## The work of Samuel Archivolti (1515-1611) in the Light of the Classical Traditions and Cinquecento Italian literature

Schippers, A.

[Link to publication](#)

# The work of Samuel Archivolti (1515-1611) in the Light of the Classical Traditions and Cinquecento Italian literature

In the diaspora, Hebrew literature was permeated by the influence of neighbouring cultures. For centuries, Hebrew metrics and poetics reflected the impact of Arabic thought. In Arabic and medieval Hebrew culture some Aristotelian ideas were present, although Greek poetics and rhetoric were difficult to adapt to Arabic poetry. In Renaissance Hebrew poetic works, Greek knowledge was derived also from other sources in addition to translations through Arabic. Still the poetic metrics of the Hebrew poets of the Renaissance seem to remain within the framework of the secular Hebrew poetic tradition which originated in eleventh-century Muslim Spain and was based upon the Arabic models. In this light we shall investigate the poetic metres and themes dealt with by Samuel Archivolti in the light of his prescriptive chapters on metre and poetry in his *Arugat ha-Bosem* («The Bed of Spices»). We will try to determine to what extent they borrowed from Arabic tradition, and eventually from Greek and Latin antiquity and the church fathers. Conclusions will also be drawn about the influence of Italian literature on Archivolti compared with that of Classical Greek and Arabic literature. The intertextuality of Archivolti with regard to his Hebrew predecessors Ibn Yehudah ha-Levi (1075-1141), Immanuel da Roma (1261-1328), Ibn Habib (1450-1520), Ibn Yahya (1440-1524), Abarbanel (1437-1508), and Azaria de' Rossi (1511-1578) will be mentioned briefly.

In his grammatical treatise *Arugat ha-Bosem* («A Bed of Spices»; Venice 1602; Amsterdam 1730), Archivolti also deals with the question of poetry, which is in accordance with the Arabic custom considers metrics as a part of grammar. Chapter 31 and the beginning of Chapter 32 contain an exposition on the place of Hebrew poetry and the opinions of philosophers about poetry in general. After dealing with the theoretical passages of these two chapters, I will focus on the rhymes and the different [1] metres and a selection of the poems he quotes to substantiate his views.

At the beginning of Chapter 31, Archivolti quotes the famous passage from Yehudah ha-Levi's *Kitab al-Khazari* [2] about the Hebrew subjection to the metre of foreigners. He discusses the metres of Hebrew poetry and the fact that the Hebrew poetry of his time was adapted to the laws of the poetry of another literature, i. e. the Arabic system of rhymes and metres. The Jewish scholar says to the Khazari king: «This is our guiltiness and crime. We have rejected the excellence of our language. We have spoilt the basis of our language which was meant to keep us together and pushed it away by dispersing ourselves». Which is in accordance with the famous Psalm verse 106:35 «But they were mingled among the heathen, and learned their works».

This passage by Yehudah ha-Levi about the deterioration of Hebrew and its poetry being subdued by the poetic rules of another language is quoted by many later authors, among them the Portuguese and Italian authors Abarbanel (1437-1508), Azaryah de' Rossi (1511-1578), and Samuel Archivolti (1515-1611).

Archivolti continues by wondering about the quality of Hebrew poetry, if a great poet such as Yehudah ha-Levi writes about its deterioration. It looks like a case of the baker professing the bad quality of his own pastry. How can this be, when Psalm 119:54 says: «Thy statutes have been my songs in the house of my pilgrimage»? Yehudah's *Kitab al-Khazari* then dis-

---

1 Not 22 forms because no. 5 and 11 are missing, see Valle Rodriguez (1988: 142 ff).
2 Levi (1977 Part II, paragraph 69).

tinguishes three expedients that can be used to achieve human perfection: the intellectual capacities of the soul, speech, and writing. Writing cannot render speech completely, in view of the gestures and movements connected with speech. Therefore accents have been invented to convey gestures (sadness, admiration, fear, etc.) and the different kinds of melodies. The Khazari king asked after the whereabouts of the remnants of that excellent and holy language that Hebrew is and about the adaptation of its poetry. The Jewish scholar in the *Kitab al-Khazari* was of the opinion that Psalms which are sung with a musical melody do not necessarily need a strict metre: shorter as well as longer pieces such as *hodu ladonay ki tov* (7 syllables) and *le-oseh nifla'ot gedolot* (9 syllables) can be sung with one and the same melody. But there is also an Arabic kind of *inshadiyyah* («recitative poetry») whose melody is based upon metre.

Archivolti mentions, with disapproval, that in his time even Hebrew prayers were sung to popular melodies. He knows a poem that begins with the words «A poem of thanksgiving to the Lord give», whose melody is based on a Spanish ballad: *En toda la tramontaña* («In all the land beyond the mountain»). Another sacred poem is recited to the melody of another Spanish ballad: *El vaquero de Moraina* («The cowboy of Moraina»). Perhaps those people had listened to a wrong interpretation of the words by Abraham ibn Ezra about Psalm 22, whose melody was based on a love song called *Ayyelet hash-Shahar* («The Hind of Daybreak»). But Abraham ibn Ezra hints at another kind of love poetry, in which the words of love spread among the people of Israel are similar to those of the Song of Songs, allegorical poems. He was not referring to profane poems sung by the crowds. Rabbis believe that a generation that read words to the melody of those songs should be punished.

At the beginning of Chapter 32, the author stipulates that he will not discuss Aristotle's famous adage that «the best poet is the most lying poet». This adage perhaps is not so much Aristotle's as a proverb of Arabic origin [3]. Nor does Archivolti want

---

3  Berlin (1991: 46 ff). ('The Best of Poetry Is Its Falseness'); Heinrichs (1969: 44, 58-65,140-141); Cantarino (1975: index).

to deal with Eusebius of Caesarea (260-340) and his remarks
about Plato, that poems in honour of God must be metrical and
sweet and should be inspired by the Holy Ghost.

Instead, he divides speech into four aspects: normal spe-
ech *(pashut);* rhetorical speech *(halasah);* riddles *(hidot);* and
poetic speech. Common speech is concerned only with the rules
of grammar. Rhetorical speech is concerned with the choice of
words and is the speech of angels. Speaking in riddles is done
in order to attract the attention of the audience. This genre is
very popular among rabbis, as is the related genre of parables.
This passage is probably taken from Profiat Duran's *Sefer Ma'a-
seh Efod* which is quoted also by Giovanni Alemanno in his
Hay ha-Olamim [The Eternal Man/ The Perfect Philosopher]
where he says:

> «When a discourse is in accordance with the elements and
> laws of the language, without particular sweetness, beauty, dig-
> nity or ornament, either in its simple structures or in the com-
> plex ones, and is on purpose not copious or concise, then you
> have a prose so to say "grammatical" [...] When instead it is
> clothed with sweetness, beauty, dignity and ornament, both in
> simple and complex structures, it can be called "rhymed prose"
> *[melisah],* according to the verse: "How sweet are your words
> for my palate: more than honey for my mouth". When to these
> qualities metre is added, the result is poetry» [4].

With this theoretical approach, Archivolti differs from his
predecessors Moshe ibn Tibbon (13th century) and Abarbanel [5]
who identify three kinds of poetry, a distinction also mentioned
by Azaria de Rossi. The three kinds of poetry are: 1. the con-
temporaneous poetry according to the Arabic way; 2. poetry
recognizable as such (as distinct from prose) in the Holy Writ;
and 3. rhetorical passages in the Holy Writ with hyperbolic
expressions and anthropomorphisms, which do not correspond
with exact truth, according to the adage «the best poetry is the
most lying poetry».

---

4  Lelli (1997: 80).
5  Berlin (1991: 34; 45, 145).

In this connection, Azaryah deals with the question of whether Biblical poetry has to be metrical, as submitted by Hieronymus. In this connection Azaryah reported Ibn Habib's anecdote about the inscription on the grave of Amasyah's general (at Murviedro near Valencia) is quoted in order to indicate that metrical and rhymed poetry were probably available in Andalusia from the beginning of the Jewish presence in Biblical times.

The theoretical passages of Archivolti's two chapters, however, clearly also reveal the intertextuality of his work with that of Abarbanel and Azaryah de Rossi (e. g. the mention of Aristotle, Eusebius —called ha-Qesari— and Plato).

However, in the last part, which deals with Archivolti's own poetic examples, even his metrical categories are partly different from what is to be found in the works of his predecessors, such as Ibn Habib [6] and Ibn Yahya [7]. The first instances are devoted to rhymes.

One of the interesting examples is a riddle poem whose rhyming words at the end of each line are to be found in reverse order in the first word of the next line: so that rendering the poem can take the form of an eye or wheel.



---
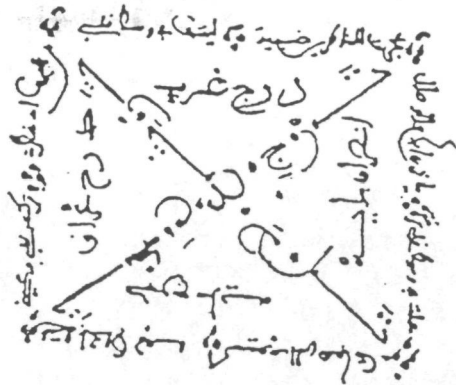
6  Ibn Habib (1806) lists only ten categories of metres.

7  David ben Solomon Ibn Yahya (1440-1524), see Valle Rodriguez (1988: 140 ff).

One has to read from the centre of the circle to its circum-
ference and back again several times. The poem has no begin-
ning and no end and can therefore be read perpetually. Arabic
literature contains a famous example of this kind, in a love
poem on the letter *'ayin* in which the eye plays a conspicuous
role. This phenomenon of image-like poems [«concretes»] is
common in medieval Arabic and Hebrew poetry (e. g. poems
in the form of a tree riddle).



In the case of Archivolti's riddle poem the image repre-
sents the wheel of fortune.

The poem reads as follows:

> YaRuWS yissob galgal hozer/ yiftah yisgor mosa SHa'RY//
> YiR'aSH yifneh li-ntosh li-ntos/ yaros roshi hattekh PiDRY//
> YiRDoPh yassig yasim la-baz / honi oni yokhal 'oWRY//
> YaRoWa' hod mahmad 'enay/ abne hefes 'im kol 'oSHRY//
> YiRSHa' yifsha' hen lo ira/ gam im yirmos 'al saWa'RY//
> YiR'uW rabbim yiqhu musar/ mibtah kullam el El SuWRY//

1. He is running, is going around a repeating circle; he opens and shuts the *exit* [=door] of my gate.
2. He shakes and turns to break down and to throw down, and it runs to depress my head and pour forth my fat.
3. He pursues, grasps and takes as a booty, my riches and wealth and eats my skin;
4. He destroys the splendour of the desire of my eyes, and the stones of delight as well as my riches.

5. He makes trouble (Job 34:29) and transgresses, and, lo,
   I do not have fear, even if he treads down on my neck;

6. Many are afraid [God fearing], they receive the instruc-
   tion of wisdom; the trust of all of them be in God my
   Rock.

After this example, the author goes on to explain the
metres of the Hebrew poetry of his time. In the Arabic way,
metres are composed of pegs (basically the sequence of one
short or shewa-like vowel and a long vowel) and movements
(syllables with all other vowels than shewas and the like). In
the 22 different forms [8] which he discerns, he does not use the
Arabic or Hebrew names of the metres used by his medieval
predecessors, such as Abraham ibn Ezra (1092-1167) or
Sa'adyah ibn Dannan (ca. 1440-1505).

Here we can see the influences of the different traditions
the author underwent when he practises poetry himself, influen-
ces on the content and form of certain of his poems that he
quotes. Many of the forms have internal rhymes, inspired by
Arabic strophic poetry called *muwashshahat* («girdle poems»),
and also by Romance poetry: we recognize one *sonnet* and one
*ottava rima*. The poet, however, does not mention the fact that
he borrowed those forms from Romance or Italian literature.
They simply belong to the system, which is of quantitative ori-
gin; apparently he does not bother about the accents found in
the usual Italian endecasillabo (line of eleven syllables). The
way Romance poetry is integrated suggests that Arabic metre
may be discernible perhaps in the case of the 38 sonnets by his
predecessor Immanuel of Rome, perhaps at the same time as
an accentual system. Archivolti does not speak about accents,
only about pegs and movements [9].

The poems which serve as examples are sometimes explai-
ned by the author in a short or longer introduction. So the sixth
form, which consists of one peg ($/v-/$) and one movement ($/-/$)
followed by one peg ($/v-/$) and two movements ($/--/$) in every
hemistich thus consists of 28 syllables per line. It is illustrated

---

8  See note 1.
9  See Genot-Bismuth (1991)

by a poem which the author says was written about a hypocrite or flatterer who praises himself for his hypocrisy. At the end of his treatise, the poet says that this sixth form expresses delight, joy and gladness and is intended for festive occasions. Interestingly, although in Arabic this metre could be called *tawil* (Sa'adyah ibn Dannan translated this term as *'arokh),* Archivolti apparently finds this terminology no longer relevant. The slightly satirical poem, whose first line we will quote in Hebrew, goes as follows:

1. Te:hillah ye:dabber pi/ le:-sho'el seror kaspi/

le:-hasir de:bar mikhshol/ u:-masger le:-amtahti//

1. My mouth will speak a praise for the one who asks for the purse of my money.
   In order to avoid embarrassment and to keep my sack closed.

2. I shall convoke the congregation of my people in order to speak with a disturbed heart.
   But I conceal deep in my heart my thoughts and inner feelings.

3. In my mouth may there be peace for the weak ones, but in reality that is only a dream.
   Woe to him who looks for my support and help.

4. I stretch my net to catch my people with my words.
   I cover up the deepest of my heart, I shall have power over the people of my time.

5. So that they increase their complaints against me in their writings.
   May their part also be my possession, together with my wine and my bread.

6. My rock is my rock, what do I have to do with my neighbour?
   I have no ties with my friends and comrades, my son and my son's daughter.

7. Many times I will perpetrate wonders, miracles and do marvellous things.
   To make right my lies in my country and town

8. While contorting and twisting by means of my wordings the words of the righteous during generations.

My face will be as innocent as that of Esther, but I will
be as wrong as Queen Vasthi.

9. Amidst the thanksgivers I will bow and curve myself,
making my knee equal to my skull.
I look around myself to see who can see me and who is
with me

10. And announce to all my friends and relatives, and
acquaintances.
The honour of those who are called by my name in my
house and family.

11. Honey-tasting manna and every good stuff for my
mouth and a precious testimony.
For all my thoughts: it will be for me as the word of
my wife.

12. I have all kinds of treacheries, and every betrayal in
general.
I know all kinds of flatteries, only I, and no-one else.

The rhyme scheme of this poem (aabC/ddeC/ffgC/ etc.)
brings to mind several possibilities of strophic poetry in the
Arabic tradition. The satirical contents, however, are reminis-
cent of the Italian tradition of comic-realistic poets, such as
Cecco Angiolieri, although also in Arabic poetry self-boasting
is a well-known phenomenon.

Other poems which all remain formally within the Arabic
tradition, have contents with an aphoristic character, ascetic or
wisdom verses with a satiric connotation —which is reminis-
cent of Shemuel han-Nagid's *Ben Qohelet* or *Ben Mishle* and
of Joseph Qimhi's moralistic poems in *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*—
such as the poem about the filthiness or feculence of one who
tries to comport himself like a king, by dressing himself in a
king's clothes, [*Adam asher yilbash/ bigde melakim....*] [10]

בְּגְדֵי מְלָכִים          אָדֹם אֲשֶׁר יִלְבֹּש

חֶלְאַת דְּבָרָיו          מַחְפִּיר וְגֹם מַבְאִישׁ

---

10 «A man who clothes himself with clothes of kings»; Joseph Qimhi (13th cen-
tury) in his mentioned book, a rhymed rendition of Yehudah ibn Tibbon's *Mibhar Peni-
nim* has many poems of the same type commencing with *adam, ish, kol ish* or *enosh*.

Or the poem about riches which says:

הוֹנְי וְעִזְבוֹנְי          קְנֶה וְרוֹב קְדָּה

תֵּבֵל בְּאֶתְנַּנְי          יִכְלוּ בְלֹא חֶמְדָה

1. Your wealth and your legacy are cassia and much cala-
   mus.
2. The world is your harlot's hire: they will perish without
   desire.

Sometimes, the poems are difficult to understand in the
first reading, perhaps because the mother tongue of the poets is
Italian rather than Arabic, as it was in the Spanish period of
Hebrew poetry. However, at the end of his treatise the poet him-
self says that poetry has to be obscure to the eye for one or two
days, so that it may flow from the hand as a «fine flower» [11].

What makes this poetry somewhat difficult from the point
of view of the Andalusian tradition is the frequent occurrence of
enjambment, which is more characteristic of Italian tradition [12].
This difficulty we find, for instance, in the poem about the trea-
cherous woman, which illustrates the eighteenth form and con-
sists of one peg (v-) followed by five movements (-----). This
form, he says, is particularly appropriate for comic poetry (*shire
halasah*) [13]. The poem that follows has a rhyme scheme:
aaab/cccb/ . This could be called a sort of quatrain, or in Arabic
*musammat, murabba'* [14] (covered extensively by one of Archi-
volti's predecessors, Ibn Habib) [15].

1. Me:sudat ishsha ra'ah/ le:-ragle bash-shaw nit'ah//
2. Pe:rushah u-l-'en de'ah/ me:'erah bi-f'ulotaw//

---

11  Cf. Friedrich (1964: 513) (when a theme is too simple, then it must be made
more complicated) and (ibid:675) (dire asiatico).
12  See Sapegno (1966)'s remark on Ariosto's enjambments: 56.
13  In Classical literature iambic poetry (based on v-) is considered as particular
adapted to satiric poetry. Unfortunately the word for comic and for rhetoric in Hebrew
is the same.One has to look at the context for its meaning. See Pagis (1973).
14  Cf. Schoeler (1990) and Fleischer (1980).
15  Cf. Ibn Habib (1806).

3. Le:-hakhshikh oro ʻalaw/ me:nod rosh ʻal kol shulaw//

4. We:-tasem bas-sad riglaw/ we:-tishmor kol orhotaw//

1. The net of a bad woman for the feet of someone who is deceived by vanity (Job 15:31)-

2. Is spread: without him being aware of it, there is a curse upon his deeds;

3. To obscure his light for him she shakes her head upon all his hems;

4. She puts his feet also in the stocks, and looks narrowly unto all his paths (Job 13:27).

Other noteworthy poems of his are a *sonnet* about the origin of music preceded by a commentary in the seventeenth form; and an *ottava rima* on Zion according to a new pattern of *yateds* and *tenuʻot* (--v-v--/v-----).

The *sonnet* in the sixteenth form with a penultimate accent at the end of the hemistichs and a sequence of only two movements rather than three according to the system, which in Arabic is called *kamil* (in Hebrew, *shalem),* tells us the history of music and metre:

Miy-yom a:sher hayah/ ke:-mishtageaʻ//
Yubal be:-khinoro/ le:-shetef mayim//
nish'ar pe:'er zimrah/ be:-ha-shamayim//
gam poh be:-maqqabot/ ke:mo pogeaʻ//
ʻad ki ne:gid ʻam El/ we:-lo yageaʻ//
he'ir ze:mir shebaʻ / ke:-or yomayim//
li-fne be:ne Lewi/ we:-ʻod paʻmayim*//
yaqum me:nahel lo/ u:-bo nogeaʻ//

yosif me:shiah El/ ne:ʻimot nesah//
nima sheminit ʻod/ we:-yippateah//
sha'ar a:sher nisgar/ be:-rab tif'eret//
metim yehayeh El/ we:-yafis qesah//
u-b-ʻet me:so rason/ we:-yimmateah//
todah ʻa:le ʻasur/ te:hi mazheret//

1. The beauty of music existed from the day that as a mad man/

2. Jubal was playing the lute before the flood of waters/

3. Then it was left behind in heaven/

4. But there too was someone who was slaying with hammers./

5. Finally a king of the people of Israel [David] - and he did not get tired-/

6. Gave light to the song of seven strings with the light of two days/

7. In the presence of Levi and two other times/

8. A leader will raise for it and will affect it again/

9. The Messiah of God will increase the sweetness of excellency/

10. With the eightieth string and then/

11. The gate will be opened which had been closed: with much glory/

12. God will bring the Dead to life and will cast abroad the dill/

13. When He will find satisfaction, when it will be spread/

14. A thanksgiving song will resound upon an instrument of ten strings//.

In the introduction to this sonnet, the poet explains the poem [16]. Note the passage about Pythagoras who revived music after the Flood, when music was left behind in heaven. Here there is an allusion not only to the harmony of celestial spheres, but also to the beating of hammers. Khalil —the inventor of Arabic metrical theory— is not mentioned here, but it should be clear that his famous hammers beating on a copper plate, in whose sound he discovered the Arabic metres, may be at the origin of this image. Themes from classical antiquity and from Arabic literary history are interwoven here. The author writes that the sixteenth and seventeenth forms are especially adapted for expressing praise for heroes and kings. Thus perhaps the metre of *kamil* often has the same function in Arabic poetry.

16  Adler (1975: 97): 'Introduction and poem on music, with reference to the music of the spheres, Jubal, Pythagoras, 7-stringed lyre of king David and the Levites, 8-stringed lyre of messianic times and 10-stringed lyre of the world to come.'

The last example of a poem is an *ottava rima* devoted to
Zion. According to the author, this is considered a free form
based on an older combination of *yateds* and *tenuot*, found
elsewhere in Hebrew literature [17]. In reality, the form is *ottava
rima* borrowed from Italian literature but with the traditional
quantative metre. The poem reads as follows:

> Siyyon se:bi u-f'er/ le:-rosh banayikh//
> ta'di 'a:di riqmah/ we:-gil tahgori//
> simhah we:-sason rab/ le:-khol bonayikh//
> 'ilzi be:-khol labeb/ we:-qumi ori//
> qolekh be:-shir yin'am/ u:-bi-rnanayikh//
> todah te:ni la-El/ we:-dat tissori//
> ki ba me:shiho lakh/ u:-ben shadayikh//
> yalin we-yit'anneg/ be:-hod dodayikh//

1. Zion, gazelle, ornament for the head of your sons
2. Adorn yourself with the ornament of the embroideries
   and girdle yourself with shouts of joy;
3. Gladness and joy are you to your builders;
4. Dance with whole your heart and raise as my light;
5. Your voice is sweet in a song and your merry chant;
6. Give [thanks] to God and stick to the Law;
7. Because His Anointed came to you and at your bosom/
8. He will spend the night and will rejoice at the splendour
   of your lovers.

Here Archivolti initiates the *ottava rima* without saying
so. His eleven-year old pupil Leone da Modena (1571-1648)
continued this initiative by translating a chapter of Orlando
Furioso into Hebrew, respecting the same *ottava rima* form, alt-
hough his lines often contained only ten syllables stressed the
last syllable (which is less according to the rules than Archi-
volti's example) [18].

---

17  It looks identical with Archivolti's 12th form.
18  As the following may show:

We can conclude from the foregoing that Archivolti still places himself in the Hebrew tradition of his predecessors, such as Ibn Habib, Abarbanel and Azaria de' Rossi, who on the one hand continued the tradition of the Hebrew Andalusian poets with their metre of Arabic origin, (but without using the explicit Arabic names) and on the other hand tried to incorporate poetical notions from classical antiquity, which they believed were passed down from Aristotle or Plato or church fathers such as Hieronymus and Eusebius. In same cases these notions are inaccurate, for example when ascribing to Aristotle the adage «the best poet is a lying poet». Archivolti, however, does not elaborate the remarks of his predecessors about Aristotle, Plato and Eusebius. He concentrates on the Hebrew tradition of his time, which he knows from the work of Yehudah ha-Levi to be of Arabic origin, but he introduces without mentioning well-known Italian poetic forms such as the *sonnet*, (invented by Sordel, and used already by the Hebrew poet Immanuel of Rome) or the *ottava rima*, which was becoming popular in his time, the time of Boiardo and Ariosto.

ARIE SCHIPPERS
University of Amsterdam
Holanda

Le cortesie, l'audaci imprese io canto
Che furo al tempo che passaro i Mori
d'Africa il mare, e in Francia nocquer tanto
Seguendo l'ire e i giovenil furori
D'Agramante lor re, chi diè vanto
Di vendicar la morte di Troiano
Sopra re Carlo imperator romano.

Parashim, ke:le zayin, we:-nashim/
hosheq u:-nedibot we:-'oz ashìr/
a:sher hayu 'et 'abe:ru Kushim/
yam Afriqah, u:-b-Sarfat hishbitu shir;/
li-rdof ha:mat bahur u-khe:'asim/
Agramante malkam, asher heshir/
lashon li-nqom niqmat mitat Troiano/
'al melekh Carlo haq-Qesar romano// See Modena (1932).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adler, Israel (1975): *Hebrew Writings Concerning Music, In Manuscripts and Printed Books from Geonic Times up to 1800*. München: Henle.

Archivolti, Samuel (1602): *Arugat ha-Bosem* . Venice: Zoan Degara.

—— (1730): *Arugat ha-Bosem*. Amsterdam: Solomon Proops.

Belli, Antonio (1961): *Storia della letteratura ebraica, biblica e post-biblica*. Milano: Sansoni.

Berlin, Adele (1991): *Biblical Poetry Through Medieval Eyes*. Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indianapolis University Press.

Bonfil, Robert (1990): *Rabbis and Jewish Communities in Renaissance Italy*. Tranlated by Jonathan Chipman. Oxford: Littman Library/Oxford University Press.

Bregman, Dvora (1995): *Shevil ha-Zahav : ha-=Sonet ha-"Ivri bi-Tqufat ha-Renaissance we-ha-Baroque* [The Golden Way: The Hebrew Sonnet during the Renaissance and the Baroque]. Jerusalem/ Beer-Sheva: BenZvi Institute/ Ben Gurion University Press.

—— (1997): *Zeror Zehuvim: Sonetim "Ivriyyim mit-Tequfat*. A Bundle of Gold: Hebrew Sonnets from the Renaissance and the Baroque, Jerusalem/Beer-Sheva: Ben Zvi Institute/Ben Gurion University. Press.

Brombacher, Janneke Antonia (1991): *Chofne Zetim, Handen vol olijven, de poëzie van Selomoh D'Oliveyra, rabbijn en leraar van de Portugese Natie in de 17e eeuw te Amsterdam*, Leiden: Thesis University of Leiden. 2 vols.

Cantarino, Vicente (1975): *Arabic Poetics in the Golden Age, Selection of texts accompanied by a Preliminary Study*, Leiden: E. J. Brill.

Fleischer, Ezra (1980): «Contributions hébraïques à une meilleure comprension de quelques aspects de la poésie européenne du haut Moyen Âge», *Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull alto medioevo* 26: 815-66; 834 ff.

Friedrich, Hugo (1964): *Epochen der italienischen Lyrik*. Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann.

Genot-Bismuth, Jacqueline (1991): «La révolution prosodique d'Immanuel de Rome», in Sasson Lomekh (ed.), *Israel Oriental Studies, XI. Studies in Medieval Arabic and Hebrew Poetics*. Leiden: E. J. Brill: 161-186.

Lelli, Fabrizio (1997): «L'educazione ebraica nella seconda metà del' 400, Poetica e scienze naturali nel *Hay ha-"Olamim* di Yohanan Alemanno», *Rinascimento, Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento* (Seconda serie) XXXVI: 75-136.

Levi, Juda Ha- (1977): *Kitab al-Radd wa-'l-Dalil Fi .l-Din al-Dhalil, al-Kitab al-Khazari* [The Book of Refutation and Proof on the Despised Faith]. Jerusalem: Magness Press.

— (1660): (trans. by Johannes Buxtor fil.). *Liber Cosri., continens colloquium seu disputationem de religione ...* [II]. Basle: Georg Decker.

Heinrichs, Wolfhart (1969): *Arabische Dichtung und Griechische Poetik, Hazim al-Qartaganni's Grundlegung der Poetik mit Hilfe Aristotelischer Begriffe,* Beirut /Wiesbaden: Steiner.

Ibn Habib, Moshe (1806): *Darkhe No"am "im Marpeh Lashon.* Rödelheim: Heidenheim & Baschwitz.

Modena, Leone [Yehuda Aryeh] (ed. Simon Bernstein) (1932): *Diwan.* Philadelphia: JPS.

Pagis, Dan (1973): «The invention of the Hebrew *iambus* and substitutes in Hebrew metrics in Italy»,. *Ha-Sifrut* 4: 652-712.

— (1976): *Change and Tradition in the Secular Poetry: Spain and Italy* [in Hebrew]. Jerusalem: Magness Press.

— (1986): *"Al Sod Hatum : le-Toldot ha-Hidah ha-"vrit be-Italya u-ve-Holland* [A Secret Sealed, Hebrew Baroque Emblem-Riddles from Italy and Holland]. Jerusalem: Magness Press.

Ruderman, David B. (1995): *Jewish Thought and Scientific Discovery in Early Modern Europe.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Sapegno, Natalino (1966): *Compendio della storia della letteratura italiana,* II. Florence: La Nuova Italia.

Schoeler, Gregor (1990): 'Muwashshah und Zadjal', in *Neues Handbuch der literaturwissenschaft, 5. Orientalisches Mittelalter.* Wiesbaden: Athenaion: 44-64.

Valle Rodríguez, Carlos del (1988): *El Diván poético de Dunash ben Labrat.* Madrid: CSIC.

## RESUMEN

Este artículo versa acerca de las influencias que pesaron sobre Samuel Archivolti a la hora de redactar su *Arugat ha-Bosem,* obra gramatical que incluye capítulos dedicados a la métrica y poética. El autor considera un vasto período de tiempo, desde las poéticas grecolatinas hasta el propio siglo de Archevolti, prestando especial atención a la tradición árabe.

# ABSTRACT

This article deals with the influences on Samuel Archivolti when composing his *Arugat ha-Bosem,* a grammatical work containing some observations on metre and poetry. The author takes into account a vaste period of time, from Greek and Latin poetry up to Archevolti's own century, paying special attention to the Arabic tradition.