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An Early Modern Hebrew Poem on Music in Its Beginnings and at the End of Time

DON HARRÁN

... the *kinnor* (lyre) of the Temple had seven strings ... in the days of the Messiah it will have eight ... and in the world to come it will have ten ...¹

If we were to search, however, for the one who, among all of those [said to have invented music], was the first to exist, I think it would be Jubal.²

The quotations say everything.³ Or not quite: they are no substitute for the poem “Mi-yom asher hayah” (From the day when), which, in its similar assertions, is remarkable for being the first and perhaps only one of its kind in Hebrew, if not literature at large. In treating “the history of music” (as it were), the poem appears to be a unicum, all the more so in its fabrication from material in scriptural and rabbinical sources. The author, Samuel Archivolti (d. 1611), was one of the leading Hebrew scholars of his time.⁴ Born in Cesena, in the region Emilia Romagna, around

I wish to thank Dvora Bregman for graciously responding to my request to read and comment on this study—her suggestions for its improvement were invaluable; and Linda Phyllis Austern, Philip V. Bohlman, and Tim Carter for their own useful suggestions—I am particularly grateful to them for encouraging me to go an extra mile and adapt the content, originally intended for a Jewish studies publication, to a musicological readership.

1. Talmud Bavli [Babylonian Talmud] (ca. 500 CE), ‘Arakhin, fol. 13b.

2. Adam von Fulda, *Musica* (1490), chap. 7.

3. First quotation: כנור של מקדש של שבע נימין ... ושל ימות המשיח שמונה ... ושל העולם הבא עשר (reference to Talmud Bavli, as above); the translation of *kinnor* as lyre (or cythara) is after the Vulgate (there *ciithara*, e.g., 1 Samuel 16:23), from which it made its way into the music treatises as it did into Hebrew writings (among them, a sermon by Judah Moscato discussed below, beginning on p. 25) and lexicons on Hebrew (for one, Marinus, *Arca Noe: Thesaurus linguae sanctae novus* [1593], 1, fol. 427a). Second quotation: “Si autem quaeramus, quis inter omnes primus existerit, puto, quod ipse Jubal”; after Adam von Fulda, *Musica*, 3:340–41. All translations, here and in the continuation, are the author’s.

4. For a recent summary monograph, see Schwarz, “Rabbi Shemu’el Arkivolti—toldotav u-khetavav, she’elot u-teshuvot ve-igrot” [Rabbi Samuel Archivolti: his biography and writings, questions and responses, and letters], esp. 69–81 for his biography and 81–86 for an overview of his works. Little material on Archivolti is available in English beyond a skimpy entry on him, by Yehoshua Horowitz, in the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 2:418.

1530, he lived, from 1568 until his death in 1611, in Padua.⁵ There, beyond proofreading for various Hebrew publishing houses in Venice, he served the Jewish community as secretary, head of a yeshivah, and, after 1579, rabbi. Of his four larger writings, three were published in the 1550s: *Degel ahava* [Banner of love], a story designed to illustrate the behavioral traits of suitors as they pass through various states of amorous desire, hope, joy, suffering, and despair, which the same suitors might avoid, so Archivolti advises, if they were to spend their time studying Torah and were to actuate love through marriage (1551); *He'arot* (Comments) to *Sefer he-'arukh*, a talmudic and midrashic dictionary by Nathan ben Jehiel of Rome (d. ca. 1110)—they take the form of marginal annotations with source references for the separate entries (1553); and *Ma'yan ganim* [Fountain of gardens], a manual of letter writing in Hebrew for which fifty examples are provided to suit the needs of different correspondents—sons, fathers, friends, judges, and women (1553).⁶ His fourth and most influential work was *'Arugat ha-bosem* [Bed of spices], a treatise on Hebrew grammar with one chapter on Hebrew verse and another on music, or more specifically cantillation.⁷ His poetry in various manuscript and printed sources, still to be sorted and collated, numbers over eighty examples, of which twenty-seven appear as illustrations of different meters in the treatise itself.⁸ They include

5. On Jews in Renaissance Padua (and the region of the Veneto), see Carpi, *L'individuo e la collettività: Saggi di storia degli ebrei a Padova e nel Veneto*.

6. *Degel ahava* was named after Song of Songs 2:4: "ve-diglo 'alai ahavah" (and his banner over me was love); so was *Ma'yan ganim*, now 4:15 (opening words).

7. *'Arugat ha-bosem* (1602), also named after Song of Songs, in this case 5:13: "Lehayav ka-'arugat ha-bosem" (His cheeks are as a bed of spices). The two chapters are nos. 32, entitled "Be-darkhei ha-shirim" [On the procedures of verse], fols. 111a–119b (*recte* 118b), and 27, entitled "Be-ve'ur darkhei ha-te'amim ve-eikh hayu le-me'orot le-havin ve-le-haskil devar emet le-amito" [On the explanation of the procedures of (cantillation, that is) *te'amim* (accent signs for chanting Scriptures in the synagogue) and how they became lights for understanding and perceiving the absolute truth], fols. 92a–95b. For a short excerpt in English translation from chap. 32, see Adele Berlin, *Biblical Poetry through Medieval Jewish Eyes*, 156–59; and for Archivolti (along with others) on cantillation, Harrán, "In Search of the 'Song of Zion': Abraham Portaleone on Music in the Ancient Temple." *'Arugat ha-bosem* is not to be confused with a host of other writings similarly entitled, among them an extensive commentary by the thirteenth-century Abraham ben Azriel on liturgical poems and a later translation into Hebrew of a small portion of a work, in Arabic, by the eleventh-century Moses ibn Ezra, *Maqālat al-ḥadiqa fī ma'nā al-majāz wa 'l ḥadiqa* [Treatise of the garden on figurative and literal language]. There are at least twelve other works on differing topics with the title *'Arugat ha-bosem* by as many authors, mainly from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Joshua ben Isaac Bardashi, Moses ben Amram Grünwald, Moses ben Hillel, Zvi Hirsch, and so on).

8. There is no edition or full discussion of his verses. Nor does one know their exact number. Sixty-seven have been tabulated by Israel Davidson in his *Otsar ha-shirah ve-hapiyyut mi-zeman ḥatimat kitvei ha-kodesh 'ad reshit tekufat ha-haskalah* [Thesaurus of medieval Hebrew poetry from the time of the completion of Scriptures to the beginning of the period of the Enlightenment]. To these Simon Bernstein added another fourteen in his

the poem on music, meant to demonstrate the hendecasyllable (eleven syllables) as ordered in a particular succession of short and long syllables (explained below). The poem is a sonnet, the only one in the treatise.⁹

Beyond the form of the poem, however, its content raises a welter of questions bearing on the methodology of historical inquiry as it connects with transcultural themes. Not only does a close reading provide new insights into shifts in conceptions of Hebrew music around 1600, but it forces the question whether it is reasonable to separate Hebrew sources from non-Hebrew ones in studies of music history and its theory (yes, to answer an unasked question, there *are* Hebrew writings on music theory).¹⁰ True, Archivolti's poem constructs an idiosyncratic history of music among the Hebrews in past and future, but how much do music history and theory stand to gain by exploiting and accommodating myths and musings? In probing a subject, where does one set the bounds? Partitioning is detrimental to the overall picture. Consequently, in the study of music making in Renaissance Italy, the concentration on non-Hebrew as against Hebrew sources and the exclusion of whatever escapes a logical or empirical explanation can only impair its apprehension as a larger sociohistorical construct. As I will show, biblical and rabbinic writings coincided with classical ones in recognizing the cosmic powers of music, and Hebrew works intersected with Christian ones in drawing from Platonic and Pythagorean theory. Furthermore, the tendency to syncretism in Renaissance thought, as one finds it, for example, in the works of Pico della Mirandola, allows Judaism and Christianity to meet on common ground as a locus for their discussion.¹¹ Verbal engagement with the power of music was no less fundamental to the Hebrew tradition—the force of the biblical *verbum sacrum* spawned a wide variety of exegetical writings from the Mishnah to the Talmud and

"Shirim ḥadashim le-Rabbi Shemu'el Arkivolti" [New poems by Rabbi Samuel Archivolti]. His sonnets, with comments thereon, can be found in Bregman, "Sheloshah 'asar sonettim le-Rabbi Shemu'el Arkivolti" [Thirteen sonnets by Rabbi Samuel Archivolti] (and for the sonnet under discussion, 41); idem, *Tseror zehuvim: Sonettim 'ivriyyim mi-tekusfat ha-Renessans ve-ha-Barok* [A bundle of gold: Hebrew sonnets from the Renaissance and the Baroque], 94–110 (and for the sonnet under discussion, 95–96). Jefim Schirrmann includes four poems, none of them sonnets, by Archivolti, without discussing them however, in his *Mivhar ha-shirah ha-'ivrit be-Italyah* [An anthology of Hebrew poetry in Italy], 251–55. See also Harrán, "‘Kehi kinnor’ (Take a lyre) by Samuel Archivolti (d. 1611): A Wedding Ode with Hidden Messages" (it, too, is not a sonnet).

9. *Arugat ha-bosem*, fol. 118a–b (*recte* 117a–b). As a notably "literary" verse type, the sonnet would seem most suited, if not complimentary, to the learned content (*viz.*, music plotted on a historical continuum).

10. See those, for example, collected by Israel Adler in his edition of *Hebrew Writings Concerning Music in Manuscripts and Printed Books from Geonic Times up to 1800*.

11. See, for one, Farmer, *Syncretism in the West: Pico's 900 Theses*. For an example from the music literature, in this case an early seventeenth-century Jewish composer who, in an extended *dialogo*, addresses two audiences in its textual imagery, see Harrán, "Allegro Porto, an Early Jewish Composer on the Verge of Christianity."

rabbinical tracts—than to Renaissance humanism in its different rhetorical manifestations. Indeed, the renewal of music among the Jews in later sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Italy was a distinctly humanist endeavor.

After an initial look at the metric structure of the poem, I will draw from the well of its rabbinic and classical themes to review Archivolti's singular presentation of music on a historical continuum. I will then pinpoint the relation of these themes to the content of a sermon by the Mantuan rabbi Judah Moscato and, more broadly, to the context of music developments among the Jews in early modern Italy. The same developments reflect Archivolti's poem in their fusion of thoughts and concepts rooted in Jewish exegetical and general humanist traditions. It turns out that Archivolti's student, Leon Modena, a leading rabbi and intellectual in early seventeenth-century Venice, was particularly influential in combining these traditions to institute the beginnings of an indigenous Jewish art music practice. What came of the practice is a story in itself.

One technical matter: for Archivolti's inscription to the poem and the poem itself in Hebrew and translation, see Appendixes A (p. 38) and B (p. 40), and as they appear in the source, Figures 1 (p. 7) and 2 (p. 22). The references in the text below are labeled App. A1, A2, etc., for the sentences of the inscription, and App. B1, B2, etc., for the lines of the poem.

Preliminaries

The prime source for Archivolti's sonnet on music is his book on grammar, *'Arugat ha-bosem* (1602). Other sources are two later manuscript copies and various modern editions.¹² The sonnet begins with an inscription, where, in nine sentences, the author describes its content, which perhaps because of its unusual subject (music) he felt needed explanation (App. A1–6), then turns to matters of prosody (App. A7–9). I will reverse the presentation:

12. Manuscripts: London, British Library, Add. 27011 (including a copy, in the hand of Solomon Portaleone, of *'Arugat ha-bosem*, on fols. 162a–234b, with the poem on 227b; see *Catalogue of the Hebrew and Samaritan Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 3:[594]–98, where the copy, under the catalog number 1176, is said to “differ considerably from the printed edition [Venice, 1602]” because of modifications introduced by the scribe [3:597]); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Mich. 25, a collection of poems compiled from end portions of edited books, under the title *Avnei hefets* [Pleasant stones (after Isaiah 54:12)], in 1760 (see *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library and in the College Libraries of Oxford*, 1:683, under the catalog number 1996; in the manuscript, the poem appears on fol. 127a). Modern editions: principally the two, already mentioned, of Bregman, in “Sheloshah ‘asar sonettim,” 41, and *Tseror zehuvim*, 95–96 (for reference to others, see *ibid.*, 555).

עוד חברתי במשקל הזה סיר על המוסיקה אשר תבחץ בתנועות סבוב
 גלגלי רום כפי דבריו רזל • יובל אבי כל תופש כנור ועגב הביאה
 לדורותיו ומת במכול ונסארה בשחקים עד סהרנים בה פיתאגורה מתוך
 הקסת קורנס ומקבות בעלי משקלים מיוחסים • דוד נעים זמירות הבין
 דרכה • ועוד בשתי פעמים אחרות תקנה שלמות • א' לימות המשיח • וא'
 בזמן ע"ה אחר התחיה מכוון לאמרס זל כנור של מקדש של שבע כימין •
 ושל ימות המשיח סמנה שנאח' למנצח על השמינית • על כימא שמינית •
 וזל ע"ה עשר שנאח' עלי עשור • ויגלה טפח ממאמר זה החכם גבאי בספרו
 חלק העבודה פ' מ"ג •
 ואם יהיה סוף הדלת והסוגר מהמין הזה מלרע אז תהיה חתימתם
 בשתי תמונות בלבד • והרת כתנה בין המשוררים לגלגל החרוזי
 כרונס ובלבר שישמרו סדר וערך • והא לך סירי אשר משקלו זהב •

Figure 1 Inscription to the sonnet “Mi-yom asher hayah” in Samuel Archivolti, *‘Arugat ha-bosem* (Venice: Zuan Degara, 1602), fol. 117a. Courtesy, The National Library of Israel (shelf mark R8=25 V 14279).

since the next two sections of this article discuss the poem for its “content,” a few words are in order here on the Hebrew sonnet as “prosody.”

“Mi-yom asher hayah” is one of thirteen known sonnets by the author. They are comparable to Italian sonnets in their construction as hendecasyllables. But Archivolti’s model in his sonnets and other verses was the poetry, with its fixed quantitative-syllabic metrical schemes, by Immanuel ben Solomon Haromi (the Roman; d. 1328).¹³ In “Mi-yom asher hayah” each of the fourteen lines divides into two hemistiches, to which Archivolti refers respectively as *delet* (door)—in the sense of a door remaining open for the continuation (of the verse)—and *soger* (close) (App. A7). The first hemistich reads quantitatively as two longs, a short, and three longs, or, more precisely, two cords (*tenu’ot*), a peg (*yated*), i.e., short-long, and two cords; and the second one as a short and four longs, or a peg and three cords, with an accent on the penultimate (*mil’eil*). Thus for line 1 one has:

Mī-yōm ā-shēr hā-yāh

khě-mīsh-tāg-gě-ā’

13. Immanuel ben Solomon Haromi, *Sefer mahbarot* [The book of notebooks], in which his poetry is interspersed in the prose (1492). On the role played by Immanuel in forging the Hebrew sonnet and other forms, see Bregman, “Shirat Immanuel u-mekomah ba-metrikah ha-‘ivrit” [The poetry of Immanuel and its place in Hebrew metrics].

Yet the same line may also be read qualitatively as a series of five iambs, with the last of them extended in a *verso piano*:¹⁴

Mi-yóm ā-shér hā-yáh khē-mish-tāg-gē-ā'

The verses stand on the borderline between two systems of accentuation, one by duration, as a remnant of medieval (Spanish) Hebrew poetry (with one significant difference: all shorts and longs are equal in their count as syllables), the other by stress, in line with Italian poetry.¹⁵ They seem to match the Italian hendecasyllabic sonnet, as for example in Petrarch's *Canzoniere*, where poem 1 has for its first line:

Voī ch'ās-cōl-tā-te, ĩn rī-mē spārse ĩl suó-nō

But the lines of Italian sonnets were usually not marked for their division into hemistiches whereas those in "Mi-yom asher hayah," not to speak of other poems in the author's treatise, definitely were (see Fig. 2, p. 22).¹⁶ Apart from external similarities (hendecasyllables, tonic accentuation), Hebrew verses have their own constructive logic as originally plotted in the metrical schemes of Immanuel.

In the inscription Archivolti tells us that "Mi-yom asher hayah" was written as yet another example of the particular meter he wished to illustrate ("In this meter I *also* composed a poem about music," etc.; App. A1 and Fig. 1). The same meter had been introduced on a previous folio (116a) as "the sixteenth type, constructed from two cords, a peg, and two cords [in its

14. On the problematic of iambic accentuation in Hebrew verse, see Pagis, "Hantsa'at ha-yambus ha-ivri u-temurot ba-metrikah ha-ivrit be-Italyah" [The invention of the Hebrew iamb and changes in Hebrew metrics in Italy].

15. As for quantitative accentuation, short syllables, in the earlier poetry, would have been absorbed into the longer ones that follow them, thus the *a* (vocalized with a semi-vowel) of *asher* would form a single syllable with *sher* and the *kbe* (likewise vocalized with a semivowel) of *kbe-mishtagga'* would form a single syllable with *mish*. With *a-sher* reckoned as one syllable and *kbe-mish-tag-ge-a'* as four, verse 1 consists not of eleven syllables (as it would, in the later poetry, with each syllable counted separately) but of nine. As for stress, see Pagis, *Hidush u-masoret be-shirat ha-hol ha-ivrit: Seferad ve-Italyah* [Change and tradition in Hebrew secular poetry: Spain and Italy], 245–356, esp. 289–314, on the metrical, rhythmical, and accentual characteristics of Italian-influenced Hebrew verse.

16. Major studies on the Hebrew sonnet are those of Bregman. Beyond the introduction to *Tseror zehuvim* (1999), and "Sheloshah 'asar sonettim le-Rabbi Shemu'el Arkivolti" (1988), see the comprehensive monograph *Shevil ha-zahav: Ha-sonet ha-ivri bi-tekufat ha-Renesans ve-ha-Barok* [The golden way: the Hebrew sonnet during the Renaissance and the Baroque] (1995), or the same in an English translation, under the title in brackets (2006), as well as various shorter essays, among them: "The Emergence of the Hebrew Sonnet" (1991); "Christians, Jews, and Hebrew Sonnets" (2003); and "Ha-sonet ha-ivri: Mifgash bein ha-shirah ha-ivrit ve-ha-italkit" [The Hebrew sonnet as a meeting between Hebrew and Italian poetry] (1993).

first hemistich] and from a peg and three cords [in its second].” Archivolti continues: “Of this type, I composed a piyyut,” viz., a post-biblical liturgical or religious poem, “regarding the attitude of the kings of Judah to a full and partial moon. ‘Carry it [the piyyut] in your bosom’ [Numbers 11:12].”¹⁷ Consisting of a four-line refrain followed by seven six-line stanzas with the refrain repeated after each of them, the piyyut, which begins “Shaḥri be-terem yi- / heyeh zoreah” (My dawn, before it / shines),¹⁸ shares its meter with “Mi-yom asher hayah” but obviously not its verse form (a sonnet).

The second point Archivolti makes in the inscription is that if the sonnet had been so composed that the *delet* and the *soger* formed a “truncated verse” (*verso tronco*), i.e., with the final accent on the last syllable (in Hebrew, *milra*'), the conclusion of both would be in two cords (App. A7). All this is supposition, however, for the sonnet, as written, has two cords at the end of the *delet* and three at the end of the *soger*. Were the latter replaced by two, a ten-syllable verse might be envisaged, along the lines of the following hypothetical example (with the same *delet* and a new *soger*):

Mī-yōm ā-shēr hā-yāh / bē-vāt-teī-hēm¹⁹

Or summarized for its quantities and final accentuation: first hemistich—two cords, a peg, and two cords, with an accent on the final syllable (*milra*'); second hemistich—a peg and two cords, with an accent, again, on the final syllable (*milra*'). The only verses so constructed among Archivolti's thirteen known sonnets are two from the one beginning “Shanun belimudav / be-titto omer” (Sharp in his studies / [as they reflect] in [his capacity for] speaking out [in his book]),²⁰ namely:

Line 10 Lā-ēl vē-gām ēl yō- / shē-veī mī-dīn

Line 14 Māl-khūt ū-mēm-shā-lāh / vē-ḥīk-kūr dīn²¹

The third and last point concerns Hebrew sonnets in general. Their rhymes, Archivolti notes, can be arranged in any way their poets wish, “provided they [the poets] retain *seder* (order) and *'erekh* (relationship)” in their combination (App. A8). Here, to all appearances, he was referring not to rhymes in the initial octet, where they generally were fixed (*abba abba*), but to those in the concluding sestet with its various alternative setups. Most of his own sonnets have *cde cde* for the sestet, but there are others with *cde ecd*

17. Meaning “ponder it well.”

18. The piyyut is on fols. 116a–117a.

19. Translation: “From the day he was / in their houses.”

20. Published as a dedication to Menahem Azariah da Fano's book *Asarah ma'amarot* [Ten chapters] (1597), on verso of title page; see *Tseror zehuvim* (no. 67), 106.

21. Translation, line 10: “To God and also to judges”; line 14: “Kingdom and dominion and understanding of judgment.”

or *cde edc* or *cdc dcd*,²² which are perfectly legitimate. The poets would *not* proceed properly—Archivolti seems to be saying—were they to disrupt the “order and relationship” by employing such patterns, without precedent, moreover, in the Italian sonnet, as, for example, *cde fde* or *cda dcb*.²³

Music in Its Beginnings

Archivolti sketches out three beginnings and an early continuation for music.²⁴

Beginning 1. As everything else, music, in the sense of harmony and proportion, was God’s creation. Archivolti did not say so explicitly, nor did he have to: the story of God’s creation (Genesis 1) did it for him. Thus he described music as discernible in the planets (App. A1) and, when music on earth ceased after the Flood, as reverting to the same planets (App. B3). In chapter 27 of *‘Arugat ha-bosem*, Archivolti explains in more detail that

the movement of the planets and the stars will renew the examination of sweet melodies from the force of the constitution of ordered harmonic numbers residing in their souls²⁵ and causing an ordered arrangement in their movement until the Ninth Planet. [This last planet] will possibly be called “sweetness” from the sweetness of the melody that proceeds from it, as is vociferously written: “With the singing together of the morning stars all the children of God will shout for joy” [Job 38:7].²⁶

22. For *cde cde*, see, in Bregman, *Tseror zehuvim*, nos. 59–60, 62–63, 66–71; for *cdc ecd*, no. 61; for *cde edc*, no. 64; for *cdc dcd*, no. 65.

23. Speaking of sonnets, Gian Giorgio Trissino, in part 4 of his *La poetica* (1529), recognized six rhyme combinations for the sestet (or what he called two *volte*): (1) *abc abc*; (2) *abc bac*; (3) *aba bab*; (4) *aba aba*; (5) *abb abb*; (6) *abb baa* (4.38v–39v)—the same schemes would be rewritten as *cde cde*, etc., in succession to the *a* and *b* rhymes of the octet; see *La poetica*, in *Trattati di poetica e retorica del Cinquecento*, 1:101–2.

24. It is obvious that Archivolti’s chronological divisions, in this and the next section, are allegoric, not factual. They are to be contrasted with attempts, in the same period, to construct a Jewish history from verifiable data, most notably by Azariah dei Rossi in his *Me’or ‘einayim* [The light of the eyes] (1574), part 3 (sixty chaps., fols. 27b–184a); in Joanna Weinberg’s edition and translation, 79–722. On the complexities of defining Jewish history, see, for example, Baron, *History and Jewish Historians: Essays and Addresses*, and Ben-Sasson, “Li-megamot ha-keronografia ha-yehudit shel yemei ha-beinayim u-va’ayoteha” [Trends in Jewish chronography of the Middle Ages and its problems].

25. The souls of planets: after Plato. For treatment of the cosmic soul in connection with music, motion, thought, and the heavens, see Plato, *Timaeus*, trans. Kalkavage, 34b–37c; for the movement of the planets and their separate sounds, see his *Republic*, ed. and trans. Shorey, in *Plato in Twelve Volumes* (specifically vols. 5–6), 10.617a–b.

26. Archivolti, *‘Arugat ha-bosem*, fol. 92b (. . . שתנועת הגלגלים והכוכבים תחדש בחינת נגונים) ערבִים מכח הרכבת מספרים נערכים נגוניים אשר בנפשותיהם הגורמת סדור נערך בתנועתם עד שהגלגל הטי (יתכן שיקרא ערבות על ערבות הנגון הנמשך ממנו וקרא קא צוח ברך יחד ככבי בקר ויריעו כל בני אלקים).

Archivolti had multiple sources for this cosmic view of music—all of them Hebrew. Maimonides (d. 1204), for one, notes that the planets produce sounds in their daily movement.²⁷ Other illustrious Spanish Jewish intellectuals included Simeon Duran (d. 1444), who explains the verse “The heavens declare the glory of God” (Psalms 19:2) as an indication that “they have a harmonic sound as in music”; and Judah Halevi (d. 1141), who, in the *Kuzari*, writes that “dimension, quantity, weight, the rate of movements, and the composition of music are all in measurement, which is to say *sefar* (count).”²⁸ Jacob Farissol—unlike the others here, of Southern French provenance—adds, in his commentary to the *Kuzari* (1424), that “the rate of movements” refers to the meters and rhythms of verse and music and that, in effect, Halevi had meant that “the rate of the movements of the planets and their harmony and the arrangement of music are all in rate and measurement.”²⁹ Neither should one forget Bahya ben Asher (thirteenth century), who wrote that “there are nine kinds of song to match the nine planets, and masters of the science of music know how to direct each and every kind of these kinds of song to match each and every planet.”³⁰

Beginning 2. While music in the heavens is one thing, it was of no use to human beings until its invention on earth, under divine influence, by Jubal. Thus Jubal is said to have “introduced it to his own generations” (App. A2).³¹ Archivolti identifies him in the inscription, after Genesis 4:21, as “father of all who hold a *kinnor* and ‘*ugav*’”³² (ibid.), though in the poem he

27. Maimonides, *Moreh ha-nevukhim* [Guide for the perplexed], trans. from Arabic into Hebrew by the thirteenth-century Samuel ibn Tibbon (1553), 2.8, fol. 86a–b: “. . . the planets make tremendous, frightening sounds in their movements and, in seeing them do so, they say that when the little [celestial] bodies among us move in a quick movement one hears a tremendous rumble and convulsive sonority . . .” (שלתנועות . . . הגלגלים קולות נוראים עצומים מאד והיתה ראיתם על זה אמרם שהגרמים הקטנים אשר אתנו כשיתנועעו . . . תנועה ממהרה ישמעו להם קעקוע עצום וצליל מרעיד . . .).

28. Duran, *Sefer magen avot* [The book “Guard of fathers”] (1785), fol. 52b (כי יש (להם קול ניגוניי כמו המוסיקא); Halevi, *Sefer ha-Kuzari* [The book of the Khazar] (1796), 4.25, fol. 129a (ר״ל ספר) הכל במנין, ר״ל ספר).

29. Farissol, *Beit Ya‘akov* [House of Jacob], in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, MS Or. Qu. 653, fols. 107b–108a, after transcription in Adler, *Hebrew Writings Concerning Music*, 142–43 (וערך התנועות וסדור המוסיקא [כך במקור] הכל במנין . . . ר״ל כי ערך תנועות הגלגלים ונגונים (סדור המוסיקא הכל בערך ובמנין)).

30. From Bahya ben Asher, Commentary to the Pentateuch (written 1291, first publ. 1492), specifically the verse Exodus 32:19; after edition published in Amsterdam, 1726, fol. 129b (והנה הם בין כלם תשעה מיני זמר כנגד תשעה גלגלים ובעלי חכמת המוסיקא יודעין לכון כל גלגל וגלגל מין ומין ממיני זמר הללו כנגד כל גלגל וגלגל).

31. Son of Lamech and Adah, Jubal was born in the seventh century after Adam, according to the genealogy outlined in Genesis 4:17–21. See below, note 35, for another dating.

32. Probably a wind instrument: an aulos or, more generally, a pipe.

drops *‘ugav* to refer to him “with his *kinnor*” only (App. B2). In inventing music Jubal seemed “as if [he were] going crazy” (App. B1)—with “crazy” here in the sense not of deranged, but of enlightened. An example is in the biblical commentary *Metsudat David* [The fortress of David] on *meshugga’* (crazy) in 2 Kings 9:11: “Thus they called the prophet because, during the time he isolated himself in prophesying, he appeared to them ‘as if going crazy,’ for he was no longer concerned with matters of the world.”³³ Archivolti related music to prophetic inspiration, as is clear from the passage in which “the hand of the Lord” came upon Elisha only after his having been stimulated by a minstrel (2 Kings 3:15) or that other in which a band of prophets, preceded by musicians playing on their instruments, began to prophesy (1 Samuel 10:5–6).³⁴

But, in time, Jubal “with his *kinnor* became a stream of water” (App. B2), which can be understood in various ways. One of them reinforces the connection between music and illumination, namely that Jubal was so inspired that music poured out of his *kinnor* in a torrent. Another is a lexical expansion of his name, which, in Hebrew, means “river” or “creek” (*yuval*). A third one, most likely in the present context, is that Jubal “became [engulfed in] a stream of water,” indeed, he died in the Flood.³⁵ With his death, music disappeared from the earth, remaining thereafter “in the heavens,” more particularly the planets, where “the glory of song” was found from the beginning (App. B3). It would seem only natural for it to ascend to its higher abode, for Archivolti implied that music, as an almost prophetic utterance, was not of this world to start with.³⁶

Beginning 3. Music had to be reinvented after the Flood, and so it was, Archivolti tells us, by the Greek mathematician and philosopher Pythagoras (sixth century BCE). He is said to have perceived it in the heavens and

33. 2 Kings 9:11: “. . . ‘why did this mad man come to you?’ And he [Yehu] said to them: ‘You know the man and his [manner of] speech’” (. . . מדוע בא-המשגע הזה אליך ויאמר) (אליהם אתם ידעתם את-האיש ואת-שיחו). The commentary in *Metsudat David* reads: המשוגע: כי קראו את הנביא לפי שבעת שהיה מתבודד בנבואה היה נדמה להם כמשוגע על כי לא פנה אז בעניני העולם (on the connection between madness and prophecy, see Jeremiah 29:26: “every man who is mad and prophesizes”).

34. 2 Kings 3:15: “Bring me a player, and when the player played, the hand of the Lord came upon him [Elisha].” 1 Samuel 10:5–6: “. . . and you will meet a band of prophets descending from the heights and, in front of them, [minstrels who play on] a *nevel* (psaltery), a *tof* (drum), a *halil* (flute), and a *kinnor*, and they [the prophets] will prophesy.”

35. If so, he would have been a brother to Noah. But, in the biblical account, Noah was born in the tenth century after Adam (Genesis 5:1–29). There appear to have been two Lamechs: one Jubal’s father, another Noah’s. Archivolti implies their being contemporaries, but his main point, to summarize, was that Jubal was the chief musician before the Flood.

36. See comment in *Metsudat David* above.

simulated its measurements on earth by taking hammers “of specific weights” that, when struck on an anvil, produced different pitches (App. A2, B3). The story of these experiments with hammers appears to have originally been told by Iamblichus of Chalcis (ca. 330 CE) in his biography of Pythagoras,³⁷ from which it passed into the early music literature. Its most authoritative narration in Archivolti’s time, though Archivolti himself was probably unfamiliar with it—his knowledge of Pythagoras appears to have come from a Hebrew source (about which more below), would have been in Gioseffo Zarlino’s *Istitutioni harmoniche* (1558). Yet if not Archivolti, then the rank and file of his non-Jewish contemporaries, whether composers or scholars, might have consulted the treatise. In Zarlino’s account we read that

Pythagoras was the one who found the reason behind the musical proportions in the sound of hammers. When he passed by a shop of blacksmiths, who, with different hammers, were striking a heated iron on an anvil, his ears perceived sound in a certain order that moved his hearing with delight. Lingerin there somewhat, he began to investigate whence such an effect might proceed. At first it appeared to him that it could proceed from the unequal strength of the men. So he had those who were striking change hammers. But not hearing any sound different from the original one, he concluded (as was true) that the cause [of varying pitches] was the diversity in the weight of the hammers. For this reason he weighed each of them separately, only to find that the numbers of the weights were the reason for the [different] consonances and harmonies, which he then industriously increased in this manner: after making strings of equal size from sheep guts of equal size, and attaching the same weights of the hammers to them, he found the same consonances. The more sonorous they were, the more the strings made the sound by its nature more pleasant for hearing.³⁸

37. Iamblichus, *De vita Pythagorica liber/On the Pythagorean Life*, trans. Clark, chap. 26.

38. “. . . Pitagora sia stato colui, che ritrovò la ragione delle musicali proportioni al suono de martelli: Percioche passando egli appresso una bottega di fabbri, i quali con diversi martelli battevano un ferro acceso sopra l’incudine, gli pervenne all’orecchie un certo ordine de suoni, che gli movea l’udito con diletatione; et fermatosi alquanto, cominciò ad investigare onde procedesse cotale effetto; et parendogli primieramente, che dalle forze diseguali de gli huomini potesse procedere, fece che coloro, i quali battevano, cambiassero i martelli: ma non udendo suono diverso da quello di prima, giudicò (come era il vero) che la diversità del peso de martelli fusse cagione. Per la qual cosa havendo fato pesare ciascuno separatamente, ritrovò tra li numeri delli pesi le ragioni delle consonanze et dell’harmonie; le quali egli poi industriosamente accrebbe in questo modo: che havendo fatto chorde di budella di pecore di grossezza uguale, attaccando ad esse li medesimi pesi de martelli, ritrovò le medesime consonanze; tanto più sonore, quanto le chorde per sua natura rendono il suono all’udito più grato”; Zarlino, *Le istitutioni harmoniche* (1558), 3–4.

For Zarlino the invention of music was premised on the understanding of its acoustical properties.³⁹

Pythagoras's perception of music in the heavens, as Archivolti understood it, is supported by another biographical account. Porphyry writes of Pythagoras that he was wont to brag that his ears were so refined that he could hear the sounds of the planets.⁴⁰ His powers were not unique: in the Hebrew sources one reads, for example, that "the sound of [the sun's] wheels can be heard in the whole firmament through which it [the sun] proceeds, in movement, with its song. . . . Nobody could hear it except for Moses, faithful to the King," viz., God, "and for Joshua, who serves him."⁴¹

Not only was the story of Pythagoras's trials with hammers absorbed into writings on music, but so was his competition with Jubal for the rank of music's inventor. It runs as a staple through medieval music theory and on into the eighteenth century.⁴² Some authors simply state the rivalry but leave it to the reader to decide who preceded whom. Thus Isidore of Seville (d. 636) writes that "Moses says⁴³ that the discoverer of the art of music was Jubal, of the race of Cain before the Flood. The Greeks, however, say that Pythagoras invented the first beginnings of this art from the sound of hammers and from strings struck when stretched."⁴⁴ Others mention both, then make their choice. Aurelian of Réôme (mid-ninth century), for one, expressed a preference for Jubal because of "the authority of Scripture."⁴⁵ Adam von Fulda (later fifteenth century), for another, recognized the role

39. And so it was for Isidore of Seville (see below).

40. See Porphyry (d. ca. 305), *Vie de Pythagore* [Life of Pythagoras], ed. (in Greek) and trans. (into French) by des Places, item 30, and, as above, Iamblichus, *De vita Pythagorica liber*, chap. 15.

41. From *Zohar hadash* [New Zohar] (1603), parashah (the weekly portion of the Pentateuch read in the synagogue) "Bereshit" [Genesis 1:1–6:8] 1:26a (קל וגלגלוי אשמע . . . ולא הוה בר נש דשמע ליה בר ממש דהוה מהימן מלכא לכלהו רקיעין במטלנוי למיזל עם שירתיה . . . ויהושע דמשמש ליה—for Joshua, it will be recalled, the sun made such an unbearable roar in its movement that he asked it to stand still; Joshua 10:12).

42. For three studies, the first two concentrating on the Middle Ages, the third reaching the eighteenth century, see Beichner, *Medieval Representative of Music: Jubal or Tubalcain?*; Cohen, "Jubal in the Middle Ages"; and McKinnon, "Jubal vel Pythagoras: Quis sit inventor musicae?"

43. That is, one reads in the first book of Moses (Genesis).

44. Isidore of Seville, "De musica," in his *Etymologiarum sive originum libri xx*, chap. 16, "De inventoribus ejus," in Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina*, 82:163–69, esp. 163: "Moyses dicit repertorem musicae artis fuisse Jubal, qui fuit de stirpe Cain ante diluvium. Graeci vero Pythagoram dicunt hujus artis invenisse primordia, ex malleorum sonitu, et cordarum extensione percussa."

45. "Apud nostros autem scripture auctoritas refert primum Iubal antediluvium" ("Among us [Christians], however, the authority of Scripture reports that the first one to have been preeminent in this art before the Flood was Jubal"); Aurelian of Réôme, *Musica disciplina*, 61.

that Pythagoras played in Greek writings as the inventor of music, yet claimed that he was not alone:

Many are thought to have been the inventors of this art according to differences in place and time and distances of regions: Jubal, the son of Lamech before the Flood, Moses among the Hebrews, Pythagoras among the Greeks. . . . We believe Boethius to have begun it among the Romans. . . . Oh, how many there are who followed him [Boethius]! [They include] Gregory, Isidore, Guido, Odo, Berno, Jean de Muris, and around my own time Guillaume Dufay and Antoine de Busnois, of whom we wish to be followers, in word to be sure and, if it were only true, in deed.⁴⁶

But of all these, he continues, Jubal appears to have been the first (see the extract on p. 3). And so he was for Archivolti.

An early continuation. For Archivolti, the leading musician among the Hebrews after the Flood was David. “God’s people’s ruler”⁴⁷ (App. B1) excelled in four different capacities:

1. as “sweet singer [of Israel]” (2 Samuel 23:1) in presumably his Psalms (App. A3);
2. as a player “on a seven-string *kinnor*” on two different occasions (“twice again”), in reference perhaps to the morning and evening services in the Ancient Temple (App. B6–8)—David’s singing abilities connect with them in the verses “It is good to thank the Lord and to sing unto Your name, Most High; / To tell, in the morning, of Your mercy, and of Your faith, at nighttime” (Psalms 92:2–3);
3. as a teacher of playing on the same seven-string instrument “to the sons of Levi”⁴⁸ (App. B6–7); and

46. “Sit ergo quid sit, arbitrandum est, multos fuisse artis inventores iuxta locorum et temporum varietates, et regionum distantias. Iubal filium Lamech ante diluvium, apud Hebraeos Moysen, apud Graecos Pythagoram, . . . apud Latinos Boetium credimus incepisse. . . . Hunc quam plures secuti sunt, Gregorius, Isidorus, Guido, Odo, Berno, Ioannes de Muris; et circa meam aetatem doctissimi Wilhelmus Duffay, ac Antonius de Busna, quorum et nos sequaces esse volumus, verbis scilicet, utinam et factis” (and for continuation, see above, note 3); Adam von Fulda, *Musica* (1490), 3:341.

47. For the expression “God’s people” (*‘am El*), see Isaiah 8:19 (“ . . . should not a people of God seek its God?”). The “ruler” is David, who himself (as in App. B7–8) played before the Lord; cf. 2 Samuel 6:21 (“And David said to Michal: ‘Before the Lord was I chosen over your father [Saul] and all your household [to serve the Lord]; He appointed me to rule over the people of the Lord, over Israel; and I played/danced before the Lord’ ”).

48. On the sons of Levi responsible for the maintenance of the Temple and the music of its ritual, see Deuteronomy 21:5 (“The priests, sons of Levi, shall approach, for the

generated”).⁵³ Since it did not relate to one or another of the ten, God “chose ‘sevenness’ and sanctified the day of the Sabbath as the seventh of the days.” The number has parallels, Archivolti noted, in

the seven days of Creation, the seven days of a feast, the seven blessings for the groom and the bride, the seven days of mourning, . . . the seven days of Pesah [Passover], . . . “the seven eyes of the Lord that roam throughout the earth” [Zechariah 4:10], . . . the [seven] free sciences that cater to the speculative mind and are called *arti liberali* either because the mind of man is freed from the prison of doubts or because they were given to people who were free and not imprisoned as slaves, which is what we were among the early Romans,

and so on with several further parallels, among them, to return to music, “the seven strings of the *kinnor* of the Temple” and “the seven pitches of music, the eighth being a repeat of the first.”⁵⁴

All in all, Archivolti’s comparisons tend to strengthen the conception of seven as associated with man’s actions and growth. “The astrologists saw the years of man,” to continue his comments, “as enslaved by this number, i.e., the first seven years were under the influence of the Moon, the next seven under that of Mercury, the next seven under that of Venus,” and so on with Sun, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn. “Wise men among the geometrists said that in the first seven years of life man opens his eyes to good and bad and that in the next seven he begins to seminate sperm; . . . the next seven are the days of his growth and his increase [in size] by length and breadth; the next seven are the days of his growth in depth [of mind],” etc. “When the philosophers and doctors came to examine the course of man’s life as reflected in his nature, they used the number seven, for they saw in it mutability in days, months, and years.”⁵⁵

53. The portions that follow are from fols. 27b–28a.

54. *Arugat ha-bosem*, fol. 27b (מספר הז' הוא מספר נכבד וחשוב מאד וזה מפני שכל המספרים עד העשרה הם מולידים או נולדים ובכן יש להם יחס והצטרפות עם זולתם. האי' הוא מוליד כל המספרים כאשר אמרנו. והב' מוליד הד'. והג' הו' והט'. והד' הח'. וההא היד. הו' נולד מהג' והח' מהד'. והט' גם הוא מהג'. והי' מההא. נשאר הז' שאינו מוליד ואינו נולד. ואי"כ [ואם כן] אין לו יחס עם קודם או מאוחר לו כדמיון האל ית' [יתברך] אשר על זה בחר בשביעיות וקדש את יום השבת שביעי לימים . . . שבעת ימי בראשית. שבעת ימי המשנה. ושבע ברכות לחתן וכלה. שבעת ימי אבלות . . . שבעה אלה עיני ה' המה משוטטים בכל הארץ. קולות המוסיקה שבעה כי השמיני חוזר לאחד. החכמות (28a), וזה ענין כנור של מקדש של שבע נימין החפשיית אשר בשכל העיוני הן שבע. ונקראו ז' ארטי ליבראלי עם מפני שעל ידיהן יהיה שכל האדם חפשי (ממאסר הספקות או מפני שנתנו לחפשים כי קדמוני הרומיים אסרו אותנו לעבדים . . .

55. Ibid., fol. 28a (החושים בכבדים המה ראו מעלה במספר הז' כי אמרו ששנות חיי האדם (והז' שנים השניות הן תחת הלבנה. והז' שנים השניות הן לכבב. והשלישיות לגנה. והז' הרביעיות לחמה. והז' החמשיות למאדים. והז' הששיות לצדק. והז' השביעיות לשבתאי. חכמי ההנדסה אמרו כי בשבע שנים ראשונות מחיי האדם יפקח עיניו על הטוב והרע ובז' השניות יתחיל להזריע זרע וזה מכוון לאמרם ז"ל שבדורות הראשונים היו מולידים מבן ח' וט' שנה. ובז' השלישיות. יהיו ימי צמיחתו וגדולו בארך וברחב. ובז' הרביעיות יהיו ימי צמיחתו בעומק. ובז' החמשיות תשלם צמיחתו. ובז' הששיות

Music in the Future

Two further developments, however, still lay in the future: the first of them pertains to a *kinnor* of eight strings, in the days of the Messiah; the second of them to a *kinnor* of ten strings, in the world to come. David seems to have foreshadowed both, as evidence of which Archivolti cites portions of his psalms (App. A5).⁵⁶ The link between David and the Messiah is genealogical, for the Messiah, we read in Jeremiah, was predestined to descend from David's lineage.⁵⁷ An important figure in establishing the eight-string *kinnor*, but one whom Archivolti failed to mention, was Moses. His contribution, as described by Judah Moscato, Archivolti's contemporary, lay in his having had a "soul ordered in every way and preserved in the perfection of all its numbers."⁵⁸ Moses showed the way, according to Moscato, to "construct the song worthy of being in the playing of the spiritual *kinnor*," namely, belief in Torah, "the eighth of the seven sciences,"⁵⁹ to which science the octave was comparable in the perfection of its ratio. "From being the eighth [science] there emerges the signification of its content as the song and superior music that saw fit to couple itself with the playing of the *kinnor* . . . in its marvelous tuning, for of all the intervals of music, the eighth," or octave, "is the perfect one par excellence."⁶⁰ It is "comprehensive of all the intervals," hence its rank, among "the masters of the science [of music], as their progenitor, source, beginning, and foundation."⁶¹

The messianic era, in this context, was one of perfection. It was based on the ineffable song of the Torah. Archivolti implies the same era and its song in his remarks on the number eight:

יהיו ימי העמידה. ובז' השביעיות יהיו ימי הירידה: הפילוסופים והרופאים בבואם לחקור על מרוצת חיי (האדם מצד מזגו נשתמשו ממספר הז' כי ראו בו השתנות בימים. ובחדשים. ובשנים).

56. Psalms 12:1, 92:4. Archivolti's sources were Talmud Bavli, 'Arakhin, 13b; Midbar Rabbah, parashah "Be-ha'alotekha," 15:11; Midrash Tanhuma, same parashah, 12.

57. See Jeremiah 23:5–6, also 33:14–16.

58. Moscato, *Sefer nefutsot Yehudah* [Book on the dispersed of Judah] (1589; from Sermon 1 entitled "Higgayon be-khinnor" [Sounds for contemplation on a *kinnor*], fols. 1a–8a), 5a (איש אחד שלם בתכלית יחס הערכים בחמרו ובצורתו הוא משה איש האלקים . . . (שהיתה נפשו ערוכה בכל ושמורה בשלימות כל מספריה . . . English translation of Sermon 1, see Moscato, *Sermons: Volume One*, 63–123 (English), and (in Hebrew pagination), 11–25 (Hebrew). There the sentence quoted is numbered 115.

59. Moscato, *Sefer*, three sentences, fols. 5a–b (להורות דרך תקון השיר הראוי לשמרו בגון) . . . על היותה שמינית לשבע החכמות . . . (הכנור הנפשי . . . והיא דרך אמונה בתורת ה' תמימה . . . or in the aforementioned edition, sentences 126, 128, 132.

60. Moscato, *Sefer*, fol. 5b (ומהיותה שמינית הוראה יוצאת על ענינה שהיא השיר והמוסיקה) . . . בכון נפלא כמו שהשמינית הוא הנגון היותר שלם מכל המעולה אשר לה יאתה להזדווג אל גון הכנור . . . (נגוני המוסיקה) . . . or in the aforementioned edition, sentence 133.

61. Moscato, *Sefer*, fol. 2b (הנגון הזה הנקרא שמינית מטעם בעלי זאת החכמה הוא כולל לכל) . . . (הנגונים ושמורו לאב מקור וראשית ויסוד מוסד לכלם) . . . or in the aforementioned edition, sentence 46.

- 1 צִיּוֹן תְּסֵבִי וְפָאֵר / לְרֹאשׁ בְּנֵיךָ
Tsiyyon tsevi u-f'er / le-rosh banayikh
 Zion, splendor and glory / for the sum of your children,⁶⁷
- 2 תַּעֲדִי עָדֵי רִקְמָה / וְגִיל תַּחְגּוּרִי
Ta'di 'adi rikmah / ve-gil tahgori
 Adorn yourself with ornaments of embroidery / and gird
 yourself with joy,⁶⁸
- 3 שְׂמֵחָה וְשִׂשׂוֹן רַב / לְכֹל בּוֹנֵיךָ
Simḥah ve-sason rav / le-khol bonayikh
 Happiness, and much gladness / for all who build you,⁶⁹
- 4 עֲלִזִּי בְּכֹל לֵבָב / וְקוּמִי אֹרִי
Elzi be-khol levav / ve-kumi ori
 Rejoice with all your heart / and arise, shine;⁷⁰
- 5 קוֹלְךָ בְּשִׁיר יָנַעַם / וּבִרְנָנֶיךָ
Kolekh be-shir yin'am / u-vi-r'nanayikh
 Your voice will be pleasant in song / and in your rejoicings
- 6 תוֹדָה תֵּנִי לֵאל / וְדַת תִּצְוִרִי
Todah teni la-El / ve-dat titsori
 Give thanks to God / and strengthen your faith,
- 7 כִּי בָּא מְשִׁיחוֹ לָךְ / וּבִין שְׁדֵיךָ
Ki va meshiho lakh / u-vein shadayikh
 For His Messiah comes to you / and on your breasts⁷¹

67. For the association of Zion (Israel) with *tsevi* (splendor), see 2 Samuel 1:19 (חֲצִבִּי (צבי), and for that of *tsevi* with *pe'er* alias *tif'eret* (glory), Isaiah 28:1 (צִבְיָה (צבי)). On reckoning children, see Exodus 30:12: "When you [Moses] take the sum of the children of Israel by their number count," etc. (כִּי תִשָּׂא אֶת רֹאשׁ בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל לִפְקֻדֵיהֶם . . .), also Numbers 1:2: "Take the sum of the whole congregation of the children of Israel by their families," etc. (שָׂאוּ אֶת רֹאשׁ כָּל עֵדֻת בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל לְמִשְׁפְּחֹתָם . . .).

68. First hemistich is after Jeremiah 4:30: "... though you clothe yourself in crimson, though you adorn yourself with ornaments of gold," etc. (כִּי תִלְבַּשִׁי שָׁנִי כִּי תַעֲדִי עָדִי) . . . (זהב . . . וגיל גבעות) "the hills gird themselves with joy" (Psalm 65:13: "... the hills gird themselves with joy" (תַּחְגְּרֶנָּה).

69. First hemistich is after Esther 8:17: "... the Jews had happiness and gladness, a feast and a good day," etc. (מִגֵּיעַ שְׂמֵחָה וְשִׂשׂוֹן לַיְהוּדִים מִשְׁתַּה וְיוֹם טוֹב . . .). For the second, see Talmud Bavli, Berakhot, fol. 64a: "... for it is said [Isaiah 54:13]: 'And all your children will be taught about the Lord and great will be the peace of your children.' Don't call them your children but your builders" (שֶׁנָּאֻם וְכָל בֵּנֶיךָ לְמוֹדֵי ה' וְרַב שְׁלוֹם בְּנִיךָ, אַל תִּקְרִי) (בְּנִיךָ אֵלֶּא בּוֹנֵיךָ).

70. After Isaiah 60:1: "Arise, shine, for your light has come," etc. (קוּמִי אֹרִי כִּי בָא) . . . (אֹרֶךְ).

71. Vague reference to Song of Songs 4:5, also 7:4, 9.

8 יָלִין וְיִתְעַנֵּג / בְּהוֹד דֹּדֶיךָ:
 Yalin ve-yit'annag / be-hod dodayikh:
 Will rest and take pleasure / in the honor of your love.⁷²

In the rabbinical literature the days of the Messiah are usually considered a period of transition from “this world” (*ha-‘olam ha-zeh*) to “the world to come” (*ha-‘olam ha-ba*). “Not every man will be privileged to enter it, only the totally righteous,” Joseph Albo (d. 1444) writes in *Sefer ha-‘ikkarim* [The book of principles].⁷³ They are not expected to have fulfilled all commandments of Torah in their life, for God will know, on the Day of Judgment, that

if righteous persons could not fulfill a certain portion of the whole Torah, it was not because of the wickedness of their choice but because of the injustice of exile or because of external obstacles or other reasons. Such was the case with Moses and Aaron who could not fulfill the whole Torah, meaning the commandments that depend on [existence in the Land of] Israel, inasmuch as they did not enter [the Land of] Israel. Yet they [the righteous] will be entitled to resurrection, after which they will fulfill all the commandments . . . they could not fulfill in their earlier life, and as a consequence will be privileged to take the last and largest step, which is [to enter] the life of the world to come.⁷⁴

Archivolti draws a sharp distinction between the three worlds: the present one (App. B5–8), the days of the Messiah (App. B9–11), and, following the Day of Judgment and the resurrection of the dead (App. B12–13), the world to come (App. B14). For Naḥmanides (Moses ben Naḥman; d. 1270), the world to come is one of “light, namely, the light that rose in thought and was created before this world (*ha-‘olam ha-zeh*), which is to say that it is the last achievement for man to achieve and [the last] to which he

72. For first hemistich, cf. Job 27:10: “Will he take pleasure in the Almighty? Will he call upon the Lord at every instant?” (אם על שדי יתענ יקרא אלוה בכל עת): Archivolti appears to play on the homophony of *shadayikh* (“your breasts”), in the previous verse, and *Shaddai* (“the Almighty”), in the implied verse from Job. The second hemistich has a vague reference, again, to Song of Songs 1:2, as a complement to “breasts” and “take pleasure” (verses 7–8): “. . . for your love is better than wine” (כִּי-טוֹבִים דּוֹדִיךְ מִיַּין).

73. Albo, *Sefer ha-‘ikkarim* (1485), section 4, chap. 31 (no foliation).

74. Ibid., fol. [94]b (אבל המדרגה הגדולה האחרונה שהיא חיי העולם הבא לא יזכה אליה כל אדם) אלא הצדיקים הגמורים ולאחר תחית המתים, כי אותן צדיקים שגלוי וידוע לפניו יתברך שמה שלא יכלו לקיים את התורה כלה לא היה מפני רוע בחירתם אלא מפני עול הגלות ומעיקים אשר מחוץ או מפני סבה אחרת, כמשה ואהרן שלא יכלו לקיים את התורה כלה, רוצה לומר מצות התלויות בארץ, לפי שלא נכנסו לארץ, ואלו יזכו לתחיה ואז יקיימו כל המצות . . . שלא יכלו לקיים בחיים הראשונים, ומתוך כך יזכו (למדרגה הגדולה האחרונה שהיא חיי העולם הבא).

מְיוֹם אֲשֶׁר הָיָה כְּמִשְׁתַּנֵּעַ
 יוֹבֵל בְּכִנּוּרוֹ לְשֹׁטֵף מַיִם
 נִשְׁאָר פֶּאֶר זְמַרָּה בְּהַשְׁמִים
 גַּם כֹּה בְּמִקְבּוֹת כְּמוֹ פּוֹנֵעַ:
 עַד כִּי נָגִיד עִם אֵל וְלֹא יִנֵּעַ
 חֲאִיר זְמִיר שִׁבְעַ כְּאֹר יוֹמִים
 לִפְנֵי בְּנֵי לֵוִי וְעוֹר פְּעָמִים
 יָקִים מִנְחָל לּוֹ וּבּוֹ נוֹנֵעַ:
 יוֹסִיף מְשִׁיחַ אֵל נְעִימוֹת נֶצַח
 נִימָא שְׁמִינִית עוֹד וּפְתַח
 שְׁעַר אֲשֶׁר נִסְגַּר בְּרַב תְּפֹאֲרֹת:
 מְתִים יִחְיֶה אֵל וַיִּפִּיץ קֶצֶח
 וּבִעַת מְצוֹא רְצוֹן וַיִּפְתַּח
 תְּנִידָה עָלֵי עֲשׂוֹר תְּהִי מוֹהֲרֹת:

Figure 2 The sonnet “Mi-yom asher hayah” in Samuel Archivolti, *‘Arugat ha-bosem* (Venice: Zuan Degara, 1602), fol. 117b. Courtesy, The National Library of Israel (shelf mark R8=25 V 14279).

will ascend.”⁷⁵ Archivolti enlarged on the notion of light by wishing that the praises sung in the world to come be “radiant.” He relays further information on the traits of the same world by elaborating on the number ten.⁷⁶ It is “a gathering of all individual numbers to comprise them in one.” By forming a perfect circle that “knows no beginning or end,” ten, we learn, alludes “to everything infinite.” In the world to come God will “make a

75. Nahmanides, *Sefer torat ha-adam* [Book of the laws of (death and mourning binding on) man] (1595), the last section—chap. 30—on retribution (*sha’ar ha-gemul*), specifically fol. 106b (ההשגה האחרונה שאדם משיג ומתעלה העולם הבא הוא אור והוא האור שעלה במחשבה ונברא קודם העולם הזה לומר שהוא).

76. *‘Arugat ha-bosem*, fol. 29a–b.

Covenant,” whereby the king resolved “to keep the [Lord’s] commandments and His testimonies and His statutes with all his heart and soul . . . and the people abided by the covenant.” The practice of cantillation in its beginnings existed much earlier than the system of accent signs, or *te’amim*, that fixed their meanings in the early tenth century.⁸²

Though “retained,” the original mode of reading Scriptures by accent signs in their prototypical formation appears to have been forgotten during the exile.⁸³ The point was made by the early scholars, among them Simeon Duran (“the singers in the Temple knew the differences [in the kinds of *te’amim*], and we did not receive them, and in the length of exile all of this was lost”) and Judah Halevi (“There can be no doubt that their [the Levites’] art was perfect and touched the souls [of people]. . . . It has [since] deteriorated, . . . sinking from its greatness when you sank from your greatness”).⁸⁴ Archivolti planned to discourse on *te’amim* in his treatise, but, he tells us, he “almost passed them by, because [he] did not find what [he] desired, namely, the procedure for [realizing the pristine] melodies assigned to them.” “Woe for us,” he bemoans,

for ever since we were exiled from our country because of our sins, the voice of Jacob has diminished, and during our exile songs and dances in Israel [viz., among the Jews] have ceased. What good is it for me to long for them if, in our midst, there is nobody with any knowledge of the music of Zion? Who will unfold to us its relations and the charm of its merits? Who will guide us in its paths? It has been put to rest in our sleep and all its muses have plummeted to the depths.⁸⁵

He softened his assertions in the continuation, noting that the meaning of the signs has changed over time. No wonder that “the authors [who] sought out full reports of the reasons for the forms of *te’amim* and their

82. As in Aharon ben Asher, *Sefer dikdukei ha-te’amim* [The book of indications of *te’amim*] (930). Abraham Zvi Idelsohn in his classic book on Jewish music was of the opinion, which, however, he expressed with all due caution (“most likely”), that the vocal music of the Temple, in particular, “the intonations of the Psalms and the Pentateuch, as well as the recitation of the prayers, was most likely retained and transplanted into the synagogue.” See *Jewish Music in Its Historical Development*, 19.

83. After the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 CE.

84. Duran, *Sefer magen avot*, fol. 55b (והמשוררים במקדש היו יודעים אלו ההבדלים ולא) (קבלים ובאורך הגלות אבד כל זה שמה מבלי ספק נגמרה); Halevi, *Sefer ha-Kuzari*, 2.65, fol. 65b (ושמה מבלי ספק נגמרה) (חשיבותה כאשר ירדהם אתם עם חשיבותכם).

85. Archivolti, *Arugat ha-bosem*, fol. 92a (הנה עתי עת דודים להכנס בגבולי הטעמים ודרכיהם . . . אוי נא לנו כי אמנם כמעט שעברתי מהם כי לא מצאתי את שאהבה נפשי והוא דרך הגנון המיוחס להם . . . ומה כחי כי מאז גלינו מארצנו מפני חטאינו הקל קול יעקב ובאורך הגלות שרים כחוללים בישראל חדלו. ומה כחי כי איחל אם אין אתנו יודע עד מה משיח ציון. מי יערוך לפנינו יחסיו וחין ערכו. מי ידריכנו בנתיבותיו. הלא including various quotations from Ezekiel 16:8, Job 6:11, Jeremiah 3:25, and Ecclesiastes 12:4).

names could not easily find the door [by entering through which they might understand them], and they thought of relating them to [certain] melodies, yet were unable to do so because of the frequent alterations among the children [of Israel] in dispersion so that one thing cannot be compared to another from among the tunes, of their different kinds, in their [different] countries.”⁸⁶ Archivolti had no alternative but to describe *te'amim* “according to [his limited] conception of them only.”⁸⁷ True, harsh times “darken the light of the mind and extinguish the flash of understanding.” But Archivolti is determined to follow “the paths of the great spirits who, after the breach [the Fall of Jerusalem], let their hand be ready for repair and make do with what remains.”⁸⁸

Archivolti takes consolation in the thought that in future times the true forms of the *te'amim* will be revealed. Then will “an elevated spirit from above inspire us to return things to their original importance.”⁸⁹ It is probably in the world to come that,

when the sun of righteousness shines upon us, we will understand how powerful were the tunes of the *te'amim* in their words of integrity, for we will be impelled to know the procedures of heavenly music as in the days of old and give to each and every word its own special tune according to its own particularities.⁹⁰

Tracing the Poem to Its Rabbinical Source

“Mi-yom asher hayah” is no less remarkable for the singularity of its subject—“the history of music” (to stretch the term to its fanciful extremities) in its constitution from biblical and rabbinical sources—than it is for the density of its contents. One question remains: what prompted Archivolti to write it? The answer may lie in the books that Archivolti had in his library. One of them was Judah Moscato’s *Sefer nefutsot Yehudah* [Book on the dispersed of Judah], a collection of fifty-two sermons preached by Moscato in

86. Ibid., fol. 92a (דע אם כן כי המחברים בקשו חשבונות רבים בטעמי צורות הטעמים ושמותיהם) וילאו למצוא הפתח כי חשבו לכוונם אל הגונים ולא יכלו מרב התחלפותם בין בני הגולה דלא ראי זה כראי זה (בגוניהם בארצות למיניהם).

87. Ibid., fol. 93a (לכן נדבר מהטעמים כפי השגתנו בלבד).

88. Ibid., fol. 92a (אמנם מפני שהעמידה על יללה מה תקדיר אור השכל ותכבה שלהבת ההשכלה) (הנה מה טוב לדרוך שבילי גדולי הנפש שאחרי השבר תהי ידם אמונה לחזק כל בדק ויחיו בנותר).

89. Ibid., fol. 93a (עד יערה עלינו רוח ממרום להחזיר עטרות ליושנן).

90. Ibid., fol. 95b (עד תזרח עלינו שמש צדקה ובין מנגוני הטעמים מה נמרצו אמרי יושר כי נדעה) נרדפה דרכי המוסיקה השמימית כימי קדם לתת לכל תבה ותבה נגון מיוחד לה בטעם לשבח כפי המובן (ממנה). In the context of Archivolti’s poem on music, the implication would be that we will eventually perceive music in the heavens, as did Jubal and Pythagoras in its reproduction on earth (App. A2, B1–2, 4).

Mantua, probably in the 1580s, and printed in Venice in 1589. The first sermon, a lengthy disquisition on music, was entitled “Sounds for contemplation on a *kinnor*.”⁹¹ Since Moscato’s sermon is as unique in the literature as is Archivolti’s sonnet, one wonders: is there any connection between them?

In the copy of the volume owned by Archivolti, his name was inscribed in Hebrew, in his own hand, on the title page. The copy once belonged to the library of The Jewish Theological Seminary, New York, but, having a second original in its holdings,⁹² the Seminary decided to put it up for auction, along with other duplicates from its rare book collection, by Kestenbaum & Company, New York, on 25 November 1997. Daniel Kestenbaum, head of the company, kindly informed me that the book was sold on that date to William Loewy (resident in Lakewood, New Jersey; 1920–2005), an avid collector of Judaica, and that, to his knowledge, Loewy himself sold it to someone else before his death. Though unaware of who this person was, he nevertheless gave me a lead, and following it through, I eventually was able to trace the book to its current owner, Rabbi Abraham Freulich, a rare book dealer and head of a kolē—or institution of higher talmudic learning for married students—in Jerusalem.⁹³ Not only did the rabbi verify the details of Archivolti’s ownership (via his signature on the title page) but he answered my question about whether there were any visible signs of Archivolti’s having used the book by confirming that there definitely were. It turns out that Archivolti highlighted various passages by drawing lines next to them in the margins. Rabbi Freulich graciously provided me with scannings of the title page and, in the first sermon, of all sentences to which Archivolti called attention by his markings.⁹⁴

Even though there is no direct connection between the sentences signaled in the copy and the contents of the sonnet,⁹⁵ it is enough to read

91. “Higgayon be-khinnor,” fols. 1a–8a; see above, p. 18.

92. Writing in 1937, Simon Bernstein noted the presence of Archivolti’s copy in the Seminary: see his “Shirim ḥadashim le-Rabbi Shemu’el Arkivolti,” 56n5. The call number for the second copy is RB119:3.

93. Rabbi Freulich, who consented to disclosing his name, informed me that the proceeds of his book sales went to financing the kolē, “Ḥomot Yerushalayim” (Walls of Jerusalem). His response to my question whether he intended to sell Archivolti’s copy of Moscato’s *Sefer nefutsot Yehudah* was that the book was so precious to him (in its typography and contents) that he incorporated it into his private library.

94. Other markings in the book show that one of its later owners was the scholar Nehemiah Samuel Leibowitz (1862–1939): his name was rubber-stamped (in Hebrew) twice on the title page and twice on the first page of Sermon 1 (to the left and right of its title).

95. Archivolti marked sentences about the lucidity of the brain in penetrating spiritual content at midnight (nos. 105–6 in my edition of the sermon; for more on this portion, see below, pp. 28–29); about the power of music to awaken prophecy (nos. 124–25); and about the pointlessness of teaching Torah to one who does not have the sense to understand it (no. 129).

through the sermon to see where Archivolti got his ideas for plotting his uncommon history of music. Moscato discourses amply on all the subjects treated in the poem: the planets, Jubal, Pythagoras, David and his seven-string lyre, the eight-string lyre in the days of the Messiah, and the ten-string lyre in the world to come.⁹⁶ He built the sermon, as did Archivolti his poem, in a gradual crescendo from seven—the world as it was—to eight and ten—the world as it will be.⁹⁷ “May the whole world be perfect in its harmonies,” Moscato exults in the final sentences,

and in the place where the earth, until now, was marred and damaged in the ratios of its harmonies from Adam’s sin . . . “may all the trees of the forest sing, / may the field rejoice and everything in it” [Psalms 96:12], “may the desert and wilderness flourish” [Isaiah 35:1], “may they shout for joy and sing as well” [Psalms 65:14]: “Sing, heavens, for the Lord made you; rejoice, lower parts of the earth” [Isaiah 44:23]. . . . All things will then return to their full strength and first condition before Adam’s sin . . . for, surely, when [the Day of] Judgment . . . comes to him [man] will all the generations be in their plenitude and perfection, for their failures and deficiencies will be repaired. . . . Then will we, in the name of the Lord our God, declare a new song [after Psalms 149:1], . . . “and in singing together all sons of God [the angels] will exult” [Job 38:7], and “each one called the other” [Isaiah 6:3], until the whole world fills with “light and happiness and joy and honor” [Esther 8:16].⁹⁸

96. Planets: sentences 24–44, 58, 177–79, 182, 187–98 in my edition; cf. Archivolti, App. A1–2, B3. Jubal: sentence 13 there; cf. Archivolti, App. A2, B1–2. Pythagoras: sentences 6–12 there; cf. Archivolti, App. A2, B4. David and his seven-string lyre: sentences 4, 92–103, 104–6, 113, 165–68, 172 there; cf. Archivolti, App. A3, B5–8. On Moses and Shemini ‘atseret [The eighth day of convocation, at the end of the Feast of Tabernacles], see, in the same edition, sentences 132–37; on Torah as the eighth science, 203–4 and 207–8; and on the days of the Messiah and the eighth string, again 208: to be compared, all, with Archivolti, App. A4–6, B9–11. On the ten-string lyre in the world to come, see sentences 207–8, 210, 211 in the edition; cf. Archivolti, App. A4–6, B12–14.

97. Till now, the question of dating the poem has not been addressed. By assuming that Archivolti based it on Moscato’s sermon, one may surmise its composition sometime between 1589 (*Sefer nefutsot Yebudah*) and 1602 (*‘Arugat ha-bosem*).

98. “Each one called the other” (the next to last quotation) is to be completed by “and said: ‘Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts: the whole earth fills with His glory.’” The whole paragraph is from sentences 209–11 in the edition (or fol. 8a in the print: . . . ובמקום אשר היתה הארץ עד הנה פגומה ומקולקלת בערכי גנוגיה מחטאתו של אדם . . . אז ירננו כל עצי יער יעלוו שדי וכל אשר בו ישושם מדבר וציה יתרועעו אף ישירו רנו שמים כי עשה ה' הריעו תחתיות ארץ . . . כי יחזרו כל הדברים לאיתנם ולתנאם הראשון קודם חטאו של אדם . . . כי אמנם בבא אשר לו המשפט . . . יהיו כל התולדות במלואן ושלמותן כי תתמלא פיגמתן וחסרונן . . . ואז אנחנו בשם ה' אלקינו נזכיר שיר חדש . . . וברך יחד יריעו כל בני אלקים וקרא זה אל זה עד יתמלא כל העולם כלו אורה ושמחה (וששון ויקר).

Archivolti seems to distill this climactic, almost apocalyptic transformation by writing, at the close of his sonnet, “May praises [sung] to a ten-string lyre be radiant” (App. B14).

But the clinching argument for Archivolti’s reliance on the sermon is his reference to the sage Meir ibn Gabbai (d. ca. 1540)—one of Moscato’s major sources⁹⁹—on the gradual shift from seven strings to ten. Moscato wrote that Ibn Gabbai penetrated “the secret” behind it¹⁰⁰ and, like him, Archivolti specified the latter’s struggles with interpreting the procession “in his book [*Mar’ot Elohim* (Mirrors of God)], part [2] ‘On worship,’ chapter 43” (App. A6). Yet what is “the secret”? According to Ibn Gabbai, it is

that the achievement in the First Temple was in all seven building stones [viz., the seven sciences]. In the days of the Messiah the achievement will increase and rise to a *sheminit* (an eighth string), which is the cornerstone [viz., the eighth science: Torah]. But in the world to come the achievement will then be complete in all ten [strings of the *kinnor*] and from this it will be clear that the world to come is body and substance, for it contains the *kinnor* and the Temple.¹⁰¹

Ibn Gabbai enters thereby the murky waters of whether the world to come has bodies or souls. Archivolti demurs at the extent of his percipience: for him, Ibn Gabbai “uncovered” not the whole secret, but “a small portion” of it (App. A6). The passage from Talmud Bavli¹⁰² that Ibn Gabbai is supposed to have decoded is fraught with cognitive difficulties. Archivolti was right perhaps in his more reticent formulation. But—who knows?—its secret might be revealed, to repeat one of the sentences in Moscato’s sermon that Archivolti marked in his copy, when “a North Wind comes out at mid-night, . . . [which is] the time of the emergence of the pumps for drawing the spirit of knowledge from the fountains of wisdom. Then the mind of man will detect a clear, radiant, and shining light from the Morning Star [Venus] facing it and its [the mind’s] clouds will have passed with the rise of

99. Moscato refers to him or implies him on at least six occasions (in the edition, sentences 30, 35, 58, 90, 208, 210).

100. *Sefer nefutsot Yehudah*, sentence 208 in the edition (וכבר העיר על סודו בעל מראות) (אלקים בחלק העבודה ממנו פרק מ"ג יענין שם).

101. Ibn Gabbai, *Mar’ot Elohim*: . . . *kolel arba‘ah ḥalakim ha-meyyasherim et ha-adam be-‘avodat ha-kodesh* [Mirrors of God: . . . containing four parts that instruct man in sacred worship] (1567), fol. 56a (והסוד כי ההשגה במקדש ראשון היתה בכל שבעת אבני הבנין ולימות המשיח) (יתבאר כי העולם הבא גוף וגויה שהרי מקדש וכנור מצויים תרבה ותעלה ההשגה עד השמינית שהיא אם הבנין. ולעולם הבא אז תהיה ההשגה שלמה בכל העשר ומוזה).

102. See the extract at the beginning of the article, and also App. A5.

the fumes that dissolved and evaporated . . . and the spirit of . . . understanding will send its help from sanctity.”¹⁰³ *Amen, ken yehi ratson*.¹⁰⁴

Ibn Gabbai was a kabbalist, and it is not by chance that Archivolti was drawn to his treatise. Archivolti’s interest in Kabbalah began in the later 1560s, when he copied out various works for its study. His reliance on kabbalist sources is clear from his references to them in *‘Arugat ha-bosem*.¹⁰⁵ In a personal vein, he composed a poem on the death of the leading kabbalist Moses Cordovero (d. ca. 1570) and another one for a book of essays by the kabbalist Menahem Azariah da Fano (d. 1620).¹⁰⁶ It is a small step from Kabbalah to Messianism, with its promise of better times and, in “Mi-yom asher hayah,” with music restored to perfection.¹⁰⁷

How Does Archivolti’s Poem Relate to the Larger Story?

“Mi-yom asher hayah” should be read in the context of Hebrew culture in Renaissance Italy. The topic is enormous—important books have been written on it—and my immediate concern is with a small, though significant part of the whole: humanism as an agent of renewal in Jewish art music on the threshold of the modern era.¹⁰⁸ This is not the place to review the tribulations of the Jews in exile and dispersion beyond recalling that the Fall of the Second Temple was a cataclysmic event that repeated itself in their

103. Moscato, Sermon 1, sentences 105–6 in the edition (. . . והיתה רוח צפונית יוצאה)
 בחצי הלילה . . . היא עת צאת השואבות רוח דעת ממעינות החכמה כי בעת ההיא יראה שכלו של אדם אור
 בהיר צח ומצוחצח מנוגה גדול, כי עביו עברו מהאידיים העולים אשר הותכו ונימוחו . . . רוחו בינתו . . . שולח
 (לו עזר מקדש).

104. To quote a common formula in prayer (“May it be Your will, amen!”).

105. Archivolti’s leanings toward Kabbalah along with the works he copied and his citation of specific sources in *‘Arugat ha-bosem* are reviewed in Schwarz, “Rabbi Shemu’el Arkivolti—toldotav u-khetavav, she’elot u-teshuvot ve-igrot,” 71, 83–84. On Kabbalah in Archivolti’s time, see Idel, “Major Currents in Italian Kabbalah between 1560–1660.”

106. For his eulogy of Cordovero, namely, “Riv li zeman ‘immakh asher sillita / kol kokhevei marom” (I have an argument with you, time, for removing / all stars on high), originally published in 1587, see Bregman, *Tseror zehuvim*, 100; for details on the poem for Fano’s work published in 1597, namely, “Shanun be-limudav,” see above, p. 9.

107. On Kabbalah and Messianism, see Elior, “Messianic Expectations and Spiritualization of Religious Life in the Sixteenth Century”; and on the seeming embodiment of the Messiah in a self-declared, seventeenth-century redeemer, see Scholem, *Sabbatai Sevi: The Mystical Messiah—1626–1676*.

108. For the general literature, see, for example, Bonfil, *Jewish Life in Renaissance Italy* (1991, trans. 1994); Ruderman, *Early Modern Jewry: A New Cultural History* (2010); Ruderman and Veltri, *Cultural Intermediaries: Jewish Intellectuals in Early Modern Italy* (2004); and the older, though no less provocative works by Shulvass, *Jews in the World of the Renaissance* (1973), and Roth, *Jews in the Renaissance* (1959). On the conflation of Italian and Hebrew musical traditions, see Harrán, *In Search of Harmony: Hebrew and Humanist Elements in Sixteenth-Century Musical Thought* (1988; the argument turns on Zarlino’s recommendation that composers follow Hebrew music as a rhetorical model).

massive expulsion from England (1290), France (1306), Spain (1492), Portugal (1497), and the Papal States (1569). A persecuted, heckled minority, the Jews looked back to the glories of their past, in Ancient Israel, as consolation for their troubles in the present. Conceiving the arts and letters as having their first efflorescence under David and Solomon, Jewish scholars spread the myth of Hebrew precedence in all of them.¹⁰⁹ This myth acted as a humanist force for recuperating an ancient heritage by sanctifying the Hebrew past, the Hebrew language, and the Hebrew sciences, among them the “science of music” (*hokhmat ha-musikah*).¹¹⁰

Music, so this story goes, enjoyed its heyday in the Temple. David was honored as “the master of this science” and the Levites, his trainees, as its “experts.”¹¹¹ With the destruction of the Temple, however, this music was lost. Archivolti already bemoaned its absence (“Woe for us,” as above). The lament became a standard theme in the literature. What remained was not art music, but the cantillation of Scriptures and the singing of prayers and piyyutim in the synagogue. They consisted in parsing and intoning texts with motives or melodies transmitted through oral tradition.

What happened, meanwhile, to the original Hebrew art music? According to the myth, music in the Ancient Temple, though gradually forgotten by the Hebrews in their wanderings, was preserved in Christian art music. The notion that others took from the Hebrews their original sciences, which the Hebrews themselves could not retain in foreign countries, became an *idée fixe* in the rabbinic sources. Maimonides, for one, wrote that “the many sciences that our nation had for [understanding] these matters were lost in the course of time and as a result of our being dominated by foolish nations.”¹¹² Moscato, for another, was more specific: he noted, via the humanist conceit of *translatio studii*, that “the roots and contents of all the sciences were taken from us first to the Chaldeans, then to Persia and Media, then to Greece, and then to Rome, and in the course of time and with the many [changing] aggregations [of knowledge] it was not mentioned that these sciences were taken from the Hebrews, but rather from the

109. See, thereabout, Melamed, *Rakkahot ve-tabbahot: Ha-mitos ‘al mekor ha-hokhmat* [The myth of the Jewish origins of philosophy and science: a history].

110. See Lesley, “Jewish Adaptation of Humanist Concepts in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Italy.” For an overview of Hebrew art music as revived after its exemplar in the Temple, see Harrán, “Notes on a Jewish Musical Renaissance.”

111. The expressions are after Duran, *Sefer magen avot*, fol. 52b (עלי) . . . וכך הלוי המשרר במקדש היו בקיאים בחכמה זו (השלום) היה ראש חכמה זו. But they were common coin in medieval and early Renaissance Hebrew writings at large (as variously quoted in Harrán, “In Search of the ‘Song of Zion’: Abraham Portaleone on Music in the Ancient Temple”).

112. Maimonides, *Moreh ha-nevukhim*, 1.71, fol. 53a–b (דע כי החכמות הרבות אשר היו באומותנו באמתת אלו העניינים אבדו באורך הזמן ובשלוט האומות הסכלות עלינו).

Greeks and Romans.”¹¹³ These sciences included music, about which Immanuel Haromi wrote in the same vein: “What does the science of *niggun* (music) say to the Christians? ‘I was stolen, yes stolen from the land of the Hebrews.’”¹¹⁴

It was in the later sixteenth century that the Jews renewed the composition of art music for which their ancestors were famed in the Temple. In 1575, David Sacerdote *ebreo* published a collection of Italian madrigals, dedicating it to the marquis Alfonso del Vasto (a minor figure at the Mantuan court). There were no (known) Jewish composers before Sacerdote¹¹⁵ and one can only ask how he acquired his musical learning. Not only did he flaunt it by writing long, demanding works for a no less demanding ensemble of six voices, of which unfortunately only the quinto remains,¹¹⁶ but he strove to impress the dedicatee by referring, as Moscato and Archivolti were to do, to cosmic number and to music as a comprehensive science. “Number and measure, the proper subjects of music,” he asserts in the dedication, “are in themselves so noble that many have thought they occurred in the mind of Divine Providence before any other things. . . . The opinion of the Platonists is, above all, that one cannot deal with music without first having mastered all the other sciences embraced by it and included in it.”¹¹⁷ Though Sacerdote hoped the marquis would ask for further compositions (“I will consider it my greatest recompense . . . to offer you, in time, still riper fruits of my uncultivated talent”), his appeal fell on deaf ears: that is the last one hears of him (beyond reports on his services as a loan banker).¹¹⁸

113. Moscato, *Sefēr*, fol. 30b, now from Sermon 5 on procedures of learning (כל החכמות הועתקו שרשיהן וכללם מאתנו אל הכשדים תחלה ואחר כך אל פרס ומדי ואחר כך אל יון ואחר כך אל רומי ובאורך הזמן ורוב המצוים לא נזכר בחכמות שהם הועתקו מן העברים אך מן היונים והרומיים).

114. Immanuel ben Solomon Haromi, *Sefēr mahbarot*, (notebook) 6, (line) 341, fol. 34b (מה אומרת חכמת הגנון אל הנצרים? גנוב גונבתי מארץ העברים) etc., after Genesis 40:15.

115. Excluding the thirteenth-century trouvère Mahieu Le Juif and minnesinger Süß-kind of Trimberg, with few songs to their name; yet both of them, under pressure, converted to Christianity.

116. The collection numbers eighteen works, with an average of over two hundred measures for each: Sacerdote’s model is the extended, “serious” madrigal inaugurated by Adrian Willaert and Cipriano de Rore in the mid-sixteenth century. From the content and phrasing of the quinto, it is clear that the counterpoint was dense.

117. “. . . perchè il numero, & la misura, propri soggetti della Musica, sono per sè tanto nobili, che da molti è stato giudicato, quelli esser caduti nella mente della divina provvidenza, prima di tutte l’altre cose . . . essendo massime opinione de Platonici, che non si possa trattare della Musica se prima non si ottengono tutte le altre scienze, da quella abbracciate, & in quella comprese”; Sacerdote, *Il primo libro di madrigali a sei voci* (1575), fol. [2]b.

118. “. . . io me ’l riputerò a sommo beneficio . . . d’appresentarle co’l tempo de più maturi frutti del mio incolto ingegno”; *ibid.* References to Sacerdote’s loanbanking activities are included in Foà, *Gli ebrei nel Monferrato nei secoli XVI e XVII*, 48–49, 73, 75;

In 1589, Salamone Rossi, often considered the first Jewish composer in his time (though he obviously was not), dedicated a collection of three-voice *canzonette* to the Mantuan duke Vincenzo Gonzaga. Encouraged by the duke, he went on, in his early years, to publish three books of five-voice madrigals (1600, 1602, 1603).¹¹⁹ This was, to be sure, not music in a liturgical setting, but it demonstrated the ability of Jews to write counterpoint. Leon Modena alludes in a foreword to the composer's later sacred works (about which more below) to a period of transition from musical nonlearning among the Jews to the renewal of their ancient skills after being influenced by their "neighbors." Adverting to "the science of music," he writes that "their ears eventually picked up a trace of it from their neighbors as the remnant of the city [Jerusalem] in these generations at the end of time."¹²⁰ By "these generations" he appears to be referring to the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Just as David preceded Solomon in biblical times, so David Sacerdote and presumably other Jewish composers—who they were we do not know—preceded Salamone Rossi in the early modern era. By "the end of time" he is speaking, as Archivolti did, of a messianic era, which brings us to the connection between Modena and Archivolti.

Rabbi Leon Modena, it so happens, was Archivolti's ever-devoted student. In Modena's letters to Archivolti, he celebrates him as "a crown of Torah" (*keter Torah*, in the sense of a learned biblical scholar), "a miracle of the nations" (*nes 'ammim*), "a tiara of wisdom" (*'ateret ḥokhmah*), "a great light over the domains" (*ma'or ha-gadol la-mamshélet*), and so on in an unending stream of praises.¹²¹ For his tombstone, he wrote "a lament over the death of the *gaon* (great scholar), my teacher and master, his honored eminence Rabbi Samuel Archivolti (may his saintly memory be blessed!)," describing him as "a master of elegant rhymes: the language of the Hebrews will mourn over him."¹²² One reads in the secondary literature that

Segre, *Jews in Piedmont*, 1:doc. 1284, 2:docs. 1334, 1361, 1639, 1676, 1877; and elsewhere.

119. On Rossi's secular and sacred works, see Harrán, *Salamone Rossi, Jewish Musician in Late Renaissance Mantua*.

120. Modena, foreword to Rossi's "Songs by Solomon" (about which more below), fol. 3a (ותקח אזנם שמע ממנה אחרי כן מזולתם שריד מעיר בדורות אלה באחרית הימים); see Rossi, *Songs by Solomon*, vol. 13 of *Complete Works*, ed. Harrán, 13a:175–86, esp. 177.

121. Thirteen letters appear in Modena, *Igrót Rabbi Yehudah Aryeh mi-Modena* [Letters by Rabbi Leon Modena], 47–49, 57, 59, 81–82, 83–85, 88, 127–28, 139, 186, 260–61, 262, 264–65, 265.

122. The poem is in the *Divan le-Rabbi Yehudah Aryeh mi-Modena* [The divan of Rabbi Leon Modena] (after Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Mich. 528), 209–10 (the first quotation is from the inscription: קינה על פטירת הגאון מורי ורבי כמוהר"ר [כבוד מורנו הרב רבין] [זכר צדיק לברכה] שר בשירים מהדורים / לשון (עברים תספוד עלי).

Archivolti “shaped Modena’s activities for the rest of his life.”¹²³ Since Modena himself acknowledged that Archivolti was “a garland of ingenuity” (*nezer ha-tushiyyah*) in all matters and “a hook on which everything hangs” (*yated she-ha-kol talui bo*; note “everything”),¹²⁴ it is not unlikely that his teacher “shaped” his views on music too and that, in fact, the “renaissance” of Jewish art music owes in part to exchanges of ideas between them.

Leon Modena had a keen interest in music, both as practiced in the synagogue (he was cantor, from 1612 until his death in 1648, in the Scuola Italiana, or Italian synagogue, in Venice) and as composed.¹²⁵ He played a major role in introducing art music into the synagogue after the precedent of music in the Temple. In 1605, while in Ferrara, he writes of having “decided on a meeting place and engaged a teacher who came, every day,” to impart the rudiments of music to certain members of the congregation who were “without knowledge of it, . . . which causes them great pleasure and delight.”¹²⁶ They learned enough for Modena to encourage “six or eight of them” to perform, in the prayer services for holidays and festivals, “songs and praises, hymns, and the melodies ‘Ein ke-Eloheinu’ (There is none like our God), ‘Aleinu le-shabbēah’ (It is our duty to praise [the Lord of all things]), ‘Yigdal’ (Magnified [and glorified be the living God]), ‘Adon ‘olam’ (Lord of the universe), and others in honor of the Lord, observing the ordering and relation of the various voices according to the aforementioned science.”¹²⁷ Yet the Ferrarese rabbi Moses Coimbram opposed art music in the synagogue, rallying others against it. Modena describes their animosity:

123. After Adelman, “Success and Failure in the Seventeenth-Century Ghetto of Venice: The Life and Thought of Leon Modena, 1571–1648,” 213. Modena “officially” studied with Archivolti in 1581.

124. From Modena, *Igrot Rabbi Yehudah Arieḥ mi-Modena*, 47, 186.

125. On Modena and music, see Harrán, “‘Dum recordaremur Sion’: Music in the Life and Thought of the Venetian Rabbi Leon Modena (1571–1648)” and idem, “Jewish Musical Culture: Leon Modena.”

126. Modena, Letter to Judah Saltaro da Fano (ועשינו לנו בית ועד, ושכרנו מלמד אשר בכל) . . . *Igrot Rabbi Yehudah Arieḥ mi-Modena*, 110–11, at 110.

127. From the question that Modena addressed in a *responsum* on the legitimacy of performing art music in the synagogue (יש אתנו יודע עד מה בחכמת השיר ר"ל [רוצה לומר] המוסיקא ששה או שמנה בני דעת מבני קהלנו יצ"ו [ישמרהו צורו ויחיהו] אשר בחגים ובמועדים ישאו קולם וירנו בבית הכנסת שיר ושבחה הלל וזמרה אין כאלהינו עלינו לשבח גדל ואדון עולם וכיוצא לכבוד ה' בסדר [ויחס ערך הקולות בחכמה הנוכרת]; see Modena, *She'elot u-teshuvot: Ziknei Yehudah* [Questions and responses of the Elders of Judah], 15–20 (together with five approbations, on which below), esp. 15; also included, seventeen years later, in the prefatory matter to Rossi’s “Songs by Solomon.” “Ein ke-Eloheinu,” “Aleinu le-shabbēah,” etc., are major prayers.

A man arose to expel them [the singers]. With the speech of his lips he re-acted by saying that it is not right to do this,¹²⁸ for rejoicing is prohibited, and hymns are prohibited, and praises when presented according to the science of the said song [viz., art music] are prohibited ever since the Temple was destroyed, in compliance with [the words] "Rejoice not, Israel, for joy, as do other peoples" [Hosea 9:1]. Though most of them [the singers] were scholars of Torah, he made them an object of scorn in the eyes of the multitude who heard their voices.¹²⁹

Coimbram "spoke outdoors and on the streets," he castigated Modena and the singers for having "sinned to our Lord God," he asked how "scholars whose task it is to guide others in preserving tradition" could openly commit this offense, and he cited Psalms 137:4 ("How can we sing the song of the Lord in a foreign land?") and passages "in the writings of the learned [Hebrew] sages" to make his point that the introduction of art music into the prayer services was an intolerable "transgression of customs and change of laws."¹³⁰

To disprove the arguments of the opponents, Modena wrote a detailed *responsum* in which he showed that no unimpeachable legal jurisdiction could be invoked, in the biblical and rabbinical tradition, for excluding art music from the synagogue. He then submitted the *responsum* to five Venetian rabbis for their ratification, which was unanimous.¹³¹ But he did not stop there. His intention, to all appearances, was to have Jewish composers write music to sacred texts. It is here that Salamone Rossi, whom we already know as a composer of secular works, enters the picture.

Rossi, at some point, met Modena, maybe in Ferrara when Modena was there as a young rabbinic scholar (1604–7) or in Venice during one of Rossi's visits to supervise the printing of his collections (three of them are signed from Venice).¹³² His fame as a talented Jewish composer would have

128. After Exodus 8:2 ("And Moses said: it is not right to do this"): the words were purposely chosen because they were spoken by Moses, the name of the adversary.

129. Again from the question put to Modena (יקם אדם לגרשם בשיח שפתותיו עונה ואמר כי) לא נכון לעשות כן כי אם לשוב אסור והמזמור אסור והלולים כאשר המה בחכמת הזמר האמור אסורים משחרב הבית משום "אל תשמח ישראל אל גיל כעמים", ואותם הוציא לבדו בדבר זה בעיני החמון אשר שמעו (את קולם עם היותם רובם מתופשי התורה); *She'elot u-teshuvot*, 15.

130. These passages are from the aforementioned letter to Judah Saltaro da Fano, whose help Modena sought for defending the use of art music in the synagogue; see *Igrot Rabbi Yehudah Arie'el mi-Modena*, 110.

131. For the *responsum* and five approbations, see note 127. One of the approbations was signed by Judah Saltaro da Fano and another by Ben-Zion Tsorfati, to whom Modena appealed for support in a separate letter; *Igrot Rabbi Yehudah Arie'el mi-Modena*, 111–12.

132. Rossi's secular works, beyond those already mentioned, include books 4–5 of his five-voice madrigals (1610, 1622), a book of four-voice madrigals (1614), a book of *madrigaletti* for two to three voices (1628), and four books of instrumental works (1607, 1608, 1613, 1622). Those with a dedication signed in Venice are book 1 *a* 5 (1600; see above), book 4 of the instrumental works (1622), and the book of *madrigaletti* (1628).

spread among the Jewish communities, and Modena probably sought him out.¹³³ Modena “implanted” in his head the idea of writing and publishing a collection of sacred works for use in the synagogue.¹³⁴ Rossi hesitated, anticipating resistance: an occasional performance of part songs in the synagogue or in private settings was one thing, but a printed edition, exposing him to public opinion, and possible rabbinical condemnation (as happened, before, in Ferrara), was quite another. With no experience in writing music to Hebrew texts, it was, as he admitted, no easy task (he “toiled” until he found the right way to order his works).¹³⁵ He eventually did prepare a collection, which he called “Songs by Solomon” (*Ha-shirim asher li-Shelomo*),¹³⁶ yet dillydallied on their publication. Though originally “he had agreed to give them to the press,”¹³⁷ his lingering fear of how they would be received appears to have made him have second thoughts, and Modena and others (note the words “with us” in the continuation) stepped in to boost his confidence. “From the time I numbered among his friends,” Modena writes, “I entreated him earnestly and pleaded with him until he reached that crucial stage I had hoped he would with us here: he came and consented to discharge his vow to print as he had promised.”¹³⁸ Modena offered Rossi his support as both a rabbinical authority and an expert Hebrew editor, indeed, at the composer’s behest, he readied the works for publication and, lest any “mishap” come to them, “proofread” them and “kept [his]

133. There were connections on Modena’s wife’s side with the Copia family in Venice; around 1614, Sarra Copia married Jacob Sulam, whose brother Moses, in Mantua, was Rossi’s patron. Modena dedicated a book of sermons *Sefer midbar Yehudah* [Book of the desert of Judah] to Simon Copia (Sarrah’s father) and his brother Moses in 1602; and after 1618 he was a regular visitor to Copia Sulam’s literary salon. For details on Modena’s associations, see *The Autobiography of a Seventeenth-Century Venetian Rabbi: Leon Modena’s “Life of Judah,”* index under Copia, Modena, and Sullam [sic]; and Adelman, “Success and Failure,” passim.

134. In the first of the three prefatory poems to the “Songs” as published, there is mention, in fact, of their having been “sown” and “planted” (אף בם יזרעו ובם נטעו) fol. [2]b); *Complete Works*, 13a:172.

135. Composer’s dedication (יגעתי ומצאתי ותכנתי עמודי השיר) fol. 2a); *Complete Works*, 13a:167.

136. “Day by day,” Modena says, probably as a synecdoche for “year by year,” Rossi “would enter into his notebook one or another psalm of David; or a certain prayer text; or praises, hymns, and songs to God. Eventually he succeeded in gathering some of them into a collection” (Foreword, fol. 3a; ויום יום לעומת מחברתו היה מביא איזה מזמור לדוד או (ממכשירי תפלה או שבחה הלל וזמרת יה עד כי משכיל לאסף קבץ כמה מהם והיו לאחדים בידו); *Complete Works*, 13a:179. On the collection itself, see Harrán, *Salamone Rossi, Jewish Musician in Late Renaissance Mantua*, 201–41; and on the implications of the composer’s visit to Venice in 1622 for its formation, idem, “A Tale as Yet Untold: Salamone Rossi in Venice, 1622.”

137. Foreword, fol. 3a (יואל לתתם אל הדפוס); *Complete Works*, 13a:180.

138. Foreword, fol. 3a (גם אנכי מאז נמנית במספר אוהבי הפצתי בו עד מאד והערתני עליו) דבר, עד כי אסתייעא מלתא תודות לבורא כל ובאו פנים עד משבר אשר שברתי לראות פניו פה אתנו בא (החסכים לשלם נדור להדפיס בדבר הנדור); *Complete Works*, 13a:181.

eyes open for typographical errors and defects.”¹³⁹ In anticipation of protest, he assembled a battery of prefatory materials of a magnitude uncommon to printed collections of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century music.¹⁴⁰ It included a dedication by the composer, a foreword by Modena, three laudatory poems, Modena’s early *responsum* on art music—the one published in Ferrara—together with its approval in five rabbinical declarations, and, at the end, a statement of copyright.¹⁴¹ The collection was published in 1623, and since there are no denigrating remarks about it in the literature, its reception appears to have been positive.

Through Rossi’s “Songs” Modena envisioned a renaissance of art music among the Jews. He had spoken of the “science of music” as cultivated “in ancient Israel” when “all lofty sciences flourished” and of the loss of these sciences because of “the events of our foreign dwellings and of our restless runnings over the lands.”¹⁴² He pinned his hopes on Rossi, who, as a new Solomon, “alone is exalted nowadays in this wisdom,” to restore the ancient music to its erstwhile eminence.¹⁴³ In a dedicatory poem, he said of him that

After / the glory of the people / was dimmed
Completely / for many days / and many years,

He restored / its crown / to its original state
As in the days / of Levi’s sons / on the platforms.

He set to / *musikah* (art music) / that was printed
The words / of his [David’s] psalms / and [set them] to cheerful tunes.¹⁴⁴

Modena thought that Rossi’s works would inaugurate a trend. “You will teach them to your children,” he writes, “for them to understand the science of music, the knowledgeable man imparting it to the student, as was said of the Levites.” He was certain that with the publication of the

139. Foreword, fol. 3a (ואותי צוה לעמוד על כל צרה שלא תבא על החבור לסדרו להדרו להגיה אורו) (ולפקוח עינים על עבירות וחטאות הדפוס); *Complete Works*, 13a:181.

140. Cf. *L’écrivain face à son public en France et en Italie à la Renaissance*, esp. part 1 about what is now commonly called the “paratext,” viz., the prefaces, dedications, introductions, and postscripts, by means of which authors tried to influence readers and control their responses.

141. For all of these in the original and in translation, see Rossi, *Complete Works*, 13a:161–222.

142. Foreword, fol. 3a (כי בפרוח חכמים כמו עשב בכל מדע לפנינו בישראל ויציצו מהם כל החכמות) הרמות... אכן קורות בתני הזרים ורהיטנו דרהיטנא מפוזרים בארצות וילדי הזמן נכרים הספיקו (להשכיחם מכל דעה ולהעבירם מכל השכל); *Complete Works*, 13a:175–76.

143. Foreword, fol. 3a (יהללו את שם ה' כי נשגב שלמה לבדו בימינו בחכמה זו); *Complete Works*, 13a:177–78.

144. Poem 3 (with eighteen stanzas), fol. 4a, stanzas 6–8 (אחר / פאר העם / אשר / [6] הועם // הכל / ברוב ימים / ורוב שנים: [7] השיב / עטרתה / לישנותה // כימי / בני לוי / בדוכנים: [8] הביא / במוסיקה / מחוקקה // דברי / תהלותיו / וברננים: *Complete Works*, 13a:189.

“Songs,” “those who study music will increase in Israel, singing to the magnificence of our God by using the ‘Songs’ and others like them.”¹⁴⁵

But Modena’s prediction of their immediate influence was overly optimistic: it was not until the Emancipation of the Jews in mid-nineteenth-century Italy that the synagogue more regularly incorporated works of polyphony into its prayer services. True, there were other Jewish composers active in the early seventeenth century: Davit da Civita and Allegro Porto published secular collections. Like Sacerdote’s one book of madrigals, however, they are incomplete.¹⁴⁶ In the years 1628–30, moreover, Modena founded and directed an academy of music for Jewish musicians in the Venetian ghetto. A manuscript of twenty-one Hebrew works for eight voices, of which only one survives (the *canto secondo*), can in fact be associated with this *accademia*—Modena may himself have composed some of them.¹⁴⁷ One might detect a resurgence of Jewish music theory in writings of the scholars: Moscato in his sermon (1589) and Modena in his early *responsum* (1605); Abraham Portaleone in a treatise on the Ancient Temple with its music discussed, in ten chapters (and in various appendices), after the model of contemporary Italian art music (1612); and Modena again, in a second *responsum*, in which he deals with the legitimacy of repeating God’s name in art music and, between the lines, reveals an overall conception of Hebrew sacred music (1648).¹⁴⁸ But this flurry of activity soon came to an end. A

145. From Modena’s foreword, fol. 3b (ולמדתם אותם את בניכם להבין בחכמת הגון מבין עם) תלמיד כאמור בלויים כי כן בטחתי מיום זאת חבור זה לאורה ירבו לומדיה בישראל על מנת לשורר לחדר אלהיו בם וכיוצא בהם; *Complete Works*, 13a:184. On didactic models in Renaissance literature, see Lyons, *Exemplum: The Rhetoric of Example in Early Modern France and Italy*.

146. Civita, *Premittie armoniche a tre voci* (1616), seventeen works for canto, alto, tenor, and basso continuo (the canto is lacking); Porto, *Nuove musiche a tre voci, libro secondo* (1619), seventeen works for canto 1, canto 2, bass, and basso continuo (canto 1 is lacking); idem, [*Madrigali, libro primo a cinque voci*] (1622), four works, altogether seventeen *partes* (of the five voices, only the alto and tenor are extant); idem, [*Madrigali a cinque voci*] (1625), seventeen works (of the five voices, only the alto and tenor are extant). The writer is preparing an edition of the various collections, including Sacerdote’s above and the Hebrew one mentioned in the next footnote; they will be published, with full critical apparatus and two of the collections reconstructed in all their parts, by the Jewish Music Research Centre, Magnes Press, Hebrew University, Jerusalem.

147. On the academy, see Roth, “L’*accademia musicale del ghetto veneziano*”; on the manuscript (Cincinnati, OH, Hebrew Union College, MS Birnbaum 101) in relation to the academy, Werner, “The Eduard Birnbaum Collection of Jewish Music,” esp. 407–17; and for the same two topics within a broader discussion of Modena *qua* composer, Harrán, “Was Rabbi Leon Modena a Composer?”

148. For Moscato’s sermon and Modena’s early *responsum*, as edited and translated, see above. For the ten chapters and other portions on music in Portaleone’s treatise, viz., *Sefer shiltei ha-gibborim* [The book “Shields of heroes”] (1612), see the annotated Hebrew redaction in Adler, ed., *Hebrew Writings Concerning Music*, 243–83; and the same plus a translation in Sandler, “Pirkei ha-musikah be-sefer ‘Shiltei ha-gibborim’” [The chapters on music in the book “Shields of heroes”]. For Modena’s last *responsum*, see (for the

Dark Age of increasing socioeconomic repression descended upon the Jews, and by the mid-seventeenth century the signs of renewal had been obliterated. Nothing remained but the hope that Jewish art music would be restored to its full glory in the future. That is the note on which Archivolti's sonnet ends.

Appendix A The Inscription to the Sonnet "Mi-yom asher hayah" as Printed in *'Arugat ha-bosem* (see Fig. 1, p. 7)

1 עוד חברתי במשקל הזה שיר על המוסיקה אשר תִּכְחַן בתנועות סביב לגלי רום כפי דברי רז"ל [רבותינו זכרונם לברכה].

In this meter I also composed a poem about music to be discerned in its movements around the planets on high, according to the words of our sages (may their memory be blessed!).¹⁴⁹

2 יובל אבי כל תופש כנור ועגב הביאה לדורותיו ומת במבול ונשארה בשחקים עד שהרגיש בה פיתאגורה מתוך הקשת קורנס ומקבות בעלי משקלים מיוחדים.

Jubal, "father of all who hold a *kinnor* (lyre) and *'ugav* (aulos?)" [Genesis 4:21], introduced it [music] to his own generations and died in the Flood; and it [music] remained in the heavens until Pythagoras perceived it by striking a mallet and hammers of specific weights.¹⁵⁰

3 דוד נעים זמירות הבין דרכה.

David, "the sweet singer" [2 Samuel 23:1], understood its ways.

Hebrew) his *She'elot u-teshuvot*, 176–78, and for a broader study on its content, Harrán, "*Nomina numina*: Final Thoughts of Rabbi Leon Modena on the Essence of Sacred Music" (with the *responsum* in Hebrew and an annotated translation on pp. 44–63).

149. "This meter" is the iambic hendecasyllable, in which each line ends as a *verso piano*. Vowel points added to the verb "to be discerned" (in the Hebrew) are editorial. For "around" the source has the misprint סבוב (*sivuv*) for סביב (*seviv*). On the connection of planets with music, see pp. 10–11 above.

150. On the time of Jubal's birth, his relation to Noah and the Flood, and the Greek mathematician and philosopher Pythagoras, see pp. 11–15. To "perceived it" add: and attempted to reproduce its pitches.

ועוד בשתי פעמים אחרות תקנה שלמות. א' לימות המשיח. וא' בזמן ע"ה [עולם הבא]
אחר התחייה 4

On two further occasions, moreover, will its perfection be restored:
once in the days of the Messiah and once more in the time of the next
world after the resurrection.¹⁵¹

מכוון לאמרם ז"ל [זה לשונם] כנור של מקדש של שבע נימין. ושל ימות המשיח שמנה 5
שנאמר למנצח על השמינית. על נימא שמינית. ושל ע"ה [עולם הבא] עשר שנאמר עלי
עשור.

This is implied in the words, to quote: "A *kinnor* of the Temple, with
seven strings; in the days of the Messiah, with eight, for it is said: 'For
the conductor on the *sheminit*,' [meaning] on an eighth string; and in
the next world, ten, for it said: 'On a ten-string lyre.'" ¹⁵²

ויגלה טפח ממאמר זה החכם גבאי בספרו חלק העבודה פ' [פרק] מ"ג. 6
The sage [Ibn] Gabbai uncovered a small portion of this statement in
his book [*Mar'ot Elohim*], part [2] "On worship," chapter 43.¹⁵³

ואם יהיה סוף הדלת והסוגר מהמין הזה מלרע אז תהיה חתימתם בשתי תנועות 7
בלבד.

If the end of the *delet* (door) and the *soger* (close) of this kind [of
verse: hendecasyllabic] is a *verso tronco*, then their conclusion will be in
two cords [longs] only.¹⁵⁴

151. Writing on Leviticus 18:29, Nahmanides clarifies that the world to come follows the resurrection (... לעולם הבא הוא העולם שאחרי התחייה) [Commentary on the five books of Torah] (1859).

152. On lyres of seven, eight, and ten strings, see, expanding on the opening extract, Talmud Bavli, 'Arakhin, fol. 13b: "It is taught: Rabbi Judah says that a *kinnor* of the Temple had seven strings, for it is said: 'A *sova*' (abundance) of joys in Your presence' [Psalms 16:11], to be read not as *sova* but as *sheva*' (seven), and [the *kinnor*] of the days of the Messiah [will have] eight, for it is said: 'To the choirleader on the *sheminit*' [Psalms 12:1], because of the eighth string, and [the *kinnor*] of the world to come [will have] ten, for it is said: 'On an '*asor* (ten-string lyre) and on a *nevel* (psaltery)' [Psalms 92:4]"; see above, p. 16, for part of this quotation in Midbar Rabbah.

153. On Ibn Gabbai and the quotation of his words, from *Mar'ot Elohim*, about the "secret" behind the same "statement" in 'Arakhin (App. A5 and note 152), see above, p. 28.

154. *Delet* is here the first hemistich of the verse; *soger*, its second hemistich. For *verso tronco* the Hebrew reads *milra*', i.e., with terminal stress (as in the word *kinnór*). In the present sonnet *milra*' applies only to the *delet* whereas *mil'eil*, Hebrew for penultimate stress, applies to the *soger* (as in all the end words: *khe-mishtaggéa*', *máyim*, etc.). On the interpretation of App. A7, see above, p. 9.

והדת נתנה בין המשוררים לגלגל החרוזים כרצונם ובלבד שישמרו סדר וערך. 8

It became a custom among the poets to arrange the rhymes as they wish provided they retain *seder* (order) and *'erekh* (relationship) [in doing so].¹⁵⁵

והא לך שירי אשר משקלו זה"ב. 9

Here you have my poem in a meter [with a verse form] of fourteen lines.¹⁵⁶

Appendix B The Sonnet "Mi-yom asher hayah" (see Fig. 2, p. 22)¹⁵⁷

- 1 מיום אֲשֶׁר הָיָה / כְּמִשְׁתַּגֵּעַ
 Mi-yom asher hayah / khe-mishtaggea'
 From the day when, / as if going crazy,¹⁵⁸
- 2 יובל בְּכִנּוֹרוֹ / לְשֶׁטֶף מַיִם
 Yuval be-kinnoro / le-shetef mayim
 Jubal with his *kinnor* / became a stream of water,¹⁵⁹

155. "It became a custom" is a free translation: the original has *ve-ha-dat nittenah*, after Esther 3:15 ("At the king's command, the messengers went forth in haste and the edict was announced [והדת נתנה] in Shushan, the citadel," etc.) and, similarly, Esther 8:14. Archivolti refers to the arrangement of rhymes not in the octet where they were fixed (*abba abba*) but in the sestet allowing various combinative possibilities (*cde cde*, or *cdc dcd*, etc.); see above, pp. 9–10.

156. The Hebrew has זחי"ב (*zahav*, "gold"), the numerical count of its three consonants being fourteen. For the particular meter, as schematized by Bregman, see the first in her "Luah ha-mishkalim" (Table of meters), thirty in all, in *Tseror zehuvim*, 552–53.

157. As already indicated on pp. 7–8, each line of eleven syllables is divided into two hemistiches, the first with six syllables, the second with five. Quantitative accentuation: first hemistich, two cords (i.e., longs), a peg (i.e., short plus long), two cords; second hemistich, a peg, three cords.

158. For the wording *mi-yom asher hayah*, see the similar passage (*mi-yom asher hayyiti*) in 1 Samuel 29:8 ("And David said to Achish: 'But what have I done and what did you find in your servant *from the day when I [first] appeared* before you until this day,'" etc.). For "going crazy" in the sense of prophetic inspiration, see the commentary, in *Metsudat David*, on the word *meshugga'* in 2 Kings 9:11—the verse reads: "And Yehu went out to the servants of his master and one of them said to him: 'Is everything all right? Why did that crazy man come to you? (מדוע בא-המשגע הזה אליך)'. And he [Yehu] said to them: 'You know the man and his [mode of] speech,'" about which *Metsudat David* remarks: "Crazy man: thus they called a prophet," etc. (see above, p. 12, for the quotation).

159. For "Jubal with his *kinnor*," see Genesis 4:21 ("... Jubal: he was the father of all those who play a *kinnor*," etc.). On the various meanings to be read into "became a stream of water," see above, p. 12.

- 3 נִשְׂאָר פֶּאֶר זִמְרָה / בְּהַשָּׁמַיִם
Nish'ar pe'er zimrah / ve-ha-shamayim
 The glory of song remained / in the heavens;¹⁶⁰
- 4 גַּם פֹּה בְּמַקְבּוֹת / כְּמוֹ פּוֹגֵעַ:
Gam poh ve-makkavot / ke-mo foga'
 Even here [on earth] with hammers / [was pitch produced]
 when hitting [them]¹⁶¹
- 5 עַד כִּי נִגִּיד עִם אֵל / וְלֹא נִגַּע
'Ad ki negid 'am El / ve-lo yagea'
 Until God's people's ruler, / without tiring,¹⁶²
- 6 הָאִיר זִמִּיר שֶׁבַע / כְּאוֹר יוֹמָיִם
He'ir zemir sheva' / ke-or yomayim
 Showed [the way to play] a song on a seven-string lyre /
 more brightly than daylight¹⁶³
- 7 לִפְנֵי בְנֵי לֵוִי / וְעוֹד פַּעַמַּיִם
Li-f'nei venei Levi / ve-'od pa'amayim
 To the sons of Levi, / and twice again¹⁶⁴
- 8 יָקוּם מְנַהֵל לוֹ / וְבוֹ נוֹגֵעַ:
Yakum menahel lo / u-vo nogea'
 Would he rise, holding it¹⁶⁵ [the lyre] / and playing on it:

160. Two meanings can be inferred: one is that with Jubal's death music ceased on earth, only to remain in the heavens, where it was to start with—see above, pp. 11–12; another perhaps, not mentioned there, is that music made by man is only a poor reflection of music in the heavens, God's abode ("The Lord is in His holy temple, the Lord is in the heavens," etc.: Psalms 11:4).

161. Archivolti implies that with Jubal's death music ceased to exist until Pythagoras rediscovered it; see above, p. 12.

162. On David as the ruler of "God's people," see above, p. 15; "without tiring" is also "effortlessly."

163. On the connection between "light" and teaching, see Psalms 119:135: "Shine Your face upon Your servant and teach me Your laws" (פִּנֵּךְ הָאֵר בַּעֲבֹדְךָ וְלַמְדֵּנִי אֶת חֻקֶּיךָ). For "more brightly than daylight" the Hebrew has *ke-or yomayim*, "as the light of two days," i.e., an especially bright light; cf. Isaiah 60:19: "You will no longer have the sun as a light during the day, nor will the moon shine on you for brightness [at night]. But you will have the Lord for everlasting light and your God for your glory" (לֹא יִהְיֶה לְךָ עוֹד הַשֶּׁשֶׁשׁ לְאוֹר (יוֹמָם וּלְלַיְלָה הִירָח לֹא יֵאִיר לְךָ וְהָיָה לְךָ יְהוָה לְאוֹר עוֹלָם וְאַלְהֶיךָ לְתַפְאֶרֶת).

164. "To the sons of Levi": source has *lifnei benei*, though it properly should be *lifnei venei* (as transcribed above); on the sons of Levi responsible for the maintenance of the Temple, see above, pp. 15–16. Source specifically has *pa'amayim* (פַּעַמַּיִם), which, for sake of scansion, should be *pa'mayim* (as transcribed, moreover, in *Tseror zehuvim*, 95). "Twice again" can be read in at least two ways: the two burnt offerings made in the Temple, one in the morning, the other in the evening (Numbers 3–4; see p. 15); and, analogically, as music in the days of the Messiah and in the world to come (see App. A4).

165. For the wording *menahel lo*, cf. Isaiah 51:18, there *menahel lah*.

- 9 יוסיף משיח אל / נְעִימוֹת נֶצַח
Yosif meshiah El / ne'imut netsah
 God's Messiah will add / eternal pleasantness,¹⁶⁶
- 10 נִימָא שְׁמִינִית עוֹד / וְיִפְתָּהּ
Nima sheminit 'od / ve-yippateah
 An eighth string still, / and there will open
- 11 שַׁעַר אֲשֶׁר נִסְגַּר / בְּרֹב תִּפְאָרֶת:
Sha'ar asher nisgar / be-rov tif'eret
 A gate¹⁶⁷ that had been closed, / [revealing music] in
 greater splendor;
- 12 מְתִימִם יַחְיֶה אֵל / וְיַפִּיץ קֶצֶח
Metim yehayyeh El / ve-yafits ketsah
 God will revive the dead / and disperse nigella¹⁶⁸
- 13 וְיָבֵעַת מִצָּא רָצוֹן / וְיִמְתָּהּ
U-yib'et metso ratson / ve-yimmateah
 And when His decision is made, / and enforced,¹⁶⁹
- 14 תוֹדָה עָלֵי עֲשׂוֹר / תְּהִי מִזְהָרֶת:
Todah 'alei 'asor / tehi mazheret
 May praises [sung] to a ten-string lyre¹⁷⁰ / be radiant.

166. For the Messiah as coming from the offspring of David, see above, p. 18. Though *ne'imut* (*ne'imut*) means "pleasantness," with a change of vowel it becomes נְעִימוֹת (*ne'imot*), "melodies," which Archivolti probably intended as a second reading ("eternal melodies").

167. Opening, presumably, to heavenly music (see line 3).

168. For nigella, Hebrew *ketsah*, an herb having black aromatic seeds and employed not only in cooking but also as a medicinal remedy, see Talmud Bavli, Berakhot, fol. 40a: "Rabbi Ḥama said after Rabbi Ḥaninah: 'One who is used to *ketsah* will never know pain of heart.'" In the present sonnet, it may be read, accordingly, as "for the benefit of all."

169. The decision, that is, to create the world to come. For "enforced," the Hebrew reads literally "and spread"; cf. Isaiah 40:22: "... and spreads them as a tent for a dwelling" (וַיִּמְתָּחֵם כְּאֹהֶל לִשְׁבֹת).

170. In the world to come. On a ten-string lyre, see Psalms 33:2 and 92:4; and on the same lyre in the world to come, Midrash Pesiketa Rabbati [Pesiketa, large *midrash* (exegesis)], 21: "In the world to come they are ten, after the words 'Praise the Lord on a *kinnor*, on a *nevel* 'asor (ten-string lyre) sing to Him' [Psalms 33:2]" (for Archivolti's reference to this verse, see above, p. 23).

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Abstract

One of the mainstays of this **Journal** is the history of music. But its readers are unlikely to envision a history told from a biblical and rabbinical point of view. Such an account is encapsulated in a Hebrew sonnet written by the learned Paduan scholar and rabbi Samuel Archivolti (d. 1611) and included in a treatise published in 1602. The poem is introduced there, in a chapter on Hebrew metrical schemes, by a lengthy inscription that summarizes its

themes and refers to questions of prosody. Using Hebrew sources, Archivolti details an unconventional history, in the poem itself, that begins with the sounds of the planets, then continues on earth after divine inspiration with the invention of music by Jubal and, after the Flood, its reinvention by Pythagoras. He signals the major role played by David and his *kinnor* (lyre) in the Temple, then augurs a future history of music, no less fictitious, in the time of the Messiah (when David's seven-string *kinnor* will expand to eight strings) and the world to come (when it will expand to ten). Beyond discussing the poem for its singularity, I will identify its contents for their Hebrew and comparable non-Hebrew sources and trace its origins to the one source that, in a surprising bibliographical turn of events, seems to have prompted Archivolti to write it in the first place. The concluding section turns on its broader implications.

Keywords: Samuel Archivolti, David, Jubal, *kinnor* (lyre), Pythagoras