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

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... 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

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2. Adam von Fulda, Musica (1490), chap. 7.
3. First quotation: כָּרְמֶל שָׁלֹשׁ שָׁלֹשׁ נִמְמוֹן... וְשָׂלֹשׁ מִשְׁמַת וַשֶּׁמֶת... נַעֲשֶׂה עָשָׂר... (reference to Talmud Bavli, as above); the translation of kinnor as lyre (or cithara) is after the Vulgate (there cithara, 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 quacramus, 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 aba'va [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 aba’va 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: “Leḥayav 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 Portalone 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, Maqālāt al-hadīqa fī ma’nā al-majāz wa ‘l hadīqa [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 Osar ha-shirah ve-ha-piyyut mi-zeman hatimat kitve ha-kodesh ‘ad rehbit tekufat ha-haskalat [Thesaurus of medieval Hebrew poetry from the time of the completion of the Talmud 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 socio-historical 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 ‘asr sonettim le-Rabbi Shemu’el Arkivolti” [Thirteen sonnets by Rabbi Samuel Archivolti] (and for the sonnet under discussion, 41); idem, Tsevor zehuwim: Sonetim ‘ivrigim mi-tekufat ha-Renesans 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). Jehim Schirmann includes four poems, none of them sonnets, by Archivolti, without discussing them however, in his Mivḥar ha-shirah ha-‘ivrit be-Italyah [An anthology of Hebrew poetry in Italy], 251–55. See also Harran, “‘Khein kinnor’ (Take a lyre) by Samuel Archivolti (d. 1611): A Wedding Ode with Hidden Messages” (it, too, is not a sonnet).

9. ‘Arugat ba-bosem, ūl. 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 Harran, “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. 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 sonetim,” 41, and Tsevor zehuvim, 95–96 (for reference to others, see ibid., 555).
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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 delect (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:

Mi-yôm â-shêr hâ-yâh  khê-mish-tâg-gê-â

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 iamb, with the last of them extended in a *verso piano:* ¹⁴

Mi-yóm ā-shér hā-yāh  khē-mísh-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 jīn rī-mē spārse āl suō-nō

But the lines of Italian sonnets were usually not marked for their division into hemistichs 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 Papis, “Hamtša’at ha-yambus ha-‘ivri u-teμurot 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 khe (likewise vocalized with a semi-vowel) of khe-mishtagge’a would form a single syllable with mish. With a-sher reckoned as one syllable and khe-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 Papis, *Hidush u-masoret be-shirat ha-hol ha-‘ivrit: Sefarad 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 *Tisor zoḥvim* (1999), and “Sheloshah ‘asar sonetim le-Rabi Sham’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: Miğash bein ha-shirah ha-‘ivrit ve-ha-italkit” [The Hebrew sonnet as a meeting between Hebrew and Italian poetry] (1993).
first hemistic] 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].” Consisting of a four-line refrain followed by seven six-line stanzas with the refrain repeated after each of them, the piyyut, which begins “Shahri be-terem yi- / heyh zoreah” (My dawn, before it / shines), 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):

Mi-yôm ä-shèr hâ-yáh / bê-vât-teï-hèm

Or summarized for its quantities and final accentuation: first hemistic—
two cords, a peg, and two cords, with an accent on the final syllable (milra’); second hemistic—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]), namely:

**Line 10**  Lâ-èl vê-gâm èl yô- / shê-vcê mî-dîn
**Line 14**  Mâl-khût û-mêm-shâ-lâh / vê-îkî-kûr dîn

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 ccd

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’amarat [Ten chapters] (1597), on verso of title page; see Tavor zehuvim (no. 67), 106.
21. Translation, line 10: “To God and also to judges”; line 14: “Kingdom and dominon and understanding of judgment.”
or cde cde or cde cdc, 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 cde cdc.  

Musica in Its Beginnings

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

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 souls 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].

22. For cde cde, see, in Bregman, Tsevor zehuvim, nos. 59–60, 62–63, 66–71; for cde ced, no. 61; for cde cde, no. 64; for cde dcd, no. 65.

23. Speaking of sonnets, Gian Giorgio Trissino, in part 4 of his La poética (1529), recognized six rhyme combinations for the sestet (or what he called two volete): (1) abc abe; (2) aca bac; (3) aba bba; (4) aba aba; (5) abb abba; (6) abba bba (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 poética, in Trattati di poesia 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-keronografiyot ha-yehudit shel yemei ha-beinayim u’va’ayotena” [Trends in Jewish chronography of the Middle Ages and its problems].


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. 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).” 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.” 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.”

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). Archivolti identifies him in the inscription, after Genesis 4:21, as “father of all who hold a kinnor and ‘ugav” (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...” ( ...) שלפעמים... ולהם קול נורא ומעין מבטפיהם מאה רימונים והם מת끼ירים את השירם משניהם את הגורמים(stats: the planets make frightening sounds and in hearing them...)

28. Duran, Sefer magen avot [The book “Guard of fathers”] (1785), fol. 52b (יכ ש...한다; cf. Sefer ha-Kuzari [The book of the Khazar] (1796), 4.25, fol. 129a: המדה והמשהוות של כל תנועת השירד המוסיקות שלה כנגים, ימי סרים ( ...)...

29. Farissol, Beit Ya‘akov [House of Jacob], in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, MS Or. Qu. 653, fol. 107b–108a, after transcription in Adler, Hebrew Writings Concerning Music, 142–43 ( ...) ערך תנועת שירד המוסיקות [ך בַּמקו]; לכל בנין ... ימי ערך תנועת הלאליס נגים ( ...)海绵 תנועת שירד המוסיקות לכל לבני

30. From Bahya ben Asher, Commentary to the Pentateuch (written 1291, first publ. 1492), specifically the verse Exodus 32:19; after edition published in 1726, fol. 129b ( ...) והנה בן כל אביו מנה נג ודר נג תנועת מגוון בצלם חומת המוזיקה וימי עוך לכל... מנה נג ודר בנין לכל נג

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 ‘ngav 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.”

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).

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” (yωρα). 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. 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.

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’ ” (Almahar ha-Tohaf. The commentary in Metsudat David reads: כ ב-המשועט ק ה-תקין ה-מקוהינ . The prophet, who is mad, is also a seer. (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 taf (drum), a balil (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, 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 Giossefò 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. Lingerling 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


38. “... Pitagora sia stato colui, che ritrovò la ragione delle musicali proporzioni 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 moveva l’udito con dilettazione; 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 cagine. 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 industriosiamente accrebbe in questo modo: che havendo fatto chordi di budella di pecore di grossezza uguale, attaccando ad esse li medesimi pesi de martelli, ritrovò le medesime consonanze; tanto più sonore, quanto le chordi 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.”\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 says\textsuperscript{43} 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.”\textsuperscript{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.”\textsuperscript{45} Adam von Fulda (later fifteenth century), for another, recognized the role

\textsuperscript{39} And so it was for Isidore of Seville (see below).

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

\textsuperscript{41} From \textit{Zohar hadasah} [New Zohar] (1603), parashah (the weekly portion of the Pentateuch read in the synagogue) “Bereshit” [Genesis 1:1–6:8] 1:26a (לק ולהלוה מה ולדה יתירה והيرا יתירה) אול מי הוא מבשיט את השמם מלאך מאלה מה רוקח במטופית והים פנוי לא ב francah יתירה יתירה יתירה פנוי—which 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).

\textsuperscript{42} For three studies, the first two concentrating on the Middle Ages, the third reaching the eighteenth century, see Beichner, \textit{Medieval Representative of Music: Jubal or Tubalcain?}; Cohen, “Jubal in the Middle Ages”; and McKinnon, “Jubal vel Pythagoras: Quis sit inventor musicae?”

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


\textsuperscript{45} “Apud nostros autem scriptura auctoritas referat primum Jubal antediluvianum” (“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, \textit{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 Mysen, apud Gracens Pythagoram, . . . apud Latinos Boetiam credimus incepisse. . . . Hunc quam plures secuti sunt, Gregorius, Isidorus, Guido, Odo, Berno, Ioannes de Muris; et circa meas aetatem doctissimi Wilhelmus Dufay, 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
4. as an expert in the science of music (he “understood its ways”; App. A3).

The one cognitive dissonance in Archivolti’s chronology is the fact that David preceded Pythagoras by at least four centuries, so, if anyone, it would have been David who reinvented music after the Flood. But Archivolti is not to blame: the conception of Jubal and David as the leading musicians ante and post diluvium was well rooted in the literature. Conceding the force of biblical precedent, Aurelian of Réôme wrote that Jubal was followed by “the most blessed David, who formed an enormous choir of singers in order for them, as a muse, to chant their sweet songs, with glorious praise, over God’s sacrifices.” 49 In the Hebrew sources, we learn that the Levites were separated from the rest of the congregation and favored by the Lord (“the Levites shall be mine”), for their duty was “to execute the service of the Lord.” 50 For Judah Halevi, music was the pride of the Hebrews: they confided their songs to “the greats among them, viz., the Levites, who made practical use of the songs in the holy house and in the holy season.” “There can be no doubt,” he said, that music achieved its perfection with them. 51

In “Mi-yom asher hayah,” Archivolti presents three periods of music as inaugurated by David and the Levites. They are differentiated by the number of strings on the kinnor. In the first, the one that concerns David in biblical times, the kinnor had seven strings. Midbar Rabbah posed the question: “How many strings were there on the kinnor on which the Levites used to play?” then answered it by reference to Psalms 16:11: “Fullness (sova’) of joy is in Your presence.” Yet sova’, we are warned, “should be read as sheva’ (seven), for David said: ‘Seven times a day I praise You for Your righteous ordinances’ [Psalms 119:164].” 52 On the number seven, Archivolti expatiates in ‘Arugat ha-bosem, noting its arithmetic singularity, among the first ten numbers, for being undivisible (“[number] one generates all the numbers, . . . [number] two generates four, [number] three does six and nine,” etc., which leaves “[number] seven that neither generates nor is

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Lord your God chose them to serve Him and to bless [others] in the name of the Lord”), also 1 Chronicles 23:24 (“These were the sons of Levi . . . doing the work of worship in the house of the Lord”).

49. “posteaque beatissimum David cantantium habuisse abundantisissimum chorum, qui laude gloriosa super Domini sacrificia musa personarent dulcedinem carminum”; Aurelian of Réôme, Musica disciplina, 62.

50. Numbers 8:5–6, 9–11, 14–19.

51. Halevi, Sefer ha-Kuzari, 2.64–65, fol. 65b (בַּאֲלֵי הָכְתָּבִים וְצִוָּאָשׁ וַיָּשֶׁר הָהַחְכָּמִים וַיְהוּ דָּבָר עָלֵיהֶם וַיְזָכָּרוּ לָהֶם וַיַּחֵלָּה לוֹ וַיְהוּ מַעֲזֹרֵיהֶם וַיִּשָּׁמְרוּם וַיְזַהֲרֵיהֶם וַיִּנָּחֵמוּ וַיְזַהֲרֵיהֶם וַיִּנָּחֵמוּ וַיְזַהֲרֵיהֶם וַיִּנָּחֵמוּ וַיְזַהֲרֵיהֶם וַיִּנָּחֵמוּ וַיְזַהֲרֵיהֶם וַיִּנָּחֵמוּ וַיְזַהֲרֵיהֶם וַיִּנָּחֵמוּ וַיְזַהֲרֵיהֶם וַיִּנָּחֵמוּ וַיְזַהֲרֵיהֶם וַיִּנָּחֵמוּ וַיְזַהֲרֵיהֶם וַיִּנָּחֵמוּ וַיְזַהֲרֵיהֶם וַיִּנָּחֵמוּ וַיְזַהֲרֵיהֶם וַיִּנָּחֵמוּ וַיְזַהֲרֵיהֶם וַיִּנָּחֵמוּ וַיְזַהֲרֵיהֶם וַיִּנָּחֵמוּ וַיְזַהֲרֵיהֶם W. C. M. [...]
generated”). 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.”

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 geometers 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.”

53. The portions that follow are from fol. 27b–28a.
54. *Arugat ha-Boom*, fol. 27b
55. Ibid., fol. 28a
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). The link between David and the Messiah is genealogical, for the Messiah, we read in Jeremiah, was predestined to descend from David’s lineage. 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.” 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,” 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.” 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.”

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:

עיטוי של חומד. ברו היישוב אתי מיו הירידת: הפילוסופים הפוסקים ביבס חולק על מדמות乐园
(הדין דעה מנהגי משא ומתן whether יד לבר סϦ beneficiונין).
56. Psalms 12:1, 92:4. Archivolti’s sources were Talmud Bavl, ‘Arakhin, 13b; Midbar Rabbah, parashah “Be-ha’alotekha,” 15:11; Midrash Tanhumah, 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], fol. 1a–8a), 5a (There is a host of scholars who believe that theRESULT are the ביבס. For Hebrew text and this author’s 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 number 115.
59. Moscato, Sefer, three sentences, fol. 5a–b (There is a host of scholars who believe that theRESULT are the ביבס. For Hebrew text and this author’s 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 number 115.
60. Moscato, Sefer, fol. 5b (There is a host of scholars who believe that theRESULT are the ביבס. For Hebrew text and this author’s 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 number 115.
61. Moscato, Sefer, fol. 2b (There is a host of scholars who believe that theRESULT are the ביבס. For Hebrew text and this author’s 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 number 115.
Masters of the science of music called it a perfect consonance because all the pitches are included in the number from the first to the eighth. For this reason, perhaps, the ancients were accustomed to call eight anything that in its intrinsic perfection has no deficiency, for indeed they are accustomed to call things by the name of a number attributed to their qualities and their nature. . . . The moderns, too, are wont to designate something perfect by the name of this number, calling it ottimo (the best), and this [same] word also reveals desire, for something perfect is coveted. . . . And the kinnor of our Messiah will be of eight strings, as written in “Those who erred in spirit will come to understanding” [Isaiah 29:4], which alludes to [the verse] “To the choirleader on the sheminit (an eighth string)” [Psalms 12:1].

“Understanding” is completion, or shelemut, in the sense that the mind draws particulars into an aggregate. So does the octave “complete” the series of seven pitches by restating the first of them on the eighth, and since only a thin line separates “completion” from “perfection,” and shelemut itself denotes perfection as a complementary meaning, the octave exemplifies the latter in its inclusiveness. The whole passage implies an ideal era of peace and prosperity.

Further traits of Messianism were delineated in a cleverly fabricated poem that Archivolti placed at the very end of his grammar treatise ‘Arugat ha-bosem, not only to signal its “completion” but also to express the hope for redemption. It is “a tune for our God, a new song to be sung when a redeemer comes to Zion.” Then the Jews will know “happiness and much gladness,” rejoicing in their hearts and praising the Lord for the advent of the Messiah. The number eight seems to have been paramount in Archivolti’s mind, for the poem was composed as an octave (ottava rima):
1. Tsiyon tsevi u-f’er / le-rosh banayikh
Zion, splendor and glory / for the sum of your children,67

2. Ta’di ‘adti rikmah / ve-gil tahgori
Adorn yourself with ornaments of embroidery / and gird
yourself with joy,68

3. Simhah ve-sason rav / le-khol bonayikh
Happiness, and much gladness / for all who build you;69

4. ‘Izi be-khol levav / ve-kumi ory
Rejoice with all your heart / and arise, shine;70

5. Kolekh be-shir yin’am / u-’i-r’nanayikh
Your voice will be pleasant in song / and in your rejoicings

6. Todah teni la-El / ve-dat titsori
Give thanks to God / and strengthen your faith.

7. Ki va-meshish lakah / 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 (רָחֵם שֵׁיָרָא לְעַלָּבְמוֹתֵיהֶל מַרְפָּא), and for that of tsevi with pe’er alias tif’eret (glory), Isaiah 28:1 (רָחֵם שֵׁיָרָא לְעַלָּבְמוֹתֵיהֵל מַרְפָּא), also Numbers 2:4: “When you [Moses] take the sum of the children of Israel by their number count,” etc. (...כحا מָעַת אַתָּא לְאַשַּׁר בִּנְיָיִם וּפּּלִדִיָם, etc.)

68. First hemistich is after Jeremiah 4:30: “... though you clothe yourself in crimson, though you adorn yourself with ornaments of gold,” etc. (...כִּי בְּכָלָשׁ שֶׁנֶּכְּבָה רַעְיִים ... הבר), second is after Psalms 65:13: “... the hills gird themselves with joy” (כֶּלֶבֶת חוֹלָה ... הַכֹּל).

69. First hemistich is after Esther 8:17: “... the Jews had happiness and gladness, a feast and a good day,” etc. (...כִּי שְׁמַעְתָּה שֶׁנֶּכְּבָה לֹא חַיּוֹת מֶשֶׁחָת הֵעָנִי ... אֵאַדְּקָא הָא בָּבְרֵכִים). 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” (כִּי שְׁמַעְתָּה שֶׁנֶּכְּבָה לֹא חַיּוֹת מֶשֶׁחָת הֵעָנִי ... אֵאַדְּקָא הָא בָּבְרֵכִים). 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” (כִּי שְׁמַעְתָּה שֶׁנֶּכְּבָה לֹא חַיּוֹת מֶשֶׁחָת הֵעָנִי ... אֵאַדְּקָא הָא בָּבְרֵכִים).

70. After Isaiah 60:1: “Arise, shine, for your light has come,” etc. (...כִּי שְׁמַעְתָּה שֶׁנֶּכְּבָה לֹא חַיּוֹת מֶשֶׁחָת הֵעָנִי ... אֵאַדְּקָא הָא בָּבְרֵכִים).

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

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 Nahmanides (Moses ben Nahman; 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?” (אֶל לֵלֶד יִשְׁתַּק לִבְּרוֹן אֶל יְהוָה כָּל זֶה) Archivolti appears to play on the homophony of shadayik (“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 תָּכְבָּד רְאֵב מִיֵּשׁ . . .).

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

74. Ibid., fol. [94]b (אַל מַדְגַּדְתָּנִי תְּכַלְּתוֹ נְתַחְתָּנִי שְׁתֵּひָ יָחָן נְפָל בָּא אֱלֹהִים אֶל כָּל אָדָם).
will ascend.” 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. 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 ba-adam [Book of the laws of (death and mourning binding on) man] (1595), the last section—chap. 30—on retribution (sha’ar ba-gemul), specifically fol. 106b (אעסל ההוב או הוה יכול ששהב הכבר יד יד ויהיו חמשה הששים והם חמשה מופשין על אחת); מימות ומימים.
76. ‘Arugat ba-bosem, fol. 29a–b.
dance for righteous beings”77 and instruments of music will sound for them, assuring their eternal pleasure. Quoting from the Talmud, Archivolti tells us that “the righteous are seated [there] and have crowns on their heads.”78 True, he omits the significant continuation, where they are said to “enjoy the glow of the divine presence (shekhinah),” yet he compensates for the omission by quoting a similar verse from Daniel: “And the wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament” (12:3). Archivolti notes that the letter yud (with the numerical value ten) was “the first in the Great and Holy Name” (Yehovah); that the Torah “included all its commandments in the Decalogue”; and that “perfection and sanctity and infinity are all dependent on the number ten.”79 Proceeding to the subject of music, he repeats what we already know from the poem, namely, that “the kinnor of the world to come is in ten strings, as indicated in the verse ‘On a ten-string psaltery sing to Him’ [Psalms 33:2].” Then will “the playing on the lyre be perfect” and the players will say: “Here is our Lord.”80

In the world to come the righteous will meet their Maker. It is a world of infinitude and incessant pleasure. The righteous dance and sing as they bask in the glow of the divine presence. But what do they sing? The answer may lie in Archivolti’s chapter on cantillation.81 Behind the chapter lies the premise that the Scriptures were chanted in biblical times. Though Archivolti does not say so, evidence that they were chanted then can be gleaned from various passages, among them Deuteronomy 31:10–13, where Moses would have the Torah read every seven years so that “men and women and children . . . may hear and learn, and fear the Lord your God, and observe to do all the words of this law”; or 2 Kings 23:1–3, where the king Josiah, together with “all the men of Judah and all the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and the priests, and the prophets, and all the people, young and old,” went up into the Temple and read out loud “all the words of the Book of the

77. Talmud Bavli, Ta’anit, fol. 31a.
78. Ibid., Berakhot, fol. 17a (as quoted by Archivolti at the end of this paragraph).
79. On Jewish numerology as a hermeneutic aid, see, for example, Abrams, “From Germany to Spain: Numerology as a Mystical Technique,” and, more generally, the entry “Gematria” (Hebrew for “nume rology”), by David Derovan, Gershon Scholem, and Moshe Idol, in the Encyclopaedia Judaica, 7:424–27.
80. ‘Arugat ha-bosem, fol. 29a (משפר חמשה אוז ממקסכ אל מחד הפועלים אברת קפירות) who negates Sam Ben Hillel’s position without showing how he can be right. מלקינו בראתיו כלא (who negates the Mahli Talmud’s view, but on whom we do not have evidence) who upholds a view similar to that of Archivolti.
81. ‘Arugat ha-bosem, chap. 27 (folios 92a–95b).
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’amonim, 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’amonim], 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’amonim 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’amonim and their

82. As in Aharon ben Asher, Sefer dikdukei ha-te’amonim [The book of indications of te’amonim] (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 Pentecost, 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 (א) השזורים במקושת ואיני יודע את ההבדלים אלה שממל יספ נרמח; Halevi, Sefer ha-Kuzari, 2.65, fol. 65b (א)Epoch of the princes of the kingdom from then on . . . no one can understand or recite or chant them . . . when the kings of the exiles had settled in their heads . . .

85. Archivolti, Arugat ha-boeim, fol. 92a (א) את עד המשה עדא דד_mit ha-messiah. Miгорדוי החכם שלחיא עלדוי מרדכי בְּכֵן. Miגורדוי בְּכֵן. These quotations include 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.”

Archivolti had no alternative but to describe te’amim “according to [his limited] conception of them only.” 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.”

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.” 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.

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**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 Tehudah* [Book on the dispersed of Judah], a collection of fifty-two sermons preached by Moscato in

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86. Ibid., fol. 92a (דֶּּוַּאָא קָנָיְּכָא חַבּוּרָא נָנְבָּנְתָא בּיְּתְפִיְרָא רֵוַטָא לֶאֱמוּרָא שַאְמָאָרָה שָאָמָאָה וְשִׁמַּעְתָּא וּנְבַעְתָּא לָא מְכָרְתָא לָאָרָא חוֹדָא חוֹדָא וְלָא מְכָרְתָא לָאָרָא חוֹדָא וְלָא מְכָרְתָא לָאָרָא חוֹדָא וְלָא מְכָרְתָא לָאָרָא חוֹדָא וְלָא מְכָרְתָא לָאָרָא חוֹדָא וְלָא מְכָרְתָא לָאָרָא חוֹדָא וְלָא מְכָרְתָא לָאָרָא חוֹדָא וְלָא מְכָרְתָא לָאָרָא חוֹדָא וְלָא מְכָרְתָא לָאָרָא חוֹדָא וְלָא מְכָרְתָא לָאָרָא חוֹדָא וְלָא מְכָרְתָא לָאָרָא חוֹדָא וְלָא מְכָרְתָא לָאָרָא חוֹדָא וְלָא מְכָרְתָא לָאָרָא חוֹדָא וְלָא מְכָרְתָא לָאָרָא חוֹדָא וְלָא מְכָרְתָא לָאָרָא חוֹדָא וְלָא מְכָרְתָא לָאָרָא חוֹדָא וְלָא מְכָרְתָא לָאָרָא חוֹדָא וְלָא מְכָרְתָא לָאָרָא חוֹדָא וְלָא מְכָרְתָא לָאָרָא חוֹדָא וְלָא מְכָרְתָא לָאָרָא חוֹדָא וְלָא מְכָרְתָא לָאָרָא חוֹדָא וְלָא מְכָרְתָא לָאָרָא חוֹדָא וְלָא מְכָרְתָא לָאָרָא חוֹדָא וְלָא מְכָרְתָא L

87. Ibid., fol. 93a (גַּמְלָת מֵמַיְּשִׁימוּדָא עַל לְאֵלָא מֶהָלָדָר אַרְגָּה לֶאֱמוּרָא שָאָמָאָה שַאְמָאָרָה שָאָמָאָה שָאָמָאָה שָאָמָאָה שָאָמָאָה שָאָמָאָה שָאָמָאָה שָאָמָאָה שָאָמָאָה שָאָמָאָה שָאָמָאָה שָאָמָאָה שָаָמָאָה שָаָמָאָה שָаָמָאָה שָаָמָאָה שָаָמָאָה שָаָמָאָה שָаָמָאָה Sh

88. Ibid., fol. 92a (דֶּּוַּאָא קָנָיְּכָא חַבּוּרָא נָנְבָּנְתָא בּיְּתְפִיְרָא רֵוַטָא L

89. Ibid., fol. 93a (גַּמְלָת מֵמַיְּשִׁימוּדָא עַל L

90. Ibid., fol. 95b (דֶּּוַּאָא קָנָיְּכָא חַבּוּרָא נָנְבָּנְתָא בּיְּתְפִיְרָא רֵוַטָא L

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Mantua, probably in the 1580s, and printed in Venice in 1589. The first
sermon, a lengthy disquisition on music, was entitled “Sounds for contempla-
tion on a kinnor.” 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, 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 kolel—or institution of higher talmudic learning for
married students—in Jerusalem. 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 hav-
ing 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 at-
tention by his markings.

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

91. “Higgayon be-kinnor,” 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 pro-
cceeds of his book sales went to financing the kolel, “Homot Yerushalayim” (Walls of
Jerusalem). His response to my question whether he intended to sell Archivolti’s copy of
Moscato’s Sefer nefutot Yehudah was that the book was so precious to him (in its typogra-
phy 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 under-
stand it (no. 129).
through the sermon to see where Archivolti got his ideas for plotting his uncommon history of music. Moscati 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,” Moscati exults in the final sentences,

and in the place where the earth, until now, was marred and damaged in the ratios of its harmonics 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


97. Till now, the question of dating the poem has not been addressed. By assuming that Archivolti based it on Moscati’s sermon, one may surmise its composition sometime between 1589 (Sefer nefutsot Yehudah) 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: . . . ובםם במם ממקלמט ר Üniversitesi ממחטב ש לא ויוה כypo . . . עד עלון דרי ולע أشهر וב שועמוס معدل ציון אל ימי ממקלמט אבל יוה לחריתו אנך גם יוהו לכמדים שיאסנס תורגמש לך שחררש לסא . . . אנכיך אחראים גם לשיטתיות הן לקהלותมงคลים להלמונת 미국ם והמסתרים והם(getContext קהל קהלא) משפטויים . . . ובח ית ירח כל אלוקים קרה זה לא זה עד טימאל כל חנלו ולאורו טימאל (שהירש יקרא).
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 Gabbaï (d. ca. 1540)—one of Moscató’s major sources⁹⁹—on the gradual shift from seven strings to ten. Moscató wrote that Ibn Gabbaï 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 Gabbaï, 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 shemininit (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 Gabbaï 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 Gabbaï “uncovered” not the whole secret, but “a small portion” of it (App. A6). The passage from Talmud Bavli¹⁰² that Ibn Gabbaï 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 Moscató’s sermon that Archivolti marked in his copy, when “a North Wind comes out at midnight, . . . [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. Moscató refers to him or implies him on at least six occasions (in the edition, sentences 30, 35, 58, 90, 208, 210).
100. Sefer nefutot Yehudah, sentence 208 in the edition (אוליוס החול צומחת מפנק פעמיים מש
101. Ibn Gabbaï, Mar’ot Elohim: . . . kolel arba’ah halakim ha-meyyasherim et ha-adam be-’avodat ha-koutesh [Mirrors of God: . . . containing four parts that instruct man in sacred worship] (1567), fol. 56a (הוסד כלה חקוקים ארבעים וארבעה בחוקים ארבעים וארבעים והвро פה בזירות שחליה ארצה כל העם ומאז הוא החכם מקדם כל העם עד מזון תיברער כלה והו כנופו ונניים שחרי מקדש נזר עמימם).
102. See the extract at the beginning of the article, and also App. A5.
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.\textsuperscript{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” (bokhmot ha-musikah).\textsuperscript{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.”\textsuperscript{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.”\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{109} See, thereabout, Melamed, Rakkahot ve-tabbachot: Ha-mitos ′al mekor ha-bokhmat [The myth of the Jewish origins of philosophy and science: a history].

\textsuperscript{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.”

\textsuperscript{111} The expressions are after Duran, Sefer magen avot, fol. 52b (אודומ דוד אושי (לעיל). 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”).

\textsuperscript{112} Maimonides, Moreh ha-nevukhim, 1.71, fol. 53a–b (עד יכ הבכמות הרבות אשר היה (בראש הבכמות והפקידים מעבר וברחבי העולם).םאבם טמאים אלptionsibus abд בדעם וסמלים והאמורות הסכמלו עלים.
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Greeks and Romans.” 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.’”

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 Sacerdote 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, 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.”

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 of his services as a loan banker).


114. Immanuel ben Solomon Haromi, *Sefer maḥharot*, (notebook) 6, (line) 341, fol. 34b (ומאמרה החיה הנפש את הנתרים: מב הסים את גורו החיה ( ordinances) etc., after Genesis 40:15.

115. Excluding the thirteenth-century trouvère Mahieu Le Juif and minnesinger Süßkind 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. “. . . perché 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 providenza, prima di tutte l’altre cose . . . essendo massime opinioni 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 riputò a sommo beneficio . . . d’appresentarle co’l tempo de più maturi frutti del mio incolo 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 cantonette 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). 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.” 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 hokhmah), “a great light over the domains” (ma’or ha-gadol la-mainshelet), and so on in an unending stream of praises. 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.” One reads in the secondary literature that

Segre, Jews in Piedmont, 1:doc. 1284, 2:docs. 1384, 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 (חקת אנוס שמם אשר נמודל שירם חabort אל נמרים אימים) (see Rossi, Songs by Solomon, vol. 13 of Complete Works, ed. Harrán, 13a:175–86, esp. 177).


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: קוה לע פרתיא המוזי ורי מבראתיו (כד רוז וברא) בר לְ, שפומליא ארקוולס זריא) (וויצי דרקי מכיקו[ש]) (שור בסיירים מתריסים/לוש: the second from line 11: שויי ביספי עליה).
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 “renascence” 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-shabbeah’ (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:


124. From Modena, Igrot Rabbi Yehudah Arieh 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.”


127. From the question that Modena addressed in a responsa on the legitimacy of performing art music in the synagogue (אשתא כי לא דע מר הכהנים显示器 יהושע וידכ: Igrot Rabbi Yehudah Arieh mi-Modena, 110–11, at 110).
A man arose to expel them [the singers]. With the speech of his lips he reacted 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 ( \( \text{לקט אים להמשיח בישפומית עם האומר } \) \( \text{ السلام עליך } \) \( \text{ אם נשיא רוזו המועדים } \) \( \text{ שה tremend בית ידא } \) \( \text{ ויהי על גדול } \) \( \text{ הער פנים } \) \( \text{ חידס } \) \( \text{ שמע } \) \( \text{ ואת קלמים על חוסר ורבים ת תוכנシンיה } \) \( \text{ ; She’elot u-Teshuvot, 15. } \)

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 Arieh 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 Arieh 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. Modena “implanted” in his head the idea of writing and publishing a collection of sacred works for use in the synagogue. 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). He eventually did prepare a collection, which he called “Songs by Solomon” (Ha-shirim asher li-Shelomo), yet dillydallied on their publication. Though originally “he had agreed to give them to the press,” 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.” 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 (Sarra’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 מזרחי וזרחי פּקֻס [fol. 2b]); Complete Works, 13a:172.

135. Composer’s dedication (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 שמו מתвший את האחת את אחר; ממסכת הפרס האב בא bj, את תוכנת תבנית את הקד המש נמשכו את תחומי ביו; 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 (ימן לפניים אל חמשים [fol. 3a]: Complete Works, 13a:180.

138. Foreword, fol. 3a (אכין ממחלק מספר חמשים את המкерן ואת הלקית, את מקום המקור את מספר, את שרינות את חמשים את המ复查 את המקור, ואת מספר החמשים את המקור; Complete Works, 13a:181.
eyes open for typographical errors and defects.”\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 renascence 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.”\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{143} In a dedicatory poem, he said of him that

\begin{quote}
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.\textsuperscript{144}
\end{quote}

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

\begin{quote}
139. Foreword, fol. 3a ( CIM 1213.2:116-126; Complete Works, 13a:181).

140. Cf. L’écritain 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 ( CIM 1213.2:116-126; Complete Works, 13a:175–76).

143. Foreword, fol. 3a ( CIM 1213.2:116-126; Complete Works, 13a:177–78).

144. Poem 3 (with eighteen stanzas), fol. 4a, stanzas 6–8 ( CIM 1213.2:140–42; 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.”

But Modena’s prediction of their immediate influence was overly opti-
mistic: 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, how-
ever, 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 dis-
cussed, in ten chapters (and in various appendices), after the model of con-
temporary 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 (emphasis added). For a discussion of the
relationship between the responsa of Modena and the madrigals of Moscato,
see 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, Premitie 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 sev-
eventeen 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 ex-
tant). 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 Bimbaum 101) in relation to
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 shileti 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 ‘Shileti 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)

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!).

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.

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

Hebrew) his She’elat u-tehuvot, 176–78, and for a broader study on its content, Harrán, “Nominia numina: Final Thoughts of Rabbi Leon Modena on the Essence of Sacred Music” (with the responsa 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 סנוב (siviv) for סניב (seiviv). 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.
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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.  

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.’”


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.

151. Writing on Leviticus 18:29, Nahmanides clarifies that the world to come follows the resurrection (עלמים אבות חוץ פסק היה来た) . . . ; see his Hamishab hamshei Torah [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 hemistic of the verse; soger, its second hemistic. For verso tronco the Hebrew reads milra’, i.e., with terminal stress (as in the word kinnor). 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-mishtaggé’a’, máyim, etc.). On the interpretation of App. A7, see above, p. 9.
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

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 Mi-yom asher hayah / khe-mishtaggea'
Mitosh Asher Tzehu / kumshatge
From the day when, / as if going crazy,158

2 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 [ותדה תמוה] 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 (cdc dce, or cde dcd, etc.); see above, pp. 9–10.

156. The Hebrew has יחן (zahan, “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 Tsevor 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 mishugga’ 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? (מוכדט יוחו השוע המחיצ) 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.
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3

Nish’ar pe’er zimrah / ve-ha-shamayim

The glory of song remained / in the heavens;\(^\text{160}\)

4

Gam poh ve-makkavot / ke-mo figea’

Even here [on earth] with hammers / [was pitched produced] when hitting [them]\(^\text{161}\)

5

‘Ad ki négid ‘am El / ve-lo yagea’

Until God’s people’s ruler, / without tiring,\(^\text{162}\)

6

He’ir zemir sheva’ / ke-or yomayim

Showed [the way to play] a song on a seven-string lyre / more brightly than daylight\(^\text{163}\)

7

Li-f’nei venei Levi / ve-’od pa’amayim

To the sons of Levi, / and twice again\(^\text{164}\)

8

Yakum menahel lo / u-vo nogea’

Would he rise, holding it\(^\text{165}\) [the lyre] / and playing on it:

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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” (פָּרְעַר תַּעֲמֹדוּ הַשֵּׁם גַּזְפֶּנְךָ). 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 אַנְוָהָ לִדֹּתְךָ הַגֵּדֶשׁ לָךְ וְאָנַיְא תַּעֲמֹדְךָ אַכֹּל הָגֵדֶשׁ לָךְ וְאָנַיְא נְשַׁמַּת וְאִלָּלָה יִשְׁתַּקְדִים מִפְּנֵי ה). (וַיְהִי כֹּל הַגֵּדֶשׁ לָךְ אָנַיְא כֹּל הַגֵּדֶשׁ לָךְ אָנַיְא כֹּל הַגֵּדֶשׁ לָךְ אָנַיְא כֹּל הַגֵּדֶשׁ לָךְ אָנַיְא כֹּל הַגֵּדֶשׁ לָךְ אָנַיְא כֹּל הַגֵּדֶשׁ לָךְ אָנַיְא כֹּל הַגֵּדֶשׁ לָךְ אָנַיְא כֹּל הַגֵּדֶשׁ לָךְ אָנַיְא כֹּל הַגֵּדֶשׁ לָךְ אָנַיְא כֹּל הַגֵּדֶשׁ לָךְ אָנַיְא כֹּל הַגֵּדֶשׁ לָךְ אָנַיְא כֹּל הַגֵּדֶשׁ לָךְ אָנַיְא כֹּל הַגֵּדֶשׁ לָךְ אָנַיְא כֹּל הַגֵּדֶשׁ לָךְ אָנַיְא כֹּל H).

164. “To the sons of Levi”: source has lifnei venu, 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 (פָּרְעַר תַּעֲמֹדוּ הַשֵּׁם גַּזְפֶּנְךָ), which, for sake of scansion, should be pa’amayim (as transcribed, moreover, in Tiberor 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 lab.
9 Yosif messiah El / ne'imut netsah
God’s Messiah will add / eternal pleasantness,166

10 Nima sheminit ‘od / ve-yippateh
An eighth string still, / and there will open

11 Sha’ar asher nisgar / be-rov tif’eret
A gate167 that had been closed, / [revealing music] in
greater splendor;

12 Metim yehayyeh El / ve-yafits ketsah
God will revive the dead / and disperse nigella168

13 U-van ‘et metso rason / ve-yimmateh
And when His decision is made, / and enforced,169

14 Todah ‘alei ‘asor / tebi 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 ne'imot (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 Hama said after Rabbi Haninah: ‘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” (יחו תאות תהל נפשו . . .).

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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Metsudat David [The fortress of David; commentary on the Prophets and Hagiography by David Altschuler] (eighteenth century). See Kirvei kodesh ‘esrim ve-arba’ah: ‘im perush Rashi ve-‘im shenei ha-peirushim . . . Metsudat David u-Metsudat Tsiyyon [Twenty-four scriptural writings (i.e., the Hebrew Bible) with the commentary of Rashi and the two commentaries . . . Metsudat David and Metsudat Tsiyyon (The fortress of Zion)]. Warsaw: He-Achim Ergelbrand; Bialystok: Tikatsinski, 1889–90.


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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