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THE SONG OF SONGS IN THE BIBLICAL TRADITION OF THE YEMENITE JEWS

JEFFREY A. SUMMIT

Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the
requirements for ordination
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Referee, Rabbi David B. Weisberg

לגילה

שימני כחותם על-לבך כחותם על-זרועך

כי-עזה כמות אהבה קשה כשאול קנאה

רשפיה רשפי אש שלהבתיה

שה"ש 8:6

DIGEST

This Thesis examines the biblical traditions of the Yemenite Jews with special regard to the unusual accentuation of the Song of Songs in the Yemenite manuscript W.6. in a private collection.

The first chapter is a general introduction to Tiberian accentuation and examines ways in which the accentuation and musical treatment of the accents affect the interpretation of the text.

The second chapter examines the Yemenite interpretation of the Tiberian accents; a system much simpler than the Tiberian system as we understand it today. I suggest that by examining the unique manner in which the Yemenites interpret Tiberian accentuation, we can learn something of the earliest traditions of chanting the Bible. This chapter contains tables explaining the Yemenite system for chanting the Tiberian accents in the Five Books and the Song of Songs. It is supplemented by Appendix I, which gives the Yemenite names for the Tiberian accents and the accents' pausal properties as understood by that community. Finally, in this chapter I propose a detailed reconstruction of the oldest form of chanting the Bible based on an examination of the Yemenite oral treatment of the Song of Songs.

The third chapter traces the historical development of the Yemenites' biblical traditions and examines the transition from the Babylonian to the Tiberian Masorah in Yemen. In this chapter, I suggest that trade contacts played an important role in determining the Yemenites' biblical traditions.

The fourth chapter is an analysis of the unusual accentuation of the Song of Songs in manuscript W.6. of the Weisberg collection. I propose an explanation for the manuscript's accentuation based upon an understanding of the Yemenites' treatment of the Tiberian accents in the Song of Songs. Chapter Four also contains a discussion of a Ben Naftali reading that I found in the manuscript. Finally, this chapter compares the accentuation of MS W.6. with that of the Leningrad manuscript B19a.

The final chapter deals with fieldwork experiences I was privileged to have had with the Yemenite community in Israel while conducting research for this Thesis. This chapter is supplemented by a cassette tape of Yemenite music illustrating the experiences related in Chapter Five (Side 1) and concentrating on the Yemenite cantillation of the Bible (Side 11). A detailed catalogue of these recordings (Appendix 11) accompanies the tapes.

A NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

Transliteration of Hebrew in this thesis follows the table for narrow transliteration of the American National Standards Institute in the "Proposed Standard Romanization of Hebrew." (Cincinnati, Hebrew Union College, 1972). The names of the Yemenite accents follow Shelomo Morag's transliteration of the pronouncation of Hebrew by the Jews of Sanaa, Yemen. ("Pronouncation," Encyclopedia Judaica, Jerusalem, 1972). I have adopted simpler spelling for certain names that I use frequently, such as Sanaa for Ṣanʿa and (Rav Yosef) Kafiḥ for Qāfeḥ.

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When I came to Jerusalem in 1973 to begin my studies for the rabbinate, I was not aware of the impact that the city and the people I would meet there were to have upon my life. I met Gail, whom I would later marry. There I also met David Weisberg who would become my teacher at the Hebrew Union College. I discovered for myself Jerusalem, a place that helps me understand the word "holy." When I left Israel, I was determined to return for another year before completing my studies. When David Weisberg suggested that I work on the Yemenite manuscripts in his possession for my Rabbinic Thesis, and we developed a project which combined my interests in music and folklore with my interest in biblical studies, I took that opportunity to return to Jerusalem. I want here to acknowledge the people who have taught and helped me in the course of this Thesis.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

TIBERIAN ACCENTUATION AND TEXTUAL INTERPRETATION

This thesis began as an investigation of the unusual accentuation of the Song of Songs in the Yemenite manuscript W. 6. in a private collection. The examination of this manuscript generated an interest in the development of the biblical traditions of the Yemenite Jews, in particular, their connections with Babylonia, and eventual transition to the Tiberian Masorah. This subject is examined in Chapter III of my thesis. However, underlying my interest in the accentuation of manuscript W. 6. were two questions: First, what is the purpose of the system of biblical accentuation developed by the Tiberian Masoretes? and second, in contrast to the highly sophisticated Tiberian system, what was the earliest biblical chant? In Chapter I, I attempt to answer the first question by illustrating various ways in which Tiberian accentuation and the musical treatment of the accents in practice determine the meaning of a biblical verse. In Chapter II, I examine the Yemenite interpretation of the Tiberian accents; a system much simpler than the Tiberian system as we understand it today. I ask: Could the Yemenite chant reflect a system of singing the Bible much older than the Tiberian system? If so, how can we reconstruct that early system of chanting the Bible from the living tradition of Yemen?

The study of the earliest oral traditions of biblical recitative is problematic. Because we lack both notation[1] and of course, recordings of the earliest oral traditions, much of our work is speculative. There are two approaches for investigating the oldest manner of biblical recitative; first, listening to the oral tradition in own day and second, studying the accentuation signs, the shorthand representation of the recitation of the Bible. There are problems with both of these methods. Oral musical traditions

have a tendency to change over the years and a study of the accents and their functions, even as explained in the earliest grammar books,[2] does not necessarily tell us how a certain community understood the accentuation. Various communities interpret the accents differently.[3] In practice, it is not the accents themselves that shape and interpret the text, but a community's understanding of what the accents indicate.

We know that in the Tiberian system, biblical accentuation serves several functions.[4] The placement of the accent signs, in most cases, indicates the stressed syllable of a word. So we use the English term "accent." There is reason to believe that this is the most recent function of accentuation, for in their earliest stages of development, the accents did not regularly indicate word stress.[5] A second function of the accents is to indicate the musical tune, the motif to which a word is sung in public recitation. The third function of the accents is to show the syntactical relationship between the words in a verse. The accents indicate the degree of pause a word receives, and whether a word is connected to, or separated from the word following it. In this way the accents help determine the meaning of the text. The Hebrew term for the accents, טעמים[6] (טעם -sense), reflects this function of the accentuation. In the earliest treatise on the accents, Diqduqe ha-Teamim[7] attributed to Aaron ben Asher, the author assumes that it is the purpose of the accentuation to indicate meaning and concludes his first list of accents with Proverbs 3:13, blessing the man who "finds wisdom and produces understanding."[8] I believe that not only does the syntactical function of the accents determine a verse's interpretation but also in practice the musical notation of the accents affects the understanding of the text.

In most cases the syntactical division simply reflects the plain sense of the verse. So in Genesis 1:3 the etnahta, the major pause in the verse, falls where we would expect it:

ויאמר אלהים יהי אור ויהי-אור

(And God said let there be light, and there was light.)

At other times it is more difficult to determine the logical pause in a verse. This is of major importance because in certain cases the interpretation of Scriptures determines religious practice. Miles Cohen[9] referring to Ex. 12:8, which concerns the laws of Passover, asks, How is the verse to be divided?

ואכלו את-הבשר בלילה הזה צלי-אש ומצות על-מרורים יאכלהו

(They shall eat the flesh that same night; roasted over the fire, with unleavened bread and with bitter herbs they shall eat it.)

ואכלו את-הבשר בלילה הזה צלי-אש ומצות על-מרורים יאכלהו

(They shall eat the flesh that same night, roasted; and unleavened bread--with bitter herbs they shall eat it.)

Cohen notes that the first sentence, which is the accepted intepretation, proscribes that all three foods be eaten together. In the second reading it is unclear how the foods should be eaten. In this case the Tiberian Masoretes chose the first reading and employed the accents to clarify and interpret this ambiguous verse.

There are other examples where the Masoretes use the accents to impose a syntax on a verse in a way that reflects a certain theological or philosophical bias. Fred N. Reiner[10] presents an excellent example of this willful use of accents. He quotes the verse from 1 Samuel 3:3, where the placement of the etnahta seems contrary to the natural sense of the verse:

ונר אלהים טרם יכבה ושמואל שכב בהיכל יהוה אשר-שם ארון אלהים

(The lamp of God was not yet gone out and Samuel lay down; in the Temple of the Lord, where the ark of God was.)

The sense of the verse seems to indicate that the etnaḥta belongs on the word יכבה , producing the translation:

> (The lamp of God had not yet gone out; and Samuel lay down in the Temple of the Lord where the ark of God was.)

Reiner suggests that the Masoretes considered Samuel's sleeping in the Temple court scandalous. They were reflecting the Rabbinic view found in the Babylonian Talmud[11] that Samuel should not have been sitting in the Temple much less lying down to sleep. Therefore the Masoretes fixed the accentuation to reflect the Rabbinic understanding of the verse.

There is another way in which the accents indicate the interpretation of the text. They can clarify the meaning of a specific word by specifying its syntactical relationship to the other words in a given phrase. This is the case with the accentuation of the phrase in the Song of Songs קול דודי . The first occurrence, in Song of Songs 2:8 reads:

קוֹל דוֹדִי הִנֵּה-זֶה בָּא

Here the word קול is connected by the conjunctive accent, munaḥ to דודי . This helps us translate the two words as a single phrase: "The voice of my beloved," as the Revised Standard Version does indeed translate it.[12] However, the second occurrence of the phrase in the Song of Songs 5:2 reads:

קוֹל דוֹדִי דוֹפֵק

This makes no sense if translated "The voice of my beloved knocks." The Masoretes used a disjunctive accent, munaḥ l^{e}garmèh, to separate קול from דודי . This accentuation indicates that the word קול should be translated as an exclamation. "Hark! My beloved is knocking!" We should note that the Masoretes are not always granted the final word when it comes to biblical syntax. Though it does not make sense to translate the Song of Songs 5:2 against the sense of the accentuation as "The voice of

my beloved knocks," it makes perfect sense to translate the Song of Songs 2:8 against the accentuation as "Hark! My Beloved! behold, he cometh" which is how the Jewish Publication Society translation reads the Song of Songs 2:8.

The musical line the accents indicate can also influence the interpretation of a verse. Some of the accents have a more elaborate and distinctive musical motif than others, and by emphazing a specific word can influence the sense of the verse. Note for example, Gen 37:1 and 2, the beginning of Parašat Vayešev, the story of Joseph:

וישב יעקב בארץ מגורי אביו בארץ כנען: אלה תלדות יעקב

יוסף בן-שבע-עשרה שנה...

> "and Joseph dwelt in the land of his father's sojournings, in the land of Canaan. These are the generations of Jacob. Joseph, being seventeen years old..."

In these two verses, the accent with the most distinctive melody, geršayim, is placed on the word "Joseph." The melody of this accent focuses attention on the word Joseph," whose story is about to be told. It is interesting to note that the next occurrence of the accent geršayim in this chapter, two verses later, is also related to Joseph:

וירא אחיו כי-אתו אהב אביהם מכל-אחיו וישנאו אתו ולא יכלו דברו לשלם

> "And when his brethren saw that their father loved him more than all his brethren, they hated him, and could not speak peaceably unto him."

It could be argued that the reintroduction of the geršayim motif helps to clarify the antecedent of the pronoun אתו , "him", to mean Joseph. But even if we believe that the placement of the geršayim serves to indicate

the protagonist in one case and clarify the antecedent in the other, we have no proof that this was the intention of the Masoretes in assigning this accent. Between these two occurrences of the geršayim, Joseph's name appears twice, in verses 37:2 and 37:3 without that accent. Furthermore, the next occurrence of geršayim in this chapter on the word יֹוסֵף (Gen. 37:27) is not directly related to Joseph.

There is another way in which the actual singing of the verse functions as interpretation. Although the same accents are used throughout the entire Bible, they are sung differently depending on the book or special section where they appear. For example when the Torah is read, the accents are sung to tunes different from those used when reading the Haftarah. Books from the Writings that are read in the synagogue on different holidays, as the Book of Esther on Purim and the Book of Lamentations on Tisha b'Av are each chanted to a special tune,though the same marks appear in the text. Even within the Torah itself, different melodies are used to read the portions for the High Holidays, and in certain communities special sections of the Torah such as the Ten Commandments, (Ex. 20:2-17 and Deut. 5:6-18), or the Song of the Sea (Ex. 14:30-31 and 15:1-18) are highlighted by a special melody. The complexity of this system, that is, the number of different tunes employed in the yearly cycle of public readings, and indicated by the same signs of notation, varies from community to community. But the custom of using different tunes for the same accents dependent upon the text or occasion, is universal among Jewish communities with a tradition of chanting biblical texts.[14]

Each rendition of the accents has a special character and becomes associated in peoples' minds with the emotions and story of a specific book.

Among Ashkenazic communities, the custom arose of chanting certain verses and phrases of the Book of Esther to the tune of the Book of Lamentations.[15] Lamentations is read on the holiday of Tisha b'Av in memory of the destruction of the first and second Temples in Jerusalem. One of the phrases from Esther that is chanted to the melody of Lamentations is כלים מכלים שונים ("The vessels being diverse one from another") from Esther 1:7. This verse describes the vessels of gold used to serve wine at the lavish banquet given by King Ahasuerus. In Rabbinic tradition these vessels were supposedly stolen from the Holy Temple after its destruction.[16] So the introduction of the melody of Lamentations into the chanting of the Book of Esther serves several functions. For the learned, it recalls the Rabbinic interpretation of the verse. For the common Jew familiar with the traditional liturgy the mournful, plaintive tune of Lamentations evokes deep emotions associated with Tisha b'Av. The plaintive melody sets a tone for this otherwise innocent banquet, commenting on the character of Ahasuerus and his retinue, and foreshadowing the danger that will confront the Jews of Shushan.

There also arose a custom among the Yemenites of emphasizing the verses in Esther that stress the theme of redemption; Esther 2:5; 7-10; 8:15, 16; 9:3.[17] When the reader chants these verses he uses a special melody. The entire congregation then repeats the verse using the same tune. All five redemption verses are chanted in this way, so stressing the theme of redemption as a central lesson of the book.

As shown above, the oral recitation of the Bible in general, and the musical treatment of the Tiberian accents in particular, affect the interpretation of the text. But what was the nature of biblical chant before the Masoretes developed this complex and sophisticated system? This issue is examined in Chapter II.

NOTES TO CHAPTER I

1 The earliest known Western notation of the biblical cantillation signs is from the early sixteenth century in J. Reuchin, De Accentibus et orthographia linguae hebraicae (Hagenau, 1518), fol. 836-87a. For plates of this work see A. Herzog, "Masoretic Accents," Encyclopedia Judaica (Jerusalem, 1972). An ancient form of notation for biblical cantillation is cheironomy; the indication of a melody or motif by hand or finger movements. Cheironomy is still practiced by some Jewish communities including the Yemenites, to this day. For a full discussion of cheironomy see Johanna Spector, "A Comparative Study of Scriptural Cantillation and Accentuation (Pentateuch)." (Doctoral Thesis, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, 1950), pp. 4-15.

2 For information on the earliest Hebrew grammar works see Aharon Dotan, "Masorah," Encyclopedia Judaica XVI (Jerusalem, 1972), pp. 1471-77.

3 Herzog, "Masoretic Accents," loc. cit., (above, n.1), p. 1109. For a comparison and notation of various communities' biblical chants see A.Z. Idelsohn's charts in Jewish Music in its Historical Development (New York, H. Holt, 1929), pp 35-71.

4 For a full discussion of the function of the Tiberian accents see William A. Wickes. Two Treatises on the Accentuation of the Old Testament, combined edition. Prolegomenon by Aron Dotan (New York, Ktav, 1970). Also see David Weisberg, "The Rare Accents of the Twenty-One Books," Jewish Quarterly Review LVI-LVII (Philadelphia, 1966-67); Miles B. Cohen, The System of Accentuation in the Hebrew Bible (Minneapolis, Milco Press, 1969).

5 In his article "Masorah," loc. cit., (above, n. 2). p. 1445, Dotan catagorizes Babylonian accentuation as earlier or later depending on whether accents indicate word stress.

6 For an examination of the term טעמי as found in the Talmud, see Weisberg, "Rare Accents," JQR LVI, loc. cit., (above, n. 4), p. 328-30. Though the term טעמי appears in the Talmud, the Tiberian system was not developed until several hundred years after the Talmud's completion. Wickes understood the Talmudic use of the term to refer to the pausal system of the accents which determines the sense of a verse. See Wickes, Accentuation, vol. I, loc. cit., (above, n.4), p. 3.

7 Aaron ben Moses ben Asher, Sefer Diqduqe Ha Teamim, 3 vol., edited and annotated by Aron Dotan (Jerusalem, Academy for the Hebrew Language, 1967), pp. 106-8.

8 This might also refer to the rare accents' function of connecting certain biblical words with homiletic interpretations. See Weisberg, "Rare Accents," JQR, loc. cit., (above, n. 4).

9 Cohen, Accentuation, loc. cit., (above, n. 4), p. 2.

NOTES TO CHAPTER I

10 Fred N. Reiner , "Masoretes, Rabbis and Karaites: A Comparison of Biblical Interpretations" Masoretic Studies I (1972-3 Proceedings of The International Organization for Masoretic Studies, Missoula, Montana, Univ. of Mont., 1974), p. 138.

11 Kid. 78b.

12 The New Oxford Annotated Bible, Revised Standard Version, edited by Herbert G. May and Bruce Metzger (New York, Oxford University Press, 1973).

13 The Holy Scriptures, (Philadelphia, Jewish Publication Society, 1963).

14 Herzog, "Masoretic Accents," loc. cit., (above, n. 1).

15 Esther 1:7, 2:6.

16 Meg. 11b.

17 Uri Sharvit, "Yemenite Jewish Music in Israel," in The Jews of Yemen, An Exhibition Organized by the Maurice Spertus Museum of Judaica, ed. Grace Cohen Grossman (Chicago, Spertus College of Judaica Press, 1976), p. 10.

CHAPTER II

YEMENITE ORAL TRADITIONS AND TIBERIAN ACCENTUATION

The system of Tiberian accentuation as described in Chapter I is an extremely exact system for reciting the biblical text. But in order to express the subtlety and complexity of the Tiberian Masoretes' system, one must sing the accents so that a listener can distinguish one from another.[1] In the Lithuanian system, the system most familiar to American Jews of East European origin, the musical rendition of the accents is that clear.[2] Not only does each disjunctive accent have a distinct melody, but some conjunctive accents have as many as four different motifs depending on the disjunctive to which they are connected.[3] This complex system of chanting the Bible took centuries to develop; but what was the earliest system of biblical recitative?

We know from extant manuscripts that the earliest methods for marking accentuation were much simpler than the Tiberian system. These early manuscripts show spa se use of accent signs; often only a verse's medial and final stops are marked.[4] However, we can not assume that the lack of a complex system for guiding the oral recitation necessarily means that the biblical chant was simpler. The oral tradition might have been so strong, that only a sketchy notation was needed to guide the reader. The way Yemenites now sing Tiberian accents leads me to believe that their song indicates the character of the earliest oral traditions of chanting the Bible. This chapter will examine the Yemenites' careful

preservation of their oral biblical traditions and in opposition to this, raise some questions about the difficulty of maintaining an unchanged oral tradition through time. Finally by examining the Yemenites' treatment of the Tiberian accents, I propose a reconstruction of the earliest system of biblical chant.

The Yemenites have always stressed careful transmission and preservation of their musical, religious,and biblical traditions. I.Z. Idelsohn, the pioneering Jewish ethnomusicologist, observed that the Yemenites put so much emphasis upon the proper pronunciation and recitation of their prayers that pious men were afraid to serve as Ḥazanim, for it was believed that the Ḥazan's family would suffer if he did not fulfill his duty with precision.[5] When still in Yemen, the Jews considered the careful reading of the litury so important that they attributed their high infant mortality rate to the careless fulfillment of this obligation.[6]

The Yemenites have always stressed the study of the Bible and Mishna over the study of the Talmud. Both in private and public, the Yemenites study Bible by repeating the text. Men recite Scripture while pursuing their crafts and trades[7] and is not uncommon for even small Yemenite boys to know large portions of Torah by heart. In the synagogue each man reads his own section of the weekly Torah Portion when he is called for an aliah.[8] A Yemenite narrating a folk tale to S.D. Goitein said, "Woe to (the Torah reader) if he puts a vowel or accent in the wrong place."[9] The Yemenites themselves say that they are conservative when it comes to their religious customs[10] and Yehuda Ratzhabi and other scholars express the view that the Yemenites managed to preserve the traditions of music, dance, folk art and language of ancient Judea.[11]

Considering the Yemenites extensive trade contacts and obvious changes in their liturgical and biblical traditions, (these issues are discussed

at length in Chapter Three), I would urge caution in making a statement like Ratzhaby's. It is hard to gauge what changes a community's music and traditions have undergone over a long period of time. Many different peoples passed through Yemen in the course of its history: I find it hard to believe that these groups, both Jewish and non-Jewish did not in some way influence the Jews' musical custom over the course of hundreds of years. Jews came to settle in Yemen from both Iraq and Persia[12] and in the sixteenth century Jews from Portugal and Spain settled in certain parts of Yemen.[13] Yemenite Jewish traders travelled to Palestine, Spain and Egypt.[14] In the course of their travels they certainly attended synagogues. They must have eaten, drunk and sung with the local Jewish merchants. Surely, they heard non-Jewish music from musicians in the market places where they bought and sold their goods. This contact certainly had some effect, even subconsciously, upon their musical traditions. Furthermore, in Yemen itself the ruling powers changed and foreign influence must have been felt in the country. In his work on Yemen and world trade, Mordechai Abir observes that under Ottoman rule in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Yemenite Jews enjoyed prosperity and relative freedom.[15] Surely, the Jews had contact with Turkish music at that time. With evidence of so much cross cultural influence we can not assume that music in general, and the musical motifs used for the biblical recitation in particular, remained the same over hundreds of years.[16]

There is another point to be made here. A reader who possesses musical talent or an exceptional voice is bound to chant differently than a person who does not possess such a gift. While doing field work in Israel, I heard Yemenites from the same town chant the Bible, embellishing

or simplifying the standard motifs according to their personalities and musical ability. It is not inconceivable that an influential teacher might subtly change the tune of certain accents in the course of a generation.

However, even considering these arguments stated above, the nature of the Yemenite chant itself argues for its antiquity and the way in which the Yemenites study the Bible is strong support for the careful transmission of their traditions. The Yemenites, and other traditional Jewish communities that study Torah constantly, view the scriptural verse and the manner in which the verse is sung, as an organic whole. From the first time a child hears a verse of Torah, whether in the House of Study or the House of Prayer, he hears it chanted.[17] When Yemenites study as a group, a learned reader will chant the entire Torah portion verse by verse, the others repeating the text after him, verse by verse. Though Scripture is chanted to a simpler "learning" tune in the House of Study than it is in the House of Prayer, the biblical text is never recited publicly without its melody. Yemenites never study biblical accentuation as a scientific system unrelated to a specific biblical text. The melody etches the text on the minds of those who chant and study it. The melody determines the meaning of the verse, fixing the stresses, pauses and stops: The melody is the verse. When one has learned Scripture with its melody from first introduction, and has heard it sung in study and in the synagogue, it certainly must be difficult to even think of the words of a verse without hearing them chanted in your mind.[18] An oral tradition so strongly attached to a constantly present and recurring text is not easily changed. We see this clearly in the way in which the Yemenites reinterpreted Tiberian accentuation to reflect their own older oral biblical traditions. By studying

the Yemenites' interpretation of the Tiberian system, we can learn something of the oldest oral traditions of biblical chant.

The Yemenites incorporated Tiberian signs into their manuscripts while reinterpreting what the signs meant to conform to their own traditional reading of the text. We must ask: Did the Yemenites ever really accept the Tiberian system of accentuation? And we must answer: although the Yemenites use Tiberian signs, they interpreted the graphemes without regard for the Masoretes' intentions.[19]

As noted above, the fully developed Tiberian system is the most complex system of accentuation. Each conjunctive accent, for example, has a distinct melody. The Yemenites, though using Tiberian signs, sing all conjunctive accents to exactly the same tune. (See Appendix I, Table I). In fact, words with conjunctive accents do not have a distinct melody among the Yemenites but are half chanted and half spoken. As will be discussed in Chapter III, Babylonian traditions had a great deal of influence on the Yemenites, and the Yemenite singing of conjunctive accents may reflect this influence: the Babylonian system did not even have a sign for conjunctive accents.[20] The way Yemenites chant the conjunctive accents may give us indication of the antiquity of Yemenite traditions. The comparative interpretation of the disjunctive accents is also significant. In the Tiberian system, each disjunctive accent has a distinct melody and pausal value.[21] But the Yemenites greatly simplify the interpretation of these same accents. They divide all the disjunctives into only two categories, primary disjunctive accents (מעמידים) and secondary disjunctive accents, (מפסיקים)[22] (See Appendix I, Tables II and III) whereas the Ashkenazim maintain four discriminations of pause.[23]

In the system for chanting the Torah, the Yemenites have ten melodies for twenty-seven signs, while the Ashkenazim have at least thirty-one melodies for the same number of signs.[24] This additional simplicity of the Yemenite oral tradition of biblical recitative argues for its antiquity.

From my studies with Yemenite Rabbis and teachers of accentuation, and from Rav Kafiḥ's brief description of Yemenite accents, I have compiled a descriptive outline of how the Yemenite chant the Torah (Table 1) and the Song of Songs (Table 11). The Yemenites have many other systems of chant but here I summarize only the system which makes the most discriminations among the accent marks (Torah) and the system which makes the fewest (The Song of Songs). The Yemenite system for chanting the Song of Songs is much simpler than the Torah system. This simple system does not assign a separate melody to etnaḥta but musically treats it the same as all other primary disjunctive accents. While the Ashkenazim uses more than twenty different melodies for the twenty accents in the Song of Songs,[25] the Yemenites use only five different melodies for the same number of accents. These descriptions are based upon the Yemenites' own explanation of their tradition and not upon a musical analysis of a transcription of Yemenite cantillation. Such an analysis, though outside the scope of this thesis, would be essential to objectively confirm the Yemenites' understanding of their own system.

The Yemenite System for the Musical Rendition of the Five Books

1. Conjunctive accents all have the same tune. These accents are actually half sung and half spoken and have no real musical motif.
2. Primary disjunctive accents all have the same tune except for söf pàsuq atnàḥa᾽ and in some cases, t^{e}vir.
    a. Söf pàsuq has its own distinctive motif.
    b. Atnàḥa᾽ has its own melody except when it is sung as ḳirēh (see below).
    c. T^{e}vir is sung as the rest of the primary disjunctives by most people but the especially exact reader adds a slight connective trill to the end of the t^{e}vir motif.

Any primary disjunctive accent before söf pàsuq is called "ḳisrēh" and has a distinctive "abrupt" or"broken" melody.

3. All the secondary disjunctive accents are sung to the same motif except for ṭifḥa᾽, zirqà᾽, and šalšalaṭ.
    a. Though ṭifḥà᾽ has the same pausal value as the other secondary disjunctive accents, it has three distinct melodies:
        1. Before atnàḥa᾽ that is ḳisrēh
        2. Before atnaḥa᾽ that is not ḳisrēh
        3. Before söf pàsuq
    b. Zirqà᾽ has a distinct melody with an added trill.
    c. Šalšalaṭ as a distinct, notably fancy melody like a long version of zirqà᾽ with a higher trill.

TABLE I

The Yemenite System for the Musical Rendition of the Song of Songs

1. Conjunctive accents all have the same tune.
2. All primary disjunctive accents, including atnaḥa) are sung to the same motif, except for söf pasuq.
3. All secondary disjunctive accents are sung to the same motif excluding zirqa).
   a. There is an old tradition, mostly forgotten, that the one occurrence of zirqa) in the Song of Songs 5:1 is sung with a slight trill.
4. In the Song of Songs, kisrēh is not on the primary disjunctive accent before söf pasuq but rather on the secondary disjunctive accent before söf pasuq, that is, on ṭifḥa).

TABLE II

Consider also the Yemenite melody of "ḳisrēh". The term "ḳisrēh" is derived from the Yemenite vernacular Arabic كسر "to break". This is a special "broken" or "abrupt" melody applied to the primary disjunctive accents preceding söf pàsuq when the Torah is chanted and to the secondary disjunctive accents before söf pàsuq in the Song of Songs. E. J. Revell, who has done much research in the early systems of biblical accentuation, notes that in early Tiberian, Babylonian and Palestinian manuscripts, sof pasuq and etnaḥta are often not marked, while tipḥa, the accent that regularly preceeds them, is indicated.[26] This "fore-tone" accent, together with the reader's familiarity with the verse, would indicate the approaching final or medial pause. While the Ashkenazic tradition uses different melodies for each disjunctive accent preceding sof pasuq, the Yemenites maintained the use of this older fore-tone melody, ḳisrēḥ, in their tradition of biblical chant.

What can we learn about the earliest forms of biblical chant by examining the Yemenites' system for interpreting the Tiberian accents? When Tiberian accentuation was accepted in Yemen, the Writings was the last section of the Bible to be influenced by the Tiberian system. (See Chapter Three for a full discussion of this issue). It is possible that the oral treatment of the Song of Songs, as opposed to the Five Books, is most representative of the older Yemenite traditions. In examining the chanting of this book, we see a system that uses five major musical motifs: a) one motif for the final word of a verse; b) a "fore-tone" or leading tone on the major pause before the final word, which serves to introduce the end of the verse; c) a third musical motif applied to the last word of all phrases representing major syntactical pauses in the verse; d) a fourth

musical motif applied to the last word of the phrase representing a secondary syntactical pause within a major syntactical division; e) a half sung, half spoken cadence used for words connected to words sung as major or secondary pauses. Though scholars have suggested that the nature of primitive biblical chant can be inferred from the present customs of Yemenite, as well as the Iranian and Bukaran Jews,[27] they have not presented a detailed description of what this system might have been. The Yemenites' living oral tradition provides a basis for this possible reconstruction of the details of the oldest form of biblical recitative.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

1 Wickes understood this aspect of the accentuation and comments, "The text was to be recited as to be understood. Above all things it was necessary to draw out its meaning, and impress it upon the minds of the hearers. The music itself was to be made subsidiary to this end...the music was made to mark not only the broad lines, but the finest shades of distinction in the sense..." Wickes, Accentuation, loc. cit., (Notes to Chapter 1, n. 4), p. 3.

2 For a detailed examination of the Lithuanian system see Solomon Rosowsky. The Cantillation of the Bible, the Five Books of Moses (New York, Reconstructionist Press, 1957).

3 J. N. Ne'eman gives transcription for four different melodies of the accent munah in Qera Beta'am, A Textbook for Reading the Biblical Text According to the Traditional Cantillation, vol. 1: Torah (Jerusalem, Israel Institute for Sacred Music, 1966), p. 28, 46.

4 Weisberg, "Rare Accents," LVI, loc. cit., (Notes to Chapter 1, n. 4), p. 327, n. 27.

5 A. Z. Idelsohn, Thesaurus of Oriental Hebrew Melodies, vol. 1, (Berlin, 1923), p. 16.

6 Ibid.

7 S. D. Goitein, ed., Travels in Yemen, An Account of Joseph Halevy's Journey to Najran in the Year 1870, written in San'ani Arabic by his Guide Hayyim Habshush, (Jerusalem, Hebrew University Press, 1941), p. 35.

8 S. D. Goitein, From the Land of Sheba, Tales of the Yemenite Jews, revised ed. (New York, Schocken Books, 1972), p. 33.

9 Ibid.

10 Yehuda Ratzhabi, "Remnants of Babylonian Vocalization in a Yemenite 'Keter Torah,'" Textus 8 (Jerusalem, Magnes Press 1973), p. 181.

11 Yehuda Ratzhabi, "Yemen," Encyclopedia Judaica (Jerusalem, 1972).

12 Goitein, From the Land of Sheba, loc. cit., (above, n. 8), pp. 5,6.

13 Mordechai, Abir, "International Commerce' and Yemen's Jewry 15-19th Centuries," Draft of Paper for the International Conference on Jewish Communities in Muslim Lands (Jerusalem, Ben-Zvi Institute, n.d.), pp. 7-11.

14 Ibid. pp. 1,2.

15 Ibid. p. 15.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

16 It is interesting to note that the Yemenites probably influenced other cultures as much as they were influenced themselves. Abir observes that this "spiritual fertilization and cultural influence brought to bear on Yemen's Jews was by no means one way traffic. In addition to the contributions of Yemeni scholars in the closing centuries of the Middle Ages, one hears echoes of the cultural-religious influences of merchants and rabbis from Yemen...on groups of Jews and non-Jews in the lands of the Indian Ocean, the Persian Gulf and The Horn of Africa."

17 For a description and notation of Yemenite study chants see Sharvit, "Yemenite Jewish Music," loc. cit., (Notes to Chapter 1, n. 17), p. 10.

18 Wickes noted, "The musical form was of itself a help to the memory. And what was learned in youth was retained, by a constant repetition, in after years. The melody thus became a valuable help for preserving the meaning of the text; and probably not a verse was ever quoted 'vivâ voce' without it." (my emphasis). Wickes, Accentuation, loc. cit., (Notes to Chapter 1, n. 4), p. 3, n. 8.

19 Y. Kafiḥ, "Punctuation, Accentuation and Masorah in Yemen," Sinai 29 (Aug.-Sept. 1951), p. 263.

20 Dotan, "Masorah," loc. cit., (Notes to Chapter 1, n. 2), p. 1445.

21 Ne'eman, Qera Beta'am, loc. cit., (above, n. 3), p. 13f.

22 Kafiḥ, "Punctuation," Sinai, loc. cit., (above, n. 19), p. 263.

23 Weisberg, "Rare Accents," JQR, loc. cit., (Notes to Chapter 1, n. 4), p. 319.

24 Ne'eman, Qera Beta'am, loc. cit., (above, n. 3).

25 J. N. Ne'eman, Tseliley Hammiqra, The Cantillation of the Bible, vol. II, (Jerusalem, The Israel Institute for Sacred Music, 1971), p. 196.

26 E. J. Revell, Biblical Texts with Palestinean Pointing and Their Accents, Society of Biblical Literature Masoretic Studies, no. 4, edited by Harry Orlinsky (Missoula, Montana, Scholars Press, 1977), p. 174.

27 A. Hertzog, "Music," Encyclopedia Judaica (Jerusalem, 1972).

CHAPTER III

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF YEMENITE BIBLICAL TRADITIONS

This chapter examines the development of the biblical traditions of the Yemenite Jews with specific regard to accentuation.

I have found it helpful to divide this development into four periods. The first period comprises the earliest Yemenite traditions dating from their settlement in Yemen to approximately the seventh century, C.E. No manuscripts are exant from this period and as the period up to the seventh century precedes the development of biblical accentuation and vocalization, we must turn to secondary sources for information of the Yemenites' biblical traditions during that time. The second period exhibits the influence of Babylonian traditions, in particular, supralinear vocalization upon Yemenite traditions. This time period would span the time from approximately the seventh century C.E. to the twelfth century. The third period reflects the influence of the system of the Tiberian Masoretes upon the Yemenite-Babylonian influenced traditions. This period,reflecting the transition from the Babylonian to Tiberian Masorah, would begin in the twelfth century, possibly somewhat earlier, and continue until the fifteenth century. The fourth period, from the fifteenth century to the present, represents the establishment of the Tiberian Masorah in Yemen.

A prevailing view concerning Yemenite Jewry has been that their isolation has greatly determined their biblical as well as musical, artistic and dance traditions.[1] In examining the recent literature on the history of Yemenite Jewry, especially dealing with Yemen's role in world trade[2] a different picture emerges. This portrays the Yemenite merchant Jew as having extensive contacts with Jewish centers and the developments in

Jewish learning throughout their history.[3] I would suggest that this contact and subsequent cognizance of developments in Jewish scholarship had an important influence upon the biblical traditions the Yemenites adopted.[4]

Yemen,[5] located in the Southern tip of the Arabian Peninsula, is of a very different character than the arid, sandy regions of Northern Arabia. For good reason, the Romans called the area Arabia Felix, "Arabia the Blessed."[6] Travelers' descriptions of Yemen's lush vegetation and fruitful plains[7] contrast markedly with stereotypic images of Arabia as a land of sand storms and desert wastes. Thousands of years ago, before oil was the desert's black gold, Arabia was the source for the most valuable commodities of the ancient world: frankincense[8] and myrrh.[9] The major trade routes that connected the Mediterranean and Babylonia with India ran through Yemen.[10] The biblical account of the Queen of Sheba's visit to King Solomon, though overlaid with amorous intent, in all probability was an economic mission to ensure safe passage for the lucrative caravan trade passing through Yemen.[11]

Myth and legend tell of the first Jewish settlements in Yemen. One legend recounts that Yemenite Jews were descended from a group of Jews who broke off from the Israelites wandering in the desert and headed south before ever reaching The Promised Land.[12] Another legend says that the Queen of Sheba, impressed by Solomon's wisdom, brought back some of his advisors to Yemen who became the ancestors of the Yemenite Jews.[13] A third tradition states that the Yemenite Jews fled Jerusalem before the destruction of the first Temple by the Assyrians.[14] Scholarship has confirmed the existence of Jewish communities in the Arabian Peninsula from the days of the second commonwealth.[15] We have evidence that these communities were in contact with Palestine and that these contacts were not limited to trade relations.

Itzhak Ben-Zvi, the former President of Israel and noted scholar of Oriental Jewry, states that after the Bar Kokhba revolt, many Jews fled Palestine and settled in Yemen, which was both known from trade and military contacts.[16] Ben-Zvi relates that King Herod sent a battalion of five hundred Jews led by Gaius Gallus in a march on Yemen and suggests that although this campaign had no military or political consequences, it did serve to spread information about Southern Arabia.[17] Arabic historians refer to Jews' settlement in Arabia after the destruction of the Second Temple in seventy C.E. and after Hadrian's persecutions in 132 C.E.[18] Ben-Zvi also suggests that early settlement in Yemen from Palestine was augmented by Jews from the Persian empire, the home of the great Jewish centers of Babylonia.[19] There is evidence of contacts between the Jewish community in Yemen and Palestine as early as Third Century C.E. when the Yemenites sent some of their more notable dead to be buried in Palestine.[20] The Yemenite origin of the coffins is confirmed by insc iptions in the cemetery of Beth Shearim. The earliest evidence of Jewish presence itself is a synagogue inscription dating from the fourth century C.E.[21] Further evidence of a powerful Jewish community in Yemen is found in records of Church historians who record militant Jewish resistance to Church activity in Yemen.[22] This resistance w..s especially strong on the part of the Arab-Jewish proselytes and reached its apex in the sixth century in the battles between the converted ruler Yusuf Dhu Nuas and the Christians of Najran.[23] There is much information on Judaized Arab tribes in Arabia before Islam[24] and these converts are bound to have increased Jewish power and influence in Arabia. Yet, scholars believe that many of these tribes were only partly Jewish, accepting Jewish belief and practice to various degrees.[25] S.D. Goitein, whose scholarship in geniza material has

brought to life the world of the Mediterranean and Middle East, suggests that there was not really a Jewish Kingdom in Himyar, as Yemen was formerly known, but rather Yemen was temporarily and only partly ruled by a Judaizing Arab religion. This religion was not really Judaism as it was still connected to a local temple and called after a pagan god.[26] After Dhu Nuas was defeated by the Christian Abyssinians backed by Byzantium in 522 C.E., Jewish influence was greatly reduced.[27] There is evidence of persecution and harrassment of the Jewish community at that time.[28] The coming of Islam heralded worse times for the once powerful and independent Jews of Arabia. The Jews of Yemen, who according to their tradition were in possession of a letter of protection from Mohammed,[29] were forced only to pay the poll tax and follow the rules of protected minorities under Islam. They fared much better than the Jews of Northern Arabia who were subject to brutal massacre, forced conversion and expulsion.[30] Some scholars suggest that after the advent of Islam, the Judaized Arab tribes abandoned what Jewish customs they had adopted and accepted Islam,[31] leaving the original Jews to bear the burden of living under a Moslem society as second class citizens. Though the advent of Islam stopped Jewish immigration to Yemen, the Jewish population remained substantial, for a large Jewish community was already living in Yemen at that time. Goitein suggests that one reason the Jews were not expelled from Yemen was because they were so spread out that it was too difficult to round them up.[32] The Christians, who were centered in Sanaa and Najran, were easily locatable and expelled from the country. Furthermore, the Christians were traders and far more expendable than craftsmen, the predominant occupation of the Jews. The Arabs would have been eager to take over the Christians' lucrative trade operations but would have found it much more

difficult to replace their country's skilled craftsmen.[33]

At the beginning of the seventh century, the Middle East was divided between two empires. The West, include Palestine, was under the rule of The Graeco-Roman empire of Byzantium. The East, including Babylonia, was ruled by Persia. Arabia, situated to the south of both powers, had important trade contracts with the two empires.[34] Besides being the sourse for valuable incense and spices, Arabia was the medium for much of the Indian trade.[35] (See Map, Plate I). Once the secret of navigating the monsoons in the Indian Ocean was discovered by Hippalus in 45 C.E., an active trade was maintained between the Graeco-Roman world and India up to the Sixth century C.E.[36] To avoid navigating the Red Sea, most ships were unloaded in Aden or on the Yemen coast.[37] Their merchandise was then carried by camel caravans through Yemen to Alia, the modern town of Aquba. From Alia the goods were distributed to various parts of the Mediterranean world.[38] Though the Persian empire had access both to overland routes and the Persian Gulf sea route to Indian, there is evidence of overland caravan routes branching off from Mecca to Babylonia.[39]

What can we infer of the Yemenites' early Biblical traditions from this historical information? By the seventh century, the two main centers of Jewish scholarship had developed two different religious - literary traditions. From the common Misha text grew distinct Babylonian and Palestinian Talmuds. We find evidence in the Babylonian Talmud that a slightly different recension of the Bible developed in each of the centers. Though the differences between these two recensions of the Bible were not great, already in the third century, the Talmud mentions differences between the Easterners or Babylonians and Westerners or Palestineans which effect the Bible's orthography, consonantal text and verse division.[40] Though there is

evidence of contact between Babylonia and Palestine,[41] we know that contact was limited by the conflict between Byzantium and Persia. However, Yemen had trade contacts with both Jewish centers.[42] Whether as traders themselves, or as artisians living along the main trade routes,[43] Yemenite Jews had the opportunity to be acquainted with both the Eastern and Western recensions of the Bible. Furthermore, Jews who settled in Yemen from both Palestine and Babylonia, as mentioned above, surely brought with them copies of the Bible. It is possible that this convergence of Eastern and Western traditions in Yemen could have produced a mixed text that exhibited both Babylonian and Palestinian readings. This possibility should be considered by scholars who search for "pure" Western or Eastern texts of the Bible. Aharon Dotan raises this issue in his article "Masorah" when he states, "It would stand to reason that texts vocalized in the Babylonian system should correspond to the Eastern versions of the Masorah....However, there are many manuscripts vocalized in the Babylonian system which contain many readings which correspond to the Western versions."[44] Many of the surviving texts representing Babylonian vocalization come from Yemen. An early convergence of traditions in Yemen might explain the later existence of mixed readings.

After the Moslem conquests, the Yemenites looked to Babylonia for spiritual guidance. Goitein suggests that since overland travel to Palestine through North Arabia was forbidden to non-Muslims, the Yemenites' connections with Babylonia were of necessity, strengthened.[45] Early in the history of the development of Masorah, the Yemenites came under the influence of Babylonian biblical traditions. Paul Kahle, who reconstructed the first Babylonian text of the Bible from the Yemenite manuscript or qu 680, notes that at an (unspecified) early date, Babylonian manuscripts were introduced to Yemen and accustomed the Yemenites to the supralinear method of punctuation that had developed in Babylonia.[46]

When was Babylonian supralinear punctuation introduced into Yemen? Dotan notes that Babylonian punctuation could not have been developed before the beginning of the sixth century.[47] This terminus a quo is established by the fact that the Babylonian Talmud, which was completed at the end of the fifth century, makes no mention of the vowel or accentuation signs.[48] Dotan determines the terminus ad quem by proving that the Tiberian Masorete, Asher the Elder, dealt with matters of punctuation in the eighth century. It is assumed that the simpler Babylonian system originated before the Tiberian system. Therefore, the latest possible time for the development of the Babylonian system would be the seventh century.

There are certain historical factors that would cause us to think Babylonian punctuation was introduced into Yemen as early as it was developed; that is, no later than the seventh century. Rav Yosef Kafih, the chief Yemenite Rabbi of Israel, whose scholarship Saul Lieberman praises highly,[49] suggests that Yemenite Jews had close ties with all centers of Jewish learning and were au courant in all fields of Jewish scholarship.[50] In that case, it is very possible that the Yemenites would have adopted Babylonian punctuation soon after its development. We know that by the tenth century, Yemenites, as well as many other communities were using Babylonian vocalization. Jacob al Kirkisani who wrote in the first half of the tenth century, reports that "Babylonian reading was used in a great part of the world from ar-Rakka on the Euphrates to the Chinese frontiers,[51] by most people living in Mesopotamia, Khurasan, Faris, Kirman, Isfahan, Yamama, Bahrain, al-Yemen and other countries."[52]

Goitein notes that the Imans, who ruled Yemen for a thousand years, emigrated to Yemen from Iraq in the tenth century. In all likelihood, there were Jews in their service because the Zaidi lawbooks contained much material

about "protected people".[52] In that case, these Jews surely would have brought their Bibles with them and have bolstered Babylonian traditions in Yemen. The influence of Babylonian traditions upon the Yemenites is well documented. Scholars, particularly Professor Shelomo Morag of the Hebrew University, have looked to Yemenite literary and religious sources to trace Babylonian language traditions. Professor Morag has proven that the Yemenite Jews' pronounciation of Hebrew is that of Babylonia.[54] Morag has also shown that the Yemenites preserve valuable traditions of Babylonian Aramaic.[55]

Babylonia also shaped the Yemenites' liturgy. Before Maimonides, Rav Sa'adya Gaon, the head of the Talmudic academy in Sura, Babylonia, was the most influential force upon the liturgy of the Yemenite Jews and the Yemenites accepted and followed his siddur.[56] Babylonian biblical traditions were so firmly entrenched in Yemen that manuscripts written as late as the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries still exhibit significant Babylonian Masorah variants and pronounciation.[57]

It is unclear if the Yemenites accepted Babylonian accentuation together with Babylonian punctuation. Rav Kafih comments that originally the Yemenites employed no accentuation signs, however, he does not refer to any specific manuscripts of this type.[58] An example of such a manuscript is a manuscript of the Book of Daniel in Rav Kafih's own collection published in facsimile by Shelomo Morag.[59] The manuscript consists of old and new sections. Morag dates the old part from approximately the fourteenth century, C.E. He says the manuscript exhibits many variants in the consonantal text as well as the vocalization and though probably written in Yemen, reflects the work of a Babylonian school of Masoretes.[60] The manuscript is vocalized with Babylonian supralinear vocalization and has no accent marks. Morag

says that the new part of the manuscript was written in Sanaa approximately seventy years ago. These portions have Tiberian vocalization and accentuation. Though Morag says that these new portions have no special interest, in a cursory examination of the manuscript's Tiberian accentuation, I found divergences from the Tiberian accentuation in B19a.[61]

Diez Macho, the Spanish biblical scholar who has done much important work on The Jewish Theological Seminary's collection of Babylonian manuscripts, states that Yemenite (Babylonian) manuscripts rarely exhibit accentuation.[62] Diez Macho describes another manuscript of this type, Eb 76, which is also in the possession of Rav Kafih.[62] This manuscript of 194 pages was written in Yemen in 1433 and preserves large portions of the early prophets in Hebrew with Aramaic Targum. According to Diez Macho's description, the manuscript is vocalized with Babylonian supralinear vocalization, frequently reflects Babylonian traditions and has neither Masorah nor accents. Diez Macho suggests that the Yemenites probably did not understand the Babylonian system of accentuation, especially after the introduction of the Tiberian Masorah into Yemen.[64]

Though the Yemenite treatment of the conjunctive accents might reflect the influence of Babylonian accentuation upon the Yemenite biblical recitative,[65] it is unclear to me if in practice, the Yemenites ever adopted the Babylonian system of accentuation. Even if we can prove the Yemenite origin of a manuscript exhibiting Babylonian accentuation, this does not prove that the Yemenites followed the system of accentuation developed in Babylonia rather than maintaining their own oral traditions of biblical recitative. A Yemenite scribe could have copied a Babylonian manuscript, faithfully transcribing its vocalization and accentuation, without being practically concerned with the accentuation system. We know this was the case in Yemen centuries later

when the Yemenites adopted the Tiberian accentuation as a matter of booklearning without really ever paying attention to the system as it was understood by its Tiberian creators. (See Chapter II for a full discussion of this issue.)

A further problem in determining if the Yemenites used Babylonian accentuation is the difficulty in dating,[66] identifying and classifying[67] Yemenite manuscripts. Many manuscripts have been erased and "corrected" to represent later traditions. This is the case with MS or qu 680 mentioned above. This Yemenite manuscript exhibits quite extensive use of Babylonian accentuation[68] together with what Kahle describes as a simple form of Tiberian punctuation using Babylonian vowel signs.[69] That is to say, though the scribe used the graphemes of the Babylonian supralinear system, he used them in such a way to reflect the Tiberian Masorah that had already influenced Yemenite traditions. A cursory classification of this manuscript based on the supralinear vocalization might have placed it in a period before the influence of the Tiberian Masorah in Yemen. In fact, Kahle discerned that the manuscript was much older, for under the Tiberianized Babylonian punctuation he found traces of an older vocalization that reflected the original Babylonian Masorah.[70] Adding more complexity to this puzzle, the scholar interested in the manuscript's accentuation must carefully examine the ink and the scribe's hand to try to determine at which point in this process of "correction" and revision the accentuation was added to the manuscript.[71] I bring this example only to show the complexity of the field and suggest that the whole area of early Yemenite accentuation demands further study.

It is problematic when to date the beginning of Tiberian influence in Yemen. Though both Shelomo Morag and Rav Kafih[72] date the introduction of Tiberian Masorah to the second half of the twelfth century, Morag questions if the date might actually be earlier.[73] We know that the system of the Tiberian

Masoretes was fully developed by the end of the ninth century, at the latest. In the Cairo Codex of the Prophets, we see the fully developed Tiberian system. This is the earliest manuscript expressly attributed to the Ben Asher Tradition.[74] Its colophon[75] says it was written in Tiberias in the year 895 by Moshe Ben Asher, the father of Aaron Ben Asher. Morag notes that by the end of the ninth century, even in Babylonia, the Babylonian traditions were giving way to the Tiberian system.[76] Similarly, Paul Kahle infers from The Cairo Codex of the Prophets in St. Petersburg that by "about A.D. 900 the influence of the Tiberian Masoretes was so overwhelming that the Babylonian Biblical manuscripts had to be adapted to them.[77] This seems early to me as a date for Tiberian influence, especially in that Morag himself notes that Sa'adya Gaon, the head of the Babylonian Academy in Sura in the tenth century, did not view the Tiberian Masorah as the only valid Masorah.[78] In any case, even if Tiberian traditions were affecting Babylonian traditions in Babylonia at this time, this is no proof of their effect upon Yemenite-Babylonian traditions. The situation in Yemen seemed to be considerably more elastic. We see from manuscript Eb 76 mentioned above, that as late as the fifteenth century, manuscripts were written in Yemen with Babylonian punctuation that reflected Babylonian Masorah. We should note, however, that during this time the India trade united merchant Jews from Moslem countries. Goitein says that the Jews served as intermediaries between the Orient, Europe, and Palestine and that the merchants would all assemble in Aden, the main port of exchange.[79] There is reason to believe that through these trade contacts, Tiberian manuscripts were introduced into Yemen as early as the ninth and tenth centuries. However, we do not know if these manuscripts began to affect the Babylonian-Yemenite Masorah at such an early date.

We do know that by the eleventh century the prestige of the Tiberian

schools was great, while the influence of the Babylonian schools was on the decline.[80] Lazar Lipschütz quotes an unidentified Karaite author, probably of the eleventh century, who states that Jews everywhere adopted the Bible codices of Ben Asher and Ben Naftali and that Masoretic scholars went from Tiberias to Babylon and other countries where they produced many copies of the Bible which they circulated among the people.[81] Though this statement supports the growing influence of the Tiberian system, it seems that Lipschütz has difficulty dating this author and we should therefore not take this statement as an indication of the dominance of the Tiberian Masorah in Yemen by the eleventh century.

The problem of fixing a date for this influence is complicated by the difficulty of dating "corrected" Babylonian-Yemenite manuscripts. Even if the manuscript's date is listed in a colophon, this, of course, will tell us nothing about when the manuscript was actually "corrected" or "adjusted" to the Tiberian system. We need a careful study of all manuscripts whose dates can be determined to give a clearer picture of the earliest beginning of the Tiberian Masorah in Yemen.

Fortunately, there is much material, especially in the Jewish Theological Seminary collection, to be examined. In "A Reel Guide to Biblical Manuscripts 1-76 from the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America," Moshe Goshen-Gottstein writes, "The J.T.S. collection is probably one of the two leading collections in the world in the field of Yemenite manuscripts."[82] He notes that, "all types (of manuscripts) are amply represented in the collection," and mentions manuscripts exhibiting Tiberian, Yemenite-Tiberian, Yemenite supralinear and Babylonian traditions. This material is all available on microfilm. Further study of these manuscripts is needed and would add greatly to an understanding of the transition to the Tiberian Masorah in Yemen.

Rav Kafih dates the time of the transition to the Tiberian Masorah precisely after the year 1184 C.E.[83] Unfortunately, he gives no information about the manuscripts by which he establishes this date. These manuscripts would be most valuable for the study of Babylonian and Yemenite Masorah. He says, "According to many tens of manuscripts that have passed through my hands, it is possible to fix almost exactly that every Bible written in the centers of Yemen before the year 1184 C.E. was still written according to the Yemenite tradition and after this year they already had begun to change, writing according to the traditions of Ben Asher."[84] Rav Kafih credits this change to the influence of Maimonides in his Mishna Torah, "Hilkhot Sefer Torah"8:4, where Maimonides expresses his reliance upon a Ben Asher manuscript for marking the open and closed sections of the Bible.[85] The importance of Maimonides' relationship with Yemenite Jewry is well known.[86] Maimonides was elected as head of the Egyptian Jews in 1171. At this time Yemenite Jewry was beset with internal problems. Fanatic Moslems in the Provinces were forcing Jews to convert to Islam and this trouble fostered Messianic expectation within the Jewish community. The leader of the Yemenite Jews, Jacob ben Fayyumi wrote to Maimonides for spiritual guidance and direction. Maimonides responded in his now well known Iggeret Teman,[87] Letter to the Yemenites, in which he attacked Islam and Christianity and proclaimed Judaism the one true religion. Maimonides was acknowledged as a leading authority by Yemenite Jewry and the Yemenites included a reference to him in their Kaddish prayer, an honor usually reserved for their Exilarchs. Goitein reports that as soon as Maimonides finished his fourteen volume Mishna Torah, three copies were ordered by various Yemenite communities.[88] Professor Morag states that although Maimonides' statement in regard to the

Ben Asher manuscript which he mentions in his Mishna Torah is written specifically in reference to the open and closed sections of the Bible, the Yemenites accepted his support for Ben Asher as binding in relation to the acceptance of the Tiberian Masorah in general.[89] Rav Kafih also specifically credits this change from the Babylonian to the Tiberian Masorah to Maimonides' influence.[90]

I would like to examine the assumption that Maimonides' influence brought about the change in biblical traditions in Yemen. Could the influence of this one man, even a scholar and leader as great as Maimonides, provide the impetus for an entire community to change the manner in which it wrote the Holy Scriptures?

Z. Madmoni provides information about the influence of Maimonides on the prayer rite of the Yemenite Jews which tends to support the accepted view that the Yemenites' biblical traditions changed under Maimonides' influence.[91] Madmoni states that before Maimonides, Rav Sa'adya Gaon was the most influential figure in the Yemenite prayer rite. The Yemenites accepted Sa'adya's siddur as the basis for their liturgy. Madmoni shows that after the Mishna Torah arrived in Yemen, the Jews began to change their traditions and accept Maimonides' prayer rite. While Maimonides' text never completely eliminated the older, local prayer ritual, it did have a significant effect upon the Yemenites' traditions. Today, scholars use the tiklāl, the Yemenite prayerbook, to determine the precise text of Maimonides' prayer rite. I believe this is strong support for the traditional view that Maimonides influenced the transition from the Babylonian to the Tiberian Masorah in Yemen.[92]

Maimonides' statement could have provided a significant push for the

acceptance of the Tiberian system, just as it provided a push for the dominance of the school of Ben Asher over Ben Naftali,[93] but there must have been other historical conditions that made the Yemenites ready and receptive for such a change. In the first place, Maimonides' statement could not have come as a surprise to the Yemenite Jews. As shown above, they were in contact with all centers of Jewish learning and they certainly knew that different biblical traditions existed. They would have expected Maimonides, a native of Spain and a Jewish leader in Egypt, to follow the traditions of the West. I think we should consider Maimonides' statement against the social, political and economic background of the High Middle Ages. As mentioned above, a central consideration in this transition is that by the eleventh century, the Babylonian academies were declining while the prestige and activity of the Tiberian schools was increasing. In addition to this, there were important economic conditions that turned Yemen's eyes towards the West.

Professor Goitein notes that by the end of the eleventh century the focus of Yemenite trade shifted toward the West and important business contacts were developed between the Mediterranean and Yemen.[94] Yemen's importance in the Indian trade was limited when Iraq and Iran were the main economic centers of the Islamic world. However, Professor Goitein notes, that when these centers declined and the Mediterranean centers of Spain, North Africa and Egypt increased in importance, the Red Sea once again became a major trade route, and the port of Aden a center for international commerce.[95] We know from Geniza letters that there was contact between Aden and the interior of Yemen.[96] Goitein says that not only goods, but also spouses and books, were exchanged between Aden and the Mediterranean.[97] I believe this contact could have been an important factor in introducing

the Yemenites to Tiberian traditions and paving the way for their adoption in Yemen.

Much of this speculation that trade affected the Yemenites' biblical traditions is based on the assumption that, among the merchants, were learned men who would have been concerned with current biblical scholarship, maintained contact with scholars in foreign ports, and possibly bought and carried back Bibles with them to and from Yemen. Professor S.D. Goitein, in his book, A Mediterranean Society,[98] presents evidence from Geniza letters and documents from the 10th to 13th centuries that supports these assumptions. Goitein states that "During the Geniza period, (in Yemen)... learning was mainly the domain of the mercantile middle class."[99] There was no professional scholar class in Yemen since the Yemenites viewed with distaste Rabbis who earned their living from their studies.[100] Goitein reports that the Geniza letters mention merchants who were also scholars[101] and among the Yemenite merchants living in Cairo, were men of learning.[102] In establishing the influence of Tiberian traditions on the Yemenites from these trade contacts, it is important to note that we have evidence of scholars from Palestine who were employed throughout Egypt as teachers and cantors.[103] This is just one concrete example of the contact between Yemenites and Tiberian traditions. Certainly, in the highly mobile world of Mediterranean commerce at that time, there were many more such examples. Goitein also supplies evidence of a lively book trade in the Mediterranean during the High Middle Ages.[104] For example, we see a merchant in the 11th Century active in the trade between Arabia and the Mediterranean who sold Bible Codices and Talmuds, together with a wide range of other merchandise.[105] The Yemenites provided a receptive and eager market for books on Jewish law as well as philosophy and poetry.[106]

Yemenite trade contacts with the Mediterranean also developed political ties between the Yemenites and the Palestinian gaonate. The Yemenites had always maintained a strong connection to the Babylonian academies but as the India trade increased and closer bonds were formed with the Mediterranean, they extended their political allegience to include the Jerusalem gaonate. Geniza documents report an interesting political struggle in Yemen concerning this dual loyalty.[102] In 1127 the head of the Jerusalem Yeshiva, Gaon Maliah moved to Cairo and gained the allegience of the large Yemenite merchant community living there. Furthermore, at this time the Fatmid calif recognized Gaon Masliah as the greatest Jewish authority in his empire. Considering these developments, the head of the Yemenite merchants in Aden decreed that all Yemenite communities should mention the name of the Palestinean Gaonate in their Public Prayers, after the name of the Head of the Diaspora, whose seat was in Baghdad. Goitein reports that in 1134, a representative of the Head of the Diaspora arrived in Aden, was recognized as the highest religious authority in the country and abolished the prayer for the Palestinean Gaon. This so infuriated the influential Cairo based Yemenite merchants that they threatened to take the matter before the civil authorities. The issue was only settled after Aden's merchants sent presents and contributions to the Palestinean Gaon in Cairo and the academies in Palestine. So in the early 1130s, we see there was a wealthy, influential element of the Yemenite population that was very loyal to the Palestinian Gaon and supportive of the religious institutions in Palestine. I would argue that these important business, social, religious and political contacts with the West made the Yemenites receptive to accepting Tiberian traditions. Though Maimonides could very well have been an important impetus, historically the ground was prepared for the introduction

of the Tiberian Masorah before his Mishna Torah arrived in Yemen in the early 1180s.

We see the influence of Tiberian traditions upon Yemenite manuscripts in two ways: the "correction" of Yemenite-Babylonian manuscripts and the gradual acceptance of Tiberian punctuation and accentuation. Under the influence of the Tiberian Masorah, Yemenite scribes began to "correct" their Yemenite-Babylonian manuscripts, retaining the supralinear punctuation, but changing it to reflect Tiberian Masorah and punctuation. The Berlin manuscript or qu 680 mentioned above (p. 31) is an example of such a "corrected" Yemenite-Babylonian manuscript. By carefully examining the traces of an older system of supralinear vocalization discernable in the manuscript and comparing it to Sa'adya's comments on Babylonian pronounciation in his Commentary on Sepher Yesira, Kahle proved that this Yemenite manuscript was an example of real Babylonian Masorah.[108]

Rav Kafih says that the switch from Babylonian supralinear punctuation to Tiberian punctuation did not occur quickly or easily.[109] Tiberian traditions first took hold in the large cities. Though Rav Kafih does not identify or describe the manuscripts to which he is referring, he says that Bibles written in Sanaa and its surroundings more than 700 years ago exhibit Tiberian accentuation and punctuation. The Tiberian system was accepted in the large cities hundreds of years before it was accepted in the smaller villages and outlying areas. Up to 500 years ago, the people in the outlying areas preserved the original, traditional Yemenite texts not marked with any accent signs.[110] Furthermore, Rav Kafih states that Tiberian punctuation and accentuation were not accepted in the entire Bible at once. They were first accepted in the Torah, then gradually spread to the Prophets and Writings.[111] The acceptance of the accents was also a gradual process.

The etnaḥta was accepted first, followed by the zaqef and finally the rest of the accentuation signs.[112] Rav Kafih notes that even after the Tiberian accentuation was accepted and the Maḥberet Ha-Tijan; the masoretic compendium that explained the function of the Tiberian accents, was distributed widely throughout Yemen, the Yemenites did not change their ancient oral traditions. As was discussed in Chapter II, p. 14, they accepted the written signs, but rendered them according to their traditional reading without considering the function of the accents as intended by the Tiberian Masoretes.[113]

Both Rav Kafih and Shelomo Morag represent the transition from the Babylonian to the Tiberian Masorah as being slow and gradual. Though Rav Kafih says that by the fifteenth century, the switch was for the most part complete,[114] there is evidence that in isolated areas the transition took longer. Y. Ratzhabi describes the manuscript Bodleian 2333 of four of the five Megilloth (Ruth being omitted) that seems to catch this transition in the middle.[115] Ratzhabi conjecturally assigns this manuscript to the fifteenth or sixteenth century. Two scrolls, the Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes, are vocalized with Babylonian punctuation without accents or Massoretic notes, while Lamentations and Esther have Tiberian pointing with accents and marginal Massoretic notes. Ratzhabi says the manuscript is the work of one scribe and gives evidence to support that the scribe probably did the copying under isolated or difficult conditions. He lists many examples of Babylonian Masorah found in the scrolls with supralinear vocalization and gives examples of obviously corrected Babylonian Masorah to conform with Tiberian traditions. This manuscript seems to be like time-stop photography, catching the transition from one tradition to the other at a time when both traditions were familiar and in use.

We can assume that Tiberian traditions were strengthened as more

Tiberian manuscripts arrived in Yemen. Goitein states that traffic in books to Yemen increased in the thirteenth century[116] and we have evidence that Tiberian manuscripts were brought to Yemen from Egypt in the fourteenth century, as some Egyptian Jews immigrated to Yemen.[117] The Tiberian tradition was further reinforced by the Maḥberet ha-Tijan referred to above. This was a Masoretic compendium from a Yemenite Pentateuch dated 1391. This work includes Mishael ben Uzziel's lists of differences between Ben Asher and Ben Naphtali. It also explains Tiberian accentuation and the complexities of Tiberian vocalization.

In the eighteenth century, printed Sephardic prayerbooks and Bibles arrived in Yemen,[119] in all probability further strengthening the hold of the Tiberian traditions that were by that time well established. Furthermore, in the second half of the eighteenth century, Yahya ben Joseph Salih wrote his Ḥeleq ha-Diqduq,[120] in which he comments upon matters of vocalization, accentuation and Masorah in general. In giving decisions on disputed matters of accentuation and vocalization, Salih follows the Western readings and the tradition of Ben Asher[121] and his book is considered authoritative in Yemen in matters of Masorah.[122] We see, at least officially in Yemen, the transition to the Tiberian Masorah was complete by the eighteenth century.

There is a tendency to speak of Yemenite manuscripts as one homogeneous group, although there are at least five major different localities in Yemen, (Se Map, Plate II), each exhibiting distinct traditions of speech, music, dance and dress.[123] It is very possible that these areas could also reflect distinct biblical traditions. I have only made reference to this issue in Rav Kafih's distinction between Sanaa, the capital and outlying areas in Yemen. A comparison of manuscripts from different areas of Yemen would be most interesting.

Though I have tried to impose a general time frame upon the different

periods of biblical traditions in Yemen, in actuality these time periods should be considered as fairly elastic. This is important in considering relatively recent manuscripts that exhibit Babylonian traditions like Bodleian 2333 described by Ratzhabi and mentioned above (p.40). Though the 16th century date might seem late for the appearance of Babylonian traditions, there were certain factors that could have aided in the preservation of older traditions in Yemen. Though I have stressed that the Yemenites did have extensive contacts with other Jewish centers and traditions, there were still certain isolated locations in Yemen that preserved older traditions even after the large cities adopted Tiberian traditions.[124] In that the Yemenites maintained a working understanding of Babylonian supralinear punctuation up to modern times,[125] possibly there was less of a tendency to level these traditions by recopying or correcting older manuscripts. Perhaps because these manuscripts were understandable in some locations, they were kept in use and the pressure to correct these older traditions was not as strong.

The generally accepted view is that Tiberian traditions were firmly established in Yemen by modern times. However, there is one area where I question if the Tiberian system ever completely took hold. This is the area of Tiberian accentuation in The Writings. I conducted a cursory study of the accentuation of the Song of Songs in four Yemenite-Tiberian manuscripts [126] in the microfilm collection of the Hebrew University Library. Each one of these manuscripts exhibited many divergences from the accentuation of the Song of Songs in B19a. One of the manuscripts, MS 31939 #22 of Rav Kafih's collection was written by learned Rabbis in Sanaa[127] and yet exhibited some fundamental differences in accentuation that never would have been acceptable to the Tiberian Masoretes.[128] Though all of these manuscripts differ somewhat from the accentuation in B19a, none differs to such a great extent as MS 6 of the Weisberg collection. The accentuation of this manuscript is examined in detail in the following chapter.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III

1 For a typical statement of the Yemenites' supposed isolation see Salo Wittmayer Baron, A Social and Religious History of the Jews, vol. 1. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1937), p. 310. "The (Yemenite) Jews themselves, although apparently familiar with Scripture and the Midrashic literature, had little contact with the centers of Jewish life in Babylonia and Palestine."

2 See especially S.D. Goitein, A Mediterranean Society, The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of The Cairo Geniza, vol. 1: Economic Foundations (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1967).

3 See Y. Kafih, "The Ties of Yemenite Jews with the Jewish Centers," in The Jews of Yemen, Studies and Research, eds. Yosef Tubi and Yisrael Yesha'yahu (Jerusalem, Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 1975), pp. 29-46.

4 We have early evidence from the excavations at Hazor that religious and scientific material, in this case clay liver models used for divination, was transported from Mari, (Babylonia) to Palestine. See B. Landsberger and H. Tadmor, "Fragments of Clay Liver Models from Hazor," Israel Exploration Journal 14, No. 4 (1964), pp. 201-218.

5 James A Montgomery gives information about the name Yemen in Arabia and the Bible, prolegomenon by Gus W. Van Beek (New York, Ktav, 1969), p. 114, n.1. "[Yemen] i.e., 'The right hand,' that is South, even as Syria and its metropolis Damascus are indifferently called Esh-Sham, the 'left hand,' i.e., North. Dougherty, Sealand of Ancient Arabia, pp. 115 f., finds the land Yemen referred to by name in an inscription of Nebuchadnezzar's and he would identify the Javan (rightly Yawan) of Eze. 27:19 with Yemen, while the same word in v. 13 would mean Ionia. The Greeks translated the word in its other nuance of eudaimon, Latin felix (hence Milton's 'Araby the Blest'),..."

6 Ibid., p. 114.

7 Ibid., p. 117. Montgomery cites from Harris' A Journey Through Yemen (1893), "The track...looked straight down into a great valley thousands of feet below. What a wonderful valley it was, full of coffee-groves, and luxuriating in all the glories of gorgeous vegetation, amongst which banana leaves could be plainly distinquished..."

8 Incense was used not only in the rituals of various religions but also in funeral ceremonies and embalming the dead. See the section "Egyptian Use of Incense," in De Lacy O'leary, Arabia Before Muhammad. (New York, AMS Press, 1973), pp. 38-9.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III

9 Montgomery, Arabia, loc. cit., (above, n. 5), p. 115.

10 Ibid., p. 137.

11 Gus W. Van Beek, Prolegomenon to Montgomery, Arabia, loc. cit., (above, n. 5), p. xviii; John Bagot Glubb, The Great Arab Conquests (New Jersey, Prentice-Hall, 1963), p. 22.

12 Devora and Menahem Hacohen, One People, The Story of the Eastern Jews (New York, Funk and Wagnalls, 1969), p. 126.

13 H.Z. Hirschberg, "The Jewish Kingdom of Ḥimyar (Yemen)," in "The Jews of Yemen, Studies and Research, eds. Yosef Tubi and Yisrael Yesha'yahu (Jerusalem, Yad Itzhak Ben-Zvi, 1975), p. 19.

14 S. D. Goitein, From the Land of Sheba, Tales of The Jews of Yemen, (New York, Schocken Books, 1973), p. 109.

15 Itzhak Ben-Zvi, The Exiled and the Redeemed, (Jerusalem, Yad Itzhak Ben-Zvi Publications, 1976), p. 23.

16 Ibid.

17 O'leary, Arabia, loc. cit., (above, n. 8), p. 75.

18 Ibid. p. 174.

19 Ben-Zvi, The Exiled, loc. cit., (above, n. 15), p. 24; Goitein, From the Land of Sheba, loc. cit., (above, n. 14), p. 5.

20 Ben-Zvi, The Exiled, loc. cit., (above, n. 15), p. 24.

21 Goitein, From the Land of Sheba, loc. cit., (above, n. 14), p. 2. For information on early Arabian, Nabataen, Palmyrene and Hebrew inscriptions in Arabia see F.V. Winnett and W.L. Reed, Ancient Records from North Arabia (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1970).

22 Ben-Zvi, The Exiled, loc. cit., (above, n. 15.), p. 24.

23 Hirschberg, "Jewish Kingdom," The Jews of Yemen, loc. cit., (above, n. 13), p. 21; Glubb, Arab Conquests, loc. cit., (above, n. 11), p. 24; O'leary, Arabia, loc. cit., (above, n. 8), p. 176.

24 Ben-Zvi, The Exiled, loc. cit., (above, n. 15), see chapters "The Jews of Khaibar," pp. 167-77. and "Jewish Tribes in the Arabian Desert," pp. 198-205.

25 O'leary, Arabia, loc. cit., (above, n. 8), p. 172.; Ben-Zvi, The Exiled, loc. cit., (above, n. 15), p. 170.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III

26 Goitein, From the Land of Sheba, loc. cit., (above, n. 14), p. 3.

27 Glubb, Arab Conquests, loc. cit., (above, n. 11), p. 24.

28 Ben-Zvi, The Exiled, loc. cit., (above, n. 15), p. 24.

29 This letter is quoted in Goitein, From the Land of Sheba, loc. cit., (above, n. 14), p. 115.

30 Ben-Zvi, The Exiled, loc. cit., (above, n. 15), p. 26.

31 Ibid. p. 207.

32 Goitein, From the Land of Sheba, loc. cit., (above, n. 14), p. 3.

33 Ibid.

34 Glubb, Arab Conquests, loc. cit., (above, n. 11), p. 19.

35 O'leary, Arabia, loc. cit., (above, n. 8), p. 59.

36 Ibid. p. 79. O'leary does not blame the decay in trade in the sixth century to the advent of Islam. Rather he says Byzantine navigation of the Red Sea decayed to the point where Arab Mariners took over the Indian trade.

37 Glubb, Arab Conquests, loc. cit., (above, n. 11), p. 22.

38 See O'leary's section, "Land Routes Through Arabia," in Arabia, loc. cit., (above, n. 8), pp. 103-6.

39 Ibid. p. 105.

40 In the Babylonian Talmud, Kid. 30a, there is a discussion of what word is in the middle of the Pentateuch. This issue not only concerns plene and defective writing, but also the division of verses. The Babylonians say that the Palestineans are experts in matters of defective and plene writing while they [The Babylonians] are not experts in this issue.

41 There is evidence in the Talmud itself of scholars travelling between the academies of the East and the West. In Kid. 30a., the Talmud relates Rav Aḥa bar Ada's journey from Palestine to Babylonia.

42 Glubb, Arab Conquests, loc. cit., (above, n. 11), p. 19.

43 O'leary, Arabia, loc. cit., (above, n. 8), p. 173. "[The Jews] established colonies at Taimą Fadak, Khaibar, in the Wadi l-Qora' and one, the

NOTES TO CHAPTER III

43 (continued); most important, at Yathrib...on or near the trade route through the Hijâz..." See map, plate I.

44 Aharon Dotan, "Masorah," Encyclopedia Judaica, vol. xvi. (1972), p. 1442.

45 Goitein, From the Land of Sheba, loc. cit., (above, n. 14), p. 4.

46 Paul E. Kahle, The Cairo Geniza, 2nd ed., (Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1959), p. 64.

47 Dotan, "Masorah,"Encylopedia Judaica, loc. cit., (above, n.44), p. 1416.

48 Though the graphemes themself are not mentioned in the Talmud, there are references to accentuation in the Talmud. For a full discussion of this matter see Weisberg, "Rare Accents," Jewish Quarterly Review, loc. cit., (Notes to chapter 1, n. 4). In addition several important H.U.C. rabbinic theses deal with the subject of biblical accentuation. See Eric A. Silver, "The Biblical Text in the Tradition of the Yemenite Jews," (Rabbinic Thesis, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, 1974); Fred Reiner, "Masoretes, Rabbis and Karaites: A Comparison of Biblical Interpretations," (Rabbinic Thesis, Hebrew Union College, 1974); Stephen Moch, "The Ben Aŝer and Ben Naftali Traditions as seen in the H.U.C. MS 958 and other Biblical Manucripts," (Rabbinic Thesis, Hebrew Union College, 1978).

49 Lieberman praises R. Yosef Kafiḥ's book Halikhot Teman (Jerusalem, Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 1961) as well as his work in translations and manuscripts in "Tradition Amongst Yemenite Jews," The Jews of Yemen, Studies and Research, eds. Yosef Tubi and Yisrael Yesha'yahu (Jerusalem, Yad Itzhak Ben-Zvi, 1975), p. 355.

50 Kafiḥ, "Ties of Yemenite Jews," The Jews of Yemen, loc. cit., (above, n. 3).

51 The Hebrew Union College is fortunate to have in its possession a Torah scroll of The Jews of Kai Feng Fu, China. For an examination of this important manuscript see Moch, "Ben Asher and Ben Naftali," loc. cit., (above, n. 48).

52 Kahle, Cairo Geniza, loc. cit., (above, n. 46), p. 151.

53 Goitein, The land of Sheba, loc. cit., (above, n. 14), p. 5.

54 Shelomo Morag, The Hebrew Language Tradition of the Yemenite Jews (Jerusalem, The Academy of The Hebrew Language, 1963). For a review of this important work see A. Garbel, Kirjath Sepher 40 (April 1965). Garbel describes Morag's book as "The product of the most basic and exacting work."

NOTES TO CHAPTER III

55 Shelomo Morag, "The Language Traditions of the Yemenite Jewish Community," in The Jews of Yemen, Studies and Research, eds. Yosef Tubi and Yisrael Yesha'yahu (Jerusalem, Yad Itzhak Ben-Zvi, 1975), pp. 349-355.

56 Z. Madmoni, "Maimonides and the Prayer Rite of the Jews of Yemen," in The Jews of Yemen, Studies and Research, eds. Yosef Tubi and Yisrael Yesha'yahu (Jerusalem, Yad Itzhak Ben-Zvi, 1975), pp. 373-394.

57 Y. Ratzhabi , "Massoretic Variants to the Five Scrolls from a Babylonian Yemenite MS." Textus 5 (Jerusalem, 1966), p. 93.

58 Y. Kafiḥ, "Punctuation, Accentuation and Masorah in Yemen," Sinai 29 (Aug.-Sept. 1951), p. 263.

59 Shelomo Morag, The Book of Daniel, A Babylonian-Yemenite Manuscript (Jerusalem, Kiryat Sepher, 1973).

60 Ibid. English summary, p. xv.

61 I list here just two examples:

	MS	BI9a
Daniel 1:4	ומכינין מדעי	ומכינין מדעי
2:37	חסנא	חסנא

62 Alejandro Diez Macho, Manuscriptos hebreos y arameous de la Biblia, Contribución al estudio de las diversas tradiciones del texto del Antiguo Testamento (Roma, Institutum Partristicum Augustinianum, 1971), p. 55.

63 Ibid.

64 Ibid.

65 See Chapter II p. 14 . Of course it is possible that this aspect of Yemenite accentuation was not influenced by the Babylonian System and both systems reflect an older, simpler manner of reciting the Bible.

66 While working on the same manuscript, W.6., that led me to the study of Yemenite accentuation, Eric Silver discovered a forged colophon at the conclusion of the haftarah section. Silver writes, "(The scribe) also dates his colophon in the year 1655 of the Seleucid era or 1344 [A.D., other colophons in the same manuscript date it to 1885-1886 A.D.] and it is apparent that this is the work of a soul more enterprising than pious who knew full well the Westerner's craze for manuscripts." "The Biblical Text," loc. cit., (above, n. 48), p. 36.

67 Kahle, Cairo Geniza, loc. cit., (above, n. 46), p. 60. Kahle notes that in the Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, vol. II by A. Neubauer and A.E. Cowley (Oxford, 1906), Cowley describes as Yemenite all manuscripts with supralinear vocalization.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III

68 Kahle has published sections of this manuscript in Der Masoretische Text des Alten Testaments, Nach der Überlieferung der babylonischen Juden (Hildesheim George Olms, 1966).

69 Kahle, Cairo Geniza, loc. cit., (above,n. 46), p. 64.

70 Ibid. p. 57.

71 Dotan, "Masorah," Encyclopedia Judaica, loc. cit., (above, n. 44), p. 1468. Dotan writes, "One who wishes to trace the methods of vocalization of mixed manuscripts...will find that he must-even against his will-learn to know the different scripts, the different colors of ink, and other factors in order to be able to distinquish between the notations of each one of the vocalizers. The vocalization of these manuscripts cannot be considered uniform: The notation of each vocalizer must be investigated by itself."

72 Kafiḥ, "Punctuation," Sinai, loc. cit., (above, n. 58), p. 264.

73 Morag, The Hebrew Language Tradition of the Yemenite Jews, loc. cit., (above, n. 58), intro. p. 19.

74 L. Lipschütz, "Kitab al-Khilaf, The Book of Ḥillufim," Textus 4 (Jerusalem, 1964), p. 5.

75 For a full discussion of colophons, see H.M.I. Gevaryahu, Biblical Colophons: A Source for the "Biography" of Authors, Texts and Books, Jerusalem Congress Volume, (Edinburgh, 1974), pp. 42-59.

76 Morag, The Hebrew Language Tradition of the Yemenite Jews, loc. cit., (above, n. 58), intro. p. 20, n. 6.

77 Kahle, Cairo Geniza, loc. cit., (above n. 46), p. 65.

78 Morag, The Hebrew Language Tradition of the Yemenite Jews, loc. cit., (above, n. 58), p. 22. n. 4.

79 Goitein, The Land of Sheba, loc. cit., (above,n.,14), p. 6.

80 H. Graetz, History of the Jews, vol. 3 (Philadelphia, The Jewish Publication Society of American, 1894). p. 231.

81 Lipschütz, "Kitab al-Khilaf," Textus, loc. cit., (above, n. 74), p. 3.

82 "A Reel Guide to Biblical Manuscripts, reels 1-76 from the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America," introduction by Moshe Goshen Gottstein (University Microfilms, n.d.).

NOTES TO CHAPTER III

83 Kafiḥ, "Punctuation," Sinai, loc. cit., (above, n. 58), p. 264.

84 Ibid.

85 Scholars have tried to determine if this "well known book that was in Egypt" is The Aleppo Codex. According to the tradition of the Jews of Aleppo, their codex was the book mentioned by Maimonides. U. Cassuto compared the poem תאזינו in both Maimonides and The Aleppo Codex and decided that The Aleppo Codex was not the book Maimonides used. cf. Mordechai Breuer, The Aleppo Codex and The Accepted Text of The Bible (Jerusalem, Mosad Ha Rav Kook, 1976); Israel Yeivin, The Aleppo Codex of the Bible, A Study of its Vocalization and Accentuation (Jerusalem, Magnes Press, 1969).

The question of why Maimonides chose the open and closed sections as a criterion for a reliable scroll is of great interest. I would suggest several reasons: this issue is of major halakhic importance (it renders a scroll fit or unfit for public use), runs through the entire Torah (unlike the setup of the poems) and yet is manageable enough to be listed in a book. Maimonides could not have used a standard as complex as vocalization or accentuation. Not only would there have been too much material to list but also this material would be subject to too many copyists errors over the years.

86 For information of Maimonides' connection with the Yemenite Jews see Y. Kafiḥ's chapter, "The Ramban and Yemenite Jews" in "Ties of Yemenite Jews," The Jews of Yemen, loc. cit., (above, n. 3), pp. 37-41.

87 Goitein, From The Land of Sheba, loc. cit., (above, n. 4), p. 15.

88 Ibid. p. 16.

89 Morag, The Hebrew Language Tradition of the Yemenite Jews, loc. cit., (above, n. 58), intro. p. 20.

90 Kafiḥ, "Punctuation," Sinai, loc. cit., (above, n. 58), p. 264.

91 Madmoni, "Maimonides," The Jews of Yemen, loc. cit., (above, n. 56).

92 Rav Kafiḥ presents an opposing view to Madmoni and says that the Yemenites believe that Maimonides received the prayer rite in the Mishna Torah from the Jews of Yemen. Kafiḥ states that one reason the Mishna Torah was so popular with the Yemenite Jews was that both Maimonides and the Yemenites based their laws and liturgy on the unadorned Gemara. See Kafiḥ, "Ties of Yemenite Jews," The Jews of Yemen, loc. cit., (above, n. 3), p. 44.

93 Lipschütz, "Kitab al-Khilaf," Textus, loc. cit., (above, n. 74), p. 4.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III

94 S. D. Goitein, "Yemenite Jewry and the India Trade," in The Jews of Yemen, Study and Research, eds. Yosef Tubi and Yisrael Yesha'yahu (Jerusalem, Yad Itzhak Ben-Zvi, 1975), p. 49.

Mordechai Abir also notes the importance of the Yemenites' involvement in trade as a means of contact with other Jewish centers. Abir writes "Undoubtedly, Yemen's strategic location within the web of trade routes between the Far East and the Middle East, and the Jews' role in this system until the post medieval period was, inter alia, a pivotal factor in the existence of strong bonds between Yemen's and other Jewish communities. The development of Yemen's Jewry and the radiation of spiritual influences to nearby areas therefore depended to a great extent on the intensity of Jewish commercial activity in Yemen (or its ports) and in other Jewish commercial centers in the countries of the East" Mordechai Abir," 'International Commerce' and Yemen's Jewry 15th to 19th centuries," Draft of paper for the International Conference on Jewish Communities in Muslim Lands, (Jerusalem, Ben-Zvi Institute, n.d.), p. 30.

95 Goitein, "India Trade," The Jews of Yemen, loc. cit., (above, n. 94), p. 49.

96 Goitein, Economic Foundations, loc. cit., (above, n. 2), p. 7.

97 Goitein, From the Land of Sheba, loc. cit., (above,n. 14), p. 11.

98 Leon Nemoy reviews Goitein's A Mediterranean Society, Vol. I in The Jewish Quarterly Review, LVII. no. 4. (April 1968), p. 338. Nemoy refers to this work as "The piece de resistance" of Goitein's scholarship and states "each piece of evidence has been carefully and, accurately read, and thoroughly interpreted in the light of the authors encyclopedic expertise in the realia of both the medieval and modern Middle East..."

99 Goitein, Economic Foundations, loc. cit., (above n. 14), p. 92.

100 Kafih, "Ties of Yemenite Jews," The Jews of Yemen, loc. cit., (above, n. 3), p. 39.

101 Goitein, Economic Foundations, loc. cit., (above, n. 14), p. 105.

102 Ibid. p. 57.

103 Ibid. p. 63.

104 Ibid. p. 64.

105 Ibid. p. 154

106 Goitein, The Land of Sheba, loc. cit., (above, n. 14), pp. 16-18. Goitein observes that a copy of the Takhemoni, the chief work of Spanish Hebrew poet Judah al Harizi in The Bodleian Library at Oxford is dedicated to "Shemaryahu, The Prince of the Land of Yemen."

NOTES TO CHAPTER III

106 (continued): In "Yemenite Poetry and its Relationship with Sefardi Poetry," in The Jews of Yemen, Studies and Research, eds. Yosef Tubi and Israel Yesha'yahu (Jerusalem, Yad Itzhak Ben-Zvi, 1975), pp. 303-332, Yosef Tubi notes that the Hebrew poetry of Spain was so influential upon Yemenite poetry that he thinks Yemenite poetry should be regarded as an offshoot of Sefardic poetry.

107 S.D. Goitein, "The Jews of Yemen between the Gaonate of Egypt and The Exilarchate of Baghdad," Sinai 16 (1953), pp. 225-237.

108 Kahle, Cairo Geniza, loc. cit., (above, n. 46), p. 64.

109 Kafiḥ, "Punctuation," Sinai, loc. cit., (above, n. 58), p. 263.

110 Manuscripts representative of this group mentioned in this chapter are Bodleian 2333 (old sections) p. 40, Eb. 76, p. 30 and the old sections of Rav Kafiḥ's manuscript of the Book of Daniel, p. 29.

111 Kafiḥ, "Punctuation," Sinai, loc. cit., (above, n. 58), p. 262.

112 Morag, The Hebrew Language Tradition of the Yemenite Jews, loc. cit., (above, n. 58), p. 212, n. 4. Morag suggests that the etnaḥta was accepted first by the Yemenites because the Babylonian etnaḥta is basically the same shape as the Tiberian sign, except that the Babylonian etnaḥta is supralinear. The early adoption of the zaqef may also be due to Babylonian influence. Diez Macho states that although Yemenite Babylonian manuscripts usually lack accentuation, "los mss. de vocalización simple carecen de acentos o única mente utilizan algunos como el zaqef y atnah." "The manuscripts with simple vocalization lack accents or only use some like the zaqef and etnaḥta." Manuscriptos, loc. cit., (above, n. 62), p. 55.

113 Kafiḥ, "Punctuation," Sinai, loc. cit., (above, n. 58), p. 263.; See also Y. Kafiḥ, "The Accents of Job, Proverbs and Psalms in Yemenite Tradition," Tarb., XXXI, 4, (1962) pp. 371-376. Rav Kafiḥ observes here that when chanting the book of Psalms, the Yemenites pay no attention to the accents but read according to their ancient oral tradition.

114 Kafiḥ, "Punctuation," Sinai, loc. cit., (above, n. 58), p. 263.

115 Ratzhabi , "Massoretic Variants," Textus, loc. cit., (above, n. 57).

116 Goitein, The Land of Sheba, loc. cit., (above, n. 14), p. 18.

117 Morag, The Hebrew Language Tradition of the Yemenite Jews, loc. cit., (above, n. 58), intro. p. 20.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III

118 M. J. Derenbourg, "Manuel du Lecteur d'un Auteur Inconnu, "Journal Asiatique (Oct.-Nov.-Dec. 1870).

119 Madmoni, "Maimonides," The Jews of Yemen, loc. cit., (above, n. 56), p. 373.

120 This commentary can be found in Rav Kafiḥ's edition of The Five Megilloth (Jerusalem, Private Printing, 1962).

121 Saliḥ states in his commentary that he follows the Ben Ašer reading. For example, in his commentary on המדברים in Exodus 6:27, he states,
במחברת בן אשר ז"ל המדברים שוא שתחת המ"ם נח ועל דקדוקו אנו סומכים
Also see Saliḥ's comment on the Song of Songs 8:6 discussed in Chapter IV, p. 60 where he gives the "correct" reading following "The Westerners."

122 Dotan, "Masorah," Encyclopedia Judaica, loc. cit., (above, n. 44), p. 1477.

123 Morag, The Hebrew Language Tradition of the Yemenite Jews, loc. cit., (above, n. 58), intro. p. 38. Here Morag specifies these five areas in Yemen. For a more popular description of the character of different areas in Yemen, see Devora and Menachem Hacohen, One People, loc. cit., (above, n. 12), p. 129.

124 This was the case with Bodleian MS 2333. Ratzhabi believes that the scribe worked in isolated or difficult conditions and notes that the scribe left one verse of Eccl. without Aramaic translation. In the margin, the scribe notes that there was no translation for the verse in the text he was copying: obviously he did not have access to other manuscripts at that time. "Massoretic Variants," Textus, loc. cit., (above, n. 57), p. 95.

125 Occasionally in Yemenite synagogues in Israel, I saw men using prayerbooks with supralinear punctuation. I was also told by Rav Yosef Zadok that as a boy in Yemen he often used texts with supralinear punctuation.

126 MS 31939, Yemen, Sanaa, The Five Scrolls, 72 pp., Targum and Rashi, 18th and 19th century, collection of Rav Yosef Kafiḥ 22, written by his uncle and grandfather; MS 23592 Yemen, The Five Books followed by the Song of Songs, 170 pp. 18th century, Adler collection 64, New York; MS 6999 Yemen, the Song of Songs, Ruth, Kohelet, 42 pp. Targum and Rashi, 18th century, Or. 9907, London; MS 15475 Yemen, the Song of Songs, Ruth, Kohelet, 62 pp. Targum and Rashi, 17th, 18th century.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III

127 This manuscript was written by Rav Kafiḥ's uncle and grandfather in Sanaa.

128 Though there are many divergences in accentuation from B19a, the most notable is the use of two etnaḥtas in one verse, Song of Songs 1:7.

CHAPTER IV

THE SONG OF SONGS IN MS W.6. — ANALYSIS OF ACCENTUATION

The accentuation in MS W.6. represents a stage in the gradual acceptance of Tiberian accentuation in Yemen. The manuscript's accentuation, for the most part, reflects Tiberian traditions. Though throughout the manuscript many words are marked with different Tiberian accents that appear in Bl9a, large portions of the manuscript's accentuation correspond exactly to the Masoretic text. All the signs used in the manuscript are Tiberian signs. Certain "less common" accents that appear in the Song of Songs in Bl9a do not appear at all in the manuscript. These are geršayim, t^{e}lišah q^{e}tannah, darga', zarqa, segol and r^{e}vi'i. R^{e}vi'i is consistently represented in manuscript W.6. as zaqēf qaton.

All differences in accentuation in MS W.6. represent changes from one type of disjunctive to another type of disjunctive accent and one type of conjunctive accent to another conjunctive accent. That is to say, the accentuation in MS W.6. does not represent a different syntactical reading of the Masoretic text of the Song of Songs. A common substitution is where MS W.6. will show a zaqēf qaton on a word that is marked with an etnaḥta in Bl9a. The reverse, an etnaḥta in place of a zaqēf qaton is also common in the manuscript. Another frequent substitution is the manuscript's use of a zaqēf qaton where Bl9a shows a t^{e}vir and vice versa. There are also similar examples of switches between t^{e}vir and etnaḥta.

Changes in secondary disjunctive accents are generally dependent upon the primary accent to which they are connected. This is a general principle

of the changes in the manuscript's accentuation: When one primary disjunctive accent is changed to another, corresponding changes in that accent's secondary disjunctive accent and it's preceding conjunctive accent are automatic and follow the rules of Tiberian accentuation. For example, when the zaqēf qaton in the phrase נגילה ונשמחה בך (Song of Songs 1:4) in BI9a is changed to an etnaḥta in MS W.6., the pašṭa) on ונשמחה is changed to a tipḥa while the mapaḳ on נגילה is changed to a merkha). This rule generally holds true except in places where the "less common" accents in BI9a are changed in MS W.6. The manuscript's accentuation in these phrases tends not to follow the rules of Tiberian accentuation. The sof pasuq clause in MS W.6. is consistently the same as that in BI9a.

The manuscript's use of conjunctive accents, in general is haphazard. MS W.6. will often place a maqqef after a word marked with a conjunctive accent in BI9a. Conversely, a conjunctive accent often appears in MS W.6. on a word connected by a maqqef in BI9a. Often the accentuator simply left out conjunctive accents on small words in the manuscript. There are no occurrences of two accents, a conjunctive and disjunctive , on one word in MS W.6. as there are several times in the text of the Song of Songs in BI9a. The use of accent placement to indicate word stress in MS W.6. is also inconsistent. Accents that normally indicate stress are sometimes placed on the accented syllable and sometimes not. Occasionally, MS W.6. uses a double pašṭa) to indicate stress. Just as frequently, the manuscript shows only one pašṭa) on a word's final syllable where BI9a uses a double pašṭa) to indicate penultimate stress. Several times MS W.6. uses a double pašṭa) to indicate stress on a word where the accent has been changed to pašṭa). Unlike BI9a., MS W.6. occasionally indicates stress by the double placement of zaqēf qaton.

It is difficult to determine how familiar the accentuator was with the rules of Tiberian accentuation. The most obvious violation of the Masoretes'rules is the appearance of the two etnaḥtas in one verse (Song of Songs I:7,8). On the other hand, there are times the accentuator displays a sophisticated understanding of Tiberian accentuation. In the Song of Songs I:3 when the etnaḥta on the word שִׁמְךָ in B19a is changed to a zaqēf qaton in MS W.6., the rules of Tiberian accentuation require שֵׁמֶן , as a word with penultimate stress before a munaḥ zaqēf qaton, to be accented with a y^{e}tiv.[1] This indeed is the case: MS W.6. shows a y^{e}tiv on the word שֵׁמֶן . The accentuator seemed to be familiar with this Tiberian rule; it is applied again in the Song of Songs 2:7 and 2:9.

In writing MS W.6., the scribe exhibits a certain carelessness. Many words have no accents at all. As mentioned above, the placement of accents to indicate stress is inconsistent. On several occasions, two disjunctive accents are placed on the same word (such as בְּחֵלֶב in the Song of Songs 5:12) as if the accentuator could not decide which accent to use. There is one example that indicates the manuscript could have been written quickly, by memory,or without careful reference to a second manuscript. One verse of the Song of Songs (... הִשְׁבַּעְתִּי אֶתְכֶם) occurs twice in the text; 3:5 and 2:7. After verse 3:5, the scribe wrote half of the verse that follows 2:7 before realizing his mistake. He put parentheses around the misplaced half of a verse and then continued correctly. Furthermore, in verse 2:6, the scribe misspelled the word שְׂמֹאלוֹ (as סְמֹאלוֹ). The word is corrected both in the text and in the margin. One would presume that if the scribe was carefully copying his manuscript from another text, he would not have made these mistakes.

What explanation can we offer for the unusual accentuation in MS W.6.? I believe the key to understanding the manuscript's accentuation lies in an understanding of the Yemenite method of interpreting and singing the Tiberian accents in the Song of Songs (refer to Chapter II, Table II). But first it is important to note that MS W.6. was in all probability written for a reader's personal use in synagogue.

I believe that the contents of the manuscript (haftarah readings following the annual cycle, haftarah readings for special Sabbaths and festivals, and the three Megillot read in the Synagogue on the pilgrimage festivals) offers strong evidence that the manuscript was intended for Synagogue use. Eric Silver supports this assumption in his thesis written on MS W.6. He notes that the lack of Masorah as well as the haphazard placement of vowels and accents show that the manuscript was intended for use by a synagogue reader rather than a scholar.[2]

I believe that the accents were added to the manuscript by memory by a scribe who knew the oral cantillation of the Song of Songs by heart. This would not be unusual, as the Song of Songs is chanted in its entirety every Friday before Kabbalat Shabbat. I think that the scribe, living in the small village of אל חרף in 1886[3] had partial knowledge of the Tiberian system. He knew certain disjunctive accents and the basic rules governing their appropriate conjunctives. He forgot other accents or simply never learned them. Perhaps they were not yet accepted in that area of Yemen or in the Song of Songs at that time. Possibly at one time he had studied in Sanaa from a Yemenite-Tiberian manuscript like Rav Kafih's MS 31939 (discussed above in Chapter III) or in one of the printed Bibles that had come to Yemen by the nineteenth century and at that time, had learned the

Yemenite understanding of the Tiberian accents. Sometime later, when he added accentuation to his own manuscript, the scribe wrote in the disjunctive accents in accordance with the musical motifs he remembered and supplied their appropriate conjunctives as best he could recall. In this way, it would have been possible for him to confuse an etnaḥta with a zaqēf qaton; as shown in Chapter II, Table II these are both primary disjunctive accents and are sung to exactly the same tune. As shown in Table II there are five different motifs used in the chanting of the Song of Songs. For this explanation to work, all substitution of accents in MS W.6. would have to be for accents with the same pausal value and musical motif. An analysis of the manuscript shows that this is, in fact, the case. Only primary disjunctive accents are substituted for primary disjunctives and secondary disjunctive accents for secondary disjunctives. Similarly, it is only conjunctive accents that substitute for other conjunctives. The scribe's treatment of the sof pasuq clause offers further support for this theory; not once in the manuscript does the scribe change the accentuation of this clause. I believe this is due to the use of kisrēh, the fore-tone "broken" melody to which the Yemenites sing the tipḥa' preceding sof pasuq in the Song of Songs. If the scribe remembered this distinct melody, it would have been difficult for him to mark the tipḥa' incorrectly in the sof pasuq phrase. This in fact was the case and this final clause in MS W.6. is consistently identical with B19a. While the accentuation of the Song of Songs in MS W.6. seems very strange, a reader could have used the manuscript in synagogue, chanted the text and given just as correct a musical rendition of the Song of Songs in the Yemenite tradition as if he were chanting from B19a.

I would like to raise one final point in this chapter, dealing with a Ben Naphtali reading I found in MS W.6., the Song of Songs, 8:6.

We receive the impression that the transition in Yemen represents a conflict between the Eastern or Babylonian traditions and the Western or Tiberian traditions. I suggest that under this conflict we can detect a level of Ben Asher-Ben Naphtali controversy. As stated in Chapter III, p. 41 above, in his Ḥeleq Ha-Diqduq, Yaḥya ben Joseph Saliḥ comments upon matters of Masorah and gives the "correct" readings according to the Ben Asher tradition. It appears that in Yemen as late as the eighteenth century, there was a need to clarify the Tiberian, i.e., Ben Asher reading in Yemen. From this we might assume that there were locations in Yemen that were still influenced by the Babylonian Masorah. We have indications that there was a time when Babylonia might have favored readings of Ben Naphtali. In the tenth century there was a rivalry between Babylonia and Palestine on the issue of fixing the calendar.[4] This conflict involved Rav Sa'adya Gaon of Babylonia and BenMeir of Palestine. Palestine adopted the text of Ben Asher. At this time Sa'adya polemized against Ben Asher in his poem ʾessāʾ meshālī.[5] Dr. Lehman comments, "It seems likely that there was a time in Babylonia when they favored the readings of Ben Naphtali."[6] As shown above, the Yemenites were very influenced by Sa'adya Gaon. Following this reasoning, it is possible that Yemenite manuscripts under the influence of Babylonian traditions could have preserved Ben Naphtali readings. Though the trend in Yemen, from Maimonides to Yaḥya Saliḥ has been in favor of Ben Asher, traces of Ben Naphtali still survive. I have found a Ben Naphtali reading, שלהבת יה , in the Song of Songs 8:6 in manuscript W.6. The Ben Naphtali nature of this reading is substantiated in Mishael ben Uzziel's book Kitab al Khilaf where he lists the one word שלהבתיה as the Ben Asher reading as opposed to the two word Ben Naphtali reading.[7] The Ben Asher reading, שלהבתיה , is also found in Leningrad

Manuscript B19a, generally attributed to the school of Ben Asher.[8] This difference is among the most exciting Ben Asher/Ben Naphtali differences possible. Not only is it one of the eight BA/BN differences that deal with the Bible's consonantal text,[9] it is also a difference of reading with theological and philosophical implications.[10] It is very interesting that this Ben Naphtali reading managed to survive in Yemen until the nineteenth century especially in that Salih rules for the Ben Asher one word reading in his note to the Song of Songs 8:6 in his Heleq Ha Diqduq.[11]

ודע שצריך לומר שלהבתיה תיבה אחד כי כן הוא למערבאי

"Know that it is necessary to say šalhevetya as one word for thus is [the tradition] of the Westerners."

The existence of this reading should caution us against making quick judgments about the lack of worth of recent manuscripts and encourage us to be careful in making general statements about the complete dominance of the Ben Asher tradition in Yemen.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

1 Wickes, Accentuation, vol. 2., loc. cit., (Notes to Chapter I, n. 4), p. 106.

2 Silver, "The Biblical Text," loc. cit., (Notes to Chapter III, n. 48), p. 37.

3 Ibid. p. 35. Silver identifies the manuscript's date following the colophon of the Song of Songs as 2197 of the Selucid era, or 1886. Some traditions of chanting the Bible vary slightly from place to place in Yemen. I was interested to locate the exact place where the manuscript was written. The same colophon says the manuscript was written במתה אלחרף . Rav Kafiḥ helped me identify this as "in the place" (מתה), " אלחרף ," and said he had heard of the town and though he thought it was not too far from Sanaa, he was not sure. During my year of field work I always asked Yemenites if they knew of that town, yet no one was familiar with it. For further discussion of the issue see Chapter V, p. 99).

4 Baron, History, loc. cit., (Notes to Chapter III, n. 1), p. 332.

5 The poem)essā) meshālī is published by M. Lewin (Jerusalem, 1943).

6 I. O. Lehman, "The Oldest Preserved Codex of the Babylonian Tradition, "Asian Studies Research Institute, Oriental Series, no. 3. (1969), p. 185. Lehman supports E. Levita's opinion (Massoreth Ha Massoreth, ed. C.D. Ginsburg, p. 113f.) that the Easterners followed the text of Ben Naftali.

7 L.Lipschuetz, "Mishael ben Uzziel's Treatise on the Differences Between Ben Asher and Ben Naphalti," Textus 2, p. 53.

8 Breuer considers B19a to be "the most error filled of all the ancient manuscripts "that represent the Ben Asher tradition. The Aleppo Codex, loc. cit., (Notes to Chapter III, n. 85), intro. p. XII. Unfortunately the section of the Aleppo Codex containing this reading has been destroyed.

9 Lipshütz, "Kitab al-Khilaf," Textus, loc. cit., (Notes to Chapter III, n. 74), p. 16.

10 C.D. Ginsburg suggests that the Western School was not only reluctant to exhibit the shorter name of God (יה) in the text, but also did not wish to place God in parallelism with Hades(קשה כשאול קנאה) in the first part of verse 8:6. So they combined the two words to read שלהבתיה , which Ginsberg says is explained to mean, "intense flame." Ben Asher supported this one word reading, while the Eastern recension, as well as Ben Naphtali, supported the two word reading. Introduction to the Massoretico-Critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible (New York, Ktav, 1966), p. 386.

11 Kafiḥ, The Five Megilloth, loc. cit., (Notes to Chapter III, n. 120).

A COMPARISON OF THE ACCENTUATION OF BI9a and MS W.6.

All accents are marked in the upper line of the text, representing BI9a. Only accents that differ from the text of BI9a are marked in the lower line, which represents MS W.6. Words in MS W.6. that exhibit no accent are marked with an asterisk (*). Words in MS W.6. that are unclear because of water damage or whose accents were unable to be determined, are marked with a circle (∘).

1:1 B19a שִׁיר הַשִּׁירִים אֲשֶׁר לִשְׁלֹמֹה: יִשָּׁקֵנִי מִנְּשִׁיקוֹת פִּיהוּ כִּי-טוֹבִים דֹּדֶיךָ מִיָּיִן:

W.6 שיר השירים אשר לשלמה: ישקני מנשיקות פיהו כי טובים דדיך מיין:

לְרֵיחַ שְׁמָנֶיךָ טוֹבִים שֶׁמֶן תּוּרַק שִׁמְךָ עַל-כֵּן עֲלָמוֹת אֲהֵבוּךָ: מְשָׁכְנִי אַחֲרֶיךָ

לריח שמניך טובים שמן תורק שמך על כן עלמות אהבוך: משכני אחריך

נָרוּצָה הֲבִיאַנִי הַמֶּלֶךְ חֲדָרָיו נָגִילָה וְנִשְׂמְחָה בָּךְ נַזְכִּירָה דֹדֶיךָ מִיַּיִן מֵישָׁרִים

נרוצה הביאני המלך חדריו נגילה ונשמחה בך נזכירה דדיך מיין מישרים

1:5 אֲהֵבוּךָ: שְׁחוֹרָה אֲנִי וְנָאוָה בְּנוֹת יְרוּשָׁלִַם כְּאָהֳלֵי קֵדָר כִּירִיעוֹת שְׁלֹמֹה: אַל-

אהבוך: שחורה אני ונאוה בנות ירושלם כאהלי קדר כיריעות שלמה: אל

תִּרְאוּנִי שֶׁאֲנִי שְׁחַרְחֹרֶת שֶׁשָּׁזָפַתְנִי הַשָּׁמֶשׁ בְּנֵי אִמִּי נִחֲרוּ-בִי שָׂמֻנִי נֹטֵרָה אֶת-

תראוני שאני שחרחרת ששזפתני השמש בני אמי נחרו בי שמני נטרה את

הַכְּרָמִים כַּרְמִי שֶׁלִּי לֹא נָטָרְתִּי: הַגִּידָה לִּי שֶׁאָהֲבָה נַפְשִׁי אֵיכָה תִרְעֶה אֵיכָה

הכרמים כרמי שלי לא נטרתי: הגידה לי שאהבה נפשי איכה תרעה איכה

תַּרְבִּיץ בַּצָּהֳרָיִם שְׁלֹמָה אֶהְיֶה כְעֹטָיָה עַל עֶדְרֵי חֲבֵרֶיךָ: אִם-לֹא תֵדְעִי לָךְ הַיָּפָה

תרביץ בצהרים שלמה אהיה כעטיה על עדרי חבריך: אם לא תדעי לך היפה

בַּנָּשִׁים צְאִי-לָךְ בְּעִקְבֵי הַצֹּאן וּרְעִי אֶת-גְּדִיּוֹתַיִךְ עַל מִשְׁכְּנוֹת הָרֹעִים:לְסוּסָתִי

בנשים צאי לך בעקבי הצאן ורעי את גדיותיך על משכנות הרעים:לסוסתי

1:10 בְּרַכְיֵךְ פָּרְעֹה דִּמִּיתִיךְ רַעְיָתִי: נָאוּ לְחָיַיִךְ בַּתֹּרִים צַוָּארֵךְ בַּחֲרוּזִים: תּוֹרֵי

ברכיך פרעה דמיתיך רעיתי: נאוו לחייך בתרים צוארך בחרוזים: תורי

זְהַב נַעֲשֶׂה-לָּךְ עִם נְקֻדּוֹת הַכָּסֶף: עַד-שֶׁהַמֶּלֶךְ בִּמְסִבּוֹ נִרְדִּי נָתַן רֵיחוֹ: צְרוֹר

זהב נעשה לך עם נקדות הכסף: עד שהמלך במסבו נרדי נתן ריחו: צרור

המר דודי לי בין שדי ילין: אשכל הכפר דודי לי בכרמי עין גדי: הנך

המר דודי לי בין שדי ילין: אשכל הכפר דודי לי בכרמי עין גדי: הנך

1:15 יפה רעיתי הנך יפה עיניך יונים: הנך יפה דודי אף נעים אף-ערשנו

יפה רעיתי הנך יפה עיניך יונים: הנך יפה דודי אף-נעים אף ערשנו

2:1 רענה: קרות בתינו ארזים רחיטנו ברותים: אני חבצלת השרון שושנת

רעננה: קרות בתינו ארזים רחיטנו ברותים: אני חבצלת השרון שושנת

העמקים: כשושנה בין החוחים כן רעיתי בין הבנות: כתפוח בעצי היער

העמקים: כשושנה בין החוחים כן-רעיתי בין הבנות: כתפוח בעצי היער

כן דודי בין הבנים בצלו חמדתי וישבתי ופריו מתוק לחכי: הביאני

כן דודי בין הבנים בצלו חמדתי וישבתי ופריו מתוק לחכי: הביאני

2:5 אל-בית היין ודגלו עלי אהבה: סמכוני באשישות רפדוני בתפוחים כי-

אל בית היין ודגלו עלי אהבה: סמכוני באשישות רפדוני בתפוחים כי

חולת אהבה אני: שמאלו תחת לראשי וימינו תחבקני: השבעתי אתכם בנות

חולת אהבה אני: שמאלו תחת לראשי וימינו תחבקני: השבעתי אתכם בנות

ירושלם בצבאות או באילות השדה אם-תעירו ואם-תעוררו את-האהבה עד

ירושלם בצבאות או באילות השדה אם תעירו ואם תעוררו את האהבה עד

שתחפץ: קול דודי הנה-זה בא מדלג על-ההרים מקפץ על-הגבעות: דומה

שתחפץ: קול דודי הנה זה בא מדלג על-ההרים מקפץ על הגבעות: דומה

דודי לצבי או לעפר אילים הנה-זה עומד אחר כתלנו משגיח מן-החלנות

דודי לצבי או לעפר אילים הנה זה עומד אחר כתלנו משגיח מן החלנות

2:10 מציץ מן-החרכים: ענה דודי ואמר לי קומי לך רעיתי יפתי ולכי-לך:

מציץ מן החרכים: ענה דודי ואמר לי קומי לך רעיתי יפתי ולכי לך:

כי-הנה הסתו עבר הגשם חלף הלך לו: הנצנים נראו בארץ עת הזמיר הגיע

כי-הנה הסתו עבר הגשם חלף הלך לו: הנצנים נראו בארץ עת הזמיר הגיע

וקול התור נשמע בארצנו: התאנה חנטה פגיה והגפנים סמדר נתנו ריח

וקול התור נשמע בארצנו: התאנה חנטה פגיה והגפנים סמדר נתנו ריח

קומי לכי רעיתי יפתי ולכי-לך: יונתי בחגוי הסלע בסתר המדרגה הראיני

קומי לכי רעיתי יפתי ולכי לך: יונתי בחגוי הסלע בסתר המדרגה הראיני

2:15 את-מראיך השמיעיני את-קולך כי-קולך ערב ומראיך נאוה: אחזו-לנו

את מראיך השמיעיני את קולך כי-קולך ערב ומראיך נאוה: אחזו לנו

שועלים שועלים קטנים מחבלים כרמים וכרמינו סמדר: דודי לי ואני

שועלים שועלים קטנים מחבלים כרמים וכרמינו סמדר: דודי לי ואני

לו הרעה בשושנים: עד שיפוח היום ונסו הצללים סב דמה-לך דודי לצבי

לו הרעה בשושנים: עד-שיפוח היום ונסו הצללים סב דמה לך-דודי לצבי

3:1 על לעפר האילים על-הרי כתר: על-משכבי בלילות בקשתי את שאהבה נפשי

או לעפר האילים על הרי בחר: על משכבי בלילות בקשתי את שאהבה נפשי

בקשתיו ולא מצאתיו: אקומה נא ואסובבה בעיר בשוקים וברחבות אבקשה

בקשתיו ולא מצאתיו: אקומה נא ואסובבה בעיר בשוקים וברחבות אבקשה

את שאהבה נפשי בקשתיו ולא מצאתיו: מצאוני השמרים הסבבים בעיר את

את שאהבה נפשי בקשתיו ולא מצאתיו: מצאוני השמרים הסבבים בעיר את

שאהבה נפשי ראיתם: כמעט שעברתי מהם עד שמצאתי את שאהבה נפשי אחזתיו

שאהבה נפשי ראיתם: כמעט שעברתי מהם עד שמצאתי את שאהבה נפשי אחזתיו

3:5 ולא ארפנו עד-שהביאתיו אל-בית אמי ואל-חדר הורתי: השבעתי אתכם

ולא ארפנו עד שהביאתיו אל בית אמי ואל חדר הורתי: השבעתי אתכם

בנות ירושלם בצבאות או באילות השדה אם-תעירו ואם-תעוררו את-האהבה

בנות ירושלם בצבאות או באילות השדה אם תעירו ואם תעוררו את האהבה

עד שתחפץ: מי זאת עלה מן-המדבר כתימרות עשן מקטרת מור ולבונה מכל

עד שתחפץ: מי זאת עלה מן המדבר כתימרות עשן מקטרת מור ולבונה מכל

אבקת רוכל: הנה מטתו שלשלמה ששים גברים סביב לה מגברי ישראל: כלם

אבקת רוכל: הנה מטתו שלשלמה ששים גברים סביב לה מגברי ישראל: כלם

אחזי חרב מלמדי מלחמה איש חרבו על-ירכו מפחד בלילות: אפריון עשה

אחזי חרב מלמדי מלחמה איש חרבו על ירכו מפחד בלילות: אפריון עשה

3:10 לו המלך שלמה מעצי הלבנון: עמודיו עשה כסף רפידתו זהב מרכבו ארגמן

לו המלך שלמה מעצי הלבנון: עמודיו עשה כסף רפידתו זהב מרכבו ארגמן

תוכו רצוף אהבה מבנות ירושלם: צאינה וראינה בנות ציון במלך שלמה

תוכו רצוף אהבה מבנות ירושלם: צאינה וראינה בנות ציון במלך שלמה

4:1 בעטרה שעטרה-לו אמו ביום חתנתו וביום שמחת לבו: הנך יפה רעיתי

בעטרה שעטרה לו אמו ביום חתנתו וביום שמחת לבו: הנך יפה רעיתי

הנך יפה עיניך יונים מבעד לצמתך שערך כעדר העזים שגלשו מהר גלעד:

הנך יפה עיניך יונים מבעד לצמתך שערך כעדר העזים שגלשו מהר גלעד:

שניך כעדר הקצובות שעלו מן-הרחצה שכלם מתאימות ושכלה אין בהם:

שניך כעדר הקצובות שעלו מן-הרחצה שכלם מתאימות ושכלה אין בהם:

כחוט השני שפתתיך ומדבריך נאוה כפלח הרמון רקתך מבעד לצמתך: כמגדל

כחוט השני שפתתיך ומדבריך נאוה כפלח הרמון רקתך מבעד לצמתך: כמגדל

דויד צוארך בנוי לתלפיות אלף המגן תלוי עליו כל שלטי הגבורים:

דויד צוארך בנוי לתלפיות אלף המגן תלוי עליו כל שלטי הגבורים:

4:5 שני שדיך כשני עפרים תאומי צביה הרועים בשושנים: עד שיפוח היום

שני שדיך כשני עפרים תאומי צביה הרועים בשושנים: עד שיפוח היום

ונסו הצללים אלך לי אל-הר המור ואל-גבעת הלבונה: כלך יפה רעיתי

ונסו הצללים אלך לי אל הר המור ואל גבעת הלבונה: כלך יפה רעיתי

ומום אין בך: אתי מלבנון כלה אתי מלבנון תבואי תשורי מראש אמנה

ומום אין בך: אתי מלבנון כלה אתי מלבנון תבואי תשורי מראש אמנה

מראש שניר וחרמון ממענות אריות מהרי נמרים: לבבתני אחתי כלה לבבתני

מראש שניר וחרמון ממענות אריות מהרי נמרים: לבבתני אחתי כלה לבבתני

4:10 באחד מעיניך באחד ענק מצורניך: מה-יפו דדיך אחתי כלה מה-טבו דדיך

באחד מעיניך באחד ענק מצורניך: מה יפו דדיך אחתי כלה מה-טבו דדיך

מיין וריח שמניך מכל-בשמים: נפת תטפנה שפתותיך כלה דבש וחלב תחת

מיין וריח שמניך מכל בשמים: נפת תטפנו שפתותיך כלה דבש וחלב תחת

לשונך וריח שלמתיך כריח לבנון: גן נעול אחתי כלה גל נעול מעין

לשונך וריח שלמתיך כריח לבנון: גן נעול אחתי כלה גל נעול מעין

חתום: שלחיך פרדס רמונים עם פרי מגדים כפרים עם-נרדים: נרד וכרכם

חתום: שלחיך פרדס רמונים עם פרי מגדים כפרים עם נרדים: נרד וכרכם

4:15 קנה וקנמון עם כל-עצי לבונה מר ואהלות עם כל-ראשי בשמים: מעין

קנה וקנמון עם כל-עצי לבונה מר ואהלות עם כל ראשי השמים: מעין

גנים באר מים חיים ונזלים מן-לבנון: עורי צפון ובואי תימן הפיחי

גנים באר מים חיים ונזלים מן-לבנון: עורי צפון ובואי תימן הפיחי

5:1 גני יזלו בשמיו יבא דודי לגנו ויאכל פרי מגדיו: באתי לגני אחתי

גני יזלו בשמיו יבא דודי לגנו ויאכל פרי מגדיו: באתי לגני אחתי

כלה אריתי מורי עם-בשמי אכלתי יערי עם-דבשי שתיתי ייני עם-חלבי
כלה אריתי מורי עם בשמי עכלתי יערי עם דבשי שתיתי יינ עם-חלבי

אכלו רעים שתו ושכרו דודים: אני ישנה ולבי ער קול דודי דופק פתחי-
אכלו רעים שתו ושכרו דודים: אני ישנה ולבי ער קול דודי דופק פתחי

לי אחתי רעיתי יונתי תמתי שראשי נמלא-טל קוצותי רסיסי לילה: פשטתי
לי אחתי רעיתי יונתי תמתי שראשי נמלא טל קוצותי רסיסי לילה: פשטתי

את-כתנתי איככה אלבשנה רחצתי את-רגלי איככה אטנפם: דודי שלח ידו
את כתנתי איככה אלבשנה רחצתי את רגלי איככה אטנפם: דודי שלח ידו

מן-החר ומעי המו עליו: קמתי אני לפתח לדודי וידי נטפו-מור ואצבעתי 5:5
מן החר ומעי המו עליו: קמתי אני לפתח לדודי וידי נטפו-מור ואצבעתי

מור עבר על כפות המנעול: פתחתי אני לדודי ודודי חמק עבר נפשי יצאה
מור עבר על כפות המנעול: פתחתי אני לדודי ודודי חמק עבר נפשי יצאה

בדברו בקשתיהו ולא מצאתיהו קראתיו ולא ענני: מצאני השמרים הסבבים
בדברו בקשתיהו ולא מצאתיהו קראתיו ולא ענני: מצאני השמרים הסבבים

בעיר הכוני פצעוני נשאו את-רדידי שעלי שמרי החמות: השבעתי אתכם
בעיר הכוני פצעוני נשאו את רדידי שעלי שמרי החמות: השבעתי אתכם

בנות ירושלם אם-תמצאו את-דודי מה-תגידו לו שחולת אהבה אני: מה-
בנות ירושלם אם-תמצאו אם-דודי מה-תגידו לו שחולת אהבה אני: מה-

דודך מדוד היפה בנשים מה-דודך מדוד שככה השבעתנו: דודי צח ואדום 5:10
דודך מדוד היפה בנשים מה דודך מדוד שככה השבעתנו: דודי צח ואדום

דגול מרבבה: ראשו כתם פז קוצותיו תלתלים שחרות כעורב: עיניו כיונים
דגול מרבבה: ראשו כתם פז קוצותיו תלתלים שחרות כעורב: עיניו כיונים

על-אפיקי מים רחצות בחלב ישבות על-מלאת: לחיו כערוגת הבשם מגדלות

על-אפיקי מים רחצות בחלב ישבות על מלאת: לחיו כערוגת הבשם מגדלות

מרקחים שפתותיו שושנים נטפות מור עבר: ידיו גלילי זהב ממלאים בתרשיש

מרקחים שפתותיו שושנים נטפות מור עבר: ידיו גלילי זהב ממלאים בתרשיש

5:15 מעיו עשת שן מעלפת ספירים: שוקיו עמודי שש מיסדים על-אדני-פז מראהו

מעיו עשת שן מעלפת ספירים: שוקיו עמודי שש מיסדים על-אדני-פז מראהו

כלבנון בחור כארזים: חכו ממתקים וכלו מחמדים זה דודי וזה רעי בנות

כלבנון בחור כארזים: חכו ממתקים וכלו מחמדים זה דודי וזה רעי בנות

6:1 ירושלם: אנה הלך דודך היפה בנשים אנה פנה דודך ונבקשנו עמך: דודי

ירושלם: אנה הלך דודך היפה בנשים אנה פנה דודך ונבקשנו עמך: דודי

ירד לגנו לערוגות הבשם לרעות בגנים וללקט שושנים: אני לדודי ודודי

ירד לגנו לערוגות הבשם לרעות בגנים וללקט שושנים: אני לדודי ודודי

לי הרעה בשושנים: יפה את רעיתי כתרצה נאוה כירושלם אימה כנדגלות:

לי הרעה בשושנים: יפה-את רעיתי כתרצה נאוה כירושלם אימה כנדגלות:

6:5 הסבי עיניך מנגדי שהם הרהיבני שערך כעדר העזים שגלשו מן-הגלעד:

הסבי עיניך מנגדי הם הרהיבני שערך כעדר העזים שגלשו מן הגלעד:

שניך כעדר הרחלים שעלו מן-הרחצה שכלם מתאימות ושכלה אין בהם: כפלח

שניך כעדר הרחלים שעלו מן הרחצה שכלם מתאימות ושכלה אין בהם: כפלח

הרמון רקתך מבעד לצמתך: ששים המה מלכות ושמנים פילגשים ועלמות

הרמון רקתך מבעד לצמתך: ששים המה מלכות ושמנים פילגשים ועלמות

אין מספר: אחת היא יונתי תמתי אחת היא לאמה ברה היא ליולדתה ראות

אין מספר: אחת היא יונתי תמתי אחת היא לאמה ברה היא ליולדתה ראות

6:10 בנות ויאשרוה מלכות ופילגשים ויהללוה: מי-זאת הנשקפה כמו-שחר יפה
בנות ויאשרוה מלכות ופילגשים ויהללוה: מי זאת הנשקפה כמו שחר יפה

כלבנה ברה כחמה אימה כנדגלות: אל-גנת אגוז ירדתי לראות באבי הנחל
כלבנה ברה כחמה אימה כנדגלות: אל גנת אגוז ירדתי לראות באבי הנחל

לראות הפרחה הגפן הנצו הרמנים: לא ידעתי נפשי שמתני מרכבות עמי-
לראות הפרחה הגפן הנצו הרמנים: לא ידעתי נפשי שמתני מרכבות עמי-

7:1 נדיב: שובי שובי השולמית שובי שובי ונחזה-בך מה-תחזו בשולמית כמחלת
נדיב: שובי שובי השולמית שובי שובי ונחזה-בך מה תחזו בשולמית כמחלת

המחנים: מה-יפו פעמיך בנעלים בת-נדיב חמוקי ירכיך כמו חלאים מעשה
המחנים: מה-יפו פעמיך בנעלים בת נדיב חמוקי ירכיך כמו חלאים מעשה

ידי אמן: שררך אגן הסהר אל-יחסר המזג בטנך ערמת חטים סוגה בשושנים:
ידי אמן: שררך אגן הסהר אל יחסר המזג בטנך ערמת חטים סוגה בשושנים:

7:5 שני שדיך כשני עפרים תאמי צביה: צוארך כמגדל השן עיניך ברכות בחשבון
שני שדיך כשני עפרים תאמי צביה: צוארך כמגדל השן עיניך ברכות בחשבון

על-שער בת-רבים אפך כמגדל הלבנון צופה פני דמשק: ראשך עליך ככרמל
על שער בת רבים אפך כמגדל הלבנון צופה פני דמשק: ראשך עליך ככרמל

ודלת ראשך כארגמן מלך אסור ברהטים: מה-יפית ומה-נעמת אהבה בתענוגים:
ודלת ראשך כארגמן מלך אסור ברהטים: מה-יפית ומה נעמת אהבה בתענוגים:

זאת קומתך דמתה לתמר ושדיך לאשכלות: אמרתי אעלה בתמר אחזה בסנסניו
זאת קומתך דמתה לתמר ושדיך לאשכלות: אמרתי אעלה בתמר אחזה בסנסניו

7:10 ויהיו-נא שדיך כאשכלות הגפן וריח אפך כתפוחים: וחכך כיין הטוב
ויהי נא-שדיך כאשכלות הגפן וריח אפך כתפוחים: וחכך כיין הטוב

הולך לדודי למישרים דובב שפתי ישנים: אני לדודי ועלי תשוקתו: לכה

הולך לדודי למישרים דובב שפתי ישנים: אני לדודי ועלי תשוקתו: לכה

דודי נצא השדה נלינה בכפרים: נשכימה לכרמים נראה אם פרחה הגפן

דודי נצא השדה נלינה בכפרים: נשכימה לכרמים נראה אם-פרחה הגפן

פתח הסמדר חנצו הרמונים שם אתן את-דדי לך: הדודאים נתנו-ריח ועל-

פתח הסמדר חנצו הרמונים שם אתן את דדי לך: הדודאים נתנו-ריח ועל-

8:1 פתחינו כל-מגדיו חדשים גם-ישנים דודי צפנתי לך: מי יתנך כאח לי

פתחינו כל מגדיו חדשים גם ישנים דודי צפנתי לך: מי יתנך כאח לי

יונק שדי אמי אמצאך בחוץ אשקך גם לא-יבוזו לי: אנהגך אביאך אל-

יונק שדי אמי אמצאך בחוץ אשקך גם לא-יבוזו לי: אנהגך אביאך אל

בית אמי תלמדני אשקך מיין הרקח מעסיס רמוני: שמאלו תחת ראשי וימינו

בית אמי תלמדני אשקך מיין הרקח מעסיס רמוני: שמאלו תחת ראשי וימינו

תחבקני: השבעתי אתכם בנות ירושלם מה-תעירו ומה-תעוררו את-האהבה

תחבקני: השבעתי אתכם בנות ירושלם מה תעירו ומה תעוררו את האהבה

8:5 עד שתחפץ: מי זאת עלה מן-המדבר מתרפקת על-דודה תחת התפוח עוררתיך

עד שתחפץ: מי זאת עלה מן המדבר מתרפקת על דודה תחת התפוח עוררתיך

שמה חבלתך אמך שמה חבלה ילדתך: שימני כחותם על-לבך כחותם על-זרועך

שמה חבלתך אמך שמה חבלה ילדתך: שימני כחותם על לבך כחותם על-זרועך

כי-עזה כמות אהבה קשה כשאול קנאה רשפיה רשפי אש שלהבתיה: מים רבים

כי-עזה כמות אהבה קשה כשאול קנאה רשפיה רשפי אש שלהבתיה: מים-רבים

לא יוכלו לכבות את-האהבה ונהרות לא ישטפוה אם-יתן איש את-כל-הון

לא יוכלו לכבות את-האהבה ונהרות לא ישטפוה אם-יתן איש את-כל-הון

ביתו באהבה בוז יבוזו לו: אחות לנו קטנה ושדים אין לה מה-נעשה

ביתו באהבה בוז יבוזו לו: אחות לנו קטנה ושדים אין לה מה נעשה

לאחתנו ביום שידבר בה: אם-חומה היא נבנה עליה טירת כסף ואם-דלת

לאחתנו ביום שידבר בה: אם חומה היא נבנה עליה טירת כסף ואם-דלת

8:10 היא נצור עליה לוח ארז: אני חומה ושדי כמגדלות אז הייתי בעיניו

היא נצור עליה לוח ארז: אני חומה ושדי כמגדלות אז הייתי בעיניו

כמוצאת שלום: כרם היה לשלמה בבעל המון נתן את-הכרם לנטרים איש

כמוצאת שלום: כרם היה-לשלמה בבעל המון נתן את הכרם לנטרים איש

יבא בפריו אלף כסף: כרמי שלי לפני האלף לך שלמה ומאתים לנטרים

יבא בפריו אלף כסף: כרמי שלי לפני האלף לך שלמה ומאתים לנטרים

את-פריו: היושבת בגנים חברים מקשיבים לקולך השמיעיני: ברח דודי

את-פריו: היושבת בגנים חברים מקשיבים לקולך השמיעיני: ברח דודי

ודמה-לך לצבי או לעפר האילים על הרי בשמים:

ודמה לך לצבי או לעפר האילים על הרי בשמים:

CHAPTER V

FIELDWORK EXPERIENCES WITHIN THE YEMENITE COMMUNITY IN ISRAEL

The strange accentuation of MS W.6. deeply puzzled me and recovering the solution to that puzzle was, I thought, what would make my year in Israel successful. But I found much more in Yemenite culture that fascinated me equally.

My intrdouction to the Yemenite community in Jerusalem came through a unique woman, Bracha Seri. We all need a guide into different cultures and Bracha initially served as my guide and interpreter. Bracha related to the Yemenite community both as an insider and an outsider. She had been born in Sanaa, Yemen and had lived there as a young girl until she was brought to Israel on Operation Magic Carpet in 1950.[1] She grew up well acquainted with the customs of her people and fluent in Têmānît, Yemenite Arabic. In Israel she had married, and subsequently divorced, an American student of sociology. After this introduction to the academic world, she entered Hebrew University and at the time I met her, was working on a degree in linguistics, studying the social uses of Têmānît among Yemenite women in Israel. She was a poet and wrote about the problems of her Yemenite/Israeli identity in her poetry.

I would visit her in her small flat in an older Yemenite section of Jerusalem where I would drink coffee, listen to her poems, and sympathize with the difficulty of breaking into the tight literary circles in Jerusalem.

She wanted me to compose music for a play she was writing and was happy to share her contacts and feelings about the Yemenite community in exchange for my help. She spoke of the conflicting stereotypes that trouble many Yemenites. On one hand, the Yemenites, like most Middle Eastern Jews, are seen by the Ashkenazic Israelis as lower class, inferior, and best suited for manual labor. On the other hand, Yemenites are noted by the same Ashkenazim as being exotic, dark, and beautiful, constantly singing and dancing in native costume. Bracha was also bothered by the fact that traditional Yemenite society was extremely patriarchal, showing off its women but at the same time allowing them little personal freedom. She expressed great bitterness in her poetry which was reflected in titles like "ʾišah Bûšāh", Woman of Scorn."[2] Bracha stressed the fact that for all the beauty of the Yemenite wedding, the bride was still a young, inexperienced, frightened girl, imprisoned into her role. She said that outsiders see only the pagentry and ceremony of the Yemenite wedding and are totally unaware of the darker, more problematic, emotional reality. Bracha related that in Yemen, women were not supposed to express their feelings or emotions in public. Music, instead, served as an outlet for a woman's feelings. In Yemen, Bracha's mother would sing out all the troubles and frustrations she was unable to discuss directly. There were special songs for each household activity -[3] a song for grinding wheat, a song for making ḥilbe (a fluff made of clover soaked in water, finely ground and mixed with sharp spices). The melodies and structures of these songs were set but the words were flexible; her mother would adapt her own words to the melodies. Now removed from that traditional Yemenite milieu, Bracha used her poetry as her mother had used music; to express the frustration of her situation.

The first night I visited her she talked about the role of the šēdîm, or demons, in Yemen.[4] Yemenite Jews were very learned in Torah but they still held many superstitious beliefs. Their lives were surrounded by an active, complex and very real world of spirits. A Yemenite Jew might typically leave food out for the demons and know them by name. He or she would not venture into the kitchen late at night - the mother demon might be feeding the children in her family. The demon's presence was constantly felt and quietly acknowledged. Bracha's father was one of the Rabbis who led the Darda'im or progressive Jewish movement in Yemen.[5] The reformers encouraged rationalism and viewed these ancient practices as backward and harmful. They de-emphasized the study of Kabbalah and other mystical texts. The split between the reformers and the more traditional elements in Yemen was sharp, emotional, and intense. To this day in Israel it is not uncommon for Yemenite families to break into a fist fight at a wedding over whether the food should be completely removed from the table before one may say Birkat haMāzôn. Though people will not admit it openly, the question at stake is whether one leaves something on the table for the demons. This, at least, was Bracha's interpretation.

I received a call from Bracha on the first night of Ḥănukāh. She said that a wonderful Yemenite party was in progress at such and such an address on R^{e}ḥôb Ṣâfanyâh in a predominantly Hasidic section of Jerusalem, north of Meah Sharim and I should come over as quickly as possible. I asked on the phone how I would be able to find the house on the dark, narrow street. Bracha told me, "Don't worry about finding the house; just find the street; the music will lead you to the house."

She was right. It was impossible to miss the pounding rhythm of the drum, the clang of spoons and finger thimbels on the copper tray, as it was struck in time to the shrill voices of women [tape #1]. Since it was the first night of Ḥănukāh, I assumed that the party would be a Yemenite Ḥănukāh party of sorts. The gathering, however, had nothing to do with Ḥănukāh. It was a Yōledet party, given after the birth of a child, in honor of the mother.[6] The house was crowded with people, and one of the rooms had been specifically decorated for the occasion. This celebration is expressly for the women and only women were allowed in the Yōledet's Room. All kinds of Yemenite women - ancient looking grandmothers wearing bright scarves and embroidered trousers, and dark-eyed young beauties in blue jeans, were crowded into this room. They sat on low chairs and benches, rising occasionally to free a place so that another woman could enter. The rest of the house was filled with men and women and smoke. Large trays of nuts and seeds, stewed meat and fried bread were passed around. All attention was focused on the room where the Yōledet sat. There is a special art to decorating the room in which the women sit, sing, dance and entertain the Yōledet. A cousin of Bracha's from Ramat Gan was a M^{e}saderet, an expert in the traditional art of arranging the Yōledet's room. Tapestries are traditionally hung on the walls and green glass bottles are arranged on a ledge circling the room, close to the ceiling. I do not know what type of bottles they use in Yemen, but in Israel they use Gold Star Beer Bottles. The Yōledet sits on a pile of cushions arranged like a throne in the far corner of the room opposite the door. She sits and hardly moves, as friends and relatives bring her food and mint tea, or coffee mixed with hewaj, a special Yemenite blend of spices. It is in fact,

very difficult for the Yōledet to move since she is dressed in traditional garments; gold and silver brocaded robes, and the heavy qarqûš, a large, pointed hood encrusted with gold and silver embroidery, set with rows of coral and semiprecious stones and overlaid with gold Maria Theresas, a coin highly valued in Yemen.[7] If a family is poor, it rents both the traditional garments and the services of a Malbîšah, a woman learned in the ways of traditional dress. Since the Zadok family, whose daughter was being honored, is a family of wealthy goldsmiths and silversmiths, having for years owned the jewelry shop next to the King David Hotel, it owns its own traditional costumes. Not only was the Yōledet fully outfitted, but four or five of her younger sisters and cousins were in complete Yemenite dress. I noticed that one of the sisters stepped out of the room in her jewels and brocade complaining of the heat and then reappeared wearing tight jeans and a tee-shirt. Her grandmother laughed and said, "One minute Yemenite and the next minute she's Israeli!" Although only women were allowed in the room, men stood in the doorway and watched the women musicians. The performers sat to one side, playing and singing. The other women in the room would sometimes sing with them, and occasionally rise and dance to the music in groups of two or three. The room was so crowded that it was impossible for more than several people to dance at one time. One older aunt walked through the house sprinkling the guests with rosewater. Though she told me the rosewater was for good luck, Bracha said she sprinkled it to keep the demons from the celebration.

Since it was the first time I was visiting the Zadok family, I did not bring a tape recorder, but members of the family themselves had brought

equipment. Two younger brothers of the Yõledet were permitted to enter the room reserved for women with cameras and a cassette tape recorder. Though the Zadoks were a very traditional family, they allowed this impropriety for the purpose of recording the event. Obviously, the young Israeli Yemenites were enjoying the rediscovery of their traditional culture.

Since I was the only non-Yemenite at the party, my curiosity was respected and my questions were enthusiastically answered. When people learned I had come from the United States to research Yemenite culture, they pushed me toward the Yõledet's room shouting for people to make way so that I could see and hear. Before I left the party, the Zadoks invited me to return and visit them. My relationship with them was to prove especially valuable; the patriarch, Mori Yosef Zadok, who had lived in Yemen for some 50 years before coming to Israel, was to be a rich source of recordings.

I stumbled home from the party smelling of brandy and rosewater. My wife met me at the door and asked, "Rough night doing research, dear?" I had actually laid the groundwork for my entrance into the Yemenite community. Though the Yõledet party itself was fascinating, I established contacts that night that would lead me to my true goal - an understanding of the Yemenite oral tradition of the Song of Songs.

In an effort to unlock the secret of the strange accentuation of the Song of Songsin MS W.6. which I had begun in the United States, I now visited many Yemenite synagogues to listen to the oral recitation of the Song. The Yemenites, like many Jewish Communities, begin the Kabbalat Shabbat service by chanting the Song of Songs. There are two different

nushaot or tunes for chanting the Song, one used on Passover [tape #2] and the other at the beginning of the Sabbath [tape #3]. The Sabbath tune is the simpler one of the two; almost all the members of the congregation know the words and the chant, like most of the service, by heart.

I was interested in the cantillation marks which the Yemenites used to indicate the Songs' melodic line. In Israel, I saw Yemenite prayerbooks where the Song was written with full Tiberian vocalization and accentuation, as in Ashkenazic tradition. But there were also Yemenite prayerbooks where the Song was punctuated much more simply; the text unvocalized, with dots alone placed like periods marking the major pauses. A pause is indicated in the reading by changing the melody of the chant. So this simple punctuation also functioned as accentuation. This simple punctuation/accentuation is very interesting for several several reasons. The p^{e}sîq, or dot, is probably the simplest and oldest mark of punctuation.[8] Complicated punctuation and musical notation became necessary when the oral tradition was in fear of being lost. But the oral tradition of the Song of Songs among the Yemenites is still strong. This is the one instance in Jewish liturgy of a biblical book's being chanted every week in its entirety. The oral tradition is so vivid among themthat only the simplest written guide is necessary. This notation might be the oldest system of punctuation/accentuation which was applied to the whole Bible when the oral tradition was still strong. Similarly the Yemenite Targum, the Aramaic translation of the Bible, is marked with simple dots and the Yemenites rely on these to guide them in pause and melody when reciting the text.

One Yemenite synagogue in which the Kabbalat Shabbat service is

particularly interesting is the Shalom Shebezi synagogue in the neighborhood of Naḥlaôt, in Jerusalem. It is the home of the Yemenite Kabbalists in the city. Their custom is to dress completely in white and wear a ṭallît for Kabbalat Shabbat, the service beginning the Sabbath. In no other community do the men wear prayer shawls at night except on the eve of Yom Kippur. I arrived a few moments before the service began. The first people there began to chant the Song. The volume rose as more people joined the congregation. By the time they had finished the Song of Songs, most of the congregation had arrived and they were ready to begin the service proper. In general, in Yemenite synagogues, the chanting of the Song is not lead by any specific member, but the congregation itself chants as a group. The leader takes his place before the congregation only after the chanting of the Song.

The Sabbath version of the Song of Songs is sung every Friday night; I heard that version often. However, the other melody, the chant for Passover is sung only once a year. Though similar to the Sabbath melody, the one for Passover is more elaborate, each word being sung more distinctly. And the book itself is read together with its Aramaic translation, which, in turn, is chanted to a different tune. [tape #4]. Because it was essential that I hear the Song of Songs on Passover, I asked many Yemenites exactly when during the holiday it would be read. Usually Yemenites read the book before the afternoon service on the intermediate Sabbath of Passover. But that particular year there was no intermediate Sabbath, the holiday beginning on that day of the week, and there was a certain amount of disagreement as to when the reading would take place. So I sought the opinions of other Yemenite acquaintances.

I had other Yemenite friends besides Bracha. A close friend from the States, Baruch, was marrying into a traditional Yemenite family. Baruch was an Ashkenazi Jew born on Long Island, but he was so Yemenized and was such an accomplished Yemenite dancer, that he was invited to join the famous Yemenite Dance troupe, Imbal. Knowing that I wanted to hear the Passover version of the Song of Songs, Baruch invited me and my wife to his in-laws' Seder. The Ḥadad family was from Sharab, Yemen. Ever since they had arrived from Yemen in 1950, they lived in Ein Karem in Jerusalem. When we arrived at their two room stone house, the whole family was busy preparing for the Seder. Some forty friends and relatives were expected for Passover: The family had slaughtered a calf the day before. Pots were piled on each burner of the small stove in towers three to four tiers high. Huge bowls of fruit and cookies were on the kitchen table. Immediately upon our arrival, before we were even introduced to the family, Mrs. Ḥadad sat us in the kitchen and fed us rice, potatoes, and some suspicious internal portion of the pascal calf, and told us to make ourselves at home.

The older members of the Ḥadad family had never been greatly influenced by Israeli culture. The patriach, Mori Ḥadad, was in his mid-to-late seventies; he wore a kaftan and had a full white beard and long p'ot. He spent most of his time in the synagogue around the corner, where he was considered the Rabbi. (Mori - from the Hebrew ירה to teach- is the Yemenite term for Rabbi). Though the Yemenite community in Ein Karem is small, in good Jewish tradition there are two competing Yemenite synagogues a block apart from each other. The first is wealthier. The second, our hosts' synagogue, is older and smaller.

When Mori Ḥadad was not in the synagogue, he spent hours puttering around the house, napping, and studying. He looked annoyed most of the time, and spoke with such a thick Yemenite accent that it was very difficult to understand what he said. That did not matter, since he seldom spoke, especially to me. He would sit in the corner of the common room and smoke gat, a mildly euphoric herb, from a huge narghileh or water pipe. He seemed self-conscious about smoking the gat in front of strangers, since it is considered a very "old world" custom. One of his sons came back from Tel Aviv with a bagful of the herb, gave it to his father and said, "Now he won't care if the world topples over; he'll be happy." There is actually a poem in the Diwan - the collection of Yemenite hymns, songs and poetry sung at home on Sabbaths, holidays and family celebrations - that portrays coffee and gat arguing with one another. Each in turn sings it own praises, claiming to bring more pleasure to man.[9]

I was anxious to know at what time of the day the Song and the Targum would be chanted. I had only one chance to hear it all year long and I did not want to miss it. Though I asked several times, Mori Ḥadad was not interested in giving me a precise answer. He would only say "during Pesah." When I tried to ask some older uncles about the Song of Songs, they teased me and called me a "romantic." Finally, Mori Ḥadad said that they would be reading the Song that night after the Seder or the next afternoon in the synagogue.[10]

In the late afternoon guests began to arrive for the Seder and the Ḥadads set up long benches and tables in the common room. Before sunset, I went with the men to the small synagogue to daven Kabbalat Shabbat. Right away I lost heart: After chanting two chapters of the

Sabbath melody to the Song of Songs, the congregation broke into an argument over whether to finish the text or skip to the end. One man said it was wrong to rush. He wished that they had started the service earlier and had been able to sing the whole book with real feeling. But since they had started late, it was wrong to rush through the book. His opinion prevailed and everyone skipped to the last chapter.

When we returned from synagogue, the tables were set for the Seder. Several large trays piled with lettuce, parsley and horseradish nearly covered the table. Mori Ḥadad brought out a huge jug of extremely potent homemade wine that in the course of the evening was to undo many present at the Seder. Yemenites begin their Seders by acting out several vignettes dramatizing the exodus from Egypt. Our friend, Baruch, was about to marry into the family and as the new bridegroom was given the honor of acting the first story. He took the afikomen, broke it into pieces and tied the pieces into a corner of his ṭallît. He then threw the bundle over his shoulder like a pack, picked up a large walking stick and headed out the door, as if setting out on a long journey. All the company called out after him. "Where are you going?" He answered "To Jerusalem!" They asked him "Where are you coming from?" He answered "From Egypt!" Then they all tried to persuade him to stay with them and celebrate the Passover, after which they would all go to Jerusalem together. He sat down and then a young boy dressed in a turban and ḳaftan, to represent Elisha the Prophet, left the room. He knocked on the door with his staff, inviting the people to come to Jerusalem and celebrate the Passover.

With these two vignettes we began the Seder. It was quite long and was led by Mori Ḥadad and his brothers. For the most part, the

Seder followed the Hagadah I knew, but it struck me as foreign, being chanted in a special Yemenite melody.[11] Since it was Shabbat, I could not record the Seder, but some songs especially interested me. During Dayênû, [tape #5], all the guests took hold of the large, heavy Seder plates, and on singing the word "Dayênû", lifted the plates high into the air. Some of the more enthusiastic participants lifted the entire table. By the time we began the meal, we had drunk several glasses of Mori Ḥadad's homemade wine and everyone was in some stage of inebriation. Though the wine was putting me to sleep, it seemed to affect Mori Ḥadad and his brothers by making them argumentative. We ate rice, potatoes, matzah, chicken and various parts of the slaughtered calf, all with generous servings of ḥilbe. There was also Yemenite ḥaroset, made of dates, wine and hot spices ground to the consistency of rick, dark clay.

After dinner we continued the Seder. We had almost reached Birkat haMāzôn, the Grace after Meals when one of the uncles pointed out we had forgotten to eat the afikomen and insisted that we start all over again. After a tremendous argument, in which it seemed that Mori Ḥadad's very authority was at stake, we began again and repeated the entire second part of the Seder. I have since learned that the natives of Sharab are known for their tempers and matters of halaḵah are sometimes determined among them by fistfight.[12]

When the Seder was finished, my wife and I were surprised to learn that we would spend the night in a double bed. With forty people in the apartment, we had planned to sleep on the floor or on couches and were thrilled at the prospect of having a bed to ourselves. But we did not have the room to ourselves. Eight other people slept in the same small room with us.

In the morning Mori Ḥadad came to wake me at 5:30 since the Yemenites begin their prayers early. Most of the Sabbath was spent in the synagogue. I was anxious to hear the chant of the Song of Songs in the afternoon. But the afternoon came and went, and the congregation did not read The Song. When I called this to Mori Ḥadad's attention he said, "Well, sometimes the Song of Songs is read in the synagogue and sometimes not. It can also be read at home on Sabbath afternoon. When we returned to the Ḥadad's home, I waited for the family to sing the Song while we sat in the common room drinking spiced coffee. I waited in vain. After havdalah, as we said good-bye and left the Ḥadad household, I was convinced that I had missed the opportunity to hear the Passover chant of the Song of Songs that year.

But later that week I was in luck. The Zadok family, whose Yōledet party I had attended, assured me that the Song was to be chanted at their synagogue on Friday before the afternoon service. Rav Yosef Zadok promised me a good performance at their synagogue since the congregation contained many rabbis and learned men.

When I arrived at the synagogue several men were studying the Midrashic interpretation of the weekly Torah portion. Ḥavrat ʾAḥîm was a grand synagogue in comparison with the Ḥadad family's modest place of worship. Young men and boys began to fill the long,low benches in the synagogue before the reading of the Song. The Yemenites have a special way of reading the book with its Aramaic translation. One member of the congregation began by chanting the first verse of the Song in Hebrew. The entire congregation then repeated the verse. The same reader then continued to chant the Aramaic Targum of that

verse, using a different tune; the Targum was not repeated. The person next to the first reader then continued with verse two of the Song and so on around the room so that all males present (excluding myself) took turns leading the congregation. Fathers encouraged their young sons to read and show off their competence. I was impressed by the high level of learning in the congregation. Some people stumbled a bit while pronouncing the Aramaic but were quickly corrected by the Mori in the corner. Though the basic tune of the Hebrew text seemed the same for every verse, there were stylistic differences among the congregants; those with good voices tended to embellish the melody. It took about two hours to sing the Song of Songs and its Targum in this way.

A problem of ethnic research in Israel is the degree to which immigrants have been influenced by Israeli culture. Some research and recording was done among the Yemenites when they were living in the Hashed camp outside of Aden waiting to leave for Israel.[13] However, much of their folklore, especially their dance and music, was not fully recorded at that time. Now it is difficult to find communities where the traditions are uninfluenced by the dominant Israeli culture. Some of the best places to collect data are the Yemenite moshavim or collectives. Often the entire Jewish population of Yemenite villages remained together settling in moshavim as a group. In this way their customs, music, and language have remained more purely Yemenite than the customs, music and language of Yemenites who settled in larger cities.

My friend, Baruch, had been a social worker and community organizer

for several Yemenite moshavim in the Jerusalem corridor--the area between Tel Aviv and Jerusalem. I accompanied him to Purim services at Moshav Bakoʿa, a moshav settled by Jews from the Sharab district of Yemen. It is possible in Israel, if your liver can take the abuse, to celebrate Purim twice. Jerusalem, being an ancient walled city like Shushan, observes Shushan Purim on the fifteenth of Adar. Outside of Jerusalem, Purim is celebrated on the fourteenth of Adar. In order to take full advantage of this opportunity for a double celebration, we headed for Moshav Bakoʿa on the fourteenth. We drove through the Jerusalem hills at sunset, hurrying to reach the moshav before the reading of the Megillah. The moshav, though built more than twenty years ago, still looked under construction. Small stucco houses lined the main gravel road. A small crowd was already gathering at the synagogue when we arrived. Old men were talking and joking in Yemenite Arabic and children in costumes chased each other around the synagogue. Cowboy hats, six-shooters and double holsters seemed to be the most popular costume that year. After about twenty men had arrived and the group had determined who would lead evening services, they began praying. The Book of Esther was read from a large, old, yellowed scroll. The reader stood at the reader's stand in the center of the small synagogue and chanted the Megillah to the traditional Yemenite tune. He read quickly but distinctly, as most of the members followed along in their own hand written scrolls brought with them from Yemen. The reader sang the five "redemption" verses of the Book of Esther (2:5, 7:10, 8:15, 16, 9:3) to a special tune. [tape #6]. These verses were first sung by the reader and then repeated in the congregation.[14] The children waited for the name of Haman to be read, at which point they would pound furiously on the desks and

benches of the synagogue. Very few children used groggers, our traditional noisemakers, but shot off cap pistols instead and the smell of burning gunpowder filled the synagogue. Though the atmosphere was raucous it did not seem especially joyous or festive. No one was drinking liquor and there were not even that many people present at the synagogue. I learned later that there are two synagogues on the moshav. The one we attended was especially reserved for the Kohanîm, or priestly class. I was told that it was not uncommon in Yemenite communities for one synagogue to be designated expressly for the Kohanîm.

After the service was over Baruch and I were invited to visit several different families in their homes. It was impossible to leave each home without drinking mint tea or coffee; when we said good night we literally had our pockets stuffed full of fruit. The family in the first house we visited was very traditional. The women wore colorful head scarves, typical of women from rural Yemen, and embroidered trousers under their dresses. Since Yemenite men wear kaftans and the women trousers, it is an insult to say that a man wears the pants in the family; the Yemenites understand that expression to mean the man is effeminate.[15] The old grandfather of this particular family started to tell me stories and jokes in Hebrew, and then suddenly switched to Yemenite Arabic. I listened attentively hoping he would switch back to Hebrew, all the while trying my best to anticipate his punchlines and laugh in the correct places. In fact, Yemenite Arabic was spoken more freely in their home than Hebrew. I thought I had located a place where traditions and music were being preserved and were as pure as possible. But then I noticed the children watching television in the corner of the living room.

The "show" was the reading of the Megillah, televised live from a large Yeshiva in Jerusalem, and when the reader sang a fancy or complicated accent the Yemenite children laughed and mimiced the Ashkenazic melody, repeating it quite faithfully. The whole family listened and laughed. No ethnic group in Israel is free of outside influence. Through television and radio the dominant culture enters every home. In Israel, even religious and ritual occasions are subject to broadcast. Riding back to Jerusalem, I realized that even though it may be possible to say that Israeli-born Yemenites have a strong traditional orientation, there will be no such thing as a pure Yemenite tradition among them.

It was through the poet Bracha Seri that I met her cousin, Bracha Levi. Bracha Levi had been the room arranger for the Yōledet party at the Zadoks' home in Jerusalem. She was a warm, intelligent woman in her late forties, who lived with her family in Ramat Gan, where she directed a community center in a Yemenite neighborhood. She was a fine traditional musician, but her husband discouraged her from performing in public. Bracha's husband had been a stone mason in Yemen and was involved in the construction business in Israel. He built their spacious stone house, which I soon had the good fortune to visit, with his own hands. Since Bracha knew I was interested in Yemenite music, she invited me to Ramat Gan to record her and a partner singing Yemenite womens' songs. I happily accepted her invitation and travelled one evening to her home, expecting a quiet time recording two women. I arrived a bit late and was ushered into the family room where I was greeted by a room packed full of Yemenites. Two long tables were set, one crowded with women and one with men. The group was singing, drinking and laughing. They all became quiet and smiled at me when I

walked in a bit dumbfounded, carrying my tape recorder and microphones. Bracha laughed and explained that it was so much easier to sing when there was a party, so she had decided to make a Yemenite S^{e}udah, a feast, for all their friends. She said they welcomed an excuse to come togehter to sing the traditional music and enjoy themselves. There were about thirty people present, most in their forties and fifties. Obviously Yemenite, many nevertheless had the look and style of successful Israelis.

I arrived at the same time that food was being served. Bracha sat me down to eat before the music began. This food was fancier than the food at the Ḥadad's seder. It was also delicious, but I soon learned that only the adventurous or highly curious should ask exactly what they are eating. I was busily involved with some spiced, grilled meat which I was told was šôd pārāh. It took a moment for me to translate. I never realized cow udder could be so tasty. This S^{e}udah was on a weekday night and not really meant to celebrate any special occasion. So the music that evening had no traditional context. Yemenite music derives from the occasions of the religious or general life cycle, such as Shabbat, holidays or weddings. This group was most like a Yemenite cultural club; they would meet in different friends' homes to sing and eat, trade songs and socialize. They knew their traditions were in jeopardy and wanted to preserve them as best as they could. As a researcher from the United States, I was warmly welcomed. People were eager to explain their music and customs. After I finished recording they wanted to listen to the final tape, and requested a copy of it. My recording equipment always got attention. The men would inquire about the brand, and always asked how much the machine had cost in

the United States and how much it sold for in Israel. After dinner the group said the Grace after Meals [tape #7] and then began to sing. The men and women took turns, each group singing its own special songs. The women sang mostly ballads and love songs in Yemenite Arabic. [tape #8]. The men sang songs from the Diwan. [tape #9]. Someone played a drum as they sang and someone else snapped his fingers against a large tin oil can which he held on his shoulders. A woman accompanied her group by beating a large brass tray. In Yemen, Jewish song was unaccompanied, since the Moslem rulers forbade the Jews to play any type of instrument. So the Jews would sometimes use a drum or metal tray to beat the rhythm, knowing that even this was cause for punishment.

I was interested in Yemenite melodies or songs to the text of the Song of Songs, and asked if anyone knew any Yemenite melodies like "ʾAni Ḥavaṣelet ha Šaron." One man in his early forties said yes, he knew several songs from the Song of Songs. He sang some spirited, rhythmic songs that sounded traditionally Yemenite to me [tape #10]. I later learned that these songs were not traditional at all. They were actually popularized Yemenite songs, or songs written in a Yemenite style. Some of these "new" Yemenite songs even imitated the vocabulary and style of the famous seventeenth century Yemenite poet, Shalom Shabezi, in order to sound more authentic. They were played on Israeli radio and released on record; many Yemenites would learn them and then introduce them into a traditional context by singing them at a wedding or on Shabbat. It was very difficult to distinguish these "untraditional" songs when they were sung by a

Yemenite with proper pronounciation, rhythm and vocal style. One must know both traditional and popular music to judge the authenticity of a particular song. Many songs which we in America call Yemenite, the Yemenites say are not theirs at all. In some cases, parts of a Yemenite melody are modified, and new words are written to the tune. The well known "Yemenite" version of "D^{e}rôr Yiqra' " [tape #11] is a good example of popular music absorbed as tradition. Older Yemenites told me this song was not a Yemenite song at all. Yet in Roš haʿayin I asked Yemenite high school students to sing some Yemenite songs for me, they enthusiastically sang "D^{e}rôr Yiqra'" In any case, to represent "D^{e}rôr Yiqra'" as a Yemenite Sabbath song is incorrect, since on Shabbat the Yemenites sing songs for the occasion from the Diwan: They do not sing the same Zemirot that the Ashkenazim and Sephardim sing. However, printed Sephardic prayerbooks were introduced into Yemen in the eighteen century and certain Yemenite communities were influenced by the liturgy. I found a Yemenite Synagogue in the Katamon neighborhood of Jerusalem where they sang L^{e}kah Dodi. [Tape #12].

The Yemenites themselves recognize four categories of traditional music; music for public readings of the Bible, music for prayers, men's songs and women's songs.[16] The first two classes are exclusively the men's domain and include music sung only in the context of the synagogue. The third class, men's songs, are sung on Shabbat, at weddings and at other socio-religious celebrations. The poetic texts were written by many Yemenite poets, mostly by Shalom Shabezi. They are in Hebrew, Aramaic and Arabic and are collected in a book called the Diwan. The men often dance as they sing.[17] Women's songs are

sung at weddings and at other gatherings celebrating the life cycle. These songs are in Yemenite Arabic and are not sung to set texts; they may also be accompanied by dancing. There are, in addition, women's work songs that are sung, for example, while one is grinding wheat or making ḥilbe.

I did a great deal of recording at this s^{e}udah and received an invitation to return to Ramat Gan in two weeks, when there would be a wedding in their community.

When people speak of the pageantry of a Yemenite wedding they are in most cases speaking of the Henna ceremony,[18] which takes place the day before the wedding. The ceremony is named after the henna plant which produces a reddish brown dye that the bride uses to color parts of her body before the marriage ceremony. In Israel today, most brides dye only their palms, but in Yemen it was common for a bride to dye her palms, hands, arms, feet and even her hair reddish brown! This is the custom of not only the Yemenites but also of many Middle Eastern and Sephardic communities, like the Moroccans and Iraqis. I asked many women the reason for dyeing their bodies with henna and I received almost as many different answers as women I asked. Some said it was to keep away the demons. Others said that in Yemen the color was considered very beautiful. One woman explained that in the hot desert climate of Yemen the red dye offered protection against the sun!

A special song is sung as the henna is prepared. The herb is mixed with earth and kneaded until it is smooth. Needless to say, the woman preparing the henna mixture (in this household, the bride's mother) stains her own hands a deep reddish brown in the process. Before the ceremony, I was invited to Bracha Levi's house and especially asked

to bring my tape recorder to record the two women who would be singing for the Henna.

They were both in their eighties, and Bracha wanted to make sure that their authentic henna songs were recorded. [tape #13]. Since it was the first time either of these two women had been recorded, they knew little about recording technique and cared even less. As they began to sing, I set up the microphone and adjusted the recording level. One woman then quickly picked up her brass tray and clanged it so hard she almost blew out the microphone. This, of course, was my problem, not hers, since she probably thought it strange to be singing henna songs before the ceremony in the first place. Before the Henna began, later that evening, the Malbišah was arranging the garments and jewelry of the bride and bridegroom in a room at the bride's parents' house. Though only close friends and relatives were with them, I had special privileges as the researcher from the United States. I was led to the room to wish them mazal tov, and watch as the Malbišah made the final adjustments of their ornate garments. The bride was completely dressed in Yemenite robes, jewelry and hood. Carnations and sprigs of flowering henna were pinned around her hood, framing her face. The fact that men were allowed in this room at all, and that the bridegroom was with the bride at this point in the ceremony, indicated that this was a less traditional family. Later in the Henna, some men and women danced together; traditionally, men and women never dance together.

At the appropriate time, an entourage of women came to escort the bride to the party hall. They were singing, wailing, and dancing; one was playing a drum. [tape #14]. On their heads they balanced large

ornamental baskets in which were arranged lit candles, eggs and sprigs of flowering henna. The bowl of mixed earth and henna was also carried in one of these baskets. The bridegroom walked behind the musical procession with some male friends and relatives. I was told that in Yemen the bridegroom would also have been escorted from his house to the ceremony. All the while, the women danced with the flaming henna baskets. When I asked about the significance of the eggs in the baskets, one woman said they were a symbol of fertility, and another said they stood for wholeness and completeness in the couple's lives. At another Henna I attended, one old woman snatched one of the eggs from a basket and dashed it on the ground in front of the bride. When I asked the reason I was told, "So they'll have many children."

The bride was escorted into the large hall of the local community center. The hall had been decorated, and long tables and chairs were set up around the sides. The tables were set with bowls of seeds, nuts, dates and figs as well as bottles of wine and brandy. The groom took his place at the head table which was set on risers, elevating it higher than the rest of the tables. The bride sat next to him. They remained seated this way and hardly moved at all during most of the ceremony. They appeared very regal, so richly ornamented and sitting on their thrones.[19] The two old women then began by singing the Henna songs we had recorded earlier that evening. They sang for about half an hour while the guests listened, ate and talked. When they finished, the Henna ceremony itself began. Guests approached the couple and scooped up a small bit of the henna mixture. The guests then rubbed it into the palms of the bride and groom, while wishing them <u>mazal tov</u>.

Many people then rubbed a bit of the henna on their own palms for good luck. This was followed by more music, singing and dancing. During the whole evening, the bride and groom sat motionless on their throne-like chairs. It was only at the end of the evening that they got up and danced for a short while. The henna mixture must be left on for several hours if it is to dye one's skin for a long period of time. However, even rubbing the couple's hands for luck is enough to color one's fingers and hands reddish brown. During the year, many people knew I was working with the Yemenite community because my hands were often stained red from henna.

I did not attend the couple's actual wedding the following day, but the wedding is of much less interest to the folklorist. In Israel today, the bride usually forsakes the traditional garments for a white wedding gown during the actual marriage ceremony. The marriage of Baruch to Dina Ḥadad was a good example of a traditional Henna followed by a Western-influenced wedding. Though Dina and Baruch's Henna was held at the Ḥadad house in Ein Karim, the wedding itself took place in the social hall of a moshav outside Jerusalem. All the guests arrived at about eight o'clock and began to fill the hall while Israeli music played in the background. Though Dina wore a white wedding gown, she made a traditional Yemenite entrance. She was escorted into the room by women singing and wailing to a drum. Several women balanced baskets of lit candles on their heads and escorted her to the Ḥuppah where Baruch was waiting. A Yemenite Rabbi performed the wedding under a marriage canopy fashioned from Baruch's tallît supported by palm branches. The party following the ceremony alternated Yemenite and Israeli custom. For a while they played Israeli records and all the younger people did

Israeli dances. Then the older Yemenites would all start singing and playing drums and large tin cans. Baruch and Dina, who were both members of a Yemenite dance company, performed a dance together as the rest of the guests watched. Several old Yemenite women sitting next to me kept pointing to Baruch and saying, "He dances more like a Yemenite than a Yemenite!" More Yemenite music followed as a favorite uncle played a large potato chip can and sang the poems of Shalom Shabezi into the microphone. During his performance, many old Yemenite men danced with each other. They darted and turned and drew pictures in the air with their hands. The microphone was then passed around as several of the couple's friends performed songs for the wedding party. An Ashkenazic woman who was a friend of Baruch's sang a Yemenite song to the delight of Dina's family. Not to be outdone, one of Dina's uncles took the microphone and sang a song in Yiddish for Baruch's family. The uncle sang and imitated a thick Yiddish accent. He made the old Yemenite women sitting next to me laugh so hard they almost fell off their chairs. Dina's father, Mori Ḥadad, was one person at the wedding who seemed untouched by all this cross-cultural exchange. He did not seem happy about his daughter's "inter-marriage" to a non-Yemenite. I too had mixed feelings. Though I was very happy for Baruch and Dina, I was sorry that the price Jews were bound to pay for the ingathering of the exiles was the dilution of many unique and diverse Jewish cultures.

Rav Yosef Kafiḥ is generally acknowledged the chief rabbi of the Yemenite community in Israel. He was born in Sanaa, the capital of Yemen and trained as a silversmith in his youth. I heard Yemenites in all parts of Israel speak of him in a tone of reverence. He was often

cited as an authority by scholars writing in Yemenite studies. It was not unusual to find a footnote stating, "I received this information from Rav Kafiḥ." He has written more than fifteen books and articles about Yemenite culture, among them the volume dealing with Yemenite customs and traditions, Halīkot Temān and the one article written by a Yemenite about Yemenite cantillation.[20] His wife was known for her work in charity, and people from all over Jerusalem would bring old clothes to their household to be distributed among the poor. There were many questions I wanted to ask Rav Kafiḥ, and although he was known to be approachable, I was not sure of the best way to approach him.

One evening I attended a Yemenite testimonial concert and program in Heḥal Shlomo, given in honor of a prominent Yemenite who was an active leader in municipal government. Rav Kafiḥ was present to give a short speech and benediction at the occasion. Before the program, I was buying coffee in the snack bar and asked the people next to me if Rav Kafiḥ had arrived yet. They answered "Yes" and pointed directly behind me to a table where a man sat alone, bent over a book studying, undisturbed and unaffected by all the tumult in the hall. He wore a black suit and broad-brimmed black hat and looked more European than I had imagined him. He was short and broad and looked both distinguished and approachable at the same time. I introduced myself to him and briefly explained the problem of the Yemenite manuscript on which I was working. He smiled and said he would meet with me and gave me his address and phone number. He suggested that I call him and fix a meeting. I made an appointment to see him one afternoon.

the following week.

Rav Kafiḥ lived in a modest two-story house in Jerusalem. His combined office and study was a small room on the house's lower level. When I entered, he was studying behind a large desk that filled the greater part of the room. The walls were lined with books from floor to ceiling. I explained the work I was doing and the problem of the unusual accentuation in manuscript W.6. I first asked him to help me identify and, if possible, locate the town named in the colophon as the place of the manuscript's composition. He read the colophon and identified מתח אלחרף as the place אלחרף . Many place names in Yemen begin with אל , the Arabic definite article ال . Rav Kafiḥ said that the name sounded familiar to him, and although he thought it was in the area of Sanaa, he could not be positive. During the year I asked many other Yemenites if they knew of the town אלחרף. Though several said they had heard the name, they were not able to specify its location or identify any Yemenites in Israel from that place. I checked every map of Yemen available and still could not find אלחרף[21] I spoke with Dr. Aviva Klein, a Yemenite who was directing a Hebrew University Folklore Department project constructing a scientific map of Yemen. She was kind enough to go through all her notes and records, but found no reference to אלחרף. From this information, I think it is safe to assume that the town - if it still exists - is very small and relatively isolated. It would be interesting to pinpoint where the manuscript was written, since traditions of cantillation vary from place to place in Yemen.

When Rav Kafiḥ looked at the date on the colophon page, he was quick to tell me that the manuscript had little scholarly value because

of its lateness, being less than one hundred years old. He pulled down several manuscripts from his library dating from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and said that these were valuable because of their age. When I asked his opinion of the odd accentuation of manuscript W.6., he offered a simple answer, "The scribe probably did not know [the correct accentuation]." I asked Rav Kafiḥ several other questions about the oral tradition of the Song, since the few articles on Yemenite accentuation deal only with the system for chanting the Torah, and not the Prophets or the Writings. He was very helpful. I also asked him to recommend a trustworthy informant from whom I could record the chanting of the Song of Songs. He suggested Rav Yosef Zadok, a learned Rabbi who had lived in Yemen for more than fifty years before coming to Israel. It so happened that Rav Zadok was the patriarch of the same Zadok family on R^{e}ḥob Ṣafanyâh where I had attended the Yōledet party, and received my first introduction to the Yemenite community. Rav Kafiḥ said that when he saw Rav Zadok in synagogue, he would inquire if he were willing to let me record him. Introductions are handled very traditionally in the Yemenite community. One does not just call up on the telephone and say, "Hello, I'm doing research, could we get together?" Rav Kafiḥ had to arrange my introduction to Rav Zadok. I was told it was considered bad form to make initial contact on the telephone.

After several weeks I checked back with Rav Kafiḥ. Rav Zadok had agreed to meet with me, and I should contact him. I went to his house and was greeted by his daughter. She knew nothing of Rav Kafiḥ's introduction and seemed wary of strangers coming to bother her father.

I explained that not only had Rav Kafiḥ sent me, but it so happened I was a friend of Bracha Levi and Bracha Seri and had been to this very house several months ago for their Yōledet party. By this time Rav Zadok's daughter warmed up to me and asked me - as long as I had been a guest at the Yōledet party - if I would like to see the baby? I was escorted into one of the rooms and met both the baby and his mother, the Yōledet. This time the Yōledet looked very modern and Israeli. She was a dark, pretty woman in her mid-twenties who was studying economics at the university. I explained to them the nature of my research and emphasized the importance of recording and preserving the authentic Yemenite musical traditions. At this point Rav Zadok's daughter seemed much more receptive to my research, but said that Rav Zadok slept this time in the afternoon, and I should return some day in the morning if I wished to talk to him.

I returned several days later, and wanting to avoid all intermediaries, went directly to Rav Zadok's apartment. I climbed the stone stairs to the second story of the house, hoping that this time I was neither too late nor too early. The Rabbi's wife answered the door and told me that Rav Zadok was studying but she would check to see if he would see me. He agreed and she escorted me into his study. I knew that Ha Rav Yosef Zadok was the patriarch of the family and that he had lived in Yemen for fifty of his eighty years, but I was unprepared for what I saw when I stood before him. The rabbi sat barefoot and cross-legged on a bench covered with an oriental rug. He wore a silver-gray kaftan and his white beard and p$^{e)}$ot curled onto his chest. He looked like the pictures I had seen of the Yemenites when they first

arrived in Israel on Operation Margic Carpet in 1950. Rav Zadok studied Talmud every morning,[22] and he did not look up from the large volume by his side. Finally, he turned to me and asked, "Who are you?" I introduced myself, explained that, as Rav Kafiḥ had (I hoped) mentioned, I wanted to record him singing the Song of Songs and several other melodies. He immediately pointed out that the National Library already had many Yemenite recordings, and asked why I did not simply listen to them. I explained that the material I needed had not yet been recorded, and that it would be a great service to preserve these tunes in the pure traditional style. He agreed to be recorded, but said he was very busy with his studying, and asked me to return the following Tuesday morning. As I was leaving, I realized that Tuesday was Yom haʿaṣmaût, Israeli Independence Day. However, I reasoned that Rav Zadok had been in Israel many years, and if he wanted me to come on Independence Day, that's when I would come.

I returned that time the following week with all my recording equipment. I climbed the stairs to Rav Zadok's apartment only to find no one at home. I heard people downstairs, and when I knocked, found the whole family crowded around the television watching the Israel National Bible Contest. The table in front of them was set with food and brandy. They were like ardent fans watching a football game. When the moderator asked a question, everyone in the room would shout out an answer, and then they would argue among themselves as to who was right. They were cheering their favorite contestants, razzing the judges, and having a wonderful time. I walked into this scene, tape recorder and microphone in hand, wondering why in the world I did not double check when Rav Zadok had asked me to come on Independece Day. When Rav Zadok

saw me he laughed and motioned me to come sit next to him. He explained that somehow he had forgotten about this "great and important" holiday. However, as long as I was there, he suggested I relax and eat and drink something. A glass of brandy was thrust into one of my hands and a bowl of meat stew with hilbe into the other, and I settled down to join the Yemenite cheering section for the National Bible Contest. Later that afternoon, Rav Zadok warmly wished me hag sameaḥ, a happy holiday, since half a bottle of brandy later we had become great friends. He told me to return late the following week and he would record anything I wanted. The Zadoks sent me home with a package of food, probably pitying this poor earnest soul who wanders around with a tape recorder on Yom haʿṣmaut when he should be having fun.

When I returned that following Friday, Rav Zadok greeted me warmly. This time he was not seated in front of a Talmud, but at a table piled high with silver jewelry--bracelets, beads, rings and necklaces. In Yemen he had been a silversmith and in Israel he still helped with the family business. He led me into his study where we recorded the material I wanted. Rav Zadok said that he used only one melody for the Song of Songs both for Kabbalat Shabbat and Pesaḥ [tape #15], though, of course, on Pesaḥ they read the Song with the Aramaic Targum. He not only recorded the Targum melody for the Song but also the tunes for Ruth [tape #16], and Kohelet, [tape #17], which he said are similar to the melody of the Song of Songs. I told him that I would make a copy of the tape for him to keep, and asked if there was anything else he especially wanted to record. He said yes, he very much wanted to record some of his favorite melodies to Psalms. [tape #18]. The Yemenites do not

follow the Tiberian accentuation in reciting Psalms but have a number of special melodies they use instead.[23] He recorded these tunes on the same tape. I thanked Rav Zadok for his help and generosity, and since it was Friday afternoon, his wife sent me home with Yemenite ḥallot and a large jar of her special ḥilbe. Yemenite ḥallot are round and flat with the consistency of soft spongy pancakes. The ḥilbe was reputed to be the best in town.

Success at last: I left the Zadoks' with the tape I needed, and with dinner.

NOTES TO CHAPTER V

1 For a first hand account of Operation Magic Carpet see Shlomo Barer, The Magic Carpet (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1952).

2 I quote the first stanza with my own translation:

לי מתימן	I am from Yemen
לי חובאה ירשה	I have an inherited burden
בושה	Shame
אשה	A woman
עבודה קשה. אל הרבות בדרישה	Hard work. Don't ask much.
ואזי לי מעינה בישא	Beware of the Evil Eye!
שה.	Sha!

3 Goitein publishes the text of such a woman's work song in English translation. See S.D. Goitein, From the Land of Sheba, Tales of the Jews of Yemen (New York, Schocken Books, 1973), pp. 92-94.

4 For a general discussion of the role of demons in Jewish folklore see Joshua Trachtenberg, Jewish Magic and Superstition, A Study in Folk Religion (New York, Atheneum, 1977), pp. 25-60.

5 For information about this progressive movement see Y. Nini, "From Joseph Halevy to the ʾIqshim-Dardaʾim Dispute in 1914," in The Jews of Yemen, Studies and Research, eds. Yosef Tubi and Israel Yeshaʿyahu, (Jerusalem, Yad Itzhak Ben-Zvi, 1975), pp. 95-113.

6 The Yōledet, or "one who has given birth," observes special customs for the entire month after chidbirth. For a detailed description of the Hodeš Yōledet, "month of the Yōledet" see Y. Kafiḥ, Halikot Teman (Jerusalem, Yad Ben-Zvi, 1961). pp. 178-182 (Hebrew).

7 For pictures of this elaborate Yemenite ceremonial dress, see Alfred Rubens, A History of Jewish Costume (New York, Crown Publishers, 1973), pp. 56, 57.

8 Aharon Dotan, "Masorah," Encylopedia Judaica, Vol. XVI (Jerusalem, 1972), p. 1438.

9 For one of the best known examples of "contest literature" in the Jewish tradition, see I Esdras 3:1-5:6; see David Weisberg in The Oxford Study Edition of the New English Bible (New York, Oxford University Press, 1973), pp. 22-26, for further comments on this parallel.

10 Rav Kafiḥ relates that it is an optional custom to read the Song of Songs after the Seder is completed. Kafiḥ, Halikot Teman, loc. cit., (above, n. 6), p. 23.

11 Sam Eskin recorded a Yemenite Seder in Jerusalem in 1955. This recording was issued by Folkways Records, Album No. FW 8921 with notes by Theodore Gaster.

12 Devora and Menahem Hacohen, One People, the Story of the Eastern Jews, translated by Israel I. Taslitt, (New York, Funk and Wagnalls, 1969), p. 129.

13 Barer, The Magic Carpet, loc. cit., (above, n. 1), pp. 211-215.

14 This custom is described and the music notated by Uri Sharvit in his article "Yemenite Jewish Music in Israel," in The Jews of Yemen, An Exhibition Organized by the Maurice Spertus Museum of Judaica, edited by Grace Cohen Grossman, (Chicago, Spertus College of Judaica Press, 1976), p. 10.

15 Goitein, From the Land of Sheba, loc. cit., (above, n. 3), p. 26.

16 Sharvit, "Yemenite Jewish Music," The Jews of Yemen, loc. cit., (above, n. 14), pp. 9-12.

17 For information on Yemenite dance, see Gurit Kadman, "Yemenite Dance," in The Jews of Yemen, An Exhibition Organized by the Maurice Spertus Museum of Judaica, edited by Grace Cohen Grossman, (Chicago, Spertus College of Judaica Press, 1976), pp. 6-8.

18 For a full discussion of the Yemenite wedding, together with the texts of the songs sung at the celebration, see Kafiḥ, Halikot Teman, loc. cit., (above, n. 6), pp. 110-156.

19 It is the custom in other Middle Eastern communities, particularly Syria, for the bride and groom to be treated like a king and queen. See J. G. Wetzstein, "Sprachliches aus den Zeltlagern der syrische Wüste," Zeitschrift des Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft 22 (1868), pp. 69-194.

20 Y. Kafiḥ, "Punctuation, Accentuation and Masorah in Yemen," Sinai 29 (Aug.-Sept. 1951), pp. 261-266. (Hebrew).

21 On his map of Yemen, Shelomo Morag shows a town חרף אלחיגה in the southeast of Yemen that might possibly be the same town as אלחרף [see map, Plate II, p. 120].

22 This, in itself, showed that Rav Zadok was a very learned rabbi. In Yemen, men concentrated their studies on the Bible, Mishna and Aggadot. The study of the Talmud was reserved for scholars. Goitein, From the Land of Sheba, loc. cit., (above, n. 3), p. 95.

23 Y. Kafiḥ, "The Accents of Job, Proverbs and Psalms in Yemenite Tradition," Tarb. XXX, 4, (1962), pp. 371-376. (Hebrew).

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APPENDIX I

The Yemenites have their own names for the accents that often differ from the names assigned them in Western tradition. Here are three tables giving the Yemenite names for the conjunctive accents (Table I), the primary disjunctive accents (Table II), and the secondary disjunctive accents (Table III).

YEMENITE CONJUNCTIVE ACCENTS

TABLE I

Yemenite Name	Accents Name in Western Tradition	Example
ʾȧzēl	qadmaʾ	דבַר
dirǧȧʾ	dargaʾ	דבֶר
yȧreaḥ ben yömŏ	yarēaḥ ben yômô	דבְר
maʾărȧḳȧh	mērkhaʾ	דבָר
magaf	maqqēf	דבר־
šŏfȧr hölēḳ	munaḥ	דבֻר
šŏfȧr hȧfuḳ	mahpaḳ	דבר
tilšȧ s^{e}möʾl	t^{e}lišah q^{e}ṭannah	דבר֫

APPENDIX I - TABLE II

YEMENITE PRIMARY DISJUNCTIVE ACCENTS

Yemenite Name	Accents' Name in Western Tradition	Example
ȧtê *	azla)	דבַר
atnȧḥȧ)	etnaḥta	דבָר
zȧgēf gȧṭȧn	zaqēf qaton	דבֻר
zȧgēf ğȧḍöl	zaqēf gadol	דבּוּר
s^{e}gulṭȧ)	segol	דבֻר
söf pȧsuq	sof pasuq	דבָר
pȧzēr	pazēr	דבֻר
garnê fȧrȧh	karnê farah	דבֻּר
r^{e}viya(	r^{e}vi(i	דבֻר
t^{e}vir	t^{e}vir	דבְר
tilšȧ yȧmin	t^{e}lišah g^{e}dolah	דבֻר
t^{e}rên ṭirsîn*	geršayim	דבֻּר

* That does not precede r^{e}viya(

APPENDIX I - TABLE III

YEMENITE SECONDARY DISJUNCTIVE ACCENTS

Yemenite Name	Accents Name in Western Tradition	Example
ȧtê *	azla)	דבַר
zirgȧ)	zarqa)	דבָר
ṭifḥȧ)	tipḥa)	דבַר
y^{e}tîv mugdȧm	y^{e}tiv	דבר
p^{e}sîg	p^{e}sîq	דברו
pišṭȧ)	pašṭa)	דבר
trên ṭa'mê	mēr̄kha) kh^{e}fula)	דבר
t^{e}rên ṭirsîn*	geršayim	דבר
šalšalat	šalšelet	דבר

* That precedes r^{e}viya'

APPENDIX II

CATALOGUE OF RECORDINGS

TAPE, SIDE 1, ILLUSTRATIONS TO CHAPTER V

All recordings by Jeffrey Summit unless otherwise specified

		No. location on tape
#1	Yemenite Women's Music accompanied by drum and copper tray, sung by Bracha Levi, Sanaa, Yemen. Recorded in Ramat Gan, March, 1978.	1
#2	The Song of Songs, Passover melody, Chapters 1:1-5. Sung by Yisrael Vahab, Sanaa, Yemen. Recorded in Jerusalem, April, 1978.	40
#3	The Song of Songs, Kabbalat Shabbat melody, Chapter 1:1-4. Sung by the congreation of Migdal Ṣedeq, R'ananah. Recorded in Jerusalem, August, 1961, by Yisrael Adler.	70
#4	The Song of Songs, Aramaic Targum to Chapter 1:2. Sung by Rav Yosef Zadok, Sanaa, Yemen. Recorded in Jerusalem, May, 1978.	100
#5	Dayenu, Passover Seder recorded in Jerusalem, 1955, by Sam Eskin. Issued on Folkways Records, Album no. FW 8921.	112
#6	The Book of Esther, responsive chant of redemption verse, Esther 7:8-10. Recorded by Uri Sharvit.	134
#7	Birkat haMāzôn, the Grace after Meals, (selection). Recorded in Ramat Gan, March, 1978.	152
#8	Yemenite Women's Song, accompanied by drum. Recorded in Ramat Gan, March, 1978.	172
#9	Song from the Diwan, for a wedding celebration. Recorded in Ramat Gan, March, 1978.	200
#10	Popular Yemenite Songs to the text of the Song of Songs; Heviʾani El Bêt haYayin, ʾel Ginnat ʾĕgôz Yāradtî; also Hineh Māh Tôb in the style of Shalom Shebezi. Accompanied by drum and oil can. Recorded in Ramat Gan, March, 1978.	244
#11	D^{e}rôr Yiqrāʾ, accompanied by drum. Recorded in Ramat Gan, March, 1978.	337
#12	Yemenite L^{e}ḵah Dôdî, from the collection of Haim Tzur.	368

APPENDIX II

CATALOGUE OF RECORDINGS

		No. location on tape
#13	Yemenite Henna Song accompanied by drum and copper tray, sung by two women from Sanaa, Yemen. Recorded in Ramat Gan, April, 1978.	391
#14	Yemenite Henna Ceremony, procession with the bride, accompanied by a drum and copper tray. Recorded in Ramat Gan, April, 1978.	415
#15	The Song of Songs, same melody for Passover and Kabbalat Shabbat, Chapter 1:2-5. Sung by Rav Yosef Zakok, Sanaa, Yemen. Recorded in Jerusalem, May, 1978.	430
#16	Ruth, Chapter 1:1-5. Sung by Rav Yosef Zadok, Sanaa, Yemen. Recorded in Jerusalem, May, 1978.	445
#17	Ecclesiastes, Chapter 1:1-5. Sung by Rav Yosef Zadok, Sanaa, Yemen. Recorded in Jerusalem, May, 1978.	464
#18	Psalm 61. Sung by Rav Yosef Zadok, Sanaa, Yemen. Recorded in Jerusalem, May, 1978.	477

APPENDIX II

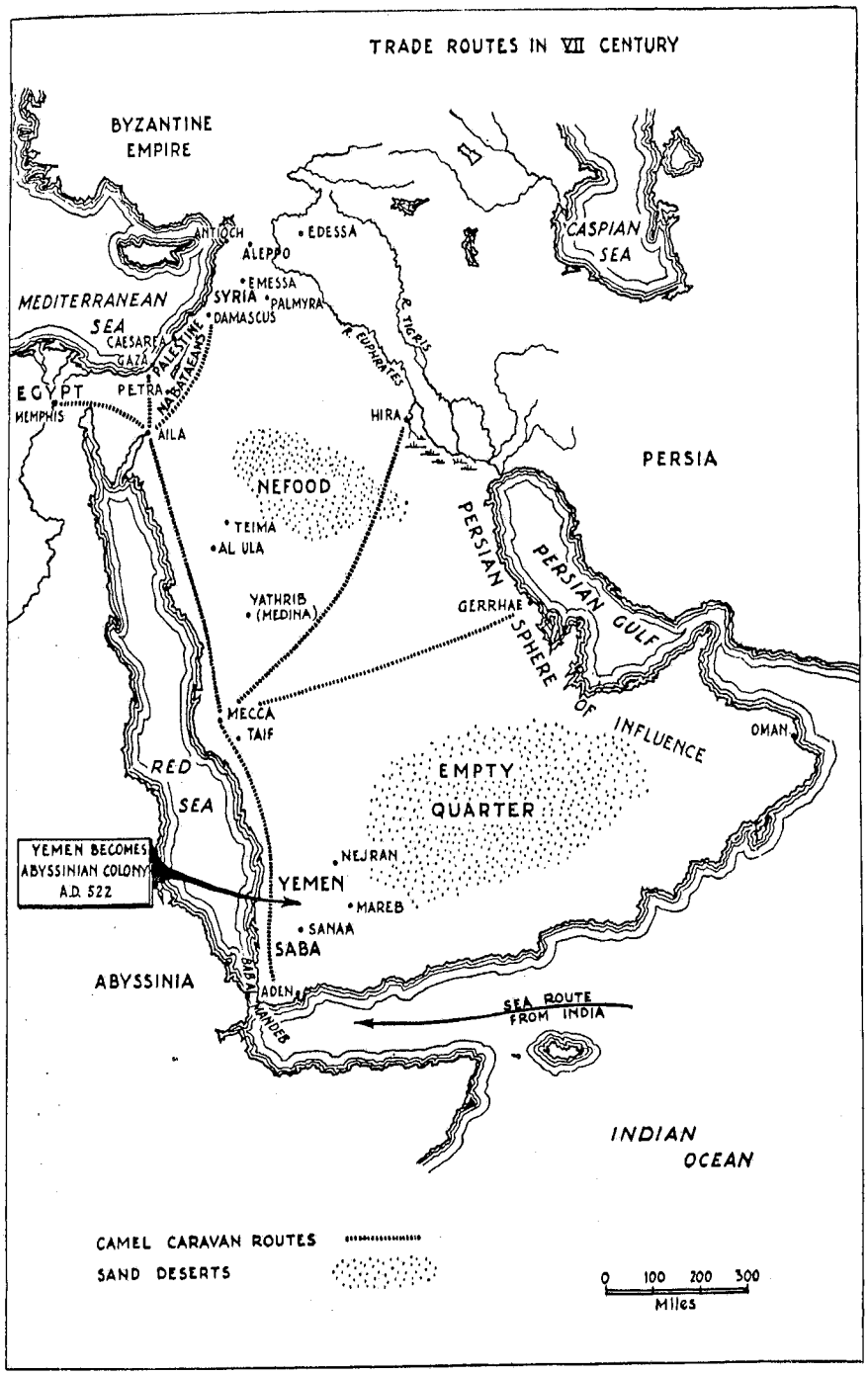
TAPE, SIDE II - YEMENITE BIBLICAL CANTILLATION

Sung by Yisrael Vahab, Sanaa, Yemen, recorded in Jerusalem, April, 1978.

	MATERIAL	SCRIPTURE	No. location on tape
#1	Torah Cantillation	Genesis 1:1-8.	1
#2	Haftarah Cantillation	Jesaia 54:1-5.	65
#3	The Song of Songs (Passover melody)	Chapter 1	107
#4	The Song of Songs: Selected verses with unusual accentuation	2:7, 17; 3:11; 5:1,2; 6:1; 8:6.	184
#5	Ecclesiastes	Chapter 1:1-5.	236
#6	Ruth	Chapter 1:1-4.	258

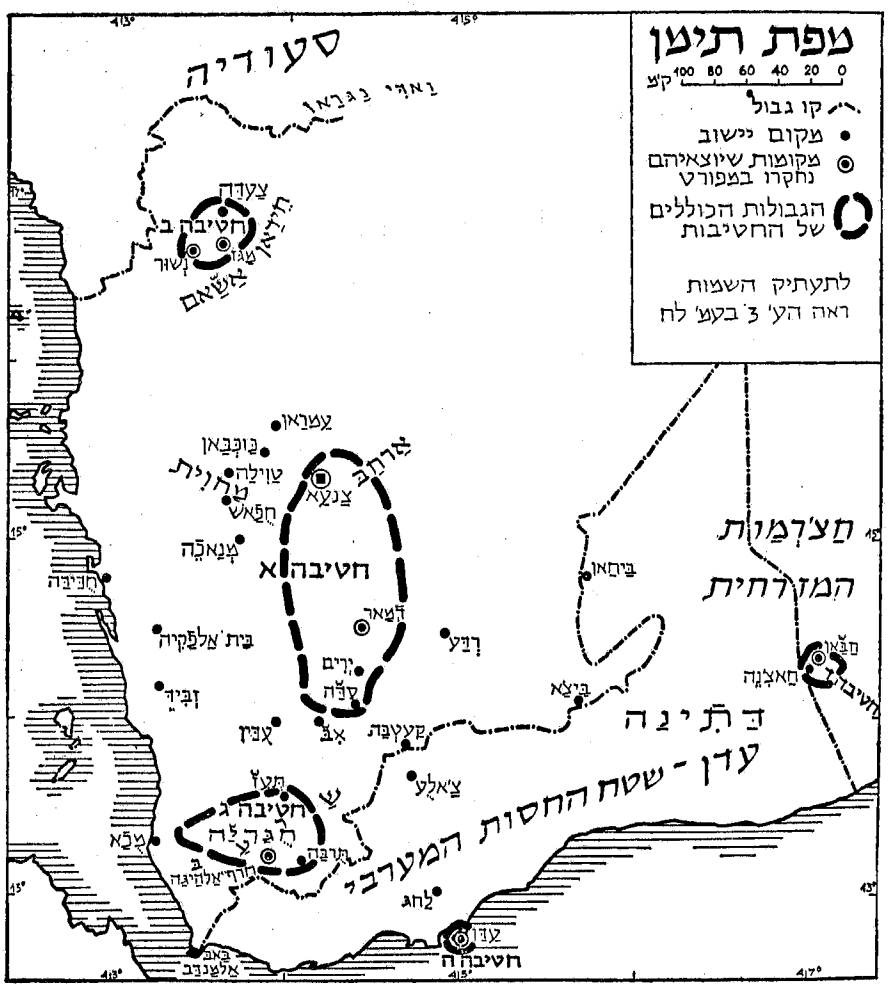
Sung by Ha-Rav Yosef Zadok, Sanaa, Yemen, recorded in Jerusalem, May, 1978.

	MATERIAL	SCRIPTURE	
#7	The Song of Songs (same melody for Passover and Kabbalat (Shabbat)	Chapter 1	278
#8	The Song of Songs: Selected verses with unusual accentuation	2:7, 17; 3:11; 5:1,2; 6:1; 8:6, 14.	329
#9	Aramaic Targum to the Song of Songs	Chapter 1:2	366
#10	Ruth	Chapter 1:1-10	375
#11	Ecclesiastes	Chapter 1	414
#12	Psalms	61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66.	471



TRADE ROUTES IN THE VII CENTURY

(John Bagot Glubb. The Great Arab Conquests. New Jersey, Prentice-Hall, 1963, p. 23)



FIVE AREAS OF YEMEN

(Shelomo Morag. The Hebrew Language Tradition of the Yemenite Jews. Jerusalem, The Academy of the Hebrew Language, 1963, p. 39)


ספר שיר השירים

שירין

א שיר השירים
אשר לשלמה

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