

A JEWISH SUFI ON THE INFLUENCE OF MUSIC

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To palliate the lack of specialised compositions by Jewish authors during the mediaeval period on the subject of music, a fair deal of information concerning attitudes towards this art can be gleaned from works of a more general nature. In addition to encyclopaedias of the sciences and biblical commentaries, especially of the Psalms, moral treatises can prove to be a rich source for this kind of speculation, particularly in connection with the "ethical" and therapeutic properties ascribed to music. The highly interesting ethical treatise *al-Muršid ilā al-tafarrud* ("The guide to detachment"), preserved in the Bodleian ms. Hunt. 382, contains such a passage on music which deserves to be brought to the attention of students of the subject.

The anonymous author of this unique Judaeo-Arabic work, an edition of which is being prepared by the present writer, belonged to the Jewish Pietist movement of the East, whose doctrines, like those of the present treatise, were profoundly imbued with the mystical speculations of Islamic Sufism¹.

Attention was first drawn to the treatise as a whole some time ago by Professor F. Rosenthal who demonstrated its author's indebtedness to Sufism while suggesting the 15th-17th centuries as a likely date for its composition². However fragments of other works known to have been written by the same author have recently been discovered by the present writer in the Genizah, which on paleographical grounds would seem to indicate the early 14th century as the time of our author's activity³.

Much to the indignation of orthodox circles, the Sufis of Islam would employ music and dancing in their devotional exercises known as *dīkr* and

1. For a detailed account of the Jewish Sufi movement see the introduction to the present writer's edition of Obadiah b. Abraham Maimonides' *Treatise of the pool*, London, 1981.

2. F. Rosenthal, "A Judaeo-Arabic work under Sufic influence" in *HUCA*, 15 (1940): 433-484.

3. For example, the passage concerning Obadiah Maimonides in the anonymous author's other work, *Maqālah fī derek ha-ḥasīdūt* (Ms. Ob Hunt. 489=Neubauer 1314, fol. 148), of which the *Muršid* is a sort of abridgement, is to be found in the Taylor-Schechter Genizah collection, AS 163 fol. 23.

samāʿ, believing music to be conducive to states of higher spiritual experience⁴.

These spiritual concerts were not exclusively confined to *zāwiyahs* and shrines, but would also take place in gardens and fields, where the natural beauty of the environment would enhance the 'ethos' of the music⁵.

Jews are known to have participated in such ceremonies from the very inception of Sufism and indeed, throughout the ages, have left descriptions of *ḍikr* rituals, elements of which have even been incorporated into the liturgy of Oriental Jewry⁶. However it was undoubtedly at the time of the Jewish Pietist movement to which our author belonged, which flourished in Egypt in the 13th and 14th centuries, that Sufi ideas on music noticeably percolated into Jewish circles. The Jewish Sufis, and more particularly their foremost exponent Abraham, the son of Moses Maimonides (1186-1237),

4. Some Sufi attitudes to music have been summarized by J. Robson, *Tracts on listening to music* (London, 1938), while the use of music in Sufi ritual has been outlined by J. Spencer Trimingham, *The Sufi orders in Islam* (London, 1971), ch. vii, Ritual and ceremonial, p. 194-217. The chapter on music from the Sufi theologian, al-Ġazzālī's *Iḥyā' culūm al-dīn* has been translated by D.B. Macdonald, "Emotional religion in Islam as affected by music and singing" in *JRAS*, 33 (1901): 195-252, 705-748 and 34 (1902): 1-28.

5. Our author undoubtedly had in mind the Sufi ceremony of *samāʿ* when he mentions elsewhere in the *Muršid* (fol. 31a): "It is on account of this that the saints and disciples of the prophets would frequent parks and riversides while listening to the strains of music and the singing of the birds for all such phenomena hold secrets which aid spiritual preparation (*riyāḍah*)."

6. In his chapter on music (p. 726 of the article cited in note 4), al-Ġazzālī mentions the participation of a Jew in the circles of the early masters. For the fascination that the Sufi hermitages could exercise on a 14th century Egyptian Jew, see S.D. Goitein, "A Jewish addict to Sufism" in *JQR*, 44 (1953): 37-49. The most vivid description of a Sufi *ḍikr* is to be found in the writings of a disciple of the 13th century Kabbalist, Abraham Abulafia, whose mystical school employed certain meditational techniques borrowed from Sufi models; cf. G. Scholem, *Major trends in Jewish mysticism* (New York, 1961), p. 147. Significant also in this connection is the letter published by S.D. Goitein in *Jewish education in Muslim countries* (Jerusalem, 1962), p. 60-61, in which a schoolmaster strongly denies the accusation that he conducted a *zuḥdī*, or Sufi dance, with his pupils. The question of the incorporation of Sufi elements into the ceremony of *baqqašōt* has been dealt with in our article "Baqqašōt d'Orient et d'Occident" in *REJ*, 134 (1975): 101-121 and in our paper "Attitudes to music in the Later Qabbalah" read at the Seventh World Congress of Jewish Studies, Jerusalem 1977, section Music. It can be added to the references given there that the Sabbatians of Turkey, though having referred at times disparagingly to the *ḍikr* ceremony, included in their liturgy a number of Sufi litanies, probably of Bektashi origin, cf. G. Scholem in *ʿalei ʿayin*, Schocken Jubilee volume (Jerusalem, 1952), p. 181 and note 81 p. 209 and his *Sabbatai Ševi* (London, 1973), p. 8 36-7. It seems moreover that the Sabbatians held (Islamic) music to have a redemptive function, cf. Rivka Shatz, "Mystic visions of King Messiah", *Sefunot* 12 (1971-1978): 239 (in Hebrew; English summary p. 17-18). An echo of this as a general Qabbalistic doctrine is to be found in the apology of music written by Mordecai ʿAbbādī at the end of his *diwān*, *Dirē Mordeḳai* (Aleppo, 1873), fol. 27b: "By the singing of (foreign) tunes you cause God to take account of the nation whose song is sung, for having persecuted you. Consequently the ancient and contemporary poets borrowed the tunes of foreign (=Arabic) songs and composed for them holy words."

believed Sufi practices to have been derived from the traditions of the ancient prophets of Israel⁷. Consequently they associated the Biblical references to the music of the Levites, the Prophets and Saints (especially King David) with the musical usages of their Sufi contemporaries⁸.

Such notions are also familiar to the author of the following extract which deals with the spiritual influence of music. Traditional exegesis and Sufi notions are inextricably combined in the description of the musical instruments employed by the Biblical prophets and the Temple service as a means of religious inspiration. However in his discussion of the purpose of music, prompted by an ethical examination of the senses, including hearing, our author also draws on Neoplatonic and Aristoxenian sources in his description of the systaltic and diastaltic functions of music, partly borrowed perhaps from the *Ihwān al-ṣafā'*.

OB, MS. HUNT. 382, fol. 32b-35a

18 x 13 cms; black ink; 17 lines per page.

[1] ותאלתהא אלמסמועא ואלתוסט פיהא אן יסמע אלאחאן אלמתנאסבה ואלנגמא
אלמטרבה אלמזידה ללכלב מילא" אלי מא ישגף בה, פיציר ממתנע אלחוגיה אלי גירה.
[2] לא סימא אדיא כאנת אלאחאן מקרונה בקול משער בדילך אלמעני, מנבה עלי דילך
אלגרץ. [3] לדילך אתכיד' אלחסידים וּבְגֵי הַנְּבִיאִים, אנואע אלאת אלטרב לתחרין אלנפוס
באנואע אלאיקאעא אַלְחֶסְנָה אלמושקה ללנפס אלי ענצרהא אלשריף, וינבועהא אללטיף
ומד'כרתהא עאלמהא אלטריף כמא קאל וּלְפָנֶיהֶם תָּף וְחִלִּיל וּגו'. [4] פתציר גאיצה פי
אלבחר אלקריב מן מחל אלפציאיל ואלטרור ואלחיוה ואלחבור כקול אלנבי אלכרים
ואלגטריף אלחכים הוד וְהָדָר לְפָנָיו עוֹז וְחֶדְוָה בְּמִקְוֹמוֹ וקאל איצא כי עמך מקור חיים,
בְּאוֹרֶךְ נְרָאָה אור. [5] ואמא חרכאת אלגיסס ענד סמאע אלאיקאעא אלנטימה ואלאלחאן
אלנגמה אנמא תכון תבעא" לטואנא אלנפס ואשראקאתהא ולר'אתהא ודילך יכון בחסב
בערהא וקרבהא מן ענצרהא ובקדר מיל'הא אַלְיָה ואמתואגיהא בה, ואנתחאלהא איאה. [6]
ולדילך סמית אלאַלה אלמכצוצה בה נחילות משתקא" מן נחלה, לְמָא תוקע מן אלשוק

7. Abraham Maimonides states quite unequivocally in his *Kifāyat al-ʿabidin* (ed. S. Rosenblatt, vol. II, Baltimore, 1938, p. 320): "Do not regard as unseemly our comparisons with the practices of the Sufis, for the latter imitate the prophets (of Israel) and walk in their footsteps."

8. This opinion is already quite patent in the *Kifāyah*, where Abraham Maimonides states (*ed. cit.* II, pp. 384-6): "In order to attain inward solitude (*al-ḥalwah al-bāṭinah*) that unites one with (God), the prophets and their followers made use of musical instruments and melodies so as to arouse the impulsive (part of the soul) towards God and to empty their interiors of all else but Him." On the Sufi practice known as *ḥalwah* see the article *khalwa* by Landolt in *EI*², vol. IV, 990-1. Knowledge of the theoretical aspect of *samā'* was probably culled from works such as al-Ġazzālī's *Iḥyā'*, which was widely read amongst Jews of the East. Another interesting source which has come to light in the Genizah is the *Mufarriḥ al-naḥs*, by the Qāḍī Muẓaffar al-dīn al-Ba'ḥlabakkī (said by Ibn Abi Uṣaybi'ā to be his friend, cf. *ʿUyūn al-anbā'*, II, p. 259-63). The work, which devotes a chapter to the effects of music on the soul, has not been recorded by A. Shiloah in his *Theory of music in Arabic writings*, Munich, 1979, probably because no copy of the book was hitherto known. A page from the Cambridge Genizah ms. Or. 1035 in Hebrew characters, class-marked separately as T-S Arabic 44.201, contains a Sufi anecdote on *samā'* about the famous master Abū Ḥafṣ al-Suhrawardī.

אלמוגיב להא אן יציר נחלתהא, וחציתהא מן עאלמהא אלשריף וינבועהא אללטיף, כמה קאל אלסייד אלמשתאק ואלגטריף אלמתשוק אלעארף סר הדיה אלאלאת וצאחב הדיה אלמקאמאת ואלנהאיאת ד'וד עיס ייי מנת חלקי נכוסי וגו' וקאל איציא" חלקי ייי אַמְרָה נַפְשִׁי. [7] וכדילך שְׁמִינִית אַסַּם אֵלֶּה אלמוסיקי, דיאת תימאן אותאר עלי סביל אלתיציעיף ללארבעה אותאר, אעני אלזיר ואלבם ואלמתיני ואלמתילת, אלמוציעה באזא אלארבע טבאיע אלמנאסבה להא. [8] וכדילך הגתית וקיל אנהא אַסַּם אֵלֶּה תנתסב אלי עובד אַדוּם הגתי. [9] וקיל אנהא עלי שכל אלמגול, לאן אלגת להא מגאזל תפתל לוציע אלכישב עליהא. [10] וכדילך שושן אַסַּם אֵלֶּה מן אלאת אלמוסיקי. [11] ויחתמל אן תכון תסמיתהא כדילך מן חית' שכלהא, ויחתמל אן יכון דלה ברילך מן חית' אנהא מנבהה מיקציה לנפס אלמסמאה שושנה עלי מתיאל כקול אלחכים אלכרים ע"ס שושנת העמקים, איציא פי קולה כשושנה בין החוחים. [12] אר' נסכתהא אלי עאלם אלכיאן נסבה ורדה אלסוסן אלי אלשור ואלחשיש פי לטאפתהא ונטיארתהא ודיכא ראיחתהא. [13] ואלמנצח הו צאחב אלאת אלמוסיקי ואלרייס פי אלגאני אלמתחדי בלאקואל. [14] ומענאה אלחיץ ואלתחריץ עלי אלמטיגיד ללה ואלתסביח לה, ואלאתגיהא נחוח, ואלאנצראא אלי גיאנב אלקדס, אלדי הו ענצרהא, ומנה אנבגיסת ואנבסטת ופאצית עלי אלהיכל אלבשרי. [15] כקולה למנצח על עבודת גו' ואיציא מנצחים על העבודה גו' פחו מחרכהא בעד סכונה, ומנבההא מן סנתהא, ומיקציהא מן נום גפלתהא. [16] ואלי הדיא אלסר אשר בקולה עז מן קאיל על חומותיך וירושלם הפקדתי שומרים כל היום וכל הלילה תמיד לא יחשו המזכירים את יי אַל דְּמֵי לְבָבִי. [17] וכדילך מא אתכיד' אלסייד אלכרים ואלגטריף אלחכים אנוע אלאת אלתגאני ובאלג פי אחכאם אלצנאעה אלמוסיקאריה עלי אכילתאף, אגיאסאה ואנועהא ואצנאפהא ואשכיאצהא, כמה קאל צשיתי לי שרים נשרות וגו'. [18] וכדילך אסתעמאל אללויים איאהא מע אלשיר ואלתסאביח אלאלאהיה עלי אלדוכן ואלמקצוד מן הדיה אלאלאת טיהור שרף אלנפס ואנסיאקהא מע טביעה אלאלחאן קלילא" קלילא" אלי אלגמאל אלמחיץ פי עאלמהא אלנוראני וענצרהא אלרבאני. [19] פהדיה אלצנאעה תטב אלנפוס טבא" נוראניא" רוחאניא", ותשוקהא אלי מברעהא ועאלמהא אלשריף, ומעדרהא אללטיף. [20] פתתחרך בשגיון אלאלחאן אלסואכן אלי אלאשגיאן ותוקד ניראן אלאשואק, פי קלוב אלעשאק בדיכר חביב אלנפוס, ותכריר אַסַּם אלמלך אלקדוס. [21] פתעאן אלקלוב, עלי אטראר אלגיוב ואנואר אלמחבוב, וכמא פעל איציא אלנבי אלכאמל ואלזכי אלפאציל. [22] חין חבס ענה אלוחי, פאמר באחציאר אלאת אלמוסיקי בקולה קחו לי מנגן. [23] פלמא אחציר דילך וטרב באלאלחאן ואלנגמאת אלמשוקה, חל עליה בתוסט דילך אלוחי מן ענר אללה, כקולה וְהִנֵּה כִנְנֹן הַמִּנְגֵּן וְהִנֵּה עֲלִיו רוּחַ אֱלֹהִים. [24] והדיא ביין ואציח לא ינכרה אלא גיאהל מעאנר, לא יפהם שריעתה וסרהא ונפסה ומקרהא. [25] ואמא מא עדא דילך מן אלמסמועאת פליגיתיהר פי תקלילהא אלא מא ינאסב מטלובה, ויעין עלי אלתוגיה אלי מחבובה...

TRANSLATION

[1] Temperance⁹ in what concerns the sense of hearing, requires that one listen to harmonious melodies and stirring tunes that increase longing for the heart's desire and impede it from turning aside to all else. [2] This is particularly effective, if the melody be accompanied by words which are conducive to this effect and help to arouse it. [3] On this account the saints and disciples of the prophets would employ diverse musical instruments to stir the soul through the

9. Literally 'keeping to the middle path'; a moral principle upheld by Maimonides in his *Tamâ-niya fuṣūl*, ch. IV, (ed. J. Qāfiḥ, Jerusalem, 1965, p.379ff). Our author reverts to this theme, again in connection with music, in his *Maqālah*, Ob. Ms. Hunt. 489, fol. 28b and 58b.

beauty of their various rhythms, causing it to long for its noble origin and subtle source and reminding it of its sublime abode¹⁰, as it is said [I Samuel 10, 5] “(A band of prophets) with a psaltery and a timbrel and a pipe and a harp before them (and they will be prophesying).” [4] Upon being thus moved, the (soul) will submerge within the Divine ocean, in proximity to the source of virtue, delight, life and felicity, as the noble prophet and wise master said [I Chron. 16, 27] “Honour and majesty are before Him, strength and gladness are in His place” [Ps. 36, 10] “For with Thee is the source of life and in Thy light shall we see light.” [5] Upon listening to measured rhythms and melodious airs, the emotions of the body become subject to the illumination and delights of the soul and vary in accordance with the soul’s proximity or remoteness from its element as well as the (intensity) of its longing for the latter, and its cleaving and attachment (*intiḥāliha*) to it. [6] It is for this reason that the particular instrument which brings about this effect, is known as [Ps. 5, 1] the *nehilôt* [a kind of flute?], the latter term derived from the word *naḥalah* (inheritance)¹¹ alluding to the desire it kindles in the soul, compelling it to follow its lot and apportioned share, its sublime world and noble source, as David, the ardent master and aspirant lord stated [Ps. 16, 5] “The Lord is the portion of mine inheritance and of my cup”. Similarly it is said [Lam. 3, 24] “The Lord is my portion saith my soul”. [7] Likewise [Ps. 4, 1] the *šemînūt* is a musical instrument bearing eight strings, i.e. four double chords, the treble (*zīr*), bass (*bamm*), second (*maṭnā*) and third (*maṭlat*) strings, which are set in accordance

10. This is reminiscent of the Gnostic theme of the oblivious soul that must be reminded of its celestial origins. The topic is popular amongst the *Iḥwān al-ṣafā'* and indeed we read in the latter's *Epistle on music*, (ed. Beirut, 1957, vol. I, p. 236): “Whenever you listen to the strains of a musician, consider how he alludes to the world of the souls... upon singing the melancholic airs, the souls remember their spiritual abode and pine for it.” Similar notions are to be found in the Jewish tradition; for example in Moses Ibn ʿEzra's *Maqālat al-ḥadiqah*, the musical passage is partly derived from the *Iḥwān* cf. I. Adler, *HWCM*, p. 162. Another interesting source (not recorded by Adler) is Joseph Angelino's *Livnat has-sappir* (1325) erroneously attributed to David he-Ḥasid, in which we read (ed. Musayef, Jerusalem 1912, fol. 12a-b): “Since the soul originates from the supernal world, the source of life, where it had been accustomed to hearing the melodious song of the ministering angels and the heavenly spheres, whenever it hears music in its corporeal abode, it feels at ease and experiences a delight similar to that to which it was accustomed when still at one with its element, listening to the sweetness of the celestial voices. On account of this extreme bliss it can prove capable of receiving divine inspiration.” This passage is also quoted by the 16th century kabbalist Me'ir Ibn Gabbay in his *ʿAvodat haq-qodeš*, part III, 10.

11. While accepting that *nehilôt* are musical instruments, the mediaeval commentators usually connect the word with the “sound of the bee”, an explanation first thought to have been given by Hayya Ga'ōn, cf. D. Qimḥi, *Sefer haš-šorašim* s.v. *nhl*. Our author utilizes in his own manner the explanation proposed by the midraš. Cf. *Midraš tehillim*, in *loc.* (ed. S. Buber, p. 52) and *Yalqūt Šim'oni*, *remez* 629.

with the four corresponding natures¹². [8] Moreover [Ps. 8, 1], the *gittit* is also a musical instrument, said to be the invention of Obed-edom the Gattite¹³. [9] It has also been said that it has the form of a spindle, since the wine-press (*gat*) has a threaded distaff which supports the wooden parts¹⁴. [10] Furthermore [Ps. 45, 1] the *šōšan* is also the name given to a musical instrument. [11] It is possible that it earned this appellation from its shape, or it may have been so called since it awakens and arouses the soul, which is called "a lily" (*šōšannah*), as the illustrious sage [Solomon] called it [Cant. 2, 2] "Lily of the valley" and [Cant. 2, 1] "as a lily among the thorns (so is my beloved among the daughters)"¹⁵. [12] For the plight of the soul in this netherworld is comparable to all the delicacy, freshness and perfume of a lily which has fallen amongst the thorns and weeds. [13] The term [Ps. 4, 1] "leader" (*menazzeah*) designates the player of musical instruments and master of melodies whose words are a source of stimulation¹⁶. [14] Indeed the term means to arouse and enthuse with the glorification and praise of God, calling forth to turn unto Him and return to the world of holiness, which is the soul's source whence it issued forth and flowed into the mortal frame. [15] Thus are to be understood the verses [Ps. 18, 1] "For the leader of the servant of the Lord" and [II Chr. 2, 17] "to the leader over the service", since the (*menazzeah*) stirs the soul from its tranquility, awakens it from its slumber arousing it from the sleep of dissipation. [16] It is also to this mystery that the following glorious verse alludes [Is. 62, 6] "I have set watchmen upon thy walls O Jerusalem, that they should never hold their peace day or night. Ye that are the Lord's remembrancers, take ye no rest". [17] Likewise Solomon, the noble master and wise lord would employ several kinds of musical instruments in the method of whose art he was most proficient, as it is said [Eccl. 2, 8] "I got me men-singers and women-singers". [18] Moreover the Levites played instruments in accompaniment to the divine

12. This observation probably has its source in the chapter on the structure of the *ʿūd* in Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq's *ʿĀdāb al-falāsifah* (not yet published; in ms. Mbs Aumer 651 the passage is on fol. 35b). For al-Ḥarizī's Hebrew translation see ed. Loewenthal (Frankfurt a.M., 1896), ch. XX, p. 17-18, and Adler, *HWCM*, p. 153-154. Quotations see Adler, *HWCM*, p. 43 (Johanan Aleman, Hebrew) and p. 162 (Moses ibn ʿEzra, Arabic). See also E. Werner and I. Sonne, in *HUCA*, 16 (1941): 275-276.

13. A midrašic enlargement on I Chr. 15, 21.

14. This explanation is taken from Moses Ibn Chiqatilla's commentary on the *Psalms*; see the fragment published by S. Poznanski in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 26 (1912): 59 and J. Finkel in *Horeb*, III (1936), p. 158-161. The first part of the explanation is also quoted by Abraham Ibn ʿEzra in his commentary on Ps. 8, 1.

15. In the allegorical exegesis of the Middle Ages, the "lily" was interpreted as "the rational soul" fallen amongst the lower faculties or lower world, symbolized by the "valley". Cf. Ibn ʿAqin's *Commentary on the Song of Songs*, ed. A.S. Halkin (Jerusalem, 1964), p. 64 and Isaac Ibn Sahula, *Commentary on the Song of Songs*, ms. Ob, Opp. 221, fol. 41a.

16. Allusion to the diastaltic property ascribed to music by the Aristoxenians.

song and praise of their services so as to inspire the soul with virtue and gradually transport it through the nature of the music towards the absolute beauty of its luminous abode and supernal source¹⁷. [19] Indeed the art [of music]¹⁸ is an illuminating and spiritual therapy for the soul, causing the latter to pine for its Creator and its noble origin¹⁹. [20] Even the inert music be moved to nostalgia by the poignant strains which enkindle the fires of desire in the hearts of lovers when mention is made of the soul's beloved and the name of the Holy King resounds. [21] Thereupon the heart will be enabled to (penetrate) hidden mysteries²⁰ and grasp the splendour of the beloved as experienced by (Elisha) the perfect prophet and wisest sage. [22] When inspiration departed from him, he would order instruments to be brought as it is said [II Kings 3, 15] "but now bring me a minstrel". [23] In their presence, the divine inspiration again descended upon him, through the moving melodies which they played "and it came to pass when the minstrel played, that the hand of the Lord came upon him". [24] This fact is self evident and would only be denied by an obstinate fool who is ignorant of the mysteries of the Torah and of the destiny of his own soul. [25] As for the auditory pleasures not included in the foregoing categories, the individual should strive to avoid them, with the exception of that which is expedient to his purport and of assistance to him in the quest for his beloved.

POST SCRIPTUM

After this article was written, the author brought to light evidence that suggested that the Jewish Sufi author of our text was none other than David II ben Joshua Maimonides (d. circa 1410). This identification will be demonstrated in the introduction to the author's forthcoming edition of the *Mursid*.

17. Allusion to the cathartic property of music. Earlier on fol. 30b, our author when discussing the Talmudic statement that a "sweet voice" is required of a prayer-leader, he says in a similar vein: "For each specific spiritual purpose has a corresponding voice or tune which is effective to that end. Just as man's voice varies in accordance with his states of anger, pleasure or fear, so the state of the listener is accordingly affected."

18. The author uses the term *ṣināʿa*, 'craft'. So too Ḥunayn b. Ishāq, *op. cit.* ch. XIX.

19. The therapeutic power of music as well as the foregoing images of the "soul's slumber" and its "immersion in the ocean" are all to be found in Ḥunayn b. Ishāq, *op. cit.* ch. XX.

20. According to Ḥunayn b. Ishāq, *op. cit.* ch. XIX, music was conducive to spiritual knowledge.

YUVAL

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ABBREVIATIONS

קיצורים

Adler, *HWCM* ראה אדלר, כתבים עבריים
 המכון לתצלומי כתבי יד, בית הספרים הלאומי
 והאוניברסיטאי בירושלים
 ריס"מ ראה *RISM*

<i>Adler, HWCM</i>	I. Adler, Hebrew Writings Concerning Music in Manuscripts and Printed Books, from Geonic Times up to 1800, München, 1975
<i>Cat. Margoliouth</i>	Margoliouth, G., Catalogue of the Hebrew and Samaritan Manuscripts in the British Museum
<i>Cat. Neubauer</i>	Neubauer, A. Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library
<i>Cu</i>	Cambridge University Library
<i>EI²</i>	The Encyclopaedia of Islam, new ed. Leiden, 1960-
<i>EJ²</i>	Encyclopaedia Judaica, Jerusalem, 1971-72
<i>Erlanger</i>	Erlanger, R. d', La musique arabe, Paris, 1930-1939
<i>HUCA</i>	Hebrew Union College Annual
<i>IMHM</i>	Institute of Microfilms of Hebrew Manuscripts, Jewish National and University Library, Jerusalem
<i>JA</i>	Journal asiatique
<i>JJS</i>	Journal of Jewish Studies
<i>JMRS</i>	Jewish Medieval and Renaissance Studies, ed. A. Altmann, Cambridge, Mass., 1967
<i>JNUL</i>	The Jewish National and University Library, Jerusalem
<i>JQR</i>	Jewish Quarterly Review
<i>JRAS</i>	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
<i>KS</i>	Kiryat Sefer; Bibliographical Quarterly of the JNUL
<i>Lbm</i>	London, The British Library

<i>Mbs</i>	München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
<i>MGWJ</i>	Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums
<i>Mus. pass.</i>	Passage(s) concerning music
<i>Njts</i>	New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America
<i>Ob</i>	Oxford, Bodleian Library
<i>Pn</i>	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale
<i>REJ</i>	Revue des études juives
<i>RISM</i>	Répertoire international des sources musicales
<i>Tb</i>	The Babylonian Talmud