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THE RABBINIC CONCEPTION OF LITURGICAL TIME

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of Requirements for Ordination

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The completion of this thesis marks the end of one process and the beginning of another: full-time student/ part-time Rabbi becomes full-time Rabbi/part-time student. Knowing that each day brings more learning and experience, I anticipate with growing excitement the prospect of my approaching Rabbinate. And for a moment now I can sit back and reflect over the years leading up to my ordination in May.

My years of study have been so very full, seeing what is and what could be. So many teachers have led me through the labyrinth of Judaism. So many teachers have guided me, counseled me, listened and responded to me. I have learned much from them: how to learn, how to write, how to find my own way, how to share the search for that way with others. But most of all, my teachers have taught me how to teach, and that is what my Rabbinate is all about.

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My list of acknowledgements would be incomplete were I

not to include, by name, a most unique individual. Rabbi Lawrence Hoffman has not only been my thesis advisor and teacher, but he has been my friend. Mishnah Avot 1:6 states: oseh lecha rav u'keneh lecha chaver, "provide for yourself a teacher and establish for yourself a friend." Few of us are blessed in finding either a teacher or a friend, but I have been twice blessed, for in Larry Hoffman, I have found both.

Finally, I wish to speak of my most precious parents, Annette and David. Their love has been boundless and their care and concern unequaled in all my experience. As they have honored me with their devotion through the years of my growth, I honor them as I dedicate this work, my rabbinic thesis, to them.

INTRODUCTION

What Time is it?

What time is it? A simple question, answered just as simply by looking at a clock. In sophisticated cultures such as ours, we need not know the astrological explanations of the sun's movements in order to know what time we are meeting with friends; we don't have to bother identifying in which quarter the moon now appears in order to know that it is time to see a movie; and it is unnecessary to compare seasons and stellar arrangements to decide at what time we are to leave the house for work. Our watches and calendars have done the job for us; our awareness of time, our sensitivity to temporal duration, rests in the little mechanisms which we wear on our wrists or hang on our walls.

Although humankind has not always worn watches, we have nevertheless struggled throughout our generations to mark the passage of time in some mechanical way. Sundials and hourglasses were but two of the primary methods which humanity used so that we could inject order and direction, and ultimately, purpose, into our lives. One could arrange several activities within the 16-18 hour day-light and be assured that all would get done. And as we grew to put order into our days and to accomplish more and more in the few hours of sunlight, we became more complex societies.

Like leaders of other developing cultures, the Tannaim desired to imbue their lives with temporal order also. One way in which they endeavored to gain a sensitivity to time was to establish as law a category of prescribed directives which they called <u>mitzvot ashe she-hazeman gerama</u>. These

mitzvot are time-bound commandments, such as the reading of the Shema, the waving of the lulav, and the wearing of tzitzit (see below--discussion of zeman), which were incumbent upon men only. Unlike men, women have their own built-in clock, menstruation, which sensitizes them to time. Without this biological clock, men could rely only upon rituals to acknowledge the passage of time. As Graeber points out:

> Women are endowed with a keen sensitivity to time, as evidenced by the internal mechanism of the menstrual cycle...By requiring men to perform time-bound commandments and rituals, the law sought to instill within them a sense of time awareness, which, as an expression of holiness, emerges as a predominent theme in Judaism.[1]

Thus, by dictating that the reading of the Shema be done at certain hours of the day, or that tzitzit be worn at certain times, the tannaitic laws ensured that men would gain an appreciation of time and, consequently, of their place in history.

Once the Tannaim established the mitzvot aseh she-hazeman gerama for men, they turned their attention back to women and spent much time describing all the nuances involved in the woman's menstrual cycle and its consequent effect upon her state of ritual purity. It is fascinating to note further that the Tannaim took advantage of the woman's innate biological time awareness and were able to make use of several of the time terms which we discuss (onah, zeman, and sha'ah--see below) to distinguish between various aspects of her cycle.

We shall attempt here to examine the liturgical conse-

quences of the tannaitic conception of temporality. We use the Mishnah and the Tosephta to uncover the conceptual schemes they took for granted and then apply those schemes to the liturgy of Seder Rav Amram. First, however, we examine time as humanity in the 20th centruy knows it; we call it clock time, an apt term since we take it as the arbitrary plotting of the passage of time through a mechanical, or clock-like, device, or by means of a calendar. But clock time is also historical time, in that events, like minutes, fit into an ordered sequence, beginning at some point and moving forward in time. Next, we shall turn to the Rabbis of the tannaitic period. It will become apparent that they, like 20th century humankind, arranged their lives and activities in terms of ordered temporality. They called the measurement of their clock time sha'ah. However, it will be seen that in addition to their awareness of ordered temporality, they maintained a system of non-clock time, or zeman, which, although inherently connected and dependent upon clock time, stood outside of clock time and brought an added dimension to their understanding of time and the universe.

At this point, to put the Tannaim in perspective, we shall digress briefly to examine the time concepts of two societies which were contemporaneous to the Tannaim, the Zoroastrians and the Greeks, who, after all, constituted the cultural contacts of the Tannaim and the late biblical age out of which the Tannaim emerged. It will be noted

that as influential as these societies may have been upon the Tannaim, the Tannaim nevertheless developed a unique response to temporality. We also look briefly at Christianity here.

Only then do we arrive at the essence of this study, by introducing four of the key time words used by the Tannaim: sha'ah and zeman (which we have already introduced), and two further words, onah and et. These latter two represent subgroups, so to speak, of sha'ah and zeman. In great detail we trace the usage of each of the four terms within tannaitic literature, and then examine their meanings in early liturgy. We shall see that each term presents a logically coherent conceptual pattern despite occasional conflicts in tannaitic usage. We ask, finally: what are the liturgical consequences of the use of time terms and their respective patterns?

We shall conclude by hypothesizing that the Tannaim maintained a unique system of time awareness. Through their use of the term zeman and their understanding of the historical or clock time word sha'ah, they were able to tap into aspects of a universe of meaning which stood outside of, but was parallel to, the plotted passage of time. And thus, they were able to imbue their festival celebrations with both the history and the sanctity of the entire Jewish experience.

Chapter One:

Two Conceptions of Time

We could examine the tannaitic conception of time immediately. To summarize in advance, I will argue that the Tannaim recognized two broad categories of time: clock time and non-clock time. Clock time came to be called sha'ah and non-clock time was designated zeman. Within the category of sha'ah they included the seldom-used term onah, while the commonly-used biblical term et came to be regarded as a special subgroup of zeman. But a detailed analysis of this scheme would be premature. Before we concentrate further on these perceptual schema of the Tannaim, let us first acquaint ourselves with the major division of time which we acknowledge today, sha'ah.

Our conception of clock time reflects a measuring pattern which is centuries old. Such time-reckoning systems were initiated by the observation of natural phenomena, i.e. astronomical movements, weather patterns, and growth and decay in nature, for the purpose of placing events into some kind of order:

> We start with the assumption that we are dealing with a system and that there is an order in the universe. We feel it is man's job to discover the order and to create intellectual models that reflect it.[2]

In this way, clock time is historical, directional, and ordered. Humankind chooses a point in the past at which the world was created, when measurable time began. History then moves forward in time and events fall into order on a timeline. Clock time is thus irreversible; once an event has a place in history, its existence becomes established fact

and cannot be altered (except in our minds); we cannot go back in time to relive past events. Time travels rectilinearly from a beginning point to an end.

While civilization today may universally recognize clock time, other cultures in other eras conceptualized clock time in their own ways, and conducted their societies accordingly. For example, some cultures adhere strictly to the clock. These are defined as monochronic cultures.[3] They compartmentalize time; they schedule one thing at a time and become disoriented if they have to deal with too many things at once. Specific times of the day take on particular connotations; while receiving a phone call during the day may convey various messages, to be awakened during the night by a phone call or to be called early in the morning suggests a matter of high importance or urgency. On the other hand, polychronic[4] people, who are characterized by their high level of involvement with each-other, tend to keep several operations going at once. It is not that they disregard schedules, but their understanding of schedules is that things will get done when they get done.

One interesting aspect of monochronic clock time is its persistence; clock time implies a sense of duration: How long has it been since we did such-and-such? When will we see so-and-so next? Clock time is the time about which we talk; we measure it, compute it, define our lives by it; we wear it on our wrists; it hangs on our walls (both clocks

and calendars). In clock time we can be busy or bored; time can be full or lacking; we can earn it, spend it, save it, waste it. But, in the end, it must add up to an hour or a day, a week or a year, whether or not what we choose to fit into time is accomplished.

Though every culture measures time in some way, the units with which each one chooses to do so are arbitrary. Western civilization has chosen seconds, minutes, hours, etc. (terms which denote specific durations) to catalogue the passing of time.[5] The Tannaim arranged their understanding of temporality into the categories of rega, et (the use of the term here is discussed below), onah, and sha'ah.[6] Although we have lost the specific meanings of these duration terms, we recognize that they, too, denote an arbitrary classification of measurable time.

The tannaitic writings demonstrate clearly that the Rabbis were quite preoccupied with clock time. The very first sentence of the Mishnah asks: From what time in the evening may the Shema be recited? And the answer immediately given utilizes the clock word, sha'ah. Thus, from the very beginning, the Mishnah describes the lives of Jews who are dependent upon the rotation of the moon (noting harvest time, sowing time, seasons of the grape and of the olive, festival time) and upon nature itself (time of the winds and of the rains, of the dew or of dryness). They even know historical (or clock) times of peace and times of war, times for anger, for stress, and

for disgrace. The sacrificial cult reads like one long litany of clock time regulations: when to toss the blood or to burn the fat pieces; which times are forbidden for sacrifice and which are permitted. Yet, below the surface of the Mishnah's fascination with clock time, there lay another kind of time which was to have a tremendous effect on the lives of the Jews; this non-clock time was to mark the Jew's awareness of history in a different way and came to be called zeman.

Basically, zeman is the word given to an event in the yearly festival cycle. The holy days which Jews celebrate, such as Rosh Hashanah, Yom Kippur, Sukkot, Pesach, etc., are called zemanim, and each zeman has its place on the calendar. In this way, a zeman corresponds to a sha'ah; it fits on our calendars. But there is more to the concept of zeman. When it is time to celebrate Mattan Torah, for example, not only do Jews designate a particular day as Mattan Torah, but they recall all other celebrations of Mattan Torah from the immediate past celebration back to the very first one--the original historical event.

Zeman may be more easily understood if we conceive of zeman as a vertical roasting skewer which has a label; in this case, let us call the skewer Mattan Torah. As the years pass, each celebrational moment of Mattan Torah is collected, so to speak, one on top of the other, by the vertical skewer. So on any given day of Mattan Torah, a neat stack of Mattan Torah celebrations appears and is

ready to receive the present one. And if we were to examine the collection of celebrations, we would see that the bottommost one is the actual historical event.

The image of a vertical roasting skewer is, of course, all well and good; all the zemanim of a particular holy day have been assembled and form a neat stack. But now we must ask: How was it that the Rabbis were aware of the occurrence of a particular zeman so that they could add it to their collection of zemanim? How could they differentiate one zeman from another?

In order for the Tannaim to identify a zeman, they looked to the heavens. For the Tannaim, and inevitably for us, each individual stellar arrangement could be represented by its own photograph, which could be isolated and placed, so to speak, into an album; this album would thus contain a series of photographs of the heavens, each one bespeaking a different human celebration. Knowing that the same constellations would recur every year, the Tannaim ordained that whenever they did, whenever (to take but one example) the heavens showed themselves as they did in the photograph of Mattan Torah, it was time to celebrate Mattan Torah again. In this way, Mattan Torah could be celebrated not only as a past event on an arbitrary day, but rather as an event which recurred whenever the heavens displayed a similar arrangement. And because the sky displayed the same constellations, we on earth could participate again and again in the same act--the festival of Mattan

Torah.

According to the Rabbis, God alone created and controls the constellations;[7] only God meshaneh itim u'machalif et ha'zemanim u'mesader et hacochavim.[8] We may be the photographers, but God arranges the display to be photographed. When we click the shutter, we humans capture a particular instance of God's arrangement and thereby define a specific zeman. But the time of our photograph also corresponds to a specific hour on our watches, a given sha'ah. That is, we choose a sha'ah, an arbitrary, human-defined moment and take a picture of the heavens. Once we have clicked the shutter, we distinguish that sha'ah from all other sha'ot and place it in the special category of zeman.

In a sense, when we speak of zeman, we are really not speaking of time at all, at least not the way we use the phrase 'what time is it?' or 'what time will we leave the house?' Zeman exists outside of us, waiting for us to notice it. It must be recognized and tapped into by our selecting a sha'ah to make note of the zeman. Unlike sha'ah, zeman recurs with regularity every time its astronomic picture is replicated. It is thus retrievable. That is the reason we are able to make use of the yearly cycle, to recapture past events and superimpose them upon today. But like sha'ah, zeman is not reversible. When we commemorate a sacred event, a zeman, we are actually re-experiencing the original event, but with the awareness that we are alive today, and not then; we recognize that the zeman which we

are re-experiencing is similar to, but not identical with, the present.

Zeman differs from sha'ah, then, in that zemanim are retrievable within human experience, while sha'ot happen once and never again. Yet we should not confuse zeman with mythical time. Myth, too, is retrievable after all. But myth and zeman differ significantly, nonetheless.

Eliade describes myth by saying: "Any religious festival, any liturgical time, represents the reactualization of the sacred event that took place in a mythical past."[9] The myth is an account of events which took place in primordial history, even prehistory. Its purpose is to take humans out of their present and project them to a time 'out of time' where they can re-experience the paradigmatic events which molded the beginnings of their group. Myth also guarantees the ongoing existence of the world. "Through the recitation of the myth of the origin and the consequent revival of primordial events, myth and the sacred action connected with it guarantee the survival of the world."[10]

Thus mythical time is reversible. "The archetypal symbols, operative in myths...work in such a way that they not only point to the sacred but also make that sacred time present to man, to recreate it, to restore it, in the midst of his profane existence."[11] The best example perhaps is in the Christian Eucharist. The sacred act of the Eucharist works in such a way that for the person who accepts the wafer as the body of Christ, the wafer actually is the body

of Christ. All time between then and now disappears; Christ is dying for the sins of humanity, and humanity accepts Christ's body into its own.

In the light of this understanding of myth, it is evident that myth and zeman are quite dissimilar. While myth attempts to take humanity out of its present, profane time and to propel humanity back into a time of primordial beginnings, zeman attempts, through the frozen moment of a photograph, to bring the past to the present. Even at the moment of the recognition of a zeman, the participants are conscious of the fact that they are retrieving the past, not reliving it. At the zeman of Pesach, for example, the Jew is obligated to see him/herself as if he or she, too, went out of Egypt. 'As if' does not mean that one actually made the Exodus, but one is to retrieve the event with the familiarity of one who made it.

Zemanim have not always been recognized as historical events. Many celebrations were derived from the acknowledgement of nature. But as we became a non-rural society and the awareness of history came to be a central aspect of our peoplehood, innovative justifications for celebrating natural events were attached to the original festival. Once the zemanim in general were recognized as significant historical events, successive generations began to add even greater importance to them and to the symbols contained in these festivals. This tradition of attaching new meaning to the zemanim and to their symbols continues today.

The Shalosh Regalim illustrate the movement from nature celebrations to historical festivals, and finally to the augmentation of those festivals with contemporary issues. Pesach, originally celebrated as a spring festival,[12] gained historical significance in its commemoration of the Exodus from Egypt. In our time, we attach other events to the Pesach seder: In 1968, we added a fourth matzah to represent the enslaved Soviet Jews; today, that fourth matzah reminds us of all Jews who are unable to celebrate Pesach as free people; thus Pesach becomes a festival of freedom for all those enslaved.

Shavuot, originally celebrating the end of the wheat harvest,[13] became the festival of Mattan Torah, the Giving of the Law. And today, for Reform Jews, Shavuot marks the time when young men and women reaffirm their commitment to Judaism.

Sukkot, originally a vintage celebration,[14] commemorates the living in booths of the Israelites as they wandered in the desert. Today, Sukkot is still celebrated. Yet, of even greater significance, is the festival of Simchat Torah which immediately follows Sukkot, and which celebrates the completion and resumption of the reading of the Torah.

Thus, we see that the Tannaim acknowledged two types of time and were cognizant of the interrelationship of the two. Sha'ah, the first, encompasses all the aspects of clock time and of the historical continuum. Zeman, the

second, connotes a stellar photograph, annually returning to the identical pattern, which is then set aside to commemorate a particular historical event. We must now ask how this twofold ordering of temporality fit within the context of other civilizations coevil with the tannaitic era.

Chapter Two:

Time in the Period of the Tannaim

We have seen how the rabbinic conception of zeman arose naturally out of a developing conceptualization of history. However, while the essence of zeman could have been uniquely Jewish, there is no reason to expect it to be so. The philosophies of various other extant cultures are evident elsewhere in Judaism, and therefore could have been influential also in the development of tannaitic thinking in terms of zeman. Among such cultures were those of the Zoroastrians and of the Greeks.

A. Zoroastrianism

The pre-Hellenistic Zoroastrians of ancient Persia shared with the Jews the notion that history is progressive rather than cyclical (see Hellenism below). That is, history begins at a particular instant and moves in one linear direction toward an eschatological end. But the model of zeman does not seem to be discernible in their philosophy, and therefore any further similarity between the Zoroastrians and the Jews, in terms of time, ends with rectilinear history.

Perhaps the greatest difference between the two cultures is the fact that the Zoroastrians recognized dual aspects of time. Time, or Zurvan, "was the source of all things."[15] But within Zurvan, a distinction must be made between Zurvan Akarana and Time of the Long Dominion. Zurvan Akarana is infinite time; like historical time, it points in one direction toward the future. At a given moment, finite time, the Time of the Long Dominion, comes

into existence out of Zurvan Akarana. Finite time is cyclical in nature and represents the period of struggle between the spirits of good and evil. At the end of a 12,000 year cycle (the length of finite time) when finite time has returned to its beginning, it merges back into Zurvan Akarana, or timelessness. And the process is never renewed.

B. Hellenism

Although the Zoroastrians undoubtedly had some effect upon the rabbinic mind, the greatest influence was that of the Greeks. Hellenism pervaded all aspects of society, to the extent that some scholars maintain that any religious sect which existed at that time must be viewed as a Hellenistic sect.[16] The Greek conception of time, therefore, had much effect upon the Rabbis of the tannaitic period and upon the development of their own thinking as far as zeman is concerned.

For the Greeks, history was cyclical in nature: everything that is existed before and will be again. There was never a beginning to the world and therefore there will never be an end. For them, all time was primordial; all things are repeated and preserved identically. There were no new times, no moment that was never experienced before.[17] They attributed historical facts to fortune or chance, and "looked for a rhythm in historical events or in the development of political regimes...time was degenerative. The notion of continuous progress in time was unheard of."[18]

The Greeks saw the cyclical aspect of the world, the perpetual return of the world upon itself, as being under the influence of the astronomical movements of the heavens, which in turn reflected the unchanging godhead which had control of all. The stellar arrangements defined the parameters of the year, dictating planting and growing seasons. Calendars were devised which, dependent upon the stars, signified feast and sacrifice schedules. Myths, and the rites they entailed, were inextricably connected to the yearly cycle of nature. The year was "equivalent to the creation, duration and destruction of the world."[19] Likewise, the Greeks understood each month, each lunar cycle, as equal to the rise, fall, and rebirth of nature: birth (the new moon), growth (the waxing of the moon), decay (the waning of the moon), and death (no moon at all). Yet, upon the disappearance of the moon, the Greeks were assured that a new moon, or a rebirth, was close at hand. Finally, in order to underscore the stellar control and influence on the world, the Greeks re-entitled the days of the seven-day week, which was bequeathed them, with planetary names.

C. The Greek Influence upon the Rabbis

Living in the Greek world, a world aflame with dynamic and innovative philosophical ideas, the Tannaim could not help but be highly affected by Hellenistic thought. Theirs, too, was a tradition of sky-gazers. Their year, in contrast to other Semitic groups which charted the sun,

was based on biblical proof-texts and, like the Greeks, was a lunar one. Their planting and growing seasons corresponded to the new moon and full moon. The cyclical aspect of the natural world was implanted deeply in their roots. Phrases such as teshuvat hashanah, 'the return of the year' (II Sam. 11:1; I Kings 20:22), tekupat hashanah, 'the coming around of the year' (Ex. 34:22), or tekupot hayamim, 'the coming around of the days [year]' (I Sam. 1:20) expressed the cyclic movements of seasons and natural periods. "In so far as the Greek cyclic theories of time [were] based on the circular movements of the heavenly bodies, [those of the Jews were] based on something [which] was quite naturally understood as cyclic by the Hebrews also."[20]

However, in addition to their awareness of the cyclical movements of the planets and of the consequent influence on the seasons on earth, the Tannaim were guardians of their own uniquely Jewish theories of history which had to be consistent with their natural phenomenological perceptions. In contrast to Hellenistic thought, the Jews believed that the world had a beginning: b'reshit bara elohim (Gen. 1:1); there was direction in time. History was not a repetition of past events, but a succession of events, a progressive development toward some end, albeit in the distant future. Nature was cyclical; it could be no other way. But history and humanity had been given special dispensation beyond the cycle of nature; humanity's

obligation on earth was to develop and improve itself and its world.

Realizing that all of the Jewish festivals which the Torah ordained were based on the cyclical aspect of nature, the Tannaim wanted to instill within these celebrations more than the recognition of the yearly cycle. They wanted to imbue those holy day celebrations with the added dimension of a history working from the moment of the celebrational origin through to the contemporary times. "One of the most important facts in the history of Judaism is the transformation of agricultural festivals into commemorations of historical events...To Israel, the unique events of historic time were spiritually more significant than the repetitive process in the cycle of nature..."[21] Thus, for example, the celebration which originally marked the end of the wheat harvest gaired deeper and holier significance as the celebration of the Giving of the Torah at Mt. Sinai, Mattan Torah.

Now, with Mattan Torah understood as an historical event, it could easily have become accepted and practiced as a myth, with the Jews believing that they were to relive Mattan Torah in order to insure the survival of Torah and of the world. But this did not happen. Mattan Torah had occurred in the past; to the minds of the Tannaim, its occurrence was a fact and was historical. But how could they celebrate Mattan Torah in such a way that, while demythologizing it, Mattan Torah could still be celebrated

with the intensity similar to that which the Israelites felt standing at the foot of Mt. Sinai?

As we have previously stated, the Tannaim observed lunar changes to guide their growing seasons. It was a logical step, then, for them to see past the moon and begin to observe the stars. Since the Greeks relied greatly upon stellar configurations to guide their lives, the Tannaim also began to use those same configurations, but in their own way. It was as if they observed the constellations at a particular celebration, Mattan Torah for example, then took a photograph of the heavens and pasted it into their scrap-book. Then, whenever the sky exhibited a configuration similar to their photograph, it was time for the celebration of Mattan Torah again. In this way, Mattan Torah would continually be celebrated at the correct time--zeman, that is, the time which was dictated by the only constant the Tannaim knew, the sky. And since they knew that God had control over all the heavenly bodies, it was as if God was informing them, by God's stellar arrangements, when the correct time--zeman--was at hand.

D. Christianity

Though the focus of this work is not Christianity, but Judaism, we might come to understand the rabbinic conception of time better by contrasting it with the Christian version. By the time Christianity began to develop, rabbinic thought in terms of time was relatively formed. The early patristic literature reflects much of the influence of the Tannaim as

far as history and time were concerned. But Christianity altered the rabbinic conception of history and time in an important way. For them, as for the Rabbis, time was directed forward, toward the future; but there existed for Christians a break in time, identified as the birth and death of Christ,[22] which formed the center of all time, a new point from which history had begun anew and rectilinearly progressed toward the future.

As evidenced by the foregoing discussion, influences among cultures during the tannaitic period were tremendous. These cultures shared various aspects of their philosophies but were able to make those shared aspects uniquely theirs by incorporating them into a body of traditional thought. On the one hand, the Zoroastrians shared the concept of rectilinear historical time with Judaism, but perceived two distinct components of that time. Hellenism, on the other hand, rejected the concept of history altogether and saw existence as a series of circles, all returning upon themselves; moreover, the Greeks were steeped in myth. While Christianity accepted rectilinear history, the death of Christ signified a new focus for that history. Christians also accepted myth to the extent that doing so would enable them to re-enact Christ's death. Like the Greeks, Judaism recognized the cycles of nature, but like the Zoroastrians and the Christians, Judaism acknowledged rectilinear history. In attempting to make these two conceptions of time congruous, Judaism developed the unique notion of

zeman, which enabled them to retrieve past events in a non-mythical fashion. In the following chapter, we shall examine the Tannaitic conception of zeman, as well as those conceptions of et, onah, and sha'ah.

Chapter Three:

The Rabbinic Conception of Time

The following discussion summarizes the implications of the four words--et, onah, sha'ah, and zeman--as they are used the the tannaitic material and in Seder Rav Amram.[23] In each case, biblical, tannaitic, and liturgical appearances of these words are offered, and the sense with which the Tannaim perceived them is discussed. Generally speaking, the Tannaim were amazingly consistent in their usage of the four words and rarely do we find errors. The conflicts, or seeming conflicts, which do exist will be discussed in the following chapter.

A. Et

Et is the primary term used in the Bible to denote any kind of time. It came to mean 'the time of an event' or 'the time that events usually occurred.' Et also had the sense of 'an appointed time,' but generally speaking, connotated 'when' an event had occurred or was to occur.

The use of et in the tannaitic writings is very limited in scope but broad in meaning, probably due to its common biblical presence. When it does appear in the Mishnah and in the Tosephta in its pure form (et), it is often used as part of a citation of a direct or paraphrastic biblical text.[24] Et also appears in T.Ber. 1:3 as the length of time which equals 1/24 of an onah.[25] It is probable that the indiscriminate usage of et in the Bible, in addition to external cultural influences, led the Tannaim to seek other time terms (see below: zeman and sha'ah) which would distinguish between the various nuances of time which

they needed to express.

The tannaitic writings do present et in two forms which, although both biblical, were retained by the Rabbis and used with frequency; the meanings of these terms are specific and limited. One term, me'et le'et,[26] translates to denote a 24-hour period, or 'from this time to this time 24 hours hense,' or even more literally, 'from time to time.'[27] The second term, atah, is used with great frequency in biblical writing and the sense of atah in the tannaitic writings corresponds to the biblical sense, both meaning 'now.' The form of atah which the Tannaim used with frequency is me'-atah,[28] and the meaning clearly is 'from now on' or 'from this time onwards.'

The use of the various forms of et (with the exception of me'et le'et) is quite common in the liturgy of Seder Rav Amram. In fact, et accounts for over 50% of the time words used in this liturgical collection. Just as the Rabbis presented et in the tannaitic writings as part of a direct or paraphrastic biblical citation, so Seder Rav Amram does the same in an expanded way. Phrases such as the following appear:

1. et tzarah - Ju. 10:15; Jer. 14:8; etc.[29]
2. geshamim b'ito - Lev. 26:4; Ezra 10:13; Ez. 34:26; etc.[30]
3. mazarot b'ito totzi - Job 38:32[31]
4. atah takum terachem tziyon ki et le'chenenah ki va mo'ed - Ps. 102:14[32]

5. bayamim hahem u'va'et hahi ne'um adonai yevukash et avon yisrael - Jer. 50:20[33]
6. et ratzon - Is. 49:8[34]

In addition to such biblical citations as the foregoing, Seder Rav Amram exhibits several liturgical phrases which, although not directly biblical, seem justified through what we can view as an extension of one of the Hermeneutic principles: the analogy or Gezera Shava.[35] Thus, for example, in Seder Rav Amram, the following phrases appear:

1. y'oneh le'amo be'et shav'am elav[36]
2. podeh u'matzil be'et metzukah[37]

In biblical usage, et never appears with shav'am or metzukah. But et does appear with tzarah (see above); and tzarah does appear with both shav'am (Jonah 2:3) and metzukah (Job 15:24 and Zeph. 1:15). Therefore, through the use of the Gezera Shava, the Rabbis were justified in their use of these two innovative phrases.

Similarly, the phrase meshaneh itim u'machalif et hazemanim appears in the liturgical offering Ma'ariv Aravim.[38] Meshaneh itim never occurs in the Bible, but is probably a direct referent to Genesis 1:14. It is interesting to note that within this phrase, the Rabbis have juxtaposed et and zeman, and thus offer one of several examples for the justification of their equating of the two (see below in our discussion of zeman).

Finally in this context, the term me'atah is used with

frequency in Seder Rav Amram with the same meaning as it has in the Bible and in the tannaitic writings. In the liturgy, it often appears in conjunction with ve'ad olam, with the meaning of 'from now (this time) and forever.'[39]

B. Onah

The second time word which we will consider is onah. Derived from the root ענה, onah has many biblical meanings.[40] The only instance of onah in the Bible with regard to the meaning 'time' can be found in Ex. 21:10. In this example, onah refers to a woman's marriage rights,[41] in that she is due a prescribed number of 'times' of sexual intercourse during a set period.

Possibly due to the multitude of biblical meanings of onah, with only one instance of onah in reference to time, the Tannaim also rarely used it with regard to time. When they do use onah, it gives the sense of 'a season' or 'times' in the life of an entity or person when some event is expected to occur: rain is expected to occur in its season;[42] married couples are expected to have sexual intercourse at a certain rate;[43] a woman is expected to have a certain monthly flow cycle lasting some number of days;[44] produce (fruit, trees, vegetables) is expected to be tithed at a certain time (which varies according to the species);[45] a boy or girl is expected to be held to vows upon reaching a certain age;[46] etc. In other words, when discussing expectations of an event, each species has an onah.

In its pure form, onah appears once in the Mishnah

(Ket. 5:6), where, like the biblical description, onah refers to "the duty of marital visits at certain intervals"[47] by a husband. This number varies according to his vocation (an unoccupied man, every day; a laborer, two times per week; an ass-driver, once per week; a camel driver, once per month; a sailor, once every six months; etc.) Onah appears approximately 10 times in the Tosephta where it carries the general meaning as that found in the Mishnah (incidences of sexual intercourse), with an additional entry to define 1/24 of a sha'ah (see T.Ber. 1:3). In the plural, the form, onot can be translated as 'spells,' appearing in reference to expected rainfall or number of expected occurrences of sexual intercourse within a determined amount of time. In reference to a woman's menstrual period, onot can denote 'cycles,' where each onah represents her monthly cycle inclusively (see below, chapter four).

Onah in the construct state (onat nedarim, onat ma'as'rot, and onat geshamim) appears with greatest frequency. In these cases, onah refers to the expected 'season' or time of the occurrences of rain, tithing, and vows.

Onah does not appear as a liturgical word in Seder Rav Amram as it was understood by the Rabbis. However, the history of the textual recension of Ta'anit 1:1 does suggest an interesting possibility of its usage. In the second benediction of the Tefillah, the following statement is recited from Sukkot until Pesach: mashiv haruach u'morid hagashem.[48] In Ta'anit, the phrase is present with the addition of

be'onato at its conclusion. Yet Seder Rav Amram reports that this phrase is in fact read, but without be'onato. The following Ta'anit discussion suggests that if be'onato remains part of the prayer, then the prayer could be said anytime (even in the summertime when it is not the rainy season), since in asking God for 'rain in its season,' it is assumed that God knows when that season occurs. Once it was decided that the prayer be said only from Sukkot until Pesach, which, we assume, is the onat geshamim, then it would be redundant and unnecessary to mention be'onato in the prayer, and indeed, be'onato was dropped from the liturgy.

C. Sha'ah

Sha'ah is the third time term which we will consider. The root, שעה, does occur in the Bible, yet sha'ah generally does not have any meaning in regard to time. Daniel 4:15 furnishes us with the only example of sha'ah as a time word: kesha'ah chadah. In this form, it is Aramaic, and with all probability, reflects late Hellenistic influence. In this example, the sense is actually a measurement of time by some method, such as a type of time piece.

The Tannaim conceived of sha'ah as the measurement of the passage of time. For them, sha'ah was clock time, historical time, time which began in the past and which was rectilinearly directed towards the future. The form of the noun sha'ah remains relatively constant, and it appears regularly in a variety of phrases. In each instance, it must be remembered, the issue of time or 'when' is of primary

concern.

1. sha'ah achat[49] - This phrase refers to a specific extension of the concept of human plotting of time: 'a moment,' 'at all,' 'once.'
2. otah sha'ah[50] - This phrase refers to a moment at which two events occurred simultaneously or in synchronization: 'then,' 'at the same time,' 'simultaneously.'
3. kol sha'ah she...[51] - This phrase refers to the hours in the life of a human being: 'during the time that,' ' anytime that.'
4. ad sha'ah she...[52] - This phrase designates a certain period, from a specific point in the past up until a specified moment, up until the generally accepted hourly framework: 'until the hour that,' 'until.'
5. besha'ah she...[53] - This phrase seems to relate to simultaneous occurrences in which humankind is juxtaposed to the issue of time, where both humankind and time are the subjects of the discussion (see below, the discussion of bezeman she..., where time is not the subject at all): 'when,' 'while,' 'during a certain period.'
6. misha'ah she...[54] - This phrase refers to a moment in the past at which point something occurred to effect something in the present: 'from the time that,' 'beginning with,' 'since,' 'as early as.'

7. sha'at[55] - This phrase refers to the state of being of an object or a season, a feeling or an activity ('when it is harvesting time,' 'when it is a time of peace,' 'when he is angry,' 'at the time that he gives,' 'when a theft occurs,' 'when he works,' etc.): 'when x existed,' 'when x happens,' 'when x occurred,' 'when x is permitted (sha'at kosher or sha'at yeter).
8. besha'at[56] - This phrase connects two events insofar as the element of time remains highly significant for the two events.[57] These two events usually occur simultaneously: 'at the time when,' 'while,' 'during the time when,' 'as long as,' 'when x occurs.'[58]
9. kesha'at[59] - This phrase can be understood like besha'at and refers to the state of being of an object upon examination: 'as it was when,' 'upon.'
10. mesha'at[60] - This phrase can be understood like mesha'ah she... and refers to some point in the past at which something occurred which has some effect on something in the present: 'from the moment that,' 'after.'
11. sha'to[61] - This phrase occurs only seven times in the tannaitic material and seems to refer to the time-span of the existence of people or objects: 'when it existed,' 'while he lived.'
12. sha'tah/sha'tan - This phrase encompasses two slightly different understandings:

a. When sha'tah/sha'tan appears with daiyah/daiyan,[62] as in daiyah sha'tah or daiyan sha'tan, it refers to a woman's menstrual period and translates: 'it is enough for her her own flow' in determining when she is and is not ritually clean. It further refers to that particular menstrual flow which each individual woman experiences. This flow varies with each woman (when, length of time of the flow, etc.) according to her own independent existence outside of the general way of the world (see below, chapter four). To women in general, there is her zeman (that is, as a woman, she experiences the phenomenon called menstruation), but each woman establishes her own time of flow, her own sha'tah.

b. In all other cases,[63] sha'tah can be understood similarly to sha'to.

13. sha'ot[64] - Here, sha'ah literally refers to the hours of the day.

14. even sha'ot[65] - This term simply means 'sundial.'

15. sechir sha'ot[66] - This phrase indicates a 'payment by the hour.'

16. hora'at sha'ah - This phrase is an extension of the pure form sha'ah. Hora'at sha'ah occurs only twice in the tannaitic material[67] and refers to a decision made relating to a specific case discus-

> sed by the Rabbis, which, when brought to the court on previous occasions, was seen as invalid. But the appearance of hora'at sha'ah indicates that the case in question is now seen as valid. Hora'at sha'ah always appears with hakeshiro, and is understood as a 'special dispensation.'

Seder Rav Amram offers only one appearance of sha'ah, which can be found in the Birkot Hashachar,[68] and directly indicates the measurement of time by some clock piece: eno yachol lehit'kayem afilu sha'ah achat. Therefore, it is clear that the liturgy maintains the rabbinic notion of sha'ah as measurable.

Later liturgy seemed to use time words indiscriminately, thus losing the original nuances with which the Rabbis imbued them. In one example, Seder Rav Amram offers the prayer Sim Shalom without the subsequently-added phrase u'vechol sha'ah. Seder Rav Amram reads: ...levarech et amcha yisrael bechol et,[69] to which later liturgical material ammended to read: ...levarech et amcha yisrael bechol et u'vechol sha'ah.[70]

D. Zeman

Zeman, the fourth and final time word to be considered here, appears only seven times in the entire Bible. Four of these instances offer zeman as an adjective to, or in parallel with, et:

1. itim mezumanim (Ezra 10:14; Neh. 10:35)
2. itim mezumanot (Neh. 13:31)
3. lakol zeman ve'et lechol chefetz (Eccl. 3:1)

In the former cases, zeman merely acts descriptively, specifically referring to the bringing of the wood-offerings of the priests at the 'appointed times' (mezumanim/mezumanot meaning 'appointed' or 'pre-ordained'). The latter case clearly places zeman in parallel with et. Possibly due to this parallelism and to an additional rule of the Hermeneutical principles, called juxtaposition,[71] the Rabbis seized the opportunity to equate zeman with et, and to use the two interchangeably in rabbinic literature and liturgy.

The three remaining passages offer zeman alone and in purely noun form, which refers to a specific time given in order for something to be accomplished:

1. va'etnah lo zeman (Neh. 2:6)
2. li'yot osim et she'ne hayamim ha'eleh kich'tavam u'chizemanam bechol shanah v'shanah (Esther 9:27)
3. lekayem et ye'me hapurim ha'eleh bizemanehem (Esther 9:31)

It is possible that from these late biblical passages we derive the biblical flavor of zeman which connotes a period set aside for a special (holy) purpose, thereby creating the foundation for the understanding of zeman in terms of the photographic moment signalled by the stellar constellations (when the stars are in the correct arrangement, it is time to celebrate again).

In the tannaitic material, zeman, like sha'ah, appears

in a variety of phrases. It should be remembered that each appearance of zeman connotes the sense of that photographic moment which was established in the past and which is to be recognized as such whenever the stars portray a picture similar to the photograph.

1. zeman[72] - In the pure sense, zeman simply refers to the photograph concept. Once the moment is recognized as a zeman (by humans), it becomes 'written in the stars,' and that time will (or has already) arrive, i.e., the days of the year, holy days, festivals, etc. Occasionally zeman appears with kavua,[73] designating more strongly 'a set time.' Whether kavua is present in the phrase or not, zeman nonetheless maintains the sense of 'set' or 'fixed' time. Possible translations of zeman include: 'date,' 'anticipated day,' 'prescribed period of time.'
2. le'achar zeman[74] - This phrase suggests that the boundaries of some activity have been placed in time, and, following the setting of these boundaries, something else has occurred; it is an example of a prescribed time or period which as been established, followed by another occurrence which effects that which has already occurred: 'a prescribed time period' (before a woman can remarry), 'a prescribed amount of time' (in which to pay restitution).

3. mechusar zeman[75] - This phrase suggests that animals (for sacrificing) and people (who do the sacrificing) have a correct time in their lives to be sacrificed (animals, especially doves and pigeons must be a certain age) or to do the sacrificing (people must be ritually clean). This period is pre-determined and each individual (human or beast) must conform to that determined time. If a sacrificial animal is too young, it is mechusar zeman; if the owner is not offering the correct animal at the correct time in the correct way, the sacrifice is mechusar zeman. This further suggests that sacrifices inherently have a correct moment of execution, a photographically defined moment, a pre-ordained time. Translations for this term include: 'too young,' '(a child or animal) whose time has not yet come.'
4. (le)bezeman hazeh[76] - This phrase includes two understandings, the second of which will be discussed in chapter five, in the discussion of the shehechiyanu. Most often, hazeman hazeh refers to the time in the past when a) the tabernacle was set up,[77] and b) the Temple existed,[78] and these occurrences are the subjects of the discussion.
5. hazeman gerama[79] - This phrase refers to time-bound commandments or ordinances. Bertinorah[80] lists the positive mitzvot which are time bound. These are

biblical ordinances and often are fundamentally associated with zemanim, recurring holy day observances, or with recurring moments in the day: a) shofar, b) sukkah, c) lulav, and d) tzitzit. Following this list, he adds those positive mitzvot which are not time bound: a) mezuzah, b) building a railing on a roof, c) a lost thing, and d) letting the young go free with the mother bird.

6. bezeman she...[81] - Whereas besha'ah she... tended to underscore a time period in relation to a human, and the aspect of time was primary (see above, besha'ah she...), bezeman she... underscores the relationship between two things--human and animal, animal and object, object and human--while the aspect of time is secondary. Zeman here acts in order to bring x and y together. Looking at the zemanim, it is easier to understand the differnece between besha'ah she... and bezeman she.... The holy days, the zemanim, are understood as having occurred in historical time, and their occurrences are to be remembered and sanctified. The time of this sanctification is relatively arbitrary, in that calendration was subsequent to these events; but once a time was designated as such, it became a zeman. And bezeman she... acts to link that event of the past to today (while the issue of time is irrelevant). Translations of the phrase could include

'when,' 'if,' and 'at the time that.' Bezeman she... is often found following the questions: ematai or bemah devarim amurim[82] ('when is this the case?' or, 'when does this apply?') and is answered: bezeman she... ('when...' or 'this applies when, if, at the time that...'). Bezeman she... also posits a cause and effect relationship between two events: a) bezeman she...ve'im... ('when x is the case, then..., but if x is not the case, then...'); or b) bezeman she...u'bezeman she... ('when x is the case, then..., but when y is the case, then...').

7. kol zeman she...[83] - Here, as in the case of bezeman she..., the aspect of time is incidental. What is important is the interrelationship of two things (human and object, human and animal, animal and object, human and human, etc.) and kol zeman she... acts to bring the two together: when x and y (events, things, people, animals) come into contact with one another, it is inevitable that something will occur between them. Translations of this phrase include: 'whenever,' 'every time that,' 'as long as,' 'so long as.'

8. zeman (in the construct state)[84] - In this form, the full rabbinic understanding of zeman can be seen. Below, nine examples of zeman in the construct state are listed. Each refers directly to a biblical ordinance, indicating that the photogra-

phic aspect of zeman is operative and these events, when accomplished, are to be understood as zemanim in a similar fashion to the zemanim of the holy day celebrations, e.g., when the stars are in position, it is once again time to slaughter, to bring wood sacrifices, to eat, etc. Within the photographic aspect, zeman acts to bridge the gap between the first experience of these ritual zemanim and today, when the rituals are again performed. It is the doing of the ritual by humans (the interrelationship of the doing and of the humans who do it) which is to be emphasized, not the time at which it is accomplished. The time is incidental; it was determined at the origination of the ritual and is to be repeated with regularity following the cycle of the stars. In these examples, zeman translates as: 'at the time of x...'

a) zeman hamikra[85] - Deut. 6:4-9

b) zeman hash'chitah[86] - Ex. 29:38ff.

c) zeman hamishmar la'alot[87] - Nu. 28:2

d) zeman atze kohanim[88] - Lev. 6:5; Neh. 10:34, 13:31

e) zeman achilah[89] - Ex. 29:34; Lev. 7:17

f) zeman hane'ilah[90] - Nu. 6:24-26

g) zeman ta'anim[91] - Deut. 8:8

h) zeman anavim[92] - Lev. 25:5; Nu. 13:20

i) zeman zetim[93] - Ex. 23:11

9. zemano[94] - In this form, zeman is in the possessive state, another form of the construct (zeman shelo) and therefore can be understood in a similar light as zeman in the construct state. Translated as 'the proper time' or 'the appointed time,' each example of zemano has a direct biblical referent which indicates that it is a specifically determined, biblically ordained time. Listed under zemano are concepts such as:

   a) Pesach offerings which are to be offered at the proper time[95] - Ex. 12:6

   b) The proper time not to eat hametz[96] - Ex. 12:15

   c) The proper time during which a man has arranged to work[97] - Deut. 24:15; Lev. 19:13

   d) A vow which is binding until the appointed time has arrived:

      1) hakatzir[98] - Ex. 23:16

      2) habatzir[99] - Lev. 26:5

      3) hamasek[100] - see habatzir

   e) The proper time that slaughtering, receiving, conveying, and tossing of the blood is to be done (that is, not on the third day)[101] - Lev. 7:18; 19:7,8

   f) The proper time when a certain priest was responsible for the Temple service[102] - Lev. 24:5-9

10. zemanah[103] - This term is to be understood exactly

like zemano and refers to the 'appointed' or 'proper' times of an event whose designation is in the feminine. One specific example of zemanah refers to the menstrual period of women and is discussed at length in chapter four.

11. The verbal forms of zeman - Of the four time words considered in this thesis, zeman is the only one which appears in the verbal form in addition to the nominal form. Although it appears as a verb, zeman continues to maintain its photographic meaning. The verbal zeman indicates a sense of pre-determination of an event, as if the event had been planned or arranged at some time in the past. The verbal zeman also implies an intention on the part of the actor to perform some act. In many cases, the Rabbis seem to be asking: If an act were predetermined by the actor, and some unforeseen event occurred, can the original, pre-meditated act still be accomplished? And if so, how?

a) zimen/hamazmin (hiz'min, maz'min, yaz'min)[104] - These forms underscore the necessity to have all in readiness for a Yom Tov. They seem to be closely associated with a festival time (Pesach, Shavuot, Sukkot, Rosh Hashanah) and represent a statement of the intention of:

1) selecting certain pigeons from a nest, but finding others instead.[105]

2) allowing guests to take parcels of food to their homes (a decision made before the Yom Tov, thus allowing the act to be carried out).[106]

3) setting apart, in one's mind, certain objects which are to be received on the Sabbath and designating them as tithe (one cannot designate anything as tithe on the Sabbath itself). It is as if one says: It is my intention that what I shall set apart tomorrow (Sabbath) will be counted for such-and-such tithe. I have designated, appointed, ordained that these things, which I will set apart tomorrow, will be counted as tithe.[107]

b) mezuman[108] - This term occurs only in M.Hullin and refers to the law of 'covering up the blood of a slaughtered non-sacrificial animal' (see Lev. 17:13). Danby[109] translates mezuman as 'captive.' But considering the intention implied in zeman (in any form), perhaps a better translation would be: 'of those animals which someone intended to slaughter or not to slaughter, if one does in fact slaughter them, their blood must be covered up.'

c) mezam'nim[110] - This term is generally understood as the invitation to say the Grace after

the meal (birkat hamazon). It has been determined (Deut. 8:10: ve'achalta vesavata u'verachta et adonai elohecha) that after a meal, a prayer is appropriate, and the intention to say that prayer is conveyed by the announcement that the time has arrived to say it.

d) birkat hazimun[111] - This phrase is absent in the Mishnah, but appears in the Tosephta four times, each time in Berakhot. Although the sense here is that this is the name of the 'blessing' which calls (invites, determines) the Grace after the meal to begin (see above), the Tosephta states that birkat hazimun is 1) biblically ordained, 2) a short prayer, 3) a prayer which has no closing, and 4) is derived from Deut. 8:10.

e) sheniz'dam'nu (niz'damen, miz'damen)[112] - Appearing once in the Mishnah and twice in the Tosephta, this form has the sense of 'chanced upon,' the accidental meeting of two people, an inadvertent comment, or an accident. As seen from the human perspective, it indeed seems to be a matter of providence, chance, or accident. But there is also a sense in the event that it was predetermined to occur[113] (see above, kol zeman she...).

Seder Rav Amram offers the term zeman quite often. In fact, the frequency of the appearance of zeman (zemanim, zemano, etc.) in Seder Rav Amram approaches that of et (approximately 40% of the time words in Seder Rav Amram are some form of zeman). This frequency of a fundamentally non-biblical word in liturgy signifies the rabbinical acceptance for liturgical use of contemporary language, and underscores the sense of the moment photographed, a time to be recaptured whenever that prayer is read. Further, this liturgical usage equates the biblical and liturgical et with zeman and implies that whenever et appears biblically in parallel with mo'ed, that that mo'ed is a fixed time, zeman kavua; thus, a parallel between zeman and mo'ed is established (see below, chapter five). The following discusses the occurrences of zeman in the liturgy of Seder Rav Amram.

1. kedushah - Zeman is present in each Kadish (chetzi, reader's, mourners', etc.) in the phrase zeman kariv.[114] In all cases, zeman kariv parallels ba'agala, which means 'speedily' or 'quickly.' It seems to be asking God to establish God's kingdom soon, making that promised time of God's kingdom present (bringing that constellation which will signify God's kingdom into the heavens 'speedily,' 'soon,' and even 'now.').
2. elohai haneshamah shenatata bi...kol zeman shehaneshamah bekirbi...[115] - The meaning here can

be understood as it is above in the discussion of kol zeman she..., which emphasizes the interrelationship between me and my soul: 'as long as my soul is within me...'

3. Ma'ariv Aravim[116] - Here, zeman is juxtaposed with et: meshaneh itim u'machalif et hazemanim. This juxtaposition reinforces the equating of zeman with et, and signifies God's control over the seasons, the times, and the stars. This prayer encourages humanity to take advantage of the stellar arrangements, thereby acknowledging the zemanin and the opportunity for humanity to fit into this established order.

4. For Rosh Chodesh - After the kedushah in the Tefillah for Rosh Chodesh, the following is said: rosh chodesh leamcha natata zeman kaparah lechol toldotam,[117] 'you assigned the new moon festivals to your people, a time of atonement for all their offspring...' And the one who sees the new moon says:

> Baruch atah adonai elohenu melech ha'olam asher bema'amaro bara shechakim uv'ruach piv kol tzeva'am. Chok u'zeman natan lahem shelo ye'shannu et taf'kidam,[118]

'blessed are you, adonai our God, ruler of the universe, who by your command created the heavens, and all their host by your mere word. In law and time you set them, so that they might not deviate from their set function.' Both of these examples signify that there is order in the universe and

that at specific times (Rosh Chodesh) humanity is to recognize that order, and even further, that that time is fixed just as the stars and the universe are fixed. By recognizing the time, humanity taps into that order.

5. (be, le) zeman hazeh[119] - Generally speaking, (be, le) zeman hazeh simply speaks about the law at a particular time (see above, zeman hazeh). In liturgy, it maintains this meaning and in addition, through supplementary prayers for Hanukkah and Purim, attempts to emphasize that the same saving power which God exhibited in the past be made present.

   a) During the Tefillah said on Hanukkah and Purim, a special section is added which begins: al hanisim v'al hagevurot...she'asita la'avotenu bayamim hahem u'vizeman hazeh.[120] The zeman hazeh seems to be referring to the time of the Rabbis who wrote this particular prayer (not to the Hasmonean time or to the Persian period of Esther) because the end of the prayer reads: keshem she'asita emahem nes ken asheh imanu adonai elohenu nisim v'nif'la'ot ba'et hazot, where it is apparent that et and zeman are synonymous terms. By referring to their own time as zeman hazeh, the Rabbis are, in effect, connecting their own time to a time

in their history, making their time (during which they ask for the same miracles and wonders which God visited for the Hasmoneans and for Esther's people) as holy, ordained, and miraculous as was that glorious time of the past. With the words zeman hazeh, the Rabbis have closed the gap between events in world history, asking that each moment of God's saving power be superimposed one upon the other (see above, the skewer).

b) Upon lighting the Hanukkah candles and upon reading the Megillah of Esther, three prayers are said:[121]

1) Baruch atah adonai...lehad'lik ner shel hanukkah (...al mikra megillah).

2) Baruch atah adonai...she'asita nisim... bayamim hahem u'vizeman hazeh.

3) Baruch atah adonai...shehechiyanu v'kiye-manu v'higiyanu lazeman hazeh.

The latter two blessings include zeman hazeh with the same understanding as above. In fact, whenever the Shehechiyanu is recited,[122] we have a petition to God to unify all moments in history when God saved the Jews, and to place all of that power from all ages onto that moment[123] (see below, chapter five, for further comments on the Shehechiyanu).

In the foregoing discussion, we examined the biblical and tannaitic treatment of the four time words: et, onah, sha'ah, and zeman. Through the tannaitic understanding of the biblical handling of these words, we were able to see how the Rabbis selectively used these words in their liturgical formulations. Conflicts in the usage of these words and special liturgical considerations will be addressed in the following chapters.

Chapter Four:

Conflicts in Definition and Usage

Generally speaking, the Tannaim were extremely consistent in their usage of the four time terms discussed here. The foregoing pages have suggested the norm of these usages. There do exist several exceptions, however, which will be discussed below.

Tosephta Ber. 1:3 offers a definition of et, sha'ah, and onah which denotes clock time. This definition does not necessarily hold for later usages of the words (note especially et), but in the discussion in T.Ber. (when to read the Shema and how many watches exist in a night), they indicate an awareness of clock time: ha'onah achat me'esrim v'arba besha'ah, veha'et achat me'esrim v'arba be'onah, vehareqa achat me'esrim v'arba be'et.[124]

Conflicts among the time words are evident, for the most part, when the form of the time word takes that of the construct state, where two or more time words, at different occasions, will precede the same gerund or noun. It is most important to note that whenever zeman appears in the construct or possessive states, i.e., zemano, zemanah, zemanan, there exists a direct pentateuchal prooftext to validate the use of the word zeman as an ordained directive; the use of zeman buttresses the use of a non-biblical word in the liturgical arena.

The following are conflicts between various time words in the construct state which are extant in the tannaitic material.

M.Ter. 9:4 offers the phrase zeman zera'am (the only

occurrence of zeman in connection with zera in the tannaitic material). However, sha'at hazera occurs twice in the tannaitic material, once in M.Shev. 5:8 and once in T.Baba Met. 4:18. All three passages are concerned with the sowing of seed, but given the previous discussion of the uses of zeman and sha'ah, can both words apply to the sowing of seed? We see that biblically zera parallels katzir and zait, both of which turn up in the tannaitic material as words associated only with sha'ah, so that we would expect zera to be found only with sha'ah also. Apparently, the use of zeman with zera in the tannaitic material represents a mistake in usage, because although the sowing of seed is ostensibly dependent upon the season (and therefore upon stellar influences), the actual time of the act of sowing varies according to the rains, and the normal planting season lasted from Tishri (approximately October) until the end of Tevet (approximately December).[125]

The term geshamim appears with both sha'ah (M.Mik. 1:4--besha'at hageshamim) and onah (M.Mik. 2:7--onat geshamim). By understanding the sense of the passages before and after these phrases in the Mishnah, we can see that both terms are appropriate in their particular instances. The Rabbis expected rain at various 'times' during the year. These 'times' were considered as expected seasons of rainfall.[126] As they were anticipated and expected seasons, the use of onah in this context is appropriate. The term besha'at hageshamim is also appropriate in its context, in that the

emphasis in the passage rests on the purity of the moment, not in the moment itself: 'when (during the time that) it rains, all is pure...'

The term shechitah appears three times with zeman (M.Yoma 1:7; 3:1; and M.Tamid 3:2--zeman hashechitah) and ten times with sha'ah (T.Pes. 7:14 [five occurrences], T. Hullin 2:11, and T.Men. 13:16 [four occurrences]--sha'at hashechitah). Again, we must ask if both terms are appropriate. Basically, the Tannaim noted two types of slaughter: one was ritualistic in nature, accomplished by the priests, served as sacrifices, and occasionally eaten by the priests; the other was done by anyone who wanted to eat flesh. Considering both types of slaughtering, it appears that both terms are appropriate. The Yoma and Tamid passages all discuss ritual slaughter, done by the priests specifically for Yom Kippur.[127] Thus, in these cases, zeman is indeed the appropriate word. The Tosephta passages include both types of slaughtering. Hullin discusses non-ritual slaughter, and the time of the slaughter--sha'ah--is chosen by the one who does the slaughtering. Pesachim and Menachot, however, while discussing ritual slaughter, emphasize the need for the priest to be ritually clean. In all of these latter cases, shechitah is accompanied by the terms zerikah and hek'ter (the slaughter, the tossing of the blood, and the burning of the fat pieces), and both of these terms recur continually in the tannaitic material along with sha'ah only. Therefore, although these passages

discuss ritual slaughter, they are not specific as to the ritual slaughter of a particular animal at a particular stellar time. Rather, it is the cleanness of the priest 'when he does the slaughtering, the blood tossing, and the fat-burning' which is the issue here.

The term achilah occurs eight times with zeman (M. Zeb. 11:7; T.Zeb. 10:8 [three occurrences]; 10:14 [three occurrences]; and T.Sanh. 3:5--zeman achilah) and only once with sha'ah (T.Pes. 1:11--sha'at achilah). Overwhelmingly, achilah seems to be associated with zeman, and in fact, all the zeman achilah references discuss the time of the eating of the offerings by the priests (before the third day following the sacrifice--obvious stellar influence). But by understanding sha'at achilah in context, we see that it, too, is appropriate. This particular 'time of eating' refers to that of a layperson, albeit on Pesach, and the amount he/she is to eat; 'when' he/she eats it on Pesach is irrelevant.

The rabbinic material discusses the topic of menstruation, and the cleanliness invloved with it, at length.[128] For our issue of time words, this topic is especially challenging because it makes use of three of the four time words which we have considered here: zeman, onah, and sha'ah.

Sha'ah, in reference to menstruation, appears in association with two specific words: vesta and daiya/daiyan.[129] Sha'at vesta refers to 'when' a woman menstruates, and, as in other cases of the construct state of sha'ah, it merely

translates as 'when.' Almost invariably, however, sha'ah, in reference to menstruation, appears with daiyah (daiyah sha'tah or daiyan sha'tan). The word sha'ah here signifies the beginning of a woman's flow (the beginning of her period), which varies in length and in occurrence with each woman according to her own personal biological cycle. Because it is specific to each individual woman, her own time of the beginning of her flow is not specifically stellarly determined; not all women will begin their flow on the new moon, on the quarter moon, or on the 16th day of the month (that she has a flow, like all women, is zeman--see below). Daiyah sha'tah seems to indicate that when a woman establishes a fixed menstrual period, she recognizes herself to be unclean retroactively for 24 hours (or so say the sages--me'et le'et). But it was generally the case that the Rabbis considered her unclean only from the time that she had begun her flow, and that was sufficient time for her (daiyah sha'tah) to consider herself unclean (ignoring the previous 24 hours).

The term zeman enters the discussion as zemanah or zemanan.[130] When a woman experiences zemanah, her time, she associates herself with all women who have ever, or who will ever, experience menstruation. While each individual woman has her own sha'ah, which marks the beginning of her menstrual period, the fact that the female half of the species has a monthly occurrence suggests that when a woman menstruates, her experience merges with that of every

other woman in eternity; time disappears and she *is* every other woman experiencing this phenomenon, and thus the collective term becomes *zemanah* (*zemanan*).

Finally, under the topic of menstruation, *onah*[131] seems to refer to the entire cycle or spell, the inclusive term of the monthly cycle: the flow, the unclean period following the flow, and finally, the clean, fertile time until the next flow begins. With this understanding, a child is deemed a woman when three *onot* have passed. At that point, she has established her own personal cycle.

In consideration of the foregoing discussion, we can see that the Tannaim maintained a consistency in their treatmert of the time words. Even apparent conflicts, which became most clear when we cited different time words in the construct state occurring with the same gerund or noun, turned out not to be conflicts at all, but rather part of the overall tannaitic definitions. Finally, we saw that the various nuances of the time words became quite distinguishable through our discussion of menstruation. In our final chapter, we will turn to a special liturgical consideration of the time words *et* and *zeman*.

Chapter Five:

Liturgical Considerations

Thus far, we have discussed the occurrences of the four time words as they appear in the tannaitic texts and in the liturgy of Seder Rav Amram. Our thesis would be drawing to a close at this point, yet there is one further issue which has tended to create stronger bonds between several of the time words here considered, and thereby affecting the ligurgy of Seder Rav Amram. It is to this subject that we now turn our attention. The issue at hand is that of mo'ed, and how the Rabbis drew both et and zeman into the sphere of the mo'adim, the festival celebrations of the year.

As we discussed above, zeman appears only seven times in the biblical text. Of these seven appearances, zeman occurs four times in some connection to, or in parallel with, et. The Rabbis were thus justified in their equating the two in the tannaitic material and then in the liturgy. Not only can et be found in parallel with zeman, but et also appears in parallel with mo'ed in four instances: Gen. 18:14; I Kings 4:16; 4:17; and Ps. 102:14. Because et came to be equated with both zeman and mo'ed, it is probable that this equation enabled zeman to be closely associated with, if not directly mean, mo'ed. It is not surprizing that in the liturgy of Seder Rav Amram , zeman and mo'ed recur continually in parallel with eachother, especially in the Kedushat hayom of the festivals:

1. Venatan lanu adonai elohenu be'ahavah mo'adim lesimchah vechagim u'zemanim lesason veyom chag hamatzot hazeh zeman cherutenu [132]

2. Venatan lanu adonai elohenu be'ahavah mo'adim lesimchah vechagim u'zemanim lesason veyom hazikaron hazeh zachor teruah [133]

3. Venatan lanu adonai elohenu be'ahavah mo'adim lesimchah vechagim u'zemanim lesason veyom hasukkot hazeh zeman simchatenu [134]

4. V'tanchilenu zemane sason u'mo'ade kodesh vechage nedavah [135]

Another case of the association of zeman with the mo'adim can be seen in the Shehechiyanu. Bavli Pesachim 1: 17b calls the Shehechiyanu the birkat hazeman. Indeed, the Shehechiyanu, which was originally said only for the mo'adim, signified those particular occasions as being the recurring instances of stellar import, the photographic moment to be recognized and celebrated (zeman). Seder Rav Amram included the Shehechiyanu to be said at the mo'adim, Pesach[136] and Sukkot,[137] and also included it at the lighting of the Hanukkah candles and at the reading of the Megillah on Purim.[138]

This latter information, the saying of the Shehechiyanu on Hanukkah and Purim, suggests an attempt on the part of the Rabbis to include both Hanukkah and Purim as, at least, semi-mo'adim, in that neither holiday is a pentateuchal festival. How could they then be considered as mo'adim?

Purim, although not decreed by God in the Pentateuch, is an ordained festival, proclaimed by the Jews themselves in Esther 9:27:

> ke'ymu vekiblu hayehudim alehem ve'al zaram ve'al kol hanilvim alehem velo ya'avor li'yot osim et shene hayamim ha'eleh kich'tavam vechiz'manam bechol shanah veshanah.

Purim was also a very popular holiday. Therefore, the Rabbis apparently compromised: in order to accept the Book of Esther and the holiday which accompanied it, a holiness and solemnity needed to be added to the festivities, to prove that it was because of God that the Jews of Shushan were saved. Some aspect of the zemanim, the photographic stellar influence, had to be introduced into the liturgy. Thus, a special addition was made to the Tefillah which is said on Purim; this additional prayer, Al hanisim, not only includes zeman hazeh, but also adds et hazot:

> ...she'asita la'avotenu bayamin hahem u'vizeman hazeh...keshem she'asita imahem nes ken aseh imanu adonai elohenu nisim venif'la'ot be'et hazot.[139]

In addition to the Al hanisim of the Tefillah, both the She-hechiyanu and the She'asah nisim are added to the first blessing over the reading of the Megillah.

Hanukkah, too, can be seen as a semi-mo'ed, yet the rationale is a bit different, in that the Books of the Maccabees never obtained canonical status, and thus cannot be seen as being biblically ordained at all. Judah and his brothers, however, are said to have ordained the observance of Hanukkah themselves in I Mac. 4:54-59, which reads as follows:

> Yehudah ve'echav vechol kahal yisrael kav'u lechog et yeme hanukkat hamez'beach bemo'adam bechol shanah veshanah shemoneh yamim miyom chamishah ve'esrim lechodesh kislev besimchah vesason.[140]

A second passage (II Mac. 10:5-9) gives Hanukkah the ad-

ditional validity needed for the Rabbis to consider it along with Purim as a semi-mo'ed:

> Chagegu besimchah shemoneh yamim kechag sukkot bezichram ki lef'ne zeman mah bilu et yeme chag hasukkot beharim u'bema'arot kederech hachayot.

Hanukkah was to be celebrated in simchah just as Sukkot was celebrated, for the Macabees were unable to do the correct celebrating of Sukkot during the years they were fighting. If such a celebration is likened to Sukkot in the text, the Rabbis had no choice but to include it as a zeman and a semi-mo'ed. In addition to this, I Mac. 4:56 ordains that Hallel be said at this celebration, a practice still followed in our time, making the rationale for the inclusion of Hanukkah as a zeman more firm.

In order to emphasize that it was God's saving power which is celebrated on Hanukkah, and to insert into the celebration the photographic aspect of the zemanim, liturgy which fit the occasion was added. As in the liturgy of Purim, the Al hanisim (with a few additions) was added to the Hanukkah Tefillah:

> ...she'asita la'avotenu bayamim hahem u'vizeman hazeh...ve'atah berachamecha harabim amadeta lachem be'et tzera'am...keshem seh'asita imahem nes ken aseh imanu adonai elohenu nisim v'nif'la'ot be'et hazot.[141]

Further, the Shehechiyanu (first night only) and the She'asah nisim are added to the candle-lighting for Hanukkah.[142]

Thus, in the preceding discussion. we saw an attempt

by the Tannaim to set their liturgical conceptions in order. Through their use of the term mo'ed, in conjunction with et and zeman, they were able to imbue all festival celebrations (even non-pentateuchal ones) with a holy aura. We saw further that the Shehechiyanu (birkat hazeman) served to specify a mo'ed, both biblically and non-biblically ordained.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

If we were again to ask: What time is it? it is highly probable that now we would hesitate a moment before consulting our watches. About which kind of time are we asking? Clock time? Non-clock time? Are we asking about the hours of the day, or about the zemanim? What do we really mean by: What time is it?

It has been the attempt of this paper to awaken within us that hesitation. Through an acquaintance with our own conceptions of time, we have been able to see that the Tannaim, too, desired a more concrete understanding of time. For us in the 20th century, time is measured on clocks and on calendars. This, we call clock time. It was equated with historical time, which was seen as moving from one fixed point rectilinearly toward the future. We saw that the Tannaim also perceived this clock time, and they referred to it as sha'ah. But we noted further that the Tannaim acknowledged an additional category of time, non-clock time, which they called zeman. It became clear, then, that this non-clock time, zeman, could be described as a photographic moment of the stellar configurations, a moment which could be retrieved with annual frequency. The retrievability of zeman was then compared to that of myth and the differences between zeman and myth were pointed out. We also saw that by adding new meaning to the zemanim and to their symbols, contemporary Jewish society could bring the zemanim that much closer to them.

At this point, we digressed to suggest various societal influences which could have played a role in affecting tannaitic thinking. These influences came from the Zoroastrians and the Greek culture. We saw that the Tannaim did acknowledge the cyclical aspects of nature, while maintaining their concept of rectilinear history, and that the incorporation of the two led them to their discovery of zeman.

We then turned our discussion to four of the time words which are included in the tannaitic writings and in the early liturgy. These words are et, onah, sha'ah, and zeman. We saw that et was the basic biblical word for time and was used by the Tannaim, for the most part, in their citations of biblical material. Thus, et was present to a great extent in the liturgy. We saw then that onah was both a non-biblical and non-liturgical word, but, nevertheless, was used by the Tannaim to denote an expected and anticipated event. For the Tannaim, sha'ah came to denote all aspects of clock and historical time, while zeman obtained its unique connotation as the photographic moment.

Although the Tannaim were amazingly consistent in their usage of the four time terms, there do exist both real and apparent conflicts between various time terms which we examined. The particular nuances of the time terms were most evident when we discovered that the discussion of menstruation included three of the four time

terms.

Lastly, liturgical considerations were presented in which a new term, mo'ed, was added to our list of terms, and we proceeded to see that mo'ed came to be equated with et and zeman. Further, we saw the possible rationale for the tannaitic inclusion of Hanukkah and Purim as zemanim and semi-mo'adim. This came about by the insertion of the Shehechiyanu into the festival celebrations of Hanukkah and Purim.

In light of the foregoing discussion, we have a glimpse of the tannaitic thinking in terms of time. It was highly important for them to distinguish between plotted temporality and nature's cyclical time, so that they could find order in their world and meaning to their religious rituals. Through their discovery of zeman, and thereby celebrating their festivals with annual regularity according to the stars, they were able to draw all similar festivals together to enrich their festival observances.

FOOTNOTES

1. Bruce S. Graeber, "Heschel and the Philosophy of Time," Conservative Judaism, 33 (Spring, '80), pp. 46-47.

2. Edward T. Hall, The Silent Language, (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1973), pp. 146-147.

3. Edward T. Hall, The Hidden Dimension, (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1969), p. 173.

4. Ibid.

5. Hall, The Silent Language, p. 141.

6. T.Ber. 1:3.

7. Gen. 8:22.

8. Daniel Goldschmidt, Seder Rav Amram, (Jerusalem: Mosad Harav Kook, 1971), p. 11.

9. Mircea Eliade, The Sacred and the Profane, (New York and London: A Harvest/HBJ Book, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1957), pp. 68-69.

10. G. van der Leeuw, "Primordial Time and Final Time," Man and Time: Pages From the Eranos Yearbooks, ed. Joseph Campbell (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958), p. 331.

11. Guilford Dudley, III, Religion on Trial: Mircea Eliade and His Critics, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1977), pp. 67-68.

12. Abraham J. Heschel, The Sabbath, (New York: H.Wolff, 1951), p. 7.

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid.

15. G.J. Whitrow, The Nature of Time, (New York, Chicago, and San Fransisco: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1972), p. 16.

16. For a consideration of the extent to which Hellenism permeated rabbinical Judaism, see for example, Jonathan Goldstein, "Jewish Acceptance and Rejection of Hellenism," Jewish and Christian Self-Definition, ed. E.P. Sanders (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981), II, pp. 64-87.

17. The influence of Greek culture is clearly evident in the biblical material of Ecclesiastes 1:9: Mah she-hayah hu she'yeheyeh u'mah shena'aseh hu she'yeaseh ve'en kol chadash tachat hashamesh.

18. Henri-Charles Puech, "Gnosis and Time," Man and Time..., ed. Campbell, pp. 42-43.

19. Mircea Eliade, Images and Symbols, (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1952), p. 72.

20. James Barr, Biblical Words for Time, (Illinois: Alec R. Allenson, Inc., 1962), p. 141.

21. Abraham J. Heschel, "Architecture of Time," Judaism, I (April, 1980), p. 50.

22. Harold Schulweis, "Rosh Hashanah and the Moral Imagination," Moment, Vol. 6, No. 8 (Sept., 1981), p. 85.

23. In addition to the laws found in the tannaitic writings, one finds certain liturgical formulae which were eventually expanded to comprise the early prayer books. Seder Rav Amram, the earliest extant liturgical compilation, includes much of these formulae. And, as in the tannaitic writings themselves, much of the liturgy reflects the idea of zeman as seen by the Rabbis.

24. For examples, see M.Ber. 9:5, M.Ta'anit 2:4, and T.Ber. 7:24.

25. In the plural form, itim, et retains the same broad sense as it does in the singular, and in one case M.Tamid 1:2), et parallels sha'ah specifically.

26. The Mishnah lists 23 entries; for examples, see Git. 3:8 or Nid. 1:1. The Tosephta lists 31 entries; for example, see Ohal 12:3.

27. This definition of me'et le'et may be an outgrowth of the biblical me'et ad et or me'et el et.

28. The Mishnah lists 3 entries; for example, see Git. 3:8. The Tosephta lists 4 entries; for examples, see Pes. 1:34 or Sanh. 7:7.

29. Goldschmidt, Seder Rav Amram, pp. נז, ח, סט, צה, צח, קיט, קאז, קנ, קנז.

30. Ibid., p. פח.

31. Ibid., p. קיט.

32. Ibid., p. קנ.

33. Ibid., p. קנב.

34. Ibid., p. קנז.

35. Moses Mielziner, Introduction to the Talmud, (New York: Block Publishing Co., 1968), p. 143.

36. Godlschmidt, Seder Rav Amram, p. כ.

37. Ibid., p. צה.

38. Ibid., p. נב.

39. Ibid., for examples, see pp. ל, לח, נב.

40. F. Brown, S.R. Driver, and C.A. Briggs, A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), pp. 772-777.

41. Ibid., p. 773.

42. M.Mik. 2:7; M.Ta'anit 1:1.

43. M.Mik. 8:3; T.Mik. 6:7.

44. M.Nid. 1:5; T.Nid. 1:12.

45. The Mishnah lists 11 entries; for examples, see Maas. 5:3 or 5:5. The Tosephta lists 12 entries; for example, see Ter. 7:10.

46. M.Ter. 1:3; T.Nid. 5:15.

47. Marcus Jastrow, A Dictionary of Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature, (New York: The Judaic Press, Inc., 1975), p. 1054.

48. Goldschmidt, Seder Rav Amram, p. כד.

49. The Mishnah lists 18 entries; for example, see Avot 4:17. The Tosephta lists 19 entries; for example, see Yev. 5:8.

50. The Mishnah lists 5 entries; for examples, see Peah 5:4 or Sanh. 3:4. The Tosephta lists 12 entries; for examples, see Ber. 4:19 or Shab. 14:3.

51. The Mishnah lists 2 entries; for example, see Pes. 2:1. The Tosephta lists 9 entries; for examples, see Ta'anit 4:5 or Teh. 3:13.

52. The Mishnah lists 4 entries; for examples, see Ned.

8:5 or 8:6. The Tosephta lists 23 entries; for examples, see Ber. 2:7 or Baba Met. 3:13.

53. The Mishnah lists 26 entries; for examples, see Baba Met. 8:2 or Baba Bat. 6:6. The Tosephta lists 43 entries; for examples, see Ara. 1:9 or Teh. 6:12.

54. The Mishnah lists 8 entries; for examples, see Naz. 5:3 or Mak. 1:6. The Tosephta lists 13 entries; for examples, see Ber. 1:1 or Naz. 3:19.

55. The Mishnah lists 19 entries; for examples, see Zeb. 11:2 or Mei. 1:1. The Tosephta lists 26 entries; for examples, see Ber. 7:14 or Zeb. 10:9.

56. The Mishnah lists 71 entries; for examples, see Avot 4:18 or Kal. 1:9. The Tosephta lists 161 entries; for examples, see Ter. 4:11 or Zeb. 13:3.

57. It is interesting to note that nowhere in the tannaitic material does bezeman (in the construct state) appear (bezeman she... does occur with frequency, but can be understood in contrast besha'ah she..., not with besha'at [sha'ah in the construct]).

58. Besha'at appears with frequency as besha'at haregel or besha'at hakadim, where sha'ah is almost superfluous and can really be dispensed with, as it is in other examples where regel or kadim appear alone.

59. The Mishnah lists 12 entries; for examples, see Teh. 3:5 or 9:9. The Tosephta lists 21 entries; for examples, see Demai 2:6 or Baba Kama 3:5.

60. The Mishnah lists 1 entry; see Yoma 6:6. The Tosephta lists 9 entries; for examples, see Git. 7:6 or Nid. 9:6.

61. See M.Ara. 6:5 or Peah 7:1; see T.Ara. 4:7 or Peah 3:9.

62. The Mishnah lists 13 entries; see, for examples, Ed. 1:1 or Nid. 1:2,4,5,6, etc. The Tosephta lists 20 entries; for examples, see Nid. 1:3,4,7,8,etc.

63. See M.Ed. 8:6 or M.Peah 8:2; see T.Ta'anit 4:13, T.Sotah 13:1, T.Ed. 3:3, or T.Men. 11:10.

64. The Mishnah lists 8 entries; for examples, see Ber. 1:2 or 4:1. The Tosephta lists 15 entries; for examples, see Pes. 10:9 or Sanh. 9:1.

65. Listed in Mishnah only; see Ed. 3:8, Ka. 12:4, or 12:5.

66. The Mishnah lists 1 entry; see Baba Met. 9:11. The Tosephta lists 3 entries; for example, see Baba Met. 10:2.

67. Listed in Mishnah only; see Peah 7:6 or 7:7.

68. Goldschmidt, Seder Rav Amram, p. ב.

69. Ibid., p. יב.

70. Philip Birnbaum, Hasiddur Hashalem, (New York: Hebrew Publishing Co., 1977), p. 95.

71. Mielziner, Introduction, p. 177.

72. The Mishnah lists 22 entries; for examples, see Baba Kama 8:6 or Zeb. 14:2. The Tosephta lists 39 entries; for examples, see Ned. 1:6 or Sanh. 6:4.

73. T.Hag. 2:10.

74. The Mishnah lists 12 entries; for examples, see Sanh. 3:8 or Ket. 3:10. The Tosephta lists 7 entries; for examples, see Ket. 3:6 or Nid. 3:6.

75. The Mishnah lists 3 entries; for example, see Zeb. 14:3. The Tosephta lists 6 entries; for examples, see Zeb. 1:2 or Bech. 7:6.

76. The Mishnah lists 3 entries; for examples, see Bech. 4:1 or Nid. 5:6. The Tosephta lists 20 entries; for examples, see Maas. 3:13 or Nid. 3:7.

77. T.Zeb. 13:1.

78. T.Ber. 5:22.

79. The Mishnah lists 4 entries; for example, see Kid. 1:7. The Tosephta lists 1 entry; see Kid. 1:10.

80. M.Kid. 1:7.

81. The Mishnah lists 122 entries; for examples, see Kel. 5:3 or Teh. 10:8. The Tosephta lists 117 entries; examples, see Oha. 13:7 or Teh. 11:10.

82. The Mishnah lists 49 entries; for examples, see Oha. 7:4 or Baba Met. 7:9. The Tosephta lists 151 entries; for examples, see Pes. 6:1 or Orlah 1:1.

83. The Mishnah lists 27 entries; for examples, see Ket. 12:4 or Pes. 1:5. The Tosephta lists 81 entries; for examples, see Sotah 10:6 or Mik. 1:13.

84. The Mishnah lists 13 entries; for example, see Yoma 1:17. The Tosephta lists 20 entries; for example, see She. 8:1.

85. M.Ber. 2:1; T.Ber. 1:3 and 1:4.

86. M.Yoma 1:7.

87. M.Ta'anit 4:2.

88. M.Mig. 1:3; T.Bik.2:9.

89. M.Zeb. 11:7; T.Sanh. 3:5.

90. M.Mid. 1:9.

91. T.She. 8:1.

92. Ibid.

93. Ibid.

94. The Mishnah lists 41 entries; for examples, see Zeb. 2:4 or Men. 1:3. The Tosephta lists 125 entries; for examples, see Avodah Zar. 1:9 or Men. 4:14.

95. M.Zeb. 2:3; M.Men. 1:3.

96. M.Pes. 2:1.

97. M.Baba Met. 9:12.

98. M.Nid. 8:3.

99. Ibid.

100. Ibid.

101. M.Zeb. 3:1; 3:4; 3:6.

102. M.Suk. 5:7,8.

103. The Mishnah lists 10 entries; for examples, see Zeb. 4:1 or Mei. 1:1. The Tosephta lists 20 entries; for examples, see Ta'anit 1:2 or Hag. 2:10.

104. The Mishnah lists 3 entries; for examples, see Bet. 1:4 or 5:7. The Tosephta lists 8 entries; for examples, see Demai 8:4 or Sanh. 8:9.

105. M.Bet. 1:4; T.Bet. 1:10.

106. M.Bet. 5:7; T.Bet. 4:10.

107. M.Demai 7:1.

108. The Mishnah lists 6 entries; for examples, see Hullin 6:1 or 12:1.

109. Herbert Danby, The Mishnah, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1933), p. 522.

110. The Mishnah lists 10 entries; for examples, see Ber. 7:2,3. The Tosephta lists 4 entries; for examples, see Ber. 5:18 or Demai 2:24.

111. T.Ber. 1:6; 7:1.

112. M.She. 7:4; T.Baba Met. 7:8; T.Sotah 13:8.

113. This can be better understood if we examine the head-on collision of two cars. We say that it is an 'accident' when they collide, but in reality, if two cars are moving directly at one another, it would only be an 'accident' if they were not to collide. If they were headed towards eachother, it is pre-determined, so to speak, that they would collide.

114. Goldschmidt, Seder Rav Amram, pp. יא', יב'.

115. Ibid., p. ב.

116. Ibid., p. נב.

117. Ibid., p. פח.

118. Ibid., p. צ.

119. Ibid., p. צא, ק.

120. Ibid.

121. Ibid., p. צנ (Hanukkah), קא (Purim).

122. There is also a Shehechiyanu recorded in Seder Rav Amram for Pesach (p. קיא) and for Sukkot (p. קעג).

123. It is interesting to note that in the She'asah nisim which we say today, as well as in the She'asah nisim for the lighting of the Hanukkah candles and for the reading of the Megiliah, the letter 'vov' which precedes bezeman hazeh has been dropped; thus, the ending can be translated as: "in those days at this time," which apparently means: "..the Hanukkah and Purim celebrations of those years at this particular time of the year." In dropping the 'vov,' we have re-opened the gap, so to speak, and are merely thanking God for saving the Jews of those days, but in our day, we have no need for God's saving power.

124. The hierarchy apparently is, in decreasing order: sha'ah, onah, et, rega (although extraneous to our

discussion, rega played a role in their measurement of time). It is interesting to note that the term, zeman, is not included in this list.

125. T.Ta'anit 1:7; see also Jehuda Feliks, "Agricultural Methods and Implements in Ancient Erez Israel," Encyclopedia Judaica, (Jerusalem: Keter Publishing House, 1972), Vol 2, p. 376.

126. M.She. 2:9.

127. See Lev. 16:1-34; Ex. 29:38ff.

128. See Niddah in both the Mishnah and the Tosephta.

129. See, for examples, M.Nid. 1:2,4,5,6,7; T.Nid. 1:3,4,7, 8,9.

130. See M.Nid. 10:1; T.Nid. 1:8,9; 5:6.

131. See M.Nid. 1:5; T.Nid. 1:11.

132. Goldschmidt, Seder Rav Amram, p. קי (Pesach).

133. Ibid., p. קלו (Rosh Hashanah).

134. Ibid., p. קעג (Sukkot).

135. Ibid., p. קכט.

136. Ibid., p. קיא.

137. Ibid., p. קעג.

138. Ibid., p. צט (Hanukkah); p. קא (Purim).

139. Ibid., p. ק.

140. What a splendid argument for Reform Judaism!

141. Goldschmidt, Seder Rav Amram, pp. צז-ח.

142. Ibid., p. צט.

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