quando en la mar entramos, fazié tiempo pagado;

luego *que* fuemos dentro, el mar fue conturbado.

Quanto nunca traía allá lo he dexado;

tal pobre qual tú veyes, abez só escapado. (129a-d)

When we first set out upon the sea, all was well; / then once we were within it, the
sea was disturbed. / What I brought with me, there I have left it; / as deprived as
you see me now, barely have I escaped.

For Monedero, the concept of losing *conseio* (counsel/way) and *gouierno* (physical or
mental control) signifies a loss of direction and steering: “perdieron el rumbo” ‘They lost
their way’ (130). And as the ship still rises and falls with the menacing waves, the poet
describes the sea as not only threatening the sailors, but wanting or trying (*quererse*) to
capsize the ship. Unable to withstand the violence of the thrashing winds and waves, the
center-mast fails, crashing into the deck. Indeed, not soon after, the ship is torn to pieces
and none survive but the king. And through the ambivalent use of pagan and Christian
imagery, it is Apolonio's good fortune that God desired to save him from the sea. The
sole survivor of this terrible tempest, the king clutches to a small piece of wood; alone he

washes up on the shores of Pentápolin (112b).¹⁵⁸ Following this violent landfall, and as a survivor of shipwreck, Apolonio then narrates for the reader his own account of the voyage through a sorrow-filled inner monologue. His perspective reiterates familiar images of disaster, but adds to them a fairly straightforward critique of the maritime space: “Nunqua deuía omne en las mares fiar, / traen lealtat poca, saben mal solazar” ‘Never should man put his trust in the seas, / they have little loyalty and knowingly deceive’ (120ab).¹⁵⁹ That is, one should never trust the sea(s) for it is disloyal and plays a sinister game of deception. Is this a philosophical game, a riddle?¹⁶⁰

Though we have thus far suggested Apolonio’s primary and initial motivation to travel as pursuit of knowledge, *por tal que no fuese por bauieca tenido* (so that he might

¹⁵⁸ We must note that Apolonio and his crew were not thrown off course during the storm at sea. Their ship was destroyed and all but Apolonio are killed, but he does arrive at the destination he had planned, Pentápolin. And the scene of Apolonio’s arrival on the shores of Pentápolin presents the reader with familiar tropes to aftermath of shipwreck. All his crew has perished in the storm, presumably thrashed violently against the rocks, speared by debris, or drowned in the sea. Apolonio alone survives the ordeal and washes up onto the shore of a foreign land.

Por su buena ventura, quísol’ Dios prestar,
 ouo en hun madero chico las manos de echar.
 Lazdrado y mesquino de vestir y calcar,
 a tierra de Pentápolin ouo de arribar. (112a-d)

It was his good fortune that God desired to provide / a small splinter of wood on which to throw his hands. / Battered from head to toe, and shabby in his dress, / he was soon to arrive on the shores of Pentápolin.

This is reminiscent of Odysseus’ arrival on the shores of the Phaiákians, when in the midst of a violent tempest conjured by Poseidon as he approached land, “when this gigantic billow struck / the boat’s big timbers flew apart. Odysseus / clung to a single beam” (91). And it was on this beam that he struggled to shore, the lone survivor.

¹⁵⁹ Monedero translates *solazar* as “jugar aviesamente” (133).

¹⁶⁰ This is not the first time we have heard of the sea’s lack of loyalty, however. As an apparent preface to the narrator’s initial description of the quick-turning nature of the sea and its propensity to anger, we read that “[e]l mar . . . nunqua touo leyaltat ni belmez” ‘the sea . . . has neither loyalty nor piety’ (107a). What is more, not only is the sea perfidious and unholy, it inherently deceives: “suele dar mala çaga” ‘it is inclined to deceive’ (107c). Such is its nature. Further elaborating, Apolonio describes the sea’s treacherous nature as two-faced: “saben, al reçebir, buena cara mostrar, / dan con omne aýna dentro en mal logar” ‘you must know, that after having witnessed its good side / man is then tossed wifly into the sea’ (120cd). Upon entering the maritime space the sea presents a calm and steady visage. But this “face” is nothing more than a façade which masks its power and destructive capacity: to send men to their deaths in the darkness of its depths.

not be taken for a simpleton), after his shipwreck onto the shores of Pentápolin, he clearly (and perhaps justifiably) blames his miserable state on the apparent failure of the intellectual journey, and thus for having heeded his people's suggestion to travel for wisdom and to take to the sea.

Con toda essa pérdida, si en paz me souiése'
que con despecho loco de Tiro non sallíés',
mal ho bien esperando lo que darne Dios quisiés,
ninguno non me llorasse de lo que me abiniés. (116a-d)

In view of such loss, would I have remained / and in spite of that madness in Tyre
had I not sallied, / whether good or evil, waiting for what God desired to grant me
/ none would have wept for what has become of me.

And later in a recapitulation of the same events, we read: "Si con esso fincase quito en
mío logar, / Non aurié de mí fecho tal escarnio la mar" 'If I would have stayed put in my
place, / such travail at sea would not have been my fate' (126cd). Simply stated,
Apolonio laments that none of this would have happened had he never traveled from
Tyre. Fortune or misfortune might still have found him, but nothing could have equaled
the tragedy that has befallen him. Thus, the king indignantly suggests the advice of his
people for him to travel, though well-intentioned, was precisely that which caused loss
and disruption. Again, Apolonio concludes that the voyage, the intellectual journey, has
failed. Whether for intellectual gain or to change his lot, his travels have left him nothing
but naked, humiliated, and marooned. And though the king's condemnation of travel at
first appears valid, his judgment is premature and shortsighted. That is, though there is
much misfortune yet for him to experience, it is this very journey, fraught with suffering

and loss, which will grant him the knowledge and wisdom he sought in the texts and tomes that lined the shelves of his secular library; the wisdom his people desired for him. And indeed trouble has not left him yet.

In Apolonio's journey across the sea from Tarsus to Tyre, the voyage commences with good winds and flat waves as the ship tramps the coast: "tenién viento bueno, las ondas bien pagadas, / fueron de la ribera aýna alongad[a]s" 'they had good winds and flat seas, / the shore was far behind them' (453c).¹⁶¹ Though the winds and waves are with them, the reader is again reminded that the temperament of the sea is ever capricious. Thus, as is perhaps now expected, a peaceful departure gives way to a perilous voyage, as the sea abruptly turns, stirring in its anger: "fue en poco de rato toda la cosa camiada, / tollióles la carrera *que* tenién comcençada" 'in but a moment everything changed, / they were thrown off their chosen course' (454cd). Again, not only does the sea turn, but it does so in apparent haste. It is as if lurking just beneath the surface of the placid sea, a troubled deep patiently lays in wait, a fury that lashes out in rage against ship and sailor.

De guisa fue rebuelta y yrada la mar
que non auién nengún conseio de guiar;
el poder del gouernyo houiéronlo ha deseparar,
non cuydaron ningunos de la muerte escapar.

Prísolos la tempesta y el mal temporal,
sacólos de caminos el oratge mortal; (455a-456b)

¹⁶¹ After fifteen years of exile, Apolonio decides to return for his daughter. He travels to Tarso to reunite with his daughter Tarsiana but finds that she is "dead" like her mother—the reader is privy to the fact that neither of the two is in fact dead. Utterly dejected, he decides to live the rest of his short life in Tyre. This is the motivation and beginning of the third major voyage of Apolonio.

The sea was swiftly stirred and angered / there was no rudder by which to steer; /
its power to guide was lost / and none maintained the hope of escape. / The storm
and tempest hurried upon them / throwing them off course and into mortal peril.

The poet's description of this perilous journey follows the pattern we thus far established. Suddenly ambushed by the unpredictable tempests and temperaments of a treacherous sea, the mariners lose all control of both self and sails. The dual meanings of *gouernyo* (both mental and physical control, steering) again suggest that not only are the sailors unable to right or even guide the ship, they are cognitively incapable of managing the situation; their power of governance has forsaken them. Consequently, Apolonio and his men are thrown off course by deadly winds, anticipating what they believe to be their imminent death.

The third and last voyage of our investigation concerns the king's journey from Pentápolin to Tarsus upon the death of his rival King Antioco. Having married the daughter of King Architrastres, with wife and unborn child in tow, Apolonio and his men steer their vessel out into favorable winds and manageable waves that lay flat and calm over the deep. Yet this serene setting proves to be nothing more than the "buena cara" 'good side' of the deceitful sea, here presented as a pair of siblings, joy and suffering: "que del gozo, cuyta es su ermana" 'trouble is the sister of joy' (265d). The reader now awaits the appearance of joy's malevolent counterpart. Indeed, not long after, Fortune is ambushed, the poet tells us, as the sea's wrath is unleashed on the unsuspecting travelers: "tóuoles la ventura huna mala çellada" 'upon them Fortune played a wicked trick' (266a,c). And in the midst of crashing waves and violent winds—perhaps as a consequence of it—Apolonio's wife Luciana begins to suffer the pangs of labor. And

though Apolonio expresses great joy at the birth of his daughter, he is forced to endure the pain of the perceived death of his wife. Due to labor complications, Luciana is believed dead, and in order to protect those on board from her decaying body, she is tossed into the sea (283d).¹⁶²

There is no shipwreck, but the reader is not denied a tragedy. The description of this voyage powerfully depicts the personal experience of disaster at sea; in the midst of the sea's wrath we are privy not only to calamity, but the human response to misfortune. And this is one aspect of the *Libro* which makes it fundamentally different from contemporary Crusade chronicles.¹⁶³ As Goitein demonstrates in *A Mediterranean Society*, this maritime space was not used solely as a path of destruction for crusading armies or political tyrants, no more than it is exclusively the sea crossed by Braudel's merchants. In his discussion of the written record of families, traditions, and institutions, the Mediterranean space is revealed as a multicultural community and a vibrant marketplace inhabited by real people, who lived, loved, and died around and in the Mediterranean Sea. As such, Apolonio's second voyage provides the reader with a more intimate portrayal of the individual lives that enter and cross the maritime space.

Moreover, in comparison to the Muslim and Jewish intellectual travels and traditions mentioned throughout this essay, depictions of medieval Christian itinerant

¹⁶² The omniscient narrator informs the reader that Luciana, though extremely ill, was not in fact dead: "non era muerta" 'she was not dead' (271a). A heated discussion takes place between Apolonio, the men and what seems to be the captain of this ship. Apolonio's emotional pleas to keep his "dead" wife's body on board are met with anxious response. The men are rightfully worried that a rotting cadaver could endanger all of their lives, amplifying a relatively minor loss into a catastrophic tragedy for all, remarking, "Quien se quiere que sía, echadlo en la mar; / si non, podriemos todos ayna peligrar" "Someone must toss her into the sea / otherwise we are all in danger" (274ab). Reluctantly, Apolonio acquiesces to their demands and releases his wife to the whim of the waves: "fue, ha pesar de todos, en las ondas echado" 'in the end she was tossed amidst the waves' (283d).

¹⁶³ The *Libro de Apolonio* is, of course, a work of fiction and not presented as an historical chronicle. Moreover, it must be noted, the *Libro* is composed in Romance vernacular and rhymed verse, not Latin prose.

intellectuals are limited, or rather undermined by chronicles of the Crusades and their violent accounts of colonization and empire. An example of the latter is the anonymous *Gesta francorum*, Albert of Aachen's *Historia Hierosolymitana* or the *Liber* of Raymond of Aguilers to encounter countless stories of plunder and pillage. Even the staunchest apologists of the Crusades, such as Guibert of Nogent, who in his *Gesta Dei per Francos* depicts crusaders as divinely inspired idealists eschewing material wealth and embracing only pure spiritual transformation, is in the end forced to describe how sanctioned political land-grabbing and violent informal acquisitions in the form of plunder and looting not only decimated the landscape on the path of "pilgrimage," but transformed the Crusades (however idealist or purely intentioned) into a zealous religio-political and economic movement of avarice, and a violent conflict of civilizations and ideologies (Riley-Smith).¹⁶⁴

In contrast, Apolonio's imagined voyage depicts not a space of violence, but the intellectual path. And though this intellectual process is intimately connected to the notion of pilgrimage—he is repeatedly referred to, or refers to himself, as *peregrino*, *romero* or *palmero*—Apolonio's path of pilgrimage is presented as an alternative to the narrative of crusade. For example, none of the ports or hinterlands that Apolonio visits is a destination on the march of war, as Jerusalem so clearly is in the Crusade narrative. In fact, there is no specific geographic destination for Apolonio's travels; rather, in the *Libro*, the journey is the destination. And whereas the chronicles of Crusade generally depict what we might call a movement of collective pilgrimage (e.g. *Gesta dei per Francos*), the travels of Apolonio are clearly depicted as an individual pilgrimage and

¹⁶⁴ On the economic factor among European crusaders, see Lopez and Raymond, *Medieval Trade in the Mediterranean World*, "Growth of Merchant Class" doc. 31.

personal philosophical journey, taken so that he might become a better and more suitable ruler and king. Moreover, the crusader narrative from the very beginning is concerned with confronting the other (e.g. *Gesta francorum Jerusalem Expugnantium*), while Apolonio's journey is about confronting the intellect; it is a non-violent conquest of the philosophical self. But, in the broader Mediterranean context we have thus far been describing, this inward pilgrimage requires that Apolonio travel beyond the intellectual boundaries of his homeland, into the space of the sea. And because doing so is dangerous and unpredictable, like Hayy (Chapter 2) he will learn to see beyond what he knows (people, language, family).

Thus far we have discussed the space of departure as one of volition. Whether Apolonio felt compelled to flee given a perceived threat to his life or the expressed criticism of his people, ultimately he consciously and willfully made the decision to travel. This is true for later instances as well, where Apolonio decides to return to Tarsso out of joy upon hearing the news of the death of King Antioco, and later when he embarks on a series of travels motivated by the sorrow and despair of the loss of his wife and daughter—not to mention his exilic wanderings in the Egyptian desert. However, regarding Apolonio's motivation or impetus for travel, one must not overlook the influence of the supernatural.

In verse 60d the poet of the *Libro* reveals explicitly that the plans of man are at times under the dominion of the divine. After Apolonio solves the perverse riddle and offends the king of Antioch, we are told that Antioco prepares his ships, and arms them with weapons and men in the hopes of finding and killing Apolonio. The poet then interjects:

mas aguisó Dios la cosa en otra manera.

Dios, *que nunq(u)a* quiso la soberuia sofrir,

destorbó esta cosa, non se pudo conplir;

no'l pudieron fallar nil' pudieron nozir. (60d-61d)

but God arranged the thing in another way / God, who never intended his

suffering from pride / disturbed this plan, it could not unfold; / neither could they

find him or cause him harm

“But,” the poet emphasizes, God had different plans—literally, “God arranged the thing in another way.” In short, man has his plans but God’s purpose prevails. Specifically, the plans of an evil king are foreshadowed (with the use of preterite verbs) to be thwarted by God’s designs and decrees for the ultimate success of King Apolonio.¹⁶⁵ Though Apolonio still wanders in the pain of his sorrow and shame, the reader is privy to the knowledge that the king’s present reality is only a temporary state. More importantly, it is the ultimate triumph of a benevolent supernatural power over the designs of the wicked that are revealed. It may not seem surprising for a thirteenth-century Christian text to overtly display the providence of the divine over human action. Even more predictable, we might say, is the inevitable success and salvation of a Christian protagonist. But herein lays a typological problem for the superficial reading of the text. Is Apolonio even a Christian? In “Mixed Message in the *Libro de Apolonio*,” Mary Jane Kelley expressed a common view amongst critics: “. . . a close reading [of the *Libro de Apolonio*] reveals that Christianity is only tenuously integrated into both the plot of the story and the

¹⁶⁵ This is familiar technique in Hebrew eschatological literature. See, for example, Judah Halevi’s poem “My Heart at Sea” (Chapter 1). For an example in Scripture, Isaiah 8:10 and Psalm 33:10-11.

characterizations of Apolonio, who emerges more as a passive courtly hero than as a model Christian” (1). Though Grieve’s analysis against the view of a secular text disagrees with the Kelley, there is room here for a reading that embraces Apolonio as both a secular courtier and an inexperienced and untested—though certainly not model—Christian. More importantly, this textual ambiguity suggests a psycho-spiritual struggle, perhaps for the king’s very soul. Moreover, this spiritual battle is brought into perspective in terms of Apolonio’s impetus to travel and the space of departure. Ambiguity allows not only for God or good to move the king to action, but the power of sin which seeks to destroy.¹⁶⁶ Speaking to himself by way of inner dialogue, Apolonio laments that his sinful desires controlled him and forced him onto the sea by deceit and trickery, with the intent to mock and maim him:

Mouióme el pecado, fizom’ ende sallir
por fer de mí escarnio, su maleza cumplir;
diome en el mar salto, por más me desmentir.

Ovo muchas ayudas por a mí destrouir. (118a-d)

I was tempted by sin, toward a perverse end / to cause me great insult, its evil
complete; / I was attacked at sea so that I might be deceived / support was
martialled that I might be destroyed

Both Corbella and Monedero read the word *pecado* for demon. In the footnotes to this verse in Monedero’s edition, she translates verse 118a as “me empujó el demonio” ‘the Devil enticed me.’ The translation of *pecado* as demon is first suggested, she contends, in 6ab where the term is present as a subject with agency, and juxtaposed to the object of

¹⁶⁶ While demons share this space, “God” is never mentioned as a reason for Apolonio’s departures. Interestingly, the poet later writes that God is “carrera y puerto” (path and port), that is, part of the space of voyage and the space of arrival.

evil/sin by the term *malo*: “El pecado, *que nunca en paz suele seyer, / tanto pudo el malo boluer y reboluer*” ‘Like sin/the Devil, never to be found at peace / evil can again and again return’ (6ab). But as Marden herself points out, this exact wording can be found in verse 446 of *Libro de Alexandre*: “El pecado, *que nunca en pas pudo seyer / tanto pudo el malo bollir e reboluer*”—and here scholars have consistently read *pecado* as sin and *not* demons.

And the use of *pecado* as *demonio* Monedero suggests is itself not consistent. In verse 51 we read “Confonda Dios tal rey de tan mala medida, / *biuía en pecado y asmaua locura: / que querié matar al omne que dixere derecha, / abrió la demanda que era tan oscura*” ‘Even God is confounded by the king’s lack of reserve / he lived in sin and planned madness / he desired to kill a man who spoke true / he revealed the darkness of his riddle’ (51a-d, emphasis mine). Here the subject is Antioco and thus the word that follows the preposition is the indirect object. Consequently, then, context and syntax necessitate the conclusion that *pecado* must be translated here as “sin”: King Antioco was living in sin. See also verse 100c: “*mourá sobre nós huestes, por malos de pecados*” ‘unfortunately [he] will attack us with armies.’ Monedero interprets this as “*por desgracia nuestra*” ‘our misfortune,’ thus equating *pecado* with misfortune. This is an interesting and important distinction, because it paganizes or secularizes the good/evil conflict. That is, what happens is neither a result of Apolonio’s sin nor demonic influence; it is a matter of fortune, good or bad luck. In verse 130 we again come across a phrase that Monedero reads as *desgracia*: “*todo lo he perdido, por mis malos pecados*” ‘Unfortunately, I have lost everything’ (103d). Certainly, the term does not mean *demon*, but I am not so certain it can be read (only) as misfortune. The problem with Monedero’s argument is that she

takes at face value that Apolonio has committed no overt sin and thus “mis pecados” for her cannot mean literally, *my sins*. Grieve reminds us that according to Christian redemption theology, all men are born into sin, and the sins of Apolonio are his heretofore lack of trust and devotion in God and his Scriptures. I believe all of these are accurate readings, but might add to the mix the possibility that *pecado* could also mean, simply, mistake. As we saw during Apolonio’s encounter with Antioco, the former realized his error (*fallencia*) in having traveled to Antioch (23b and 441b). The strongest case can be made for the use of *pecado* as sin (i.e. error) in the well-known verse: “otro mester sabía qu’ es más sin pecado” ‘another work I knew, which is without error’ (422c), generally understood to have the dual meaning of a higher moral quality and to be technically without fault.

We have already seen that Apolonio recognized his grave error in traveling to Antioch, and on the shipwrecked shores of Pentápolin, Apolonio seems to suggest that his decision to travel was somehow influenced by sin, which figured into his decision to go onto the sea in order to lead him to err. In short, the Devil didn’t make him do it, but perhaps deceives him onto the sea are the forces of fate (*fadas*). The same fisherman, who, according to Grieve, sets Apolonio on the correct path to salvation by directing him to the Scriptures, describes the king’s lot by counseling, “Non te *querrían* las *fadas*, rey, desmanparar” ‘Fate, king, did not desire to forsake you’ (137c, emphasis mine). This is also a reminder of the spiritual ambiguity of the text, and recognition of the capricious nature of life, filled with both joy and sorrow. The pain Apolonio now experiences due to the mark of original sin, may one day be replaced by pleasure: “El estado deste mundo siempre así andido / cada día sse camia, nunca *quedo* estido” ‘This has always been the

way of the world, / every day it changes, never staying the same' (134ab). But first he must set sail.

As mentioned previously, however, Apolonio may have sought justification for his travels through the compelling images of love, fear, humiliation or even supernatural power, but ultimately it becomes readily apparent through his sorrow on the shores of shipwreck that the king ventured out onto the seas in order to do the very thing his subjects asked him to do: visit *muchas tierras*, and in doing so, gain the knowledge, wisdom, and experience they thought he lacked. What, then, are we to make of these maritime journeys? In the various scenes that narrate the maritime adventures and misadventures of Apolonio, the sea is depicted as troubled and violent (*conturbado*) and frequented by perilous storms (*mal temporal*), revealing the capriciousness and unpredictability of the sea (*cámiase priuado*). More importantly, however, the episodes that narrate the mariners' interaction and response to the unpredictable nature of this maritime space (discussed above) further define the sea space as one of perplexity and incoherence, of violence and vulnerability. The space of the sea, then, serves as a constant reminder that Apolonio is not in control. It has brought him to a space of confusion, but through confusion to self-awareness. Much more than simply a medium by which the poet moves the plot, as some scholars have suggested, the maritime space, and its storms in particular, serves as an important component of the pursuit of knowledge.¹⁶⁷ Like the maritime space of Judah Halevi's exile (Chapter 1), the perilous storms and treacherous winds of the sea are, and create, for Apolonio an intellectual space in which

¹⁶⁷ Simone Pinet writes that the shipwreck event in the Byzantine romance (e.g. *Libro de Apolonio*), "is quite literally a pretext, the goal being the deliverance of the protagonists to this or that shore" (389). It is not the main event of later texts, she contends.

the wandering and probing philosopher king (King Apolonio) travels toward self-knowledge and ultimately understanding.

After Apolonio finishes his woeful tale of loss and suffering on the shores of Pentápolin, a Tarsian fisherman describes this space more clearly—as means and end.

El estado deste mundo siempre así andido,
cada día sse camia, nunca *quedo* estido;
en toller y en dar es todo su sentido,
vestir al despoiado y despoiar al vestido.

Los que las *auenturas* quisieron ensayar,
a las vezes *perder*, a las vezes *ganar*,
por muchas *de maneras* ouieron *de pasar*;
quequier que les abenga anlo *de endurar*. (134a-135d)

This has always been the way of the world, / every day it changes, never staying the same; / all it knows is give and take, / clothing the dispossessed and dispossessing the clothed. / And to those who wish to try their luck, / sometimes you lose, sometime you win, / and such will happen in many a way; / but whatever happens, you must endure.

Like the sea upon which Apolonio has just traveled, the fisherman describes the unpredictability of this world. It gives and takes away, and it has always been that way. But if one wants to know fortune (*auenturas*), he must first experience misfortune (*majaduras*); if one desires wisdom, he must first set out to sea.

Nunqua sabrién los omnes qué eran *auenturas*

si no [prouassen] pérdidas ho muchas majaduras;
quando an pasado por muelles y por duras,
después sse tornan maestros y cren las escripturas” (136a-d)

Men will never know what adventure is / if they do not experience both loss and
misfortune; / but when they have seen both joy and sorrow, then they become
masters and believe the scriptures.

Monedero suggests that “por muelles y por duras” can be read as analogous to the phrase *por duras y maduras* (through thick and thin) (137). Importantly however, to describe that which is beneficial, the fisherman uses the nautical term *muelle*: pier, jetty, or quay. It is inviting to conclude that for a man to gain wisdom, he must not only experience the safety of the harbor, but venture out into the sea and suffer the inevitable travails of maritime travel. Here sea travel is necessary for the acquisition of an experiential knowledge that not only serves as a *regimen principium*, but ultimately as a path to theological wisdom: “*después sse tornan maestros y cren las escripturas*” ‘then they become masters and believe the scriptures’ (136d, emphasis mine).

Grieve writes concerning this passage, “Mastery, then, becoming ‘maestros,’ comes not from the accumulation of learning from books, but from life experience and an awareness of the deeper meaning of the Scriptures” (152).¹⁶⁸ However, as explored above, it is only in the midst of the voyage that one experiences the great joys and intense sorrows of life; and only *after* gaining the knowledge that comes from traveling (experiential inquiry) does one gain understanding, and thus believe (*cren*) the Scriptures.

¹⁶⁸ Monedero suggests the word *escripturas*, “puede valer tanto para la Biblia, atendiendo a 137a,b, en que parece aludir a Dios, como para los libros de aventuras, en donde son las hadas benéficas las que protegen, 137c,d” ‘It can be just as valid for the Bible—in view of 137ab, in which in appear to allude to God—as it is for books of adventure, in which it is the benevolent *hadas* that protect, 137c,d’ (137).

Consequently, what is of primary import is not Apolonio's lack of scriptural knowledge (though certainly a relevant concern), but his inexperience as a traveler. This has fascinating consequences. The sea not only becomes a path to wisdom, and perhaps salvation, but echoing Desing, travel (seafaring) becomes a metaphor for interpretation; the sea is a cipher—of riddles, texts, and even Scripture. Apolonio, then, does not err in the initial riddle scene simply because he favors secular knowledge over scriptural wisdom, as Grieve suggests. Rather, Apolonio was unable to successfully navigate the treachery of the riddle because he had yet to navigate the treachery of sea, and thus lacked the necessary interpretive acumen one gains therein. In the end it was a riddle only his travels could solve.

Indicative of Ibn Tufayl, Ibn Rushd and Maimonides' notion of the renouncing of the vanities of this world, in the midst of Apolonio's adventures and misadventures, all intellectual pretenses are stripped away—like the clothes of a castaway on the shores of shipwreck.¹⁶⁹ Stormy seas and ruin reveal his weakness and ignorance, and ultimately take his identity. After washing up onto the shores of Pentápolin, Apolonio has lost everything at sea: “*perdió quanto traía*” ‘he lost all he had’ (156c). Responding to those who inquire even of his name, he can only respond that this too is lost: “*el nombre que hauía, perdiólo en la mar*” ‘the name he had, he lost at sea’ (172c). Not all is lost, however.

¹⁶⁹ Hans Blumenberg writes that “Shipwreck, as seen by a survivor, is the figure of an initial philosophical experience” (106). In one sense, it is a type of conversion. As an example he cites Vitruvius who reports that the Socratic philosopher Aristippus, after being shipwrecked on the island of Rhodes, went from being a lover of money and pleasure to a believer in the idea that “one ought to provide one's children with only such possessions as could be saved from a shipwreck (*quae e naufragio una possent enatare*)” (106). See *Ad adolescents*, 4. He mentions also Basil the Great, Bishop of Cappadocia in the fourth century who reduced what one could salvage from shipwreck to virtue: “Homer calls on us in the same way: You must be concerned with virtue, which even swims out with the shipwrecked man, and lends him an appearance that commands respect, even if he comes onto the shore naked.” (106). See also *Patrologia Graeca*, 31.572. In her study of shipwreck and perspective, Simone Pinet adds to this the concepts of self-awareness. For the subject who looks [back] upon shipwreck from the safety of the shore, “Philosophy is not a taking of a position, but an awareness of where one stands or gazes from” (393).

Apolonio remembers where he is from, and instructs his inquirers to ask for him there: “el mío linage, en Tiro te lo sabrién contar” ‘of my lineage, in Tyre they will know what to tell you’ (172c). Later, when Apolonio describes himself in a letter to then princess Luciana, he recounts that only his body was salvaged from the wreck: “con el cuerpo solo estorció de la mar” ‘with his body alone he escaped from the sea’ (223d). And when he returns to Pentápolin after his brief exiles, the people hardly recognize him: “abés te connosceamos” ‘we barely recognize you’ (333b). Coupled with the lack of physical and mental control emblemized throughout the scenes of seafaring, again, the space of the sea serves to remind the reader of Apolonio’s lack of control—that he is in a state of confusion and incoherence, but also self-awareness. It is precisely when Apolonio is in the process of being stripped of his physical comforts and intellectual vanities that the reader witnesses the progress of the intellectual journey. And though Apolonio weeps and laments this state, it becomes a necessary place from which to begin the pursuit of knowledge. For Apolonio and the people of Tyre, though tragic and painful, this is perhaps the desire and purpose of the invitation to the voyage.

In the end, the lessons of the tempestuous sea, the words of a wise fisherman, and the advice of his loving people appear to have led him out of the darkness of ignorance and into the light of self-knowledge in the pursuit of wisdom.¹⁷⁰ Standing on the shores of

¹⁷⁰ It is telling that as the story progresses, Apolonio takes increasing comfort in the space of the sea. As the space of the intellectual journey and the path to wisdom, Apolonio’s presence on the sea and his desire to remain there reveals his authentic engagement of *απορία*, if not also a modicum of frustration and sadness. Toward the end of the tale, when he is nearly at his whit’s end in search for Tarsiana, it is in ships that he takes his comfort. See verse 99a and all of stanza 451, in particular. In the final scenes that lead up to the cathartic riddle scene with his estranged daughter, Apolonio refuses to leave his ship and the sea even though he is in port. It is likewise fitting that the final *απορία* as philosophical riddles takes place while Apolonio is at sea. Though the present article is not the place for this discussion, it is important to note that Tarsiana, who was born at sea, the space of *aporia* and the path to knowledge, is the one who presents him the riddles that lead to his intellectual catharsis. The one born of the sea, that space and path to wisdom, brings men out of the darkness (verse 476b) and provides them balm and medicine (verse 488b).

his native Tyre, reunited with his wife and child, Apolonio has returned from his intellectual journey: “El curso deste mundo . . . lo as prouado” ‘The way of this world . . . you have experienced’ (339a). And to the very people who thought him lacking and ignorant, and who encouraged him to set sail onto the perilous space of the sea, Apolonio is now able to proclaim: “buena fue la tempesta, de Dios fue prometida, / por onde nós ouemos a fer esta venida!” ‘blessed was the storm, by God it was promised, / for through it we may celebrate this arrival’ (547cd). It is only after such a realization that the king’s words ring truest: “sano es Aplonyo” ‘restored is Apolonio’ (546b).

Conclusions

The *Libro de Apolonio* reveals that Iberian Christian scholars and intellectuals conceived of a model of Mediterranean travel based on Iberian philosophical notions of the voyage as an intellectual journey. And the tale of King Apolonio forms only part of a larger web of representation. Together with the anonymous *Libro de Alexandre*, *Calila wa Dimna*, Ibn Tufayl’s *Hayy Ibn Yaqzāan*, and the philosophical works of Ibn Rushd and Moses Maimonides, the *Libro de Apolonio* becomes part of a medieval Iberian and broader Mediterranean intellectual tradition that includes the likes of Ibn Battuta and Ibn Tudela, not to mention earlier models found in Herodotus and Saint Augustine. Consequently, medieval Iberian Christians were also “firmly tied to a world in which intellectuality and adventure were closely linked,” as Touati contends of medieval Muslim and Jewish men of letters (Touati 42). In fact, the idea that “one cannot truly inhabit knowledge without shipping off on a trip” seems to be a principle shared by these several linguistic and confessional Iberian groups, upheld and defended in the

geographically broader and culturally more diverse Mediterranean of the thirteenth century, of which Iberia not only formed the westernmost boundary, but played a central role (Touati 2). As such, the idea of the eastern Mediterranean as a space of religious-political violence and conquest is repurposed. In view of the failed efforts and ethics of Crusading, an analysis of the sea voyage and its corresponding motivations to travel in the *Libro de Apolonio* re-imagines the sea and that same Mediterranean space as the representative and necessary path of the intellectual journey. This space was not defined solely by the efforts of violent imperialism, and in the *Libro* the sea becomes a space where one seeks knowledge. This is not a re-writing of history, e.g. Christian failures as victories; rather, the text provides a literary framework and filter through which the confusion of imagery and symbols can be both read and understood. In the waning years of repeated calls to crusade, the *Libro de Apolonio* offers an alternative: an invitation to the voyage and an intellectual journey. Thus, the sea is, or can be, a space of learning, perhaps shared learning, where travel leads not to conflict, but to knowledge, wisdom, and perhaps salvation.

Marian Maritime Miracles and Alfonso X's Imagined Mediterranean Empire:
Shipwrecks, Storms and Pirates in the *Cantigas de Santa María*



(Figure 4) © Liam Michael Roodhouse 2013

While in the *Libro de Apolonio* the narrative followed one protagonist, a king, in the midst of an intellectual voyage culminating in his successful and cathartic return to his homeland on the shore of Tyre in the eastern Mediterranean, in this chapter I explore how the sea is imagined and experienced in a series of narratives recorded in Galician-Portuguese for perhaps the best known of medieval Iberian kings, Alfonso X, known as “The Wise.” In his collection of narratives featuring protagonists of all socio-economic, ethnic, linguistic and confessional backgrounds, the Mediterranean is central, not only as it has been in the works discussed in previous chapters, as a space of trade, commerce, pilgrimage and personal pursuits, but also as part of a planned and imagined Alfonsine Empire that exceeds the borders of the Iberian Peninsula and whose contours in many ways reflect those of prior Mediterranean empires. Alfonso X did not confine his Mediterranean imperial desires to the *Cantigas*, but we also find them codified in his major legal treatise, the *Siete Partidas*, which echoes the themes of maritime empire found in the *Cantigas*.

The *Cantigas* were compiled by King Alfonso X, the Wise, of Castilla y León (d. 1284), one of the most important literary and historical figures of the Middle Ages in Iberia, the European continent, and throughout the Mediterranean.¹⁷¹ A thirteenth-century romance vernacular *cancionero mariano*, the *Cantigas de Santa María* is a collection of 421 songs or canticles in medieval Galician-Portuguese verse, including both miracle narratives and songs of praise (*loor*) to the Virgin Mary. In one manuscript (Escorial T.j.1), each narrative is accompanied by elaborate and skillfully drawn illuminations, of

¹⁷¹ In *Emperor of Culture*, Robert Burns refers to Alfonso X as the “Emperor of Culture,” and his reign as a 13th-century renaissance. See his introductory comments in “*Stupor Mundi: Alfonso X of Castile, the Learned*” (1-13) for a brief discussion of Alfonso X’s literary, scientific and historical contributions, including his prose, translation schools and the Alfonsine cultural concept in general.

which there are 2,640, as well as musical notation. Moreover, they represent a variety of metrical forms, revealing an unprecedented and extraordinary virtuosity. Walter Mettmann lists more than 280 distinct metrical combinations, and as Montoya Martinez asserts, here Alfonso collects “todo el arsenal mariológico de la Edad Media” ‘the entire marian arsenal of the Middle Ages’ (70). All of which make the *Cantigas* a rich anthology of medieval verse.

There are four extant manuscripts of the *Cantigas de Santa María: To* (BNE 10.069), *E* (Escorial J.b.2), *T* (Escorial T.j.1) and *F* (Florence II.I.213) (Mettmann 21).¹⁷² According to Walter Mettmann, comparative studies of these variant manuscript traditions suggest three stages of development and compilation. Initially, he contends, a collection of 100 poems was composed (*To*⁰), which in all probability included Prologue A (introduction), Prologue B and the *Pitiçon* (*E* 401).¹⁷³ After this first collection was completed, it was decided to double the amount of *cantigas* and add illuminations to the text. This was achieved in *T*, also known as the *códice rico* (rich codex) due to the number and quality of its accompanying illuminated miniatures. It is generally believed that concurrently with the composition of *T*, another team of scribes, musicians and illustrators in the Alfonsine workshops began work on codex *F*, which was to serve as a compliment to *T*, essentially doubling again the number of *cantigas* to a total of 400. In fact, Mettmann refers to *T* and *F* as two “tomes” of one manuscript: *T/F*. However, *F* seems to have been prematurely abandoned and is consequently incomplete, containing

¹⁷² Walter Mettmann considers these four manuscripts as three traditions given that, in his opinion *T* and *F* can be considered as one manuscript in two tomes (Mettmann 21).

¹⁷³ These, he contends, were mostly likely composed first on *hojas suelta* or *rótulos* (r¹) from which the first manuscript *To*⁰ was copied. Though *To*⁰ is now lost, most scholars (Mettmann, Montoya, Filgueira Valverde) suggest *To*, even as the most recent manuscript, reflects the earliest redactions, and is perhaps a late copy of *To*⁰ from the early 14th century.

104 *cantigas* but lacking various sections of narrative and musical notation, and includes only 48 completed miniatures (34).¹⁷⁴ The third and final stage of development in the *Cantigas* manuscript tradition is found in *E*, which, though more modest than *To*, *T* and *F*, sought to compile 400 *cantigas* into one codex. It contains 40 full-page illuminations (every tenth *cantiga* is illuminated), and the total number of poems in *E* comes to 401, including the final *Pitiçon*. A careful correspondence of all four manuscripts reveals a total of 427 poems, including *cantigas de miragles y de loor* (songs of miracles and praise), *festas de Jesu-Cristo* (Festival of the Christ), *cantigas das sas festas do ano* (Festivals of the Virgin Mary) and the *Pitiçon* (the Prayer). With the possible exception of *To*, which Mettmann places in the early 14th century after the death of Alfonso X (see note 3), scholars generally agree (from Ortiz de Zúñiga to Marcos Burriel) that the Alfonsine Marian corpus was composed and compiled between 1257 and 1283, a year prior to the death of the learned king.¹⁷⁵

The *Cantigas* were part of a larger *cantiga* tradition of Iberian vernacular literature in the Middle Ages, particularly the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. And the *cantiga* genre was not confined to themes of Marian intercession. In fact, the corpus of Galician-Portuguese *cantigas* from this period is diverse in content, theme and imagery, and written by a variety of authors. Three important collections of such poems are known as the *Cancioneiro da Ajuda*, *Cancioneiro Colocci-Brancutti* (of the Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa) and the *Cancioneiro da Biblioteca Vaticana*. Other than religious poems of praise to saints or divinities (such as the *Cantigas de Santa María*), the *cantiga* tradition

¹⁷⁴ The codex contains numerous pages in which only the frame of accompanying miniatures is completed, and others which were started but ultimately left unfinished.

¹⁷⁵ For detailed studies and syntheses of the *Cantigas* manuscript matrix, see editions by Mettmann (1986) 21-40; Filgueira Valverde (1985) XLVII.

also includes a *cancionero profano*, or a corpus of secular (profane) songs which narrate a variety of topics but are generally grouped in three overall categories: *cantigas d'amor* (songs of love), *cantiga d'amigo* (songs about the beloved or friendship—which is what you use below) and *cantigas de escarnho e maldizer* (songs of curse and scorn). There are over 700 texts concerning songs of love (*amor*)—nearly half the corpus—in which, guided by the laws of courtly love (*amor cortés*), a troubadour addresses his lady (Juan Paredes). However, in the nearly 475 *cantigas* which comprise the collection of songs of friendship (d'amigo), the poetic voice is generally a young woman in love who speaks to or of her boyfriend and lover. And the last category of curse and scorn, of which there are approximately 430 poems, is dedicated to social and political satire and criticism. While the criticism in the poems of scorn (*escarnho*) is somewhat veiled, the poet's vituperation in those of *maldizer* is expressed in the open and to the recipients face (Paredes). While the countryside and the home are frequent backdrops for poetic action, the *cantiga* genre is one of the richest in sea imagery during this period. In particular, the typical *cantiga d'amigo* is known for an elaboration of maritime scenes, including the depths of the sea. In fact, the poems of a subgenre known as *baracolas* (gondolas) take place next to or on the sea, a space which is personalized by the poetic voice in order to comfort the recipient of her verse and approach the beloved with confidence. There is also a series of sea poems which some scholars, including X.R. Pena, refer to as *O ciclo do mar de Vigo* (The cycle of the Sea of Vigo) which perhaps predictably take place on or near the Atlantic shores of the Galician city of Vigo in present day northwest Spain. A poem written by the renowned 13th-century Galician *juglar*, Martin Codax reads:

Ondas do mar de Vigo,

se vistes meu amigo!

E ai, Deus!, se verrá cedo!

Ondas do mar levado,

se vistes meu amado!

E ai Deus!, se verrá cedo!

Se vistes meu amigo,

o por que eu sospiro!

E ai Deus!, se verrá cedo!

Se vistes meu amado,

por que hei gran cuidado!

E ai Deus!, se verrá cedo! (Ferreira 81)¹⁷⁶

Waves of the Sea of Vigo / Have you seen my friend? / Oh God, will he come soon? / Waves of the swollen sea, / Have you seen my beloved? / Oh God, will he come soon? / Have you seen my friend, For whom I sigh? / Oh God, will he come soon? / Have you seen my beloved, / For whom I feel great sorrow? / Oh God, will he come soon?

The *Cantigas de Santa María* portray a similar rich imagery of the sea and seafaring common in the medieval *cantiga* genre. Surprisingly, however, until somewhat recently, the work has received comparatively little scholarly attention in the Anglo-American

¹⁷⁶ From the Vindel Parchment. See Ferreira, especially chapters 4 and 6.

academy. In fact, though the *Cantigas* are accepted as part of the Hispanomedieval canon, their study has been problematic, perhaps given their composition in Galician-Portuguese and not Castilian. Studies on the *Cantigas* saw critical advancement in the 1980s, however, by two centennials: the seventh centennial of the redaction of the most extensive codex in 1281, and the death of Alfonso X, celebrated in 1984. In 1987 Stephen Parkinson would underscore the contrast that existed between the stability of the texts in manuscript form and the differences in the order of the poems, concluding that 100 of the *cantigas* found in the Toledo manuscript were reorganized at a very late date (Stephen Parkinson “The First Reorganization of the *CSM*”). Similar concerns prompted an interesting debate between Mettmann and Snow. In 1987 Mettmann limited the participation of Alfonso to only ten *cantigas*.¹⁷⁷ Joseph Snow would challenge these assertions and instead affirm the personality of the king as a fundamental element of the work in a collection of important articles (“A Chapter in Alfonso X’s Personal Narrative: The Puerto de Santa María Poems in the *Cantigas de Santa María*”; “Self-Conscious References and the Organic Narrative Pattern of the *Cantigas de Santa María* of Alfonso el Sabio”; “Alfonso X: sus ‘cantigas...’: Apuntes para su (auto)biografía literaria”; and “Alfonso X y/en sus *Cantigas*”). It was Snow also, who in “The Central Role of the Troubadour *Persona* of Alfonso X in the *Cantigas de Santa María*,” explored the *amor cortés* of the Provençal troubadours, the structure of the collection, and its internal references. Important work in the area of cultural studies was undertaken by Albert Bagby on the presence and the importance of the Jew and Moor in the *Cantigas* (“The Jew in the *Cantigas de Alfonso X, el Sabio*” and “Alfonso X, el Sabio compara

¹⁷⁷ See Walter Mettmann, “Algunas observaciones sobre la génesis de la colección de las *Cantigas de Santa María* y sobre el problema del autor.”

Moros y Judíos”).¹⁷⁸ And in 1987 a selection of essays on the *Cantigas* was published under the direction of John Keller, Armistead, and Joseph Snow. Aside from standard studies of religious themes and authorship, the volume includes studies on art and visualization (Charles Nelson), verbalization and visualization (Connie Scarborough), melodic interpretation (Ismael de la Cuesta), antifeminism (Catherine Guzman), as well as an interesting entry by John Keller which explores the visual, verbal and musical impact of the *Cantigas*. Perhaps overly enthusiastic about the illuminations that accompany the textual *cantigas*, Guerrero Lovillo contends that:

. . . en las *Cantigas*, tenemos en realidad algo visto, no pensado, no sentimental.

Es decir, el paisaje de las *Cantigas* no entraña una postura intelectual ante el paisaje. No es un paisaje pensado, es un paisaje visto. (91)

. . . in the *Cantigas*, in reality what we have is something witnessed, not imagined or sensed. That is, the landscape of the *Cantigas* does not necessitate an intellectual analysis of said landscape. It is not an imagined landscape; it is an known landscape.

¹⁷⁸ In his article “The Jew in the Cantigas de Alfonso X, el Sabio,” Albert Bagby points out the privileged position of the Jews (among others) in the court of Alfonso X: “If one were to select one period in Spanish history which could be considered favorable to the Jews, it would have to be the reign of Alfonso X” (670). Paradoxically, however, Bagby attempts to demonstrate that the privileged position of the Jews in the Alfonsine court was not an official stance (*Siete Partidas*), nor was it represented in the personal songs of the king (*Cantigas*). If these songs were written by the king himself, he asks: why the paradox? Ultimately, he concludes there is a double-standard: “His [Alfonso X] prejudices lent themselves conveniently to a certain didacticism which, as ardent champion of the Faith, the King wished to make evident to his people. But there is in the *Cantigas* little of the tolerance one associates with this monarch in his dealings with the educated and highly trained Jewish physicians, scientists, and government officials” (688). In another article, “Alfonso X, el Sabio compara Moros y Judíos,” he takes a close look at cantigas 5, 264, 348, and 401 in order to weigh which of the two (Jew or Moor) comes off worse. He concludes that even though the Moor is a sworn political and religious enemy, worse is the Jew, a hidden threat within the Christian fold. It must be noted that it was Américo Castro who brought to light the significant place of the Jew in the formation of Hispanic cultures and letters. Castro sees their influence upon Spain’s history as largely the result of the favorable conditions that existed for them in the 13th and 14th centuries, particularly under Alfonso X. For Castro, this was true not only of select intellectuals, but of middle class merchants as well. See Castro, *España en su historia* 481-484)

Yet though he insists that the landscape painted is the landscape seen, Lovillo admits that at times the artist “ve con ojos del recuerdo” ‘sees with the eyes of memory,’ and even if the authors and illustrators forget, they are inspired by the monuments before them (90). In “The Gothic Anamorphic Gaze: Regarding the Worth of Others,” Prado-Vilar offers an important counter point to this notion by problematizing the difference between the text and illumination, and “the capacity of the intended viewer to observe the perfect *mimesis* between a strange external image and the internal familiar one,” where such difference, “betrays the existence of two socio-cultural points of view from where the textual and visual originate” (70). Indeed, even Lovillo must admit the use of an apparently stereotyped memory in the illuminated panels of CSM 107, which appear to erroneously depict the aqueduct of Segovia as that of Seville (Keller and Cash).¹⁷⁹ Indeed, as Keller and Cash conclude from this and other such “errors” in the depiction of castles, fortresses, monasteries, etc., only very few accurately depict the places they are meant to represent (29). And though without a reference point, the artists generalize using immediate data. The same can be said about place in general in the *Cantigas*, or the representation of space. However historically bound the data, as a work of fiction one of the primary concerns of the *Cantigas* (alongside its religious and musical significance) is the imagining of space, and in particular, the geographic (maritime) space of an imagined Alfonsine empire. Thus, taken together, the songs, poems and illuminations of the text become a more complex geo- and thalasso-political which echo the sense of imagined empire developed in the Alfonsine chronicles, as well as the *Siete Partidas*.

An invaluable study concerning historicity in the *Cantigas* remains Joseph O’Callaghan’s *Alfonso X and the Cantigas de Santa María: A Poetic Biography*. By

¹⁷⁹ The aqueduct of “Segovia” appears in panel 2 of CSM 107.

analyzing the historical circumstances of various *cantigas* that refer to the king, his family and the court, as well as the happenings during his reign, O’Callaghan contends that the reader can gain “new insights into the history of Castile-Leon in the second-half of the thirteenth century and . . . draw conclusions about royal policy and actions that would not have been evident from other, more prosaic sources” (6). Unlike the pseudo-biographical account of the life and career of the learned king found in the *Estoria de Espanna*, his collection of Marian devotional songs, in O’Callaghan’s view, is a poetic biography unique in the annals of medieval Europe. “The *Cantigas de Santa María* are not a royal biography in the usual sense because they do not provide a connected narrative of Alfonso X’s career. Nevertheless,” he contends, “they narrate specific events in his life and that of his kingdom and they reveal something of his personality and his spirituality” (2). Joseph Snow once commented that the *Cantigas* “may prove to contain important keys . . . to the kind of person [Alfonso X] was or, better yet, the kind of person he wanted to be” (124).¹⁸⁰ Given that the *Cantigas* are a literary and artistic construction based on traditional songs and involving huge teams of artists, and not necessarily the king directly, such relationships between the work and the historical Alfonso are still nevertheless hypothesis. That being said, lest we forget or too severely downplay the role of Alfonso, we are well to be reminded, as Montoya Martinez suggests, that though the he may not have been the translator of each and every one of these miracles, it is reasonable to argue that at a minimum, as king and compiler, he participated in constructing the image he wished to convey, “aplicando un criterio particular . . . y estampa su firma” ‘applying [to the text] a particular criteria . . . and signs his name’ (75-

¹⁸⁰ See Snow, “Alfonso as Troubadour: The Fact and the Fiction” in *Emperor of Culture*. Ed. R.I. Burns. 124-140.

6).¹⁸¹ That is, even if the vision of Alfonso X's empire was largely imagined by the artists in his court and the translators in his workshops, ultimately the king approved of its message, and signed his name. We are reminded in the *General Estoria* of similar authorial concerns:

. . . el rey faze un libro non por quel él escriba con sus manos, mas porque compone las razones d'él e las emienda e yegua e endereça e muestra la manera de cómo se deven fazer, e desí escrívelas qui él manda, però dezimos por esta razón que el rey faze el libro. (*General estoria* 1.477b)

The king makes a book, not because he writes it with his hands, but because he set forth the reasons for it, and he amends and corrects and improves them and shows how they ought to be done; and although the one whom he commands may write them, we say, nevertheless, on this account that the king makes the book.

(O'Callaghan, *A Poetic Biography* 6)

Thus, the *Cantigas* can offer us a view of how Alfonso X and his court perceived and conceived of the space of his imagined empire. And intimately connected to the king's concept of imperial space is the spiritual power of his Lady and protector, such that his realm extends as far as her power reaches and to those spaces over which she has authority to guard and protect. And this concerns not only the heavens (*cielo*) and earth (*tierra*), but the space of the sea (*mar*).

Though studies on the *Cantigas* have emphasized them as a personal and collective plea for salvation (Guerrero Lovillo and David Flory), the role of the troubadour (Joseph Snow), or the collection's depiction of daily life (John Keller and Annette Cash), very little has focused on the space of the sea. However, though not

¹⁸¹ See Jesús Montoya Martínez, *Las colecciones de milagros de la Virgen en la Edad Media*

entirely devoted to a study of the *Cantigas*, an exception to this can be found in a recent dissertation by Michael Furtado, concerning artistic, literary, and legal perceptions of the sea in Castilla y León from 1248-1450. With frequent mentions of the *Cantigas* he discusses “the changing attitudes of the Castilians towards the sea through an examination of its perceived place in their world, underscoring the complexity of Castilian attitudes toward the dangers and opportunities presented by the marine environment” (iv). Though I will make occasional references to Furtado’s work, particularly his analysis of the *Siete Partidas*, I will focus this investigation of the *Cantigas* on the geographic concerns of Alfonso X and the maritime space of his imagined empire. Consequently, certain *cantigas* will be examined as textual and visual manifestations (maps) of Alfonso’s struggle for, and power over, the Mediterranean Sea. Moreover, and contrary to critical notions of the shipwreck text as a counter-historical narrative of empire, as articulated by Josiah Blackmore, I suggest that scenes of shipwreck, piracy and stormy seas in the *Cantigas* are in fact carefully constructed narratives used to demonstrate—by way of divine intercession—the authority and influence of Alfonso’s empire, in geographic (nautical) and spiritual terms.

In the pages that follow, I will explore how the authors and illuminators of the *Cantigas de Santa María* of Alfonso X employ the Marian maritime miracle not only to demonstrate the possibility of divine mediation, but how as royal troubadour and champion of the Queen of Heaven, the King of Castilla y León views himself (is viewed) as an indispensable participant to her intercessory and redemptive activities, and thus shares in her restorative power—at least in geo-political and economic terms. Consequently, I argue that what falls within the reach of the Virgin’s miraculous

influence emerges as a delimitation of the political authority and geographic (maritime) boundaries of an imagined Alfonsine Empire. Though the *Cantigas* present the space of the sea as one of peril and danger before the power of nature and the treachery of man—as explored in both the last chapter on the *Libro* but also in Chapter 1 concerning the poetry of Halevi and Ibn Era—it is also a necessary space in which these songs of praise reveal the expansive powers of the Virgin, and thus of the Alfonso X by association. To do so, the author/s present the reader with scenes of shipwreck, storm, and piracy, by which each *cantiga*'s three-part structure: physical crisis, divine remedy, and thanksgiving, consistently emulates a movement from disordered to ordered space. And though the *Cantigas* can and have been read as a personal and collective plea for salvation, I argue they can be equally understood as a textual and visual manifestation (mapping) of Alfonso's struggle for power over the sea(s) that lapped at Iberia's shores. Whereas in the *Libro de Apolonio* an imaginary king travels the Mediterranean of the past, offering an alternative to the ethics of Crusade by re-imagining the maritime space as an intellectual path (Chapter 3), Alfonso X as an historical king uses the fictional space of the *Cantigas* to guide readers and characters as they travel the Mediterranean of the present (the thirteenth century). Moreover, concurrent with the creation of a new Military (Maritime) Order dedicated to the Virgin, in the *Siete Partidas*, Alfonso attempts to create and adapt a unified code of maritime law, which I contend developed the conceptual political framework of the sea Alfonso wishes to conquer, and which served to aid his efforts of maintaining economic sovereignty over a newly acquired coastal frontier, and ultimately benefitting his struggle for the expansion of his imagined Mediterranean empire.

The Order of Santa María de España

The Order of Santa María de España was founded by Alfonso X in 1280 for service to God and in praise of the holy Virgin Mary.¹⁸² Also known as the Order of the Star, the Order's seal bore the inscription: *Capituli Ordinis Milicie Sancte Marie de Cartagenia* and had an eight-pointed star surrounding a circle in which the Virgin and Child were portrayed.¹⁸³ As O'Callaghan points out, all this was a reminder of the various titles ascribed to the Virgin: Morning Star, Day Star, and Star of the Sea (*A Poetic Biography* 162).¹⁸⁴ The latter, (*Estrela do Mar*) is a common moniker in the *Cantigas*, frequently used when the Virgin appears on the mast head of a ship in the midst of a storm.¹⁸⁵ Consequently, this Order was primarily a naval division, and thus reflective of Alfonso's efforts on maritime infrastructure on the Mediterranean coast and in the Strait. He started construction of the shipyards in Seville in 1252 and by August of that same year he had contracted with 21 mariners from Cantabria, Catalonia, France and Italy to serve as captains of his ships. He also established the office of admiral (*almirante de la*

¹⁸² Alfonso X granted both Medina Sidonia and Alcalá de los Gauzales to the Order of the Star "Por grand savor que auemos de fazer bien e merçed a la Orden de Sancta Maria d'España que nos estableçemos a servicio de Dios e a loor de la uirgen Sancta Maria su madre" 'It is with great joy that we desire to show goodness and mercy to the Order of Holy Mary of Spain, which we establish in the service of God and praise of the Holy Virgin Mary his mother' (Fontes 10).

¹⁸³ See panels 3, 5 and 6 of CSM 78. See also Menéndez Pidal, *La España del Siglo XIII* 147.

¹⁸⁴ In *Mary Through the Centuries*, Jaroslav Pelikan reminds us that another way in which the Virgin was frequently represented was as lodestar and guide to mariners; she was "Mary, the star of the sea" or "*Maria maris stella*" (93). In fact, this class of nautical metaphor was widespread in the Middle Ages (Curtius 129). However, though the image of Mary as a star guiding the ship of faith was attractive, according to Pelikan, at least in part, it depended on a trick of language. "Its origins," he contends, "seem to lie in Jerome's etymology for the name 'Mary' as 'a drop of water from the sea [*stilla maris*],' which he preferred to other explanations. This etymology was taken over by Isidore of Seville, but in the process 'drop [*stilla*]' had become 'star [*stella*].' On that basis, apparently in the ninth century, an unknown poet composed an influential hymn, hailing Mary as the Star of the Sea, the nourishing Mother of God, the Ever-Virgin, the Gate of Heaven: *Ave, maris stella, / Dei mater alma / atque semper virgo, / felix caeli porta*" (93-94). See Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Age*; Jaroslav Pelikan, *Mary Through the Centuries: Her Place in the History of Culture*.

¹⁸⁵ See, for example. CSM 35, 36, 49, 94, 112, 180 and 313.

mar), which O’Callaghan contends he created in preparation for the African “crusade” (105).¹⁸⁶ As William Phillips reminds us, however, in “Maritime Exploration in the Middle Ages,” though motivations to travel could vary, they almost inevitably “mixed crusading zeal with practical economics” (47).¹⁸⁷ Not surprisingly, then, Alfonso’s main concern appeared to be the acquisition and development of a naval base at the entrance to the Mediterranean Sea, El Puerto de Santa María.¹⁸⁸ In fact, *CSM* 364 and the *Carta Puebla* (Settlement Charter) of Santa María do Porto (1281) provide a detailed description of this port and its location. In the *Carta Puebla*, we read:

. . . que tiene de una parte la gran mar que llaman Océano, y el gran río del Guadalquivir, y de la otra el mar Mediterráneo, y el río Guadalete, que son dos aguas dulces por ó vienen grandes navíos . . . es lugar más conveniente que otros que nos sepamos nin de que oyésemos fablar para faser noble çibdat e bona a servicio e a loor de Dios e de Santa María su madre e a onrra de Santa Yglesia e a gaurda e defendimiento del reyno de la noble çibdat de Sevilla, tan bien por mar como por tierra. (Sopranis de Hipólito, “La colonia” 162-63)¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁶ See O’Callaghan, *A Poetic Biography* 160.

¹⁸⁷ As I have presented elsewhere, the relationship between Alfonso X, and the medieval Iberian monarchy in general, is a complex religio-political question which must take into account repeated Iberian claims over the Peninsula against Papal authority, as well as Iberian monarchical concern primarily for the successes of the “Reconquest” over and above, and perhaps at times in opposition to, the priorities and aims of Papal Crusades. As we have shown in Chapter 3, while much of the narrative of the chronicles of Crusades depict a binary conflict between Muslims and Christians, and a unidirectional flow of movement from West to East, Iberian chronicles of the period (e.g. *De rebus hispaniae*, *Crónica de Veinte Reyes*, *Estoia de Espanna*) seems to suggest a more complex space of cross-cultural and multi-directional geo-political movement and alliances.

¹⁸⁸ Alcanate, as it was formerly called, was where Alfonso prepared for his African venture in which he sent his fleet on its first overseas expedition to Salé. See Snow, “A Chapter in Alfonso X’s Personal Narrative: The Puerto de Santa María Poems in the *Cantigas de Santa María*.” For a close reading of *CSM* 328 and the historicity of the naval campaign to Salé, see O’Callaghan, *A Poetic Biography* 100-105.

¹⁸⁹ Excerpt from the *Carta Puebla* (Settlement Charter) for El Puerto de Santa María, written by Alfonso X in Seville on December 16, 1281. See Sancho de Sopranis Hipólito, “La colonia portuguesa en El Puerto de Santa María. Siglo XVI. Notas y documentos inéditos” 162-163. For further reference, see Jesus Montoya Martínez, “La ‘carta fundacional’ del Puerto de Santa María y las *Cantigas de Santa María*” (99-115); M. González Jiménez, “El Puerto de Santa María en los tiempos de Alfonso X (1264-1284)”; and Hipólito

. . . on one side is the great ocean which is called Oceano (Atlantic) and the great Guadalquivir River, and on the side is the Mediterranean Sea and the Guadalete River, both of sweet water by which travel large vessels . . . it by far he most convenient place of which we know or have heard in which to construct a noble city dedicaed to the service and praise of God and of Holy Mary his mother and in honor of the Holy Church and to guard and defend for the kingdom the noble city of Seville, as much by sea as by land.

And the text of *CSM* 364 relates a similar geographical space as follows:

Desto direo un miragre | que eno gran Port' avéo
que chamam da Groriosa, | que cabo do Mar Terréo
éste e cabo do Grande, | que ten a terra no séo
e cerca todo o mundo, | segun diz a escritura. (*CSM* 364.6-9)

There was a miracle in the great Port / called The Glorious, near the end of the Mediterranean Sea / at the edge of the Great Sea (Atlantic), the earth is in its bosom / and it cricles the world, according to what is written.

The “gran Port” ‘great Port’ of which the *Cantigas* speaks is undoubtedly the “noble çibdat” ‘noble city’ of the *Carta Puebla*. Consequently, it might come as little surprise that a number of the songs of this Cycle appear as pseudo-historical narratives of the Alfonsine project to construct and populate this conquered territory on the Peninsula’s southern coast near Cádiz. In fact, *CSM* 371 specifically informs us that it takes place when the king was carrying out a project to populate the southern coast, “pobrava aquel logar” ‘settle said place’ (*CSM* 371.10). The poet lists the various peoples that have

Sancho de Soprano, *Historia del Puerto de Santa María desde su incorporación a los dominios cristianos*; “La carta puebla de Santa María del Puerto” in *Mauritania*.

migrated to this port and the many motivations for their move: *en romeria, pera pobrarem, per lavraren*, etc. (for pilgrimage, to settle, to work, etc.) (CSM 371.16, 17 and 20). They came from many places, “per mar e terra . . . muitos e de longas terras” ‘by sea and land . . . many and faraway lands’ (CSM 371.25, 26).

Though the purpose of the Order appears to have at least initially been intended “to wage war for the faith against the nefarious Saracens and in defense of the fatherland against the barbarous nations,” emboldened by its early successes, Alfonso seems to have taken the opportunity to position the Order as a power play within the Peninsula as well (O’Callaghan *A Poetic Biography*).¹⁹⁰ In fact, as a consequence of the Moorish massacre of the Military of Order of Santiago near Moclín in June of 1280, their remnant was incorporated into the Order of the Star. And while under the leadership of Pedro Nuñez as Master of the Order, ultimately all authority rested with Alfonso X (Torres Fontes, “La Orden de Santa María de España” 75-118; O’Callaghan, *The Learned King* 196-97). Thus, once again, the Virgin had bested Santiago. In CSM 26, though, he is the advocate, she is the judge. And it appears that Alfonso employs this imagery so that by association he may assert his temporal authority over all other ports and pretenders in Iberia, and strengthen his imperial claims over Rome, and thus the Mediterranean Sea.¹⁹¹ And it becomes clear that Santa María do Porto building project near Cádiz was important to controlling traffic and access to the Mediterranean from the Atlantic.

¹⁹⁰ In the Castilian we read, “. . . contra nefarios sarracenos ad pugnandum pro fide acontra pedidium atque pro patria contra barbaras nationes in defensionem et dilatationem fidei orthodoxe instituisse de novo” (Fontes 100).

¹⁹¹ For a depiction of the Order of the Star in the *Cantigas*, see CSM 78. Concerning the Virgin as a rival image to Santiago de Compostela, see Keller, “King Alfonso’s Villa-Sirga, Rival of St. James of Compostela” and “More on the Rivalry between Santa María and Santiago de Compostela” 61-76.

As we shall see, however, the Virgin's intercessory and saving powers are not confined to saving pilgrims, whether from drowning (*CSM* 33) or from deceitful demons (*CSM* 26), or even fighting foreign enemies from outside the Peninsula. In the *Cantigas*, tempestuous seas and even shipwreck reveal not only the Virgin's control over the perilous sea, but her concern for and providence over merchants. And we see this in *CSM* 112 (below), where the Virgin protects the king's commercial interests by miraculously salvaging both ship and cargo, restoring everything to its pre-storm state and delivering it all intact into port. Not only is she interested in their lives, she is concerned for their wares. Moreover, in a series of *cantigas* known as the Cycle Santa María do Porto, Alfonso X appears to his concern for commerce over and above his fear of Moors. In these narratives, however, the Virgin does not calm the storms of the sea. Rather, she creates them and even wrecks rival merchant vessels in order to protect the merchants of her port—Alfonso's port. Consequently, contrary to the conclusions of Josiah Blackmore, which view the narratives of Portuguese shipwreck off the coast of western Africa as a destabilizing counterhistoriography of empire, the shipwreck text in the *Cantigas* becomes a visual and textual manifestation of Alfonso X's struggle for power over the Iberian Peninsula and Mediterranean Sea, and ultimately a propagandistic tool of imperial expansion.

A Geographic Formula

In what is referred to as Prologue A, the *Cantigas* immediately reveals an interest in the geographical limits of Alfonso's empire. We read:

Don Affonso de Castela

de Toledo, de Leon
Rey e ben des Conpostela
ta o reyno d' Aragon,

De Corodova, de Jahen,
de Sevilla outrossi,
e de Murça, u gran ben
lle fez Deus, com' aprendi

Do Algarve, que gãou
de mouros e nossa ffe
meteu y, e ar poubro
Badallouz, que reyno é

Muit' antigu', e que tolleu
a mouros Nevl' e Xerez,
Beger, Medina prendeu
e Alcalá d'outra vez,

E que dos Romãos Rey
é per dereit' e Sennor,
este livro, com' achei,
fez a onrr' e loor

Da Virgen Santa Maria,
que éste Madre de Deus,
en que ele muito fia.
Poren dos miragres seus

Fezo cantares e sões,
saborosos de cantar,
todos de sennas razões,
com' y podedes achar. (*CSM* A.1-28)

Don Alfonso of Castile, / of Toledo and León, / King, indeed from Compostela /
to the kingdom of Aragón, / Of Córdoba and Jaén / and of Seville also / and of
Murcia where God did / him a great good, as I learned, / Of the Algarve, which he
won / from the Moors and there / established our faith and / populated Badajoz, /
Which is a most ancient / kingdom, and who took from / the Moors Niebla and
Jerez; / and seized Vejer, Medina and / Alcalá another time, / And who is King
and Lord / of the Romans by right; / he made this book, as I found, to the honor
and praise / Of the Virgin Holy Mary / who is the Mother of God / in whom he
trusts greatly. / Wherefore of her miracles / he made canticles and songs / sweet to
sing / all with their own themes / as you may discover. (O'Callaghan, *A Poetic
Biography* 59-60)

This geographic formula, of course, is found in other Alfonsine texts, such as historical
chronicles (*General estoria* and the *Estoria de Espanna*) and books of law (*Siete*

Partidas). But such makes it all the more important here, because though many see the *Cantigas* as one of the king's more personal endeavors (Guerrero Lovillo and Flory), which it certainly seems to be, others have suggested Alfonso's collection of Marian miracles participates in a larger propagandizing project (See, for example, M.E. Presilla's "The Image of Death and Political Ideology in the *Cantigas*" and Elvira Fildalgo's *As cantigas de Santa Maria*). Framing his supposed personal collection of Galician-Portuguese poems in the rhetorical vestments of the chronicle of kings and a text establishing a uniform body of normative law (*Partidas*), places the *Cantigas* in a familiar historio-political (and decidedly geographic) narrative of empire. In particular, the more broadly imagined maritime space created by the *Cantigas*' miracle narratives reveals Alfonso's perception that his empire—and perhaps the aims of Reconquest—was not confined merely to the Iberian Peninsula, but extended in and across the sea(s), to North Africa, southern France, perhaps England, and certainly across the space of the Mediterranean, with occasional glimpses of his desire for power over the Italian Peninsula. For these lands and the waters that surround them, are all at one time or another, the setting for Alfonso's songs of praise imagined as the mapping of his empire.

One question to be addressed in order to better understand this space is how Alfonso conceives of this empire and his kingship? Joseph O'Callaghan posits that in Prologue A there is an intimation of a possible "historical reality of the multiplicity of Alfonso X's dominions," both terrestrial and divine (60). That is, Alfonso's interests are not confined to the Iberian Peninsula. Beginning in this prologue, Alfonso presents himself as King and Lord of the Romans by right: "dos Romãos Rey / é per dereit' e Sennor"—a right he thought he held by virtue of his mother Beatrice of Suabia's family

line through Federico II Hohenstaufen (A.17, 18). Importantly, however, Alfonso X was never crowned by the Pope, never called himself “emperor,” nor used the title “king of the Romans” (*rex Romanorum*), at least in his Castilian chancery documents (O’Callaghan, *The Learned King* 22-24). He did, however, use the title in his correspondence with the Pope and with his German and Italian supporters (O’Callaghan, *The Learned King* 147-150). Other than for rhyme or meter, why use the title here in the *Cantigas*? Perhaps, as O’Callaghan contends, Alfonso X was conscious of Hispanic imperial tradition and pretension (148). In fact, the prologue to the *Estoria de Espanna* perhaps betrays the king’s political pretensions by way of an imperial litany in both Latin and Castilian which includes the old imperial title *princeps*.

Nobilis Hesperie princeps, quam gracia Cristi

Ultrix perfidie saluaut ab omne tristi

Princeps laudandu, Alfonso nomine dictus

Princeps inuictus, princeps semper venerandus.

. . .

El noble principe de Espanna, al qual a gracia de Jhesu

Cristo vengadera de la porfia lo salup de toda cosa triste

Principe digno de alabança, Alfonso nonbrado por nonbre,

Principe nunca vencido, principe venerabile. (*PCG* 1)

The noble prince of Spain, upon which is the grace of Jesus Christ, avenger of treachery and salvation from all wretchedness, a prince worthy of praise, Alfonso is his name, the undefeated prince, the venerable prince.

Indeed, in the *Setenario*, the king reminds us that his father Fernando III of Castile “wanted his realm to be called an empire, ‘not a kingdom and he wanted to be crowned as emperor as were others of his lineage,’ but he decided that ‘it was not the time to do it’” (O’Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* 354).¹⁹² By “those of his lineage,” he means the Roman emperors by way of the Iberian Goths, and in particular, King Wamba whom he praised for having “ruled from sea to sea.”¹⁹³

Scholars such as Antonio Ballesteros-Beretta, O’Callaghan and Mettmann seem to suggest that the king’s perspective was that the time to be crowned emperor had arrived—it was “time to do it.” Having inherited from Fernando III the relative successes of a hard-fought but still on-going Reconquista, he conceived of his reign as much more than the maintenance of his father’s gains. Rather, in his rise to the throne of *Hispania* he saw the continuation of Visigothic and Roman legacy, and thus imagined for himself a mantle of Mediterranean rule. Like Alexander III of Macedon, whose legend he most certainly knew, Alfonso X of Castile y León was sovereign over land; and he now desired to be so over the sea. As history would prove, however, this would be a difficult, if not impossible, task. To this end the learned king sought a divine source of inspiration and assistance: the Virgin Mary.

Divine Intervention

¹⁹² Alfonso X, *Setenario*. Art. 9-10, pages 15-19. Alberic of Troisfontaines corroborates this, noting that “King Fernando of Castile presented a petition in the Roman curia to the effect that he wished to have the name of emperor and a blessing, as certain of his ancestors had had” (*Chronica*, s.a. 1234, in *MGH SS*, 23:936; Trans. O’Callaghan, *The Learned King* 148). O’Callaghan further notes, however, that this request was quite odd, and in fact, not practiced by Alfonso X’s predecessors (148).

¹⁹³ See Juan Gil de Zamora, *De preconiis Hispaniae*. Book 4, Chapter 2, Page 75.

As scholars such as Flory, O’Callaghan have noted, the *Cantigas* suggest a parallel between the authority of the Virgin as “Queen of Heaven” and Alfonso as “Holy Roman Emperor.” As Montoya Martínez contends, what is manifest in the text is Mary not only as Lady and Master (*Señora*) in the heavens, but *Señora en la tierra*, *Señora en el aire*—and, most importantly for our purposes, *Señora en el mar* (she is Lady and Master of land, air and sea).¹⁹⁴ Thus, though Flory contends that “Alfonso wished to present a religious, political, and moral standard to a diverse society,” given the importance of spatial imagery to the king’s project used throughout the text, we must add the importance of a geographic standard, imagined or otherwise (113).

Simeon Daly writes of the Virgin’s practical Queenship: “The nature of her Queenship is more than metaphorical; it is a Queenship in the proper sense. She enjoys that power of intercession proper to a mother and a spouse of the king and enjoys dignity attendant on her position” (266). Consequently, she is above all other intercessors, save her son. We see this ascribed sense of dignity, for example, in Catholic Versicle and Responsory, where “The Holy Mother of God is exalted above the choirs of angels and the heavenly kingdom” (Daly 266). Moreover, Bernard of Clairvaux writes in his *In Vigilia Nativitatis Domini* that “God willed that we have nothing that does not pass through Mary’s hands” (Daly 291).¹⁹⁵ And as Pope Leo XIII would later state in the *Audiutricem populi*, “The power thus put in her hands is all but unlimited” (Eamon Carroll 38).¹⁹⁶ Or more colloquially, as Elvira Fidalgo rhetorically asks: “¿Que non faria

¹⁹⁴ In *Las colecciones de milagros de la Virgen en la Edad Media*, Montoya Martínez categorizes these *cantigas* by theme, four of which include: *Señora en el cielo*, *Señora en la tierra*, *Señora en el aire* and *Señora en el mar*.

¹⁹⁵ From the *In Vigilia Nativitatis Domini*, Sermon 3, number 10.

¹⁹⁶ Pope Leo XIII, *Audiutricem* 8. Trans. Eamon R. Carroll, “Mary in the Documents of the Magisterium” 38.

Deus por rogo de sua Mai?” ‘What wouldn’t God do if petition by his mother?’ (Fidalgo 10). It seems then that there is no one better for Alfonso to choose as intercessor of prayers and protector of kingdoms than the Virgin Mary, Mother of God.

According to patristic thought, and a distilled Christian Neo-Platonism, the idea of Mary as Queen and Mediatrix reflects the concept of restoring order to disorder, both physically (as protector from danger/ healer of sickness) and spiritually (protector against/savior from sin). According to R.A. MacDonald, “When Holy Mary acts She does so to correct a wrong, that is, to adjust a situation in some way so that a sense of integrity is restored” (318). Alfonso X, he contends, like Gonzalo de Berceo, calls this intervention a miracle (318).¹⁹⁷ Saint Jerome and Peter Chrysologus perceived Mary’s restorative role as that of a new Eve, such that “just as death came to all through Eve, so through Mary life might return to all” (Carol 114). Importantly, however, Mary as Eve restored invokes not only a spiritual salvation but a sense of spatial dominion: Eve’s dominion over the Garden is now Mary’s dominion over “the whole human race,” to quote Thomas Aquinas (114). That is, though the image of Virgin in the *Cantigas* contributes theological significance to the text, perhaps more important to the king’s economic and political aims is the spatial component that necessarily accompanies that reality. Moreover, though

¹⁹⁷ In the *Siete Partidas*, Alfonso X defines a miracle as follows:

Miraglo tanto quiere decir como *obra de Dios* maravillosa que es *sobre natura usada de cada dia*; e por ende acaesce pocas veces. Et para ser tenido por verdadero ha menester que haya en él *quatro cosas*: la primera que venga por poder de Dios et non por arte; que el milagro *sea contra natura, ca de otra guisa no se maravillerien los hombre dél*; la tercer que venga *por merescimiento de santidad y de bondad que haya en sí aquel por quien Dios lo face*; la quarta que aquel miraglo acaezca *sobre cosa que sea confirmamiento de la fe* (*Partidas* I.IV.CXXIV).

A miracle is a marvelous work of God which is beyond quotidian nature, and therefore occurs very little. And for it to be a true [miracle] four things are required: the first is that it come by the power of God and not by skill; the miracle must be unnatural, otherwise men would not marvel at it; the third requires that it be merited by sanctity and kindness for it is or he in whom is found these that God does such things; the fourth requires a miracle to be a confirmation of faith.

many of the miracles in the Alfonsine text shared many thematic similarities with both earlier Latin and contemporary Latin and Iberian vernacular Marian corpora, the *Cantigas* as a new 13th-century literary form in Galician Portuguese saw a change of protagonist. The Virgin's intercessory power and salvation was no longer only for the pious elite but also for the common sinner. More importantly, perhaps, in the Marian maritime miracles of the Alfonsine text, that sinner is often a merchant, and in many occasions he is neither Christian nor convert, but a Moor.

An Imagined Mediterranean Space

As discussed in previous chapters, the medieval Mediterranean Sea was a space of constant movement, forced or otherwise. As we have shown in Chapter 1 the Jewish intellectual Judah Halevi crosses the sea to fulfill a spiritual urge to physically be in the Holy Land; in Chapter 2 we examined the case of Hayy Ibn Yaqzān who as a baby arrives (or comes to be) on island in the midst of the sea, then leaves as an adult in the hopes of disseminating Truth, and prior to this meets a learned sage named Asāl who desires to travel in search of a space in which he may achieve a spiritual and mystical ascent; and in Chapter 3, we followed King Apolonio as he crisscrossed the eastern Mediterranean on an intellectual journey compelled by his desire to be a fit and wise ruler. The *Cantigas* continues this imagery of the sea as a space for itinerant travel. But just as the sea was for Apolonio a space of both wandering and a path of the intellectual journey, and for Judah Halevi was simultaneously the space of his exile and the hope of salvation, so too the *Cantigas* problematizes the maritime space as one of peril, but also

the stage upon which the Virgin demonstrates her intercessory power and by which Alfonso X imagines his imperial authority.

The medieval Middle Sea was a space traversed by a variety of characters. Whether Muslim, Christian or Jew, the young and old, the rich and the poor, were at times all wont to travel, and they did so for many reasons: “a desire for economic advantage, whether through the acquisition of trade goods or lands for settlement; a belief that they knew where they were going or that past experience suggested what they might find, whether additional islands beyond the horizon or further extensions of continental coastlines; and a collateral desire to spread their spiritual values” (William Phillips 47). As we explored in Chapter 2, in the first volume of *A Mediterranean Society*, Goitein shows that despite nature’s caprice and perfidy with which it could render any journey a hazardous undertaking, “Mediterranean man in the Middle Ages was an impassioned and persevering traveler” (273). That is, despite even natural deterministic elements that fragmented or disrupted the environment, there was simultaneously constant movement which connected the region(s) and the peoples that inhabited the shores and hinterlands of the Mediterranean. True as this may be, the prospective sailor might do well to consider the admonitions of Jean Verdon, who, in examining the dangers and travails of the sea, reminds us of invasions, epidemics, plague, pirates, etc., which could befall even those that lived near the shore, let alone those who ventured into the depths. Pirates and plague, storm and shipwreck, could all hastily come upon the seafarer. And the concept of helplessness before the might of the sea is a familiar one, rendered in both Arabic and Hebrew tradition in the image of “a little worm on a splinter.”¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁸ Judeo-Arabic: “*dūdī ‘alā ‘ūdī.*” For Hebrew, see a poem by Samuel ha-Nagid in *Hebrew Poetry in Spain and Provence*. Ed. Schirmann, I.82.1.49.

The *Cantigas* share this imagery of the perilous sea. However, as a corpus of Marian miracle narratives, the *Cantigas* serve a dual purpose. Though at times the sea is a space of storm, piracy, murder, terror, castigation and death, ultimately the Marian maritime miracles of the *Cantigas* reveal a space of control not disorder. And as a selection of maritime *cantigas* suggests, the Virgin's capacity to both pacify and disturb the sea encodes Alfonso's desire to order the Iberian space and delineate the terrestrial and maritime boundaries of his imagined Mediterranean empire. That is, not only does the text reveal the sea to be a dangerous and perilous space into which men wander at their own risk—which it is; as we shall see, it is also an imperial space where both placid and perilous seas are under his command. Whether by calming its waves or stirring tempestuous winds, both safe passage and shipwreck are meant to serve the greater purpose of empire.

The author offers the reader a first glimpse of this almost immediately in the fifth *cantiga*, a miracle narrative which explicitly relates the imperial favor of Marian intercession.¹⁹⁹ The rubric describes *the cantiga* as “Esta é como Santa Maria ajudou a emperatriz de Roma a sofre-las grandes coitas per que passou” ‘How Holy Mary came to the aid of the Roman empress and the great difficulties she suffered’ (*CSM* 5.1-2). We read of the chaste empress Beatriz who is wrongly accused of infidelity and infanticide while her husband the Roman emperor is away on pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The emperor is going on a crusade (or pilgrimage) to Jerusalem: “cruzou-sse’ e passou o mar e foi romeu a Jherusalen” ‘[he] crossed himself and took to the sea on a pilgrimage to

¹⁹⁹ Though this *cantiga* appears as number 5 in manuscript *E*, it appears as 15 and 19 in *T* and *To*, respectively.

Jerusalem' (*CSM* 5.22).²⁰⁰ And though there is no description of the sea journey, it is significant nonetheless that the Roman emperor travels by sea. Many pilgrims and crusaders took land routes through the southern continent and across the Bosphorus Strait (Sea of Marmara). The most direct route, of course, was by ship from Rome (or perhaps Brindisi) to the Levantine coast (Riley-Smith). In all probability it is this path of which the poet speaks.

As a consequence of the deception perpetrated by the two men charged with her protection, the empress is sentenced to die. At first the villagers cannot agree on a proper punishment for her deeds: “ûus dizian: ‘Quémimena!’ e outros: ‘Moira con segur!’” ‘Some said: ‘Burn her!’ and others: Surely she should die!’” (*CSM* 5.106). But in the end they decide to give her to a sailor (from the South) with the instructions to take her far out to sea and drown her: “Mas poi-la deron a un marêrio de Sur, / que a fezesse mui longe no mar somerger” ‘But they gave her to a mariner from the South / that he might take her far out to sea and drown her’ (*CSM* 5.107-8). Even after the Virgin’s voice from Heaven warns the man and his accomplices to leave her be, they simply abandon her on the rocks in the hopes that the sea will finish the job, and drown her. That is, the sailors oblige the divine request, but still leave the empress for dead. She may no longer be in danger of rape and murder by the sailors sent to execute the injustice, but she is yet in peril of drowning before the might of the sea: “o mar nona leixou en paz . . . con grandes ondas combate . . . tanto mal sofrera . . . coita do mar e de fame” ‘the sea did not leave her in peace . . . she battled against great waves . . . she suffered greatly . . . harm from the sea and from hunger’ (*CSM* 5.121-22). From the outset, then, the sea is both a space

²⁰⁰ The Castilian gloss in manuscript *T* reads, “dixo que quería passar la mar e yr en romería a Jherusalem” ‘he said he wanted to cross the sea in pilgrimage to Jerusalem’ (Filgueira Valverde 358).

of danger and fortune. While the emperor travels on the path of pilgrimage and the merchants travel the path of commerce with apparent ease, the empress is not assured such safety and success. Rather, for her it is a space of terror, punishment and murder. And it is a space her false accusers believe will easily cover and conceal the wickedness of their deceit. But these are miracles narratives after all, and Beatriz is eventually rescued by the Virgin from the raging sea and returned to land. Note, however, that the story concerns not a queen but an empress.

The tradition of the captured Roman empress was a widely circulate narrative in the Middle Ages, borrowed from the much older cycles of Crescentia, Florence, and Hildegard, beginning in the 8th century (Filgueira Valverde 39-41). Later versions appear in the *Speculum Historiale* of Vincent de Beauvais and the *Impératrice de Rome* and *Miracles* of Gautier de Coincy, as well as the *Gesta Romanorum* and the *Vida de los Padres*. The importance of its inclusion in the *Cantigas*, however, should not be overlooked. As the first maritime *cantiga* in all three manuscript traditions (*To*, *T/F* and *E*), its apparent conflation of the image of an emperor (perhaps Marcus Aurelius as glossed *T*), and thus pre-Christian Rome, with the medieval Mediterranean Christian Crusades (again the Castilian gloss of *T* uses the term “cruzada”) offers an interpretive framework for the cycle of Marian maritime miracles in which Alfonso as emperor, anointed by divine decree and emboldened by the aid of intercession, is capable of protecting his Iberian and nascent Mediterranean empire and thus realizing his religio-political expansionist project.

And this not-so-subtle political message of empire and expansion is not only veiled but reinforced by the text’s use of the imagery of spiritual intervention. As

scholars such as Presilla have reminded us, “apparitions of the Virgin from the eighth to the thirteenth centuries have followed the path of the Reconquest. That is, as the frontier moved southward, so did the shrines of the Virgin” (431). For our purpose, the *Cantigas* seem to suggest that once Castilian forces had reached the southern end of the Peninsula, not only did the king’s geo-political aspiration extend beyond the Iberian coast and into the sea(s), but here too, the power of the Virgin followed the path of empire into and across the Mediterranean Sea. Moreover, as Presilla points out, unlike the shrine of Santiago at Compostela, these apparitions and shrines of the Virgin Mary were not perceived as antagonistic, but rather were seen as a point of contact between the monarchy and the people.

In fact, in a handful of *cantigas* we perceive this distinction by way of direct encounters and exchanges between San Santiago and the Virgin, which reveal a subtle rivalry for authority over the Iberian space. In *CSM* 26, for example, we read of a pilgrim who encountered trouble on his way to Santiago de Compostela. While at an inn along the way, he slept with a prostitute and without confessing his sins, set out the next day to continue his annual journey. Along the way, demons confront him and deceive the man into cutting off his penis and slitting his throat in order that he might save his soul from Hell. But when they come to collect his soul, Saint James appears from the Church of Saint Peter and intercedes on his behalf by claiming the demons had tricked the pilgrim and as such his soul rightfully belonged to him. At an impasse, the parties decide to take

their case before the Virgin. She demands the soul be returned to the pilgrim who is then brought back to life.²⁰¹

Santiago diss': "Atanto façamos:
pois nos e vos est' assi rezoamos,
ao joyzo vaamos
da que no á par,
e o que julgar façamos
logo se alongar."

.....

Log' ante Santa Maria veerons
e rezoaron quanto mais poderon.

Dela tal joiz' ouveron:
que fosse tornar

a alma onde a trouxeron,

por se depois salvar. (*CSM* 26.83-88, 90-95)

James said: "Let us do the following: / we have agreed that you and I / should
seek the judge / without equal / and after the judgment / we will go our ways." . . .

They then found themselves before Holy Mary / and prayed with all their might. /

And this judgment they heard: that they should return / the soul to where it was

taken / so that after this it may be saved.

²⁰¹ It is noteworthy, however, that his penis, that with which he committed the sin, is not restored: "mas nunca cobrar / pod' o de que foi falido, / con que for a pecar" 'however, he never recovered / that which was lost, / that with which he sinned' (*CSM* 26.100-03).

Though Saint James has power to detain the demons and temporarily prevent them from taking the pilgrim's soul, he is ultimately unable to decide the matter. He does not have the final authority. What is more, while Saint James might even have the power to save the sinner's soul from Hell, only the Virgin offers the possibility of resurrecting his body. Even by the admission of Saint James, only the Virgin has this authority: "da que no á par" 'of whom there is no equal' (*CSM* 26.86).²⁰² And as the Virgin is presented as the patron saint of Alfonso X, and in light of the *Cantigas*' constructed conflation of religious and political aims, the text reveals Alfonso X's political and territorial intentions over the claims of Santiago de Compostela. A poem by At de Mons makes reference to Alfonso X as "reys dels Romas, regens lo regne de Castela, Tolet' e Compostela" 'King of the Romans, reigning over the kingdom of Castile, Toledo and Compostela,' which appears to coincide with the king's appropriation of the Santiago de Compostela in 1278, as Gil de Zamora and later Kinkade suggest (Carlos Alvar).²⁰³

We find a similar example of the Virgin's comparative superiority to Saint James in *CSM* 218. Here, however, the poet tells the tale of a rich German merchant who fell extremely ill while traveling in Spain and subsequently suffered from paralysis. He asked a group of pilgrims to take him to Santiago Compostela where he might be healed. Instead of being cured, however, he was suddenly stricken blind, adding to the ailments from which he already suffered. The pilgrims then decided to take him to the Virgin's church at Vilasirga in the region of Castilla y León, and there, when he weeps for the

²⁰² See Filgueira Valverde, *Afonso X contra Compostela*; Keller, "King Alfonso's Virgin of Villa-Sirga, Rival of St. James of Compostela"; and from the same author, "More on the Rivalry Between Santa María and Santiago de Compostela."

²⁰³ See also *CSM* 235.

Virgin, she heals him. Again, while the shrine at Compostela, indeed Saint James himself, is impotent to restore the helpless sinner, the Virgin and her shrine are able.

Such narratives appear to subvert the patron saint of the Order of Santiago de Compostela by positing as superior the authority of the patron saint of Alfonso X and, I argue, his newly formed military order, the Order of Star. This in part explains the cycle of *cantigas* concerning the shrine of Santa María do Porto in the recently conquered coast of Cádiz, which I discuss below. That is, not only does the Virgin protect those who travel to holy cities such as Rome and Jerusalem or those who journey to Iberian holy sites such as Santiago de Compostela in order to venerate saints, but along with a more worthy patron saint and protector, the *Cantigas* appear to offer an alternative path of pilgrimage, toward the southern end of the Iberian Peninsula and the Straits which served as a gateway to the Mediterranean and Alfonso's imagined empire. Alfonso X had conquered the Peninsula; he now coveted the sea. Thus, it is significant that the recipient of the Virgin's intercessory power in the preceding *cantiga* is not a pilgrim, but a merchant, adding to the text an important economic dimension.²⁰⁴

Merchants are important participants in the miracle narratives of the *Cantigas*, and they are frequent protagonists of the text's Marian maritime miracles. In *CSM* 112, we read of a storm at sea in which a ship suffers irreparable damage.²⁰⁵ After travelling

²⁰⁴ For further studies on the relationship between Saint James and the Virgin in the *Cantigas*, see Laura Fernández Fernández, "Imagen e intención: La representación de Santiago Apóstol en los manuscritos de las *Cantigas de Santa María*"; Mercedes Brea, "Santiago y María: el milagro del peregrino engañado por el diablo"; and John Gardner, "Detour and Disruption of the Pilgrimage to Santiago in Cantiga XXVI of the *Cantigas de Santa María*."

²⁰⁵ The illumination page for this *cantiga* is largely concerned with the open sea and not land. Four of the six panels of the illumination are concerned with the sea. Panel 5 has the ship arriving at a port and the sixth panel depicts a scene taking place only on land, where the sailors at a church giving praise to the Virgin who holds the Christ. Panel 3 is of particular interest in that it depicts the ship in the midst of sinking with no men on board. The following panel four shows all of the sailors in two separate lifeboats, oddly each nearly the same size as the original galley. In panel five, these two life boats pull into port to

seventy to eighty miles, the storm-battered ship is limping on the high seas, struggling to right itself against the raging winds and swells. The mast is broken, the rudder is shattered, and sailors have been tossed overboard into the seething sea, forced against their will to struggle amidst the tumultuous waves. “Ca o masto foi britado / e o temon pecejado / e os da nave sen grado / sayron en por escapar” ‘The mast was broken / and the tiller destroyed / and those on board / struggled to escape’ (CSM 112.25-28). Some men are able to scramble into a lifeboat, but as they struggle towards shore, they witness their ship fill with sand-tossed mucky waters. There is no hope for the ship; it has spilt in half, “ca a nav’ era aberta” ‘the ship was open’ (CSM 112.36). The ship and its cargo, it appears, had been entirely lost or irreparably damaged.

Como fez hũa vegada
dũa nav’ encarregada
de trigo e de cevada
.....
Ca ouvera tal tormenta
que de millas setaenta
correra ou o[i]taenta,
querendo-ss’a nav’ afondar.
Nas coitas devemos chamar . . .

Ca o masto foi britado

sea that same empty galley already in port. The colors of the sea are vibrant and ominous. The artist uses dark almost black shades near the bottom of the panel, depicting the depth of the sea. The wavy lines depicting the waves are beautifully rendered, and in panel 4 this technique reveals a wind-swept crest of waves.

e o temon pecejado,
e os da nave sen grado
sayron en por escapar . . .

En un batel a gran pãa,
ca viron a nave chãa
d' agua volta con arãa
e aquel pan todo mollar . . .

Esto foy cousa muy certa,
ca a nav' era aberta (CSM 112.10-14, 20-36)

Once upon a time / there was a ship loaded with wheat and flour . . . Such a storm
rose up / that for the seventy or eighty miles / in which it was upon them / it tried
to sink the ship. . . The mast was broken / and the tiller destroyed / and those on
board / struggled to escape . . . a small boat with great effort / saw the ship filled /
with water and sand / and their foodstuffs soaked . . . this was certain / for the ship
was split open.

But the Virgin uses this storm and shipwreck to reinforce her image (and thus Alfonso's)
as protector of the port. Though she does not calm the storm, in spite of it she is able to
restore both ship and sailor.²⁰⁶ The Virgin is presented as *estrela do mar* (Star of the Sea)
on whom one should call in times of trouble at sea: "Nas coitas devemos chamar / a
Virgen, estrela do mar" "When in troubled we should call / upon the Virgin, the Star of

²⁰⁶ Individual *cantigas* concerning storms at sea can be found in 5, 9, 33, 36, 112, 172, 267, 313, 358 and 379; concerning shipwreck: 33, 172, 236 and 371; murder at sea: 5, 67, 193 and 287; and the Virgin's power over the sea: 49, 108, 193 and 226.

the Sea' (*CSM* 112.3, 4). Aptly titled: "Como Santa Maria guardou hũa nave que ya carregada de triigo que non pereçesse, e sacó-a en salvo ao porto" 'How Holy Mary protected a ship laden with wheat from perishing, and brought it safely to port,' here again the Virgin protects the ships, lives, and cargo of foreign merchants from Collioure (Catalunya) (*CSM* 112.1, 2). Like King Alfonso, who intends to rule these waters and their ports, she is again concerned for the well-being of merchants. Thus, miraculously, when "ao porto porto chegaron, / ua [nave] viron sãa estar . . . E viron seu pan eixuto, / por que fezeran ja lutio" 'and [they] arrived at port, / where they saw it (the ship) safe and sound . . . And they also saw their flour dry, / whose loss they had already mourned' (*CSM* 112.10-14, 20-36, 47, 48).

Medieval Mediterranean Trade Routes

The European Christian and Iberian presence in the Mediterranean was not something novel by the mid-thirteenth century and the reign of Alfonso X (1252-1284). As Phillips points out, though trade routes between the North Sea and Baltic regions and the Mediterranean were for centuries primarily land routes, "making use of rivers, river valleys, and Alpine passes, with the great nexus of trade fairs in the county of Champagne in France," by the 13th century, Italians and Iberians (primarily Aragonese) began to establish direct maritime trade routes in the Straits of Gibraltar and throughout the Mediterranean (48). More importantly, during (perhaps because of) the Crusades, western interest and appreciation of Indian and Asian goods (spices, silks, perfumes, etc.) created a demand throughout Europe, which, given a lack of easy access to the East, essentially required trade with Muslim middlemen in the ports of Egypt, the Maghreb and

elsewhere in North Africa—despite papal disapproval or outright prohibition (Constable 249). In fact, it was not uncommon for European traders to have outposts or trading colonies in Muslim-ruled territories. Such an economic enclave, for example, was maintained by Catalan merchants in Hafsid Tunisia (191-198).²⁰⁷ And at varying times (given political instability) both Genoese and Venetians were known to have similar installations in various North African ports (Phillips).

As Olivia Remie Constable demonstrates by way of the function and use of the *funduq* throughout both the Christian and Muslim controlled Mediterranean, not only did trade thrive in the medieval Mediterranean, but when proven effective, Christians, Muslims and Jews were keen to adapt one another's economic customs and practices. In particular, though Castilian trade was frequently threatened or complicated by political hostilities between Iberia and North Africa, trade agreements were still signed and both sides of the Strait were witness to shared economic exchange. Moreover, both the Crown of Aragon, Catalunya and Castile regularly granted property (*alhóndigas* and *fondechos*) to foreign and even Moorish merchant communities to do business within their ports (Constable). However, as economic historians such as Abulafia have noted, while Muslims initially controlled the majority of Castilian *alhóndigas*, increasing religious and political tensions slowly forced them out, and they were replaced by Italian traders, particularly the Genoese (182-189). And like the Genoese, in the early 1280s, Catalan merchants too petitioned Alfonso X for privileges in the ports of Seville, including rights to a "barrio e alfóndiga...ovo dado a los genoeses" 'a colony and *funduq* . . . as was given

²⁰⁷ In particular, see Chapter 5, "Conquest and commercial space in the case of Iberia" in Olivia Remie Constable's *Housing the Stranger in the Mediterranean World*.

to the Genoese' (*Diplomatario andaluz de Alfonso X* 514-15).²⁰⁸ It is unclear whether or not this favor was ever granted.

We have reason to suspect a certain Castilian apprehension towards their fellow Iberian neighbors to the north. As the *Cantigas* seem to suggest (and will be demonstrated below), not only were the Catalans an ambiguous political threat to Castile on the Peninsula, but as David Abulafia reminds us, they were a continual threat to Castilian economic maritime autonomy in the Straits, as major trade routes of the late medieval Mediterranean were essentially transformed and subsequently controlled by Catalan-Aragonese economic and political activities. The conquest of the Balearic Islands in 1229, the creation of an independent Majorca from 1276 to 1343, and the subsequent reincorporation of these lands under the rule of the king of Aragon and count of Barcelona after 1343, essentially created a web of control which increasingly dominated and challenged Castilian maritime ambitions (Abulafia 346). As such, it appears that the greatest threat to a Castilian economic presence in the western Mediterranean came not from North Africa or Muslims, but from Christians within Iberia.

In fact, in the *Chronicle of Alfonso X* (fourteenth century) we read of the king's at times amicable relationship with the Moorish King of Granada, Ibn al-Ahmar, who assisted each year the commemoration of Ferdinand III's death, as well as genial diplomatic contact with Egypt (O'Callaghan, *The Learned King* 206). We read in Chapter 9 of the chronicle:

Et estando el rey Alfonso en Seuilla e todas estas gentes con él en este
conplimento que fazía por su padre, venieron a él mensajeros del rey de Egipto,

²⁰⁸ Document 485, cited in Campany 2:46. See also, Antonio Capmany y de Monplau, *Memorias históricas sobre la marina, comercio y artes de la antigua ciudad de Barcelona* II, 46; and Remie Constable, *Housing the Stranger in the Mediterranean World* 181-191.

que dezían Aluandexauer, et truxieron presente a este rey don Alfonso de muchos pannos presçiadados et de muchas naturas e muchas joyas muy nobles e mucho estrannas. E traxiéronle un marfil e una alimanna que dezia azorafa, e una asna que era viada, que tenia la una vanda blanca et la otra prieta. Et truxiéronle otras bestias e animalias de muchas maneras. E el rey recibió muy bien estos mandaderos, e fizoles muchas onra e enbiólos dende muy pagados. (*Crónica de Alfonso X* 28)

While King Alfonso was in Seville and all the men with him during this honor that they did for his father, messengers came to him from Alvandexáver, King of Egypt. They brought presents to King Alfonso of many precious cloths of different kinds and of many rare and beautiful jewels. They also brought him an elephant and an animal called an *azorafa* [giraffe], and an ass that was striped with on band white and the other black, and many other kinds of beasts and animals. The king welcomed warmly these messengers and did them great honor and sent them very well pleased from there. (*Chronicle of Alfonso X* 47)

Remie Constable notes that while the Catalans, Italians and Provençals controlled the lion's share of trade to and from Granada, North Africa, Egypt, Sicily and Byzantium, both Castilians and Italians handled the bulk of northern trade, to England and Flanders. This does not mean, of course that Alfonso X had no presence in the Mediterranean. A thirteenth-century document, however, from Narbonne and written in the *langue d'oc*, refers to trade regulations between the French Mediterranean coast and the lands of Castile. Here we see a fixed schedule of tariff fees which reports that "Sugar alum, and [alum] of Castile" is to be brokered at "d.6 per carga" (Lopez and Raymond 132-133).

That being said, trade through the southern ports of the Iberian Peninsula, including Muslim Granada and Christian cities such as Seville, was largely managed by foreign traders (Remie Constable 249). In fact, in 1264, Alfonso X put the Genoese admiral Hugo Vento in control of the kingdom's navy, which essentially secured Genoese economic dominance of southern Castile. As such, though trade to and from numerous ports throughout the Mediterranean unquestionably passed through Alfonso's ports, it is difficult to assess precisely what control Alfonso X had over these parties and their transactions, save for charging tariffs and collecting custom duties.²⁰⁹ The *Cantigas*, however, and the Cycle of Santa María do Porto in particular, provide an important perspective of how Alfonso X and his court conceived, perceived and imagined the Castilian economic presence in the Straits and western Mediterranean seas. And as we shall see, whereas in many maritime miracle narratives the Virgin intercedes to save sailors from perilous seas (5, 33, 36, 112, etc.), in a series of *cantigas* dedicated to Santa María do Porto, the Virgin's assistance, as aid to Alfonso's imperial project, is manifest in the creation of storms and shipwreck which devastate the king's enemies and protect his economic interests.

Shipwreck as a Narrative of Empire

In the Forward to C.R. Boxer's edition of *The Tragic History of the Sea*, Josiah Blackmore contends that "[t]he shipwreck experience and its textualization work against the tenets of the official historiographical edifice by demonstrating that the radically

²⁰⁹ Customs stations could be found at Santander, Laredo, Castro, Urdiales, San Sebastián, Fuenterrabía, Avilés, Ribadeo, Viveo, Betanzos, La Coruña, Santa María, Cedeiro, Ferrol, Bayona, La Guardia, Pontevedra, Padrón, Noya, Seville, Jerez, Huelva, Cádiz, Vejer, Cartagena, Alicante and Elche. See Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, *España* 2:130-131.

altered circumstances of shipwreck do not allow for the wholesale survival of the ideologies underlying expansionist campaigns” (xii). In *Manifest Perdition*, Blackmore continues his investigation of the symbolic, metaphoric, and thematic agendas as well as the historicity of shipwreck as he discusses ideas of historiographical discourse and European and Christian imperial expansion. He is particularly interested in Portuguese shipwreck literature and the relationship between calamity and writing. The shipwreck text, he posits, “is one of breakage, rupture, and disjunction that precludes the greatest blow to the predetermined success of national expansion and its textual analogue” (xxi). That is, shipwreck literature is a breach in the expansion mentality, a counterhistoriographical account, because: 1. it is unofficial, that is, written without consent of the crown, and 2. it demonstrates the failure of the imperial enterprise. The ships and shipwreck texts of his study, Blackmore contends, articulate their disarticulation. That is, both ship and narrative individually and collectively *are* and *write* a counter historiographic text.

Though I agree with Blackmore that the shipwreck narrative “is primarily a product of the historiographical cultural of expansion,” I differ in regards to his contention that it simultaneously (and necessarily) works against that culture of expansion as a counterhistoriography which “troubles the hegemonic vision of empire” (*Tragic* xii).²¹⁰ In fact, I contend that while the narratives of shipwreck in the *Cantigas de*

²¹⁰ To Blackmore’s credit, however, there are differences between the “historical” shipwreck narratives of his study differ in nature from the supposed fictionalized constructions or representations of shipwreck in the *Cantigas*. That is, the *Cantigas* are not presented (necessarily) as historical accounts or testimonies by an eyewitness to the event. As the previous parenthetical remark suggests, however, there are exceptions to this concession, where the author states that he saw or heard the story he is about to narrate. See, for example Prologue B in which the poet speaks in the first person: “e o que quero é dizer” ‘what I want to say’ and CSM 371 which almost certainly took place when Alfonso X travelled from Seville to El Puerto de Santa María in order see how his project was going: “e vêera | y de Sevilla per mar / por veer como pobravan | e aver ende prazer” ‘and they came / to Seville by sea / they came as settlers / and they came to

Santa María are intimately linked to empire, they are not sources of its destruction, but rather its expansion. Blackmore admits that shipwreck in the *Cantigas* is unique, as is, he contends, medieval thought on the subject in general. But the medieval shipwreck text in his view is a mere precedent to shipwreck narrative proper and simply a means to *spiritual* salvation, removed from any official purpose of the state (*Perdition* 2). In the Alfonsine text, in particular, he concludes, “[s]hipwreck is a trial on the altar of faith” and heaven’s intervention exists “wholly outside the issue of national self-identity, and pre-exists the evangelical, political, and cultural imperative of expansion” (20).

But while this might be the case with early modern Portuguese texts of shipwreck off the western coast of Africa, it is not the image of medieval Mediterranean (or Atlantic) shipwreck presented in the *Cantigas*. Rather, the spiritual intervention Blackmore perceives to be wholly disconnected from political and imperial concern is, in fact, an indispensable element of the *Cantigas*’ imperial praxis, imaginary or otherwise.²¹¹ Consequently, shipwreck and the shipwreck text are not counter-historical narratives which undermine political posturing; rather, they become inextricably linked to the praxis of Alfonsine imperialism. In particular, this concerns the geographical and historical port city of Santa María do Porto near Cádiz at the entrance to the Mediterranean Sea, an imperial building project initiated by Alfonso X in the 1280s, of both economic and religio-political significance (O’Callaghan, *A Poetic Biography*

work’ (*CSM* 236.12-13) . And Joseph Snow has commented that those *cantigas* dealing with Santa María del Puerto are the most personal of the collection.

²¹¹ Here Blackmore specifically references the *Cantigas de Santa María*, suggesting that in Alfonso’s verses shipwreck is nothing more than “a means to spiritual salvation,” such that “The *cantigas* work ship distress into a highly wrought, symbolic plenitude in which catastrophe finds explanation as the product of a Christian, salvation fatalism” (2, 3). But in this analysis, not only does Blackmore neglect the religious complexity of the Iberian Peninsula represented in the *Cantigas*, but he wholly avoids the image it presents of the Virgin causing storm and the explicit economic benefit her intercession provides for Christians *and* Muslims, above and beyond notions of Christian, salvation fatalism.

11).²¹² As mentioned previously, it enabled Alfonso X to control traffic and access to the Mediterranean from the Atlantic through the Strait of Gibraltar.

In *CSM* 379 the poet recounts that King Alfonso invited merchants from all of Europe (Genoa to Chartres) to settle there, promising with his word that they would not be hassled, their goods would not be confiscated, and that, in general, commerce would be promoted and profitable.

Dest' avẽo no gran Porto | que el Rey pobrar mandava,
que é de Santa Maria, | en que el muito punnava
de fazer y bõa vila; | poren termino lle dava
grande per mar e per terra, ca logar é dos mellores
A que deffende do demo | as almas dos peccadres...

²¹² Montoya Martínez offers a geographical binary for the origins of the various *cantigas*:

...podrían dividirse en dos los ‘milagros literarios’ de la Virgen: los orientales (procedentes de Oriente) y los occidentales. Estos últimos serían más realistas, menos imaginativos. En ellos no se dan esos encuentros dramáticos de ángeles y diablos, ni esas visiones de procesiones multitudinarias de demonios blancos y negros acompañados al Diablo. Tampoco es posible atribuir a origen occidental los antropomorfismos de María. Aplicando este principio hermenéutico podríamos llegar a dilucidar si el localismo de muchos milagros es cierto o no. Difícilmente podemos admitir un hecho como el del niño judío como sucedido en Bourges (Francia), cuando el sabor oriental del milagro nos convence de su origen oriental. De igual modo hemos de descartar como milagros de origen occidental del de la viuda romana, el de la monja seducida y abandonada, y la monja sacristana y otros muchos. Así mismo podemos admitir como de construcción occidental los históricos y personales que incluye Alfonso X en su colección. (*Las colecciones* 117-18)

One could divide the ‘literary miracles of the Virgin in two: eastern (those proceeding from the Orient) and western. The latter are more realistic, less imaginative. In them we do not see dramatic encounters between angels and demons, nor are there multitudinous processions of black and white demons accompanying the Devil. Nor is it possible to attribute the anthropomorphisms of Mary to the western tradition. By applying this hermeneutic principle we are better able to decipher the accuracy of *localisms* in many miracles. Only with great difficulty can we corroborate an event like that of the Jewish boy in Bourges (France), when the eastern flavor of of the miracles convinces us of its eastern origin. In the same way, we may disregard as miracles of western origin the episode of the Roman widow, the seduced and abandoned nun, the sacristan monk and many others. Likewise, we may recognize as eastern constructions historical and personal miracles Alfonso X includes in his collection.

Do mundo pera gran vila | fazer ou mui gran çibdad.

E el Rey de veer esto | avia gran soidade;

poren quanto lle pediam | lle dava de voontade,

en tal que pobrar vëessen | y mui ricos mercatores.

A que deffende do demo / as almas dos pecadres...

E por aquesto sas cartas | lles madava qeu vëessen

ali salvos e seguros | con quanto trager quisessen,

e que non ouvessen medo, | enquant' ali esteveen,

A que deffende do demo / as almas dos pecadres...

Per omëes de sa terra. | Sobr' esto de muitas partes

Viinnam pera pobrarem, | des Jenua te en Charthes (*CSM 379.5-22*)

They came to the great Port that the King ordered to be settled / it is of Holy Mary

in whom he confides much / in order to build there a prosperous settlement; at the

end [of the peninsula] it was placed / great by sea and land, for of all places it is

one of the best / [*She*] *defends the souls of sinners from Satan...* / in the world for

a thriving settlement or an exceedingly great city / And seeing this, the King has

great hopes / that those he invited would come eagerly / to populate the city /

especially rich merchants. / [*She*] *defends the souls of sinners from Satan...* / And

by letter he promised that those who came / and however much they brought

would be safe and secure, / and that while there they should not fear, / [*She*]

defends the souls of sinners from Satan... / the men of that land. Thus from many lands / they came to populate [the city], from Genoa and Chartres.

This is not so simply the case, however, for some Catalan pirates begin robbing Moorish ships near the port with apparent impunity, even damaging the port: “faziam danos nos portos” ‘they damaged the ports’ (CSM 379.23). Without a collective or personal prayer, the Virgin takes it upon herself to defend the city of her namesake. In fact, according to the title, she enacts vengeance on the Catalans for their affront to her port city and the people who do business there: “Como Santa Maria de Porto *se vengou* dos cos[s]arios do mar que roubavan os omnes que vin[n]an pobrar en aquela sa vila” ‘How Holy Mary avenged herself of the corsairs of the sea who robbed the men who came to populate that city’ (CSM 379.1, emphasis mine). And in this act of defense, the Virgin whips the sea into a frenzy causing one of the Catalan ships to be detained in the harbor, unable to pass beyond the breakers.

mais lenno[s] de Catalães, | cossarios chēps d’artes,
faziam danos nos portos, | ca desto son sabedores.
A que deffende do demo / as almas dos pecadres...

E roubavan aos moros | que ali per mar querian
vĩir, e mutios matavan | deles e muitos prendian;

.....

Onde foi ãa vegada | que ali un salto deron
a mouros que y viinnam, | e a todo-los preserom
e quisieran-s’ a ssa terra | tornar-se; mais non poderon,

pero tiinam navios | ligeyros e corredores.

A que deffende do demo | as almas dos pecadres...

Ca a Virgen gloriosa, | cujos son aqueles mares,

fez-lles que see non podessen | mover daqueles logares

du estaban, con mal tenpo, | e todo-los seus chufares

fezo que nada non fossen, macar eran chufadores. (CSM 379.23-26, 30-39)

. . . but being full of Catalans, these corsairs a crafty / causing damage to the
ports, for this is what they are good for. / *[She] defends the souls of sinners from
Satan...* / And they robbed the Moors who wished to travel there by sea / and they
killed and captured many of them . . . One of these times, they launched an assault
on / Moors who were traveling there, and the captured them all / and they tried to
return to their land but were unable, / though they had vessels both light and swift.
/ [She] defends the souls of sinners from Satan... / For the Glorious Virgin, to
whom these seas belong, / with a terrible storm, made it impossible for them / to
move from where they were, and all their tricks / came to nothing, for it was they
who were tricked.

And left without option, they are forced to sail to Seville and return the goods they have
stolen, remaining in service to the king out of fear of returning to their homes.

Assi que pela tormenta, | que foi grand' a maravilla,

non souberon que fezessen, | senon ir pera Sevilla

a tornar o que fillaran | a pesar de Madr' e Filla

de Deus, a que dessonraran. E daquesto fiadores

A que deffende do demo / as almas dos pecadores...

Deron al Rey en Sevilla; e depois que entregaron
todo quant' ali fillaram, | en seu serviço ficarom,
ca ja per nulla maneyra | a sas terras non ousaron
tornar daquela vegada (CSM 379.40-48a)

Thus, because of the storm, which was a great miracle, / they knew not what to do
except head for Seville / and return what they plundered, unless they dishonor /
the Mother and Son of God. And with these guarantees / [*She*] *defends the souls*
of sinners from Satan... / they were handed over to the King of Seville; and after
they had returned / all that they had plundered, in his service they remained, / for
they could not return to their land.

Importantly, in these maritime scenes of CSM 379, even Muslims (*empero que os mouros*) can be recipients of the Virgin's mercy, though here it appears that here the Virgin is acting out self-interest by protecting *her* city, "aqueles mares" 'her seas' (CSM 379.56, 35). And by extension, I argue, she is portrayed as acting on behalf of King Alfonso X who promised his city as a protected commercial harbor. When the *cantiga* sings of the Catalans' misdeeds, the poet specifies that they did not revere the Virgin, "en cujo termino era" 'in *her* space,' in reference to this end of the Peninsula (CSM 379.28). And later, as the Virgin begins to swell the waves and winds into a violent sea storm that would trap the Catalans, the poet reiterates and specifies that these are *her* seas: "sujo son aqueles mares" 'these are her seas' (CSM 379.35). And thus, the souls and goods of whoever visits her city will be protected, whether they come by sea or by land: "que a sa

casa | vennen per mar e per terra” ‘to his homeland they came by sea and by land’ (CSM 379.35). And again, whoever they may be: saints or sinners, Christians or Moors, “empero que os mouros” ‘even Moors’ (CSM 379.36). In fact, it is important to note that in the *estribillo* (chorus) of this canticle the author(s) appear to relate the Virgin’s protection of sinners’ souls from the Devil (*do demo*) to the defense of good men (Muslims merchants) from evil thieves (Catalan pirates): “*A que defende do demo / as almas dos peccadores, / os seus defender ben pode | d’omnes maos roubadores*” “[She] defends the souls of sinner from Satan / and she able to defend her own from nefarious thieves’ (CSM 379.1, 2). That is, in CSM 379 the good men who are in need of divine defense from the wicked are foreign Muslim merchants promised protection in Alfonsine ports, and from whom they must be saved are Iberian (Christian) Catalans.

Moreover, in these merchant scenes, we find a mercantile Mediterranean reminiscent of Braudel and, particularly, Goitein. It is a lively but complex space of commerce and exchange where Muslims, Christians, and Jews crisscrossed the sea on or near which they lived, loved, and died. “Mediterranean man in the Middle Ages was an impassioned and persevering traveler,” Goitein would write (IV.1.273). “The Arabic maxim *fi’l-haraka baraka*, ‘there is blessing in movement,’ was the watchword of the period. Breadwinners and beggars, the pious and the scholars, all were on the move” (275). But as we have mentioned previously, it is also a perilous space, where not only Nature’s caprice and perfidy vied with the rapacity of man, but pirates and corsairs roamed the seas prepared to confiscate for their own profit the goods of any man who passed their way (273). And images of piracy would have been immediately recognizable to the thirteenth-century Mediterranean reader. A ubiquitous image of an external and

foreign danger, the threat of piracy struck fear into both ships on the high seas and the inhabitants of coastal communities. In fact, Verdon suggests that “[c]oasts and ports were . . . often more dangerous than the high sea” (55). Devoting an entire section of his study *Travel in the Middle Ages* to fictional and historical accounts of the dangers and multifaceted travails of the sea, he contends that imagination (fiction) was usually reinforced by reality, for great “evil arrived by sea” (55). That is, invasions, epidemics, plague and, of course, pirates could befall even those who lived near the shore. Such an analysis seems reminiscent of Socrates’ warning in the *Republic* to keep distance from the ports of merchants and sailors. And these images and fears of piracy surface in two of the texts we have been discussing, in the *Libro de Apolonio* (Chapter 3) and here in the *Cantigas*. But, whereas Verdon suggests the literary construction of piracy ultimately served as a warning of the sea’s perils, pirates and corsairs in both the *Cantigas* and the *Libro*, while certainly a threat to empire, are clearly manipulated by the authors for both divine and political (economic) ends. In the *Libro*, for example, the king’s daughter Tarsiana is actually saved from being murdered by her jealous guardians when the deed is interrupted and ultimately foiled by pirates who storm the coast in search of booty. And though the identity and origin of these foreign pirates in the *Libro* is unclear, in the *Cantigas* the threat to Alfonso’s empire by privateers and corsairs is not presented as an a threat external to Iberia, but from within the Peninsula. And as such, Alfonso (with the help of the Virgin) battles Catalan piracy in favor of legitimate Muslim commerce.

Yet another example of the imperial benefit of shipwreck and storm is found in *CSM* 358. Here we are given a sneak peek at the building of the Church of Santa María do Porto. However, the builders of the church are having trouble transporting by sea the

rocks for the walls because of bad weather—a storm at sea: “mas o mar foi mui torvada | un tenpo per grandes ventos” ‘the sea was very disturbed / by a tempest of great winds’ (CSM 358.12). As such, the men who were working on the walls were unable to get to, and transport raw materials by boat, by hand, or by any other scheme they could devise: “Per barcas ne per engen[n]os, | nen per arte nen per manna” ‘Not by ship or wit, nor by scheme or plan’ (CSM 358.15). The problem is swiftly averted not by calming the sea, however, but when one of the workers informs the Muslim foreman Ali, that he knows the location of a perfect rock that will aid them in finishing the build. Indeed, he finds this rock and many more like it, which are square and ready to be placed in the walls, which is completed quickly and “miraculously.”

Enton diss’ a maestr’ Ali | un ome de sa conpanna:

“Eu vos mostrarei un canto | dũa medida tamanna
que, se muitos end’ ouverdes, | a lavor sera creçuda

.....

Mui tost” E log’ amostrous-llo | e sacárono do findo
de terra; e pois lo viron | quadrado, ca non redondo,
cavaron, e d’outros taes | acharon tan grand’ avondo,

per que a lavor mui toste | foi mui de longe veuda. (CSM 358.16-18, 21-24)

And then Master Ali said to one of the men in his company: / “I will show you a stone of such shape / that, with the many that there are, our labor will be finished / quickly.” He then showed them, and removed them from where he found them / in the earth; and they saw that they were square, not round. / they dug, and found many more like them, / and the end of their labors came quickly.

These already hewn stones are those of the Peninsula's prior civilizations—the Andalusí, Roman and Greek. That is, in spite of the storm, or perhaps because of it, the building project not only continues, but is expedited. Thus storm and shipwreck in this narrative do not deconstruct imperial praxis; rather they lead men (even non-believers) to find the means by which to continue the Alfonsine expansionist project of empire.

More important, perhaps, are the scenes which narrate how exactly the building project was completed, for it speaks again to the Roman imperial legacy Alfonso X and his court aimed to construct in the *Cantigas* and elsewhere (*Estoria de Espanna*, *General Estoria*, *Siete Partidas*). That is, the rocks the builders discover while erecting the Church of Santa María do Porto are significant not only to an encounter with the Iberian past, but Alfonso's territorial and imperial pretensions intimately linked to Roman (Mediterranean) history. The stones the builders find and unearth beneath the foundation of the Virgin's church on the shores overlooking the ancient Pillars of Hercules, the *jabal al-Tariq* (Gibraltar), are the relics of Carthage and the ruins of Muslim Umayyad, Almoravid and Almohad al-Andalus; but most importantly, they are the remnants of Rome and of the Visigoths, and thus the foundational legacy upon which Alfonso X desired to build his imagined Mediterranean empire. And the *Cantigas* is not the only literary tool of propaganda employed by Alfonso X for the purposes of his expansionist aims, and explicitly associated with Roman tradition. The *Siete Partidas* presents a similar struggle for power over and in the maritime space. Here, however, by engaging the particulars of the legal component of this expansionist effort, the reader perceives the Castilian relationship to the sea—even in the *Cantigas*—to be both promising and problematic.

Imperial Expansion and the *Siete Partidas*

The *Siete Partidas*—the unified system of law commissioned by Alfonso X around 1260—deals with maritime law and thus how it develops a conceptual framework of the sea Alfonso wishes to conquer. As Michael Furtado contends, in the *Partidas*, “we find, for the first time in Castilian history, written statutes meant to guide the activities of men relative to the sea, statutes that both define the sea in relation to the realm and the responsibilities and liabilities of men operating upon it” (178). In fact, there are 28 maritime laws in the *Partidas* which are unique to the Alfonsine code.²¹³ This seems to be entirely new law. Moreover, the *Partidas* reflect a developing understanding of the space of the sea for thirteenth-century Castile, and Alfonso X, in particular. And when read with the *Cantigas*, I argue, we gain a greater understanding of Alfonso’s broader imperial aim to consolidate his authority in spatial terms, particularly as it pertains to the sea and its shores on the southern coast near Cádiz—his military successes and gains on land had brought him to a new and challenging space with which to test the strength of his sovereignty.

At first glance, Alfonso X’s view of the maritime space is quite generous. He essentially relinquishes all rights to govern there, given it is beyond the limits of his kingdom. That is, as Furtado notes, the *Partidas* portrays a strongly differentiated distinction between land and sea, where one ends and the other begins. In *Partidas* III we read:

²¹³ The following is a complete list of the specific laws in the *Partidas* pertaining to maritime matters: Partida II, Title XXIV, Laws I-X; Partida V, Title IX, Laws I-XIV; Partida III, Title XVIII, Law LXXVII; Partida V, Title VIII, Laws XII, XXVI, and XXVII. See also Partida VII, Title XIV, Law XVIII concerning theft at sea.

Las cosas que comunalmente pertenescen á todas las criaturas que viven eneste mundo son estas: el ayre, et las aguas de la lluvia, et el mar et su ribera; ca qualquier criatura que viva puede usar de cada una destas cosas segunt quell fuere meester: et por ende todo home se puede aprovechar del mar, et de su ribera pescando, et navegando et haciendo hi todas las cosas que entendiere que á su pro serán (*Partidas* III.XXVIII.II)

There is a great distinction in the things of this world. For some belong to birds and beasts and all other living creatures, as well as men, to make use of...and there are others who [sic] do not belong to any one . . . The sea is one of those things belonging—in common to the creatures of the world . . . every man can use the sea . . . for doing everything there which he thinks may be to his advantage. (Furtado 189)

Was the sea, then, outside the realm of Alfonso's control, or that of any ruler, for that matter? We read that the king had control over “los castiellos, et de las fortalezas et de los puertos del imperio . . . porque en su mano et en su poder sea todavía la entrada et la salida del imperio” ‘castles, fortresses, and ports of the empire...so that all the entrances and outlets of the empire may be in his hands,’ but beyond the shoreline it appears, at least initially, it was conceptually difficult if not impossible to lay territorial claims; there was nowhere to place a flag, and there was no way to defend it with the traditional construction of castles or fortified garrisons (*Partida* II.I.II; Furtado 189).²¹⁴ As such, Furtado contends that “the sharp delineation of sea and shore [in the *Partidas*], together with the expansive view of the universality of freedom of action and possession to all

²¹⁴ The *Partidas* is actually quite literal and specific about what the shoreline is, and where land begins and the sea ends. It is “Et todo aquel logar es llamado ribera de la mar quanto se cubre del agua della quando mas cresce en todo el año, quier en tiempo de invierno ó de verano” ‘that ground which is covered with the water of the latter [the sea] at high tide during the whole year, whether in winter or in summer’ (*Partidas* III.XXVIII.IV; Furtado 190).

things related to the sea, provides solid evidence for a conclusion that the sea was firmly outside the realm in the minds of the thirteenth century Castilians” (206). But this cannot be entirely true given the traditions of maritime law with which Alfonso X was most certainly familiar (whether or not he used them). Mediterranean admiralty law, from the *Lex Rhodia* (c. 800 BCE) to the Byzantine Rhodian Sea Law (7th century CE), and from the *Rôles d'Oléron* of Eleanor of Aquitaine (c. 1160) to the *Llibre del consolat de mar* compiled by Jaime I of the Crown of Aragon, outlined the protection of ships and sailors, as well as financial and property losses due to storms and piracy both in port and at sea (Leon Trackman). Indeed the *Partidas* provide for such contingencies as well. Moreover Alfonsine law appears to add to these basic protocols a conceptual (and complex) framework which ultimately integrated sea, shore and realm.

The text’s simultaneous use of notions of differentiation and integration concerning the sea/land/realm ternary, though seemingly incongruent, instead betrays the *Partidas* as a developing code of law, in turn reflecting a growing familiarity with sea for thirteenth-century Castile, and their evolving conception of the maritime space, which I argue, sought a legal basis with which to extend the power and authority of the sovereign (Alfonso X) out into the sea. That is, though Alfonso builds his unified system of law on the foundations of common maritime law and tradition inherited from Rome and the Visigoths, the king’s desire for, and power over, the space of the sea is revealed in his use of peculiar language and associations that integrate land and sea within the realm of Castile under one singular rule of law. In particular, the legists of the *Partidas* conflate

the legal application of immovable property on land, and the mobile floating objects found at sea: ships.²¹⁵

In *Partidas* II.XVIII.I we read of the various rights a king has to the many immovable assets of his kingdom. The legal basis for this argument is grounded in the Castilian notion of *raiz* (root), referring to permanent objects that do not move (*non es mueble*). That is, “the towns, castles, and other fortresses of the land” belong to the king by right (*de derecho*).²¹⁶ Importantly, in Title XXVI, Law V the legists employ the terminology and tradition of *raiz* (towns, castles and fortresses) to delineate the same absolute right to possession of ships: “. . . otrosi debe haber las villas, et los castiellos et las fortalezas en qual manera quier que las ganen. . . eso mesmo serie de los navios que hobiesen tomado de los enemigos” “. . . and also with towns, castles, and fortresses, however they are gained . . . and *it shall be the same for ships* that have been taken from the enemy’ (*Partidas* II.XXVI, translation and emphasis mine). By conflating the image of land and sea in this manner; that is, by legally equating the captured enemy vessel at sea with the land-bound architectural spoils of war, the legists essentially conceive of

²¹⁵ As Furtado points out, human agency is a central concern of the *Partidas*, whereas this is not so clearly the case with the *Cantigas* (179). I would argue, however, that as a unique corpus of medieval Marian miracle tales the *Cantigas* demonstrates an important and unique focus on the restorative power of the Virgin for both the collective and the individual. As readers of Berceo will have noticed, in contrast to the *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*, in which the pious saint is the recipient of the Virgin’s mercies and miracles, the *Cantigas*’ narratives are centered on the lives and salvation of the quotidian sinner—whether Christian, Muslim and Jew. Though agency in the *Cantigas* is ultimately assigned to the divine which governs the comings and goings of men, their interest in even the least of these men highlights their subjectivity. Furthermore, by associating is terrestrial authority with that of the divine, Alfonso X as law giver in the *Partidas* and “author” of the *Cantigas*, articulates his agency as sovereignty over the same space of the Virgin’s influence; *per mar e per terra* (over land and sea).

²¹⁶ “Raiz segunt lenguaje de España es llamada toda cosa que non es mueble as como diximos en las leyes del título ante deste; mas como quier que en ellas mostramos de los heredamientos desta manera que son quitamente del rey, queremos agora aquí decir de los otros que maguer son suyos por señorío, pertenescen al regno de derecho, et estas son las villas, et los castiellos et las otras fortalezas de su tierra . . .” ‘*Raiz* according to the language of Spain is used all things which are immovable as is also used in the preceding laws; however, though previosult we used them to demonstrate the tenements which are particular to the king, we wish now to speak of others which are his due to his lordship, they belong to the kingdom by right, and these are the towns, castles and fortress of his land’ (*Partidas* II.XVIII.I; translation mine).

ships as immovable possessions. Though this has fascinating implications, we are here concerned with what effect this might have on Alfonso X's imperial aspirations. Consequently, I argue, royal authority is given the legal basis by which to be extended beyond the shoreline and into the sea. Theoretically, then, just like the fortress or village, the seagoing vessel can fly a flag, marking the "territorial" claims of the monarch to whom the ship belongs. It should not come as a surprise, however, that Alfonso X would attempt to apply the legal statutes concerning land-based assets to maritime possessions and acquisitions. The legal tradition he adopts from the Visigoths and the Romans informed many of the statutes and practices of frontier battles of the Reconquest. Having reached the southern end of the Peninsula did not mean the end of his expansionist efforts; whether Alfonso desired to maintain his gains or conquer more beyond the port city he was constructing into the Strait and further into the Mediterranean required an adapted and nuanced understanding of this new frontier. Both castle and vessel became essential to the Castilian presence on land *and* sea.

We see further examples of this association of vessel and castle in laws regarding the responsibilities of retaining the gains of conquest. Concerning castles, we read:

[E] que perdiese el castiello ó lo engaenase á sabiendas á quien feciese daño ó guerra al rey ó alegno dél, farie traycion conocida por que debe perder todo el heredamiento que hobiere et ser echado de la tierra para siempre jamás. (*Partidas* II.XVIII.I)

He who loses a castle, or intentionally transfers it to anyone who might injure or make war upon the kingdom, or its king, will be guilty of open treason, for which

he should lose all the lands that he possess and be banished from the country forever. (Furtado 209)

Similarly, when the legists speak of maintaining the possession of ships and avoiding an enemy takeover, we read: “si por su culpa se perdiesen los navios, serien por ende traydores como si perdiesen un castiello, et deben perder los cuerpos et lo que hobieren” ‘when the ships are lost through their fault, [they] are, for this reason, traitors, just as if they had lost a castle, and should be put to death and be deprived of all their property’ (*Partidas* II.XXIV.IX; Furtado 210). As Furtado notes, the penalties for the loss of both vessel and castle were harsh, for they were perceived as more than material; they were strongholds on their respective frontiers, allowing the king to control the surrounding areas and provide military support. In both cases, the party responsible for the loss is guilty of treason (210).

Partida V presents yet another striking example linking the legal status of vessels to that of immovable possessions. Regarding the sale of property, Title V, Law XXV affords the same legal protections for the sale of “Nave, ó casa, ó cabaña de ovejas ó otra cosa semejante” ‘Ship, house, shepherd’s hut, or *any property of this kind*’ (*Partidas* V.V.XXXV; Furtado 213, emphasis mine). That is, in legal terms, these properties are considered to be of the same kind, and thus assigned equal legal status under the statute as *raiz*, or permanent fixtures and immovable possessions. As Furtado notes, the castle/vessel comparison is reinforced all the more given that the legists do not qualify the inclusion of the vessel in this list. Rather, the ship is simply included along with other possessions whose sale is equally protected under the provisions of the law. A similar

unqualified list of objects occurs in Title VIII, Law VIII of the same Partida in reference to property damage and remunerations:

Otrosi decimos que si se perdiese, ó se menoscabase ó se moriese de su muerte natural, ó fuese nave et peligrase por tormenta que acaesciese, ó fuese casa et se quemase, ó si fuese molino et lo llevasen avenidas de ríos, ó otra cosa qualquier semejante destas, que se moriese ó se perdiese por tal ocasión como sobredicho es, que non serie tenuto de la pechar el que la toviese alogagada . . . (*Partidas* V.VIII.VIII)

Moreover, we decree that which anyone has hired is lost or injured, or dies, through some accident which happens without the fault of said party; as for instance where a slave or animal dies a natural death, or where the property was a ship and it was in danger on account of a storm which arose; or where it was a house and it was burned; or where it was a mill which was carried away by an inundation; where through any cause like these property was lost or perished on account of accidents such as the aforementioned; the party will not be bound to pay for the property which he had rented . . . (Furtado 213)

Here the legists again associate the vessel at sea with permanent fixtures on land, a house and a mill. In this case, however, the statute equates disasters on land with the perils of the sea: a fire that ravages a home and a flood that inundates a mill are like a ship “peligrase por tormenta” ‘in danger on account of storm’ (*Partidas* V.VIII.VIII; Furtado 214).²¹⁷

Though Furtado is right to point out here the failure of the legists to distinguish the unique set of dangers presented by the sea space—as we see in the maritime narrative of

²¹⁷ Compare *Partidas* VII.XIV.XVIII, in which we see the conflation of ship, house and church concerning the punishment for theft

the *Cantigas*—elsewhere in the *Partidas*, the unique nature of the sea is indeed made clear.²¹⁸ Regardless, however, these associations only serve to further reinforce the image of Alfonso X's imperial designs beyond the shoreline. This begins with the seemingly innocuous and at times odd conflation of the image of land and sea, further developed by the association of sea-going vessels with the Castilian legal concept of *raiz*, as the permanent immovable possessions of the king. The emerging maritime law of the Alfonsine legal code, which borrowed the statutes and terminology thus initially conceived to support the acquisition and maintenance of permanent fixtures along ever-shifting terrestrial frontiers of the Reconquista, are in the *Partidas* adapted (however unsuccessfully) to a new frontier on the southern edge of the Peninsula. Though a full developed code of maritime law which accounted for the peculiarities of the seas space was still some time off (perhaps as late as the fifteenth century), we see in the *Partidas* the nascent Castilian aspirations for a maritime empire. And when read in tandem with the *Cantigas*, we perceive in the *Partidas* more clearly the king's designs for a Mediterranean empire.

Conceptual integration was important, Furtado notes, “as it allowed for a union between land and sea essential for the extension of royal Castilian law to the sea, otherwise clearly defined as beyond the reach of human legal authority or royal jurisdiction” (207). Though earlier he writes that this distinction “places the sea conceptually outside of the realm itself in terms of human control and firmly beyond the reach of secular rulers in terms of possession,” it is important to note his qualification that

²¹⁸ “. . . ca en la guerra de la tierra non es peligro sinon de los enemigos tan solamente, mas en la de la mar es de esos mesmos, et demás del agua et de los vientos” ‘during terrestrial warfare danger comes only from the enemy, but in maritime war one faces the same enemy threat, as well as that from the water and waves’ (*Partidas* II.XXIV.X; translation mine).

the sea is not the realm of ‘human’ or ‘secular’ authority (188). This distinction is necessary to our understanding of the relationship of the *Partidas* to the *Cantigas*. Though I do not suggest any direct or intentional literary relationship between the two, they are undoubtedly both part and parcel to Alfonso X’s imperial project and his propaganda campaign. And where the *Partidas* fall legally short, the *Cantigas* offers illuminating literary support for his claims. Though Furtado is perhaps right to suggest that it would take more than a century for the unity between land and sea, in legal terms, to materialize in the form of the *Cortes*, it is evident that together the *Partidas* and the *Cantigas* suggest that in thirteenth-century Castile the association of land and sea was already a complex problem for their conceptualization of maritime space and imperial rule.²¹⁹

Furtado is correct when he states that the “conflation of castles and vessels present both literally and figuratively in the laws of the *Partidas* served to project a strong defensive analog of Castilian might out to sea” (207). Such conflation is not confined to Castile’s legal perspective, and in the Cycle of Santa María do Porto of the *Cantigas*, and in particular those narratives depicting the Virgin causing storm and shipwreck for the benefit of Castilian commerce (Christian, Muslim and Jew) against Iberian Catalan corsairs—we perceive that art, literature (illuminations and text in the *Cantigas*), and law were all media by which Alfonso X conceived, developed and portrayed his imperial aims over and in the maritime space, both in the Strait and the western Mediterranean.

And this is particularly clear in the *cantiga* episodes which narrate the threat of Catalan piracy. As we have mentioned, the *Partidas* were compiled largely from Roman

²¹⁹ He speaks here of the *Cuadernos* taken from the 15th-century Castilian *Cortes*. See Furtado 186.

and Visigothic sources. Surprising, however, for this legal code which offers essentially “new” maritime law, Alfonso X did not appear to have consulted what was at that time a well-known source on admiralty law: the *Llibre del consolat de mar* compiled by Jaime I of the Crown of Aragon. As many have pointed out, Alfonso X almost certainly had knowledge of his father-in-law’s project. Why did he choose to ignore it? Furtado contends that his lack of borrowing this and other legal texts concerning the “common law” of the sea, “emphasizes the limited importance of these new sections to the project as a whole” (186). I disagree with this conclusion, however. Read in tandem with the *Cantigas*, the reader perceives a king who is attempting to consolidate the power of his reign and maintain the newly won gains of his coastal conquest. In his bid for the title of Holy Roman Emperor, Alfonso X was attempting a project worthy of such a ruler. The Catalan maritime presence was a threat to this authority, in economic, political and religious terms. Thus, I argue the absence of the *Llibre* in the *Partidas* is both the praxis and reflection of Alfonso’s imperial designs for a Castilian presence in the Mediterranean and which could compete with Aragonese maritime dominance.²²⁰

Conclusions

In the *Estoria de España (PCG)*, Alfonso X informs us that his father, Fernando III of Castile, left him a weighty charge. Inscribed in the rhetoric of space and the language of geography, from which the notion of empire is so rarely divorced, the king writes the following:

²²⁰ For information on the relationship of Alfonso X and Jaime and their respective imperial projects, see Robert I. Burns, “Castle of Intellect, Castle of Force: The Worlds of Alfonso the Learned and James the Conqueror”; and Antonio Ballesteros y Beretta, *El itinerario de Alfonso el Sabio*.

Sennor te dexo de toda la tierra de la mar aca, que los moros del rey Rodrigo de Espanna ganado ovieron; et en tu sennorio finca toda; la vna conquerida, la otra tributada. Sy la en este estado en que te la yo dexo la sopieres guardar, eres tan buen rey commo yo; et sy ganares por ti mas, eres meior que yo; et si desto menguas, non eres tan bueno commo yo. (*PCG* 1132.46-54)

Lord, I leave you all the land from the sea to here, that which the Moors of King Rodrigo of Spain had once gained; all of this land is within your kingdom; part of it conquered, the other in tribute. If you are able to maintain it in its current state, you are as good a king as I; and if you gain more for yourself, you are better than I; and if you cede portions, you are not as good as I.

With nearly 800 year of historical perspective, such a passage invites the obvious question of Alfonso's success or failure relative to his father's charge. Historically we know that the boundaries of the Castilian empire were largely unchanged during the reign of Alfonso X, and remained so until the late fifteenth century. And try as he might to rival Catalan maritime primacy in the western waters of the Mediterranean Sea, his naval endeavors were largely left to the protection of coastal ports and frequent skirmishes that rarely left the Strait (O'Callaghan, *The Learned King* 270-82). Was Alfonso satisfied with the relatively small gains he made in the shadow of such lofty geo-political aspirations? Was he content with being *tan buen rey commo yo*? It is difficult to say, but near the end of his life, battle with constant illness and internal power struggles with the noblemen of his court could not have helped (O'Callaghan, *The Learned King* 214-69

and *A Poetic Biography* 126-151).²²¹ Yet the *Cantigas de Santa María* offers us a unique and complex perspective of how Alfonso imagined the limits of his empire.

Combined with its frankness about territorial claims, persistently echoing the notion of *grande per mar e per terra*, and a willingness to both rescue sinners from, and judge men by, the perils of the sea, the *Cantigas* conveys the image of “a king engaged in the consolidation of his society” and the expansion of his empire, “by using symbolic resources and the language of integration” (Presilla 427). Here the reader is reminded that the *Cantigas* is not a text which simply promotes the importance of praising of the Virgin for her miracles, in the hope that he too, sustained by faith, may obtain similar benefit from them (Montoya Martínez, *Las colecciones* 12). Though it is not less than this, it is certainly more. And though one may describe as such the broader corpus of medieval Marian miracles, to this, the *Cantigas* adds the importance of geography and empire. The reader perceives a link between the Virgin’s intercessory power and the space over which it is made manifest. And once within that space, whether Christian, Muslim, or Jew, all are free to trust in the providence of the divine for their safety and the restoration—or maintaining—of order. That is, by association, Alfonso’s reign extends in relation to the reach of the Virgin’s intercessory power, and thus the borders of his imagined empire are limited only by the extent to which she has been given authority to govern and protect. In geographic terms, the Marian maritime miracles suggest that no sea (Mediterranean, Atlantic, and Strait) is beyond the limits of either the Virgin’s heavenly, or Alfonso’s terrestrial, control. The reader is told explicitly that these seas, those surrounding Santa Maria do Porto and the Iberian empire, are *her* domain. Consequently, the *Cantigas*

²²¹ For a detailed study on the medical health of Alfonso X and possible causes of his suffering and death, see H. Salvador Martínez, chapter 7, “Enfermedad y quehacer intelectual” and chapter 8, “La década negra” in *Alfonso X, El Sabio: Una biografía*. 233-316.

appears to be imagined as part of a larger and more broadly conceived economic and religio-political project of Alfonsine imperial expansion.

Conclusion

I believe that the selective process of history and literary history has, in the natural course of telling the story of the victors, deprived us of an appreciation of many critical subtexts, and has in great measure eliminated or simplified and distorted beyond recognition many of the cultural forces that were catalytic in the medieval period.

(María Rosa Menocal, *The Arabic Role in Medieval Iberian History*)

Though my training has been guided by considerations of the Castro model and the more nuanced approaches of hybridity and liminality studies, my work as a whole has been heavily influenced by new theoretical methodologies in the fields of geography, cartography and, in particular, Mediterranean Studies. As critical approaches to literature, however, these do not supplant or replace older models of inquiry; rather they offer a new perspective from which to view or problematize these same issues and texts. As Lisa Tuttle posited for feminist criticism, the goal is to ask new questions of old texts. But how do we do this, when even critical studies of hybridity and liminality are generally privileged perspectives from the center? That is, they look *at* the marginalized subject as an object of scrutiny and attempt to justify its existence or its study, its inclusion in the “canon.” There is nothing wrong with this; I certainly participate in this activity. However, my work also desires to engage the textual “other” where it is, to look not *at*, but to look *from* the liminal spaces and frontiers of Hispanomedieval literatures; that is, criticism with an awareness of shifting perspectives, and not as a voice which

claims to speak for the “other.” To this effect, recent advances in the field of Mediterranean Studies have called for a similar reorientation of critical perspective. Critics such as Hester Blum, Margaret Cohen, and Ian Chambers have questioned the hegemony of land-centric criticism and posited a critical position from “amidst the waves.” Modern criticism has generally seen “modernity” as the progress of landed societies and empires. Hence, colonialism and overseas imperial endeavors are frequently portrayed as a conquest of the sea. Yet the harsh reality and failure of many seafaring adventures in the name of empire seem to tell a different story. As critics such as Josiah Blackmore and Simone Pinet perceive shipwreck and the writings of these failures at sea as counternarratives to empire, they also beg the question: can the sea be conquered? If we remove “modernity” from solid ground and place it on floating foundations, we are presented with a new and fascinating critical perspective in which hegemonic time and space are viewed askance, diverted, and subverted. Importantly, the discrete localness of culture and cultural production is not lost amidst the waves of this broadened perspective, but enriched as complex networks of contact and exchange are revealed (they have always been there) just beneath the surface.

What could such a theoretical or methodological approach do for the field of Hispanomedievalism? One area which has seen dramatic improvement in the last few years is the study of the *kharjat*. María Rosa Menocal’s recent book *The Arts of Intimacy* includes a helpful and necessary chapter inextricably integrating the study of Romance *kharjat* with the Arabic or Hebrew frame *maqamat*. What is more, she adds to this literary study an examination of parallels between Iberian literary and linguistic multiplicity and Iberian architecture and architectonic aesthetics. I discussed this notion

briefly in Chapter 4 with my discussion of the *Cantigas de Santa María* and Alfonso X's designs for a Mediterranean empire imagined through the legacy of a Roman Iberian past. Sadly, however, tired notions of Castilian hegemony (political and linguistic) and latent cultural or disciplinary (budgetary) anxieties still manage to successfully distance such studies from the majority of our textbooks and classrooms. Why? If we accept (I contend that we do not) the complex cross-cultural identity of medieval Iberia, then scholars such as Ibn Hazm and Averroes should be equally important contenders, if not essential elements, in our syllabi. And they should be studied (necessarily) together with Castilian and Portuguese cultural production, and not just as footnotes in a philological studies and editions of sources. To be fair, the immediate difficulty with Arabic and Hebrew texts in the Spanish classroom is in developing a way to teach them. Do we teach them in their original language or in translation? Or do we even teach them in a department of Spanish and Portuguese? Are these texts doomed to die a slow critical death in departments of Comparative Literature?

I have no immediate answers for the preceding questions, but my hope is for the present study to challenge if not to destabilize the linguistic hegemony of Latin and select Romance vernaculars (Castilian and Galician-Portuguese) within Hispanomedievalism, and to demonstrate at least one practical way to apply this new methodology and perspective to Iberian Studies. For example, placing the writings of Mose Ibn Ezra and Judah Halevi in their historical contexts does not reveal the differences between Christians, Muslims and Jews but rather their shared experience before the Almohad and Almoravid threats. Arguably, the invading Muslim groups were more "foreign" to their Andalusí coreligionists than Christians and Jews! And Ibn Tufayl's philosophical treatise

does not set Islamic intellectual efforts apart from Jews and Christians, but reveals an interconnectedness of Mediterranean philosophical traditions, and more immediately, a desire to reconcile a commonly shared rationalism with discrete theological doctrine. This is perhaps best seen in the anonymous *Libro de Apolonio* which, though certainly a product of 13th-century Iberian Christian sympathies, betrays a broader cultural and philosophical understanding of the voyage, which it portrays as intimately connected to the shared Mediterranean (and particularly Muslim) tradition of the intellectual journey, travel in search of knowledge. Consequently, the text stands as an alternative to the crusading narrative which posited travel in and throughout the Mediterranean space as one of unidirectional conquest between Christian and Muslim, from West to East, and which instead posits a more complex multi-directional narrative of contact and exchange. And though Alfonso X's intentions appear to be more akin to the imperial narrative of the Crusades, the *Cantigas de Santa María*—when read in conjunction with the Alfonsine chronicle and the *Siete Partidas*—clearly portrays a king who understands the linguistic and religious multiplicity of his realm and attempts to harness the power of its complexity for his economic and political gains. Thus, though the Alfonsine courts are well-known for their inclusion of Muslim, Christian and Jewish scribes, the larger Alfonsine corpus, at best we might say, portrays a carefully crafted ambivalence towards Jews and Muslims on the Peninsula and in the Christian realm (*Cantigas de Santa María*), while at times clearly articulating institutional discrimination (*Siete Partidas*) when it serves his purposes. For most importantly, his desire is for the sea, the Mediterranean Sea, from whence he claims the legacy of holy Roman rule.

Though a common topic of study in our courses might be the Alfonsine cultural concept, our classroom discussions and our syllabi focus too narrowly on the king's translation schools. Worse still, the majority of us present this culture as unique; Alfonso X, or even medieval Iberia in general, an exception to the rule. The truth is, however, for centuries and across the Mediterranean, similar traditions of contact and exchange existed in a multitude of tongues and with a multiplicity of peoples. Whether in the Abbasid translation schools beginning in the 7th century, to the Venetian *funduqs* and trading communities in Tunis, the medieval Mediterranean was a space of constant movement and exchange. And it is with the present study that I wish to show one way in which we may embrace the medieval Iberian Arabic and Hebrew textual other, studying them as relevant authors whose texts comprised and were forged in the same crucible of complex cross-culturalism as their Romance counterparts: the Mediterranean.

In the Introduction I outlined the critical attitude in our discipline that tends to exclude these texts and traditions; and the body of the present study is my attempt to demonstrate a few ways in which one might engage them with the scholarly rigor they are due. As such, I hope the reader is able to appreciate the linguistic reality of the medieval Iberian Peninsula as neither monolingual nor beholden to the linguistic supremacy of Latin and Romance vernaculars. Indeed, if it could be said that one language dominated, it was Arabic, certainly not Castilian! That being said, I do not advocate the discarding of Castilian studies. On the contrary, I would argue that in order to more fully understand and appreciate Hispanic cultural production, we are forced to open bookshelves and classrooms to the diverse cultural and linguistic reality of medieval Iberia. Nothing needs to be discarded; rather, what should be addressed is what has been

discarded in the past, unjustly. The burden of proof should not be on inclusion but exclusion; we must shift our critical perspective.

Works Cited

- Abramson, Shraga. "A Letter of Rabbi Judah ha-Levi to Rabbi Moses ibn Ezra"
[Hebrew].
- Hayim Schirmann Jubilee Volume*. Ed. Shraga Abramsaon and Aaron Mirsky. Jerusalem, 1970. 397-411. Print.
- Abulafia, David. "Commerce and the Kingdom of Majorca, 1150-1450. *Iberia and the Mediterranean World of the Middle Ages: Essays in Honor of Robert I. Burns S.J. II: Proceedings from "Spain and the Western Mediterranean."* Eds. P.E. Chevedden, D.J. Kagay, and P.G. Padilla. Lieden: Brill. 345-378. Print.
- Al-Dhahabi. *Siyar A'lam al-Nubala*, ed. Shu'ayab al-Arna'uti et al., Vol 11. Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risalah, 1982-83. Print.
- Al-Fārābī, Abū Nasr. *Mabādi' Ārā Ahl Al-madīnat Al-fādilah*. Chicago: Great Books of the Islamic World, 1997. Print.
- Alfonso X, el Sabio. *As Cantigas de Santa Maria*. Ed. *Elvira Fidalgo*. Vigo: Edicions Xerais de Galicia, 2002. Print.
- . *Cantigas*. Ed. Jesús Montoya. Madrid: Ediciones Cátedra, 1997. Print.
- . *Cantigas de Santa María*. Ed. Walter Mettmann. 3 vols. Madrid: Castalia, 1986. Print.
- . *Cantigas de Santa María: Códice Rico de El Escorial, Ms. Escorialense T.I.I.* Ed. José Filgueira Valverde. Madrid: Odes Nuevos, 1985. Print.

- , *Diplomatario andaluz de Alfonso X*. Ed. Manuel González Jiménez. Seville: Caja de Huelva y Seville, 1992. Print.
- , *General Estoria*. Ed. Antonio G. Solalinde. Madrid: Molina, 1930. Print.
- , *Lapidario: según el manuscrito escurialense H.I.15*. Ed. Rodríguez M. Montalvo, Sagrario. Madrid: Gredos, 1981. Print.
- , *Las siete partidas*. Trans. Samuel P. Scott. Ed. Robert I. Burns. 5 vols. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania P, 2001. Print.
- , *Setenario*. Ed. Kenneth H. Vanderford. Barcelona: Crítica, 1984. Print.
- Al-Farābī. *Al-Madīna al-Fādila* (Der Musterstaat). Ed. Dieterici. Leiden: Brill, 1895. Print.
- Al-Ghazālī. *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* (Revival of the Religious Sciences). Ed. Jamāl al-Din. Beirut: Dār al-Nufūs, 1982. Print.
- The Incoherence of the Philosophers*. Trans. Michael E. Marmura. Provo. Brigham Young UP. 1997. Print.
- Al-Hamadhani, Badi' al-Zaman. *The Maqamat of Badi' al-Zaman al-Hamadhani*, Trans. W.J. London: Prendergast, Curzon P, 1973. Print.
- Al-Harizi, Judah ben Solomon. *The Book of Tahkemoni: Jewish Tales from Medieval Spain*, Trans. David Segal. London: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2001.

- . *The Tahkemoni of Judah al-Harizi*, Trans. Victor Emanuel Reichert. Vol. 2.
Jerusalem: R.H. Hacoben P, 1973. Print.
- . *Tahkemoni*. Istanbul, 1578. (The National Library of Israel, Microfilm FI 9582)
- Al-Jāhiz. *Tahdhīb Kitāb al-Hayawān*. Ed. ‘Abd al-Salām Muhammad Hārūn. 7 Vols.
Cairo: Maktabat al-Khanji, 1938-45. Print.
- Al-Muqaddasi. *Ahsan al-Taqaṣim fī Ma’rifat al-Awalim (The Best Divisions for
Knowledge of the Regions)*. Trans. Basil Anthony Collins. Reading: Garnet
Publishing, 1994. Print.
- . *Ahsan al-Taqaṣim fī Ma’rifat al-Awalim* (Arabic). Leiden: Brill, 1906. Print.
- Al-Sādiq, Ja’far. *Mishāh al-Shari’ah*. Beirut: Muassasat al-A;lami lil-Matbu’āt, 1980.
Print.
- . *Tafsir al-Qur’ān al-adhim*. Egypt: Matba’at al-Sa’ādah, 1908. Print.
- Al-Ya’qūbī. *Tārīkh al-Ya’qūbī* (Ya’qūbī’s History). Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1960. Print.
- Alvar, Carlos. *Textos trovadorescos sobre España y Portugal*. Madrid: Real Academia de
Buenas Letras, 1978. Print.
- Alvar, Manuel. “Apolonio, clérigo entendido.” *Symposium in honorem prof. M. de
Riquer*. Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 1984. Print.
- Arendt, Hannah. *The Human Condition: A Study of the Central Dilemmas Facing
Modern Man*. Garden City: Doubleday, 1959. Print.

- Aristotle. *Nicomachean Ethics*. Trans. Martin Ostwald. New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1962. Print.
- Arnold, Matthew. "Marcus Aurelius." *Essays Literary and Critical*. London: J.M. Dent and Co., 1906. 186-209. Print.
- Attar, Samar. *The Vital Rots of European Enlightenment: Ibn Tufayl's Influence on Modern Western Thought*. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2010. Print.
- Augustine of Hippo. *The Confessions of Saint Augustine*. Trans. John K. Ryan. New York: Doubleday, 1960. Print.
- Bagby, Albert. "Alfonso X. El Sabio compara moros y judíos." *Miszellen Romanische Forschungen*: 82. 578-583. Print.
- . "The Figure of the Jew in the *Cantigas*." *Studies on the Cantigas de Santa María. Art, Music and Poetry. Proceedings of the International Symposium on the "Cantigas de Santa Maria" of Alfonso X, el Sabio (1221–1284) in Commemoration of Its 700th Anniversary Year—1981* (New York, November 19-21). Eds. Israel J. Katz, John E. Keller, Samuel G. Armistead, and Joseph T. Snow. Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1987. 235-247. Print.
- . "The Jew in the *Cántigas* of Alfonso X, El Sabio." *Speculum* 46.4 (October 1971): 670-688. Print.
- Balādhūri. *Kitāb Futuh al-Buldān* (Book of Conquests). Ed. M.J. de Goeje. Lieden, 1866. Print.

- Ballesteros y Beretta, Antonio. *El itinerario de Alfonso el Sabio*. Madrid: Tipografía de Archivos, 1935. Print.
- Baron, Salo Wittmayer. *Social and Religious History of the Jews*. 2nd Ed., Vol. 4. New York: Columbia University Press, 1957. Print.
- Baroud, Mahmoud. *The Shipwrecked Sailor in Arabic and Western Literature: Ibn Tufayl and his Influence on European Writers*. London: I.B. Taruis, 2012. Print.
- Ben-Zaken, Avner. *Reading Hayy Ibn Yaqzan: A Cross-Cultural History of Autodidacticism*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins UP, 2011. Print.
- Blackmore, Josiah. *Manifest Perdition: Shipwreck Narrative and the Disruption of Empire*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota P, 2002.
- , *Moorings: Portuguese Expansion and the Writing of Africa*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota P, 2009.
- Blum, Hester. "The Prospect of Ocean Studies." *PMLA* 124.3 (2010): 670-677. Print.
- Blumenberg, Hans. *Shipwreck with Spectator*. Trans. Steven Rendall. Cambridge: The MIT P, 1997. Print.
- Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (BHS). Ed. K. Elliger and W. Rudolph. 2nd ed. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft. 1977. Print.
- Bohak, Gideon. *Ancient Jewish Magic, a History*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2008. Print.

- Bosworth, Edmund C. "Ebn Kordadbeh" *Encyclopaedia Iranica*. Vol. VIII.1. 37-38. 1997. Print.
- Brann, Ross. "Judah Halevi." in *The Literature of al-Andalus*. Ed. María Rosa Menocal, Raymond P. Scheindlin, and Michael Sells, 265-81. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2000. Print.
- , "The Arabized Jews." in *The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature*. Ed. María Rosa Menocal, Raymond P. Scheindlin, and Michael Sells. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2000. 435-454. Print.
- , *The Compunctious Poet: Cultural Ambiguity and Hebrew Poetry in Muslim Spain*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins UP, 1991. Print.
- Braudel, Fernand, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Phillip II*, 2 vols. (vol. 1) Trans. Siân Reynolds. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995.
- Brea, Mercedes. "Santiago y María: el milagro del peregrino engañado por el diablo." *Sub luce florentis calami. Homenaje a Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz*. Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, 2002. 591-607. Print.
- Brekker, Immanuel. *Aristotle's Politics*. Trans. W.E. Bolland. London: Longman, Green, and Co., 1877. Print.
- Brener, Ann. *Judah Halevi and his Circle of Hebrew Poets in Granada*. Hebrew Language and Letter Series. Vol. 6. Lieden: Brill, 2005. Print.

- Brody, Heinrich. *Selected Poems of Judah Halevi*. New York: Arno P, 1973. Print.
- , *Selected Poems of Moses Ibn Ezra*. Trans. Solomon Solis-Cohen. Philadelphia:
The Jewish Publication Society of American, 1934. Print.
- Brody, Heinrich & Meir Wiener. *Mivhar ha-shira ha-'ivrit*. Leipzig: E.G. Browne, 1929.
Print.
- Brownlee, Marina Scordilis. "Writing and Scripture in the *Libro de Apolonio*: The
Conflation of Hagiography and Romance." *Hispanic Review* 51.2 (1983): 159–74.
Print.
- Bühler, Johannes. *Vida y cultura en la Edad Media*. Trans. Wenceslao Roces. México:
Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1957. Print.
- Burghardt, Walter J. "Mary in Western Patristic Thought." *Mariology*. Ed. Juniper Carol.
Vol. 1. Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1955. 109-155. Print.
- Burns, Robert I. "Castle of Intellect, Castle of Force: The Worlds of Alfonso the Learned
and James the Conqueror." *The Worlds of Alfonso the Learned and James the
Conqueror*. Ed. Robert I. Burns. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1985. Print.
- , "Stupor Mundi: Alfonso X of Castile, the Learned." *Emperor Culture: Alfonso X
the Learned of Castile and His Thirteenth-Century Renaissance*. Ed. Robert I. Burns.
Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania P, 1990. 1-13. Print.

- Campany y de Monplau, Antonio. *Memorias históricas sobre la marina, comercio y artes de la antigua ciudad de Barcelona*. 2 vols. Barcelona: Cámara Oficial de Comercio y Navegación, 1962. Print.
- Calabrese, Omar. "La forma de la isla (de nunca jamás)." *Revista de Occidente* 343 (2009) 13-32. Print.
- Carmi, Ted. *The Penguin Book of Hebrew Verse*. New York: The Viking P, 1981. Print.
- Carroll, Eamon R. "Mary in the Documents of the Magisterium." *Mariology*. Ed. Juniper Carol. Vol. 1. Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1955. 1-50. Print.
- Castro, Américo. *España en su historia: Cristianos, moros y judíos*. Buenos Aires: Losada, 1948. Print.
- . *Realidad histórica de España*. México D.F.: Editorial Porrúa, 1962. Print.
- Certeau, Michel de. *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984. Print.
- Chambers, Iain. "Maritime Criticism and Theoretical Shipwrecks." *PMLA* 125.3 (2010): 678-684. Print.
- Chronicle of Alfonso X*. Trans. Shelby Thacker, and José Escobar. Lexington: UP of Kentucky. 2002. Print.
- Clark, Doris. "Tarsiana's Riddles in the Libro de Apolonio." *Medieval Hispanic Studies presented to Rita Hamilton*. Ed. A.D. Deyermond. London: Tamesis, 1975. 31-43. Print.

- Cohen, Margaret. "Literary Studies on the Terraqueous Globe." *PMLA* 125.3 (2010): 657-662. Print.
- Cole, Peter. *The Dream of the Poem: Hebrew Poetry from Muslim and Christian Spain 950- 1492*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 2007. Print.
- Colville, Jim. *Two Andalusian Philosophers*. London: Kegan Paul International, 1999. Print.
- Constable, Olivia Remia. *Housing the Stranger in the Mediterranean World: Lodging, Trade, and Travel in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2003. Print.
- Corbin, Henry. *Avicenna and the Visionary Recital*, Trans. W.R. Trask. New York: Pantheon, 1960. Print.
- , "Ibn Tufayl." *Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. Ed. Donald Borchert. 2nd ed. Vol. 4. Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA, 2006. 550-551 *Gale Virtual Reference Library*. Web. 6 Mar 2013.
- , *History of Islamic Philosophy*. Trans. Liadain Sherrard. London: Kegan Paul International, 1993. Print.
- Crónica de Alfonso X*. Ed. González Jiménez. Murcia: Real Academia Alfonso X el Sabio, 2000. Print.
- Daly, Simeon. "Mary in the Western Liturgy." *Mariology*. Ed. Juniper Carol. Vol. 1. Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1955. 245-280. Print.

- Davidson, Herbert A. *Alfarabi, Avicenna, and Averroes, on Intellect: Their Cosmologies, Theories of the Active Intellect, and Theories of Human Intellect*. New York: Oxford UP, 1992. Print.
- Decter, Jonathon. *Iberian Jewish Literature: Between al-Andalus and Christian Europe*. Bloomington: Indiana UP, 2007. Print.
- Dehghan, Iraj. "Jāmi's Salāmān and Asāl." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 30.2 (1971): 118–26. Print.
- Drory, Rina. "Al-Hariri's Maqamat: A Tricultural Literary Product?" *Medieval Translator* 4 (1994): 66-85. Print.
- Desing, Matthew. "De pan y de tesoro: Sacrament in the *Libro de Apolonio*." *La Corónica* 40.2 (Spring 2012): 93–120. Print.
- _____. "Luciana's Story: Text, Travel, and Interpretation in the *Libro de Apolonio*." *Hispanic Review* 79.1 (2011): 1–15. Print.
- Deyermond, Alan. "Motivos folklóricos y técnica estructural en el Libro de Apolonio." *Filología* XIII (1968–69): 121–149. Print.
- _____. "Emoción y ética en el *Libro de Apolonio*." *Vox Romanica: Annales Helvetici Explorandis Linguis Romanicis Destinati* 48 (1989): 153–64. Print.
- Dunn, Ross E. *The Adventures of Ibn Battuta*. Berkeley: University of California P, 2005. Print.

“Edom” (Edom as Rome). *Encyclopaedia Judaica*. Ed. Michael Berenbaum and Fred Skolnik. 2nd ed. Vol. 11. Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA, 2007. Web. 4 March 2013.

Elvira Fidalgo. *As cantigas de Santa Maria*. Vigo: Edicións Xerais de Galicia, 2002. Print.

Encyclopaedia Judaica. Ed. Michael Berenbaum and Fred Skolnik. 2nd ed. Vol. 11. Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA, 2007. Web. 4 March 2013.

Encyclopedia of Religion. Ed. Lindsay Jones. Vol. 11. 2nd ed. Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA, 2005. Web. 4 March 2013.

Euben, Peter. “Creatures of a Day: Thought and Action in Thucydides.” *Political Theory and Praxis: New Perspective*. Ed. Terence Ball. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota P, 1977. 28-56. Print.

Euben, Roxanne. *Journey to the Other Shore*. Princeton: Princeton University P, 2006. Print.

Fernández Fernández, Laura. “Imagen e intención: La representación de Santiago Apóstol en los manuscritos de las *Cantigas de Santa María*.” *Anales de Historia del Arte* 18 (2008): 73-94. Print.

Ferreira, Manuel Pedro. *O Som de Martin Codax: Sobre a dimensão musical da lírica galego-portuguesa (séculos XII-XIV)*. Lisbon: Casa de Moeda, 1986. Print.

- Filgueira Valverde, José. *Afonso X contra Compostela*. Sada: Edición do Castro, 1981. Print.
- Fleischer, Ezra. "On the Sources about Rabbi Judah Halevi's Youth and the Beginning of His Connections with Moses Ibn Ezra" [Hebrew]. *Qiryat sefer* 61 (1987): 893-910. Print.
- Flory, David A. *Marian Representation in the Miracle Tales of Thirteenth-Century Spain and France*. Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America P, 2000. Print.
- Foucault, Michele. *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason*. New York: Vintage, 1988. Print.
- Fuchs, Barbara. *Exotic Nation*. Philadelphia: U Pennsylvania P, 2009. Print.
- Furtado, Michael. "Islands of Castile: Artistic, Literary, and Legal Perception of the Sea in Castile-Leon, 1248-1450." Diss. University of Oregon, 2011. Print.
- Gardner, John. "Detour and Disruption of the Pilgrimage to Santiago in Cantiga XXVI of the *Cantigas de Santa María*." *The Image of the Road in Literature, Media, and Society*. Ed. Will Wright, and Steven Kaplan. Pueblo: Colorado State University, 2005. Print.
- Gauthier, Léon. *Hayy ben Yaqdhān: Roman philosophique d'Ibn Thofail*. 2nd Ed. Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1936. Print.
- . *Ibn Thofail: sa vie, ses oeuvres*. Paris : Ernest Leroux, 1909. Print.

- Geniza document ULC Or 1080 J258v, margin. *The Geniza On-Line Database*.
Cambridge University Library. Web. 20 April 2013.
<http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/collections/genizah>.
- Gerli, E. Michael. "Inventing the Spanish Middle Ages: Ramón Menéndez Pidal, Spanish Cultural History, and Ideology in Philology." *La Corónica* 30.1 (2001): 111-126.
Print.
- Gil de Zamora, Juan. *De preconiis Hispanie, o Educación del príncipe*. Trans. José-Luis Martín, and Jenaro Costas. Salamanca: Gráficas Varona, 1997. Print.
- Goitein, Shlomo David. *A Mediterranean Society: the Jewish communities of the Arab world as portrayed in the documents of the Cairo Geniza*. Vol. 1. Berkeley: University of California P, 1967. Print.
- , *India Traders of the Middle Ages: Documents From the Cairo Geniza*. 2 Vols. Lieden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2008. Print.
- , "Judaeo-Arabic Letters from Spain." *Orientalia Hispanica: sive studia F.M. Pareja octogenario dicata*. Ed. J.M. Barral. Lieden: Brill, 1974. 341-43. Print.
- Goldberg, Harriet. "Women Riddlers in Hispanic Folklore and Literature." *Hispanic Review* 59.1(1991): 57-75. Print.
- Goldstein, David. *Hebrew Poems from Spain*. New York: Schocken Books, 1966. Print.
- González Jiménez, M. "El Puerto de Santa María en los tiempos de Alfonso X (1264-1284)." *Gades* 9. (1982): 209-242. Print.

- , "La Carta-Puebla de Santa Mara del Pertuo." *Carta-Puebla otorgada a El Gran Puerto de Santa María por Alfonso X El Sabio*. El Puerto de Santa María: Ayuntamiento de El Puerto de Santa María, 1981. Print.
- Grieve, Patricia E. "Building Christian Narrative: The Rhetoric of Knowledge, Revelation, and Interpretation in *Libro de Apolonio*." *The Book and the Magic of Reading in the Middle Ages*. Ed. Albrecht Classen. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1998. 149–169. Print.
- Gruendler, Beatrice. "The *qasida*." *The Literature of Al-Andalus*. Eds. María Rosa Menocal, Raymond P. Scheindlin and Michael Sells. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2000. Print. 211-232.
- Guerrero Lovillo, J. "El arte de las *Cantigas*, vanguardia de su tiempo." *Studies on the Cantigas de Santa María. Art, Music and Poetry. Proceedings of the International Symposium on the "Cantigas de Santa Maria" of Alfonso X, el Sabio (1221–1284) in Commemoration of Its 700th Anniversary Year—1981* (New York, November 19-21). Eds. Israel J. Katz, John E. Keller, Samuel G. Armistead, and Joseph T. Snow. Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1987. 81-94. Print.
- Gutas, Dimitri. *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture: The Graeco-Arabic Translation Movement in Baghdad and Early 'Abbasid Society (2nd-4th/8th-10th centuries)*. New York: Routledge, 1998. Print.

- Habib, Khalil. "Ibn Tufayl's Critique of Cosmopolitanism in *Hayy Ibn Yaqzan*." *Cosmopolitanism in the Age of Globalization: Citizen without States*. Lexington: The University of Kentucky P, 2001. 97-118. Print.
- Hackett, Jo Ann. *A Basic Introduction to Biblical Hebrew*. Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers Marketing, 2010. Print.
- "Hadith." *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition. Brill Online, 2013. Web. 4 March, 2013.
- Halevi, Judah. *Diwan des Abu-l-Hasan Jehuda ha-Levi (DJH)*. Ed. Hayyim Brody. 4 vols. Berlin: Schriften des Vereins Mekize Nirdamim, 1894-1930. Print.
- . *Selected Poems of Jehuda Halevi*. Ed. Heinrich Brody. Trans. Nina Salaman. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America. 1924. Print.
- . *The Kuzari (Kitāb Al Khazari): An Argument for the Faith of Israel*. New York: Schocken Books, 1964. Print.
- . *On the Sea*. Trans. Gabriel Levin. Jerusalem: Ibis, 1997. Print.
- Hamilton, Michelle M., and David A. Wacks and Sarah Portnoy. Eds. *Wine, Women and Song: Hebrew and Arabic Literature in Medieval Iberia*. Newark: Juan de la Cuesta, 2004. Print.
- Ha-Nagid, Samuel. *Diwan (Ben Tehillim)*. Ed. Dov Jarden. Jerusalem: Hebrew Union College, 1966. Print.

- Hamori, Andras, "*Lights in the Heart of the Sea: Some Images of Judah Halevi's.*"
Journal of Semitic Studies 30.1 (spring 1985): 75-83. Print.
- Hartdegen, Stephen J. and Christian P. Ceroke, eds. "The Book of Judges." *New American Bible*. New York: American Bible Society, 1970. Print.
- Hartog, François. *Liroir d'Hérodote: Essa sur la représentation de l'autre*. Paris: Gallimard, 1980. Print. *Essays on Islamic philosophy and science*. Ed. G. F. Hourani. Albany: State University of New York P. 1984. 170-187. Print.
- Harvey, Steven. "The Author's Introduction as a Key to Understanding Trends in Islamic Philosophy." *Words, Texts and Concepts Crusing the Mediterranean Sea*. Ed. R. Arnzen, and J. Thielmann. Lueven: Peeters Publishers, 2004. 16-32. Print.
- Hawi, Sami. "Ibn Tufayl: On the Existence of God and His Attribute." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 95.1 (1975): 58-67. Print.
- , *Islamic Naturalism and Mysticism: a Philosophic Study of Ibn Tufayl's Hayy Bin Yaqzān*. Lieden: E.J. Brill, 1974. Print.
- Horden, Peregrine and Nicholas Purcell. *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2000.
- Hourani, George. "The Principle Subject of Ibn Tufayl's *Hayy Ibn Yaqzān*." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*. 15.1 (1956): University of Chicago P, 40-46. Print.
- Huizinga, Jan. *Homo Ludens. A Study of the Play Element in Culture*. Boston: Beacon, 1955. Print.

Ibn Daud, Abraham. *Sefer ha-Qabbalah*. Trans. G. Cohen. Oxford: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2005. Print.

Ibn Ezra, Moses. *Kitāb al-muhādara wa al-mudhākara*. Ed. A.S. Halkin. Jerusalem: Mekize Nirdamim. 1975. Print.

----- . *Shirei ha-hol* (Moses Ibn Ezra: Secular Poems). Ed. Haim Brody. 3 vols. Jerusalem: Hemed Press, 1977. Print.

Ibn Qutayba, Abū Muḥammad ‘Abdullāh ben Muslim. *Kitab al-Shi'r wa-l-Shu'ara*. Ed. M.J. de Goeje. Lieden, 1904. Print.

Ibn Rushd. *Averroes' Tahafut al Tahafut: The Incoherence of the Incoherence*. Trans. Simon van den Bergh. London: Luzac, 1954. Print.

Ibn Sīna. *Kitāb al-Isharāt wa-al-Tanbihāt* (The Book of Hints and Pointers). Leiden: Brill. 1892. Print.

Ibn Tufayl, Abu Bakr. *Hayy Ibn Yaqzan*. Ed. and Trans. Lenn Evan Goodman. Chicago: The University of Chicago P, 2009. Print.

----- . *Philosophus autodidactus sive Epistola Abi Jaafar Ebn Tophail de Hai Ebn Yokdhan*. Ed. Edward Pococke. Oxonii Excudebat H. Hall, 1671. Print.

----- . *The history of Hayy Ibn Yaqzan*. Trans. Simon Ockley. Ed. A.S. Fulton. London: Chapman and Hall, 1929. Print.

Ibn Qutayba, Abu Muhammad. *Kitab al-Shi'r wa-l-Shu'ara*. Ed. M.J. de Goeje. Lieden, 1904. Print.

Joseph, Brian and Richard Janda. Eds. *The Handbook of Historical Linguistics*. Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2003. Print

Keller, John Esten. "King Alfonso's Villa-Sirga, Rival of St. James of Compostela." *Collectánea Hispánica: Folklore and Brief Narrative Studies by John Esten Keller*. Ed. Dennis Seniff. Newark: Juan de la Cuesta, 1987. 61-68. Print.

-----, "More on the Rivalry Between Santa María and Santiago de Compostela." *Crítica hispánica* 1 (1979): 37-43. Print.

-----, "The Threefold Impact of the *Cantigas*: Visual, Verbal, and Musical." *Studies on the Cantigas de Santa María. Art, Music and Poetry. Proceedings of the International Symposium on the "Cantigas de Santa Maria" of Alfonso X, el Sabio (1221-1284) in Commemoration of Its 700th Anniversary Year—1981* (New York, November 19-21). Eds. Israel J. Katz, John E. Keller, Samuel G. Armistead, and Joseph T. Snow. Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1987. 7-33. Print.

Keller, John Esten, and Annette Grant Cash. *Daily Life Depicted in the Cantigas De Santa Maria*. Lexington UP of Kentucky, 1998. Print.

Kelley, Mary Jay. "Mixed Messages in the *Libro de Apolonio*." *Journal of Interdisciplinary Literary Studies* 2 (1990): 1-11. Print.

Ker, James. "Solon's Theoria and the End of the City." *Classical Antiquity* 19.2 (October 2000): 308-9. Print.

- Khadra Jayyusi, Salma. "Nature poetry and the rise of Ibn Khafaja." *The legacy of Muslim Spain*. Ed. Salma Khadra Jayyusi. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994. Print.
- Kinkade, Richard P. "Scholastic Philosophy and the Art of the *Cantigas de Santa María*." *Studies on the Cantigas de Santa María. Art, Music and Poetry. Proceedings of the International Symposium on the "Cantigas de Santa Maria" of Alfonso X, el Sabio (1221–1284) in Commemoration of Its 700th Anniversary Year—1981* (New York, November 19-21). Eds. Israel J. Katz, John E. Keller, Samuel G. Armistead, and Joseph T. Snow. Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1987. 95-109. Print.
- Komem, Aharon. "Between Poetry and Prophecy" [Hebrew]. *Molad*. Vol. 2, 1969. 676-97. Print.
- Komroff, Manuel. *Contemporaries of Marco Polo*. New York: Dorset House Publishing, 1989. Print.
- Kortekaas, G.A.A. *Commentary on the Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri*. Lieden: Koninklijke Brill, 2007. Print.
- Kugelman, Richard. "The Holy Name of Mary." *Mariology*. Ed. Juniper Carol. Vol. 1. Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1955. 411-423. Print.
- Lapesa, Rafael. *Historia de la lengua española*. 8th Ed. Madrid: Gredos, 1980. Print.
- Lefebvre, Henri. *The Production of Space*. Trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith. Oxford: Blackwell, 1991. Print.

Leicht, Reimund. "Some Observations on the Diffusions of Jewish Magical Texts from Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages in Manuscripts from the Cairo Geniza and Ashkenaz." *Officina Magica: Essays on the Practice of Magic in Antiquity*. Ed. Shaul Shaked. Boston: Brill, 2005. 213-232. Print.

Libro de Apolonio. Ed. Carmen Monedero. Madrid: Clásicos Castalia, 1987. Print.

-----, Ed. Dolores Corbella. Madrid: Cátedra, 1992. Print.

Lopez, Robert S. and Raymond Irving. *Mediterranean Trade in the Mediterranean World*. 3rd ed. New York: Columbia University Press, 2001. Print.

Lunde, Paul. "The Seas of Sindbad." *Saudi Aramco World* 56:4 (July-August 2005): 20-29. Print.

Lyons, Jonathan. *The House of Wisdom: How the Arabs Transformed Western Civilization*. New York: Bloomsbury P, 2009. Print.

Macdonald, D. B. "'Ilm.'" *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, First Edition (1913–1936). Brill Online, 2012. Web. 4 March, 2013.

MacDonald, R.A. "Alfonsine Law, the *Cantigas*, and Justice." *Studies on the Cantigas de Santa María. Art, Music and Poetry. Proceedings of the International Symposium on the "Cantigas de Santa Maria" of Alfonso X, el Sabio (1221–1284) in Commemoration of Its 700th Anniversary Year—1981 (New York, November 19-21)*. Eds. Israel J. Katz, John E. Keller, Samuel G. Armistead, and Joseph T. Snow. Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1987. 313-327. Print.

Maimonides, Moses. *The Guide for the Perplexed*, Trans. M. Friedlander. New York: Cosimo Classics, 2007 (Originally published in 1904). Print.

Manuel, Juan. *El Conde Lucanor*. Ed. Sánchez Cantón. Madrid: Editorial Saturnino Calleja, 1920. Print.

Maqbul Ahmad, Sayyid. *A history of Arab-Islamic geography: 9th-16th century A.D.* Mafrag: Al al-Bayt University, 1995. Print.

----- . "Cartography of Sharif al-Idrisi." *The History of Cartography*. Vol. 2.1. Ed. J. B. Harley and David Woodward. Chicago: University of Chicago P, 1987-1998. Print.

Márquez Villanueva, Francisco. *El concepto cultural alfonsí*. Barcelona: Ediciones Bellaterra, 2004. Print.

Mayer, H.E. *The Crusades*. Trans. John Gillingham. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988. Print.

Mayraz, Eitay. "Place and Space in the Mediterranean: The (Mental) Map of a Pilgrim in the Hold Land." *Mediterranean Historical Review* 19.2 (2003): 25–33. Print.

Menéndez Pidal, Gonzalo. *La España Del Siglo XIII: Leída en Imágenes*. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1986. Print.

Menéndez Pidal, Ramón. *La epopeya castellana a través de la literatura española*. 2nd ed. Madrid: Editorial Espasa-Calpe, 1959. Print.

----- . *La Primera Crónica General de España*. Madrid: Madrid Bailly Bailliere e Hijos, 1906. Print.

- . *Poesía juglaresca y juglares: Aspectos de la historia literaria y cultural de España*. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1962. Print.
- . *Reliquias de la poesía épica española*. Madrid: Editorial Espasa-Calpe, 1951. Print.
- Menocal, María Rosa. *The Arabic role in Medieval Literary History*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987. Print.
- . *The Ornament of the World: How Muslims, Christians and Jews Created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain*. New York: Back Bay Books, 2002. Print.
- Mettmann, Walter. "Algunas observaciones sobre la génesis de la colección de las *Cantigas de Santa María* y sobre el problema del autor." *Studies on the Cantigas de Santa Maria: Art, Music, and Poetry*. Eds. Israel J. Katz and John E Keller. Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1987. 355-366. Print.
- Mignolo, Walter. *The Darker Side of the Renaissance*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2003. Print.
- Millas Vallicrosa, J. M. *Literatura hebraicoespañola*. Barcelona: Labor, 1968. Print.
- Molina, Luis. "Orosio y los geógrafos hispanomusulmanes." *Al-Qantara* 5 (1984): 63-92. Print.
- Montoya Martínez, Jesús. "Algunas precisiones acerca de las *Cantigas*." *Studies on the Cantigas de Santa María. Art, Music and Poetry. Proceedings of the International Symposium on the "Cantigas de Santa Maria" of Alfonso X, el Sabio (1221–1284) in*

- Commemoration of Its 700th Anniversary Year—1981* (New York, November 19-21).
Eds. Israel J. Katz, John E. Keller, Samuel G. Armistead, and Joseph T. Snow.
Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1987. 367-385. Print.
- . *Las colecciones de milagros de la Virgen en la Edad Media: El milagro literario*.
Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1981. Print.
- . "La 'carta fundacional' del Puerto de Santa María y las *Cantigas de Santa Maria*."
Cantigueiros 6 (1994): 99-115. Print.
- Nallino, C.A. "Filosofia 'oriental' od 'illuminativa' d'Avicenna?" *Revista degli Studi Orientali* X (1925): 433-67. Print.
- Naveh, Joseph and Shaul Shaked. *Amulets and Magic Bowls: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity*. Jerusalem: The Magnes P, 1987. Print.
- Netton, Ian. "Rihla." *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition. Brill Online, 2012. Web. 5 March, 2013.
- . *Seek Knowledge: Thought and Travel in the House of Islam*. Abingdon: Routledge Curzon, 1996. Print.
- New American Bible*. Eds. Stephen J. Hartdegen, and Christian P. Ceroke. New York: American Bible Society, 1970. Print.
- Nightingale, Andrea. "Plato on *aporia* and self-knowledge" in *Ancient Models of Mind: Studies in Human and Divine Rationality*. Ed. Andrea Nightingale and David Sedley. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2010. Print.

- Novalis, Friedrich von Hardenberg. *Schriften*. Ed. J. Minor. Vol. 2. Jena: Eugen Diederichs, 1923. Print.
- O’Callaghan, Joseph F. *Alfonso X and the Cantigas de Santa María: A Poetic Biography*. Lieden: Brill, 1998. Print.
- . *The Learned King: The Reign of Alfonso X of Castile*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania P, 1993. Print.
- Paredes, Juan. *Alfonso X: Cantigas profanas*. Madrid: Castalia, 2010. Print.
- Parkinson, Stephen. “The First Reorganization of the *CSM*.” *Bulletin of Contingueiros de Santa María* 1 (1988): 91-97 Print.
- Pelikan, Jaroslav. *Mary Through the Centuries: Her Place in the History of Culture*. New Haven: Yale UP., 1996. Print.
- Phillips, William D. “Maritime Exploration in the Middle Ages.” *Maritime History as World History*. Ed. Daniel Finamore. Gainesville: UP of Florida, 2004. 47-61. Print.
- Pickford, T.E. “Apollonius of Tyre as Greek Myth and Christian Mystery.” *Neophilologus* 59 (1975): 599–609. Print.
- Pinet, Simone. *Archipelagos: Insular Fiction from Chivalric Romance to the Novel*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota P, 2011. Print.
- . “Where One Stands: Shipwreck, Perspective, and Chivalric Fiction,” in *eHumanista* Vol. 16 (2010): 381–394. Print.

Plato. *Laws, Books 7-12*. Trans. R.G. Bury. Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1926.

Print.

-----, *Republic*. Ed. Richards, I. A. Cambridge, Cambridge UP, 1966. Print.

-----, "Seventh Letter." *Great Books Volume 7: The Dialogues of Plato*. Trans. J.

Harward. Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica Inc., 1952. Print.

Politis, Vasilis. "Aporia and Searching in the Early Plato." in *Remembering Socrates*.

Eds. Lindsay Judson, and Vassilis Karasmanis. Oxford: Clarendon P, 2006. Print.

Prado-Vilar, Francisco. "The Gothic Anamorphic Gaze: Regarding the Worth of Others."

Under the Influence: Questioning the Comparative in Medieval Castile. Eds. Cynthia

Robinson and Leyla Rouhi. Lieden: Brill, 2005. Print.

Presilla, M.E. "The Image of Death and Political Ideology in the *Cantigas*." *Studies on*

the Cantigas de Santa María. Art, Music and Poetry. Proceedings of the International

Symposium on the "Cantigas de Santa Maria" of Alfonso X, el Sabio (1221–1284) in

Commemoration of Its 700th Anniversary Year—1981 (New York, November 19-21).

Eds. Israel J. Katz, John E. Keller, Samuel G. Armistead, and Joseph T. Snow.

Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1987. 403-458. Print.

Ratshabi, Y. "A Letter from Rabbi Yehuda Halevi to Rabbi Habib." [Hebrew] *Gilyonot*

28 (1953): 271. Print.

Redfield, J. "Herodotus the Tourist." *Classical Philology* 80 (1985): 97-118. Print.

- Rico, Francisco. "La clerecía del mester." *Hispanic Review* 53.1 (Winter 1985): 1–23. Print.
- Riley-Smith, Jonathan. *The Crusades: a History*. Ed. 2. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005. Print.
- _____. "The motives of the earliest crusaders and the settlement of Latin Palestine," *The English Historical Review* 98:389 (October 1983), 721–736. Print.
- Robert Curtius, Ernst. *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1990. Print.
- Robson, J. "Isnad." *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition. Brill Online, 2012. Web. 5 March, 2013.
- Rosen, Tova. "The muwashshah." *The Literature of al-Andalus*. Ed. María Rosa Menocal, Raymond P. Scheindlin, and Michael Sells. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2000. 265-281. Print.
- Rush, Alfred C. "Mary in the Apocrypha of the New Testament." *Mariology*. Ed. Juniper Carol. Vol. 1. Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1955. 156-184. Print.
- Rutherford, Ian. "Theoric Crisis: The Dangers of Pilgrimage in Greek Religion and Society." *Stufi e materiali di storia delle religioni* 61 (1995): 276-292. Print.
- Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books, 1979. Print.
- Salvador Martínez, H. *Alfonso X, El Sabio: Una biografía*. Madrid: Polifemo, 2003. Print.

- Salvatierra Ossorio, Aurora. "David (Abū 'l-Ḥasan) ben al-Dayyan." *Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World*. Ed. Norman A. Stillman. Brill Online, 2013. Web. 20 April 2013.
- Sánchez Albornoz, Claudio. *España, un enigma histórico*. 2 vols. Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana 1957. Print.
- Sancho de Sopranis, Hipólito. "La carta puebla de Santa María del Puerto." *Mauritania* (1941): 162-163. Print.
- , *La colonia portuguesa en El Puerto de Santa María. Siglo XVI. Notas y documentos inéditos*. Larache: Sociedad de Estudios Históricos Jerezanos, 1940. Print.
- Scheindlin, Raymond P. 'Moses Ibn Ezra' in *The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature*, Eds. María Rosa Menocal, Raymond P. Scheindlin, and Michael Sells. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2000. 252-264.
- , "Rabbi Moshe Ibn Ezra on the *Legitimacy* of Poetry." *Medievalia et Humanistica* 7 (1976): 101–115. Print.
- , *Wine, Women, and Death: Medieval Hebrew Poems on the Good Life*. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1986. Print.
- Schippers, Arie. "Medieval Opinions on the Spanish School of Hebrew Poetry and its Epigons." *Studia Rosenthaliana* 40. (2007-2008): 427-438. Print.

- , *Spanish Hebrew Poetry and the Arabic Literary Tradition: Arabic Themes in Hebrew Andalusian Poetry*. Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 1994. Print.
- Schirmann Hayyim (Jefim). *ha-Shirah ha- 'Ivrit bi-Sefarad ube-Provans*. 2 vols. Tel Aviv: Dvir; Jerusalem: Mosad Bialik, 1954-1960. Print.
- , *Studies in the History of Hebrew Poetry and Drama* [Hebrew] 2 vols. Jerusalem: Mosad Bialik, 1979. Print.
- Schreiner, Maarnit. *Le kitab al Mouhadara Wa-L-Moudhakara de Moise B. Ezra et ses sources*. Paris: A. Durlacher, 1892. Print.
- Sells, Michael. *Early Islamic Mysticism: Sufi, Qur'an, Mi'raj, Poetic and Theological Writings*. Mahwah: Paulist P, 1996. Print.
- Shea, George. "Outline History of Mariology in the Middle Ages and Modern Times." *Mariology*. Ed. Juniper Carol. Vol. 1. Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1955. 281-327. Print.
- Snow, Joseph. "A Chapter in Alfonso X's Personal Narrative: The Puerto de Santa María Poems in the *Cantigas de Santa María*." *La Corónica* 8 (1979-80): 10-21. Print.
- , "Alfonso as Troubadour: The Fact and the Fiction." *Emperor of Culture: Alfonso X the Learned of Castile and His Thirteenth-Century Renaissance*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania P, 1990. 124-140. Print.

- , "Alfonso X: sus 'cantigas...': Apuntes para su (auto)biografía literaria." Josep Maria Solá-Solé: *Homage, homenaje, homenatge: Miscelánea de estudios de amigos y discípulos*. Ed. Antonio Torres-Alcalá. Barcelona: Puvill, 1984. 78-89. Print
- , "Alfonso X y/en sus *Cantigas*." *Estudios alfonsies*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1985. 71-90. Print.
- , "Self-Conscious References and the Organic Narrative Pattern of the *Cantigas de Santa María* of Alfonso el Sabio." *Medieval, Renaissance and Folklore Studies in Honor of John Esten Keller*. Ed. Joseph R. Jones. Newark: Juan de la Cuesta, 1980. 53-66. Print.
- , "The Central Role of the Troubadour *Persona* of Alfonso X in the *Cantigas de Santa María*." *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 56 (1979): 305-316. Print.
- Suárez, Thomas. *Early Mapping of Southeast Asia*. Singapore: Tuttle Publishing, 1999. Print.
- Surtz, Ronald E. "El héroe intelectual en el mester de clerecía." *La Torre: Revista de la Universidad de Puerto Rico* 1.2 (April-June 1987): 265-74. Print.
- Szpiech, Ryan. "In search of Ibn Sīnā's 'Oriental Philosophy' in Medieval Castile." *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy* 20 (2010): 185-206. Print.
- Taylor, Archer. *The Literary Riddle Before 1600*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1948. Print.
- The Qur'an*. Trans. M.A.S. Abdel Haleem. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2010. Print.

- The Talmud of Babylonia: An American Translation*. Trans. Jacob Neusner. Vol. 17, Tractate Sotah. Chico: Scholars P. Print.
- Todorov, Tzvetan. *The Poetics of Prose*. Trans. Richard Howard. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977. Print.
- Torres Fontes, Fueros “*La Orden de Santa María de España.*” *Miscelánea Medieval Murciana* 3 (1977): 75–118. Print.
- Thucydides. *The History of the Peloponnesian War*. Trans. William Smith. 4th Ed. 2 Vols. London: William Nicholson, 1805. Print.
- Toorawa, S.M. “Waq al-Waq: Fabulous, FABular Indian Ocean (?) Islands (?)...” *Emergences* 10.2 (2000): 387-402. Print.
- Touati, Houari. *Islam and Travel in the Middle Ages*. Chicago: University of Chicago P, 2010. Print.
- Trackman, Leon E. *The Law Merchant: The Evolution of Commercial Law*. Littleton: F. B. Rothman, 1983. Print.
- Vallvé Bermejo. “Fuentes latinas de los geógrafos árabes.” *Al-Andalus* XXXII (1967): 241-260. Print.
- Verdon, Jean. *Travel in the Middle Ages*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2003. Print.
- Viré, F. “Wākwāk, Wakwāk, Wāk Wāk, Wāk al-Wāk, al-Wākwāk.” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. 2nd. Ed. Liden: Brill Online, 2009. Web. 22 April 2013.

- Wacks, David A. *Framing Iberia: Maqamat and Frametale Narratives in Medieval Spain*. Leiden: Brill, 2007. Print.
- Walker, Roger M. *Tradition and Technique in El Libro Del Cavallero Zifar*. London: Tamesis, 1974. Print
- Wehr, Hans. *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*. Ed. J. Milton Cowan. Beirut: Librairie du Liban, 1908. Print.
- Weiss, Julian. *The “Mester de Clerecía”: Intellectuals and Ideologies in Thirteenth-Century Castile*. Woodbridge, UK: Tamesis, 2006. Print.
- Yahalom, Joseph. *Yehuda Halevi: Poetry and Pilgrimage*. Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Magnes P, 2009. Print.

Appendix

Chapter 1: Exchanging Sweet Wine for Bitter Brine: Exile and the Sea in Medieval Iberian Hebrew Poetry

Poems from the *diwan* of Moses Ibn Ezra:

בני עולם

בני עולם אשר עולם בלבם
נתנו אל לחק מיום בראם
והוא נחל אשר יגר וישתו
ולא ירוו, ולו היום נשיאם

כאלו נתנו מימיו למלה
ולב צמא שתות אותם קראם
אלי פיהם המוניהם יגיחון
(*HaShira* 401) ואך לא ישברו לעד צמאם

חיי בימי

חיי בימי גבר ויזכר
כי למות הוא לקוח
ולאט יסע כל יום מסע
אכן יחשב כי ינוח
רומה אל איש שוקט על צי
(*Carmi* 327) אך ידא על כנפי רוה

מהיום הבא

מהיום הבא / ומפחד היותו
כעשן מארבה / תעל מהומתו
תבוסתו רבה / -ומי יוכל שאתו
ומי העומד / בהראותו

שוקט ובוטה / אימה תבעתהו
ומות שוכה / -שואה תבואהו
ושוכב שמח / -צעקה תעירהו
תצא נשמתו / ישוב לאדמתו

הוא היום המר / כתנור בוער
כמי הים ימר / וכמהו סוער

וכוס יין חמר / משכר כל נוער
ממהר תנומתו / לעדי-עד שנתו

אשרי אנוש יראה / באשוני מזמה
כי גאה תגאה / בצאתה הנשמה
ותעל ותשתאה / להיכלי החכמה
(HaShira 406-07) ותתור צדקתו / מנוחה לחנותו

Poems from the *diwan* of Judah Halevi:

יועץ ומקים

יועץ ומקים / במרום שחקים
ועל ים רחוקים / צדקו סרח
לא לאיש דרכו, / ואם אין כמלכו
שקר נסכו / ולריק יטרח
עולה מבור / יום, רץ לעבר
ים, ושש כגבור / לרוץ ארח
חטאו עקש / דרכו במוקש
ומערב בקש- / והנה מזרח
ידע כי לא / בכחו ושכלו
יעמיד דגלו / ויסע ויארח
אז שב והודה / בנפש חרדה
ומרב עבדה / קול מר יצרח
אנה אלך / מרוחך
ואנה מפ- / ניך אברח

המו גלים / כרוץ גלגלים
ועבים וקלים / על-פני הים
קדרו שמיו, / ויחמרו מימיו
ועלו תהומיו / ונשאו דכים
וסיר ירתיח / וקול יצריח
ואין משביח / להמון קשים
ורפו חזקים, / ונחלקו אפיקים
חצים עמקים / והרים חצים
והאני חולה, / יורדה ועולה
ועין תולה / לחובלים- אים
ולבי מחשה- / אקוה לממשה
כעל יד משה / אהרן ומרים
אקרא אדני / ואירא עוני
פן תחנוני / יהיו טרח
וים מתרוצץ, / וקדים יפוצץ
ארוזים, ויפץ / רוח קצפיו
שחה קרנם / ונבהל סרנם
ונלאה תרנם / לפרש כנפיו

ירתח בלי אש, / ולב מתיאש
בעת התבאש / במשוט מניפיו
דלים מושליו / ונרפים סובליו
ובוערים חובליו / ועורים צופיו
והאני כשכור / יתעתע ויהכר
בלי הון ימכר / שוכני כתפיו
וזה לויתן / בעד ים איתן
יקדיש כחתן / למשתה אסופיו
ויד אקיננס / תאהב לכנוס
ואבד מנוס / ואפס מברח

דלו עיני / נגדך, אדני
ואת-תחנוני / שי אשיבה
אחרד לעתי / וארגז תחתי
וקול בן-אמתי / לך אקריבה
בזכרי ים-סוף / אשר לא יסוף
ערב וכסוף / שיר איטיבה
ונוראות ירדן / במ אתעדן
וכמו בעדן / לב ארחיבה
לממתיק מרה / והופך לעזרה
יום אף ועברה / ויום מי מריבה
והעינים / לאל שמים
נותן במים / עזים נתיבה
חם אדמתו / מחמתו
ומנשמתו / יתן-קרח

השיב חמתו / מבן-אמתו
ואת-נשמתו / משאול פדה,
ורצו מרומות / לעשות שלומות
בין התהמות- / ואין קול חרדה
ומימי קנאה / הפך לחמאה
וסרה יראה / ונסה קפדה
ושמעו עגומים / למלאך רחמים
מן המרומים / קול הצעדה
ככה יבשר / עם קץ במאסר
,ויד צר ומוסר / עליו כבדה
,וסערה עניה, / דמתה אניה
תשמע שניה / מזמור לתודה
צאי, בת אמוני, / מאפל ענני
(HaShira 506-510) כי כבוד אדני / עליך זרח

מי יתנני

מי יתנני / כפר לעפר ישקני
צופי וייני / מבין שני שפתות שני

את-שעשועי / אזכר וטוב ירחי קדם
 עת בין זרועי / היה אחי שמש דרם
 מפיו גביעי / אמצה בדולח עם אדם
 בינו וביני / יד אהבה תסעדני
 ותחברני / אליו ולא תחטיאני
 עשק לבבי / עלי חמסי לא עליו
 עת רב כאבי / יום רחקי מאהליו
 ויפגעה בי / אולי ישיבני אליו
 וימשכני / חוט מזמן זר יורני
 בי ישטמני / דרכי פרידה יורני
 ים סוף ידידי / מול ים דמעני כצות
 כי על-כבדי / עיני בלי רהמניות
 מיום צעדי / דרכו ארצות נכריות
 עוני בעיני / יתן לפני ים שני
 פן ישטפני / אפחד, ואין מי ימשני
 אשכח בדויד / כל-זאת ואזכר טובותי
 לתת כרביד / על-מהלליו שירותי
 אגער במככיד / אבלי וארבה צבאותי
 אשכיר אזני / מדם זמן ישכירני
 ולגרשני / נכר, ולא יכירני
 יונה תקנן / בין ההדם בי תתבונן
 עת שיר אשנן / או על-זמני אתאונן
 קולה תחנן / אלי כעלמה תתרונון
 באן סידי באני / אלקרדש תנתבאן
 דשת אלזמאן / בן כלוד בן אלדיאן (Diwan Judah Halevi 89-91)

התרדף נערות אחר חמשים

התרדף נערות אחר חמשים
 וימיך להתעופף חמשים
 ותברח מעבדת האלהים
 ותכסף אל עבדת האנשים
 ותדרש את פני רבים- ותטש
 פני אחד לכל חפץ דרושים
 ותעצל להצטיד לדרכך
 ותמכר חלקך בנזיד עדשים
 הלא אמרה לך עוד נפשך הון
 ותאותה תבכר לחדשים
 נטה מעל עצתה אל עצת אל
 וסור מעל חמשת הרגשים
 והתרצה ליוצרך ביתר
 ימותיך אשר אצים וחשים
 ואל תדרש בלב ולב רצונו
 ואל תלך לך לקראת נחשים
 היה לעשות רצונו עז כנמר

וקל כצבי וגבור כלישים
ואל ימוט בלב ימים לבבך
והרים תחזה מטים ומשים
ומלחים ידיהם כמלחים
וחכמי החרשים מחרישים
שמחים הולכים נכה פניהם
ושבים אל אחוריהם ובושים
ואקינסו לפניך למנוס
ואין מברח לך כי אם יקושים
וימוטו וינוטו קלעים
וינועו ויזועו קרשים
ויד רוח מצחקת במים
כנושאי העמרים בדישים
ופעם תעשה מהם גרנות
ופעם תעשה מהם גדישים
בעת התגברם דמו אריות
ועת החלשם דמו נחשים
וראשונים דלקום אחרונים
כצפעונים ואין להם לחשים
וצי אדיר כקט יפל באדיר
והתרן והנס נחלשים
והתבה וקניה נבכים
כתחתים שנים פשלישים
ומשכי החבלים – בחבלים
ונשים ואנשים – נאנשים
ורוח חבלה מחבליהם
וקצו הגויות בנפשים
ואין יתרון לחזק התרנים
ואין חמדה לתחבולת ישישים
ונחשבו לקש תרני ארזים
ונהפכו לקנים הברושים
ונטל חול בגב הים כתבן
וברזלי אדנים כחששים
ועם יתפללו כל איש לקדשו
ואת פונה לקדש הקדשים
ותזכר מפלאות ים-סוף וירדן
אשר על כל-לבבות הם חרושים
תשבח למשביח שאון ים
בעת שיגרשו מימיו רפשים
ותזכר-לו זכות לבות טמאים
ויזכר-לך זכות אבות קדושים
יחדש נוראותיו כי תחדש
לפניו שיר מחול מחלים ומושים
וישיב הנשמות לפגרים
ויחיו העצמים היבשים
ורגע ישתקו גלים וידמו

עדרים על פני ארץ נטושים
והליל – כבוא שמש במעלות
צבא מרום ועליו שר חמשים
ככושית משבצות זהב לבושה
וכתכלת במלאת גבישים
וכוכבים בלב הים נבוכים
כגרים ממעוניהם גרושים
וכדמותם בצלמם יעשו אור
בלב הים כלהבות ואשים
פני מים ושמים עדיים
עלי ליל מטהרים לטושים
וים דומה לרקיע בעינו
שניהם אז שני ימים חבושים
ובינותם לבבי ים שלישי
(*Diwan Judah Halevi 160-163*) בשוא גלי שבחי החדשים

הבא מבול ושם תבל חרבה

הבא מבול ושם תבל חרבה? / ואין לראות פני ארץ חרבה
ואין אדם ואין חיה ואין עוף- / הסף הכל ושכבו מעצבה
ובראות הר ושןחה לי מנוחה, / וארץ הערבה לי ערבה
ואשגיה לכל עבר-ואין כל, / אבל מים ושמים ותבה
ולויתן בהרתיחו מצולה, / ואחשב כי תהום יחשב לשיבה
ולב הים יכחש באניה, / כאלו היא ביד הים גנבה
(*HaShira 506*) וים יזעף-ונפשי תעלז, כי / אלי מקדש אלהיה קרבה

זה רוחך

זה רוחך, צד מערב, רקוח / הנרד בכנפיו והתפוח
מאוצרות הרוכלים מוצאך / כי אינך מאוצרות הרוח
כנפי דרור תניף ותקרא לו דרור / וכמר-דרור מן הצרור לקוח
מה נכספו לך עם, אשר בגלך / רכבו בגב הים עלי גב לוח
אל נא תרפה ירך מן האני / כי יחנה הים וכי יפוח
ורקע תהום וקרע לבב ימים, וגע / אל הררי קדש ושם תנוח
וגער בקדים המסער ים עדי / ישים לבב הים כסיר נפוח
מה יעשה אסור ביד הצור אשר / כעם יהי עצור, ועת שלוח
(*HaShira 504*) אך סוד שאלתי ביד מרום, והוא / יוצר הרים ובורא רוח

Chapter 4: Marian Maritime Miracles and Alfonso X's Imagined Mediterranean Empire:
Shipwrecks, Storms and Pirates in the *Cantigas de Santa María*

Poems from the *Cantigas de Santa María*²²²

CSM 5

ESTA É COMO SANTA MARIA AJUOU A EMPERADRIZ DE ROMA
A SOFRE-LAS GRANDES COITAS PER QUE PASSOU

*Quenas coitas deste mundo ben quiser soffrer,
Santa Maria deve sempr' ante si pøer.*

E desto vos quer' eu óra contar, segund' a letra diz,
un mui gran miragre que fazer quis pola Emperadriz
de Roma, segund' eu contar oý, per nome Beatriz,
Santa Maria, a Madre de Deus, ond' este cantar fiz,
que a guardou do mundo, que lle foi mal joyz,
e do demo que, por tentar, a cuidou vencer.
Quenas coitas deste mundo ben quiser soffrer...

Esta dona, de que vos disse ja, foi dun Emperador
moller; mas pero del nome non sei, foi de Roma sennor
e, per quant' eu de seu feit' aprendi, foi de mui gran valor.
Mas a dona tant' era fremosa, que foi das belas flor
e servidor de Deus e de sa lei amador,
e soube Santa María mais d' al ben querer.
Quenas coitas deste mundo ben quiser soffrer...

Aquest' Emperador a sa moller queria mui gran ben,
e ela outrossi a el amava mais que outra ren;
mas por servir Deus o Emperador, com' ome de bon sen,
cruzou-ss' e passou o mar e foi romeu a Jerusalem.
Mas, quando moveu de Roma por passar alen,
leixou seu irmão e fez i gran séu prazer.
Quenas coitas deste mundo ben quiser soffrer...

Quando ss'ouv' a ir o Emperador, aquel irmão seu,
de que vos ja diss', a sa mollér a Emperadriz o deu,
dizend': "Este meu irmão receb' oi mais por fillo meu,
e vos seede-ll' en logar de madre poren, vos rogu' eu,
e de o castigardes ben non vos seja greu;
en esto me podedes mui grand' amor fazer."
Quenas coitas deste mundo ben quiser soffrer...

²²² Source: *Cantigas de Santa María*. Ed. Walter Mettmann. 3 vols. Madrid: Castalia, 1986.

Depoi-lo Emperador se foi. A mui pouca de sazón
catou seu irmão a sa moller e namorou-s' enton
dela, e disse-lle que a amava mui de coração;
mai-la santa dona, quando ll' oiuzer tal trayçon,
en hũa torre o meteu en mui gran prijon,
jurando muyto que o faria y morrer.
Quenas coitas deste mundo ben quiser soffrer...

O Emperador dous anos e meio en Acre morou
e tod' a terra de Jerussalên muitas vezes andou;
e pois que tod' est' ouve feito, pera Roma se tornou;
mas ante que d'Ultramar se partisse, mandad' enviou
a sa moller, e ela logo soltar mandou
o seu irmão mui falsso, que a foy traer.
Quenas coitas deste mundo ben quiser soffrer...

Quando o irmão do Emperador de prijon sayu,
barva non fez nen cercêou cabelos, e mal se vestiu;
a seu irmão foi e da Emperadriz non s'espeditu;
mas o Emperador, quando o atán mal parado vyu,
preguntou-lli que fora, e el lle recodyu:
"En poridade vos quér' eu aquesto dizer."
Quenas coitas deste mundo ben quiser soffrer...

Quando foron ambos a hũa parte, fillou-s' a chorar
o irmão do Emperador e muito xe lle queixar
de sa moller, que, porque non quisera con ela errar,
que o fezera porende tan tost' en un carcer deitar.
Quand' o Emperador oiuzer, ouv' en tal pesar,
que se leixou do palaffren en terra caer.
Quenas coitas deste mundo ben quiser soffrer...

Quand' o Emperador de terra s'ergeu, logo, sen mentir,
cavalgou e quanto mais pod' a Roma começou de ss'ir;
e a pouca d'ora viu a Emperadriz a ssi vñir,
e logo que a vyu, mui sannudo a ela leixou-ss' ir
e deu-lle gran punnada no rostro, sen falir,
e mandou-a matar sen a verdade saber.
Quenas coitas deste mundo ben quiser soffrer...

Dous monteiros, a que esto mandou, fillárona des i
e rastrand' a un monte a levaron mui preto dali;
e quando a no monte teveron, faloron ontre si
que jouvéssem con ela per força, segund' eu aprendí.
Mas ela chamando Santa Maria, log' y

chegou un Conde, que lla foy das mãos toller.
Quenas coitas deste mundo ben quiser soffrer...

O Conde, poi-la livrou dos vilãos, disse-lle: “Senner,
dizede-m’ ora quen sodes ou dond’.” Ela respos: “Moller
são mui pobr’ e coitada, e de vósso ben ei mester.”

“Par Deus”, diss’ el Conde, “aqueste rogo farei volonter,
ca mia companneira tal come vos muito quer
que criedes nósso fill’ e facedes crecer.”

Quenas coitas deste mundo ben quiser soffrer...

Pois que o Cond’ aquesto diss’, entôn atan toste, sen al,
a levou consigo aa Condessa e disse-ll’ atal:

“Aquesta moller pera criar nosso fillo muito val,
ca vejo-a mui fremosa, demais, semella-me sen mal;
e poren tenno que seja contra nos leal,
e metamos-lle des oi mais o moç’ en poder.”

Quenas coitas deste mundo ben quiser soffrer...

Pois que a santa dona o fillo do Conde recebeu,
de o criar muit’ apost’ e mui ben muito se trameteu;
mas un irmão que o Cond’ avia, mui fals’ e sandeu,
Pediú-lle seu amor; e porque ela mal llo acolheu,
degolou-ll’ o meninno ùa noit’ e meteu
ll’ o cuitelo na mão pola fazer perder.

Quenas coitas deste mundo ben quiser soffrer...

Pois desta guisa pres mort’ o menyo, como vos dit’ ei,
a santa dona, que o sentiu morto, diss’: “Ai, que farei?”
O Cond’ e a Condessa lle disseron: “Que ás?” Diz: “Eu ey
pensar e coita por méu criado, que ora mort’ achey.”

Diss’ o irmão do Conde: “Eu o vingarey
de ti, que o matar foste por nos cofonder.”

Quenas coitas deste mundo ben quiser soffrer...

Pois a dona foi ferida mal daquel, peor que tafur,
e non vïa quen lla das mãos sacasse de nenllur
senôn a Condessa, que lla fillou, mas esto muit’ adur;
ũus dizian: “Quéimena!” e outros: “Moirá con segur!”

Mas poi-la deron a un marẽiro de Sur,
que a fizesse mui longe no mar somerger.

Quenas coitas deste mundo ben quiser soffrer...

O marẽiro, poi-la na barca meteu, ben come fol
disse-lle que fizesse seu talan, e seria sa prol;
mas ela diss’ enton: “Santa Maraa, de mi non te dol,

nenho teu Fillo de mi non se nembra, como fazer sol?”

Enton vëo voz de ceo, que lle disse: “Tol
tas mãos dela, se non, farey-te perecer.”

Quenas coitas deste mundo ben quiser soffrer...

Os marñeiros disseron enton: “Pois est’ a Deus non praz,
leixemo-la sobr’ aquesta pena, u pod’ aver assaz
de coita e d’ affan e pois mórte, u outra ren non jaz,
ca, se o non fezermos, en mal ponto vimos seu solaz.

E pois foy feyto, o mar nona leixou en paz,
ante a vëo con grandes ondas combater.

Quenas coitas deste mundo ben quiser soffrer...

A Emperadriz, que non vos era de coraçon rafez,
Com’ aquela que tanto mal sofrera e non hũa vez,
tornou, con coita do mar e de fame, negra come pez;
mas en dormindo a Madre de Deus direi-vos que lle fez:
tolleu-ll’ a fam’ e deu-ll’ hũa erva de tal prez,
con que podesse os gaffos todos guarecer.

Quenas coitas deste mundo ben quiser soffrer...

A santa dona, pois que s’ espertou, non sentiu null’ afan
nen fame, come se sempr’ ouvesse comudo carn’ e pan;
e a erva achou so sa cabeça e disse de pran:

“Madre de Deus, bñeitos son os que en ti fyuzan,
ca na ta gran mercee nunca falecerán
enquanto a souberen guardar e agradecer.”

Quenas coitas deste mundo ben quiser soffrer...

Dizend’ aquesto, a Emperadriz, muit’ amiga de Deus,
viu vñir hũa nave preto de si, chũa de romeus,
de bõa gente, que non avia iymouros nen judeus.

Pois chegaron, rogou-lles muito chorando dos ollos seus,
dizendo: “Levade-me vosc’, ay, amigos meus!”

E eles logo consigo a foron coller.

Quenas coitas deste mundo ben quiser soffrer...

Pois a nav’ u a Emperadriz ía aportou na foz
de Roma, logo baixaron a vea, chamando: “Ayoz.”
E o maestre da nave diss’ a un seu ome: “Vai, coz
Carn’ e pescado do méu aver, que te non cost’ hũa noz.”

E a Emperadriz guariu un gaf’, e a voz
foy end’, e muitos gafos fezeron ss’ y trager.

Quenas coitas deste mundo ben quiser soffrer...

Ontr’ os gafos que a dona guariu, que foron mais ca mil,

foi guarecer o irmão de Conde eno mes d'abril;
mas ant' ouv' el a dizer seu pecado, que fez come vil.
Enton a Condessa e el Conde changian a gentil
dona, que perderan por trayçon mui sotil
que ll' aquel gaffo traedor fora bastecer.
Quenas coitas deste mundo ben quiser soffrer...

Muitos gafos são a Emperadriz en aquele mes;
mas de grand' algo que poren lle davan ela ren non pres,
mas andou en muitas romarias, e depois ben a tres
meses entrou na cidade de Roma, u er' o cortes
Emperador, que a chamou e disso-lle: "Ves?
Guari-m' est' irmão gaff", e dar-ch-ei grand' aver."
Quenas coitas deste mundo ben quiser soffrer...

A dona diss' ao Emperador: "Voss' irmão guarrá;
mas ante que eu en el faça ren, seus pecados dirá
ant' o Apostolig' e ante vos, como os feitos á."
E pois foi feito, o Emperador dis': "Ai Deus, que será?
Nunca maior trayçon desta om' oyrá."
E con pesar seus panos se fillou a romper.
Quenas coitas deste mundo ben quiser soffrer...

A Emperadriz fillou-s' a chorar e diss': "A mi non nuz
en vos saberdes que soon essa, par Deus de vera cruz,
a que vos fezestes atan gran torto, com' agor' aduz
voss' irmão a mãefesto, tan feo come estruz;
mas des oi mais a Santa Maria, que é luz,
quero servir, que me nunca á de falecer."
Quenas coitas deste mundo ben quiser soffrer...

Per nulla ren que ll' o Emperador dissesse, nunca quis
a dona tornar a el; ante lle disse que fosse fis
que ao segre non ficaria nunca, par San Dení,
nen ar vestiria pano de seda nen pena de gris,
mas hũa céla faría d' obra de Paris,
u se metesse por mais o mund' avorrecer.
Quenas coitas deste mundo ben quiser soffrer...

CSM 26

ESTA É COMO SANTA MARIA JUIGOU A ALMA DO ROMEU QUE YA
A SANTIAGO, QUE SSE MATOU NA CARREIRA POR ENGANO DO
DIABO, QUE TORNASS' AO CORPO E FEZESSE PËEDENÇA.

*Non é gran cousa se sabe / bon joyzo dar
A Madre do que o mundo | tod' á de joigar.*

Mui gran razon é que sábia dereito
que Deus troux' en seu corp' e de seu peito
mamentou, e del despetio
nunca foi fillar;
poren de sen me sospeito
que a quis avondar.

Non é gran cousa se sabe / bon joyzo dar...

Sobr' esto, se m; oissedes, diria
dun joyzo que deu Santa Maria
por un que cad' ano ya,
com' oý contar,
a San Jam' en romaria,
porque se foi mata.

Non é gran cousa se sabe / bon joyzo dar

Este romeu con bõa voontade
ya a Santiago de verdade;
pero desto fez maldade
que ant' albergar
foi con moller sen bondade,
sen con ela casar.

Non é gran cousa se sabe / bon joyzo dar

Pois esto fez, meteu-ss' ao camño,
e non sse mãefestou o mesqño;
e o demo mui festño
se le foi mostrar
mais branco que un armño,
polo tost; enganar

Non é gran cousa se sabe / bon joyzo dar

Semellança fillou de Santiago
e disse: "Macar m' eu de ti despago,
a salvaçon eu cha trago
do que fust' errar,
por que non cáias no lago
d' iferno, sen dultar.

Non é gran cousa se sabe / bon joyzo dar

Mas ante farás esto que te digo,
se sabor ás de ser meu amigo:
talla o que trages tigo

que te foi deytar
en poder de ãemigo,
e vai-te degolar.”

Non é gran cousa se sabe / bon joyzo dar

O romeu, que ssen dovida cuidava
que Santiag’ aquilo lle mandava,
quanto lle mandou tallava;
poi-lo foi tallar,
log’ enton se degolava,
cuidando be obrar.

Non é gran cousa se sabe / bon joyzo dar

Seus companheiros, poi-lo mort’ acharon,
por non lles apõer que o mataron,
foron-ss’; e logo chegaron
a alma tomar
demões, que a levaron
mui taste sen tardar.

Non é gran cousa se sabe / bon joyzo dar

E u passavan ant’ hũa capela
de San Pedro, muit’ aposta e bela,
San James de Conpostela
dela foi travar,
dizend’: “Ai, falss’ alcavela,
non podedes levar

Non é gran cousa se sabe / bon joyzo dar

A alma do meu romeu que fillastes,
ca por razon de mi o enganastes;
gran traixon y penssastes,
e, se Deus m’ anpar,
pois falssament’ a gãastes,
non vos pode durara.”

Non é gran cousa se sabe / bon joyzo dar

Responderon os demões louçãos:
“Cuja est’ alma foi fez feitos vãos,
por que somos ben certãos
que non dev’ entrar
ante Deus, pois con sas mãos
se fõi desperentar.”

Non é gran cousa se sabe / bon joyzo dar

Santiago diss’: “Atanto façamos:

pois nos e vos est' assi rezoamos,
ao joyzo vaamos
da que no á par,
e o que julgar façamos
logo se alongar.”

Non é gran cousa se sabe / bon joyzo dar

Log' ante Santa Maria veerons
e rezoaron quanto mais poderon.
Dela tal joiz' ouveron:
que fosse tornar
a alma onde a trouxeron,
por se depois salvar.

Non é gran cousa se sabe / bon joyzo dar

Este joyzo logo foi comprido,
e o romeu morto foi resorgido,
de que foi pois Deus servido;
mas nunca cobrar
pod' o de que foi falido,
con que fora pecar.

Non é gran cousa se sabe / bon joyzo dar

CSM 112

COMO SANTA MARIA GUARDOU HÛA NAVE QUE YA CARREGADA
DE TRIIGO QUE NON PEREÇESSE, E SACÓ-A EN SALVO AO PORTO.

*Nas coitas devemos chamar
a Virgen, estrela do mar.*

Esta é Santa Maria,
que aos seus noit' e dia
guarda de mal e os guia,
pois se lle van encomendar.
Nas coitas devemos chamar...

Como fez hũa vegada
dũa nav' encarregada
de trigo e de cevada
de Colliure, que foi guardar,
Nas coitas devemos chamar

Que ouvera pereçuda
seer de tod' e perduda,

senon pela ssa ajuda,
que a quis en salvo guiar.
Nas coitas devemos chamar

Ca ouvera tal tormenta
que de millas setaenta
correra ou o[i]taenta,
querendo-ss'a nav' afondar.
Nas coitas devemos chamar

Ca o masto foi britado
e o temon pecejado,
e os da nave sen grado
sayron en por escapar
Nas coitas devemos chamar

En un batel a gran pãa,
ca viron a nave chãa
d' agua volta con arãa
e aquel pan todo mollar
Nas coitas devemos chamar

Esto foy cousa muy certa,
ca a nav' era aberta;
e porende gran [d]' oferta
prometeron enton de dar
Nas coitas devemos chamar

Aa Virgen, que rogasse
seu Fill' e que lles guardasse
seu pan e que os sacasse
en salvo sen perda filla.
Nas coitas devemos chamar

Enton mui toste remaron
e da nave s' alongaron,
e ao porto chegaron,
u a viron sãa estar.
Nas coitas devemos chamar

E viron seu pan eixuto,
por que fezeran ja luito;
e a Virgen poren muito
começaron log' a loar
Nas coitas devemos chamar

CSM 358

COMO SANTA MARIA DO PORTO MOSTROU PER SA VERTUDE
UN LOGAR U JAZIAM MUITOS CANTOS LAVRADOS,
QUE METERON ENA SA YGREJA

*A que ás cousas coitadas | d'ajudar muit' é tẽuda,
non vos é gran maravilla | se x'ela a si ajuda.*

Desto fezo eno Porto | que de seu nom' é chamado
gran miragr' a Groriosa, | que será per min contado,
no lavor da sa ygreja | que faziam per mandado
de Don Affonso que éste | seu rey, cousa é sabuda.
A que ás cousas coitadas | d'ajudar muit' é tẽuda...

Ali omẽes lavravam | cada dia ben quinnentos
e tragiã muitas pedras | pera fazer fundamentos;
mas or mar foi mui torvado | un tempo per grandes ventos,
que a mẽors pedra delas | non podía seer movuda
A que ás cousas coitadas | d'ajudar muit' é tẽuda...

Per barcas nen per engen[n]os, | nen per arte nen per manna.
Enton diss' a maestr' Ali | un ome de sa conpanna:
“Eu vos mostrarei un canto | dũa medida tamanna
que, se muitos end' ouverdes, | a lavor sera creçuda
A que ás cousas coitadas | d'ajudar muit' é tẽuda...

Mui tost': ” E log' amostrous-llo | e sacárono do findo
de terra; e pois lo viron | quadrado, ca non redondo,
cavaron, e d'outros taes | acharon tan grand' avondo,
per que a lavor mui toste | foi mui de longe veuda
A que ás cousas coitadas | d'ajudar muit' é tẽuda...

Pois maestr' Ali viu esto, | empero que x'era mouro,
entendeu que ben guardadas | tevera com' en tesouro
a Virgen aquelas pedras | que tan preçadas com' ouro
foran pera lavar tost | e mais ca pedra mẽuda.
A que ás cousas coitadas | d'ajudar muit' é tẽuda...

Enton, quando todos viron | que assi foran achados
aqueles cantos so terra, | grandes e mui ben quadrados,
por que a lavor foi feita | tost' e os muros yguados
e as torres acabadas, | est' é cousa connoçuda,
A que ás cousas coitadas | d'ajudar muit' é tẽuda...

COMO SANTA MARIA DO PORTO GUARDOU .XXX. OMEES QUE
CAVAVAN TERRA PERA SA YGREJA, E CAEU ÛA TORRE SOBR'
ELES E NON LLES ENPEEÇEU.

*Quem por serciço da Virgen | mete seu corp' en ventura,
de tod' ocajon o guarda, | ca é Sennor de mesura.*

Desto direo un miragre | que eno gran Port' avéo
que chamam da Groriosa, | que cabo do Mar Terréo
éste e cabo do Grande, | que ten a terra no séo
e cerca todo o mundo, | segun diz a escritura.
Quen por serciço da Virgen | mete seu corp' en ventura...

Ali faziam eygreja | en que lavrava gran gente
pera esta Sen[n]or santa, | todos de mui bõa mente;
e fazian fundamentos | fondos, per que mais tẽente
foss' a obra e mais firme, | todo de pedra mui dura.
Quen por serciço da Virgen | mete seu corp' en ventura...

E aviana tan fonda | feita, que quena ben visse
cuidaria que null' ome | per ren dela non saysse
se dentr' en ela caesse, | mais que tan toste fïisse,
ca o logar era fondo | muit' e cova escura.
Quen por serciço da Virgen | mete seu corp' en ventura...

Ali jazian cavando | un dia triinta obreiros
so esquina dũa torre, | por gaannar seus dinneiros;
e a torre, que estava | posta sobre terronteiros,
leixou-sse caer sobr' eles. | Mais non ouveron en cura;
Quen por serciço da Virgen | mete seu corp' en ventura...

Ca a Virgen gloriosa, | en cujo serviço estavam
lavrando na sa ygreja, | en que de grado lavravan,
guardó-os enton de guisa | que niun mal non fillavan
en niun nenbro do corpo | nen sol ena conjuntura.
Quen por serciço da Virgen | mete seu corp' en ventura...

Ante ficaron tan sãos |ben como quando' i entraram
[.....]
[.....]
[.....]
[.....]

E sse ante ben lavravam, | mui mellor depois lavraron,

assi que en pouco tempo | a eigreja acabaron
mui fremoso e mui forte, | tal que quantos la cataron
disseron que non avia | tal en tod' Estremadura.
Quen por serciço da Virgen | mete seu corp' en ventura...

CSM 371

[C]OMO SANTA MARIA DO PORTO GUARIU ÛA MOLLER
QUE PERIGOARA DÛA PINAÇA E CAERA NO MAR

*Tantos vay Santa María | eno sey Porto fazer
de miragres, que trobando | non poss' os mēos dizer.*

Pero direi un daqueles | que pouco temp' á que fez
mui grande e mui fremoso | esta Reyn[n]a de prez
en Barrameda, que éste | muit' a preto de Xerez;
e polo mellor saberdes, | oyde-mio a lezer:
Tantos vay Santa María | eno sey Porto fazer...

Quand[o] el Rey Don Affonso | pobrava aquel logar
do Porto da Santa Virgen | e fezera ja lavar
a ygreja, e vëera | y de Sevilla per mar
por ver como pobravan | e aver ende prazer,
Tantos vay Santa María | eno sey Porto fazer...

Muitas gentes y viinan | a aquel logar enton,
os ùus en romaria, | avend' i gran devoçon,
os outros pera pobrarem | e por averen quinnon
das herdades que partissem, | e aver ende prazer,
Tantos vay Santa María | eno sey Porto fazer...

Outros viinnan per lavraren | e gãar y seu jornal
que lles davan por vritaren | pedra ou por fazer cal
ou por lavar na ygreja | da Sennor espirital;
e poren de muitas partes | viinnam y guareçer.
Tantos vay Santa María | eno sey Porto fazer...

Porem per mar e per terra | punnavam y de vñr
muitos e de longas terras, | e por quant' yam oyr
que os mortos resurgia | e os doentes guarir
fazir ali a Virgen, | e yam-no y veer.
Tantos vay Santa María | eno sey Porto fazer...

Onde foi que de Sevilla | hũa pinaça chegou
carregada de farinna, | e d'omees y entrou

compaña e de molleres, | e tanto sse carregou
que feriu en ñas penas | e ouve de perecer,
Tantos vay Santa María / eno sey Porto fazer...

Assi que morreron todos | quantos andavam ali;
mais hũa moller y era | e chamou, segund' oý,
Santa Maria do Porto, | dizendo: “Eu vou a ty;
Porem livra-me de morte | pelo teu muy gram poder.”
Tantos vay Santa María / eno sey Porto fazer...

Quando aquest' ouve dito, | travou logo manamam
dum gram saco de farinna | e deitou-ss' em el de pram
de peytos; e macar era | mui pesado, tornou tam
leve come se da pal[ll]as | fosse por non se merger.
Tantos vay Santa María / eno sey Porto fazer...

Ant' ya sobre la agua | como se fosse un batel,
e ela ençima dele, | chus liviãa que froxel,
chamando: “Santa Maria, | Madre de Deus Manuel.”
Assi chegou a Sam Luchas, | u a foron regeber
Tantos vay Santa María / eno sey Porto fazer...

As gentes aa ribeyra. | E pois que souberon ben
seu feit' em com' escapara, | loaron muito porem
a Madre de Jhesu-Cristo, | que o mund' en poder ten,
e ela foi-ss' a[o] Porto | aa Virgen offerecer.
Tantos vay Santa María / eno sey Porto fazer...

CSM 379

[C]OMO SANTA MARIA DO PORTO SE VENGOU DOS
COS[S]ARIOS DO MAR QUE ROUBAVAN OS OMEES QUE
VIIN[N]AN POBRAR EN AQUELA SA VILA.

*A que defende do demo / as almas dos peccadores,
os seus deffender ben pode | d'omes maos roubadores.*

Dest' avêo no gran Porto | que el Rey pobrar mandava,
que é de Santa Maria, | en que el muito punnava
de fazer y bõa vila; | poren termino lle dava
grande per mar e per terra, ca logar é dos mellores
A que deffende do demo / as almas dos pecadres...

Do mundo pera gran vila | fazer ou mui gran çibdad.
E el Rey de veer esto | avia gran soidade;

poren quanto lle pediam | lle dava de voontade,
en tal que pobrar vëessen | y mui ricos mercadores.
A que deffende do demo / as almas dos pecadres...

E por aquesto sas cartas | lles madava que vëessen
ali salvos e seguros | con quanto trager quisessen,
e que non ouvessen medo, | enquant' ali esteveen,
A que deffende do demo / as almas dos pecadres...

Per omêes de sa terra. | Sobr' esto de muitas partes
viinnam pera pobrarem, | des Jenua te en Charthes
mais lenno[s] de Catalães, | cossarios chêps d'artes,
faziam danos nos portos, | ca desto son sabedores.
A que deffende do demo / as almas dos pecadres...

E roubavan aos moros | que ali per mar querian
vïir, e mutios matavan | deles e muitos prendian;
e neũa reverença | aa Virgen non avian
en cujo termino era, | come omees malfeitores.
A que deffende do demo / as almas dos pecadres...

Onde foi ùa vegada | que ali un salto deron
a mouros que y viinnam, | e a todo-los preserom
e quiseran-s' a ssa terra | tornar-se; mais non poderon,
pero tiinam navios | ligeyros e corredores.
A que deffende do demo / as almas dos pecadres...

Ca a Virgen gloriosa, | cujos son aqueles mares,
fez-lles que see non podessen | mover daqueles logares
du estaban, con mal tenpo, | e todo-los seus chufares
fezo que nada non fossen, macar eran chufadores.
A que deffende do demo / as almas dos pecadres...

Assi que pela tormenta, | que foi grand' a maravilla,
non souberon que fezesen, | senon ir pera Sevilla
a tornar o que fillaran | a pesar de Madr' e Filla
de Deus, a que dessonraran. E daquesto fiadores
A que deffende do demo / as almas dos pecadores...

Deron al Rey en Sevilla; | e depois que entregaron
todo quant' ali fillaram, | en seu serviço ficaron,
ca ja per nulla maneyra | a sas terras non ousaron
tornar daquela vegada. | E desto deron loores
A que deffende do demo / as almas dos pecadres...

Todos quanto-los oyron | aa Virgen gloriosa,

que faz ataes miragres | come Sennor poderosa,
Madre do Rey justiçeyro, | Ca, pero que piados
é, non quer que mal reçeban | per ren os seus pobladores
A que deffende do demo / as almas dos pecadres...

Nen outros que a sa casa | vennis per mar e per terra;
e, empero que os mouros | a vezes lle fazen guerra,
aos que vee coitados | nunca lle-la porta serra
d'acorrer con sa merçee, | que é mayor das mayores.
A que deffende do demo / as almas dos pecadres...