THE MUSICAL PASSAGE IN IBN EZRA'S BOOK OF THE GARDEN Amnon Shiloah, Jerusalem

The poet and philosopher Moses ibn Ezra was born in 1055 in Granada and died after 1135. He refers to music in many of his poems, mainly those describing wine-drinking sessions; he also deals with the theory of music in two of his books: the book on poetic art, Kitāb al-muḥāḍarah wa-'l-muḍākarah ("Book of conversations and recollections"); and the Maqālat al-ḥadīqah fī ma nī al-maǧāz wa-'l-ḥaqīqah ("The book of the garden, on metaphor and reality"). Ibn Ezra also indirectly contributed to the development of practical music through his religious poems and penitential prayer compositions set to music, many of which are included in the Sephardi liturgy for the New Year and the Day of Atonement.

The Maqālat al-ḥadīqah in Arabic written in Hebrew characters exists in a unique ms.: Jnul Heb. 8° 570, formerly Ms. Sasson 412. D. Pagis writes about the circumstances leading to the composition of the work: "When the author was living in exile in Castille, he was invited to attend a meeting of scholars held to discuss the question of Hebrew metaphor. The host urged him to compile the biblical metaphors and add his commentary. This occasion led to the composition of a work which is chiefly devoted to the philosophical, theological and philological exegesis of biblical metaphors". A medieval Hebrew translation entitled Arûgat hab-bosem ("A bed of spices") was made by Judah al-Ḥarîzî (1170-1235)².

The mus. pass. as published by I. Adler (HWCM, no 310) begins in the middle of a sentence because two pages (one folio between p. 212 and 213) are missing from the text immediately introducing it. This lacuna, which hampers the precise understanding of the first sentence, also prevents us from knowing what preceded the mus. pass. and whether it began

^{1.} D. Pagis, Secular poetry and poetic theory: Moses ibn Ezra and his contemporaries, Jerusalem, 1970 (in Hebrew).

^{2.} M. Idel, "Who was the translator of R. Moses ibn Ezra's "Arûgat hab-bosem?", Kiryat Sefer, 51 (1976): 484-487 (in Hebrew); S. Abramson, "A note...", Kiryat Sefer, 51 (1976): 712 (in Hebrew).

^{3.} I. Adler, HWCM, p. 159-164.

somewhere in the missing pages. Indeed, it is fairly possible that the mus. pass. constitutes a direct continuation of the matter discussed in the ten pages preceding the lacuna, in which the author deals generally with the production of sound and the use of sonorous means in the process of communication between the transmitter and the receiver, whether verbal or musical. Referring to medieval treatises dealing with similar matter, it seems that the extensive passage from p. 203 to 218 constitutes an integral entity. But since a large part of the passage concerns problems of linguistics, the art of speech, etc., I would rather present here a translation of only some relevant excerpts followed by an integral translation of the passage edited by I. Adler with my collaboration which consisted in revising the text prior to its publication. Since then, I have undertaken new investigations which enable me to suggest some corrections in the editing of the text⁴.

First mus. pass. (p. 20317—20410)

[1] ואמא אלצות פיתסמי קול והו אלצות אלמכבר אלמודי אלי אלסמע מא יריד תאדיתה אלי אלנאטק מת'לה. [2] וג'מיע אלאצואת קרע יחדת׳ פי אלהוא מן תצאדם אלאג'סאם. [3] ועלי כל חאל אן אלצות לכל ד׳י ריה מן אלחיואן לאנה יתנפס ואלתנפס היולי אלצדר. [4] ואמא אלקרע מכון ללאג'סאם אלג'אסיה ואלרמאת׳ כאלצכור ואלחיואן אלד׳י לא ריה להם. [5] ואלהוא אלד׳י ידור פי תג'ויף קצבה אלריה לג'מיע אלחיואן יכון צותא ויכתלף ויתפנן בחסב טול אלרקאב וקצרהא פאן יתבע טול אלרקבה חדה אלצות כחאל אלכראכי ואל[ל]קלאק ואלאוז ובקדר סעה מנאכרהא וחלאקימהא וצפה טבא[א]עהא׳ ושדה אסתנשאקהא וגלט'הא. [6] ובערם הד׳ה אלוג'וה יעדם אלצות נחו אלסמך וגירה. [7] ת׳ם יוצויף אלצות כלאמא ואללסאן ואלחנך ואלאסנאן ואלשפתאן וג'מיעהא עון עלי תביין מכארג׳ אלחרוף ותקטיעהא ובהד׳ה אלאלאת צאר אלצות כלאמא.

- [1] As to the voice (sawt)—qôl in Hebrew—it is the sonorous message carried to the audition from the transmitter to an intelligent receiver similar to him.
- [2] All sounds are a shock produced in the air by the clash of [solid] bodies.
- [3] Anyhow, the voice belongs to animals possessing a lung because they breathe and breathing is vital to them. [4] A clash is produced by solid bodies such as rocks, and by insects which are animals without lungs. [5] The air being agitated within the tube of the larynx of all animals produces a voice⁷. This voice varies and takes different forms according to the length and shortness of the neck. So the acuity of the sound is function of the length of the neck as is the case with cranes, storks and geese; it is also a function of the dimension of
- 4. My suggested corrections, see notes 28-32; see also the article by I. Adler in the Hebrew section of this volume.
 - 5. Ms. has אלקלאקי and טבאעהא
 - 6. Ms. has יסיר.
- 7. The theory concerning sound production, especially the distinction between sound and voice, is probably borrowed from Aristotle's *De Anima* (II, 8) via one of the Hebrew translations of Ibn Rušd's *Commentaries* and *Compendium* (see Steinschneider, *HU*, p. 146-176).

the nostrils, throat, physical constitution and the force and density of the aspiration and respiration. [6] In the absence of all these conditions there will be no sound as in the case of fish and the like. [7] Thereafter the voice is transformed into speech with the assistance of the tongue, the jaw, the teeth and the lips which determine the places where the sounds are produced and their articulation. Thus, thanks to these organs the voice becomes speech.

The text continues with a discussion of speech and its different parts.

Second mus. pass. (p. 20514—2066)

[1] ואעלם אן מן אלחיואן כרס ולא צות להא והו אלדיי לא יתנפס ולא יסתנשק, פכל חיואן יתנפס ויסתנשק לה ריה. [2] וקד יוג'ד מנהא מא יסמע לה זמיר כאלבאעוץ׳ ואלדבאב ואלזנאביר ואן לם תסתנשק. [3] ומנהא מא תחן אלי אלבסאתין ותפרח באלגדואת ואלעשיאת ומנהא מא תחן אלי כראיב ואלי אלמואצ׳ע אלוחשה ותנוח ותבכי אלבכא. [4] ולגאלינוס פי אלמקאלה אלו׳ מן מנאפע אלאעצ׳א קול קאל פיה אן אלסמך לא חאג׳ה בה אלי אלצות לאן מאואה אלמא ובה יעיש למא הו מן טבעה; ולא יחתאג׳ אלי אלתנפס אר׳ לא ריה לה לאן אלריה תשם אלהוא ותאבר׳ אלריח ובאנבסאטהא תרוח אלחרארה אלגריזיה כמא ד׳כרנא. [5] וסאיר אלחיואן אלמתנפס ימות פי אלמא בדכול אלמא פי אלמג׳ארי אלתי הי טריק מא יחתאג׳ אליה אלברן מת׳ל אלפם ואלאנף ואלאר׳אן; פאן אד׳א מלאה אל[מ]א² בטל אלתנפס.

[1] Know thee that certain animals are dumb and voiceless, these are the animals who neither respire nor aspire. Indeed any animal who respires is provided with a lung. [2] Nevertheless, some do produce a loud buzzing like the mosquito, fly and bee, although they do not aspire. [3] Some of these latter yearn for orchards where they exult morning and evening, others yearn for ruins and isolated places where they lament and weep. [4] Galen in his sixth discourse: "on the utility of the corporal members" states that the fish do not need the voice because they dwell and live in water which corresponds to their nature; they do not need to breathe because they are not provided with a lung. Indeed the lung is made to aspire the air and to breathe; and through its dilatation the natural heat is expulsed as we have explained. [5] Any animal that breathes will die in water because of the obstruction by the water of the orifices vital to the body such as the mouth, the nose and the ears; when these are filled with water it is impossible to breathe.

^{8.} Ms. has אלהוא.

^{9.} This work occurs as n° 49 in the annotated list prepared by Hunayn b. Ishāq, in which he included 129 works by Galen that he had translated from Greek or Syriac versions. See G. Bergsträsser, "Hunayn b. Ishāq über die syrischen und arabischen Galen-Übersetzungen", Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, vol. 17, n° 2 (1925); see also: Steinschneider, Arabische Übersetzungen, p. 338, n° 34. The original Greek is included in G. Helmreich, Opera Galeni, Leipzig, 1907 and 1909.

There follows al-Kindī's refutation of Galen's theory, and a return to the discussion of speech.

Third mus. pass. (p. 2108—21113)

[1] וקד פסר אלפיומי ז״ל פי כתאבה אלמולף פי אללגה" אן אללפט׳ה ת׳ם אלנגמה ת׳ם אללחן. [2] ואלאמר באלצ׳ר פאן אלחרוף סאכנה חתי ינטק בהא, ולא ימכן אלנטק באלחרף אלא באחרי אלנגמאת אלסבעה והי אל שבעה מלכים אלתי אצלהא ג' והי אלחר[י]ק ואלש[ו]רק" ואלפתח. [3] ורילך תלקא אלגי, חרכאת אלטביעיה אלמוג׳ורה פי [4] אלע[א]לם¹² והי אלחרכה מן אלוסט ואלחרכה אלי אלוסט ואלחרכה חול אלוסט. ואמא אלחרכה מן אלוסט חרכה אלנאר אלמרתפעה בטביעתהא נחו אלפלר, והדה׳ הי חרכה אלש[ו]רק פי אלכלאם לאן אלאלה אלפאעלה לא תרפעה אלי אלעלו. [5] ואמא אלחרכה אלתי הי אלי אלוסט פהי חרכה אלחג׳ר ירמי בהא אלי אלהוא פירתפע קסרא בגיר טביעה חתי אד׳א בלג אלגאיה אלתי תנאהת אליהא אלקוה אלדאפעה לה, הוי ספלא בטבעה, והד׳ה הי חרכה אלחר[י]ק [פי אלכלאם]ני לאן אלאלה אלפאעלה לה תרפע אלי אלספל. [6] ואמא אלחרכה אלתי חול אלוסט פהי חרכה אלפלך אלמסתדיר חול אלארץ׳ והד׳ה חרכה אלפתח פי אלכלאם לאן אלאלה אלפאעלה תר׳הב בה אלי אלאסתרארה. ולו פהר׳ה אלג׳, חרכאת הי אלאמהאת ואצול ג׳מיע אלחרכאת ואלבאקיה בנאת להא ופרוע מנהא עלא מא בינהא אלעלמא. [8] וועם בעץ׳ צדור הר׳א אלעלם מן אלנחויין אן הנא חרף ליס במחץ׳ אלחרכה ולא במחץ׳ אלסכון והד׳א גיר מעקול לאן אלחרף אלסאכן חתי תחלה אלחרכה. [9] ואסם אלנגמה ענד אלאולין נעימה ואלחסן אלצות בעל נעימה. [10] ופי קאנון אלצלאה "לאל ברוך נעימה יתנו" (נגמה. [11] ומנה פסר אבו אברהים בו ב[רו] ני ז״ל פי מואזנתה כנור נעים ו, טנבור י נגים, באלגין אל מעג׳מה, אי ד׳ו נגמה. [12] וקד יכ[ו][18 מן אלאצואת חכאיה לצות אלמצות תים ינעכס, ולגה אלערב תסמיה בנת אלגיבל ולגתנא הֶר הַרִים. [13] וקר יכון מת׳לה מא יסתעין בה אצחאב אלצנאעאת אלקויה והו קול לא יחמל מעני אלא אן תצ׳אעפת אלראל פי הר הרים, פקאל ״הידר כרורכים יענה"¹⁹, ותקול אלערב היד היד, אר:א אסתעאנת בה עלי אלעמל.

- [1] In his book on language²⁰ Al-Fayyūmī explains that first comes the consonantal skeleton (al-lafzah) and then the intonation (al-nagmah). [2]
- 10. See infra note 20.
- 11. Ms. has אלחרק ואלשרק.
- 12. Ms. has אלעלם.
- 13. The text has בטבעה; my correction is based on two other occurrences of the same words in an analogical context.
 - 14. This is part of the yôzer in the morning prayer.
- 15. Ms. has ben bhn which is evidently an error; the work cited al-Muwāzanah, or in its full title: al-Muwāzanah bayn al-luḡah al-cibrānīyyah wa-'l-carabīyyah (The book of comparison between Hebrew and Arabic language), is by ibn Bārūn abū Ibrahīm Isaac b. Joseph ibn Benveniste (d. 1128). He was a famous grammarian and philologist to whom Judah hal-Levi and ibn Ezra dedicated poems. The book was edited by Kokovtzer (Petersburg, 1893).
 - 16. Ps. 81, 2.
 - 17. The tunbur is a long-necked lute.
 - 18. Ms. has יכין.
 - 19. Jer. 25, 30.
- 20. See L. Salomon Skoss, "Fragments of unpublished philological works of Sa'adia Gaon", JQR, 23 (1932/1933): 329-336. Here ibn Ezra refers to the fifth part of $Kutub\ al\text{-lugah}$, entitled $al\text{-}Qawl\ fi'l\text{-}nagam}$ (Discourse about vowels), which is devoted to the treatment of vocalization. See also L. Salomon Skoss, "A study of inflection in Hebrew from Sa'adia's grammatical work 'Kutub al-lugah'", JQR, 33 (1942/43): 171-212.

However, the thing is the contrary, because the letters are quiescent until they are pronounced and because they cannot be pronounced without being associated with one of the seven vowels—the seven kings which derive from three fundamentals: the hîrîa [i], the šûrûa [u] and the pattah [a]. [3] These three vowels correspond to the three natural movements found in the world, which are: from the centre, to the centre and around the centre, [4] The movement from the centre corresponds to the movement of fire which raises thanks to its nature in the direction of the sphere. This movement is associated with the šûrûa in speech because it is not pushed upwards by the organ of speech. [5] The movement to the centre corresponds to that of a stone thrown in the air. It goes up by intentional impulsion and not naturally, and when it reaches its maximum force, it falls down by its proper nature. This corresponds to the hîrîq [i], because the organ of speech pushes it downwards. [6] The movement around the centre corresponds to the movement of the sphere which turns around the earth; it is associated with the pattah [a] in speech, because the organ of speech causes it to turn round. [7] These are the mothers and the fundamental vowels; the rest of the vowels are their daughters and their branches as has been stated by the learned. [8] Some of the eminent grammarians pretend that there is a letter not entirely vowel nor entirely consonant. This is not logical, because a letter remains quiescent until it is provided with a vowel. [9] The Ancients named the nagmah ne îmah (= a pleasant melody), and the one who possesses a beautiful voice: bacal necîmah. [10] Indeed, in the canonic prayer "Le-'el barûk ne cîmah yittenû" (To God blessed [be He] they will sing a pleasant melody) ne cîmah is used as the equivalent of nagmah. [11] Abū Ibrahīm ibn Bārūn, in his book al-Muwāzanah, rendered kinnôr nacîm by tunbūr nagīm [with gayn] that is to say a tunbūr (long-necked lute) producing a beautiful sound (nagmah). [12] There are also sounds which imitate the voice of their producer and thence they are reflected back. This is called in Arabic bint al-ğabal (echo, daughter of the mountain) and in our language hed harîm (mountain's echo). [13] Of similar nature are the repetitive sounds used by workers to encourage themselves while effecting hard work; these consist of nonsense words expect where the dalet in hed harîm is doubled as in hêdad kedôrekîm ya caneh ["He shall give a shout, as they that tread the grapes...", Jer. 25, 30]. The Arabs say hid hid to encourage themselves in the accomplishment of hard labour.

Ibn Ezra goes on to deal with other metaphors of $q\hat{o}l$ and passes to a metaphor of the terms $higgay\hat{o}n$, hegeh and $hag\hat{i}g$, which all mean meditation, logic, whispering, and resounding music. The discussion of these terms is introduced by Plato's saying that just as a pot is tested by its resonance, the validity of a man's reasoning is tested through the intonation of his

speech. Ibn Ezra goes on to quote biblical verses showing the musical meaning of the term *hegeh*. This passage is unfortunately interrupted at the bottom of p. 212 where the two pages lacuna begins. It seems probable that in this passage the author referred to the influence of the art of music on the human mind and body.

After the lacuna, Ibn Ezra mentions the writings²¹ of Tabīt b. Qurra, al-Fārābī and others who apparently dealt with the theory expounded in the missing pages, adding that in the Bible we already find references to the negative aspects of the sensual pleasure derived from music. Since the main purpose of music is to exert a moralising effect on the soul, ibn Ezra here reports a sequence of nine sayings by philosophers, upholding the ethical power of music. Although he does not mention his sources it is evident that he has drawn his material from the relevant literature known to us. It seems that the earliest and most complete Arabic source dealing with the Nawādir—rare sayings of the philosophers on music—is the text of a certain "Paul", of which a copy is preserved in the Manisa Public Library, ms. 1705²². This text contains 55 aphorisms dealing with the moral and therapeutical effects of music, its spiritual meaning as opposed to its intoxicating influence, etc. About half of "Paul's" text agrees almost literally with sayings contained in ch. XVIII-XX of Hunayn ibn Ishāq's work: 'Ādāb al-falāsifah which was translated into Hebrew by Judah b. Solomon al-Harîzî (1170-1235) under the title Mûserê ha-fîlôsôfîm (see Adler, HWCM, 280). Sequences of similar sayings are to be found in Kitāb allahw by ibn Hurdadbih (820-911)²³; Risālah fī ağzā' habarīyah fī'l-mūsīqī by al-Kindī (d. after 870 C.E.)²⁴, the Risālah on music by the Ihwān alsafā²⁵ (tenth century) and Muruğ al-dahab by al-Mascūdī (d. 956 C.E.)²⁶.

^{21.} Ibn Ezra here mentions very vaguely "their guides of sciences"; it seems to me that this is an indefinite statement, without reference to a particular work.

^{22.} See F. Rosenthal, "Two Graeco-Arabic works on music", Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, CX/4 (August 1966): 261-268; A. Shiloah, "Les sept traités de musique dans le manuscrit 1705 de Manisa", Israel Oriental Studies, I (1971): 303-315.

^{23.} Father Ignatius, "Mukhtār min k. al-lahw", al-Mashriq (1960): 130-167.

^{24.} Ed.: Zakariyya Yusuf, Mu'allafāt al-Kindī (Baghdad, 1962), p. 91-110 (rather incongrously, the chapter on musical aphorisms from the rasā'il Iḥwān al-ṣafā' has been appended to the Kindī treatise in this edition).

^{25.} A. Shiloah, "L'Épître sur la musique de Ikhwān al-ṣafā'" (suite), Revue des Études Islamiques, Année 1966 (Paris, 1967): 185-193; id., Ha-iggeret ^cal ham-mûsîqah...' Tel Aviv, 1976 (Hebrew tr.); id., The epistle on music... Tel Aviv, 1978 (English tr.).

^{26.} Les Prairies d'or, ed. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteil, Paris, 1861-1877, vol. VII, p. 93.

The following table shows the correspondence of sayings between al-Hadīqah and other major sources.

Ḥadīqah —	Iḥwān	al-Kindī	Ḥunayn	Paul
I (S.3)	XVIII, XXI	0	Ch. XIX1	III
II (S.4)	I	I	Ch. XVIII1	II
III (S.5)	II	0	0	0
IV (S.6)	III	IV	Ch. XVIII6	XII
V (S.7)	0	0	0	0
VI (S.8)	X	0	0	0
VⅡ (S.9)	XI	VI	Ch. XVIII8	0
VIII (S.10)	XXII	0	0	0
IX (S.12-17)	similar statement in the	0	Ch. XX ₁	XLVIII
	Risālah			

In the light of this table we may state that the al-Ḥadīqah sequence presents the closest kinship with the Risālah of the Iḥwān al-Ṣafā' and even embraces the tendentious ideology which is there put forward. This is perhaps the reason why ibn Ezra did not repeat the introductory statement, common to all four sources, saying that the occasion leading to the composition of the Nawādir was a wedding feast given by King Heraclius (the Byzantine Emperor) for his son.

The last saying which deals with the four strings of the ${}^c\bar{u}d$ and their affiliation to the four elements, humours, etc. is preceded and followed by biblical references whose aim is obviously to emphasize the importance of the Bible as a major source for all practical and theoretical achievements. So, he first mentions Yuval "the initiator of this noble art" [see Gen. 4, 21], and afterwards refers to the *semînît* (= instrument of eight strings) [Ps. 12, 1] to show that the technical improvement of the ${}^c\bar{u}d$ by doubling its strings is also included in the Bible. This leads on to the theory of the Ancients who considered instrumental music as an imitation of vocal music, and to musica humana, an expression of what dwells in man's heart and soul. Ibn Ezra thus interprets "higgayôn be-kinnôr" [Ps. 92, 4] going back to the metaphor of higgayôn already discussed. Here he briefly expounds a theory concerning the setting of poetry to melody, using the technique of "empty"

and "full" notes which is probably drawn from Judah hal-Levi's Kûzarî²⁷. Continuing along the same lines, he quotes the great theorist al-Kindī in order to say that "this great science and the secret of its noble inner meaning are anchored in the fundamental laws of the prophet Moses". At this point ibn Ezra provides a survey and interpretation of biblical references to music in choronological order (period of King David and the first Temple, the Babylonian exile and the second Temple), stressing the evidence for the power of music in prophetic inspiration. Some philological aspects related to the names of musical instruments are discussed in the concluding sentences of the musical passage and serve as transition to the author's resumption of his main subject of biblical metaphor.

Fourth mus. pass. (p. 2131-21814)

The following is a reproduction of the text (without the critical apparatus) from *HWCM*, 310, p. 161-163. For emandations of this text, see above, note 4.

,ויסתחכם פי נפוסהם אלגיליל אלדיי אליה ינטיר באטן הדיא אלעלם, [1] ... אלאמעאן, ויסתחכם פי נפוסהם אלגיליל ובהדיא אלראי ראי אהל אלבצר מן אלמתאכ׳רין מתיל תיאבת בן קרה אלחראני ואבו נצר אלפאראבי וגירהמא פי תואליף ארשארהם אלי קראה אלעלום. [2] וקבלהם, מא פנר אלנבי ע״ה קומה פי פצל ״הוי משכימי בבקר״, וג׳על להם אצטבאחהם ואגתבאקהם אללריה אלחאצלה מו ט׳אהר הר׳ה אלצנעה ואגפאלהם ואג׳באת אללה וואג׳באת אלעקול, כקולי "והיה כנור ונבל" וג', וד׳כר נתיג'ה הד׳א אלפעל "ואת פעל יוי לא ויןביטו ומעשה ידיו לא ראו״. [3] קאל אחר קרמא אלפלאספה אן חרכה (אלאותאר) צלה [...] מא82 בין אלטביעה ואלנפס ומא אחסן מא קאל אד׳ קאל אן מן אחסן אן יולף בין חרכה 28 אלנפס וחרכה אלעקל מע חרכה אלטביעה [כ]תאליף⁸² חרכה אלעקל מע חרכה אלטביעה והי אלחרכאת כאן אלעאלם ולד׳אתה לדיה. [4] קאל גירה: אן [ל]לגנא פצ׳ילה [י]תע[ד׳]ר עלי אלמנטק אשהארהא באללפט׳ ולם [י]קדר עלי אכ׳ראג׳הא באלעבארה פאכ׳רג׳תהא אלנפס לחנא מוזונא פלמא סמעתה אלטביעה אסתלר׳תה ופרחת בה; פאסמע[ו]א מן אלנפס חדית׳הא ומנאג׳אתהא ודעוא אלטביעה ואלתאמל אלי פעלהא לילא תג׳רכם. [5] קאל גירה אחד׳רוא אסתמאע אלמוסיקי אד׳ תחרך אלשהואת אלבהימיה פתמיל בכם ען סגן אלחק ותג׳רכם ען מנאג׳אה אלנפס. [6] קאל גירה [ל] למוסיק[אר] חרך מן אלנפס קואהא אלשריפה כאל[ח]לם ואלג׳וד ואלכרם ואלראפה וסכן אלטביעה לילא תתחרך. שהואתהא אלטביעיה. [7] קאל אלאסכנדר: מן פהם אלאלסן אסתגני ען סאיר אללד׳את. רכב אלחיואניה רבע אלנפוס אלג׳ז[א]יה באלאג׳סאר אלחיואניה רכב [8] פי ג׳בלתהא אלשהואת אל ג׳סראניה ומכנהא מן תנאול אללד׳את אלג׳רמאניה פי איאם אלצבא תים סלבהא ענהא פי איאם אלשיכ׳וכ׳ה פוהרהא מנהא פמאלת אלי אלמלאד׳ ואלנעים ואלסרור אלד׳י פי עאלמהא אלרוחאני ורגבהא פיהא פאד׳א סמע[ת] נגמאת אלמוסיקי פתאמל אשאראתה נחו עאלם אלארואח. [9] אפלאטון: אן אלנפס אלנאטקה [אד'א] אעתצמת ען אדראך אלשהואת אלג׳סמאניה ווהדת פי אלמלאד׳ אלטביעיה 30 ואנה ות[ר $^{\circ}$ כר]ת אלאלחאן אלאלחאן אלאדאף אלהיולאניה וחנת אלן עאלמהא אלעאלי אלשריף אלרוחאני, פאר׳א סמעת אלטביעה דילך אללחן תערצ׳ת

^{27.} See A. Shiloah, "Melody and meter in the 'Khouzari", Tatzlil, 6 (1966): 5-8 (in Hebrew).

^{28.} My suggestion to correct the reading of the ms. is based ס בתאלים. nost identical saying in Paul's text: Ms. has אן חרכה פצלהמא בין אלטביעה ואלנפט and

^{29.} Ms. has סמע נגמאת אלמוסיקיה.

^{30.} Ms. has אלי אלאלחאן אלמזינה ותרכת.

ללנפס בזינה אשכאלהא ורונק אצבאגהא כימא תרדהא פאחד׳רוא מכר אלטביעה ולא תקעוא פי שבכתהא. [10] וקאל גירה: אד׳א תצורת רסום אלמחסוסאת פי אלנפס אלג׳ז[א]יה כאנת פי מנאטבה ומשאכלה ללנפט אלכליה ומשתאקה לתלחק בהא פאר׳א פארקת אלהיכל אלג׳סדאני ארתקת אלי מלכות אלסמא ולחקת באלמא אלאעלי יעני אלסמא וסכאן אלאפלאר. [11] פמא אגרב תרכיב הר׳ה אלאלאת אלהנדסיה לתעדיל אלאכ׳לאק אלנפסאניה ותקריב בועד הד׳ה אלמעאני בהד׳א אלטב אלרוחאני, ומא אעג׳ב כוו הד׳א אלעלם פי צדר אלכ׳ליקה פי אלק[ו]ר[ו]ן אלאול אלד׳י טאלת פיה אלאעמאר חתי נתג' אהלהא הד'ה אלעלום אלשריפה אלשאו כ'ק עו יובל מנשיהא "אבי כל תפש כנור ועוגב". [12] פאטבעת הד׳ה אלצנעה אלפאצ׳לה עלי אלטבאיע אלארבעה וולפת עלי אכיתלאפהא. [13] פגיעל אלזיר אולהא לטיפא כאלמרה אלצפרא, פאלזיר יפני אלחס ואלותר אלבי בתהייג׳ה ללחרארה ואליבס אלתי יכתסבהא מו טבע אלנאר. [14] ואלותר אלב׳ יסמי אלמח׳ני לאג׳ל אנה צ'עף מן אלזיר מהייג׳ ללפרח מחרך ללטרב באלרטובה ואלחרארה אלריי אודעה טבע אלהוא. [15] ואלותר אלג׳ יסמי אלמת׳לת׳ הו ללבלגם והו את׳קל מן אלמת׳ני לאן וזנה צ׳עפי אלזיר מהיג׳ ללחזו מבכי ללעיוו לאו טבע אלמא אורעה דילר לברודתה ורטובתה. [16] ואלותר אלד׳ הו אלבם ויסמי איצ׳א באלאבח והו [ל]למרה" אלסורא והו אגלטיהא ואתיקלהא והו ג׳ אצ׳עאף אלזיר מהיג׳ ללכרב ואלפזע לאן אלסודא אודעתה דילר במא אכתסבתה מן טביעה אלארץ׳; פצארת הדיה אלדי באלבנאת ללאכ׳לאט אלד׳ אלתי הי בנאת אלענאצר אלד׳. [17] וקד ת׳ני אלמתאכ׳רון מן אלמוסיקיין הר׳ה אלאותאר וג׳על לכל טביעה ותרין ועסי אנה אמר קדים, פקד פסר פי "למנצח על השמינית" אנהא ד'את ח' אותאר כמא פסר "נבל עשור" אנהא ת'קב עשר פי זק אלומר. [18] ופי חכאיה אלאלחאן פי הר׳ה אלאלאת ואכ׳ראג׳ מא פי אלצ׳מיר מנהא יקול "עלי עשור ועלי נבל עלי הגיון בכנור", עלי מא שרחת פי "הגיון". [19] פאלמלאוי די, ואלבנצר אלוחאר אלר׳ פאלסבאבה ללבם. ואלוסטי ללמת׳לת׳, ואלבנצר [ללמת׳ני ואלכ׳נצר] ללזיר. [20] פאד׳א בדא בבית מן אלשער רבמא תמת לגה אללחן באנקצ׳א אלבית ורבמא אנקצ׳י אלבית ולם ינקצ׳י אללחן ובקית מנהן זיארה ורבמא וקע אלצות באנקצ'(א) אללחן קבל תמאם אלבית. [21] ולדילך יבדא בחרכה אלותר קבל אלנשיר כקולי פי כתאבנא "קדמו שרים אחר נוגנים", יריד אלשער בעד אלגנא ו"שרים" הנא עוץ׳ "שירים" מת׳ל "כהתם הפושעים", יריד "הפשעים" ולפט׳ "אחר" סקט מנה ואו אלנסק מתיל "אחר נאחז בסבך". [22] תים רתבת אלנגם ואלאלחאן וג'על להא חרור ואסבאב תאכיר אן אלנגם תנתהי אלי וריכר יעקב בן אטחק אלכנדי אן אלנגם תנתהי אלי עדר כתייר דכ׳רה, ולא שר אן הר׳א אלעלם אלעט׳ים וסר באטנה אלכרים כאן מן אצול שריעה מוסי אלגבי ע״ה. [24] ולהר׳א מא כ׳ץ בה סבטה אלמקדס וטמאה ״עבודת הלוים״ כק׳ ״לעבוד עברת עבורה ועברת משא״ ועלי מא קאל אהל אלנקל והם אלצאדקון ופי מן בלג מנהם אלי כימסין סנה קאל "ישוב מצבא העבודה [...] ושרת את אחיו", יעני מן כונה משורר בל שוער. [25] ואד׳א אסתקר אלקום פי אלשאם כאן יצרף ען אלגנא אן אבח צותה כאן קבל אלכימסין או בערהא. [26] וכאן הדיא אלשיר יויד [ב]ויאדה יא אלחליל וויאדה אלחליל כויאדה אלקרבן פי אלמואסם מן אלסבות ואלאעיאד ורווס אלשהור. [27] עלי הריא אלוציע כאנת אלחאל מרה אלבית אלאול חסב רתבה אלמרתבה פי איאם דוד ע״ה בעד אג׳מאע אלמלה עלי תמלכה פי ״משמרות כהנים״ ו״משוררי לוים״ ו״שוערי הבית" כמא אוחי אללה בה אלי אלנבי אלמרסל אליה בד׳לך כק׳ פי אכ׳ר אלקצה "הכל בכתב מיד יוי עלי השכיל כל מלאכות התבנית". [28] תים קאל פי אלמשוררים "ויבדל דור ושרי הצבא לעבודה לבני אסף [ו]הימן וידותון הנבאים בכנורות בנבלים ובמצלתים ויהי מספרם אנשי מלאכה לעבורתם". [29] ת׳ם כ׳צץ אסף בקו׳ ״על ידי אסף הנביא על ידי המלך", וקאל פי ירותון "על ירי אביהם ירותון בכנור" וג', וען בני הימן קאל "כל אלה בנים להימן חוזה המלך בדברי ה׳ אים להרים ראש". [30] ולא שך אן האולי אלאנביא כאן

^{31.} Ms. has אלמרה.

^{32.} Ms. has כויאדה.

וחיהם ממא אכנו אללה פי גראיזהם מן הד׳א אלעלם אלשריף פנטקו[א] בה קולא וצרפו[א] פיה פעלא, ובדוד ע"ה עט'ם שאן הד'ה אלצנעה וואד שרפהא כק' ענד אלקיאם ואלתהג׳ד למנאג׳אה רבה "עורה כבודי עורה הנבל וכנור" וג׳. [31] ואלישע ע"ה ענד מא תעד׳רת עליה בעץ׳ מואד אלנבוה קאל ״קחו לי מנגן״ ליחרך נפסה אלעקליה אלי עאלם אלחק לתאתי בה מן ענצרה. [32] והד׳ה אלאלאת אללואת[י] כיף פיהא הד׳ה אלאותאר אלמחרכה ללנפוס אלפאצילה הי אלתי רתיא אלקום פי אלגילוה פקאלו[א] "על נהרות בבל" וג' "על ערבים בתוכה" וג' ותמאם אלקול. [33] ובעד אלאקאלה ובניאן אלבית אלב' תרתבת אלחאל עלי מא כאנת עליה קבל כקולי פי ספר עזרא ״וראשי הלוים חשביה שרביה וישוע בן קרמיאל ואחיהם לנגרם להלל להודות במצות דוד איש האים משמר לעמת משמר". [34] ומנהם מן תצרף פי גיר הד׳ה אלצנעה כקו׳ "וסביבות בית האי׳ם ילינו כי עליהם משמרת והם על המפתח לבקר לבקר", "ומהם על כלי העבודה ומהם ממונים על הכלים ועל כלי הקדש ועל הסולת והיין והשמן והלבונה והבשמים". [35] וליס ג'מיע אלאת אלאגאני ממא תחרך אלנפס אלנאטקה אלא אלמג׳ופאת וד׳ואת אלאותאר וגירהא מן צנף אלמלאהי כאנת לאוקאת אלמחאפל כקול׳ ענד נקל אלארון מן קרית יערים ״ודוד וכל בית ישרא׳ משחקים לפני יוי בכל עוז בשירים ובכנרות ובנכלים ובתופים ובמצלתים ובחצוצרות". [36] וקר צרפת הד׳ה אלאסמא תצריף אלאפעאל פקיל מן חצוצרות מחצרים, ומן חליל מחללים, ומנה "על מחלת לענות", ומן תוף "מתופפות על לבבהן". [37] ורבמא כאן "כשיר עגבים" מקתטע מן עוגב, ואסם אלעוד פי לגה אלערב כנאר, וקיל הו אלטנבור. [38] וזעם בעץ׳ אלאולין אן ״שרה ושדות״ אלמד׳כורה פי ספר קהלת אנהא באנת אלאת עג׳יבה ללגנא אנקטעת באנקטאע אלדולה.

Fourth mus. pass. (p. 2131-21814)

[1] ... This view is held by modern scholars like Tabīt b. Qurra, from Harrān, al-Fārābī and others in their respective guides to sciences³³. [2] But long before them one finds the reprobation of the prophet, peace be upon him, to his people in the verse: "Woe unto them that rise up early in the morning" [Is. 5, 11] and his reprimand for giving themselves up morning and evening to pleasure deriving from the superficial aspect of this art, and for transgressing the Divine and reasonable laws saying: "And the kinnôr [lyre?] and the nevel [harp?]...". etc. [Is. 5, 12]. He also mentions the consequences of their behaviour saying: "But they regard not the work of the Lord neither consider the operation of His Hands" [Is. 5, 12]. [3] One of the ancient philosophers says: "The movement [of the strings constitutes]34 the linking of nature with the soul". The best of what he said is: "It is better to harmonize between the movement of the intellect and that of the soul with the movement of nature through the harmony deriving from the movement of the strings; when these movements are linked together [the happiness] of the world and its pleasures will be felt by him [the man]."35 [4] Another said: "Music is a virtue which cannot be put in evidence by speech, nor can the verb express it; that is why the soul shows it in form of measured melodies; when nature hears these melodies,

^{33.} See supra note 21.

^{34.} Addition based on the identical saying, no 3, in Paul.

^{35.} This saying involves the basic conceptions of the *Musica Humana* as realized through the *Musica Instrumentalis*; reference to conceptions related to *musica mundana* is to be found mainly in sentence 10.

it feels joy and pleasure. [Therefore,] listen to the confidential conversations of the soul and beware of nature and the contemplation of its deeds lest it cheat you." [5] Another says: "Beware of listening to music when it stirs animal appetites, because this makes you deviate from the right way and removes you from the confidential conversations of the soul." [6] Another says to the musician: "Stir up the noble forces of the soul such as patience, generosity, liberality and clemency, and appease nature, refraining its appetites from taking effect". [7] Alexander says: "Whoever understands languages would not need the other pleasures." [8] Aristotle says: "When God, High and Mighty, attached the individual souls to animals' bodies, He included in their constitution corporal appetites, allowing them to have corporal pleasures in their youth from which He later deprived them in their old days; [as a result] they then reject those pleasures to turn toward the pleasures, delight and beatitude of their spiritual world and to yearn for it. Therefore, when you hear the melodies of the musician, observe his mystical signs which are related to the spiritual world." [9] Plato [says]: "If the rational soul denudes itself from corporal pleasure, rejects the natural delights, removing from itself the material rust, it becomes enthusiastic each time it hears solemn and serious melodies, remembering its spiritual world, which is sublime and most dignified, and yearning to reach it. For this, when nature hears those melodies it stands before the soul with all its magnificent appearances and the brilliancy of its colours to defeat it. Therefore, beware of the temptations of nature lest you fall in its net." [10] Another says: "If the impressions of the perceptible things are printed in the individual soul, the latter becomes concordant with and similar to the universal soul, and will aspire to join it. Indeed, when the soul separates from the corporal edifice, it will rise to the kingdom of heaven to join the upper water, that is to say the sky, and the inhabitants of the spheres." [11] How wonderful are these geometrical tools which help in tempering the manner of the soul, and the understanding of those remote meanings made possible thanks to this medicine of the soul. How marvellous is it that this science came into being with the beginning of creation, in the first centuries when human life was long and people invented these sciences of noble purposes, as it is said about its inventor Yuval: "He was the father of all such as handle kinnôr [lyre?] and cûgav [pipe?]" [Gen. 4, 21]. [12] This eminent art was made to correspond to the four temperaments and to harmonize their differences. [13] Indeed, the first string al-zīr36, is subtle like the yellow bile; it is said to annihilate the sense and burn it by its extreme effervescence and dryness which come from its affiliation

^{36.} Ibn Ezra refers here to the classical ${}^c\bar{u}d$ which has four strings called respectively from the higher to the lower: $z\hat{u}r$, $ma\underline{t}n\bar{a}$, $ma\underline{t}la\underline{t}$ and bamm; they were tuned in fourths. The theory of affiliation between the four strings of the ${}^c\bar{u}d$ and cosmological things as well as other correspondences is discussed in all the above mentioned sources and particularly by the $I\underline{h}w\bar{a}n$ al- $\underline{s}af\bar{a}'$ who served as ibn Ezra's model.

to the element of fire. [14] The second string is called al-matnā because it is double the size of the zīr; it stirs gladness, provokes deep emotions by its moisture and heat deriving from its link to the element of air. [15] The third string is called the matlat; it is lower than the matna and corresponds to phlegm; it stirs sadness and causes the eyes to weep as a result of its link to the element of water which confers coolness and moisture. [16] The fourth string is the bamm, also called al-abahh [the hoarse]; it [corresponds to] the black bile and is the thickest and heaviest [string], three times the size of the zīr. It stirs affliction and fear because the black bile, which corresponds to the element of earth, has conferred those qualities on it. Thus, the four [strings] are like the daughters of the humours which are in turn the daughters of the four elements. [17] The musicians of later generations undertook the doubling of these strings, assigning two strings for each element. However, this achievement may go back to an earlier time. The commentator of lam-menazzeah cal haš-šemînît [Ps. 12, 1] considers šemînît as an eight stringed instrument as he interprets nevel $as\hat{o}r$ —a pipe pierced by ten holes $(zamr)^{37}$. [18] On the production of melodies by these instruments and the interpretation of what is inherent in them we read: calê casôr wa-calê navel, calê higgayôn be-kinnôr [Ps. 92, 4], which would mean: "To the music of the casôr and to the speech (higgayôn) of the lyre"; the term higgayôn should be understood as I have explained it 38. [19] [In conclusion the $c\bar{u}d$ has] four pegs (mal $\bar{u}w\bar{i}$), four frets (dast $\bar{u}n\bar{u}t$) corresponding to the strings: the sabābah [index] to the bamm; the wustā [middle finger] to the matlat; the binsir [ring finger] to the matnā and the hinsir [small finger] to the $z\bar{v}r^{39}$. [20] When a line of a poem is set to music, the respective ends of the melody and the text may coincide; it happens also that the text ends before the melody is exhausted, or the voice is interrupted by the end of the melody, before the poetical line is entirely finished⁴⁰. [21] For this reason one should introduce the song by playing on the strings⁴¹ as it is said in our Holy Book: "The singers went before, the players on instruments followed after" [Ps. 68, 25]; this implies that the poem (al-ši^cr) comes after instrumental playing $(=\bar{g}in\bar{a}')^{42}$. The word $\check{s}ar\hat{i}m$ [singers] is here instead of *šîrîm* [songs] as in: "...When the transgressors (hap-pôše c îm) are come to the full [Daniel, 8, 23] $hap-pose^{c}$ îm has to be understood as $hap-pesa^{c}$ îm [the

^{37.} Zamr, zammārah, zummārah or mizmār designate a double clarinet.

^{38.} The continuation of fragment three translated above, contains a long discussion on the different uses of this term.

^{39.} This comparison is quite strange.

^{40.} See supra note 27.

^{41.} This obviously refers to the preludes and interludes played by the accompanying instruments.

^{42.} The term ginā' signifies singing and vocal music; this must be an error or a bad rendering of nôgenîm (instrumentalists).

transgressions]; and in the word ahar [after] the vowel o has been ommitted; its case is like: ahar ne'ehaz bas-sevak ["Behind him a ram caught in the thicket", Gen. 22, 13]. [22] [In] later [periods] the notes and the melodies were codified, fixed and defined according to the theory on numbers⁴³. [23] Ya^cqūb b. Ishaq al-Kindi mentions that the notes are of great number and goes on to enumerate them. Doubtless, this great science and its noble inherent meaning are anchored in the fundamental laws of Moses the prophet, peace be upon him. [24] This explains the nature of the particular function assigned to the sanctified tribe, a function called by him: Levites' service, as it is said: "... To do the service of the ministry and the service of the burden" [Numbers 4, 47], and also what has been reliably said by the traditionalists in this respect. As to the Levites who attained the age of fifty it is said: "They shall cease waiting upon the service thereof... but shall minister with their brethren..." [Numbers 8. 25-26]. That means that they will withdraw from their duty as singer (mesorer), but not from their charge as keeper of the tent ($so^c er$). [25] In the case of a lasting indisposition, the Levite was dismissed from accomplishing his singing duties because of the loss of his voice, whether before the age of fifty or after. [26] This song was enriched by the augmentation of the flute and the augmentation of the flute is comparable to the augmentation of sacrifice on the occasion of holidays, the Sabbath and the first day of the month. [27] The regulations established by David, peace be on him, after he became king as a result of the unanimous decision of the people of Israel, lasted for the whole period of the first Temple. These regulations consisted of the fixing of the watches of priests, Levites, singers and keepers of the Lord's house. This is in concordance with what the Lord revealed to the prophet sent to him for this matter as is reported at the end of the account: "All this... in writing by his hand upon me, even all the works of this pattern" [1 Chron. 28, 19]. [28] And he adds concerning the singers: "... David and the captains of the host separated to the service of the sons of Asaph, and of Heman, and of Jeduthun, who should prophesy with kinnôrôt [lyres?], with nevalîm [harps?] and with meziltayim [cymbals?] and the number of the workmen according to their service was..." [1 Chron. 25, 1]. [29] And of the duties of Asaph he said: "Under the hands of Asaph, which prophesied according to the order of the king" [1 Chron. 25, 2]. And of Jeduthun he said: "... Under the hands of their father Jeduthun, who prophesied with a kinnôr [lyre?]..." [1 Chron. 25, 3]. And of the sons of Heman he said: "All these were the sons of Heman the king's seer, in the words of God, to lift up the horn" [1 Chron. 25, 5]. [30] Undoubtedly the revelation of these prophets is due to what God concealed in their

^{43.} This refers to the Pythagorean doctrine which defines harmony in its broadest meaning by the theory of numbers.

nature of this noble science; consequently, they expressed it in word and demonstrated it in practice. With David, peace be on him, the science of music reached high esteem and obtained increasing respect, as he said when he rose nightly to pray invoking his Lord: "Awake up, my glory; awake nevel [harp?] and kinnôr [lyre?]..." [Ps. 57, 9]. [31] And Elisha, peace be on him, in encountering difficulties in prophesying said: "But now bring me a minstrel" [2] Kings 3, 15] to stir his rational soul toward the true world in order to benefit from its essence. [32] Those instruments which were provided by strings said to stir the eminent souls are the instruments to which the lament of the people in the diaspora refers: "By the rivers of Babylon... we hanged our kinnôrôt [lyres?] upon the willows in the midst thereof" [Ps. 137, 1-2]. [33] Upon the relief of the fall and the establishment of the second Temple theorder and regulations of the first Temple were followed and respected as it is said in the book of Ezra: "And the chief of the Levites: Hashabiah, Sherebiah, and Jeshua the son of Kadmiel, with their brethren over against them, to praise and to give thanks, according to the commandment of David the man of God, ward over against ward" [Neh. 12, 24]. [34] Some of them practised another art as it is stated: "And they lodged round about the house of God, because the charge was upon them, and the opening thereof every morning pertained to them" [1 Chron. 9, 27]. "Some of them also were appointed to oversee the vessels, and all the instruments of the sanctuary, and the fine flour, and the wine, and the oil, and the frankincense, and the spices" [1 Chron. 9, 29]. [35] Not all the musical instruments are made to stir the rational soul; only those which are concave and stringed do so⁴⁴, all the other types of instruments of diversion (malāhī) are used on occasions of festivities as it is said concerning the removing of the holy tabernacle to Kirjath-jearim: "And David and all Israel played before God with all their might, and with singing, and with kinôrôt, and with nevalim and with timbrels, and with cymbals, and with trumpets" [1 Chron. 13,8]. [36]All these names can be conjugated like verbs, from hazôzerôt one says meḥazzerîm[blow the trumpet] and from ḥalîl, meḥallelîm [play the flute] from which also derives cal mahalat le cannôt [Ps. 88, 1] and from tôf, metofefôt cal livvehen ["tabering upon their breasts", Nahum 2, 8]. [37] It is possible also that ke-šîr cagavîm [Ezekiel 33, 32] derives from cûgav [pipe?]. And the name of the $c\bar{u}d$ in Arabic is kinnār and some say it is the tunbūr. [38] Some ancients pretend that the šiddah and šiddôt mentioned in Ecclesiastes45 were extraordinary or wonderful musical instruments which ceased to exist with the end of the state [destruction of the second Temple].

^{44.} This statement, conferring on string instruments the power of arousing ethical virtues, and implying that other instruments belong to the category of malāhī (instruments of diversion), may relate to Averroes' adaptation of Plato, Republic, III, 388-400 (see I. Adler, HWCM, 190).

^{45.} Ecc. 2, 8. A similar interpretation of šiddah and šiddôt is to be found in Kitāb al-zuhd by ibn Ghiyyat (see I. Adler, HWCM, 340).

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Adler, HWCM I. Adler, Hebrew Writings Concerning Music in

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El² The Encyclopaedia of Islam, new ed. Leiden, 1960-

EJ² Encyclopaedia Judaica, Jerusalem, 1971-72

Erlanger Erlanger, R. d', La musique arabe, Paris, 1930-1939

HUCA Hebrew Union College Annual

IMHM Institute of Microfilms of Hebrew Manuscripts,

Jewish National and University Library, Jerusalem

JA Journal asiatique

JJS Journal of Jewish Studies

JMRS Jewish Medieval and Renaissance Studies, ed. A.

Altmann, Cambridge, Mass., 1967

JNUL The Jewish National and University Library,

Jerusalem

JQR Jewish Quarterly Review

JRAS Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society

KS Kiryat Sefer; Bibliographical Quarterly of the JNUL

Lbm London, The British Library

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