

THE ANCIENT MELODIES,

ETC., ETC.

PART I.

THE desire to furnish some interesting specimens from ancient and not generally known treasures, the produce of Jewish mental cultivation in remote ages, which were intended to be, and have proved, efficient aids in elevating and sustaining the public and individual worship of Him who is "enthroned amidst the praises of Israel"—the earnest wish to prevent, in the present age of religious indifference, the total decay and oblivion of those sacred hymns and melodies which delighted and edified our ancestors through many generations, and which, as precious heir-looms, they faithfully transmitted to us—and to assist, in this respect, public and private devotion among the widely-spread Israelitish nation; were the principal motives for the publication of the present work, which, as far as we are cognisant, is the first ever published on the subject of the Sephardic Liturgy.¹

That which we have endeavoured to present to, and preserve for, the Jewish community will also, it is presumed, prove generally interesting to the historian, the amateur, and archæologist of the Musical Art; as the melodies referred to originated for the most part in ages anterior to that of the invention of musical notation, and relate to a period from which few if any remains have descended to us in an authentic form. This is more especially the case with the orally transmitted melodies and chants whose origin is lost in the night of antiquity, and also with those adopted Moorish or early Spanish melodies, which in the course of time have been forgotten even in the countries in which they originated, having been superseded by more recent ones. Many of these have been preserved in this collection in consequence of their having been orally transmitted from one generation to another till our own time.

In the brief sketch to which our limits confine us, we shall notice—First. The History of the Hymns and Poetical Pieces inserted in the Liturgy of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews, their structure and peculiarities; Secondly. We shall give some account of the principal authors of them, and of the times in which they flourished; and, in the Third place, we propose stating what we have been able to collect respecting the Melodies with which they are combined.

I.—When the remnant of the Israelitish nation that had escaped the exterminating sword of their conquerors, in the period immediately succeeding the destruction of their sanctuary, became a little settled, and the many horrors consequent on their loss of country and enforced exile had somewhat abated—when a little breathing time was vouchsafed to the afflicted and scattered nation, and their lives and means of subsistence had become comparatively secure, so that their most pressing wants and physical necessities could be satisfied with less precariousness than before, they began to accommodate themselves to the new phase

¹ We are aware that a work was published in Paris in 1854, entitled, *Recueil des Chants hébraïques anciens et modernes du rit Portugais réunis et composés par Emile Jonas*; but a cursory view thereof suffices to satisfy any reader acquainted with the subject, that this work contains much of M. Emile Jonas, but little or nothing, "*du rit Portugais ancien*."

of their eventful history; and their mind, even through that partial relaxation, soon regained most of its former elasticity and vigour. Then was the necessity felt and acknowledged, sacrifices, priesthood, and temple having ceased, of endeavouring to replace them by a general and fixed form of worship. The earliest aspirations of the Israelitish nation, in their state of suffering and subjection, naturally consisted in prayers for salvation, and aid from their everlasting God and Protector; and their afflicted spirit vented itself and found relief in mournful remembrance of and lamentation for past greatness. The leaders and teachers of Israel, aware of the importance of encouraging and directing this good feeling, were occupied, soon after the dispersion, in collecting, consolidating, and reintroducing every law, custom, and tradition necessary for the maintenance of ancestral faith. One of the first objects of their care was the restoration of public worship, based upon the pre-existing prayers composed by the *אִיכָה* or Great Assembly.² These ancient well-remembered forms, and the solemn melodies of the temple and of the ancient worship, were not yet obliterated from the memory of many of the nation, and, as the sole remnants of the former temple service, were, in their afflicted state, most intensely cherished and venerated by them, and duly appreciated, as the consolatory sounds and sweet reminiscences of better times and of past national glory. To these prayers were joined the recitation or singing of Psalms and other poetical selections from the Holy Scriptures, which are so well adapted to touch the heart, and to express, in suitable and sublime devotional strains, the hopes, thanksgivings, sorrows, or joys of the Israelite nation, and which, not being like the artificial and laboured productions of poets of a later period, but the intense and spontaneous feeling gushing forth from the heart of eloquent and inspired men, unrestrained in its expression by the shackles of rhythm and rhyme, at once pointed them out as the best and most apt medium for the utterance of the praises of Israel to their God.³

It was not until many centuries later; not, indeed, until the Gaonic period,⁴ that the pious productions of uninspired poets were admitted into the regular synagogue service. Saadiah Gaon [died 942] was the first who introduced rhyme into Hebrew poetry. This became more common in the time of Ahi Gaon [died 1037], and was also used by his contemporaries in Spain, Joseph ben Abitur and Samuel Hanagid, two ancient and eminent poets. That, as well as the various forms of poetical construction, they learned and adopted from the Arabs among whom they dwelt, and whose language and literature they sedulously studied.⁵ One of the most ancient and celebrated poets of another school of Hebrew poetry in the South of Italy and South of France, nearest to Spain, was R. Eleazar Kalir, whose

² For a succinct historical account of these prayers, see the Introduction to my Translation of the *Prayers of the Spanish and Portuguese Jewish Liturgy*, p. ix.—xii. It may here be stated, in addition, that the uniformity and general adoption of them by Spanish, Italian, German, and Polish Jews, so divergent in other parts of their ritual, is a sufficient proof of their high antiquity, and of the acknowledged authority of those who composed and introduced them.

³ "The Hebrew language, even after it was excluded from common life by the various local dialects (Aramaic, Greek, and Persian) had always been preserved in public worship, and the older literary remains (e.g. the Psalms) were used for poetical purposes, and, in particular, for prayer."—STEIN-SCHNEIDER'S *Jewish Lit.*, p. 146. London, 1857.

⁴ Extending from the sixth till the eleventh century. Still, as mentioned by Charisi (who flourished at the commencement of the thirteenth century), the first poetical pieces received in any Jewish liturgy do not date earlier than the tenth century, in which Saadiah Gaon, who died 942, flourished.

⁵ As a proof, we quote Charisi's words in the 18th chapter of his *תחכמוני*, an important chapter for the history of the Hebrew poets and poetry in the middle ages, a period in which it attained its greatest perfection:

השיר הנפלא היה בתחלה • לבני ערב לנחלה • והם חזקו בו כל בדרק • ושקלוהו במאזני הצדק • גם בני עמינו אחר גלותם מארצותם שכנו רבים מהם עם בני ערב בארצותם ונהגו לדבר בלשונם • ובהתערבם עמם למדו מלאכת השיר מהם :

The Arabic terms for various forms of poetry *מוֹתָר*, *מִסְתַּאנֵּב*, *אֶלְמִרְתִּיָּה*, *מִסְתַּאנֵּב*, and others, prefixed by our *Paytanim* to their hymns, sufficiently show whence their models were derived.

hymns are yet recited, and form part of the liturgy of the German and other congregations. He is supposed to have lived in the tenth century,⁶ and, in his peculiar style, is one of the most gifted and original of our poets. But the Cyclopean ruggedness of his verse, his ungrammatical expressions, solecisms, the forced constructions of the Hebrew language, the obscurity of his diction and constant allusions to Talmud and Medrash, often unintelligible to those most versed in them, also his artificial alphabets, acrostics, and numbers (which, it must be owned, render them unsuitable for general devotional use), were the chief cause that none of his numerous productions were ever admitted into the Sephardic liturgy; and his style, and that of his numerous followers, have been the constant object of animadversion, and even of ridicule, or scarcely concealed irony, to the more correct and eloquent poets of the Hebrew Spanish school.⁷ It is to these latter, and to their hymns, adopted in the Sephardic ritual, that our attention must be confined. The first of these, in point of time⁸ as well as of excellency, is SOLOMON BEN JEHUDA BEN GABIROL, surnamed *Hakatan*. This eminent philosophical poet, ethic, and grammarian, was born at Malaga in 1041, and died at Saragossa in 1070.⁹ Little or nothing is known of his personal history; and the great excellence of the works we still possess of him,¹⁰ must add to our regret at his

⁶ His history is so very obscure, that ancient authorities have supposed him to be identical with R. Elhazar, one of the Mishnic doctors (see *מנן אבות* in *רש"י*, p. 55). Modern critics, however, have discovered that he lived in the tenth century, and was (probably) born near Cagliari in Sardinia; also, that about 970 he officiated as *חזן* at Bari in Italy. See his biography in Rapaport's valuable contributions in *ברם חסד*, and Dr. Zunz's *Gottesdienstl. Vorträge*, etc., p. 381—88. Reggio supposes that the *ספר קריאת* mentioned in the acrostics of some of his hymns, is *Civita di penna* in the Abruzzi.

⁷ See Aben Ezra's *Comm. to Eccl.* v. 1; Shemtob Palquerra in *המבטקש* (*The Enquirer*), p. 57; Sam. Archivolti in *ערוגת הברוש*, § 32; and Mos. H. Luzzatto in *לשון למורים*. Charisi is most severe on the Western, i. e. the French and German schools of Hebrew poetry. We extract for the Hebrew reader a few of his witty remarks on that subject.

קהלות מורה... וקהלות צרפת ואשכנז... אדמת השיר לכדה ראוה, ולא באוה, והשיר רחוק מהם ולהם לא יקרב... וראיתי מבני צרפת חכמים מאירים ככוכבי מרומים... וחרוזיהם מלאים שבוש, ולא יבינם אדם כי אם במירוש, והמירוש צריך פירוש וכ"ץ

The excellence of the Hebrew Spanish poets of this period, and the inferiority of their German and French contemporaries, is attributed by the erudite Dr. Zunz to the favourable political position of the former under the dominion of the Moors in Spain, and the dreadful persecutions and oppressions the latter were then subject to in the Christian states (*Rel. Vorträge*, p. 418)—We cannot help thinking that their less perfect pronunciation and inferior grammatical knowledge of Hebrew also contributed much to that inferiority. Steinschneider assigns as another reason, that "the preponderance of (Jewish) legal studies in Germany and France made the mixed Talmudic idiom predominant, while their *Piyutim* still displayed that imperfect state of language out of which the Sephardim had early arisen to a more correct form." See p. 66 of *Jewish Literature from the Eighth to the Eighteenth Century*; also his observations, p. 161, of this valuable work respecting the German-French school of Hebrew poetry, of which Kalir is the head and representative. Of Kalir individually, an older authority, the historian Joseph Ha-Cohen (flourished in the sixteenth century), while relating the cruelties inflicted on the Jews at Spire, Worms, Mayence, etc., by the Crusaders who followed Peter the Hermit in 1096 (see Jost's *Geschichte*, etc., vol. vii. p. 231)—expresses himself thus: ולא יקונו גם עליהם אלעזר, והיותו כבד לשון חשבתי לזר, ולא הביאותי הנה [uncouth], I consider it as foreign [to my purpose], and will not here quote him."

⁸ This is to be understood as relating to the Sephardic liturgy, which contains only one piece of each of the predecessors of Gabirol, José ben José, and Ahi Gaon, and nothing of Saadiah Gaon, and others of ages anterior to that of Gabirol.

⁹ Dr. M. Sachs, p. 245, of his *Religions Poësie d. J. in Spanien*, quotes the epigraph of an ancient MS. according to which Gabirol was born at Saragossa, and was buried in Ocaña, both in Spain. Most authors, however, name Malaga as his birthplace, including Aben Ezra (*Pref. to Maonim* (D)). A strong proof is also afforded by Gabirol himself, who, in the acrostic of one of his hymns, styles himself מלכי, i. e. of Malaga. According to Steinschneider, he died at Valencia (*Jewish Lit.* p. 137).

¹⁰ Some of his works are now irretrievably lost; others have been collected and printed of late years by Dukes, and recently a philosophical work of his, written in Arabic, and translated by Palquerra in Hebrew, entitled *מקור חיים*, has been edited by the learned M. Munk in Paris. Charisi, enumerating the great Hebrew poets, says of Gabirol, ואחריו לא כל המשוררים אשר היו לפניו שירם לנגדו רוח ותחוה, ואחריו לא כל המשוררים אשר היו לפניו שירם לנגדו רוח ותחוה, "The song of the poets who preceded him is like wind and emptiness compared with his, and none of his successors equalled him in excellence," etc.

untimely death before he had reached his thirtieth year, as we cannot but conjecture the extent to which Hebrew literature would have been enriched by his valuable labours if a longer life had been vouchsafed to him.¹¹ At the head of his poetical works adopted in the Sephardic ritual, we must place his sublime work, entitled *כתר מלכות*.¹² We have also from him for the Day of Atonement the Introduction to *Nishmat Eli*; ¹³ the Introduction to the *Kadish* of the Morning Service, commencing *שנאנים שאננים*; ¹⁴ the Introduction to *ס עבודה* or description of the Temple Service, on that day commencing, *ארומסך חוקי וחלקי*.¹⁵ For New Year, the hymns *שופט כל הארץ* and *אלהי אל תדיני*.¹⁶ For Passover, the short poems *שופט שמש* and *שלח רוחך הטוב* in the prayer for dew: For the Feast of Weeks, the *Azharot*, a didactic poem of two hundred and fifty-five stanzas on the Precepts, divided into two parts.¹⁷ For the Eighth day of Tabernacles (*ש חג עזרת*) in the prayer for rain *רביבים*; ¹⁸ For Simchath Torah, the poem *בשרה*: For Fast days the *תחינה* for the Fast of 10th of Tebet, commencing *שמונה חסופה* ¹⁹ *ה*, and the Elegy *קול חתן* for the Fast of Ab, also the Morning Hymns *בוקר* ²⁰ *ה*, and the *Elegy* *קול חתן*.²¹ [Those marked ° are used for private devotion only, and do not form part of the regular synagogue service.]

The next of the great triad of Hebrew poets who flourished in Spain in the golden age, or zenith of Hebrew poetry, and who have enriched the Sephardic liturgy with their sublime hymns, was R. JEHUDAH HA-LEVI, the only one entitled to dispute the palm of supremacy with Gabirol, to whom he is preferred by many.²² He is supposed to have been born at Toledo about 1105, and died at the age of about sixty, on his journey to the Holy Land, the fond object of his desire and poetical aspirations, but which there is much reason to suppose he was, like Moses, not permitted to enter.²³ We need only mention that he is the author

¹¹ Like a bright meteor, he illuminated with transcendent splendour our poetical horizon, and disappeared as suddenly. As the statement of Guedalia Jachia in *של חקבלה*, an author so credulous and fond of the marvellous, respecting the death of our poet, has been transcribed as a fact by many other authors, we suppose we must also notice it. He relates, that Gabirol was murdered by an envious Arab, who buried him under one of his fig-trees, which having prematurely borne fruit of uncommon size and superior flavour, the owner being closely questioned by the caliph to account for this phenomenon, confessed in his fright to have murdered Gabirol, and to have buried him under that tree, when the caliph ordered the assassin to be hung on that same tree." We can only say, that authentic history is altogether silent about this alleged wonderful fact; and, as Dr. Sachs observes with regard to it (*Rel. Poesie*, etc., p. 219), "*Wo die Geschichte schweigt, nimmt das Märchen geschäftig das Wort.*" Fable soon busies itself to speak where history is silent."

¹² For text, English translation, and explanatory introduction to this sublime poem, see vol. iii. p. 39—55 of *Prayers of the Spanish and Portuguese Israelites, with English Translation*, by the Rev. D. A. De Sola. ¹³ Whenever, subsequently, the volume and page of *Prayers* are quoted, the reference is to the above work.

¹⁴ Ibid. vol. iii. p. 88.

¹⁵ Ibid. p. 91.

¹⁶ Ibid. p. 147.

¹⁷ Vol. ii. p. 62.

¹⁸ Ibid. p. 61.

¹⁹ Vol. v. p. 89.

²⁰ Vol. v. pp. 147—152, and pp. 156—164.

²¹ Vol. iv. p. 149.

²² Translated in this collection, as are also the *Morning Hymns* mentioned.

²³ Even Charisi, the hyperbolic and enthusiastic eulogist of Gabirol, can hardly find terms sufficiently grandiose and laudatory to express his admiration of the great and mellifluous Judah Ha-levi, "whose poems," he says, "satisfy the learned and æsthetic critic as much as they charm the ordinary reader"; and that Gabirol only excels him in profundity of conception. Emanuel Aboab, who flourished in the sixteenth century, unreservedly places him at the head of all Hebrew poets. After giving the due meed of praise to Gabirol, Ben Giat, and R. Abr. Aben Ezra, he continues, "*Mas a mi debil juicio exceden a todos en perfeccion y artificio las de R. Jehudah Ha-levi.*" But, in my humble opinion, the poems of R. Judah Ha-levi excel all others in perfection and artistic skill" (*Nomologia*, p. 280),—an opinion which the general verdict of succeeding ages has sufficiently ratified. It is, however, unquestionable that Gabirol is superior to all his contemporaries and successors in philosophical conception, intensity of devotional feeling, and vigour and terseness of diction; whilst J. Ha-levi, is, and has remained, unequalled in sweetness of expression, command of language, melody, and facility of versification. We may, perhaps, style the first the Milton, and the second the Pope of Hebrew poetry.

²⁴ The erudite Professor S. D. Luzzatto, of Padua, has published much of the secular poetry of Ha-levi (which had for centuries remained in MS.), under the title of *בתולת בת יהודה*, with a valuable introduction, in which he disproves the story generally copied from Guedalia Jachia, respecting the death of our poet, whom the said Jachia asserts to have been ridden over, and murdered by a Saracen, under the walls of Jerusalem, while crouching in the dust, and unmindful of anything around him, he was reciting his

of the celebrated work *Cuzari*, and of his many excellent religious hymns, which adorn almost every Jewish liturgy. Some of these, including his great poem ארון חסד, hereafter to be further described, have, on account of their beauty, been adopted by the Caraites. [See their Liturgy in 4 vols, *Guzlaff*, 1834, or the Koslof edition, 1836, also in 4 vols.]

We have from him his great poem, recited on the Sabbath before *Pureem*, commencing ארון חסד:²⁴ the hymns for the Feast of New Year, commencing יום יום,²⁵ יי ננך כל אלהים אל מי אמשיך,²⁶ For the Day of Atonement, the sublime hymns יי ננך כל אלהים אל מי אמשיך,²⁷ the Introduction to *Nishmath*,²⁸ the Introduction to *Keter*,²⁹ the second אשירי עין,³⁰ and יי שמע אביון,³¹ the Introduction to the *Selichot* of the afternoon prayers of that day. The *Techinah*, for the Fast of the 10th of Tebeth, יי ינוני קראוני,³² and that for the Fast of Esther, commencing יי אויב נבר;³³ and an elegy for the Fast of Ab, commencing תקומה עלילה,³⁴

The third is MOSES ABEN EZRA, born in Granada in the latter half of the eleventh century.³⁵ He was descended from a distinguished family, and is celebrated by Charisi and Zachut, the author of יוסיפין, as most learned in Jewish theology and Greek philosophy, and a famous Hebrew poet. It is in this latter capacity that we shall enumerate the few beautiful hymns our liturgy has adopted from his many devotional compositions: למתודה חטאתי;³⁶ [Introduction to נפילת] נפילת; [פליחות] Introduction to "Kedusha," for the afternoon prayer of the Day of Atonement; and the hymn אל נורא עלילה,³⁷ for the same day.

celebrated elegy על חסד. It is certainly very poetical to make him die thus the (fabled) death of the swan;—but, as Luzzatto remarks, "All this is an evident falsehood," because Jerusalem was not then in the power of the Saracens, but in that of the Christians; whilst the very poem he represents as having been recited by R. J. Ha-levi on that occasion, bears internal evidence that it was composed in Spain, far away from the Holy Land, as he wishes therein for "wings that he might fly thither," etc. (מי יתן לי כנפים וארחיק נדוד וכו'). "It appears, therefore, to me," continues Luzzatto, "that R. J. Ha-levi died without having accomplished his vehement desire to see and visit the Holy Land, but that he died on the road in the Desert between Egypt and Palestine." The same collection of Luzzatto preserves a fragment of the last known poem of Ha-levi (addressed to his friend and admirer, Samuel Hanagid), in which he seems to have had a presentiment of his approaching end.

אל פגעמי תאחרו לנסוע	Do not delay my steps to move from hence,
כי אפחד פן יקרני אסוני וכו'	Lest I may meet my disaster (death) etc.

To which Luzzatto aptly remarks נבא ולא ידע "Unwittingly he prophesied truly." What renders Luzzatto's supposition, that R. J. Ha-levi died a natural death, almost certain, is not only the silence on that subject of Charisi, and of older writers than the not very veracious G. Jachia, but also the fact of R. Abraham Aben Ezra citing R. Judah Ha-levi after his death, in the Commentary to Exod. xxii.7, with the simple addition of בבור, is conclusive on this subject, as, if he had met with a violent death, the usual רם עברו השפון, or a similar phrase, would undoubtedly have been used.

²⁴ Text and Translation, vol. i. of *Prayers*, p. 143, *et seq.* As an example of the structure of Ha-levi's poems, and of other Hebrew ones, we give the following short analysis thereof, as it cannot be discovered by those who cannot read the original. The subject is that of the Book of Esther. It is divided into four cantos in stanzas of four verses each, three of which have the same rhyme, and the fourth is a scriptural text, invariably ending in לו (*lo*). Besides this, the initials of the first canto are according to the order of the Hebrew alphabet; the second has the acrostic of the poet's name in full at the commencement of the stanzas; the third, even as the first, is in alphabetical order; and the fourth has again his name in an abbreviated form (אני יהודה).

²⁵ Vol. ii. of *Prayers*, p. 63. ²⁶ Ibid. p. 66. ²⁷ Ibid. p. 67. ²⁸ Vol. iii. p. 87.

²⁹ Ibid. p. 104—6. It is the longest and most sublime of all his devotional hymns, with full acrostics. See note 81, *infra*. ³⁰ Ibid. p. 143. ³¹ Ibid. p. 157. ³² Ibid. p. 206.

³³ His sublime elegy על חסד, which most unaccountably has been omitted in the Sephardic collection of *Kinoth* for the 9th of Ab, in which so many of very inferior merit have found a place, has been translated into German by Mendelssohn, Herder, Meyer, Dr. Geiger, and, lately, by Ettingen; by Isaac Reggio into Italian and in other languages, also into English.

³⁴ The exact year of his death, even as that of his birth, is not known. It appears, however, he was still alive in 1138. See Luzzatto's Preface to ב'ב', and in vol. iv. of *כרם חסד*. To that and to Duke's work, *Moses Ben Ezra aus Granada*, and to Dr. Sachs' before quoted work, pp. 276—86, we refer the reader for further particulars of his many literary labours. ³⁵ Vol. ii. p. 14. ³⁶ Vol. iii. p. 196.

³⁷ Ibid. p. 215. He has written many other hymns inserted in the liturgies of Avignon, and in others.

The other hymnic poets of the Sephardic liturgy we must notice with a brevity more corresponding to our limits than to their merit, and, as far as we are able, in chronological order.

JOSEPH BEN STANAS BEN ABITUR flourished in the beginning of the tenth century, and died at Damascus in 970. Besides his poetical talent he was possessed of great learning.³⁸ From him our liturgy has the Introduction to *Kedusha* of the Morning and for the *Mussaph* of the Day of Atonement, commencing *אמורי שש* and *במרומי ערץ*.³⁹ It is to be regretted that no other poems have reached us of this excellent writer, so much lauded by Charisi (*Tachk.* vii.), and whom he and Shemtob Palquerra rank among the earliest and best of Hebrew Spanish poets.

ISAAC BEN JUDAH ABEN GIAT (or Gijjat, according to *Steinschneider*) was born at Lucena, in Spain, and died at Cordova in 1089. He was a contemporary of Gabirol, whom he long survived, and was a most eminent poet and philosopher. Our liturgy has but few pieces of his, viz., that commencing *יה היום וזכר היום* which, however, we have not in the form he wrote it,⁴⁰ being now subdivided as *Pizmon* in the seven *הקפות* for *Hosannah Rabbah*, with omission of some of the verses and addition of others. The *Pizmonim* *ישע צמאתי* in the *Hoshaanot* for the first day of Tabernacles; *אמוניך מתחננים*⁴² for the fifth day; and *ישראל* *עבדיך*⁴³ in the *Mussaph* for the Day of Atonement, are also attributed to Ben Giat.⁴⁴

ABRAHAM ABEN EZRA, the celebrated theologian, exegete, philosopher, mathematician, Hebrew grammarian, and poet, was born at Toledo in 1119, and died in the isle of Rhodes in 1194.⁴⁵ His great poverty⁴⁶ obliged him to leave his home, and wander the greatest part of his life through many countries, where he com-

³⁸ He is said to have translated into Arabic the whole of the Talmud (probably extracts only) for the Caliph Alkahim, whose reign commenced in 961. For an account of Abitur's eventful life and wanderings, his feud about the dignity of Gaon, to which he aspired, see *Jost's Gesch. der Israeliten*, vol. vi. pp. 128—30, and Dr. Sachs' *Rel. Poësie*, pp. 248—50.

³⁹ Vol. iii. pp. 103 and 143. In most printed editions they are erroneously ascribed to R. J. Ha-levi, but modern criticism, aided by ancient MSS., in which they are directly ascribed to Abitur, has sufficiently vindicated his right to them (see Sachs, pp. 251, 253). Accordingly, my own edition, printed before I became acquainted with Dr. Sachs' excellent work (*Die Rel. Poësie der Juden in Spanien*), must be corrected. Dr. Sachs also ascribes to him some hymns in the Tripoli *Machasor*, with the acrostic *יוסף בן יצחק*.

⁴⁰ It is printed in its original form, p. 14 of the Appendix to Dr. Sachs' quoted work, with his masterly poetic translation into German. ⁴¹ Vol. iv. p. 71. ⁴² Ibid. p. 107. ⁴³ Vol. iii. 170.

⁴⁴ The "Pizmonim" *לִישְׂרָאֵל יוֹם זֶה* for the Sabbath, and *הַמְבְּרִיל* for the conclusion thereof, may, perhaps, be also of Ben Giat, as both have the acrostic *פִּזְמוֹן*, and it is known that Ben Giat composed a hymn for the *נְעִילָה* or concluding service for the Day of Atonement, to be found in the old editions of the Sephardic *Machasor*, which also commences *הַמְבְּרִיל בֵּין קֶדֶשׁ לַחֹל*.

⁴⁵ According to Zunz, he died at Rome, on the 23rd of January 1167 (*Wiener Jahrbuch* for 5608).

⁴⁶ Adverse circumstances do not seem to have had any depressing effect on his extensive acquirements and the independence of spirit which characterize all his works. We quote the remarkable words of P'riphot Duran (who flourished in the fourteenth century), on that subject: *ולחכם הנכבד ר' אב"ע לא היה לו שתי פרומות כל ימיו ולרוב אהבתו וחשקו בתורה לא נמנע מהשגת בתרה ועורי לב יחשבו כי העושר מעלה גדולה לצדיקים והנה אליה יוכיח* "The honoured and wise R. Abraham Ben Ezra never possessed two *Prutot* [small coins]. Still his great love and desire for [the study of] the law did not allow these adverse circumstances to prevent his attaining great eminence therein. Blinded mortals consider riches a great advantage to the just, but let the history of the Prophet Elijah teach them." Aben Ezra alludes himself to his ill success in worldly affairs in one of his poems, but rather in a bantering strain: he says, that "were he to deal in shrouds, he is sure no one would die during his existence; and if in candles, that the sun would never set till he were dead." On account of the rarity of this poem [first printed by Dukes from a MS. in the possession of M. Lehren of Amsterdam] we copy it for the benefit of the Hebrew reader.

אֵינֶנּוּ לְהַעֲלִיחַ וְלֹא אוֹכֵל	כִּי עֲתוּנִי כִכְבִּי שָׁמִי
לֹא אֶהְיֶה סוֹחֵר בְּתַכְרִיכִין	לֹא יִנְעוּנִי אִישִׁים בְּכָל יָמִי
נִלְגַל וּמְנֻלֹת בְּמַשְׁמָדִם	עוֹ בְּמַהֲלָכִם אֶת מוֹלָדִיתִי
לֹא יִהְיֶה נִרְוֹת סוֹחֲרִיתִי	לֹא יִסְוֶה שְׁמִי עַדִּי מוֹתִי

posed numerous works in all the enumerated branches of learning.⁴⁷ Our present liturgy has adopted but a few hymns of the many he composed, viz., *אלהים אתה*, in the *Selichoth*, *אשרי עין*,⁴⁸ the third, *אמת בספרך*,⁴⁹ and *אשרי עין*,⁵⁰ for the Day of Atonement, and the Sabbath hymn *שבת*.⁵¹ Other hymns of his, inserted in various liturgies, are copied in the appendix of Dr. Sachs' *Rel. Poesie*, and sixty are mentioned and described by Landshuth, pp. 5—9 of his *עמודי העבודה*, recently published.

JUDAH SAMUEL ABBAZ, a contemporary of J. Ha-levi and the Aben Ezra's. Our liturgy has only one beautiful hymn of his, sung on the days of the New Year, commencing *עת שער רצון*⁵² descriptive of the binding of Isaac on the altar [עקדה]. He died at Damascus in 970.

DAVID BEN ELHAZAR BEKODAH, a celebrated poet, much lauded by Charisi (chap. iii. of *Tachkemoni*). His poems can always be recognised and distinguished from others by their having the acrostics of his name in full [viz. דוד]. We have from him *למען אלהי*⁵⁴ for the Feast of New Year and Day of Atonement. *אנא בקראנו*⁵⁵ for the evening of the last-mentioned day. *אמון יום זה*⁵⁶ Introduction to the *Azharot* by Gabirol, and the Dirges *דוק וחונן רעשו* and *דמטו שרפים* for the Fast of the Ninth of Ab.

JOSEPH BEN ISAAC KIMCHI, father of the famous David and Moses Kimchi, who flourished in the thirteenth century, at Narbonne, in the South of France; was an eminent Hebrew poet and grammarian. Our liturgy has of him some short pieces inserted in the Hoshanot for the Feast of Tabernacles and for Hoshana Rabbah, viz., for Tabernacles—*אל נערץ בסוד אלהים אלי אתה* *אנא יוצרי* *אנא יערב* *לך ישע הראה יה* *כהושעת יוצאי פתרום* *כהוש ילדי אהב* *כהוש יניעי נשם* *כהוש ידידים* *כהוש יקיר* *כהוש יקושי* *כהוש ירוי* *אל נא אונדך* *אל נא יום זה* *אנא ישר עם בא* *יושב קדם יפה נוף* *כהושעת ידידים מכא וכי* *למען אב האל למושעות*⁷⁶

ABRAHAM HAZAN, born at Salonica, in 1533; from him we have the mellifluous hymn for the first night of New Year, commencing *אחות קטנה*⁷⁷ with the acrostic *אברהם חזן חזק*.

ISRAEL NAGARA, born in the fourteenth century, at Zaphet, in the Holy Land, the composer of a volume of hymns, first printed at Zaphet, and often reprinted. We have from him two compositions for private devotion, one in the Aramaean dialect, commencing *יה רבון עלם*, and another in Hebrew, commencing *יגלה כבוד*,⁷⁸ both with the acrostic of his name *ישראל*.

SOLOMON HA-LEVI ALKABETZ, also of Zaphet, who flourished in the 16th

⁴⁷ For an account of his works and travels, see De Rossi's *Dictionary*, and especially Dr. Zunz's description in Asher's *Benjamin of Tudela*, vol. ii. p. 250. His work *אגרות שבת*, and (as I am informed by Mr. L. Dukes) also his *סוד לורא*, he composed in London. With respect to his marriage with a daughter of R. Judah Ha-levi, and the romantic adventure which led to it, related by Guedalia Jachia in his *הקבלה*, and copied by many authors, there is abundant reason to suppose that this also is one of Jachia's usual fictions, inasmuch as when Aben Ezra cites R. J. Ha-levi he never styles him *חסי חסי*, or by any other term indicative of relationship, which he certainly would not have failed to do had any such relationship existed between them.

⁴⁸ Vol. ii. p. 10.

⁴⁹ Vol. iii. p. 222.

⁵⁰ Ibid. p. 158.

⁵¹ Ibid. p. 223.

⁵² Translated in this collection.

⁵³ Vol. ii. p. 90. As this poem is marked with its author's name, it is difficult to understand how some writers could have attributed it to Maimonides. In some old editions, it is most absurdly described as the work of three brothers, Judah, Samuel, and Abbaz (!), instead of to our well-known poet, whose hymns adorn the liturgies of Oran, Algiers, and other parts of North Africa, of which he appears to have been a native.

⁵⁴ Vol. ii. p. 79, and vol. iii. p. 117.

⁵⁵ Vol. iii. p. 23.

⁵⁶ Vol. v. p. 147.

⁵⁷ Vol. iv. p. 120.

⁵⁸ Ibid. p. 81.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid. p. 104.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Ibid. p. 121.

⁶³ Ibid. p. 110.

⁶⁴ Ibid. p. 82.

⁶⁵ Ibid. p. 101.

⁶⁶ Ibid. p. 104.

⁶⁷ Ibid. p. 107.

⁶⁸ Ibid. p. 72.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid. p. 140.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Ibid. p. 138.

⁷³ Ibid. p. 142.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Ibid. p. 12.

⁷⁶ Ibid. p. 139.

⁷⁷ Ibid. p. 141.

⁷⁸ Ibid. p. 142.

⁷⁹ Vol. ii. p. 23.

⁸⁰ Translated in this collection.

The other hymnic poets of the Sephardic liturgy we must notice with a brevity more corresponding to our limits than to their merit, and, as far as we are able, in chronological order.

JOSEPH BEN STANAS BEN ABITUR flourished in the beginning of the tenth century, and died at Damascus in 970. Besides his poetical talent he was possessed of great learning.³⁸ From him our liturgy has the Introduction to *Kedusha* of the Morning and for the *Mussaph* of the Day of Atonement, commencing *אפודי שש* and *במרומי ערץ*.³⁹ It is to be regretted that no other poems have reached us of this excellent writer, so much lauded by Charisi (*Tachk.* vii.), and whom he and Shemtob Palquerra rank among the earliest and best of Hebrew Spanish poets.

ISAAC BEN JUDAH ABEN GIAT (or Gijjat, according to *Steinschneider*) was born at Lucena, in Spain, and died at Cordova in 1089. He was a contemporary of Gabirol, whom he long survived, and was a most eminent poet and philosopher. Our liturgy has but few pieces of his, viz., that commencing *יה היום וזכור היום* which, however, we have not in the form he wrote it,⁴⁰ being now subdivided as *Pizmon* in the seven *הקפות* for *Hosannah Rabbah*, with omission of some of the verses and addition of others. The *Pizmonim* *ישעך צמחתי*⁴¹ in the *Hoshaanot* for the first day of Tabernacles; *אמנויך מרחמי*⁴² for the fifth day; and *ישראל ענדיך*⁴³ in the *Mussaph* for the Day of Atonement, are also attributed to Ben Giat.⁴⁴

ABRAHAM ABEN EZRA, the celebrated theologian, exegete, philosopher, mathematician, Hebrew grammarian, and poet, was born at Toledo in 1119, and died in the isle of Rhodes in 1194.⁴⁵ His great poverty⁴⁶ obliged him to leave his home, and wander the greatest part of his life through many countries, where he com-

³⁸ He is said to have translated into Arabic the whole of the Talmud (probably extracts only) for the Caliph Alkahim, whose reign commenced in 961. For an account of Abitur's eventful life and wanderings, his feud about the dignity of Gaon, to which he aspired, see Jost's *Gesch. der Israeliten*, vol. vi. pp. 128—30, and Dr. Sachs' *Rel. Poësie*, pp. 248—50.

³⁹ Vol. iii. pp. 103 and 143. In most printed editions they are erroneously ascribed to R. J. Ha-levi, but modern criticism, aided by ancient MSS., in which they are directly ascribed to Abitur, has sufficiently vindicated his right to them (see Sachs, pp. 251, 253). Accordingly, my own edition, printed before I became acquainted with Dr. Sachs' excellent work (*Die Rel. Poësie der Juden in Spanien*), must be corrected. Dr. Sachs also ascribes to him some hymns in the Tripoli *Machasor*, with the acrostic *יוסף בן יצחק*.

⁴⁰ It is printed in its original form, p. 14 of the Appendix to Dr. Sachs' quoted work, with his masterly poetic translation into German. ⁴¹ Vol. iv. p. 71. ⁴² Ibid. p. 107. ⁴³ Vol. iii. 170.

⁴⁴ The "Pizmonim" *לִישְׁרָאֵל יוֹם זֶה הַמַּבְרִיִּל* for the Sabbath, and *הַמַּבְרִיִּל בֵּין קֶדֶשׁ לַחֹל* for the conclusion thereof, may, perhaps, be also of Ben Giat, as both have the acrostic *פזמון*, and it is known that Ben Giat composed a hymn for the *נעילה* or concluding service for the Day of Atonement, to be found in the old editions of the Sephardic *Machasor*, which also commences *הַמַּבְרִיִּל בֵּין קֶדֶשׁ לַחֹל*.

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אֵינֶנּוּ לְהַעֲלִיחַ וְלֹא אוֹכֵל	כִּי עֲתוּנִי כִכְבִּי שָׁמִי
לֹא אֶהְיֶה סוֹחֵר בְּתַכְרִיבִי	לֹא יִנְעוּנִי אִישִׁים דְּכָל יָמִי
נִלְגַּל וּמְנֻלֹת בְּמַשְׁמָדִם	עוֹד בְּמַהֲלָכִם אֶת מוֹלָדִי
לֹא יִהְיֶה נֶרֶת סוֹחֲרִי	לֹא יֵאָסֹף שְׁמִי עַד מוֹתִי

posed numerous works in all the enumerated branches of learning.⁴⁷ Our present liturgy has adopted but a few hymns of the many he composed, viz., אלהים אתה⁴⁸ in the *Selichoth*, וישועים⁴⁹ the third, אשרי עין⁵⁰ and אמת בספרך⁵¹ for the Day of Atonement, and the Sabbath hymn כי אשמרה שבת⁵². Other hymns of his, inserted in various liturgies, are copied in the appendix of Dr. Sachs' *Rel. Poesie*, and sixty are mentioned and described by Landshuth, pp. 5—9 of his *עמודי העבודה*, recently published.

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JOSEPH BEN ISAAC KIMCHI, father of the famous David and Moses Kimchi, who flourished in the thirteenth century, at Narbonne, in the South of France; was an eminent Hebrew poet and grammarian. Our liturgy has of him some short pieces inserted in the Hoshanot for the Feast of Tabernacles and for Hoshana Rabbah, viz., for Tabernacles—**אֵל נַעֲרִץ בְּכוֹרֵי אֱלֹהִים אֵלֵי אַתָּה אֲנִי יוֹצֵרִי אֲנִי יֵעָרֵב** אלך יעשר הראה יהי כהושעת יוצאי פתרום כהוש ילירי אהב כהוש יגיעי נשם כהוש ידידים כהוש יקיר כהוש יקושי כהוש ירווי אל נא אורצר אל נא יום זה יאנא ישר עם בא יושב קדם יפה נוף כהושעת ידידים מכא וכי למען אב האל למשועות

ABRAHAM HAZAN, born at Salonica, in 1533; from him we have the mellifluous hymn for the first night of New Year, commencing אחות קטנה⁷⁷ with the acrostic אברהם חזן חזק.

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^a For an account of his works and travels, see De Rossi's *Dictionary*, and especially Dr. Zunz's description in Asher's *Benjamin of Tudela*, vol. ii. p. 250. His work *ספר שו"ת*, and (as I am informed by Mr. L. Duker) also his *ספר מורה*, he composed in London. With respect to his marriage with a daughter of R. Judah Ha-levi, and the romantic adventure which led to it, related by Guedalia Jachia in his *הקבלה* *וש*, and copied by many authors, there is abundant reason to suppose that this also is one of Jachia's usual fictions, inasmuch as when Aben Ezra cites R. J. Ha-levi he never styles him *מורי חכמי*, or by any other term indicative of relationship, which he certainly would not have failed to do had any such relationship existed between them.

⁴⁰ Vol.ii. p. 10.

⁴⁹ Vol. iii. p. 222.

⁸⁰ Ibid. p. 158.

⁵¹ Ibid. p. 223.

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⁵⁴ Vol. ii. p. 79, and vol. iii. p. 117.

⁴⁵ Vol.iii. p. 23.

⁸⁶ Vol. 7, p. 147.1

⁵⁷ Vol. iv. p. 120.

⁸⁸ Ibid. p. 81.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid. p. 104.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid. p. 121.

⁶³ Ibid. p.110.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

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p. 101.

⁸ Ibid. p. 104.

⁷ Ibid. p. 107.

⁶⁰ Ibid. p. 72.

⁹ Ibid.

p. 140.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

1. *Introduction*

id. p. 138.

⁷² Ibid.

73 Ibid.

⁷⁴ Ibid. p. 139.

⁷⁵ Ibid. p. 141.

⁷⁶ Ibid. p. 142.

⁷⁷ Vol. ii. p. 23.

⁷⁰ Translated in this collection.

century, is the author of the beautiful Sabbath hymn *יִלְכֶה דָּוִיד*, the most modern hymn in our liturgy, which also contains the works of Poets whose age and country cannot now be ascertained, such as José-ben-José, who although erroneously described to have been a high priest of the Temple, is nevertheless one of our most ancient poets, as his style in the *סִרְר עֲבוּרָה* or Description of the order of Sacrifices in the Temple on the Day of Atonement sufficiently testifies. Our liturgy also contains a few hymns which are either anonymous, or the names of the authors are but partly expressed; for not all Piyutim with the acrostic *שְׁלֵמָה* are of Gabirol, nor those with *יְהוּדָה* of Judah Ha-levi, and the same with the rest, because the number of hymnic poets, many of whom bear the same name, is immense, and their works cannot always be distinguished with certainty. L. Dukes gives a list of upwards of two hundred hymnic poets in the *Lit. Blatt des Orients*, vol. ii. p. 569, which is increased by S. D. Luzzatto to five hundred and sixteen (see vol. ix. L.B. 481—614 of the quoted work). According to Zunz, the productions of the five most popular of the Sephardic poets, whose works became a part of public worship, amounting to about a thousand liturgical pieces, have been inserted in the various Jewish liturgies; an idea may thus be formed of the great mass of Hebrew poetry on that and other non-liturgical subjects by the many other poets. The learned M. Steinschneider truly observes (*Jewish Lit.* p. 246), "Seldom has poetry been developed to the same extent in any language whose existence was dependant on literature alone." For, as is well known, Hebrew had long ceased to be a vernacular language, even in the time of the earliest *Paytanim*.

Our remarks on the structure of Hebrew poems must be confined to two particulars, which as being peculiar to them and generally lost in translation, it is necessary to observe to the English reader:—First, that Scriptural texts are most often interwoven with, and made to form integral parts of, the poems, though having not the slightest relation to the subject in the original context. This, when skilfully introduced—as is especially the case in the works of Gabirol, Judah Ha-levi, and of the older poets—forms one of its greatest charms, indeed one peculiar to post-biblical Hebrew poetry.⁷⁹ Secondly, that it was generally the custom of the *Paytans*, or poets, to mark their productions with their own names, probably with the intention of securing them from plagiarists who might appropriate them, or to distinguish them from the works of others. This they did by acrostics either at the beginning of the poem of each stanza, or of both; or sometimes at the end thereof, with the addition, in some instances, of their father's name and surname, and the designation of their country, for the purpose of further distinction and identification; and sometimes, though more rarely, these acrostics also express the purpose and occasion for which the poem was composed.⁸¹

From what we have stated, it appears that the Sephardic has the fewest Piyutim of any other Jewish liturgy;⁸² and in every age most of its learned men, who superintended and regulated their form of worship, have shewn themselves averse to the introduction of poetical pieces in the regular synagogue service, so that but very few poems of even their most ancient and celebrated poets enumerated above, could obtain admission into the regular synagogue service, in which they are almost limited to the Feast of New Year, the Day of Atonement and Fast-days.

⁷⁹ Vol. i. p. 66; Second Ed. p. 68.

⁸⁰ See on this subject, Delitzsch *Zur Geschichte des Jüdischen Poësie*, § 32, p. 164, *Der Musikstyl*. and on that of acrostics, rhyme, and metre; in Hebrew Poetry, see Steinschneider *Jewish Lit.* §18, pp. 149—157.

⁸¹ A remarkable instance of this occurs in the sublime Introduction to the *Kedusha* for the morning of the Day of Atonement, by R. J. Ha-levi. See vol. iii. p. 104 of my Translation of the *Prayers*, where I have marked and noticed that uncommon acrostic.

⁸² The Liturgies of Algiers, Oran, Tripoli, Avignon, the Roman and other *Minhagim*, more or less allied to the Sephardic, as also the German and Polish, abound in poetical hymns inserted among the *Prayers*.

The reasons alleged for their exclusion may be reduced to the following:—First, because they prolong the service unnecessarily, and distract attention from the regular and obligatory service, and thus lead to conversation and other unseemly practices in the synagogue. This is the opinion of the great Maimonides,⁸³ who also objects to them, because in many instances they contain gross errors and misstatements, which, as he says, “must be excused, as their writers were only poets and not rabbies.” This censure which, in nearly the same words, he repeats in another of his works,⁸⁴ seems harsh, and can only apply to the many unqualified poetical writers of his time, of which he and his contemporary, Aben Ezra, complain; but certainly not to the works of such eminent and learned men as Gabirol, R. Judah Ha-levi, the Aben Ezras, etc. Abraham Aben Ezra, himself a poet, visits with unsparing censure the works of his contemporaries, whose zeal exceeded their talent;⁸⁵ he also inveighs against Kalir, and others who wrote in Kalir’s style, and objects to their use in public service on account of their obscurity, and of the hyperbole and exaggeration in which poets are apt to indulge; also Kimchi in his Dictionary Art. עתו and Shemtob Palquerra, who flourished in the thirteenth century, in his celebrated work המבקש *The Enquirer*, p. 276, are much opposed to the introduction of Piyutim; and the latter will admit of only a few by the best of our poets. Speaking of Gabirol, Ben Abitur, Ben Giat, and the Aben Ezra’s, he says, “It is improper to sing more than a few of their hymns and not the whole (i.e. *many*) of them; the hymns of David are alone appropriate to celebrate the praises of the Lord.”⁸⁶

The very art and correctness of language, rhythm, rhyme, and strict observance of rules, which distinguish the work of the *Paytanim* of the Spanish school, are urged by theological writers as an objection to their being introduced into the synagogue service. “Where so much art is applied,” they say, “it must often be at the expense of devotion; as the attention of the poet must be more occupied with the manner than with the matter of his composition, being restrained and hampered in the expression of his devotional feeling by shackles of rhythm, rhyme, and other rules of his art.”⁸⁷ Nevertheless the works of our principal poets, above enumerated, sufficiently show how easily they have surmounted these difficulties, most of which were self-imposed.⁸⁸

⁸³ See his Answer, No. 194, translated from the Arabic by Dr. Geiger (p. 79 of *Melo Chofnayim*), from which we extract the following:—ואין כן הפיוטים כי הם הוספה על הענין .. נוסף על זה .. שהמבוקש בהם המשקל והננון וכו' תצא התפלה מן כונתה לשחוק .. להיות העם פונים לשיחה במילה לפי שידועים שאלו דברים הנאמרים אינם מחוייבים .. נוסף על זה כי הפיוטים הנהוגים הם מיוסדים ממשוררים לא מלומדים וכו'.

⁸⁴ In the Preface to his ספר המצות as follows:—וכן כל מה ששמעתי האזהרות רבות המספר .. המחברות אצלנו בארץ ספרד נהפכו עלי צירי וכי' ואין להאששם על זה כי מחבריהם היו משוררים לא רבנים.

The same opinion he expresses in his other works. See *Moreh Nebuchim*, b. 1, chap. 50, and his Resp. Nos. 64, 129, 151 in הדור.

⁸⁵ In שפה ברורה as follows:—ואחרי קדמונו כמו פייטנים אין קץ ולא ידעו לדבר נכונה Compare his *Comm. on Ecl.* v. 1, and on *Gen.* xlv. 43, and his work יתו § 74.

⁸⁶ ואין ראוי לשיר משיריהם אלא מקצת פיוטים ולא כלם ובשירי דוד לבדם ראוי לשבח השי' ולהללו וכי'.

⁸⁷ Compare the observations of R. Simeon Duran, (who flourished in the 14th century), in אבות, p. 55, where he states, that owing to this reason, R. Judah Ha-levi abstained, in the last period of his life, from composing devotional poetry, which, however, is much to be doubted.

⁸⁸ *Ex. Gr.* The introduction of texts all ending in לא (*lo*) in Ha-levi's long Poem *Mi Kamocha*, Gabirol's 225 stanzas in the *Azharot* ending in רים (*rim*), etc. Artificial and intricate alphabets, acrostics, etc. This was carried much further in subsequent periods when prayers, composed of words commencing with the same initial letters were made, of which the famous prayer אלף אלפין (*a thousand alephs*), by J. Bedrashi, and the בקשת הסמין by his father, R. Abraham, a prayer composed of words, all of which commence with the letter ב may be cited as examples. It is unnecessary to say that none of those artificial hymns were ever admitted into the Sephardic Liturgy.

There are, however, other theologians of eminence who acknowledge the value of hymns, and are friendly to their introduction into the public service on account of their efficiency to promote devotional sentiments; the principal of which are R. Joseph Albo, in *Ikkarim*,⁸⁹ Eleazar Askari, Elias de Vida, author of ראשית חכמה and others.

PART II.

WE consider it supererogatory to dilate on the state of Music in the first periods of Jewish history, as applied to Divine Worship or for secular purposes, as every Bible reader must of necessity be acquainted therewith.¹ The mention in the Biblical books of more than sixty instruments, stringed, wind, and percussion, and the direction that various kinds of poetical compositions should be sung to the accompaniment of particular instruments adapted to them, of which the headings of the Psalms afford many examples, are a sufficient proof of the great degree of perfection music had attained among the Israelites at a very early period, and how extensively it was cultivated among them.

It is almost certain that the Levitical choirs, consisting of some thousands of individuals, who, by virtue of their office, cultivated and occupied themselves with music, subsisted till the destruction of the Temple, and that music was further perfected and cultivated during the long interval between the time of Ezra and that event. Philo Judaeus mentions with praise the melodies of a Jewish sect, called the Therapeutics, in the fiftieth year of the Christian era; and many instances are cited in the New Testament of the general cultivation of music among the Jews of that period.² Besides the instruments enumerated in the Bible, several of those since invented or adopted are treated of in the Mishna, Tr. *Erachin*,³ where also an instrument is mentioned as used in the temple, which, although obscurely described, appears to have been the organ in its imperfect state, and such as the

⁸⁹ This great theological writer says as follows:—התפלה צריכה ג' דברים אם היא ראויה לתהתקבל וי"ן "Prayers to be acceptable, require that three rules be observed in their composition. They must be short; they must be expressed in phrases pleasant to those who utter them; and not be burdensome to them. We therefore adopt metrical compositions in our devotions, which besides possessing those requisites, join to it the charm of music with which they are connected, and with which they blend, so as unitedly to enable the devout mind properly to express its sentiments when used for the purpose of prayer" (*Ikkarim*, chap. iv. § 23).

¹ To assist their researches, we shall here mark some of the most remarkable passages. The invention of music and first mention of musical instruments, Gen. iv. 22. Instrumental and vocal music in the time of Jacob and Laban, *Ibid.* xxxi. 27. Choirs and part music by Miriam and the many Jewish women who followed her, Exod. xv. 20. Trumpets and wind instruments to assemble the people and for journeys, Num. x. 2. For war purposes, *Ibid.* xxxi. 6; Josh. vi. 4, 5, etc.; Isa. xviii. 3; Job xxxix. 25. Music, in the time of the Judges and Samuel, Judg. ix. 27; 1 Sam. x. 5, and xxi. 11. Choirs of women celebrating the victory of David over Goliath and the Philistines, the harp play of David, and the application of music to cure melancholy, *Ibid.* xix. 9, and xxi. 11. Secular and social music, and for private and public rejoicings, Judg. ix. 27; 1 Kings i. 40; Isa. v. 12, xxiii. 16, xxiv. 8, 9; Amos vi. 5; Lam. v. 14; Ps. cxxxvii. 2, etc. Music in the temple, 2 Chr. v. 12, 13, xx. 19, xxix. 25, 27, xxx. 21, xxxv. 15; Neh. xi. 17, xii. 27, 28, 45—47; and Ps. cl. Besides these scriptural quotations, the reader is referred, for further inquiry, in respect to the music of the temple during the festivals, to the Mishna Tr. *Erachin*, ii.; *Pesachim*, v. § 7; *Succah*, v. § 4; *Rosh Hashana*, iii. § 3. iv. §§ 1, 5, 9; and *Tamid*, vii. 3.

² Matt. xxvi. 30; Mark xiv. 26; Eph. v. 19; Col. iii. 16.

³ Chap. ii. §§ 3, 5, 6.

Greeks and Romans had it.⁴ It has also been clearly proved, that the chants of the early Christians were derived from the temple melodies, and were adopted by them from the Jews.⁵

After the destruction of the temple by the Romans under Titus, the voice and harp of both Levites and people became mute, and the sufferings the Israelitish nation underwent during the first years of their captivity and dispersion, left them no leisure for the cultivation of music, devotional or otherwise; but as soon as public worship could be again re-established, and "the utterance of the lips" had replaced the former "offerings of bulls," the ancient well-remembered and traditionally-preserved temple melodies were also reintroduced, and the selection of Psalms, which then and since have formed an integral part of the prayers, were sung to them. It is scarcely to be doubted, that the acknowledged efficacy of music as a handmaid to devotion, and the general inclination and aptitude of the Israelite nation for that sublime art—their characteristic in every age—led them, even during that period of captivity and distress, to repeat in their services, at least vocally, the ancient, traditional, and venerated tones and sacred melodies, which they naturally then valued and cherished more as the sole remains of the former temple service, as consolatory sounds in their distress, and as the sweet reminiscences of better times and of national glory.

That most of these melodies were forgotten and lost in the course of time, is a result which will not surprise any one acquainted with the unparalleled sufferings and dispersions the Israelites had to endure during the many ages of their subsequent history, especially when it is also considered that the most strenuous exer-

⁴ Talmud Tr. *Erachin*, pp. 10 and 11, as follows: אמר רבא בר שילא .. מניפה היתה במקדש עשרה נקבים היו בה כל אחד ואחד מוציא עשרה מיני זמר נמצאת כולה מוציא מאה מיני זמר: (מס' עירכ' דף א"א) "There was a musical instrument in the temple called a *Magrepha*, in which there were ten holes (or cavities); each of these produced ten sorts of musical sounds [notes?], thus producing together one hundred sounds." The word *Magrepha* signifies a fork; and this instrument was so called as the rows of pipes presented that appearance (see *Rashi ad loc. cit.*). These pipes were inserted in each of the cavities of a hollow box, and the instrument was no doubt played upon by means of keys, though no mention of them is made in the short and imperfect account of the Mishna. It is, however, added, that it was "a most powerful instrument, which could be heard at a very great distance"—a description very applicable to the organ (Tr. *Tamid*, iii. 8, and *Comm.* ח"ט תוספתא).

⁵ The reasoning of G. B. Martini is, to any impartial reader, conclusive on this subject. He says (*Storia della Musica*, t. i. p. 351):

"Ed ecco il canto Ebreo della Salmodia, sin da' tempo di David e de Salomone successivamente tramandato di padre in figliuolo, oltrepassare la metà del primo secolo della chiesa.

"Che se il metodo del canto, e delle *formole musicali* stabilite da Davide pervennero tant' oltre, se non del tutto, almeno sostanzialmente non variato nella nazione Ebraica; qual ragione potrà persuaderci, che gli Apostoli, i quali erano soliti a frequentare il Tempio, e ad escercitarvisi nell' orazione e nelle divino lodi, l' istesso metodo non riteneressero? Essi infatti, Ebrei essendo, e quindi allevati ed assuefatti alle costumanze di lor nazione allorché alle ore prefisse colle moltitudine del popolo adunavansi al Tempio ad orare (*Luc.* 24, 53) quali *cantilene* avranno usato se non quelli medesime con cui le turbe rispondevano ai Cantori Leviti?"

"This is the Hebrew chant of the Psalmodes which, ever since the time of David and Solomon, have been transmitted from one generation to another, and [therefore] goes beyond the first half of the first age of the Church. These have not materially varied, but have been substantially preserved by the Hebrew nation. Is it not, then, sufficient to convince us, that the Apostles who were born Hebrews, brought up in the customs of their nation, wont to frequent the temple and engage in the prayers and divine praises therein recited, should retain the same method and use the same chants with which the people used to respond to the Levitical choir?"—Martini's *History of Music*, vol. i. 3rd Dissertation, p. 350.

We may remark, in addition, that it is quite improbable that the early Christians should have adopted melodies used by idolaters for the purposes of idolatry. Not only was this prohibited to them by the heathens (see Förkel's *Geschichte der Musik*, vol. ii. p. 91), but they were themselves naturally averse to adopt them. Thus Clement of Alexandria, who flourished in the third century, would allow the guitar and lyre to be used at social festivities, "because David played on them," but prohibited the flute because that instrument "was used in the service of idolatry." They, therefore, could not use any other than the old Hebrew melodies with which they were acquainted from early habit and association.

Förkel, in the above quoted work, says (p. 188), "This mode of reading the Scriptures with cantillation or chant has been adopted in the Christian Church from the Temple, and is still preserved in the mode of chanting the collects, responses, etc." See further on this subject, Dr. Saalschütz *Geschichte und Würdigung der Musik bei den Hebräern*, § 61.

tions of the learned have hitherto failed to elucidate the music of the Greeks, the Romans, and of other ancient nations more powerful and prosperous than the Israelites, and that the art of musical notation was not invented till the fourteenth century. Still some, though very few of these melodies exist, of which there is reason to suppose, that, owing to their having been traditionally preserved and transmitted from one generation to another with religious care and veneration, have reached our times. We will, in respect to two of them, state hereafter our reasons for ascribing to them this high antiquity.

The reading of the sacred Scriptures was, from the earliest times, always accompanied by the observance of certain signs or accents (מַעֲמִים also called *Trop*), intended to determine the sense and as musical notes,⁶ which, although they have a distinct form and figure, do not, nevertheless, present a determinate sound like our present musical notes, but their sound is dependent on oral instruction, since the same signs vary in sound in the various scriptural books, and are modulated according to the tenor and contents of them. This may perhaps be better understood by the following quotation from an ancient authority, one of the few who have written on this subject, and on that of the history of the melodies to the hymns introduced in the liturgy:

הַמַּעֲמִים הֵם מִיְּמֵי הַלְחִינִים וְהֵנָּה נִשְׁאָר לָנוּ בְּמִיְּמֵי הַלְחִינִים נִי וְהָא' הוּבָרַל לְקִרְיַת הַתּוֹרָה וְהָב' לְקִרְיַת הַנְּבִיאִים וְהָי' בִּשְׁנֵי מִיְּמֵי קְדוּבִים זֶה לֹא־הָיָה כִּי קִרְיַת הַהִפְסָרָה אֵינָה בְּקִרְיַת שְׁאָר הַנְּבִיאִים וְהָיָה קִרְיַת נִי סִפְרִים תְּלִים מִשְׁלֵי וְאִיּוֹב וְשְׁאָר הַלְחִינִים כִּנּוּן הַנּוֹטִים לְשִׁיר וְהַנּוֹטִים לְחִמּוּד שְׁהֵם מִיְּמֵי הַפְּיוּטִים כֻּלָּם יֵשׁ מֵהֶם קְדוּבִים כְּמוֹ שִׁירֵי ר' אֱלִיעֶזֶר הַקָּלִירי וְיֵשׁ מֵהֶם נִתְחַדְּשׁוּ בְּאַרְצוֹת סִפְרָד לְקַחֲוֹם הַמְשֻׁדְּרִים מִשִּׁירֵי יִשְׁמַעֲאֵל הֵם עֲרָבִים הִרְבֵּה מוֹשְׁבֵי־הָלֵב יֵשׁ מֵהֶם בְּאַרְצוֹת צִרְפָּת לְקַחֲוֹם מִשִּׁירֵי הַעֲלָנִים וְהֵם בְּתַכְלִית הַנִּנּוֹן וְכִי' (רִשְׁ"ב"ץ מִנּוֹן אֲבוֹת דָּף נ"ב ע"ב)

"The *מַעֲמִים* [signs or accents] are a sort of melodies (לְחִינִים).⁷ Of these, three have remained to us: one is appropriated for the reading of the Pentateuch; the second for that of the Prophets, with the distinction that the tune of the *הִפְסָרָה* (section from the Prophets read in Synagogues on Sabbath and Festivals) differs from other [portions of] the Prophets; the third melody is for the reading of the Psalms, the Proverbs, and Book of Job.⁸ As for the other melodies adapted for hymns or elegies, some are ancient like those for the hymns of R. Eleazar Kalir; and others of more recent origin were composed or adapted in Spain from Moorish songs, which, being very melodious, attract the heart; and in France they were adapted from Provençal tunes, which are most perfect in musical excellence."—(R. Simeon bar Zemach Duran (who flourished in the fourteenth century), in *Magen Abboth*, p. 526.)

⁶ The Prophets seem to have used instrumental music to accompany the announcement of their prophecies (see Sam. x. 5), and sometimes to aid their inspiration. An instance of this occurs in 2 Kings iii. 15. The ancient Greek poets recited their poems with a sort of chant and accompaniment of a musical instrument, a practice which the Italian *Improvvisatori* follow to this day. The Arabs also read the Koran with a sort of cantillation or chant.

⁷ This word is not, as many erroneously suppose, a Hebrew one, but the Arabic and Turkish expression for "melody." Accordingly, it is not to be pronounced לָחֵן but לִחָן, although it has, in the quoted extract, a Hebrew sign of plurality (סִימָן) suffixed.

⁸ Besides these, the Sephardim have different modulations for the Books of Esther, Ruth, the Song of Solomon, and the Lamentations of Jeremiah, each admirably adapted to, and expressive of, the subject of each specified book, though the signs (מַעֲמִים) are nearly the same in all. Not only the scriptural books, but the Mishna, and probably also the Gemarah, were recited with cantillation, as it appears from the Talmud obligatory so to read them (see Talmud Tr. *Megillah*, p. 32), אָמַר ר' שְׁפָטִי אָמַר ר' יוחנן, כָּל הַקּוֹרֵא בְּלֹא נְעִימָה וְשׁוֹנָה בָּלֹא זִכְרָה עָלָיו הַכְּתוּב אֹמֵר וְנִתְּנִי לָהֶם חֲקִים וְלֹא מוֹבִים וְכִי' A treatise of the Mishna was printed with musical accents (מַעֲמִים) as late as 1553 (see Dukes in *Lit. Blatt des Orient* for 1843, and Steinschneider, *Jewish Lit.* p. 154). We much regret that our limits do not permit us to illustrate this important part of the ancient melodies, with respect to the mode of reciting the various scriptural books—a practice peculiar to the Sephardim—by musical and other examples. We hope to do it in another volume, in which we purpose to treat of the chants used in the Sephardic liturgy.

When the Sephardic ritual became fixed and generally established in Spain, and was enriched by the solemn hymns of Gabirol, Judah Ha-levi, and other celebrated Hebrew poets, chants or melodies were composed or adapted to them, and were soon generally adopted. It would, indeed, have been most desirable that the sublime lays of our pious poets should have ever been found combined with equally sublime and sweet strains by devotionally inspired musical composers of our own nation. But this was not always practicable; and at a very early period it became necessary to sing many of these hymns to the popular melodies of the day; and in most printed editions we find directions prefixed to hymns replete with piety and devotion, that they are to be sung to the tune of *Permetid bella Amaryllis* (Permit fair Amaryllis), *Tres colores in una* (Three colours in one), *Temprano naçes Almendro* (Thou buddest soon, O Almond!), and similar ancient Spanish or Moorish songs (בנגון יסעעלי), a practice no doubt very objectionable, for obvious reasons, and from which the better taste of the present age would shrink. It is, however, but fair to say, that these adaptations, though in some degree unavoidable, did not pass without severe censure from pious and learned Rabbies.

Aben Ezra already mentions many hymns which were sung to Moorish or ancient Spanish melodies (see his *Commentary to Ps. viii.*) As a further proof of the early and continued practice and censure of these adaptations, we quote the words of one of its most energetic opponents. Speaking of the works of R. Judah Ha-levi, he says, "In his days it became a practice to introduce into liturgical works hymns founded on popular melodies. This error ultimately increased so much, that the printers of them, like the Sodomites of yore, unblushingly declared their misdeeds, by directing that pious hymns, such, for instance, as שיר תורה וכ"ו (Sing a hymn of praise to the Lord), etc., was to be sung to the tune of *En toda la tramontaña*, "In the whole country beyond the mountains";⁹ and another similar hymn is directed to be sung to the tune of *El Vaquero de la Morayna* "The cowherd of the Morayna," and others in the same manner" (*Samuel Archivolti* in שו"ת הכותש, p. 100).

It must, however, not be concealed that some rabbies excused or defended the practice as an innocent one,¹¹ and on account of the beneficial tendency of music to excite and sustain devotion. With this intention, some poets purposely adapted their devotional hymns to the melodies of popular songs, to supersede the original (not always most moral) words of them, and to substitute their hymns instead, the approved and popular melodies being retained.¹² Still these adaptations must be understood as limited to hymns for private devotion; and if any found their

⁹ This was, no doubt, a love-song in praise of a woman, the continuation of which *probably* was "There is none so fair as —"

בימי (של ר' יהודה הלוי) נגלו סימנים להשיג בסדורי התפלות שירים נבנים על הנגונים ההם (על משקלי שירי חול מההמון) ויהי השבש הזה הולך ומתפשט עד שהמרפסים חמאתם כסודם הנגיד ועל פיוט אשר תולתו שיר תורה לאלהים תנה הזכירו לחן "אין מורא לא טראמונטניה" ועל פיוט אחר כתבו לחן "איל באקירו די מוראיינה" וכדומה:

¹¹ The adaptation of profane melodies to devotional hymns was, as Menahem Lonsano, who flourished in the sixteenth century, informs us, "very objectionable to many rabbies and sages [in Israel], but they are wrong, for there is no harm in this" — "וראיתי קצת חכמים כמתאוננים על המחברים שירים" — רשכחות לשיי על נגונים אשר לא מבני ישראל המה ואין הדין עמהם כי אין בכך כלום (שתי ידות דף קמ"ו) R. Simeon Duran, in the extract above quoted, also mentions the practice without blame, and mentions (as an excuse, probably) that the beauty and sweetness of the Arabic melodies attract the heart (see our extract, *supra* p. 12).

¹² Thus Israel Nagara (*supra* p. 7) adapted purposely all his hymns to Arabic (עראבי), Turkish (תורקי), Greek (גריקי), Romaic (רומני), and other melodies, and even prefixed the commencing words of them. In the two hymns we have of his in this collection, he directs יה רבון עלם (our No. 65) to be sung to the tune of the Arabic song שאילמי שאילים שאלמי, and our No. 66 (ינלה וכ"ו) to a Romaic or Provençal one, *Fasi abassi Silvana*, and has in other hymns even made the Hebrew words to correspond to those of the adopted tune, as, for instance, where he ingeniously applied to the words

way into the synagogue service, it was not till long after their profane origin had become forgotten. Many hymns had melodies expressly composed for them, either by the Hazanim, many of whom, in ancient times, were also *Paytanim* (Poets), who introduced their own compositions into the synagogue service, or sung them to well-known tunes of more ancient hymns, as appears by the headings prefixed, or new melodies were composed for them by others.¹³ It is highly

of a Spanish song, *A las Montañas mi alma! a las Montañas me iré*. ("To the mountains, my soul, to the mountains I will go"), to a poem commencing:—

אל ההרים אלה עיני
עזרי הוא מעם "

The first is probably a love song, and the second a devotional hymn, founded on v. 1 and 2 of Ps. cxxi. This incongruous mixture he thus defends in the Preface to his collection of hymns, called *Zemiroth Yisrael*:—

פי דוברי שקר ודוברי שירי ענבים יסכר ושירי אהבים לא יעלה על לבם .. לעולם . בראותם השירים אשר לשלמה מלך שהשלום שלן איש על דגלו ישירו תהלתו ואילו יעריצו באמרי נתנם שיה הנם ישישו בשמחה .. כי חזקה על כל איש לא שבין היחירה ואכיל אסורה ובפרט בהיות הננונים כלתי נשתנים וכי "The mouth of those who utter vanities and sing profane love-songs shall be closed for ever, when they behold the hymns I have composed in honour of the Almighty; and they will truly rejoice now that they are enabled to sing His praises in melodious strains. For we may well assume that no man will prefer the prohibited thing, when that which is permitted is equally good; and as the melodies remain here unchanged, it is not to be supposed that pious men will expose themselves to be ensnared by the profane words in a rude and strange tongue [בלשון נר אכזר] and abstain from seeking the Lord, and singing His praises with the melodious strains and words of the sacred language which I have here arranged for them."

We are, on reading this, involuntarily reminded of the answer of a celebrated divine, who is reported to have justified the adaptation of popular tunes to religious hymns, by the remark, that "it was not proper that the d—I should have all the pretty tunes to himself." It must, however, be owned, that the Jewish Rabbi of the sixteenth century defended the practice in a better and more logical manner than the Christian divine of the nineteenth century; and as it appears to us, the learned Rabbies above quoted, who permit or apologise for the practice, do not seem to have attached sufficient importance to the effect of association of ideas, which often must have reverted to the profane words of the original melody, when known, to the utter destruction of every devotional sentiment. This was more especially the case, when even at an early period some of our poets, forgetful of their sacred mission, introduced into their hymns all sorts of irrelevant matter, and indulged in puns and witticisms to show their command of language. Moses Aben Ezra justly blames some of his contemporaries, who, abandoning the natural and simple style of their predecessors, introduced mathematics and astronomy in their hymns; and thus, as is well observed by Steinschneider, "causing devotion to degenerate into speculation and disputation." Their play upon words is therefore justly and severely censured in the following extract, which will show to what extreme this license was carried:—

מה שראוי למאוס היא קצת שירים—Especially loathsome is the practice of making some [Hebrew] hymns commence with words similar in sound to those of the song (from which the melody is taken), like him who composed a hymn to the melody of the Spanish song, *Muérame mi alma, ai! muérame*, to the same sounding Hebrew words *עם רב הומה* and thought he had done a great thing, but was not aware that a similar hymn 'is an abomination, which the Lord will not accept' [Lev. xix. 7], שיר כזה פגול הוא לא ירצה and that those who utter it are only repeating the words of the lovers [the expression *הנואף והנואפת* in the original is much stronger]; and their minds and thoughts will revert to them [and impure thoughts instead of devotion will result]. The same censure is deserved by those who write *שם נורא* *Shem Nora* [the awful name], instead of *Señora* (Lady), and similar expressions" (M. di Lonzano, in שתי ידות p. 147). The similarity of structure and sound of the Spanish and Italian languages with the Hebrew, very much facilitated these witticisms, of which many instances might be adduced (see, *inter alia*, Ephraim Luzzatto's בני הנעורים, London, 1766). From what has been stated above, it is needless to add, that none of the hymns, so justly complained of, were admitted into the Sephardic Liturgy.

¹³ This also did not take place without being occasionally abused by ignorant Hazanim and singers, who obtruded their music and fine voices at the expense of true devotion, for which they were, as early as the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, attacked and ridiculed by satirical poets; such as Charisi ch. xxiv., Immanuel of Rome, and others. (Compare also *Shulchan Aruch* הל' ברכות lili § 11, and Lonzano in שתי ידות p. 137. As Steinschneider expresses it: "These writers quote authorities for the physical connection between an agreeable voice and an empty skull." The same erudite modern author is also very severe on the practice and style of the German, and especially of the Polish וזנלים and singers, "So much admired by persons who once or twice a year feel themselves brought back by them to the devotional feelings of their youth, deadened either by neglect or mechanical attendance on places of worship. Their melodies are characterised by a kind of

improbable, and indeed almost impossible that, in the public service of the Sephardim, so jealously watched by the ancient Rabbies, and especially in that for the *יום נחמים* (New Year and Day of Atonement), melodies of known profane origin should at any period have been allowed to be sung.

In considering the structure and character of the ancient melodies traditionally and orally descended to us, we find that, either as original compositions, or as adaptations, they are eminently calculated to fulfil their intended purpose; for though simple in character, they are yet sufficiently melodious to please the ear and attract the multitude; and whether we wish to give utterance to the devotional outpouring of the soul to its Divine Source (see *Morning and Occasional Hymns*), or raise the joyful strain of praise and thanksgiving (*Hallel*, etc.), attune our contrite hearts to solemnity and holy awe (as in the hymns and chants for the *יום נחמים*), or give vent to our affliction for national misfortunes and losses (*קינוח* or *Elegies for the Fast of Ab*); we find them throughout well adapted to the subject and occasion, and never unworthy of the sacred words or immortal verse to which they are associated. They have the further merit of adaptability to the use of a great mass, and of whole congregations, who are without the aid of instrumental music to guide and direct them. Hence the cause of their simplicity, in order to enable them to be acquired and executed by most voices, and also the reason of their shortness, which although it proves monotonous, especially in long pieces, by the too frequent repetition of the same melody, is an inconvenience amply compensated by the more important advantage of their being easily acquired and executed by a mixed congregation, and as easily transmitted, by constant practice, to following generations.

The age and time of composition of each melody varies considerably, and cannot always be accurately ascertained. To guide us in this respect, we must in the first place ascertain by whom the hymns, to which the melodies are attached, were written, and the time the various authors of them flourished, which has been stated above in every instance in which it could be ascertained; because the greater part of these hymns and melodies were adopted either in the life time, or soon after the death of the poets who composed the hymns. The fact of the melodies [which could not then be written down, but were orally acquired and transmitted], being the same in every Sephardic congregation, however widely separated and without communication with each other, affords ample proof of their antiquity, genuineness, and general adoption, and no doubt they have reached us nearly in their original form. Accordingly we find the melodies to the hymns of Gabirol, Ha-levi, and the two Aben Ezras, to be in the Moorish or very early Spanish style of music, corresponding to the age and country in which these great poets flourished, and those less ancient will be found similar in style to that of the music of the various periods of their composition.

A tradition exists with respect to the melody of the blessing of the priests (*ברכה כהנים* No. 44 in this collection), that it is identical with that sung in the temple where, as it is known the priestly choirs were daily wont to bless the people, agreeably to the command to them in Numbers vi. 22—26. (Compare

recitative, having so little reference to musical time, that it spoils the ancient melodies. These singers moreover, are so wanting in attention to the original simplicity of the music, that their ornamentation far surpasses the bravuras of Italian opera singers, and the execution of modern pianists. The recitation of the Sephardim, kept closer to its original simplicity, and retained some of the old hymnology, and therefore underwent fewer changes, owing to the nature of their public service being more rigid and unvarying." (Steinschneider, *Jewish Literature*, pp. 155, 156).

It is, however, but fair to remark, that this censure is not so extensively applicable to the practice of the present day as it was about half a century ago, before a better taste prevailed among the German congregations, and before the works of Sulzer, Naumbourg, Weintraub, Berlyn, and others appeared, to the great improvement of their synagogue music.

way into the synagogue service, it was not till long after their profane origin had become forgotten. Many hymns had melodies expressly composed for them, either by the Hazanim, many of whom, in ancient times, were also *Paytanim* (Poets), who introduced their own compositions into the synagogue service, or sung them to well-known tunes of more ancient hymns, as appears by the headings prefixed, or new melodies were composed for them by others.¹³ It is highly

of a Spanish song, *A las Montañas mi alma! a las Montañas me irá*. ("To the mountains, my soul, to the mountains I will go"), to a poem commencing:—

אל ההרים אלה עיני
עזרי הוא מעם "

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Maimonides מַיְמוֹנִידֵס לְשׁוֹן חַיִּים xiv § 14). That this tradition is supported by great probability, almost amounting to direct proof, will appear from the following considerations: First, that this duty devolved exclusively on the priests, who were a numerous class, who executed it with religious awe and attention, and who, as a privilege peculiar to themselves, scrupulously transmitted it to their sons. It is, therefore, highly improbable, that on the restoration of public divine service, the priests would have used, or the people would have permitted them to introduce, any other melody, except the venerated one of the temple, especially as the blessing of the people was the only act of ministration remaining to the priests after the destruction of the Sanctuary. Secondly, we find that with slight alteration, this blessing is sung to the same melody in every Sephardic congregation.¹⁴ And though our brethren, following the German liturgy, have more than one melody for it, they seem to be of comparatively modern introduction; and one of them, said to be the most ancient, contains unmistakeable traces of this, which we must consider to be the original melody. Its simplicity, and the repetition of the same melody for all the words of the *Blessing* [fifteen in number] are circumstances which will have due weight, and will be accepted as additional and corroborative evidence for its antiquity, by the musical archæologist and critic.

No. 12 of our Collection. The melody to the שִׁירָה or *Song of Moses*, is also held to be of very remote origin. According to a very ancient Spanish work (printed, if I recollect rightly, in Portugal), "Some have affirmed [*Hay quien dizen*] that what we now sing to the *Song of Moses* is the same [melody] Miriam and her companions sung," etc. This legend would not merit any serious consideration here, except that it undoubtedly proves that the knowledge of the origin of the melody was already long lost when this ancient Spanish book was written: and here again the acute remark of Dr. Sachs is applicable, that "Fable soon occupies itself to speak where history is silent" (*supra*, p. 4, note 11). It is, therefore, highly probable that this melody belongs to a period anterior to the regular settlement of the Jews in Spain. The general adoption thereof by every congregation of the Sephardic Liturgy, furnishes also a strong proof in favour of the high antiquity of its origin.

The melodies contained in the present work may, therefore, be thus subdivided:

I. Those most ancient whose origin is supposed to be prior to the settlement of the Jews in Spain. Nos. 12 and 44 are, for the reasons above stated, of this class; as are also very probably many chants used on the Festival of New Year and Day of Atonement.

II. Melodies composed in Spain, and subsequently introduced by the Israelites into the various countries in which they took refuge from the persecution in the Iberian Peninsula. In this class, which forms the larger portion of our collection, we include the Nos. 1, 2, 3, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13 to 39, 45, 47 to 52, 56, 57, 58, 62, 68 and 69. The other numbers not mentioned, we are inclined to consider as of a later period.

With respect to particular melodies, we have to remark, that No. 7 of this collection, the Sabbath hymn *Lecha Dodi*, differs from the other melodies as being much older than the poem to which it is now sung by all Sephardic congregations; because in all old editions of their prayers it is directed to be sung to the melody [לְחַן] of שִׁירֵי נַפְשִׁי לַמְנוּחֵי by R. Judah Ha-levi, who preceded the author of the first-mentioned hymn several centuries (see *Supra*, p. 4 and 7).

¹⁴ This melody has here been written as sung in the ancient congregation of Sephardim, at Amsterdam, where I heard it in my youth, and remember that, simple as it is, it affected even to tears those who heard it sung in harmonious parts, and in proper musical time. It would prove a great gratification to me, if, by means of this our work, this most ancient and sacred "Blessing" should in various congregations be sung in a manner worthy of the holiness thereof, and tend to inspire the hearers with reverence and fitting devotion.

No. 10, *Yigdal*. The author of this poem, so often occurring in the Liturgy, was hitherto unknown, but from a communication made to me by the erudite Mr. L. Dukes, I learn, that Professor S. D. Luzzatto has, in an ancient MS., seen the following prefixed to this hymn: *אלה הם י"ג עקרין שסדרם כמחזור דניאל וצ"ל בכמחור*: "These are the Thirteen Articles of Faith, as arranged by R. Daniel, son of R. Judah, the *Dayan*, or 'Judge.'" This discovery is not without interest for the history of our Liturgy.

No. 24, *Hamaddil*. This being a hymn for private devotion, and not sung in synagogue, various melodies have been adapted to it. I have selected the present as the best and most melodious of those known to me, and which bears unmistakable traces of a Spanish origin, as those who are at all acquainted with that style of music will readily perceive.

No. 26, *Shofet kol Haaretz*. We have preferred writing this very ancient melody, often repeated in our *Roshhashana* and *Kipur* prayers, without musical time, rather than deviate by any alteration, however slight, from the established manner in which it has been sung for many centuries.

Nos. 39—44, Melodies for *Hallel*. Besides those enumerated, the Nos. 3, 4, 11, 47, 65 and 68 are also occasionally used for *Hallel*. Nos. 19 and 25 on Sabbath only.

No. 47. This melody, sung on the last days of Festivals only, is known by the name of *La Despidida*, or "Farewell."

No. 49, *Shochant basadé*. The remarks on No. 24 are also applicable to this number. Its Moorish style of music is a sure guarantee for its antiquity. With respect to the poem, which differs so much from the usual severe and philosophic style of its author, Gabirol, see the able remarks thereon of L. Dukes, *Ehrensäulen*, etc., p. 22.

Nos. 65 and 66, *Yah Ribbon* and *Yigaleh*. To these hymns, used for private devotion only, there are also more than one melody to each, of which I consider I have selected the best. Whether these are the Moorish and Provençal tunes for which their author Israel Nagara composed them (*supra*, note 12), I am unable to state.

No. 70, *Rachem Na*, the Dirge for the Dead. This belongs to the class known in Hebrew poetry as *אֶלְמִרְתָּה*, which either, according to the supposition of Dr. Sachs, is derived from the Spanish *El Mortaja* or (hymn of) the shroud; or, as Jellineck, with more probability derives it, from the Arabic, in which it has the sense of *Oratio funebris*. The poem of Gabirol for the morning service of the Day of Atonement, commencing *אלהים אלי אהה* (vol. iii. of *Prayers*, p. 88), is also sung to this solemn melody.

No melody has been inserted in this collection which is not, as far as I have been able to investigate, at least a century and a half old.

A new melody to *Adon Olam*, composed by the writer of this Essay, having met with some favour by the Sephardic congregations of London, the Hague, in America, etc., has been added as an Appendix, in the hope of its being further adopted by other congregations, or for private devotion.

It only remains to be stated, in addition, that these melodies have been here written as I heard them in Amsterdam and in this country. Mr. Aguilar has written them from hearing me sing them.

D. A. DE SOLA.