

Statement by Referee of Senior Thesis

The Senior dissertation entitled:

"The Development of the Torah Readings and the Haftaroeth
During the Geonic Period"

written by Walter Blumenthal
(name of student)

considerable

- 1) may (with *considerable* revisions) be considered for publication: (✓)
cannot be considered for publication: ()
- 2) may, on request, be loaned by the Library: (✓)
may not be loaned by the Library: ()

Alexander Guttman
(signature of referee)

Alexander Guttman
(referee)

March 11, 1957
(date)

mic. 6/78

THE DEVELOPEMENT OF THE TORAH READINGS
AND THE HAFTAROTH DURING THE GEONIC
PERIOD.

by

Walter Blumenthal

Submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the
Master of Hebrew Letters Degree
and Ordination.

Hebrew Union College-
Jewish Institute of Religion.
Cincinnati, Ohio.
February, 1957.

Referee:
Professor A. Guttmann.

THE DEVELOPEMENT OF THE TORAH READINGS AND THE HAFTAROTH DURING THE
GEONIC PERIOD.

By:Walter Blumenthal.

In the first part of the thesis the growth of Torah and Haftarah reading in general is traced in Palestine and Babylonia during the first millenium of the Common Era. Special emphasis is placed on the developement by the end of the period of the Talmud of the Triennial Cycle of Reading, and the Annual Cycle. The realtionship between them is briefly shown. Then there is a brief discussion on the 12 special Haftaroht from the 17th Tammuz to the beginning of Succoth.

The body of the work deals with the Geonic work on the Torah readings and Haftaroht for the Festivals, then also for the year in general. First the Festivals are discussed, mentioning the stage at which the readings were by the time of completion of the Talmud, then showing variations that crept into various readings, and how they got in, wherever possible. This is done in some detail for Passover, Shavuoth, Rosh Hashanah, Yom Kippur, Succoth, Chanukkah, Purim, Tisha B'Av, Communal fast-days, Rosh Chodesh, and the 4 special Sabbaths before the month of Nissan. It is noticeable that the Geonim differed in their interpretation of some of the rules given by the Talmud for Torah and Haftarah reading, and sometimes came to quite radically differing results, some of which remain with us in the Ashkenazi or Sephardi tradition, or in one of the more important local Minhagim. In general, by the end of this era the readings for the Festivals had taken their present shape and length.

The final two chapters of the body of the thesis deal with general surveys of the nature of the Annual Cycle, and the Festival readings. The Annual cycle is discussed, noting along the way the major points of calendation which affect this, and enquiring into possible reasons for arranging things the way they were. It is noted that all along the attempts are made by the Geonim to simplify and systematise all readings in such a way that there would be uniformity in this matter throughout the Jewish world.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

<u>CHAPTER.</u>	<u>PAGE</u>
I. THE HISTORIC SETTING.....	1
II. THE DEVELOPEMENT OF THE READING OF THE TORAH IN PALESTINE TO THE END OF THE FIRST MILLENIUM C.E.....	7
III. THE DEVELOPEMENT OF THE READING OF THE TORAH IN BABYLONIA TO THE END OF THE FIRST MILLENIUM C.E.....	12
IV. THE MASSORA, AND THE RELATIONSHIP OF AC AND TC	16
V. THE DEVELOPEMENT OF HAFTAROTH IN PALESTINE TO THE END OF THE FIRST MILLENIUM C.E.....	25
VI. THE DEVELOPEMENT OF HAFTAROTH IN BABYLONIA TO THE END OF THE FIRST MILLENIUM C.E.....	34
VII. THE TWELVE SPECIAL HAFTAROTH FROM THE 17TH OF TAMMUZ TO SUCCOTH.....	41
VIII. INTRODUCTION TO THE GEONIC PERIOD, AND RULES OF TORAH AND HAFTARAH READING USED DURING IT.....	51
IX. TORAH AND HAFTARAH READINGS FOR THE FESTIVALS. INTRODUCTION.....	65
A. PESACH.....	66
B. SHAVUOTH.....	78
C. ROSH HASHANAH.....	81
D. YOM KIPPUR.....	83
E. SUCCOTH.....	92
F. CHANUKKAH.....	116
G. PURIM.....	129
X. TORAH READINGS AND HAFTAROTH FOR SEMI - HOLIDAYS AND OTHER SPECIAL OCCASIONS.....	131
A. TISHA B'AV AND COMMUNAL FAST DAYS.....	131
B. ROSH CHODESH.....	141
C. SHABBAT SHEKALIM, ZACHOR, PARAH, HACHODESH.....	152

TABLE OF CONTENTS - CONTINUED.

<u>CHAPTER.</u>	<u>PAGE</u>
XI. SOME REMARKS ON THE ANNUAL CYCLE AND ITS ARRANGEMENT.....	169
XII. THE TORAH READINGS AND HAFTAROTH - HOW AND WHY THEY WERE FIXED IN THE FIRST MILLENIUM OF THE COMMON ERA.....	202
XIII. CONCLUSIONS.....	245
XIV. NOTES.....	249
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	262

ABBREVIATIONS.

AC	Annual Cycle of Torah reading.
B	Babylonian Talmud.
B.H.	Biblia Hebraica.
H	Haftarah
H.G.	Halachoth Gedoloth.
H.K.	Halachoth Ketzuvoth.
H.P.	Halachoth Pesukoth.
M	Mishnah.
M.S.	Massecheth Soferim.
MV	Machzor Vitry.
O.G.	Otzar Hageonim.
S	Seder, of the Palestinian cycle.
SRA	Seder Rav Amram Hashalem.
S.S.	Siddur shel Saadya Gaon.
T	Tosefta.
TC	Triennial Cycle of Torah reading.
Y	Talmud Yerushalmi.

CHAPTER I.THE HISTORIC SETTING.

During the first millenium of the Common Era, a number of events took place, which have had a lasting effect on world history. The rise and spread of Christianity, the decline of the influence of Zoroastrianism, the conquests of Islam, all took place in this time. All of these left their mark on the Jewish population found within their orbit, and affected the subsequent course of Jewish life and letters.

During the 1st Century C.E., Palestine, the traditional centre of Jewish life, was a province of the Roman Empire. Babylonia, in which there was a considerable Jewish population, about which we know very little, was under Parthian dominion. Palestine remained under Roman dominion until the Empire split into the Western and Eastern, or Byzantine Empire as it was to be known. From the end of the 4th Century until the year 642, Palestine was part of the Byzantine Empire, a Christian Empire. In 642 C.E. the rising star of Islam included Palestine in its lengthening list of conquests, a position she was to occupy almost in toto for well over a thousand years.

In 226 C.E. the Persians successfully revolted against their Parthian overlords, and Babylonia soon became part of the expanding Persian Empire. The Persian religion was Zoroastrianism, a dualistic religion

which at times they tried to enforce on their subjects by means of force. However, shortly after the fall of Palestine to Islam, Babylonia too became part of the ever widening and growing Mohammedan conquests. Thus from the middle of the 7th Century onwards, both Palestine and Babylonia were part of the same Empire.

Europe for a while remained part of the Roman Empire, Jews having settled in various parts of Western Europe from earliest times. The Roman Empire in western Europe gradually declined and disintegrated, being replaced eventually by Charlemagne's Empire, and later that too was replaced by the gradually developing independent countries. While this was taking place, Christianity gained ground, and by the end of the first millenium of the Common Era all of Western Europe was Christian. Meanwhile, in 715 C.E. the Mohammedans had taken the southern part of Spain, in which they were to remain for a number of centuries.

Thus, quite early in the 8th Century C.E. we see that those areas of the world in which Jews were to be found in large numbers - Palestine, Babylonia, Egypt, North Africa, and eventually Spain - were within the sphere of Islam. There were Jewish communities in Christian Europe, but these only rose to prominence later, from the end of the 10th Century onwards.

Much of the time during this turbulent period the lot of the Jew was not a happy one. Depending on the whim or the religious zeal of the current Roman, Byzantine or Persian Emperor, the Jews were subjected to minor harassments or full-scale persecution, owing to their stiff-necked allegiance to the religion of their forebears. Such periods of equality and full toleration for the Jews in Christian or Zoroastrian parts of the world as there were, did not last very long. Even with the advent of Islam, it took many years until the Jews were accorded the privileges and rights they were to enjoy for a number of centuries under their Moslem overlords.

During the first two Centuries of the Common Era, Palestine was the centre of Jewish intellectual activity. The chief literary products of that time were the Mishnah of Rabbi Judah Hanassi and his school, compiled at the end of the 2nd Century, and the Tosefta, its companion volume, compiled shortly after the Mishnah, the two complementing each other, and needing to be studied together to be fully appreciated. With the advent of religious persecution in Palestine in the middle of the 2nd Century, the centre of study and learning moved to Babylonia, along with many Jews who forsook their ancestral homeland and settled there. Some study did continue in Palestine, culminating in the compilation of the Palestinian Talmud ca. 465 C.E.

From earliest times Babylonian Jews had been going up to Palestine to study, and some had achieved prominence there, notably Hillel the Elder. After the beginning of the 3rd Century, though, the centre of study and intellectual activity moved to Babylonia, bringing along with it the Palestinian creations of the Mishnah and Tosefta. These ~~works~~ were studied and commented upon, and eventually the Oral Tradition grew so vast that it was committed to writing, despite injunctions against this. Thus in the last quarter of the 5th Century, the Babylonian Talmud came into being in written form.

For almost two centuries after their completion the two Talmuds could not influence each other much, or compete for authority, as vicissitudes of the times compelled them to struggle for their very existence in the countries of their origin. It was only when both Palestine and Babylonia were both part of the Moslem Empire that there could be normal intercourse between the two centres, and study of each other's works, and the start of the struggle for authority, which the Talmud of Babylonia eventually won.

Under the Abassid Caliphs Babylonia became the centre of Jewish studies, as most Jews lived in Islamic countries. Jews in Christian Europe kept up contact with Babylonia, and scholars from Byzantium,

Italy, Provence and Spain came to study there, bearing the Babylonian Talmud back home with them.

Before Islam reigned supreme in North Africa, study of the Palestinian Talmud had taken root in Egypt, and, as the Cairo Geniza discoveries have borne out, this remained the case there for long after the Babylonian Talmud had been recognised as authoritative by all Jews. From Egypt, study of the Palestinian Talmud spread to the rapidly growing centre of Jewish activity, Kairwan, and perhaps also to southern Italy, which had never cut its affiliations with Palestine. The Babylonian Talmud did not win an easy victory in the struggle for authority, for in Kairwan, while they looked to Babylonia for law, the influence of Palestine remained strong. There the importance of the Palestinian Talmud was recognised, and it was studied and commented upon along with the Babylonian. Through the commentaries on the latter of Rabbenu Chananel and Alfasi, which incorporated much material gleaned from the former, the study of the Palestinian Talmud spread also to Europe, in both indirect and direct form.

The reverse also happened. The teachings of Palestine came to Babylonia, a fact which is best illustrated in the person of Saadya Gaon. He was a native of Fayyum, in Egypt, and so must have taken much of the Minhag and teachings of his native country, which

were essentially Palestinian, with him when he went to Babylonia to become head of the academy at Sura. To some degree also the Karaites, a schismatic sect which originated in Babylonia, and moved its headquarters to Palestine soon after, helped in mingling the two traditions..

Bearing in mind that the Babylonian Talmud reflects outcome of the meeting of Palestinian Halachah and local custom and Halachah, that in various parts of the world there was a conscious or unconscious synthesis of the teachings of the two centres, and that during the Geonic period the scholars of both centres had free access to each others' works, we can now turn our attention briefly to the development of the Reading of the Torah and Haftarothe in both centres, and subsequent deliberations on the matter during the Geonic period in Babylonia.

CHAPTER II.

THE DEVELOPEMENT OF THE READING OF THE TORAH IN PALESTINE TO THE END OF THE 1ST MILLENIUM C.E.

The origins of the institution of the reading of the Torah are obscure, and no definite time of starting can be assigned to it. However, most authorities agree that it was a regular feature of Services by the time of the closing of the canon of the Prophetic Books - circa the middle of the 3rd Century B.C.E.¹ The developement could be divided into five rough stages, the first three being completed by this time, the last two being common by the beginning of the Common Era. These stages are as follows :

- (i) Readings on the Festivals.
- (ii) Readings for special Sabbaths - particularly the 4 during the month of Adar.
- (iii) Readings every Sabbath.
- (iv) Readings on Sabbath at Minchah Service, and on Monday and Thursday morning, these latter being market days, and days when courts were in session.
- (v) Readings for the minor Festivals - Chanukkah and Purim, and for Fast-days.

Our earliest direct reports of reading of the Torah on a normal Sabbath morning are not from traditional Jewish sources, but from Josephus, the New Testament, and others.²

While the Jewish sources may report an earlier start, these are our earliest direct mentions of the institution.

At first each person read his own portion from the Scriptures. Probably in earliest times only 1 Inyan, or pericope was chosen for a particular Saturday morning,³ as had been the case earlier for the Festival readings - that only the section in Leviticus pertaining to that festival was chosen to be read. Of the latter practice there are still traces in the prescribed readings for the Festivals found in the Mishnah.⁴ From these facts (Dr.) A. Buechler has constructed an ingenious theory that the original length of the readings on certain occasions gave rise to the prescriptions of the Mishnah regarding how many readers of the Torah there shall be for the different types of day on which it is read.⁵ In brief, he maintains that originally the words

וְקָרָא יְהוָה אֵל נֶעְמָד כִּנְיָן

were not treated as a separate verse, else there would have been no need to specify that this was to be so in the Talmudim. He also maintains that a verse, in order to be a verse had to contain "sufficient substance." On the basis of this, the readings for Shabbat Shekalim, originally Numb. 28, v 1-8, Yom Kippur, originally Lev. 23, v 26-32, and Pesach, originally Lev. 23, v 4-8, i.e. 7, 6, and 5 verses respectively by his method of counting verses, formed the underlying foundation for the later rules, as each person read only one verse at a time. Now, since each distinctive type of day had a different

number of readers from the Torah, when later the readings for Chol Hamoed and weekdays were introduced, they too were apportioned a distinctive number of readers, 4 and 3 respectively. Later the original basis for these numbers was forgotten, and the rule that each reader in the Torah must read at least three verses was introduced. This appears to be a not too implausible explanation for something we have no other means of explaining, but it cannot be proven definitely one way or the other.

The next developement seems to have been the idea of reading through the Torah in Order, i.e. commencing the next time it was to be read at the point where they stopped on the previous occasion. However, there was probably no fixed cycle for the readings yet by the time of the completion of the Tosefta, in the 1st quarter of the 3rd Cent. C.E. Three separate statements⁶ in the M, T, and Y seem to bear this out. All three sources agree that one does not "skip" (verses ?) in the Torah when it is read, the Y giving inter alia the reason that Israel should hear it in order. The rules regarding small and large פסוקים given in the T, as well as those regarding how many verses to be left over at the end of a book could not be sensibly applied if the Torah were read in any form of cycle. Furthermore, from the length of some sections which are to be read according to the M, there could not have been a fixed cycle of readings

in vogue at the time of its completion, as the other rules enumerated there in Megillah Chap. III & IV could not possibly be applied to these readings if a cycle had been in vogue. The evidence for the early fixing of the cycle of Torah lections and Haftaro⁷th which is brought forward by Dr. Mann does not seem to be conclusive, as the discussion in Y Ned. VI (p. 40a) which he cites is concerned with where the authority for intercalating the year lay, and the Torah reading and Haftarah quoted there are merely incidental. Perhaps by that time, the middle or end of the 2nd Cent. C.E. the length of Torah readings had been fixed, and even some regular Haftaro⁷th been assigned to Sedarim, but there is no indication of cycle there.

Once the Mishnah and Tosefta had been published, with their rules regulating the Torah readings, it was possible for the beginnings of a cycle to emerge. We cannot determine when the cycle of three years came into being, or what principles guided its formation. Probably it was before the rule was enunciated that one should⁸ begin and end a reading with pleasant ideas, but this cannot be proven. The man in whose name the rule is quoted⁹ lived in the 5th Cent., but there are other references which could be construed to mean the same thing. The one piece of evidence we do have in the Talmudic literature is in the Babylonian Talmud, Megillah 29b, where it is mentioned that in Palestine the Torah was finished in three years. Thus all we can really say is that some

form of Triennial Cycle of Torah reading prevailed in Palestine by the end of the 5th Century C.E.

This TC however, was not the same as that which is handed down to us by the Massora. Before the Massora was fixed by the school of Ben Asher in Tiberias in the early 10th Century, considerable rearrangement of Sedarim had taken place to conform with the rule that a reading should begin and end with a good "word". The monumental study undertaken by the late Dr. Mann, and unfortunately not completed ¹⁰, shows this most clearly, as will be demonstrated subsequently. However, by the time of the early Palestinian Payetan Yannai, ca. the end of the 6th or the beginning of the 7th Century, the cycle as subsequently handed down by the Tiberian Massora was at least fairly well advanced, if not yet fully complete. ¹¹ By the beginning of the 10th Century C.E. the cycle had reached full maturity, and is preserved for us in the edition of the Bible published by Rudolf Kittel. ¹² About the Massora more will be said later.

The Triennial Cycle of the reading of the Torah was not used universally, giving way early to the Annual Cycle which developed in Babylonia. However, in Palestine, and in isolated places in Egypt it did survive and was used until well into the late Middle Ages, as the discoveries of the Fustat and Cairo Genizas clearly show.

CHAPTER III.

THE DEVELOPEMENT OF THE READING OF THE TORAH IN BABYLONIA TO THE END OF THE 1ST MILLENIUM C.E.

Prior to the 3rd Century C.E. our definite knowledge about the reading of the Torah in Babylonia is nil. There are many speculations and assumptions which could be made, but this would be fruitless, since they could not be proven one way or the other.

Rav, A Babylonian scholar who had studied in Palestine, returned to Babylonia in the year 219 C.E. It may be fairly safely said that if he did not actually bring with him the Mishnah which had just been compiled in Palestine, he was very much instrumental in spreading its teachings. This Mishnah enumerates a number of rules regarding the reading of the Torah which it would be very difficult indeed to follow on the basis of the readings and the lengths thereof then current in Palestine. Furthermore, in Babylonia the second day of Festivals was observed, and for these the Mishnah makes no provision with regard to readings from the Torah. Bearing these factors in mind, it may be stated definitely that the Annual Cycle of reading the Torah developed in Babylonia during the Talmudic period, ca. 220 - 500 C.E.

The Talmud itself does not specifically state that there was an annual completion of the Torah, a certain amount being prescribed for each Sabbath. In

Megillah, 30b, 31ab the readings for the Festivals are given, with their Haftarothe, for both days. It would seem that the Babylonian Amoraim interpreted the verse

וידבר משה את מועדי ה' אל בני ישראל

(Lev.23,v44) to mean that these portions were to be read every year, and extended its interpretation to include the completion of the reading of the Torah every year. I can find no evidence for agreeing with Buechler that it was Rav who introduced the Annual Cycle of Torah reading in Babylonia,¹ just as I cannot agree with his ingenious theory that the Triennial Cycle in Palestine started in Nissan.² More likely it was arranged in accordance with the dictum (B.Meg.31b) of R.Simeon b.Elazar, that the curses in Leviticus should be read before Shavuoth, and those in Deuteronomy before New Year.³ In order to carry this into effect, the Torah would have to finish soon after Rosh Hashanah. From later Geonic literature it emerges that the day selected for starting the cycle was the second day of Shemini Atzereth, which eventually became known as Simchath Torah.

We could attempt to pin down the time of the introduction of the Annual cycle of Torah reading still further by taking notice of Dr.Mann's assertion that wherever an Annual Cycle reading starts, at one time there must have started a TC Seder there.⁴ Since after the middle of the 5th Century the TC Sedarim were shifted around to conform to the rule that one should begin and end the

reading from the Torah with a "good word", and the 10th Century Massora of Ben Asher preserved for us in the Kittel Bible shows divergences from that rule where the beginning of some Babylonian Sedarim are concerned, we are able to postulate two major things regarding the Annual cycle.

a) It started early, simply combining a number of Sedarim as read in Palestine, whether in cycle there or not, and thus the coincidence of the beginning of Palestinian and Babylonian Sedarim is explained away.

b) It started after the Sedarim had become fixed in Palestine, but before the rule re beginning and ending with a "good word" came into vogue in Palestine, and caused the shifting around of Palestinian Sedarim within the TC. The second seems the more plausible, as the Babylonian Talmud does not explicitly state this rule regarding the beginning and end of the reading. Thus we would have a range extending from ca.250 C.E. to 450 C.E. for this to have come in. Closer than that it is impossible to pin it down, as the rule itself is given in the Palestinian Talmud, along with some sayings which could be interpreted to mean the same thing, which are also repeated in the Babylonian Talmud, and Massecheth Soferim,⁵ which stem from an earlier time than the explicit statement to begin and end with a "good word."

The Annual Cycle of Torah readings then was firmly established in Babylonia by the end of the period of the Talmud. It did not, however, take on its final form for many centuries, as there are many

references in the literature of the Geonic period in Babylonia to variations in the splitting up of Sedarim and about where they commence and end.

Our first clear reference to the number of Sedarim in the Annual Cycle is found in the Siddur of Saadya Gaon, where he mentions that there are 53, the last one - **ולא תהיה כה** not being read on Sabbath, but on Simchat Torah. It cannot be pure coincidence that the number given by Saadya and the number to be counted in the Massora of Ben Asher (if we assume that Sedarim from Numbers 1 to 25 were the same then as now) is the same. Both worked at about the same time, in the first quarter or third of the 10th Century C.E. Even the 54th Seder, which we now have is mentioned by Saadya, when he mentions that in leap years or when the year's calendar requires it the Seder **אלהם נצבם** is divided at **וילך כשה**, by some communities. Since the AC was well established in Babylonia by the end of Talmudic times, it is not necessary to give more than fleeting mention to the Karaites, who developed in the 8th Century, and whose Torah cycle is an annual one, with the retention of the Haftarah usually corresponding to the first one of those Sedarim of the TC which were combined to form one Seder of the AC. ⁶ *✓ sawa*

By the end of the Geonic period the AC was well established as THE cycle of Torah reading, and the TC used in only a few places. There were still variations within the AC which will be discussed later.

CHAPTER IV.

THE MASSORA, AND THE RELATIONSHIP OF AC AND TC.

It is generally agreed that the consonantal text of the Pentateuch, if not that of the Prophets and Haggiographa as well, was firmly fixed shortly after the completion of the canon of the Old Testament,¹ by the end of the first third of the 2nd Century C.E. Whatever changes were made in it after that date were either due to Scribal errors, censorship, or unwitting alteration, or, if there were some minor deliberate changes, they did not affect the meaning.

²Blau maintains that the text of the Bible that was before the Amoraim was exactly the same as that which we have today, while Pfeiffer³ tells us that the Massoretes of Tiberias preserved for us the textus receptus of 500 C.E., which in effect is saying almost the same thing. Roberts⁴ claims that the evolution of a fixed text for the whole Bible was a gradual process, and that there were variants until Maimonides standardised the Tiberian Massora in the 12th Century.

All three opinions above, though seemingly different are correct. One need not argue with Blau if one accepts his hypothesis as referring to the consonantal text, nor can one take exception to Pfeiffer's

contention when one remembers that Massoretic activity was at its peak from the time of the conclusion of the Talmudim onwards. Roberts too, is right when he says that a really stable text was a slow developement, as the variants which Blau dismisses as inconsequential ⁵ or of insufficient quantity, nevertheless existed, and show that no matter how few they may have been, there must have been different traditions regarding certain things, as Sperber points ⁶ out. The textual variants pointed out by both these gentlemen are sufficient to enable us to understand some of the differences in Nussach and Minhag which we shall encounter in our discussion of the Geonic period, particularly with reference to those in the Prophets.

According to these students of the Massora, particularly Blau and Sperber, the former more so than the latter, the analysis and division of the Bible, particularly the Pentateuch, proceeded from the larger to the smaller. The division of Parashoth preceded that of verses, which in turn preceded that of words, even though we do have an early Tannaitic tradition of the counting of the letters of the Pentateuch, Psalms and Chronicles ⁷. Certainly the division of the paragraphs would be the earliest, the idea of "open" and "closed" paragraphs being well known even in earliest Tannaitic times. This would follow too from the knowledge that at first only one Inyan, or one paragraph was what the reading of the Torah consisted of. Since great pains were taken

from earliest times to preserve the text of the Pentateuch, it may taken as a fact that when paragraphs are referred to in the Pentateuch , they are the same as those we have today, with possibly a very few exceptions, about which we could not establish anything definite in any case.

Verse division also is very early.

It probably started with the reader's pausing for breath, or at a logical break. Then too, one was not to read more than one verse at a time from the Torah to the translator into Aramaic - a Mishnaic rule. According to Blau the earliest verse division was that of the poetic parts of the Bible, and by Tannaitic times the division of verses in prose parts of the Bible too was known. He cites many examples of verses quoted which are the same as our verse division today, which occur in the M, Y, B, and Midrashim. It is interesting to note that Blau and Roberts quote the same page and statement in Kiddushin, in the B, on P.30a to prove diametrically opposed viewpoints. Blau says that the count of 5888 verses for the Pentateuch proves that the verse division was the same as it is now, disposing very ingeniously of the discrepancy between this figure and that of the Massora - 5845, and saying that it is negligible in any case. Roberts on the other hand, uses it to show that the verse division was not yet certain, and therefore late. It seems to me that Sperber takes the most sensible attitude in admitting that

there is a difference between the figures, but it is negligible, so that to all intents and purposes, except for a few verses on which there was a different tradition between Palestine and Babylonia, the verse division of the Pentateuch coincided then with ours today. He maintains that the Massora in general favours the later larger verse division, current in Babylonia. This could very easily be the case, as the Massora was only completed at a time when the Babylonian system of Torah reading had already triumphed over the Palestinian, and there would of course, be no need to provide verses in such places where there might not be a sufficient number for a reading from the Torah without the division into shorter verses.

In any event, the verse division of at least the Pentateuch, and to a slightly lesser degree that of the Prophets and Haggiographa, was substantially the same by the end of Talmudic times, and certainly by the time of the completion of the Massora, as it is today. However, even in post-Massoretic times there were still some differences on the division of verses in the Prophets and Haggiographa, as the Tosafot to Meg.22a in the Babylonian Talmud, and much of the Geonic literature clearly shows. Perhaps this was due to the gradual spread and acceptance of the Ben Asher Massoretic text, but this cannot be determined. Certainly the greatest contribution of the Massoretes of all schools was in the advancement of vocalising and aiding the pronunciation of the text, rather than in the area of dividing it.

One important thing the Ben Asher Massoretes left us was the division of the Pentateuch according to the Triennial Cycle readings in use at that time in Palestine. I found, on counting these, that there are 161 Sedarim, all indicated by the sign D^{7a} . The beginnings of the Annual Cycle Sedarim are also marked, having the sign $\text{W} \text{L} \text{G}$ where they commence, except for the book of Numbers, Chapters 1 - 25, v10, where the sign $\text{W} \text{L} \text{G}$ is lacking, as well as at the first Seder in each of the other four books. Of course, the no. of 161 for the Palestinian readings corresponds to the largest number of Sabbaths possible in three years. In the case of the readings given for the Babylonian cycle, if we assume that the sign $\text{W} \text{L} \text{G}$ was left out in the book of Numbers at those points where a Seder would start today, then the total would be 53, the figure mentioned by Saadya Gaon in his Siddur. Now, before, during, and after Saadya's time there would be problems raised by years requiring 54 Sedarim, and by years requiring less, due to their being shorter, or having festivals fall on the Sabbath in which case a couple would be lost. Saadya makes provision for all this, but also mentions en passant that there were in his day different ways of making these adjustments. The major areas of difficulty lay in adjusting the book of Numbers so that certain requirements could be fulfilled, and the variations he mentions are mainly in the book of Numbers. Thus it is strongly probable that the sign $\text{W} \text{L} \text{G}$ was left out in most of the book of Numbers because there

was as yet no clear decision as to how it was to be divided in the Annual cycle of Torah reading. We would assume that most of the time the Sedarim started where they do today too, but there were enough occasions for which a different method had to be employed, to leave the whole matter uncertain at the time of the completion of the Massora. The matter of shifting and joining or dividing Sedarim in the Annual Cycle will be dealt with later.

The Massora is an aid to some degree in helping us determine when the Annual Cycle became fixed, and also to a lesser degree in helping us determine how and why there was "shifting" of Sedarim in the Palestinian readings. It does so because there are a number of instances in which the Sedarim of the Babylonian cycle and those of the then current Palestinian one do not coincide in their beginnings. On the basis of the hypothesis, which Dr. Mann adequately proves in his work,⁸ that a Palestinian Seder once began where a Babylonian Seder now does, it helps us determine where some Palestinian Sedarim, for which Midrashim are extant, once started. These would be the earlier ones, as most of the time these Sedarim do not conform to the beginning and ending on a good note, which in turn tells us that the Annual Cycle Sedarim were fixed at that point at an early time, before the rule was used in Palestine. One could argue that the rule was known and used in Babylonia too, in which case there should be some evidence of "shifting" in the Babylonian Sedarim too, but there does not appear to be any of this,

and furthermore, all the Sedarim of the Annual Cycle that are marked in the Tiberian Massora correspond with those we have today, except that now we have 1 additional Seder, י"ד -Deut31, v1 - end of Ch.31, which Saadya does already tentatively mention. There are 10 such variations which are marked, 1 which is not marked, but at which we start a Seder today - Numbers 4, v21, and one more at י"ד חשון which Seder was only introduced as a permanent thing later on, but which nonetheless differs with the beginning of any Palestinian Seder - Deut.31, v1. I shall list all of these, but content myself with commenting on only a few characteristic ones.

- (i) TC Gen. 22, v1 - 23, v20.
 AC Gen. 23, v1.
 Gen.22 is not a particularly good start, but it was the traditional beginning by this time of the reading for the 2nd day of Rosh Hashanah, and for that reason probably was not changed. On the other hand, Gen.23, v1f deal with the death of Sarah, so the TC S had to be moved. As there was no suitable place within Gen22 for the break, it was probably left at v 1.
- (ii) TC Gen.46, v28 - 47, v31.
 AC: Gen.47, v28.
 Dr.Mann has established a Seder starting at Gen.47, v29, which tells of the approaching death of the Patriarch Jacob, necessitating "shifting" after the rule was introduced. Without going into the involved calculations, apparently it was decided to move the TC seder to 48, v1, while the Babylonians shifted to 47,v28, perhaps to make the beginning more auspicious, perhaps to avoid confusing it with another Seder.
- (iii) TC Ex. 13,v1 - 14, v14
 AC Ex. 13, v17.
 This is definitely a case where the beginning at Ex. 13,v17 could be rendered more auspicious by putting the beginning back to 13,v1., which was also the reading for one of the days of Passover in both rituals. In all these cases, it could also be argued that before the

AC was derived, TC Sedarim started there, and were shorter than 21 vv, which all authorities agree was once the case. At any rate, whatever our conclusions in this matter, the differences are there, and one may debate them with equal success and conviction or lack of one or the other. Lacking definitive information on this topic, one follows the path that suits one best.

- (iv) TC Ex. 30, vv 1 - 38.
AC Ex. 30, v.11
- (v) TC Ex.34, v 27 - 35,v 29.
AC Ex.35, v1.
- (vi) TC Lev.5,v1 - 6, v11.
AC Lev, 6,v1.
That Tzav should be read before Pesach is already found in very early Geonic literature.
- (vii) TC Lev.8,v1 - 10, v7.
AC Lev. 9,v1.
The reading of Shemini is mentioned fairly early in Geonic literature too.
- (viii) TC Lev. 15,v25 - 16,v34.
AC Lev. 16,v1
This is a fine illustration of an unpleasant beginning in a Babylonian Seder. We know that it was used as a Seder in Palestine, since it forms the Yom Kippur morning reading. This is an excellent point at which to find an illustration of all principles enunciated.
- (ix) TC Lev.24,v1 - 25, v13.
AC Lev, 25,v1.
- (x) TC Deut. 11v10 - 12,v19
AC Deut. 11,v26.
Again a good example of a "bad" beginning, which is smoothed over by the readjustment.

Now the Two e.g.s not directly mentioned :

- (xi) TC Numb. 4,v17 - 5,v10.
AC Numb. 4,v21
Here is a case of the reverse - The Palestinian Seder has a much less pleasant sounding beginning than our present day one at 4,21, which is not mentioned in the Massora.
- (xii) Our present day Seder at Deut 31,v1, also is not at the beginning of a Seder as recorded by the Massora.

All the foregoing examples do not suffice to prove anything conclusively. There is just enough evidence from these differences to posit with assurance that once there were TC Sedarim where the AC Sedarim now start, that there was considerable shifting in Sedarim to get them to conform to the principle of starting with a pleasant notion, and that the AC Sedarim were inaugurated early enough not to conform with this principle, or at any rate, some of them were. We may even hesitatingly suggest that as late as all this took place, there were still Sedarim in the Palestinian scheme of reading that were less than 21vv in length. We might notice en passant too, that these 12 examples, added to the 161 in the Massora, with a very slight amount of shifting almost tally to the 175 portions the Torah supposedly was divided into according to the Midrashim and Massecheth Soferim.

That there is a close connection between TC and AC is not hard to see, once we realise that once a TC S started where an AC S starts. The AC S were formed by simply combining a number of TC Sedarim, to give a great enough length, and sufficient portions for the year's cycle of reading. In the case of the Haftarothe, discussion of which follows, the relationship is not as clear, due to lack of information and ambiguities, so that we shall not refer very much to the Massoretic text, having established the fact that variation of length of verses etc., was still possible even at a very late time. How much the more so in pre-Massoretic days.

CHAPTER V.

THE DEVELOPEMENT OF HAFTAROTH IN PALESTINE TO THE END OF
THE FIRST MILLENIUM OF THE COMMON ERA.

There is very little that may be said with any great degree of certainty about the developement of the Haftaroht, and the time they became fixed for certain Sedarim , for both Palestine and Babylonia. The information contained in the Halachic sources is very sparse indeed. The non-Halachic sources, such as the Midrashim, which were most probably based on the Sedarim and Haftaroht also do not enable us to establish much that is certain, chiefly because it is almost impossible to assign to them any specific dates. In the few cases where a date for a Midrash can be established securely, it is usually too late a date to help us much in the unravelling of the problem. In the next few sections I propose first to investigate the primary sources for information on the Haftaroht, then shall proceed to state some assumptions. It may be that one day information will be uncovered that will solve the problem once and for all, but in the meanwhile, all we are able to do is use the little we have, and make guesses.

Our earliest Halachic source emanating from Palestine is the Mishnah. In this work not one specific Haftarah is mentioned. There we have only general rules for the Maftir, an example from Isaiah ,52,vv3-5, and a statement about two sections of the book of Ezekiel,

as to whether or not one may use them as a Haftarah.¹ The companion work to the Mishnah, the Tosefta, adds a little to our knowledge, and even gives us the Haftarothe⁴ special portions read in the month of Adar, as well as a rule about the length of Haftarothe, which however may be modified by the presence of a Meturgeman - translator², or a preacher. The Talmud Yerushalmi adds nothing to our knowledge of Haftarothe, except to discuss some matters about length, or which Haftarah to read at certain occasions which may fall on Sabbath. Massecheth Soferim, a work dealing with writing a Torah, and giving a number of rules about reading it, and other things connected with the ritual, adds a little. This tractate is one of the minor ones, usually printed in editions of the Babylonian Talmud, but it was written in Palestine, some time after the completion of the Y, and perhaps before the completion of the B, but more likely after the completion of the B, a short time after, and then subsequently added to and corrected by the Babylonian academies.³ This adds a couple of definite Haftarothe to our short list - those for Rosh Chodesh if it is on Saturday or Sunday⁴, those for Chanukkah⁵, and that for communal fast-days⁶, about which, however, there is some discussion.

All four of the above-named works also contain prescriptions in relation to words, phrases and paragraphs in the Pentateuch and Prophets which may be read but not translated, or neither read nor translated, or both read and translated.⁷ If we take this within the

context these rules are enumerated, then all these sections were used within Haftarothe at the time. That represents the sum total of information directly available to us from the Halachic sources.

The only other direct source of H for Palestinian Sedarim is a number of fragmentary lists discovered in the Geniza. I have not had access to all those available, only those which have been published by various scholars on the subject.⁸ But even were they all at hand, they would still only present the picture of what was done in Egypt relatively late, from the 9th Cent. or so, and onwards. They would not help in reconstructing the H in vogue in Talmudic and pre-Talmudic times, nor would they tell us that they were fixed at the time or not. So much for direct sources. The early ones give us almost no information, the late ones are not to be relied on to give us definite information about early practices.

We turn now to indirect sources.

The earliest report about Haftarah reading that we have, and at the same time one which tells us that a discourse was delivered in the synagogue on the Sabbath, but not at what time of the day the discourse was delivered, is in the New Testament. There are two such reports, in the gospel of Luke, and in Acts of the Apostles, the former about Jesus, the latter about Paul. Perhaps it will help to quote the relevant portions directly, as scholars have made much of them. We cannot pin down the dates of writing

exactly, but both books^s were written before the end of the 1st Century C.E. The quotes are taken from the Revised Standard Version of the Bible:

- (i) Luke, 4, vv 16 - 19 . "And he (Jesus) came to Nazareth where he had been brought up; and he went to the synagogue, as his custom was, on the Sabbath day. And he stood up to read; and there was given to him the book of the prophet Isaiah. He opened the book and found the place where it was written, 'The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because He has appointed me to preach good news to the poor. He has sent me to proclaim release to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty those who are oppressed to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord.' V.20 - And he closed the book and gave it back to the attendant, and sat down; and the eyes of all in the synagogue were fixed upon him." VV 21-28 then go on to quote a Mashal Jesus gives.
- (ii) Acts, 13, vv 14 - 15. "...And on the sabbath day they went into the synagogue and sat down. After the reading of the law and the prophets, the rulers of the synagogue sent to them, saying, 'Brethren, if you have any word of exhortation for the people, say it.'" In the following VV, 16 - 41, Paul gives a sermon, plentifully sprinkled with quotations from all three sections of the Bible.

Now these two quotations are important, as they have been used to show all sorts of things, some of them contradictory. The easiest thing to demonstrate this tendency with, is the fact that some scholars use the Luke quotation to show that Jesus selected the passage in Is. 61, vv 1-2 purely at random, while others have used it to show that it was pre-selected. Neither can be proven from this bare report. I do not propose here to enter into discussion of all the theories, as this is not within our province. I merely wished to show that the passages cannot be used to prove anything conclusively.

We also have two other indirect sources emanating from Palestine, and one from Babylonia for the Haftarothe used in early times in Palestine, but these are only able to serve as such if we accept a prior premiss first. I shall deal first with the Babylonian one - the Talmud.

Both Drs. Buechler and Mann⁹ claim that the list of Haftarothe for the festivals given in B. Meg. 30b - 31b, were those used at the time in Palestine, which were simply added to the Babylonian ritual during Amoraic times. Dr. Buechler goes further, and claims that the Haftarothe listed there for the Festivals, were those usually attached to the sedarim read on the festivals when these Sedarim were read on Sabbath in the normal course of the TC, or at any rate on a normal Sabbath. In this manner he also explains away the H for the second day of Yom Tov, which came in during this period, by saying that they were the normal Sabbath H for those Sedarim in Palestine. Whether we accept Dr. Buechler's theory or not, it may very well be that the H quoted in the Babylonian Talmud for the Festivals were the same as those used in Palestine on the parallel occasions. If we do accept this, then we have a set of Haftarothe for the Festivals for Palestine, but we still do not have any information for the normal Sabbath Haftarothe.

Before going into the other indirect sources, I should like to make a remark on the early Halachic sources in general. As has been noticed, all of them are silent about Sabbath Haftarothe, except to lay down general rules for the reading of the H, which are so broad in the final analysis, that we cannot even determine the exact length of a Haftarah at any given time. Now, an

argument from silence is not conclusive, as one can argue from silence on both sides of a fence. And that, as I see it, is one of the basic causes for the differences between scholars on the subject of Haftarothe in Talmudic times. One may make an assumption either way because of silence on the topic, and carry it to a logical conclusion. It seems to me that there are three possible reasons for the silence of all Halachic writings of early times on the subject of the Sabbath Haftarothe :

- a) They were so well known and so well fixed that it was not considered necessary to write them down, since they were so frequently used.
- b) They were in such a state of flux and uncertainty that nothing definite had been decided or could be decided by the time of compilation of the Talmudim.
- c) They were fixed and written down, but the sections concerning them were lost in the course of time, or not considered important enough to transmit further, so that at a later time they ceased to be written down.

All three are valid. However the third seems unlikely as this material is uniformly missing from all of them. The first also seems unlikely, perhaps to a lesser degree, since there are detailed and explicit instructions on many other topics. The second, from derived information, is the most likely of the three. But since derived information is by itself not admissible to prove a further point because of its own uncertainties, we are left where we started, with three possibilities, all of which are equally satisfactory or unsatisfactory, as the case may be.

The other indirect sources of information at our disposal are the Midrashim and Payetanic literature, both of which originate in Palestine, even though some of the collections of the former may have been compiled in Babylonia. As has been mentioned, before these are admissible to help us determine both Haftarothe and Torah readings, we must accept a premiss, which, without saying so directly, I have done in my discussion of the Sedarim of the Torah readings, but which is much more difficult to establish as true for the Haftarothe. It is known that discourses were given on the Sabbath after the reading of the Torah and Haftarah, whether at Shacharith or Minchah, is immaterial here. It is further known that **כתבי הקדש** were studied, if not read, in synagogues¹⁰ on the Sabbath, at some time in the afternoon. We are also told that **ספרי אגדת א** were not supposed to be¹¹ written down, but were written down. Armed with these scattered bits of information, the hypothesis was developed that the Midrashim are collections of sermons given on the Sabbath, with that morning's Seder, or¹² Haftarah, or both, as their underlying base. Just as there was a linguistic or contextual affinity between the S and the H, so also the Petichoth of the sermons, usually chosen from the Haggigot, had had such a linguistic or contextual affinity with S or H, usually the latter. The Piyyutim supposedly were constructed the same way, many or most Kerovoth using the H as their basis.

If we accept this, and there is no real reason for us not to, then we could undertake to reconstruct many H from their being used and alluded to in the Midrashim and Piyyutim. However, we could not determine their exact length, since the rules regarding this enumerated in the Talmudim are so flexible, and since "skipped" parts alluded to by Dr. Mann were by his own admission also often referred to in the sermon based on a derived Haftarah. There is a further difficulty, and that is the lack of agreement on the part of scholars on the subject of dating the final compilation of the Midrashim, both as regards time and as regards place.¹³ With regard to many Payetanim and their works the position is the same. This would not mean much, but for the fact that the range of time these theories cover may be used to bolster up one hypothesis or another, depending on which authority one chooses to follow regarding dating.

We are thus left in the position that the only relatively reliable source of Sabbath Haftarothe for the Palestinian Sedarim are the fragments from the Genizah, and these reflect only Egyptian practice at a late time. If, as Mann posits, there had been much shifting and changing in Talmudic times, or shortly thereafter, then these lists also do not reflect early practice. From the Midrashim we cannot determine much either, since sometimes three and four different Haftarothe are suggested by different Midrashim on the same Seder, and while different Payetanim may agree with one H or another, but

not with each other, this does not in the least help us to determine which H was in use before another, nor can we say which was or became THE Haftarah for any given Seder in Palestine.¹⁴ Often too, the Payetanim do not agree with the lists, although it might be possible to derive the H one sees in the Kerovah from one or other Midrash.¹⁵

Thus, as far as the Haftarothe in Palestine are concerned in the first millenium of the common era, we are faced with a welter of conflicting ideas and opinions, and backed by rules that allow a H to be 3,5,7, 10,21 or 23 verses long, depending on the circumstances. We cannot say whether there were any fixed H for Sabbath mornings (or afternoons) , and if there were, when they were fixed. For the festivals perhaps the H were fixed, but even this we cannot state with certainty. Perhaps in early times there were a number of H current for a Seder, one of which was the favourite, and so later it became the official one; The only thing we are really on safe ground in saying is that there were Haftarothe every Sabbath and festival at the beginning of the Common Era, and that by the end of the 1st millenium there had emerged a fixed cycle of Torah readings with fairly well fixed Haftarothe. It was never considered obligatory to read a Haftarah, so it is easy to see that divergences crept in. I shall deal with special Haftarothe about which we have some late information in a later chapter.

CHAPTER VI.THE DEVELOPEMENT OF THE HAFTAROTH IN BABYLONIA TO THE END
OF THE FIRST MILLENIUM OF THE COMMON ERA.

As little as we know about the Haftarothe for Saturday in Palestine during this period, we know only little more about the regular Sabbath Haftarothe in Babylonia for the same amount of time. What little definite information we have is late, and not specific.

We know absolutely nothing about the reading of the Torah and Haftarothe in Babylonia prior to the end of the Tannaitic period. The Mishnah was accepted and studied in Babylonia, and its precepts defined and enlarged upon in the subsequent couple of hundred years. By the end of the era of the Amoraim there emerges a full-blown system of Haftarothe for the Festivals and a number of special occasions, as well as Haftarothe for some communal fast days. Since the Babylonians were quite punctilious about following the rules laid down by the Mishnah, the next few hundred years were spent in clarifying many issues which had been left uncertain with the closing of the Talmud. In the area of these Festival Haftarothe attempts were made during the Geonic period to state clearly where they began and ended, using the rules for them enunciated by the Mishnah and other early sources, which attempts led to much variation of local custom, as we shall see further on. About this area of study we do have adequate information, study of which will form the

main bulk of this paper. The introduction of the second day of Yom Tov had its effect on both Torah and Haftarah readings as we shall see presently.

However, nothing is said about the Haftarothe for the normal Sabbath during the year until the time of Saadya Gaon, who merely states that there are 53 portions of the Pentateuch, one for each Sabbath, and that each is accompanied by a definite Haftarah. The Haftarothe could not have been very firmly fixed, as variations within the fairly well-established Festival Haftarothe, and later, variations in the published lists of Sabbath Haftarothe show. About the earliest lists of Sabbath Haftarothe published are those of Maimonides, at the end of Hilchoth Tefillah in the Mishne Torah, and those of Rashi in his "Pardes". The two of them, one an Ashkenazi Jew, and the former a Sephardi, show differences at certain points. These may be due to differences in local Minhag, but since both of them base themselves largely on the Talmud Babli, it also shows that there must have been differences in the Babylonian Minhag itself, as late as, or a little before the time they lived.

Nor are the Karaites in the 8th Century of much assistance in determining what Haftarothe were used in Babylonia in early times, since they moved their headquarters to Palestine and must have become influenced by the local customs they found, as time went by.

One major thing does emerge. There is a statement in the Talmud that the Maftir at Minchah on Sabbath does not have to mention Yom Tov, if that Sabbath happens to be a Yom Tov.¹ It does not matter what he need not mention, the important thing is that there must at one time have been a Haftarah at Minchah on Sabbath in Babylonia, unless our text of the Talmud is corrupt, and this is in direct contradiction to the Mishnah which states that there is to be no Haftarah at Minchah on Sabbath.² We have two further bits of information about this custom, from responsa of two Geonim, Natronai and Hai, both of Sura, the former living in the middle of the 9th and the latter in the early 10th Century.³ Combining what the two responsa tell us, we learn that at one time Haftaroth, not longer than 10vv were read from the consolatory parts of Isaiah and Jeremiah, at Minchah on Sabbath. This took place in very early times in many places, but when the Persians prevented this, the custom disappeared, and was not reintroduced. However, both men know of a few places which still do so in their days, in Elam and the isles of the sea of Persia, which are far enough away from the central authorities for the custom to have survived. Further, Hai mentions that he has seen old books of Haftaroth which contain one for the Minchah of every Sabbath for the year, and all these are H of consolation.

Just what these three bits of information separated in time by at least 400 years mean, cannot be truly determined. What these Haftarothe were, when they were read, why they were read when the Mishnah prohibits this at Minchah on Sabbath, when and why the custom ceased, are all questions which at this stage cannot be answered with any certainty. Theories can be built, and have been built. A particularly fine one, which cannot be proved or disproved, has been offered by Dr. Mann⁴. He adds to this the totally unrelated piece of information given us that in Nehardea they used to read from the **כתבי הקדש** on Saturday afternoon. Armed with this, he posits that the custom of reading consolatory Haftarothe from Isaiah was a very ancient custom in Babylonia, dating back perhaps to times before Alexander of Macedon, as consolatory passages in Isaiah would be particularly appropriate for the community of Jewish exiles who had remained in Babylonia.

Since it was of such venerable antiquity, it was not abolished when the Mishnah was current, but later, the Zoroastrian Mazdaks caused it to disappear, since the ideas there are contrary to Zoroastrian doctrine, and the custom was simply not reintroduced when Babylonia became part of the Moslem Empire. He ties this in with the late appearance in Babylonia of the cycle of **חל תאדפ וצחנות וז' דנחשתא** (which no literature prior to Rashi mentions), saying that since they had the consolatory Haftarothe at Minchah, there was no need for this cycle at first, but later it was brought in as morning Haftarothe, since the Minchah ones

were never reintroduced. I shall not comment on this here, as I propose to deal with this cycle in my next chapter. Would it not be much simpler to say that in the very earliest times, before the centre of learning definitely shifted to Babylonia, in both places the Haftarah for the day was read in the afternoon, and then the discourse, based on it and on the Seder, and using the Haggiographa as well, was delivered. A fairly good case could be made out for the Haftarah being read at Minchah in earliest times, from the fact that once H were short, that the **כתבי הקדש** were not supposed to be read before Minchah, that the discourses used them, and that the Talmudim are silent on the subject of just when the H was to be read - whether at Shacharith and at Minchah, or only either one of these, or whichever was more convenient. Why could there not have once been two H each Sabbath, one in the morning from the prophets in general, and one in the afternoon from Isaiah? Owing to the large number of Isaiah⁶ Haftaro⁶th discovered by Mann, one for almost each Seder, and owing to the uncertainty re dating the information, a case could be established for this too, for both centres or for Palestine alone, using the same quotations from the literature as are used to establish other doubtful points. In later times, when the yoke on the Jews grew heavier, the Minchah H simply fell into disuse, and eventually was prohibited by law, perhaps for some unknown practical reason.

One final point - that of the **ספר**
אחלה mentioned in the Babylonian Talmud, Gittin,
 P.60a, and referred to again later by Hai, in the above
 quoted responsum. In Gittin there is a discussion
 about whether it is permissible to read from a Torah
 which is not complete. In the course of this discussion
 there is made mention of **ספר אחלה**, from which
 one may not read on Sabbath, and a rejoinder is made to
 this that one may do so, for two eminent Rabbis used
 to study from a **ספר אגדה**, which, like the
ספר אחלה, was not supposed to be written
 down. The reason given for the practice of Rabbi
 Jochanan and Resh Lakish, of studying a **ספר אגדה**
 is **על לעשות לה, הפרוי תולתה**
 of which verse interpretations differ, the usually
 accepted one being to the effect that in times of emergency
 one may abrogate the Law. Just what a SEFER AFTARTA
 was, we do not know for certain. On the basis of the
 discussion it could just as easily have been a book of
 selections from the latter parts of the Bible, used
 for educating children, as it could have been a book
 containing all the Haftarothe for the Sabbaths (or even
 for the Festivals), as many scholars claim it to have been,
 in defending their position that the Haftarothe were fixed
 in either centre or both, at that early period. The same
 scholars cite Hai's mention of such books as further proof
 of this early fixing of Haftarothe. Now Hai's responsum

was written almost 800 years after the time of Resh Lakish, so that what was ancient to him, could still well have dated from a couple of hundred years after the time of the above-named scholar, say even to post-Talmudic times, and by then the meaning of the phrase $\text{אֲחֵרֵי שְׁמֵי שָׁמַיָּהּ}$ could easily have undergone change, or at the very least have acquired an additional meaning. Besides, how could the H have been fixed so early, when even in post-Geonic times there is no agreement on many of the H used at Sabbath Services, and the Geonim themselves do not mention Sabbath H, except if there is some special circumstance attached to that Sabbath? I suggest that the Haftarothe for the Sabbaths never were at a point of being fixed once and for all, since it is mentioned that the H itself is not an essential Mitzvah⁷ in Geonic literature; and the many local variations on even some of the Festival H reflected in some of the Eastern Minhagim, and even in those of the Ashkenazim and Sephardim, show lack of definitive ruling on the matter, as well as showing that as time passed Palestinian and Babylonian customs became blended in various places, and their origin forgotten.

While attempts were made in the Geonic period to finalise the length etc., of the Festival H, according to Talmudic rules, variants in available texts, local custom, and differing interpretation of the rules led to many differences even in this relatively clear area, as we shall see presently.

CHAPTER VII.THE 12 SPECIAL HAFTAROTH FROM THE 17TH TAMMUZ TO SUCCOTH.

There has come down to most present-day rituals a cycle of 12 special Haftarothe, to be used on the Sabbaths between the 17th Tammuz and the beginning of Succoth, for which a special mnemonic has been devised :
 ד'ש'ח נו'ע אל'ע שד'ש. These Haftarothe consist of:

- a) תלתא דפירענוותא, "3 of punishment", beginning at Jer. 1, v1 ; Jer. 2, v5 ; Isa. 1, v21, or containing these key verses. The mnemonic consists of the first letter of each verse.
- b) שבועא דנחמתא, "7 of consolation" - viz: Isaiah, 40, v1 ; 49, v14 ; 54, v11 ; 51, v12 ; 60, v1 ; 61, v10.
- c) תלתי דתשובה, "3 of repentance" - viz: Is. 55, v6 ; Hos. 14, v2.

There is much debate about the origin, purpose, and meaning of this cycle, and many ingenious theories have been devised about them. Since some of these theories are based to a large measure on conjectures, which themselves are not always accepted, it is difficult to prove or disprove conclusively anything concerning them. I should like here to state the facts I have found about them, and draw a few conjectures of my own, which have not been made by others.

The earliest mention of this cycle as such is found in the "Pardes" of Rashi¹, an Ashkenazi scholar, who quotes in the name of Meshullam ben Rabbi Moshe from a responsum to his brother Rabbi Nechemiah, that

" concerning those Haftarothe which Rav Kahana (apparently referring to the Gaon of Pumbeditha ca 800) fixed, they decided not to change them for any other Haftarah."

Who the "they" are we do not know. Thus Rashi and the subsequent Ashkenazi Halachists considered this set of Haftarothe to have the authority of law. Maimonides, on the other hand,² merely refers to these Haftarothe as a widespread custom, or as a custom practiced by most of the people. Maimonides is the first Sephardi source to enumerate these, about a century after Rashi.

The one other appearance earlier than the above, and the one earliest in the Midrashim, with which we are concerned, is that in the Pesikta de Rav Kahana, where there is a homily preached on each of these Haftarothe. The cycle is not mentioned by name, but the compiler of the Pesikta evidently knew it, as it appears there in that order.

The first problem to face us is the date of the compilation of the Pesikta de Rav Kahana. Buber³ maintains that it was compiled either by Rav Kahana, an eminent pupil of Rav, in the late 3rd Century, or by the Rav Kahana, who was one of the last Palestinian Amoraim, about the same time as the Y was compiled - ca. the late 5th Century, but in any event that it was compiled before the Babylonian Talmud. Perhaps then it was called "Midrash Haftarothe", or at least the section of the 12 Haftarothe was called that, as he found it on one manuscript. He also says that perhaps it was only the part of the 12

Haftaroth that was compiled that early. Strack⁴ quotes two other opinions - that of Zunz, giving ca.700 C.E. as its date, and that of Theodor, that it is a very early Midrash, since Lev.R., and Lamentations are dependent on it. However, he goes on to quote Theodor as saying that the cycle of 12 Haftaroth originated with the Gaon Mar Rav Kahana of Pumbeditha, ca.800, and that the form in which we have it now is a very late one, additions having been made. Strack agrees with Theodor's approach.

To us these conflicting theories are no help at all in determining anything. We have now a choice of three Rav Kahanas, living respectively in the 3rd, 5th, and 9th Centuries, any one of whom could have assembled the whole book, the section of the Haftaroth only, or that of the other homilies only. Three possible men compiling two separate sections, allow of enough permutations to substantiate any theory one desires about the cycle or the Midrash in question, not to mention the added factor of additions and corrections. The only thing all seem to agree on is that the original form of the book, whatever it may have been, was compiled in Palestine.

Let us turn now to the Halachic literature of the era. Of some 30 Haftaroth for Festivals and special occasions mentioned in B⁵, only 5 are from Isaiah at all, which is not important now, and two of these refer to the 9th of Av, or the month in general.

If the New Moon of Av falls on Sabbath, the Haftarah is to be Is. 1, v14, and for the 9th of Av the H is to be Is. 1, v21. In our cycle one of these survives as that for the Sabbath before Tisha B'av, nowadays called "Shabbat Chazon." The only mention of anything besides the bare statement of the Haftarah for the Rosh Chodesh Av which falls on Sabbath, is a homiletical interpretation of part of Is. 1, v14. For Tisha B'Av itself there is just the statement that the H for that day is Is. 1, v21. Now, surely it might be argued that the Rabbis with their predilection for digression would have been tempted at this point, or some other in the Talmud, to launch into a discussion of the meaning of the Haftarothe of Consolation which follow Tisha B'Av, had these been in vogue, but this is not the case. Since silence is no proof one way or the other, we have not established that the cycle was or was not used in Babylonia by the time of the completion of the Talmud.

The Geonic literature is very sparse on this subject. Halachoth Gedoloth and Halachoth merely state that the Parashah **ואתחנן** must be read before tisha B'Av, and that **אתם נצב'ם** must be read before Rosh Hashanah. No mention is made of Haftarothe, and these instructions are within a context of seeing that the Torah is properly finished within the year. Seder Rav Amram does mention that if the Rosh Chodesh of Ellul is on a Sabbath,

then the Haftarah for that day is Is., 66, vlff, while

לני עקרה Is. 54, vl ff, is the H for next week. This is the only mention of a Haftarah within the cycle, and following the cycle through as we have it would not tally with it, but this is not important, as it could have been rearranged, and authorities do agree that the order of the seven of consolation is not necessarily fixed. From this one mention we could argue from silence again, and say that he mentions nothing about the rest of the cycle, since it was so well known and so well established that it was unnecessary to do more than clear up this one point. Saadya has one interesting thing to tell us, and that is that there used to be some who read from the Torah at Neilah on Yom Kippur, and had as H קוב' אר' Is. 60, vl, which is one of the H of the cycle. Two other H which occur in the cycle are mentioned - דרשו ה' Is. 55, v6 which SRA gives as the H for the Minchah of fast-days and Tisha B'Av, and שובה ישראל, Hos. 14, v2, which Saadya gives as the H for a Taanith Tsibbur. It may be noted here that these two are the ones chosen for the "two of repentance" between Rosh Hashanah and Sukkoth, and would of course be most appropriate for any fast-day. But which came first, those in the cycle, or those for the fast-days. This is not easy to answer. Trying to go into the calendation involved in Rav Amram's one statement would involve endless calculation, which I shall refrain from attempting at the moment.

There are two final pieces of very early literature to be considered briefly, but both are of doubtful value. In the Mishnah and the Tosefta, there is made mention of three verses in Isaiah, - 52,vv3,4,5,- which are to be read separately to the translator when used as a H.⁶ These three might conceivably be included in the H אנכי אנכי, Isa.51, vl2, but more likely were a H on their own, or included in another H, since all H were short originally. The other is a theory⁷ is one quoted in brief by Dr.Mann, that of Thackeray, in which he points out that the book of Baruch, an apocryphal work that may be dated anywhere between 300 BCE and 100 C.E., in its first half is similar in content to the first three H of "punishment", drawing on Jeremiah and Job, and to the readings on Tisha B'Av itself, and in its second half it is similar to the "consolation" H from Deutero-Isaiah, drawing on this book for its content. As can be seen, this is very vague, and may or may not be relied upon as I shall now demonstrate.

With these short pieces of definite and semi-definite information, it is possible to construct at least two theories, dating the cycle in the one case early in the Common Era; in the other, putting it in Palestine not earlier than the 6th or 7th Century C.E., and in Babylonia perhaps not at all, or at least very late. The silence of the Talmudic literature on this, a couple of scattered references to practices, the meaning of which we do not really know, and a couple of vague mentions of

possibly similar material dating from the late Geonic era enable us to do this.

First, the argument for late origin. The Jews might well have used the book of Isaiah for H in the earliest times, as they did other prophetic writings. However, with the spread of Christianity, they ceased to use Isaiah. The one prophet the New Testament, in a way also a Midrash, uses the most, is Isaiah to prove its point, although of course it uses the whole Bible plentifully too. But the book of Isaiah is the most appropriate from their point of view to prove Jesus' Messianism. Since the Christians at first were merely a splinter-sect of Judaism, then later Palestine belonged to the Christian Byzantine Empire, until the middle of the 7th Century, and once the Christians were in power the Jews of Palestine did not fare too well, it could easily be postulated that the Jews ceased to use Isaiah in their synagogues in order not to add fuel to the fire of the Christian point of view, or perhaps they were forcibly prevented from using the book. Now, one, two, or perhaps all three of the H of "punishment" were known early, since the Talmud attributes this material to Rav, who had studied in Palestine. As this was so, once the Moslems took over Palestine, the H of comfort could have been added, gradually, until at a late time it got to a point that only Isaiah was used for H in Palestine, unless no suitable passage could be found there, in which case another prophet had perforce to be used. Since Dr. Buechler claims that at first no H came

from Isaiah,⁸ Dr. Mann contends that all H ended with a word of consolation,⁹ which could be a substitute for the H from Isaiah, which, we are told is "all Consolation"¹⁰, and the late Geniza lists show H almost overwhelmingly from Isaiah, as well as Dr. Mann's construction from the Midrashim showing that every Seder might have had at least one H from Isaiah,¹¹ this idea does not appear to me to be too far-fetched. Added to that is the cryptic Kerovoth of some of the early Payetanim, who might possibly pre-date the 6th Century, which are based on Isaiah, thus saying indirectly what they could not say directly. During the same period there was not much opportunity to use Isaiah as H in Babylonia, as his strict monotheistic and universalistic doctrines were in conflict with the religious doctrines of the Zoroastrian rulers. Once both areas were under the rule of Islam, the idea of the H of consolation could have crossed the border, and been adopted as a custom in many places, becoming widespread and well known by the middle of the 9th Century or thereabouts. Perhaps they were instituted in place of the now no longer used Minchah H from Isaiah and Jeremiah.

In this way one could say that the cycle dates at the earliest to the late 7th Century in Palestine, and a little later in Babylonia, in the former place as a fixed thing, in the latter as a custom, becoming more and more widespread. This could explain how Rashi, getting them as an early tradition, and attributing them to the earliest Rav Kahana, could consider them binding

as a law, while Maimonides, who may have attributed them to a late developement in either Palestine or Babylonia, and who lived in Egypt for a while, which place followed much of Palestinian custom, considers them as a custom followed by "most of the People". And so the cycle got into both Ashkenazi and Sephardi rituals, perhaps in slightly differing form, but it is there today. One could multiply quotations and adduced evidence for the above, but the outline given suffices to show the trend followed. Anything contradicting this could be explained away somehow, or dismissed as "doubtful", "not authentic", or "non-authoritative", a favourite tool of scholars.

On the other hand, we could accept the contents of the book of Baruch and their similarity to parts of the cycle as true evidence, and say that the cycle was very early, -at least in Palestine. The silence of the Talmudic literature could be used to say that it was so well known that it was unnecessary to mention it. Perhaps the use of Isaiah by the Christians made the Jews redouble their use of it to explain that they were wrong, up to the time of proscription of Deuterocanonicals by Justinian in 526 C.E., by which time Isaiah H had become widespread. Once the Christians had left the country, the Isaiah H were partially reintroduced by means of the "consolation" cycle, which was never accepted in Babylonia, as it stemmed from Palestine, whose authority they were denying. But gradually the H did get to areas of Babylonia, as a custom. This too enables us to explain how Rashi in France, and

Maimonides in Egypt could look on them as "law" and "custom" respectively. Again quotations etc., could be used as above, and anything contrary be explained away. This would give us a very early Palestinian origin for the cycle, and a very late introduction of same into Babylonia.

To sum up, we cannot determine when and where the cycle started with any certainty. The Talmudic literature mentions one of the 3 of Punishment, that of Isaiah 1; during , or shortly after the Talmudic period the 2 of Repentance are known for the Fast-days-Is.55,v6, and Hos. 14,2 ; in Geonic literature we have mention of two of the Consolation H, only one of which is mentioned for a time to be possibly within the cycle - Is.54,v1, while the other is mentioned as being the H at Neilah on Yom Kippur, Is.60,v1.; the Karaites adopted the cycle, but we do not know when, or where they got it from ; it appears in the form of homilies on all the H in Pesikta de Rav Kahana, a work which may be of early Palestinian origin and late Babylonian editorship; and finally the cycle emerges as such in both major rituals by the end of the 11th or middle of the 12th Century. From the above scattered references it is impossible to say anything more definite than that there is a very high degree of probability that the cycle was both known and used in both centres by the middle of the 8th Century, in Palestine with the force of law, in Babylonia most likely merely as Minhag. How and why it came about is open to all and any conjecture.

CHAPTER VIII.INTRODUCTION TO THE GEONIC PERIOD, AND RULES OF TORAH AND
HAFTARAH READING USED DURING IT,

The Geonic period lasted from about the middle of the 7th Century until the middle of the 11th Century of the Common Era. The Geonim were the heads of the academies at Sura and Pumbeditha, and were the only ones in that era to whom the title was applied. During these centuries, the first attempts at systematic codification of the laws of the Babylonian Talmud were made, a few of which have survived down to this day for us to study. These earliest codes were mainly extracts and systematic presentation of ritual laws, and laws concerning the life-cycle of the Jew, as well as the laws for writing the scroll of the Law. It must be remembered that these were still only the first attempts at codifying the law, prompted by the multiplicity of opinions presented at times on the same subject by the Talmud. As yet there was no definite ruling on the subject of which opinion was to be the authoritative one, and so the codes tried to settle this.

That they did not achieve their object of settling the law may be clearly seen by the multiplicity of opinions accepted by the different codes from the period, as well as by the differing points of view adhered to in many of the Geonic responsa which have survived from these times. It was left to the later codifiers to settle matters

finally, the Alfasi and his school, and the Tosafists, this work finally culminating in the great codes of Maimonides, Jacob ben Asher, and Joseph Karo, a further work of development of some 500 years.

Perhaps the groping towards final definition of laws can be seen better nowhere than in the large variety of practices reflected in the literature on the Torah reading and the Haftarothe. Added to the fact that opinions within the Talmud differ, there are the additional factors of the struggle for supremacy in Halacha between the Geonim of Palestine and Babylonia, and also the prevalence of local custom, which in many places became a mixture of both Palestinian and Babylonian practice as time passed and communities tended to be composed of people hailing from either centre. Differences in the textus receptus of the Bible also aided in this confusion for a long time, lasting even beyond the Geonic period. This latter point is only minor, however, and will only be referred to when necessary. The chief causes of differences were differing interpretations of Talmudic rules, acceptance of different viewpoints found in the Talmudim, and the influence of local custom in different areas.

I now propose to list the basic rules that had evolved by the end of the period of the Talmud for the reading of the Torah and Haftarothe. Only those rules directly affecting the readings themselves will be dealt with. Following that, some of the variations in practice as reflected in the Talmudic literature will be

mentioned briefly, being confined to those which affected the decision of one Gaon or another. In a paper of the scope of this one, it is impossible to become involved in the often complicated mathematical possibilities of the varying interpretations of rules, or combinations of rules, so that the really far-fetched applications of rules will only be mentioned if absolutely necessary. Furthermore, I propose to stick as much as possible to the practices of Babylonia, mentioning Palestinian custom only as it becomes imperative. For the sake of convenience, I shall formulate the rules in as composite and compact a form as possible, and shall not go into detail where the reasoning behind a rule is concerned, except where unavoidable. Full discussion of the rules may be found in the relevant portions of the Talmudic literature.¹ The specific readings will be discussed in their context, as they come up in the course of this paper.

By the end of the period of the Talmud there were readings in Babylonia for both days of Yom Tov, the second day being introduced due to אבדן ד' ארץ ², Palestine knowing of this, and mentioning it, but not observing it. In addition, the concept of two days of Rosh Chodesh is known. The struggle for authority in the matter of calendation and intercalation of the year is also reflected in this literature³, and later in the Geonic literature, but in this matter I shall content myself with pointing out the differences that arose, without going deeply into the matter of the fixing of the calendar.

Rules for reading the Torah.

- a) The number of readers from the Torah:
- (i) Monday, Thursday, Sabbath at Minchah, 9th Av, Public Fast-days, Purim, Channukah
3 read, no more or less.
 - (ii) Rosh Chodesh and Chol Hamoed,
4 read, no more or less.
 - (iii) On Yom Tov - i.e. Pesach, Shavuoth, Rosh Hashanah, Succoth, Shemini Atzereth,
5 read, no less, but more, if desired.
 - (iv) On Yom Kippur,
6 read, no less, but more, if desired.
 - (v) On Sabbath
7 read, no less, but more if desired.

The general principle is that the extra features of a day make for an extra reader from the Torah each.

- b) When the Torah is read, not less than 10 verses altogether should be read, unless the required inyan for the day finishes in less, or one cannot add verses before or after the required reading for some reason.
- c) One must read at least 3 verses from the Torah.
- d) One must read at least 3 verses at the beginning of a Parashah, and one may not leave over less than 3 verses at the end of a Parashah.
- e) ידבר יהוה אל משה לאמר
counts as a separate verse.
- f) A "large" parashah (6vv or more) may be read by more than 1 person, but a small parashah (4 or 5 Vv, or less) must be read by 1 person.
- g) One may not skip verses or sections in the Torah, i.e. it must be read in sequence, unless the reading for the day requires it.
- h) He who reads from the Torah should start and end on a good note. (This was not universally applied.)
- i) The readings for Sabbath Minchah, Monday and Thursday are the first few verses of the next Sabbath's portion. One starts reading in the Torah on the next Sabbath from the place where one stopped the previous Sabbath.
- j) The "curses" in Lev.26, must be read by 1 person without a break, while those in Deut.28 may be broken.
- k) The Curses in Leviticus must be read before Shavuoth each year, and those in Deuteronomy before Rosh Hashanah.

- l) Any special occasion may interrupt the normal sequence of Torah readings, and replace the normal reading for the day. When a Sabbath is Rosh Chodesh, or one of the days of Chanukkah, the special reading for that day is an added one, besides the weekly Parashah, but Festival or Chol Hamoed readings replace the weekly portions.
- m) From the Torah one may not read more than 1 verse at a time to the translator.

Rules for reading the Haftarah.

- a) A haftarah is read on Yom Tov, Yom Kippur, Sabbath, Public Fast-days, the 9th Av,
- b) The Maftir must read at least three verses from the Torah, but he is not counted as one of the 7 readers from the Torah on Sabbath.
- c) Usually the reading of the Torah is separated from the Maftir and Haftarah by a half-Kaddish.
- d) You may skip in the Prophets, to the extent that the translator has not finished the previous verse before the next one to be read is found. However, one may not skip from one prophet to another except in the 12 minor prophets, and at no time from the end of a book to the beginning of that book.
- e) One may read three verses at a time to the translator from the prophets, except if they are separate paragraphs, e.g. Is.52, vv 3 - 5.
- f) A Haftarah for Sabbath should be 21 vv long, corresponding to the 7 readers from the Torah, except if the subject matter is completed before 21 vv. If the subject matter is not finished, it may be less than 21 vv only if a translator (or Preacher) is present.

IN THE CASE OF BOTH TORAH READING AND HAFTAROTH, THERE MUST BE TEN ADULT MALES PRESENT IN ORDER TO BE ABLE TO HAVE THEM.

The above, in brief, are the rules for the readings, most of which are still followed today, and which were current already by the time of the completion of the Talmud. Some other customs, which affected developments subsequently will be given now, but this list is not exhaustive.

Torah Reading:

- a) The text of the Torah must be read as it stands, except for a few instances where euphemisms are used, ⁴
- b) A number of passages may be read and not translated, or neither read nor translated in both the Torah and the Prophets. ⁵
- c) One opinion would have the Torah read in strict sequence all year long, so that one always starts with the next verses at a regular reading of the Torah during the week, thus starting the next Sabbath morning at least 30 verses further on than where they ended the previous Saturday. ⁶
- d) One opinion holds that one may not add to the number of readers on Yom Tov, Yom Kippur, or Sabbath. ⁷
- e) Anyone, including minors and women may be in the 7 readers from the Torah on Sabbath, except that it is not customary to call up women to the public reading of the Law. ⁸
- f) One may leave less than 3 vv at the end of a paragraph and the next reader must read the remainder, plus 3 vv. from another paragraph. Apparently the rule regarding three verses to be left over was applied to mean at the end of the reading of the Torah for that day. ⁹
- g) At the end of a book of the Torah enough verses should be left over so that 7 people read. If six read this section, a quantity sufficient for 7 readers must be read from the next book. At the end of the Torah this also applies, except that if six read that, they return to the beginning of the section, and 7 people read the section. ¹⁰
- h) One opinion holds that one may skip in the Torah, provided it is within the same subject-matter. ¹¹

HAFTARAH READING.

- a) One may not read less than (Var. More than) 3 vv at a time from the prophets. If a Parashah has 4 or 5 verses, he should read all of them, and he who keeps the Haftarah short is praiseworthy. ¹²
- b) Normal Haftarothe could be 21, 23, or 24 vv long. 10vv. seems to have been normal, but if a translator or preacher was present, 3, 5, or 7 vv was not considered insufficient for a Haftarah.

- c) The Maftir counts ¹³ in the 7 required to read in the Torah.
- d) If one or more of the 10 present leave ¹⁴, one may complete the reading of ~~wither~~ Torah or Haftarah.
- e) One may skip in the H in two different subjects. ¹⁵
- f) There is discussion as to whether the passages of ¹⁶
סלכך (Ezek. 1, vlff) and הודע את ירושלים
(Ezek. 16, vl,) may be used as H. They are now, as it happens.

From the foregoing sets of more or less definite rules, and from those just above, some of which did become law, most of which did not, but were however used until the definite law emerged, it may be seen that it would not be at all difficult to have conflicting opinions on beginnings and endings of sections, and on who should read what and when. This will emerge very clearly indeed in our discussion of the Festivals, let alone the spotty information we have for the normal Sabbath readings for the Geonic period.

It must be remembered that the "codes" of the Geonim were not looked on as authoritative by all, that there was considerable opposition to them as it was felt that these "digests" of law would abrogate study of the Talmud itself. Many however, did accept the rulings of the Geonim, who often differed with each other from one generation to the next, and it is through this acceptance that eventually it was able to be determined which principles would be the authoritative ones by the later Posekim.

The Geonim did not alter any of the foregoing rules radically, but they did attempt to define and express them more clearly, the model of clarity being Saadyah Gaon (880 - 942), Gaon of Sura ca.928. Perhaps our best course would be to take their sayings on this matter in chronological order as far as possible, and so best be able to see how the clarity of definition emerged. Essentially all that the Geonim did in their responsa and in their "codes" was to repeat and amplify the statements of the Talmud.

Before quoting any responsa, it is necessary to explain that much of the material available in the field of Geonic responsa is so only indirectly. There is much quoted in the works of the early Posekim, Rav Amram, Rashi, Mordecai, Or Zarua, Orchoth Chayyim, the codes of Rabbi Isaac Gerondi, Rabbi Yehuda of Barcelona, and others, in the name of a specific Gaon, or simply "in the responsa of the Geonim we find..." Sometimes the same responsum will be quoted in the name of two different Gaonim, living as much as a century or more apart, or simply quoted in the name of a Gaon who himself was quoting an earlier unnamed Gaon, with the net result that it cannot be established who said it first, or when, unless the actual responsa are found and published, as was the case with some of the material of the Cairo Geniza. Determining such matters as style of a Gaon, the exact period of his activity, and what he actually did or did not write

and how one or other thing quoted in his name corresponds to what we know about him, is a study on its own, and is not within the province of this paper. Nor are we concerned here with the debates as to who wrote what. We shall approach this material with the thought that Halachoth Pesukoth (of which Hilchoth Reu is a Hebrew translation) dates ca.750, Halachoth Gedoloth of Shimon Kayyara comes between 50 and 100 years later, Seder Rav Amram was composed between 860 and 880, and the Siddur of Saadya Gaon was compiled in the first third of the 10th Century. Responsa attributed to individual Geonim either by later sources, or published in one of the collections including material from the Geniza, such as the **אוצל הגאונים** of B.M.Levin, will be referred to in their chronological position, where necessary. It is also not of too much consequence whether a man was Gaon of Sura or Pumbeditha for our purposes, so that unless necessary, it will not be mentioned.

The chief topic of discussion, or one of the chief topics was the matter of whether the Maftir counted as one of the 7 readers in the Torah on Saturday morning, and, by implication, of course this applies also to the 5 for festivals and the 6 for Yom Kippur. The crux of the problem seems to have been whether Kaddish was said at the end of the reading from the Torah or not. This was apparently only a custom at first, and was not universally practiced. Because of its being a custom, differences of opinion and procedure arose.

The first definite attempt to clear this up is in Halachoth Pesukoth of Yehudai Gaon, ca.750.¹⁷

He says that if 7 men read the whole Parashah, and no Kaddish is said, then the 7th reads the Maftir and Haftarah, and thus he counts in the 7 required for Sabbath. But if Kaddish is said after 7 men have read, then an 8th man is called up for Maftir, and he reads a few verses from the Torah first, because of the honour due to the Torah, since a separation has been made between Torah reading and Haftarah, but he does not count in the 7. Natronai is quoted on the one hand as saying that 7 men must read before Kaddish is said, and on the other, if 6 men read from the Torah, and Kaddish is said, and then the Maftir reads, he does not count in the 7, while if no Kaddish is said before he reads from the Torah, he does. So far we are in the dark as to whether the 6 or 7 before the Kaddish and/or Maftir have read the whole Parashah of that Sabbath or not.

Yehudai Gaon (d.ca906, not the Yehudai)¹⁹ attempts to clear this up a little: .If 6 people read the whole Parashah, then the 7th (who thus repeats a few vv) is the Maftir, and he counts in the required number if no Kaddish is said before he reads. If they do say Kaddish at the end of the Parashah, then he does not count, since the Kaddish separates between the Torah reading and the Haftarah, and since it is required for 7 men to read the Parashah. (Apparently in this case the obligation of reading from the Torah has not been fulfilled properly, since only 6

have read from the Torah.) He also says that if Rosh Chodesh is on Sabbath, the 8th man, who is the Maftir, reads the Rosh Chodesh Passage in Numbers 28, after the Kaddish.

(This implies that they wanted 7 to read the Parashah of the week, and the Maftir thus would not be repeating any verses.)

Seder Rav Amram at last defines things
20 a little more clearly.

Firstly, he states definitely that the Maftir is not one of the 5, 6, or 7 readers of the Torah. When the Parashah is finished, the Shliach Tsibbur says Kaddish, after which the Maftir reads at least 3 vv from the Torah, and the prophetic portion.

If there is no one else present who is able to read the Haftarah, then the 7th reader may do so, but he does not specify whether he must read verses from the Torah again.

Apparently the implication is that he must, as Amram does state that there must be Kaddish between the Torah reading and Haftarah.

An anonymous responsum simply states that the Maftir is not one of the 5, 6, or 7 readers, but he is one of the three at Minchah on Yom Kippur,

21 Tisha B'Av, and Public Fast-Days.

Rav Tzemach takes a slightly different point of view. If Kaddish is usually said after the Parashah has been completed, then the Maftir does not count as one of the seven. If there is no Kaddish, then the 7th should return and say the Maftir, in which case he counts as 1 of the 7 in his own right the first time, but not the second time, when he acts as Maftir.

He explains the

He explains the discussion in the Talmud, B.Meg.23a, as meaning that if six complete the Parashah, Kaddish is said, and then the Maftir comes up and reads, that he does count there, while if no Kaddish is said, he who reads 7th and then the Haftarah is not counted as 1 of the 7.²² This does not help materially. Hai does not add much except to say that on Yom Tov the Maftir reads the extra portion for the day, i.e. that concerned with the Festival from Numbers,²² and then the Haftarah, which is translated.

In this matter the confusion seems to be in two directions. Firstly, the Geonim do not seem to be clear whether the Maftir should actually be one of the readers from the Torah or not, on a normal Sabbath, in which case he would be one of the 7 readers. But the second issue, that of the custom of saying Kaddish when the Parashah is completed, and so introducing a distinct break between the Torah reading and the Haftarah, coupled with the idea that the Maftir only reads from the Torah for the sake of the honour of the Torah, leads into further confusion. Although it is only hinted at, there seems to have been a gradual developement towards the fixed notion that 7 people read and finish the portion of the week, then Kaddish is said, the Maftir comes up and reads the last 3 or so vv from the Torah over, or reads the additional section if there is one, and then the Haftarah from the Prophets. The crux of the matter is stating clearly that 7 people must read the Torah on Sabbath morning, else the obligation of reading has not been properly fulfilled. If there is no one competent,

then the 7th reader (or another) may return after the Kaddish and recite Maftir and Haftarah.

A few other points in regard to Torah reading in general which were defined were that according to Rav Paltui the Mussaf portion for Sabbath was not read from the Torah as it is too short and the Sabbath comes every week, while those of the Festivals were to be read, as the Festivals come only once a year, and the laws for them were supposed to be read at that time according to the generally accepted interpretation of Lev.23, v44.²³

Saadya gives extremely clear instructions in his Siddur²⁴ on a number of points. He tells us that the only time a verse in the Torah is repeated during the reading of the Torah is in the Rosh Chodesh paragraph, Numbers 28, v3. Also, if there is no specific Haftarah for a Sabbath, one may read whatever is fitting. There are to be 3 people present when the Torah is being read - the reader, the translator, and one other, the same applying to the Haftarah. He makes clear the 3 verse in a paragraph rule - if one wishes to stop reading, one should look at the text, and, if one sees that one has begun a paragraph, one must read at least 3 vv of it. Having done so, if there are less than 3v left of it, one must complete it. He also states clearly that one of the 53 parts of the Torah is a פָּרָשָׁה
Up to this time there had been confusion of terminology, as we shall see shortly. He tells us that if 2z sections of the Torah are joined, the H of the 2nd one is usually read. H are known for the 53 Parashoth, and H is read

after Kaddish after the reading from the Torah. In general Saadya restates the principles enunciated first in the Talmudic literature, and later in some of the works of the Geonim, but he states them in such a way that there is very little ambiguity, or chance for it.

Hai Gaon, or responsa attributed to him add the bits of information that a Cohen who is a minor²⁵ may be called up to read Maftir and Haftarah. Also, one may repeat verses when one adds people to the required²⁶ number for a particular day. The H itself is not an obligation, so that if there is a special one for a Sabbath, and one could not find it, then one might read the regular one for the week, or leave out the H altogether. There is also an opinion under the heading simply of "Geonic Responsa"²⁷ which permits the reader following one to read only two verses and still have that counted as a regular reading from the Torah, at a point where it is not possible to read 3 vv, such as is the case with the stipulated readings for the Maamadoth.

It is not possible to go into all the variations on minor points, but the above shows clearly that there was not yet during the Geonic period any unanimity of rulings on the questions of Torah reading in general, some of their rulings going against even that which we call authoritative from the Talmud. We cannot blame them, when we consider the diversity of local customs on just these points which we have today.

CHAPTER IX.TORAH AND HAFTARAH READINGS FOR THE FESTIVALS.

In this chapter and the following ones, we shall look at the developement of the readings for the Festivals and the special occasions during the Jewish year. At the beginning of each section on a Festival the readings as they are mentioned in the Talmud will be mentioned first, then the Geonic considerations of this.

During the period of the Talmud, two major changes took place. Firstly, the readings mentioned by the Mishnah for the Festivals become merely supplementary readings, and secondly, the introduction of the 2nd day of Yom Tov necessitated the setting up of a complete set of new readings for these days. The Haftarothe for most of these occasions are more or less stable, at least in their beginnings by the end of this era.

One factor which may have led to some confusion was the fact that the terminology used by the Amoraim and Geonim was not always interpreted the same way by all. There was some difference in the meaning of the terms פ'סוקא, פרשה, סדר, סדרה, ענין, which were apparently used interchangeably. Any one of them could mean "paragraph", "liturgical section of the Torah", "a complete idea or subject", and all were used in this way at one time or another. Sometimes the Palestinian terminology was used in Babylonia to apply to

Babylonian divisions, and sometimes to refer to the old Palestinian divisions. For our purposes, unless quoting directly, the term פסוק will be used to denote a paragraph as found in the Torah scroll today, which may coincide with the end of the passage required to be read, or not. פסוק will be used to denote the end of a section required to be read on a Festival or special occasion, while פסוק is used to denote the Babylonian division of the Torah into portions for regular Sabbaths. פסוק is used to denote a Palestinian division of the Torah for Sabbath use, and פסוק a complete idea, whether it ends at the end of a paragraph, section or liturgical division, or not. Of course, it could happen that all five terms could be used to denote the same passage, but this does not happen too often.

A. PESACH.

The M tells us to read the section on Pesach in the פרשת שלח , Lev. 23. Presumably it means this for the first day, but it does not specifically state this. The T repeats this, but tells us also to read other sections in various parts of the Torah dealing with Pesach on the remaining days of the Festival. The Babylonian Talmud gives us a complete scheme of Torah readings and Haftarothe for Pesach. Rav Papa and Abaye differ slightly regarding the readings for the first 3 days of Pesach. Those of Abaye are the accepted ones :

Abaye

1st day : Ex., 12, v. 21
H: *ገጽ ፩*
in Josh. 5.

2nd day : Lev.22,v27
H: *h'ek' h'ed*
in IIK,23

3rd day (1st of Chol Hamoed)
Ex.13, vl.

4th day : Ex.22,v24.

5th day: Ex.34,v1.

6th day : Numb.9,v1.

7th day : Ex. 13, 17.
H: II Sam. 22, v1.

8th day : Deut.15,v19
H: Isa.10,v32.

Shabbat Chol Hamoed :
Ex. 33, 12.
H: Ezek. 37.

Each gives a mnemonic. Rav Papa for the four days of

Chol Hamoed : 1st 4x5, and Abaye for all 8 days:

משך תולא, קדש בכספא, פסל בטדבר, שלח בוכלא

As can be seen, there is no length specified for the sections or for the H, and in a couple of instances only a very general reference is made to the H.

The Geonim dealt with problems raised by this scheme of readings. The earliest source we have, Halachoth Pesukoth² gives us the endings of the readings. The first reading is Ex.12, v 14 - 51.³ The H for the 1st day is Josh, 3v5 - 6,v 27, according to the text, although other sources modify this length. In Yehudai's

book we also come for the first time across the supplementary readings for all the Festivals and Chol Hamoed from the book of Numbers, Ch. 28 & 29. Whether these were in use already in Talmudic times, we cannot say. They were undoubtedly introduced by the Saboraim, who took literally as did most of the Babylonian teachers the interpretation of the Verse in Lev.23, v⁴⁴ "וידברל כשה את כוונד'ה'

אל ג' 'שראל " to mean that the laws of

the Torah regarding each Festival must be read on that Festival. There are three major sections dealing with the Festivals in the Torah - Lev.23, Numbers 28 & 29, Deut. 16. In the Babylonian scheme of readings the 1st and 3rd of these were provided for in the Talmud by having them as readings for the 2nd and last days of the Festivals. Now those from Numb. had to be added to complete the "reading of the laws of the Festivals at their appointed time" each year, and so the Maftir reading for most of these days became one from the book of Numbers. If a Festival was not long enough, or the reading not long enough for the prescribed number of people, often the reading from Lev.23 fell away, as happened in the case of Shavuoth, Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur. We shall discuss these in their context, and content ourselves with the observation that by the time of Yehudai, the readings from Numbers were well established for the various Festivals as the Maftir portion every day on which a Haftarah was read.

Thus for every day of Passover, Yehudai gives the appropriate reading from Numbers 28 as the Maftir reading. For the 1st and 2nd day he gives the reading there are vv.16 - 24, (note to text of book, p.181.n.4 - and on the rest of the days to V25, which is the end of the paragraph. Some later authorities thought this ending at V.24 to be a scribal error, as it leaves only one verse over in the paragraph, and one should not leave over less than 3vv.) For the 4 days of Chol Hamoed and the last two days of Pesach he gives the reading as vv.19 - 25.

For the 2nd day he gives the reading as Lev.22,v26 - 23,v44. The H is II Kings 22,vv1 - 23,v25. It might be appropriate to mention here, before proceeding any further, that a question is raised later by some Geonim as to whether the verse or verses mentioned by an earlier source which follow the word וְעַד - "up to" are included in the reading or not. If וְעַד precedes mention of the last words of a verse, or the first words of the last verse of a section or Inyan, then the meaning is clearly that the H ends with that verse. The doubt arises when the words preceded by וְעַד are the first ones of a new paragraph, or new Inyan. There seem to have been a number of ways of dealing with this. One was common sense, stopping before the words preceded by וְעַד because the Inyan was complete there, or because the H was long enough to meet the requirements of the day. Another was by slavish adherence to the principle that a H must be 21vv long,

despite there being only 5 readers for Festivals, thus, according to the general principle for H, requiring only 15 vv for it. A third was to apply the principle of the 3 vv beginning or leaving over in a paragraph to the H as well as to the Torah readings. These three major reasons and that of individual caprice based on the fluid state of legislation regarding Haftarothe combined to give us many variations of readings of the H in general, which are still with us today, as can be seen easily when looking at a listing of H for the whole year, and seeing the differences between Ashkenazi and Sephardi minhag alone.

A fine example of the above is the reading for the 3rd day, wherein he states that it extends from Ex.13,v1 עד ויהי בשלח פרעה to the first 3 words of v17. From the context, and from later authors it is easy to see that he did not mean to include v17 in the reading, so that it is actually from vv 1 - 16. If he did mean to include it, we would have to read at least to v19, or perhaps even to v22, but since v17 starts a new Sidra, and since vv1-16 are sufficient for 5 people to read, it would seem that this is unlikely, as in any case, only 4 are needed to read on Chol Hamoed. Added to that, there is no need for any of the Chol Hamoed readings for either Pesach or Succoth to be long enough for 7 men to read, as Shabbat Chol Hamoed has its own reading. The only way that v17 could be meant to be read is to provide for the 1st day Chol Hamoed Pesach being on Saturday, in which case the reading would

have to extend at least to v22. Had this been intended, it would not be too far-fetched to assume that Yehudai would have been as explicit in delineating the end of this reading as he was for other readings. Furthermore, even in his time Sabbath Chol Hamoed Pesach was provided with its own reading, which would replace this one for that day, and so it is certain that the reading ended at Ex.13, v 16. Perhaps it was just a matter of convenience that he refers to the beginning of v17, since the verse beginning a Seder is usually well known, and useful as a point of reference.

For the 4th day the reading was Ex.22,v24 - 23,v19, for the 5th day Ex.34,vv1 - 26, for the 6th, Numb.9,vv1-14. For the 4 days of Chol Hamoed, 2 Torahs are to be taken out, 3 men reading the sections above, and the 4th reading a Maftir section from Numbers 28, vv.19-25. Here again we can see one of the reasons for the confusion regarding whether the Maftir counts as one of the readers or not. The term **להפטר** really means to "finish the reading of the Torah", so that the Maftir is the one who last reads from the Torah, and finishes the official reading for the day. At some point along the way it came to denote the person who reads the Haftarah from the prophet on such a day as there is a Haftarah. Since on days when there is no H the last reader from the Torah, one of those who does count in the required number, is referred to as Maftir,

and on days when there is a Haftarah the one who reads it is also called the Maftir, as the reading of the H from the Prophetic books finishes the reading from the Law, the terms were thought to be interchangeable, and were used that way, leading to varieties of opinions as to whether the one who reads the H is counted as one of the readers in the Torah, as he has to read from the Torah before reading the Haftarah. As has been mentioned, eventually it was decided that when there is a H, the Maftir reads from the Torah after Kaddish has been said, repeating the last verses of a Sidra on Sabbath, or reading the extra section from Numbers on Festivals from a separate Torah, and then the H. He thus does not count in the required number of men for that day, but does read from the Torah. The readings from the book of Numbers are a late Rabbinic institution, and thus are not part of the "official" prescribed reading for the day, which is to be read by the number of people the day requires, and so the Maftir could read it, and not be counted as one of the required number, yet at the same time the prescription of reading these sections from the Torah on the Festival is fulfilled. If Rosh Chodesh falls on Sabbath, the principle כל תדיר קודם is invoked - that which occurs regularly has precedence, so that 7 people read the required portion for the week, and Maftir reads the Rosh Chodesh section in Numbers 28, and the H. During the Geonic period, progress is made towards the idea that the Required Reading for the day is done by the number of people required for the day, Kaddish is said, and then

Maftir reads from the Torah, followed by the Haftarah. If there are only as many people present as the reading for the day requires, one of those who has read previously may return to read Maftir and H, preferably the last one, and through this he "counts" in the number of readers for that day, by virtue of his having read once before, not by virtue of his being or reading Maftir. All through the Geonic period there never seems to be a fine distinction drawn between Maftir as the last reader from the Torah of a required number of people, whether there is a H that day or not, and Maftir as the one who reads from the Torah after the required number of people have read, and reads the H from the Prophetic books, and this is the root of the uncertainty which gives rise to the discussions in the Talmud and the Geonic literature.

For the 7th day of Pesach Yehudai gives the reading as Ex.13,v17 - 15,v26, and the H as IISam. 22, vv1-51. This is another reason for supposing that the reading for the 3rd day ends at Ex.13,v16, for why should this reading be prescribed twice without any need for it, since all readings are long enough for their purpose. It may be argued that for other festivals there are times when the same reading is prescribed twice, but this is due to insufficient length, or lack of any more suitable passage for a day. We shall see these later, so I shall refrain from going into them here. For the 8th day the reading is Deut. 15,v19 - 16,v17 (לך פדוּת וְגוֹמַלְתָּ וְגוֹמַלְתָּ)

לך פדוּת =), and the H is Isa.10,v32 - 12,v6. The

Maftir portion from Numbers is the same as for the days of Chol Hamoed, Numb.28, vv19-25.

If there is a Sabbath during Chol Hamoed the reading is Ex.33,v12 - 34,v26, and the H is in Ezek. Ch.37,v1 - either v14 or v28. He merely specifies **ח'ס טו** **אקס'ט**, and while v14 would serve as that, v28 also serves admirably as the end of the subject of the resurrection, which is supposed to be in Nissan.

Yehudai's instructions regarding the readings for Pesach are clear, and, except for the H for Shabbat Chol Hamoed, do not leave much room for doubt. He does not deal with the problem of what happens to the regular Chol Hamoed reading if there is a Shabbat Chol Hamoed, but later Geonim clarify that matter too.

⁴Halachoth Gedoloth repeats Yehudai's prescriptions for the readings, and adds nothing to our knowledge.

⁵SRA gives some minor variants. The Maftir readings for the first two days are given as Numb.28, vv16-25, the H for the 2nd day is given as II Kings 23, vv1-25, and the H for the 8th day is the same, but he quotes the first half of the verse **ז'ה' ור'י י'ש'ה' צ'יון**

while the previous two quote the second half of 12,6 :

כ' ע'ה' אקרהכס ק'ו'ש י'ש'ה'א'ל

⁶SRA also quotes a responsum in the name of Natronai Gaon, and there are other responsa ⁷dealing with the same subject, about what happens to the reading for the 3rd day Chol Hamoed - Ex.34,vv1-26,

when there is a Sabbath during Chol Hamoed. The three responsa all boil down to the same thing in their analysis. If the first day of Passover is Saturday or Sunday, there is no problem, since there is no Shabbath Chol Hamoed. It cannot be Monday, Wednesday, or Friday, so there is no problem there either. If it is Tuesday, then Saturday would coincide with the 3rd day of Chol Hamoed, and the reading is included in the Shabbat Chol Hamoed reading in any case. Thus the only problem that could arise is in the event that the 1st day of Pesach is on Thursday. The answer is to read Ex33,v12-34,v26 on the Sabbath, and just rearrange the other Chol Hamoed readings in the following way :

1st day	Thursday	Ex.12, 14 or 21 (opinions differ about where to start this reading, the general idea apparently being to start at v14 if this is Sabbath)
2nd day	Friday	Lev. 22,v26
3rd day	Sabbath	Ex.33,v 12 (including 34,v1)
4th day	Sunday	Ex.13,v1
5th day	Monday	Ex.22,v24
6th day	Tuesday	Numb. 9,v1.
7th day	Wednesday	Ex.13,v17
8th day	Thursday	Deut.,15,v19.

All that this does is make the readings for the 1st and 2nd days those for the 2nd and 3rd respectively, (of Chol Hamoed) and so settles the matter quickly and simply.

Saadya, in his Siddur gives substantially⁸ the same breakdown for the readings for the 8 days, and in a responsum⁹ the same ruling for the problem above, as well

well as some deviations in the readings for a couple of the days. For the 1st day he gives the Torah reading to start at Ex.12,v21, where most of the others have it start at v.14. According to him the H starts at Josh.5,v9, and he mentions that some start at Josh.5,v2. For the 1st day Chol Hamoed he gives the reading as Ex.13,v1

אֶלֶּרֶב פִּיּוֹ אָח, i.e. v16, as the Parashah of Palestine and the Sidra of Babylonia end there, as well as this this being the logical ending for the reading. He mentions that if the 1st day is a Sabbath, the reading starts at Ex.12,v14, and if the last day is a Sabbath, the reading starts at Deut.14,v22.¹⁰ He mentions in the Siddur that he specifies the Maftir at Numb.28,19 for every day as there ~~were~~ some who did not take out 2 Torahs in Babylonia during Chol Hamoed. For Shabbat Chol Hamoed he gives the rather strange reading for Maftir of Numb.28, vv11-15 and vv19-25, for which I can find no explanation. Saadya does not specify the endings of all the readings, although he is very careful to give explicit instructions in other matters, so that we can establish that the endings of at least the Torah readings were well enough known not to be considered important for mentioning any more by his time. With the H things were not so clear.

11

An anonymous responsum gives a number of different possibilities for the H for the 1st day from

- Joshua. I. Josh.5,v2 - 6,v1 and 6,v27/
 II. Josh3,v5 - 6,v27
 III. Josh .3,vv5-6, and Josh.5,v2-6,v1 and 6,v27

In all these cases it is possible to construe the language as meaning that Ch.6,v1 is not included in the H, but the meaning apparently is that it is. Hai Gaon in a responsum¹² gives yet another possibility: Josh.4,v24 - 6,v1.

He also quotes one opinion as beginning at Ch.3,v5, leaving out 25 vv, then reading 4,v24 - 6,v1. Now, Josh,3,v6 - 4,v23 is 35 verses by our present counting. We could regard the quotation as genuine, in which case the H would be senseless, as 3,v15 or v16 leave matters hanging, and have no relation to Pesach. On the other hand, if we assume a scribal error, that the text meant to say "leave out 35 vv" after Ch.3,v5, then there would be sense. Perhaps there was a slightly different verse division then, so that they read 3,vv5,6, as other Geonim mention, and then left out 35 verses, and resumed at 4,v24, or perhaps the verse division was altogether different, so that 3,v6 - 4,v23 were only 25 vv at that time. The latter seems more unlikely than that Hai meant to say "leave out 35 vv."

Hai also mentions that the custom of his Yeshivah since earliest times has been to read Josh.5,v2-6,v1 and 6,v27. Several secondary sources quote a statement in Hilchoth Reu in which the H for the last day of Passover is IISam.21,v15 - 23,v8.¹³ If the last day of Passover is a Sabbath, there are some who start the Torah reading at Deut,15,v12, rather than at 14, v22.¹⁴

By the end of the Geonic period then, there was almost unanimity about the Torah readings for Passover, and only minor differences in the length of the H for those days.

B. SHAVUOTH.

Our earlier sources give the Torah reading for Shavuoth as **שבועה שבועות** -Deut.16,v9, rather than the reading from Lev.23, in the **פרשת בועדות** that one would almost come to expect. Of course the reading in Lev.23 is perhaps less explicit about Shavuoth than that in Deuteronomy, which mentions Shavuoth by the name it had undoubtedly become best known under by the time of compilation of the Mishnah.¹⁵ We shall not attempt to go into the whys and wherefores of these selections of the early times, merely pointing them out. The Tosefta already gives us an alternate reading,¹⁶ that of the story preceding the giving of the 10 Commandments, in Exodus 19, but it does not state that the 10 Commandments are read. It gives it merely as an alternate reading, along with the same one as the M. However, this is significant in that it tells us that by the time of its compilation the Festival had already become associated with the lawgiving at Sinai, as well as being one of the **שלוש רגלים** the 3 Pilgrim Festivals. Although the associations with events other than agricultural for all the Festivals may have started very early, it was only after the destruction of the Temple and Commonwealth that these historico-religio associations took front rank, which is quite understandable in the light of reason and historical events.

Of course

תפלה במקום קרבן - prayer

in the place of sacrifice did not mean that the memory of the sacrifices should be lost, and so the readings regarding the sacrifices were and are, retained lest Israel forget and would not remember the sacrifices when the Temple would be re-established. But as time passed, these readings of the sacrificial portions assumed a less and less prominent position, being supplanted by the readings dealing with the historical event connected with the Festival wherever possible.

So we find at the completion of the Babylonian Talmud that the reading for the 1st day of Shavuoth is Deut.16,v9, and the H is Habbakuk 3,v1, while that for the 2nd day is Ex.19,v1, and the H is Ezek.1,v1, - the ¹⁷ מרכבה passage. The second set of reading and H are given merely as an alternate opinion, springing from the T, but eventually they were adopted for the two days, in the reverse order, that of Ex.19 being the one for the 1st day, and that of Deut.16, for the 2nd day. This is fully in line with the policy of giving precedence to the historical event connected with the Festival. The earlier sources, of the Y and Massecheth ¹⁸ Soferim still stick to the Deut. reading for the 1 day celebrated in Palestine, and give no H.

Our earliest Geonic source is Halachoth Pesukoth, which, as is usual, defines the ending of the readings. For the 1st day the Reading is Ex.19,v1 - 20,v 26, עד סוף סיפרא. This is correct, for

although there is division of opinion as to the division of the Sidra **וְהָיָה**, as we shall see later, all agree that a Sidra starts at Ex.21,v1. The Maftir reading is Numb.28,v.26-31, and the H is Ezek.1,v1 - 3,v12. For the 2nd day the reading is Deut.15,19 - 16,v17, as on the 8th day of Pesach, the Maftir is the same as on the previous day, and the H is Habbakuk 2,v20 - 3,v19.¹⁹ Halachoth Gedoloth gives the same readings,²⁰ while SRA repeats the same a little less clearly, using the term

וְהָיָה for the reading of the 1st day, and not giving the beginning of the H for the 2nd day, but only telling us that it ends at Habb.3,v19. Either the manuscript is imperfect, or there was no agreement about the beginning of the H, or Amram merely assumed that the beginning was known, and did not bother giving it. Which of these is actually the case, we do not know, and cannot establish.²¹ Siddur Saadya gives the same readings again, except that it only gives the beginning of a reading, and deviates slightly in the H for the 2nd day, giving it as Habb.3,v1.²²

These readings must have been the fully accepted ones by the early Geonic period already, as there is no discussion of them in the responsa material at all, and all authorities are pretty unanimous on the scope of these readings for Shavuoth. As was the case for Pesach, there was again the innovation of the Maftir readings from Numbers, 28, but otherwise there was only definition of the length of the readings.

C. ROSH HASHANAH.

For Rosh Hashanah the M prescribes the reading of **בְּאוֹדֹשׁ הָשָׁבִיעִי בְּאוֹדֹשׁ לְחָדָשׁ**

which could be either from Lev.23, vv23-26, or from Numb. 29,vv1-6.²³

Most likely the reading from Lev.23 is meant, as this is the chapter which is referred to in general as the **פֶּרֶשׁ הַלְוִיָּה**. The T gives the reading as starting at Gen.21, v1, and as an alternate opinion the reading mentioned above, while Massecheth Soferim agrees with the M.²⁴

The Babylonian Talmud gives three readings possible for the 2 days of Rosh Hashanah:

- (i) Numb.29,v1 (or Lev.23,v23), and H is Jer.31, v19 (20)²⁵
- (ii) Gen.21,v1, and as H. ISam.1,v1.
- (iii) Gen.22,v1, and as H Jer.31,v19 (20).

Of these 3 readings, nos.(ii) & (iii) became the accepted ones for the 1st and 2nd days of Rosh Hashanah respectively.²⁶

Halachoth Pesukoth gives the 1st day reading as Gen.21, vv1-34, the Maftir as Numb.29,vv1-6, and the H as I Sam.1,v1 - 2,v10. The text reads **וְעַד הַיּוֹם**

אֲקִסְתִּי, and in the B.H. there is the end of a Seder marked at 2,v10, although this division is not found in most printed versions of the Hebrew Bible.²⁷ For the 2nd day the reading is given as Gen.22, vv1 - 19 or 24 -

וְעַד הַיּוֹם אֲקִסְתִּי. There is the end of a paragraph at v19, but a new Sidra now begins at 23,v1, and it is difficult to determine whether it ended at the one spot or the other

since neither 22,v20 nor 23,v1 are a particularly "auspicious beginning" for a new Sidra, and the Massoretic text of the B.H. does not indicate where the Palestinian Seder ended. The Latter merely gives 23,v1 as the beginning of a new Seder of the Babylonian cycle . However, even this does not help much, for while we could say that the reading ended at v24, on the basis that other readings ended at the end of a Sidra, on the other hand, the paragraph of Gen.22, vv20-24 neither ends very well, nor is it relevant to the subject. The odds lie more in favour of the ending at v24, but it certainly cannot be stated so with certitude. The Maftir reading from Numbers 29 is the same as on the previous day, and the H is given as Jer.31,vv1-19(2-20).

Halachoth Gedoloth gives the same set of readings for the 2 days of Rosh Hashanah,²⁹ as does SRA³⁰, and also Siddur Saadya.³¹ About these readings too, there seems to have been little or no discussion, as there is little or no material available giving dissenting opinions. It is interesting to note here that the verse quoted for the Jeremiah H, in this case is used as the last of the H, while usually it is used as the first, or near the beginning of the H, or at least is one of the verses in the main body of the H. Why this came about is difficult to say. Perhaps the Geonim felt that the vv before it were more suitable as the H than those following.

D. YOM KIPPUR.

In the M the only reading mentioned for Yom Kippur is that of **אחריו ביום** -Lev.16,vl.³² However, we are also told that the High Priest used to read Lev.23, vv26ff on that day.³³ The reading in Lev.23 would be quite consistent with the idea of reading the laws for a Festival from that chapter, but it is never again mentioned as a reading. The T³⁴ gives the same reading in Lev.16, but also mentions that there is a Maftir in Numb.29,(v7ff), which is read off by heart; while M.S. merely gives the reading of Lev.16³⁵. The B gives the reading for Shacharith as Lev.16,vl, and the H as Isaiah 57,v15, and for Minchah the reading of the **עריית**³⁶ passage in Lev.18, with the H being the book of Jonah.

It might appropriate to note here that the wording of the verses introducing the regulations for the various Festivals in Lev.23, and Numb.28-29 is very similar for the two books. From a critical point of view this is easily understandable, since the Holiness code of Leviticus and the Priestly code of Numbers spring essentially from the same source, and are not too far apart in time. However, with the sparseness of words often employed in the written forms of the pre-Talmudic and Talmudic writings, it is not difficult to understand that it is not impossible for confusion to arise as to which reading is actually meant, that in Leviticus, the

generally accepted source for the early readings, or that in Numbers, usually a trifle longer, and giving instructions regarding the actual sacrifices for the Festivals. We do not have enough evidence to say that both were read in earliest times. From the few references we do have to the readings in Numbers, usually in the Tosefta, we might consider the idea that the readings in Numbers gradually came to replace the sacrifices for the Festivals, once the Temple was no longer extant, to keep alive the knowledge of the sacrifices. At first they were perhaps said by heart, then later, when the custom became very widespread, actually read from the Torah either at Shacharith or at Mussaf, then still later, the practice evolved of both using these as the Maftir readings at the Festivals, and incorporating them into the Mussaf Amidah where we find them today. The conversion of the first step into the second might have been due to the rule that one might not read the Torah off by heart, and from there it was easy to incorporate them into the Mussaf Service, which itself was the replacement for the additional sacrifice for the day, but there was no more the idea of reading the Torah off by heart, since the section had already been read from the Torah.

How much of the above is so cannot be established. Except for the scattered references in the T to the readings from Numbers, the Talmudim are silent on the matter, and the Geonic period knows of the readings as established Maftir readings, to finish the reading of

the Law therewith and with the Haftarah. SRA mentions for the Festivals that the Torahs are taken out and read at Mussaf on those occasions, rather than at Shacharith, as we are accustomed to doing. The other sources do not specifically state that the Torah is read at Shacharith except for Yom Kippur and Fast-days. This could lead to all sorts of speculations as to just when the Torah was read in Geonic times, at Shacharith, at Mussaf, or both, but it is not the task of this paper to deal with this, except to point out what has been pointed out with respect to the matter of the Maftir readings from the book of Numbers, and the fact that the readings from Lev.23 all but disappear except for the 2nd day of the two long Festivals, and of course the regular reading of the chapter in the course of the AC. All we know is that the Numbers readings are not mentioned in the pre-Geonic literature, (which does not preclude the possibility of their having been used in one form or another), but are both mentioned and treated as a well established principle in the Geonic literature which we do have.

Yehudai's H.P. again clarifies the readings. For Shacharith the reading from the Torah is Lev.16, vv1-34 (to the end of the **ל'י**), Maftir is Numb.29, vv7-11, and H is Is.57, v14 - 58, v14 and 59, vv20-21.³⁷ At Minchah the reading is Lev.18, vv1-30, the complete **ל'י**

up to the beginning of קדושים, and the H is to be Obadiah 1,v21 ,the book of Jonah, and Micah 7,vv18-20.

The printed text of H.G. gives the same Torah readings as H.P., but the wording of the rule for the Shacharith H is ambiguous enough to allow the H itself to stop at Is.58,v14, while the 2vv from Ch.59, vv.20-21 could be part of the liturgy that follows the H, and not part of the H itself. However, it is most likely that he means them to be part of the H itself. Also, for the Torah reading for Shacharith, there are manuscripts cited ³⁸ which give the ending of this reading a number of possible variations - Lev.17,v16, or at the אקס or the סוף הענין, wherever he may have adjudged these to be. The one most likely to be correct is the one chosen by Dr.Hildesheimer - that at Lev.16,v30, but it is interesting to note that these variations did exist. It might be mentioned en passant that this is the one time also that H.G. gives the reading of the Torah as taking place at Mussaf, rather than simply giving the reading without specifying when it is to take place, as was the usual custom.

SRA gives a slight variation for the Shacharith H, having it commence at Isaiah 57,v15, instead of at v14, and definitely ending at 58,v14. This, of course would still suffice for the 2lvv needed were Yom Kippur to fall on Sabbath, assuming that Amram had the same verse

division as we do.³⁹ The other readings for Yom Kippur are the same as in the other cases. Saadya in his Siddur gives the same readings as Amram,⁴⁰ but for the afternoon H he mentions only the book of Jonah, not reading the extra vv. from Obadiah and Micah that the others do. These last three authorities specifically state that the Minchah H is read by the 3rd reader from the Torah, probably having in mind the whole discussion that revolves around whether the Maftir counts as one of the readers required for the Torah or not. There is also a note to P.371 of the Siddur of Saadya that there used to be a custom of taking out another Torah just before Neilah and reading from it the first part of Genesis, and a H from Is.60, vllff, but Saadya says that this has no justifiable basis. It must have died out early in the Sephardi communities, as neither Maimonides nor Abudraham mention it.

There are responsa attributed to Natronai⁴¹ and Hai⁴² which also give the ruling that the H at Minchah is to be read by the 3rd reader from the Torah. One anonymous responsum⁴³ tries to establish the reason for reading the passage of **לר'ח** in Lev.18 at Minchah. The reading thereof is not questioned, but it is established that anyone who has transgressed these laws of incest must atone for it personally, since Yom Kippur does not do it for him. Since he may have forgotten this most serious transgression, he is reminded about it by the reading, and so still has time to repent for it before Neilah.

There are also two interesting responsa cited⁴⁴, both anonymous, which may have a bearing on Simchath Torah, or may simply be mentions of a defunct custom. The first, quoted in two slightly differing forms, tells us that there was at the time of their writing a custom, in either one Yeshiva, or both, to read "at the time of Minchah" on Yom Kippur the first 5vv of Genesis. This may have been done off by heart, as the Shema was read, but more likely it was done from a Torah, and indeed, Saadya, in the 2nd responsum is quoted as saying that it was read from a Torah just before Minchah. The one version cites an Aggadah to the effect that Satan during the 10 days of Repentance makes cause against the Jews, but God silences him with the retort that the Jews have only just finished the Torah, and are already starting it over because of their great love for it, i.e. immediately they finish the Torah they begin it over. In the other version Satan says that the Jews have finished the Torah, and are not worthy (of being forgiven ?) but God replied that they had not yet finished it, and were already starting it over. What the purpose of this reading was, we cannot say, nor when and how it originated. The second version seems to be the more correct, as already in Talmudic times the last section of the Torah וְזָאת הַבְּרָכָה was to be read on the 2nd day of Shemini Atzereth, while by the time of Saadya the Torah was begun again immediately afterwards, and the day called Simchath Torah.

In the Tur, Orach Chayyim, ch.669, there is mention of not giving Satan an opportunity to take up cause against Israel because they have finished the Torah. This is very reminiscent of the responsum above, and may be an application of this principle to Simchath Torah, or perhaps this responsum was meant to apply to Simchath Torah and its readers thought it meant Yom Kippur. In terms of time and circumstance, the Aggadah regarding Satan is applicable to both occasions, for Yom Kippur where they had not even finished the Torah yet, and for Simchath Torah, that they had just finished it, and in both cases were most eager to recommence it because of their great love for it. One is tempted to give a homiletic interpretation of this, saying that as long as one is studying Torah, nothing evil will befall one, so that on Yom Kippur the Jews start the Torah afresh to show their eagerness to study and live by the Torah, if only given the chance to do so in the coming year, and signify their willingness to do so by starting with Genesis even before they have fully completed the cycle with the end of Deuteronomy. For Simchath Torah, when they actually do complete the Torah, they start it again immediately for the same reason as above, also to show that it has no beginning and no end. We are however, left still with the statement that the Jews had finished the reading of the whole Torah by Yom Kippur, as the first version of the responsum tells us in God's reply to Satan.

If the responsum dates to an early enough time we could conjecture that the Jews in some places did indeed finish the reading of the Torah cycle by Shabbat Shuvah, provided we are prepared to juggle a little with the Jewish calendar, and take into consideration the differences in splitting up the Parashoth and Sidroth. However, neither the AC nor the TC, in the normal course of events, was so arranged at the time that the Torah would not have been started over again. If either cycle ended at one time before Rosh Hashanah, there would always be a Sabbath between the two for the Torah to have been recommenced, even if either of them fell on Sabbath. Thus we would tend to dismiss the statement that Israel had ended the Torah already by Yom Kippur as a copyists error, or as a metaphoric use of the idea to make the retort to Satan stronger. If we do choose to try to track this down fully, we run into unanswerable questions, which are hardly more satisfying than the above admittedly "easy way out" interpretation.

The second of the two responsa cited above credits Saadya with mentioning the custom, but does not mention the Haftarah which is given in his Siddur as accompanying the reading of Gen.1. This responsum states that the Geonim who came after Saadya did not agree with him on the custom, and did not observe it, but that they do indeed state that it is a custom to read the first part

of Genesis on Simchath Torah immediately after finishing the Torah, in many places. They do allow this to be done either directly, or by means of interpretation, or some other way, not giving it as a hard and fast rule that it must be read from the Torah.

We are thus left with no fully clear idea of what the custom was, or when it started and died out, unless again we resort to the homily that it was read just before Neilah on Yom Kippur on the theory that the total forgiveness of sins on Yom Kippur was tantamount to being re-born, while the world returned to its pristine state of purity, the state it was in right after it had been created. This is hardly objective or scholarly, but it is no worse than some of the reasons given for practices in Judaism which someone had to justify, or thought he had to justify. At any rate, we do know that it was a dead or dying custom by the end of the Geonic era, and the idea of re-starting the Torah immediately after concluding it on Simchath Torah, still had overtones of Satan's denunciation of Israel at the time of the compilation of the Turim. Perhaps the Aggadah was used originally for Yom Kippur, as were and are so many, and then, later, when the custom disappeared from Yom Kippur the Aggadah was still left current as being appropriate for Simchath Torah, after Saadya's time the established day for recommencing the Torah immediately after its conclusion in the Babylonian system of Torah reading.

E. SUCCOTH.

The M tells us to read the laws of Succoth in the Parashath Moadoth, in Lev.23, vv33ff on the 1st day of Succoth, and the Korbanoth Hechag for the rest of the days of Succoth, from Numbers 29.⁴⁵ The Tosefta specifies the readings for each day, as well as giving the same reading for the 1st day.⁴⁶ There we are told to read the appropriate sacrifice for each day, i.e. on the 2nd day, we read "And on the 2nd day" -Numb.29,vv 17-19, on the 3rd day, "And on the 3rd day", 29,vv20-22, etc. There is no special mention of Shemini Atzereth, since there is a reading provided for it in the section in Numbers, and it is simply mentioned as the "8th day" in the above mentioned T text. M.S.⁴⁷ merely repeats the prescription of the M in regard to the readings for Succoth.

It must be remembered that for these sources, all of which emanate from Palestine, there is no problem raised by the 2nd day, and the doubts as to the correctness of the day on which a Festival is celebrated, the **אבית קריא** which plays such a prominent role in determining the readings for the Babylonian and diaspora Jewry. By the time the B was compiled the Jews of the Diaspora were confronted by a double problem, which the Talmud text itself does nothing to help resolve - that

of which "day" to read from Numbers 29, and how to fit the number of verses provided by these readings into four readings for 4 men on the days of Chol Hamoed Succoth. How these readings ever sufficed in Palestine for 4 men we do not know, as even reading 1 verse each, there are still only 3 verses to each "day" in Numbers 29 for Succoth. However, be all that as it may, the discussion on the readings for Succoth is to me the most revealing of all in the matter of adjusting to the rules for Torah reading, as there is involved in the matter more than one principle, and those that are used must be harmonised. We shall find use made that no man should read less than 3 vv, that 4 people must read from the Torah on Chol Hamoed, that verses should not be divided or repeated except where possibility of abiding by this does not exist, and woven through it all is the notion that there is the doubt about the correctness of the day of celebration.

The Talmud recognises that there is a 2nd day of Succoth and of Shemini Atzereth, which latter is treated henceforth as a separate holiday in the matter of being given a second day, but is still part of the Succoth Festival for some things, including the Torah readings. A set of readings for the beginning and end days is given, and just a reference made to the readings for the Chol Hamoed days so general that it does not determine anything, and in addition, Shabbat Chol Hamoed is provided with a reading.

The readings given in the Talmud are as follows :

1st day : Lev, 23, vv33, ff.

H: Zech. 14, v1.

2nd day : Lev, 23, vv33, ff.

H: I Kings, 8, v2.

Intermediate days of Succoth (The Talmud states *ואמר כס יחול* *הקרבנות האלה*) read from

the Sacrifices of the Festival - Numbers 29.

On the last day of the Festival :

כס הקבורה מצות

ואחיקם ואכור, i.e. Deut 15, v19, as on the last days of Pesach and Shavuoth, and some other unspecified sections, the interpretation of the words varying as we shall see presently.

H: I Kings, 8, v54

or 9, v1.

(The phrase *ויהי ככלות שלמה* occurs in both places, but the first is the generally accepted one)

On the Following day: Deut. 33, v1 ff.

H: I Kings, 8, v22.

Shabbath Chol Hamoed: Ex. 33, v12.

H: Ezek. 38, v18.

On the surface the readings for the first 2 days, and the last 2 days are clear, but a number of items related to the Talmud text are vague, and a fair amount is said about them, in attempting to clear them up. It will become fairly clear from what ensues, that while Shemini Atzereth is considered a separate holiday by later times, at one time it must not have been so, since its reading was never specified as a separate one early in the literature and even later on the discussion revolves around which of the "days" to read on that day as the Maftir reading, as though it were simply the last day of Succoth. It seems that we run into trouble once we have the Yom Tov Sheni shel Galuyoth, as, if we regard Succoth as originally a 7 day holiday, then the 8th day would have been introduced as the "extra day" anyhow. But the 8th day is a Yom Tov in its own right, according to even the Talmudic authorities, and is provided with a "second day". Thus the 8th day is at the same time the "doubtful" 7th day of Succoth,

and the "doubtful" first day of Shemini Atzereth, or, as it is also called, the **יום טוב האחרון** - "the last Yom Tov", perhaps meaning the last of the current cycle which started with Rosh Hashanah, or perhaps meaning the last day of Succoth itself, even though it is regarded as a separate holiday. This "overlap" led to much discussion, as we shall see.

The first one to tackle the problem is Yehudai Gaon, in Halachoth Pesukoth. As usual, he gives clear instructions about the ending of the readings.

- 1st day : Lev.22,v26 - 23,v.44
 Maftir : Numb.29,v 12 - **עַד סוּף פְּסָקָא** "the end of the Paragraph, which, in the ambiguous terminology used then could mean just to the end of the "1st day", i.e. to v16, or it could mean to the end of the section on Succoth - v39, or 30,v1, as one does not leave over less than 3 vv in a paragraph.
 Haftarah : Zech. 14, vv1-21.
- 2nd day : Lev.22,v26 - 23, v.44.
 Maftir : Numb.29,vv12-16 and 17-19 (the "2nd day")
 Haftarah : I Kings 7, v51 - 8,v15.
- 3rd day : Cohen: Numb.29,vv 17-19 (the "2nd day")
 Levi: 20-22 (the "3rd day")
 1st Israelite : 20-22 (the "3rd day")
 2nd Israelite : 17-19 (the "2nd day")
- 4th day : Cohen: Numb.29,vv 20-22 (the "3rd day")
 Levi: 23-25 (the "4th day")
 1st Israelite : 23-25 (the "4th day")
 2nd Israelite : 20-22 (the "3rd day")
- 5th day : Cohen: Numb.29,vv 23-25 (the "4th day")
 Levi : 26-28 (the "5th day")
 1st Israelite : 26-28 (the "5th day")
 2nd Israelite : 23-25 (the "4th day")

6th day : Cohen: Numb.29,vv 26-28 (the "5th day")
 Levi: 29-31 (the "6th day")
 1st Israelite : 29-31 (the "6th day")
 2nd Israelite : 26-28 (the "5th day")

7th day : Cohen: Numb.29,vv 29-31 (the "6th day")
 Levi: 32-34 (the "7th day")
 1st Israelite : 32-34 (the "7th day")
 2nd Israelite : 29-31 (the "6th day")

8th day (also the 1st day Yom Tov):

Deut.15,v19 - 16,v17

Maftir : Numb.29,vv35-38.

Haftarah : I Kings 8,vv54-66 (or 9,v1 ?)

H.P. gives the instruction **אָפּוֹסֵף מִן הַפָּסוק** which could mean either place as far as an ending of the Inyan or paragraph is concerned, or even mean 9,v4 in order to complete both an Inyan and have enough vv to correspond to the number of readers.

2nd day (of Yom Tov, or the 9th day) :

Deut.33,v1 to end of book.

Maftir : Numb.29,v 35 - 38 (or 30,v1. He states

אָפּוֹסֵף מִן הַפָּסוק which could apply to either of these, as the Tiberian text in B.H. has a space at v38, although there are only 2 vv left over to the beginning of the next marked paragraph, which is also the beginning of a new Sidra today, and also marked as such in the text of B.H. -the Tiberian Massora.)

Haftarah : I Kings 8,v22. (He does not give the ending of this H.)

or

Joshua 1,v1 - 18. (which seems to be the accepted H, at least to him, since he gives its full extent.)

Shabbat Chol Hamoed :

Ex.33,v12 - 34,v26.

Maftir : Depending on which day of Succoth it falls, the Maftir reads the portion from Numbers for that day, and the day before. e.g. if it is on the 3rd day of Succoth, he reads vv 20-25 (the "3rd & 4th days"), or if it is on the 5th day, he reads vv23-28 (the "4th & 5th Days"). If it is on the 6th day, (the only other possible one), he reads vv26-31 (the "5th & 6th days").

Haftarah : Ezek.38,v1 **אָפּוֹסֵף מִן הַפָּסוק**, which could be at 38,v16 or 17, or 39, 10,16,22,24 or 29. Any of these could serve as Sof Hainyan, depending on how it is interpreted.

The above is merely the outline of the scheme of these readings as given in the corrected text of the manuscript of H.P. as published by S.Sasoon in 1950. He has many relevant notes too, some of which might be mentioned profitably. Note 1 to line 1 of P.183 mentions that the early Posekim had variations on the idea of reading the "2nd day" (vv.17-19 on the 2nd day of Succoth, some doing so, and others not. That is to say, while following the general outline given above, they did not read the "2nd day" on that day, as Yehudai prescribes. From the prescriptions given for the 2nd day of Shemini Atzereth, it appears that it was not yet the custom, in Yehudai's circles at least, to read Genesis on this day, and begin the Torah anew. Even later, this custom was not universal, as in note 6 to p.183 it is mentioned that in the Eshkol there is mention of it as a widespread custom, but not yet a universal one. We shall discuss some of these variants shortly. In line with the leaving out of the "2nd day" by some, is the discussion regarding the "8th day" and the "7th day".

In Succah, B.p55a, in a discussion it is mentioned that one man would "skip" the 2nd day, and one the 7th day. This is taken over by Yehudai to explain why, on the 8th day of Succoth, when by his scheme both the "7th" and the "8th" day should have been read as

the Maftir portion, only the "8th" day is read, and the "7th" day skipped. He further reports the saying of Amemar ⁵⁰ in Nehardea : ד'מדר לג'נ דלג' as meaning that on the 7th day, which is the day of the willows, the 4th reader finishes off by repeating the "6th" day. And so the debate went on and on as to which "day" to skip, or which to repeat, and how to work things out satisfactorily.

Yehudai also explains why we read 2 Inyanim from Numb.29 every day instead of one or three or four. One we do not read in any case, since we are not sure that it would be the correct "day" that we are reading. Two is sufficient, the "day" which it actually is today, and the one for yesterday, which might have been correct for this day, assuming the Festival actually had started on the "2nd day" of the Galuth. I.e. on the 4th day we read the "3rd" day which it might really be today, as well as the "4th" day which it might really be today. These are the only two possibilities, so more than these two Inyanim are unnecessary. Thus one authority's interpretation of the rules for the readings of Succoth. The readings for the first and last days, and their Haftarothe were less in dispute than the scheme for Chol Hamoed, which was interpreted differently already by the next "codifier", Shimon Kayyara, in Halachoth Gedoloth.

In this work, he agrees with the readings for the 1st and 2nd day, even to being as vague as his predecessor about the ending of the Maftir section for the two days. ⁵¹ For the Chol Hamoed readings, however, he

gives a completely different scheme. (For the balance of the discussion on Succoth I shall refrain from mentioning the Chapter in Numbers each time I refer to the Maftir readings, but shall only give verse numbers. The portions discussed are in Numbers 29, v 12 -30,v1.)

Maftir readings :

1st day : vv12 - אָרְבַּע יָמִים , v16 or 19.

2nd day : as above.

3rd day : Cohen: vv17-19. ("2nd day")
 Levi: vv20-22 ("3rd day")
 1st Israelite: vv23-25 ("4th day")
 2nd Israelite: vv17-22 ("2nd & 3rd" days)

4th day: Cohen: vv20-22 (3rd day)
 Levi: vv23-25 ("4th day")
 1st Israelite vv26-28 ("5th day")
 2nd Israelite vv20-25 ("3rd & 4th days")

This goes on for the 5th, 6th, and 7th days, each day 3 "days" being read by the first 3 readers, and the 4th repeating the first two portions. Thus we have

7th day : Cohen: vv29-31 ("6th day")
 Levi: vv32-34 ("7th day")
 1st Israelite :vv35-38 or 30,v1 ("8th day")
 2nd Israelite: vv29-34 ("6th & 7th days")

For the last 2 days he agrees with Yehudai's readings, except that he gives the ending of the Maftir section as

אָרְבַּע יָמִים ,i.e. Numb.30,v1, and for the 2nd day of Shemini Atzereth he gives only the H from Joshua, as above. He also gives the same regulations for Shabbat Chol Hamoed as does Yehudai in respect of the readings, Haftarothe and

Maftir readings, except that he also conceives of Sabbath Chol Hamoed being on the 4th day of Succoth, which cannot happen, as then Succoth would have to start on Wednesday, which means that Rosh Hashanah would be on Wednesday. This is hardly consistent, as a few lines further, on the same page (620 -ed. Hildesheimer, Berlin, 1888) he gives the mnemonic for Rosh Hashanah, and tells us that it cannot be on Sunday, Wednesday, or Friday, and neither then can Succoth. Unless he was ignorant of, or ignored the principles of calendation, it must be assumed that a scribal error crept in here. This is not difficult, as there has just been constant, monotonous repetition of phrases dealing with the number of a day and its appropriate reading.

H.G. also quotes the statement regarding which "days" to skip (or "repeat"?- the word אֵלֶּכָּה) is used in that sense in Meg.B.22a & Taanith,B.26a) from Succah 55a, but apparently applies the whole concept differently. He agrees with both authorities, in that the "2nd" day is not read on the 2nd day, while the "7th" day is skipped on the 8th day, only the "8th" day being read that day. In the first instance he disagrees with Yehudai, in the 2nd he agrees. It seems that both men wished to achieve a certain continuity in the readings, both wished to adhere as closely as possible within the limitations of length to the prescribed readings, but both differed in their idea of how this should be done. There are yet other variations on these Maftir readings, which we shall present, and then discuss and compare all of them together.

52

SRA agrees on the whole with the readings for the 1st 2 and last 2 days of the Festival of Succoth with Yehudai and H.G. He also agrees with regard to the Sabbath Chol Hamoed reading and Haftarah. For the Maftir sections he has again a slightly different version for the 8 days, as follows :

1st Day : VV 12 - 16.

2nd day : vv 12- 16.

<u>3rd day</u> :	Cohen	vv 17-19	("2nd day")
	Levi	vv20-22	("3rd day")
	1st Israelite	vv23-25	("4th day")
	2nd Israelite	vv17-19	("2nd day")

This is substantially the same as the scheme of H.G., with the one difference that the 4th reader reads only the one "day" - that of the 1st reader. This continues to the

<u>7th day</u> :	Cohen	vv29-31	("6th day")
	Levi	vv32-34	("7th day")
	1st Israelite	vv35-38 (or 30,v1)	("8th day")
	2nd Israelite	vv29-31	("6th day")

8th day : vv35 - 30,v1. ("8th day")

2nd day of Yom Tov : as above.

As is the case with the two preceding discussions, Amram mentions that we read two "days" as Maftir, and during Chol Hamoed since there is doubt as to which day it really is today as far as Succoth is concerned.

53

Siddur Saadya in its discussion of Succoth readings , agrees with the Torah and Haftarah readings for the first and 2nd day Succoth, the first day of Shemini Atzereth; it agrees also with the Torah

reading for Shabbat Chol Hamoed , and the Torah and Haftarah readings for the 2nd day of Shemini Atzereth, which is here called Simchath Torah, probably the first mention of this name for the day that we have in the literature. However, in his Siddur Saadya does not mention the reading of Genesis on that day. Saadya has a different beginning for the H of Shabbat Chol Hamoed in his Siddur - Ezek.38,18, which is the verse given by the Babylonian Talmud.

For the Maftir readings Saadya has another alternative, even two, one of which he discards. First, there is mention of "lazy" people, who take it easy, the first three readers for Chol Hamoed all reading that day's "day", and the 4th presumably reading tomorrow's "day", although he does not state so specifically, a fragment of the Siddur being missing which has this information, as well as that pertaining to the Maftir for Shabbat Chol Hamoed. Here is his resolution :

1st day : vv12 - 16

2nd day : vv12 - 16

<u>3rd day</u> :	Cohen	vv17-19	("2nd day")	
	Levi	vv 20-22	("3rd day")	
	1st Israelite	vv20-22	("3rd day")	- the preferred one
	<u>or</u>	vv17-19	("2nd day")	
	2nd Israelite	vv17-22	("2nd & 3rd days")	

This means reading 2 "days" daily, the 1st Israelite repeating what the 2nd reader read, the 2nd Israelite repeating both "days". This continues to the 7th day, where the readings are vv29-31,32-34,32-34,29-34 - the "6th & 7th days".

For the 8th and next day he gives the same Maftir as the others - vv35 - 30,v1.

We find a few more minor variations on the same theme of the Maftir readings for the days, especially the Chol Hamoed ones, and also for the 2nd day and the 8th day. These are in various responsa, some of which are anonymous.⁵⁴ The first one, no.201 employs Saadya's system, explaining why each one reads what he does. On the first 2 days they read only vv12-16 as Maftir, as reading the "2nd day" (vv17-19) would "cheapen" the holiness of the 2nd day of Succoth, which, after all might be actually the 1st day of Succoth. On the 3rd day, the Cohen reads vv17-19 ("2nd day"), which he does because this day is really the 2nd day of Succoth, counting yesterday as the 1st day, which it might have been. Levi reads the "3rd day", which it actually is today, according to the way it is counted, so it has to be read that day. The 1st Israelite merely repeats the "3rd day", while the 2nd Israelite reads both "days", since there is doubt whether yesterday or today is the second or third day, and therefore the sacrifice for either day might be applicable to this day, and so both must be read. For this same responsum a variant is given which follows the system of H.G. The next 4 responsa, nos.202-205 deal with nothing new, just repeating what has been said ad nauseam about the Maftir readings, except

that no.203 mentions that on Shabbat Chol Hamoed the Exodus section is read by 6 people , and the 7th reads the Maftir section. This is either a scribal error, or the writing of one belonging to the school of thought that the Maftir counts as one of the 7 readers for Sabbath.

Nos.206 & 207 present us with another variation on the readings. In no.206 we could get the following system :

3rd day :	Cohen	vv17-19	("2nd day")
	Levi	vv20-22	("3rd day")
	1st Israelite	vv17-19	("2nd day")
	2nd Israelite	vv20-22	("3rd day")

The writer then goes on to give the reading for the 7th day, which corresponds to the system of Yehudai in H.P. viz., 29-31,32-34,32-34,29-31. No.207, in the name of Saadya, and this is lacking in his published works to date, reverses this 7th day set, and makes it conform to the system above, viz., 29-31,32-34,29-31,32-34.

Our other set of responsa, nos.230-237, give us little more information on this matter of the Maftir readings. No.231 attributes variously to Yehudai, Natronai, and Hai the idea that while according to the scheme of things we would be required to read both the "7th" and the "8th" day as Maftir on the 8th day of Succoth, also the 1st of Shemini Atzereth, we dispense with the "7th" day, and read only the "8th", and that reading

goes all the way from 29,v35 to 30,v1, as otherwise there would be only two verses left at the end of the paragraph, which the law forbids.

It now becomes necessary to summarise the different methods of dealing with the Maftir readings for the 8 days of Succoth, and also the principles on which they came about. To recapitulate for a moment, the early literature, including the Talmud merely state that during Chol Hamoed the sections from the Sidra **והיה** should be read, i.e. from Numbers 29,v12ff to 30,v1. By the time of the Geonim the Leviticus reading became that for the 2nd day of the long Festivals, except for Succoth, where it was read for both the 1st and 2nd day, and the readings from Deuteronomy 15,v19ff was introduced for the last day of a Festival, -for the Pilgrim Festivals to which it applied. By the time of the Geonim too, there were Maftir readings for all Festivals from the relevant sections in Numbers 28 and 29. For Chol Hamoed Pesach no readings had been specified early, but they were introduced by the end of the era of the Talmud, the 4th reader on those days reading a "Maftir" section from Numbers 28. However, for Succoth the readings from Numbers 29 were Halachah from earliest times, at least for the Chol Hamoed days, from which they were extended to the first and last days of the Festival itself. Along with, or before, the introduction

of these readings, the 2nd day of Yom Tov was introduced in Babylonia and the Diaspora. This had an effect on the Festival readings, but suitable adjustments could be made in every case except for Succoth. For Succoth there were no suitable passages to read for the first and last days other than those dealing with the Festival in Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy, and in addition, the Numbers 29 sections were Halachically required to be read on Chol Hamoed. As each section within it is short, and refers only to a specific day, it would be difficult to fit 4 readers into this without some repetition, which is recognised by the Geonim, Saadyah specifically stating that only in the קרבנות קהל are verses of the Torah allowed to be repeated, presumably meaning apart from those repeated on Sabbath by the Maftir, i.e. referring to the fact that only in this instance does one who repeats verses belong to the required number of readers for that day. Some alleviation of this thorny problem was afforded by the פקד' ד' אב' by means of which it could be claimed to be mandatory that at least 2 of the short passages in Numb.29 be read daily, but of course this still would not provide sufficient verses for 4 readers. Also the "2nd day Yom Tov" brought new problems for Succoth.

- We may divide the problems into 3 major areas:
- (i) The 2nd day of Succoth, and whether or not to read the "2nd day" (vv.17-19) on that day.
 - (ii) The 8th day - Shemini Atzereth, which is a separate holiday, but which may only be the 7th day of Succoth in reality.
 - (iii) The methods of having 4 readers for the

days of Chol Hamoed without breaking any ritual laws, or getting entangled in a wrong system.

Let us proceed to see what was done about all this.

(i) As far as the 2nd day of Succoth is concerned, most Geonic authorities did not have the "2nd" day read from the Torah. If this day might have been the 1st day of Succoth, then it would be detracting from its importance to read any more than the sacrifices for the 1st day on it. The view that from a practical point of view it actually is the 2nd day, and that therefore the sacrifices for the 2nd day ought to be mentioned on it, was not popularly accepted by these authorities.

(ii) Shemini Atzereth is a separate holiday, and deserves to be treated as such. Now, at the same time, with the element of "doubt", it might only be the 7th day of Succoth. All systems worked out for the Maftir readings would have both the "7th" and the "8th" days read on that day, as 2 Inyanim were to be read every day. However, on the basis of the dictum in Succah p.55a, whereby it was possible to "skip" a day, or "defer" it, -in the eyes of those who interpreted it so - it was universally agreed that although the "7th" day ought to have been read on Shemini Atzereth, it would not be, and only the "8th" day would be read, thus according Shemini Atzereth its Biblical status of a full holiday. Probably with the aid

of a little juggling of legal concepts which is not vouchsafed us in the texts we have, it was decided that Shemini Atzereth was actually the 8th day since starting to celebrate Succoth, and so regains its status. Of course, once it had back its status as a full and separate holiday, it also got a 2nd day added to it, for which the Maftir reading was the same as the previous day. If the principle of not reading the "2nd" day on the 2nd day could be used, because it might "cheapen" the holiness and value of this day should it actually turn out to be the first day of Succoth, then the same could be applied with equal ease to the 8th day, a separate holiday, which would be cheapened by reading the sacrificial portions for the 7th day, if it should actually turn out to be the 8th day, and a full Yom Tov at that.

(iii) The readings and the systems for them for Chol Hamoed. This applies for the 3rd to 7th days inclusive. In the sources, I have come across 7 different methods of splitting them up amongst 4 men for these days, so that 2 Inyanim are read daily, - the one for the actual number of the day, and the one for the number which the day might be. The problems of continuity and repetition are dealt with in different ways, so I shall give a sample for each, and then comment on each. I have chosen the 3rd day of Succoth, the 1st of Chol Hamoed for these examples.

1. Yehudai Gaon. - Halachoth Pesukoth.
(All verse numbers apply to Numbers ch.29.)

<u>Cohen</u>	<u>Levi</u>	<u>1st Israelite</u>	<u>2nd Israelite</u>
17-19	20-22	20-22	17-19

2. Halachoth Gedoloth

17-19	20-22	23-25	17-22
-------	-------	-------	-------

3. Seder Rav Amram Hashalem.

17-19	20-22	23-25	17-19
-------	-------	-------	-------

4. Saadya Gaon - Siddur Saadya.

17-19	20-22	20-22	17-22
-------	-------	-------	-------

5. Saadya Gaon - mentioned in Siddur, but discarded.

17-19	20-22	17-19	17-22
-------	-------	-------	-------

6. A responsum - Otzar Geonim Megillah no.206.

17-19	20-22	17-19	20-22
-------	-------	-------	-------

7. (mentioned in a note in Siddur Saadya)

20-22	20-22	20-22	? (20-22)
-------	-------	-------	--------------

Except for the 7th system, which has the appearance of a Palestinian one, rather than a Babylonian one, and which requires no comment, the others all have some elements in common, and some that differ. They have in common the element that two "days" are read as a minimum, that some repetition is made, and that they are struggling for a solution of the problems outlined above. It is noticeable that Cohen and Levi read the same thing

in all of them - one Inyan each, Cohen taking the one for the day before, and Levi the one for the present day. This fulfills the obligation to read the two "days" which this day might be.

Once these two have read, the readings for the two remaining men are solved in varying ways. Since repetition is unavoidable here, it is permitted to do so, and once you do repeat verses or sections, combinations of doing so multiply. Systems 1,3, and 6 all go by the idea that each reader should read only one Inyan, except that in systems 1 & 6 they stay with reading only a total of 2 Inyanim, simply repeating the 2 required for the day either in the same order twice, or in reverse order the second time, while system 3 regards the 4th reader almost as a "Maftir", in that the first 3 readers read a different Inyan each, and the 4th reader repeats the 1st one, rather than the last, as a Maftir would normally do, as the last one is not one of the Inyanim required for this day. System 2 is similar to system 3, in that the first 3 readers each take a separate Inyan, only here the "Maftir" repeats the 2 Inyanim required for the day. In the 4 above systems, no Inyan is read more than twice, and then either one or both of the readings required for this day are repeated. Systems 4 & 5, those of Saadya again stick to only reading the two required Inyanim for the day, but in both of these

the last reader again acts as "Maftir", repeating both Inyanim, while the 3rd reader re-reads either the 1st or the 2nd Inyan. Thus in these two systems, one of the 2 Inyanim for the day is repeated 3 times. Saadyah mentions that of these 2 systems, no.4, in which the present "day" is the one that is repeated 3 times, is the preferred one. While I think that these varying forms of the Chol Hamoed Succoth readings were not dictated by caprice, there is an element of using a way out which seems most suitable to the author who mentions a particular one. I do not think that we are able to attach any particularly deep principle to the actual resolution of the problems presented by the limited length and nature of the readings. It is just that within the framework of reading two Inyanim daily, because of the doubt as to which day it really is today, different ways of doing so presented themselves to different authorities and each one represents an honest attempt to solve the problem, and nothing more than that.

We turn now to the last aspect of the Festival of Succoth with which we need to deal, and that is the second day of Shemini Atzereth, which came to be known as Simchath Torah, and also the problem of the reading for Shemini Atzereth itself, for which the puzzling phrase

קורין כל הבכור לצות וחוקים ובכור
 is used.⁵⁵ Let us deal with this first.

In the Soncino translation of the Talmud this phrase is translated to mean "On the last day of the festival we read "All the firstlings" (Deut.15,19), with the commandments and statutes (which precede it)..", i.e. we read from Deut.14,v22, down to 16,v17, the normal ending for the last day of a Festival.⁵⁶ Our 4 main authorities do not treat this so, but have the reading as for the other Festivals, from Deut.15,v19 to 16,v17.⁵⁷ It seems to me that the sections in Deut.14,vv22-29, and 15,vv1-18 could be called **סצות וחוקים**, and that the Talmud text merely states the order of these readings when it gives the phrase **סצות וחוקים ובכור**, but if we are to take it so, then why tell us first to read **כל**

הבכור, (Deut.15,v19), and afterwards follow it up with these instructions.

the phrasing of the le
to read the same text

In a responsum of Hai Gaon we find a number of other interpretations and readings for the last day. He tells us that in Palestine and Jerusalem they read Deut. 30, vllff **כ' ה' חצוה דא**, on this day, and others elsewhere read the blessings of Lev. 26, vv3-13, in Parashath (sidra) **ב' חקת**, the first verse of which has the words **ב' חקת** and **חצוה**, thus giving an association with the Talmudic dictum. He says further that they read this last passage because of the phrase in v4, "And I shall give you your rains in their time", as this day, Shemini Atzereth, is the day on which the rains are mentioned (in the Amidah), and also the piyyut **ו' ש' ג'** must have been in vogue by then on this day. Another version of the same responsum tells us that in Hai's Yeshiva they read Deut. 15, 19ff on this day, which seems to have been the general practice. There is a note, no. 11 on P. 62, pertaining to this responsum, that the blessings in Lev. 26, run the gamut of the whole Hebrew alphabet, and are all-inclusive, as v3 starts with an **א** - **א**, while v13 ends with a **ת** **קוּס'וֹת**.

It will be remembered that for the second day of Shemini Atzereth the Torah reading was given in the Talmud as **ו' א' ה' ב' ר' כ' ה'**, Deut. 33, v1 ff. Up to the time of Saadya the custom of then immediately

recommencing the Torah with Bereshith could not have been very widespread, as it is not mentioned by H.P., H.G., SRA, or Siddur Saadya, although the latter does give the day the name it now bears - **שבחתי תורה**.⁵⁹ Seder Rav Amram does at least tell us that the Torah is concluded on this day, that 10 people read the section from Deut.33,v1 to the end of the book, the 10th receiving the reward for all of them.⁶⁰ Rabbi Isaac Giyyat quotes a Geonic responsum⁶¹ in the name of the last Geonim to the effect that there is no obligation for 10 men to read from the Torah, that this day is no different from any other on which they may add to the number of readers if they wish to, and that on any occasion where they add to the required number of readers the last one gets reward corresponding to the summ of the reward of all the previous readers. However, since they do finish the Torah on that day, it is customary to have all sorts of extra rejoicing and good things on that day, and to have 10 people read from Deut.33-34, and because of these "extras" the day was named "Simchath Torah".

Two other responsa discuss the Haftarah for this day.⁶² In the first, it is attributed to Yehudai in Halachoth Gedoloth (the author apparently did not attribute this work to Shimon Kayyara, or else he had before him a copy of H.P. under the title of H.G.), that he decided that the Haftarah on Simchath Torah should be Josh.1,vv1-3, followed by the normal H for the day- I Kings,8,v22ff.

This is certainly neither in H.P. nor in H.G., so that unless Rashi saw it in a responsum of the later Yehudai Gaon, it was probably an error in the copy he used. The other responsum attributes the institution of the Joshua 1,vvl-18 Haftarah for the 2nd day of Shemini Atzereth to Hai Gaon, saying at the same time that this is wrong, since the H by law is IKings 8,v22 ff, and being able to find no reason for this change from Talmudic law. In all of this literature there is no mention of starting the Torah after finishing it on Simchath Torah. If it was done at all in Geonic times, it must have been a very unknown custom, and a local one.

The earliest mentions we have of reading from Genesis right after completing Deuteronomy are in post-⁶³ Geonic works - in Sefer Yetzirah and in Machzor Vitry. In both works it is merely mentioned as a custom, and the Sefer Yetzirah version gives it a homiletic interpretation,⁶⁴ as we have seen earlier in our discussion on Yom Kippur. Saadya seems to be the first to give the day the name of Simchath Torah, and also specifies that on it the last section of the Pentateuch - **וְאֵת הַבְּרָכָה** is to be read, this section never being used on the Sabbath, only on this day. But he does not mention reading Genesis, presumably leaving that for the coming normal Sabbath morning.

Thus, by the end of the Geonic period the readings and H for the 1st and last 2 days of Succoth were fairly stable, while the Chol Hamoed readings fluctuated .

F. CHANUKKAH.

Both Chanukkah and Purim are relative latecomers to the scene of the Jewish Festivals, although there are readings given by the Mishnah for both of them. Neither of them are Biblical **חול המועד**, and both of them only came into being after the completion of the Pentateuch so that there are no readings referring to them in the Festival sections of Leviticus, Numbers, or Deuteronomy. However, readings considered appropriate were found for both, and are mentioned already in the Mishnah, so that they were treated if not as major Festivals, at least as minor holidays, which position they still occupy today. Let us take up discussion of each, Chanukkah first.

In the Mishnah we are simply told to read from the **קרבן בשאי' א'ס**, Numbers 7, on Chanukkah.⁶⁵ We must remember that on the days of Chanukkah only 3 people read from the Torah, except of course on Sabbath. M.S.⁶⁶ gives us a little more information about the readings. First we are told the same as in the Mishnah- that we read in Numbers 7 on Chanukkah. Then it says that we do not read the next day's sacrifices from that chapter (similar to what is done on Chol Hamoed Succoth) in order to complete 10vv (each day's sacrifices are in a paragraph of 6 vv. Apparently the intention is that the paragraph shall be split up between the first 2 readers, the 3rd repeating it.).

Each day's sacrifice is to be read on its appropriate day, starting with Numb.7,vv1-17 on the 1st day, then 18-23 on the 2nd, and so forth. On the Sabbath during Chanukkah the reading is Numb.7,v1- 8,v4, and the H is I Kings,7,v51ff. On the 8th day of Chanukkah the reading is either from 7,v1 or, more likely, from 7,v54 (the "8th day") to 8,v4. On the Sabbath during Chanukkah the reading for Chanukkah is done by an 8th man, after the reading of the portion for the week by 7 men as usual. If Rosh Chodesh Teveth is on Sabbath, then 7 men read the Chanukkah chapter - all of it, and the 8th man, the Maftir reads the Rosh Chodesh and Sabbath passage in Numbers 28,vv9-15. Apparently if *this* happens, the normal Parashah for the week is not read at all, according to these Palestinian authorities. There is also no mention of a Haftarah here. If Rosh Chodesh Teveth is on a weekday, then 3 people read the Rosh Chodesh section and 1 the Chanukkah section, since that which is frequent in occurrence takes precedence. However, on the 2nd day of Rosh Chodesh, 3 read the Chanukkah section first, and the 4th reads Numb.28,vv11-15, since the 4th is only called up on this day on account of the Mussaf sacrifice for Rosh Chodesh. This is fairly exhaustive and clear, but it was not the accepted practice in Babylonia, and did not ever become so. It was so in Palestine, but for how long cannot be said.

The Babylonian Talmud gives us more information on the H for Chanukkah, but less on the division of the Torah readings. We are told that on Chanukkah we read in Numb.7, but the wording is such that it could mean "On the Sabbath of Chanukkah we read from Numb.7," as this is followed by "The H is from Zech.4,v1."

If there are 2 Sabbaths during Chanukkah, then the H for the 1st is Zech.4,v1, and for the 2nd I Kings, 7,v40⁶⁷ ff. If Rosh Chodesh Teveth is on Sabbath, 3 Torahs are used, 1 for the weekly portion, 1 for Rosh Chodesh, 1 for the appropriate Chanukkah portion, whichever day it happens to fall on. If Rosh Chodesh Teveth is on a weekday, there is a division of opinion as to whether the Chanukkah passage or the Rosh Chodesh passage takes precedence, and is read by three men first.⁶⁸ On the one hand, the claim is made for the regular occurrence taking precedence over the less frequent, and on the other, it is said that the 4th reader only comes up because of Rosh Chodesh, since on Chanukkah only 3 are required to read. Eventually it was decided that Rosh Chodesh was the primary consideration, and that it took precedence, i.e. agreeing with the principle that the regular takes precedence over the less frequent event.

Yehudai in H.P. gives a system of readings for the 8 days of Chanukkah, which the Talmud

<u>1st day</u> :	Cohen	Numb.7, vv1-5	
	Levi	vv6-11	
	Israelite	vv12-17	("1st day")
<u>2nd day</u> :	Cohen	vv18-20	C & L split up
	Levi	vv21-23	the "2nd day"
	Israelite	vv24-29	("3rd day")
<u>3rd day</u> :	Cohen	vv24-26	C & L split up
	Levi	vv27-29	the "3rd day."
	Israelite	vv30-35	("4th day")
<u>4th day</u> :	Cohen	vv30-32	C & L split up
	Levi	vv33-35	the "4th day".
	Israelite	vv36-41	("5th day")

8th day : The reading is given as starting at v54, "8th" day, and continuing on to the end of the chapter, according to one opinion, and to Ch.8,v4 according to another opinion.

The reason for this system of reading is given as "we do not repeat (on the same day) on Chanukkah, and we do not repeat at all except in the Sacrifices of Succoth."⁷⁰ (Here again is an instance of using the verb **לסוד** in the sense of "repeat", rather than in its usual sense of "skip, jump.")

Yehudai then goes on to give the same prescriptions as does the Talmud about Rosh Chodesh Teveth falling on a weekday or on Sabbath. He gives the H for the Sabbath during Chanukkah as 'חב'ח' Zech.2,v14. This, according to him is the beginning of the H. Since

the H must at least include the **נר/ח** passage in Zechariah, i.e. 4,v1-7, we may safely assume that the ending of the H is at 4,v7, if not further on. This would also give us the 2lvv length required for a normal H on a normal Sabbath. This is no departure from the Talmud, which merely specifies that the H should be the **זכר/ח**, but does not give a quotation from any verse which could be used to denote the beginning of the H. If there are 2 Sabbaths in Chanukkah, then the H for the 1st is the Zechariah one, and for the 2nd it is the one specified by the Talmud, I Kings, 7,v40ff. Again he gives us no ending, but the Inyan ends at v50, so perhaps this is where he means it to end.

The next text to deal with the Chanukkah readings is Halachoth Ketzuvoh, attributed to Yehudai Gaon, but claimed to be a work compiled in Italy in the late 8th Century, after the completion of H.P., but before the publication of H.G.⁷¹ It was written with Palestinian Minhag in mind, and reached Babylonia in the middle of the 9th Century, according to Dr. Margulies. There it was edited and "corrected", and its origin forgotten, so that it came to be associated with H.P. and Yehudai Gaon. This work gives a system of the readings for the 8 days of Chanukkah which differs slightly from that of Yehudai Gaon in H.P., and therefore it becomes unlikely that he is the editor of this book. The system is as follows :

<u>1st day</u> :	Cohen	vv1 - 3	
	Levi	vv4- 11	
	Israelite	vv12-17	("1st day")
<u>2nd day</u> :	Cohen	vv18-20	C & L split up
	Levi	vv21-23	the "2nd day".
	Israelite	vv24-29	("3rd day")

This goes on to the 7th day, and corresponds to that of Yehudai in H.P. However, it differs from it in that it specifies the length of each reading for the 1st and 8th days as well, which is not done in H.P. Even though this may be slim evidence for the non-authorship of H.K. by Yehudai, it is something, and Dr. Margulies adduces other proofs in his introduction to the book.

<u>8th day</u> :	Cohen	vv54-59	(the "8th day")
	Levi	vv60-65	(the "9th day")
	Israelite	vv66-89 or 8,v4.	(⁷² סוף טו' ה')

For Rosh Chodesh Teveth falling on a weekday there are the same prescriptions as before, and the same applies for the Haftarah of Sabbath Rosh Chodesh Teveth, which is given as Zech.2,v14 - 4,v7, unless we go by the normally accepted interpretation of the verse(s) following the word **טו** belonging to it too, in which case the H ends at v9 in Ch.4. The same applies for the Haftarah for the 2nd Sabbath of Chanukkah, if there are 2 Sabbaths during Chanukkah, which is given as I Kings 7,v40 - 8,v15.⁷³

The word **טו**, and whether what follows it is included in the reading mentioned or not, has been briefly discussed earlier in this paper,⁷⁴ but a word on it would not be out of place at this moment.

It seems to have been used in a number of different ways, which were not always recognised as such, and so the confusion arose. We must remember that the Geonim did not yet have before them texts divided into verses the way our printed ones are today, so that when they said a reading extended **תַּי** a certain point, they were using the most easily accessible and (so they thought) the clearest nearby reference point. Eventually it got to a point where it was said that the vers(s) following the word **תַּי** were always included in the reading, which is patently not possible in many cases. The general principles of using the word **תַּי** seem to have been as follows :

- a) It was used simply before the last words of the last verse to be read.
- b) It preceded the first few words of the verse after the last one to be read, since that next verse was an extremely well-known one, and would be known and found quickly by the recipient of the responsum. This verse which follows the **תַּי** was itself not to be read, which would be clear from the context, since it was usually the first one of a new Parashah or Sidra, or the beginning of a new Inyan, having no relation to what had just been read.
- c) The words following it belong to the 2nd or even 3rd verse of a new Inyan or Parashah or Sidra. Here again it could easily be seen that these vv were not supposed to be read, but these words are the first convenient spot for mentioning the point at which the reading should end, as the verse(s) preceding these words might just be one of the formulas so common in the Bible, such as **וַיִּקְרָא ה' אֶל־מֹשֶׁה** and other similar ones.
- d) It is used before the first few words of the last verse that is to be read. This is easy to see again, as such a verse is usually the last one of an Inyan, Parashah or Sidra. A minor variant on this is to give a couple of the middle words of this last verse.

Those who consistently maintained that the versé(s) following the **7Y** had to be read probably did so because of extreme strictness about the letter of the law with regard to the prescribed length of the Torah readings or H. This cannot but be the case where verses having no relation at all to the subject at hand are supposed to be included in the reading, especially where the logical breaking point for the reading would satisfy either the requirements that one finished an Inyan, or that there were enough verses to fulfill the requirements for the day, in either Torah reading or H. There is always the possibility too, of these people having different verse divisions of the text at their disposal, since the Massora only became gradually accepted. This would account for some of their insistence, but even were we to accept this explanation, we still could not determine exactly how they differed, and where, nor could we rid ourselves of the notion that no matter how their verse division differed from another's, common sense would often tell us where the stop should be.

Halachoth Gedoloth does not add to what the previous writers decided for Chanukkah. It gives the same Torah readings and H for the Sabbath or Sabbaths, and the same prescriptions for Rosh Chodesh Teveth as the earlier writers. The readings for the 8 days of Chanukkah are the same in their division as for the others;

SRA gives us the same scheme of readings, ⁷⁶ Haftarothe etc., for Chanukkah as do the others, except that one manuscript reads that on the 1st day they start at Numbers 6,v22, and another reads that on the first day the reading only extends up to 7,v11. As with the others too, there is uncertainty as to whether the readings end at 7,v89 or 8,v4. In the section on Chanukkah in Siddur Saadya there are portions missing at this point, but we ⁷⁷ can piece together what he wished done. For the 1st day the reading was Numb.6,v22-7,v17. Thereafter, only one day was to be read from chapter 7, the actual one. First the Cohen and Levi were to read half of it each, then the Israelite was to repeat the whole thing. On the 8th day the reading was to extend to 8,v4. At this point the Mss breaks off, so we do not have more information from Saadya on this point of Chanukkah.

There are 2 responsa on the subject of the readings for Chanukka, one of them taken from Hilchoth Reu. ⁷⁸ In the first nothing new is contributed to our knowledge beyond the 1st day's reading commencing at Numb.6,v22 - 7,v3 for Cohen, 7,vv4-11 for Levi, vv12-17 for Israelite. Then the sequence follows as for Yehudai and the others. The second one is incomplete, but agrees with Saadya, that Cohen and Levi each read half of the current day's sacrifices, and the Israelite repeats the whole paragraph. This applies for the first 7 days. It does not tell us where the reading starts on the 1st day, and the section on the 8th day is partially missing.

There seems to have been some doubt at one time about which H to read if Rosh Chodesh Teveth fell on Sabbath - that for Chanukkah, or that for Rosh Chodesh. Working on the principle that the regular event takes precedence, it ought to be the H for Rosh Chodesh. However, Chanukkah is a Festival, and Festivals take precedence over "regular" things in other areas. A number of responsa state definitely that the H in such a case is that of Chanukkah;⁷⁹ Of the 6 responsa mentioning this, 2 have the names of Yehudai and Natronai attached to them, while the other 4 are anonymous. The old bogey of the Maftir counting or not reappears in no.194, where it is definitely stated that 6 people read the Parashah for the week, the 7th reads the Rosh Chodesh section, Kaddish is said, and then the Maftir reads the Chanukkah section from the 3rd Torah.

Much is said about "not repeating in the Torah except on Succoth" - during the Chol Hamoed days. This "repeating" is never defined. We are not told whether one may not repeat verses from the Torah, presumably during the reading of the number of men required for a day, or whether this means that one should not repeat on the following occasion what has been read on the day before, or part of it. The protagonists of both systems of reading the Chanukkah sacrifices from Numbers 7 are careful to tell us that we only repeat during Succoth, yet in both systems there is repetition. In Saadya's this consists of the 3rd reader for that day repeating what the previous two have

already read, viz. the sacrifices for that day, while in the other system, the Cohen and Levi repeat on the next day what the Israelite read on the previous day. This for Chanukkah. In the Succoth sections, there is repetition on the same day, and on the next day, perhaps unavoidably so, in the eyes of those who devised the various schemes for the readings, but nonetheless we are left without a clear indication of what is meant. Part of the difficulty is caused by the lack of clarity on the matter of whether **גדל** means "skip", or "repeat", and if it does mean the former, in what way is "skip" meant - backwards in the Torah on one day, forwards in the Torah on one day, leaving out something between where the last reader stopped on the previous occasion and where the first reader starts the next time, or something else? The same series of queries could apply to it if it means "repeat", as shown above. If one were to diagram out completely the various systems for the readings for Chol Hamoed Succoth and for Chanukkah, one would find that all these variations on the meaning of the word **גדל** must have been thought of and used, each one a different idea on it. In addition there is confusion of the term Maftir. It is applied occasionally in its meaning of "finishing off the rading of the Law" to the 3rd reader for Chanukkah or other occasions where only three read, as well as to the 4th reader for Rosh Chodesh or Chol Hamoed. In the majority

of these instances there is no Haftarah, so the Maftir is simply the one who concludes the reading of the Law, the last reader from the Torah, who does count in the required number of men for the reading. But the term "Maftir" is also applied to the one who reads the Haftarah on such occasions as there is a H, and he does not count in the number of people required to read from the Torah at such a time, except on Yom Kippur at Minchah and on Fast-days. However, he does read from the Torah, either repeating the last few vv on a normal Sabbath, or reading some special section for a Sabbath, as the 8th reader. Further, the Maftir on such days as there is a H does not count in the minimum number of men required to read that day, but since one may add to the readers from the Torah on such days, except of course on Yom Kippur at Minchah and on Fast-days, he could still be one of those "added" men who read from the Torah in addition to the minimum number, and so in effect "count" as a reader from the Torah. This holds especially true in the matter of the Festivals, for which during the period of the Geonim the Mussaf readings for the Festivals from Numbers developed, which are read by the Maftir, and where he is not repeating anything that has been read before. If the Kaddish, said after the prescribed portion for a day had been read by at least the minimum number of men for that day, was supposed to separate the "official" reading of the Torah from that of the Maftir who only reads because of the honour due to the Torah,

then it renders invalid the reading of the Mussaf sections for the Festivals, since it is said after 5 people have read the prescribed portion for the day. In this light, these portions would not have been "officially" read as part of the reading required for the day, since the Kaddish has made a **הפסקה** between Torah and Maftir-Haftarah. But this can still be salvaged by saying that the H, seeing that the reader thereof reads from the Torah also, has at least the same rank as an individual reading from the Torah. And so the Maftir section is given back some of its importance if not all of it. And so we could go on twirling the merry-go-round merrily, and arriving in exactly the same place as it does - nowhere. All this is merely to say that since the terms **סדל** and **הפסקה** may be and were interpreted so widely, we cannot reconstruct with anything more than probability just what a man meant when he simply stated that a reading is so, or so. With the aid of a fluent knowledge of Hebrew, Talmud, Geonic and Halachic literature, and an IBM calculator, we could construct tables covering all the readings known, and all the possible ways of handling them in all possible combinations according to all possible meanings of certain key words and phrases. But we could not take any single one of them, and say that this is the definitive one for any given man or period. Thus I shall refrain from following possibility trains in the matter of the meaning of these verbs, and the application thereof to various "systems" of reading, but merely be content with having pointed out the problem for Chanukkah and Succoth.

G. PURIM.

For Purim we are simply told in the M⁸⁰ that the Torah reading is **קל"ח** - Ex.17,v8. As with Chanukkah, the T has nothing to say about Purim, and M.S. tells us to read Ex.17,v8ff, also that we do not start reading at Ex.18,v1, (which begins a new Parashah, Seder, and Sidra, as well as a new Inyan) in order to⁸¹ complete 10vv of reading, since Ex.17,vv8-16 is only 9 vv. The Talmud merely repeats that the Torah reading for Purim starts at Ex.17,v8.⁸²

Halachoth Pesukoth repeats that we read Ex.17,vv8-16 on the 1st day of Purim only, and even though this is only 9 vv, we do not read more, as if we did read more, it would have to be from prior to v8, and, as we do not do so, we read just these 9vv, and no more, as we do not add to the reading from Ch.18. No verses are repeated in this reading either.⁸³ In the Y, Meg.IV, Hal.2, P.75a, and repeated in M.S. XXI,6, we find a justification for this reduction of the reading from the minimum of the 10vv that are usually required when only three people read - "the reading for Purim is the **סידורא דיו"ל**" the required reading for the day, and therefore need not be lengthened, (since it was set thus by the same men who made the other rules for the reading of the Torah, I presume is what is meant there.) Of course, there the discussion

centres around the Maamadoth readings, which we shall have occasion to discuss a little further on, but the principle⁸⁴ is applied and derived for Purim there. Later sources say that the last verse was doubled, but this was not universal, and was even disapproved of by Isserles commenting on the above reference. H.G. and SRA do not add anything to the question of the readings. They give the same Torah⁸⁵ reading, SRA repeating that only the 9vv are needed.

The 3 responsa I have found dealing with⁸⁶ Purim, all have reference to the length of the reading and quote Yehudai as saying that the 9vv length is sufficient. Otherwise there are no relevant data given for Purim for our purposes. Of course, it goes without saying that the Megillah was to be read on Purim, many different customs arising about that, which would involve a separate study. With respect to the other Megilloth besides Esther, while M.S. mentions that they were read (in Palestine) at about the same time as we now read them, the Geonic literature does not mention anything about them in those sections with which we deal. The only one of the 5 that is required to be read is Esther, for which there are plentiful rules, while the reading of the others is merely a custom, that was probably gaining popularity during the Geonic period, but was probably not considered very important, since they are in the Haggiographa.

CHAPTER X.

TORAH READINGS AND HAFTAROTH FOR SEMI-HOLIDAYS AND OTHER SPECIAL OCCASIONS.A. TISHA B'AV AND COMMUNAL FAST-DAYS.

There developed different types of fast-days, both communal and private, but only the communal fast-days are of interest to us. Within the several groupings of these there are differing reasons for their observance, but we shall not differentiate between them, as what concerns us is common to all communal fast-days. If necessary the distinction between those fast-days ordained by the Bible, or derived from it, and those proclaimed by the leaders of a community for some reason, will be made, but it will be avoided wherever possible.

The M merely tells us to read the ^{ברכות וקללות} on fast-days, and that the ^{קללות}₁ must be read by one person, without interruption. By the terms Berachoth and Kelaloth are commonly understood Leviticus ch.26, and Deuteronomy, ch.27 & 28. The T adds for us the reading for Tisha B'Av - Deut.4,v25, while others give Lev.26,v14.² M.S., another Palestinian source gives us Torah and H readings for fast-days and Tisha B'Av.³ For Tisha B'Av and the 7 fast-days after Succoth the reading is the "blessings and curses" - Lev. 26, or Deut. 27-8. For other Communal fast-days the

reading is ^{ואל כשה} , Exodus 32,vllff, and the H is ^{דרשו ה' בהכחצו} , Isaiah 55,v6. According to M.S. there are those who say that there is no H read on fast-days, but the people do it nonetheless. It also repeats the ruling that the curses of Leviticus must be read without interruption, by one person. In this discussion on the reading of the Blessings and curses, and from other data already mentioned earlier in this paper, comes the notion that one should not begin or end a Torah reading except with a "good word".⁴ Thus it became customary to start these sections a few verses before and end a few verses after them. This, in Palestine was carried over to the normal Torah readings on the Sabbath, and caused shifting in the beginnings of Torah Seders as we have already seen. M.S. also tells us that on Tisha B'Av some localities read Lamentations in the evening, others⁵ in the morning, after the reading of the Torah. The reading of Lamentations is not mentioned in the later Geonic literature, and this, in M.S. is the only mention we have of the practice.

⁶

The Babylonian Talmud gives a variety of readings for Tisha B'Av, and 2 different H for it.

Torah : Lev.26,vl4ff ; Numb.14,vllff ; Numb.14,v27ff; Deut.4,v25ff. Haftarothe : Isaiah 1,v21 ; Jeremiah8,vl3ff.

For the other communal fast-days the readings are given

as in the M - the Blessings and curses in Lev.26 and Deut. 27-8. The curses of Leviticus are to be read without a break, while those of Deuteronomy may be interrupted. The reason for the above is given by Abaye⁷, who says that in Leviticus Moses addresses Israel in the plural, relaying God's words, which may not be interrupted, while in Deut. he speaks to Israel in the singular, and says what he says in his own behalf. This is a homiletic explanation, but it serves its purpose. On the same page, it is explained that one should start a few verses before, and end a few after the curses in Leviticus. If a fast-day falls on Monday or Thursday, then at Shacharith one should read the normal section for the day, and at Minchah one should read the section for the fast-day.

Let us deal first with Tisha B'Av. In H.P. we are told to read Deut.4,vv25-40 both at Shacharith and Minchah, and the H starts at Jer.8,vl3.⁸ On the same page, there is a note that in Hilchoth Reu it says that on the Sabbath before Tisha B'Av we should read Deut.4,v25ff at Shacharith, and Ex.32,vllff at Minchah, and that there are some who read Jer.8,vl3ff as H on Tisha B'Av itself. The part regarding the H is understandable, as this seems to be the H for the occasion, but that regarding the readings on the Sabbath before makes no sense, unless Deut.4,v25ff was a TC reading on the Sabbath before Tisha B'Av at one time. But even that would not tell us why we should read Ex.32,vll at Minchah that same Sabbath.

H.G. gives the readings for Tisha B'Av as Deut.4,25 for Shacharith, and Ex.32,v11 for⁹ Minchah, and does not give any H for the day. SRA¹⁰ gives the readings as Deut.4,25ff for the morning, with the H Jer.8,v13 - 9,v23, and for the afternoon the Torah reading is Ex.32,v11ff, and the H is Isaiah 55,v6 - 56,v8. He also cites a responsum of Natronai to the effect that the one who is to read the Haftarah is the 3rd reader from the Torah, as is the case on Yom Kippur. These readings for Tisha B'Av hold good no matter what day of the week it falls on, (except of course Saturday.). Siddur¹¹ Saadya gives only the reading for Minchah of Tisha B'Av, and that is Deut.4,v25ff, with the H Jer.8,v13, the latter to be read by the third reader from the Torah.

The Iggereth of Rav Sherira Gaon gives the readings for Tisha B'Av as Deut.4,v25 in the morning, and Ex.32,v11ff at Minchah.¹² A responsum attributed¹³ to Hai Gaon says that we should have 3 people read from the Torah and another one Maftir (the H) if Tisha B'Av falls on Monday or Thursday, but if it falls on Tuesday or Wednesday, only 1 person reads the Torah, and another the H. He cites the opinion of Rabbi Jose who maintains that on Tisha B'Av only one reads the Torah and another the H, regardless of the day on which it falls, but the

people decided that 3 read the Torah, and one says Maftir. Preferably, the last reader should also read the H, but even where this is not the case, the 4th one does not read from the Torah.

As may easily be seen, there was quite a wide divergence of opinion about the matter of the Torah readings and H for Tisha B'Av. Everything was debated, the length of the readings, the time of reading, how many people read, and what, if any blessings were to be said before and after the H. The general tendency towards the end seems to have been that Deut.4,vv25-40 from the Torah, and Jer.8,vl3ff as H were to be read at Shacharith, and Ex.32,vll from the Torah and Isaiah 55,v6ff as H were read at Minchah. We shall discuss these a little more after dealing with the other communal fast-days and their readings. In discussing the other fast-days, whatever is said will not apply to Tisha B'Av or to Yom Kippur unless specifically mentioned, so that when the word "all" is used, it means all communal fast-days except these two.

There is nothing new about the communal fast-days until the time of SRA, as neither H.P., nor H.G. adds anything to what the Talmud tells us. SRA starts out by giving a list of 26 days of fasting, derived from the Torah, and adds that the Rabbis

suggest that we fast every Monday and Thursday as well.¹⁴
 For all these days the Torah reading is to be Ex.32,v11
 ff at Shacharith, and no H, and the same again at Minchah,
 this time followed by the H of Isaiah 55,v6 - 56,v8.
 This holds for any day of the weekdays on which the fast
 might fall. Any communal fast-day which is decreed by the
 leaders of a community has the same Torah reading for
 Shacharith or Minchah or both, but no Haftarah either
 time. Amram seems to have left out the 13th Adar in his
 long list, but makes this up by mentioning it specially,
 and stipulating that Ex.32,12 should be read at Minchah
 that day.

Saadya in his Siddur is the first to
 define specifically what the length of the ¹⁵ **וחל כשוק**
 passage is. He tells us that at Minchah on any fast-day
 the Torah is read by three people : Cohen Ex.32,vv
 11-14, Levi and Israelite to read from Ex.34,v1 ff, how
 far he does not say, but undoubtedly the reading would
 extend at least to V7 or v8, to the end of the "13
 qualities." Saadya further informs us that if it is
 a communal fast-day, the H is **שעבה ישראל** - Hos.14,v2ff.
 He does not define the Communal fast-day he means here,
 whether it is one of the "regular" ones, or one of the
 "decreed" ones.

By now it will have been noticed
 that the Talmudic injunction to read the Blessings and
 curses of Lev. & Deut. is being completely disregarded

by the Geonim, for they have not been mentioned anywhere as yet. This did not escape the attention of all even at the time, as there is a fragment of a responsum, which lacks the answer, wherein it is asked about who annulled the reading of these sections, and when.¹⁶ The very next responsum also asks about these readings,¹⁷ as to which were the fasts for which they were ordained. Unfortunately, part of the answer is missing, the part referring to this, but the part we do have states that for the 4 fast days mentioned in Zech.8,v19 - those in the 4th,5th,7th and 10th months - we read Ex.32,vllff at Minchah, and it is read by 3 men.¹⁸ In the next responsum we are told that on any of these fast-days, no matter on which of the week-days it falls, the Torah reading for both Shacharith and Minchah is Ex.32,vllff. A variant of this one, in the name of Natronai, specifies only the 4 fast-days of the Bible and Taanith Esther (13th Adar), but gives the same reading.

Rav Sar Shalom, Gaon of Sura, d.ca849,¹⁹ has quite a lot to say about the fast days. He gives a good reason for reading ויחל חשה, and also is almost a Century earlier than Saadya to tell us that Ex.34,v1-at least v8 is the rest of this reading. His reason, simply expressed, is that the sections of Ex.32, vv11-14, and Ex.34,v1-8 are the most appropriate ones for the tenor of the day in all respects.

Since a fast-day may fall any time between Sunday and Thursday, and the reading from the Torah for a special occasion should reflect the occasion, these sections were chosen. Also, the normal readings for the day, if a fast happened to fall on Monday or Thursday would not be in keeping with the spirit of the day, so that they would have to be substituted, or at least added to with an appropriate reading. It seems that Sar Shalom says that Ex.32,v11 etc should be read at both Shacharith and Minchah on such fast-days as do not fall on Monday or Thursday, while on those two days it is read only at Minchah, the normal portion for the week being read at Shacharith, but this is not certain, as the language is somewhat ambiguous.

Sar Shalom also tells us something
²⁰about the Blessings and curses. He says that he cannot discover when and where they were read, but he has a tradition about the 7 extra fasts decreed on the community if the rains still failed to come after the first six fasts
²¹which took place after Succoth. He then goes on to give a list of Torah readings and Haftarothe for all 7 of them, in which list there is of interest for us only the following: The Torah readings for the 5th and 7th fast-days include the Curses of Lev.26 and Deut 28 respectively, although both readings are given "happy endings". The H for the 1st 2 of these fasts are Isaiah 55,v6ff, and Hosea 14,v2ff respectively. We do not know how widespread this was and cannot determine anything definite from it.

In a responsum of Hai Gaon²² we are given the break-down of the reading for a fast-day on which ויחל לשאף

is read :	Cohen	Ex.32; vv11-14
	Levi	Ex.34; vv 1-3
	Israelite	Ex.34, vv 4-10

One other responsum²³ gives us the information that on any fast day where Ex.32,vllff is read at Shacharith, the H is Hosea 14,v2ff. This is also so for Shacharith of the "4" fast-days mentioned in Zechariah, 8,v19.

For all the communal fast-days on which ויחל לשאף is read, there seems to be strict adherence to the rules of how many people shall read, but the custom of the people seemed to reject for these days the two rules that one does not skip in the reading of the Torah, as they skip from Ex.32,v14 to 34,v1, and that on a day on which 3 people read from the Torah, there is no Haftarah. Of course there is precedent in that already there is in the Talmud a H provided for Tisha B'Av, which itself is a cause of wonder at the rule-obeying Babylonian Jewry. Why the H developed for the fast-days cannot be said with certainty. The variety of these H, the differences in the Torah readings themselves, and the time of reading the Torah all seem to reflect custom which gradually became more and more wide-spread, but were not yet fully crystallised out into a definitive set of readings for the communal fast-days, with the exception of Tisha B'Av, for which both the Shacharith and Minchah readings seem to have been fairly stable already early in the Geonic era.

There seems to be a clear case of "a Minhag brecht a Din" here. There is little sense in here tabulating all the variations on the Torah readings and Haftarothe, as these were still in a somewhat fluid state at the end of the Geonic period.

There does, however, emerge a trend for the readings, which patterns itself after this fashion, in that more and more authorities accepted it :

- (i) Communal fast-days, shacharith, or Minchah or both, and Tisha B'Av at Minchah, the Torah portion is
 Ex.32,vv11-14 and 34,vv1-10.
 The Haftarah is
 Isaiah 55,v6 - 56,v8.
 (or on Tisha B'Av Hosea 14,vv2 - end)
 Both H are mentioned as possible ones for this Torah reading.
- (ii) Tisha B'Av at Shacharith the Torah reading is
 Deut.4,vv25-40.
 The Haftarah is Jer,8, vv13 - 9,v23.

Let us stress again, this was not the universally accepted scheme of readings for these days at the end of the Geonic era, but, in spite of the many local variations, and those still exist today, the question tended to resolve itself with time.

Many questions are left unanswered at the end of our period, chief among which is why the Talmudic rule for reading the Blessings and Curses was discarded. The only answer we are able to give is that this is an instance where the custom of the people determines what the law shall be, rather than the reverse.

B. ROSH CHODESH.

In the Mishnah we are simply told that the reading from the Torah on Rosh Chodesh is from Numbers 28, vllff (-15) - ²⁴ וּבִרְאשׁוֹ חֲדָשִׁים ²⁵ , and the T repeats the same thing. ²⁶ Another reference in the T may be construed as meaning that Rosh Chodesh may have 2 days, as it often has in the present set-up of the Jewish Calendar, but the wording is such that this cannot be established with certainty. To do so would mean having to deal with the rules of calendation used at the time, which is not within our province here. The Babylonian ²⁷ Talmud elaborates on this a little, and we learn from it that if Rosh Chodesh falls on a week-day, the reading from the Torah is Numbers 28, vv1-15, read by 4 men. If Rosh Chodesh is on Sabbath the sections for Sabbath and Rosh Chodesh are read - Numb. 28, vv9-15, and the H that day is Isaiah 66, vv1-23. If Rosh Chodesh is on Sunday, the H on the Sabbath which is the day before is I Sam. 20, vv18ff. There are also special instructions for readings if Rosh Chodesh of certain months falls on Sabbath. Those for Teveth have been dealt with already in our discussion of Chanukkah, and those for Nissan and Adar will be discussed in our next section. The only other special instance is if Rosh Chodesh Av is on Sabbath, in which case the H is in Isaiah 1, vv14. This verse must be included in the H. It does not necessarily commence it.

There is a considerable amount of discussion about how the 15vv of which the reading for Rosh Chodesh consists are divided up amongst the 4 readers for the day, if it falls on a weekday. The discussion revolves to a considerable extent around the basic principle of each person reading 3vv, of not reading less than the first 3vv of a paragraph, or leaving over less than 3vv in a paragraph. As example for the point to be illustrated, reference is made to the Maamadoth readings from the Torah. It is necessary to cite these briefly in order to be able to follow the discussion on the Rosh Chodesh reading.

In both the M and B it is written that the men of the Maamad read from the חלצה
28
 בראשית, i.e. Genesis 1. At another point in both M and B, the readings are broken down for each day of the week, and are as follows : 29

<u>Sunday</u> :	Gen.1,vv 1-8
<u>Monday</u> :	vv 6-13
<u>Tuesday</u> :	vv 9-19
<u>Wednesday</u> :	vv14-23
<u>Thursday</u> :	vv20-31
<u>Friday</u> :	vv24-31 and 2,vv1-3.

Each day 3 people are to read the prescribes section. It may be seen that the readings for the 1st and 2nd days are not 10vv long, and this causes a problem.

There are 2 types of opinion, one saying that verses may be repeated so that 10 are read altogether, the other saying that certain verses are divided into 2, in order to make up 10vv. Adding verses

before or after is discussed, but dismissed, as in the case of the Maamadoth, Rosh Chodesh and Purim it cannot be done since the vv before and after in these cases treat of completely different Inyanim. In the case of Purim, the reading for which is only 9vv, it is stated that this is the required reading for the day, and therefore it need not be implemented in any case.³⁰

Let us first discuss the opinion which holds that verses should be divided. In the Y we find the suggestion for the 1st day of the Maamadoth, that ויהי ערב ויהי בקר in Gen, 1, v5 & v8 be considered a separate verse in each case, as they are in vv13, 19, & 23. That way there would be 10vv for the 1st day's reading. However, even doing this, the reading for the 2nd day, now 8vv, would only be 9vv long. Thus dividing the verses is not the answer. In the B the discussion is not so much concerned with getting 10vv from a Torah reading, as avoiding repetition, and following the rule for reading 3vv from a paragraph, and at the same time leaving over 3 vv in the paragraph.³¹ Shmuel would divide v3 in 2, so that the first 5vv of Genesis would be 6 vv, and thus 2 people could read it. Presumably he would also divide v11 on the 2nd day, though this is not said. This is also discarded on the grounds that "what Moses did not divide, we should not divide." Also in order

to avoid a mistaken impression on the part of anyone coming in to or leaving the synagogue at this moment, that some rule of Torah reading is not being obeyed.

The alternative opinion holds that a verse should be repeated - the middle verse of the longer paragraph. Rav, who holds this view, is the one who says that this should be so, since what Moses did not divide, we should not divide.³² In the Y it is mentioned that in the view of the one who would have vv repeated, 2 vv should be repeated, in order to make up 10vv.³³ One interesting thing emerging from this discussion is that here is a case where the Palestinian Amoraim are more strict in regard to the 10vv minimum for a reading of the Torah by 3 people than are those of Babylonia. The latter do at least wish to have at least 3vv read by each reader, but are not so much concerned with the 10vv minimum here, using the excuse that where it is not possible to read extra vv to make up this total, it is not made up, but the basic principle of 3vv per reader is the important thing, so vv may be repeated if necessary to achieve this. At the same time they pay scrupulous regard to the idea of starting and ending a paragraph with 3vv, again permitting exceptions where this cannot be done due to the nature of the reading for the day. Finally Rabbi Joseph breaks the impasse by deciding that a verse is repeated for the Maamadoth, and New Moon, the middle reader repeating it.³⁴

The discussion regarding the Rosh Chodesh passage follows the same pattern in B.³⁵ First several ways of dividing the 15vv are discussed. It is suggested, but rejected that the first 2 readers read 3 vv each, as then only 2 vv are left over in this paragraph. Similarly rejected is the idea of having the first 8vv read by 2 men, the 3rd reading 9-11, as one needs to start a paragraph with at least 3vv. If the 3rd then reads vv9-13, again, only 2vv are left at the end of the paragraph, so this too has to be rejected. Thus, in order to obey the basic rules it seems that either repeating or dividing verses cannot be avoided. From this point the Maamadoth readings are discussed in order to find some solution from the principle applied to them. As we have seen, Rabbi Joseph decided that a verse would have to be repeated, the middle reader doing this.

However, there are 4 readers on Rosh Chodesh, so that there are 2 of them who could be the "middle reader." This leads to the further problem, of lesser stature, that now there are 2vv, either of which could be repeated. The nature of the paragraph division is such that the first paragraph of 8vv must be read by 3 men, as vv9-10 are too short for a reading, and having the 4th man repeat one of the vv in 11-15 would not be

following the notion of having the middle reader repeat a verse. Either v3 may be repeated by the middle reader of the 3 reading this paragraph (vv1-8) , or v6 may be repeated as the 3rd of the 4 readers is also a middle reader in the 4 for the day. The codifiers eventually decided that the Rosh Chodesh reading should be divided: Numb.28,vv1-3, 3-5, 6-8, 9-15, for the 4 readers, but at the beginning of the Geonic era this was not yet fixed.

Massecheth Soferim agrees that the basic reading from the Torah on Rosh Chodesh is Numb.
 28,vv1-15.³⁶ However, it differs in the H for Rosh Chodesh on Sabbath, giving Ezek.46,vlff for that day. If Rosh Chodesh is on Sunday, the Haftarah for the day before is as in B, I Sam.20,vl8ff. If it is on Sabbath the 8th person (Maftir, though he is not called that), reads Numb.28,vv9-15. This is not mentioned in B, but is followed, as we shall see. Here the division of the first 8 vv of the reading is 1-3,4-6,6-8, the 3rd repeating a verse. Presumably the 4th reads vv9-15. There is an alternate opinion mentioned here that the first 3 readers must read at least 10vv, so they divide up the reading into vv1-3,4-6,7-10,11-15. This opinion apparently bases itself on "not leaving over less than 3vv at the end of a paragraph" meaning that one should not leave

over less than 3vv at the end of a 10vv reading which ends at the end of a paragraph, or at least 3vv before the end of one. This opinion is not accepted. There is also an opinion expressed there that if Rosh Chodesh Teveth falls on Sabbath, 7 people read the weekly portion, the 8th reading both the Rosh Chodesh section from Numbers and the whole chapter on Chanukkah.³⁷ This too is not used in Babylonia.

In H.P. the reading for Rosh Chodesh³⁸ is given and divided thus : Numb.28,vv 1-3
vv3-5
vv6-10
vv11-15.

This follows the Talmudic principle of having the middle reader repeat a verse in the long paragraph. It also has the idea that not leaving over less than 3vv applies to a paragraph of less than 3vv as well as to longer ones, as here the 3rd reader also reads the short paragraph of vv9,10. This whole principle of repeating v3, both in Numbers 28, and Genesis 1, seems to be based on the idea that once 3vv have been read at the beginning of a paragraph, satisfying that condition, nothing is said about not rereading the 3rd verse, as the rule is only stated that one should not leave over less than 3vv at the end of a paragraph. It says nothing about someone leaving less than 3vv at the beginning of a paragraph,

provided the first 3vv thereof have been read. This helps determine which verse shall be repeated in such a case where repetition is necessary, as is done with the Rosh Chodesh reading. If Rosh Chodesh is on Sabbath, Yehudai specifies that two Torahs are brought out, 7 men reading the normal section for the week, the 8th (Maftir) reading Numb.28,vv9-15, and the H that day is Isaiah 66,vv1-24, and v23 is repeated.³⁹ Here the "happy ending" notion is applied, as v24 is not a pleasant note on which to end, and if one ended with v23 there would be less than 3vv left over, as well as the Inyan not being completed. The solution was to repeat v23, a custom which gradually was adopted almost everywhere. H.G. repeats the above, except for the H if Rosh Chodesh is on Sabbath, simply giving it as Isaiah 66,vv1-24.⁴⁰ Neither of the 2 above authorities gives the H for Sabbath if Rosh Chodesh falls on Sunday. SRA gives the same set of readings as above⁴¹, except that Amram specifies that the Torah be read at Shacharith if Rosh Chodesh is on a weekday, which they do not, and also he has the H for Rosh Chodesh which falls on Sabbath end at Is.66,v23. He did not, it seems, bother too much about leaving 3vv at the end of a paragraph in the Prophets, or perhaps he considered the Inyan completed at this point. In his Siddur,⁴² Saadyah

has the same readings for Rosh Chodesh, including the H for the Sabbath in case of Rosh Chodesh on Sunday. He also states specifically that Numb.28,v3, is the only verse in the Torah that is repeated- by the Levi on Rosh Chodesh if it is a weekday - and also makes mention that if Rosh Chodesh is both Saturday and Sunday, only the regular H for Rosh Chodesh - Isaiah 66 - is read, the one from I Sam. 20, being dropped. Whether the authorities cited above simply assumed this latter point and so did not consider it worth mentioning, or whether they had no idea of Rosh Chodesh possibly being two days, and therefore it did not occur to them, we have no means of telling.

Rav Sherira Gaon is asked in relation to Rosh Chodesh Av being on Sabbath, where the H for that day, **חֲדָשִׁיכֶם וְאוֹעֲדֵיכֶם**, Is.1,v14, prescribed in the Talmud, begins and ends, and what the H is for the next Sabbath, which is the eve of Tisha B'Av.⁴³ He replies that it is customary to start at v1, and conclude at v19, but that at his time they had expanded it to go to 2,v5. For the following Sabbath, he gives his own custom to read as H Jer.6,v16ff, but there are some who read Is.22,v1ff.

Responsa attributed to Yehudai⁴⁴
and Natronai⁴⁵ give the general principle that there

are three Sabbaths on which three Torahs are brought out and read if Rosh Chodesh happens to fall on Sabbath - Adar, Nissan, and Teveth. Two would be needed anyway, for the regular reading, and Rosh Chodesh sections, and the 3rd would be for Shekalim, Hachodesh, and Chanukkah respectively. In all the cases where more than one Torah is used for reading, the regular event for the day takes precedence over the special, when it is not the case that the normal reading is substituted by the special one, as happens on Festivals, or Monday or Thursday having a Festival occur on them, or Chol Hamoed or Rosh Chodesh or any of the other occasions which "interrupt" the regular sequence of reading. Thus, when 3 Torahs are used, the normal portion for the week is read first, then the section for Rosh Chodesh, and finally the Maftir reads the special portion for the day. If there are not three Torahs available, then it is preferable to roll the one which they do have in private, or even in public, if it is unavoidable, and so transgress the rule against "skipping" rather than leave out one of the required readings for the day. It is a case of choosing the lesser of two evils, in this instance the lesser of two transgressions.

We find, then, that in the case of the readings of the Torah and H for Rosh Chodesh, the

Geonim did not make any radically new innovations. As for the Festival readings, they tended to define the length of the readings, adjusting them as far as possible to conform to the rules for reading the Torah in General. To do so they added some verses where possible, or so interpreted the rules to allow them to operate with a minimum of complexity and difficulty. The Torah readings for Rosh Chodesh falling on a weekday were developed to their present form during this time, as well as the one for Rosh Chodesh falling on Sabbath. If Rosh Chodesh did fall on Sabbath, a special H for Rosh Chodesh was to be substituted for the regular one, and if a special portion beyond these was read on that Sabbath, then the H was to be the one for the special occasion, dropping both the normal one, and that for Rosh Chodesh. Near the end of the Geonic period the idea was finally expressed in writing that Rosh Chodesh could be 2 days long, and provision was made for it accordingly, but only for its falling on Saturday and Sunday. We are not told whether the Torah portion was read on weekdays twice, or what was to be read if Rosh Chodesh had its 2nd day on Monday or Thursday. For the normal occurrences of Rosh Chodesh the Torah readings and H were thus quite stable, with minor variations in the ending of some H, or other H being used.

C. SHABBAT SHEKALIM, ZACHOR, PARAH, HACHODESH.

As early as Mishnaic times there was a set of 4 special Sabbaths, each of which had a special title - **שקלים, זכור, פרה, חודש**. The last three take their name from a key word in the special section of the Torah to be read on that Sabbath, and the first commemorated the time of the giving of the Temple tribute each year. This series of Sabbaths was during the month of Adar or Adar Sheni, depending on whether it was a leap-year or not. It had to take place during the month of Adar which immediately preceded Nissan, and it is in this meaning that we shall use the term "Adar" in this section, without differentiating between Adar I and Adar II.

The M tells us that Parashath Shekalim is to be read on Rosh Chodesh Adar if it falls on Sabbath, on the Sabbath before Rosh Chodesh Adar if it falls on a weekday. In the latter case there is a break in the sequence of the readings, as, from the content of the passages to be read, Zachor should be read before Purim, Parah after Purim, and Hachodesh before or on Rosh Chodesh Nissan. From the key words in the M, it can be seen that the reading for Zachor was in Deut, 25, including v17, that for Parah in Numb. 19,

and that for Hachodesh in Ex.12,vlff. There is discussion later of just which passage is the one meant by the term "Shekalim." On the Sabbath after Hachodesh, the M tells us that ⁴⁶ חזרין כסדר - they return to their order. Just what this phrase means is discussed in the Talmud, without any satisfactory conclusion being reached. We may understand the phrase better if we remember that in Palestine the Torah was read simply in sequence, or in the TC, and these readings were substituted for the normal ones on these Sabbaths, the normal sequence of reading being resumed after Rosh Chodesh Nissan. In Babylonia, where some form of AC was taking shape during the Amoraic period, this was forgotten, and so the phrase was found difficult to understand.

The T adds to this list of readings the H for the 4 Sabbaths.⁴⁷ It tells us first that Shabbat Shekalim is the Sabbath of Rosh Chodesh Adar, or the Sabbath before Rosh Chodesh Adar, even if this falls on Friday. The H are as follows :

<u>Shekalim</u> :	II Kings 12, concerning Yehoiada.
<u>Zachor</u> :	I Sam.15,v2ff.
<u>Parah</u> :	Ezek.36,v25ff.
<u>Hachodesh</u> :	Ezek.45,v18ff.

The T also says that the 2nd Sabbath is the one before Purim, even if Purim falls on Friday, the 3rd is the one

right after Purim, and the 4th is the Sabbath just before Rosh Chodesh Nissan, even if the latter falls on Friday. The Tosefta does not provide for a break in the sequence, as it states that if Parashath Shekalim fell on the Sabbath nearest Rosh Chodesh Adar, whether on the one before or after, it was to be read twice, the same applying for the sections for the 2nd, 3rd and 4th Sabbaths of the sequence. This also applied to Chanukkah. This can again be understood in the light of the Torah in Palestine being read in sequence, but not necessarily in a cycle, for then it could happen that any of these 5 portions would fall on the Sabbath before or after the special occasion on which they were to be read, and there might have been a question about reading the same thing two Sabbaths in a row. This seems the only likely explanation, due to the same instruction being applied to the Sabbaths besides first, as well as Chanukkah. Any other attempt at explaining this would involve us in calculations which could not possibly satisfy the requirements for the series.

The Babylonian Talmud finally tells us what Parashath Shekalim is, and there is a choice of 2 readings for it. Either Ex.30,vv11-16, or Numb.28, vlff. The former is the generally accepted one, from earliest times.⁴⁸ The H is in II Kings,12 for this. It is also used as an evidence for the Shekalim portion being Ex.30,vv11-16.

By the time of the completion of the Babylonian Talmud, the AC was firmly established there, and this must be remembered in the next phase of the discussion on Shabbat Shekalim. Depending on whether the year was intercalated or not, Shabbat Shekalim could fall within a fairly large range of normal Sidroth. But if it occurred in conjunction with three in particular, either on the same day, or the week before or after, it created problems. The three Sidroth are Tetzaveh (Ex.27,v20-30,v10), Ki Tissa (Ex.30,v11 - 34,v35, and including the Shekalim passage itself), and Vayakhel (Ex.35,v1 - 38,v20). There is still, it must be remembered, at this time some fluidity about whether the Maftir is one of the 7 readers required for the Torah on Sabbath. Thus we have debates on how is the reading accomplished if Sabbath Shekalim falls on the Sabbath when Tetzaveh is read. One opinion maintains that 6 read all of Tetzaveh, and the 7th reads Ex.30,vv11-16, another maintains that 6 read to Ex.30,v16, and the 7th repeats Ex.30,vv11-16. The first opinion bases itself on the need for 7 readers on Sabbath, and the non-repetition of verses, relying on his own particular interpretation of the non-repetition rule. Since the sections are in sequence, he has them read by the required number of 7 people for Sabbath. The second opinion objects to this, by saying that if this were so,

then people would think that Tetzaveh ends at Ex.30,v16, and not at Ex. 30,v10, which is its correct ending. He bases his own version of the reading on the first part of a Baraitha, which is given in full in the T, Meg.IV,5. "If it (Shabbat Shekalim) falls on the Sabbath next to it (Tetzaveh, or Vayakhel in his way of thinking), then we read it twice (the Shekalim section in Ki Tissa)." He interprets this Baraitha as meaning literally that the section is read twice on the same Sabbath if Sabbath Shekalim falls on the Sabbath of either Tetzaveh or Vayakhel. This is countered by the retort that while this repetition might apply for Shabbat Tetzaveh, it would not apply for Shabbat Vayakhel. Therefore the idea of "doubling" the reading of the Shekalim section really means reading it on two Sabbaths in a row, either on the one before or the one after the Sabbath on which Ki Tissa is read. And so the debate in the Talmud goes on, confusing the idea of repetition, how many people read, and how far they read. In the discussion on this, it is also taken for possible that Shabbat Shekalim can fall on the Sabbath on which Ki Tissa is read, in which case one authority would have 6 people read Ex.30,v17 to the end of the Sidra, the 7th then reading Ex.30,v11-16, while the other has 6 read the whole Sidra, the 7th repeating the Shekalim section. The latter is the accepted view, in the Talmud. These discussions about on which Sabbath to read the sections and how many read what go on for all 4 Sabbaths, inconclusively.

The one other point which is raised in our Talmud text is that of the resumption of the regular order on the 5th Sabbath, i.e. the one following the 4th of the special readings for this cycle. One opinion holds that the regular order of the Torah readings is resumed, while another holds that the regular order of the H is resumed. Each gives evidence for his own point, and refutations of the other man's point, but the issue is not conclusively settled.

To sum up the Talmudic discussion on these 4 special Sabbaths, and related problems, some points are settled, and others are not. What emerges as settled is this :

- (i) The special section for Shabbat Shekalim is Ex.30,vv11-16.
- (ii) 4 Sabbaths preceding Rosh Chodesh Nissan have special Torah portions and Haftarothe, which are given us.
- (iii) Each of the 4 Sabbaths must conform to certain rules, but the cycle as a whole must too.
- (iv) If either Rosh Chodesh Adar or Rosh Chodesh Nissan is on Sabbath, 3 Torahs are read, first the weekly portion, then the Rosh Chodesh section, then the special section.
- (v) The Baraitha quoted at the top of B.Meg.30a is open to various interpretations which conflict with each other and with the other rules for this series of readings. The full text of this Baraitha is found in T Meg.IV,5, where it applies to Palestinian Torah readings. It cannot in its full form be applied to the Babylonian system of these readings.

- (vi) The special readings for these 4 Sabbaths do not replace the regular readings for the day, but are in addition to them. The special H are substituted for the normal H of these Sidroth, if there were regular H for these Sidroth at this early time. In Palestine, as is clear from the M and T texts they were substituted for the normal readings for those Sabbaths. Whether this applied for the H in Palestine, we cannot tell.

Things that remain unsettled are :

- (i) When the cycle commences when Rosh Chodesh Adar is not on Sabbath.
- (ii) Whether the cycle is read on 4 consecutive Sabbaths without pause, or whether there is a break in it to allow for the portions to fall on the Sabbaths designated in both T and B by the introduction: "Which is the...th Sabbath ?"
- (iii) If there is a break or interruption in the series, on what principles does it come about, and when. Perhaps the basic answers are there, which enable us to work it out somehow, but since there are a number of opinions regarding the very first Sabbath of the set, it is difficult to establish the precise method.
- (iv) Is the special section read by the 7th regular reader of those required for Sabbath, or by an 8th, who is the Maftir? This becomes more difficult to answer when either Rosh Chodesh Adar or Nissan is on Sabbath, and 3 Torahs are read .
- (v) If Shabbat Shekalim falls on the Sabbath of Tetzaveh, Ki Tissa or Vayakhel, what is the order of reading, and what portions are read by how many people.?

There may be other things emerging or left unanswered by the Talmud text, but I have selected these as the most important. Some of the unsolved difficulties are tackled and to some measure solved by the Geonim in the following centuries.

Yehudai Gaon in H.P. , instead of giving rules and more rules, and confusing his reader about these Sabbaths, reduces the whole thing to a set of explicit instructions, covering all possibilities. This is his system :⁴⁹

(a) Rosh Chodesh Adar is on Friday. The readings are

25th Shevat	Shekalim
2nd Adar	BREAK
9th Adar	Zachor
16th Adar	BREAK
23rd Adar	Parah
1st Nissan	Hachodesh.

(b) Rosh Chodesh Adar is on Sabbath. The readings are

1st Adar	Shekalim
8th Adar	Zachor
15th Adar	BREAK
22nd Adar	Parah
29th Adar	Hachodesh.

(c) Rosh Chodesh Adar is on Monday. The readings are

29th Shevat	Shekalim
6th Adar	BREAK
13th Adar	Zachor
20th Adar	Parah
27th Adar	Hachodesh

(d) Rosh Chodesh Adar is on Wednesday. The readings are

27th Shevat	Shekalim
4th Adar	BREAK
11th Adar	Zachor
18th Adar	Parah
25th Adar	Hachodesh

The special readings and Haftarothe are as follows :

<u>Shekalim</u>	Ex.30,vv11-16	II Kings 12,v1-13.
<u>Zachor</u>	Deut.25,vv17-19	I Samuel, 15,v2 - ?
<u>Parah</u>	Numb.19,vv1-22	Ezek.36,v16 - ?
<u>Hachodesh</u>	Ex.12,vv1-20	Ezek.45,v18 - ?

In order to make sure that all this is kept straight, Yehudai gives a set of mnemonics for the various items connected with this cycle, so that one knows on which days Rosh Chodesh Adar may fall, and on which Sabbath there is a break in the series. In all this it is assumed that the year is not intercalated. Of course when it is, then the dates given for Shevat become the corresponding ones in Adar Rishon, as in a normal year Shevat has 30 days, and in an intercalated one Adar I has 30 days. Rosh Chodesh of the Adar before Nissan may fall on Sabbath, Monday, Wednesday, or Friday, so the mnemonic **אבד'י** is given to this. The date of the break according to the 4 possibilities for Rosh Chodesh depends on the day of the week on which Rosh Chodesh Adar falls. Thus 4 further mnemonics are devised, the 1st letter of which indicates the day of the week on which Rosh Chodesh Adar falls, the others the date in Adar of the break in the sequence of the special readings.

א'ט'

R.Ch. Sat., break on 15th Adar

ב'

R.Ch. Mon., break on 6th Adar

ד'ד'

R.Ch. Wed., break on 4th Adar

ו'ב'

R.Ch. Fri., break on 2nd & 16th Adar.

Shekalim on Sabb. Tetzaveh, 7 read it, Kaddish, Maftir reads Shekalim portion.
 Shekalim on Sabb. Ki Tissa, 7 read it, Kaddish, Maftir reads Shekalim portion.

Halachoth Gedoloth gives the same system of readings, Haftarothe, breaks, and mnemonics as H.P., and also the same regulation regarding Shabbat Shekalim⁵⁰ falling concurrently with Tetzaveh and Ki Tissa.

Halachoth Ketzuvoth does not give us any regulations concerning the 4 special Sabbaths, but it does mention some slight variations on a couple of the H, when Rosh Chodesh Adar or Nissan occur on Sabbath.⁵¹ If Rosh Chodesh Adar is on Sabbath, the Torah readings from the 3 Torahs are the same, and the H is II Kings, 12,vv1-17. If Rosh Chodesh Nissan is on Sabbath, then the H is Ezek. 45, v9 - 46,v1(or further, since the next vv also deal with the topic.). It might be noted here that neither H.P. nor H.G., which usually specify the ending of a reading do so for the Torah portions or H for these 4 Sabbaths. In this case they were probably so well known that it was not considered necessary to do so, since these definite readings and H stem back to Tannaitic times, as their presence in M and T testifies.

Both SRA and S.S.^{52 53} give again the same set of rules for the breaks and for the mnemonics, except that S.S. breaks off in the middle of this, the manuscript ending there, and the rest not yet found, or published. In the dates however, there are 2 items

which could be troublesome. In SRA, when Rosh Chodesh Adar is on the Wednesday, then Shekalim is read on the 26th Shevat. All the other dates given correspond to those in the system as set out by H.P. and H.G. Shevat always has 30 days, so that the Sabbath before Rosh Chodesh Adar if the latter was on Wednesday, could not have been on the 26th Shevat. We now have 2 possibilities to consider. Either Amram worked in a system where Shevat had only 29 days, or the copyist of the manuscript of SRA mistook a τ for a l , and wrote l Shevat where he should have written τ Shevat. The latter is the more likely correct assumption, as all the other forms of the system given by Amram correspond to the earlier ones, which presuppose 30 days in Shevat, or Adar I, whichever precedes Nissan. In Saadya the problem arises with the case of Rosh Chodesh Adar nearest Nissan on Monday, in which case Shekalim is to be read on either the 28th Shevat, or the 29th Adar I. The Adar I date is correct, but the 28th Shevat one is not in accord with the other authorities, who quote the 29th Shevat for Shekalim if Rosh Chodesh Adar is on Monday. This case cannot be explained away quite so easily by means of a scribal error, mistaking a o for a h , and writing the latter instead of the former, for these 2 are not as easily confused as the τ and the l .

Interestingly enough this too would work in a system of calendation in which Shevat has 29 days, in a non-intercalated year, at any rate. As the remainder of the Siddur Saadya is missing, we cannot determine, as we could in the case of Amram, whether Saadya worked in a system of calendation which gave Shevat 29 or 30 days. The system of calendation under which we work today assigns 30 days to Shevat whether the year is intercalated or not, and 30 days to Adar I in an intercalated year. Therefore it is easy for us to reread all the instructions for the cycle of the 4 Sabbaths in terms of Adar I and Adar II in an intercalated year, and apparently Yehudai Gaon and Shimon Kayyara thought this way too, else they would surely have gone into detail on the complications raised by the intercalation of the year and the length of Shevat and Adar I in such years. These two minor deviations in the 2 Siddurim, of Amram and Saadya, lead to a host of interesting speculations, which we must regretfully leave for another occasion to enter into fully.

In the same section as the one mentioned above, Amram gives a few minor variations on some of the readings. He says that the H for Shekalim starts at II Kings, 11,v17, where for others it starts at 12,v1. This is probably due to interpreting the dictum of the

Talmud to read in the story of Jehoiada, which does not state where it should begin, to give the H a total of 21vv, as is needed for a normal Sabbath. Of course, this assumes that he wished the H ended with II Kings 12,v17, or at least v16, if his verse division differed slightly from ours. For Shabbat Parah he returns to the Talmudic beginning of the H at Ezek.36,v25, where the earlier Geonim had set it at Ezek.36,v16. The earlier Geonim may have intended this H to end at V36, as it does now in Sephardi Minhag, in which case, starting at v16 would provide 21vv, or perhaps at v38, as it does now for Ashkenazi Minhag, in which case, v16 would still be a good spot to start the reading, as the Inyan starts there. On the other hand, Amram, who sticks to the starting place given in the Talmud, may have wanted it ended in one of those two places, as the Inyan ends there, or may have wanted it carried over into Ch.37, the "dry bones" chapter, for some unknown reason. Ch.37 is the H for Sabbath Chol Hamoed Pesach, and it does not seem likely that there would be much, if any repetition in the H, with such a large mass of material to choose from in the Prophets. In addition, the rules governing the reading of the H were flexible enough to allow H of less than 21vv for almost any occasion. Again for Shabbath Hachodesh he gives two starting points for the H, Ezek.45,v16, or v18.

For Shabbat Parah he gives a H starting at **תהי אדא** | 2
 in the case where Rosh Chodesh Adar is on Sabbath. This
 phrase occurs only in Ezek.43,v10, which is the present
 day H of Tetzaveh in the normal run of the AC. It is
 possible that the Manuscript is corrupt here, and that he
 means to say that the H is Ezek.36,25 instead of 43,v10,
 but this is unlikely. More likely this was meant to be
 a reference to the fact that when Rosh Chodesh Adar is
 on Sabbath, the break in the sequence of readings occurs
 on the 15th of Adar, and if Tetzaveh is read on that day,
 as happens occasionally, then the normal H, which is to
 be read for that day, would be Ezek.43,v10. Or perhaps
 also he means to say that this H should be read in any
 case when the break is on the 15th Adar, since the
 Parashah Tetzaveh usually occurs between the 8th and 15th
 Adar I or II, depending on the nature of the year.
 However, all this is merely speculation.

He wrestles with the instance where
 Shabbat Shekalim and Sidra Tetzaveh occur together.
 In the case of reading through to Ex.30,16 by 6 people,
 and the 7th repeating Ex.30,v11-16, he says this happens
 when no Kaddish is said to separate the reading of the Torah
 from that of the H, but where this is done, 7 must read
 and Maftir repeats the Shekalim section, and reads the H.

However, he does not tell us whether in the last case the 7 merely read to the end of Tetzaveh, and then the Maftir the Shekalim section, or whether the 7 read to Ex.30,v16, and the Maftir repeats Ex.30,v11-16. Similarly, if it occurs on Ki Tissa itself, then 6 read the Sidra, and the 7th, and Maftir, repeats the Shekalim portion, according to the Baraita which speaks of "doubling" the reading. Thus with SRA the question of how many read certain sections when it comes to the 4 special Sabbaths of Adar and who the Maftir is, and whether he counts as one of the 7 readers is still unsettled. Saadya, if he had anything to say on the matter in his Siddur, might have cleared the matter up, as he does so many other matters, but unfortunately we do not have the section of the Siddur in which he mentions the matter.

The responsa of the Geonim help a little in this latter matter. Natronai in one responsum⁵⁴ says that if either Rosh Chodesh Adar or Nissan fall on Sabbath, 6 read the weekly portion, and then 1 reads, (presumably the Rosh Chodesh passage), and then **מפטיר** **בבאור**, which may mean that the Maftir reads the special passage for the day, or that he reads the special H for the day, although in this case he would have had to be the 7th reader for the day, as well as reading both the Rosh Chodesh and special passage for the day.

An anonymous responsum⁵⁵ does tell us that if Rosh Chodesh Adar is on Sabbath, then we should not say Kaddish after the first Torah has been read, as we have not yet exhausted the day's quota of 7 readers. From this we may infer that 6 people read the Sidra, the 7th read the Rosh Chodesh passage, after which Kaddish was said, and then the Maftir read the Shekalim passage, after which Kaddish was also to be said. Kaddish is only to be said after the required number of readers for the day have read from the Torah. This idea of saying Kaddish on such a day after the required number of readers, and then again after the special section has been read, opens up fresh possibilities in the running debate on whether the last reader from the Torah, the Maftir, counts as a reader or not, since Kaddish is said both before and after him. We shall refrain from exploring these possibilities, for the matter was fairly well settled with regard to whether the Maftir counts in the required number of readers or not. He does not.

One final thing. All the Geonim as well as the Talmud assume that Shabbat Shekalim and Shabbat Ki Tissa could fall together, and discuss it as though it happens. Under our present system of calendation this is impossible, and this was already noticed by the codifiers shortly after the Geonic period, who stated that this was merely academic debate, as it could not happen.

Whether it could occur that way or not , and whether those who thought that it could worked under a different system of calendation to that which we utilise, is a subject for a paper on calendation, and not within the scope of this thesis. Suffice it to say that during the Geonic period the readings for the 4 special Sabbaths were defined and fixed, and all possibilities provided for, so that the most untutored person could follow it correctly. All this fixing presupposes already from Yehudai's time a system of calendation that does not differ radically from ours, at least not with regard to the months of Shevat, Adar I, Adar II, and Nissan. What, if any Palestinian influence there might have been in the calendar deviations we cannot establish here.

CHAPTER XI.SOME REMARKS ON THE ANNUAL CYCLE AND ITS ARRANGEMENT.

We have already noted that the AC of Torah reading developed in Babylonia during the period of the Amoraim. However, by the time of the completion of the Talmud, it was by no means yet fixed. There were to be for a long time to come yet differences in the length of the Sidras, and even after the time of the Geonim there are still mentions of divisions of Sidras which differ from those presented by authorities like Maimonides and Abudraham. These cannot simply be ascribed to differences between Ashkenazi and Sephardi Minhag, for in the matter of the division of the Parashas for the weekly reading these two major branches of Jewry agree today, while they often differ about the length of the Haftaroeth, or sometimes even in the matter of which Haftarah to read for a section or special occasion. This accord may not always have been so, but by about the 13th Century the majority of Jews did have the same weekly division of the Torah. It thus behooves us to glance at the developement of the principles by which the Torah was divided up so that it be completed in one year. To do this, we must mention some of the major principles of calendation, which we shall refer to in their place.

As has been pointed out earlier in this essay, the M and T, both works originating in Palestine, either presuppose reading the Torah in sequence without a cycle, or presuppose what would shortly become the Triennial Cycle for reading the Torah. This helps us to understand some of the instructions we find in them, notably in M.Meg.III,4, and T.Meg.IV,1-5, and 18. The Babylonian Amoraim did not have such an easy task, and sometimes had to force an interpretation in order to have the text of the M or T apply to their developing AC. A good example of this is the instruction at the end of M.Meg.III,4, which tells us to return to the normal order of the readings after the 4 special Sabbaths in Adar. For those resident in Palestine, or following Palestinian Minhag, this presents no difficulty. As the special sections were read in place of the regular reading for those Sabbaths, to them this meant that they should return to the normal sequence of reading the Torah. The Babylonians, however, had to force this to mean that they return to the normal sequence of the H, as they read the weekly Sidra on those Sabbaths, with the special portion read by an extra man, but they did read special H for these Sabbaths. Just what returning to the normal order of the H meant, we are not certain, since we do not know, and doubt, whether the H for the regular Sabbaths were fixed.

The first thing to which we shall turn our attention is the matter of the reading of the Blessings and curses in Leviticus 26, and Deuteronomy 27-8. In the M these are to be read on public fast-days.¹ However, in B we find sets of readings and H for Tisha B'Av and fast-days,² non of which include these chapters. These sections are mentioned, though, in a different context. Nothing is said that they were read on fast-days, but it is mentioned that one needed to start and end the reading thereof a few vv before and after the actual sections. In addition they are to be read by a certain time of the year, presumably in their context of a normal Torah portion for Sabbath.³ While this latter is not specifically mentioned, the Geonim certainly interpret it so, as we shall see. In the Talmud we have then three indications about the AC, the third of which has to be interpreted as such, as again, it is not specifically stated so.

- (a) The section of curses in Leviticus, ch. 26,⁴ must be read before Shavuoth. This is in the Sidra we know as **בְּחֻקֵּי**
- (b) The section of the curses in Deuteronomy⁵ must be read before Rosh Hashanah. This is in our Sidra of **כִּי תִגַּע**
- (c) The Sidra **וְזָאת הַבְּרָכָה**⁶ must be read on the 2nd day of Shemini Atzereth. There is a corollary to this, that the last 8vv of the Torah must be read by a single person. (7)

Just from the above we cannot yet say that there was a firmly established AC in Babylonia, but these rules were used as pointers when it did come about.

Before continuing with the developement of the AC, just a word about the names of the Sidroth. In earliest times many Sedarim or paragraphs of the Torah, used on special occasions were known by a special name, either by using one of the key words early in the section, or by virtue of its contents. This process was carried over into the times when the Torah cycles became gradually fixed, although the names might vary in how many words or which words of the verse were quoted. However, the different names did have the common element of one or two key words, by which we know the Sidroth today. Thus we find in the B already names for some of the weekly Sidroth which we still retain now, both as to name and length, e.g.

כ' תשא, תצוה, ויקהל, אחרי מות, וזאת הברכה⁹

While some of these already then were of the same length that we know them to be today, they may at one time have been merely the names for these particular Sedarim, in the Palestinian readings from the Torah.

By the time of Yehudai Gaon, and H.P., the AC was an established fact. To provide for the vagaries of calendation, it was found necessary to formulate some general rules about the Torah readings, through which it might be assured that the cycle would end at the appropriate time of the year. Yehudai gives 4 principles, which¹⁰

have different wording from those in the Talmud, but include the latter, in that the Talmudic provisions are followed.

- (a) The Sidra **ו** must always be read before Pesach.
(Lev.6,v1.)
- (b) The Sidra **בחדבר** (today's name for it), must always be read before Shavuoth. (Numb.1,v1)
- (c) The fast of Tisha B'Av must precede the reading of the Sidra **ואתחנן**. (Deut.3,v23)
- (d) The Sidra **אתם נצבים** must always be read before Rosh Hashanah. (Deut.29,v9).

To facilitate remembering these provisions, a mnemonic is provided : **פקידו ופסח, בני ונצרו, צאנו וצל, קומו, וחקצו**. This ought to be very easy to remember, as it is in the form of a rhyme.

There are also some other provisions given, affecting the dates of some Festivals, and hence the Torah readings. These stem either from an understanding of the principles of the calendar, or merely from observation. Most likely it is the former. First Yehudai states that the day of the week on which Rosh Chodesh of the Adar before Nissan falls is the same day of the week as the day before Pesach. The first day of Pesach is the same day of the week as the day before Shavuoth. The first day of Shavuoth is on the same day of the week as the day before Rosh Hashanah, and hence also Succoth. He then goes on to give the days of the week on which a Festival may not fall :

The First day of :

Pesach cannot be on Mon., Wed., or Friday.

ב'ד
ז'ה

Shavuoth cannot be on Tues., Thurs., or Sat.

Rosh Hashanah and Succoth cannot be on Sun., Thurs., or Friday.

א'ה
ז'ה

Yom Kippur cannot be on Sunday, Tues., or Friday.

ז'ה

Purim cannot be on Monday, Wed., or Saturday.

ב'ז

Of course, all these regulations are interdependent. In preparing a table for any given year, which we are able to do today, we have to take these into account, and proceed as follows :

- (i) Determine the length of the year, and whether or not it is intercalated.
- (ii) Arrange the lengths of the months so that all Festivals fall on a day on which they are permitted to fall, adjusting certain months so that they have 29 or 30 days in order to conform to this.
- (iii) Arrange the table of Torah readings and H for the Sabbaths, so that Haazinu is read on the last Sabbath before Succoth which is not occupied by a Festival. Naturally, depending on the length of the year, and whether or not there are Festivals on Sabbath, some Sidroth will have to be combined or read separately.

Today we are able to proceed this way, as we are able to calculate things out to the nth degree, but in the days of the Talmud, and still in the days of the Geonim some things were done by means of observation, rather than calculation. In Palestine the New Moon was determined by observation, as was traditional, as can be seen by the calendar controversy between Saadya and Aarom ben Meir,

although methods of doing so by means of calculation had been known by many for some centuries already, the 19 year cycle of Meton of Athens, on which our present calendation is based, dating back to the 3rd Century B.C.E., but not being adopted until the 8th Century C.E. We know that in earliest times the Diaspora depended on the Beth Din of Jerusalem for its news of the proclamation of Rosh Chodesh. Later, as the power of the Jerusalem Beth Din declined, they began to rely on their own observations and calculations in the Diaspora, although they were in theory bound to wait for the news from Jerusalem. In the days when the New Moon was determined by actual observation, when a month had 30 days, this could have been due to the failure of the New Moon to appear after 29 days, and so the 30th was kept as Rosh Chodesh, or perhaps, if Rosh Chodesh was proclaimed on the actual day of the appearance of the New Moon, one of the Festivals, which happened to occur during that month, would be found to fall on one of the days of the week on which it was not permitted to do so. In the latter case we are faced with a deliberate adjustment of the length of the month before, to 30 days, rather than 29 due to circumstances unrelated to the actual day on which the New Moon appeared. Therefore, when a month had 30 days, there were 2 days of Rosh Chodesh - the 30th of the previous month, perhaps the actual day of the new moon, and the 1st of the next month. In the final determination of the principles of calendation, the days of the week on which a Festival might or might not fall, was probably one of the major considerations in fixing the lengths of the months.

Judging from the silence of Yehudai on the subject of combining Sidroth, it would seem that in his time this was done as necessity dictated, depending on the various factors involved - the length of the month, whether any Festival in that month fell on Sabbath or not, and the overall general rules for being at a certain point in the Torah at a certain time of the year. We hear a little more about this in H.G.¹¹ There the same general rules are repeated as are found in H.P., but a little is added. He says there that in an intercalated year Adar I has 30 days, and Adar II 29days, and tells us that in a 19 year cycle the 3rd, 6th, 8th, 11th, 14th, 17th and 19th years are leap-years. In a year that is not intercalated he gives 5 sets of Sidroth which are combined :

- (a) Vayakhel & Pikudey
- (b) Shemini and Tazria.
- (c) Acharey Moth & Kedoshim
- (d) Behar & Bechukothai
- (e) Mattoth & Masey.

This telescoping is necessitated by the 4 rules for the Sidroth given earlier, and their mnemonic.

SRA merely repeats the prescriptions for the time of reading of the 4 above, and adds that Acharey Moth and Kedoshim may be combined.¹² He does not give us any more information that that. By now this information was available in the various "digests" of laws, and perhaps he felt that it was not necessary to repeat it.

In all this, we have not yet been told when the cycle begins or ends. From the rule that Nitzavim must be read before Rosh Hashanah, and the old Talmudic rule that Vezoth Habrachah was to be read on the 2nd day of Shemini Atzereth, the Geonim worked out the system to end with this Sidra either on the last available Sabbath before Succoth, or, more likely, on Shemini Atzereth, the 2nd day, itself. Thus the new cycle of Torah reading must have begun on the Sabbath right after Simchath Torah, as the 2nd day of Shemini Atzereth came to be called because of the completion of the Torah on that day. Perhaps the introduction of reading Genesis 1 on that day was due to the consideration that one should not wait after finishing the Torah for some days before beginning it again, as the continuity was broken that way, or it might have have been thought that since the Torah was ended on a weekday, it should be begun again also on a weekday, for the sake of continuity. In any event, the reading of Genesis 1 right after Vezoth Habrachah on Simchath Torah could not have been too wide-spread yet at the end of the Geonic period.

In the Siddur of Saadya Gaon we are given an exhaustive treatment of the process of Torah reading. He goes into detail on a number of

matters regarding the calendation of the year and the number of Sabbaths in it. Whether it was simply his nature to be so exact, or whether this was precipitated by the controversy with Ben Meir, or was a cause of the controversy, we cannot be certain; that it clarifies some issues, and leaves some confusion in others is certain.

Saadya starts out by explaining certain things regarding readings on Sabbath at Minchah, Monday and Thursday, then goes on to give the sets of Sidroth¹³ which are joined, and when this occurs. He starts out at the beginning by telling us that if a Yom Tov occurs on Monday, Thursday, or Saturday, then the regular portion for that day is dropped for the one for Yom Tov. But if the Yom Tov is on Sabbath, then the portion for the week that would normally fall that Saturday is read during the week preceding the Yom Tov, as it should be, on the previous Sabbath at Minchah, and on Monday and Thursday. The beginning of the same portion is read at Minchah of the Sabbath which is Yom Tov, and the following Monday and Thursday. This could lead to the beginning of some Sidroth being read multiple times, and he cites an instance of Pesach falling on Sabbath, and the Sidra Shemini happening to fall on that day. In that case the beginning of this Sidra is read 8 times outside of Palestine. This

instance was probably chosen for the play it affords on the words **שמיני** and **שמינה**, the first meaning "8th", and the 2nd meaning "8". (The total of 8 is made up by 3 times before Pesach, Minchah of the 1st day Pesach, Minchah of the 8th day Pesach, Monday and Thursday of the week following Pesach, and the Sabbath after Pesach, on which the whole Sidra is now read.).

Next, he explains that there are 53 Parashoth in the Torah, of which there are 52 available for reading on Sabbath. There are 4 sets of Sidroth which may be combined :

- a) Vayakhel and Pikudey
- b) Tazria and Metzora
- c) Acharey Moth and Kedoshim
- d) Behar and Bechukothai.

There are 3 Sidroth which are combined and read on 2 Sabbaths : Korach, Chukath, and Balak. In this case, Chukath is divided at Numb.20,v22, the 1st part being read together with Korach, the 2nd with Balak.

There is one Sidra which is divided in 2 when necessary : Nitzavim is split at Vayelech - Deut.31,v1. This latter division has now been accepted permanently.

Of course, all the above is only done when necessary. Saadya now goes on to explain when it is necessary for one or other of these regulations to be put into effect.

Nitzavim is divided up only in such years as there is a Sabbath between Yom Kippur and Succoth. Then Vayelech is read on the Sabbath which we call Shabbat Shuvah today, between Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur, and Haazinu on the Sabbath before Succoth. This way Saadya is able to adjust to having Nitzavim read before Rosh Hashanah, and avoid having a free Sabbath, or being forced to have Vezoth Habrachah read on a Sabbath, since he says that it is not to be read on Sabbath. His primary consideration here is to follow the dictum of reading Nitzavim before Rosh Hashanah. But, having done so, he would be faced with a "free" Sabbath, unless he arranged for the reading of Vezoth Habrachah on that Sabbath before Succoth. Therefore the division of Nitzavim.

Regarding the other Sidroth which may be joined or separate, he goes into detailed calendric calculations. We shall not give these in full, only mentioning the results. The full calculations may be found in the Siddur of Saadya.¹⁴ He starts off by asserting that the beginning of the year for the Torah reading is on the 24th Tishre, the day after Simchath Torah. This day can only fall on Monday, Wednesday, Thursday or Saturday. According to him, every intercalated year has 55 Sabbaths except when the 24th Tishre falls on Monday, and Marcheshvan and Kislev have 29 days each that year, in which

case there are only 54 Sabbaths. The Torah has 52 Sidroth available for reading on Sabbath. (Saadya makes these calculations that follow for leap-years only, saying that it is not necessary to do so for ordinary years). However, Festivals occur on Sabbaths, so that the "telescoping" of Sidroth becomes necessary, even in a leap-year. Here are the instructions in brief:

1) 24th Tishre is Monday.

a) the year is Male: it has 55 Sabbaths, of which 5 are taken for Festivals. (e.g. 5665). 50 are left for reading the Torah.

In such a year he would have Korach, Chukath and Balak read together on 2 Sabbaths, divided in his manner, and join together 2 other Parashoth. He suggests Vayakhel and Pikudey as good, while today we join Chukkath & Balak, and Mattoth & Masey in such a year.

b) The year is Chaser.: it has 54 Sabbaths, of which 3 are taken for Festivals. (e.g. 5662). 51 Sabbaths are left for reading the Torah. In this case Chukath, Korach and Balak are read separately.

In these two cases Saadya tells us that 1 set of Sidroth, and none, respectively, need to be joined. But he forgets to mention, or takes for granted that the reader knows that Mattoth-Masey have to be joined so that Vaetchanan follows Tisha B'Av.

I cannot fully understand the phrase that the section beginning at Numb. 20;v22, in Chukath is left as a Parashah by itself, unless he means it that way, in which case the Sidra division elsewhere in Numbers was such that this could be done so that Korach, Chukath and Balak formed 4 Sidroth. Perhaps he intends a permanent joining of Korach and the first part of Chukath for these years, but if so, then why divide them so that they are 3 or even 4 Sidroth anyhow. Of course, according to all the previous regulations the book of Numbers was to be begun before Shavuoth, and arranged so that the 2nd Sidra of Deut. - Vaetchanan fell on the Sabbath after Tisha B'Av. Once we do not have

to start the book at anything more specific than "before Shavuoth", then, in an intercalated year, it is conceivable that it might turn out to start so early, that it would have to be divided into more than the 10 Sidroth it now possesses. In that case we could understand splitting Chukath into 2, just as the reverse could be understood for a short year.

In the first case. 1a) where he says that Vayiss'u Mikadesh - Numb.20,v22 remains a Parashah by itself, he can mean either that all of Chukath remains alone as a Sidra, and 2 other Parashoth, such as Vayakhel and Pikudey are joined together, or he means making 4 Sidroth out of Korach, Chukath and Balak, and joining together not only 1 other set of Sidroth, but 2. (besides Mattoth-Massey). This latter is unlikely, as he says that these 3 Sidroth may be read on 2 Sabbaths sometimes, splitting them at Numb.20,v22, but he does not indicate that they may conceivably be read as 4 Sidroth. Of course, it is also possible that he worked on a slightly different partition of one of the other 4 books of the Pentateuch than we know of it, but this would inevitably lead to other complications in the cycle, if it was to be read according to the rules. The absence of Parashah division for the Babylonian cycle in most of Numbers, and part of Deuteronomy suggests that if he had a different Parashah division, it was within the areas where the Massoretic notation is missing.

There is a case for this, for the Tiberian Massora was completed at about the same time as Saadya flourished.

The same applies regarding the 3 Sidroth for 1b), where he says that no Sidroth are to be joined. Again, Mattoth-Massey are joined in our system, to allow Vaetchanan to fall after Tisha B'Av. Again; it is possible, but not too likely, that Numb.20,v22 to the beginning of Balak remained a Sidra by itself, if there was a different Sidra division for Saadya. My own preference for both cases is that he meant Chukath, Korach and Balak to be read as 3 Sidroth in both years, with Chukath either at the length we know it today, or the 1st half of it read together with Korach, the 2nd half of it read with nothing else, and Balak standing by itself. This avoids some of the complications.

2) 24th Tishre is Wednesday.

- a) The year is Male (Shelemah): the year has 55 Sabbaths of which 3 are occupied by Festivals. 52 are left for reading the Torah. (e.g. 5681)
In such a year no Sedarim are combined. However, Mattoth-Massey are so, in the above example, as Nitzavim and Vayelech would have to be separate due to there being a Sabbath between Yom Kippur and Succoth. This year conforms to his specifications, in that it has 385 days, with the 1st & 8th days of Passover and the 6th day of Succoth on Sabbath, so that, again, unless he worked under a system different from ours, or considered Mattoth-Massey 1 Sidra, he cannot mean literally that no Sidroth are joined together.
- b) The year is Chaser : there are 55 Sabbaths, of which 5 have Festivals. 50 are left for reading the Torah. (e.g. 5668)
Again the case is as in 1a) with regard to joining 1 set of Sidroth, other than Mattoth Massey. In our present system of calendation, we join Chukath-Balak.

3) 24th Tishre is Thursday.

- a) The year must have 384 days, and there are no Shelemoth or Chaseroth. This has 55 Sabbaths, 3 of which have Festivals. 52 are left for reading the Torah. (e.g. 5684)
In this case no Parashoth are combined according to Saadya. Again, in our system, Mattoth-Massey are combined because of Tisha B'Av, and because there is a Sabbath between Yom Kippur and Succoth, which for Saadya would mean splitting Nitzavim at Vayelech.

4) 24th Tishre is Saturday.

- a) The year is Shelemah : there are 55 Sabbaths, of which 3 are occupied by Festivals. 52 are left for reading the Torah. (e.g. 5700).
In such a case each Sidra is read on its own, and Nitzavim-Vayelech is not divided. He even mentions that Chukath is a normal Sidra in such a year.

- b) The year is Chaser : then there are 55 Sabbaths, of which 2 have Festivals. 53 are left for reading the Torah. (e.g, 5687). In such a case all Sidroth are as they stand, even Nitzavim and vayelech, as there is a Sabbath between Yom Kippur and Succoth.

This latter case is the only one of the 7 above in which everything conforms in our system of calendation to what Saadya prescribes relating to the joining or reading separately of the Parashoth.

According to our present system of calendation, when the 24th Tishre in a leap-year (I refer here to the year as designated for the Torah-readings), is not on a Saturday, in a 383 day year, then either Chukath-Balak, Mattoth-Massey singly, or both pairs are combined. Occasionally, in all 7 cases Nitzavim-Vayelech may be combined or separate, depending on whether there is a Sabbath between Yom Kippur and Succoth. This does not always accord with Saadya's rather precise instructions for the Torah readings in leap-years. Since he mentions Nitzavim-Vayelech for the case where the 24th Tishre is on Saturday, but does not mention them for any other of the readings he gives for these leap-years, and since he never mentions the combination of Mattoth-Massey for these years, which happens in all cases but 2 in our calendation, there were either slight variations in his system of calendation from ours, or he had a slightly different division of Sidroth at certain points. The only other alternatives

are a) he took for granted the possibilities for Mattoth-Massey in these years, as well as those for Nitzavim-Vayelech, and therefore did not mention them, as this would follow from the general rules for the AC, or b) the whole discussion was meant to apply only to the 3 Sidroth, Korach, Chukath and Balak, in which case, unless the manuscript from which the Siddur was printed is defective or corrupt, it again presupposes a slightly different division of Parashoth for the AC than ours.

Let us see what information we have with regard to the length of Sidroth in the Babylonian cycle of Torah reading. Remembering that the names of the Sidroth are taken from the 1st verse or verses of the Sidra, we can establish the length of the following Sidroth by the time of Saadya :

1. Bereshith, starts at Gen.1,v1.
2. Vayetze; starts at Gen.28,v10
3. Shemoth, starts at Ex.1,v1.
4. Bo - Ex.10,v1 - 13,v16.
5. Beshalach - Ex.13,v17 - 17,v16.
6. Yitro - Ex.18,v1 - Ex.20,v26
7. Mishpatim - Ex.21,v1 - at least 22,v23, pibly more.
8. Tetzaveh - Ex.27,v20 - 30,v10.
9. Ki Tissa - Ex.30,v11 - 34,v35.
10. Vayakhel - 35,v1 - 38,v20.
11. Pikuday - Ex.30,v21 - end.
12. Vayikra - Lev.1,v1 - 5,v26.
13. Tzav - Lev.6,v1 - 8,v36.
14. Shemini - Lev. 9,v1 - 11,v47.
15. Tazria - Lev. 12,v1 - 13,v59.
16. Metzora - Lev.14,v1 - 15,v33.
17. Acharey Moth - Lev.16,v1 - 18,v30.
18. Kedoshim - Lev.19,v1 - 20,v27.
19. Emor - Lev.21,v1 - 24,v23.
20. Behar - Lev.25,v1 - 26,v2.
21. Bechukothai - Lev.26,v3 - end of book.
22. B amidbar - started at Numb.1,v1.

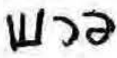
23. Beha'alothecha - at least Numb.8,v1-9,v14.
Probably further. (a)
24. Korach - Numb.16,v1 - 18,v32.
25. Chukath - Numb.19,v1 - 22,v1. (b)
26. Balak - Numb.22,v2 - 25,v9.
27. Pinchas - Numb.25,v10 - 30,v1.
28. Mattoth - Numb.30,v2 - 32,v42.
29. Massey - Numb.33,v1 - end of book.
30. Devarim - Deut.1,v1 - 3,v22.
31. Vaetchanan - started at Deut.3,v22.
32. R'eh - started at Deut 11,v26. - 16,v17.
33. Nitzavim - Deut.29,v9 - 30,v20. (c)
34. Vayelech - Deut.31,v1 - 31,v30. (c)
35. Haazinu - Deut.32,v1 - 52.
36. Vezoth Habrachah - Deut.33,v1 - 34,v12,end of book.

- (b) This is based on Saadya's statement that the Sidra may be split at Numb.20,v22.
- (a) The fact that a Sidra begins here may help explain the divergences in the ending for the Chanukkah reading. It is also a good indication of the uncertainty with regard to the Division of the book of Numbers.
- (c) These 2 are usually read together, unless there is a Sabbath between Yom Kippur and Succoth, even today.

This list is culled from a combination of anything the pre-Geonic and Geonic sources have to say about a Sidra or its contents. Some of those where the beginning and ending are given are due to inference, for if a new Sidra starts at a certain point, the old one must end there, and if we know where the previous one began, then we have the full length of the Sidra, unless it was sub-divided.

We notice that we were able to establish very little about the Sidroth up to Bo. From Bo to

Tetzaveh we have fragmentary information. From Tetzaveh to the beginning of Numbers, we have full information about the beginning of the Sidroth. From Balak to Vaetchanan we again have fairly full information, but there must have been some differences about these, as many variants are mentioned in later sources for the Sidroth Shelach Lecha, Korach, Chukath, Balak. Pinchas is stable, as it is used frequently, then there is question again about Mattoth-Massey, which only H.G. mentions as 2 separate Sidroth which may be combined.¹⁵ Then our information is sketchy again for Deuteronomy, up to Nitzavim. From there to the end of the book, we again have full information.

Let us see also what the Tiberian Massora has to offer to help us. This was, as we remember, completed about the same time as Saadya was in Babylonia. There the sign  is given at the beginning of every Babylonian Sidra for the books of Genesis, Exodus, and Leviticus. These correspond to the Sidroth as we read them today. In the book of Numbers, this sign is missing until we reach Pinchas - Numb.25,v10. It is present again for all of the book of Deuteronomy, except at Vayelech, Deut. 31,v1, which is understandable, as this was included in the Sidra Nitzavim at that time.

Now let us return for one moment to Siddur Saadya. He tells us that in a non-intercalated

year, the four sets of Sidroth which he mentions as able to be combined, are always combined in any case. ¹⁶ These are Vayakhel-Pikudey, Tazria-Metzora, Acharey-Moth & Kedoshim, and Behar-Bechukothai. Just before this, still on the subject of the leap-year readings, he tells us that when Rosh Chodesh Tishre is on Sabbath, the Sidra Chukath is read alone. Whether this means the whole Sidra as we know it today, or the Sidra as distinct from the part starting at Numb.20,v22, we cannot tell as yet.

We now try to read some meaning into these things. From the beginning of the year for the reading of the Torah up to Shabbat Tetzaveh there is very little that could cause difficulty with the Torah readings. There are no Festivals to cause a break in the sequence of readings nor is there any need to combine Parashoth or Sidroth, as there are always enough Sabbaths to have 1 Sidra per week read, if the Sidroth were the length they now are. Even with Vaera & Bo divided differently from the way we know them, so that there is a Sidra called Hashkem, (Ex.8,v16, or 9,v13), or with Mishpatim ending at Ex.22,v23, there is little to disturb us. This relative even-ness continues up to Sidra Tzav, and even up to Sidra Bamidbar. There may have been some differences earlier about splitting up these Sidroth, from Bereshith to Tzav. Seeing that it is only later that it is specified that Tzav must be read

before Pesach, and Bamidbar before Shavuoth, and that it is not specified how much before Pesach and Shavuoth respectively, just as long as it is done before these dates, differences must have arisen. Some would have divided up the Portions in accordance with one interpretation of these rules, and others with another interpretation. We shall not enter into speculation on how the divisions were, but merely point out some of the causes for them. The addition of Adar II in a leap-year, with the resultant shifting of the 4 special Sabbaths, the desire to have Shabbat Tetzaveh and Shabbat Shekalim fall together, since it is mentioned in the Talmud that they might, or with Shabbat Ki Tissa. (In practice this never happens. It usually falls on Shabbat Mishpatim, Vayakhel or Pikuday nowadays.) Or perhaps the desire to read Tzav on the last Sabbath before Pesach, and/or Bamidbar on the last Sabbath before Shavuoth, caused these variations. Any one or combination of these factors, with the 4 special Sabbaths in mind, could have caused variations in the Sidroth of Genesis, Exodus, or Leviticus. By the time of Saadya, however, this was more or less stabilised so that the Sidroth, at least for the greatest part of Exodus and all of Leviticus, if not Genesis as well, were of the same form as today.

However, even with the length of the Sidroth fairly stable, there were still deviations in

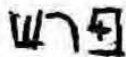
the matter of which ones to combine in non-leap years in order to read Bamidbar before Shavuoth. The idea of reading this on the last Sabbath before Shavuoth could still be applied, so that there too, the leeway was there, depending on the form of the year. Finally Saadya declared that there is one set of Sidroth in Exodus, and three sets in Leviticus which are always combined in a non-leap year, and almost always read separately in leap-years, which enables the provisions of reading Tzav before Pesach and Bamidbar before Shavuoth to be carried out faithfully, although we can see that they are not necessarily read on the last Sabbath before them. Thus, by means of this provision Saadya clears up almost all difficulties connected with half of the year, as far as Torah reading is concerned. Perhaps Saadya wished to simplify this complex matter to the utmost, with his juggling of the Sidroth in Numbers, which we shall discuss in a moment. He might have wished simply to say that in a leap-year all 8 Sidroth are read singly in any case, just as they are read in 4 sets of 2 in any non-leap year. This is based on his statement that if one combines Vayakhel and Pikudey in anticipation of later difficulty of division in a leap-year in which the 24th Tishre is on Monday, and the year has 385 days, he shows his "good understanding."¹⁷ Whatever the case may be, by Saadya's time the calendar is pretty well

well in order, and the Torah readings for the first 33 of his counted 53, and our counted 54 Sidroth were also quite stable. The likelihood that they were divided the same way as we do so today is very great, as Dr. Mann has shown in his "The Bible as read and preached in the old Synagogue." This applies for both leap-years and non-leap years, the extra month being well provided for, and taken in stride by the combining, or reading singly of the 8 Sedroth. It might also be mentioned here that this arrangement almost always allows Shabbat Bamidbar to fall on the last Sabbath before Shavuoth, and in the rare instances where it does not, it is on the Sabbath on which it is proclaimed that Rosh Chodesh Sivan takes place during the coming week.

As we have seen, the readings from Numbers and Deuteronomy must be so arranged that Tisha B'Av is before Shabbat Vaetchanan, Nitzavim falls before Rosh Hashanah, and Vezoth Habrachah need not be read on Sabbath, since it is not supposed to be read on Sabbath, at least not in Saadya's time. Since Saadya would not simply have created this rule out of whole cloth, we may safely say that if it was not the law, it was at least the custom in most places to read Vezoth Habracha on the 2nd day of Shemini Atzereth only, the day on which the Talmud mentions that it should be read. Now, by the time that Sidra Bechukothai is read, 33 of the available Sabbaths

in a leap-year, and 29 of the available Sabbaths in a normal year have been used up. Accepting Saadya's figure of 53 Sidroth in the Torah, there remain 19 Sidroth to be read on Sabbaths. And here the fun starts. From this point on it no longer matters whether the year is a leap-year or not. There can be the same number of Sabbaths, and the same problems raised in either case. The major problems are these : A) If there is a Sabbath between Yom Kippur and Succoth, Nitzavim-Vayelech is split up, and the number of Sabbaths left is thus usually reduced by 1, necessitating either combining sidroth somewhere along the line, or rearranging the length of certain Sidroth. B) While already in Yehudai's time it was stated that Vaetchanan has to be read after Tisha B'Av, again, it was not stated that it must be read on the Sabbath right after Tisha B'Av. (It might be noted here that the reading for Shacharith of Tisha B'Av, Deut.4,vv25-40 is in Sidra Vaetchanan. although this need not necessarily have any bearing on the matter at hand.)

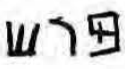
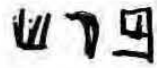
There are always 7 Sabbaths between Tisha B'Av and Rosh Hashanah. During this time there must be read from the Torah, according to the rules, at least from Vaetchanan up to and including Nitzavim. By Saadya's time the tendency had developed to read Vaetchanan on the Sabbath immediately after Tisha B'Av.

Thus the Sidra before Tisha B'Av would be Devarim. If Tisha B'Av falls on Sabbath, it is observed on the next day, and then the 9th of Av is Shabbat Devarim (or Shabbat Chazon) as we call it today), and thus it is the Sabbath before the observance of Tisha B'Av. Thus by Saadya's time we have a complete and clear idea of how the book of Deuteronomy is to be read. The last 8 Sabbaths before Rosh Hashanah must be used for reading Devarim to Nitzavim, the Sabbath between Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur for Haazinu, and Vezoth Habrachah is read on the 23rd Tishre - on Simchath Torah. If there is a Sabbath between Yom Kippur and Succoth, then Vayelech is read on the Sabbath between Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur, and Haazinu on the following one. Of the 10 Sidroth in Deuteronomy, 9 are read on 9 Sabbaths, or on 10 Sabbaths in some cases, and the 10th (or 11th when Nitzavim is divided) on Simchath Torah. The Tiberian Massora, as given in the B.H. bears out the stability of this arrangement, as we have noticed, denoting the Sidroth by the siglum  for all of Deuteronomy, according to the 10 Sidroth counted by Saadya, and not having one at Vayelech - Deut. 31,vl.

According to this reckoning, we then see that of the 52 Sidroth available for reading on Sabbath enumerated by Saadya, 42 are stable, and are read within

well-defined periods of time. These 42 Sidroth are read on 42 or 43 of the available Sabbaths for the year, depending on whether Nitzavim-Vayelech must be split up or not.

We are now left with the division of the book of numbers. Since Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus and Deuteronomy contain 43 Sidroth altogether of the 53 claimed for the Pentateuch, Numbers must be divided into the remaining 10 Sidroth. Sivan always has 30 days, Tammuz always 29. Thus, depending on what day of the week Shavuoth falls, and what day of the week Tisha B'Av falls, there are either 7 or 8 Sabbaths in which to complete the book of Numbers, as the Sabbath before Tisha B'Av is required for starting the book of Deuteronomy. In leap years during which the 24th Tishre is on Sabbath, there are always 8 Sabbaths after Shavuoth until Shabbat Devarim, and also, these are the only years in which Bamidbar is read on the 2nd Sabbath before Shavuoth, rather than on the last one before it. Therefore, there are usually 8 or 9 Sabbaths available to read the 10 Sidroth in Numbers, except in leap years, where the 24th Tishre is Sabbath, in which case there are 10, a full complement. These figures of 8, 9, or 10 Sabbaths available help us understand what Saadya says about the division of the book of Numbers in his Siddur.

From sources prior to Saadya we know the names of 5 Sidroth in the book. The first one, Bamidbar, then Behaalothecha, Pinchas, Mattoth, and Massey. The last two are from Halachoth Gedoloth, where there are 18 5 sets of Parashoth given to be combined in a non-leap year. These last two are not mentioned by any other authority, and the only reason they are mentioned here is that the mention of them has helped us establish their length, assuming that they were known and used as 2 separate Sidroth in Saadya's time. The only things we may take for fairly certain for the time prior to Saadya with respect to the book of Numbers is that Pinchas was its present length, and that there was either one, or there were two more Sidroth to the end of the book. The Tiberian Massora helps us only to the extent that it has the siglum  at the beginning of the Sidroth Pinchas, Mattoth, and Massey. This tells us that these 3 were known at the time of Saadya, and probably used widely. We may also say that Saadya recognised them as 3 Sidroth, as the Massora does also agree with his division for Deuteronomy, leaving out the siglum  at Vayelech. Thus 3 of the 10 Sidroth in Numbers are known. Saadya himself gives us three more names, and calls them 3 Sidroth, Korach, Chukath, and Balak. But his instructions regarding the division of these under certain circumstances, as we have seen, are not too clear to us. It is on the division of the early part of the book; and on the division of these 3

that the sequence of Sidroth in the book of Numbers depends. We do not know how Numbers, 1 - 25,v9 was divided up.

From Saadya we know the following :

- (a) The 3 Sidroth Korach, Chukath, and Balak were sometimes read on 2 Sabbaths, Chukath being split at Numb.20,v22.
- (b) In years where 10 Sabbaths are available for reading the book of Numbers, which only happens in certain leap-years, there is no need to combine any 2 Sidroth.

We have seen that regardless of the division, or non-division of Nitzavim-Vayelech, there are 8,9 or 10 Sabbaths available for reading the book of Numbers. We have also seen that the last 3 Sidroth of the book were fixed. In addition Saadya tells us that 3 Sidroth in Numbers may be read at the rate of one and one half each on two Sabbaths, and also that he does not mention the possibility of combining Mattoth-Massey, which may be done according to H.G. It is now up to us to try to establish roughly the manner in which the book was meant to be divided according to Saadya. If we did not already have the few bits of information which we do have about Numbers, and the evidence of the Massora, this would be an impossible task, for there are any number of ways to divide the 36 chapters of the book into 10 Sidroth suitable for reading on 10 Sabbaths, so that Korach, Balak, Pinchas are their present length, and Chukath 2 separate Sidroth, the 2nd beginning at 26,v22. As it is, knowing what we do about Korach, Balak, Pinchas, Mattoth and Massey, there remain only 2 different ways of doing this, and only one of them fulfills all needs.

- I. The first one presupposes that Numbers 1-15 is only divided into 3 Sidroth, rather than the present 4, and that Mattoth and Massey are always read separately.

<u>Sidra</u>	<u>10 Sabb.</u>	<u>9 Sabb.</u>	<u>8 Sabb.</u>		(c)
			(a)	(b)	
1.	r	r	r	r	r
2.	r	r	r	r	r
3.	r	r	r	r	r
Korach	r	<u>R</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>R</u>
Chukath.	r	<u>R</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>R</u>
Ch.20,v22 -Vayissu	r	<u>r</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>r</u>	<u>R</u>
Balak	r	r	<u>R</u>	r	<u>R</u>
Pinchas	r	r	r	r	<u>R</u>
Mattoth	r	r	r	r	r
Massey	r	r	r	r	r

- II. The second allows Mattoth-Massey to be read separately, or together under certain circumstances. Numb.1-15 are 4 Sidroth.

<u>Sidra.</u>	<u>10 Sabb.</u>		<u>9 Sabb.</u>		<u>8 Sabb.</u>		(c)
					(a)	(b)	
1.	r	r	r	r	-	r	r
2.	r	r	r	r	-	r	r
3.	r	r	r	r	-	r	r
4.	r	<u>r</u>	<u>r</u>	<u>r</u>	-	<u>r</u>	<u>r</u>
Korach	<u>r</u>	<u>r</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>R</u>	-	<u>R</u>	<u>R</u>
Chukath	<u>R</u>	r	<u>R</u>	<u>R</u>	-	<u>R</u>	<u>R</u>
20,v22 - Vayissu	<u>R</u>	r	<u>R</u>	<u>r</u>	-	<u>R</u>	<u>r</u>
Balak	r	r	<u>R</u>	r	-	<u>R</u>	r
Pinchas	r	<u>r</u>	<u>r</u>	<u>r</u>	-	<u>r</u>	<u>r</u>
Mattoth	r	<u>R</u>	r	<u>R</u>	-	<u>R</u>	<u>R</u>
Massey	r	<u>R</u>	r	<u>R</u>	-	<u>R</u>	<u>R</u>

r - This is read alone on a Sabbath.

R - The 2 capital R 's between lines denote combination on a Sabbath.

(a)-Vayakhel & Pekudey are not joined in that year.

(b)-Vayakhel & Pekudey are joined in that year.

I(c) - a division for Numb. so that Vayissu and Balak are joined.

II(a) - It is impossible to divide up the book so that Mattoth-Massey are read separately, unless 2 other Sidroth in the book besides Chukath, Balak and Korach are combined, and still read it on 8 Sabbaths. We might be able to work something out, but it would not be in accord with the general instructions.

The above tables enable us to make a

number of remarks about the way Numbers was divided. We preface them by saying that Saadya only once mentions Chukath as a Sidra to be read by itself, but does not tell us whether it includes the section from Numb.20,v22 to the beginning of Balak. In addition, the years where 10 Sabbaths are available for reading the book are to have it read without combining, which again does not tell us whether Chukath was the full length, or whether it was 2 Sidroth in such a month as well.

The only way to fulfill all Saadya's requirements for the various types of years, and the way he sets forth the readings, keeping Vayissu, Numb. 20,v22ff separate, except when there are 8 Sabbaths available and Vayakhel-Pikuday are not joined in anticipation of possible complications, is the one outlined in I above. Even in the case of I(c), where they also are not joined, and Balak is read in combination with the 2nd half of Chukath, at least this Sidra begins at Vayissu. However, I(c) is an improbable division, as Saadya does state that Vayissu should be a separate Sidra. In order for I to be valid 2 things must have been the case in his time :

- (i) Numb.Ch.1-15 were only 3 Sidroth.
- (ii) Mattoth and Massey were read separately.

Table II would also fulfill his requirements, if Numb.Ch.1-15 are 4 Sidroth, and Mattoth-Massey are always read together. It would not do so if they are read separately, as has been pointed out in II(c) above.

But then , at the time when Chukath is to be read as a single Sidra, we would have the choice of reading all of it up to Balak, in which case Mattoth-Massey would have to be read separately, or of reading the 1st half of it, in order to keep Mattoth-Massey together as for the rest of the system. But, reading Mattoth-Massey separately would not work in system II in the case of there being only 8 Sabbaths available to read the book of Numbers, unless the book were differently split up, or two earlier Sidroth were combined, besides Vayakhel and Pikudey. Thus system II would not be consistent regarding some of the Sidroth. In addition it would be inoperative since Saadya does not mention that we may combine Mattoth and Massey. However, his silence on this matter does not mean that he was not aware that they might be combined, which would have to happen periodically if, as he tells us in the Siddur, Korach, Chukath, and Balak are 3 Sidroth, and not 4 as system I would make them.

We thus conclude that Saadya used the simplest of the possible methods of reading the book of numbers, which accords with his own instructions, and also with the evidence of the contemporary Tiberian Massora. This would be the one outlined in I. In it Numb.1-15 are 3 Sidroth, Pinchas, Mattoth and Massey are separate Sidroth, and Chukath, Korach and Balak are so divided

that the middle of Chukath starts a new Sidra in any division of the book of Numbers, regardless of whether it is read in 8, 9, or 10 Sabbaths. In order to do so, when there are 8 Sabbaths, Korach and the 1st half of Chukath are combined, and Vayakhel & Pikuday must be combined, or 2 other Sidroth, but these are preferable, as they are among those permitted to be combined, and would not throw the cycle for the year much out of kilter if they were combined. Alternatively the 2nd half of Chukath must be combined with Balak, which he mentions is done on occasion, but he prefers the former 2 to be combined. When there are 9 Sabbaths, once again Korach and the 1st half of Chukath must be combined, which is permissible, for then these 3 are still only 3 Sidroth, and then also the instruction to read Chukath alone when there are 10 Sabbaths for reading Numbers makes sense, for in this case the 3 Sidroth would be read as 4 on four Sabbaths. He might have known and preferred some other way of doing all this, but, in the light of his instructions in the other parts of the Siddur regarding this, the way he outlines is the simplest and most easily understood.

Finally, we look at the Haftarothe for the normal run of the year. On this point we have almost no information. From Amram we learn that the H for Vayetze is Hosea 12,13 ff, and the H for

Kedoshim is Amos 9, v7ff. Saadya does not specify any of the H for the normal Sabbaths for the year. He merely says that they are known, for all 53 Sidroth, and that the H is read after the Torah has been completed, and Kaddish¹⁹ said.

About the subject of the Haftarothe in general, we can merely note that 3 of them are mentioned for normal Sabbaths in the Geonic literature. These 3 happen to be the same as those we read today, including one of them within the cycle of the 7 of Comfort in Av and Ellul. This is not enough for us to be able to say that the H for the year as a whole were pretty much the same as they are today. We might assume it for lack of evidence to the contrary, but we have not established it directly. That there was also flux is certain, as the variations between Ashkenazi and Sephardi traditions even today attest.

In regard to the Torah readings for the year, however, we may say with greater confidence that by the end of the Geonic era they were almost all the same as we today know them.

CHAPTER XII.

THE TORAH READINGS AND HAFTAROTH - HOW AND WHY THEY WERE FIXED IN THE FIRST MILLENIUM OF THE COMMON ERA.


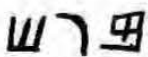
In this chapter we shall survey the year and its Torah and Haftarah readings as a whole. It is intended to discuss generally how and why the readings for the Festivals were selected, and also how and why the rules generally for the Annual Cycle of Sabbath readings came about, and their effect on the readings themselves. Tied up with this is the matter of the calendation of the Jewish year, and its relationship to the days on which a Festival might or might not fall.

In pre-Talmudic days, during the early Tannaitic era, the notion developed to read the Torah in sequence on those occasions when it was to be read which were "normal", i.e. for which there was no need to have some form of special reading. During the days of the Amoraim, rules governing the reading of the Torah and Haftaroth were developed, from the observance of which there developed the idea of completing the reading of the Torah in 3 years in Palestine, and 1 year in Babylonia respectively. At first this was a loosely applied concept, allowing much variety in the matter of the length of selections for each Sabbath.

In order to complete the Torah in 1 year, the Babylonians had to take 2 or 3 or even more of the then current Sedarim of the Palestinian sequence of reading, and combine them each week. Naturally, this could be done in many different ways. This may help explain the flexibility of the rules governing the length of the Haftarothe. The only rule that was stable for the Haftarothe was that the H must have a linguistic, contextual, or ideational similarity to the Torah section read on that day.

The consonantal text of the Bible with which the Amoraim and Geonim worked was almost the identical one to that which has come down to us today. As the division into chapters was extremely late, and not in its inception a Jewish idea, we need only concern ourselves with the division into paragraphs and verses. In writing the Bible, the only real divisions visible were those into paragraphs, which, for the Pentateuch were stable from earliest times, and fairly stable for the Prophets and Haggiographa. Even the instability which there was, does not have any major effect on the selection of the H, while for the selection of Torah readings, they never were much of a problem. Verse division in the Pentateuch, although it may have differed slightly in the opinion of one authority or another, is also not too significant

in the selection of the readings. It might have given rise to discussion regarding the length of a reading, whether it was sufficient, or could conform to the rules for Torah reading in other ways, but it did not matter much in the matter of the content of the selection, or its beginning and end. In the Prophets also any differences in verse division could be almost wholly discounted when choosing Haftarothe, as the rules were flexible enough to provide for all contingencies. In any case, differences in verse division arose as much on account of the fact that there was no verse division marked in the written copies of the Bible, as it did because of the length required for readings.

The Tiberian Massora gives us the division of the Pentateuch into 161 readings for the Triennial Palestinian cycle of Torah reading. This represents the largest number of Sabbaths which can occur in three years. The siglum  is used to denote a Palestinian Seder. It also has the siglum  for the beginning of the Sidroth of the AC, except for the first 25 chapters of the book of Numbers. This Massora, as found in B.H., 3rd ed., represents the final stage of the division in Palestine, and the stage of division current in Babylonia at Saadya's time, the first part of the 10th Century C.E. For the latter it only indicates the division where it is stable.

Let us turn now first to the development of the Festival readings from the Torah and H, and see what happened to them during this era. The major contribution of the Geonim in this area was that they fixed the Mussaf readings from Numbers 28-29 for each Festival, and that they gave the ending of most of the readings and H for them, where they are only indicated by their beginning or by the nature of their contents in the Talmud. In addition during this time a few H were changed from those given in the Talmud, in some cases even violating the principles for readings, or simply dropping the Talmudic dictum concerning what was to be read on a certain occasion.

The deciding factor in the selection of the Festival readings, and also at the same time the impetus for the development of the A6, is the verse

וַיְדַבֵּר מֹשֶׁה אֶת מִוְעֲדֵי יְהוָה אֶל בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל

Lev.23,v44 -"And Moses spoke of (related) the Appointed Seasons of the Lord to the children of Israel." This was applied first to reading the relevant section for a Festival at that Festival each year. Since the Moadoth took place each year, it is not a long step to take when we assume that the Torah, from which the readings were taken, came also to be regarded as requiring repetition in full each year, i.e. that it was to be read through in the space of one year.

The Pentateuch talks of 5 Moadoth, (6, if we take the 8th day of Succoth - Shemini Atzereth as a separate Moed) - Pesach, Shavuoth, Rosh Hashanah, and Yom Kippur. Lev.23 talks of all of them, and tells us what they are. The section on them starts with the words **אלה ה' ימים קדושים**, Lev.23,v4, -"These are the appointed seasons of the Lord," and so this chapter came to be known as **פרשת שמות**, and the relevant sections for each Festival from it were to be read. We could include the Sabbath, spoken of in Lev.23,v3, also as a Moed, since it too has a "Holy Convocation.", and since before it we also have the formula **ה' ימים קדושים**...

Lev.23,v2. By the time of the completion of the M a number of other occasions are regarded as Moadim, though they are not specifically stated thus in the Pentateuch - Rosh Chodesh, Chanukkah, Purim, communal Fast-Days, and the 4 special Sabbaths during Adar before the month of Nissan. For the first of these latter 5, the Pentateuch has a reading which refers to it, for the other 4 readings related to the occasion had to be derived, and were thus derived. In the first 5 Moadim mentioned in Lev.23, the reading prescribed by the M is from Deut.16, vv9-12, rather than the one referring to it in Lev.23. This is in the case of Shavuoth, where the Lev.23 reading may be used to argue for Shavuoth falling on a Sunday, and not on

the day on which it does fall, and also would thus give ammunition to the Sadducees, Samaritans and others who wanted to celebrate it thus. In addition, the Deut. reading refers to it by the name which it became called - Shavuoth, which the Lev. reading does not. Thus, in the M, the readings of all the Festivals were related to the observance of the Festivals themselves, either from direct mention of them in the Torah, or a derived connection to them from the Torah. It must be mentioned here that all the readings given by the M were probably in vogue before the destruction of the 2nd Temple, except perhaps for those of the days in which no additional sacrifices were to be brought to the Temple, i.e. the days on which only 3 people read from the Torah according to the scheme of readings given there.

Once the Temple was destroyed, and autonomous Jewish life came to an end, the Festivals had to be re-evaluated. While the Temple stood, and all the sacrifices and other types of offerings could be brought, these were the main emphases of the celebration of the Festivals. The 5 Biblical Moadoth, which included the 3 Regalim, or Pilgrim Festivals of Pesach, Shavuoth and Succoth could be celebrated then as prescribed in the Pentateuch. Now, with no Temple to which to come and bring the offerings, and also a rapidly expanding and

developing Diaspora community, the agricultural and sacrificial elements of these Festivals became meaningless, except as a memory of the past days and years. In order for there to be a *raison d'être* for the existence of the Festivals and their celebration, and considering the new look of the Jewish community, the emphasis for the Festivals had to be changed to a historical one, with the sacrifices and offerings merely retained as a memory of times past, and a hope for time to come. Thus the Torah readings for them also were changed to reflect this new emphasis. Passover had a ready-made historical basis in the Exodus, known and recognised already in the Pentateuch, Shavuoth was linked up with the giving of the Law on Sinai, on the basis of an interpretation of the time element in Ex.19,v1, and Succoth was connected with the living of the children of Israel in booths, or Succoth in the 40 years of the wilderness wanderings. Rosh Hashanah became the beginning of the religious year, followed by 10 days of repentance, and culminating in the fast of Yom Kippur, an expiatory fast-day. The Torah readings now chosen for the first day of the Festivals reflect this change either because of direct reference to the Festival, or a derived interpretation that an event took place on that day, as is the case with the reading of Gen21 on Rosh Hashanah, for example. It was not necessary for the day to be mentioned by name in the reading, just as long as there

could be seen the link with the "historic" event read on it, or the contents of the passage read had relevance to the significance of the day. There was no need to change the readings for Chanukkah, Purim, Rosh Chodesh, or the 4 special Sabbaths in Adar, or even those for Fast-days, to conform with this, as these, not being in the strict sense "Moadim", were already appropriate for the day. The Haftarothe selected for all these occasions reflect also these changes, through context or direct mention, being tied up with the day itself. The beginning of this change in the character of the Festivals is to be seen already in the Tosefta, where Ex.19,v1, is given as an alternate reading for Shavuoth.

During the Amoraic period in Babylonia the second day of Yom Tov of the Galuyoth was introduced as a regular and fixed thing, because of the doubt as to whether the Festivals were being celebrated on the correct day. This necessitated finding extra sets of readings for most days, and also corresponding H. In addition, the verse in Lev.23, - v44 had to be re-interpreted since now not only were the readings prescribed by the M no longer the most relevant, but they would also be too short to conform to the length of readings and the other rules given in the M for reading the Torah. The new interpretation which clearly emerges from the Talmud for this verse, is that on each Festival all Halachic sections

dealing with the observance of those Festivals are to be read during the Festival. This is only necessary for the 5 Moadim of Lev.23, as we have seen before. This was easily accomplished. On the first day of the 3 Regalim, the section was read dealing with the "historic" reason for celebrating it. On the last day (as celebrated in Babylonia, the 8th) the general rules were read for the 3 Regalim from a major section of the Pentateuch - Deut.16, which was quite appropriate, as Deuteronomy was known as **אריזת תורה**, the "repetition of the Torah - the laws," in the Talmud, and thus there could be no really valid argument against reading it. In any case, the reading for the first day of Shavuoth had been from this section before, so that there was precedent for using this. In the case of Succoth, this reading happened by coincidence to be Lev.23, which is the only point in the Torah which tells us to celebrate Succoth because our forefathers in the desert dwelt in Succoth. On the second day of Pesach and Succoth, which might have been the 1st day of these Festivals, the original Parashath Moadoth was read - Lev.23. These are near the two major "New Years" in the Jewish calendar, and are read as reminders about the Moadoth in general at that time. During the intermediate days of Pesach and Succoth the references to these Festivals were read. Since the M already prescribes the readings from Numb.29, the "Pare Hechag" for those of Succoth, they were not changed. But those for Pesach

included all mentions in the Torah of the 3 Regalim together, as Pesach is the first of the 3, and the most suitable one for reminding the people about the 3 Regalim. They were also the only available "intermediate days" for such a reading. For the 7th day of Pesach the Reading of Ex.13,17 - 15,26 was chosen as traditionally the drowning of the hosts of Pharaoh had taken place on that day, and also because the Exodus story proper, the reason for celebrating Pesach now, ended there. Since Lev.23 was now read in full twice a year, it was not necessary to read it again on the second day of Rosh Hashanah. Deut.16 has no mention of the Festival. Thus the Akedah was chosen as an appropriate reading for the day - Gen.22, because of a homilatic reason tying up the story with the 2nd day of Rosh Hashanah, and also because of the nature of the content, which was appropriate for the season of the year. Lev.16, & Lev.18 were considered appropriate for Yom Kippur because of the nature of their content, for Shacharith and Minchah that day. For the other occasions the Torah readings were already connected with the nature of the occasion, and did not have to be changed, as had been said. The H chosen for all these days were either in the spirit of the occasion, or connected with the contents of the Torah portion. We shall discuss the selection of Vezoth Habrachah as the reading for the 2nd day Shemini Atzereth shortly. At first it was probably just a good way to mark the end of the Tishre Festival cycle.

In the Talmud, there is no mention of reading the sacrificial portions for the Festivals from the book of Numbers, except as the regular readings for Rosh Chodesh, and the Chol Hamoed days of Succoth, and the reading off by heart of the one for Yom Kippur by one opinion, which is not the accepted one. In Numbers ch. 28-9 we are told about the special sacrifices for the 5 Biblical Moadim, the Mussafim, which were in addition to the regular daily sacrifice, or in place of it.

Now, in the Talmud, Pes.66a, the Sabbath sacrifices in Numbers 28,vv9-10 are taken to mean in addition to the Tamid, the regular daily sacrifice. Interpreting the passage thus, for the Sabbath, which comes every week, the same interpretation is applied to the Festival and Rosh Chodesh sacrifices, as the Festivals override the Sabbath. While Rosh Chodesh does not override the Sabbath, its special sacrifices are in addition to the normal additional sacrifices for the Sabbath.

The morning and afternoon services were intended to replace the sacrifices at those times, once the Temple was destroyed - *חבשה במקום קריאן*. Thus the Mussaf service for the 5 Biblical Moadim replaced the Mussaf sacrifices for those days. Since one had to read the section relating to any special occasion from the Torah, to fulfill discussing it at its correct time, the

Mussaf section in Numbers 28 should have been read at that Service every Sabbath from the Torah. But it was too short to be a regular reading, not having 3 vv, and one could not add to it from before or after, so it was probably just recited by heart or read from a "normal" copy of this section each Sabbath. Once the "regular" Sabbath Mussaf portion was not read from the Torah each week, those for the Festivals likewise were not read from the Torah at the Mussaf Service each time the Festival occurred, for after all - קראו (כח) ר' קראו. Those for Rosh Chodesh were specifically to be read on Rosh Chodesh, however, and could be so even as an "extra" reading on Sabbath, as the paragraph is long enough, even without reading the Sabbath Mussaf section along with it, which was done. Thus we find that they were read on Shabbat Rosh Chodesh from the Torah, according to the Talmud. The Talmud does not specify when the Mussaf readings for Shabbat Rosh Chodesh were read. We are merely told that on such a day two or three Torahs are read from (3 on Rosh Chodesh Teveth, Adar or Nissan if any of them fall on Sabbath), but not that the second (or third) must be read immediately after the normal reading for the day. It was probably done so, for convenience. But Mussaf Service could be even before Shacharith on Sabbath, (T Ber.III, Succa 53a in B), and had no set time except as dictated by former Temple practice. The Shacharith Service used to end with the reading of the

Torah and prophets, followed by a sermon or not, as the case may be. In B. Meg.21-24 there is a discussion on whether the Maftir counts as one of the 7 readers on Sabbath or not. Here the Maftir is the last one to read from the Torah. It is decided that he does not, if there is a form of Kaddish said after the regular reading from the Torah. Also, there is nothing said about returning the first Torah to the Ark after reading from it. Also, the Haftarah for any special occasion is related to the special occasion, which takes precedence over the regular H for that day, if there ought to be a regular H on such a day, which of course could only apply to a Festival occurring on Sabbath, or a special event which has a special H falling on Sabbath. The Haftarah, in its role as "completing (or complementing) the reading of the Law" would then be read after the last piece from the Torah for the day has been read. It need not necessarily follow the Torah reading which is normal for the Sabbath, in the Shacharith service. As a matter of fact, if it is to "complete" the reading of the Law, it cannot but be after the last portion from the Torah has been read on that day.

Following through on all the above, we may state fairly certainly that at one time, during the Talmudic era, the Torah reading for the Sabbath morning was completed, from 2 Torahs if it was Rosh Chodesh Teveth,

Adar or Nissan, then Kaddish was said to denote the end of that section of the Service, (Chatzi Kaddish, as the Service was not yet fully over, or even a major section of it, as the Torah had not yet been returned to the Ark), after which Mussaf was recited, with its Torah reading, and the Haftarah for that day, since it was a special occasion, and the H was related to the occasion, and also it was only now that the Torah reading for the day was completed. Following this Mussaf was completed, and the Torahs returned to the Ark. Alternatively, all of the Mussaf prayers were said before or after the Torah reading, and the Torahs returned to the Ark after Mussaf. This latter does not seem too likely, as the Torah section was included in the Mussaf Amidah, in the middle blessing. A little later, or perhaps at the same time as this developed, the notion arose of completing all the Torah readings for that Sabbath, and the H before the Mussaf prayers, perhaps even returning the Torahs to the Ark before the Mussaf prayers, and saying the whole section, including Rosh Chodesh section off by heart during the Mussaf service. Thus there would be no Kaddish between the Torahs, and so the Maftir, the last reader, could be included in the 7 required, since all the material was required to be read from the Torah by 7 people that day, in which case only 6, or 5 people read the weekly portion, depending on the type of Sabbath, the others reading the special sections and the last the Haftarah.

In this way, both the Talmudic debate as to whether Maftir counts as one of the required readers or not becomes clear, and both opinions easily understood. The discussion applies to Sabbath in the Talmud, but the principle applies equally well to the Festivals, where, if the Maftir does not count, it is because he has to repeat the last few vv of the Torah reading, as on Sabbath, or where he does count, it is because he is the last reader for the required portion, since the Mussaf sections were not read from the Torah at this time, and no Kaddish thus needed to be said between the last of the required readers from the Torah and the one who read Haftarah, as apparently was indeed once the case, especially if we remember that the H once finished the "required reading" of the Torah for the day. Thus, since there was not yet finished a section of the Service, no Kaddish needed to be said. When the idea became known that the one who read the H only read from the Torah because of the honour due to the Torah, it became necessary to separate the required number of readers for the day from the one who read the H and so the Chatzi Kaddish was introduced to indicate that a section within a major portion of the Service had been completed, but that the major section had not as yet, as the H still had to be read. All this still took place before the Talmud was finally redacted, and so the Geonim are confronted with this problem of the Maftir, for there are 2 perfectly good ways of figuring it out, each valid in its context.

A word about the Torah readings for Shabbat Chol Hamoed, and their H. It would not do during a Festival to read on the Sabbath occurring therein a Torah portion having nothing to do with the Festival, as those which would occur at that time undoubtedly would do. Thus one of the portions dealing with the 3 Regalim was chosen as the reading, which at the same time contains references to God's promises of goodness and His mercy towards Israel. The H chosen for these Sabbaths were selected on the Midrashic basis that the resurrection of the dead would take place in Nissan, and the war of Gog and Magog in Tishre.

So, at the end of the Talmudic period, the readings and H for the 5 Biblical Moadim, and other special occasions are fairly securely fixed. The Geonic period saw no major changes in this set of readings. They were defined as to length, and a couple of H were altered, and a couple of different methods of reading certain passages were worked out in accordance with the rules for readings, and the associations of the day. We have indicated where the problems lay in our general treatment of the Festivals in Ch. IX & X, and how they were dealt with for each different occasion. In the matter of the fast-day readings, there was the greatest progress made, as the phrase

מספיק תורה could be and was already in the Talmud interpreted in a variety of ways. The most appropriate one for the idea behind fast-days was Ex.32,vv11-14, & 34,vv1-10, so this became the standard reading. If any person asked why there was the jump from 32,v14 to 34,v1, there was always the dictum that one might skip within the same contextual setting in the Torah provided that the Meturgeman had not yet completed his translation, found in the T and Y, to rely on, for precedent, as well as the practice of the High Priest in Temple times reading from Lev.16, then Lev.23, mentioned in Yoma VII,1 in the M. This was further simplified, although not yet fully accepted, when many said that these were to be read at Minchah of any fast-day, and on Tisha B'Av Deut.4,v25-40 to be read at Shacharith on Tisha B'Av. In this way no fast-day reading conflicted with the regular reading for the day if it happened to be on Monday or Thursday, not even that of Tisha B'Av Shacharith, as this reading is in Sidra Vaetchanan, which by this time was the Sidra for the Sabbath right after Tisha B'Av, and thus would have to have part of it read anyway if it fell on Monday or Thursday.

The major thing that was done early in the post-Talmudic era was the introduction of the readings of the Mussaf sacrifices from the Torah for all Festivals on which Mussafim were offered. The memory of the

sacrifices was kept alive by their being recited during the Mussaf Service, true enough. However, since all the other regulations from the Torah were being read for the 5 Moadim, it was felt that these should be too. In any case, the Talmud already says that one reads about these sacrifices for Rosh Chodesh and Chol Hamoed Succoth from the Torah from these chapters on those days. No matter that they happen to be the only appropriate ones in all of the Torah for these occasions - the simple fact stands that here already are two occasions ordained by the Talmud where these sections on additional sacrifices are to be read. From this precedent, it was a simple matter to extend this reading of the additional sacrifice passages to the other Moadoth which are mentioned in the chapters. Chanukkah, Purim, and the fast-days do not need them, as there are no Mussaf sacrifices on those days. Or, in the case of Chanukkah, all the sacrifices in Numb. 7 could be regarded as Mussafim, so that the Chanukkah reading becomes the Mussaf reading on Shabbat Chanukkah, or even on Shabbat Rosh Chodesh Teveth, as the Chanukkah sacrifices are in addition to the additional Rosh Chodesh one, and the H on that day is the one for Chanukkah anyway. But, there is a doubt about the introduction of these readings from the Torah itself, as the Talmud does not specify them. Yet, on the other hand, the feeling is that they should be read, in order to read all the regulations for a Festival on that Festival.

The solution was most ingenious. It resolved the matter of the Maftir counting or not, and at the same time had these sections read from the Torah in such a way that while they were actually read from the Torah, they did not count in the "official" reading for the day, or the one who read the section in the "official" quota of readers for the day. The sections were to be read by the Maftir - now meaning both the last reader from the Sefer Torah, and also the one who reads the H- after the required number of people have read the required section from the Torah for the day, and Chatzi-Kaddish has been said. This covers any and all objections that could be raised.

- (a) The Maftir does not count in the required number of readers for the day. However, he does read a section from the Torah for the Honour of the Torah. What he reads is relevant to the day; yet is not part of the required reading for the day, so that his status is not in doubt. There is no law that says that he must repeat part of what the last one before him read from the Torah. Besides, what he is reading possibly is part of the day's reading, in which case he is simply a 6th, 7th or 8th reader, and anyway, on such days you are allowed to add to the number of readers.
- (b) The Chatzi-Kaddish only separates the required number of readers who must read the required reading for the day, from the Maftir, who reads the extra section and the Haftarah, thus completing the Torah reading as such with the Haftarah.
- (c) The introduction of such a section removes the basis for argument existing as to whether 5 may read the section, the 6th also reading the H, and thus counting in the required number. It forces a 6th man to read, and no matter how you argue now, about whether the

Maftir counts as a reader from the Torah or not, the argument no longer revolves around the last of the required readers for the required section. This is finally settled. The Chatzi-Kaddish there may now be interpreted as ending the "official" reading of the Torah or not, depending on which view you take, but the letter of the law is fulfilled - 5,6, or 7 people read what must be read for the day, and a H relevant to the day is read, before the "official" end of the reading from the Torah, denoted by returning the Torahs to the Ark.

- (d) The Mussaf sections are still retained in the Mussaf Service, recited by heart, as was done all along. If you want to be strict or literal about this, we point out that reciting them at Mussaf is itself in the spirit of the word "Mussaf", as here we are reciting the sections an Additional time .

All this is really part of the process of bringing order into, and simplifying the scheme of Festival Torah readings in general, and at the same time solving a thorny problem regarding the "Maftir". Introducing these Mussaf readings from Numbers, enables the various opinions on the meaning of the words "Maftir", "Mussaf", "Hafsakah" all to be applied, but at least the same thing is read by the same minimum number of people everywhere. This is important, to have uniformity on major matters, within an ever-expanding area of Diaspora Jewish settlement. That it was, and is, successful is attested to by the fact that a Jew could thus walk into any synagogue, and understand what was going on, and when and why at the time , and can still do so today. It was recognised that local custom would and did spring up, but at least it would only be peripheral matters that differed between community and community. Essentials and basics remained the same everywhere where Jews were found.

This same trend towards uniformity and the highest possible degree of simplicity at the same time can be seen also in the realm of the fixing of the Annual Cycle of Torah reading. From the Talmud, the AC was so loosely defined, if the few references to the time of reading a certain Sidra may be construed as references to an AC, that an almost infinite number of variations was possible when one considers the propensities of the Jewish calendar, and its ability and necessity to change in length from year to year. When one depends on observation of the moon, rather than calculation based on sound principles, one cannot expect a high degree of uniformity from one year to the next, nor much of a degree of stability for readings in either length or time of reading.

From the Talmud we have a few references which help in setting up an annual cycle of Torah readings of sorts. We are told that the "Blessings and curses" of Lev.26 must be read before Shavuoth, and those of Deut.27-28 before Rosh Hashanah. A homiletic reason is given for this, which need not concern us. Further, we know from elsewhere, that the last 2 Sidroth of the Torah, Haazinu and Vezoth Habrachah, are as we know them today. The latter one is to be read on the 2nd day of Shemini Atzereth. There is no reason given for this, and it is only be the farthest stretch of the Homiletician's abilities that it may be connected with Succoth, - the end of the

Torah, the end of the cycle of Festivals of Tishre, agricultural blessings etc.,. Thus we have this choice, and another, for which there is a slightly more practical basis, which, however, is not mentioned in the Talmud, although the evidence points to it. The other possibility is that this was the day on which the Annual cycle of Torah reading was to end, thus beginning again on the coming Sabbath. This was not the purpose of the reading in the early Talmudic period, and perhaps even not in the time when it was written down. The Haftarah given in the Talmud for this day ties in with Succoth, so probably the first explanation, that Vezoth Habrachah was somehow tied up with Succoth in the days of the Talmud holds up. The H given for this is I Kings, 8, v22ff, in the Talmud. The H for the 2nd & 8th days respectively, in the Talmud, are I Kings 8,v2ff, and v54 ff. This dedication of the Temple of Solomon, which forms the subject of Ch.8 is supposed to have taken place in Tishre, as Succoth. So we can easily see that these 3 H included the whole chapter, all the events in which took place on the Festival now being celebrated - Succoth.

At the same time, Haazinu and Vezoth Habrachah were the length then that we know them today. The "blessings and curses" of Ch.27-8 were to be read before Rosh Hashanah. At best 3 or 4 Sidroth then could be formed from the verses remaining in the section

remaining, between the end of the "blessings and curses" and the beginning of Haazinu. The further back we push the "blessings and curses", the nearer to Rosh Hashanah we finish the reading of the Torah for that year, depending also on how we split up the sections between. This in itself means nothing, for then we simply begin the Torah again on the next free Sabbath, and conclude it again in such a manner as to begin again on the corresponding Sabbath next year. But alas, this leads to trouble and confusion, as there won't be the same number of Sabbaths available for reading it next year, and the Festivals may fall on Sabbath, not to mention the fact that it may be a leap-year. All these contribute to a different division of the Torah each year, just as long as the general rules for reading the Torah each Sabbath are followed. It also prevents the developement of stable Haftarothe for the Sabbaths of the year, as who knows how we are going to divide things up from one year to the next. Also, try travelling from one place to another, and having to adjust to their local Minhag for an important matter such as Torah reading. Besides, you won't hear the Torah in sequence if every place can split it up any way they wish, as long as the Sidroth are long enough, and they read the Blessings and curses before Shavuoth and Rosh Hashanah respectively.

As may readily be seen, this leads to an impossible state of affairs. Besides the fact that some Sidroth were relatively stable - Ki Tissa, Tetzaveh, Vayakhel (-Pikudey?), Pinchas, Haazinu and Vezoth Habrachah, would lead one to think that the 70vv between Deut.29,v9 and 31,v30 were not subjected just to the whim of anyone who decided that he had a good way of dividing them up and still conforming to the rules for reading the Torah. And so, if they were 1 or 2 or even 3 relatively stable Sidroth, then the Torah would be ended sometime around Succoth anyway, depending on how many Saturdays there were available. Even if this was not so, but it was so calculated to end at Rosh Hashanah, or before, it was not far away from Succoth. So why not use this as a good point to end the reading of the Torah for the year, or at least to have it ended on the last free Sabbath before Succoth, and end it again symbolically on the 2nd day Shemini Atzereth, so that when it was begun again on the Sabbath right after Shemini Atzereth, there is no break in the continuity of hearing the Torah read in its regular sequence. This is perfectly good and valid, since the Torah has no beginning or end, as far as its reading and contents are concerned. Thus, from a practical point of view, Vezoth Habrachah was chosen for the reason of ending the reading of the Torah cycle that day, as well as for some Midrashic reason connected with Succoth, and exemplified by the H for the day. The 2 reasons may have been

considered at the same time, but if they were not, then choosing it for Succoth undoubtedly was the prior one, as the H refers to Succoth. Besides, the other reason is only implied, and has to be inferred from data elsewhere in the Talmud.

The implications of reading Vezoth Habrachah on the 2nd day of Shemini Atzereth are interesting, and somewhat revealing. Firstly, it means that Vezoth Habrachah cannot be read on a Sabbath, as, if Succoth has a Shabbat Chol Hamoed, then it means a week's break before starting the Torah with Bereshith, and as a result, it might seem as though the Torah were not being read in sequence, as Ex.33,12ff is read on Shabbat Chol Hamoed. If we do read it on a Sabbath, it would have to be after Succoth, and this would lead again to complications in the division of Deut.27-31, varying from year to year. It might have been read on Shabbat Chol Hamoed, but, as it is doubtful whether this day is one of the days of Succoth, and Shabbath Chol Hamoed definitely is one of the days of Succoth, the reading which has something to say about Succoth is the preferable one. Added to all this, the number of free Sabbaths for Torah reading during the Tishre Festival cycle always varies, from 1 to 3, which would play more havoc yet with the readings.

Thus we are left with an imperative need for having definite starting dates for the Torah cycle and definite ending dates for it, so that on the next Sabbath after ending it, we begin it again, in order to preserve the continuity. This may be achieved in one of two ways :

- (i) End and begin the Torah on the last two successive Sabbaths each year, before Rosh Hashanah.

- (ii) End it on the 2nd day Shemini Atzereth and begin it on the very next Sabbath.

From many points of view, some of those outlined above, and others such as the idea that the Tishre Festival cycle will interrupt the cycle anyhow, one way or the other, since at least 1 Sabbath will have a Festival or Chol Hamoed on it, alternative (ii) is the only practical and practicable one. This way, at least we have a working method to begin and end the Torah cycle, and a definite date which can be ascribed to the ending and beginning - the 23rd Tishre for the ending, and the 24th, or the 1st Sabbath after it for the beginning, and so the continuity is preserved. There is still some room for differing division in the ch.27-31 of Deuteronomy, but, taking into consideration that the rest of the Torah has to be read during the year too, at worst, these chapters will have to be divided into 3, perhaps 4 Sidroth, depending on when the "Blessings and curses" are read. Of course, all the above, and the prescription to Read the Lev. Berachoth & Kellaloth before Shavuoth still leaves plenty of room for fluctuation in the rest of the Pentateuchal Sidroth, even though some are named and as long as we know them today.

This then was the scene on which the Geonim appeared - one permitting of vast differences from one place to the next. They set out to bring at least a minimum of order into the picture. Again, while they did not manage to clear things up completely, they did solve a couple of other matters on which the Talmud held conflicting points of view.

The first new thing was that the Sidra Tzav, Lev.6,vlff, was to be read before Passover. They also held the idea that this reading a certain section "before" a certain time meant "on the nearest possible and practicable Sabbath before that time, depending on the Jewish calendar year." The result was that in the great majority of instances, the Sidra fell on the last Sabbath before the Festival or other occasion in question. In order for this regulation regarding Tzav, and the others dependent on the Festivals, to be practicable and applicable, there evolved 4 sets of Sidroth that could be combined (in non-leap years usually) -

- Vayakhel & Pikudey - Ex35;vl-40,v28.
- Tazria & Metzora - Lev.12,v1 - 15,v33
- Acharey Moth & Kedoshim - Lev.16;vl-20,v27.
- Behar & Bechukothai - Lev.25,1 -27,34.

There is one variant mentioned by a Gaon- Shemini and Tazria. This is not observed. Another variant, which is observed today, is given as a 5th set to combine - Mattoth-Massey, Numb.30,v2 - 36,v13. This is in H.G., but not mentioned by any other Gaon, and is interesting, as we shall see shortly.

This combining of Sidroth is made possible so that we may have the definite ruling that in normal years, i.e. non-leap years, the rule for a Sidra before a Festival always means that it is to be read on the Sabbath before the Festival. Tzav deals indirectly with Pesach, talking of "Unleavened bread", how to prepare a burnt offering, which is what the Paschal lamb was, and other general matters regarding sacrifices, which may be applied to Passover. This is then appropriate for reading just before Passover, and, if it should happen that it not on the last Sabbath before Passover, nothing is lost, such as may happen in a leap-year.

The second new regulation of the Geonim is that the Sidra "Bamidbar" - Numb.1,vlff must be read before Shavuoth. Again, except in certain leap-years it always does fall before Shavuoth, on the last Sabbath. It too is appropriate, as in Ex.1,vl, & 3,vl there are references which could be applied to the coming commemoration of the giving of the Law at Sinai. This, of course, pushes back the "blessings and curses" in Lev.26 a week, since they are in the Sidra before Bamidbar. But, by now, for a long time, the historical associations of the Festival have outranked any others, and it is only for a forced reason that Lev.26 is to be read before Shavuoth. Besides, it is still being read before Shavuoth, as the Talmud says it should be.

The next regulation is that the Sidra Vaetchanan, Deut. 3, v23ff must be read on the Sabbath right after Tisha B'Av. This, as we have seen, springs from the simplification of the readings for the fast-days, in the system of which Deut. 4, 25-40 was the Shacharith reading for Tisha B'Av. So, if it should happen to fall on Monday or Thursday, the Shacharith reading would still be correct, as it falls within this week's Sidra. Besides, the contents of both Deut. 4, 25-40, and the Sidra Vaetchanan as a whole, seem to be the most appropriate readings for Tisha B'Av, the most important fast-day besides Yom Kippur by now, and the Sabbath following, to look at their respective contents. This, of course, means that the Sidra Devarim, Deut. 1, v1f, is to be read on the last Sabbath before Tisha B'Av.

Finally, the Sidra Nitzavim is to be read before Rosh Hashanah. The contents of this are most appropriate for the coming New Year, which is almost upon us, to put us in the correct frame of mind to receive it. This always falls on the last Sabbath before Rosh Hashanah.

Nothing is said in the literature between the time of the Talmud and that of Saadya about Vezoth Habrachah being read only on a day such as the 2nd of Shemini Atzereth. The Geonim all repeat the regulation of the Talmud to read it on the 2nd day Shemini Atzereth,

but it is Saadya who states clearly that it is not read on a Sabbath at all. It is only read on Simchath Torah, and the next Sabbath the Torah cycle recommences with Bereshith. Saadya is also the first one to mention that Nitzavim-Vayelech, 1 Sidra in his time, may be divided if there are 2 Sabbaths between Rosh Hashanah and Succoth. We do not know whether the Geonim allowed it to be split in the same way, or whether they read it on Sabbath when there was an extra Sabbath, in which case there would be at least one intervening Sabbath of Chol Hamoed before reading Bereshith. The responsa quoted earlier, about reading the first few vv of Genesis either by heart or from a Torah, and the parable about God and Satan in connection with this reading (Pp.88ff), may indicate that they did indeed do so. This would be especially true for years in which there was still a Sabbath before Succoth, upon which Vezoth Habrachah would have to be read. By so "anticipating" the beginning of the Torah the long hiatus would be avoided, as would the break in the continuity of the reading. In years where there was not such a Sabbath between Yom Kippur and Succoth, there might be two full weeks or more between the reading of Haazinu and Vezoth Habrachah on Simchath Torah, in which case it would also be fitting to anticipate the still quite distant beginning of the Torah on Yom Kippur, which was supposed to be a yearly "re-birth" for each Jew as well. In any event, this was not wide-spread, and was soon all but completely dropped everywhere.

We may notice the following about this outline of the yearly cycle of Torah reading prior to Saadya.:

- (a) The 3 injunctions of the Talmud are being obeyed - to read the Berachoth and Kellaloth of Lev. & Deut before Shavuoth and Rosh Hashanah respectively, and to read Vezoth Habrachah on the 2nd day of Shemini Atzereth.
- (b) As yet, there is still no mention of Vezoth Habrachah being read only on the 2nd day Shemini Atzereth, and the AC of Torah reading being completed on that day, although it was probably done that way most years, since the Torah cycle would naturally work out so that Haazinu was read on the last Sabbath before Succoth.
- (c) The 3 Sidroth to be read just before Pesach, Shavuoth and Rosh Hashanah have some reference to the approaching Festival, and so every attempt is made to get them read on the last Sabbath before these Festivals.
- (d) The readings for the book of Deuteronomy must have been very stable for the whole book. There is always the same number of Sabbaths available for normal Torah reading between Tisha B'Av and Rosh Hashanah, and the last 2 Sidroth of Deuteronomy were already known in early Talmudic times. The only conceivable thing there, was that there might be 10 Sabbaths available for reading it, in which case either Nitzavim-Vayelech had to be split, for those who did not read Vezoth Habrachah on a Sabbath, or it was read on Sabbath, and repeated on Simchath Torah, there thus being a 2 week break before recommencing the Torah.
- (e) By this time, just prior to Saadya the length of 27 Sidroth can be ascertained by combining all Talmudic & Geonic sources, and the names, and beginning points of at least 8 more are known. The 27 is increased to 28 if Vayelech is a separate Sidra, which it was not at the time, or to 30 if we assume that Korach and Chukath were basically divided the same way then as now. (see p.185-186 for lists)
- (f) The possibility of combining certain Sidroth make for stability to a high degree in the readings from the end of Tishre to a week or two before Shavuoth. Thus only the reading of Numbers still presents any sort of real problem.

In general, then from the beginning of the Geonic period, up to the time of Saadya, and the time of the completion of the Tiberian Massora, the yearly cycle of Torah reading became systematic and orderly, and was put into such shape that very little confusion would result from place to place. During the same time, in order to achieve uniformity of celebration of the Festivals, the rules for the days on which Festivals might or might not fall were determined and formulated, as a help to people everywhere who wished to observe them properly. This probably grew out of the now published rules for calculating the Jewish year, and so being able to set up the whole year in advance. Perhaps they developed together, at the same time. The controversy between Palestine and Babylonia about claudation and intercalation does not need to concern us here. Combining the rules for calendation, the days of the week on which Festivals might fall, and figuring out how many Sabbaths there were available in the year for reading the Torah cycle, and adhering to the rules about reading certain sections by certain times of the year, it was now possible, by the time of Saadya, to work out a perfectly good table for the whole year, one which would be valid anywhere, and which could be followed anywhere.

However, this did not satisfy Saadya. there were still loopholes possible, and he set out to

close even these. Within the permitted scheme of things some things could still arise to create some of the old uncertainty.

- (i) If the injunction to read Tzav before Pesach, and Bamidbar before Shavuoth were taken to mean on the last Sabbath before Pesach and Shavuoth, regardless of the type of year, it might at times become necessary to split up anything up to 3 or 4 Sidroth before Tzav, and to combine Sidroth differently, or leave them uncombined, between Pesach and Shavuoth, particularly if Pesach fell on Sabbath in the same year. Then there would not be the same Sidra read in all synagogues on the same Sabbath until after Shavuoth. That this did happen is evidenced by later writers and even one or two of the Geonim mentioning that the Sidroth Vaere and Bo, Ex. 6, v2 - 13, v16, were 3 Sidroth at one time, the middle one being called Parashath Hashkem, and starting at Ex. 8, v16, or 9, v13. Also, for some, a new Sidra started at Ex. 22, v24, at *וְהָיָה בְּיָמֵינוּ*.
- (ii) The matter of definitely deciding once and for all when the Torah cycle ended and began, and what to do when there was an extra Sabbath before Succoth on which Vezoth Habrachah was to be read.
- (iii) The problem of which Sidroth might be combined and which might not. In the previous chapter of this work, a couple of variations were pointed out, and there are others, or not.
- (iv) When to combine Sidroth, even in a normal year, so that the same would be read in all synagogues, whether in Trier, Cordova, Fayyum, or Sura.
- (v) The problem of dividing up the book of Numbers into Sidroth, for even in the case where Bamidbar was always read on the last Sabbath before Shavuoth, there could still be 7 or 8 Sabbaths between Shavuoth and the Sabbath before Tisha B'Av.
- (vi) The Talmudic problem of how many read, and what each one reads when Shabbat Shekalim falls along with Sidra Tetzaveh, the one before the Sidra which the Shekalim reading begins, or Sidra Ki Tissa, which contains it. The Geonim before him had already solved the problem of who reads the extra section from the Torah on days when there was one, required or not, and

had done so in such a way as to avoid all entanglements with the concept of Maftir, as we have seen. However, they had not directly solved the matter of what happens when it falls on one of these two Sidroth.

Saadya sets out to resolve all this once and for all, and does so with characteristic thoroughness. He also succeeds for all of them except the one about the division of the book of Numbers. So much did he succeed that we today still follow the resultant system, that came from his labours, except in the case of the book of Numbers. In my presentation of Saadya's results, I shall rearrange some of the material into better sequence.

First of all we are told that the Torah has 53 Sidroth. The last one, Vezoth Habrachah, is never read on Sabbath. It is always read on the 2nd day of Shemini Atzereth, which is called Simchath Torah, and so the Torah cycle ends on the 23rd of Tishre every year. This makes the 24th of Tishre the beginning of the year as far as the Torah cycle is concerned.

The largest number of Sabbaths in a year possible, is 55, in a leap year. (From this it follows that the smallest number possible in a normal year is 50) If nothing else, there will be at least 2 Sabbaths in a year which are not available for reading the Torah - the 2 of Chol Hamoed for example. (Of course this would mean at

such a time as no other Festival fell on Sabbath.) The largest number of Sabbaths in a year on which Festivals may fall is 5. This means that in a normal number of years, the smallest number of Sabbaths available for reading in a non-leap year would be 45, the largest 48, and in a leap-year, 50 and 53 respectively. This allows a great deal of variety in the Torah readings, even with the rules. Saadya's studies in calendation show that there is a limit to the number of permutations possible, as also the days of the week on which Festivals may fall constitutes some limitation. Thus he is able to come up with rules simplifying all this to such a degree that it may be followed easily, calculated quite easily, and solves all the remaining problems.

In any year, simple or leap-year, if there is a Sabbath between Yom Kippur and Succoth, the Sidra Nitzavim is split at Deut.31,v1 - Vayelech, which is read on the Sabbath between Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur, and Haazinu on the following Sabbath, still before Succoth. This is easy to standardise once Vezoth Habrachah is not read on Sabbath at all. This also provides 53 Sidroth for the leap-year with 53 available Sabbaths for reading the Torah, as there are only 52 left for this, according to his calculations.

In every simple year the Sidroth Vayakhel-Pikudey, Tazria-Metzora, Acharey Moth-Kedoshim, and Behar-Bechukothai are combined, and read on 1 Sabbath. This allows in all simple years :

- (a) Tzav to fall on the last Sabbath before Peasch.
- (b) Bamidbar to fall on the last Sabbath before Shavuoth.
- (c) Shabbat Shekalim never to fall on Sabbath Tetzaveh, or Ki Tissa, thus neatly circumventing the problem posed about the Maftir etc., in the Talmud.

Thus for all simple years there are no problems on how to read the Torah up to the last Sabbath before Shavuoth, and again from the Sabbath before Tisha B'Av to the end of the Torah cycle.

In all leap-years the Sidroth from Bereshith to Bechukothai are read separately. This displaces Tzav to the 3rd or 4th Sabbath before Pesach, and sometimes Bamidbar to the 2nd-last Sabbath before Shavuoth. But they are still read before Pesach and Shavuoth respectively, as ordained by the earlier Geonim, and Bamidbar at least most of the time even still falls on the last Sabbath before Shavuoth even this way. There is an exception to this non-combining of Sidroth, and that is that in certain types of leap-years Vayakhel-Pikuday are combined, if the person doing so has foresight.

The leap-years in which a person should have the foresight to combine Vayakhel-Pikuday are when the 24th Tishre is a Monday, and the year has 385 days, and when the 24th Tishre is a Wednesday, and the year has 383 days. The reason is simple : if one does so, then in a leap year there will always be 9 or 10 Sabbaths available for reading the book of Numbers. This way any complexities with the book would be avoided, and it makes the general calculation of the year easier, as there will be no need to divide Numbers into 8 or 9 or 10 Sidroth , depending on the type of year. Besides, it is easier to divide Numbers into 9 or 10 than 8. If 10 Sidroth are needed, then the 10 into which the book is divided are all read separately. If only 9 are needed, Saadya instructs us to split Chukath in half, and so we avoid any needless complication. All nice and neat. Incidentally, combining Vayakhel-Pikudey would not affect the avoiding of Shabbat Shekalim on Sidroth Tetzaveh or Ki Tissa. Thus, in leap-years too, if Vayakhel-Pikudey are combined in the two cases above, there would be no problems at all for Bereshith - Bechukothai, and again from Devarim to Vezoth Habrachah. This appeals to my own sense of order, and certainly presents general rules which are not at all difficult to carry out, according to Saadya's mehtods.

Now, for the last time, a word on the book of Numbers. In normal years, whether Chaser, Male^I, or Pashut, i.e. whether 353, 355 or 354 days long, there are always either 8 or 9 Sabbaths available for reading the book of Numbers. Bamidbar is always read before Shavuoth, so that the rest of the book must be read in 7 or 8 Sabbaths. In most leap years Bamidbar is also read on the last Shabbat before Shavuoth, and there are 8 Sabbaths left to read the rest of the book. In the 2 instances where it is on the 2nd-last Sabbath before Shavuoth, there still are 8 Sabbaths left for the rest of the book. Only in the two exceptional cases mentioned above are there only 7 Sabbaths left between Shavuoth and the Sabbath before Tisha B'AV, Bamidbar itself falling on the last Sabbath before Shavuoth. Taking into consideration both normal and leap-years, by far the most frequent division required for the book of Numbers is into 9 Sidroth, to be read on 9 Sabbaths. But there need to be 10 Sidroth in Numbers, to provide for those years where 10 Sabbaths are available, and to avoid having to split some earlier Sidra, where choice might again be involved, and the evenness of the system destroyed again by having differing Sidroth read in different Synagogues. Also those leap years where only 7 Sabbaths are available for the rest of the book spoil the system, unless one happens to think of combining Vayakhel-Pikudey.

How to resolve this, so that the neatness of the system is not spoiled? We start off with the division of Numbers into 10 Sidroth. From earlier sources, Pinchas, Mattoth and Massey are known, and the same length as we have them. From Saadya we hear of Balak, Korach and Chukath. This establishes Balak the same length as today, and also Korach. If his statement that Chukath may be split is correct, then it too originally was the same length as we have it by the time of Saadya. Which leaves Numb.Chl -15 divided into 4 Sidroth, as we know them today, in all likelihood. Then why not simply take the Sidroth as they are known, and combine two or four, depending on how many Sabbaths are available for reading the book? This would lead to complications, as there is no prescription for combining Sidroth. Shimon Kayyara mentions the possibility in H.G. of combining Mattoth and Massey, which would solve the matter of 9 Sabbaths in which to read the book, but Saadya does not permit this, or else knows of it as only 1 Sidra. The matter of his division of Numbers has been fully discussed on Pp.182-200, particularly the table on P.197, so I shall not repeat this. We shall essay here to discover why he made the division he did make.

For practical purposes, Numb.20,v22 is the exact half-way mark in Chukath. This could be the practical reason underlying the division thus.

Perhaps Saadya chose this way of combining the Sidroth in Numbers for the most frequent occurrence of the number of Sabbaths available for it, in order to differentiate this combining of Sidroth from those normally combined in a non-leap-year. This way it is possible to have a general principle saying that certain Sidroth are combined in normal years, but left separate in leap-years. This way confusion about which Sidroth to join or not in normal years is avoided, and the set system was not tampered with, for the book of Numbers had too large a range of Sabbaths on which it could fall to be able to include it in an overall system. But Saadya did make it possible for a simple division of the book to be found, regardless of how many Sabbaths were available for reading it, and at the same time make sure that this system could not possibly be mixed up with the general one.

Now, in order to develop this simple system for Numbers, it was necessary to have a starting point. It is very difficult to ascertain precisely why the exact mid-point from a point of view of verses of Chukath was selected to be the "break" point for the Sidra. However, once it was chosen, it was considered a good permanent break-point, and starting point by Saadya. A slight rearranging of the book of Numbers

so that Ch.1-15 are only 3 Sidroth allows for a simple, comprehensive system, in which combinations cannot be confused with the regular combinations of Sidroth for the rest of the types of year, yet at the same time, all complications for the different numbers of Sabbaths available for the book are avoided. In any of the 4 possible cases for division of Numbers, 8 starting points are always the same. If Vayakhel-Pikudey are providently joined together in certain types of year, the 3 different methods of dividing the book become reduced to 2, the simplest 2. But if they are not joined, then there are still no complications, as then Chukath is split in the middle, and the 1st half read with Korach, and the 2nd half with Balak. The way Saadya works it out, there are 2 types of division for each of the 2 major types of year, but only 3 different methods of dividing altogether. In all three, a Sidra starts at Numb.,20,v21, the main point of division for the most frequently recurring type of division needed for the book.

Regardless of the type of year, the first three Sidroth (formerly four), the last three Sidroth, and the newly-created Sidra at Numb.20,v21, are starting points of a Sidra, and so is Korach. The 1st 6 mentioned above are always read singly. In two cases Korach and the

first half of Chukath are combined, by far the most frequent occurrence, in one case the second half of Chukath and Balak are combined, and in one case the first half of Chukath is read alone. Also, the first half of Chukath is combined with Korach in one additional occasion, and that is when Vayakhel-Pikudey are joined, for then the scheme of reading Numbers is the same as for a "normal" frequent occurrence of 9 Sabbaths in which to read it.

Perhaps Saadya intended this system for the unskilled-in-calendation, leaving the skilled to work out which Sidroth he would combine or otherwise from the "normal" division of Numbers, but this seems unlikely. There must have been a variety of schemes for splitting up the first 25 chapters of the book as such around the time of Saadya, since we have noted that the Tiberian Massora does not indicate Babylonian Sidroth for this section of the book.

As a footnote to this - today we do not follow this elaborate, yet simple system. We combine Mattoth-Massey when there are 9 Sabbaths, and Chukath-Balak as well when there are 8. This way Balak is always read before the fast of the 17th Tammuz, and Pinchas usually after it, but I do not know whether there is any special significance to this, or if there is now, whether this would have been a consideration in the Geonic era.

Needless to say, while all this was going on, there was also an opportunity for the H to stabilise and become fixed, as the Torah readings and A6 itself became fixed. From all this, however, we still are not in a position to say anything definite about the 12 special Haftarothe between 17th Tammuz and Succoth, or, more specifically about the 7 of "comfort", since the other 5 can be more or less accounted for. (See ch.VII).

Much material is only sketchily covered, and work still remains to be done in this whole area, but on the whole, the general trends of developement for both the Torah readings and Haftarothe are covered in this survey, culling from those sources available about the Geonic period.

CHAPTER XIIICONCLUSIONS.

The Geonim found a complete system of Torah readings and Haftarothe for the Festivals in the Talmud. They also found the nucleus of the outline of a workable system of reading the Torah in one year. In addition to this, there was a complete set of rules for reading the Torah and Haftarah , both as to time and place. There were differences of opinion recorded in the Talmud, and they attempted to decide in many matters, some of their decisions standing to this day. These are the things which were done in respect to the reading of the Torah and Haftarothe during the Geonic Period :

- 1) The Annual cycle of reading the Torah was gradually so established that it could be followed from year to year, and from place to place in a uniform manner. This became necessary as the Diaspora Jewish Community spread.
- 2) By the end of the Geonic period the Torah readings of the Annual Cycle were the same as those which we now have, with the exception of those for the book of Numbers, Chapters 1 - 25. Even these latter may have been the same

as they are now in those places where the system of breaking up the book into Sidroth employed and recommended by Saadya was not utilised.

3) The Haftarothe corresponding to the Sidroth of the Annual Cycle of Torah reading also gradually were able to become fixed as time passed, and this is mentioned by Saadya, but except for isolated mention of H in late Geonic sources, we do not know their extent, or from which Prophets they were chosen. On the basis of the general similarities all-round with the system we use today, they may have been the same as our present ones, but we are not able to state this definitely, as the evidence is lacking. However, the probability is high, since the first lists of H for the year, published by Maimonides a little over a Century after the Geonic period had ended, are to all intents and purposes those we read today.

4) The readings of the Torah and Haftarothe for the Festivals and all special occasions on which the Torah is read were defined and refined to conform to the rules laid down for readings in general. Their endings were discussed and given by different men in accordance with different interpretations of the same rule, or because of slight variations in the received text.

- 5) For the 5 Biblical Festivals, the Mussaf readings dealing with the sacrifices for those Festivals were introduced during this period. While they might have been recited or read orally during the Mussaf Service in Talmudic times, they were now introduced as regular readings from the Torah.
- 6) The disputes and discussions regarding the Maftir were settled by the introduction of these above readings, and in such a way that almost all alternative opinions could be satisfied by the method of doing it.
- 7) Similarly, the Annual Cycle was so fixed as to settle the discussion about the length of Ki Tissa and Tetzaveh, and how many people read from where to where when either of these fell on Shabbat Shekalim.
- 8) The annual cycle of Torah readings was fixed to end with Deut.33-4 on Simchath Torah, and the official "New Year" for the commencement of the cycle became the 24th Tishre each year.
- 9) At the end of the Geonic period Simchath Torah is well-known by that name, but the beginning of Genesis is not yet a custom on that day. There are indications of earlier practices of reading the Torah which might be the genesis of this custom, but it was only introduced later.

10) At certain times the Talmudic law was broken or disregarded in the matter of certain Torah readings or Haftarothe, but the notion behind this was that what the people did is the law. However, it is attempted implicitly or explicitly to give a valid reason for whatever is done, in accordance with some precedent to be found in the early literature.

11) All emphases for all special occasions and Festivals were firmly entrenched in Historical associations. The sacrificial and agricultural associations for all events took a back seat. This is the carrying to a conclusion of a trend started already in the Talmud.

CHAPTER XIV.NOTES.CHAPTER II.

- P.7 1. I. Elbogen, Der Juedische Gottesdienst in seiner Historische Entwicklung, Kap. III, Sec. 25.
A. Buechler, - The Reading of the Law and Prophets in a Triennial Cycle, JQR, Vol. V, 1893, Pp. 423-468.
J. Mann, - The Bible as read and preached in the old Synagogue.
R. Pfeiffer, - Introduction to the Old Testament, Part I, Ch. 5.
Other scholars too have said this, but I did not feel the need to list all available titles.
2. Luke, 4, v16 ; Acts, 13, v15; Philo - De opificio Mundi, P. 48 ; Josephus - Contra Apionem, II, 17
- P.8 3. Elbogen, op.cit., P. 160
4. M, Meg. III, 5.
5. Buechler, op.cit., Pp. 461 - 465, treats this fully.
- P.9 6. M, Meg. IV, 4 ; T, Meg., IV, 18 ; Y, Yoma 44b, where there is a discussion of "skipping" in the Torah, and one of the reasons advanced is:
אלא כדי שישמעו ישראל תורה על סדר
- P.10 7. Mann, op.cit., Pp. 555 - 557.
8. Y, Meg. III, Hal. 7, P. 74b.
9. B, Meg. 31a ; Y, Meg. III, Hal. 7, P. 74b; Massecheth Soferim (ed. Higger) Ch. XII, 1/
- P.11 10. Mann, op.cit. - this runs all through the work.
11. Mann, op.cit., quotes the Kerovoth of Ya'nanai, and finds that his division of Sedarim tallies fairly closely with that of the Massora.
12. BIBLIA HEBRAICA, edidit Rud. Kittel, 3rd. ed.

CHAPTER III.

P.13 1. Buechler, op.cit., Pp.466 -467.

2. Buechler, op.cit, Pp.423, 424.

3. B, Meg., 31b:- עזרא תיקן להם לישראל
שהיו קורין בליל שבת ואת כהנים
קידם עצמם, ושבעשנה תורה
קידם לה

4. Mann, Bible, op.cit., Pp 8-9.

P.14. 5. B. Meg.31b :- (In a discussion as to why the sections on the "curses" in the Bible - Lev.26, & Deut. 28) should be read by a single person, and not interrupted.)
"Whence these words? Rabbi Chiyya bar Gamda said in the name of Rabbi Asa(Yose) that the latter had said that Scripture says that one should not despise the chastening of the Lord. (Prov.3,11) . Resk Lakish said : Because one does not say a blessing over chastisement. How then does the reader do ? A Tanna taught: When he begins (to read), he should begin with the verse(s) before them, and when he finishes, he finishes with the verse(s) after them."

Y. Meg. III.8. P.74b : (on the same topic)
"Be not weary of His reproof.(Prov.3, 11 - the other half of the verse , the first half of which is quoted by R.Chiyya bar Gamda above. Here too it is given as his saying.) - i.e. do not make rebuke (thorns lit.) into pieces. (a play on the word Kotzim.) Rabbi Levi says: (Because) God said that it is not right for my children to curse, while I bless. Rabbi Yoss Be Rabbi Bun said : Not for that reason, but because he who is about to read from the Torah should begin with a pleasant notion, and end with a pleasant notion."

Massecheth Soferim. (ed.Higger), XII.1:
repeats verbatim the statement from the Y quoted above.

P.16 6. Buechler, Op.cit., in article.

CHAPTER IV.

P.16. 1. L.Blau, - Massoretic Studies, JQR (O.S.) VIII, Pp.343-359, JQR, IX, Pp.122-144, 471-490.
A.Sperber, Problems of the Massora, HUCA XVII.
B.Roberts, - The O.T.Text and Versions.
R.Pfeiffer, - Introduction to the O.T.

2. Blau, op.cit.

- P.17 3. Pfeiffer, op.cit., P.89.
4. Roberts, op.cit. discussion runs throughout the work.
5. Blau, Massoretic Studies, JQR, VIII, Pp.343-359.
6. Alexander Sperber, Problems of the Massora, HUCA, XVII, 1943, Pp.309-323.
7. B, Kidd.30a.
- P.20 7a. Both signs appear at the margin of a page in the Ma
- P.21 8. Mann, Bible as read & Preached. Discussions of this run throughout the work.

CHAPTER V.

- P.26 1. M, Meg.IV,10.
2. T, Meg,IV, 1-4, 18.
3. Massecheth Soferim, New York, 1937, ed.Higger, Intro., Ch.6, Pp78-80.
4. Massecheth Soferim, XVII,7.
5. M.S., XX,8.
6. M.S., XVII,3.
7. M, Meg. IV, 10 ; T, Meg.,IV,31-41 ; Y, Meg., Ch.IV, Hal.11, P.75c ; M.S. ,VI,8,9;IX,8,11. B, Meg,32a.
- P.27 8. Mann, Bible, op.cit., Pp.561-574.
Buechler, The reading of the Law and Prophets in a Triennial Cycle, JQR,(O.S.) VI, Pp.39-42.
- P.29 9. Vide Mann & Buechler, op.cit., where full treatment is given.
- P.31 10. B, Sabb.,116b ; Y, Sabb.P.15c.
11. B, Gitt.60a.
- 5 12. Mann, op.cit., Pp.11-15.
- P.32 13. H.L.Strack, Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash, JPS, Phila., 1945, Part II.
S.Buber, Pesikta de Rav Kahana, Mavo, Pp.III-X. Strack gives a brief survey of various opinions on the dates of composition for the Midrashim, while Buber goes into some detail in his introductions to the editions of the various Midrashim which he edited,

- P.33 14. Eg. Mann to Seder 25 gives Is.46,v3, I Sam.2,v22 Josh.,23,v1, I Sam.,4,v15 as possible H for Gen. 27, v1. The Geniza lists give that from Isa., 46,v3, while a Kerova of the Payetan Shimon Hakohen ibn Migash gives that from I Sam., 4,v15.
15. To Seder 49, Ex.6,v2, the Geniza lists as H - Isa.42,v8, the same Payetan, Is.52,v6.

CHAPTER VI.

- P.36 1. Sabbath 24a.
2. M, Meg, IV,2.
3. J.Mueller, כתב יד ליהושע הכהן Berlin, 1891, Pp.106, 120.
- P.37 4. J.Mann, Changes in the Divine Service of the synagogue due to religious persecution. HUCA, IV, 1927, Pp.279-287.
5. Sabbath 116b - the discussion there is about what books one may or may not read in synagogue before Minchah on Sabbath, set in a larger framework of a discussion about what books one saves from a fire on the Sabbath.
- P.38 6. Mann, The Bible as read &c.,-discussion runs through the work.
- P.40 7. Levin, Otzar Geonim, Vol.V.,Megillah ,no.187, P.54, quoted anonymously once, and once in the name of Hai Gaon.

CHAPTER VII.

- P.41 1. Pardes, of Rashi, Seder Parashiyoth, P.60a.
- P.42 2. Maimonides, Hilchoth Tefillah, Ch.XIII,19, and at the end of the orders of prayers.
- P.42 3. Buber, Introd.to Pesikta de Rav Kahana, P.IV.
- P.43 4. Strack, Intro. to Talmud & Midrash, P.211.
5. B, Meg., 30b - 31b.
- P.46 6. M, Meg.,IV,4 ; T, Meg., IV,18.
- P.47 7. Mann, "Changes in.." op.cit., Pp286-7.
- P.48 8. Buechler, JQR, VI, Pp.1-73.

- P.48 9. Mann,-The Bible as Read &c., Introduction.
 10. Midrash Tehillim, ed. S.Buber, Psalm 4, sec.12.
 11. Mann,-The Bible as read &c., - in the course of the work.

CHAPTER VIII.

- P.53 1. M, Taanith, IV, 2; Megillah Ch. III, IV.
T - Taanith; IV, 3; Meg., III, IV.
Y - Meg. III, IV, Pp. 73c-75d (ed. Krotoshin.)
B - Taan. 26a-27b; Megillah 21a-32b.
M.S. - chiefly Ch. XII, XVII, XXI.
 2. Y - Meg. P. 74b
 3. Y - Ned. 40b
- P.56. 4. M - Meg. IV, 10, T - Meg. IV, 28-34. ; B .Meg. 32a.
M.S. VI, IX.
 5. as above.
 6. T Meg. 4, 11.
 7. T Meg. 4, 18.
 8. T Meg. 4, 17
 9. T. Meg. 4, 11.
 10. B Meg. 24a
 11. T Meg. 4, 18.
 12. Y, Meg. 74d ; B Meg. 23a ; M.S. XII, 7, XIII, 15
- P.57 13. Y Meg. 74d
 14. Y Meg. 75a
 15. B Meg. 24a
 16. M Meg. 4, 10
- P.60 17. Halachoth Pesukoth, ed. Sasoon, Jerusalem, 1950.
 P. 186f.
 18. Maftach Lateshuvot Hageonim, Mueller, Berlin, 1891, P. 131, no. 106.

- P.60 19. Otzar Hageonim, ed. Levin, Jerusalem, 1932-4, Vol.V, Megillah, P.36, no.126.
- P.61 20. SRA Hashalem, ed. Frumkin, Jerusalem, 1912. Vol.II, Pp.30a - 34b.
21. O.G., V, Meg. P.36, no.133.
22. Do. Pp.35-6, no 128
- P.63 23. do. P.66, no 249
24. Siddur Rav Saadya Gaon, ed. Assaf, Davidson, Joel, Jerusalem, 1941, Pp.360, 362, 363, 364-369. O.G., V, Meg. P.47, no 188, P.38, no. 134.
- P.64 25. O.G., V, P.47, no. 187.
26. Do. P.34, no 119
27. Do. P.33-4, no 117

CHAPTER IX.

- P.67 1. M Meg.3,5. ; T Meg.4,6 ; B Meg.31a.
2. H.P., Pp.180 - 182.
3. This is 7vv earlier than that prescribed in the Talmud, and apparently is meant for the year in which the 1st day of Pesach falls on Sabbath. However, I am inclined to think that he meant it just as it is written in H.P., for, as can be seen from other examples, the "stichwort" given need not necessarily be the 1st verse of a reading, but often the interpretation was that the verse containing this word or phrase was to be included in the reading. Thus it need not be the 1st verse of a reading. This is especially apparent for Haftarothe.
- P.74 4. Halachoth Gedoloth, ed. Hildesheimer, Berlin, 1890, Pp.617-618.
5. SRA, II, Pp.114a - 116b.
6. Do. P.116b.
7. O.G., V, Meg. P.64-5, nos 239-241.
- P.75 8. S.S., P.370.
9. O.G., V, Meg. P.61, no 226

- P.76 10. Note on P.370 of S.S., which says that Or Zarua quotes this in the name of Saadya. As part of the Siddur is lost, we cannot prove or disprove the validity of this, but it seems to be in line with the general tenor of the preciseness of the other instructions he gives, and also there are responsa extant by him which cover points not in the Siddur, even though the matter at issue is discussed in the Siddur.
11. O.G., V , P.60, no 221.
- P.77 12. Do, P.61, no 222.
13. SRA II, P.42a.
O.G., V , Meg. p.61, no.225.
14. Do., P.61, no 226, at end/ He quotes Or Zarua.
- P.78 15. M Meg. III,5.
16. T Meg.IV,5
- P.79 17. B Meg.31a
18. Y Meg.74b ; M.S. XVII,5.
- P.80 19. H.P. , P.182.
20. H.G., P.618.
21. SRA,II, P.144b.
22. S.S., P.371.
- P.81 23. M. Meg., III, 5
24. T Meg.IV, 6 ; M.S. XVII,5.
25. Verse numbers in Parentheses are the numbers as found in Biblia Hebraica , 3rd ed. All other verse nos. are from Bible of Berlin & Foreign Bible society, 1903. Most of the vvnos there on the Hebrew side of the page are as those in the J.P.S. Old Testament. The English translation in the Berlin Bible is the King James translation, in which there are often differences in the verse numbers between Hebrew and English, but as I use only the Hebrew, this is not of any significance.

- P.81 26. B Meg.31a. Eyn Mishpat Ner Mitzvah note 17
 27. H.P., P.182
 28. *לפניו שיו טו*
- P.82 29. H.G., P. 619.
 30. SRA, II, P.145a.
 31. S.S., P.371.
- P.83 32. M. Meg., III,5.
 33. M Yoma, VII,1.
 34. T Meg. IV, 7.
 35. M.S., XVII, 5
 36. B Meg.31a.
- P.85. 37. H.P. ,P.182, and note 7 on that page.
- P.86 38. H.G., P.619, and note 31 there.
- P.87. 39. SRA, II , P.145b.
 40. S.S., P.371.
 41. O.G., V, Meg. P.76, no 246
 42. Do. P.36, no 130
 43. Do. P.61, no 227
- P.88 44. Do. P.62, nos. 228, 229.
- P.92 45. M Meg. III,5.
 46. T Meg., IV, 8.
 47. M.S., XVII, 5.
- P.93 48. B Meg. 31a.
- P.95 49. H.P., Pp.182-4. P.183;notes 1 - 8.
 P.184, notes 1 -8.
- P.98 50. B. Succoth, P.55a.

- P.98 51. H.G., Pp.619-620.
- P.101 52. SRA, II , P.189ff.
53. S.S. , P. 372-3.
- P.103 54. O.G.,V, MEG., Pp.56-7 ; nos.201-207
Pp.62-3 , nos.236-237.
- P.111 55. B Meg.31a.
- P.112 56. Soncino Talmud translation, Megillah P.189,
and note 8 to it.
57. H.P., H.G., SRA, S.S.
- P.113 58. O.G., V, Meg., P.62, no. 230.
- P.114 59. S.S., P. 373.
60. SRA,II, P.191a.
O.G., V , Meg. P.63, no 233.
61. Do., P.63, no.234. See note 5 there.
62. Do. P.63, nos. 236-7.
- P.115 63. Do. , P.62, no. 229, and note 5.
Machzor Vitry, P.445.
64. See Pp.88ff.
- P.116 65. M. Meg. III,6.
66. M.S., XVII,5 ; XVII,2 ; XVIII, 8, XX,8, XII,5.
- P.118 67. B Meg.31a.
68. B Meg.29b.
- P.119 69. H.P., Pp.184-5.
70. Do., P.184, Line 23f.
- P.120 71. Halachoth Ketzuvoth, ed.^MMargulies, Jerusalem,
1942, Pp.19-21.
- P.121 72. H.K., Pp.82-3.
73. H.K., Pp.83-4.
74. See P.69f.

- P.123 75. H.G., Pp.620-621.
- P.124. 76. SRA, II, Pp.82b-84a.
77. S.S., P.373.
78. O.G., V, Meg., P.55, nos. 208 - 209.
- P.125 79. Do., P.55, nos. 192 - 196.
- P.129 80. M Meg. III,6.
81. M.S., XVII, 5 ; XVIII, 5.
82. B Meg.31a.
83. H.P. , P.186.
- P.130 84. Beth Yosef to Tur Orach Chayyim, Ch.693.
85. SRA, II, Pp.92b-93a.
H.G. ,P.622.
86. O.G., V, Meg. Pp.57-8, nos.210-212.

CHAPTER X.

- P.131 1. M Meg.III,6
2. T Meg., IV, 9.
3. M.S., XVII,5.
- P.132 4. M.S., XII,1.
5. M.S., XVIII,5.
6. B Meg.31a-b.
- P.133. 7. B Meg.31b.
8. H.P., P.182, and note 5 there.
- P.134 9. H.G., P.623.
10. SRA, II, P.79a.
11. S.S., P.371.

- P.134 12. O.G., V, Meg., P.58; no 216.
P.34, no 120.
13. Do. P.34, no 120.
- P.136 14. SRA, II , Pp.77a-b.
15. S.S., P.373.
- P.137. 16. O.G., V, Meg., P.58, no. 214.
17. Do. no. 215.
18. Do. no. 216
19. Do. P.59, no. 218.
- P.138. 20. Do. no. 219
21. B Taan.12b mentions those fasts.
22. O.G., V, Meg., P.60, no. 220.
23. Do. P.65, no. 243.
- P.141 24. M Meg., III, 6.
25. T Meg., IV, 9.
26. T Meg., IV, 15.
27. B Meg.31a-b.
- P.142. 28. M Meg.LII, 6 ; B Meg.31a.
29. M Taan.IV, 3 ; B Taan. 26a-b.
- P.143 30. Y Taan.Ch.4, Hal.3, P.68a.
31. B Meg. 21b-22a. ; Taan. 27b-28a.
- P.144 32. B Meg.22a.
33. Y Taan.Ch.4, Hal.3, P.68a.
34. B Meg.22a.
- P.145 35. B Meg.21b-22a.

- P.146 36. M.S. , XVII, 5-8. The rules are found there.
- P.147 37. M.S., XVII, 2.
38. H.P., P.186.
- P.148 39. H.P., P.185.
40. H.G., P.623.
41. SRA,II, 65b & 66b.
42. S.S., P.362 ; P.369.
- P.149 43. O.G., V , Meg., P.65, no. 242.
44. Do. P.54, no. 189.
45. Do. no.190.
- P.153. 46. M Meg, III,4.
47. T Meg., IV,1-5.
- P.154 48. The discussion about the 4 special Sabbaths in Adar is in B Meg.29b - 30b. There is also discussion of these in the Y, but it is not necessary to cite it here.
- P.159 49. H.P., Pp.185-6.
- P.161 50. H.G., P.622.
51. H.K., P.84.
52. SRA,II, Pp.94b-95b.
53. S.S., P.374.
- P.166 54. O.G., V, Meg., P.55, no.199.
- P.167 55. Do., no.198.

CHAPTER XI.

- P.171 1. M Meg. III,6.
2. B. Meg.31b.

- P.171 3. B Meg.31b ; Rosh Hashanah 16a.
 4. B.Meg.31b.
 5. B Meg.31b.
 6. B Meg.31a.
 7. B Menachoth, P.30a.
- P.172 8. M Sota VII,1,2 ; Meg.III,5 ; Taan.IV,2.
 9. B Meg. 30a, ; 31a-b.
 10. H.P., P.187, line 7ff.
- P.176 11. H.G., P.623.
 12. SRA, II, Pp.35a-37a.
- P.178 13. S.S., Pp.364 - 369.
- P.180 14. S.S., Pp.365-6.
- P.187 15. H.G., P.623.
- P.188 16. S.S., P.366, at bottom.
- P.190 17. S.S., P.365.
- P.195 18. H.G., P.623.
- P.201 19. S.S., P.367.

CHAPTER XII.

- p.239 1. Designations of the years are Saadya's, and these are used for the balance of the chapter wherever reference is specifically made to his system of calendation.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.A. PRIMARY SOURCES.

1. The Old Testament, Hebrew and English. British & Foreign Bible Society, Berlin, 1903.
2. Biblia Hebraica - Rudolf Kittel. 3rd ed., 8th imp., Stuttgart, 1952.
3. The Mishnah.
4. The Tosefta - ed. Zuckermann, Trier, 1882.
5. The Talmud Yerushalmi, ed. Krotoshin.
6. Talmud Bavli.
7. Massecheth Soferim, Ed. M. Higger, New York, 1937.
8. Halachoth Pesukoth, Ed. S. Sasoon, Jerusalem, 1950.
9. Halachoth Gedoloth, Ed. Dr. J. Hildesheimer, Berlin, 1890.
10. Seder Rav Amram, Ed. A. L. Frumkin, Jerusalem, 1912.
11. Halachoth Ketzuvoth, - Ed. M. Margulies, Jerusalem, 1942.
12. Siddur Rav Saadya Gaon, - Ed. I. Davidson, S. Assaf, B. I. Joel, Jerusalem, 1941.
13. Mueller, Joel - Maftach Lateshuvot Hageonim. Berlin, 1891.
14. Levine, B. M. - Otzar Hageonim, Seder Moed, Vols. II - VI, Jerusalem, 1932-4.
15. Assaf, S. - SHE'ELOTH UTESHUVOTH HAGEONIM, Vol. I, II. Jerusalem, 1927, 8.
16. Assaf, S. - Toratan shel Geonim Verishonim, Vol. I - Misafrut Hageonim, Jerusalem, 1933.

B. SECONDARY TEXTS.a) Hebrew.

1. Hachalukim shebeyn Anshey Mizrach Uv'ney Eretz Yisrael. Ed. M. Margoliot, Jerusalem, 1938.
2. Machzor Vitry, - Ed. Rabbi S.Horowitz, Berlin, 1893.
3. Sefer Ha-Eshkol, of Rabbi Abraham ben R.Isaac of Narbonne. Ed. S.Albeck, Jerusalem, 1935.
4. Sefer Ha-Ittim, of Rabbi Yehudah ben R.Barzillai of Barcelona. Ed.J.Schor, Berlin, 1902-03.
5. Pesikta de Rav Kahana, Ed. S.Buber.
6. Midrash Tehillim, Ed. S.Buber.

b) English & German.

1. Bacher, Wilhelm - Die exegetische Terminologie der Jüdischen Traditionsliteratur. Leipzig, 1905.
2. Bewer, Julius A. - The Literature of the Old Testament. Revised ed., New York, 1955.
3. Blau, Ludwig - Massoretic Studies. J.Q.R., (O.S.), Vol.VIII, 1895-6, Pp.343-359.
Vol.IX, 1897, Pp.122-144 ; 471-490.
4. Blau, Ludwig - Massoretische Untersuchungen. Strassburg, 1891.
5. Buechler, Adolf - The Reading of the Law and Prophets in a Triennial Cycle. J.Q.R., (O.S.), Vol.V ; 1893; Pp.423 - 468.
Vol.VI ; 1894, Pp. 1 - 73.
6. Elbogen, Ismar - Der Juedische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtliche Entwicklung. Frankfurt a/M, 1924.
7. Ginzberg, Louis - On Jewish Law and Lore, J.P.S., 1955. Essays "An Introduction to the Palestinian Talmud." & "The Codification of the Jewish Law."

8. Idelsohn, A.Z. - Jewish Liturgy and its developement. New York, 1932.
9. Mann, Jacob - The Bible as read and preached in the old Synagogue. Vol.I, Cincinnati, 1940.
10. Mann, Jacob - Anan's Liturgy, and his half-yearly cycle of the Readings of the Law: Journal of Jewish Lore and Philosophy, vol.I, 1919, Cincinnati. Pp.329 - 353.
11. Mann, Jacob - Changes in the Divine Service of the Synagogue due to religious persecutions. HUCA, Vol.IV, 1927, Pp. 241-310.
12. Moore, George Foote - Judaism, Vol.I, Ch.V. Reprinted Cambridge, Mass., 1954.
13. Pfeiffer, Robert H. - Introduction to the Old Testament, New York, 1941, 1948.
14. Roberts, Bleddyn J. - The Old Testament text and Versions. Cardiff, 1951.
15. Sperber, Alexander, - Problems of the Massora. HUCA, Vol.XVII, Cincinnati, 1943. Pp.293-394.
16. Strack, Hermann L. - Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash. Philadelphia, (J.P.S.), 1931,1945.
17. Spier, Arthur - The Comprehensive Hebrew Calendar. New York, 1952.
18. Venetianer, Ludwig - Ursprung und bedeutung der Propheten-Lektionen. Leipzig, 1909.

C. REFERENCE WORKS.

History - H.Graetz, C.Roth, A.L.Sachar, I.Elbogen.

Jewish Encyclopaedia.

Mishnah Torah of Maimonides.

Turim of R.Jacob ben Asher.

Shulchan Aruch.

Rav Tzair - Toldoth Haposekim.