

STUDIES IN JEWISH LITURGY

BASED ON A UNIQUE MANUSCRIPT ENTITLED

SEDER HIBBUR BERAKOT

IN TWO PARTS

BY

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A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIRE-
MENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN THE
DROPSIE COLLEGE FOR HEBREW AND COGNATE LEARNING.

PHILADELPHIA

THE DROPSIE COLLEGE FOR HEBREW AND COGNATE LEARNING

1930

PUBLISHED WITH THE AID OF
THE ROSE ADLER FUND

PRINTED AT
THE JEWISH PUBLICATION SOCIETY PRESS
PHILADELPHIA, PA., U.S.A.

TO MY DEAR WIFE

PREFACE

IT IS difficult to work in a field which has been explored only by a few. But still more difficult is it to delve in a field which has been overworked to the point of exhaustion. Jewish liturgy is such a field. A great number of valuable works have been published in recent years on the history of Jewish liturgy. Elbogen has incorporated the most important material accessible to him in his book *Der jüdische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, Berlin 1913, and yet the sources of Jewish liturgy are far from being completely exhausted. In spite of all the valuable work already done in this department of literature many points still remain without illumination. Thus we are still uncertain about the date and aim of the Kerobot interpolations in the 'Amidah and about the origin of the Kedushah in the daily Yozerot. We face especially difficult problems when we begin to investigate the text of the 'Amidah. The Genizah, it is true, has rendered signal service through its numerous liturgical texts, but with all that a good deal of work remains to be done. Hence every effort tending to shed light on obscure spots in the Jewish liturgy must be welcome, especially where Palestinian sources are involved. For after all Palestine is the cradle of our most ancient prayers, the land of the Haggadah, the Midrash and the old Piyut, where one harks back to the God-praising tunes of antiquity. Every ray of light cast on the original Palestinian ritual helps to elucidate the liturgy as a whole. But where are the remnants of the old Palestinian rite and where can its traces be found? The following work aims to contribute somewhat to the solution of this difficult problem.

I have tried to make this discussion accessible to laymen, though it is directed primarily to scholars, who will be in a

position to discern where I follow my own way, and where I depend upon others.

I desire to express my warm thanks to Dr. Cyrus Adler, President of the Dropsie College, for his kindness and courtesy manifested to me on more than one occasion. I also wish to thank Prof. Israel Davidson and Prof. Alexander Marx of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, who helped me in various ways in connection with my work. I am further indebted for help and advice to the late Professors H. Malter and B. Halper. Also to Dr. J. Reider of Dropsie College, and Mr. A. Dembitz of Gratz College, Philadelphia. And last, I wish to express my appreciation and gratitude to my wife, for the inspiration and helpful suggestions she has given me during the progress of this work.

ABRAHAM I. SCHECHTER

CONTENTS

	PAGE
Preface.....	v

PART I

INTRODUCTION.....	1
Chapter	
I. The Manuscript of the Seder Hibbur Berakot.....	4
II. Earlier Authorities and the Seder Hibbur Berakot.....	4
III. Modern Scholars and the Seder Hibbur Berakot.....	5
a. Leopold Zunz (p. 6)	
b. Abraham Berliner (p. 9)	
c. Alexander Marx (p. 11)	
IV. The Author of the Seder Hibbur Berakot.....	12
V. The Seder Hibbur Berakot and the Midrash Sekel Tob...	15
VI. Spiritual Relationship between Palestine and Babylon during the Geonic Period.....	21
VII. Spiritual Relationship between Italy and Palestine.....	26
VIII. Synagogal Rivalry between Italy and Babylon.....	33
IX. Spiritual Relationship between Spain and Babylon.....	40
X. Criteria for the Palestinian Rite.....	50
XI. Babylonian Elements in the Seder Hibbur Berakot.....	64
XII. Menaḥem b. Solomon, First Compiler of the Italian Ritual	70
XIII. The Piyutim in the Seder Hibbur Berakot.....	71
XIV. Orthography and Style of the Seder Hibbur Berakot.....	75
XV. The Life and Time of Menaḥem b. Solomon.....	78

PART II

TEXTS AND NOTES

INTRODUCTION.....	83
Prefatory Notes.....	84
1. Morning Prayers	
2. 'Amidah	
3. Ma'arib	
4. Sabbath Morning	
5. Night Prayer	

TEXTS AND NOTES

I. The Benediction on Studying the Torah.....	87
II. 'Elohay Neshamah'.....	88
III. Morning Benedictions.....	88
IV. Short 'Amidah.....	91
V. Grace After Meals.....	92

Facsimile of the Short 'Amidah	95
VI-VIII. The Short 'Amidot.....	97
VIII-XII. The Kerobot.....	99
XIII. Ma'arib for Week-days.....	105
XIV. Night Prayer.....	106
XV. Friday Evening.....	109
XVI. Short Grace After Meals.....	113
XVII. 'Amidah for the Sabbath Minḥah.....	114
XVIII. Elijah-Song.....	115
XIX. Habdalah.....	118
XX. Parshat Parah.....	118
XXI. Prayer for Dew.....	121
XXII. The Last Part of Saadia Gaon's Azharot.....	124
Facsimiles	126
List of Abbreviations.....	131
Alphabetical List of Texts	132
Index	135

INTRODUCTION

IN 1894 the library of Turin, Italy, with all its treasures in books and manuscripts, was destroyed by fire. Among the manuscripts was one containing a complete collection of Hebrew prayers, laws and customs and liturgical compositions (piyyutim) arranged in accordance with an old Ritual, the origin and nature of which had never been sufficiently investigated. Its title was *סדר חכום ברכות* i. e. "Order of a Collection of Benedictions," and its compiler unnamed. Long before the conflagration took place the contents of the library had been repeatedly catalogued, the last time by Bernh. Peyron, Turin, 1880, who gave a full description of the various works and who to-day is the chief source of our knowledge about the contents once harbored in that library. From the Jewish side Zunz and later Berliner had made a study of the Hebrew manuscripts in connection with their labors in the field of Hebrew literature, particularly in that of Jewish liturgy. Naturally the Ritual-Order came under their purview and some references to it are found in Zunz's famous work "Die synagogale Poesie der Juden" (1865). Berliner's enthusiastic description of the Ritual induced the late Prof. Solomon Schechter, while in Italy, to submit its contents to a thorough examination and, realizing its value at a glance, he copied the entire manuscript (261 folioleaves, about 200 in his own handwriting) for further study and eventual publication. He also had photographs made of a number of piyyutim, which, he thought, occurred only in that Ritual, so as to be able to produce facsimiles of the original script. It is due to Dr. Schechter's labors that the Ritual was saved from destruction. His copy, the only one in existence, as well as the aforementioned photographs, are now among the manuscripts of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America.

When in Zurich, Switzerland, I had been engaged in cataloguing the large number of Hebrew MSS. of the Züricher Zentralbibliothek (University and State Library) at the instance of the Board of Governors of the Library; I had especially interested myself in the manuscripts of prayer manuals, and felt a strong desire to specialize in the field of liturgy. Thus, when Professor Israel Davidson of the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, suggested to me the *Seder Hibbur Berakot* as an excellent subject for liturgical research, I gladly undertook this work, with the idea of making a thorough investigation of the manuscript as to its origin and authorship, as well as its historical and liturgical significance. The results of my investigation I present in this treatise.

Attention is to be called first to the fact that there is no reference to this Ritual in any of the writings of the mediæval authors, and that Zunz was the first to make use of it and to suggest (on the basis of an acrostic which he discovered in the MS.) that its compiler was a certain "Menahem (b. Solomon?)." Taking up the suggestion of Zunz, I made a thorough search in the extant works of Menahem ben Solomon the author of *Midrash שכל טוב*, which book revealed numerous parallels to passages occurring in the Ritual of our MS., thus fully corroborating Zunz's view.

It is a well established fact that the Ritual of the Babylonian Jews differed essentially from that of the Palestinian Jews and that the numerous prayer books used by the Jews in various countries are based on either the one or the other or a combination of both. The original Palestinian Ritual, however, is no longer in existence. What we know about it is gleaned from passages in the Palestinian Talmud and other works, particularly the so-called Tractate Soferim, likewise a Palestinian product. I have endeavored to establish the close connection between the Jews of Palestine and those of Italy from the time before the destruction of the

Second Temple, when there existed a Jewish settlement in Rome, down to the 12th century. I have tried further to show the great spiritual influence Palestinian Jewry exerted upon the Jewish communities of Italy, especially in the field of liturgy, and finally came to the conclusion that the "Hibbur Berakot" of Menaḥem b. Solomon represents in the main the Palestinian Ritual which had become the fixed Ritual of the Italian Jews.

The fact that the Babylonian academies of Sura and Pumbeditha became the standard authorities for Jews and Judaism throughout the world led Jewish scholars to believe that also the liturgy stood under their influence, and that consequently the Palestinian rite, being opposed to the Babylonian, was effaced in the course of time and left no trace. As I set out to investigate the various rites of the Jewish liturgy and endeavored to find a common source, the conviction forced itself upon me that the Palestinian rite was not altogether obliterated. The Palestinian rabbis of the Geonic period fought for the maintenance of their liturgical rite and synagogal traditions, knowing very well that after all it is the synagogue that exerts the greatest and most potent influence on Jewish life. And from its native soil the Palestinian rite, though in a round-about way, was transplanted also to the Diaspora, first to Italy, then to Germany, and partly also to France. It is true that it was not preserved in its integrity even in Italy. As Zunz so aptly pointed out, "the present day liturgy is the product of a milennial development."

Of considerable importance should prove the numerous hitherto unknown piyyutim found in our MS., which will undoubtedly enrich our synagogal poetry.

I give, in the second part of this book, a number of texts from the Seder Hibbur Berakot, with notes and discussions, many of which, I hope, the reader will find interesting as well as instructive.

CHAPTER I

THE MANUSCRIPT OF THE SEDER HIBBUR BERAKOT

OUR MS. of the Seder Hibbur Berakot is a copy of the original MS. that was preserved for centuries in the Library in Turin (Italy). The original is noted on page 52 of Bernh. Peyron's Catalogue,¹ number LI, A, III 2. It gives the order and text of prayers according to the Italian ritual for almost the whole year (except Rosh ha-Shanah, Yom Kippur and Sukkot); it contains rules pertaining to benedictions and prayers; also halakot, essential to the observance of Sabbath and the Festivals; and customs traceable to Italy and Palestine and also to the two great academies of Sura and Pumbeditha.

According to Peyron's statement the original MS. was written on parchment—261 folio leaves; the script, beautiful and elegant, was midway between the square and the Italian Rabbinic script of the thirteenth century. The copy of our MS. is written by two different hands. About 200 leaves, written on one side only, are in the clear and legible handwriting of the late Prof. Schechter, while the rest, likewise clear and legible, is by another hand.

CHAPTER II

EARLIER AUTHORITIES AND THE SEDER HIBBUR BERAKOT

THE zealous student of Jewish liturgy finds it surprising that not one of our earlier authorities mentions Seder Hibbur Berakot. While the Seder Rab Amram Gaon has virtually become the prime source of quotation for all the halakic authorities of earlier and later times, so that R. Tam² in

¹ *Codices hebraici . . . quae in Tauriensia athenaeo asservantur*, Taurini, 1880.

² *Sefer ha-Yashar*, ch. 619. (Vienna 1811): עמרם... אין לו להרים דברי הקדמוניים ומנהיגיהם.

his Responsum to R. Meshullam is found to say: "He that is not versed in the Seder Rab Amram has no right to subvert the words of the ancients and their customs," and while the collections of prayers and benedictions that appeared after the time of Rab Amram Gaon, e. g. Siddur of Rashi,³ the Mahzor Vitry,⁴ the Eshkol,⁵ the Manhig,⁶ the Abudraham, and others, all attained great fame and their halakic decisions on matters of liturgy were referred to by succeeding Rabbis, the Seder Hibbur Berakot, though it antedates the 12th century and is in no way inferior to the other collections, being particularly useful for a knowledge of the development of the liturgy and payyetanic literature in general, did not attain any distinction, nay, it was completely ignored.

CHAPTER III

MODERN SCHOLARS AND THE SEDER HIBBUR BERAKOT

IN CONTRAST to its previous neglect, Jewish scholars of recent years have had recourse to the Seder Hibbur Berakot, and to some extent investigations were started into its varied contents. However, none of these was thorough and exhaustive, leaving ample room for a searching analysis of this interesting collection.

It is only just that attention should be called to these preliminary efforts and that the views and opinions of these scholars should be stated here as briefly as possible.

³ ed. by Solomon Buber (Berlin, 1910-11).

⁴ ed. by S. Hurwitz (Berlin, 1889-1893).

⁵ of Abr. b. Isaac of Narbonne (12 c.).

⁶ of Abr. b. Nathan named Yarhi, i. e. of Lunel (13 c.).

a. Leopold Zunz

Leopold Zunz was the first Jewish scholar to profit by our Seder, in the course of his well known researches into the development of the piyyutim and the chronological sequence of the payyetanim. In the Seder Hibbur Berakot there are scores of very old prayers, piyyutim and seliḥot, whose authors are unknown. Through his remarkable knowledge and acumen Zunz was able to bring to light the names of the authors of these hidden treasures and thus add some new payyetanim to his list. His *Literaturgeschichte der Synagogalen Poesie* 1865 enumerates the payyetanim, giving in a fascinating style biographical notes of each of them.

How useful the Seder Hibbur Berakot was to Zunz can be seen from the fact that his book records about 130 new piyyutim and seliḥot from it, some of them revealing new names and important biographical material.

Zunz made use of the MS., without however, making due reference to his source. Despite careful search in his *Literaturgeschichte* I have been able to locate his source in only 8 cases out of the 130 piyyutim quoted therein. Professor Alexander Marx in his "Untersuchungen zum Siddur des Gaon R. Amram"⁷ quotes Prof. Schechter as having pointed to one passage in Zunz's work⁸ where our Siddur is referred to. Zunz, discussing the piyyut אל הנו הנביא עד מתי אתה תאהר ascribes the Seder Hibbur Berakot to a certain Menahem, without, however, giving his reason for such ascription. On page 649 of his *Literaturgeschichte* where he ascribes the piyyut ארבע חיות אשר בם שכינה שרת for the Yozer of the Sabbath before Pentecost to Daniel ben Jehiel, he adds, "which is found in an old manuscript" (der in einer alten Handschrift sich findet). Solomon Schechter, in his

⁷ *Jahrb. d. Jüd.-liter. Gesellschaft*, 1908.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 163, Note 8.

copy of the MS., justly made the following remark to these words of Zunz: (דְּבָרָיו רַומְוִים עַל כֵּחַ וּ) "his words refer to this manuscript." The piyyut is indeed mentioned in our copy of the Seder Hibbur Berakot.

Besides these two passages noticed by Prof. Solomon Schechter, I succeeded after many efforts in finding eight others wherein Zunz obviously had in mind our MS.

On p. 66,⁹ Zunz, speaking of Kerobot for Minḥah on week-days, for Musaf and Minḥah on Sabbaths, and for services on fast days, mentions the Kerobot: אֲדוֹן לְמַעַן עֲוֹרִינוּ-גּוֹנְנוּנוּ, אָנוּ אֶלְהָיָנוּ אָזְן שׁוֹעָנוּ, זֶה אַתָּה אֶלְהָי חַהְלָתָנוּ, פָּקוֹדִיךְ שׁוֹמְרִים תְּמִיד לְהַגֵּן, אָנוּ אֲדִיב אֶת רִיבָּךְ, אֲהַלֵּל לְלוֹבֵשׁ עַז וּנוֹדָלה and notes "as it seems to have been customary in Italy" ("wie es scheint in Italien ueblich gewesen"), whilst as a matter of fact, all these Kerobot are very old and from the statement of the Eshkol¹⁰ with reference to the first Kerobah "The early Hazzanim received it from Mar Rab Yehudai, and he from his master, and he from his master" חָזְנִים קָבְלוּ מִמֶּרְדָּבָר יְהוּדָאִי וְהָוָא מִרְבָּבוֹ עַד רַבּוֹ that they were used also outside of Italy.

It is also possible that these Kerobot are survivals of the prayer known in Berakot IV, 3 as מעין י"ח which in the opinion of Rab (b. Berakot p. 28 a) means מעין כל ברכה וברכה an abstract of each benediction.¹¹ All these shortened 'Amidot were lost, and only recently my attention has been called by Prof. Elbogen to the existence of some of them among the Genizah fragments at Cambridge. Fortunately they are also preserved in our Seder. Their origin seems to have been in Palestine, as we shall show at greater length in the second part of this book.

On p. 72 Zunz quotes a piyyut entitled אָנוֹדָת יְרֵחַ וּמְרוֹגָעִים

⁹ *Literaturgeschichte*.

¹⁰ *Hilkot Tefillat Minḥah*, p. 55.

¹¹ Comp. Auerbach's *Nahal Eshkol*, p. 55. Note 14, and Elbogen, *Der juedische Gottesdienst* p. 60.

for Sabbath-newmoon under the general remark "italienischer Ritus" whereas its particular source is Seder Hibbur Berakot.

On p. 89, under **אתה יומ עונגה**, a shortened grace after meals on Sabbath, Zunz cites as source Cod. Turin 29, no doubt having in mind this MS. which bears that number in the catalogue of Pasinus (Turin 1749) which he must have used.

On p. 243, the seliha **יודע היום כי אתה אל עליון** translated into German in his Synagogale Poesie (p. 212), is dismissed with a short note "is ascribed to him (Joseph b. Samuel Tob Elem) in a certain MS." (wird ihm in einem MS. zugeteilt) without specifying the MS., whereas it is really found, though only in part, in our Seder ascribed to Joseph b. Samuel Tob Elem.

On p. 251 Zunz mentions the Payyetan Nathan b. Zedekiah and his Selihot for the Fast of Esther: **את אלהי דרשתי: אלהי אלהינו אלהי האלהים ורב עלילותות**, which had been found "in dem Ritualwerk Menachem's." Here also Zunz refers briefly to our Seder without giving his source. Prof. Schechter in his copy followed Zunz and did not give the complete texts, but only the opening and closing verses and the acrostic of the Payyetan, and so these selihot have been lost.

On p. 268 Zunz mentions the tehinna by Abraham b. Jacob, and adds as a source "which is found in the old MS. Cod. Turin 29 close to Abraham's **אעיריה שחר**" (welches sich in der alten Handschrift Cod. Turin 29 neben Abraham's findet). Both these supplications—**אעיריה שחר** and **אי קראתיך**—are actually found in our Seder, one following the other, and both have been published, the former in the letters of S. D. Luzzatto, p. 610 and the latter in Mahzor Rome among Selihot for the Ninth of Ab.

On p. 457 he introduces the payyetan Nahum and states that his piyyutim בבודו איהל כהיום על הָר (Yozer, Silluk and Ophan) for Pentecost are found in Cod. Turin 29. But as we have seen above Cod. Turin 29 and our Seder are identical, and indeed, these piyyutim were in our Seder. It is a pity that such piyyutim by the payyetan Nahum, about whose life and place of residence we are uninformed were not copied by Prof. Schechter in full, for then we might have been able to lift the veil of obscurity from this payyetan.

Finally on p. 459–60 mention is made of R. Joshua, author of the piyyut for the seventh night of Passover, beginning הַשְׁלָח אֶת־עֲזֹר found also in the Maḥzor of Rome and Romania. Zunz remarks that in Cod. Turin 29 it appears as “Ma‘arib de R. Joshua,” whilst a MS. of a later date (a. 1441) ascribes the Ma‘arib to Rab and Samuel.

b. Abraham Berliner

After Zunz, Abraham Berliner merits our consideration in connection with the Seder Hibbur Berakot.

In June 1873 Berliner visited the Library in Turin, and of all the valuable MSS. the Seder Hibbur Berakot particularly attracted his attention. After a cursory perusal Berliner at once recognized its great value and he wished to have a copy made thereof, but was unable to find a reliable copyist.¹² He began, however, to awaken the interest of Jewish scholars in this MS. and as a result the copying was done by the late Professor Schechter during his visit to the libraries of Italy.

In his critical remarks on the Catalogue of Peyron, in 1880¹³ Berliner expressed his opinion as against Peyron’s that this MS. contained the whole Siddur of Rab Amram,

¹² Berliner, *Gesammelte Schriften*, I. B. p. 134.

¹³ *Hebräische Bibliographie*, 20 (1880–1) p. 128.

more fully than that published in 1865 by Rabbi Nahman Nathan Coronel. Likewise, in 1904, after the conflagration of Turin had consumed our MS., Berliner,¹⁴ rejoicing in the fact that some manuscripts had been previously copied, particularly the Seder Hibbur Berakot, reiterates his opinion that this is the Siddur of Rab Amram Gaon, and he praises it highly.

What considerations led Berliner to such a conjecture? It appears that the close similarity of the opening words of Seder Hibbur Berakot to the preface of Siddur Rab Amram Gaon led him to this identification.

זה סדר חיבור ברכות שלכל דבר (here was a blank) (^{עמרם גאון בר'} שישנא ריש מתייבחא דמן מהשא לדבנא יצחק בריה דרבנא שמעון חביב ויקיר עליינו ועל כל ישיבה כולה שלום رب וرحמנותן מן השמים היהילך ועל רודך ועל כל חכמים ותלמידים ואחינו הרשורים שם שאו שלום רב ממוני ומן רב צמה אב בית דין ומן אלופים וחכמי ישיבה שלנו ששאלתכם סדר ברכות ותפלות שלכל השנה כך אנו נהנים וכך למדנו "This is the order of compilation of Blessings for every occasion. Amram Gaon b. Sheshna, head of the academy at Sura to Rabban Isaac son of Rabban Simeon, beloved and dear to us and the whole academy. Great peace and mercy be granted to thee and thy children and all the learned men and disciples and our brethren there residing. Accept peaceful wishes from us and from Rab Zemah, ab-beth-din, and from the Allufim and learned men of our academy. Inasmuch as ye have asked the order of blessings and prayers for the whole year, thus are we accustomed to do and thus have we learned from our rabbis."

These words, resembling for the greater part the opening sentences of Seder Rab Amram Gaon, led Berliner to identify the two compilations. But aside from the fact that the

¹⁴ *Gesammelte Schriften*, B. I. p. 134.

formula of a book is no criterion for its authorship, Peyron demonstrated in his catalogue mentioned above, p. 52, that the script at the beginning of the Seder is later than that of the body of the book ("Folium primum a recentiore adiectum est"), and there is no reason to doubt his words. In such matters we may rely on Peyron, who was an experienced bibliographer and careful research worker.

All the four extant MSS. of Seder Rab Amram Gaon begin with the מה ברכות "And the order of prayers and benedictions for the whole year which you have asked . . . We have thought fit to arrange and send to you according to the tradition we possess, as ordained by the Tannaim and Amoraim and alluded to in what the Tanna Rabbi Meir said, 'One is in duty bound to recite a hundred blessings every day'" etc. Siddur Rashi, Mahzor Vitry and Shabbat ha-Leket likewise begin, "R. Meir says one is in duty bound to recite a hundred blessings . . ." The Seder Hibbur Berakot, however, begins thus, "When one rises from his bed . . . he says, 'Be sanctified, ye saints הַחֲבָדוּ מִכּוֹבְדִים . . .'" etc., and not until the conclusion of instructions concerning the morning service, rules on the cleansing of hands, regulations concerning the meal, grace after meal, benedictions over fruits, etc. do we find "and every son of Israel is bound to recite a hundred benedictions a day," with enumeration of them.

Though Abraham Berliner was mistaken in his identification, his suggestion resulted in the preservation of this valuable MS. through the copy of Prof. Schechter.

c. Alexander Marx

Prof. Alexander Marx has dealt with our MS. in the course of his researches into Seder Rab Amram Gaon¹⁵ and

¹⁵ See his *Untersuchungen zum Siddur des Gaon R. Amram*, 1908.

his studies of the Geonic period.¹⁶ Marx in his *Untersuchungen* and also in his notes to Berliner's *Gesammelte Schriften* (p. 231), rectified Berliner's error. As adopting Zunz's view, Marx speaks of our MS. as "Menahem's Seder Ḥibbur Berakot."

But Marx regards the MS. as "a very old compilation of the prayer-book, which, as the opening shows, made ample use of Seder Rab Amram" (eine sehr alte Bearbeitung des Gebetbuches, welche wie der Beginn beweist, S. A. stark benutzt haben muss.) As a matter of fact the Seder Rab Amram is not the foundation upon which the Seder Ḥibbur Berakot rests, nor can the foreword be adduced as reliable testimony thereto, for the foreword, though it begins עמרם נאון בר שישנא ריש מתיבתא דמתא מוחמייא . . . is undoubtedly a later addition, in a later handwriting. Moreover, there was a blank of almost a whole line before עמרם נאון and who knows but that in the blank may have been written the name of the actual author.¹⁷ However that may be, the opening must not be allowed to affect our verdict.

CHAPTER IV

THE AUTHOR OF SEDER ḤIBBUR BERAKOT

OF ALL the scholars who have dealt with the Seder Ḥibbur Berakot, none has indicated clearly who was its real author. It remains therefore for us to attempt to determine his identity, not an easy task. It is possible to ferret out payyotanim in acrostics, either at the beginning or at the end of a piyyut. But where a poet does not choose to disclose his name in this wise, how can one find it out? That is how it stands with our author. Zunz speaks twice of "Menahem

¹⁶ *JQR*. New Series I. pp. 61-279.

¹⁷ It is noteworthy that Marx reads דברי עמרם נאון instead of עמרם נאון.

in Seder Hibbur Berakot." Did he find any support for this in the MS.? Did he succeed in discovering an acrostic pointing to a Menaḥem? And if so, which Menaḥem was intended?

As a matter of fact Zunz did discover such an acrostic. Among his notes on Parma and Turin MSS. which were published after his death by Dr. Freimann in the *Hebraische Bibliographie* for 1916 (49–64; 123–142), there are some notes relating to Cod. Turin 29 (see page 141).¹⁸ Here we see that Zunz really found an acrostic M N H M on fol. 45 b, of the original MS. where in a short foreword to Hilkot Erubim we read as follows:

מלאה תכונת החול חפילות וברכות הכתובים
נהיגת כל ערכיו וברכה לכל דבר שבו מחויבים
חילוי ערבית ושרירית ומנהה וחפילת תענית בנדבים
מעתה יסיעני יוצר לעזרך בקייזר הלכות עירובים

Besides the mere name Menaḥem, Zunz suggested also "(b. Sol?)" in parenthesis with a query. Thus being unable to ascribe it wholly to Rab Amram Gaon and undoubtedly, like Berliner, being misled by the opening which resembles R. Amram's, he says, "benutzend Amram's Seder."

Now, let us see whether Menaḥem b. Solomon fits in here or not.

If we accept Zunz's suggestion we are led immediately to Italy, where Menaḥem ben Solomon, the well-known author of *Sekel Tob* and *Eben Boḥan* must have lived. Both Zunz and Dukes are doubtful about the habitat of this scholar, the former placing him either in Italy or France, while the latter ascribes him to France, notwithstanding the fact that all the foreign words occurring in the Midrash *Sekel Tob* are clearly of Italian origin. Gross, however, rightly places him in Italy, and the Seder Hibbur Berakot corroborates

¹⁸ *Hebraische Bibliographie* 1916, 141.

his opinion. The fact is that although the author himself does not give the slightest hint as to his place, still an Italian atmosphere pervades the MS. throughout. In the first place it is very striking that most of the foreign words, about twenty in number, are of Italian origin.¹⁹ Had he been a Frenchman he would like Rashi, have explained rare words in French.

Secondly, the text and order of the prayers, with slight differences, is that of the Italian Mahzor.

Thirdly, most of the Payyetanim whose compositions are quoted in the Seder Hibbur Berakot, are of Italian origin and of the 11th and 12th centuries, e. g. R. Anan b. Marinus ha-Cohen of Siponto (a port in Apulia); R. Daniel b. Jehiel, brother of R. Nathan, author of the Aruk; R. Nathan b. Zidkiah; R. Paltiel, etc.; and even some anonymous piyyutim, judging from internal evidence, are clearly of Italian origin, especially since they are also found in Mahzor Rome.

Fourthly, the synagogal customs and the liturgical rules in the Seder Hibbur Berakot are mostly the same as in the Italian ritual, and can be found only in the Shabbale ha-Leket, of the Italian Zidkiah b. Abraham Anaw. As proof of this assertion a comparison might be made between the Seder Hibbur Berakot and the Shabbale ha-Leket. For instance, with reference to the custom of saying *ולחיתם לכם* twice in the Kedushah, comp. Shabbale ha-Leket Kelal 45 and Seder Hibbur Berakot fol. 123 (S. Schechter's copy) where the language is the same almost word for word; as to the question whether *ויתקלם* should be said in Kaddish, comp. Shabbale ha-Leket 28 and Seder Hibbur Berakot fol. 13; concerning one who has already prayed in a syna-

¹⁹ מנגנו בז'ול קרא, קפרי פולטה (fol. 51); יואלי, קווניני, בלטטו, לארו, לילן, רוסא, קוושטו, גראופלי, נרכיס, טיטלן, טומקטו (fol. 69); ליטקא (fol. 133); חוריאה נהנצי (fol. 210) and the Greek (fol. 53).

gogue and then goes to another synagogue, see Sh. ha-L. 44 and SHB. fol. 12; as to the necessity of a precentor being righteous and upright, comp. Sh. ha-L. 10 and SHB. fol. 16; with regard to consolatory passages from Scripture on Sabbath afternoon comp. Sh. ha-L. 126 and SHB. fol. 139; on the question of why Kaddish is said between the reading of the Torah and the Haftarah comp. Sh. ha-L. 79 and SHB. fol. 121; with reference to the spreading of hands by priests during the Birkat Kohanim comp. SH. ha-L. 23 and SHB. fol. 39.

Such comparisons are apt to lead us to the belief that the Italian author of the Shabbale ha-Leket had lying before him the same sources as were at the disposal of the author of the Seder Hibbur Berakot unless we go a step further and assume that R. Zidkiah actually made use of the Seder Hibbur Berakot.

All these considerations show that we have an Italian literary product. There still remains the question, who was its author?

A careful study of Menaḥem b. Solomon's Sekel Tob will give us the key to the solution of this problem.

CHAPTER V

THE SEDER HIBBUR BERAKOT AND THE MIDRASH SEKEL TOB

SINCE the publication of the Midrash Sekel Tob by S. Buber (Berlin 1900) we are in better position to investigate it than was Zunz, and to set up comparisons between it and the Seder Hibbur Berakot.

By collating in parallel columns some liturgical passages in Sekel Tob and in Seder Hibbur Berakot we shall reach but one conclusion: that our Seder was compiled by Menaḥem b. Solomon of Italy.

1. The greatest of the early authorities, among them Zeraḥiah ha-Levi, find difficulty in answering the question—"Why do we not recite **שְׁחִינָנוּ** in counting the Omer?" Zeraḥiah in his Ha-Maor, towards the end of Talmud Pesahim, gives two reasons, the second being, that that blessing (ברכת חומן) is appropriate only for something wherefrom we derive enjoyment, as for instance, carrying a Lulab, which is a joyful symbol,—whereas counting the Omer contains no suggestion of enjoyment, but rather grief at the destruction of the Temple אין בו זכר לשום הנהה אלא לעונמת נפש לחרבן בית מאויינו. Johanan Treves in his commentary on the Roman Mahzor (Bologna 1540), adduces this reason in the name of Rabbenu Nissim (b. Jacob, 11th c.), and adds "שאין לנו עתה מבאים העומר because we do not offer now the Omer and because we recite after the Sefirah the prayer י'ה' רצון מלפניו שחשב עבדות בית המקדש 'שְׁחִינָנוּ' therefore we do not say."

Although Johanan Treves does not definitely state whether or not י'ה' רצון was already used at the time of Rabbenu Nissim, nevertheless we are certain that this short prayer is very old, and can be traced to an even earlier time than that of Rabbenu Nissim. For, as we know, the ceremony of offering the Omer was dependent upon the existence of a central sanctuary (comp. Shabbale ha-Leket, 234, p. 217), and therefore, when the Omer was offered, the blessing על ספירה העומר was probably recited, and then followed by the statement (accepting the Talmudic statement, the historicity of which cannot be doubted, that אכנהן תקננו קדשות והבלות להם לישראל ברכות וחלומות שְׁחִינָנוּ itself is very old, for the sages of the Mishnah (Berakot IX, 1) speak of it as well known, and so, we assume, it was doubtless current in the Temple. Now, I venture to suggest, that after the destruction of the sanctuary, when R. Johanan b. Zakkai ruled that the whole

day of the waving of the Omer, the eating of the new grain shall be prohibited, **שידא יומן חנוך בולו אסורה** (Rosh ha-Shanah 30a; Menaḥot 68a; Sukka 41a; Tosephta Menaḥot X 26),—the blessing **שהחיהינו** after the Sefirat ha-Omer was abolished, and in its stead, a short prayer for the restoration of the Temple service, the **יהי רצון**, was introduced. Such a prayer is self evident from the purport of Johanan ben Zakka'i's rule about **יום חנוך**, the reason of which was the hope that the Temple might be built and the old custom reestablished.

This prayer, **יהי רצון**, remained in vogue in Palestine, and from Palestine it came to the Italian communities through the intimate relations between these countries, and from Italy it spread to Germany and France. The first, indeed, to mention this is Menahem b. Solomon in his Sekel Tob, as quoted by the author of the **אסופותה** (MS. CCCXXIV 53d).²⁰

Setting side by side in parallel columns the halakah about counting the Omer in Sekel Tob and in Seder Hibbur Berakot we find them to agree almost verbatim.

*Sekel Tob**Seder Hibbur Berakot*(quoted in **אסופותה**)

(p. 228)

ונן ליל שני של פסח... מברכין על (XXXV) **בליל שני של פסח**
ספרית העומר ומצוה למינני יומי מהחילין למנות העומר ומונין יומי
וממצוה למינני שבועי ושבועי שכן מצוה למנות יומי ושבועי

(also *ibid* XLIV. 27)

(p. 222)

יחסיב עבודה בית המקדש במקום
במהרה בימינו

יהי רצון... שחטיב עבודה בית
המקדש במקום במהרה בימינו

comp. also the Oxford MS.
 quoted in Buber's introduction p. XLIV, 27.

²⁰ about the MS. of the **אסופותה** see Zunz, *Ritus*, (14–15), and Buber in his Introduction to the Midrash Sekel Tob.

From the time of R. Meir of Rothenburg (d. 1293) this short prayer was introduced into all liturgical manuals and it spread to all Jewish communities.²¹

However, if the following statement, found in Tosaphot, Megilla 20b, s. v. כל, refers to R. Jacob b. Meir Tam (1100–1171), it appears that already in the 12th century R. Tam introduced the recitation of the ייִשְׁרָאֵל among the French Jews. The Tosaphot (*ibid*) reads as follows: ואחר שבירך על הספירה אומר י"ר שיבנה וכו' מה שאין כן בתקיעת שופר ולולב והינו טעם לפיו שאין אלא הזכרה עתה לבני ביהם²² אבל לשופר ולולב יש עשה This statement seems to have no connection with the preceding discussion of the Tosaphot, and we suppose it, therefore, to be a later interpolation.

2. As in the matter of the counting of the Omer, a similarity between the Sekel Tob and the Seder Hibbur Berakot can be observed also in connection with other laws and customs.

Sekel Tob

As quoted in Asuppot — —

Resp. XXXIV, 34c. in

Buber's Introduction

כל חמירא דאית ברשותי... יהא	כל חמירא דמשתכח ברשותי... יהא
בטיל בעפרא וכהשפא תבира דלית	בטיל בעפרא וכהשפא תבира דלית
משנא	ביה משנא

See also Sekel Tob Exod. XII

This unique text is found only in the Sekel Tob and the Seder Hibbur Berakot.

3. Cleansing of Hands

Sekel Tob

(According to a MS. from the

Bodleian Library 1101/2

quoted in Buber's intro-
duction)

Seder Hibbur Berakot

(47)

כל המולול בנטילת ידיים... בר

נידוי הוא שכן מצינו באלוור בן

ה נ ד שפקפק בנתן²³

²¹ Comp. Zunz, *Ritus*, p. 15.

(XLIV) וראייתי בשכל טוב מאן

דמולול בנטילת ידיים בר נידוי הוא

שהרי רבותינו נידוי אתה אלעוזר בנ...
...בנ' הנד

Apparently Buber omits here the patronymic because he is aware that in Eduyyot V. 6 it is
אלעוזר בן חנוך שפקפק בנטילת ידיים.

4. Kiddush Lebanon

Sekel Tob

(Exod. XII)

Seder Hibbur Berakot

(71)

אשר במאמרו בראשׂה קים... פועלו אשר במאמרו בראשׂה שקיים... פועלו

צדק ואמונה

צדק ואמונה

This text as found in SHB and Sekel Tob is also unique, differing from other known versions: פועל אמת ופועלו אמת of Mas. Soferim (ed. Müller), XX, 1; פועל אמת of Tos. Sanhedrin (42a S. V.) ; פועל אמת ופועלו צדק ; פועל אמת ופועלו צדק of Mahzor Rome, and ריק אמת ופועלו צדק of Maimonides, Hilkot Berakot X, 16.

5. Reference should also be made to the following passages concerning the Seder shel Pesah. Comp. Seder Hibbur Berakot p. 210 ff. and Sekel Tob to Exod. XII, p. 131 ff. Comp. Buber's notes ibid. 60, 114.

6. With reference to the blessing over spices at the close of the Sabbath, the Oxford manuscript 1101-2, states on the authority of Sekel Tob that Rabbenu Eleazar of Metz, used to take a cup and fill it with all kinds of spices saying over it בורא עצי בשמים על עצי בשמים instead of בורא עצי בשמים which follows XLIII), erred in his belief that **וכן הלכה** is part of the decision of R. Menaḥem b. Solomon. As a matter of fact, it is the author of the MS. (who appears to have been a disciple of Rabbenu Jacob b. R. Yakar, the teacher of Rashi) that thus states his agreement

with R. Eleazar of Metz. R. Menahem b. Solomon on the other hand, as may be seen from page 149 of our Seder, treating of Habdalah and its benedictions, gives the formula **בורא עצי בשים**, which is the Italian Minhag to this day.

7. The foreign words in Seder Hibbur Berakot (210) find parallels in Sekel Tob, Exod. XII-8.

8. In our Seder just as in Sekel Tob, the author quotes his sources under the general term, **רבותינו**, omitting to state the names of his authorities; see Sekel Tob to Gen. XIX, 3; XLIV, 13 and 23; Exod. IX, 9 and our Seder pp. 53, 57, 60, 61, 69.

9. The same sources which served him in the Sekel Tob underlie also the Seder Hibbur Berakot, namely, the Targum Yerushalmi to the Pentateuch, the Talmud Yerushalmi, the Talmud Babli, the *Pesikta de Rab Kahana*, the *Sheeltot de Rab Aḥa*, the *Halakot Gedolot*, the Responsa of the Geonim, R. Eleazar Kalir, Hananel b. Hushiel and Isaac Alfasi, all of which will be discussed further on in their proper place.

10. The manner of indicating sources is the same in both these works; for example, comp. Sekel Tob to Genesis XV, 12; XIX, 4; XXX, 1 with Seder Hibbur Berakot 117, 143. Also in another respect the two works resemble one another: where things have been omitted in their proper place, the cause of this omission, as for instance, in Sekel Tob to Gen. XLI, 45 is **ומפני השכחה כתבתי במדרשי מוקדם ומאוחר** or fol. 141 **אבל שכחנו לכתבם במקומם** or fol. 143 **ומפני הטרוד נשכחו ולא נכתבו במקומם**.

In both the Sekel Tob and Seder Hibbur Berakot the author quotes the Talmud, either through the formula **רבותינו אמרו** or through a general reference to the Talmud without special mention of treatise or chapter. In this connection it is interesting to note that at times his excerpts indicate that his manuscripts differed from those upon which our editions of the Talmud are based.

The evidence adduced hereby, coupled with the general spirit and style of the two works will, I believe, suffice to prove that Seder Hibbur Berakot was composed by the author of Midrash Sekel Tob, namely, Menaḥem b. Solomon. This evidence, though not formidable, hangs on a stronger thread than that of Steinschneider, who ascribes to Menaḥem the fragments of a commentary to the Five Megillot found in the Berlin Library, simply because that commentary makes reference to the Sekel Tob on Lamentations.²²

As to the acrostic in our Seder which reveals the author Menaḥem, it should be remarked that it was a general practice of mediaeval authors to conceal their identity in the beginning of their books but to reveal it later, either in the middle or at the close, through an acrostic, or some other literary device. Even in Sekel Tob Menaḥem waits until the middle before he discloses his name. Of Italian scholars who adopted this method before Menaḥem, may be mentioned Sabbatai Donolo in his *תורת כהנויות* and Ahimaaz in his *ייחוסין*, who employed acrostics in the middle of their books.²³ It is interesting to note that even in cases where the authors gave their names, the copyists sometimes omitted them. Perhaps it was for this reason that Donolo asked every one who may copy his book, to copy also the preface and to mention his name.

CHAPTER VI

SPIRITUAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PALESTINE AND BABYLON DURING THE GEONIC PERIOD

HAVING thus proved that the Menaḥem suggested by Zunz is the same as the author of the Sekel Tob, who lived in Italy during the first half of the 12th century, and having

²² See Steinschneider *Hebr. Bibl.* 1877–98, p. 41.

²³ See Kaufmann, *Gesammelte Schriften* III, p. 3.

shown that his prayer manual is virtually the Italian ritual, let us now proceed to analyze the sources from which he drew his materials, in order to be able to determine the development of the liturgy in Italy and its interrelation with the liturgy of other countries, particularly Babylon and Palestine.

Our information about the spiritual life of the Palestinian Jews in the Geonic era is defective and limited; while in Babylon academies flourished, the halakah was studied zealously and numerous responsa were sent abroad, the spiritual life in Palestine seemed to be concentrated in the synagogue only. Synagogue activities and their development absorbed all the interest of Palestinian Jews. Even their literary activity bears the imprint of the synagogue, and all their spiritual products are of a synagogal character. In the halakic field, however, they produced very little. Like the Jewish communities of Spain and northern Africa they were compelled to send to Sura and Pumbeditha for halakic decisions, as is borne out by the Responsa collection *Shaare Zedek*.²⁴

In this most important and authentic collection of Geonic Responsa we find perhaps for the first time in Geonic literature dissensions between Babylonian and Palestinian Rabbis אנשי מורה ובני ארץ ישראל. Harsh expressions are used in the בני ארץ ישראל שעריך זדק against the which points to unfriendly relations between the Babylonians and Palestinians, the former appearing to consider themselves as standing on a higher plane than the latter. Paltoi Gaon employs there (63b) very sharp language against the Palestinians, saying טועים איננו ותוין איננו.

Similar anti-Palestinian expressions, especially against the Talmud Yerushalmi, we find among the other Geonim, as,

²⁴ See Müller's *מפתח לחשיבות הגאנונים* p. 15, n. 3, and Eppenstein's *Beiträge*, p. 62.

for instance, by Sherira Gaon (comp. *Zikron la-Rishonim*, IV, Resp. 434), and Hai Gaon (comp. *Shaare Teshubah*, ch. 39; *Teshubot ha-Geonim* ed. Lyck, ch. 96; *Makria* ch. 42 according to Büchler in *REJ.*, L, 195; and *Eshkol*, II, 47).

הן אחראינו בבל גריין “we follow the Babylonian authorities,” to the exclusion of the Palestinian Talmud.

There are however, some rabbis, like Hananel and Nissim, who trusted the Talmud Yerushalmi alongside with the Babli and sometimes even sided with the former against the latter. It is noteworthy, too, that Italian rabbis, including our author Menaḥem b. Solomon, studied very carefully the commentary of R. Hananel. Also Alfasi and Maimonides at times follow this commentary in opposition to the Talmud Babli (comp. B. Ratner in his introduction to *אהבת ציון וירושלים*, p. IV).

Gradually the Palestinian scholars came to realize that they had lost spiritual influence, and that the Babylonian Geonim had supplanted them as halakic authorities. They were forced henceforth to accept the decisions of their Eastern contemporaries and to show them honor and respect.

This submission however, applies only to matters of Halakah; in liturgical matters and synagogue arrangements, based as they were on ancient tradition and hence sacred to the community, the Palestinian authorities remained free and independent, refusing to yield an iota to Geonic decisions on such subjects. This adamantine attitude of the Palestinians subsequently gave rise to many heated controversies.

These statements are borne out by the following responsum as to whether Kedushah and Shema should be recited on week days or on Sabbaths and holidays only:²⁵

עד עכשוי אין אומרים בארץ שראל קדוש ושמע אלא בשבת או ביום טובים בלבד בשחרית בלבד חוץ מירושלים ובכל מדינה שיש בה בבלאיין

²⁵ *Geonica*, Ginzberg II, 52-20.

שעשו מריבה ומחולקת עד שקיבלו עליהם לומר קדושה בכל יום אבל בשאר מדינות וערים שבארץ ישראל שאין בהם בבלאיין אין אומרים קדוש אלא בשבח ובירם טובים בלבד.

"Up to now Kedushah and Shema are recited in Palestine only on Sabbaths or on holidays during the morning service, except Jerusalem and every province where there are Babylonians, for they quarrelled and resolved to say Kedushah every day, but in all the other provinces and cities of Palestine, where there are no Babylonians, Kedushah is said only on Sabbaths and holidays." Ginzberg rightly observes (*Geonica* II p. 48) that the author of this Responsum is a Palestinian of the latter half of the eighth century. This Palestinian in his veneration for Rabbi Jehudai Gaon, says about him in the same responsum" שלא היה כמותו מן כמה" שנים עד עכשו שהיה גדול במקרא ובמשנה ובתלמוד ובמדרשי ובתוספות ובהגדות ובהלכה למעשה לא היה אומר דבר שלא שמע מפני רבו והוא גדול בקדושה ובטהרה ובחסידות ובענווה והיה מדקדק בכל המצאות כולם והיה מסיר את עצמו לשמים והוא מקרב את הבריות לתורה ולמצוות ולא הניח כמותו אף אתם התבוננו לדבריו והבינו שם..." "that for many years there had not been anyone so great as he in Bible, Mishnah, Talmud and Midrash, in Tosephtha, in Haggadah, and practical Halakah, and that he never said aught that he had not heard from his master, and that he surpassed in sanctity and in purity and humility and was punctilious in all precepts and devoted himself to Heaven and drew his fellow-men to Torah and precepts, and left none like him, give ye also attention to his words."

Evidently Babylonians who left their eastern home and came to reside in Palestine continued to regard the Babylonian rabbis as superior to the Palestinian. The Babylonian Jews in Palestine tried to introduce their native customs into the synagogues of their adopted country, they tried to dictate even in matters of liturgy in which Palestine remained supreme. Consequently, in the eighth century,

the spiritual forces of Palestine set out to retrieve their lost prestige, to manifest once more to their Babylonian opponents their ability to produce original literary creations and their non-dependence on Babylonian decisions. The result was the *Masseket Soferim*. This new literary product of Palestinian scholars raised considerably the dignity of Palestine in the eyes of Babylonia and the Diaspora in general. Whether the *Sheelot* of Rab Aḥa Gaon influenced *Masseket Soferim*, or, according to Müller²⁶ and Eppenstein,²⁷ the influence was in an opposite direction, has not yet been clearly demonstrated. One thing appears to be certain: the compilers of *Masseket Soferim* made the first attempt to summarize and standardize the various traditions of Palestinian Jewry, to state clearly and precisely the ancient minhagim of the Holy Land in general and of Jerusalem in particular²⁸ on account of the high respect Palestine enjoyed among all Jews, and to impress upon them the stamp of irrefutable authority. Subsequently, *Masseket Soferim* found acceptance in all countries and became authoritative everywhere.

Thus the literary rivalry, if we may call it so, between the Babylonian and Palestinian scholars began with *Masseket Soferim* and found its most emphatic expression in the well-known controversy between Saadia and Ben Meir in the 10th century.²⁹

²⁶ His introduction to *Masseket Soferim*, p. 21.

²⁷ In his above mentioned book, p. 61.

²⁸ See *Masseket Soferim* XVIII, 5 and XXI, 1 *וכן היה מנהג טוב בירושלים* *כמנהג רבוחינו שבמערב* and similar passages.

²⁹ This may explain the question that baffled Poznanski (*Festschrift Adolf Schwarz*, 471–487): “Why were the relations between Babylon and Palestine so friendly before the time of Ben Meir?” In reality this friendship was but external and superficial. The Palestinians were only waiting for a suitable occasion to assert themselves. And the occasion presented itself at the time of Ben Meir.

Besides the liturgy proper the Palestinian Jews became instrumental also in developing the Haggadah and Midrash which constitute important elements in the synagogue service, serving to encourage and comfort the people in their distress. Most of the Midrashim and all the minor tractates of the Talmud are known to have originated in Palestine.

In addition, Palestine claims the piyyut too as its rightful product of that period. The earliest payyetanim, such as Yannai and Kalir who left their imprint on the Jewish liturgy as a whole, lived in Palestine and received their inspiration therefrom.

Another activity, closely connected with the liturgy, is the Masorah, in which the Palestinians excelled in those days. It grew out of a desire to preserve Hebrew pronunciation in the synagogue in its pristine beauty and purity. It was the scholars of Tiberias, preeminently R. Phinehas,³⁰ who with great effort built up the system of punctuation which for more than a millennium was authoritative to all the Jews of the Diaspora.

CHAPTER VII

SPIRITUAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ITALY AND PALESTINE

THE settlement of the Jews in Italy dates back to very ancient times. Already in the period immediately preceding the destruction of the Second Temple Jews came to Rome in such numbers as to form close-knit communities. But this influx increased considerably after the destruction of the Second Temple, when Rome formed one of the bulwarks of the Diaspora. In spite of the great distance separating these Jews from Palestine, they nevertheless, came in constant contact with it and kept up their allegiance to it, at

³⁰ Comp. Brüll, *Jahrbücher*, V. 94-97; Geiger, *Jüdische Zeitschrift* for 1872, p. 262; Harkavy, *Studien und Mittheilungen*, I, 112-115.

least as far as their spiritual existence was concerned. We know that throughout the period of the Tannaim the bond between Italy and Palestine was strong.

The Talmud (b. Ber. 19a) tells about Todos of Rome, who, as a remembrance of the Jewish life in Palestine during the Temple, introduced among his coreligionists the custom of eating "helmeted" kids (נדיים מקולטיין) on Passover night, though it was in conflict with the Halakah and brought him the rebuke of Simon b. Shetah, "If thou wert not Todos, I would excommunicate thee. אלמלא חדרו אתה נורנו עליך נדי שאותה מכיל אתה ישראלי קדשים בחוץ." A more cogent reason for not excommunicating him is given in the Palestinian Talmud (Pesahim, 34a) namely, that he supported the rabbis of Palestine. During the Hadrianic persecutions many Tannaim left Palestine to settle in Rome and continue there their intellectual activities. Of one of them, R. Mathya b. Harash, we are told in Sifre, ch. 159, that he founded a great Yeshibah in Rome.³¹ Also Joshua b. Levi emigrated to Rome (Gen. rabba ch. 77). No doubt the Yeshibot in Italy continued their existence without interruption, spreading Jewish lore according to the ideas and methods of the Palestinian rabbis, though the history of the Jews of Italy up to the eighth century is wrapped in obscurity. Only in the eighth century do we light upon the famous family of Lucca, in Lombardy, R. Kalonymus and his son Meshullam.

The interest of the Italian Jews in Palestine did not fade in the least during these early Middle Ages. In weal and woe they looked towards Palestine for spiritual comfort and instruction, and they were constantly guided by Palestinian laws and customs, especially as far as the ritual was concerned.

The best way, therefore, to appraise the spiritual life and

³¹ Comp. b. Sanh. 32a. אחר ר' מתיא בן חרש לרומי.

intellectual activity of the Italian Jews of that period is to draw a parallel between Italy and Palestine in those days.

Indeed, there seems to be a striking similarity between the literary activity of the Geonim in Palestine and that of the Italian rabbis. Just as in Palestine the Geonim devoted their energies to Haggadah, Midrash and liturgy, so also the rabbis in Italy occupied themselves with these subjects exclusively. It is known that Midrash *Shohet Tob* originated in Italy,³² likewise *Tanhuma*, *Yelamdena*,³³ and possibly also Midrash *Mishle* and Midrash *Samuel*. According to some scholars, also *Pesikta rabbati* was compiled there (see Eppenstein, p. 180). And according to Guedemann, *Tanna de-be-Elijahu* bears upon it the stamp of Italy, wherefore he styles it³⁴ "the cornerstone for a reconstruction of the earliest period of Italian Jewish History."

Though the Haggadah was so important an element in the intellectual life of the Jews in Italy, it would be an error to assume that the study of the Talmud was altogether neglected. The Talmud was studied assiduously in Italy, but it was mainly the Palestinian Talmud, as it is evident from a Responsum of Solomon Luria, XXIX.

It is not impossible that the Palestinian Talmud would have disappeared altogether if Italian copyists had not copied and recopied it in response to the demand of native rabbis. Indeed, the only remaining copy of the Yerushalmi, that was preserved in the library of Leyden, from which the first printed copy was made in Venice (1522), was executed by an Italian, Jehiel b. Jekuthiel b. Benjamin ha-Rofe, who transcribed it from a copy that had been made in the 13th century for a scholar in Rome, Menaḥem b. Benjamin b. Menaḥem.

³² See Zunz *Gottesdienstliche Vorträge* p. 268 and 310; Zunz's view appears to be more correct than Buber's.

³³ See Eppenstein *ibid.* 179 and Zunz *Gottesd. Vortr. ibid.*

³⁴ *Erziehungswesen* II. p. 55.

So in the field of the piyyut Kalonymus II (950) and his son Meshullam the great (976) were probably the first payyetanim in Italy who composed Kerobot for all the feast-days. R. Gershom Meor ha-Golah in his well-known Responsum about the insertion of the Kerobot in the Prayers, mentions as the greatest payyetanim Yannai, Kalir, R. Kalonymus and his son Meshullam.³⁵

R. Moses b. Kalonymus of Lucca, III. (1020?) is generous in his praise of the Italian scholars of his day; in his *Yozer* for the Day of Atonement entitled חכמי חום דרך³⁶ he says:

חכמי רבינו תורה... חכמי צדקה אותיות שם... חכמי עדות קושט אמרי
אמתך... חכמי נאם צופים ופיות מדבריך מלחמה משיבים בשעריך דבריך...
חכמי חפש מטמוני חכמה ורעתה.

In the 12th century Bari and Otranto, close to one another, were distinguished as seats of Jewish learning, so that even before the time of Rabbenu Tam their fame penetrated into France,³⁷ where it gave rise to the saying, "From Bari shall go forth Torah and the word of the Lord from Otranto."³⁸

R. Moses Halfi of Bari and R. Samuel of Otranto were scholars of great attainments (Rapoport in his supplementary remarks, *ibid.*, p. 97). Rab Shesha, descendant of a Geonic family, spread knowledge of Jewish lore in Polia, the port of Naples. R. Anan b. Marinus ha-Cohen, of Siponto, was considered a great authority (*Shibbole ha-Leket*

³⁵ Comp. Landshut *Amude ha-Avodah*, p. 102, 255; *Shibbole ha-Leket*, ch. 28, p. 25.

³⁶ Comp. Zunz, *Gottesdienstliche Vorträge*, p. 363.

³⁷ See *Sefer ha-Yashar* of Rabbenu Tam, Resp. 620 in re B'nei Bari; also in *Sefer ha-Kabbalah* of R. Abraham b. Daud, in the account of the four scholars taken as captives to Spain, where it is stated that they were going from Bari, from which it can be seen that Bari was considered a seat of scholars.

³⁸ R. Tam in a clause beginning *שָׁנִין קוֹרֵין עַלְיהֶם כִּי מִבָּאָרִי תָּצ֏א חֻרָה* וְדָבָר ה' מְאוֹתָרָנוּ

chs. 34 and 292); and R. Nathan b. Jehiel, author of the Aruk, as well as his brother, ranked very high in scholarship.

The scholars of France are known to have sent questions to the scholars of Rome, as Rabbenu Tam who desired them to expound for him a Mishnah in, Oholot (*Sefer ha-Yashar* 549, p. 60 d), and who cites also writings of R. Samuel of Bari (*Shibbole ha-Leket* 9). Even Rashi quotes expositions by scholars of Rome (b. *Rosh ha-Shanah* 14a and *Keritot*, 5a), likewise Mordecai (*Baba Batra* II, ch. 516). To these might be added R. Abraham of Pesaro (*Shibbole ha-Leket*, Introd. p. 7, note 44), R. Moses of Pavia (*Sefer ha-Yashar* 44a and *Shibbole ha-Leket*, Introd. p. 8); R. Eleazar of Verona (*Shibbole ha-Leket*, p. 13, 232, 244), and others.

Of special importance to our theme is the Megillat Ahimaaz. Ahimaaz b. Paltiel (1054)³⁹ gives us a clear view of Jewish intellectual life in Italy during the period of which we are treating, and from it we gather that not only in Bari and Otranto were there Yeshibot, but also in Oran and Venosa. We find mention of Venosa also in another source, where we read of the death of Rab Nathan b. Ephraim, who died in Venosa, and of whom it is said that he was איש מכובד ובבעל חכמה, רב ישיבה ומנהיג דורו (Kaufmann, *Monatschrift* 1896, p. 471). Here we are told of an Italian Jew who contributed liberally to the support of Palestinian schools: ור' אחימעץ שמה בירושלים עיר המהוללה פעמים שלש בנדרים עלה ובכל פעם עלייתו מאה והובים הולך אותו, שכן היה נדבתו... להטיב לעוסקי בחורחו, ולאבילי זכול חפארתו, ובפעם השלישי שעה... כשהיו יושבים בסעודה, מסובים עם ראש הישיבה, ותלמידי הרחבה

³⁹ *Mediaeval Jewish Chronicles*, II. ed. Neubauer, p. 111–132. ונשע ואל אורן פסע, ומוצא שם אהלים, נתועים במלחים, וכעיצים שחילם על מים גדיים, ומדרשות קבועים, כאריות וגבעות... ולוחמים ונתגבורים, במלטה שעירם, ודרושים ברבים, באילה אהבים... הם הם הרשותים אחיהם הנעים ביבי ר' אפיקוי... ר' שפטיה ור' חנאל... וביניהם נקבע ושבתו שם קבוע... ושם דראה וגונים... כבחיות האורים וישראל... The Yeshibah of Venosa is also mentioned in the inscriptions brought to light by Ascholi, (see Kaufman, *ibid.* 11–12).

פָצַחוּ בְּפִצְחָה... נָתְנוּ עִנְיִנְדָם בְּתַלְמִידֵיכֶם, הַיּוֹשְׁבִים לְפָנֵיכֶם, וְדַאֲשׁ... (Neubauer, *ibid.* 113).⁴⁰

Although the story may be merely a legend,—since it is one of the many legendary narratives relating the miracles wrought by a certain Babylonian R. Aaron,—still, these legends seem to be interwoven with facts. These narratives clearly show, that, until the latter part of the ninth century, the Palestinian influence upon Italy was very strong.

It would not be just, however, to speak of the Palestinian influence on Italy, and overlook entirely the Babylonian and Spanish influences. Thanks perhaps to its geographical situation, Italy was in the position of interchanging spiritual possessions with the rest of the world, including the far Eastern countries.

Italy was not all the time under Christian dominion. During the second half of the ninth century and the beginning of the tenth, Southern Italy, as we know, came under the Arabian regime. Arabian attacks on Italy in the year 863–864, doubtless brought many a Jewish prisoner into Babylon. The transfer of these prisoners to Babylon, and the presence of the Arabian armies on Italian soil, no doubt brought the Jews of the two countries closer to each other, and afforded an opportunity for an exchange of thought on Jewish learning and Halakah between the Italian and Babylonian scholars.

Rab Hai Gaon even assumes that, of the two versions of the *Hilkot Gedolot* ascribed to Rab Jehudai Gaon (d. 763), the second version was prepared in Italy and brought into

⁴⁰ (*Ibid.*, p. 119). We are also told an interesting story that throws light upon the role of the preacher and cantor in the Jewish community life of that time, and upon the relationship that existed between the city and country Jews; the story tells of a Palestinian preacher who came to speak in a Venosa synagogue,—a trick was played on him, much trouble followed, and finally the entire matter was straightened out through some minor changes in the piyyut קְרֻטָמָנִים. זכר

Babylon by the Italian Jews who were taken captive by the Arabian forces in 863–864. **הוּא יְדֻעֵין, שָׁהַלְכָה אֲלֹו שֶׁל מֶרֶב יִהּוּדָי לִתְחַזֵּן בְּבָבֶל בַּיּוֹמִי דָּרְבֵּי יְהּוּדָי אֲלֹא בְּתָרְיהָ כַּשְׁיעָור מֵאָה שָׁנִין אַיִתְהַנּוּ שָׁבּוֹאֵין לְבָבֶל** (Or Zarua II, 432).

Assuming with Epstein, *Hagoren* III, 64. Comp. also S. Asaph, *Hashiloah* 1918, p. 16) that by **שָׁבּוֹאֵין** Hai meant the Jewish captives taken by the Arabian soldiers in Southern Italy, we see that the idea that these Jewish captives brought an Italian version into Babylon seems quite plausible. Epstein, in his article in the *Hagoren*, considers **אָרֶץ אֲדֹם** as **יוֹן**, Greece, whereas it rather means Italy, as Rab Hai Gaon always referred to Italy as **אָרֶץ אֲדֹם**.

Whatever the history of the second version of the *Hilkot Gedolot* may have been, and whatever the origin of its existence in Babylon, according to Hai Gaon, it was prepared in Italy. This can be seen from another statement of Hai Gaon: (*ibid.*) **אֵי נָמֵי אַיִשׁ אַחֲרֵינוּ כִּתְבָּה בְּשָׁמוֹ אַחֲרֵ ק' שָׁנִים אַחֲרֵ** **שָׁבָאֵו מְאַרְוָם לְבָבֶל**. The addition of one hundred years to the time of Rab Jehudai Gaon, exactly corresponds to the period we are now discussing. R. Yehudai died in 763, while the Arabian attacks on Southern Italy took place in 863–864, and at that time a closer relationship between Italy and Babylon can already be noticed.

In that period halakic communications were exchanged between Rome and the Gaon Rab Sar Shalom (853–863) at Sura. And although the Roman decisions are not accepted,—as is evident from the statement of Isaac b. Meir of Dueren (*Shaare Dura*, 81) **וְלֹא קִיְּלָכְבִּין רֹומי שָׁהַבִּו לְרַב**—still it proves that in the ninth century there were Jewish scholars in Italy, who devoted themselves to the study of the Talmud and the Jewish law.

At the same time Abu Aaron came to Italy (between 850 and 886), and his presence there seemed to have made a

lasting impression upon Italian Jewry. However, both the coming of Abu Aaron to Italy, and the development of a closer relationship between Italy and Babylon,—did not loosen the old bond that existed between Italy and Palestine.

Especially when the later Geonim, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, adopted the Arabic language for their scholarly and halakic writings, the Italian scholars clung steadfastly to the Hebrew language, which served to strengthen their bond with the Holy Land, and re-create the love and devotion Italian Jewry bore for Palestine; this is shown by the writings of Sabbatai Donolo and Meshullam b. Kalonymus.

The intellectual activity among the Jews of Italy may throw light upon the story of the four captives by Abraham Ibn Daud, and will uphold the opinion of the scholars who consider Ḥushiel a native of Southern Italy.⁴¹

In this connection it will be interesting to note that the commentary of R. Ḥananel, son of R. Ḥushiel, which the Italian Jews studied with such great zeal, was preserved only in Rome, namely, in the Vatican and Angelica libraries.

CHAPTER VIII

SYNAGOGUAL RIVALRY BETWEEN ITALY AND BABYLON

WITH the advance of Jewish learning in Italy, it began to look for a time as if Italy were going to become a rival of Babylon in the field of liturgy, and consequently Babylonians became jealous of this Italian supremacy and endeavored to counteract it.

In the *Temim De'im* by Abraham ben David of Pousquieres, chapter 119, we find a very important Responsum

⁴¹ S. Schechter, *JQR*, XI, 649, and Eppenstein, *Beiträge*, 174.

on Tekiot⁴² ascribed to Hai Gaon, which shows the rather tense relations that existed between the Babylonian and Italian scholars at that time.

The Responsum deals with a question on Tekiot, and because of its importance I quote it at length:

... ירשה מושלשת מועתקת ומקובלת בקבלה מאבות לבנים ... מה
שאנו עושים שתוקעים מישוב כמנגן ותוקען מעומד על סדר ברכות
נ' של נ', הלכה הולכת ופושטה היא בכל ישראל. וכיון שמשמעותה זהה
בידינו נכון והלכה למשה מסני כי יצאו ידי חובתם כבר סר כל קושיא.
ואם יאמר אדם אם תש"ת העיר הרי תר"ת בטללה ואם תר"ת העיר הרי
תש"ת בטללה? תחולת השובתנו לומר מניין אנו יודעים כי יש עליינו מצוה
لت��עו ביום זה ועיקר התורה הכתובה מניין אנו יודעים כי היא תורה משה
שנכתבה מפני הנבורה אלא מפני עם ישראל? הנה אלו המעידים עלי' נס
הם מיעדים כי במעשה מה יצאו ידי חובתנו... והוצרכנו בדברים אלו
בתשובה זאת... כ' רוב שאלות אלו תואנות הם...
וכבר פירשנו לאלו קדוש נ"ע כי שברים ותרועה אחת הם... ודבר זה
עיקר, וכל השבושים שהחכמים הבאים מrome'i
משבשים אלה... הרי נסתלק ספק ולא נשארה
תوانה... וסר מה שהכבדתם והרחבתם דברים... ובניהם
שלא על יסוד. ואמרתם במלכיות תש"ת או התש"ת או התר"ת הם עיקר
הלא מצאו שלא הקענו במלכיות כלל וכן בזכרוןות וכן בשופרות והכבדתם
ואמרתם נמצאו ב' ברכות بلا מקיעה... כל אלו דברי
קנתוריין ותואנות...

A question was asked of Rab Hai Gaon as to whether it was necessary, while blowing the Shofar at the 'Amidah, to repeat TShRT, (Tekiah, Shebarim, Teruah, Tekiah), TShT (Tekiah, Shebarim, Tekiah), and TRT (Tekiah, Teruah, Tekiah) at Malkuyot, Zikronot and Shofarot. The unknown writer of this query did not fail to mention that the

⁴² This Responsum is also cited in Rapoport's *Hai Gaon (Bikkure ha-Ittim)*, 1830, p. 90, note 16, also in Müller's *Mafteah liteshubot ha-Geonim*; p. 2, but unless one reads the Responsum in its entirety as given in *Temim De'im*, he will not understand what is said in *Bikkure ha-Ittim*. The Responsum is also mentioned by Rabbenu Asher, *Rosh ha-Shanah* 34.

Italian scholars preferred this manner of blowing the Shofar, rather than the Babylonian custom of sounding TShRT at Malkuyyot, TShT at Zikronot, and TRT at Shofarot. In his Responsum, Hai Gaon defended the Babylonian custom, and used harsh expressions against the Italian scholars.

This Responsum shows us what Hai Gaon thought of Italian Jewry. We note with surprise that he says that teachings spread by Roman scholars are "errors that lead you astray." Is there any foundation for this statement? Or are we entitled to assume that a feeling of jealousy caused this indictment of the scholars of Italy?

What was the real issue in this controversy about the blowing of the Shofar? The earlier authorities tell us nothing about it, and for the lack of any contemporary Italian references, we must seek information elsewhere.

R. Isaiah di Trani in the beginning of the 13th century deals with this problem, and his words throw light on this controversy. He denounces the custom of sounding TShRT for Malkuyyot, TShT for Zikronot, and TRT for Shofarot, saying that such a usage is very wrong, and makes the Tekiot at the 'Amidah almost worthless—
כמה נראה לי מנהג—זה רע שכשאתה תוקע למלכיות קשר"ק אבלו לא עשית כלום וכן קש"ק לזכרוןות וכן קר"ק לשופרות ויותר טוב שלא לעשות כלל אלא כיון שהוא עוזנו אותו כדי לשותען על סדר הברכות הנכון הוא לעשות קשר"ק קש"ק למלכיות וכן לזכרוןות וכן לשופרות ואם מפני טורה הציגור כל הקרובות שאנו אומרים אין חושין לטורה צבור ובעעה קללה של התקיעות חושין וכיון שהברכות אין מעכבות את התקיעות אותן של היישבה הן העייר וכיון שבירך על אותן של יישיבה אין צריך לחזור ולברך על אותן של עמידה שאין אלא לשותען על סדר ברכות Shabbale ha-Leket, ch. 301. It is possible that this custom of Isaiah di Trani to sound TShRT, TShT and TRT three times each during the 'Amidah, was prevalent in Italy several centuries before his day, that is, in Hai's time. The

arguments of di Trani are essentially those of the man who asked the question recorded in *Temim De'im*, and it was from Italy that this custom spread to the rest of the Diaspora, and found universal acceptance. It is also possible that this Italian custom primarily originated in Palestine, since this usage is based on R. Abuho's ordinance in Caesarea, Palestine (comp. b. *Rosh ha-Shanah*, 34a), **אתקין רבי אבוחו בקיסרי תקיעה שלשה שברים חרואה תקעה** and only the Babylonian Amoraim, Rab Avira and Rabina, objected to it.

It is to be regretted that we do not know to whom, or to what country Hai's Responsum was directed; Rapoport's opinion, accepted by Poznanski in his article in Harkavy's *Festschrift* 206, that the questioner was R. Jacob b. Nissim from Kairawan, has not been proven as yet. It is possible that the Responsum was directed to France, since this custom actually prevailed in France according to the testimony of the Manhig, *Hilkot R. H. Kelal* 20. Moreover, this Responsum is taken from a French collection (*Temim De'im*). We may go still further and maintain that R. Tam, who propounded queries to the scholars of Rome, received also this Minhag from them, and had it introduced in his country. In contravention of the old Minhag which was followed "throughout the world and in the two Yeshibot" to sound TShRT, TShT, and TRT but once, R. Tam had the courage to introduce the more recent Italian Minhag. It is interesting to note that R. Tam met the Italian custom only half way; he considered the Italian usage the right one, but probably fearing that the Italian Minhag in its totality would meet with opposition in France, he only introduced the sounding of TShRT for all three parts, *Malkuyyot*, *Zikronot* and *Shofarot*.

Thus, what was right in the eyes of R. Tam, was pronounced "an error" by Hai Gaon. Now, what was the motive underlying Hai's antagonistic statement?

The Megillat Ebiathar, for whose discovery we are indebted to S. Schechter, tends to lead us on the right track. We have learned from this Megillah that already in the tenth century, when the Babylonian Gaonate was still powerful, there had sprung up in Palestine great academies whose heads signed themselves with the title, "Rosh Yeshibat Geon Jacob" רָאשׁ יְשִׁיבַת גֵּנוֹן יַעֲקֹב. In the course of time, especially after the heated controversy between Ben Meir and Saadia Gaon in 921, these institutions became more and more consolidated and subsequently gave rise to a full-fledged Palestinian Gaonate, a worthy rival of the great Babylonian Gaonate.

When Hai Gaon assumed office (998-1038) the Palestinian Gaonate was a *fait accompli*. Throughout the Diaspora, including even Germany,⁴³ Jews began to show great respect for the Geonim of Palestine, sending them their questions and receiving their responsa.

It was quite natural, that as soon as Palestine cast off the authority of the Babylonian Geonim, Italy should do likewise. As soon as Babylon lost its hold on Jewry at large, Italy made ready to take its place as leader of the Diaspora. We have already seen how questions from France and Germany were dispatched to Rome, and Hai Gaon was constrained to watch the ground slip from beneath the Babylonian Gaonate.

Hai Gaon could perhaps overlook the growth of the Gaonate in Palestine, but could hardly be expected to tolerate a rival Gaonate in Italy. For this reason no doubt he became guilty of hard expressions against the Italian

⁴³ See Buechler *REJ.* 237 and Marx *JQR.* N. S. I. 75.

scholars, who presumptuously began to assume Geonic authority.⁴⁴ All these scholars lived in Italy during the 10th and 11th centuries and were the first in Europe to bear the title Gaon. The Gaonate in Egypt began, as we know, in the latter half of the 11th century and continued until the end of the 12th (1063–1194).

It might be objected to this hypothesis that the rabbis of Italy never signed themselves with the title Gaon but were only called so by others; furthermore, that this title was not conferred upon them by any authoritative institution or by the Exilarch. As to the former, it might be said that very seldom did the Geonim of Babylonia who were authorized by the Exilarch or the Yeshibot sign themselves "Gaon," but "Resh Metibta." As to the latter, it might be asked: From whom did the Geonim of Palestine receive the title Rosh Yeshibat Geon Jacob? And for that matter

⁴⁴ The title Gaon was attached to Hananel Gaon (*Sefer ha-Ittim* of R. Judah b. Barzillai Albargeloni, p. 7, and his commentary on the *Sefer Yezirah* 22); R. Jacob Gaon Resh Metibta de Mata Romi (see Agudah 172; Or Zarua II, 125b, in connection with circumcision on New Year, whether it should be before or after the sounding of the ram's horn: *וְנִי הַקְטָן מֵצָאתִי סֶמֶךְ לְדִבְרֵיהֶם בְּחַשׁוֹבַת הַגָּנוֹנִים רַבִּי אֱלֹעֲזָר בֶּן יְהוָה* וּרְבָנָא קָלְנוּיָמוֹת הַזָּקָן אִישׁ רֹומי בֶן רְבָנָא שְׁבָתִי בְּכֻאוֹ מִפְּרִידָה גְּרוּמִישׁא לְאַחֲרַ פְּטִירָה רַבִּי יַעֲקֹב בֶּן יִקְרָא זִצְּלָן, שָׁאֵל מִמְּנוּ דָבָר הָהָרָה שְׁכָבָר נִשְׁאָל שָׁאָלָה וּוּ בְמַחְאָרָם וְכֵתָה בַּו שָׁאֵל כָּר שְׁלָמָה הַיְצָחָקִי מִן רְבָנָא מָרְנוֹא רַבִּי נָאָן . . . וּמִן מָר דְּנִיאָל אַחֲרָיו וּמִן מָר אַבְרָהָם אַחֲרָיו וְהַשְׁבִּיבוֹ נִסְמָחָה בְּבֵיתָה מַדְרָשָׁו שֶׁאָבָיוּמָר יְחִיאָל נָאָן וְשָׁבֵב בְּשֵׁם מָר יַעֲקֹב נָאָן רִישׁ מַחְבָּתָא דְּמָחָא רֹומי דְּרָמָה דְּרָמָה . . . Vogelstein-Rieger, *Geschichte der Juden in Rom*, I, 220; Poznanski, *Babylonische Geonim*, 107); in the 10th century; R. Jehiel b. Abraham Gaon—father of Nathan, author of the Aruk,—(Kohut's Introd. X); R. Kalonymus Gaon of Lucca (Rashi Zebahim 45b; see Poznanski *ibid.* 108); R. Meshullam b. Kalonymus Gaon (Rashi Sabbath 73b); Sabbatai Gaon (Rashi Beza 35a, according to S. Sach's explanation in *Kerem Hemed* VIII 101, whereby the words of Rashi כְּךָ שְׁמַעְתִּי are to be amended thus כְּמַה שְׁמַצָּאתִי כְּמַה שְׁמַעְתִּי יַצֵּר שִׁיסְר אֶחָד מְנוֹאָנִי לְמַבְּרִידָא are to be amended thus בְּפִירּוֹשׁ יַצֵּר שִׁיסְר . . . the original copyist's error having originated from the abbreviated writing (כִּישׁ בְּפִיּוֹת יַצֵּר) שִׁיסְר. R. Moses of Pavia Gaon (Semag, V. terefot; see also Hurwitz, Introd. to *Mahzor Vitry* 39, and *Sefer ha-Yashar* 362) and R. Nathan b. Jehiel Gaon (see Poznanski, *ibid.*).

who conferred the title Gaon on the Egyptian scholars? Certainly not the Babylonian academies! The mere fact that the scholars of Palestine called themselves by this name is sufficient indication that the purpose of the heads of the Palestinian academies was to throw off the yoke of Babylon and to protest against the monopoly of the Gaonate in Babylon, and this example was followed in Italy and Egypt.

We cannot deny that the Gaonates of Palestine, Italy and other countries, were much inferior to the Babylonian Gaonate. But whereon were the authority and importance of the Gaonate in general based? On the fact that after the destruction of the spiritual centre in Palestine the scholars in Babylon succeeded in creating such a centre in Babylon. So when in Palestine, Italy and other countries, in consequence of the growth of the Jewish population, communities were organized and academies were founded and scholars arose as well qualified as the Babylonian Geonim, there was no longer any need for dependence upon Babylon, and little by little the ties that kept the other countries bound to Babylon became loosened. Subsequently the title Gaon lost its importance altogether, so that Maimonides in his commentary to Bekorot (ed. Loewenstein, p. 22) styles it "a mere name" (*פטומי שם בעולם*).

Desperately did the last Geonim of Babylon, Nehemiah, Sherira, Samuel b. Hophni and Hai fight for the preservation of the old spiritual centre. But history knows no mercy. Quietly the Babylonian academies lost their prestige and finally disappeared, while new centres arose in western European countries. In all these centres the dominant force was lodged in the synagogues, which encompassed the whole life of the Jews in its various phases.

Just as the Talmud developed and spread in two channels, east and west, so also the liturgy was divided into two main

streams. Though the Palestinian Talmud never became authoritative against the Babylonian, the Palestinian liturgy was destined to be accepted in Italy, Greece, Germany and France, even in Egypt, against the Babylonian, owing to the zealous activity of the scholars of Rome. The Babylonian rite, on the other hand, was accepted in the main in Spain, Portugal and the southern countries. Thus while the old rivalry was forgotten its effect and consequences remained in the various rituals until our own time.

Though time and locality have worked many changes in the Minhagim of the countries following the Palestinian rite, still the inner kernel and soul of the Palestinian ritual prevailed in these countries.⁴⁵ Even the Sephardic ritual has been changed from what it was, and in its present shape must have been greatly influenced by the Palestinian.

CHAPTER IX

SPIRITUAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SPAIN AND BABYLON

THE origin of the Jewish settlement in Spain is still obscure, and cannot be dated with certainty. The various traditions about the first Jewish settlements in Spain are based on very slender foundations, and are interwoven with many legends. It is probable, however, that with the establishment of the Roman republic and with the conquest of Spain by the Romans, some Jews were sent to Spain and later settled there.

Rabbi Akiba, in his wide and important travels to Africa and the Roman provinces at the beginning of the Second Century, C. E., did not deem it necessary to visit Spanish Jewry; and yet, Spain was not quite unknown to the Rabbis

⁴⁵ See *Sefer ha-Yashar* by Rabbenu Tam ch. 619
שָׁהַרִי כִּמָּה דְבָרִים קִבְּלָה
בַּיְדֵינוּ כִּנּוּ עֲבֹר וְחָקָן חֶלְלוֹת וּבְרָכוֹת... וְבָרִים אַלְוּ עַל פִּי מְדֻרְשָׁם וְהַלְמָדָר יְרַשְׁלָמִי....

of the Mishnah, who considered it a very distant country, one year's journey from Palestine—*אָרֶי לֹא אָמְרוּ שֵׁלֶשׁ שָׁנִים*—*אַלְאָ כִּדְיַע שִׁיחָא בְּאַסְפָּמִיא וַיְחִזֵּק שָׁנָה וַיְלַכֵּו וַיְדִיעָהוּ שָׁנָה וַיָּבָא לְשָׁנָה אַחֲרָה* (Mishnah BB. III, 2).

However, the earliest historical records we possess about the Jewish settlements in Spain are dated 313 C. E. and are found in the decisions of the synod of Elviria (comp. Harnack, *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums*, I, 3; and Görres, *Das Judentum im Westgotischen Spanien*, ZWT, 1905, 353–361). At that time, traces of a slowly growing spiritual influence of Babylon upon Spain can already be noticed; it was the period of the later Amoraim, Abaye (d. 338) and Raba (d. 352).

In vain have Jewish scholars labored for generations to penetrate to the roots of the Spanish ritual from the time prayers came to be written, until the 11th century, when prayer-manuals came into vogue wherever Jews were scattered.

The fact that the Seder Rab Amram was known as the very first prayer-manual sent to Spain from Babylon, was the source of great confusion among Jewish scholars as they began to compare the Seder Rab Amram with the Sephardic rite (first published in 1524). They were surprised when they perceived that the Seder Rab Amram which was sent to Spain, did not entirely correspond with the Sephardic Ritual. Some scholars, notably Rapoport, expressed the view that the Seder Rab Amram was not adopted in Spain, but in Germany, as the German ritual bears a close resemblance to it.

But while Rapoport in spite of this view, inclines to the belief that the Palestinian ritual was transplanted to Italy, while in Spain they used the old Babylonian ritual previously known to them through correspondence between Spanish scholars and the Babylonian Geonim, a scholar of our

days, Moses Gaster, reverses the order⁴⁶ on account of the following considerations alluded to above: If it be true that the text of the Spanish ritual differs from that of the Seder Rab Amram while that of the German ritual is more in accord with it, we must infer that the German ritual is of Babylonian and the Spanish ritual of Palestinian origin. But this reasoning does not accord with the known facts. Spanish Jewry was always dependent upon Babylon, not upon Palestine; questions and responses made their way between these two countries as was pointed out above. Even the *Seder Meah Berakot* of R. Natronai b. Hilai was sent by its author to the community of Lucena in Spain, at the request of Mar Rab Joseph (see the letter of Rab Amram Gaon in his *Siddur*).⁴⁷

We know that the old Babylonian customs were so rooted in Spain, that the Jews could not easily be made to give them up.

But at an earlier period than that of Natronai bar Hilai Gaon (853), even at the time of the later Amoraim, we find a close spiritual relationship between Babylon and Spain, which indicates the former's influence upon the West, or "the farthest limits of the world," as מסוף העולם ועד סופו, as the Talmudic Rabbis liked to call this country.

An interesting event, which throws light upon this early spiritual relationship between Babylon and Spain, is recorded in the Talmud. We read in *Yebamot* 115b, that Isaac the Exilarch, the nephew of Rab Bebe died on the way while traveling from Cortova to Aspamia יחזק ריש גלוחא בר אחתיה הוּא קזיל מקורטבא לאספמיא ושכיב. The following

⁴⁶ In his introduction to the *Seder haTefilot* כמנהג ק'ק ספרדים (London), p. XIV.

⁴⁷ See also *JQR*. XVIII, p. 399, anent the epistle from Pumbeditha to Spain, found in the Genizah fragments of the Bodleian collection: ונס בכמה עתים היו שולחים אל אספמיא בשאלותיהם בימי חכמי הוראה אנשי משנה והוו משיבים ונס היו שואלים אותו.

question was then submitted before the Babylonian Amoraim: "Word has been received that Isaac the Exilarch, nephew of Rab Bebe, died on his way from Cortova to Aspamia; shall we suspect that it was a case of mistaken identity, and that the dead person was another Isaac, or not? שלחו מחתם יצחק ריש גלותא בר אחתייה דבר ביבי הוה קאול? מקורתבא לאספמיא ושכיב מי חיישין לתרי יצחק או לא אבוי אמר חיישין רבא אמר לא חיישין." The two Amoraim, Abaye and Raba, took up this problem. Abaye was of the opinion that a thorough investigation should be made, in order to establish the identity of the dead man, while Raba considered the report received from Aspamia sufficient identification.

Upon reading this passage, a number of questions arise: Who was Isaac the Exilarch, and what brought him to Cortova? Shall we assume that by Aspamia was meant Spain, or some other country? And does Cortova mean Cordova, or some other city?

Rapoport's suggestion (*Erech Millin*, p. 310) that the Aspamia referred to in this Talmudical passage is identical with Appamia, a city in Syria, and that Cortova is none other than Cartara, a city in Mesopotamia, is hardly correct or plausible. Nor can we accept S. Funck's assumption (*Die Juden in Babylonien*, II. Teil, 146, Note VI) that Aspamia is a place situated in the very distant Media.

Samuel Hanagid (993–1056) who lived at the time of the last Geonim, and who witnessed the downfall of the Gaonate in 1038, offers a clue to the solution of this problem. In his book, *הלכה נורחא*, Samuel Hanagid makes the following statement, as quoted by Judah Albargeloni (*Sefer ha-Ittim*, 179): "Spain was a center of learning . . . and the Jews of Spain never neglected the Targum or the Talmud, and they were well versed in these subjects, even from the days of Isaac the Exilarch, the nephew of Rab Bebe, who died in Spain, between Cortova and Aspamia . . ." שבספרד מקום ריבון . . .

תורה היה מזמן בית ראשון מળות ירושלים עד עכשו... ומעולם לא הניחו החרונים ולא דבר אחד מטעמי התלמוד שהיו ערכין בפייהן מיזחך ריש גלותא בר אהתיה דרב ביבי דשכיב בספרד בין קורטבא לאספמיא.

And if Samuel Hanagid, statesman and Vizir in Spain did not question the fact that Isaac died in Spain between Cor-tova and Aspamia, surely we need not doubt its possibility.

Also Albargeloni himself, in his commentary to the *Sefer Yezirah*, mentions that the Exilarch Isaac, nephew of Rab Bebe, transplanted the study of the Talmud from Babylon to Spain (comp. Jacob Schorr's Introduction to the *Sefer ha-Ittim*, p. 10-11). There is no doubt that Samuel Hanagid, as well as Albargeloni refer to the same Exilarch Isaac, of whom the Talmudical passage under discussion (*Yebamot*, 115b) makes mention.

In this Talmudical passage we can find further corroboration of our opinion about the relationship between Spain and Babylon at this early period, when Spain was under the Roman, and Babylon was under the Sassanian rule.

In Babylon, the times were not favorable for the Exilarchs. Particularly under Shapur II (310-379), when a strong nationalistic policy was adopted by Persia, and the old Persian customs and ceremonies were revived in an attempt to Persianize the various peoples of the country,—the Exilarchs lived through hard times, trying to please the government on one hand, and to satisfy their Jewish conscience and religion on the other. They finally came to be regarded unfavorably and with disapproval by the official court, who strongly objected to a "Kingdom within a Kingdom," as they probably came to regard an Exilarchate.

Raba, however, became persona grata at the royal court, and it was due to his influence that Ifra Hormizd, the King's mother, saved many an unpleasant situation for the Jews (b. *Taanit*, 24b; b. *Baba B.*, 10b; b. *Zebahim*, 116b).

Thus it might have happened that during the reign of Shapur II, Isaac the Exilarch, who seems to have been a great Talmudical scholar, was forced to leave Babylon and seek refuge in Spain. Upon the Exilarch's departure from Babylon, Raba and Abaye became the leading figures in Babylonian Jewish life. This explains the reason why the secret dispatch from Palestine, containing also the news about the calendar arrangement, was addressed to Raba and not to the Resh Galutha זוג בא מרכז . . . ועמוס יריכי נחנון בקשו לקבוע נציב אחד ולא הניתן אדרומי הללו, אבל בעל' אסופות נאספו בקשו למועד נציב אחד refer, as we know, to the additional month added to the calendar in arranging the leap year (b. Sanhedrin, 12a).

Thus, we can further assume, that, upon leaving Babylon in those days of strife, Isaac the Exilarch first went to Cortova, which was then the capital of Baetica, a Romanized province in Southern Spain. He tried to settle there, and perhaps even made an attempt to establish in Cortova an academy for Jewish learning (both Samuel Hanagid and Judah Albargeloni mention in their writings that Isaac spread Jewish learning in Spain). We do not know why he left Cortova. It is probable, however, that since Baetica was a Senatorial province without troops, it could not offer the Exilarch the protection he needed. He consequently decided to leave for another province in Spain. The Aspamia of the Talmud may have been Tarragonensis, an imperial province, which was administered by legates. On his way to 'Aspamia' he died, or, quite possibly, was killed by the Roman troops, who were suspicious of this Persian Jew who came to a Roman province, at a time when the Roman-Persian war was already in the air.

We can now understand why Raba, well-acquainted as he was with the situation at the Persian Court, said לא

upon receiving the detailed report of the Exilarch's death, since he had no doubt that the dead man was the same Isaac of Babylon (comp. Raba's proof in Yebamot, 115b); while Abaye, who was probably not quite so familiar with the circumstances of the Exilarch's departure from Babylon, was of the opinion—*ר' ישעיהו ר' עירא*—that further investigation to ascertain the dead man's identity should be made, before Isaac the Exilarch's wife could be granted permission to re-marry. Isaac's exilarchate was very short, and can probably be placed between the exilarchates of Mar Ukban III and Mar Huna III.

This will explain many of the peculiarities of the Talmudic passage in Yebamot 115b, which led Rapoport to change the two names mentioned there, namely, Cortova and Aspamia, to Cartara and Appamia. (comp. also Jacob Schorr, *ibid*).

The fact, however, remains, that there was a Jewish colony in Spain, and that the Babylonian Jews endeavored to keep in constant touch with that distant Jewish community. The contact between the Jewish communities of Babylon and Spain became even closer when Spain came under Mohammedan regime in 711; this close relationship lasted until the time of the last Geonim.

This discussion sufficiently proves that the Babylonian Halakot were firmly implanted in the Jewish community of Spain, from its very establishment until the close of the Gaonate.

We should now like to refer to another important responsum cited by Rabbenu Asher to Rosh ha-Shanah, chapter IV, 14, which will show us how deeply Babylonian customs were rooted in Spain. The responsum deals with the custom that prevailed in the two academies and throughout Babylonia, that on New Year's day, at the Musaf 'Amidah, the congregation recited but seven benedictions, while the pre-

... נהגו בשתי ישיבות ובכולו בכל מתחפלין . . .
הציבור רק שבע ברכות ו'ז יורד ואומר תשע.

R. Isaac Gayyat, speaking of this Babylonian custom, quotes also from the responsa of Natronai and Rab Amram, Rab Sherira and his son Rab Hai, and some other Geonim, to the effect that "all of them thus said and thus testified," **וכולם כך אמרו וכן העידו**, namely, that the congregation recited only seven benedictions, and the **צ"ש** nine; but his, R. Isaac's, personal opinion is as follows: "We have received it from great scholars and teachers and practical men, who received it from scholars like Rab Samuel ha-Levi, who, in turn, received it from Rab Hanoch and his contemporary elders, that we should invariably recite nine benedictions,—
ואנו קבלנו מחכמים—"and thus it is taught and practiced"—
נדולים ובעלי הוראה ואנשי מעשה שקיבלו הם מחכמים שלפניהם בנו
רב שמואל הלוי שקיבלו מן רב חנוך וקנאים שבדור הלכה למשה שאין
מתפללין ז' אלא ט' וכן מוריין ועושין. With reference to this statement, Nahmanides said (quoted by R. Asher, *ibid.*): "Though the Rabbi's arguments are correct, nevertheless, since the Geonim testify that such was never the custom at the Yeshibah, but that invariably the individual worshipper recited seven benedictions and the precentor recited nine,—we must accept their testimony, for the Geonim received it from the Saboraim, these from the Amoraim, and the traditions of the Amoraim go back to Rab Ashi, in whose synagogue they used to pray; furthermore, this usage was in vogue among the majority of Jews . . . To this custom have I given my attention, and so it is right."
... באמת שטענותיו של הרב גדורות הם אבל כיון שהגאונים מעדים
ואומרים שמעולם לא נעשה כן בישיבה (אללא) שהחידים אומרים שבע
שליח צבור יורד ואומר תשע וכך מנהגם מעולם ע"כ יש לנו לקבל עדותם
שהגאונים קיבלו מרבן סבורי' ורבנן סבורי' מרבן אמוראי ובישיבתון
על כסא של רבashi הן יושבים ובהכחין שלו היו מתפללי'. ועוד שהיה
מנহג פשטן ברוב ישראלי . . .

Rabbenu Asher's opinion, on the other hand, is as follows (*ibid.*): "I do not understand these words . . . for since they authorized nine benedictions to be said in the Musaf of Rosh ha-Shanah, they are equal to the seven benedictions of the Sabbaths and holidays . . . and we must recite all of them, for if we recite only seven, all of them have been pronounced in vain . . . and the usage of our forefathers is law, and must not be changed" . . . *ולא הבנתה*—*הדברים הללו . . . דכיו שתקנו שבע ברכות לאומרן במסוף של ר"ה* . . . *הן כמו שבע של שבתות וימים טובים . . . וצריכים להחפלו כולם דאמ* *חפלו שבע יהו כולם לבטלה כיון שמחסר מן הברכה וממנה אבותינו* *חפלו תורה היא ואין לשנות*. Zeraḥiah ha-Levi, author of *ha-Maor*, (in his commentary to Tractate Rosh ha-Shanah, towards the end) says, with reference to Rabbi Isaac Gayyat's statement: "Be not surprised at our statement that the customs of later generations differ from those of the earlier generations; for I remember, that in my childhood I saw all the congregations recite seven benedictions in the Musaf, the precentor alone reciting nine. They found precedent for their custom in the usage of the academies of the Geonim, for thus they found it written in their books, and thus you will find it in the Halakot of R. Isaac b. Gayyat of blessed memory. And now all have begun reciting nine benedictions" *ואל תהמה על מה שאמרנו שנשחנו המנהגות בדורות ואחרונים מדורות* *הראשונים כי אני זכור כי רأיתי בילדותי כל האזרע מתחפלין במסופין* *שבע וש"ז לבדו היה מתחפל לחש וחיות חולין מהם ממנהגי ישיבות הנאננים* *כי כן מצאו כתוב בספריהם וכן המציא בהלכות ה"ד יצחק בן ניאת וכשוו* *חוירו הכל להיות מתחפלים תשע ברכות*.

This responsum is certainly of great importance. It shows how deeply Babylonian customs had entered into the life of the Jews in Spain. During the 12th century, when synagogal manuals were being composed, and the historical development of liturgy began to assume a clearer aspect, we see R. Isaac Ibn Gayyat, Zeraḥiah ha-Levi and

Nahmanides discussing whether to change one of the Babylonian customs and accept a Palestinian in its stead. For, doubtless, reciting seven benedictions on New Year in private devotion, was originally a Babylonian usage, since we see that Babylonian authorities strongly recommend it; only gradually, with the approval of great Rabbis, did the custom, of reciting nine benedictions even in private devotion, assume greater currency, and finally every one recited nine benedictions.

It is fortunate that this responsum was preserved, and has thus enabled us to gain a clear insight into the early development of the Sephardic ritual. The fact, that some Palestinian rites met with such intense opposition upon their entrance into Spain, clearly proves that the Babylonian ritual was firmly rooted there. Without this responsum one might have adduced even the Halakah under discussion as evidence that the Spanish custom had its origin in Palestine, since the Spanish ritual, like the Palestinian, prescribes nine benedictions to be recited by the congregation, and is, therefore, not in accord with the Seder Rab Amram, where we read: "And where there is a precentor they begin to pray, the individual reciting seven benedictions" *ובמקום שיש שליח צבור עומדים בחפלה ומתחפלין ביחיד שבע*—*ברכות* (ed. Coronel 46); however, we see from the above discussion that this Palestinian custom was not readily accepted by Spanish Jewry, and it took a long time until this custom was practiced in Spain.

Our responsum throws light on another important point, namely, that in Germany (contrary to Dr. Gaster's view) Palestinian usages were preferred to Babylonian. Asher, speaking of the Minhag in Germany, where the custom of nine benedictions had not been changed, says: "The cus-

toms of our fathers is law, and should not be changed" וּמִנְהָג אֲבוֹתֵינוּ תּוֹרַה הִיא אַיִלְשׁוֹנוֹ. This shows that the German Jews adhered, in general, to the Palestinian ritual.

While we cannot assert that the tradition received through "Rab Hanoch and the elders" was Italian, and that this decision came from Italy to Germany,—though such a conjecture is within the range of possibility,—still, we shall not err, if we assume that Rab Hanoch and the elders received this halakah from Palestine, and thence it came by way of Italy to Germany, and finally also was adopted by the Spanish Jews.

Judging then from the influence that Babylon exerted upon Spain, nothing appears more reasonable, than to look for the Babylonian ritual in the Spanish Jewish liturgy, and for the Palestinian ritual in the Italian liturgy.

CHAPTER X

CRITERIA FOR THE PALESTINIAN RITE

WE have already pointed out that the Italian rite is identical with the Seder Hibbur Berakot. Now in looking for traces of Palestinian influence in the SHB, it is meet to find out also the influence of the Palestinian rite on other rites than the Italian, particularly the Sephardic. Our investigations must be along these two lines:

- 1.—To collate the Italian and Sephardic rites and to see how and wherein they coincide or differ. The differences ought to yield the Palestinian rite.
- 2.—In investigating the Seder Hibbur Berakot in itself to consider separately its component elements, the halakic rules, the prayers, the piyyutim—whereby we may reach a correct answer as to the genesis of the Italian Maḥzor and its inner development.

How can we find traces of the Palestinian ritual? A complete collection of it has not come down to us from antiquity. Passages from it are scattered here and there in both Talmudim, in the Midrashim, in the Pesiktot, in *Masseket Soferim*, in some responsa of the Geonim; some excerpts have been preserved in the Siddur of Saadia Gaon; the Genizah likewise yielded some important texts, such as the Eighteen Benedictions published by S. Schechter and others not yet published. Zerahiah ha-Levi in his *Maor*, Jacob ben Asher in the *Tur Orah Hayyim*, Abraham Klausner in his *Sefer Minhagim*, Aaron the Priest of Lunel in his *Orhot Hayyim* and the author of the *Migdal Oz* sometimes quote variants from the Palestinian ritual. R. Solomon Luria, in his *Yam shel Shelomoh*, towards the end of Baba Kama, mentions about fifty variant customs that he had excerpted from two halakhic collections, including ten connected with prayers and benedictions. Müller, in his *Hilluf ha-Minhagim*, adds some more from *Masseket Soferim*, from Parhi's *Kaphtor Vapherah*, and Rapoport's *Erech Millin*, etc. However, all these excerpts and quotations do not give us even a general picture of the Palestinian ritual.

Let us examine some prayers which we suppose to be Palestinian, and see whether they are found in either the Italian ritual, or in the Seder Ḥibbur Berakot. Naturally, in such a comparison, the Seder Rab Amram, as the oldest Seder, will be taken into consideration.

1. *The benediction מוביה שלדים* appears to be Palestinian, since it is found in the Seder of Saadia Gaon, the Italian Maḥzor, and the Seder Ḥibbur Berakot, but is conspicuous by its absence in the Babylonian Talmud. For this reason Rab Amram omitted it, likewise the Sephardic rite and the Manhig, which follow Rab Amram.

That it is found in Natronai's Seder,⁴⁸ is no proof of its

⁴⁸ Ginzberg, *Geonica II*, p. 115.

Babylonian origin, for the fact is that not all Babylonian synagogues followed the Babylonian rite. After all, some Palestinian usages managed to creep into the Babylonian synagogues. Hence we find, that though the benediction עוטר ישראָל בחרפֿאָה is rejected by Natronai and Amram (*Shibbole ha-Leket*, IV), the custom to recite it was current in Spain, and probably also in some synagogues in Babylonia (to which some of the Babylonian Geonim adhered).

2. *The Song of the Red Sea*, שירת הים. With reference to rounding up the Pesuke de-Zimrah with the Song of the Red Sea, there is a responsum in *Maḥzor Vitry* (p. 226) sent by the community of Rome (on Shirat ha-Yam, i. e. Wayosha): "Know ye that Shirat Ha-Yam has been our custom, the custom of all the community of Rome and of all the communities in our vicinity, and of all the communities in Spain, from the days of the exile from Jerusalem until now, to say it all the year through, every day except the Ninth of Ab . . . and the custom of our fathers is law. And in many passages of the Palestinian Talmud our Rabbis say that a custom annuls a halakah מנהג מבטל את ההלכה and especially this thing which does not contradict any halakah and of which there is no mention in the whole Talmud, and which our Rabbis accustomed us to say, because it was our duty to say the zemirot, as R. Jose said: May my lot be among those who recite Hallel every day ימי חלקי מנומר הילל בכל ים which applies to Pesuke de Zimrah. And therefore our Rabbis made it a rule to say with them this song which deals with the fall of our enemies and gives praise to the worker of miracles and to bless His name before them and after them, before them referring to Baruk Sheamar, and after them to Yishtabbaḥ; hence it is not proper to omit it except on the Ninth day of Ab, since that is the day of destruction. May God in His mercy reestablish us and reerect the fallen tabernacle of David. And

there were some who wished to say it even in the house of mourning, claiming it was not proper to omit it, but they could not on account of the custom. And as to the statement in some prayer books that the Shirah is not to be recited on Rosh ha-Shanah and Yom Kippur, it was meant only with reference to Hallel, namely, that Hallel is not to be recited on Rosh ha-Shanah and Yom Kippur, but Shirat ha-Yam is incumbent upon us to say, and may the Holy One enlighten our eyes with the light of the Torah. Thus far the Responsum."

תשובה שהשיבו קהל רומא על שירות הים דהינו ווישע. דעו כי שירות הים היה מנהגנו מנהג בכל קהיל רומא ומנהג כל קהילות אשר סביבותינו. ומנהג כל קהילות אשר בספרד מיום גלות ירושלים ועד עתה לומרה כל השנה כולה בכל יום ויום זולתי השעה באב בלבד. אין אמר' אומה' אותה מיום אבלו. וכן בבית האבל אינו אומ' אותה כל שבעה ימים. ומנהג אבותינו תורה היא. ובכמה מקומות אמרו רבות' בתלמוד ארץ ישראל. מנהג מבטל את ההלכה. וכל שכן דבר זה שאין הלכה סותרתו ואין לו זכר בכל התלמוד. ושנהיינו רבות' לאומרה יعن' כי חומירות חובה היה לנו לאומרה בכל יום דא'ר יוסי' יהי חלקינו מונמי הلال בכל יום. ומסקנא כי קאמדי' בפסקוי דזמרה. ולפיכך תקנו רבותינו לומר עמהם זו השידה שהיא על מפלחת אויבינו. ולחתה שבך למפליא פלאות ולברך את שמו לפנייהם ולאחריהם. לפניהם ברוך שאמר. ולאחריהם ישתחב. הילך אין ראי למןעה אלא יום השעה באב בלבד. לפי שהוא יום נפילה... וושאנשים שרצוי לאומרה אפילו בבית אбел. ואמרו שאין ראי למןעה. ולא יכול מפני המנהג. שאמר בסידורים שאין אמר' שירה בראש השנה ובימים הקפורים לא אמרן אלא על ההلال כלומר שאין אמרים הلال בראש השנה ויום הקפורים. אבל שירות הים חובה עליינו לאומרה. והק' יאר עינינו במאור תורה: ע"ב ת'

This Responsum is important to us from various considerations. In the first place it shows that at that time Italian scholars were recognized as authorities in whatever pertained to the synagogal ritual and that they derived their knowledge from Palestine, as they cite in particular the Palestinian Talmud. Secondly, it is evident from this responsum that other prayer books besides those of Rab

Amram and Rab Saadia, were in vogue at this period. The following questions suggest themselves:

- 1st—To what country was this responsum sent?
- 2nd—Whence came to the Roman community the custom of reciting daily the Shirat ha-Yam between Baruk Sheamar and Yishtabbaḥ?

The fact that in the days of Natronai Gaon it was not customary to say the Shirah after Pesuke de Zimra, at least not in the principal synagogues of Babylon (according to the testimony of R. Judah Albargeloni),^{48a} is in itself sufficient proof of its Palestinian origin, but the Manhig also corroborates this hypothesis. As was noticed above, the Italian scholars in dealing with the daily recital of the Shirah make an exception of the Ninth of Ab; now the Manhig in (24) and in Hilkot Tisha be'Ab (28) confirms this as follows: "And so I have heard that everywhere in Palestine they skip (it on the ninth of Ab) (and) in France and in Provence" (וכן שמעתי שבארץ ישראל מדרלני" בצרפת ופרובנס). From this it is evident that the saying of the Shirah was a Palestinian custom.⁴⁹ In our opinion this Minhag must have come from Palestine to Italy, from Italy to Germany, from Germany to France and Provence, and possibly from there to Spain. This migration of the custom is borne out also by another witness in an old MS. from the Paris library:⁵⁰

בימי הקדומים:⁵⁰
כשנינו כאן (לשם תפארתך) היה ש"ז עומד ומתחיל ישתחוו וכשבא
הנאון ר' משה מלוקא בן ר' קלונימוס בימי המלך קראלא למדינת מנצAz
היה מנהיג בני דורו לומר עד ושמו אחד . . . וזה והוא ערך ד"א חוקעד

48a In the *Sefer-ha-Ittim*, p. 249; cf. also the *Sefer-ha-Ittim*, p. 249, where it is said that in the days of Natronai Gaon it was not customary to say the Shirah after Pesuke de Zimra, at least not in the principal synagogues of Babylon (according to the testimony of R. Judah Albargeloni).

49 Mentioned also in S. R. Saadia Gaon, see Bondi, *Der Siddur des R. Saadia Gaon*, p. 16.

50 See *REJ* 23, 234 and *Seder Rab Amram* (ed. Frumkin), p. 172.

"In former years when this passage **לשם תפארתך** was reached the precentor began Yishtabbaḥ, but when R. Moses b. Kalonymus of Lucca came to Mayence during the reign of Charles, he induced his contemporaries to say the Shirah as far as **ושמו אחד** . . . and this was about 4574 (814 C. E.)."

Here is positive proof that this usage came from Italy to Germany, and if it is also found in France and Provence, it follows necessarily that it was transplanted there from Germany. Hence the statement of R. Hirtz Treves in his commentary to the prayer book, that it came to Germany through R. Shemaiah of Soissons has no validity. In the course of time, apparently at the beginning of the thirteenth century, also the Jews of Spain adopted this custom, extending it even to the Ninth of Ab.

This is implied in the words of the *Manhig*:⁵¹ "In the ritual of R. Amram the prayer goes as far as **ומחילם לשם תפארתך** and no further,⁵² where the precentor continues with Yishtabbaḥ, but in all the congregations the Shirah is recited and it is not proper to skip it." The old custom of omitting the Shirah on the Ninth of Ab was kept up only in Italy.

3. *The custom to omit the passage א/or חדש* at the end of the first Shema Benediction likewise seems to be Palestinian. Saadia upheld it, styling the saying of this passage **מוציא שם שמים לבטלה וטעות היא**. Hence **א/or חדש** is not found in the Genizah fragments, in the Italian ritual, nor in the old German and French rituals. But even in Babylon there seem to have been some synagogues that followed this

⁵¹ Zunz, *Ritus*, p. 14.

⁵² *Hilkot Tefillah* 24. There is no doubt that in the British Museum MS. of *Seder Rab Amram*, wherein the Shirah is found, it is a later addition, see Zunz, *Ritus*, p. 14, Coronel's note to p. 3, and Ginzberg, *Geonica I*, p. 127.

Palestinian custom of omitting אָוֶר חַדְשָׁה, since indeed, we do not find it in the Seder Rab Amram.

Prof. Ginzberg's suggestion (*Geonica*, I, 127) that the omission of אָוֶר חַדְשָׁה in Seder Rab Amram is a later correction to effect agreement with the text of Saadia, is hardly justified, for Natronai was also opposed to saying אָוֶר חַדְשָׁה, comp. the *Manhig*, *Hilkot Tefillah*, 31. Spain which followed the Seder Rab Amram, discarded אָוֶר חַדְשָׁה. Abudraham likewise ends the benediction Yozer Or with בָּאָמָר לְעוֹשָׂה אָוֶרֶם נְדוּלִים בָּאָיִן יוֹצֵר הַמְאוּרָתָה.

The fact of the appearance of אָוֶר חַדְשָׁה in our Seder and in all the German prayer-books that came down to us since the twelfth century, is not surprising, considering the antiquity and merit of this prayer. It is probably due to these qualities that Eleazar ben Judah ben Kalonymus, author of the *Rokeah* (1176–1238), introduced it into Germany, comp. *Rokeah*, 319. Later on R. Asher (in his *Responsa*, IV, 20) approves the practice of saying it. However, being aware of Saadia's objection that "we cannot say a blessing for the light that is reserved for the days of the Messiah" לְפִי שֶׁלֹּא חִקְנָנוּ חֲכָמִים בְּרָכָה וּוְעַל אָוֶר הַעֲתִיד לִמְוֹת הַמְשִׁיחָה זֶה וְזֶה כָּלֵנוּ מִזְרָה לְאָוֶר was inserted. Since this phrase is found in the Seder *Hibbur Berakot* and in the German ritual it stands to reason that it was first inserted by Menahem ben Solomon, and hence it came to Germany through Eleazar ben Judah ben Kalonymus.

It is interesting that even the version of אָוֶר חַדְשָׁה in a Genizah fragment⁵³ is modified to such an extent as to exclude just such an objection as Saadia's. Witness this Genizah version, and compare with it the old Babylonian text:

⁵³ Comp. Elbogen, *Studien*, p. 24.

Genizah Fragment	Old Babylonian Version according to the Manhig (<i>ibid.</i>)
Taylor-Schechter, H 9 No. 17	
<p>ואור חדש בציון חכין בדבר שנאמר קומי אורי כי בא אורך וכבוד ה' עליך זרחה ובדברי קדרש כחוב לאמר אל י" ויאר לנו משיח תאר לנו בקרוב ונכח כלנו מהרה לאורו בא" . . .</p>	<p>ואור חדש על ציון תאר בדבר שנ' קומי אורי כי בא אורך וכבוד ה' קדשך כתוב לאמר אל י" ויאר לנו החותקין מאורות לשם עולם ונור המאורות</p>

4. *The ending of the morning Geullah at the close of Ezrat Abotenu* is probably Palestinian.

In Yer. Berakot I, 3c, discussing the Geullah in Ezrat Abotenu, R. Joshua b. Levi winds up by saying: *צריך לחביר את כלן, והוא שיראל ונואלו* and though the Babylonian version of Raba (b. Pesahim, 117b) was generally accepted, still the Palestinian version *מלך צור קדוש ישראלי ונואל* has been preserved in Seder Hibbur Berakot, in Mahzor Roma and in the ritual of Germany (including Poland) for Pentecost.⁵⁴ On the other hand, the Jews of Palestine became accustomed to add **בגָלְל אֲבוֹת**. This custom spread from Palestine to Italy, and hence is found in Seder Hibbur Berakot and Mahzor Roma for every day.

The Babylonians objected to this custom and Rab Amram says,⁵⁵ "Nothing should be added after **"ה' מלך לעולם ועד"** because there are some who err and say what our sages, of blessed memory, have not prescribed here, namely, **בגָלְל אֲבוֹת**. The reference here is to the sages of Palestine who added it. In Spain however, they followed Rab Amram in not saying **בגָלְל אֲבוֹת** but adding instead a passage from Isaiah (XLVII, 4), *נוֹאַלְנוּ ה' צִבְאוֹת שְׁמוֹ קָדוֹשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל*.

⁵⁴ As to the readings in Genizah fragments cp. Elbogen, *Der jüd. Gottesdienst*, 23f.

⁵⁵ Ed. Coronel 6b. *וְאֵין לְהוֹסִיף דָּבָר עַל ה' מֶלֶךְ לְעוֹלָם וְעַד מִפְנֵי מָה שִׁישׁ מֵ שְׁטוּעָה בּוֹ וְאָמַר מָה שֶׁלֹּא חָקָנוּ חַיִל כָּאן*

It is surprising that the *Manhig*,⁵⁶ while protesting against בָּגְלָל אַבּוֹת and averring that those who say it have not thereby fulfilled their duty, as it is a thing not ordained by the sages, yet approves of the version current in Germany צָדֵר יִשְׂרָאֵל, though the latter likewise is not stamped with the approval of the sages.

This would lead us to the conclusion that the version contained in the Bodleian MS. of Seder Rab Amram for the evening service⁵⁷ closing with צָדֵר יִשְׂרָאֵל וְנוֹאָלוֹ, is a later addition of a misguided copyist.

5. *The mention of מורד הטל* during the summer in the second benediction of the Shemone Esreh known as Geburot is of Palestinian origin. In all the Kerobot of Kalir⁵⁸ it is mentioned. It is found also in our Seder and in Italian prayer-books, but not in the old Sephardic ritual nor in Seder Rab Amram as reported by the *Manhig*.

6. *In the third benediction of the Shemone Esreh called Kedushat ha-Shem* the oldest version used in Palestine is קָדוֹשׁ אַתָּה וְנוֹרָא שָׁמֶךְ וְהַאֲלָה הַקָּדוֹשׁ נִקְדַּשׁ בְּצַדְקָה... The beginning of this benediction קָדוֹשׁ אַתָּה וְנוֹרָא שָׁמֶךְ is cited in Sifre, Deut. 343; the close of the benediction וְהַאֲלָה הַקָּדוֹשׁ נִקְדַּשׁ בְּצַדְקָה is mentioned in *Pirke de R. Eliezer* XXXV; the middle part וְאַיִן אֱלֹהָה מִבְּלָעְדִּיךְ is found in Genizah fragments.⁵⁹ In the course of time, however, there grew up another version in Palestine, viz.: לְדוֹר וּלְדוֹר הַמְלִיכוֹ לְאָלָה, which is preserved in our Seder and in the Italian prayer-books for daily prayer. On the other hand, it seems that אַתָּה קָדוֹשׁ וְשָׁמֶךְ קָדוֹשׁ, found in the Sephardic ritual, is the Babylonian version as it is found in Seder Rab Amram for the Musaf of Sukkot, and, according to the Oxford MS.

⁵⁶ Ibid. 40, 43.

⁵⁷ See Elbogen, *Studien*, 31.

⁵⁸ See Rapoport, *Kalir*, note 33. also, p. 167.

⁵⁹ S. Schechter *JQR*. X 656.

also for the morning service of the New Year. This naturally leads to the conclusion that **לדור ודור המליך לאל** in the Seder Rab Amram is a later addition.

7. *In the daily evening service*, the question whether to add **יראו עיניו ברוך ה' לעולם** has been debated for centuries. According to the *Mahzor Vitry* (p. 101) "the heads of the academies in Babylon composed this benediction (ברוך ה' לעולם) and sent it to the sages of Jabneh and it was approved by them. **ראשי ישיבות בבבל יסדו ברכה זו...** (**ושלחום לחכמי יבנה ונתישרה בעיניהם**). Likewise Rashi, in *Pardes*, Chapter II.—"The eighteen benedictions were composed in Jabneh and sent to Babylon for liturgical use; thereupon the Babylonians compiled these eighteen scriptural verses corresponding in number to the Shemone Esreh, and sent them to the sages in Jabneh." **"יח ברכות ביבנה תקנות שלוחומם לאנשי בבל להתפלל, לבך תקנו אנחנו את אלה יח אוכרות של פסוקים שהם נגד החפלה שלוחומם לחכמי יבנה . . .**

Though we cannot rely on these two sources as to time and place of the institution of this prayer, we can, at least, see that **ברוך ה' לעולם** is very old, and was known in Babylon and Palestine in ancient times. Natronai Gaon, in a Responsum cited in Seder Rab Amram 25a, ascribed this prayer to later authorities, **אחו בחראי ותקינו**, likewise the *Eshkol (Hilkot Tefillah we-Keriat Shema LX)* ascribes it to later rabbis. But who were those later rabbis? Here we may also be guided by the trustworthy *Manhig*, which ascribes this prayer to "the men of the west."

Now the men of the West are undoubtedly the sages of Palestine who probably composed this prayer about the seventh century. In the course of time it spread everywhere, including some Babylonian synagogues. Naturally this prayer is found in Saadia's Siddur, in Seder *Hibbur Berakot*, and in all Italian prayer-books, differing only with regard to the wording of the close of the benediction.

Saadia goes even further, including it even in the Sabbath eve service.

It is remarkable that though this prayer was accepted in some Babylonian synagogues, the Sephardic ritual failed to include it. Isaac Ibn Gayyat and Samuel ben Meir (Rashbam) were opposed to its use even on week days. Hence I am inclined to believe that its occurrence in the *Seder Rab Amram*, p. 19, is due to a later insertion; otherwise the Spanish Jews would have adopted it.

8. *The question whether to say קדשות אהבה or אהבה קדשות ומאהבתך* is an old one. Palestinian sources such as *Tosephita Berakot III*, *Siddur R. Saadia*, *Sefer Tanya Rabbati*, *Seder Hibbur Berakot*, and the older editions of the Roman liturgy, exhibit only אהבה קדשות; on the other hand, the Babylonian-Spanish ritual, when it does use ומאהבתך, it is always in connection with אהבה קדשות, as, for instance, the Oxford MS. of *Seder Rab Amram* and the *Sefer ha-Ittim* of Judah Albargeloni (p. 138). The Spanish liturgy in itself never mentions אהבה קדשות ומאהבתך. This makes it quite evident that אהבה קדשות is Palestinian, while ומאהבתך is Babylonian. Hence אהבה קדשות ומאהבתך in our *Seder Rab Amram* is a later insertion.

Moreover, it is probable that ומאהבתך was intended not only for Sabbath but also for the holidays, but later on when הווען לנו was adopted for the holidays, ומאהבתך was restricted to the Sabbath only. Traces of the usage to recite ומאהבתך also on holidays are discernible in the *Selihot* for Yom Kippur of the German ritual, in the prayer beginning הווען לנו עבדך אמר לפניו. As to הווען לנו being adopted for the holidays it is evident from Rashi's insertion of this prayer in the text of the b. Ber. 33b.

9. *The prayer שבת חקנות for the Musaf of Sabbath*, based on ש"ק and מנאפ"ק is likewise Palestinian. In Palestine, the cradle of the piyyut, such alphabetical acrostics were quite

frequent. The Midrash Shir ha-Shirim, as well as Midrash Kohelet, hint at the origin of such piyyutim חידון פיתניא כד is found in *Seder R. Saadia*, in our Seder, in the German and French rituals, while it is wanting in the Sephardic ritual. The Spanish Jews had another prayer for Sabbath Musaf למשה צויה על ה'ר סני whose origin is likely Babylonian. The fact that the *Manhig, Hilkot Sabbath* 42 . . . traces חקנות שבת to the French and Provencal rituals proves clearly that his copy of *Seder Rab Amram* did not contain it. Hence חקנות שבת in our *Seder Rab Amram* is a later interpolation. Rapoport's view that the German Jews borrowed חקנות שבת from the *Seder Rab Amram*^{6x} is therefore untenable.

10. *The special Shema Benediction before bedtime* בָּא"י אַמְתָּה אֲקַבֵּז לְהַמְלִיכֹּו בְּלֶבֶב שְׁלָם וּבְנֶפֶשׁ חֲפֵץ was customary in Palestine in ancient times, as is revealed in a Genizah fragment (*JQR.*, X, 657). The *Seder Hibbur Berakot* has it, consequently it was current in Italy, while the Spanish Jews were opposed to it, for the reason given by Albargeloni (quoted in *Shibbole ha-Leket*, p. 90): "כִּי לֹא חֲנֹה רַבּוֹתֵינוּ" "for our rabbis had not instituted it." Its occurrence in the Oxford MS. of *Seder Rab Amram* is undoubtedly due to an interpolation by a copyist.

11. The prayer לְעוֹלָם יְהָא אָדָם, which occurs in *Seder Hibbur Berakot* and in all the Italian and German prayer-books, and is derived from the תְּהִא דְבֵי אֱלֹהֶיךָ, is either Palestinian or Italian. Very likely it was introduced at a later date into the *Seder Rab Amram*.

The following observation may not be out of place. According to Rashi b. Yoma 87b, the prayer רַבּוֹן הָעוֹלָמִים following לְעוֹלָם יְהָא אָדָם is the confession of Rabbi Johanan on Atonement Day. This view of Rashi is indeed surpris-

⁶⁰ Cant. R. I, 1; Koh. R. I, 13.

^{6x} Rapoport, *Toldot R. Nathan*, n. 29.

ing, for to the question of the Talmud "What does he say?" (i. e. how does he make confession) Rab answers וּבְתוֹרָה כַּחֲבֵב מַעֲמָקִי הַלְּבָב, Samuel, Levi עֲזָה יָדַע רַוי עַולְם, R. Johanan כַּבְּנֵי הָעוֹלָמִים, R. Judah רַבּוֹן הָעוֹלָמִים, R. Hamnuna אֶלְלָה יְעַד שְׁלָא נָצְרָתִי הַלְּבָב. Of all these confessions those suggested by Samuel and R. Johanan are not known to us. A "Widduy" confession is entirely lost, likewise R. Johanan's must have been a confession, whereas the formula to which Rashi refers is really a prayer, not a confession. It might be better to say that the Ribbon ha-Olamim of R. Johanan is identical with the quoted in the name of R. Berechiah in Yer. Yoma VIII, 9, and with some variations in Midrash Rabba to Leviticus III.

Rashi arrives at his interpretation through another question in the Talmud: מַאי נְעִילָה שְׁעִירִים to which Rab replies מַה אָנוּ וְמַה חִינּוּ, while Samuel says, צָלָה אֱתִירָתָא. Through Samuel's mention of מַה אָנוּ וְמַה חִינּוּ, which is a part of רַבּוֹן כָּל הָעוֹלָמִים of R. Johanan with this prayer. As a matter of fact רַבּוֹן כָּל הָעוֹלָמִים is collective. It is surprising that Zunz (*Gottesdienstliche Vorträge*, p. 377) and after him Baer, Landshut, Elbogen, etc., accepted Rashi's view despite its incongruity. Even the common version רַבּוֹן כָּל הָעוֹלָמִים confirms our view, since the Talmud exhibits only רַבּוֹן הָעוֹלָמִים.⁶²

⁶² It is also difficult to accept the opinion of Rapoport (*Kalir* 177) that from Tanna de-be-Elijah. For *נְעִילָה שְׁעִירִים* is the *מה אָנוּ וְמַה חִינּוּ* of Samuel. It appears to me rather that from *רַבּוֹן הָעוֹלָמִים* until *נְעִילָה שְׁעִירִים* is one prayer; the part from *כִּי חָכָל הַבָּל* to *מַה אָנוּ* and, what follows is a new prayer. Only the Sephardim and the Yemenites have interpolated between *מַה אָנוּ* and *לְכַד הַשְׁמָה*. This interpolation, however, is not part of the subject matter, and is not found in ancient sources.

From all these one can see that the influence of Palestine was great upon the Seder Hibbur Berakot and the Italian ritual in general; on the other hand, Babylon's influence is quite evident in the Spanish ritual.⁶³ Thus, when laws, customs and prayers of a distinct Palestinian character are noticed in SRA, we should be careful not to ascribe all of them to R. Amram, but rather stamp them as later interpolations. The same holds true also in regard to the passages of the Palestinian Talmud occurring in the SRA, since we know, that the Geonim of Babylon were rather reluctant to derive assistance from Palestinian sources.

רְבוּן הַעוֹלָמִים
לֹא בָּצֶדֶקְתִּי וּבִוְשֵׁר לְבָבִי אֲנִי נְשַׁעַן לְהַפֵּיל חַנְתִּי לְפִנֵּיךְ כִּי עַל רַחֲמִיק
published in later editions of the Roman Siddur and ascribed by Luzzatto and others to R. Samuel Latif, is also found in Seder Hibbur Berakot, though with many variations. Since R. Samuel Latif lived in the latter part of the fifteenth (Cod. Rossi 798, 937) and the earlier part of the sixteenth century (Katalog Oppenheim, 1782, p. 59b),⁶⁴ printing as he did, among other books, the Mahzor Roma in 1520 or 1522, it is safe to assume that he merely copied this prayer from some manuscript copy of the Seder Hibbur Berakot.

There remains one point to clear up. We must dispel the illusion of those who think that the variations between Palestine and Babylon which Solomon Luria collected in his *Yam shel Shelomoh* (toward the end of Baba Kamma) and to which Müller added eighteen, making a total of seventy-three, embrace all the differences of opinion between

⁶³ Still there are some versions in the Spanish Siddur that are Palestinian in character, e. g. קְדוּם שְׁבָרָאת הַעוֹלָמִים, or אֲתָה הוּא אֶחָד קְדוּם שְׁבָרָאת הַעוֹלָמִים in the Kaddish (see Pool, *The Kaddish*, p. 69), but these versions are few, and can be easily enumerated.

⁶⁴ Zunz, *Zur Geschichte und Literatur*, p. 250.

Palestine and Babylon. According to Müller there were twenty-one variations altogether with regard to prayers and blessings, whereas in truth there were numerous such differences. The Babylonians and Palestinians had two distinct rituals. Possibly Müller himself did not intend to give us all the variants between the two rituals. In fact, he did not even record all the liturgical variants between Babylon and Palestine that appear in the *Masseket Soferim*. The latter exhibits halakic differences with reference to the liturgy in almost every chapter; and therefore the efforts of some expositors of the *Masseket Soferim*, like the Gaon of Wilna and R. Jacob Naumburg, to reconcile the halakot in *Masseket Soferim* with those in the Babylonian Talmud must prove futile. Such halakot in the *Masseket Soferim* are based on the Palestinian Talmud, and one need not distort the meaning of *Masseket Soferim* because the Talmud Babli is not in harmony with its statements.

CHAPTER XI

BABYLONIAN ELEMENTS IN THE SEDER HIBBUR BERAKOT

It was emphasized in the introduction that the Italian rite of the SHB is preponderately Palestinian. That implies, of course, that it contains also other ingredients.

It would be one-sidedness on our part to ignore the Babylonian elements which in course of time had crept into the Palestinian-Italian rite and which are evident on the surface. Such influences are quite natural. We witness them in our own days, when Jews emigrate from their native land to another country and erect synagogues and introduce therein the rites and usages which they brought with them from their native land, instead of adopting outright the laws and customs of the synagogues in the new

country. Later on, when these synagogues come in contact with others, a reciprocal influence enters between them. If some of the immigrant Jews affiliate themselves with the already existing synagogues and become influential there, the result will be that some of their rites and customs will enter these synagogues and become naturalized there or else bring about a compromise between them and the existing rites. German communities in Italy, Russian-Polish communities in Germany, are a good instance. When Rab emigrated to Babylon he undoubtedly introduced the Palestinian rite in his synagogue. On the other hand, as was pointed out above, when Babylonian Jews came to Palestine they forced even the native Palestinians to adopt their synagogual usages. Of Egypt we know today that both the Babylonian and Palestinian rites were prevalent there.⁶⁵ Saadia borrowed his liturgical texts from Palestinian synagogues. Maimonides derived his material not from purely Babylonian synagogues, since his rite exhibits also Palestinian elements, but from synagogues that were not altogether unsympathetic to the Palestinian rite. And the same seems to hold true also in Italy, where we likewise find some Babylonian influences exerted on the reigning Palestinian rite. This fact will be illustrated by two points which show Babylonian influence.

It has been stated already that in spite of all the discovered texts we are still unable to trace back all our prayers to their first sources. The fact is that the prayer-book did not originate in a day, but is the product of a long and continuous development. It is therefore difficult to answer the question where the text of the Yozer Kedushah which we possess had its origin. Ph. Bloch, in his treatise on the *וֹרֶדִי מְרֻכָּה* or the mystics of the Geonic period, has endeavored to trace back the Kedushah in the Yozer with its

⁶⁵ Comp. *JQR.*, XVIII, 569; XIX, 900; Poznanski in *ZHB.*, X, 195.

fantastic content to these obscure mystics. Bloch is probably right. Seder Rab Amram (p. 4a) already ascribes the introduction of this Kedushah in the Yozer to the יורדי מרכבה. Also Elbogen's evidence⁶⁶ seems to be of weight, especially since Saadia and several Genizah fragments exhibit another and shorter Yozer text, which seems to be the old Palestinian. Ginzberg⁶⁷ brings the 'Amidah-Kedushah (the Kedushah in the third benediction of the Shemone Esreh) in connection with the Yozer-Kedushah. As to the 'Amidah-Kedushah, it is well known that the Babylonian Jews who emigrated to Palestine forced the Jews there to recite an 'Amidah-Kedushah also on week-days.⁶⁸ Ginzberg, following Rapoport concludes that "as the 'Amidah-Kedushah is the product of the Babylonian mystics, so the Yozer-Kedushah goes back to the Palestinian mystics" (p. 132). Such a conclusion is hardly justified. The passage in Josephus to which Ginzberg refers speaks only of a morning prayer performed by the Essenes, but makes no mention of a Kedushah.⁶⁹ To suppose that such a Kedushah must have existed, although the Palestinian sources are against it, is hardly warranted. Here the Seder Hibbur Berakot, which is also quoted by Ginzberg (*Geonica* II, 49), offers a clue to the solution of the problem.

We must, however, first point out other differences in the Kedushah text of the Babylonians and the Palestinians. The Babylonians, influenced by the mystic effusions of the יורדי מרכבה, were fond of speaking of angels who "put the crown on the Creator." Of Sandalphon it is said (b. Hagigah

⁶⁶ *Studien zur Geschichte des jüdischen Gottesdienstes*, p. 20 ff.

⁶⁷ *Geonica* I, 129 ff.

⁶⁸ See preceding chapter.

⁶⁹ Josephus (*de bello Judaico*, II, 8, 5) says of the Essenes: "They speak not a word about profane things before the rising of the sun, but they offer up prayers they have received from their fathers, facing the sun, as if praying for its rising."

13b) that "he wreathes crowns to his Creator" קושר כתרים (לכתר). The best opportunity for the insertion of this expression was offered the Babylonians in the 'Amidah-Kedushah, which, owing to the Trisagion (קדוש, קדוש, קדוש), they found appropriate to preface with כתר יתנו לך. The Palestinians, on the other hand, know only נקדישך ונעריצך (Masseket Soferim, XV, 12). Now, it is surprising, that while Seder Rab Amram shows in all the Kedushah prayers, the Italian ritual, as exemplified by our Seder, as well as the Sephardic and French rituals, contain נקדישך for Shahrit and Minḥah, and כתר for Musaf. We can explain this fact only by the assumption that the mystic elements in all the Kedushot, in the Yozer as well as in the 'Amidah, are due to the Yorde Merkabah.

The Yorde Merkabah were in high esteem at the time of the Geonim. The mystic literature of the Geonim, and especially the Hekalot, are full of descriptions concerning their lives and activities. They imagined that they saw the seven halls, and all that is therein, with their own eyes, while passing from one hall into another, which may have gotten them the rather obscure name Yorde Merkabah. The leader of the Merkabah-travelers was Metatron or Metatron-Enoch, who initiated the members of the Merkabah into the secrets of the forces of nature and universe.

These Yorde Merkabah, although they contributed but little to the development of speculative mysticism, were of great service in the development of liturgical poetry as shown in our Kedushah and Yozer piyyutim.

Originally, the Yozer was very short, and consisted only of the following: בא"י אמרה יוצר אור ובורא חושך עשה שלום ובורא את הכל. המPAIR לארץ ולדרים עליה ברחמים, טובו מחדש בכל יום תמיד מעשה בראשית, כאמור לעשה אורים גדולים כי לעולם חסרו. בא"י יוצר which, according to Saadia and Genizah fragments,

was Palestinian.⁷⁰ Due to the influence of the Yorde Merkabah, the Yozer grew in proportion, until it contained long passages referring to the angels, as the ministers, the **מְשֻׁרְתִּים**—the ministers, the **חַיִּים**—the living creatures, the **שָׂרְפִים**—the fiery ones, and the **אֲוֹפָנִים**—the wheels that carry the Throne.

Considering the zeal with which the Babylonians endeavored to make the daily Kedushah popular, we may venture a step farther, and assume that their interest lay not only in the Kedushah as such, but also in its wording,—since the Musaf text contained the mystical idea of the Yorde Merkabah about the **כתר**, the crown that God receives from the angels and Israel, and since the Yozer text held the idea of the **אֲוֹפָנִים**, the 'wheels.' That was contained in the Babylonian Kedushah can be proven by the fact, that the Seder Rab Amram has this text for all the 'Amidot. The same holds true of the 'Ophanim' in the Yozer, as is evident from Rab Amram's introduction to the Yozer. And it was to this mystical idea of the 'Keter' and the 'Ophanim' that the Palestinians objected.

The Babylonians finally succeeded in compelling the Palestinians to recite the Kedushah daily, but the **כתר** was taken out of the text.

We may even assume that the 'Keter' text in the third benediction of the 'Amidah was already used in Babylon, even at an earlier time than the above mentioned Responsum, namely, in the fifth century, before the completion of the Talmud Yerushalmi; and the Palestinians always objected to this custom. We may even go further and say, that what the Babylonians called the **מְרֻכֶּבֶת** (the chariot), the Palestinians called, in an abbreviated form **אֲוֹפָן** (the wheel). This last assumption will explain the passage in Yerushalmi V, 4, בְּתוּלֵי אֲשֶׁר תַּחֲזִיק בְּאוֹפָנֶיךָ: a Palestinian cantor refused to recite the **אֲוֹפָן**, which was the Babylonian 'Keter.'

⁷⁰ Comp. Elbogen, *Studien*, p. 21.

Thus, if we accept the theory that the Palestinian term אופן corresponded to the Babylonian כתר, this passage in the Yerushalmi that puzzled many commentators, can easily be solved.

The process of the Yozer-Kedushah cannot be followed with certainty. However, of one fact we are sure, namely, that the strong efforts of the Babylonian mystics are responsible for the incorporation of both the Yozer-Kedushah and the כתר text, not, however, without a slight modification, which the Babylonians found it convenient to accept: נקדישך was spared for the morning service, while כתר was applied only to the Musaf.* Possibly later on, in the days of Ben Meir, when the Palestinian Jews freed themselves from Babylonian influence, they eliminated כתר and gave נקדישך its former place of honor. In this way it becomes clear why the German ritual never adopted כתר; but in view of the 'Amidah-Kedushah already forming part of the week-day service, rabbis, out of respect to the old Palestinian נקדישך which was used only on Sabbath, composed a short Kedushah, namely נקדש אתה שםך בעולם.

Ginzberg, who had the Seder Hibbur Berakot before him,⁷¹ overlooked נקדישך in the morning prayer of that Seder (fol. 38). Furthermore, Ginzberg describes the Italian ritual as "modelled after that of the Babylonians."⁷²

Another point clearly showing Babylonian influence involves the prayer קום פורקן. This prayer was doubtless composed in Babylon. The question is how did it get to the Seder Hibbur Berakot, while wanting in the Spanish ritual? It seems to me that the original קום פורקן must have contained only the blessing for the Babylonian acad-

* And so we find it in our Seder as well as in the Sephardic and French rituals.

⁷¹ *Geonica*, II, 48, note 3.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 49.

mies and their heads. Subsequently, when the Babylonians immigrated to Palestine, they introduced wherever they could, but out of respect to the Palestinian congregations they gave preference to the latter, by mentioning, in the blessing, Palestine before Babylonia. Thus יקום פורקן became naturalized in Palestine. Seder Hibbur Berakot probably preserved the oldest Palestinian text of the viz., יקום פורקן:

יקום פורקן מן שמייא וחינא וחסדא וחוי ארכיבי ומונין רוחחי וסיעתא מן שמייא
וברויות גופא ונהורא מעלייא, זורעא חייא וקימא זורעא דלא יפטור ודלא
יפסק מפתחני אויתיא, לכל קה ל' י' א ק ד' י' א ד' י' א ד' י' א ד' י' א
דישראל וד' באראא דבבל וד' בכל ארע גלוותהון לרישי כלה ולרבני
חברותא ולרישי מתיבטה וולדיני דבבא, וכל תלמידיהון וכל תלמידי
תלמידיהון וכלל מאן דעסקין באודיתאה מלכא דעלמא יברך יתחון ויפיש
ח'יהון ויהא אורכתא לשניהם וישתוון ויתפרקן מכל עקן ומכל מרען בישין
מראן דבשמייא יהא בסעדהון בכל זמן ועידן ונאמר Amen.

As the Babylonian academies went out of existence, and the Gaonate ceased to function, the יקום פורקן also lost its importance, and disappeared altogether from the Sephardic and Italian rituals. In the German ritual it is still carried, with some reference to the rabbis and scholars of Palestine,
תבורתא קדישתא ד' באראא דישראל.

CHAPTER XII

MENAHEM B. SOLOMON, FIRST COMPILER OF
THE ITALIAN RITUAL

THE question has often been propounded: who was the first compiler of the Italian ritual? Naturally, it is difficult to give a definite answer to such a question, since compilers in the early mediaeval times took pains to conceal their names, with the result that the compilers' names were entirely forgotten, though their work continued to live for many generations. In vain did Rapoport in his letters to

Luzzatto,⁷³ endeavor to reveal the name of the man to whom we owe the Italian Siddur.

R. Johanan Treves, the author of the *ממחא דאכישנא* from whom Rapoport hoped to glean this information, offered no help in the solution of this puzzle. All we know is that the *Maḥzor b'ne Roma*, as the Italian prayer-book is called, was printed before other Maḥzorim; it was begun in October, 5246 (1485) in the city of Soncino and was finished in August, 1486, in Casaal Maggiore. Nor does Luzzatto in his Introduction to the Italian Maḥzor tell us anything about the compiler.

It is more than likely that Menaḥem b. Solomon was the first to compile an Italian prayer-book. This belief is based on the following considerations. Up to the 11th century the Jewish liturgy was in a state of fluctuation, and only from the 11th century on do we discern definite grouping and well-marked rituals. Now it stands to reason that Menaḥem b. Solomon, who lived about that time, was the first to formulate the Italian ritual in his *Seder Ḥibbur Berakot*.

CHAPTER XIII

THE PIYYUTIM IN THE SEDER ḤIBBUR BERAKOT

IN THE eleventh century, when the Babylonian academies ceased to exist, the old opposition of the Babylonian Geonim against the insertion of Piyyutim in the prayers, especially in the 'Amidah, seems to have broken down completely. Menaḥem ben Solomon speaks of the insertion of piyyutim and kerobot in prayers (fol. 13) as of an already existing custom. No wonder, therefore, that the *Seder Ḥibbur Berakot*, as the oldest Italian ritual order, contains old

⁷³ See his letters, No. XXVII, p. 152.

piyyutim and kerobot for week-days and Sabbaths, which on their face betray Palestinian descent.

Here mention will be made of only such piyyutim which, as far as we know, are found only in the Seder Hibbur Berakot and have not come to light heretofore.⁷⁴

The shortened Shemone Esreh מעין י"ח has already been mentioned (page 7). The following is a list of the others:

1. **את שבת קודשך הנחלתה לעם מקדישך** (fol. 96), for the Ma'arib service on Friday night; not mentioned in Zunz.
2. **אתא יומ ענוגה** (fol. 131), a shortened grace after meals for Sabbath. Zunz 89.
3. **אב סני כהונה ולוייה** (fol. 145), an Elijah-song for the conclusion of Sabbath. Zunz, 88.
4. **ארץ הנקראת אבן שתיה** (fol. 147), a Habdalah-song. Zunz 681.
5. **אליהו הנביא עד מתי אתהazar** (fol. 147) by R. Anan b. Marinus ha-Cohen from Siponto, a contemporary of R. Kalonymus of Rome, the only piyyut known by him. It is noteworthy that Elijah and Habdalah-songs were highly recommended by R. Joseph Tob Elem and R. Jacob Tam. Zunz, 163, (Comp. Part II).
6. **אלhim דבר בקדשו ואזו היום שתי שמחות** (fol. 155–156). These are two Yozerot for Sabbath New-Moon. Zunz 69.
7. **אנודת ירח ומרגועים** (fol. 156), a Zulat for Sabbath New Moon. Zunz 72.
8. **אתה אלה ישועות** (fol. 157), an Ophan for Sabbath New Moon. Zunz 70.
9. **אתהיל מקצת בספר בשבח בורא דוק וחולד ומשובח** (fol. 71) a Kerobah for the Sabbath ha-Hodesh by a Payyetan

⁷⁴ This information was supplied to me by Prof. Davidson, who, through his אוצר השירה והפיוט, is in the best position to know it.

Hananel b. Amnon⁷⁵. It is striking that this kerobah follows in the main the structure of Yannai's kerobot with a few variants.⁷⁶ It consists of the following parts:

- a) After the introductory formula מסוד חכמים which is not given in full, follows an alphabetic poem in the first benediction of the Shemone Esreh מון מונ אתחיל מזאת לספר בשבח beginning with the letters 'א' to 'ל' in one rhymed phrase. This part ends with לענה רעו במקת כל בכור, after which come Bible verses expressing the same ideas as those of the preceding part of the Kerobah כתוב, ויהי בחציו כהה כל בכור הלילה וה' הכה כל בכור.
- b) In the second benediction מהיה the poem is continued from the letter 'מ' to 'צ' in two rhymed phrases. This is followed again by Bible verses.
- c) After the conclusion of the second benediction the poem is continued from 'ק' to 'ה' in four rhymed phrases, with following Bible verses as above, ending with מלוך ה' לעולם.
- d) ואזה קדוש this is the heading of a poem which follows the second benediction and is halakic in character. It is in two-phrase rhyme, ending with חי וקיים נורא מרום וקדוש.
- e) Another double alphabetical poem אשנן מפעלות אל with the heading רשות בעליו; in three phrased rhyme.
- f) This poem is succeeded by another halakic poem ובכן אקום בתוך עם with an introduction and an

⁷⁵ The name Hananel b. Amnon does not occur anywhere. Sabbatai Donolo in his introduction to the says that among the ten Rabbis who lost their lives during the conquest of Aversa (Italy) in 925 there were also two great scholars, a certain R. Amnon and a certain Hananel. I might suggest that this martyr Hananel can be identified with our Hananel b. Amnon.

⁷⁶ Comp. Israel Davidson, *Maḥzor Yannai* (1919) p. XXVI.

alphabetic acrostic. This poem is followed by the known prayer אל נא לעולם חועץ, which unfortunately is not reproduced in full.

g) ארשא ברוב עם להודת חנאל אשרי העם שככה לו סילוק ובכן לך חעללה קדושה.

It is surprising that Zunz, who used our MS. overlooked this valuable Kerobah, and, moreover, that he considered the poem עם להודות which forms a part of it, as an independent poem derived from a French MS. (Z. 89).

10. אוֹפָן בְּכָס מִרְכָּבָות (fol. 220) for the first day of Passover by Kalir. Zunz does not mention it.
11. אחד דר שבעה (fol. 228) for Sabbath Hol ha-Moed, not in Zunz.
12. אמת אלקינו אמת מלכנו (fol. 229) for Sabbath Hol ha-Moed, not in Zunz.
13. אל עליון הכל מתקן (fol. 244) an Ophan for the Sabbath before Pentecost. Zunz 649. It is the Ophan in which the angel Metatron is described as נער סוריהה. Acrostic: אברהם הקטן חוק.
14. אמון היהי אצל أيام (f. 245) a Zulat for the same day with the curious expressions פושכנית, קשינו, פילום and לאברם חוק. Acrostic: לאברם חוק.
- Zunz 649, 9 would like to ascribe these two piyyutim to Abraham b. Jehiel, the brother of R. Nathan.
15. אשורר לצורי שירה עדריה (f. 246) for the same day. Zunz 457.
16. אשוחח לפֵי מיעוט חיל (f. 247) for the same day. Zunz 457.
17. ווֹשֵׁעַ ה' אָמֵן נְדוּלָה (f. 237) for the evening service on the eighth night of Passover; consists of five parts:

- וברוך גאנדר נסם (c. ה' יצא נבورو b. ויוושע ד' אום נרגלה) a) חביבאמו לבית חדיד (e) אימת מבטיך (d) פעלהה Z. 648.
18. 18. (f. 230) for Sabbath Hol ha-Moed of Passover; a complete piyyut based on שיר השירים; not in Zunz.
19. 19. (f. 221) an Ophan for the same day, not in Zunz.
20. 20. (f. 168) for Sabbath Parashat Parah. Zunz 60. The structure of this poem reminds one at once of Yannai. Comp. the second part of this book, where this poem is discussed at length.
21. 21. שוכן רום שםים אלהינו (f. 146) Song for the conclusion of Sabbath, by Samuel b. Shalom. Z. 673.
22. 22. שיר השירים אמריה צפה (f. 224) for the second day of Passover, was also in vogue in Mayence. R. Joseph Mollin mentions it in מהרייל p. 24. comp. Zunz 668.
23. 23. שבת בר שיר עולם (f. 268) a piyyut out of tune with the preceding piyyutim, by an anonymous pay-yetan, indefinite as to day and occasion on which it is to be recited.

CHAPTER XIV

THE ORTHOGRAPHY AND STYLE OF THE SEDER HIBBUR BERAKOT

ALTHOUGH the question of plene or defective writing in prayers is not of the same importance as in the Bible, Tefillin, Mezuzot or divorce formulæ, nevertheless it deserves consideration here, especially since we know that from an early date there had been differences on this score between the Babylonians and Palestinians.^{76a} The tradition

^{76a} Comp. Pinsker, מבוא לתקוד האשורי או הbabelי, p. 132, and Müller's חלוף המנוגדים in *Hashakar*, 1876-77, ch. 27.

of the former was to write defective, while that of the latter inclined toward plene. As evidence may serve the passage of b. Gitin 65b: ר' נתן אומר פטורה בדבריו קיימין, פיטורה לא אמר כלום, אמר רבא ר' נתן דרבלהה הוא ודיק בין פיטורה לפטרוה תנא ודין דבר א"י הוא לא דיק ולא קנאת אדם צעה על לבינו or written plene, as for instance קנאת אדם צעה על לבינו while in b. Berakot 17a the same is written defective:⁷⁷ אל יודה לבנו.

The Italian, German and French scholars followed Palestinian tradition in writing plene. R. Jehudah the Pious requested the copyists of the liturgy that they should write הכותב סדר חפנות יכתוב אותיות מלאים, כי כותבים מלאים: למ" שאיינו בקי' כגון שנדוצה לכתחוב וטהר לבנו לעובך' באמת יכתוב וטהר ליבינו לעובך' באמת, ליבינו מלא לעובך' מלא, ושבת קודשך' אהובי שמק' וכיוצא בו (*Sefer Hasidim* ch. 882). All this because the western rabbis were afraid that the rules of vocalization for some reason or another might be forgotten among the Jews. Another motive may have been to facilitate the reading of prayers to those who are not versed in the laws of punctuation. In vain did R. Sabbatai Sofer argue that in his opinion the words quoted in the *Sefer Hasidim* are the words of an erring pupil.⁷⁸

In the Seder Hibbur Berakot for instance we find such peculiarities in plene writing: a yod instead of a hirek, even when the hirek constitutes a short vowel, as e. g. המיתפלל, שיי, ארצינו, קניין, עניין, גיבור, תחילה, קניין, עניין, מחייה, היזה, ענייתן, קניין, עניין, רפאיינו, רפאיינו, גודלו, קוטנו, בעוניינו, קורבנות, חכמתו, קודשך, חכמתו. With reference to the latter it was pointed out already by Hayyim Bacharach, the author of the

⁷⁷ See p. 158.

⁷⁸ Berliner, *Abhandlungen über den Siddur des Shabbatai ha-Sofer*, p. 10.

Hawot Jair, that many *Mahzorim* exhibit the writing of plene in instead of כותבנו, זכרינו, כתובינו instead of יוד instead of pataḥ as in קריית שמע, מדי' instead of נא' instead of זכאי, נא' instead of שמאי etc. Also *Mahzor Yannai*, a Palestinian product, exhibits plene writing. The reason for it is not that the Italian, French and German rabbis clung to the uniliteral or biliteral system of Menaḥem ben Saruk, as against the Spanish rabbis who adhered to the triliteral theory of Hebrew roots by Hay-yug;⁷⁹ the Italian and German rabbis hardly thought of Menaḥem ben Saruk's theory in writing Hebrew. The reason for the plene writing was rather to prevent mistakes in reading, and hence they inserted the helping letters אוי to take the place of vowels and thus insure correct reading. This is also the opinion of R. Nathan b. Jehiel, author of the Aruk, in his explanation to b. Aboda Zara 9b. ספרא בצייה תנא חומפאה. מנהג הכותב מקרא לכתחוב חיבות בחיסור כגון משה בלא ו' אבל החננא מנהגו לכתחוב החיבה מלא בלא חיסור It is the custom of Bible copyists to write defective as e. g. without ו', but the Tanna is used to write plene not defective. In the case of biblical passages which were current in the mouth of the people there was no fear for mistakes, but as to post-biblical recitations there was need for plene writing in order to avoid misreading.

Outside of orthographic peculiarities there are in the SHB some uncommon words which deserve mention here. It seems that also in this respect Palestinian practice was followed: to combine של with the noun in one word, as for instance אליהם, שליכם, שלכון, שלפת, שלחול etc. The name אליכון is written אליכון (fol. 68); inst. of the Palestinian מורה (fol. 12, 50); inst. of חלמיד חכמים (abbreviated from חלמיד חכם; חלמיד חכם). Sometimes we meet with an entirely new conju-

⁷⁹ Güdemann, in his *תורת והחיים Friedberg's translation I*, part , p. 153.

⁸⁰ Comp. Lewin, *Igeret R. Scherira Gaon*, p. 27.

gation not found anywhere in Talmud or Midrash, as for instance **העומד בחענית והוצמא**; Sifre 199 employs this root also in the hiphil: **צמא**; Menaḥem b. Solomon, however, constructed also the hophal of **צמא**. It is a pity that the book he contemplated on roots and constructions in Talmud remained unwritten: we might have gained a better understanding of some expressions in the Seder *Hibbur Berakot*. Some of these I wish to indicate here: **חידוש תפלה** comp. Yer. Sanhedrin IX, 27 **חידוש מקרא** and Lev. Rabbah 13, 3 **ולא כמים דברי שיר,** מנה לסתפרא ביקריה, **חידוש תורה חייב נער סופיריה.** etc. **חייב לברך אחריהן מן דקדוק התורה,** ניטלם על הכללי (Metatron) who is the same as the angel (b. Berakot 51a and Suryan in the Book of Enoch); and **מה חילוף** in the sense of **מאי שנא**, as in *Masseket Soferim*.

CHAPTER XV

THE LIFE AND TIME OF MENAḤEM B. SOLOMON

THE life of Menaḥem b. Solomon, the author of our Seder, is still hidden in obscurity. None of his books reveal anything definite about himself or his family. We know that his father's name was Solomon, as it is shown in the *Sekel Tob* to Exodus XII, 42 and XV, 21 (Comp. Buber, Introduction to the *Sekel Tob*). Menaḥem's father, seems to have been a well-known talmudic scholar in the 11th century; Nathan b. Jehiel of Rome corresponded with him in regard to some talmudic matters. Menaḥem himself never mentions his father by name, but once, in his *Eben Boḥan*, he refers to him as **אבי ורבבי.** That Menaḥem was proud of his ancestry, can be seen from the fact that, in the concluding chapter of his *Eben Boḥan*, he excuses himself for becoming an author. He says there: **לא לכבודי עשיתי ולא**

לכבוד בית אבא,—but for the sake of learning; the youth is drifting (an old complaint, it seems; we often hear it today), and he composes the book in order that his three sons, Yedidiah, Shealtiel and Isaac, may, through the influence of their father's work, remain learned Jews. A good reason, indeed, for becoming an author in Israel! Upon reading this, one is reminded of Gedaliah ibn Yaḥia, who wrote his chronological book, "The Chain of Tradition," to please his 'Bar Miẓvah' son.

The time of Menaḥem b. Solomon can be determined through a passage in the *Sekel Tob*, Exodus XII, 42, משחרב בית המקדש שני אלף ושבעים ואחת שנה, which means 1140. This is another proof that the Italian scholars liked to reckon the time according to the number of years after the destruction of the Temple.

Regarding Menaḥem's books, *Sekel Tob* and *Eben Bohan*, and his correspondence with his contemporaries, comp. Buber's Introduction to the *Sekel Tob*.

PART II

TEXTS AND NOTES

INTRODUCTION

THE texts and notes in this part of the book do not cover the entire contents of the MS. of the Seder Hibbur Berakot. Neither is it the purpose of these discussions to enter into technical details and explain the small differences that exist between the various 'Minhagim,' or uses, of the synagogual liturgy. My intention is to publish those texts which I found of interest and importance, and to trace these prayers and piyyutim to their Palestinian or Babylonian sources. However, there are a number of small variations in the liturgical texts and customs of the Seder Hibbur Berakot, which would be of interest to the student of liturgy; indeed, it would be worthwhile to publish the entire Seder.

The published texts and photographs were prepared by me while the MS. was at my disposal at Dropsie College and Cornell University, through the courtesy of Prof. Alexander Marx of the Jewish Theological Seminary.

I wish to mention at this point, that the first part of this book was completed in 1924, and was revised in 1929. In the meantime, Drs. Jacob Mann and Louis Finkelstein published a number of articles on liturgy, making ample use of the Seder Hibbur Berakot. My previous theories, as presented in the first part of this book remained unchanged; they are confirmed, and even strengthened by my discussions in the second part.

PREFATORY NOTES

1. MORNING PRAYERS

THE Morning Prayers in our MS. begin with **אני קראתיך אל כי חענני**, an old piyyut by Abraham b. Jacob, in which the expressions **בדודך שדודי** are found. This piyyut is followed by, and then the prayers are almost in the same order as in the Italian prayer-book. The prayer **רבון העולמים**, on p. 3-4, is a combination of a number of prayers, and ends with **בא"י שמע חפלה**.

This first part of the morning service, until **שבוי אתה**, was intended for private devotion. This can be seen from the following words, after **שבותיכם לעיניכם אמר ה'** and **ומתחילין לומר זמירות אם יש ששה אנשים בבית**: on fol. 7: **יהי רצון** **שחצילי היום ושהרנו לן**. **לדבר מצוה** **חפלה והיחד** are in the singular form, for the **חפלה והיחד**, and not in the plural, for the **הרבבים** (comp. the change from **רפאני ה' וארפָא** in Jeremiah 17, 14 to **רפאינו ה' ונרפָא** in the 'Amidah).

It seems that the custom of wearing **ציצית** was not, as yet, very popular at that time. On fol. 4, we read: **ורנילין לו ציצית בכנדו להתחטף בטליתו ורואה ציציותו וمبرך**.

It is remarkable, that for the Sabbath, our MS. ends the **מלכותך ה' אלהינו מלכות כל** in the following manner: **ב Shirat ha'im עלומים משלוחך מלכינו בכל דור ודור בר' אתה ה' אדריך המלכה**. We also note that some Genizah fragments conclude at the daily services with **באי מהלל ברוב התשבחות והודאות נצח נדולה ובכורה ותפארת קדושה ומלכות מעחה ועד עולם נדול בשבחות . . .**

ישתבח . . . עז ומשללה ברכות . . . on fol. 18, reads, in part: **ישתבח והודאות נצח נדולה ובכורה ותפארת קדושה ומלכות מעחה ועד עולם נדול בשבחות . . .**

The text of the congregational is also worthy of note, and reads as follows: ישחבח שמו ויתעלה זכרו של מ'ה הקב"ה שהוא אדרון כל העולמים שליט בכל מעשייו שליט בעליונים ובתחthonים על כן אנו חיבבים להודות לו ולפארו ולירוממו כאמור שירו לאלקים זמרו שמו סולו לרובך בערכות ביה' שמו ועלו לפניו ויברכו שם כבודך ומרומם על ברכה ותהיילה. ברוך אתה ה' אל רוח החדאות.

The beginning of the second benediction before the Shema, reads for week days also ... אהבת עולם אהבת עולם, which, according to Elbogen, *Studien* 27, No. 2, is purely Palestinian.

2. 'AMIDAH

It cannot be said that the 'Amidah in our Seder is specifically Palestinian. We miss in this text the essential Palestinian elements, and find here the Babylonian את צמ"ה. With the exception of a few variations, it rather resembles the Italian version.

However, there are a few interesting benedictions in our 'Amidah which differ from the Italian and from other known versions, and which are worth mentioning at this point:

השיבנו אבינו לחורתך ודבקנו במצותיך, וקרבנו מלכנו לעבדתך והחוירנו בחשובה שלמה לפניך... כי אל מקבל שבים את

ברך עליינו יי' אלהינו את השנה—
זהות הבאה עליינו לטובה את כל מיני חכואה ותן ברכה על פני האדמה
(ותן טל ומטר על פנֵי האדמה) ושבע את העולם מברכת טובך ורוחה פני חבל
מעושר מהנתן ידך ושומר והצל את השנה הזאת מכל מיני משחית ומכל מיני
פוגעניות וברכה בשנים הטובות ותן ברכה והצלחה בכל מעשה ידינו...

תקע בשופר נдол לחרותינו ושא—
נס לkipoz גליותינו וקרא דדור לקבצינו יחד מרבע כנפות הארץ...

בא"י אוחב צדקה ומשפט—
without מלך.

ולמלשינים אל תהא חקוה וככלם—
ברצע חאבך ...

ולירושלים עירך ברחמים—The fourteenth benediction reads—
חשוב ובנה אותה בנין עולם בימינו . . .

את צמח דוד מהרה תצמיח—The fifteenth benediction reads—
וקרנו תרום בישועתך כי לשועה קיינו כל הימים בא"ה מצמיח קרון לשועה

שמע קולנו יי' אלהינו חוס וחוינו—The sixteenth benediction reads—
ורחם עליינו וקבל ברחמים וברצון את תפילהנו כי אב מלא רחמים ربם
אתה לא נשוב ריקם מלפניך כי אל מלך שומע תפילה ותחנן אתה . . .

רצח יי' אלהינו בעמך—The seventeenth benediction reads—
ישראל ובחפלהם שעה והשב העבדה לדביר ביתך ואישך ישראל ובחפלהם
מהרה באהבה תקבל ברצון ותהי לרצון תמיד עבדות ישראל עמך בימינו.
וחזינה עינינו בשובך לציון ברחמים כמוון ברוך אתה יי' המഴיד מהרה
שכינתו לציון.

The eighteenth benediction reads—

מודים אנחנו לך שאתה הוא יי' אלהינו ואלהי אבותינו על חינו
המסורתים בידך על נשמותינו הפקדות לך על ניסיך וטובותיך שבכל עת
עימנו, ערב ובקר וצדורים, הטוב כי לא כלו רחיק הרחם כי לא תמו
חסידך מעולם קיינו לך לא הכלמתנו ה' אלקינו לא עזבנו לא הסתרה
פניך ממנו . . .

b. Modim of the Rabbis—מודים דציבור—

מודים אנחנו לך שאתה הוא יי' אלהינו ואלהי אבותינו אלהי כלبشر יוצרנו
ויצר בראשית ברכות והודאות ותשבחות לשマーク הנדול והקרוש שהחייתנו
וקימתנו כן מחינו ותחנונו ותקיימנו ותאספינו ותכנס נלייתנו לחצרות בית
דבריך קדשך ונוראה לך לפניך ה' אלקינו עד (?) שאנו מודים לך . . .

3. MA'ARIB

At the conclusion of the Ma'arib, after our MS. reads as follows: ... בישועתך באמת אומר לציון מלך אלהיך, יי':
מלך . . . כי המלכות שלך היא לעולם ולעולם עולמי עולמי מלך תמלוך בכבוד
כי אין לנו מלך אלא אתה ברוך אתה ה' מלך משובח ומפאר חי' וקיים
ושマーך תמיד עליינו לעולם ועד . . .

4. SABBATH MORNING

The prayer אהינו בני ישראל, fol. 121, for the Sabbath services after **יום פרקן**, may also be of interest. Vitry has

it for the Sabbath Minḥah services. Our text reads as follows:
 אֲחֵינוּ יִשְׂרָאֵל וְאָנוּ מִהַּולְכִּים בָּצֶרֶת וּבְשִׁבְיָה הַהֲולְכִּים בַּיּוֹם וּבְיִבְשָׁה הַמָּקוֹם יְרַחְמֵנוּ וַיְחַזֵּן אֹתָם בַּעֲבוּר שְׁמוֹ הַגָּדוֹל וַיְשַׁעַם וַיְשַׁעַנּוּ וַיְזִיכֵּנוּ אָמֵן.

Worthy of notice is the prayer, *מי שברך אברם יצחק ויעקב*, a prayer for the congregation and its members. Such blessings seem to have been very popular in Germany, France and Italy, and even Albargeloni's objections to these prayers did not stop the congregations from reciting them:
 מֵשְׁבָרֵךְ אָבָרָם יִצְחָק וַיַּעֲקֹב דָּוד וְשָׁלָמָה וְכָל חֲסִידִים הָרָאשׁוֹנִים הוּא יָבֹרֶךְ אֶת כָּל אֲחֵינוּ וְרַבּוֹתֵינוּ המתעטקים בְּצָרְכֵי צִבּוּר לְבַטֵּל גִּזְרֹות וּמְכֹתִים וְלִהְרַבְּיִין תּוֹרָה בִּישראל וְאֶת כָּל הַקָּהָל הַקָּדוֹשׁ הוּא הָם וּבְנֵיהֶם וּנְשֵׁיהֶם וּבְנֹתְיהֶם שָׁם מְשֻׁכִּים וּמְעֻרְבִּים לְחַפִּילָה וּנוֹתְנִים נֶר לְמַאוֹר וְפֶת לְאֹורָחִים וְצִדְקָה לְעָנִים בְּשָׁכְרָן וְאֶת הַמָּקוֹם יִבְרָכֵם וַיְחִיּוּ וְאוֹשְׁרוּ בָּאָרֶץ עַם כָּל יִשְׂרָאֵל וְנָאֵם אָמֵן.

5. NIGHT PRAYER

Another interesting benediction is the one that was recited at the close of the *Kaddish*, and that ended with בָּרוּךְ שׁוֹמֵר עָמוֹ יִשְׂרָאֵל לְעֵד (fol. 95). This Babylonian ending for week-day prayers, was apparently greatly favored by the Italian Jews. They even adopted it for their prayers at night, when heavenly protection was especially needed in the lands of the Galuth.

TEXT I

ברכת התורה—THE BENEDICTION ON STUDYING THE TORAH
 MS. fol. 4.

בָּא'ה'א'מ'ה' אֲשֶׁר בָּחר בְּנֵינוּ מִכָּל הָעָם וְנֹתֵן לוֹ אֶת תּוֹرַת הָעָרָב נָא ה' אֱלֹקִינוּ אֶת דְּבָרֵי תּוֹרַת בְּפִינוּ וּבְפִיוֹתָה כָּל עַמְקָת בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל וְנֹהֶה כָּלָנוּ מַלּוּמָדִי תּוֹרַת וְנֹהֶה אַנְחָנוּ וְצַאצָּאנוּ וְצַאצָּא עַמְקָת בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל יְדֹעַ שְׁמֵךְ בָּר' אֶת ה' נֹתֵן הַתּוֹרָה

Various formulæ are given in the Talmud, Berakot 11b and Tractate Soferim 13, for the benediction on studying the Torah. Our MS. preserved a formula which shows dis-

tinct Palestinian traces. It begins with אשר בחר בנו, which, although first mentioned by Rab Hamnuna (Huna, Rabino-witz, *Dikduke Soferim*), is a very old Palestinian form. This is followed by Rabbi Johanan's הערב נא, which is also Palestinian, and the benediction ends with the חחימה of Soferim. בא"י נתן החורה.

TEXT II

אלקי נשמה

MS. fol. 5.

אלקי הנשמה שנות ביה טהורה אתה יצורה ואתה נתה בקרבי, ואתה שומרה בקרבי. אתה נטלה מני ואתה החורה ביה אתה עתיד ליטלה מני, ואתה עתיד להחיירה לי לעל כל זמן שהשמה בקרבי מודה אני לפניך ה' אלקי ואליך אבוח"י רבנן כל הנשמות ברוך אתה ה' המחויר נשמות לפנורם מתחים.

We note a few interesting points in our text of the text. Our text does not contain the word *טהורה* after *היא*, as it is used in b. Niddah 30b; the phrases *אתה בראותה* and *נפחתה*, which are found in MSS. of Sulzberger and Oxford, respectively, are also missing. The beginning of our text reads *אלקי הנשמה* with a *ה'* before *אלקי*, which form is grammatically correct, and is used in the Yemenite version. The usage of the letter 'vav' in *וְאתה שומרה* and *וְאתה נתה* is purely Palestinian. The conclusion, instead of the rather old Palestinian expression *רבען כל המעשים* (comp. *Pesikta* ed. by Buber, p. 28, and *Abot de Rabbi Nathan*, ch. 18), is used here in order to have מעין חחימה סמוך לחחימה.

TEXT III

—ברכות הבוקר—MORNING BENEDICTIONS

MS. fol. 5.

המתיר אסורים מעורר ישנים מקין רדומים משיח אלמים פוקח עורדים	באחאה"ה
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זוקף כפופים
 מנביה שלדים
 המלביש ערומים
 הנוטן לשכוי בינה להבחין בין יום ובין לילה
 המכין מצעדי גבר
 רוקע הארץ על הימים
 האחים ישראל בגבורה
 שעשיהה بي כל צרכי
 שלא עשיתני נוי ועובד ע"ז בני הארץ
 מל ולא ערל
 שלא עשיתני עבד לבריות
 שלא עשיתני אשה
 שלא עשיתני בהמה

The student of Jewish liturgy meets with some difficulties in tracing the morning benedictions, known as the *ברכות*, to their talmudic sources. The problem becomes even more complicated, when we learn through R. Meir's statement (b. *Menahot*, 43b), *חייב אדם לברך מאה ברכות בכל יום* (it is a commandment for a man to recite one hundred benedictions daily), that one hundred benedictions are to be recited daily by each Jew.

That this statement of R. Meir was taken literally, and not, *בדרך נומא*, can be proven by the fact that the Spanish community of Lucena later turned to Natronai b. Hilai Gaon with the request that he enumerate the one hundred benedictions for their benefit. This request was the incentive for Natronai's attempt to arrange and outline the daily prayers; this first outline was called the *סדר*. The early rabbis also considered one hundred as the precise number of the prescribed benedictions, just as they accepted the number of the precepts to be 613.

With the 100 benedictions as the basis of a prayer-book, the *סדר* grew in the course of years, until it reached its present size. And although some versions of the prayers have undergone certain changes, nevertheless, the fundamental features of the *סדר* remained the same. Even the name *סדר* is used until the present day, although this term

primarily referred to the 'order' of the one hundred benedictions.

The early students of Jewish liturgy did not investigate the injunction that one hundred benedictions should be recited daily: they took it literally, and concerned themselves only in counting the ברכות, and in endeavoring to discover enough benedictions to form the prescribed number. It is also interesting to see, that the Yerushalmi, Berakot IX, 8, only states **שאין לך אדם מישראל שאינו עושה עשרה ברכות ביום**, not making it incumbent upon an individual to recite 100 benedictions.

In our MS. the morning benedictions were clearly intended for the **חפלת היחיד**; we know, however, that the ברכות החדר were officially brought into the synagogue, as a part of the **חפלת הצבור**, sometime between the twelfth and fourteenth century,—since we find that Maimonides, in his Mishne Torah (composed about 1180) still mentions the **חפלת היחיד** as a part of the **ברכות החדר** (comp. Mishne Torah, Hilkot Tefilah, ch. 7, 3–14), and we see that Jacob b. Asher (d. 1340) already treats these benedictions as a part of the synagogal liturgy.

During talmudic times, the **ברכות החדר** were recited privately by each individual while he was performing the various morning tasks, such as rising from bed, dressing, etc. Every Jew tried to recite the entire number of benedictions, i. e. one hundred, daily; to accomplish this, however, he had to eat, in addition to his regular meals, also fruits, liquid refreshments, and other delicacies. Not everyone could afford all this food, and consequently—it seems—a number of new and rather peculiar benedictions were made, in order to provide the necessary **מאה ברכות**. One can readily recognize that such benedictions as **מעודר ישנים, מקין רדומים, משיח אלמים, נשמה אלמים**, mentioned in our text, were taken from the song of praise to God.

The benediction **מל ולא ערל**, which appears to be unnecessary and meaningless, is, it seems to us, merely a continuation of the preceding benediction, and both should be read as one—**שלא עשיתני נוי מל ולא ערל**, meaning: 'the Almighty be blessed that He has not made me a **נוֹי**, even though the **נוֹי** be circumcised' (circumcision was known and even popular among the non-Jews of Palestine).

The curious benediction **שלא עשיתני ברכה** replaces the original expression **שלא עשיתני בור**, to which Rab Aha b. Jacob strongly objected (b. Menaḥot, 43 b), taking into consideration the effect this might make upon the **עמי הארץ** of his time. As a matter of fact, however, R. Meir, a disciple of Rabbi Akiba and the author of the three benedictions of Rabbi Akiba and the author of the three benedictions, referred in the benedictions and **נוֹי** to the hated Romans.

Rab Aha b. Jacob then substituted **בור עבר** for **בור**; but the Palestinians first clung to the original **בור**, until later, due, perhaps, to the Babylonian influence, the term **בור** was changed to **בָּרוּךְ הוּא**, alluding to the **חַמּוֹר** **בְּהַמָּה** under whose barbaric rule the Palestinians then lived.

חִיב אָדָם לְבָרֵךְ מֵאָה **מֵאָה** **בְּרָכוֹת בְּכָל יְמִין** Thus the Baraita mentioned in Babli brought to light the first outline of our prayer book, and was instrumental in adding many interesting benedictions to the synagogal service.

TEXT IV

—הביבינו—SHORT 'AMIDAH

MS. fol. 14.

הביבינו ה' אלקינו לודעת את דרכיך ומול את לבכינו ליראה את שמך סלח לנו גאלינו, רחיקנו ממכאוב, ושגינו בנאות ארץ וגפו צים מארבע קבוץ והתוועים בדבר משפט על דעתך ישפטו ועל רשעים ידר חניף וישמו צדיקים בביינו עירך ובתיינו היכלך ובכמיהה קרן דוד עברך ובעיריכת נר בן דוד משיחך טרם נקרא אתה תענה בא"ה שומע תפילה

For the student of Jewish liturgy this text may be of interest, since it is different from the many other texts. It seems to be based on both Palestinian and Babylonian sources (comp. SRA and Yerushalmi, Berakot 4, 3). Mark the Palestinian version in סלח לנו ואלינו, and the Amram source in רחכנו ממכאוב. Note the Palestinian phrase which is missing in the Amram text, and also as לבן יש' משיחך נר בן דוד משיחך used by the Babylonian Talmud and SRA.

TEXT V

ברכת המזון—GRACE AFTER MEALS

MS. fol. 65-68.

ברוך וברוך שמו הנדרול ברוך זכרו וברוך מנתנו
ברוך אתה יי' אלקיינו מלך העולם. הוז את העולם כלו בטוב בחן בחסד
וברחמים. הוא נוthon לחם לכלبشر כי לעולם חסדו עמו בטובו הנדרול תמיד
לא חסר לנו ואל יחסר לנו מזון לעולם ועד בעבור שמו הנדרול. כי הוא זן
ומפּרננס לכל מהקין מזון לכל בריה אשר ברא. ברוך אתה יי' הוז את הכל.
נורה לך יי' אלהינו ונשבחך מלכנו וגפּארך יזכורינו נודה לך גואליינו ונלהילך
מושיעינו ונקדישך בוראיינו וממליךך מלך יחיד כי העולמים שהינחלת את אבותינו
ארץ חמדת טובה ורחה בברית ותורה וחווים ומזון ועל השוואצאנן מארך מצרים.
ופדיינו מבית עבדים. ועל בריתך שהחמתה בשרגנו. ועל תורתך שלימדנו.
ועל חוקך רצונך שהודיע לנו. ועל חייםthon וחסד ורחמים ומונות שאת החון
ומלהאתה בכל יום ובכל עת.
ועל כלם ה' אלקינו אנו מודים לך וمبرכים את שם קדשך תמיד אלהי
ישענו חברך בפי כל חי ותחפּאר שマーך לעולם ועד אמרך ואכלת
שבעתה וברכתך את ה' אלקיך על הארץ הטובה אשר נתן לך חוכר לנו ה'
אלהיינו את ברית אבותינו והגמינו משוגניינו ובישועתך תרום ותוגבה קרניינו
והושענו. כל החיים יורוך סלה ברוך אתה ה' על הארץ ועל המזון.

בשב"ת ומי"ס טובים ורא"ש חור"ש וחנוכ"ה או"ט נהמינו'

נהמינו ה' אלקינו בציון עירך ושמחינו מלכינו בבביניין בית בחירותך ומלכתחך
ומלכות בית דוד משיחך במחarra תחויוט למקומם ויבוא אליו ומשיח בן דוד
במהירה בימיינו. רצאה והחלצינו ה' אלקינו במצוותיך ובמצוות יום השבעי
הגדרול והקדוש הזה כי יום גדרול וקדוש הוא מלפניך נשבות בו ונוה בו כמצוות
רצונך ואל תהא צרה ויונן ביום מנוחתינו כי אמר דוד הניח ה' אלק ישראל
לעמו ושכון בירושלים עד לעולם ונאמ' שם אצמיח קרון לדוד... כי אתה

הוא בעל הנחותם ובעל הישועות) ברוך אתה ה' מנהמ עמו
בבנין ירושלים אמן בחינוי ב מהורה בימיינו תבנה ציון ותיכון העכודה בירושלים.
רchrom ה' אלקינו עליינו ועל כל ישראל עמק ועל ירושלים עירך, ועל ציון
משכן כבודך, ועל מלכות בית דוד משיחך ועל הבית המגדול והקדוש
שנקרא שםך עליינו ועליינו. רועינו וננו פרנסינו וככלכלנו, הרוחינו. הרוחו לנו
מהורה מכל צרותינו. ואל חצריכינו ה' אלקינו לידי מתנת בשור ודם, שמתנתם
מעוטה וחופטם מרוביה אלא לדרך המלאה ודרחבה, והווראה כי בשם קדשך
הגדור ותגורא בטהוננו, לא נבוש ולא ניכלם לא בעוה"ז ולא לעזה"ב. ואע"פ
שאכלנו ושתינו חרבן בתרך לא שכחנו ואל תשכחנו ה' אלקינו ואל חזובינו
מלכינו ואל חמפני נאלינו ואל חבלמנו בבקשתיו ואל חתניינו בנפש אויבינו
ואל חפר בריתך אתנו יבווא אליהם הנה ומשיח בן דודר ב מהורה בימיינו. ובנה
ירושלים עירך ב מהורה בימיינו ברוך אתה ה' בונה ירושלים אמן.

11

ונחמיו ה' אלהיינו בציון עירך. ושמחוינו מלכינו בבניין בית בחירותך
וממלכתך ומלכות בית דוד משיחך במדהה תחוירנה למקומה. ויבוא אליו
ומשיח בן דוד במדהה ביוםינו. או"א יعلاה ויבוא . . .
ב' א' אלקיינו מלך העולם האל אבינו מלכינו אדירנו גנאליו יוצרינו קדושינו
קדוש יעקב רועינו רועה ישראל, המלך הח' הטוב והמטיב לכל שבל ים
ויום הוא מטיב עמו הוא נמלנו והוא עדת לגומלינו והוא יגמלנו לעד, חן וחסד
ורוחות, ורחמים וברכה והצלחה וכל טוב

הרחפן הוא יחבר על כסא כבודו

הרחמן הוא ירבה את נובלינו בחלמדים

" יט' תורתו ויראותו לבבנו

" ישבור על גנים מעל צוארינו

" גיביה קרנינו לעלה מעלה

" ישפיל כל שניאנו מטה מטה

" יפרוט סוכת שלומו עליינו

" בונה ביתו במרחה בימינו

הרחמן הוא ישלח לנו את אליקון הנביא זכר לטוב ויברך את כל אחד ואחד
מננו בשם. מדול ישועות מלכנו ועשה חסד למשיחו לדוד ולוראו עד עולם.
הרחמן הוא ישם עליינו ברכה וחימום ושלום. עשה שלום במרומי הרים יעשה
שלום על כל ישראל. כפירים רשו ורעבו ודוריש ה' לא יחסרו כל טוב.
אלקים יחונינו וברכנו ויאר פניו אנתנו סלה. לה השועה ועל עמק ברכתך סלה.
(ואמ' סביר מランן זה עוני לחיים ומברך באהומה . . .)

Our text of the *ברכת המזון*, the grace after meals, presents a very interesting problem. While the first two benedictions show distinct traces of the Palestinian ritual,—as *ברית*, *בטוב* (*בחן*) *בחסד תורה*, and others,—the third benediction, *רחם*, resembles rather the Babylonian-Spanish ritual. However, the Sabbath text of the third benediction again bears marked Palestinian characteristics, since it refers to *נחמה*, consolation, both at the beginning and end of the benediction; for, according to R. Hananel, the old Baraita (b. *Berakot*, 48b) *ובשבת מתחיל בנחמה ומסיים בנחמה* (b. *Berakot*, 48b), should be interpreted literally,—and therefore, our Sabbath benediction begins with *נחמים עמו*, and closes with *נחמיםינו*.

It is interesting to note, that the strong objection of Saadia Gaon against making any changes in the phraseology of the *ברכת המזון* for the Sabbath, did not affect our text, as it seems to have affected the text in the Genizah fragment No. 18 (Mann, *Hebrew Union College Annual*, Vol. II, 335). For, although Saadia maintains that the talmudic phrase *ובשבת מתחיל בנחמה ומסיים בנחמה* should not be taken literally, and the third benediction, therefore, with its beginning *רחם*, and its conclusion *בונה*, should be retained for the Sabbath,—nevertheless, our text did not make any concessions, and changed the third benediction of the *ברכת המזון* for *שבת*.

FACSIMILE OF FOLIO 73 OF OUR MS.
THE SHORT 'AMIDAH

(for published text, see page 97 of this book)

This text is in Doctor Solomon Schechter's own
handwriting. The photograph was prepared by
the author of this book.

73

TEXT VI

—THE SHORT 'AMIDOT

1. MINHAH

MS. fol. 73.

Week Days

(... וכשיגיע זמן המנחה בחול ... ופותח החון ואומ' בא"ה ... קונה שמים
וארץ וא"מ' מע"ן שמונה עשרה ...)

אדון למלוך עזרינו וגונינו	ב'א'ה' מן אברם
ברעיפת טל, (בחורף) בנברות נשם החינו "	מחיה ...
נדלק יתקדש בנו	" האל הקדוש
דעה וחכמה מפיק למדינו	" חון הדעת
הדור אליך השיבינו	" הרוצה ...
ומחה כעב פשעינו	" חנון ...
זרז זמן קץ גאותינו	" נואל ...
חחל מכאובי לבנו	" רופא ...
טוב טלייך וגשמייך ינובבו ויתברכו שנוחינו "	مبرך
יאתוי מקצתות פורינו	" מקבץ
כשופטך תכרייך צדקינו	" מלך אהוב צדקה ...
להבהב דחה כל אל אויבינו ואצינו	" שובר אויבים ...
מעוז ומגנות משען ומבטח היה לנו	" משען ומבטח ...
נעלו במבנה קריית גידינו	" בונה ירושלים אמן.

(את צמח דוד מהירה צמיחה וקרנו תרום בישועתך
כى לשועתך קיוינו כל היום ב'א'ה' מצמיח קרון ישועה)

שא נא שיח פילולין	ב'א'ה' שומע תפלה
עלות כא רצה נא שיח שפתותינו	ב'א'ה' שאוחך לבדך ביראה נעבוד
(מודים אנחנו לך שאחה הוא ה' אלקינו ואלקי אבותינו על	
טובותינו אשר מעולם על חסידיך ורחמיך אשר מימי קדם	
פדותינו תחיש ונודה לך מתייבנו "	הטוב ש马克 ...
צ'דרינו קדשינו ר'וב שלום ת'עטרינו "	עשה החלום ...

TEXT VII

—מעין שמונה עשרה—THE SHORT 'AMIDOT

2. FAST DAY

(. . . ומתחיל חפלת יוצר ומחפלין בלחש ואחר כך פותח בתפילה
הרבים . . .)

MS. fol. 82.

- ברוך אתה . . . קונה שמים ואرض.
אנא אלקינו און שעוניו, עירנו ומינינו והושיעינו
ב'א'ה' מנן אברהם
ביטה בעוניינו, בנסמים החינו והושיעינו
ב'א'ה' מהיה המתים
(נקיישך ונעריצך)
גלה מלכותך עליינו, ונעריך מלכנו והושיעינו
ב'א'ה' האל הקדוש
דרך למדינו, דעת הבינו והושיעינו
ב'א'ה' חונן הדעת
הארה עניינו, ורצה תשובחינו והושיעינו
ב'א'ה' הרוצה בתשובה
(נקראך וחענינו, ולטלח לעוניינו והושיעינו
ב'א'ה' חנן המרבה לסלוח
(פתחה . . . סליחות)
זכור ברית אבותינו, במחאה גאלינו והושיעינו
ב'א'ה' גואל ישראל
חון שאידינו, ורפא מאובינו והושיעינו
ב'א'ה' רופא . . .
טהר טומאותינו, וברך בטל ובגשם שנוטינו והושיעינו
ב'א'ה' מברך . . .
יחד ליראך לבבינו, ונקבץ נפוצותינו והושיעינו
ב'א'ה' מקבץ . . .
כנס שבתינו, בשופטך צדקינו והושיעינו
ב'א'ה' מלך אהוב . . .
לחם כל לוחמינו, ומיידים מלטינו והושיעינו
ב'א'ה' שבר אויבים . . .
מלוך עליינו, היה מבטחינו והושיעינו
ב'א'ה' משען . . .
נחים הייכלו, בנה ביתך בימינו והושיעינו
ב'א'ה' בונה . . .
את צמח דוד מהרה הצמיה וקרנו תרום במחאה בימינו

ב'א'ה' מצמיח קרן ישועה)

אנא אלקינו סמרק סוכתינו, ושמע תפילהינו והושיעינו
ב'א'ה' שומע תפילה

" ענה עתירתינו, ובעבדתך תרצהנו והושיעינו
ב'א'ה' שאוטך לברך ביראה . . .

אנא אלקינו רחום רחמי ברחמייך הרבים מהרעה השב שכינוך לציון וסידרי
עבדתך לירושלים עירך ואתה ברחמים תחפוץ ותרצינו ב'א'ה' שאוטך לברך
ביראה נعبد. מודים אנחנו לך אתה הוא ה' אלקינו ואלקי אבותינו על
טובתיך אשר מעולם על חסידיך ורחמייך אשר מימי קדם

אנא אלקינו פנה אלינו, ומטובך שבעתינו והושיעינו
ב'א'ה' הטוב . . .

" צוה ישועתינו, ובשלומך תברכינו והושיעינו ב'א'ה' אלקינו מפק
תברכינו ככתוב אלהים ייחנוו . . . ושמו . . . ואני אברכם ברוב עז ושלום
ב'א'ה' המברך . . .

TEXT VIII

THE KEROBOT

MUSAF KEROBAH

Sabbath

a.

MS. fol. 123.

... ויש נהוגן להתפלל פיוות כנון זה. וпотוח ואומ' ברוך אתה עד אל עליון
קונה שמים וארץ . . .

זה אתה אלקי חהלהני, מגינו ומגן אבותינו
ב'א'ה' מן אברاهם

ב'וותיך יהיו בנשמי בטליי זבולך, מミת ומהיה אין דומה לך
ב'א'ה' מהיה המתים

כתר

ד'גול מרבותות תרשישים, לך יאמרו קדוש קדושים
ב'א'ה' האל הקדוש

יום ענoga חתה לעם קניתה, קרבנות מוספיו למשה צי? יותה
נעשה ונקריב לפניו את קרבן חובותינו, חמידי יום וקרבן מוסף שבת

ב'א'ה' מקדש השבת
השב לנו ניחומים בכפלים, ונזכה לעבדך במחורה כרצונך בירושלם

ב'א'ה' שאוטך לברך
ח'ושה חי שכון בקרבינו, ז'מר נודה לך מטיבינו

ב'א'ה' הטוב ש马克
ק'ומם בית בחירותך, ושים עליינו שלומך וטובך וברכתך

ב'א'ה' המברך

TEXT IX

MUSAF KEROBAH

Sabbath

MS. fol. 124.

b.

(מוסף אחר)

וענויים אהובך רצים לעובך, גונם כאברהם עבדך
 ב'א'ה' מנן אברהם
 ירשו ברכה בנשמי' בטלי' שמי', יצחק הנעקר למען שמי'
 ב'א'ה' מהיה המתים
 ארץ נדלה למשור עקב למקדישך קדוש
 ב'א'ה' האל הקדוש
 והחטענו דביקיך בעונגה ובכפל, כמשה נש אל הערפל
 ב'א'ה' מקדש השבת
 על המזבח נרצה אותו, אהרן ובניו אותו (אתו?)
 ב'א'ה' שאותך לבודך
 רוב טוב צפוני נודה, ונמצא חן כלעוזר בן אהרן הכהן
 ב'א'ה' הטוב שמי'
 שלום זרעינו נחנן ונתואר כפנחים בן אלעוזר
 ב'א'ה' המברך

TEXT X

MUSAF KEROBAH

Sabbath

MS. fol. 124.

c.

מוסף אחר

פיקודיך שמורים תמיד להן, אתה ה' מנן
 ב'א'ה' מנן אברהם
 פליית שאורת בט"ל בנש"ם תחיה, ה' מימות ומחיה
 ב'א'ה' מהיה המתים
 וקדושה
 וייעור שמי' נקייש בחיה, אל נערץ בסוד קדושים רבה
 ב'א'ה' האל הקדוש
 לאט נהלך שמרי' שבת, לעשות את יום השבת (נעשה ונקריב)
 ב'א'ה' מקדש השבת
 אמרי פי' יקובלו ברצון, עולותיהם וחביביהם לרצון
 ב'א'ה' שאותך
 ועמך ה' האמורתה אוחך לחטווב, גם ה' יתן הטוב
 ב'א'ה' הטוב שמי'
 נורא וחזק ברכנו בחשלום, ה' יברך את עמו בשלום
 ב'א'ה' המברך

TEXT XI

SHORT KEROBOT FOR MINHAH OF SABBATH

—KERUBA LE-MINHAH SHL SHBTH V'RASH HODOSH
ויש נהגין לומ' בתפילה הרבבים במנחה בשבת לחדר פיזיטים כונן אלו.

a.

ברוך אתה אל עליון קונה שמיים וארץ

MS. fol. 141.

אני ארייב את ריבך יאמר לבת ציון
אני באכיפורים עופות אונגען ירושלים

כי לך החולתי

אל חמחי לי אויבתי כי נפלתי קמתי,
אל עוזר ומגן קוה קיויתי
ב'אה' מן...

ביתי יבנה בה יאמר לבת ציון
באור טללים (נשימים אחיה) אעורה ישני ירושלים

כי לך החולתי

אל חמחי לי...
ממית ומחיה קוה קיויתי
ב'אה' מחיה... נקדיש...

נאלוּך הנגה זה בא יאמר לבת ציון
טוי קדוש אקדש ותחקdash ירושלים

כי לך החולתי

אל חמחי לי...
אל נורא וקדוש קוה קיויתי
ב'אה' האל הקדוש

דרך כוכב מיעקב יאמר לבת ציון
דיגול פרדה את יעקב וחתעג ירוש'

כי לך החולתי

אל חמחי לי...
אל נתן מעונה קוה קיויתי
ב'אה' מקדש השבת

הרחיבי מקום אהליך יאמר לבת ציון
העבודה תשיב ותרצאה ירוש'

כי לך החולתי

אל חמחי לי...
אל רוזה עבורה קוה קיויתי
ב'אה' שאוותך לבדך...
(מודים... מימי קדם)

וְעֶרֶל וְטָמֵא לֹא יַעֲבֹר בָּךְ יֹאמֶר לִבְתְּ צִיּוֹן
וְנִשְׁידֵר וְנוֹמֵר בַּחֲךְ יְרוּשָׁ'

כִּי לֹךְ הַחֲלָתִי

אֶל תְּשֻׁמְחוֹ לִ...
אֶל טָוב וְמַטִּיב קֹהֵן קֹוִיתִי
בְּ'אָה' הַטוֹב שָׁמֵךְ
זִכְרָתִי לְךָ חָסֵר נְעוּרִיךְ יֹאמֶר לִבְתְּ צִיּוֹן
וְאַתְ אֹתְ שְׁלוֹם, שָׁאֵל שְׁלוֹם יְרוּשָׁ'

כִּי לֹךְ הַחֲלָתִי

אֶל תְּשֻׁמְחוֹ לִ...
לְאֶל מִשֵּׁם שְׁלוֹם אֹהֶלְלָה. לְלוֹבֵשׁ עַז וְמַדּוֹלה

TEXT XII

b.

MS. fol. 141.

(אחר)
אֹהֶלְלָה לְלוֹבֵשׁ עַז וְמַדּוֹלה
אַיְחָלָה לְמַחְשֵׁךְ קָצֵן גַּאֲולָה
אַנְאָה קּוֹמָה וְתוֹמָן יוֹנָה חַמָּה

בְּ'אָה' מַן

בְּכָל יוֹם אֲשָׁקוֹד עַל דְּלָתוֹרִי יְוָם יוֹם
וְתִיחַשׁ יוֹם לְמַחְכִּיךְ לִילָה וְיָם
אַנְאָה קּוֹמָה וְתוֹחִיה בְּטַל בְּנֵשֶׁם יוֹנָה חַמָּה
בְּ'אָה' מַחְיהָ... נְקָדֵישָׁךְ

גְּדוֹר נָא, אָבִן שְׁוֹמָה עַל רַאשׁ פִּינָּה
קְרִית חַנָּה וְנָאָמָן. קוֹמוֹ כִּי בְּנָה
אַנְאָה קוֹמָי וְתוֹקְדֵשׁ בִּיּוֹנָה חַמָּה

בְּ'אָה' הַאֲלָה קְדוּשָׁה

דָּבָרָךְ הַאֲמָת, הַדְרָשָׁו בְּכַתְבָּא אֲמָת
דֵּין אֲמָת חַוָּן זְרוּעָן כּוֹלָו אֲמָת
אַנְאָה קוֹמָה וְתוֹפֵשׁ לִיּוֹנָה חַמָּה

בְּ'אָה' מְקָדֵשׁ הַשְׁבָּתָה

הַשִּׁיבָה לִי, שְׁוֹן יְשֻׁעָׁ גִּילִי
וְתִבְאָה אַלְיָ וְתִשְׁבָּן כִּמְאָוָ בְּהִיכְלִי
אַנְאָה קוֹמָי וְתוֹרָצָה בְּשִׁי לִיּוֹנָה חַמָּה
בְּ'אָה' שָׁאוֹתָךְ... מַודִים...

וְתִבְאָה מַאֲרוֹם וְתוֹפֵשׁ בְּלֹבֶשׁ אֲרוֹם
וְאַל נָא תִּדְרֹם זְכוֹר הָ' לְבִנֵּי אֲרוֹם
אַנְאָה קוֹמָי וְתוֹטִיב לִיּוֹנָה חַמָּה

בְּ'אָה' הַטוֹב שָׁמֵךְ

זכור לנו דברך אשר ייחלנו
כי לך עינינו למה לנצח תשכחו
אנא קומ' ותברך בשלום ליונה תמה
ב'אה' עשרה השלום

Of these seven texts, containing 'Amidah benedictions for various occasions, I consider two, אדון למען and אנא אלקיינו און שווענין, as short 'Amidot, composed to substitute the regular 'Amidah, while the others, to my mind, are only short Kerobot, to be inserted at the end of each benediction. Such small piyyutim were quite in vogue in Palestine; later some of them crept into Babylon, and were even adopted there.

The two short 'Amidot are:

1. For the Minḥah services on week days—fol. 73, אדון למען
2. For morning services on Fast Days—fol. 82, אנא אלקיינו און שווענין

According to fol. 13 of our MS., it was customary to recite short piyyutim or חרבין in the 'Amidah of week-days. In speaking of these piyyutim, the author could not have meant the short אדון למען and אנא אלקיינו און שווענין, since these are called in our MS. חפלת הרבין or מען שמונה עשרה; he must have had reference to the Kerobot. And since all seven texts belong to the 'Amidah, we have arranged them together, and not according to the pages of the MS.

Let us first examine the short 'Amidot:

a. אדון למען

The Palestinian origin of this text cannot be doubted. It is a short 'Amidah, a שמנה עשרה, in which, following Rab's interpretation of R. Joshua's מיען י"ח (b. Berakot, 29a, and Yer. Berakot IV, 3, and 8a) all eighteen benedictions, including the ברכות ראשונות ו' אחרונות נ', were shortened. Such a short 'Amidah was permissible, whenever necessity

demanded. In Italy, and perhaps even in Palestine, this 'Amidah was recited daily at Minḥah.

When the Babylonians adopted this short 'Amidah for the Friday evening and holiday services, they recited the first two benedictions, אבוחות and גבורות, in full, and shortened the others beginning with the third benediction, נדלך קדש בנו (comp. *Eshkol I*, 55); the Palestinians, on the other hand, shortened the first benediction to אדון למעך עזרינו—and the second to ברעיפת טל—for the summer, and מגן אברהם גנניינו—and the winter, thus paraphrasing the 'Amidah with מהיה מתחם. The Hebrew is:

The expression ברעיפת טל shows, too, the Palestinian way of mentioning dew at the second benediction. For, while according to b. Taanit 3a, בטל וברוחות לא חייב חכמים להזכיר—we learn from Yer. Taanit 1, 1 (63d), that ever since the time of R. Johanan, טל has been mentioned in the second benediction of the 'Amidah. א"ר יוחנן כל שלשים يوم חזקה מה שהוא למוד הזיכיר, מכון והילך מה שצורך יזכיר. This may also have been the reason why the Babylonians did not use the shortened version of the second benediction, and rather began shortening the 'Amidah in the third benediction.

Another Palestinian feature of the 'Amidah is that the first benediction contains קונה שמיים וארכץ following the אל צמח דוד עליון of Gen. 14, 19. The omission of shortening the first benediction again shows the Palestinian origin of our text.

A closer study of this text will reveal the original form of three words in each benediction, as for instance:

אדון למעך גנניינו, בעריפת טל החיניינו, נדלך יתקדש בנו
דיעה מפרק למדינו, הרור אליך השביבינו, ומזה כעב פשעינו,
זרז זמן גאולחינו, חתל מכאובי לבינו, טללק' יובבו שנותינו
יאחוי מקצת פורינו, בשופטך חכרייע צדקינו, להבהב דחה אויבינו,
משען היה לנו, נעלז בבןין קרייתינו, שאנא פילולינו, עולות רצה שפתותינו
פדרותינו תחשיש מטיבינו, צ'ורייט ק'דושינו ר'וב שלום ה'עטרנו

The last line has five words to complete the alphabet. The sixth line I read: ומזה כעב פשעינו, and not, as Mann reads it, ומזה ר'וב פשעינו.

b.

The second short 'Amidah, for Fast Days, starts with **אנַא אַלְקִינוּ אָזֶן**, which is followed by **בָּא'י... קֹנוֹת שָׁמִים וְאָרֶץ שׂוּעֲנָנוּ**. As we can see from its contents and style, it is a very old Palestinian **מעין שָׁמוֹת עֲשֵׂרָה**.

The other five texts, the short Kerobot, are:

1. For the Musaf service on Sabbath:
 - a. **וְהַאֲתָה אֱלֹקִינוּ תְּהִלָּתָנוּ**, fol. 123
 - b. **וְעַנְיוּם אֲהֹובָךְ**, fol. 124
 - c. **פִּיקּוֹדִיךְ שֻׁמְרִים תְּמִיד לְהַגֵּן**, fol. 124
2. For the Minḥah service on Sabbath and New Moon:
 - a. **אַנְיָ אֲרִיב אֶת רַיְבָּר**, fol. 141
 - b. **אַהֲלָלָה לְלוֹבֵשׁ עֹז וְגֹדְלָה**, fol. 141

The Kerobah reveals the acrostic **וּבְדִיחוֹ חֹק** while in **פִּיקּוֹדִיךְ** an acrostic forming the name can be found. The late Solomon Schechter remarked on this Kerobah: **'אֹולִי הוּא פָּלָטִיאָל'**.

TEXT XIII

—MA'ARIB FOR WEEK DAYS.

MS. fol. 75.

... בָּא'ה' נָאֵל יִשְׂרָאֵל
נִשְׁכַּבָּה בְּחַסְדֶּךָ וְקִיצָּה וְנִשְׁבַּעַת בְּאַמְנוֹתֶךָ וְפַחַד וְצָרָה וְשִׁמְעוֹן בְּלִילּוֹת אֶל יְמָשׁוֹל
כְּאָמָר אָם תְּשַׁכֵּב לְאַתְּפַחַד וְتְשַׁכֵּב וְוּרְבָה שְׁנָתָךְ. וְשֻׁמְרִינוּ וְהַצְּלִינוּ מִכְלָ דָבָר
רָע וְהַשְׁמֵד שָׁטָן מִלְפָנֵינוּ וּמַאֲחֹרֵינוּ וְשֻׁמְרֵץ אַתָּה וּבְאָנוּ מַעֲתָה וְעַד עֲולָם כִּי
שֻׁמְרִינוּ וְהַצְּלִינוּ אַתָּה בָּא'ה' שֻׁמְרֵץ עַמּוּד יִשְׂרָאֵל לְעֵד.
וַיְשַׁׁן אָוֹרְמָן נִשְׁכַּבָּה בְּחַסְדֶּךָ אֶלָּא אָוֹרְמָן הַשְׁכִּיבָנוּ ..

Reading this text, we see that the author of the Seder Hibbur Berakot was acquainted with both the Babylonian and the Palestinian **נִשְׁכַּבָּה**. Our text of the **הַשְׁכִּיבָנוּ** is longer than the version in the *REJ* of Israel Levi (Vol. LIII, p. 231), and contains also Babylonian elements of the Seder Rab Amram.

TEXT XIV

—ק"ש על המיטה NIGHT PRAYER

MS. fol. 91.

ובשגורא ק"ש על מתחו אומר פרשה ראשונה ופרשה שנייה שמע והוא אם
שמעו. וכן מתחילה.
 בר' את' ה' אלקיינו מלך העולם אשר קידשנו במצוותיו וצונו לקרוא קריית
שמע ולחכירו בלבב שלם ולהמליכו בנפש חפיצה אמן. אל מלך נאמן שמע
ישראל – כל הפרשה והיה אם שמע כל הפרשה. באהאהמה המפל חבי
שינה על העינים ומשקיע תרדימה על העפעפים. מנונה לאישון בת עין.
 יה' מלפנייך ה' אלקינו ואלקי אבותינו שחוריילני לדבר מצוה ואל חריגליין
לדבר עבירה וחששת כי יציר חרע וחווקני במצוותיך
 וחן חליך בחרתך ותגנני לחן ולחסוך ולחרכם בעיניך ובעיני כל רואי ואל
 תביאני לידי ניסין ובזין ולא לידי הרהור עבירה ועון וחשביבני על מטהי
 לשולם, והעמידני ממתמי לחיים ולשלום ואל יבהלוני חלומות רעים ולא
 היורהים רעים ולא פגעים רעים, האירה עני פן אישן המות אני שכבתני
 ואישנה הקיצותי כי ה' יסמכני בשלום יחודו אשכבה ואישן כי אתה ה' לבדר
 לבטהח חשובני. אהישת מפלט לי מרוח סועה מסער. אתה טהר לי מצר
 לי רני פלט הסוכבני שללה. גונה מתחו של שלמה שישם גבורים סביב לה
 מגבורי ישראאל כלום אחוי חרב... מפחד בלילות. שר למעלות אשא
 עני... בשלום. ה' עו לעמו יתן... בשלום. נשכבה בשלום ונקייה בשלום
 ופחד בלילה בנו אל ימשל ברוך המPAIR לעולם כלו בכבודו. ישב בסתר
 עלין כל המומור. לשועתק קויתי ה'. ה' קוית לשועתק. הן אתם מאין
 ופעלים מאפע עבה יבחר בכם. ויאמר ה' אל השטן... מוצל אש. ברוך
 ה' ביום ברוך ה' בלילה ברוך ה' בשוכבנו ברוך ה' בקומו. האלקים אשר
 בידו נפש כל חי ורוח כלبشر איש. בידך אפקיד רוח פרודיה אויה ה' אל
 אמרת. אלהינו שבשמייח' חד שך חיברך, וקיים מלכתחך תמיד עליון לעולם
 עד. ויש שאומ' נשכבה בחסדר וחווים ברוך שומר עמו ישראאל לעדר.

This text is important for our study of the development of the Shema, and the significance it acquired in Jewish liturgy.

First, we learn from this text that the third part of the Shema, תפלת-הHIGH, was not an essential part of the Shema. And it was a long time before the rabbis of the opposition became convinced of the importance of ויאמר in the evening Shema, even in the תפלת-הכבר (comp. b. Berakot, 12b). For, even in the 4th century, it was not customary in Palestine to recite the entire third chapter in the evening

חפלת האבור תפלת היחיד, neither in the Talmud only. We also read in Yer. Ber. I, 9 and I, 8, that Rabbi Simon says that the benedictions of the morning and evening Shema should be equal: *הנigkeit הים והלילה שווין*.

This statement is made by Rabbi Simon after enjoining that in the morning two benedictions should be recited before, and one benediction after the Shema: *בשחר מברך שחמים לפניה ואחת לאחריה;* and in the evening two benedictions should be recited before, and two after the Shema: *ובערב מברך שחמים לפניה ושתיים לאחריה.* Considering the three *פרשיות* of the Shema, *שמע, והיה אם שמוע, ויאמר—* as benedictions, the Palestinians should have said each morning six benedictions, and each evening, seven benedictions. But Rabbi Simon claims that the third *פרשה* of the Shema, *ויאמר—*, was omitted during the evening prayers, and thus the first two *פרשיות* of the Shema—*שמע and והיה—* together with the other four benedictions, *שחים לפניה ושחים לאחריה,* formed the six benedictions recited in the evening, and were equivalent in number to those recited in the morning.

And even when, in the year 90, at the memorable conference in Jabneh, the opposition was broken, and a strong propaganda was begun that *ויאמר* be included in the evening Shema, in order to popularize the observance of *ציצית*,—only two *פרשיות* remained for the *היחיד*, as is evidenced by our text.

We further note in this text the special benediction introducing the Shema. Such an introductory benediction is not mentioned in the old Talmudic literature, and it cannot be placed among the many benedictions introduced by the Rabbis for the various occasions. The declaration of the Jewish faith as incorporated in the Shema does not necessi-

tate any special introductory benediction, since this declaration is incumbent upon the Jew at all times, and not only in the morning and in the evening. Even the benedictions recited before and after the Shema שתים לפני ואחת לאחר (*comp. Shomeh v'Achah la'Aherah*) in the morning, and שתים לפני ושתיים לאחר in the evening), although important parts of the liturgy, are only associated with the Shema, but not dependent upon it (*comp. Solomon ben Aderet, comm. to Berakot*).

We are thus able to understand the opposition of Hai Gaon against this benediction, considering it a ברכה שאינה צריכה ומצויה שם שמי לבטלה (*comp. Shaare Teshubah*, 57). The later Rabbis, as Tosaphot (Berakot 2a), Asher ben Jehiel (beginning of Berakot), Abudraham (p. 23), and others also strongly objected to this benediction.

Although the origin of this benediction is rather obscure, it seems that it was primarily intended for the ק"ש על המטה; in the course of time it was introduced into the Shahrit and Maarib services of the הדיחיד, חפלת הציבור, as is evidenced by many Genizah fragments. The purpose of it may have been to substitute the ברכו את ה' המבורך, which could only be recited at the communal service, חפלת הציבור. Thus, the opinion of Dr. Mann that this benediction was instituted as an introduction to the ת' יוצר even in the ת' חפלת הציבור, can hardly be correct.

It is due to the Babylonian opposition that this benediction totally disappeared from all Jewish prayer books; it was preserved in the Seder Hibbur Berakot, as an introduction to the ק"ש על המטה. Hence, the existence of this purely Palestinian benediction in the Oxford MS. of the Seder Rab Amram (*comp. Ginzberg, Geonica I*, 135), is doubtless a later interpolation.

At this point it may be of interest to note the curious wording after the second benediction preceding the Shema הבוחר בעמו ישראל באהבה. Our MS. concludes this benedic-

tion with **אמן**, and follows it with **אל מלך נאמן**. In our opinion, this phrase originated as a result of the objections raised by some Palestinian Rabbis against replying to one's benedictions—**אמן** **הփורס את שמע אחר עצמו**; this was later dissolved into two versions (b. Sabbath, 119b). Our MS., however, preserved both versions. Ginzberg's assumption that the **אל מלך נאמן** was intended to replace the original benediction **אקביו להמליכו** (*Geonica*, I, 138), is hardly probable.

TEXT XV

מעריב ליל שבת—FRIDAY EVENING

MS. fol. 96.

... ובערב שבת הולכין לבתי הכנסת ואומ' תhilah... ומתחפלין מעריב
ואין אומ' והוא רחום ופתחה שליח צבור ברכו כללו... תמיד הוא מלך עליון
לעולם ועד).

את שבת קורשך הנחלתה עם מקדישך
בשיכון נדרשך
דוד מעריב ערבי נקדישך

ב'א'ה' המעריב ערבים
(אהבת עולם... יומם ולילה)

באות בינו ובין חנפישינו במתנה
ותעה ימיך, ואוהבינו למענק

ב'א'ה' אוהב עמו ישראל
(קרית שמע, אמת ואמונה...
וראו בנים את גבורתו)

גבולינו שם הנחה בהשקט ובטהה
צדינו שית כמכת בכורות וכטוחה
וכעבדו ים שיר לך נשיחה
בוניה ברינה בשמחה רבה

ואמרו כולם מי במויה... עשה פלא
דועכו מפריכים הוצלו פרוכים
ולעשין ולעושה בים) דרכיהם זמרו רבים

זה צור ישענו פצוי פה ואמרו
ה' מלך לעולם ועד

העת יוגבר, המוליך עמו במדבר
ויניע כמדבר, ויגאלנו כמו שלעבר
ב'א'ה' גאל ישראל

וכס בחסדר יכוון ועמו בתוכו ישכון
ובטהח נשכון, ונתלהון בשלום מכון

ב'א'ה' פורש סוכת שלום עליינו
ועל עמו ישראל ועל ירושלים.
ושמרנו-וינפּשֶׁ

Although this text has already been published by Mann, in his article 'Genizah Fragments,' *Hebrew Union College Annual*, Vol. 2, p. 321, I deem it advisable to have it reprinted, both for the sake of accuracy, and also because of a few new readings that I wish to suggest.

The fourth word in the second stanza of our piyyut is **שבת וינפּשֶׁ**, from **נִפְשָׁ**, to rest (comp. **שְׁבַת**), instead of **חוֹפִישָׁנוּ**, as given by Mann.

The third line of the third stanza should read **וכעברו** **ים שיר לך נשicha**, meaning: "Like those who crossed the Red Sea, we shall sing a song unto Thee." Mann reads it **וכעברנים שיר לך נשicha**.

The second line in the fourth stanza should read, I think, referring to **בֵּין דֶּרֶךְ** in Isaiah 43, 16. Mann reads it **ולעשין בֵּין דֶּרֶךְ**.

The second line in the fifth stanza I read **ויגאלנו כמו שלעבר**. Mann reads it **כשעלעבר**.

At this point I wish to touch another problem, which has been discussed by Doctor Mann, and which, to my mind, should be differently treated.

After the 'Amidah of **ליל שבת**', our MS. gives the following directions for the Friday evening synagogual service:
... פותח ש"ז ואומ' עת להקדיש. ויכללו... לעשות. בא"י... אל עלין קונה
שמות וארץ. מן אבות... מקדש השבת... ולמה פותח ש"ז עת להקדיש
ואומ' ויכללו כללו וככלל תפלה זו ומטיים בה מקדש השבת כדי להוציא ידי
"חוותן מידי קדוש לאורהיהם שבבית הכהנת..." The reader announces:

'It is time to recite the Kiddush,' " and our MS. goes on to describe the rest of the synagogal service for **ליל שבת**; the procedure described in our MS. is almost identical with the Sabbath service in an orthodox synagogue of today.

However, our MS. does not give the text of the Kiddush at this point. Obviously, the copyist did not care to copy the Kiddush twice, and therefore placed it only on another page in our MS., on fol. 103, where the home Kiddush is discussed. The text there states: **זה הוא קידוש של ליל שבתות עת להקדיש ויכלו וכו'**, and then follows the usual version of the Kiddush.

Thus, the **מן אבותה עת להקדיש**, 'does not refer to the the Kiddush at all. The real Kiddush is on fol. 103, since it contains all requisite elements, and begins with **אשר קדשנו במצוינו** (according to b. Pesahim 117b, while **דצלאהא** **קדושא אשר קדשנו במצוינו**). Furthermore, according to Rab Aha b. Jacob, the Kiddush must contain direct reference to **יציאת מצרים**, or it is not Kiddush. The **מן אבותה** contains neither **קדשות היום**, nor **אשר קדשנו במצוינו**. In the 'Amidah **קדשנו במצוינו** is used, but that is a prayer a **צלואה**, and not a **קידושא**.

We also note that Dr. Mann makes the following statement on page 313 of the *Hebrew Union College Annual*, Vol. 2: "After the 'Amidah the Reader announces 'it is time to say the Kiddush' (**עת להקדיש**) this consisting of **ויכלו** and **מן אבותה**." From this statement, the reader gets the impression that the words "this consisting of etc." are translated from the text, and this, as we have already proven, is hardly correct.

In Yerushalmi, Berakot 11d, we find a statement of R. Jose b. Abun—to which Frumkin refers in his edition of Seder Rab Amram II, 24, and Mann on page 317 of the *Hebrew Union College Annual*—to the effect, that **במקום שאין יין** where wine is not obtainable, one should dispense

ברכה אחת מעין שבע; but when wine can be procured, then the Kiddush should be recited. It is hard to understand how Mann could get support from this Yerushalmi for his supposition that the **מן אבות** is the Kiddush. The Yerushalmi clearly disproves this theory.

That our MS. does not consider **מן אבות** as the real Kiddush, can further be seen from the fact that, on fol. 99, the author of our text gives as the reason for reciting the same—that it is a protection **מן אבות**—that it is a protection **מפני המזיקין**; at the same time he also explains that the announcement **עת להקדיש** is for the benefit of the strangers and those who are unable to recite the Kiddush: **ולמה פותח ש"ץ עת להקדיש... כדי להוציאו:** **ידי חובתן מידי קידוש לאורחים שבבית הכנסת ושאינם יודעין לקדש ושותען מפני ש"ץ ויוצאים ידי חובתן.** **ומאחר שאין יודעין לקדש שותען ופטורין מיד קידוש ולמה חורין ומקדרין על השלחן כדי להוציאו אדם בניו ובני ביתו ידי חובתם... וזה הוא קידוש של ליל שבתו** **ולמה חורין ומקדרין** the usual version of the Kiddush follows. (The above paragraph is further proof that the same Kiddush was recited both in the synagogue and at home).

Thus, it is quite evident that we have here two different items: the **מן אבות** that was instituted **מפני הסכנה** or **מפני המזיקין** (Rashi, b. Sabbath, 24b), and the synagogual Kiddush (b. Pesahim, 117b), that was primarily instituted for the benefit of the guests and strangers who had their Friday evening meals at the synagogue. The reason **מפני המזיקין**, as given by our author and the Geonim, is the same as used by the Talmud; it may mean "for fear of the government" (comp. Jacob Schorr, *Ittim*, p. 178), the Romans or the Persians, who made decrees against public worship,—and later, although the danger of such decrees disappeared, the custom of reading **מן אבות** still remained. The Rabbis merely added another reason for it, namely, **כדי להמתין על מאן דלא מצלי**, in order to wait for the late-

comers. The synagogal Kiddush also lost its practical significance, since the custom of serving Sabbath meals to strangers in the synagogue was given up,—nevertheless, the אעפ' שבטל השמד המנתג קידוש בבייהכן continued to be recited: לא בטל, Yer. Ketubot, I, 5.

Judaism does not part willingly with any of its old observances, as long as those observances have the power to awaken some inspiring thought or memory. The Kiddush in the synagogue now gained a new significance, namely, that of proclaiming the truth of *creatio ex nihilo* and the sanctity of the day.

TEXT XVI

SHORT GRACE AFTER MEALS

MS. fol. 131.

FRIDAY NIGHT

נהנוין אנו לברך ברכת המזון בסעודה ראשונה בדרך קצרה בעניין זה.
 להתחיל ולומר ברכת המזון עד כי לעולם חסרו)
 אתה יומ ענוה, בלחם יומם להחענה
 כאמור פוחח... ב'א'ה' חון...
 נודה לך... בית ותורה וחירות ומזון
 גורל שומר שבת, דת ובירית וארכז זבת
 כאמור ואכלת... ב'א'ה' על הארץ...
 נחמו כולם, רצחה והחליצתו כולם...
 והושיעו מהרה למען שמר
 הראיינו בבניין בית מנוחה, ורוח עליינו נחנה
 כאמור בונה ירושלים י' נדחי ישראל יכום
 ב'א'ה' בונה ירושלים אמן.
 בחיננו. וגמר כל ברכת המזון

Besides the regular text of the Grace after Meals, we find, on fol. 131, a short one for Friday night, which begins with אתה יומ ענוה. It is remarkable that the fourth benediction, known as ברכת הטוב והמטיב is not shortened, but, according to our author, should be recited in full; on the

other hand, the short ברכת המזון in *Kol Bo* does not mention the good and the righteous at all. For the sake of comparison, we also give the *Kol Bo* text:

בא"י אמה' חון את העולם כלו ברוב גדריו
 והמכין לכל בריאות מאכלו ושלחנו ערוך לכל
 בא"י חון את הכל
 נודה לאל נואלנו המעדיף מטבבו עליינו
 לא חסר כלום ממאכלנו ברית ותורה וחינוך ומזון
 בא"י על הארץ ועל המזון
 רחם על עם עני ואביוון הנחונים ללווג ולבדוין
 ודוד עבדך מהרה תמליך בציון
 וכוכן בחוכה עם עמוסי ירכיכים
 בא"י בונה ירושלים אמר
 בחיי יהודה ואפרים תמלך מלך בירושלים
 ותבט עני עמק ותפּן
 בא"י אמה' בורא פרי הגפן

(כל בו כ"ז דיני ברכת המזון בקצתה)

TEXT XVII

חפלת עמידה — AMIDAH FOR THE

SABBATH-MINNAH

MS. fol. 140.

... פוחת שליח צבור בחפלת הרבים ואומ' מנ' מניה, נקידש, לדור ודור.
 הנה לנו ה' אלקינו כי אתה אבינו ותמלך עליינו מהרה כי אתה יוצרינו.
 בעבר שマーך האל המלך הנדול הניבור והגנורא שנקרא על ישראל ערך ועל
 יום השבעי הזה והגדר לו והקדוש הזה. כי יום גודל וקדוש הוא מלפני נשבות
 בו וננה בו במצות רצונך. ואל תהא צרה ווין ביום מנוחתינו. תהא מנוחתינו
 מנוחת אהבה ונדרבה. מנוחת שלום השקט ובטה. מנוחת אמת ורצון. מנוחת
 שלימה שאתה רוצה בה, יכירנו וידיעו בגין כי מאתך היא מנוחתם ועל מנוחתם
 יקדיםו את שマーך ברצונך. א'ו'א' ...

This text for Sabbath Minnah is to be recited after the ברכות הראשונות n. Comp. Seder Rab Amram cod. Sulzberger. This text is much older than אהד אחד.

TEXT XVIII

ELIJAH-SONG—זמר של אליהו למושאי שבת

MS. fol. 147.

אחר לר' ענן הכהן

אליהו הנביא עד מתי אתה תאחר
 ובן יקיר עניינו תולות ולביאך הוא משחר
 בוא במהרה, בוא במהרה, במהרה ואל תאחר
 בוא יבוא, בוא יבוא, בוא יבוא ולא יאחר

עת לחשות ועת לדבר ועד מתי אתה תחריש
 והאלף כבר עברו ועצמן תעשה כמהריש
 והנחש הוא נושא ובצפעוני יפריש
 בוא במהרה ...
 בוא יבוא ...

כבודות מדוריך בך במושאי יום נפיהם
 וגם בברית לך מתקנים מקום לשבת שם
 ופניך למה חסתיר ולא תראה צרת נפשם
 בוא במהרה ...
 בוא יבוא ...

ニין עמרמי בעת הילך וימאן ולא רצה
 ונאל אחרון אם אהיה או אריך במרזח
 ואף על פי שלא זכה לא מנע לנור פירצה
 בוא במהרה ...
 בוא יבוא ...

הלא תזכיר ביום עמודך על קבורהبشر החמור
 ובא שואל ושאלך אימת קא אתי מור
 תשובהך היהת ליום אם תשמעו בקול צהר המור
 בוא במהרה ...
 בוא יבוא ...

כבן חיל אוור חילך וחלך אל בן יש
 וספר לו מלוקים (מצועקים?) וקובלים לאל בחשי
 אויל ימחד ביאתו ויצלי מיד גושי
 בוא במהרה ...
 בוא יבוא ...

הלא לצרפת כשולחתה הייתה לה למשענה
cdr ואפייחית לא חסרו בעבור עוגה קטנה
ועל דבר באתה אליו השבורה רוח בנה
בוא מהרה...
בוא יבוא...

נץ עומי בעה שלחו לבקר את בית יהיאל
על שביהו וום הלעיג את רועה ישראל
טל ומטר מנעה בלא גירת האל
בוא מהרה...
בוא יבוא...

חכמים ותלמידיהם המבינים בדת טודם
וזאת הכל הם יודעים גם מסורת בידם
כי הצען לא יבוא על דבר בשור ודם
בוא מהרה...
בוא יבוא...

קוויך בר שענים ובפיהם סדרורה מילה
למה הוא מתרשל מלעוק בחפילה
אייפשר על פניוינו היה מתענת נאולה
בוא מהרה...
בוא יבוא...

אליהו Rabbi Anan ha-Cohen, the author of the poem **הנבי**, is doubtless the same Anan b. Marinus ha-Cohen from Siponto, who is mentioned in the 76 **תניא** and in the *Shibbole ha-Leket* 282 and 34. We can determine the time in which R. Anan lived, by the fact that a responsum about **קרן של עז מהו לחקו** בז' בראש השנה refers to both R. Anan and R. Kalonymus b. Sabbatai of Rome, who lived about 1030–1096. And since Rabenu Kalonymus was a prominent figure in the Jewish life and activities of his time (comp. among others Rashi, b. Bezah, 24b; *Or Zarua* II, 125b), we can assume that R. Anan, a young colleague of R. Kalonymus was also prominent and popular among the Jewish scholars of the 11th century.

We should like to point out here that next to Rome, Siponto was the greatest center of Jewish learning in Italy. We know that a number of young men of Siponto, in their devotion to Jewish scholarship, visited Hai Gaon's academy at Pumbeditha, and upon their return to Siponto spread Jewish learning in Italy. These young men later became famous as R. Leon b. Elhanan, Menaḥem ha-Cohen, R. Jehuda, and a number of others (see: Gross, in *Magazin*, 34 II); still later we find Isaac b. Malkizedek and Elhanan as the colleagues of R. Anan.

Unfortunately only two of R. Anan's decisions in Halakah have been preserved. His fellow countryman, Zidkiah b. Abraham (14th century), ascribes to R. Anan only one other Halakic decision (besides the one we have mentioned above) in regard to (ב'ח?) נסח שכולה כהנים מצאתי שחורה ר' ענן בר מרים הכהן זצ"ל מעיר סייפונטו However, Zidkiah did not mention where he found the decision of R. Anan; it might have been a source of more information about our author.

According to Menaḥem di Lonzano, the Elijah songs recited on Saturday evenings were especially favored in Italy and Germany. R. Isaac b. Moses of Vienna, author of the *Or Zarua*, tells of a responsum by R. Joseph Tob Elem, who was greatly in favor of these Elijah poems (comp. also Tanya 21). Abraham b. Nathan Yarhi (ha-Manhig, Sabbath 71) bases the custom of reciting the Elijah songs on Saturday evening, on the passage **אין אליהו בא לא בערבי שבתות ולא בערבי י"ט** (b. Pesahim 13a and Erubin 43b), but, concludes Yarhi, Elijah may appear on **מוצאי שבת**. This may be the reason why the Elijah songs were readily accepted and favored for Saturday evening recitation.

The expression in the second stanza of our text **והאלף מאות שלשים וחמש**, may refer to the **אלף מאות שלשים וחמש** of Daniel, 12, 12; however, it seems even more plausible that the author meant by the **והאלף**—one thousand years after the

destruction of the Temple. That the Italian scholars used to reckon the time according to the number of years after the destruction of the Temple, is evident also from the Megillat Ahimaaz: **וּבָאוֹתוֹ הַמִּן . . . מֶלֶךְ מֶלֶךְ עַל אֲדֹםִים . . . חָשֵׁב בְּלִבּוֹ זָמֵן לְחֻמִּים . . . בָּשָׁנָה שְׁמֹנוֹת שָׁנִים . . . לְחוֹרְבֵן הַמִּקְדֵּשׁ בֵּית . . .** This king, Basil I, lived in 867-886 Civil Era, which was 800 years after the destruction of the Temple. Thus, the Elijah song of our text must have been composed after 1070.

TEXT XIX

—הבדלה HABDALAH

MS. fol. 149.

לְחוֹדִים הִיְתָה אֹורָה וְשִׁמְוחָה וְשִׁשְׁוֹן וְיקָר, כְּמוֹ יִשְׁעָוָת אָשָׁא וּבְשָׁם יְיָ אָקְרָא
שָׂאוּ יְדֵיכֶם קָדוֹשׁ וּבְרָכוּ יְיָ, אֱלֹהֵינוּ הַשְׁמִיעָה נָא, אֱלֹהֵינוּ הַצְלִיחָה נָא, בְּאֶלְהִים
נָעַשָּׂה חִיל וְהָוָא יִכְסֶן צְרִינוּ, בָּרוּךְ צְרִינוּ גָּנָח וּבְשָׁמָךְ גָּנוּס קָמְנוּ.
בְּאֵלָה' מִה' בְּרוּא פָּרִי הַנֶּפֶן, . . . בְּרוּא עַצִּי בְּשָׁמִים . . . בְּרוּא מָאוֹרֵי הָאָשׁ.
בְּאֵלָה' מֶלֶךְ הָעוֹלָם הַמְבָדֵל בֵּין קָדוֹשׁ לְחֹלָבִין אָוֹר לְחַשֵּׁךְ, בֵּין יִשְׂרָאֵל
לְלֹויִם בֵּין יּוֹם הַשְׁבִּיעִי לְשֵׁת יְמֵי הַמְעָשָׁה, וּכְתוּב וְהִיּוּם קָדוֹשִׁים כִּי קָדוֹשׁ
אָנָּא וְאָבְדִּיל אֶתְכֶם מִן הַעֲמִים לְהִיוֹת לִי **בְּאֵלָה'** הַמְבָדֵל בֵּין קָדוֹשׁ לְחֹלָבִין.

The Habdalah in our text differs somewhat from the Italian version, and we thought it advisable to print it here.

Concerning the benediction, **בְּרוּא עַצִּי בְּשָׁמִים**, comp. chapter 2, in Part I of this book.

TEXT XX

—שבת פרשה פָּרָה PARASHAT PARAH

MS. fol. 168.

פָּרָה בָּאוֹמָן בָּאוֹמָן אָוֹמֵן אֲוֹסֵם אֲדֹם אִיבְּרִיהָ לְבָחֹנָן בְּהָבָאָר בְּרָה בְּרָוָה פָּרָה בְּגָדוֹל גְּנוּת גְּנוּת גְּנוּת גְּנוּת לְדָחֹות דָּפִי דִּיבְּתָ דָּגְלָה דָּרְשָׁה	פָּרָה אֲדֹרָמָה תְּמִימָה אֲשֶׁר אַיִן בָּהּ מָוֶם אוֹר' . . . אַש' . . .
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אד'	בזהר הדרת היילך הדיטיב היזויהה	פראה
аш'	לוחך ולטהר ולקרש וללבב וועודה	
אד'	בזוי זוזה זבר זימן זמנה	פראה
аш'	לחקור חוק חיטוי חט חומה	
אד'	בטיכוס טוב טעם טהור טלפיה	פראה
аш'	לייפות יוקש יידדיה ייחידה יפה	
אד'	בכיוון כובד כומס כלול כלילה	פראה
аш'	ללמד להלבין לכיתמי ל Koha לאט	
אד'	במעשה מראית מופחי מקורי מיטיה	פראה
аш'	לנקות נקס ניפחול נחת נבונה	
אד'	בסיסול סוד סדר סימניה שעורותיה	פראה
аш'	לעבור על עון עקש עמוסה	
אד'	בפילוש פרשת פילאי פיצחון פרטיה	פראה
аш'	לצלול צואת ציאבות צאן צדק	
אד'	בקושט קדושע קיבוע קוממיות קרניה	פראה
аш'	לזרחן רעל רוע רבבה	
אד'	בשמור שיעור שטים שלוש שנותיה	פראה
аш'	לחמס חוע תייחע עצב חממה	

As fate would have it, the names of R. Yannai and his disciple, Kalir, were closely connected not only in life, but also after their death. In life,—according to R. Ephraim of Bonn (comp. *כרם חמד*, VI, 25)—Yannai became jealous of Kalir, when Yannai's poems came to be considered unfashionable and antiquated, while Kalir's poetry became very popular; after both teacher and disciple had been called to eternity, students and scholars still ascribed many a Yannain poem to Kalir.

This last fact may partly be due to the Kalirian touch found in those poems, or to the popularity that they enjoyed,—a popularity not usually accorded to Yannai's poems.

Through R. Tam we know of two such poems that were erroneously ascribed to Kalir. One is a piyyut for Simhat Torah, פראה באומן אשר לא קם כמוות, and the other is, for Parashat Parah (comp. Shibbole ha-Leket, 28, and Zunz, *Literaturgeschichte*, 60).

The above text is the piyyut פָּרָה בְּאֹמֶן, and upon close examination of its style and contents, it appears to us, that פָּרָה בְּאֹמֶן is a piyyut composed by Yannai for the Sabbath פָּרָה.

A marked characteristic of Yannai's style is his repetition of all 22 letters of the alphabet, from two to four times in each piyyut. As examples we can cite the following piyyutim: In the Maḥzor Yannai, page 2, in the Kerobah to קְרִמָּה, the seventh section begins with the verse, כי אמר אין אמונה אומין, כי בו ברית עבר בלביו etc. The letter Aleph and the other letters of the alphabet are repeated four times. On page 17, in the Kerobah to יְהִי, the seventh section reads, והוא אנוש לכן יאנש, והוא בשר לכן יבללה etc. In that piyyut each letter is used twice in each verse. In the eighth section of the same Kerobah which reads יְהִי יְהוָה תָּל חַלְאַיָּנוּ, ישלים שִׁיעָר שִׁימָרָנוּ וַיֹּאמֶר דָאֵר אל הַכָּהָנִים the alphabet is used three times. Also on page 24, the eighth section of the Kerobah to תְּקִיף וְתוֹמֵךְ חַמִּים, שְׁלִיט וְשֻׁוֹן שְׁפָלִים: This manner of using the letters of the alphabet a few times in each verse seems to have been typical of many of Yannai's compositions. In פָּרָה בְּאֹמֶן the Aleph-Beth is even repeated five times throughout the piyyut. The general diction and character of the פָּרָה בְּאֹמֶן also bear a close resemblance to the other Yannaic compositions. We can, therefore, it seems to me, unhesitatingly ascribe this poem to Yannai. It must have formed a part of the Kerobah to פָּרָה, and presumably the seventh or eighth part. It is interesting to note that Yannai, the author of our piyyut, uses here, as in many of his other compositions, both Halakah and Haggadah as the two sources for his poem. His handling of Halakah and Haggadah is masterful, and clearly demonstrates his extraordinary skill and resourcefulness.

The first line represents the Halakah, and the second line the Haggadah element, etc.

I was glad that Doctor Israel Davidson, who has made a special study of Yannai's piyyutim (comp. his *Mahzor Yannai*, New York, 1919), agreed with me in my opinion that the *shurah* *sheh ola li-nai matkablat ul halb* may be a Yannaic composition. Some years ago he wrote me: פָרָה בְּאֹמֶן may be a Yannaic composition. Some years ago he wrote me: *פָרָה בְּאֹמֶן*. It is to be hoped that the other parts of the Kerobah to Parshat Parah may be found in the years to come.

TEXT XXI

חפלת טל—PRAYER FOR DEW

MS. fol. 220-221.

גבורות הטל דר' אלעוז בר' קליר

(טל תן לרצות ארץ... נקדש את שטך בעולם... מלא כל הארץ כבודו)

כבודו א'ופן בכס מרבות	ל'החוות אטומים מטלי' ארובות
ע'טווי שיש אדרוי שלחבת	ו'מר מרבים ושירות עRibot
ר'יל ישרא שגולות ופסביבות	ר'צ'ים כבוק וחזרות ושבות
ואני ו') בקץ טלי' נדבות	נאמר ברוך לעומתם בחיבבות

לעומתם ברוך יאמרו ברוך כבוד ה' מקומו

ממקומו ב'ברוך עוני שרפוי הקודש	'ה בהינור בנור הקודש
ר'חש ומשביע אופן הקודש	ב'וטה ומפריש פירוש הקודש
ישוב במקומו הוג הקודש	תייצב במאצבו במקום הקודש
ואני ו') ביום מקרא קודש	ニיחדו פעמים במקדש הקודש

פעמים באחבה שמע אומרים

אחד ק'דרש מטלד בחילה וקדושה	ל'פלמוני הדבר שوال בלחישה
'אמר איה מקום הקודשה	ר'זאה בומר ונערץ בקדושה
ח'ונים מסביבות הכסא להקדשה ז'ה לוה ק'וראים בקדושה	ואנו פה נועדים להאמירו בקדושה להיות לו לעם והוא לנו
לאלקים שמך קדשה	להיות לכם אני ה' אלקיכם

אלקינו מ'חולל בפי כל יצורים
 ר'וצה פגעת אמונות נוצרים
 ת'בל? חבל ממטר ומולח אורים
 פונה להצראק כל היצורים
 תימך למען מעוקלים וישראלים
 קבלם בשובם נחסידים גמורים

מוריד אגליים מעליות אויריות
 מצמה החاري בעבות הרם
 בגין תהלו לדורי דורים
 וימליך לעולמי עד בדברי קדש
 מדברים

ובדברי קדש... מלך ה' לעולם

נ'בקש ט'יל יבשו בו אבות
 יולדתו לילדתו בטל להרבות טל
 כ'ברת הר וערבות ל'לא צמא בחרבות
 עבב נקדש באלי' רבבות

ברוך אתה ה' האל הקדוש

אתה בחורתנו. ומפני חטאינו. והשIANנו. ברוך
 אתה ה' מקדש ישראל וזומנים
 ושחקים מ'זילים טלי' שמים נ'ובב (או סובב) שתלי' פלני מים
 ס'עד ארוחת ימים ע'דרך למחרדי פעמים
 ז'חי רצון ליום שניים

ברוך אתה ה' שאווך. מודים

דרעפ'ו טל ביום חיליך צ'יקת עב טל לחיליך
 ק'וצות תלתליך ר'ס לפירח הייליך
 רוננים ברדת טל בטוב לב להלליך

ברוך אתה ה' הטוב שמק	טל
אלקינו. ברכינו.	
שאלתי באומר נוכח יוצר חומר	טל
ש'יווע ערכתי בהלל אמר להקדים טל לказירת העומר	
חויל לחומות מעננים ח'טיל למחרניים	
ച'טיל למחרניים מרננים	

Among the many Kalirian piyyutim that fell into desuetude and were later entirely forgotten, we may also include the piyyut **נְבוּרוֹת הַטֵּל**, a prayer for dew, which is found in the SHB, fol. 220–221. An easily discovered acrostic in the first three stanzas of the piyyut forms the name **אלעָזֶר** and the **חֹק בִּירְבִּי קָלִיר**. In these stanzas the 'ר' of **אַלְעָזֶר** and the 'י' of **בִּירְבִּי** are used twice; **חֹק** is added to form the third line of the last stanza; and the fourth lines in the three stanzas introduce the verses of the **קדושה** with **וְאַנְיִי . . .** (in the first stanza); **וְאַנְיִי . . .** (in the 2nd); and **וְאַנוּ . . .** (in the 3rd), which, I believe, should read **וְאַנוּ** in all three stanzas.

In the fourth stanza, in the first word of each line, I discovered the acrostic **מִקְרִית סְפָר חַמֵּת**, in the words **שׁוֹחָדִים וְיִשְׂרָאֵל**. I marked the letters forming the acrostic in the above text.

תוֹמֶךְ לְמַעֲנוֹן מְעוּקָלִים the 'ח' of **חוֹק** and the 'מ' of **מְעוּקָלִים** are marked with dots, and these two letters may stand for **תְּבִנָה מְהֻרָה**. If this assumption be correct, then it serves to strengthen the opinion that Kalir was of Palestinian origin, and consequently prayed in his **נְבוּרוֹת הַטֵּל** (a piyyut especially devoted to Palestine) for the rebuilding of the land.

In building our acrostic **מִקְרִית סְפָר**, we are not surprised to find the 'ש' of **שׁוֹחָדִים** replacing a 'ס'. The Palestinians quite often substituted a 'ש' for a 'ס' in their alphabetic piyyutim (comp. **אַל אַדוֹן** in **שְׁמָהִים בְּצָאתָם**, where a 'ש' is used instead of a 'ס'; and also the short Palestinian 'Amidot in our MS.).

Following Kalir's practice of using the alphabet after the acrostic, we find a set of letters beginning in the second verse of the fourth stanza with **אַבְיבָב**, and running through the rest of the piyyut (as I have indicated in the above text). Some of the letters of the alphabet are used twice, which is quite customary with Kalir.

TEXT XXII

הס'וּתְּמִים שֶׁל הַאֲזָהָרֹת לְרַסְיָן—THE LAST PART OF
SAADIA GAON'S AZHAROT

MS. fol. 258.

ס' פון שיש מאות ושלש עשרה מצוות האגדים
על יד רועה ניתנו ביום קולות ולפידים
ישרים ומשפטים צדיקים מוחב נחמדים
קימו וקידבו היהודים
ד"בורים על אופניהם כל אחד על ישובו
פ'נים שחוקות כתוב ועל מה איש במצבו
י"דים קיבלו ספר נבר על ידי ערבו
לשמור ולעשות ככל הכתוב פה
ו"עו כולם בלב של?ם בלי לחיד ולאמול
מ"תן מדבר לקבל עירול לב ליטול
ירושה ביום זה בני זקן הנימול
לבתלי סור מן המזווה ימן ושמאל
ח"סר נעורים וכור לעם מלאחו לא אלמן
ו"בור טויל משכנת דרכיך במקום פתח(?ן) וחורמן
ק"רא מקרא קדש בעירך בה ים חמן
א'מ'ן לשנה הבאה במירוח מלך רחמן

The last part of Saadia Gaon's Azharot, an extensive halakic poem treating the 613 precepts, is fortunately preserved in our Seder Hibbur Berakot. This text is important, since it helps us to determine the place where the Azharot were composed.

Rapoport, in *הצופה להמניג VI* (1862), assumes that the Azharot were written by Saadia during the time when he held the position of an "Alluf" at the Sura Academy. This assumption is based on the following facts: considering, as we do, that the *פתיחה*, printed by Rosenberg in his *קובץ מעשה ידי נאונים קדרמוניים*, pp. 26–29, is the preface to Saadia's Azharot rather than to his (comp. Malter's *Saadia Gaon*, p. 330, 2), Rapoport finds that the first line of the *פתיחה*, reading *צריר'ג מצות ימייה*, has the same numerical value, 469, as the words *סעד בן יוסף אלף*. Consequently, Saadia must have written the Azharot while he was an Alluf at Sura.

However, while ingenious, this arithmetical device is not effective in this case. First, we note that the tenth section of the Azharot contains an acrostic forming the name סעד בן יוסף, without אלוּף. Then also, we find in our text, which is the conclusion to the Azharot—the acrostic סעד פיום חזק אמרן. This, to my mind, amply proves that the Azharot were written in Fayyum, Egypt, where Saadia lived and worked before his migration to Sura. According to the new date of his birth, brought to light by Doctor Jacob Mann, Saadia must have left Fayyum between the years 905–911 (see Malter, *Saadia Gaon*, p. 425, postscript).

The double acrostic, סעד בן יוסף and סעד פיום חזק אמרן, should not surprise us, since we know that the value of the acrostics was so great for the Payyetanim, that they often repeated these acrostics in the same piyyut. To assume, however, that being already "Alluf" in Sura, Saadia still signed himself, סעד פיום חזק אמרן, would be unreasonable. The numerical value of the first line of the first must be given up, therefore, for the acrostic פתיחה was written in Sura, after the Azharot had already been composed in Fayyum.

FOUR FACSIMILES OF FOLIOS OF THE
ORIGINAL MS. SEDER HIBBUR BERAKOT:

PIYYUTIM FOR SABBATH
AND
HOL-HAMOED PESAH

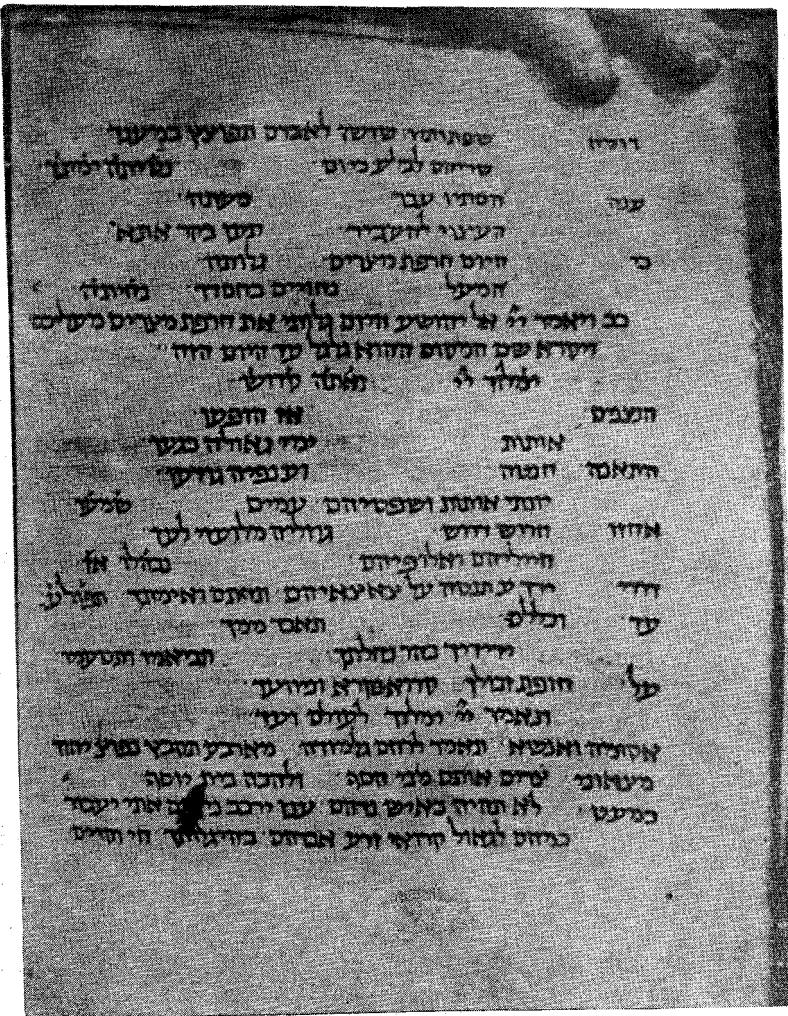
These are photographs of the only facsimiles of our MS.
in existence. They were made for the late
Doctor Solomon Schechter ל"ז



Facsimile I



Facsimile II



Facsimile III



Facsimile IV

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- b. = Babylonian
Cant. R. = Canticum Rabbah (*Midrash Shir ha-Shirim*)
Gottesd. Vortr. = Zunz, Die Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden
HB. = Hebräische Bibliographie
JQR. = Jewish Quarterly Review
Koh. R. = Koheleth Rabbah
p. = Palestinian
Pal. = Palestinian
REJ. = Revue des Etudes Juives
RH. = Rosh ha-Shanah
SA. = Seder Amram Gaon
Sanh. = Sanhedrin
SHB. = Seder Hibbur Berakot
Sh. ha-L. = Shabbale ha-Leket
SRA. = Seder Rab Amram
Yer. = Yerushalmi
ZHB. = Zeitschrift für hebräische Bibliographie
ZWT. = Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF TEXTS PRINTED
IN THIS BOOK

97	אדון למעך
102	אהללה ללבש עוז
121	אופן בכס מרכבות
87	אחינו ישראל
88	אלהי נשמה
115	אלilio הנביא עד מתי
98	אנא אלקינו אונ
101	אני איריב את ריבך
109	את שבת קודשך
113	אתה יום ענווה
88	ברכות השחר
92	ברכת המזון
87	ברכת התורה
118	הבדלה
91	הבינו
114	הנה לנו
100	עוגנים אהובך
99	זה אתה אלקי
70	יקום פורקן
84-85	ישחבח
87	מי שבירך
105	נשכבה בחדרך
124	ספנ שיש מאות
100	פיקודיך שומרים
118	פרה באומן
106	קיש על המיטה
85-86	שמונה עשרה

INDEX

INDEX

(Numbers followed by 'n' refer to the notes on the pages specified)

- Aaron the Priest, of Lunel, 51.
Abaye, Amora, 41, 43, 45, 46.
Abot de Rabbi Nathan, 88.
Abraham b. Daud, 29n, 33.
Abraham b. David, of Pousquieres, 33.
Abraham b. Isaac, of Narbonne, 5n.
Abraham b. Jacob, 8, 84.
Abraham b. Jehiel, 74.
Abraham b. Nathan Yarhi, of Lunel, 5n, 117.
Abraham, of Pesaro, 30.
Abu Aaron, 32, 33.
Abudraham, David, 5, 56, 108.
Abuhu, Amora, 36.
Adler, Cyrus, vi.
Africa, 22, 40.
Agudah, 38n.
Aha b. Jacob, 91, 111.
Aha Gaon, 20, 25.
Ahimaaz b. Paltiel, 21, 30, 118.
Akiba, Tanna, 40, 91.
Albargeloni, see Judah b. Barzillai Albargeloni.
Alfasi, Isaac, 20, 23.
'Amidah, v, 7, 34, 35, 46, 66–69, 71, 85, 91, 92, 95–105, 110, 111, 114, 123.
Amnon, 73n.
Amram Gaon, 5, 10, 13, 42, 47, 51, 52, 57, 63, 68; Seder of, 4, 5, 9–13, 41, 42, 49, 51, 54–56, 58–61, 63, 66–68, 92, 105, 108, 111, 114.
Anan b. Marinus ha-Cohen, of Siponto, 14, 29, 72, 116, 117.
Appamia, 43, 46.
Apulia, 14.
Arabian Regime, 31.
Aruk, 14, 30, 77.
Asaph, S., 32.
Ascholi, 30n.
Asher b. Jehiel, 34n, 46–49, 56, 108.
Ashi, Amora, 47.
Aspamia, 42–46.
Auerbach, B. H., 7n.
Avira, Amora, 36.
Azharot, 124, 125.
Babylon, 22, 31–33, 37–42, 44–46, 50, 59, 63–65, 68–70, 103; Rabbis of, 22, 24, 31; Ritual of, 2, 3, 41, 49–51, 57–60, 64, 65, 85; Synagogues of, 51, 54, 55, 59, 60, 65; Talmud of, 20, 23, 51, 64, 92.
Babylonian-Spanish Ritual, 60, 94.
Bacharach, Ḥayyim, 76.
Baer, S., 62.
Baetica, 45.
Bari, 29, 29n, 30.
Basil I, King, 118.
Bebe, Amora, 42–44.
Ben Meir, 25, 69.
Berekiah, Amora, 62.
Berliner, Abraham, 1, 9–13, 76n.
Bloch, Ph., 65, 66.
Bondi, J., 54n.
Brüll, N., 26.
Buber, Solomon, 5n, 15, 17–19, 28n, 78, 79, 88.
Büchler, A., 23, 37.
Caesarea, 36.
Cartara, 43, 46.
Charles, King, 55.
Cordova, 43.
Coronel, Nahman Nathan, 10, 49, 55n, 57n.
Cortova, 42–46.
Daniel b. Jehiel, 6, 14.
Davidson, Israel, vi, 2, 72n, 121.
Donolo, Sabbatai, 21, 33, 73n.

- Dropsie College, vi, 85.
 Dukes, L. 13.
- Eben Bohan, 13, 78, 79.
 Egypt, 38–40, 65, 125.
 Elbogen, I., v, 7, 7n, 56n, 57n, 58n, 62, 66, 68, 85.
 Eleazar b. Judah b. Kalonymus, 56.
 Eleazar, of Metz, 19, 20.
 Eleazar, of Verona, 30.
 Elhanan, 117.
 Elijah, Gaon of Wilna, 64.
 Elijah Song, 72, 115–118.
 Elviria, 41.
 Eppenstein, S., 22, 25, 28, 28n, 33.
 Ephraim, of Bonn, 119.
 Epstein, A., 32.
 Eshkol, 5, 7, 23, 59, 104.
 Essenes, 66, 66n.
 Europe, 38.
 Exilarch, 38, 44, 45.
- Finkelstein, Louis, 83.
 Fayyum, 125.
 France, 3, 13, 17, 29, 30, 36, 37, 40, 54, 55, 87; Ritual of, 55, 61, 67, 69.
 Freimann, A., 13.
 Frumkin, L., 111.
 Funck, S., 43.
- Gaonate, 37, 39, 43, 46, 70.
 Gaster, Moses, 42, 49.
 Gayyat, Isaac, 47, 48, 60.
 Genizah Fragments, v, 7, 42n, 51, 55–58, 61, 66, 67, 84, 94, 108, 110.
 Geonim, 22, 23, 28, 33, 37, 41, 43, 46–48, 52, 63, 67, 71, 112.
 Germany, 3, 17, 37, 40, 41, 49, 50, 54–58, 65, 87, 117; Ritual of, 41, 42, 55–57, 60, 61, 69, 70.
 Gershom Meor ha-Golah, 29.
 Ginzberg, L., 23n, 24, 55n, 56, 66, 69, 108, 109.
 Grace After Meals, 72, 92–94, 113, 114.
- Greece, 32, 40.
 Grossberg, Manasseh, 19.
 Güdemann, M., 28, 77.
- Habdalah Song, 72.
 Hai Gaon, 23, 31, 32, 34–37, 39, 47, 108, 117.
 Halakot Gedolot, 20, 31, 32.
 Hallel, 52, 53.
 Ha-Maor, 16, 48, 51.
 Hamnuna, Amora, 62, 88.
 Hananel b. Amnon, 73.
 Hananel b. Hushiel, 20, 23, 33, 38n, 94.
 Hanoch, 47, 50.
 Harkavy, A., 26, 36.
 Harnack, A., 41.
 Hawot Jair, 77.
 Hayyug, Judah b. David, 77.
 Hekalot, 67.
 Hunai III, Mar, Exilarch, 46.
 Hurwitz, S., 5n, 38n.
 Hushiel, 33.
- Ifra Hormizd, 44.
 Isaac b. Malkizedek, 117.
 Isaac b. Meir, of Dueren, 32.
 Isaac b. Moses, of Vienna, 117.
 Isaac, the Exilarch, 42–46.
 Isaiah di Trani, 35, 36.
 Italy, 1, 3, 4, 7, 9, 13, 21, 22, 26–33, 35–40, 50, 54, 55, 57, 61, 65, 73n, 87, 104, 117; Jews of, 2, 3, 28, 32, 33, 35, 87; Mahzor of, see Rome, Mahzor of; Rabbis of, 23, 28, 31, 53, 54, 79; Ritual of, 3, 4, 14, 22, 50, 51, 55, 58–61, 63, 64, 67, 69–71, 84, 85.
- Jabneh, 59, 107.
 Jacob b. Asher, 51, 90.
 Jacob b. Meir Tam, 4, 18, 29, 29n, 30, 36, 37, 40n, 72, 119.
 Jacob b. Nissim, 36.
 Jacob b. Yakar, 19.
 Jacob Resh Metibta de Mata Romi, 38n.
 Jehiel b. Abraham, 38n.

- Jehiel b. Jekuthiel b. Benjamin ha-Rofe, 28.
- Jehudah, the Pious, 76.
- Jehudai Gaon, 24, 31, 32.
- Jerusalem, 24, 25, 52.
- Jewish Theological Seminary, 83.
- Johanan, Amora, 61, 62, 88, 104.
- Johanan b. Zakkai, Tanna, 16, 17.
- Jose b. Abun, 111.
- Joseph b. Samuel Tob Elem, 8, 117.
- Joseph, Mar, 42.
- Josephus, 66, 66n.
- Joshua b. Ḥananiah, Tanna, 103.
- Joshua b. Levi, 27, 57.
- Judah, Amora, 62.
- Judah b. Barzillai Albargeloni, 38n, 43–45, 54, 60, 61, 87.
- Kaddish, 14, 15, 63n.
- Kairawan, 36.
- Kalir, Eleazar, 20, 26, 29, 58, 74, 119, 123.
- Kalonymus, 27, 29, 38n, 72.
- Kalonymus b. Sabbatai, of Rome, 116.
- Kaufmann, D., 21, 30, 30n.
- Kedushah, v, 14, 23, 24, 65–69.
- Kerobot, v, 7, 29, 58, 71–74, 99–103, 105, 120.
- Kiddush, 111–113; Lebanon, 19.
- Klausner, A., 51.
- Kohut, A., 38n.
- Kol Bo, 114.
- Landshut, L., 29n, 62.
- Latif, Samuel, 63.
- Leon b. Elhanan, 117.
- Levi, Amora, 62.
- Levi, Israel, 105.
- Lucca, 27, 29, 38n, 55.
- Lucena, 42, 89.
- Luria, S., 28, 51, 63.
- Luzzatto, S. D., 8, 63, 71.
- Mahzor Rome, see Rome, Mahzor of.
- Mahzor Vitry, 5, 11, 38n, 52, 59, 86.
- Maimonides, 19, 23, 39, 65, 90.
- Makria, 23.
- Malter, H., 124, 125.
- Manhig, 5, 36, 51, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 61.
- Mann, Jacob, 83, 84, 104, 108, 110, 111, 112, 125.
- Marx, A., vi, 6, 11, 37, 83.
- Masorah, 26.
- Masseket Soferim, 25, 51, 63, 67, 78, 87.
- Mathya b. Ḥarash, Tanna, 27.
- Mayence, 55, 75.
- Megillat Ahimaaz, see Ahimaaz.
- Megillat Ebiathar, 37.
- Meir, Tanna, 11, 89, 91.
- Meir, of Rothenburg, 18.
- Menaḥem b. Benjamin b. Menaḥem, 28.
- Menaḥem b. Saruk, 77.
- Menaḥem ha-Cohen, 117.
- Merkabah, see Yorde Merkabah.
- Meshullam b. Kalonymus, 5, 27, 29, 33, 38n.
- Metatron, 67, 74, 78.
- Midrash Sekel Tob, 2, 13, 15, 17–21.
- Mohammedan Regime, 46.
- Mollin, Joseph, 75.
- Mordecai b. Hillel, 30.
- Moses b. Kalonymus, of Lucca, 29, 55.
- Moses Ḥalfi, 29.
- Moses, of Pavia, 30, 38n.
- Müller, J., 22, 25, 34n, 51, 63, 64, 75.
- Nahmanides, 47, 49.
- Nahum, Payyetan, 9.
- Naples, 29.
- Nathan b. Ephraim, 30.
- Nathan b. Jehiel, 14, 30, 38n, 74, 77, 78.
- Nathan b. Zidkiah, 14.
- Natronai b. Hilai Gaon, 42, 47, 51, 52, 54, 56, 59, 89; Seder of, 51.
- Naumburg, J., 64.

- Neubauer, A., 30n, 31.
 Nissim b. Reuben, 16, 23.
- Omer, 16–18.
 Ophan, 9, 68, 74, 75.
 Oran, 30.
 Or Zarua, 32, 38n, 116, 117.
 Otranto, 29, 30.
- Palestine, v, 4, 7, 17, 22, 23, 25–28, 33, 36–39, 41, 42, 45, 49, 50, 53, 54, 57–61, 63–66, 70, 103, 104, 106; Jews of, 2, 3, 22, 26, 57, 65; Rabbis of, 3, 22, 24, 27, 59, 70; Ritual of, v, 2, 3, 41, 50–65, 85, 94; Talmud of, 2, 20, 22, 23, 52, 53, 63, 64, 68, 69, 90, 107.
- Palestinian-Italian Ritual, 64.
- Paltiel, 14.
- Paltoi Gaon, 22.
- Paris, 54.
- Parḥi, Estori, 51.
- Pasinus, 8.
- Persia, 44, 112; Court of, 44, 45; Jews in, 44, 45; Nationalistic Policy of, 44.
- Pesuke de Zimrah, 52, 54.
- Peyron, Bernhard, 1, 4, 9, 11.
- Phinehas, Masorite, 26.
- Pinsker, S., 75n.
- Pirke de R. Eliezer, 58.
- Piyyutim, v, 1, 3, 6, 7, 9, 14, 26, 29, 50, 60, 61, 67, 71, 72, 75, 84, 103, 119–125.
- Poland, 57.
- Polia, 29.
- Pool, David de Sola, 63n.
- Portugal, 40.
- Poznanski, S., 25, 36, 38n, 65n.
- Prayer Manuals, 2, 22, 41, 53, 55, 61, 65, 89–91.
- Provence, 54, 55; Ritual of, 61.
- Pumbeditha, 3, 4, 22, 42n, 117.
- Rab, Amora, 7, 9, 62, 65, 103.
- Raba, Amora, 41, 43–46, 57.
- Rabina, Amora, 36.
- Rapoport, S. J. L., 29, 34n, 36, 41,
- 43, 46, 51, 58n, 61, 61n, 62n, 66, 70, 71, 124.
- Rashi, 14, 19, 30, 38n, 59–62, 112; Siddur of, 4, 11.
- Romania, Maḥzor of, 9.
- Rome, 3, 26–28, 30, 33, 37, 40, 52, 117; Maḥzor of, 8, 9, 14, 16, 19, 57, 63, 71, 84; Rule of, 44, 45, 91, 112.
- Rosenberg, J., 124.
- Saadia Gaon, 25, 55, 56, 60, 65, 66, 67, 94, 124, 125; Siddur of, 51, 54, 56, 59, 60, 61.
- Sabbatai, 38n.
- Sabbatai Sofer, 76.
- Sachs, S., 38n.
- Samuel, Amora, 9, 62, 62n.
- Samuel b. Hophni, 39.
- Samuel b. Meir (Rashbam), 60.
- Samuel b. Shalom, 75.
- Samuel ha-Levi, 47.
- Samuel Hanagid, 43–45.
- Samuel of Bari, 29, 30.
- Sandalphon, 66.
- Sar Shalom Gaon, 32.
- Sassanian Rule, 44.
- Schechter, Solomon, 1, 4, 6–9, 11, 14, 33, 37, 51, 58n, 105.
- Schorr, Jacob, 44, 46, 112.
- Seder Meah Berakot, 42.
- Sefer ha-Ittim, 38n, 43, 54, 60.
- Sefer ha-Kabbalah, 29n.
- Sefer ha-Yashar, 4n, 29n, 30, 38n, 40n.
- Sefer Yezirah, 38n, 44.
- Sefirah, 16, 17.
- Selihot, 6, 8, 60.
- Semag, 38n.
- Sephardim, 62n.
- Sephardic Ritual, see Spain, Ritual of.
- Shaare Dura, 32.
- Shaare Teshubah, 23, 108.
- Shaare Zedek, 22.
- Shapur II, King, 44, 45.
- Shema, 23, 24, 55, 61, 85, 106–108.
- Shemaiah, of Soissons, 55.

- Shemone Esreh, 58, 59, 66, 72, 73.
Sherira Gaon, 23, 39, 47.
Shesha, 29.
Shibbale ha-Leket, 11, 14–16, 29, 29n, 30, 35, 61, 116, 119.
Shirat ha-Yam, 52–55.
Silluk, 9.
Simon b. Shetah, 27.
Siponto, 117.
Solomon b. Aderet, 108.
Spain, 22, 29n, 40–42, 42n, 43–46, 48–50, 52, 54–56; Jews of, 58, 61; Ritual of, 40–42, 49–51, 58, 60, 61, 63, 63n, 67, 69, 70.
Steinschneider, M., 21.
Sura, 3, 4, 10, 22, 32, 124, 125.
Switzerland, 2.
Syria, 43.

Tam, see Jacob b. Meir Tam.
Tanna de-be-Elijahu, 28, 62.
Tarragonensis, 45.
Taylor-Schechter, 57.
Teḥinnah, 8.
Tekiot, 33.
Temim Deim, 33, 34n, 36.
Temple, 3, 16, 17, 26, 27, 79, 118.
Teshubot ha-Geonim, 23.

Tiberias, 26.
Todos, of Rome, 27.
Treves, Hirtz, 55.
Treves, Johanan, 16, 71.
Trisagion, 67.
Turin, 1, 4, 8–10, 13.

Ukban III, Mar, Exilarch, 46.

Venice, 28.
Venosa, 30, 30n, 31.
Vogelstein-Rieger, 38n.

Yannai, 26, 29, 73, 75, 119–121; Maḥzor of, 73n, 77, 120, 121.
Yemenites, 62n, 88.
Yorde Merkabah, 67, 68.
Yozer, v, 6, 9, 29, 65–69, 72.

Zeraḥiah ha-Levi, 16, 48, 51.
Zidkiah b. Abraham Anaw, 14, 15, 117.
Zulat, 72, 74.
Zunz, L., 1, 2, 3, 6–9, 12, 13, 15, 17, 18, 21, 28n, 29n, 55n, 62, 63n, 72, 74, 75, 119.
Zurich, 2.