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# NUEVOS OBJETIVOS PARA POEMAS ANTIGUOS: USANDO EL *PIYYÛT* EN EL PROGRAMA "CÁNTICOS Y RAÍCES" (*Širim wĕ-šorâšim*) DE LA ESCUELA PRIMARIA PARA INFUNDIR AMOR A LA PATRIA

# New Objectives for Ancient Poems: Using *piyyût* in the "Songs and Roots" (*Širim wĕ-šorâšim*) Elementary School Program to Instill Love of the Homeland

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**Resumen:** Enseñar amor a la patria es un componente de patriotismo instalado en la educación primaria por medio de un aprendizaje informal, experimental, significativo y lúdico que hace emerger las emociones. Aquí, mostramos cómo el *piyyût* – poesía religiosa judía – puede ser usada para motivar a los estudiantes para que amen a su país y evocar emociones fuertes. Sugerimos que esto puede ser conseguido aprovechando tres características del *piyyût*: la respuesta religiosa; afinidad y familiaridad; y el poder del arte: el uso del discurso figurativo para describir los personajes y acontecimientos a través de la imagen escenográfica, la música y el canto, para crear un aprendizaje de la experiencia que desencadena belleza y alegría. Todo esto se ilustra con ejemplos del programa "Cánticos y Raíces" (*Širim wĕ-šorâšim*) que satisfactoriamente se ha aplicado en los colegios de primaria tanto estatales como religiosos desde 2005.

**Abstract:** Teaching love of the homeland is a component of patriotism instilled in schools primarily through informal, experiential, enjoyable and meaningful learning that elicits the emotions. Here, I show how *piyyût* – religious Jewish poetry – can be used to inspire students to loving their country, and evoke strong emotions. I suggest that this can be done by harnessing three characteristics of *piyyût*: the religious response, affinity and familiarity; and the power of art. This involves the use of figurative speech to describe characters and events through scenic imagery, music and song to create experiential learning sparking beauty and joy. These are illustrated by examples from the "Songs and Roots" (*Širim wĕ-šorâšim*) program that has been successfully applied in Israeli state and state-religious elementary schools since 2005.

**Palabras clave**: Poesía litúrgico-religiosa judía (*piyyût*); patriotismo, amor a la patria, Educación en Israel, Pedagogía "Cánticos y Raíces" (שירים ושורשים).

**Keywords**: Jewish liturgical-religious poetry (*piyyût*); Patriotism, Love of the Homeland, Education in Israel, Pedagogy, "Songs and Roots" (שירים ושורשים).

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## 1. Patriotism and teaching love of the Homeland in the Israeli educational system

Patriotism has been extensively discussed and debated in recent years, together with the issue of whether it should be taught and how, with attitudes ranging from seeing it as one of the best ways to teach values and attitudes[1], on the one hand, to "a non-moral attachment in need of moral scrutiny"[2], on the other. Some Western countries with populations made up of different ethnicities, nationalities and cultures, prompt specific questions as regards the need for patriotic education[3]. Martha Nussbaum among others has argued that patriotic education should be replaced with cosmopolitanism; i.e., teaching about the commonalities between human beings, rather than focusing on national, religious or ethnic uniqueness[4]. However, others argue that patriotism is an integral part of any education[5], that nations that want to preserve their national and local traditions should make these classes part of their educational curricula[6], and that political education is characteristic of divided societies and periods of political transition[7].

This is the case in Israel. The Ministry of Education in the public school system in secular and religious schools[8] prioritizes patriotism, nationalism and common identity formation that emphasizes Jewish-Zionist ideology[9]. Zionism is a classic example of a national narrative, whose purpose is to build and maintain the historical-religious and contemporary connection of the Jewish people to the Jewish land, despite Israel's diverse and heterogeneous population[10]. This is perceived as a necessity, since Jews longed for a homeland for generations in the Diaspora, and this longing for

[1] Gusacov, 2018.
[2] Primoratz, 2008.
[3] Kleinig, Keller, and Primoratz, 2015 in Gusacov, 2019.
[4] Gusacov, 2019: 214 and the bibliography cited there.
[5] Agbaria, 2018.
[6] Gibson, 2019.
[7] Gallagher, 2004.
[8] Israel is a country of immigrants with a highly heterogeneous population, catered to by four different educational systems: Jewish secular (38.8%), Jewish religious (21.8%), Jewish Ultra-Orthodox (13.7%) and Arab (25.6%). See Resh and Blass, 2019: 635.
[9] Sheps, 2019.
[10] Sheps, 2019.

the homeland is still a core component of Judaism, despite the establishment of the State of Israel[11]. Furthermore, since Israel is embroiled in an ongoing conflict, and is exposed to cyclical episodes of violence, it needs patriotic Israeli citizens to ensure its security. The concept of a homeland fulfills a psychological need, in that it provides individuals with the sense of security derived from the feeling that they live in a known and familiar space that enables them to feel belonging[12]. Hence, teaching patriotism helps students construct their self-identity as part of Israel's social and national framework. Research has shown that connecting the younger generations to their roots is a prerequisite for moral development[13]. As a result, the basic tenets of nationalism and patriotism have guided the Israeli-Jewish school curricula since the founding of the State[14].

Since love of one's country and identification with it are part of the definition of patriotism[15], one of the major aims of the Israeli Ministry of Education is to forge students' ties to their cultural background by teaching them not only about their heritage and customs, but also about their homeland[16]. The 1953 educational law stated that "state education should be grounded on love of the homeland and loyalty to the State of Israel and the Jewish people"[17]. Love of the land should be instilled through all possible means, formal and informal education alike[18]. Information about the country can easily be taught through classes such as history, geography, civics and the new subject of "Jewish-Israeli culture" first implemented by the Heritage Department of the Israeli Ministry of Education in 2017. However, how does one teach love of the land? Is it possible to teach emotions? Can the educational system bring children closer to the country and create a bond with it, especially when the stark reality of life casts such

[11] Gusacov, 2019.
[12] Gusacov, 2019.
[13] Ergobek *et al.*, 2014.
[14] Gusacov, 2017.
[15] Primoraz, 2008: 206.
[16] Banach, 2003.
[17] Gusacov, 2018.
[18] Gusacov, 2018.

a cynical light on what is being taught that voices can be heard proclaiming "the love of the Land has ceased to exist"[19]?

In the last decade, new programs for promoting love of the Fatherland have developed[20]. These emphasize the role of experiential, enjoyable and meaningful learning in creating emotions[21], and stress the role of school trips and outdoor educational activities[22], as well as familiarity with the Humanities, especially literature and music[23]. Nevertheless, even today, the religious response to this need remains the strongest[24], although it does not correspond to the values of the majority of the Jewish non-observant public, and tends to be regarded with suspicion when introduced into state schools.

All the parameters mentioned above; namely, devotion, literature, music, and an enjoyable experience, can be found in Jewish liturgical-religious poetry (*piyyût*). This article discusses whether and in what ways the teaching of *piyyût* can serve to instill love for the land. This will be demonstrated using the program called "Songs and Roots" [25] (שירים ושורשים), in which children in secular elementary schools learn to sing liturgical and religious poetry in their original melodies. The following sections briefly present liturgical-religious poetry (2) and the "Songs and Roots" program (3). This is followed by an analysis of the ways in which *piyyût* can be used to teach love of the land in the eschatological circle (4), by creating affinity and familiarity through place names that convey landscapes of nostalgic memory (5), and via the power of art and its possible influence on everyday life (6).

## 2. Liturgical-religious poetry (*Piyyût*)

The word *'piyyût'*, is derived from the Greek word *poietes*, that translates as 'something made, created' and refers to 'poetry' in the sense of any

[19] As presented by representatives of youth movements, during a meeting with Prime Minister Ariel Sharon. See Idan 2002.
[20] Primoratz, 2008; Gusacov, 2017; Miśrad ha-ḥinukh, no date.
[21] Tsameret, 2006.
[22] Gusacov, 2018.
[23] Cohen, 2019; Miśrad ha-ḥinukh, no date, See also Bilotserkivets, 2016; Hebert and Kertz-Welzel, 2016.
[24] Tsameret, 2006; Van Kley, 2008.
[25] Can also be translated as "Poems and Roots".

literary-artistic work that expresses one's experience and emotions through meter and tempo. However, in Jewish culture, the word is used in a restricted sense to refer to liturgical poetry; i.e., poems created to substitute for, adorn, or preface a passage from the Jewish liturgy or a liturgical rite[26]. In the Bible, song and music are considered a valid way to address God in times of trouble as well in times of gratitude and joy. In the Temple, they were enacted by the priestly caste of the Levites. After the destruction of the Second Temple, sacrifices were replaced by prayers that were sung and complemented by liturgical poetry. The earliest *piyyûtim* identified to date go back to the fourth and fifth centuries CE, and were written in Israel and the East. During the Middle Ages *piyyût* became extremely popular and took on distinctive trajectories in medieval Ashkenaz and Sepharad. After the expulsion from Iberia, *piyyûtim* were written throughout the Jewish Diasporas and are still being written today[27].

In their varied surroundings, the Jews were exposed to a wealth of different cultural and musical traditions. This influenced their writing of original poems and the composition of music for poems that became popular in their communities, many of which had been written in previous generations and especially in the tenth-twelfth centuries CE, in the Golden Age of Jewish poetry in Spain, by poets such as Shlomo Ibn Gabirol, Moshe Ibn 'Ezra and Yehudah Halevi. Hence, the same *piyyûtim* were sung to different melodies in different Jewish communities. At times, local tunes were adapted to suit ancient words, and thus, because of the conservativeness of the *piyyût* tradition, have survived to this day.

While at first liturgical poetry replaced statutory prayers and was chanted in the synagogues as part of public prayers, primarily for the High Holidays and *Tisha B'Av*, it was gradually included in the ritual for the Sabbath and festival days, and eventually poets throughout the Jewish world composed *piyyûtim* for almost all liturgical as well as para-liturgical occasions, including marriages and circumcisions. In North Africa and the Middle East mainly from the sixteenth century onwards, *piyyût* covered any type of religious poetry, whether liturgical or para-liturgical as well as poems with a devout content, especially which were sung, whether in the

[26] Hazan, 2010; Lieber, 2011.
[27] Hazan, 2010; Lieber, 2011.

synagogue or at home. This broad meaning of the term often applies in Israel today, and is used in this sense in this article.

Thus, the *Piyyût* is part of an age-old tradition. It is the oldest and the main poetic genre created by the Jewish people, and portrays their cultural wealth and spirit throughout the ages. Religious poetry is regularly used by the observant. In recent years, its circle of users has expanded, and many *piyyûtim* nowadays are on radio hit parades. There are concerts made up entirely of religious poetry; a diverse audience throughout the country learns to chant poetry under the aegis of "Communities Singing *Piyyût*" (קהילות שרות פיוט)[28] and websites that deal with poetry such as the "Website of Piyut and Prayer" (previously "Invitation to Piyyût" – הזמנה לפיוט)[29] attract the general public.

## 3. The "Songs and Roots" program (*Širim wĕ-šorâšim*)

Along with singing liturgical-religious poetry in non-liturgical contexts, the study of *Piyyût* has recently been incorporated into the state educational system in the "Songs and Roots" program (שירים ושורשים), which is designed to teach the Jewish musical heritages of the Jewish Diaspora to children in the third to sixth grades in state and state-religious schools. This program was developed under the initiative and supervision of the Superintendents of the Department of Music and the Department of Jewish Cultural Heritage at the Ministry of Education, in collaboration with "Morasha", the "Rananot" Institute in Jerusalem for authentic Jewish music, and "Communities Singing *piyyût*"[30]. The program was first implemented in elementary schools as a pilot in 2003. Music teachers can choose to use it in their classes according to their own or the school's preferences, and, although it is not compulsory, it has been taught continuously from 2005[31].

[28] Îrgun Qĕhilot Šârot, 2020.

[29] The website began operating in 2005, and has recently been expanded and restructured in cooperation with the National Library of Israel. It contains close to one thousand *piyyûtim*, thousands of recordings and hundreds of essays, categorized according to the yearly cycle, the circle of life and geographic traditions, to preserve and revive the traditions that are thousands of years old. See the background page of the site at The National Library of Israel, 2020.

[30] Kalaf, no date.

[31] Laor, 2015: 24.

The "Songs and Roots" program consists of three textbooks, published in 2005, 2010, 2012[32]. Each book has its own CD. A fourth book was published in 2020 digitally on the website of the Supervision of Musical Education in the Ministry of Education[33]. Each of the three books is divided into chapters (called "gates"), each introducing a different Jewish community, most of which have a rich musical tradition. Altogether, the three books present 22 communities[34]. By contrast, the fourth digital book, is organized into eleven PowerPoint presentations, according to the cycle of Jewish festivals and observances[35]. Each presentation contains links to many different melodies of the *piyyût* or *piyyûtim* studied in it, as performed in different communities.

The books are written for elementary school pupils and include explanations about the music and literary significance of the *piyyûtim*, as well as the traditions associated with each Jewish community and their histories. In addition, the books contain assignments and the musical scores for selected *piyyûtim*, some of which were taken from the National Sound Archives in the Music Department of the National Library. The teachers participating in the program receive guidance from *payĕtânim* – singers of *piyyûtim* – as well as from musicians, lecturers with expertise in the field, and educators. During the course, students meet a *payĕtân* and a musician who sings the *piyyûtim* they learned, teach them to sing a new *piyyût*, tell them about their own traditions and introduce the children to authentic musical instruments, thus intensifying their experience.[36]

Whereas in religious and state-religious schools students are familiar with liturgical poetry from the synagogue and their homes, since it is an

[32] Ḥariṭan *et al.,* 2005; Laor *et al*., 2010; Qelner *et al.,* 2012.

[33] Hapiquaḥ 'al haḥinuk̲ ha-muziqaly, 2018.

[34] The first book (Ḥariṭan et al., 2005) includes Spain-Jerusalem (Jerusalem-Sephardi), Aleppo (Syria), Ethiopia (Beta Israel – the community of Ethiopian Jews), Babylonia (Iraq), Morocco and Germany; the second book (Laor et al., 2010) contains Germany-Poland, Hassidic traditions: Chabad and Braslav, Yemen, Italy, Libya, India (Bombay) and Bukhara, and the third book (Qelner et al., 2012) is devoted to Kurdistan, Lebanon, Turkey, Carlebach, Portugal-Spain, Persia (Iran), Georgia, Tunisia.

[35] Rosh Hashanah, the Day of Atonement (Yom Kippur), Sukkot, Hanukkah, Tu Bishvat, Passover, Holocaust Remembrance Day (Yom HaShoah), Jerusalem Liberation Day Shavuot, and Lag B'Omer.

[36] Shai & K̲alaf, 2010; Laor, 2015: 24-25.

integral part of regular religious observance, the case is different in state-run schools. Until the "Songs and Roots" program, students in state-run educational classes were exposed to the *piyyût* genre only as part of the high school Hebrew literature curriculum (if at all). Out of the 12 poems making up the selection for the Poetry of the Golden Age in Spain (from which teachers only choose four), three are *piyyûtim*. Today, thanks to the "Songs and Roots" program, elementary school pupils learn about 56 *piyyûtim* written over the course of different eras and in different places (see Appendix). The poems in the program were chosen initially on the basis of musical considerations, but later to meet didactic goals.

The explicit goals of the program relate to the study of music but also to cultural heritage. Some of the goals are explicitly patriotic, and aim not only to enrich the pupils' cultural, social and musical environment through singing *piyyût*, but also to strengthen their Jewish identity and to heighten their sense of belonging to the People of Israel. They were designed to connect students to their ancestral heritage, to teach students about other Jewish communities, and to instill Jewish and cultural values through exposure to the language used in *piyyût*, and its usage throughout the annual Jewish life-cycle[37]. Indicative of the complexities of Israeli society, it should come as no surprise that some secular schools have recently argued that because of its focus on Jewish liturgy, this program is a tacit form of religious pressure[38]. However, the children enter the rich world of the *piyyût* through the portal of singing. Religious content is only briefly discussed, and the emphasis is on musical styles that children may be familiar with from their surroundings.

Now that this genre has become part of the school curriculum, it is worth inquiring whether another objective can be achieved: using the *piyyût* in our own time to teach love of the Land of Israel.

[37] Shai & Kalaf, 2010: 81; Ḥariṭan *et al.,* 2005: 7; Laor *et al.,* 2010: 7; Qelner *et al*., 2012: 7.
[38] Ehrlich, 2018: 176.

## 4. The religious response: the eschatological circle and the longing for Zion

Liturgical-religious poetry serves as a voice for congregations as well as for individual prayer. Aside from content connected with the liturgical service, – the prayers and the reading of the Bible (*pârâšâ* and *hâftârah*) – *piyyût* deals with laudation, requests and thanksgiving, all directed to God. The most frequent motif in *piyyûtim* is salvation. The Jewish people, who were forced into exile and wandered in the Diaspora for over 2000 years, have always yearned for their homeland, especially in days of suffering in their dwelling places. This is expressed in the "eschatological circle", a term used to describe the cycle of yearning connecting the Jewish people's past-present-future: longing for the glorious past when there was a kingdom in the land of Israel, mourning over current troubles, subjugation and exile, and longing for redemption – the return to Zion – in the near future. This eschatological circle is found in psalms, such as Psalm 137 ("By the Rivers of Babylon"), which expresses the agony and bitter weeping of those exiled to Babylonia, when they remembered Zion. After the destruction of the Second Temple, this motif was even more widely used, since it was added later to some prayers whose redaction date back to the Second Temple period, such as the *Qadiš*, the Grace said over meals (ברכת המזון), and the blessings said before the prayer of the *Šĕma'* even though, initially, they did not include it. The national theme, and, particularly, making the pilgrimage to Zion and living there, were shared by all Jewish communities alike in exile and went beyond their mere recollection, or presence, in the prayer. The use of such motifs, or rather the lack thereof, became the dominating factor behind the harsh criticism leveled by the Karaite sages at the Rabbanites for forgetting Zion in their places of exile, and in the writings of rabbis themselves. The inclusion of this motif even penetrates secular poetry[39]. However, the most poignant and distinct expressions of the "eschatological circle" were those penned in *piyyût*.

In the liturgical-religious poetry composed throughout the ages, whose provenance can be traced to far-flung places, written in various times by different poets, contemporary events were described in different ways. At times, the *piyyûtim* emphasized the helplessness of the situation, the

[39] Tobi, 2009.

vulnerability and fright of the weak, humiliated congregation of Israel who was held in contempt, subjugated in a foreign land, wholly given over to the mercies of cruel strangers, like a captive dove, or like sheep in the lions' den. At other times, insult was shouted out in defiance of the pain, to the point of expressing explicit resentment and anger at abandonment for being neglected, and for having been forgotten by God. In contrast, in the Ashkenazi *piyyût*, the congregation of Israel is portrayed as assuming responsibility and blame for its situation and having deserved God's judgment. Nevertheless, throughout all the periods of Israel's exile, and throughout the generations, the longing for Israel's past features prominently in liturgical poetry, and therefore became an expression of hope for Israel's redemption and for the return to Zion[40]. These ideas constitute the basic intellectual and emotional components of the *piyyût*, from the liturgical poetry composed in the Land of Israel at the time of Yose ben Yose (fifth-century CE) to the present day.

The poems included in the "Songs and Roots" program are no different in this regard. The eschatological circle and its stages – especially the plea for salvation – are clearly expressed in 21 poems[41], while in 23 others the theme resurfaces in one of the *piyyût*'s stanzas or at its end, although for different reasons. These include a supplication for one's own personal needs[42] for a newborn child or for a groom[43], keeping the commandments on the Sabbath day[44], holidays[45] and the wearing of phylacteries[46], praise of Jerusalem[47] and of God[48]. Exile and redemption are absent in only 12 *piyyûtim*[49]. It can be assumed that the occurrence of this motif, and the sincerity of the emotions evoked with it, penetrate the singer or reader even

[40] As in the Book of Lamentations (5:20–22): "Why do you forget us forever; why do you so long forsake us? Turn us unto you, O Lord, and we shall be turned; renew our days as of old, unless you have utterly rejected us, and are exceedingly angry against us!".
[41] In poems: A-8, 11, 12; B-2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12, 13; C-2, 5, 6, 14; D-1, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9 – all as listed in the Appendix.
[42] A-3, 10; B-11; C-9; D-2.
[43] B-14; C-4, 13.
[44] A-4, 9; B-4; C-8, 10.
[45] A-5; B-15.
[46] C-3.
[47] D-11.
[48] A-7; B-1; C-1, 12; D-4, 5.
[49] A-1, 2, 6; B-3, 10; C-7, 11, 15; D-10, 12, 13, 14.

if unconsciously, thus establishing and reinforcing the ancient bond between the land and the People who longed for it.

## 5. Creating affinity and familiarity: literary geography and landscapes of nostalgic memory

Longing for a homeland is emotional, and its expressions in *piyyût* are designed to elicit the emotions of the congregation. However, emotions are usually evoked with respect to the familiar and the intimate, whereas the Land of Israel was the land of the ancestors, was unattainable and known only from the scriptures for most poets and worshippers. Below, I discuss how familiarity and affinity were created in *piyyût* by the use of literary geography and nostalgia, but without describing the landscapes themselves. This was accomplished through the power of names (5.1), the absence of landscapes (5.2), and landscapes of nostalgic memory (5.3).

### 5.1 The Power of Names

The naming of places, whether landforms, villages or cities, is a cultural phenomenon that turns a space into a known, meaningful, denotative and connotative "place of our own" and dates back to the earliest of times. Place names function as repositories of socio-political meaning, since in naming a place, spatial meanings are negotiated and contested in ways that support contrasting political objectives. Hence, place names serve as a tool for educating children and young people about their ancestral past, language, and places on the land that have sustained them for generations[50].

The mention of settlements in the Land of Israel and especially Jerusalem and her variant appellations is a well-known motif in Hebrew religious poetry. As far back as the early Eastern *piyyût* composed in the Land of Israel, there are poems that rhyme the names of the places where the 24 priestly divisions lived, name the places settled by the Transjordanian Hebrew tribes, and even name the geographic boundaries of the Land of Israel[51]. With the advent of Kabbalah, places in the Galilee are mentioned, mainly in poetry written in North Africa and the Middle

[50] Heikkila, 2007; Nash, Lewis and Griffin, 2009.
[51] Safrai, 1995: 184.

East[52]. The names of the places in the poems are all taken from the Bible and the writing of the Sages, and are considered to be literary-poetical geography, in contrast to conventional-accepted (real) geography. There are at times affinities between these place names and conventional-accepted "real" geography[53], and some poems were written as a result of contact and refer to the real places in Israel of their era[54]. However, most places mentioned in liturgical-religious poetry are not necessarily real, nor do they testify to the writers' acquaintance with them. They are all parts of the Holy Land and as such, take on a holiness and a life of their own, beyond their geographic meaning[55]. Moreover, simply naming sites and settlements manifests ownership of the land and emphasizes the link to it, even though not every site mentioned is of great importance in itself, and is merely mentioned as a synecdoche embodying the country as a whole.

A review of the toponyms in the 56 poems taught in the program reveals that multiple designations are used for place names in the Land of Israel. The Temple is mentioned in 23 poems with the following descriptions: "Temple", (מקדש), "Holy Temple" "King's Temple" (an allusion to Amos 7:13), "Celestial Abode" (זבול), "My Fort" (מבצרי) and "Palanquin castle" (טירת אפיריון), "Palace" (היכל), "House" (בית), "House of the Mount of myrrh" (an allusion to Song of Songs 4: 6), "Our glorious House" (an allusion to Isaiah 64:10), "House of the Lord", "House of my Splendor" (בית הודי), "The Holy House", "The Courts of God's House" (חצרות בית ה'), and "The Courts of the Holy House" (an allusion to Psalms 30:3; 116:19, among others), "Holy of Holies" (קודש קודשין, as well as דביר), "Tabernacle" (סוכה – an allusion to Psalms 5:5), "Haven" (נווה), "Palanquin's Haven", "Hall" (אולם) "The Tent of Congregation" (אהל מועד), "footstool" (הדום), "altar" (הראל) and others[56]. Zion is mentioned in 14 liturgical poems with varied designations: "Zion" (ציון), "City of Zion", "Daughter of Zion" "Zion, Dwelling Place of your Glory", "Israel", "Your land", "Their land", "Our Land", "Land of my Sanctification" "Pleasant and Good Land" ( ארץ

[52] Hazan, 1985: 38; Rozenson, 2009.
[53] Rozenson, 2009: 188.
[54] Hazan, 1985: 37.
[55] Safrai, 1995, p. 185.
[56] A-4, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12; B-1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 13, 14, C-5, 6, 14; D-3, 4, 6, 8, 11, 12.

חמדה טובה) "Land of the Doe" (ארץ צביה) and "Inheritance" (נחלה)[57]. Jerusalem is mentioned in 13 poems, either by its given name or by others, such as: "The City" (עיר), "Royal City", "Bereaved City" (קריה שכולה), "Holy City", "City of God" (עיר יה), "City of David", "Ariel", "Ahala and Ahaliva" and even "Samarkand" (a city in central Asia known for its wealth and beauty)[58], and a whole poem is dedicated to saying its praise[59]. These poems mention names of other cities in Israel, such as Yavne, Zippori, Tiberias, Mahanayim, Efrat, Beit-El and Naharaim[60], and the mountains Moriah, the Temple Mount (הר הבית), Hermon and Tabor[61]. The borders of the country are mentioned, through expressions such as: "and your sons shall return to your own border" (an allusion to Jeremiah 31:16), or "and you shall spread out to the right and left" (an allusion to Isaiah 54:3), in addition to references mentioning the routes that lead to the country, such as "Clear ye! Clear ye, the trodden path" (based on Isaiah 62:10)[62]. Countries of exile from which the dispersed will ascend to the Land of Israel are also mentioned, such as Iraq, under its epithet "Babylon", as well as "Basra", and "Egypt", and "Rabbah of the Ammonites" (an allusion to Jeremiah 49:2; Ezekiel 21:25)[63]. All these names testify to the centrality of the Land of Israel and its sites in poetry, and metaphorically "conquer" the Land and the return to its holy sites.

### 5.2 The Absence of Landscapes

Knowing the landscapes of a country is important to create affinity and serves as an essential tool in forging connections between the student and the land[64]. This is not found in *piyyût*, for although both the longing for one's native land and the explicit naming of places in it show a clear predilection for Zion, they do not "depict" a site of natural beauty, a panorama, or a continuous view of the surrounding environment. Rather,

[57] A-4, 5, 12, B-5, 6, 13, C-2, 4, 5, 6; D-1, 4, 8, 11.
[58] A-8, B-1, 4, 5, 6, 11, C-2, 14; D-2, 3, 8, 11, 12.
[59] D-11 and see Hazan, 1985: 41-42.
[60] D-8, 11.
[61] B-9, 11; C-14; D-11.
[62] A-8, B-4; D-6, 8, 9.
[63] A-8, 9; B-9, 15; D-4, and especially 8, 9.
[64] Tsameret, 2006.

the places mentioned remain only "names", without exploiting the 'landscape potential' embodied in them by depictions that would reveal and interpret these sites to the readers. This is a feature of all the poems utilized in the "Songs and Roots" program: the most that a *payĕtân* does is to expand the name of a place mentioned, by adding adjectives, such as "the pleasant and good land", "Jerusalem the beautiful city", or "[Jerusalem] the bereaved city"[65]. However, this lacks the descriptive element that generates perceptible mental imagery of landscapes people can relate to, or conjures up real images of them.

The paucity of descriptions of the land and its scenery in religious poetry is even more apparent given the predominance of pictorial description in secular poetry. The "poems of nature" composed by the Spanish poets depict the landscapes of the gardens and bring to life the aromatic fragrance of flowers, their shapes and hues, the pristine order of the flowerbeds and the species of trees planted there with their many-branched foliage; the sounds made by birds cooing in the boughs of the trees and the trickle of water in the water channels. In the genre of *ḥaneen* poetry (poems of longing), Moses ibn Ezra who exiled to the lands of Christendom in northern Spain, mourns his situation and expresses a longing for his birthplace in the Islamic-held region, by describing scenes of the south. It is only in *piyyût* that the Land of Israel remains simply a landmark, without the completeness of scenic descriptions.

This void is hard to understand. One possible explanation is that the differences in thematic emphasis in these poems derives from differences in level of acquaintance of their authors with the landscapes they described: the gardens and the Andalusian landscapes were part of daily life, while Zion and Jerusalem were but a distant dream for them, a place most people had never been. However, this argument can easily be refuted, given the fact that the poets of Spain described not only garden scenes and the forests of Europe, but also desert scenes without ever having set eyes upon them – only because this was customary in Arabic poetry they had been influenced by, or as a symbol of their exile from Muslim lands to Christendom. More strikingly, even the poets who had visited or even lived in the Land of Israel did not describe its landscapes. This may be likened to the fact that pilgrims

[65] A-12, B-1, 5.

in the Middle Ages – such as Yaacob ben Nathanel Hacohen, Benjamin of Tudela, and Pethahiah of Regensburg, among others – meticulously described the landscapes of all the countries that they passed through in their travel itineraries, with enthusiasm and with great interest, but only fell silent upon arriving in Zion, and replaced their interest in nature with lists of place names and holy sites[66]. This suggests an emphasis on spiritual rather than physical facets of the sacred. Thus there is clearly a spiritual element involved in observing and taking in sights, especially when they are not used as mere topographical references, but rather as symbols and metaphors. Indeed, one can claim that the writers of liturgical poetry were reluctant to describe the scenic vistas of the Land of Israel during their own time, both out of the pain of describing a desolate land, conquered by foreign powers, and because there was presumably nothing to describe in it, since it had been cursed with neglect, abandonment and sheer destruction. Still, it remains unclear why they did not choose to describe the beautiful scenes of the past as a memorial of praise, or scenes of the promised future redemption, by contrast to the present scenes of desolation.

### 5.3 Landscapes of nostalgic memory

The ambiguity and non-depiction of places may be precisely the component that creates the spiritual-emotional bond that leads readers of the poems, in all eras – including today – to love of the Land. To understand the meaning and power of *piyyût* in teaching love for the Homeland, the cultural, historical and emotional background that spawned it needs to be understood. The Jewish people, throughout all its years of exile and with all its dispersions, was a people harboring pain who had an acute longing, and mourned the destruction of the Temple, their forced expulsion, and the separation of the *Šěḵinâ*, the Divine spirit, from its beloved. Any separation from one's beloved is a loss, and learning to cope with this loss is a prolonged process, during which time the person is overcome with feelings of longing, and clings to memory. In the beginning, one relives the memories of the touch of the beloved, of tastes and smells. As time goes by, these eventually diminish and even the sound of the beloved's voice

[66] Oettinger, 2007.

dims until it fades away. The memory of the body is short-lived, but not so the memory of the soul. Fleeting reflections of things that were spoken, deeds that were done, or shared experiences, moments of closeness all flicker and resurge in one's consciousness even many years after the separation, along with the places where they occurred. These trifling and seemingly insignificant things have that unique and distinct quality of eliciting that same intimate moment engraved in memory. Things that are ever- changing are condensed to their very essence during that one fleeting moment, and they take on a singular and definitive meaning grounded in past experiences. Scenes captured in memory are not dynamic. They freeze the moment, reanimate it again and again, turn it into the familiar, understood by us, and known to us, without the need of speech. Through the active lens of our memory, the scenic recollections of the past are charged with the virtue of commemoration and longing.

To re-conjure nostalgic scenes, it is therefore enough to decipher the code, by way of a hint. Thus, the poets of past generations did not describe the picturesque scenes of Zion and Jerusalem, not because they did not know them, but because they knew them all too well, and felt that it was unnecessary to describe what was known by all; namely, the landscapes described in the Song of Songs and interwoven in the Hebrew Bible. All they had to do was to set down the names in their poems. These filled the country with the palace of King Solomon and lions' dens, the hills and the mountains of Bater, the marketplaces and roads, gardens of walnuts and flowerbeds of sweet spices, vineyards and blossoms, the narcissus of the coastal plains and lilies of the valley. There were also shepherds, watchmen, and the daughters of Jerusalem, the deer in the fields and the new-born fawns, foxes and she-goats, the dove and the starling. The sights, the sounds, the scents and atmosphere all constituted a familiar décor that was close to the heart, which may be the reason why they did not describe it.

Moreover, Jews all had their "own Jerusalem;" their longing for the past and internal visualization of things to come. The lack of scenic imagery thus allowed for freedom of the imagination. This is seen in the songs in the "Songs and Roots" program. For example, even in the most descriptive poem of all the 56, *'az yĕrannên* (Then [the Tree of the Forest] will erupt into Song, D-5), written by Yôsêf Ḥaim in the nineteenth century, nature singing to God is described only by the mere naming of the of the Seven

Species – plants mentioned in the Bible as typical of the Land of Israel – guided by the assumption that anyone can visualize a fig, an olive or a date tree. This is especially important in teaching students today, since while the sights of the garden (depicted in the poems of nature in secular poetry) are permanent fixtures, the sights of the Land of Israel have changed beyond recognition. Had the recital of poetry in this program included descriptive accounts of landscapes seen in the country in the past, they most certainly would have been so unfamiliar and far-removed from the students that it would have made it difficult for them to connect with what was being described. It is precisely the enormous latitude engendered by the absence of descriptive elements related to nature that opens up the poetry to interpretation by students, as they understand them, and allows them to approach the subject from their own emotional levels and perceptions.

## 6. The power of art and its influence on everyday life

Although depictions of places in Israel are seldom portrayed in *piyyût*, liturgical poetry frequently includes scenic imagery. However, this serves as a stylistic device, where figurative speech is used to ornament and describe **characters and events**, and not in its own. Descriptions related to nostalgic scenes serve mainly as **metaphors and similes** in *piyyût*, filling the poems with animals, plants and geographic sites. This can be seen in the "Songs and Roots" program as well: out of all the poems, three stand out in this respect. In the poem *Mar'eh kohen* ("The Sight of a Priest", B-2), when the High Priest comes out of the Holy of Holies – in the past and in the anticipated future – he takes on the likeness of the heavenly bodies and the plants. "Like an outstretched tent among the dwellers on high", "like watching the sunrise over the Earth", "like the appearance of a rainbow in the midst of the clouds", "like the gleam of a star in the canopy of the eastern sky", "like the constellations of Orion and the Pleiades when seen from the southern hemisphere", "like a rose in a pleasant garden", and "like a lily among the thorns" "such is the sight of the High Priest when he goes forth from the Holy of holies in peace and unharmed". Similarly, the poem *Lĕfelaḥ hârimmôn* ("To a piece of pomegranate", B-7), composed by Moshe the scribe of Rome, describes the female companion on the day her beloved suitor seeks her, to find her and to love her, by borrowing images

from the "Song of Songs". Her temples are like a piece of pomegranate, her stature is like the height of a palace, her eyes are like those of doves. She is the rose of Sharon and the lily of the valley; she is as fair as a crescent-moon; she shines like the sun; she is a gazelle that skips from mountain to lofty hill. Similarly, In the poem *lamoledet šûḇi roni* ("To the Homeland Return Singing", C-14), the *Šĕḵinâ* is likened to a beautiful, lithe daughter returning to the land of the deer where she will be a fruitful vine, blossom like a flowery bud and a lily, multiply like fish and bear fruit. Šim'ôn Bar Yôḥay is depicted by Šim'ôn Lâḇî', in the fifteenth-sixteenth century (*Bar Yôḥay* poem D-10), as standing in the sand of a rocky cave, ascending to the Apple Orchard and to a palace of pure light marble stones, where he grasps the secret of "the Green Line". His students are like the beams of acacia wood, and when they study they become ignited with a wondrous burning light. The Secrets of the Torah have fragrances that are sweeter than blossoms and flowers.

The use of landscape and evocations of Nature as literary devices to describe characters and plots are also found in other poems on this program. God is described as "He who rides the heavens", "Exalted who dwells in high places", "He that creates the heavenly veil and the universe", "the conductor tasked with singing at dawn" etc.[67]. His righteousness is as great "as Mount Tabor"[68]. The person who stands before him in prayer is instructed to open the "extolled Gate of Mercy"[69]. He tarried so long that his head became filled with dew, and the locks of his hair with the dew-drops of the night", or his days vanish like the "shadow of a date-palm tree"[70], but by keeping the commandments he "will blossom like a lily" and become "a fruitful vine"[71] When the day of redemption arrives, may God take pity upon His people, draw them out of "the depths of suffering"[72], and replace them with "peaceful greetings […] like the waters of a river" or lead them "upon quiet waters"[73]. The Messiah is described as a precious vine

[67] A-1, 3, 4; C-1, 2; D-3, 5, 10.
[68] B-11.
[69] A-3, B-11.
[70] B-11.
[71] C-3, D-3.
[72] A-10, B-5.
[73] A-9, C-2; D-5.

that is ruddy and vigorous, which will be planted in the vineyard, a metaphor for his people[74]; He will come to proclaim the good tidings of salvation as he walks on the mountains[75]. The beloved will take revenge upon the Gentiles and subdue them[76], while the captive sons will be released, will pave the roads to Zion, and will go up in droves to Jerusalem and fill its streets[77]. The beautiful wife, will rise at dawn and blossom like a lily; she will then clad herself in sumptuous apparel and will lift up her head; her sun will shine brightly and she will go out of the darkness[78]; God will then put a crown upon her head, descend upon her like the dew of Hermon, and rejoice in His bride; after which, he will build His house, and raise up the walls of Ariel[79]. In the redemption scenes, everything is possible: in the lowlands of the wilderness a mountain will rise; out of the desolation there will suddenly sprout forth an abundance of shrubs and trees where myrtle, acacia, cypress, and teak will grow, while Zion was – and will still be – "a place deeply rooted – even the highest branch of the implanted cedar"[80].

Even when descriptive accounts of landscapes are used as metaphors for the redemption narrative, students can still be taught about love of the country through them. *Piyyût* is first and foremost a lyrical expression of poetry. The linguistic elements of the poem are not the language used in day-to-day conversations, but rather a pictorial language, the "language of sights" in Bialik's terminology[81], which gives "an old sight too [...] its moment of rebirth", as Alterman says in his poem "Moon"[82]. This is particularly clear in that *piyyût* is not saturated with linguistic depictions; most of its ornamentation involve the use of epithets, rather than images, and metaphors. Therefore, descriptive accounts with respect to redemption

[74] A-9.
[75] A-8; D-9.
[76] B-4, 6, 12; D-1.
[77] A-8, 12; D-8, 9.
[78] A-8, B-4, 5, 8, 9; C-2.
[79] A-8, 11, 12, B-4, 6, 9; D-1, 6, 7, 8, 9.
[80] A-9, B-5 based on Ezekiel 17:2. Scenic imagery also serves as blessings. For example, in poems B-11, 14 the poets plead that the newborn child *"may be granted a good sign / that he may grow and flourish like a green garden*".
[81] In his classic nature and ars-poetic poem "The Pool" (1905).
[82] Alterman, 1978: 15.

and its related nature scenes are the exception. Drawing students' attention to the way in which scenes of redemption are formulated may encourage them to pay attention to the things they encounter on a daily basis without giving them much thought outside the classroom. Students can be prompted to contemplate the sky, the mountains, the lilies and the budding flowers in the countryside, with an emotional and watchful eye, and in so doing, see the landscapes of the country in a different way.

## 7. **Conclusion**

Instilling love for the homeland is a stated goal in the Israeli-Jewish school curricula that prioritizes patriotism, nationalism and common identity formation, emphasizing the Jewish-Zionist ideology. Although it is hard, and perhaps even impossible to "teach emotions" I showed here how liturgical-religious poetry (*piyyût*) can be used for exactly this purpose of loving one's homeland. The findings were drawn from the corpus of 56 *piyyûtim* in the "Songs and Roots" program that is taught not only in Jewish-religious but also in Jewish-secular elementary schools in the state educational system. In the latter, *piyyût* is taught through music, and is interpreted as "tradition" (and not "religion").

It is my claim that the goal of strengthening pupils' affinity, affection and even love for Israel, can be achieved through a combination of four characteristics. The first lies in the solid, undeniable "religious response" imbedded in the "**eschatological circle**" that has constituted one of the basic components of liturgical-religious poetry from the fifth century to the present day. The "eschatological circle" exalts Zion as the central, most important and beloved land: a place one incessantly yeans and longs for, a place with which the Jewish people have an ancient bond, where they lived a good life, and where the *Šěḵinâ*, and the beloved can be united. The hope to return to Zion expressed the aspiration for the Jewish people's redemption. The immense longing and the intense affinity penetrate the singing or reading of *piyyût*, and are intensified by the **naming of many sites and vistas** in *piyyût*, since their mere mention manifests ownership of the land and emphasizes the link to it, with every name serving as a synecdoche, for the whole country. The places, although named, are not described. The **paucity of descriptions of the land and its scenery** may have resulted from the fact that most writers used the places they mentioned

in their poems as a "literary-poetical" (not "real") geography: they had never been to Israel, and only knew the names from the Bible. These landscapes were endowed with sanctity because they were part of the Holy Land, were known to the believers, and were familiar and close to their hearts, so there was no need to explain them. Of course, this is not the case with non-religious children in contemporary Israel. However, they most probably are familiar with the names of certain places, perhaps even live in a city mentioned in a *piyyût*, as many sites have remained from biblical times or have been given biblical names. This brings the poems even closer, since they do not talk of distant, unfamiliar places that have changed throughout the ages beyond recognition, but give freedom to the imagination so that the pupils can visualize the places as they are today. To complete this point, although depictions of places in Israel are seldom portrayed in *piyyût*, scenic imagery is used in it amply as a literary device: as metaphors and similes to describe characters and events. **The lyrical, picturesque poetic expression** creates the impression that the Land of Israel is a place full of light, where there are plants, and people, and lively activity, that it is a wholesome place to be; a place people long to live in and look towards with failing eyes, hoping to reach it one day. This ideal model, although very different from the way the country is thought of in everyday life, affects the readers of *piyyût* the way art affects its audience, especially when literature is combined with music – as done in the "Songs and Roots" program.

In addition, *piyyût* can reinforce love for the homeland not only through devotion and the arts, literature and music, but also through enjoyable experience. In 33 of the 56 poems in the program, there are more than a hundred expressions of joy, chanting and singing[83]. These include such ideas as the nation will sing when God sanctifies His bride, save them and take vengeance upon His enemies. The pilgrimage to Zion will be accompanied by song (crooning) and by melodies played on musical instruments. With singing and joy they will pave the roads leading to the Temple, and will rebuild it. Joy and singing will also characterize he who is observant and receives God's forgiveness, keeps the commandments of the Sabbath, the phylactery, circumcision and marrying his sons off. Nature

[83] A-4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12; B-1, 4, 5, 6, 8, 12, 13; C-2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 13, 14; D-1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 14.

as a whole sings to God, and the believer sings to the Torah. In practice, joy and singing are the very things that the students experience when they lift up their voices while reciting the poetic songs in this program. If teachers can be motivated to teach out of joy and with elation, this experiential learning will touch the hearts and minds of their students. This will help connect the longed-for scenes with the everyday scenes experienced by Israelis in our own time, and turn the *piyyût* into an effective and important tool in the "Songs and Roots" program and in general when teaching love of the country.

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## Appendix – Titles of Poems in the Program

| | Book A | Book B | Book C | Book D |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | אֲדוֹן הַסְּלִיחוֹת<br>unknown | יָהּ רִבּוֹן עָלָם<br>Israel Nagara, Zefat, sixteenth century | אַדִּיר וְנָאוֹר<br>unknown | אָחוֹת קְטַנָּה<br>'aḇrâhâm Ḥazzân Gîrondî, Spain, thirteenth century |
| 2 | עֲנֵנוּ<br>Unknown | מַרְאֵה כֹּהֵן<br>unknown | בַּת אֲהוּבַת אֵל (חֹן תָּחֹן<br>unknown (signed: Binyamin Ḥazak), Aleppo | אֵל נוֹרָא עֲלִילָה<br>MoŠe 'ibn 'ezrâ, Spain, eleventh century |
| 3 | רְפָא צִירִי<br>Rafael 'antêbî, Egypt, nineteenth century | כִּי הִנֵּה כַּחֹמֶר<br>unknown | אֲנִי אָשִׁיר<br>unknown (signed: 'eliyâhû) | אֵל רָם חָסִין יָהּ<br>unknown (signed: Šĕlômôh ḥâzâq wĕ'emaṣ) |
| 4 | יוֹם זֶה שִׁירוּ לָאֵל<br>Môrdêkhai 'abâdî, Syria, nineteenth century | לְכָה דוֹדִי<br>Šĕlômôh Hallewî 'elkâbetz, Zefat, sixteenth century | יְהִי שָׁלוֹם בְּחֵילֵנוּ<br>unknown (signed: Yĕhošua), sixteenth century | עַם נֶאֱמָנֵי<br>Dawid Bûzaglô, Morocco – Israel, twentieth century |
| 5 | אוֹר גִּילָה<br>Refael Antebi, Syria – Egypt, nineteenth century | אֵיכָמָה הַמְשֻׁשִׁי<br>Šâlôm Šabazi, Yemen, seventeenth century | חַדֵּשׁ כְּקֶדֶם יָמֵינוּ<br>Ḥayim Begerano, Bulgaria – Istanbul, nineteenth-twentieth centuries | אָז יְרַנֵּן<br>Yôsêf Ḥayim, Babylon, nineteenth century |
| 6 | קְדוּשׁ קְדוּשׁ<br>unknown | אוֹדֶה לְאֵלִי<br>unknown | אֶל הַר בַּת צִיּוֹן | יוֹם לְיַבָּשָׁה |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | unknown, Ethiopia | | related to Aḇtalyon Bar Mordeḵay, Turkey – Israel, seventeenth century | Yĕhûdâ Hallewî, Spain, eleventh-twelfth centuries |
| 7 | אָדוֹן עוֹלָם<br>unknown | לְפֶלַח הָרמוֹן<br>MoŠe the scribe of Rome | שָׁלוֹם עֲלֵיכֶם<br>unknown, seventeenth century | שׁוּר לְעָמָל<br>unknown, Libya |
| 8 | מַה נָּאוּ עֲלֵי<br>Šimʿon Berabi Nissim, Iraq – Jerusalem, nineteenth-twentieth centuries | אַךְ זֶה הַיּוֹם קִוִּיתִי<br>unknown | מְנוּחָה וְשִׂמְחָה<br>(signed: MoŠe), Ashkenaz | אֶשְׁאַל אֱלֹהַי<br>Unknown (signed: ’anî yôsêf Bên Israel), Yemen, seventeenth century |
| 9 | דְּרוֹר יִקָּרָא<br>DunaŠ Ben Laḇrat, Morocco – Iraq – Spain, tenth century | שָׁלוֹם לְךָ דּוֹדִי<br>Šĕlômôh Ibn Gabirol, Spain, eleventh century | לֵךְ לְשָׁלוֹם גְּשֶׁם<br>Yosey Ben Yosey, Israel, fourth-fifth centuries | שׁוּלַמִּית שׁוּבִי<br>Šĕlômôh Bên Mâzâl Tôḇ, Kushta, sixteenth century |
| 10 | אֶרוֹמִמְךָ יָהּ<br>Šĕlômôh Hakohen, Morocco, nineteenth century | לְבַל יִמּוֹט נָצַח<br>unknown | יוֹדוּךָ רַעְיוֹנַי<br>Israel Naḡara, Zefat, sixteenth century | בַּר יוֹחַאי<br>Šimʿon Lâḇî’, Spain-Tripoli, fifteenth-sixteenth centuries |
| 11 | אַדִּיר הוּא<br>Unknown | הַמַּבְדִּיל בֵּין קֹדֶשׁ לְחוֹל<br>unknown (signed: Yitzhak Haqatan) | אֲגַדֶּלְךָ<br>’aḇraham ’ibn ‘ezrâ, Spain, twelfth century | אוֹחִיל יוֹם יוֹם<br>’eliyâhû Ḥazzân, İzmir-Jerusalem-Tunisia, nineteenth- |

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| | | | | twentieth centuries |
| 12 | צוּר מְשֻׁלָּוֹ<br>Unknown | אֵל אַלְיָהוּ<br>’aḇraham ’ibn ‘ezrâ, Spain, twelfth century | כִּי לוֹ נָאֶה<br>unknown, Israel, fifth-sixth centuries | סֶלַם<br>unknown, Ethiopia |
| 13 | | שִׁיר חָדָשׁ אָשִׁיר<br>unknown | אִם חָכָם לִבְּךָ<br>’aḇraham ‘Antebbi, Aleppo, eighteenth-nineteenth centuries | מִפִּי אֵל<br>Unknown |
| 14 | | בְּרוּכִים אַתֶּם קָהָל אֱמוּנַי<br>unknown | לַמּוֹלֶדֶת שׁוּבִי רָנִּי<br>Ašer Mizraḥi, Jerusalem-Tunisia, twentieth century | אֶשׁוֹרֵר שִׁירָה<br>Rĕfâ’êl Bârûk̲ Ṭôlêdânô |
| 15 | | סוּכָּה וְלוּלָב<br>MoŠe Adhan, Morocco, seventeenth-eighteenth centuries | פְּעֵלוֹת אֵל מַה<br>Faraḡi Šawat, Tunisia, sixteenth-seventeenth centuries | |