THE CONCEPT OF SACRIFICE IN THE LITURGY

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Letters, by

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To My Parents

with deep gratitude and love

for the inspiration they have

given me.

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FOREWORD

The first object of this study is to determine the place held by sacrifice in the religion of Israel, and in the development of Judaism to the destruction of the Second Temple in the year 70 C.E., and the consequent end of the cultus. What effect did its abolition have upon the Jewish people? Various substitutes were proposed in its stead -- prayer, study of the Law, benevolence, and others. Did they find ready acceptance?

Then, turning to the liturgy itself, we shall examine the influence wrought by the worship in the Temple with regard to the number of the synagogal services, the time of day appointed for each and the prayers in the Liturgy which memorialize the sacrificial cult, including the poetical insertions for the Festivals and High Holydays. Lastly we shall survey the concept of sacrifice as it appears in a number of representative Reform rituals, and consider the permanent value of sacrifice in religion.

I should like to express my very sincere thanks to my teacher and friend, Dr. Samuel S. Cohon, for his kind assistance in the preparation of this thesis.

CHAPTER I

THE SACRIFICIAL CULT: ITS HISTORY FROM THE BABYLONIAN EXILE TO 70 C.E. AND ITS INFLUENCE UPON RABBINIC THEOLOGY

Sacrifice has been defined as "a rite in the course of which something is forfeited or destroyed, its object being to establish relations between a source of spiritual strength and one in need of such strength, for the benefit of the latter. This relationship may be one of communion, i.e., one by which strength is conceived to be imparted to man (communal type); or, conversely, it may be one whereby a human weakness is held to be withdrawn and neutralized (piacular type)."[1]

In Israel, the entire institution of sacrifice may be regarded as aiming at the at-one-ment of men with God. Its objects were (1) to honor and entertain God, as in the stories of Gideon and of Manoah[2], in order to establish hospitable relations with Him; (2) to establish "table fellowship" with Him by means of the sacred life blood of the victim, thus strengthening the assurance of His favor; (3) to appease His wrath by means of a gift as a wergild and of renewal of the life-bond.[3]

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1. E. O. James, "Sacrifice, Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics," XI:1
2. Jud. 6:13
3. H. Schultz, American Journal of Theology, Vol. IV, p. 269 ff., quoted in Cohon, Judaism as a Way of Living, Cincinnati, 1942, Vol. II, p. 267.

Though prayer was far from uncommon in ancient Israel, the people laid greatest stress upon the sacrificial cult as a means of communion with Yahweh.[1] They believed that above everything else Yahweh demanded the punctilious observance of the ritual and regularity and zeal in offering sacrifices. This is attested to by the narrative in II Kings 17:24-28, which describes the recolonization of Samaria by Sargon with people drawn from remote parts of the Assyrian empire. The writer ascribes the increase of predatory animals in the devastated regions of Samaria to the fact that the new settlers at first failed to worship Yahweh in the sanctuaries of the country according to the rules of the ritual. The Assyrian colonists are represented as viewing the matter in the same light. They petitioned for the return of one of the deported priests that they might learn the proper ritual observances for the worship of Yahweh.[2]

And the faithful practise of these ritual observances was popularly thought to guarantee the prosperity and salvation of the nation. For, as Morgenstern points out, as all Israel but the prophets believed, Yahweh had no alternative but to be greatly pleased with the richness and variety of the sacrifices tendered to Him. As the national god, it was His consequent obligation to accept Israel's homage, and prosper it in all its political, military, and economic undertakings. Since the relations between national

1. A.Z. Idelsohn, Jewish Liturgy, New York, 1932, pp. 3-15
2. M. Buttenwieser, Prophets of Israel, New York, 1914, p. 309

deity and people were largely reciprocal, to their mutual benefit, each had to overlook and complacently accept much from the other, that these mutually advantageous relations might not be weakened or dissolved. Thus it behooved Yahweh not to examine too closely into the moral failings of His people, nor to scrutinize their deeds overmuch, for were He to destroy them in His anger, He would be bereft of a nation to pay homage and adoration to Him. So Israel reasoned, concluding that if at the very most Yahweh could become seriously indignant with His people, that indignation must needs be of short space, and then He must accept an increased number of atoning sacrifices and become appeased, for His own benefit as well as that of Israel.[1]

But the advancing religious consciousness of Israel as represented by the prophets rejected this concept of the relationship between Yahweh and Israel and of the mechanical nature of sacrifice in general. Yet prophetism was by no means unalterably opposed to the cult. Though Kohler writes, "The great prophets of Israel alone recognized that the entire sacrificial system was out of harmony with the true spirit of Judaism and led to all sorts of abuses, above all to a misconception of the worship of God, which requires the uplifting of the heart[2].....They hurled words of scathing denunciation against the practise and principle of ritualism," but this requires some modification. Although the prophets inveighed

1. Julian Morgenstern, Amos Studies, Cincinnati, 1941, Vol. 1,pp.404 f. Yet if Yahweh had become Israel's national god by virtue of his election of them and theirs of Him at Sinai, according to both the popular and prophetic belief, had he destroyed them could he not have adopted another people?
2. Kaufman Kohler, Jewish Theology, New York, 1918, p. 264

unceasingly against the evils inherent in the sacrificial system, it is unlikely that they ever seriously considered its abolishment. They labored for reform. They pleaded for the spiritualization of sacrifice, for its establishment on a high ethical plane. As Welch has observed, even Amos, in his denunciation of the cult practices, is not considering whether the sacrifices at Bethel or Gilgal are legitimate or illegitimate. "He is contrasting the God of his own wonder and love, whose great acts the people remember as the ground of their confidence, with the God whose nature is thought of as being contented with the meticulous and pettifogging services which are offered at these shrines."[1] Nevertheless, the services might serve a worthy function. But the prophet's attitude is one of impatience with such minor matters rather than that of condemnation. He shows a certain disdain with the whole subject which might indicate a negative attitude to ritual, not only of his own day, but to any ritual of any time.[2]

Like Amos so the other prophets opposed that pagan type of piety which assumed that atonement for all offenses might be made by means of gifts or oblations to Yahweh. To them it was no less than blasphemy to hold that a holy and righteous Deity would accept ritual exactness in exchange for moral turpitude. Nor could any number of burnt offerings avert the dread doom that they saw overhanging the nation. To do God's will was the sole way of achieving Yahweh's salvation. This was their great contribution.

1. Adam Welch, Religion of Israel Under the Kingdom, London, 1912 p. 89.
2. Ibid.

Hosea cries out in the name of God, "I desire mercy and not sacrifice, and the knowledge of God rather than burnt offering." [1] Isaiah teaches that the sin of Jacob can be expiated only through the extermination of all idolatry, by a whole-hearted return to God.[2] To win the Divine favor, the nation must give up its evil ways, cease to do evil, learn to do good, seek justice, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow.[3] Likewise Jeremiah declares that oblations cannot stay God's judgments, and that righteousness alone can save the nation.[4] So, too, Micah demands: "Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of rams, with tens of thousands of rivers of oil?" Neither human nor animal sacrifices, but "to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly" with Him.[5]

Though indeed the words of the prophets often sound as if they were opposed unconditionally to every form of ritual[6], Jewish tradition, Cohon writes[7], has understood them in a more constructive sense, as protesting against all ritual as a means of atoning for outraged righteousness that is an abomination to God.[8] This is the view set forth in Psalms L:8-13 and LI:18-21.

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1. VI:6
2. XXVII:9-11
3. I:10-27
4. III:14; VII; XIV:12; XVIII
5. VI:6-8 - for this material I am indebted to Cohon, op. cit., pp. 268 f.
6. Amos V:21 ff; Is. I:11 ff; Jer. VI:20; VII:4, 21; see also Ps. XL:7
7. Ibid
8. Prov. XV:8; XXI:3, 27

While declaring that communion with God is not mediated by sacrifice, these -- possibly emended verses -- point to the sacrificial worship of the future that shall be acceptable to God. "Similarly the prophets of the Exile and after unite in their high valuation of a sacrificial ritual which is based on an ethical foundation. Thus Joel exhorts the afflicted people: 'Rend your heart, and not your garments, and turn unto the Lord your God; for He is gracious and compassionate, long suffering and abundant in mercy, and repenteth Him of the evil. Who knoweth whether He will not turn and repent, and leave a blessing behind Him, even a meal-offering and a drink-offering unto the Lord your God?'"[1][2]

The Exile demanded a speedy adjustment of religious practise. In Babylon altar and priesthood were no more; and Ezekiel and the other leaders opposed the building of a Temple. The words of the prophets, the songs of the Levites, and especially prayer came to supply the religious needs of the people. Prayer was "no artificial substitute, no radical departure from previous institutions."[3] As a mode of worship it was found among all early religions, and had played a great part during Israel's sojourn in Palestine. "While not competing with the sacrifices, it effectively supplemented them."[4] The existence of a considerable number of preexilic psalms is proof that hymns had accompanied sacrificial worship in the Temple, and frequent fast days had served as occasions for communal gatherings of which the keynote was not sacrifice but prayers for rain, the

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1. II:12-13
2. Ibid., p. 270
3. Salo W. Baron, Social and Economic History of the Jews, Vol.I, pp. 100 f.
4. Ibid.

warding off of locusts, or any other need of the moment. Deeply religious men among priests, prophets and laymen undoubtedly communed with God through devout utterances which were not standardised. But under the conditions of the Exile, prayer came to the fore as the substitute for sacrifice. "'So will we render for bullocks the offering of our lips'[1], became the watchword of the age."[2]

In the Exile are to be found the origins of the Synagogue.[3] The people assembled to listen to the words of the prophets, to rehearse their predictions of doom which time had now verified, and to express in song and prayer their national longing for God and their fatherland. These gatherings, at first spontaneous, soon became fixed upon Sabbaths, New Moons and other solemn occasions. The Jews noted well the religious practises of their captors. Judaism in the latter Exile was especially influenced, Kohler holds, by contact with the universalism of the Persian religion, the system of Zoroaster. The Second Isaiah and the other leaders of the exile observed that in place of animal sacrifices offered everywhere to the Deity, "the Mazdean priests practiced forms far less offensive to the eye and heart in offering the Homa juice, the sacred water and fire with some cooked meat, but chiefly prayers, though these were rather taken to be means of averting the evil powers lurking everywhere. At any rate, prayer and song predominated, so as to

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1. Hos. XIV:3
2. Ibid, p. 101
3. Kaufman Kohler, Origins of Synagogue and Church, New York, 1929, p. 16

give the worship a more spiritual character."[1]

Yet the importance of prayer in the Exile as opposed to the cult ought not be overemphasized. A few years are insufficient for the rooting out of an institution centuries old. There was a widespread feeling in the Exile that the rise of the synagogue and its service of prayer were only a substitute. Their suffering was an expiation for their sins; when the process of atonement was complete and the people restored, sacrifice would again become the principal means of divine worship.[2] Now that it was no longer practised, sacrifice was praised and exalted. "All opposition was silenced in the interval when the Temple and its sacrifices stood as the symbol of independence, freedom, power, wealth, and glory." (Id.)

The prophet Ezekiel was particularly emphatic in his valuation of a purified or ethicized ritual.[3] With his prophetic forebears he looked upon the doom of the nation as the just consequence of its corruption, but, advancing beyond them, he argued that men suffer not for the sins of their ancestors, but for their own derelictions alone. The only salvation for the nation and the individual was to be found in improved conduct. For God has no pleasure in punishing the sinner but rather in his sincere repentance.[4]

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1. Ibid., p. 44, quoted from Fr. Spiegel, Eranische Alterthumskunde, Leipzig 1871-3, III, 570, 590.
2. Baron, op.cit., Vol. I, pp. 102 f.
3. Cohon, op. cit., p. 270.
4. XVIII:30-32

"Atonement consists in complete spiritual regeneration, in true penitence, and in the amendment of the sinner's ways. It is wrought by man, and is aided by God as an act of grace."[1] God will effect Israel's atonement not for their own sake, but for the sake of His holy name, in order to prevent its profanation among the nations. Ezekiel combines the hope in God's redeeming power with the purified sacrificial ritual of the future which is to reconcile the people to God.[2]

Deutero-Isaiah also stresses the saving grace of God. God Himself blots out Israel's transgressions for His Name's sake.[3] Holocausts are of quite secondary importance. God has not burdened the people with them. On the other hand, the author of Isaiah LVI combines his universalistic religious outlook, which places Jew and non-Jew on terms of absolute equality before God, with the belief in the efficacy of sacrificial worship. "Their burnt offerings and their sacrifices shall be acceptable upon Mine alter; for My house shall be called a house of prayer for all peoples."[4] And Malachi carried out the post exilic prophetic tradition when he characterized the purified worship: "Then shall the offerings of Judah and Jerusalem be pleasant unto the Lord as in the days of old, and as in ancient years."[5]

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1. Ibid.
2. XL-XLVI
3. XLIII:22-25
4. V:7
5. III:4

Judaism after the Return reconstituted itself round the Temple and the sacrificial system.[1]

To be sure, the survivors of the Exile no longer identified religion purely with sacrificial worship. Influenced by prophetic teaching and national suffering, they had come to appreciate the moral foundations of religion as well as its ceremonial observances. For this reason the restored ritual of the Second Temple, as it is reflected in the Priestly Code, combines the prophetic view of religion as righteousness together with rites of a primitive character, the origin of which goes far back into pre-historic Semitic antiquity.[2]

Resting on the conviction that "the gift of piety really produces a gratifying, propitious, and, in the end, conciliating effect upon God[3]", the Priestly Code displays a primitive dread of sin as a "semi-physical pollution which bars safe access to God and prevents free intercourse with the community."[4] It also looks

1. Adam C. Welch, Prophet and Priest in Old Israel, London, 1936, p. 11
   Yet the emphasis had changed. Animal sacrifice decreased sharply during the period of the Second Temple, because, as Idelsohn has pointed out, op.cit., p. 16, a number of the Deuteronomic modifications of old laws were put into practice. Such was the requirement in Lev. 17:1-10 that no meat could be eaten unless the blood and some parts of the animal had been burnt on an altar or a high place. With only one sanctuary now permitted in the country, the law became impossible of fulfillment. This new circumstance was likewise applied to tithes and first born which pilgrims were obliged to bring, as Deut. 14:24-26 ordains. This dimunition of the commensal sacrifices and on the other hand the heightened consciousness of sin that prevailed during and after the Exile focussed attention upon the piacular sacrifices.
2. Cohon, op.cit., pp. 271, f.
3. H. Schultz, op.cit., p. 84
4. Cohon, op.cit., p. 272

upon sin as moral dereliction which endangers man's well being and stains his soul.[1] Thus the removal of sin and of its effects becomes a very important communal and personal necessity. And the Priestly Code is established as an elaborate means for the sacrificial atonement of sin in order to preserve the holiness of the community and to maintain its union with the Deity.[2]

This deepened consciousness of sin in post-Exilic times stressed the propitiatory functions of the burnt offering, and even of the peace offerings and oblations.[3] The Hattath or sin offering, and the Asham, the guilt offering, attained new prominence. Though before the Exile the sin and guilt offerings had been but occasional fines, paid to the priests at the sanctuary[4], they came after the Return to be regular features of the ritual, and indeed to occupy a commanding position in the religious life.

There is no clear distinction either in Ezekiel[5] or in the Priestly Code between the sin and the guilt offerings. The ordinances in Leviticus, though treating the two as identical[6] apparently reserves the sin offering for unintentional violations of taboos or ritual oversights on the part of the head priest, the congregation, the prince, or a private individual.[7] The discovery that a

1. Cf. Is. LIX:2-14.
2. Alfred Bertholet, Leviticus, p. 4
3. Ezek. XLV:15, 17; Lev. I:4.
4. II Kings XII:17; Hosea IV:8
5. XLIII-XLVI
6. VI:10; VII:7, 37
7. IV

certain act constituted a moral or ceremonial offense occasioned the guilt offering. A wrong done to a fellowman was equally an offense against the Deity. Such unlike derelictions as concealing testimony in a trial under a curse, contact with an unclean animal or other defiling agent, and failure to carry out an unpremeditated or careless oath all incurred guilt. In these cases the guilt offering had to be supplemented by a confession of the sin. The trespass or guilt offering was inadequate when the property of the sanctuary had been misappropriated; for this restitution had to be made to the priesthood together with a fine of a fifth of the value of the object. In the case where the trespass "against the Lord" consisted in defrauding another "in the matter of deposit, or of pledge, or of robbery, or have oppressed his neighbor, or have found that which was lost, and dealt falsely and swear to a lie," full reparation was required and in addition a fine of a fifth of the valuation of the object had to be made to the owner before bringing the "forfeit unto the Lord" to have the priest make atonement for him.[1]

The introduction of a confession and of restitution of stolen objects as requisites for atonement in addition to the sacrifice itself testifies to the fact that the ethical and moral aspects of atonement were gaining ground in the consciousness at least of the priestly authors. Likewise highly important is the fact that atonement was possible only in the case of sins that were

1. Lev. 5

the result of human frailty, (bishegagah), done inadvertently; conversely, sins done with malice aforethought (bezadon), or with a high hand (b'yad ramah), in conscious rebellion against the will of God, will not be blotted out. Instead they merit excision (kareth). The offender becomes disqualified from living in the community and is liable to the wrath of God.[1]

In his study, Prophet and Priest in Ancient Israel, Welch emphasizes that in spite of their apparently widely different viewpoints, the two bodies of men who watched over the religious guidance of their nation actually had much in common. "The prophet must enunciate, as clearly as he might, the great convictions which were essential to the religion of Israel..... The priest had to be patient with the slowmoving minds of peasants, and dare not, by too large and sudden changes, lose the confidence of men whom he must seek to lead into new ways. The difference between priest and prophet was one of tempo rather than of principle."[2] This may well be the explanation for the retaining in the Priestly Code of the purely mechanical and ceremonial phase of the atonement ritual, where not only persons, but such inanimate things as house, altar, and sanctuary require atonement or ritual cleansing.[3] Possibly contact with unclean or sinful people defiles them and makes atonement necessary; this takes the form of ritual purgation. "To atone (kipper) means to 'unsin' (hitta), to cleanse (tahar) and to sanctify, i.e., restore to holiness (kiddash)."[4]

1. Num. XIV:22-31
2. pp. 76 F
3. Ezek. XLIII:20-27; Ex. XXIX:36-37; Lev. VIII:15; XVI:16-20
4. Cohon, op.cit., p. 275

For the purposes of cleansing water is generally the agent of purification.[1] But sacrificial elements rank as better disinfectants of "uncleanness." Such are the ashes of the red heifer which are burned as a sin-offering for the community,[2] the sacred ointment,[3] and the frankincense in the hands of the priests.[4] While the poor were permitted to bring bloodless sin-offerings, still the true atoning power lay in the sacrificial blood. "As water cleanses articles and persons who have become too holy or unclean from their dangerous 'infection'; as, in singular cases fire more effectively consummates this purification;[5] so sacrificial blood cleanses, or sacrificial ashes mixed with water and sacred oil.[6] In this sense Israel, like all other nations, from time immemorial has known lustrations. And they have continued to the latest legislation."[7] The ritual of cleansing through a sin-offering is performed for a woman on the completion of her prescribed period of seclusion after childbirth;[8] for a man who has suffered from gonorrhea;[9] or a woman from menorrhagia;[10] for a priest after mourning for a near relative;[11] and for a Nazarite who accidentally incurred uncleanliness or who completed the term of his vow.[12] Likewise,

1. Ex. XIX:14; XL:12, 31; Lev. XIII:34, 54, 58; Num. XIX:7 ff.
2. Num. XIX:11-22
3. Lev. VIII:10-12
4. Num. XVII:5, 11-15
5. Num. XXXI:22 ff; Lev.XIII:52 ff
6. Lev. XIV:14 ff, Num. XIX:11-15
7. H. Schultz, op.cit., pp. 265-266
8. Lev. XII:1-8
9. Lev. XV:13-15
10. Ibid., vs. 29-30
11. Ezek. XLIV:25-27
12. Num. VI:1-16

cleansing through an atoning sacrifice is required for disinfecting a "leprous house" or person. Here a live bird is used as a second victim to bear off the infection into the open field.[1]

The climax of the various rites of atonement was the Day of Atonement, the Yom Hakkippurim. The first reference to the Day appears in Ezekiel XLV:18-20, the prophet suggesting the establishment of two days of atonement, in the first and in the seventh months, for the purpose of removing the defilement of the sanctuary and of the people, which had arisen from the neglect of the cult. The ritual as given in Lev. XVI is reminiscent of many different points of view, as W.R. Smith observes, "satisfaction to the Judge at the sanctuary, the renovation of a covenant of life with God, the banishment of sin from His presence and land."[2] The Day, only fast prescribed in the Torah, is described as a Sabbath of solemn rest whereon all the people, free, homeborn slaves, and resident aliens are commanded "to afflict their souls."[3]

The ritual had chiefly to do with the high priest, and especially his entrance into the holy of holies to atone for himself and his household, for the sanctuary and for the people of Israel. He burned frankincense and made confession of sin on his own behalf and also for the community. Sin and burnt offerings were also prescribed as at New Moons and at all the sacred feasts. Of great antiquity was the ceremony of the scapegoat.[4] The high priest

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1. Lev.XIV:4 ff
2. Cf. Micah VII:19; Old Testament in the Jewish Church, New York, 1900, p. 439
3. Lev. 16:31
4. Ibid., vs. 7-22

symbolically laid the sins of Israel on the head of a goat and sent the animal off into the wilderness, carrying them to the demon Azazel.

The Day of Atonement was much modified during the last centuries of the existence of the temple, as is demonstrated by a comparison of Mishnah Yoma and the Sifra with the original legislation for the day in Leviticus XVI. Not only was the ceremonial impressiveness heightened, as presented in Sirach L, but the spiritual significance of the day increased, and from a day of cleansing of the sanctuary in preparation for the Feast of Tabernacles, it became the most sacred day of the year.

Likewise the ordinary sacrifices of atonement acquired an ever deeper spiritual character. This is especially noticeable in Sirach. To him the sacrifice of the unrighteous man is a mockery and an offense. "As one that killeth the son before the father's eyes is he that offereth a sacrifice from the goods of the poor."[1] God's indignation abides upon the ungodly, and the heaping up of sacrifices will be to no avail.[2] But "he that keepeth the law multiplieth offerings; he sacrificeth a peace-offering that keepeth the commandments. He that practiceth kindness offereth fine flour, and he that doeth mercy sacrificeth a thank offering."[3] Yet the author continues:

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1. XXXIV:18 ff
2. V:4-8
3. XXXV:1 ff. For the preceding discussion of the role of sacrifice in atonement I am much indebted to Cohon, op.cit., Ch. 3., Sec. 16.

"Appear not with empty hands in the presence of the Lord, for all this (shall be done) because it is commanded."[1] "The prescription of the cultus must be obeyed because God has commanded them to be obeyed. It is only this that gives the sacrifices religious value. Though the best sacrifice is a moral life, yet the sacrifices of the law must be performed because God has enjoined them."[2]

This spiritualization of the sacrifices may be attributed in large part to Pharisaic teachings. "The Pharisees built upon the foundations of the Priestly Code which had spiritualized many sacrifices by making of them ceremonies leading to forgiveness of sin."[3] They insisted upon the moral element in addition to the performance of a rite. The Sadducees laid strong emphasis upon the Temple and the cult. There was, as Baron has pointed out,[4] a strong mutual attraction between a party built upon an affirmation of the state and territory and a priesthood centered in a territorial symbol, the sanctuary. The Pharisees, on the other hand, strove to develop other institutions ethnic in character, without any thought of rejecting the Temple, the sacrifices, or the priestly class. Too much importance had been attached to these during the Exile and again during the Maccabean revolt when their lack had been felt as a national catastrophe. But the Pharisaic teachers tried to make popular institutions of them. For the masses they introduced the simhath beth

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1. V. 4
2. G.H. Box, editor with W.O.E. Oesterley, Sirach in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, Oxford, 1913, Vol. I, p. 437
3. Baron, op.cit., Vol. I., p. 297
4. Ibid., p. 171

hashoevah; they enlarged upon the popular aspects of the Passover sacrifices, and the duty of making the pilgrimages to Palestine. Taking consideration of world Jewry, they also stressed those non-sacrificial elements in religion and law which were applicable especially to Jews outside the country, such as the glorification of the Sabbath. They developed the synagogue until it rivaled the Temple in significance. The other cornerstone of their Judaism was Torah in the double meaning of "institution and faith."[1] The Essenes, a wing of the Pharisaic movement, entirely rejected animal sacrifices, though this may only have been a radical offshoot of tendencies general in all Pharisaism.[2]

Through the efforts of the Pharisees to make the Temple service more democratic, it was finally decided that the two daily burnt offerings, ordained in Numbers 28:1-4, should no longer be supplied from private or the high priest's treasury but from that of the people.[3] Since the people in effect personally offered these sacrifices, they were expected to attend them.[4] "The underlying idea is that the priests should no longer be regarded as the mediators between God and the people, but the people themselves should offer the sacrifices out of their own treasury."[5]

Therefore, the entire country was divided into twenty-four sections,[6] corresponding to the twenty-four divisions of the

1. Schechter, quoted by Baron, ibid.
2. Ibid, p. 297
3. Men. 65a; Meg. Taan. 1
4. Taan. 4.2; cf. Sifre Num. 142
5. Kohler, Origins of Synagogue and Church, p. 106
6. Taanith 4:2

priesthood, and the 24 divisions of the Levites.[1] Out of each of these divisions representatives were appointed, consisting of priests, Levites, and Israelites, to go up to Jerusalem for one week each half year and "stand by" at the daily sacrifices. The rest of the division remained at home, spending the week from Monday to Thursday in fasting and holding services four times a day. Each day they read a part of the Creation chapter in Genesis, which was followed by prayers in conformity with one day's lesson; for the seafarers on Monday, for the travelers by land on Tuesday; on Wednesday that the children might not be afflicted with skin diseases, on Thursday for pregnant or nursing women. Out of respect for the Sabbath, no services were held from Friday to Sunday.[2] In addition to the reading from Genesis, those who remained behind recited the general benedictions and prayers, such as the Shema, and probably also hymns, while their fellows in Jerusalem did likewise.[3] The importance attached to the Maamadoth services, even after the destruction of the Temple, is indicated by the saying of Rab Assi of the third century: "Were it not for the Maamadoth, the world would not exist." (Taan. 27b) In addition to the readings from Genesis and the prayers while the maamadoth were present at the sacrifice, the corresponding passages from the Law concerning the institution of the particular sacrifice were undoubtedly recited in the synagogues in the provinces.[4] Thus a first step was

1. I Chron. XXIV:18; XXIII:6-24; XXV:31
2. Taan. 4:2-4; Tos. Taan. 4:2f; Taan. 27b; Mas. Soferim 17.5
3. M. Gaster, art. Sacrifice (Jewish) in Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. XI, p. 25
4. Ibid., p. 26

taken to represent sacrifice by prayer and recitation. Kohler holds that the fastdays observed at a later time on Monday and Thursday of each week were possibly a survival of the Maamadoth fasts.[1] In addition the Synagogal liturgy also, at a later time, invested Monday and Thursday with something of the character of fast and penitential days by the addition of appropriate Biblical verses and devotional prayers.

Though the Maamadoth were instituted for the purpose of granting the people at least a token participation in the sacrificial service, in practice, they contributed as much to the upbuilding of the synagogue as they did toward the democratization of the national sanctuary. The tendency was, if not to deprecate the Temple, at least to accord greater importance to the synagogue. Kohler may have exaggerated somewhat when he wrote: "The Synagogue, the house of meeting for the people, spread all over the world, and by its light of truth and glow of fervor, it soon eclipsed the Temple, with all its world pomp,[2] but it is certain that the popularity of the synagogue had reached great heights in the latter days of the Temple." As Kohler continues, "The priesthood of the Temple were finally compelled to make concessions... They added a prayer service, morning and evening, to the daily sacrifices, and opened the Hall of Hewn Stone, the meeting place of the High Court of Justice, as a Synagogue in charge of the priests."[3]

1. Origins, p. 107; see Meg. Taanith c. 12 and Mas. Soferim 21,3; ed. Maller, p. 294
2. Theology, p. 267; italics mine
3. Ibid.

Moore likewise takes the view that the synagogue had actually supplanted the Temple in popular estimation long before the destruction. "For the vast majority of Jews the synagogue had become... the real seat of religious worship, though so long as the temple stood they may not have used of it the word 'worship' historically appropriated to the sacrificial cultus. Significant evidence of this is the existence within the Temple precincts of a synagogue for the priests, and the interpolation, so to speak, of features akin to the synagogue service in the ritual of the daily morning sacrifice, where, after preparation had been made for the offering, the priests left the parts of the victim and the other materials of sacrifice lying on the ramp of the altar, and assembled in an adjacent hall to recite the Shema and a series of Benedictions[1], after which the sacrificial ritual was resumed."[2] R. Joshua b. Hananiah provides an eyewitness account of the continual alternation of sacrificial rites and synagogue services during the entire day and night at the festival of Water Drawing at the season of Tabernacles which left the priests no time for sleep.[3]

On the other hand, Cohon, in his study Palestine in Jewish Theology[4] stresses the high regard the Jews of the Diaspora felt for their national shrine.[5] Though Jewish life outside Palestine, he points out, found its fullest expression in the Synagogue and through it the sense of Jewish unity was effectively fostered, still,

1. M. Tamid V:1
2. G.F. Moore, Judaism, Harvard, 1927, Vol. II, p. 12
3. Tos. Sukkah 4,5; Sukkah 53a
4. HUC Jubilee Volume, Cincinnati, 1925, pp. 171-209
5. Pp. 199 ff

the Jews piously looked upon "the holy city as their metropolis in which is erected the sacred temple of the Most High God." (Against Flaccus VII, Yonge, Vol. IV, p. 70.) And Philo testifies to the respect in which "the most beautiful and holy temple" is held by all the east and by all the west, and regarded like the sun which shines everywhere.[1] Both Philo and Josephus state that Jews from all over the world sent their dues to the Temple.[2] In addition large bodies of Diaspora Jews made regular pilgrimages to the Temple from foreign countries.[3]

Baron[4] endeavors to show that before the rebellion of 66 C.E. the priesthood and presumably the Temple as well had lost most of its prestige. The priestly class, he writes, having abandoned its major function in society, became a grave liability to the Jewish people. The priest no longer served as intellectual leader, judge, and educator, as well as the main bearer of the nation's tradition. These functions were now in the hands of the lay "scribe." "The purely sacerdotal duties of the Temple, still the exclusive domain of the priests, may have retained some romantic appeal, but they had long lost their intrinsic value to the daily lives of the millions living in the more distant regions of Palestine and the Diaspora."[5] By virtue of their class position, the priests became more and more attached to the Sadducean party which was "lying athwart the living flow of tradition. The Jewish priesthood atrophied,

1. On the Virtues and Office of Ambassadors, XXIX. Ibid., p. 142. Also On Monarchy Bk. II, II; Yonge Vol. III, p. 192.
2. Ant. XIV: 7,2; Shekalim III:4; On the Virtues and Office of Ambassadors, XXXI, Ibid. p. 48
3. Philo, On Monarchy, Bk. II, Ch. 1
4. Op.cit., Vol. I, pp. 199-201
5. Ibid., p. 199

and was essentially dead long before the Temple's destruction."[1] The barter of the high priest's office, Baron continues, effectively demolished any remaining veneration the people may have had for it.

It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Baron's view of the role of the Temple in its latter days is somewhat colored by the necessity he feels of minimizing the cult and at the same time, of exalting the role of the synagogue, so that thereby the complete transition to non-sacrificial worship after the Destruction may be made as effortlessly as possible. The truth may lie elsewhere. Certainly for the daily religious life of the Jew in the far distant parts of Palestine or in the Diaspora the Synagogue was of paramount importance. But must we therefore maintain that the Jew was capable of only one loyalty? Could not the Temple and its pageantry have represented to him the majestic formal grandeur of his religion, even as the synagogue satisfied his more immediate spiritual hunger? The man who prays informally in a rude chapel is not compelled by very nature to disdain the more stately worship of the cathedral. And the refusal of the people after 70 to admit that the Temple could remain long in waste, their almost universal stupor bears evidence to the fact that the sanctuary continued to play an important role in Jewish life before 70. By fostering prayer and education, the synagogue was the strongest ally of the Temple, and not its formidable rival.

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1. Ibid.

As the moral character of the sacrifices and especially of the atonement rites deepened, the prayer which the priestly Chronicler gives in the name of the devout King Hezekiah becomes the more pertinent: "The good Lord pardon every one that setteth his heart to seek God, the Lord, the God of his fathers, though (he be) not (cleansed) according to the purification that pertaineth to holy things."[1] Non-sacrificial means of atonement became available and became increasingly familiar with the rise to prominence of the synagogue, all the practices of which were non-sacrificial in character. "According to prophetic teaching these mainly consisted in loyalty to God and in moral uprightness. They also included certain ritual elements, which evolved out of the very institution of sacrifices."[2]

Of these the first is prayer. "The institution of worshipping by means of words without sacrifices is, according to the Biblical tradition, old in Israel, reaching as far back as the patriarchs."[3] And again, "Although later on the sacrifice occupied a large place in Israel's form of worship, yet the prayers of the great prophets and the psalmists were an approach to God without the mediacy of any sacrifices...." In Hellenistic mysticism, as well as in the prophetic religion of Israel, there dawned the new idea that prayer is the true and only worthy sacrifice to God. The Psalmist says: "Accept, I beseech Thee, the free-will offering of

1. II Chron. XXX:18-19
2. Cohon: Judaism as a Way of Living, p. 279
3. Idelsohn op.cit., p. 4

my mouth,"[1] or "Let my prayer be set forth as incense before Thee, the uplifting of my hands as the evening sacrifice."[2] The late dedicatory prayer ascribed to Solomon[3] asks that when in the event of war and calamity people "will come to pray and make supplication unto Thee in this house, then hear Thou in heaven and forgive."

Fasting often accompanied both prayer and sacrifice.[4] Too, it is often associated with mourning customs. Though as W.R. Smith holds, it may have originated as a mere preparation for the participation in a sacrificial meal,[5] it took on value of its own in the course of time, giving emphasis and reinforcement to prayer, as well as fitting one for communion with God as in the case of Moses, Elijah, and Daniel.[6] Fasting was considered efficacious enough to avert divine punishment.[7] Regarded as a form of penitence, it became associated with confession of sin.[8] The later prophets sought to keep fasting, which in post exilic times increased in frequency, from becoming a mechanical performance. To them it was to accompany right conduct and charity.[9] And in the Psalms of Solomon the righteous man atones for sins of ignorance "by fasting and afflicting his soul." Nothing in this procedure has to do with the cult; there is no mention made of the sin offering.

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1. Ps. CXIX:108
2. Ps. CXLI:2; Idelsohn, op.cit., p. 6, quoted from Friedrich Heiler, Das Gebet, Munchen, 1920, p. 237
3. I Kings VIII:30-50
4. Jer. XIV:11-12
5. Religion of the Semites, 3rd edition, p. 434
6. Ex. XXXIV:28; Deut. IX:9; I Kings XIX:8; Dan. IX:3; X:2 f
7. I Kings XXI:29
8. I Sam. VII:6; Neh. IX:1-2; Joel II:12-13
9. Zech. VII-VIII; Is. LVIII; I. Benzinger, art. "Fasting." Encyc. Biblica, Vol. II: Cols. 1506-1508, quoted by Cohon, Ibid., p. 280.

Benevolence, too, was invested with an atoning power even as sacrifice. "Tzedakah delivers from death"[1] was taken to mean the giving of charity. Daniel IV:24 enjoins: "Break off thy sin by almsgiving, and thine iniquities by showing mercy to the poor." And Sirach presents the thought that even as water quenches fire, "so doth almsgiving atone for sin."[2]

The destruction of the Temple in 70 A.D. made an end to the whole system of sacrificial expiation. (According to Werner, the sacrificial cult did not cease immediately. There are occasional references to private sacrifice at the ruins of the Temple. Even some sects of the early Christian Church seem to have offered slaughter-sacrifices; cf Conybeare, Les Sacrifices d'animaux dans les anciennes eglises chretiennes, in Acts du premier Congres internat. d'histoire des Religions, Paris, 1900, II:44-50). Moore questions its importance. "The cessation of the sacrificial cultus, which in any other ancient religion would have been in a short while the end of it, was in Judaism not even a serious crisis, so completely had the worship of the synagogue come to satisfy its religious needs. The only noteworthy consequence of the destruction of the Temple was that the synagogue was henceforth for all Jews not only practically -- as it had long been for most of them, but in thought and feeling the place where God was worshipped and religion cultivated. It was natural that such features of the Temple liturgy as could be detached

1. Prov. X:2
2. III:30, also vss. 3, 14 and notes by Box and Oesterley in Charles, Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, Vol. I, pp. 324-326; quoted in Cohon, ibid., p. 279.

from the sacrificial service, the blowing of the ram's horn at New Year's, the palm branches and willows at Tabernacles and the like were transferred, with the necessary adaptations to the synagogue, as indeed some of them had already been, but in the character of its services there was no essential change."[1] And again, he points out, "The important thing is that while the Temple was still standing the principle had been established that the efficacy of every species of expiation was morally conditioned -- without repentance no rites availed. With the cessation of the cultus, repentance (and good works) was left the sole condition of the remission of sins."[2]

This may indeed be a somewhat hasty characterization of the effect of the Destruction. Moore himself shows elsewhere[3] that while the religious leaders of Judaism had fully assimilated the teaching of the prophets and other scriptures regarding the cultus, namely, that its efficacy as a means of propitiating God or expiating sin lay not in itself, but was dependent upon the spirit of those for whom the sacrifices were offered, still, he continues, "it is not to be imagined that teachings which reduced the cultus to a secondary place in religion found general acceptance or even understanding. The great mass of the people doubtless regarded the divinely instituted and prescribed rites as an effective means of securing the favor of God or expiating offenses against his

1. Moore, op.cit., Vol. II, pp. 13 f
2. Maimonides, Hilkot Teshubah 1, 3, quoted by Moore, ibid., I, 505
3. Vol. II, pp. 14 f

laws." All Israel was in fact stunned by the catastrophe. As Baron observes, Palestinian and world Jewry were so reluctant to take cognizance of the disaster that Josephus, discussing Jewish Law three decades after the Destruction, refers to the cult as if in force.[1] Pious Jews continued to pay tithes and other dues to the priests, and indeed the insistence upon the payment of tithes grew with time rather than diminished. "For generations to come the Rabbis reiterated their extreme condemnation of food which had not been tithed."[2]

The sense of utter hopelessness is well shown by a remark of R. Eliezer who one day was going out of Jerusalem with his teacher, R. Jochanan b. Zakkai. At the sight of the Temple in ruins, Eliezer exclaimed, "Woe unto us, for the place where the iniquities of Israel were atoned for is destroyed!" Jochanan replied, "Do not grieve, my son, for we have an atonement which is equally good, namely, deeds of mercy" (gemiluth hasadim); as Scripture says, "For I desire mercy and not sacrifice."[3] Eliezer represented the conservative Pharisees in contrast to Jochanan, the representative of more progressive Pharisaism. Again, R. Eliezer commented gloomily, that as long as the cult of sacrifices flourished there was peace in the world, but since its extinction, there has not been a day without its curses and woes.[4] Indeed, God Himself, declared R. Eliezer, roars like a lion at each watch in the night in grief for His abode that is in ruins.[5] He painted the general deterioration

1. Against Apion 2,22.188
2. Baron op.cit, Vol. I, p. 244
3. Hos. 6:6; Aboth de R. Nathan 4.5. The story is also given by Moore, ibid., Vol. I, p. 503, with R. Joshua b. Hananiah in place of R. Eliezer.
4. Tan. Toldot 1
5. Ber. 3a

that followed the destruction of the Temple. "Since the day the Temple was destroyed, the learned began to be like school masters, the schoolmasters like sextons, the sextons like the ignorant masses, and the masses go their way to ruin and no one cares. And who is there for us to lean upon? Our Father who is in Heaven."[1] Rabbi Eliezer opposed any reorganization of Jewish worship that would detach it from the Temple.[2]

Indeed, the profound value of sacrifice is repeatedly stressed in retrospect in the rabbinic literature, the more because it could no lon longer be offered. The world, it is said, was incomplete until the building of the Temple and the introduction of the cult; then only was it established firmly upon its foundation.[3] No Avodah[4] is as precious to God as the Avodah of the Temple.[5] While the sacrificial service was carried on, blessing and prosperity abounded; food was plentiful. Now all this has ceased.[6] "Woe to the nations of the world," R. Jochanan cried out, "for they have destroyed and do not know what they have destroyed. When the Temple stood, the altar atoned for them; and now -- who atones for them?"[7] Were it not for the Maamadoth, the attendance on the sacrifices, the world could not endure.[8] Creation exists only by virtue of the sacrificial cult.[9]

"The cessation of the sacrificial cultus was believed to be

1. Sota 9:15
2. Ben Zion Bokser, Pharisaic Judaism in Transition, New York, 1935, p. 77
3. Tanhuma Terumah
4. The word is probably used here with reference to prayer, the avodath haley
5. Avoth de Rabbi Nathan, Vienna, 1887, Variant A, Chapters 4,6
6. Ibid., Variant B, Chapter V
7. Sukkah 55b
8. Taanith 27b
9. Rabbenu Gershom ad loc

but a temporary suspension."[1] For divine ordinances cannot be abrogated. Since God had permitted His Temple to be destroyed so that no more offerings could be brought, there would have to be a period without sacrificial rites, but only a temporary period. The Rabbis believed that the rebuilding of the city and the Temple was imminent. Thus, Rabbi Ishmael b. Elisha, having violated one of the Sabbath laws, observed, "When the Temple is rebuilt, I will bring a goodly sin-offering (asham)[2]." "This conviction lives deep down in the hearts of the Jews who look forward to the realization of the divine prophecies and with that the restoration of the sacrificial worship."[3] The tractate Middoth, so Gaster points out, contains the measurements of the pre-Herodian Temple in great detail in order to preserve for the future the architectural details of the last Temple and to serve as a guide for the reconstruction.[4] In IV Ezra and other apocalytic writings and also in Revelation, the picture is presented of the heavenly Jerusalem which will descend from on high at the consummation of the appointed time and within it the heavenly Temple. Like descriptions can be found in other eschatalogical writings, all testifying to the belief that the destruction of the Temple was only a temporary event. This is also evidenced by the compilation of the Order Kodashim in the Mishnah, discussing in great and minute detail the services, sacrifices, offerings and the like in the Temple, that this material may remain fresh in the minds of the people.

1. Moore, op.cit., Vol. I, p. 505
2. Sabbath 12b
3. Gaster, op.cit., p. 24
4. Ibid.

After the destruction special sanctity was therefore ascribed to everything that was reminiscent of the old forms of worship. The Temple was spoken of as the Lebanon because it "made white" (laban) the sins of Israel. The very stones of the altar effected conciliation between the nation and its God; the sacrifices absolved Israel of sin. The disciples of Shammai explained the Hebrew word for lamb, keves as derived from the root kavash "to subdue" or "to press down"[1] in the sense that the daily burnt offerings restrained the sins of Israel. On the other hand the Hillelites derived the word keves from kavas, "to wash," and taught that the sacrifices wash away the sins of the people and make them pure of transgression as a year old child. By virtue of the public sacrifices "no man in Jerusalem was burdened with sin overnight; for the morning sacrifice atoned for the sins of the day, and the evening sacrifice for the sins of the night, as it is said, "Righteousness lodgeth in her."[2] Peace offerings bring peace into the world: so is this true of the thanksgiving sacrifices, the tithes, the paschal lamb, the sin and guilt offerings, etc. (Sifra ed. Weiss 13a, quoted by Cohon, ibid., p. 283.) The effects of the various private and public sin offerings were carefully calculated.[3] "The atonement sacrifices now appear as means of grace offered by God to the Jewish people to enable them to free themselves from the impurity of sins committed inadvertently, and thus to regain the joy of fellowship with Him."[4]

1. As in Micah VI:9
2. Isaiah I:21
3. Sifra, 82a-b; Sheb. 1-2
4. Cohon, ibid.

But in spite of the reverence paid to the memory of the cultus, still the Rabbis repeatedly stressed its true purpose. Explaining the sliding scale of sin and guilt offerings for rich and poor, Ben 'Azzai observes that it is of no consequence whether the transgressor brings a large or small sacrifice, providing only that he directs his heart to Heaven. Lest one imagine that God is dependent upon his sacrifice for sustenance, it is said: "If I were hungry I would not tell thee, for the world is mine and the fulness thereof."[1] God has not ordered sacrifices on the basis of do ut des; not for His will does man sacrifice, but for his own.[2] And also, "It is for your benefit and for your atonement that I demanded the sacrifice, and not as food for myself."[3] Both R.Akiba and R. Ishmael are of the opinion that the sacrificial rites in connection with the sacrifice of animals for meat[4] were instituted in order to teach the people not to put animals to a painful death. R. Pinehas holds that they constitute a concession to the people's weakness; i.e., inasmuch as they were sacrificing to idols, God ordered them to direct the sacrifices to Him.[5] So, too, Maimonides, who states that the sacrifices were necessary for a time because in the early stages of religious development and in the face of the prevalent customs of the surrounding nations, Israel was not yet ripe for non-sacrificial worship.[6] This idea failed of acceptance.

1. Psalm 50:10-13
2. Men. 110a
3. Pesikta R. 194b
4. Lev. XVII
5. Lev. Rabba 22:7-8
6. Guide for the Perplexed, III, 32

Nahmanides rebukes it as "sheer nonsense."[1] But in his codification of Jewish law Maimonides preserves the regulations for the sacrificial cult. "If judged by his legal writings, one might even expect its restoration in the Messianic age."[2] Loewe, writing in the Rabbinic Anthology, says: "The Rabbis, as did the Prophets and Psalmists, regarded sacrifices as subordinate to prayer." God said to Israel: "Be steadfast in prayer, for no quality is fairer than prayer; it is greater than all the sacrifices."[3]

What substitutes could be found for the extinct sacrificial ritual? In Exodus Rabba[4] Israel is represented as saying: "We are poor; we have no sacrifices to bring as a sin-offering." God: "I need only words -- 'Take with you words'[5] 'Words' mean words of the Law." Israel: "We do not know anything." God: "Weep and pray, and I will receive you." Here we find the two of the most important substitutes, prayer and Torah. Prayer is the service (Avodah) of the heart.[6] "To serve" is also to study. "Both study and prayer are 'service' as the tending of the altar." (Rabb. Anthol. #894, p. 342). R. Jochanan said, "The service of God is prayer."[7] Again, the Midrash, commenting upon the verse "I am asleep, but my heart waketh,"[8] observes: "Says the Congregation of Israel before God: Lord of the World, I am asleep -- with regard to the sacrifices; but my heart is awake -- to read the Shema and the prayers."[9]

1. See on Lev. I:9
2. MX Baron, op.cit., Vol. I, p. 369
3. Tanhuma Wayera #1, f. 31b., quoted in Rabb. Anthol., #63, p. 27
4. Tetzawweh XXXVIII 4
5. XIV:3, Hos.
6. Sifre Deut., 'Ekeb #41, f. 80a
7. Midr. Ps. on LXVI, also Taanith 2a
8. Song of Songs 5:2
9. Shir hashirim Rabba V:1

R. Eliezer ranks prayer higher than sacrifices and even than good deeds.[1] He who in a proper state of bodily cleanliness lays Tefillin, recites the Shema, and offers prayer, is considered as having built an altar and sacrificed upon it.[2]

Yet it is unreasonable to suppose that this emphasis on prayer as an equivalent or even a substitute for sacrifice found ready acceptance in the eyes of the people. Before the destruction regular prayer had been the practice of men of piety alone.[3] Now praying three times a day was decreed for all Jewry, and the services in the synagogue were made obligatory.[4] For the benefit of the majority who had been trained for centuries in the idea that sacrifices were the chief if not the only means of atonement, a rule was issued to the effect that the reading of the Biblical and Rabbinical sections pertaining to the sacrifices was tantamount to the actual bringing of the sacrifices.[5] The daily services were arranged to conform to the public sacrifices in the Temple,[6] for the idea became prevalent that sacrifices could be replaced by prayers, if they were offered at the time when the sacrifices had been offered.[7]

It is pointed out in Jerushalmi Ber. IV.7,[8] that the one who is asked to offer up prayers in behalf of the community is called

1. Ber. 32b
2. Ber. 15a
3. Ps. LV:17; Dan. VI:10
4. Idelsohn, op.cit., p. 27, Cohon, ibid., p. 285
5. b. Menachoth 110a; Meg. 31a; Taanith 27b; Tanhuma Tzav; Pesikta R. Kahana #6; Bamidbar Rabba XVIII:21
6. Ber. 26b; this will be discussed more fully at the beginning of Chapter II
7. Ber. 26b; Bemidbar Rabba, ibid. The passages to be recited will be enumerated and discussed in succeeding chapters.
8. Quoted by Gaster, op.cit., p. 26b

to the reading desk with the invitation 'kerav', which means both 'to draw near' and 'to offer up' a sacrifice, for prayers are like sacrifices. And in Ber. 46b the preparation for prayer is compared to the building of an altar for the purpose of placing oblations upon it.

As we have pointed out, the sacrificial system was highly esteemed by Rabbinic Judaism because it formed part of the revealed Torah. For that reason the Rabbis devoted themselves with great care to the preservation of all the details of the Temple worship and the investing of them with meaning. "The very study of the laws of the sacrifices came to be considered an effective substitute for their performance."[1] The Law came to act as a surrogate for the Temple. Where sacrifices would have atoned for certain classes of sins, now that the Temple has gone, the Law, if Israelites occupy themselves with its study, serves as an equivalent.[2] God foresaw that the Temple would be destroyed, and He said: "While the Temple exists and you bring sacrifices, the Temple atones for you; when the Temple is not in existence, what shall atone for you? Busy yourselves with the words of the Law, for they are equivalent to sacrifices, and they will atone for you."[3] Studying the portion concerning the thank-offerings is like bringing it.[4] The sin of Eli cannot be atoned for by sacrifice, but only by the study of the Law.[5] Commenting upon Psalm 134:1, "Bless ye the Lord, all ye servants of the Lord who stand in the house of the Lord by night (baleloth),"

1. Cohon, op.cit., p. 284
2. Montefiore, Rabbinic Anthology, p. 118
3. Tanh. B., Ahare Mot. 35a (Moore III, 155) quoted in Rabbinic Anthology, p. 118
4. Menahoth 110a
5. Rosh Hashanah 18a

R Jochanan said: "These are the disciples of the wise who work in Torah by night, and Scripture accounts it as if they labored in the sacrificial service."[1] One who labors in Torah does not need an offering of any kind.[2] A man who studies the law of the sin-offerings is as if he offered a hatath, and so, too, if he studied the law of the guilt offering.[3] God tells David that a day spent in studying Torah is more pleasing to him than a thousand offerings destined to be offered by his son Solomon on the altar.[4] When scholars labor in the laws of sacrifice, it is in the sight of God as if the Temple were actually rebuilt.[5] He considers the disciples of the wise who work in Torah as burning incense and offering a pure meal offering unto Him.

The Maharsha (=) writing on Taanith 27b, equates the verse in Hosea XIV:3 "Take with you words" with "Take unto Me a heifer of three years old"[6] and observes that in the Galuth we live by virtue of devarim. This, he continues, is suggested by Deut. XXX:14: "For the word (hadavar) is very nigh unto thee, in thy mouth and in thy heart, that thou mayest do it," which refers to the Exile, when the reading of the "word" and the studying of it with devotion will compensate for the actual offering of the sacrifices.

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1. Ibid., see also Sifre Ekeb 41; Tanhuma Ahare Mot, 10; Bereshith Rabba 16; Midrash Tehillim on Ps. 134
2. Menahot 110a
3. Ibid., R. Isaac
4. Sabbath 30a
5. Midr. Tehillim on Ps. 134
6. Gen. XV:9

Avoth de Rabbi Nathan, commenting upon Simon the Just's saying in Avoth I:2, "Upon three things the world stands, upon the Torah, upon the sacrificial service (avodah) and the practice of charity," suggests that the study of the Law is more precious in the sight of God than burnt offerings, because when a man studies Torah, he learns the very opinion of God. (Yodea da'to shel makom) Hence a sage who teaches in the congregation is accounted by Scripture as if he had offered up fat and blood upon the altar.[1]

And again, the precept concerning the daily offering is given twice,[2] from which repetition there is deduced the consolation for Israel in exile that he who studies these verses is regarded as having offered the sacrifices.[3] The same thought is based on the sin-offering and the trespass-offering.[4]

Obviously the most important parts of the Law, so far as a substitute for the sacrificial cult is concerned, are the passages ordaining the sacrifices. Not only are they to be studied, but also those portions in Rabbinical literature which contain references to the sacrifices offered in the Temple, such as Zebachim 5, the description of the incense,[5] the order of service arranged by Abbaye,[6] and the like. Many of these passages have been incorporated into the Liturgy, so that the Jew may fulfill the precept of study in his daily worship. And it is of interest to note that the Be'er hetev,

1. Variant A. Ch. 4
2. Ex. xxix. 38-42; Num xxviii; 1-8
3. Pres. 60b; Lev. R. vii. 3
4. Lev. 6:18, 7:7; Men 110a, b
5. Kerithoth, 6a
6. Yoma 33a

commenting upon Orach Hayyim, Sec. 50, holds that those passages in the liturgy referring to the sacrifices may not be read as the other prayers without comprehension; since the word limud is used in connection with the sacrificial passages, they must be understood.

Together with prayer and study of the Law, charity is accounted as a substitute for sacrifice, "though not an equivalent for sacrifice in the full sense of the word."[1] When R. Joshua lamented, "Woe is it that the place where the sins of Israel find atonement is laid waste," R. Johanan b. Zakkai comforted him, "Grieve not, my son, we have an atonement equal to the Temple, the doing of loving deeds, as it is said, 'I desire mercy and not sacrifice.'"[2] Abbaye held that the sin of Eli's house which according to the Bible might not be expiated with sacrifice nor offering forever[3] might be atoned for with acts of loving kindness as well as study of the Law.[4] R. Eliezer observed, "When the Temple stood, the altar would atone for mankind, and now a man's table atones for him,"[5] that is, by giving of his food to the poor. And again, he taught that doing charity ranks higher than offering all the sacrifices.[6] During the existence of the Temple a man secured atonement by paying his shekel, but now he can atone through charity. According to R. Jochanan b. Zakkai, charity atones for the nation as the sin-offering atones

See p. 25

1. Gaster, ibid., p. 28a
2. Hos. 6:6; Ab. de Rabbi Nathan, Variant A, Iv:11a
3. I Sam. III:14
4. Yeb. 105a; Rosh Hashanah 18a
5. Ber. 55a; Hag. 27a; Men. 97a
6. Sukkah 49b

for Israel. Rab Assi held that charity outweighs all the commandments.[1] He who observes the provisions made for the poor[2] is regarded as highly as he would have been if during the existence of the Temple he had been faithful in making his oblations.[3] To entertain a student in one's house is an act of piety as notable as the offering of daily sacrifice.[4] To make a present to a learned man is like offering the first fruits.[5] Filling a rabbi's cellars with wine is equivalent to pouring out the libations.[6]

The ethical life is also a substitute for sacrifice. Justice and righteousness, according to R. Simeon b. Gamaliel, are better than sacrifice,[7] for sacrifices might be brought only when the Temple existed, but justice and righteousness can be applied both then and after. Sacrifice atones for only involuntary sins, but justice and righteousness atone both for voluntary and involuntary sins; sacrifices may be brought only by men, but justice and righteousness are employed also in the world above. Sacrifice occurs only in this world; righteousness and justice in this world and the world to come.[8] In extolling the humble,

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1. Baba Bathya ga
2. Lev. 23:22
3. Sifra, Emor, 101c
4. II Kings 4:9, Ber. 10b
5. Ket. 105b
6. Yoma 71a; there is just a touch of self interest here!
7. Prov. 21:3
8. Deut. R. Shofetim V:1 & 3 quoted in Rabb. Anthol., p. 382

R. Joshua b. Levi observed: "See how great are the lowly of spirit before God!" When the Temple stood, a man would offer a burnt-offering and receive the reward for a burnt-offering, and so with a meal offering, but Scripture accounts the meek and lowly as if they had offered all the sacrifices, as it is said, "The sacrifices of God are a broken heart."[1] And teaching that true repentance alone always sufficed for the expiation of sins, R. Eliezer said, "On the day the Temple was destroyed, the gates of prayer were locked, but the gates of tears were not locked."[2]

Like charity, fasting is also a sacrifice of substance, both material and spiritual. Rabbi Eliezer valued fasting even higher than he did charity.[3] Fasting can be either individual or general, for propitiatory purposes, to avert impending evil or for expiation for a sin committed. "The real object, however, in all cases is not to obtain God's favor, as it were, by a bribe, but to give outward expression to the mortification caused by sin and backsliding, in contrition of heart, self-chastisement, self-abnegation and meekness, and to appeal to God's mercy and forgiveness."[4] Inner purification and the approach to God were the results expected of self-denial. The great prototype is the Day of Atonement, which of course was marked by an elaborate sacrificial ritual during Temple times; the enumeration of those sacrifices is still an integral part of the atonement service

1. Ps. LT:19, Ps. 51:9; Sotah 51
2. Baba Mezia 59a
3. Ber. 32b; see also Ber. 17a; Sefer Hassidim, ed. Freiman-Wisnetski, pp. 40-41
4. Gaster, ibid., p. 27

and substitutes for them, together with the fasting[1] which is considered as an equivalent for the sacrifice on every other occasion. The prayer of Rav Sheshet well expresses the mood in which fasts were undertaken: "Lord of the world, when the Temple was standing, a man would offer up a sacrifice, and the only parts offered of it were the fat and the blood, and now I fast, and my blood and fat are diminished. May it be thy will that they count as if I had sacrificed to Thee on the altar and do Thou favorably accept me."[2] The same sentiments run through all the propitiatory and expiatory prayers connected with fasting. In the Talmud many examples are given of men who fasted for years in order to avert threatened evil. Thus Rabbi Zadok fasted forty years in order to avert the threatened destruction of Jerusalem,[3] and R. Hanina fasted to ward off misfortune from an individual.[4] Adam fasted 130 years to expiate his sin.[5] "These men, as it were, sacrificed themselves for the benefit of others, and hoped to win thereby the favor of God, just as if they had brought sacrifices to the altar."[6]

Gaster holds that in a sense self mortification is considered a substitute for sacrifice, inasmuch as man offers himself up entirely to the service of God. "It is a minor form of martyrdom, not free from selfish motives."[7] Normative Judaism

1. Together with the recital of the offerings and the fasting, atoning efficacy was also assigned to the Day itself. This is pointed out by Solomon Schechter, Aspects of Rabbinic Theology, New York, 1909, p. 302, and Cohon, ibid., p. 289
2. Ber. 17a
3. Gittin 56a
4. Baba Mezia, 33a
5. Erubin 18b
6. Gaster, ibid.
7. Ibid.

has not looked with favor upon ascetisim, celibacy, and self-mortification. Fasting is spoken of by one authority as almost equivalent to sin;[1] it is almost comparable to suicide.[2] Not fasting brings the desired result, but repentance and almsgiving;[3] for fasting must lead to charity.[4]

"The highest form of sacrifice is for the glorification of the name of God or for the expiation of sin."[5] Though Judaism does not encourage self sacrifice, yet the principle is established that a Jew should offer himself up rather than commit through compulsion the three cardinal sins of idolatry, incest, and murder.[6] The Talmudic prayer, "May my death be accepted as a sacrifice before the Lord as an atonement for all my sins,"[7] has passed over into the liturgy as a part of the Confession for the dying. Death thus atones for a sin as does a sin offering. Gaster points out that only in the light of this conception can the law ordained in Numbers 35:25-28 be understood. It is stated there that one guilty of manslaughter who has found safety in the city of refuge must dwell there until the death of the high priest, after which he is free to return to his own home unmolested. This connection between the death of the high priest and the amnesty thereby granted to the murderer can be best explained if the death of the high priest is regarded as a vicarious atonement for all the sins and sinners of his time. To this the Talmudic statement seems to point: "The

1. Taanith 8b
2. Sanh. 105a
3. Ber. 6a; Taanith 8b, 17a
4. Ber. 6b
5. Gaster, ibid., p. 27
6. Jer. Hagigah Ch. 1
7. Ber. 60b

death of the high priest is an atonement."[1] The righteous man dies "the victim and the sacrifice of atonement for the sins of his generation."[2] One sage is said to have offered himself up as an atonement sacrifice for R. Hanina and his children.[3] The death of the pious atones or purifies like the sprinkling of the ashes of the red heifer.[4] Another saying is, "May I be an atonement for my daughter Kuza!"[5] On being falsely condemned to death, the son of R. Simeon b. Shetach prayed, "May my death not be an atonement for my sins if I am guilty!"[6] Moses' grave faced Beth-Peor that by his death he might atone for the sins of the Israelites committed at that place.[7] The souls of the pious are offered up as a sacrifice to God on the heavenly altar by the archangel Michael, who is described as offering up sacrifices and prayers before that great altar in Heaven.[8]

Still another substitute for sacrifice is the practice of offering up a white cock or hen as a ransom or sacrifice on the Eve of the Day of Atonement. The bird is afterwards slaughtered according to the Law and given away as a gift to the poor.[9]

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1. Makkoth 11b
2. Gaster ibid.
3. Sukk. 20a
4. Moed Katan 28a
5. Yebamoth 70a
6. Sanh. 44b
7. Sotah 14a
8. Hagiga 12b; cf. Zebachim 62a
9. Baer, Avodath Yisrael, p. 408 f

CHAPTER II

THE ORIGIN AND TIME OF DAY OF THE SYNAGOGUE SERVICES

Even as the origin of the synagogue is in its details somewhat obscure, so, too, is the origin of its daily services. By the time of the earlier talmudic literature, the regular daily worship had become so firmly entrenched in Jewish life that the Rabbis felt that it must have existed from time immemorial. This is the meaning of R. Joshua b. Levi's observation that the three daily services were instituted by the patriarchs.[1] The morning service stems from Abraham, of whom it is said: "And Abraham arose early in the morning to the place where he had stood before the Lord."[2] Amidah (wayaa'mod) is taken to refer to prayer, as the verse "And Pinehas stood and prayed"[3] indicates. Isaac introduced the afternoon prayer, for Scripture says: "And Isaac went out to meditate (lasuah) in the field at the eventide.[4] Meditation (sihah)is equivalent to prayer, the proof text being Ps. 102:1. The evening service was instituted by Jacob. For Scripture has it that he "happened

1. Jer. Ber. IV:1; and also Jer. Pesachim V:1; there is, however, some difficulty here, for in Berachoth 26b R. Joshua b. Levi holds that the services were arranged to correspond with the daily sacrifices. Possibly the text in the Palestian Talmud should read "R. Jose b. Hanana" following a number of MSS. Or perhaps R. Joshua b. Levi taught, as Ehrenreich suggests in his commentary to Abudarham, p. 44 note 54, that the services were instituted on the example of the patriarchs and were strengthened by reference to the Temple ritual.
2. Gen. 19:27
3. Ps. 106:30
4. Gen 24:63

upon (wayifga)the place and tarried there, for the sun had set."[1] "Happening upon" (pegiah)is proved to be prayer through the use of the verb in Jer. 27:18.[2] The three daily services were also ascribed to David, on the basis of the verse in Psalms which tradition held were composed by him: "Evening and morning and at noonday will I complain and make moan; and He hath heard my voice."[3] A further proof for this is found by R. Abraham B. Shushan in the word we-eh'hemeh, which numerically is equivalent to fifty-seven, the number of the benedictions recited in the three daily services, nineteen in each.[4] It cannot be doubted, Freehof holds[5] that part of the prayer worship was quite ancient. Fast day services, with a penitential ritual but without any sacrificial accompaniment, may have taken place before the Exile. But a regular daily service could not have come into being except after considerable evolution.

But the ritual of the Temple, itself daily and regular, was the chief influence in establishing the regularity of the synagogue service. This the Rabbis indicated by the very term they used to refer to the prayer service, which they called the avodah shebalev[6] whereas the sacrificial ritual in the Temple was termed the Avodah. And in Berachoth 26b they stated definitely that the daily prayers were ordained so as to correspond with the

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1. Gen. 28:11
2. Abudarham p. 44 f, also in B. Berachot 26b
3. 55:18
4. Abud. p. 46
5. The Small Sanctuary, Cincinnati, 1942, p. 39
6. Taanith 2a

regular daily offerings in the Temple. Thus, because the morning Tamid could be offered until noon, the morning prayer might be recited until noon. This is the view of R. Joshua b. Levi. Differing, R. Judah holds that the morning prayer can be offered only until the fourth hour (10:00), since the Tamid could only be offered till that time. So the afternoon prayer was to be recited in the period designated for the minhah offering. Certain difficulties arose with regard to the evening prayer, which will be discussed later, but it will suffice here to state that the evening prayer might be recited at any time during the night because it was held to correspond to the eating of the limbs and other parts of the sacrificed animals which continued through the night. Likewise the Musaf prayer was to be recited at the time of the offering of the additional sacrifice in the Temple. (ibid.)

The Rabbis, Abuderham, observes, added a special prayer corresponding to the Musaf sacrifice in the Temple for every day which that sacrifice had been offered.[1] Likewise on the Day of Atonement they added a prayer at sundown called Neilah, corresponding to the service at the time of the closing of the Temple gates. And the influence of the sacrificial service upon the synagogue worship is further borne out by a legal discussion in Abudarham regarding voluntary prayer.[2] An individual may pray the entire

1. Taanith 26a; Abudarham, p. 47
2. Tefillath nedavah

day, if he so desires, providing only that he introduce new elements into his prayers; this is comparable to his bringing a nedavah or freewill offering. But since in Temple times the people as a whole were not assessed for freewill offerings as they were for the continual offerings, the congregation may not pray voluntarily, for that would be tantamount to their bringing an unauthorized sacrifice. Such is the opinion of Maimonides[1] and Alfasi.[2] On the other hand R. Abraham b. David of Posquieres holds that a nedavah actually was offered by the people, but at their option. Now since the three tefilloth have been ordained and are not optional, a voluntary prayer would be equivalent to the bringing of a third Tamid.[3] All authorities, however, base their arguments on the assumption that the services, or at least the three daily Amidoth, owe their origin to the Temple cult.[4]

The question also arises in Ber. 26a as to a man's obligation to "make up" one of the daily services which he has ommitted through forgetfulness. If he has neglected to pray the evening prayer, can he pray twice in the morning? An objection is raised to the effect that the prayer service stands in the place of the sacrificial system, and if a man had failed to bring

1. Hil. Tef. 7:9
2. Ber. Ch. 3, the text is given in Abud., p. 49, note 121
3. RaBaD, Hasagath ha ra bad on Hil. Tef. 1:10; Also Beth Yosef to Orach Hayyim, 107.
4. Discussion in Abud., pp. 48 ff

his sacrifice at its appointed time, he might not offer that sacrifice later.

The Eastern posture in synagogal prayer derives from the early association of public worship with the Temple. The turning toward the Temple in prayer is mentioned in Dan. VI:10 and elsewhere.[1]

Yet the correspondence between the time of the regular sacrifice and the time of services in the synagogue cannot entirely explain the number of prayer-services during the day, though it does account for the establishment of regular daily services. There was no evening service in the Temple; at sunset the gates were closed, and throughout the night the sentinels, both priests and Levites, kept guard and the eternal fire on the alter burned continually. The fixed times for the Temple ritual were in connection with the offering of two T'midim each day, one in the morning, and the other in the afternoon. An additional sacrifice, the Musaf, was offered after the morning Service on Sabbaths and holidays. The Maamadoth would pray four times each day, corresponding to these three sacrifices, and a fourth service, Neilah, which accompanied the closing of the gates of the Temple at sunset. There is thus a conflict between the number of Temple services and the three services of the synagogue.

1. I Kings 8:38, 42, 44, 48 - 2 Chr. 6:29, 32, 34, 38, Ber. 4:5; III Esdras 4:58. Perhaps also Ps. 5:8, 28:2; 134:2. Israel Abrahams, Notes to the Prayer Book, London, 1914, p. iv; Ludwig Blav, "Liturgy," Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. VIII, p. 182, David de Sola Pool, The Kaddish, New York, 1929, p. 4 f.

Because the Evening Service corresponded to no Temple sacrifice, the Rabbis held that it was simply ordained. For that reason it has no fixed time, and it was regarded by some authorities as optional.[1] This discussion, however, only concerned the service as a whole, especially the Amidah; all authorities being agreed upon the obligation of reading the Shema at night. The view prevailed which treated the evening service as a regular part of the daily worship, but as a concession, the Amidah is not repeated by the Reader, nor is a Kedushah introduced.[2] The reason given for establishing a compulsory evening service in the synagogue is that people, tired with the day's work, tend to forget the recitation of the Shema if the evening prayer be only private.[3] But R. Tanhuma, seeking to prove a sacrificial correspondence so as to give the evening service a sounder basis, held that it was established as an equivalent to the eating of the limbs and fat pieces which took place all night by the altar.[4]

The Rabbis suggested an alternative theory to the one that the prayers correspond to the time of the regular sacrifices. R. Samuel bar Nahman held that the prayers were ordained to correspond to the three divisions of the day.[5] Thus it would seem that the three periods of synagogue prayer daily are the result of two influences, that of the Temple ritual in Jerusalem and the natural desire to pray at the critical times of the day;

1. Ber. 27b
2. Abrahams, ibid., p. Cvii
3. Ber. 27b, 4b
4. Abud., p. 46
5. Jer. Ber. IV.1

sunrise, noon, and sunset. "People who revered God as the Master of nature would surely worship him at the two crucial times of the day, when the sun rose and when the sun set."[1] The Shema was especially appropriate for this worship. Likewise Ps. 92:2 indicates the fitness of morning and night for prayer. Originally home prayers, the morning prayer became merged with the prayer at the time of the morning sacrifice at the Temple, while the night prayer at sunset or after sunset had no actual Temple connection. In addition to these two, the prayer corresponding to the afternoon sacrifice, the minhah, was added to the synagogue liturgy after the Destruction, making three prayers a day, besides the Musaf on new moons, sabbaths and holidays, and the Neilah on the Day of Atonement. Thus "the times of day for the various Jewish prayers have been fixed as the result of different ideas; they are partly based on the visible daily changes of nature, partly derived from the sacrificial cult, and the two conceptions have been fused together."[2]

1. Freehof, ibid., p. 44
2. Ismar Elbogen, "Liturgy," Universal Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. VII, p. 139

CHAPTER III

THE INFLUENCE OF THE SACRIFICIAL RITUAL UPON THE DAILY SERVICES

The Mishnah[1] thus describes the prayer service in the Second Temple: After the sacrifice of the morning Tamid, the priests would repair to the Chamber of Hewn Stone,[2] and there recite the benediction Ahavah, the Decalogue, the Shema in full.[3] Then followed three benedictions: the Geullah, the Avodah (the 17th Benediction of the Amidah) and the Priestly benediction. On Sabbaths an additional benediction was recited for the outgoing Course of Priests (Mishmar) in which the benediction Shalom was included (19th Benediction of the Amidah). Such -- in addition to the Psalms -- is the basic contribution of the Temple to the liturgy of the synagogue. In this chapter an effort will be made to further single out those parts of the daily liturgy that owe their inclusion in the Prayer Book to their connection with the Temple ritual.

A. The Morning Service[4]

1. Ps. 5:8 is recited on entering the synagogue, defining the posture in prayer, "toward Thy holy Temple."[5]

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1. Tamid V
2. The Synagogue of the Temple, see Ch. 1
3. Deut. 6:4-9; 11:13-21; Num. 15:37-41
4. In the last chapter it was pointed out that the morning service is considered a substitute for the morning Tamid. According to Ber. 26b it is to be recited at the time of the sacrifice in the Temple.
5. Baer, Siddur, p. 33

2. The priestly benediction[1] is inserted in the Birkoth Hashachar, according to Ibn Yarchi,[2] in order that a blessing may be pronounced upon Israel before the reading of the T'midim.

3. Mishnah Peah.[3] By recalling that no specific measure was decreed for the first fruits,[4] nor for the offerings brought on appearing at the Temple during the three pilgrim festivals, (Deut. XVI:16-17) an attempt is made, it would seem, not only to exalt the study of the Law, which is declared equal to these and other deeds, but also to stimulate the generous impulses of the people by combining offerings which no longer could be made with the idea of charity, gemiluth hasadim.

4. "Blessed art Thou... who hast given to the cock intelligence...."[5] The Romans divided the night, from 6 P.M. to 6 A.M. into four watches,[6] Evening, Midnight, Cock-crow and Morning. The service of the Temple began with the cleansing of the alter, which took place at cock-crow.[7] Kohler holds that this benediction can be attributed only to Persian influence.[8]

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1. Numbers 6:24-26
2. Baer p. 38
3. Baer p. 38
4. Ex. XXIII:19; Deut. XXVI:1-11
5. Baer p. 40
6. Abrahams, p. xvi
7. Yoma I:8
8. Origins, p. 97

5. The Korbanoth:[1] This section is composed of citations from the Pentateuch and the Mishnah treating of the sacrifices. The recital of these passages takes the place of the sacrifices; he who reads them with devotion is accounted as if he had actually brought the sacrifices to the Temple altar.[2] Beër Hetebh[3] stresses that these passages must be understood; it is not enough merely to read them as the other prayers which do not require comprehension; for in the case of the prayers God knows the kawwanah of the worshipper. But in the case of the Korbanoth the word limmud is used; they must be studied and understood. The recitation of these passages is also a reminder that the Synagogue services were constituted in correspondence to the Temple sacrifices.[4]

The widest latitude exists in the selection of many of the readings in the Korbanot. The constant portions are Numbers 28:1-8, Mishnah Zebachim V, and Sifra I, with Numbers 28:9-10 read on Sabbaths, and Numbers 28:11-15 on the New Moon. The order of the passages is based upon a statement in Kiddushin[5] that the period alloted for study each day should be divided into three parts, for Bible, Mishnah, and Talmud respectively. The Boraitha of R. Ishmael from the Sifra counts as Talmud.[6] Thus by

1. Baer pp. 47-54
2. Menahoth 110a; Meg. 31a; Taanith 27b; Tanhuma, Tzav; Pesikta R. Kahana #6; Bamidbar Rabba 18; Idelsohn, op.cit., p. 78
3. To Orach Hayyim Sec. 50
4. Abrahams p. xxiv, Abudarham, p. 196
5. 30a
6. Baer p. 47

reciting the Korbanoth a man also fulfills the minimum requirement of the study of the Law.

There follows a composite group of readings for the Korbanoth culled from various prayer books: Baer, Singer, Keneseth Gedola (KG), Machzor, edited by Summer, and a Siddur of the Hebrew Publishing Company (HPC).

a. Perek hakiyyor: Exodus 30:17-21 and Lev. 6:3-4, but the section from Leviticus is not found in KG. The section is optional. (Baer)

b. Parashath terumath hadeshen: Lev. 6:1-6. KG, optional.

c. Yehi ratzon: a prayer for the forgiveness of sins and the rebuilding of the Temple where the atoning sacrifices may once again be offered. Only in KG.

d. Tzav: Numbers 28:1-8, ordaining the two continual offering.

e. V'shochat: Lev. 1:11. According to Ex. Rabba 2, this verse recalls the sacrifice of Isaac, at which time God instituted the T'midin.[1]

f. Yehi ratzon: a prayer that the recitation of Num. 28:1-8 may be received as if the actual Tamid had been offered. Only in KG.

g. Atta hu: An introduction to the Biblical passages on the incense. Not in Singer.

h. Ex. 30:34-36, 7-8. Commands the preparation of incense for the altar. Not in Singer.

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1. Baer, p. 48

i. Pitum haktoreth: Kerithuth 6a, on the composition of the incense. With this are joined two passages: Tanyo R. Nathan and Tane bar Kappora.

j. Adonai Zevaoth: A collection of Bible verses, praising God for His help in times of trouble; these form unexpressed supplication for the rebuilding of the Temple. Included are Ps. 46:8, 84:13; 20:10; 32:7. The passage ends with Mal. 3:4: "Then shall the offering of Judah and Jerusalem be pleasant unto the Lord as in the days of old, and as in ancient years."

k. Ana bekoah: A poetical prayer which offered opportunity for Kabbalistic speculation. "Its forty-two words are supposed to represent the forty-two letter Name of God which is derived from the combination of the initial letters of the words. The poem was ascribed to the Tannaite Nehunya b. Hakkana."[1] Not in Singer.

l. Uveyom hashabbath: Numbers 28:9-10, concerning the additional offering for the Sabbath and read on that day.

m. Uv'rashe hodshechem: Numbers 28:11-15 for New Moon.

n. Ribbon haolamim: May the prayers of our lips be accepted as sacrifice, since we can offer no other. Only in KG and HPC.

o. Ezahu mekoman: Mishnah Zebahim 5. In KG the text is interspersed with five yehi ratzon's -- may the reading be held equivalent to the offering of the particular sacrifice

1. Responses RashBA #220, quoted in Idel., p. 51

enumerated. This particular passage was chosen because there is no difference of opinion among the Tannaim therein, and also because it describes the order of the sacrifices.[1]

p. Boraitha of R. Ishmael (Sifra I); the heremeutical rules of the School of R. Ishmael.

q. Yehi ratzon: Aboth 5:23. After the recitation of the Temple service, the prayer for its restoration follows naturally. This forms a fitting conclusion to the early part of the morning service.[2] This is followed by parts of Ps. 2:11 and Mal. 3:4.[3]

The Siddur Keneseth Gedola has the following order: After (j) Adonai Zevaoth there follows (l) Uv'yom hashabbath and (m) Uv'rashe hodshechem. Then there is inserted Abaye havah mesadder[4] on the order of the daily service in the Temple, and then (k) Ana bekoah and (n) Ribbon haolamim.

6. Baruch sheamar:[5] While the daily sacrifices were being offered at the Temple, the first chapter of Genesis was read by the section of the country whose Maamad was then "standing by" at the Temple.[6] The opening phrases of this paragraph, especially Baruch oseh bereshith, seem a reminiscence of this custom.[7]

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1. Abud. p. 196
2. Abrahams, p. xxvi
3. Baer p. 54
4. Yoma 33a
5. Baer p. 58
6. Taanith 4:2
7. Abrahams, p. xxxi; Baer ibid.

7. Hodu: I Chron. XVI:8-36, with a parallel in Ps. 105. During the morning sacrifice at the Temple, I Chron. XVI: 8-22 was recited, and during the evening sacrifice I Chron. XVI:23-36 was chanted.[1] These passages were transferred to the Synagogue for the morning service to be recited most probably in connection with the Korbanoth before Baruch sheamar, as in the Sephardic and Italian rituals and Seder Rav Amram 27a. The Ashkenazic ritual reads these verses in the Pesuke de Zimra.[2]

8. Mizmor letodah.[3] The caption for Ps. 100, usually translated a Psalm of Thanksgiving, ought perhaps to be rendered Psalm for the Thankoffering. The recital of the Psalm accompanied the presentation of thankofferings. Since the thankoffering was omitted on the Sabbath and holydays and the days preceding the festivals and the Day of Atonement, the Ps. isn't recited upon those days,[4] though certain rituals including the Sephardic do include the Ps. for the Sabbath.[5] "Though in the time to come all other sacrifices will cease, yet the thankoffering will never cease."[6]

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1. Seder Olam Rabba, Ch. 14
2. Idel., p. 81; Abrahams p. xxxi; Baer p. 59
3. Baer p. 61
4. Abrahams, p. xxxii
5. Idel. p. 82
6. Wayikra Rabba, Ch. 9

9. The Song of the Sea (Ex. 14:30-15:18; Baer p. 73) was originally chanted in the Temple during the Sabbath Minhah sacrifice; it was divided into two parts.[1] It was introduced into the daily service that it might recall the Exodus to the people.[2]

10. Ahavah: This prayer probably belonged to the service of the Temple.[3] So, too, the Shema with its three paragraphs,[4] and the Geullah. The doxology, "Blessed be His name, whose glorious Kingdom is for ever and ever, was regularly used in the Temple when the Tetragrammaton was pronounced.[5]

In the Temple service, the Decalogue was read before the Shema. This custom, however, was not adopted in the Synagogue because the Sectarians held that only these laws were divinely revealed.[6] Jer. Berak: 1:3c reads the Ten Commandments into the three paragraphs of the Shema.[7]

Kohler holds that the recital of the Shema did not stem from the Temple service. Agreeing with Blau[8] that the Shema was introduced as a protest against Persian dualism, and as a proclamation of God's unity was recited every morning and evening, he points

1. Rosh Hashanah 31a
2. Baer ibid., Idel., p. 83
3. Mishnah Tamid V, Abrahams, p. xlix
4. Deut. 6:4-9, 11:13-21; Num. 15:37-41
5. Abrahams, ibid.
6. Ber. 12a
7. Idel., p. 91
8. Revue des Etudes Juives, XXXI, 181 f

out that neither the time nor the place of the morning service of the priests in the Chamber of Hewn Stones could have given the impulse to such a solemn confession of the Jewish faith. And the fact, he continues, that the Decalogue preceded the Shema in the Priestly Service indicates that the priests laid more stress on the Torah to be read, in accordance with Deut. 6:6, than on the confession of the faith. It seems to Kohler that the Ahavah benediction which dwells on the value of the Torah, was the product of the priestly Soferim, as it fitted in with the priestly morning service at the Temple; whereas the first Benediction, praising God as the Creator of light, would have hardly been in place if recited in the Temple at a late hour. Rather "the practice originated neither in the Temple nor in the Synagogue, but in the open under the free heaven and before the very eyes of the surrounding Mazdean priests."[1]

11. The Amidah: The form of the Amidah, a compilation of Benedictions, was adopted by the Synagogue from the Temple liturgy. (Kohler, Origins, p. 67.) The first three and the last three Benedictions are older than the rest, since they formed part also of the Sabbath and Holyday service called Birkath Sheva, "the Sevenfold Benedictions," fixed as early as the schools of Shammai and Hillel.[2]

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1. Kohler, Origins, pp. 55-59
2. Zunz G.V. II, 280; Tos. Ber., 3:15; Tos. R.H., 17a, quoted by Kohler, ibid.

In their primitive content they originated early in the history of the Second Temple.[1] The priests recited at least some of them daily with the Decalogue and the Shema[2] and such designations in the Mishnah[3] as Bircath Avodah and Bircath Kohanim unmistakably refer to the Temple services. Kohler writes, "As to the original of the Eighteen Benedictions, we may point to the Temple Psalm in the Hebrew Ben Sirah 51:12f, which, modeled after Ps. 136, has thirteen verses each beginning with Hodu, 'Give thanks to God,' and closing with the refrain, 'For His mercy endureth forever.'"[4] On the other hand Abrahams shows that this Psalm was initiated from the Amidah, rather than the reverse. Since the latest possible date for Ben Sirah is the beginning of the second century B.C.E., then even most of the intermediate benedictions of the Amidah must be somewhat earlier, before the Maccabean age.[5] Kohler observes that the stamp of Hasidean conception is imprinted upon all, and "nowhere the least allusion to the priesthood and the sacrificial cult, except in those Pharisean alterations of the time after the destruction of the Temple."[6]

a. Benediction II, Geburoth: This Benediction concerning the divine Powers, dwelt originally, as the name indicates, on God's power as manifested in Creation and His sustenance of the world, and in this form was a part of the

1. Abrahams, p. lvii
2. M. Tamid 5:1, Rosh Hashanah 4:5
3. R.H. 4:5
4. Kohler, ibid., p. 68
5. Abrahams, lvii
6. Ibid, p. 69 f

Temple liturgy; it was altered by the Hasidim to lay special stress upon the belief in Resurrection.[1]

b. Benediction III, Kedushath Hashem: The nucleus of the Kedusha, the three responses[2] was apparently used as a form of sanctification at the Temple.[3]

c. Benedictions V and VI: These benedictions, the one voicing the people's longing for a return to God, His Law, and His worship, the other imploring God's forgiveness for their sins, probably formed part of the Fast-day and Maamadoth prayer.[4] Benediction VII may also have a like origin.[5] Benediction VIII also belongs in the Maamadoth service.[6]

d. Benediction IX, Bircath Hashanim: The initial words and closing eulogy of this prayer indicate that it was originally a New Year's prayer; but it is difficult to tell whether it was offered by the High Priest on the Day of Atonement[7] or at the Water Libation on Sukkoth or in Spring, or the real New Year's Day.[8]

e. Benedictions XIV and XV; Boneh Yerushalayim and Bircath David. These two paragraphs were perhaps originally one. They probably originally referred not to the rebuilding

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1. Kohler, p. 70
2. Is. 6:3, Ez. 3:12, Ps. 146:10
3. Idel. p. 98
4. Kohler, p. 71
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Jer. Yoma 5, 42c
8. Jubilees 12:17; Kohler, p. 72

of Jerusalem, but to its building, and its continued enjoyment of the Divine Presence. After the destruction, the contents were modified to refer to the rebuilding.[1]

f. Benediction XVI, Shomea tefillah: This prayer is modeled after the High Priest's prayer on the Day of Atonement as given in Jer. Yoma VII:1.[2]

g. Benediction XVII, Abodah: This benediction meant in the first instance the Temple ritual, but was afterwards extended to mean worship in general. One of the oldest passages in the Amidah, it was recited daily by the priests and also by the High Priest on the Day of Atonement. Obviously the wording was different in Temple times, when the priests prayed for the acceptance of the service. The words, "Restore the service to the oracle of thy house," imply that the sacrifices had ceased. So, too, the older eulogy reads, "Sheothecha levadecha beyirah naavod, as in Jer. Sota VII end, and so Rashi to Ber. 11b., while the present conclusion to this benediction reads "who restoreth Thy Divine Presence unto Zion."[3]

h. Benediction XVIII, Hodaah: This benediction is referred to in Tamid V:1, as is the Avodah, and like it was a part of the priestly ritual. After the offering of the sacrifice, the people fell upon their faces, offering their thanksgiving to God, and this was followed by the priests'

1. Abrahams, p. lxv
2. Idel., p. 105
3. Idel. p. 106; Abrahams, lxvi

Blessing, as Tamid 7:3 and Ben Sirah 50:16-21 indicate. For this reason this benediction of thanksgiving follows the prayer for the acceptance of the sacrifice at the Temple. "When the prayer took the place of the sacrifice, the formal act of adoration by the people falling on their faces, was transferred to the time after the recital of the Eighteen Benedictions, and hence the Tahanun, the free outpouring of prayer with this formal act of adoration by the people became part of the weekday liturgy."[1]

i. Benediction XIX: Birkath Kohanim: The Priestly Blessing[2] was daily recited in the Temple. It was introduced into the Synagogue as a constant reminder of the Temple cult.[3] But Kohler deems it significant that the priests are not even mentioned in this Benediction. This, he holds, shows the influence of the Hasidim who would not countenance the mediatorship of the priesthood.[4] "There is indeed throughout the Eighteen Benedictions a noticeable tendency to ignore the priesthood and its functions and instead to bring God's majesty nigh to the people, in conformity with the democratic spirit of the Synagogue.[5]"

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1. Kohler, p. 77
2. Num. vi:22
3. Salo Baron, Jewish Community, Philadelphia, Vol. I, p. 121, 1942
4. Cf. Sifre Num. 43
5. Kohler, p. 78

j. At the close of the Amidah a further prayer is added for the rebuilding of the Temple and the restoration of the sacrifices.[1] The entire silent Amidah which follows, it is said in Sotah 32a, is ordained so as not to embarrass the sinners. For the Torah did not designate a special place on the altar for the sin offering.

12. The Tachanun: The custom of reciting individual petitions after the public prayers seems to date back to the Temple service. According to Tamid VII:3 and Ben Sirah L:16-21, the people would prostrate themselves in prayer after the sacrifice. This act of prostration was carried over into the synagogue to be enacted after the Tefillah which replaced the sacrificial cult.[2] The Tahanun contains a confession of sins and beseeches God for mercy upon His desolate sanctuary for His name's sake and because of the merit gained by Israel through the sacrifice of Isaac.[3]

13. The Reading of the Torah: The benedictions before and after the Reading are in accord with the custom of the High Priest, who at the Atonement Day service recited eight Benedictions in connection with his reading from Scripture.[4] Likewise, the reading from the Prophets on the Sabbaths and Holydays was

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1. Baer p. 104
2. Idel., p. 110f; Kohler p. 100
3. Baer p. 114
4. Yoma 7:1

preceded by one Benediction and followed by three or four, formulated after those recited at the Temple.[1] To this same category belong also the Benedictions before and after the Hallel and the Psalms, and others.[2]

14. The Concluding Parts:

a. Psalm 20: The Psalm is an appropriate intercessional during the progress of the Temple rite.[3] It seems an expression of perfect confidence that God, who "remembers all the burnt offerings and sacrifices" will indeed save Israel in its trouble, implying the rebuilding of the Sanctuary, as indeed do the opening words of the next prayer Uva letziyon goel[4] though the main content of the prayer is a proclamation of God's holiness.

b. In the Kaddish, the three steps taken backward and the accompanying bows at the end of the prayer follow the respectful mode of retiring, as the priests and Levites did from the Service in the Temple.[5]

c. The Daily Psalm: The custom of reciting a daily Psalm is taken over from the Temple service during which the Levites would sing a special psalm each day.[6]

d. The Hymn of Unity[7] for the first day of the week. This piyyut presents the thought that it is impossible for

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1. Mas. Soferim 13, 8
2. Kohler p. 95
3. Abrahams, p. lxxxii
4. Baer, p. 127
5. Yoma 53a, Abrahams, p. lxxxvi; Pool, op. cit., p. 76
6. Tamid 7:4; Rosh Hashanah 31a given in the name of R. Akiba
7. Baer p. 133

feeble man to praise God who is Almighty and the owner of all. Were he able, he would bring sacrifices. Yet he is comforted by the thought that God will not rebuke him concerning sacrifices (Ps. 50:8) for His desire is for a humble and contrite heart (Ps. 51:18 f). All man can do is to laud the Creator.

e. The Decalogue, Akedah.[1] The Decalogue was recited daily in the Temple[2] but the custom was discontinued in the Synagogue because the heretics might say that these alone were given to Moses on Sinai.[3] At the end of the service this objection did not apply because so much other Scriptural material had been read, and because, too, these concluding sections are to be read by the individual. The Akedah (Gen. 22) not only inspires self-sacrifice, but also teaches the idea of Zechuth Aboth. A prayer using much of the language of the Rosh Hoshanah Zichronoth in Ber. 16 or 17 beseeches God to remember His covenant, and in His mercy restore the City and the Land, as well as to help Israel rid itself of the moral impediments to the true service of Him.

B. The Afternoon Service: This service is termed Minhah, which means gift or offering to God, and especially the cereal oblation, an offering of grain. The word minhah applied strictly

1. Baer, pp. 157-160
2. Tamid V:1
3. Ber. 12a

to the cereal portion of the tamid, both in the morning and in the afternoon. But the term became restricted to the afternoon service because of its use in I Kings XVIII:36. By its name the Afternoon service is thus linked to the Temple cult.[1] Before the service proper, portions dealing with the sacrifice of the daily burnt offerings and of the spices are appropriately read.[2]

C. The Evening Service: The origin of this service has already been discussed in Chapter II.[3] When the evening service is begun after nightfall, it opens with Ps. 134,[4] which was perhaps a night song for the Temple watchmen. It may, however, refer to a night service in the Temple.[5] It has been suggested[6] that as there was no sin offering brought at this hour in the Temple, the V'hu rachum appropriately differentiates the evening from the morning and afternoon services by an opening supplication for pardon.

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1. Abrahams p. cv-cvi
2. Num. 28:1-8; Ex. 30:34-36; b. Kerithuth 6; Idel., p. 118; Baer p. 163
3. P. 49
4. Baer p. 163
5. Abr. p. cviii
6. Rokeach 319

CHAPTER IV

THE CONCEPT OF SACRIFICE IN THE SABBATH AND FESTIVAL SERVICES

The concept of Sacrifice in the Sabbath services may be summed up under two headings: first of all, supplications for the restoration of the divine rule in Jerusalem and for the rebuilding of the Temple; secondly, the recital of the offerings ordained for the Sabbath is included in the belief that it is the best possible way of obeying the Law concerning the oblations to be brought on that occasion.

The frequent allusions to the restoration of Zion in the various services often do not specifically mention the reintroduction of the sacrificial cult, yet there can be little doubt that they contain that implication. The nation in exile has suffered the loss of its land and independence and freedom of worship, and God's return to Zion will restore all this; the Temple will be rebuilt, and the mode of worship divinely revealed in the Torah will be reinstituted. For no matter in what light prayer be held, sacrifice is indispensable to a complete Judaism that would fulfill all the commandments of the Law. Thus a question such as that in the Kedushah for Sabbath morning: "When wilt Thou reign in Zion?" may refer primarily to the establishment of the Messianic Kingdom, but when that Kingdom is established, sacrifices

will once more be offered, and this union of the two ideas must always have possessed the popular mind.

The most important references to the sacrificial cult and notes on the prayers derived from it are given below:

I. The Sabbath Liturgy

A. The Evening Service

1. Psalm 96.[1] The theory that the synagogue services correspond to the sacrificial service may explain in part the selection of this psalm in which is contained the verse: "Bring an offering, and come into His courts."[2]
2. Psalm 92.[3] This Psalm, described as a "Psalm, a Song for the Sabbath Day" has no close intrinsic connection with the Sabbath, but it is included here because it was sung by the Levites while the Tamid offering was brought on Saturday.[4]

B. The Morning Service

1. Numbers 28:9-10 are added in the Korbanoth. These verses deal with the Sabbath offering.[5]
2. Psalm 100 is omitted in the Verses of Song; it was recited when a free will offering was brought in the Temple; and since none were brought on the Sabbath, the psalm is not recited in the Ashkenazic ritual.[6]

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1. Baer, p. 178
2. v. 8
3. Baer, p. 182
4. Tamid VII:4; Rosh Hashanah 31a
5. Baer, p. 49
6. Baer, p. 61

3. The Kedushah[1] contains a prayer for God's speedy return to Zion where He may be exalted and sanctified in His city, presumably through the means of the sacrificial cult.

4. The Reading of the Law has at least a prototype in the reading of scripture by the High Priest on the Day of Atonement.[2] The origin of the benedictions has been discussed in Chapter III. Of the concluding Benediction for the Haftarah, the third and fourth paragraphs seek the restoration of Zion and the House of David, while the fifth thanks God for the Avodah, here obviously the prayer service, though the original Avodah may also be suggested.

C. The Additional Service

The Law required additional offerings on Sabbath, New Moons, and Festivals over and above the regular morning and afternoon sacrifices.[3] These additional offerings, called Musafim, were brought after the regular morning Tamid.[4] According to Tos. Per III and Sukkah 53a, a Musaf service was introduced into the Synagogue to correspond with this service when the Temple was still standing.

1. The intermediate benediction of the Musaf Amidah is the important part of the service. It is introduced in the

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1. Baer p. 218
2. Yoma VII:1
3. Num. XXVIII-XXIX 28-30
4. Yoma 33a

Ashkenazic ritual by an inverted acrostic: Tikkanta Shabbath, asking God, who ordained the Sabbath and its offerings and commanded Israel concerning them, to lead the nation back to its land, where it may once again offer up the prescribed sacrifices, which are then enumerated in a quotation from Numbers XXVIII:9-10. When the New Moon falls on a Sabbath, the opening paragraph, Attah Yatzarta, adds a confession of sin. Because of Israel's transgressions the Temple has been destroyed, and atonement cannot be made in the proper manner on the New Moons. God is asked to restore the nation, that both Sabbath and New Moon offerings[1] may once again be brought.

2. The concluding words of the hymn En Kelohenu,[2] "Thou art He unto whom our fathers burnt the incense of spices" forms an introduction to the following passage in which the constituents of the incense[3] are defined.[4] The Sephardim include the Rabbinic account of the incense in the afternoon service for weekdays instead of in the Sabbath Musaf. Incense was burned twice daily in the Temple, in the morning and evening.[5] Possibly the passage, including En Kelohenu, originally formed part of the Saturday night service, and was a preface to the benediction over the spices

1. Quoted from Num. XXVIII:11
2. Baer, p. 245
3. Exod. XXX:34-38
4. Kerithoth 6a
5. Exod. XXX:7-9

in the Havdalah ceremony.[1]

3. The Song of Unity and the Song of Glory both supplicate the restoration of the sacrifices; the latter contains the verse from Ps. CXLI:2. May my prayer be as incense before Thee.

4. The doxology, "Blessed be the Lord, the God of Israel"[2] is a collection of all the passages in which occur the expression min haolam ad haolam, "from eternity to eternity," literally, "from world to world." The worlds were, according to Rabbinic exegesis, the earthly and the future worlds. The Mishnah[3] explains that in the Sanctuary this form of doxology was used to replace the simple phrase from eternity (Min haolam) which had been used previously. The reason for the change was the Sadducean disbelief in immortality which impelled the Pharisaic authorities to introduce into the Temple doxologies a formula implying the disputed doctrine.[4]

D. The Afternoon Service

Between Tabernacles and Passover Ps. CIV and the fifteen "Songs of Degrees" (Psalms cxx-cxxxiv) are recited. Probably they were Pilgrim Psalms, recited on the fifteen Sabbaths from the first of Elul to Hanukkah, when a constant procession of pilgrims was bringing the first fruits to the Temple.[5]

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1. Abrahams, p. clxvii
2. Baer, p. 249
3. Ber., end
4. Abrahams, p. clxix
5. Abrahams, p. clxxii

The four Sabbaths previous to Passover (Shekalim, Zachor, Parah, Hahodesh) had a special function to fulfill in preparation for the pilgrims coming to Jerusalem for the festival. They have been retained in remembrance of the old custom and in view of the future when the Temple was to be rebuilt anew.[1]

II. The Festival Services

The liturgy of the festivals, according to Idelsohn, "voices the main idea for which they were instituted, namely, seasons of joy and thanksgiving in commemoration of the kind deeds God did to our ancestors in redeeming them from Egyptian bondage, in giving them the Torah, and in settling them on the Promised Land and teaching them the true ways of life. Though we have lost our land and are dispersed throughout the world because of our sins, yet we fervently pray and hope that we shall again be redeemed and brought back to our sacred home where we shall serve God in joy and exaltation."[2]

We shall consider the sacrificial elements first in the material common to all the Festivals, the Amidah, the Musaf, and the Priestly Blessing. Then representative Piyyutim bearing on the cult selected from the Mahzor for each Festival will be presented.

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1. Meg. III:4-6; Kohler p. 93
2. Idel., p. 188

A. The Amidah

1. In the middle benediction of the Amidah[1], the Sanctification of the Day, God is described as having drawn Israel near to His Avodah. While here the word is without doubt correctly translated service in general, still it must retain the old connotation of sacrificial service. Israel, in spite of certain prophetic passages to the contrary, was the only people commanded to serve God regularly in His temple.

2. On Saturday night a "Havdalah," Watodienu is inserted which in the Talmud[2] is referred to as a pearl. It presents the distinction in the degree of sanctity between Sabbath and Festival. The three Festivals were known as regalim, so called because on them the Israelites made pilgrimages on foot to the Temple according to the injunction in Ex. XXIII:14. The Rabbinic rule was that every Pilgrim should walk on foot at least the final stage of the journey up from the city of Jerusalem to the Temple, deriving the rule from the word regalim.[3] "The three features of the Festivals were: the joyousness, the visit to Jerusalem, and the festival free-will offering;[4] these are alluded to in the words:"Thou hast caused us to inherit (a) seasons of joy, (b) appointed

1. Atta behartanu
2. Ber. 33b
3. cf. Hagigah I:1
4. Hagigah VI:2

times of holiness, and (c) feasts of free-will gifts."[1]

B. The Musaf Service: As has been previously pointed out, the Law ordained that on New Moon, Sabbaths, the three Pilgrim Festivals, the New Year and the Day of Atonement, an additional offering should be made besides the regular morning and afternoon sacrifices. These additional offerings are discussed in detail in Num. XXVIII-XXIX. "The Musaf prayer corresponded with, accompanied, and later on replaced these additional sacrifices."[2]

The distinguishing features of the Musaf Amidah are (a) citations of the laws regulating the additional sacrifices, and (b) laments for the exile of Israel and the destruction of the Temple, and corresponding petitions for the restoration of Israel, the rebuilding of the Temple, and the reinstitution of the sacrifices. That the Exile was the consequence of Israel's sin is the frequent burden of the prophets from Amos to Jeremiah,[3] and the same idea is expressed also in the Pentateuch.[4]

1. The third paragraph in the intermediate benediction of the Amidah, beginning Umipene hataenu, is a plea for the restoration of the Temple. As a punishment for Israel's sins

1. Abrahams, p.cxci
2. Ber. 26-27, quoted from Abrahams, p. cxcvi
3. Cf also Ez. XXXIX:23
4. Lev. 26.23, Deut. 28:64, Abrahams, p. cxcvi

the Sanctuary has been destroyed, and consequently "we are unable to go up in order to appear and prostrate ourselves before God, and to fulfill our obligations in His chosen house.... May it be Thy will... that Thou mayest... have mercy upon us and upon thy sanctuary and mayest speedily rebuild it... Lead us... unto Jerusalem the place of Thy sanctuary with everlasting joy, and there we will prepare before Thee the offerings that are obligatory for us; the continual offerings (Temidim) according to their order, and the additional offerings (Musafim) according to their enactment...."[1]

There then follow quotations from the Pentateuch in which the sacrifices for each Festival are enumerated. For Passover, Num. XXVIII:16, for Pentecost, Num. XXVIII:26 and for Tabernacles, Num. XXIX:12, 17 ff.

2. Continuing the ideas presented in the previous prayer, the succeeding paragraph, Melech rahaman, again supplicates God for the rebuilding of the Temple and the restoration of its service, that all Israel may repair there three times each year bringing their sacrifices in joy.
3. The Priestly Benediction is added to the Musaf Amidah following Benediction XVII. The service connected with the blessing is referred to as duchan, a name borrowed

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1. P. B., Singer's translation, p. 234

from the Temple. The duchan was an elevated place upon which the Levites stood when they sang the sacred music.[1] This term was later applied to the function of the Cohanim while reciting the Priestly Benediction in the Synagogue. The custom is in accordance with Num. VI:22-27; the people were blessed in the Temple after the sacrifices. A supplication recited by the Congregation before the blessing asks that their prayers may be as acceptable as the sacrifices. "Restore Thy divine Presence unto Zion, and the ordained service unto Jerusalem... and there will we worship Thee in awe, as in the days of old and as in ancient years."[2]

C. The Torah readings for the Festivals are selected with two views in mind; first, to give the background for each festival, and secondly, to give instruction in its proper observance. It is therefore not surprising to find that almost every reading prescribed for the eight days of Passover, the two of Pentecost, and the nine of Tabernacles contains some reference or allusion to those sacrifices that are to be brought to the sanctuary.

II. The Concept of Sacrifice in the Mahzorim for the Three Festivals

In this section we shall attempt to cull the various ideas on the sacrificial cult from the Piyyutim in the Festival services.

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1. Arachin II:6
2. P.B. Singer, p. 238a

Many of the poetical additions to the liturgy are in their style heavy and obscure, andin that respect comparable to the Alexandrian school in late classical literature. It has been suggested that such a style was employed at least in several instances to veil the didactic nature of these poems from hostile governments[1] but if such were the intention, the authors have succeeded far beyond their expectations. Their language is highly recondite; their allusions obscure. Tenses are difficult and do not follow the ordinary rules of Hebrew grammar. In a word, many of the paytanim "made" their own Hebrew idiom, which may be quite permissible for poets, but somewhat difficult for those who would interpret their works. From these poems, many of which have been comprehended only through the use of commentaries, chiefly the Matteh Levi[2] of Aaron b. Yehiel Michel,[3] a pattern of ideas on the sacrificial cult will be traced.

A. Passover.

The past glory of the nation is rehearsed fully and the details of the sacrifices in the Temple are lovingly presented; the slaughter of the Paschal lamb[4] is described, as well as the offering of the Omer.[5] The Festival offering is also explained; the bullock expiated for the sins of the priests, Levites, and

1. Idel. p. 35
2. Cited as ML
3. Idel. p. 62
4. Ezkerah Shenoth Olamim , Idel., p. 330, author uncertain
5. Or yom henef, by Meyir b. Isaac, Idel., p. 330, ML II:285a

people.[1] In the time of the Temple supplications were presented for dew at Passover through the offering of the Omer before God. Now, though the Temple has been destroyed, still we make mention of the dew on the day before the counting of the Omer begins.[2]

But because of Israel's sins the Temple was destroyed[3] and perfect worship is consequently impossible, for it alone was the place for atonement;[4] it was established by God who commanded the slaughter of the Paschal lamb, even though the lamb was the idol of the Egyptians.[5] He ordained the sacrifices as a means of expiating for transgressions;[6] the sacrifices even were instituted to correspond with the sins, as for instance, for the sin of the Golden Calf, God designated the calf to serve as an offering.[7] Still, prayer may serve as a substitute for sacrifice, and especially for the Paschal offering;[8] it may lead to redemption, for the people are exhorted to strengthen themselves in prayer that they may merit to hear the songs sung in the Temple once again.[9] For God held the

1. Az al kol, by Eleazar Kallir, Idel., p. 334, ML, II:291b; Idelsohn characterizes this poem as discussing "the significance which the sacrifice of oil has in the Bible;" this must be an error; the subject is clearly the shor: az al kol hay'so yaar nisasa shor." The piyyut Shor asher meaz, Idel., ibid; ML II:292a, utilizes the Torah reading for the second morning, Lev. XXXII:26-33, 44 as its text.
2. Tahath Elath Ofer, E. Kallir, Idel., p. 343, ML II: 282a
3. Sh'horah Wenawah, by Solomon b. Juda, Idel., p. 333, ML II: 277a
4. Ibid.
5. Mah'ilu, E. Kallir., Idel., p. 334, ML II:291a
6. Az al kol
7. Shor al kol
8. Lel Shimurim, by Meyir b. Isaac, Idel., p. 330, ML II: 285a
9. Or Yom henef

Temple and its cult in high esteem; He fought Egypt that the priests might one day pour out wine libations in the Sanctuary.[1]

True, certain vicarious merit may incline Him to mercy. We hope that the Zechuth of Abraham may be equivalent to frankincense;[2] that in memory of the ancestors' pouring out of the wine libation,[3] we maybe delivered, even as by merit of the Omer a generation destitute of righteousness was saved and the Assyrians were destroyed on the "night of watching."[4] Mordecai studied the laws of the Paschal offering on Passover eve,[5] though no inference is made as to the efficacy of that study in saving the Jews from Haman.

But whether God will restore Israel to its land and rebuild the Temple now, at any rate he can wreak vengeance now on the oppressors of His people. Though we have forsaken the Temple which once abounded in burnt offerings and peace offerings, the fat and blood of them that harm us might well be spilled there.[6]

We beseech God to rebuild His Temple.[7] And assuredly He will

1. Afik renen, by Meshullam b. Kalonymes of Lucca, 10th cent., Idel., p. 333; ML II:286b
2. Sh'horah wenawa
3. Erasheh erosh rahashon, Kallir, Idel., p. 343, ML II:280a
4. Lel shimurim
5. Ibid.
6. B'rah Dodi, by Simon b. Isaac b. Abun of Mayence, 11th cent., Idel., p. 334; ML II:290a
7. Or Yesha, by Solomon b. Juda of Rome who is called Habavli, 10th or 11th cent., Idel., p. 332; ML II:273a; also sh'horah wenawah

do so[1] and bring back His people to their land.[2] Indeed, God and Israel will together rise up early to restore the Temple, and the Minhah offering willagain be fragrant as in former days.[3]

B. Pentecost

The Piyyutim for the Pentecostal liturgy contain almost no references to sacrifice. They are rather occupied with histories of the world written with the Biblical narrative as a basis, up to the time of the Revelation at Sinai, and with fanciful commentaries on the Decalogue and praise of the Torah. Isaac is accounted in several piyyutim as having been the equivalent of a whole burnt offering; he is worthy of being groom to the Law.[4] Naturally the Azharoth which gives the 613 laws derived from the Bible include those on sacrifice.[5]

C. Tabernacles

As in the Passover liturgy the past glories of the Temple cult are much dwelt upon. The service is described in great detail, with the various offerings enumerated.[6] A great multitude used to go up three times each year, longing to render God His due.[7]

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1. Tahath elath ofar
2. Ibid.
3. Odecha ki anithani, by Meshullam b. Kalonymos, Idel., p. 333; ML II:289a
4. Adonai kanani reshith darko, by Simon b. Abun, Idel., 337; ML II:333a; also Shaashua yom yom, same author, Idel., p. 336 ML II:331a
5. Attah himhalta Idel., p. 344; ML II:342a; Azhara reshith, Idel., Ibid., ML II:363a
6. Yismehu behagehem, Yehiel b. Isaac, Idel., p. 332, ML II:236a
7. Amnitz lenora, Anonymous, Idel., p. 338, ML II:237a

There is a strongly universalistic note; seventy bulls are offered upon the altar to atone for the sins of the seventy nations of the world.[1] Curiously, the cult is spoken of quite as if it were still in actual existence.[2] The eighth day was the occasion of special offerings;[3] elaborate ceremonials were employed in the course of the prayer for rain at that time.[4]

But because of Israel's sins the Temple is no longer in existence,[5] and though consequently our worship is now but a poor substitute, may it be accepted and considered equivalent to the actual pilgrimage to Jerusalem -- it is all that we can offer.[6]

But if not for the sake of Israel, at least let the Temple be rebuilt for the sake of the Law and the sins of the people be forgiven.[7] And may the virtue of Aaron and his service, he who made ritual use of water in the sacrificial service, assure his descendants abundant rain.[8] And for the sake of the ancient water libation poured out in the Temple, God is asked to recall and redeem Israel.[9] Enable those who now celebrate

1. Teshurath shal, by E. Kallir, Idel., p. 338, ML II: 239a
2. Ana terev alitzothecha, Anonymous, Idel., p. 338, ML II:237b
3. Shemini eshpokh lev., this is not mentioned in Idelsohn; ML II:250b
4. Tikkan l'eretz, by E. Kallir, Idel., p. 344, ML II:256b
5. Om K'ishen, Anonymous, Idel., p. 339, ML II:251a
6. Uyamti b'hil kippur, by E. Kallir, Idel., p. 337, ML II:221b
7. Om K'ishon
8. Zacher av, no author mentioned, Idel., p. 345, ML II:260b
9. Az k'ene avadim, Baer, p. 379

the Feast of Booths to participate in the Hag in the restored Temple, the holy ones who bear the yoke of Thy Law. Let it never again be destroyed,[1] but rather when rebuilt it shall be enlarged six times.[2] They that destroy it now shall themselves be destroyed[3] and when in the days to come strangers will visit the Temple to bring festival offerings, the sun will scorch and consume them, but Israel, enjoying the refreshing shade of their booths will be saved.[4]

The Haggada for Passover is particularly rich in sacrificial allusions. This service came into especial prominence during the centuries of Roman oppression, when the Jews writhed under the Caesars even as did their ancestors in Egypt. The ancient Feast of Freedom took on new vitality. "Its annual occurrence came like a summons to new life and to liberty, making each Israelite feel as if he personally had shared in the Exodus."[5]

The Haggada ritual dates from the latter part of the period of the Second Temple; it is described in Mishnah Pesachim V and X. During the sacrifice of the Paschal lamb, the Levites chanted Hallel, with the people participating with "Halleluyah" or responding with the first sentence of the chapter after

1. Ana terev 'alitzothecha
2. Ivvuy sukkath dawid by E. Kallir, Idel., p. 338; ML II:239b
3. Ana terev 'alitzethecha
4. Ivvuy sukkath dawid; compare with this the universalism of T'shurath shai
5. Idel., p. 176

each half-verse.[1] The meat of the sacrificed lamb was then taken home, roasted, and eaten with the singing of the Hallel and the recitation of the nucleus of the Haggada text.[2] After the Destruction the Haggada was much elaborated, with "texts of symbolic meanings and homiletical interpretations, with fervent prayers and with symbolic and didatic songs for children."[3]

The roasted shankbone used in the Seder service is in commemoration of the Paschal lamb; the roasted egg commemorates the festival offering, the hagigah.[4]

The Matza is a substitute for the Paschal lamb. When the wise child asks the reason for the Seder service,[5] he is to be taught all the laws concerning the Passover, including the rule that no Aphikomon[6] may be eaten after the Paschal lamb, that the taste of its meat may not be obscured.[7] Therefore nothing can be eaten after the Aphikomon which replaces the lamb.[8]

The benediction Asher Geallanu,[9] ascribed to R. Akiba, contains the hope of restoration and of the joyous participation of Israel in the sacrifices of future Passovers.

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1. Idel., Jewish Music, p. 20 f
2. Pes. X; Pes. 114a ff
3. Idel., p. 176
4. Idel., p. 177
5. Rosenau, Haggada, p. 14
6. Gr. epikomion, dessert
7. Pes. 119b
8. Idel., p. 180
9. M. Pes. X:5

Hillel's practice of eating Matzah, bitter herbs, and Haroseth together is described as "a memorial of the Sanctuary according to Hillel,"[1] that is, a memorial of Hillel's custom in the days when the Temple was still in existence and the Paschal lamb might be eaten with herbs and unleavened bread as prescribed in Num. IX:11.[2]

The benediction over the fourth cup of wine, preceded by the plea for restoration,[3] praises God for the goodly land He gave our ancestors. He is asked to show mercy to His city, Temple, and altar, that we may return there to thank Him in holiness and purity.

The hymn Addir Hu, dating from the sixth or seventh century, is a supplication for the speedy rebuilding of the Temple.[4]

The poem Ometz gevurathecha[5] occurring also in the morning service for the second day of Passover, describes various occurrences on the Passover, with the refrain, "Ye shall say: It is the Passover sacrifice." It is ascribed to Eliezar Kallir.

One of the allegorical interpretations of the Had Gadya[6] explains the "bid" as the Temple, bought by David for "two Zuzim" from

1. Rosenau, Waggada, p. 56
2. Pesachim 115a
3. Rosenau, Haggada, p. 122
4. Idel., p. 185
5. Rosenau, p. 108
6. Rosenau, p. 146

each of the twelve tribes, and destroyed by the "cat," Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon.[1]

The Counting of the Omer, in accordance with the injunction in Lev. 23:15, begins on the second evening of Passover. When the Temple was in existence, a sheaf of barley was cut in the field from the ripe crop every day during the seven weeks from the second day of Passover to Pentecost. A handful of this sheaf was burned on the altar, and the rest consumed by the priests. No Israelite was permitted to partake of the new barley harvest before he brought this offering. To commemorate this custom the counting of the Omer was introduced into the prayer service,[2] together with a prayer for the restoration of the sacrifices..[3]

The Hoshanoth for Sukkoth: On each of the six days of the festival the priests and people would circle the altar, chanting Psalm CXVIII:25, making seven circuits on the seventh day.[4] During the procession the priests would carry the four plants, the palm branch, citron, myrtle, and willow.[5] This custom, brought over into the Synagogue, is observed after the Musaf.[6]

The prayers for Dew, Tal and for Rain, Geshem, in the Musaf service on the first day or Passover and the eighth day of

1. Idel., p. 186
2. Menahoth X; Menahoth 61-62, 65-66a
3. P.B., Singer, p. 273
4. Sukkah IV:5
5. Sukkah 43b
6. ML II:233a

Tabernacles respectively, are derived from the Simhath Beth Hashoevah, popular festivities which took place outside the sanctuary proper amidst great illumination, with singing and dancing.[1]

1.Kohler, Origins, p. 84

CHAPTER V

THE CONCEPT OF SACRIFICE IN THE LITURGY FOR THE HIGH HOLYDAYS

The services for the High Holydays mark the very climax of the religious year. They stress the ideals of the "sovereignty of God over all creatures, the brotherhood of the human family, the revelation of the divine spirit to man, the providence of God, the concept of reward and punishment, the restoration of the Jewish people and the sanctuary in Zion where a center for enlightenment for mankind shall be created." (Idel., Liturgy, p. 205). To these the Day of Atonement adds the renunciation of sin, the quest for forgiveness, and the effort for self-improvement.

References to the Temple and its cult are multiplied on the High Holydays, especially because of the intimate connection of atonement with the sacrificial rites. The Mahzor reflects sorrowfully upon the glories of the past, and repeatedly petitions for the absolving of the national guilt as well as that of the individual, that, cleansed of sin, Israel might be restored to renew the ancient worship, so pleasing in the eyes of God.

A. The New Year: Apparently the New Year came into prominence during the Second Temple,[1] being given its lofty character by the Hasidean leaders. The standard liturgy for the two days of Rosh Hashanah much resembles that of the Sabbath and Festivals,

1. Kohler, Origins, p. 84

with certain additions of significance for the concept of sacrifice. These are:

1. In the third benediction of the various Amidoth two paragraphs, Uv'chen ten kavod and Wethimloch attah, add a particularistic note to passages expressing the broadest universalism. All creatures will unite to do God's will; and He alone will rule over them out of a restored abode on Mt. Zion.

2. The Hallel, recited in the Temple and then in the Synagogue on Festivals, is replaced by the supplication avinu malkenu. The explanation is given in Ber. 32b to the effect that it is more fitting to recite supplications than praise on this day when the world is judged.

3. The Scriptural reading for the second day, Genesis 22[1] has to do with the attempted sacrifice of Isaac, which, according to tradition, took place on the New Year, as did his conception.[2] The Zechuth won for Israel by that meritorious act of faith is frequently invoken in the piyyutim for the day.

4. The blowing of trumpets was prescribed for all festivals and New Moons while the sacrifices were being offered,[3] but the New Year became the Day of the blowing of the ram's horn par excellence. A ram's horn is used as a

1. Megilla 31a
2. Rosh Hashanah 10b. 11a
3. Numbers X:10

remembrance of the substitution of a ram in place of Isaac.[1] The custom was introduced into the Synagogue from the Temple, with but one change: On the Sabbath the Shofar was blown in the Temple; after the Destruction, R. Johanan ordered that on Sabbath it be blown only in places where a Court sat;[2] finally it was forbidden entirely.[3] Saadia gives ten reasons for the blowing of the Shofar; among others it is to serve as a reminder of the destruction of the Temple.[4]

5. The Additional Service: The Amidah for the Musaf service contains three intermediate benedictions instead of the one common to all other Festivals and Sabbaths. The three, malchuyoth, zichronoth, and shofaroth date back to Temple times.[5] They teach, in sublime language, God's sovereignty, providence, and revelation to man, presenting in elaborate form the ideas expressed in the three paragraphs beginning uv'chen in the third Benediction of the Amidah. The paragraph shofaroth concludes with a prayer for redemption and for the restoration of the sanctuary, that the prayers may once again be offered, an idea repeated from the beginning of the Sanctification of the Day where the prayer Umipene hataenu is recited as on Sabbaths and Festivals.

6. The Poetical and Petitional Insertions: The Temple, God's beloved habitation, has been defiled by idolaters[6] and

1. Rosh Hashanah 16a
2. Rosh Hashanah IV:1
3. Rosh Hashanah 29b
4. Idel., p. 210
5. Rosh Hashanah IV:5-6
6. Ansichah malki, ML I:50a, Idel., 221

destroyed because of Israel's sins.[1] Of these God especially hates falsehood and idolatry.[2] Sacrifice, which is the worship ordained by God, can no longer be offered. Yet repentance is still possible, and atonement through prayer, for be it noted, when it pleased God to mend the sin of his people, he taught them to pray.[3] Other means of atonement are piety and the observance of the Law, which is more pleasing to God than the offering of bulls,[4] the turning away from idolatry and the imitatio dei, walking in God's way and doing Him homage, all of which is equal to meal offerings.[5] Repentance, prayer, and charity -- these will avert the condemnation that may be decreed against us.[6] Repentance will bring the healing of our wounds;[7] God desires it more than all burnt offerings and continual offerings; repentance and good deeds are a shield against punishment.[8] Then, too, God has taught that the study of the rites of sacrifice is more acceptable to Him than the offering of fat bulls.[9]

But since we cannot sacrifice, our chief means of atonement shall be through prayer. May it be fully as acceptable as

1. Zecher tehillath kol maas, ML I:52a, not in Idel.
2. Ansichah malki
3. Taalath zu kehefetz, Kallir, ML I:19b, Idel., p. 218
4. Uv'chen Waadonoy pakad eth sarah, Kallir, ML I:218
5. Ansichah malki
6. Unethanneh tokef, by Kalonymos b. Meshullam b. Kalonymos, Mayence, 11th cent., ML I:44a; Idel., p. 220
7. Essa dei, Kallir, ML I:53b, Idel., p. 222
8. Asher mi yaaseh, ML I:75a, Idel., p. 222
9. Yedaam k'ro korbenothaw bemispar; wethitav laadonoy mishor par -- Melech amon, by Simon b. Abun, ML I:62b; Idel., p. 222

sacrifice;[1] and received as incense;[2] and moved by our supplications -- may they be acceptable as offerings of lambs and bulls, do Thou forgive our sins.[3]

Do Thou show mercy unto us, for the world cannot exist upon justice alone.[4] We have no merit of our own. Even if now we had a priest worthy to pray for us, what good would it accomplish? There is no virtue in us. Once -- alas, no longer, we were able to propitiate God with sacrifice. All we can do is take comfort in the assurance that Israel is not widowed from his God and trust in the divine grace.[5]

Yet, even though we be wanting in righteousness, the virtue of others may intercede for us: The blood of Abraham's circumcision is viewed each year by God as the blood of bulls; it atones for Israel as if they were upright.[6] The merit of Sarah who conceived on Rosh Hashanah and her descendants ought help us[7] and that acquired by Isaac, the original New Year sacrifice.[8] The covenant with our ancestors let God remember, even though we have broken it,[9] and let the destruction of the Temple give merit to the

1. Tamim paalecha, Simon b. Abun, ML I:68a; Idel., p. 222
2. Yarethi biftzothi, Yekuthiel b. Moshe, Speyer, 11th cent., ML I:19a; Idel., p. 218; also Ath hil yom pekudah, Kallir, ML I:19a, Idel., p. 218 speaks of prayer accompanied by fasting and repentance
3. Eder wehod, ML I:69b
4. Tefen bemachon, Kallir, ML I:41b; Idel., 219
5. Efhad bemaasai, Mahzor for Rosh Hashanah, published by Frank, New York, 1853, p. 201; not in ML or Idel.
6. Asher mi yaaseh
7. Ath hil yom pekudah
8. Uv'chen waadonoy pakad eth sarah
9. Tefen bemachon

twelve tribes that they be not destroyed.[1]

Let God hasten our deliverance, and thereby increase His prestige.[2] This day remember the Temple; rebuild it that there the sound of the Shofar may once more be heard,[3] and speedily restore us[4] that we may soon rejoice in the Sanctuary. The time has come for the rebuilding. Restore Thy house, and all nature will praise Thee.[5]

B. The Day of Atonement:

1. In the fourth Benediction of the Amidah there is included the prayer Mehal laawonothenu.[6] According to Rashi this paragraph was one of the Benedictions which the High Priest used to recite in the Temple for forgiveness.[7]

2. The alphabetical acrostic al het[8] in the Confessional of each service dates at least in part to Temple days or at the latest was compiled shortly after the Destruction.[9] The eight lines following, which begin weal hatsim ask that all sins be forgiven, and specifically, those for which a burnt offering atones, and those for which a guilt offering is necessary, and the like. The passage concludes with a declaration that only God pardons and forgives sin.[10]

1. Zecher tehillath kol maas
2. Ahallelah elohai, Yose b. Yose, Ibid., p. 221, not in ML, Frank p. 189
3. Essa dei
4. Pelech amon
5. Eder wahod
6. ML I:100b and in all the five services
7. Yoma 68b; Idel., p. 228
8. ML I:109b
9. Abrahams, p. cci
10. Idel., p. 229

3. The reading from the Torah is taken from Lev. XVI:1-34, an account of the service of the high priest. From the second scroll Numbers XXIX:7-11 is read, giving the details of the sacrifices for the day. The Haftarah[1] contrasts sharply with this; it stresses spiritual repentance instead of sacrifice.

4. As usual, the Musaf contains the Umipene hatoenu, mentioning the offerings that are to be brought on the Day of Atonement together with a prayer for restoration. In the repetition of the Amidah, the main feature is the Avodah, the Service par excellence, which describes the service which used to be rendered by the High Priest in the Temple on Yom Kippur. Since on the Day of Atonement the important ceremonies, such as the offering of sacrifices, prayers, confessions, and the reading of Scripture were performed by the High Priest, the Avodah became an obligatory part of the precentor's Amidah of the Musaf beginning with Talmudic times. Mishnah Yoma was used as a text, with those parts that had no direct bearing upon the service omitted.[2] The passages taken from the Mishnah and still retained in all the Avodah's are Yoma 3:8 and the first sentence of 9; 4:1-2; 5:1,3-4; 6:2, and a summary of 3-7; 7:1 and part of 3.

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1. IsaiahLXVII:14 - LXVIII:14
2. Idel., p. 223

The Sephardic ritual uses the Avodah Attah Konanta, attributed to Jose b. Jose.[1] The language is simple, without rhyme, and proceeds in an alphabetical acrostic. The poem begins with a survey of Biblical history to the time of Aaron, the first High Priest; then a detailed description of the High Priest's service is given, following Mishnah Yoma. At the end, a short prayer is included, which the High Priest used to recite when he completed the service. A prayer in alphabetic acrostic follows, petitioning for the prosperity of the people, and the Avodah closes with a glorification of the High Priest, Yechol hi nimtah.[2] This is followed by a series of lamentations, which will be considered together with the poetical insertions in the service.

In the Ashkenazic ritual the Avodah is amaitz koah, by Meshullam b. Kalonymos.[3] It is an alphabetical acrostic without rhyme, written with five words to the line, in style and language more intricate than its Sephardic counterpart, though it covers the same material. Lamentations follow, similar in style to the Sephardic ritual, and a selection of alphabetical poems, preceded by ashre ayin,[4] which expresses deeply felt sorrow over the loss of the Temple and the Exile, and ending with the hope of the restoration of the Temple

1. Idel., p. 241
2. ML I:184
3. ML I:175a
4. ML I:184a

and the Exile, ~~and ending with the hope of the restoration of the Temple~~ and the return to Zion. These will also be included in the summary of ideas on sacrifice in the poetical insertions.

5. The Neilah service, as pointed out in Chapter II, is patterned after a service in the Temple at the time of the closing of the gate: when the priests pronounced their Benediction, not only on the Day of Atonement, but also on public fasts and in the prayers in connection with the maamadoth.[1] The blowing of the Shofar at the close of the service may follow the custom of announcing the termination of the Sabbath with a blast of the Shofar in Temple times.[2]

6. The poetical and supplicatory insertions:

The glories of the past are lovingly and mournfully recalled, especially in the several Avodahs, where the order of the service in the Temple is rehearsed in minute detail, and the story is told of how the high priest atoned first for himself and then for the whole house of Israel with sacrifice and prayer. Ah, how radiant was his visage when he went forth from the Holy of Holies unharmed![3] Happy the eye that saw it all, but to hear of it afflicts our soul.[4] When Jerusalem stood, no one of its inhabitants bore the stain of guilt so much as over night, for the continual offering

1. Abrahams p. ccii
2. cf. Mishnah Sukkah, V:5; Abrahams cciii
3. Keohel hanimtah, ML I:184b, Idel., p. 244
4. Ashre ayin, ML I:184a, Idel., 244

made atonement for him, and now....[1] The recollection brings tears to our eyes,[2] for the Temple has been destroyed because of our sins and we have been exiled. Our transgressions are numerous as those of Sodom;[3] we are thoroughly guilty.[4] All our glory has perished; all those who sacrificed to God have disappeared;[5] the iniquities of our fathers, as well as our own have brought upon us this unhappy fate.[6] The majesty of the service, when everyone stood in his appointed place in the Temple as the high priest officiated -- this is no more.[7] How magnificent were his vestments -- all the varied parts of his raiment![8] But now the sacrifices are no more;[9] we have no guide, as in the days of old, no high priest to officiate, nor any altar on which to offer a burnt offering.[10] No, not a single sacrifice can we bring!,[11] of all the various types that once existed. Our guilt is very great; how can we atone when the Temple is destroyed and we cannot bring our offerings?[12] How can we appear before God? There is no fit priest among us. "We cannot supplicate Thee to quiet Thy wrath (Haloth panecha lo nuchal lehashib haronecha)."

1. Ariel bihyotho, Frank Mahzor, p. 305 f
2. Shofet kol haarets, Frank Mahzor, p. 177, Idel., p. 241, by Solomon Ibn Gabirol or Abun
3. Al ylmat, Frank, p. 309
4. Gadol awoni, Gershom b. Juda, Frank, p. 311, Idel., p. 245
5. Ech essa rosh, Simor b. Abun, Frank, p. 293, Idel., p. 248
6. Aval awonoth avothenu, Frank, p. 284, not in Idel.
7. Achazrah pene, Eliezar b. Nathan (Rabbu:), Frank, p. 297, Idel., p. 245
8. Aval anahnu
9. Achazrah pene
10. Aval awonoth avothenu
11. En lanu lo ishim, Frank, p. 284
12. Aval anahnu, Frank, p. 296, not in Idel.

If there is no atonement possible, how are we to achieve salvation? All we can do is to fast and supplicate Thee.[1]

How then have we been preserved? Certainly by God's grace, for He does not deal with us according to our sins;[2] He is merciful and gracious, and forgiving.[3] The Torah, too, has sustained us,[4] and the merit of the Fathers has worked to our benefit, for since the Temple was destroyed, we have nothing else upon which to rely.[5] And the Day of Atonement itself has atoned for our sins, even without sacrifice; it has been appointed as a day of pardon, to instruct Israel that true repentance atones for sin as the daily offering.[6] All the day has been ordained for atonement, and likewise the offerings. In turn Israel has prepared the prayer services, five in number to correspond with the services of the Temple.[7] The Day has been chosen by God to replace the sacrifices which once atoned for the people.[8]

There are other substitutes for the sacrifices we would bring. There is fasting;[9] penitence, charity and prayer avert the evil decree.[10] Especially let our prayers replace

1. Ofsu ishim, Frank, p. 298, not in Idel
2. Lo omer amarta, ML I:148b, Idel., 240; also attah hivdalta, ML I:205b
3. Afas meziah, Frank, p. 300, Idel., p. 245 by Simon b. Abun; Shoshan Emek ayumah, Kallir, Idel., p. 242, ML I:166a
4. Afas meziah
5. Shoshan emek ayumah
6. Othecha edrosh, Simon b. Isaac b. Abun, ML I:106b; Idel, p. 237
7. Mi yethanneh tokef, Meshullam b. Kalonymos, ML I:143a, Idel., p. 240.
8. Ahadesh yom zeh, Meshullam, ML I:134a, Idel., 239
9. Afsu ishim
10. Unethanneh tokei, see in Rosh Hashanah

the sacrifices,[1] and the form of our words be accounted as an offering, the beginning of our prayers as the meal offering,[2] and acceptable as it was in the beautiful Temple.[3] Let its five services, arranged by Israel to correspond to those of the Temple, bring us atonement.[4] May each of us be accounted as the High Priest that we may by prayer overcome Satan[5] who shall as well be confounded by the recitation of the offerings appointed for this day.[6] May the recital of our sins and the rehearsal of the sacrificial offerings bring about our forgiveness.[7]

But in truth forgiveness depends upon God's grace. May he forgive us in his mercy, though we have no merit,[8] because we are His people,[9] even at the time of the morning Tamid[10] though we still owe him sacrifices.[11] Out of pity at the Destruction blot out our transgressions.[12]

Speedily may God restore the Temple; hastily reopen its doors to the faithful[13] in His mercy,[14] for we long so for

1. Othecha edrosh
2. Emecha nasathi, by Meshullam b. Kalonymos, ML I:132a, Idel, p. 239, also Ihadta yom zeh
3. Moreh hataim, by Meshullam b. Kalonymos, ML:I:134b, Idel., p. 239
4. Mi yetharneh tokef
5. Nehashev ketzag b'ithon, ML I:187b
6. Essa dei
7. Aval awonoth avothenu
8. Avinu malkenu, ascribed to R. Akiba, Idel., p. 49, ML: I:111a
9. Afsu ishim
10. Hayom yikkathev, Joseph b. Stan Abitur, 10th cent., ML I:136b; Idel., p. 239
11. Al het, Idel., p. 229; ML I:101a
12. Ase lemaan shemecha, ML I:101b; Idel., p. 235
13. Shaare armon, also adonai rabbath tzarruni
14. Az lifenoth erev, Frank, p. 400; not in ML or Idel.

it[1] and for the restoration of Jerusalem.[2] Let this be done that there the priests may sacrifice[3] and do Thou rejoice in the service they offer.[4] And assuredly He will restore His Temple for those who magnify Him, that they may have the privilege of sacrificing[5] and again, he will do so in order to vindicate his strength and name, when he turns the tranquility and joy of them that spoil Israel into mourning.[6]

1. Mi yethannah tokef
2. Uv'chen ten kavod, wethimloch, ach athim
3. Noreh hatain
4. Ommar anahnu, Gerson b. Juda, Frank, p. 301, Idel., p. 245
5. Otheeba edrosh
6. Uvchol tokef, ML I:150a

CHAPTER VI

THE CONCEPT OF SACRIFICE IN THE REFORM LITURGIES

We have dealt in the preceding chapters with the role played by sacrifice in the life of the people of Israel before the fall of the Temple, and the various substitutes that were proposed for it after the cult was no more. We have noted the many sacrificial elements in the Orthodox liturgy for the various occasions of the year. It now remains to consider the attitude of Reform Judaism to the restoration of the cult and to the idea of sacrifice in general.

Traditional Judaism, insofar as it is today vocal upon the subject of sacrifice, maintains that with the expected restoration of Israel to Palestine and the rebuilding of the Temple the Sacrificial service will assuredly be resumed, as in Malachi 3:4. Friedlander writes explicitly: "If the law concerning offerings were only intended for a certain age, such limitation would have been indicated in the Law. In the absence of such indication we have no right to criticise the Word of God, and to think that we are too advanced in culture to obey the Divine commands... What human being can claim a right to abolish laws given by the Almighty? Whether any of the laws of the Torah will ever be abrogated, we do not know; but we are sure that, in case of such

abrogation taking place, it will be done by a revelation as convincing as that on Mt. Sinai."[1]

Yet, Friedlander cautions, the revival of the Sacrificial service must be sanctioned by the divine voice of a prophet. The mere acquisition of the Temple mount or of all Palestine by Jews through war, politics, or purchase, would not justify the revival of the cult. Only the rebuilding of the Temple by Divine command and intervention can be followed by the restoration of sacrifice. "And however contrary the slaughter of animals, the sprinkling of their blood, and the burning of their flesh be to our taste, we ought to look forward with eagerness and pleasure for the revival of the full Temple Service as an event that will enable us to do the Will of the Almighty revealed in the Torah."[2]

Thus, traditional Judaism holds that those laws whose fulfillment is dependent upon residence in Palestine are suspended for a time owing to the dispersion; they are not abrogated; in the future they will be again binding. In that dispersion among the nations the Jews are in a state of exile; their sufferings are a punishment for the sins committed by the fathers while living in Palestine; and when their expiation will have been completed, the restoration will take place. With this doctrine Reform Judaism is at variance, contending that Israel's career in Palestine was but a preparation for his work throughout the world, that his dispersion

1. M. Friedlander, The Jewish Religion, London, 1913, p. 417f; see also p. 162
2. Ibid.

is for the service of mankind. "Palestine is a precious memory of the past, but not a hope for the future."[1] Considering themselves a religious community and not a nation, Reform Jews do not look forward to a restoration of a state in Palestine, nor to the revival of any part of the Temple cult.

These ideas have been incorporated into the various liturgies of the Reform movement. Beginning with the Hamburg prayer book edited by Isaac Frankel and Meyer Bresselau in 1819, in which all references to sacrifice were either omitted or changed to describe conditions of the past alone without implying any hope of restoring the sacrificial cult in the future,[2] the Gebetbuch fuer judische Reform gemeinden (Berlin, 1851), the Seder Haavodah of Leopold Stein (Frankfort A.M., 1878-82), the ritual edited by Abraham Geiger (1854, revised 1870) the Minhag America (Isaac M. Wise, 1854), and the various editions of the Union Prayer Book, to mention a number of outstanding prayerbooks compiled for Reform congregations, all have omitted the numerous traditional references to the sacrificial cult with the exception of the Avodah for the Day of Atonement.[3] But though the restoration of the sacrifices is no longer a part of the theology of Reform Judaism, yet there is a definite concept of sacrifice to be found in its liturgy, a concept appealing to modern thought.

This concept of sacrifice will be studied in four representative prayer books, Wise's Minhag America, Einhorn's Olath Tamid,

1. Philipson, David, The Reform Movement in Judaism, New York, 1931, p. 5
2. Ibid., p. 270
3. Ibid., pp. 271-278

Mattuck's Liberal Jewish Prayer Book, and the three editions of the Union Prayer Book (1895, 1924, 1940). They will be compared with the traditional liturgy principally in four respects: the Korbanoth, the seventeenth Benediction of the Amidah, the Musaf for Sabbath and Festivals and the Avodah for the Day of Atonement.

The Minhag America[1] omits the Korbanoth entirely. There is no mention of sacrifice in Benediction XVII of the Amidah; it is a supplication for the favorable acceptance of our prayers, and closes on a universalistic note "Let all kingdoms on earth behold Thy light, Thy truth, and may all mankind be united to worship Thee. Praised be Thou, O God, to whom alone we render worship in veneration."[2] The Hebrew text corresponds with the English version.

In the Sabbath Musaf, the intermediate benediction is composed of yismechu, and the Fourth Commandment of the Decalogue.[3] No sacrificial elements are included. The Musaf for the Festivals begins in the intermediate benediction with atta behartanu,[4] which is changed to present the idea of Israel's mission. We have been chosen "to promulgate among the nations Thy great and holy name."[5] The prayer Umipene hataenu is omitted; in its stead are recited passages from the Bible dealing with each Festival, though of course not those the traditional sections ordaining the sacrifices. In the melech rahamon the concept of the zechuth aboth is omitted,

1. Cincinnati, 1866-1872
2. Daily Services, p. 49
3. Deut. 5:12-15
4. Daily prayers, p. 216
5. P. 217

and likewise the hope of restoration. Instead Isaiah 2:2-3 and 40:3-5 are quoted.

The Avodah for the Day of Atonement begins with the Alenu; there follows a Reshuth by Solomon ibn Gabirol, Aromimecha hizki.[1] This expresses the hope that though the sacrificial rites have ceased, God will protect and deal favorably with His people; that He will accept prayer in place of burnt offerings. The first two lines of amitz koah are used as the superscription of a new Avodah. The history of the world is recounted to the revelation at Sinai. The purpose of the ancient sacrifices was to teach the people not to bring offerings to demons and "phantasms" (Heb. seirim). The prayer of the high priest for the house of Israel is given together with the response of the congregation, according to Mishnah Yoma, followed by the prayer for a good year, shenath otzarecha, and the poem ashre ayin. Then there follows Kil eleh biheyoth hahechal which with a succession of Biblical verses demonstrates that God desires nothing other than a contrite heart and a repentant soul, the subduing of evil desires. "Repentance and remorse are the sacrifices which are most acceptable on Thine altar."[2]

The Einhorn Prayer Book[3] takes for its title Numbers 28:6, "A continual burnt-offering (Olath Tamid), as ordained on Mt. Sinai for a sweet savor, a sacrifice by fire to the Lord," which of course exemplifies the doctrine that prayer is the sacrifice

1. Service for Day of Atonement, p. 227
2. P. 247
3. New York, 1872

asked by God. There are no Korbanoth in this liturgy; in Benediction XVII of the Amida the sacrificial references are deleted. The Musaf service is omitted. A special prayer for Sabbath Shekalim[1] develops the thought that Israel may well take pride for the pious willingness with which he offered the half shekel in Temple days. But "the offering during the numberless years of crushing oppression was not half-a-shekel; it consisted in the unwearied endurance of the most cruel blasting of life, in willingly sacrificing fortune and blood for the maintenance of Thy Law."

Upon Einhorn's Avodah for the Day of Atonement,[2] is based that in the various editions of the Union Prayer Book, in connection with which it will be discussed.

Like Einhorn, the first edition of the Union Prayer Book omits the Korbanoth and changes the text of the Birkath Haavodah so as to avoid any mention of the sacrificial cult. There is no Musaf service. A prayer for the anniversary of the destruction of Jerusalem[3] speaks of our ancestors' conception of the Destruction and the Exile as punishment for their sins, yet we believe rather that Israel has been chosen as the suffering servant of God and charged to bring light to the nations. "The One Temple in Jerusalem sank, but thousands of the sanctuaries of the God who once hallowed it, rose in its stead all over the globe where the same God was worshipped and the same truth proclaimed. Thus has the Lord

1. P. 24 f
2. Pp. 254-268
3. Vol. I, pp. 283 f

comforted Israel, and turned his sackcloth into garments of joy."[1]

The second edition omits this prayer, and so, too, does the third, which, however, contains a reminiscence of the Korbanoth in the morning service for Yom Kippur; namely, the Hymn of Unity, the theme of which is that God desires not sacrifice -- which even in infinite quantities could not repay Him for His mercies. Rather does he desire humility and the service of the heart.[2]

The Avodah of the Union Prayer Book, which is read in the Afternoon Service, is patterned after that in Einhorn. For its interpretation I have used the text found in the first edition, noting later the changes made by subsequent editors.

The Avodah begins with a reading which sets forth the reasons for the inclusion of this section in the service.[3] God, who redeems man from sin, has given of His spirit to man that he may pattern his life after the Divine. Israel in particular, has been chosen by God to carry the knowledge of Him and His love to the nations. He revealed Himself first to Israel; to His shrine in Jerusalem our people brought their offerings. From the Temple spiritual benefits have come to all men. Even today, centuries after its cult came to an end, we recall it with reverence, remembering that God's law has come out of Zion unto the world.[4]

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1. Ibid.
2. Third ed., Vol. II, p. 177
3. Pp. 228 ff
4. Einhorn in addition stresses the fact that Israel was the only people to serve God in the only sanctuary dedicated to the All-One, p. 264

Since then we have undergone numberless trials, and have grown greatly in spiritual perception. Yet the faith of our fathers is still ours, and ours the same inspiration. We still offer on this day the sacrifice of atonement and reconciliation. We still proclaim the truths which are our heritage, for God's providence has sustained us amid our struggles in behalf of His law. May the memory of the past keep us faithful to ourselves and our mission.

We recall the solemn ceremonies of the Temple, the service of the high priest. As he entered the sanctuary, he prayed first for forgiveness for himself and his household, feeling himself prone, as are all men, to human failings. From his example may Israel's spiritual leaders learn carefully to guard their own conduct and live lives worthy of their high office. May all Jews, too, reflect credit through their lives and deeds on the name of Israel.

After the prayer of the high priest, which in the translation is rather the second prayer, that for the house of Israel, though the Hebrew text is that of the high priest for his own forgiveness, the outline of the service continues. The priest then offered a sacrifice of atonement in behalf of the congregation of Israel, before entering the holy of holies where he made expiation for the sins of the people. So may all Israel be reconciled this day to God, those who are estranged and those whose fervor has cooled, that Israel may once again be united in His service.

The high priest's prayer for Israel then follows, with

the doxology recited by the kneeling throngs. Israel, the Avodah continues, is still imbued with the prophetic spirit that makes it a servant to all humanity. We still await the universal acceptance of the reign of God.[1] Israel prays that all men may walk in God's light and recognize him, putting away their falsehood and error. His Kingdom will be established on earth when war and strife shall cease; then God's spirit will rest upon all nations.

Psalm 51 then is read, introducing a paragraph emphasizing the sacrifices of love and devotion and social justice as those acceptable to God. Though our fathers looked back with longing upon the rites in the Temple observed on this day, and praised them in glorious song, and in their grief felt that because of their sins, God's appointed worship was no more, we have learned through God's grace that true atonement takes place in the heart, and that true repentance needs no altar nor priest. We have learned more: that our dispersion has been a blessing to all mankind. Israel's mission is to witness to the One, true God. We render thanks to God that not as accursed sinners but as teachers of His Law have we wandered through the centuries. Wherever a temple is erected in his honor, we are that much nearer to the "Jerusalem of the future." We look not backward, but forward. Though we cherish the land of our fathers, we do not look for restoration to it, but

1. In the Olath Tamid the observation is made that the position which the priestly tribe of Aaron once held in relation to Israel, all our community now holds, that of being priest to the nations of the world, to mediate atonement for the rest of mankind, which through us will be blessed. (P. 260). This latter concept is not to be found in the Union Prayer Book.

toward a higher goal. "The tender sprout shall grow to a heaven-aspiring tree, a refuge to all the families of the earth... Then shall a sanctuary be reared in which reconciliation and atonement shall be made by the seven-fold brightness of the sun of truth, that first arose on Sinai's mount."[1]

The second and third editions of the Prayer Book precede the Avodah with a confession read in the name of the congregation, acknowledging our disloyalty to God, our indifference to Judaism and our mission, our pride, and unseemly protestations of righteousness. In the second edition the somewhat ambiguous sentence, "O God, may we recognize in the office of the ancient high priest the lesson of our own mission"[2] is omitted; the thought there is rather that from the example of the high priest our teachers should conduct themselves with humility; the concept of Israel's mission is introduced later into the Abodah. Likewise the words, "He offered the sacrifice of atonement in behalf of the whole congregation of Israel,"[3] are not included in the prayer on P. 247 of the later edition, perhaps because of a desire to hasten over certain technical features of his service to others more capable of homiletical exposition for the modern mind.

In the third edition the prayer beginning "Thy ways, O Lord, are higher than our ways," (p. 253 f, 2nd ed.) is not included, because it reechoes in greatest part the thought of the preceding

1. First ed., Vol. II, p. 239
2. First ed., Vol. II, p. 230
3. First ed., p. 231

section. Then, too, the doctrine that the destruction of the Temple and Israel's expulsion from his home to become a wanderer in foreign lands was a sign of blessed privilege is omitted -- this may have seemed untimely in the bitter days of persecution suffered by so many of our people at the time of the compiliation of this prayer book.

At the end of the Abodah, the new prayer book adds a silent meditation, giving thanks for the ideals revealed to Israel, for their steadfastness in cleaving to His law, for their unwavering hope in a better future. May we emulate them, and "let the fire of sacrificial service burn continually upon the altar of our hearts, and let zeal for brotherhood and peace flare within our souls."[1] The Abodah closes with the hymn, "All the world shall come to serve Thee," a translation of Weyee thayu by I. Zangwill.

The newly revised Prayer Book also introduced the thought[2] that when in the spirit of love we are moved to sacrifice of ourselves, we at the same time, though even unknowingly, acknowledge God's goodness.

The Liberal Jewish Prayer Book, like the others we have surveyed, does not include the Korbanoth, and omits the Musaf except on Yom Kippur. Benediction XVII of the Amida is nowhere to be found. God desires love and not sacrifice (I:176) and the service of a cheerful and grateful spirit (I:112); the offering of gratitude (I:134). A prayer for Tabernacles indicates that the people anciently went up to the Temple to offer thanks; they were

1. P. 274, 3rd ed.
2. P. 39

also commanded to share the harvest "in diverse ways" with others (III:366). Here a studied attempt is made to avoid the idea of sacrifice. In the service for the last day of Tabernacles, the joy felt during the ceremony of the Water Libation in the Temple is described but this day has come to hold other and wider significance for the Jew, the rejoicing in the Law. (III.231)

The Abodah[1] is entitled The Day of Atonement in History. Though modeled after that in the Union Prayer Book, it is far more prosaic. One feels that he is reading a collection of essays rather than liturgy.

Pp. 207-231

CONCLUSION

Throughout the pages of this study we have seen repeated evidence of the desire on the part of the Jewish people to approach God through the agency of sacrifice. When, during the Babylonian Exile and again after the Destruction of the Second Temple, it became impossible to bring offerings to the altar, the majority of Jews patiently waited for the restoration of the national shrine and of the sacrificial cult. And this patient waiting has persisted up to very recent times. Now, Moore and others have pointed out that such an attitude arose naturally from a desire to fulfill all the precepts of the Torah, which as revealed legislation could not be abrogated, except by a revelation equally as convincing as the original on Mt. Sinai. If, because of the force of circumstances, Israel is restricted from observing certain of the mandates of the Law, then there is nothing to do but to accept the inevitable. Since sacrifice has become impossible -- temporarily impossible -- then substitutes have been provided; but in traditional theology, they remain only substitutes, worthy in themselves and good, but secondary to the cultus itself. God has commanded sacrifice in His Temple, and that Israel would bring, and will bring in His own good time.

There is here a recognition of the profound spiritual and

psychological values inherent in the act of sacrifice. Ethically, to be sure, sacrifice has undergone a profound transformation in the history of Judaism. From what may originally have been an offering to the numinous, a symbolic recognition of power and might, an amoral act, it took on moral qualities as the numinous became fused with the ethical. Sacrifice became a means of atonement for wrong. As such it tended to become mechanical, even magical in its effect; it stimulated a reaction that was unavoidable. The prophets dedicated themselves to the task of teaching that the do ut des concept of religion was inadequate and degrading to the spirit of man. They opposed sacrifice on that low level; they spiritualized it; they raised it to highest ethical levels. Humility, contrition, right doing were the offerings most meet for God's altar. And the Priestly Code took advantage of much of their teaching, combining it with the old practices, synthesizing the two and thereby ennobling the religion of the people.

One cannot help thinking that modern man has not progressed beyond the Priestly Code and indeed perhaps retrogressed in his concept of sacrifice in religion. Of course, the sacrifice of animals is repugnant to our minds, or rather to our more refined sensibilities. We look with far less abhorrence upon the sacrifice of millions of human beings upon the altar of Molech. Societies for the prevention of cruelty to human beings do not flourish in the modern world as their ubiquitous counterparts for animals. Modern religion has tended to ignore the value of sacrifice by the individual. Christianity, on the one hand, repeatedly emphasizes the passive sacrifice of

the Christ. He died as an atonement for the sins of humanity. This calls for a minimum of effort on the part of the Christian. His work has been done for him, if he will but believe, accept, and reap his spiritual reward. Judaism has developed, on the other hand, and stressed more and more in recent years, the idea of its mission. Despite the protestations on the part of those who feel that our highest goal in life is conformity in a national way, and our aim is to imitate other small nations and develop our "culture" for our own benefit and happiness alone, the idea is more valid today than ever before. But with it there ought be stressed the idea of sacrifice. The better world cannot be achieved by wishful thinking or visionary dreaming. It can perhaps be hastened by the offering of oneself and one's substance "upon the altar of God and of righteousness."

Through the ages, Cohon points out, sacrifice has figured as the supreme symbol of religious idealism.[1] By a play upon Lev. VI:2, zoth torath ha'olah hi ha'olah, the Rabbis derive the great truth: "This is the law of the burnt offering; it leads upward."[2] Only sacrifice can truly lift man to spiritual heights. As Rudolf Eucken writes, "Religion rightly understood is, in its direct affirmation of life, very far removed from all eudaemonism, and, indeed, frees itself fundamentally from the narrowness of such an easy-going affirmation. Inseparable from religion is the idea of sacrifice -- the idea not of a sacrifice happening but once, but a continuous

1. Religion as a Way of Living, p. 303
2. Tanhuma ad, loc, and Yalkut Shimeoni, Leviticus, #480, quoted by Cohon, ibid.

sacrifice."[1] The man who searches after closer communion with God must be willing to sacrifice freely his vices, cynicism, arrogance, pride, vulgarity, arrogance; his self-indulgence, passion for acquisition, and egotism.

The ideal of sacrifice helps man to oppose not only the evils of the world outside, but also those that proceed from him. The struggle against the self is productive of great spiritual benefit. "If it entails heavy sacrifices, it also shapes life into a heroic deed, and the constant struggle becomes an incessant conquest. In the great works of music we often observe the fundamental theme develop and maintain itself through a seeming chaos of tone and conflicting discords, and also, in the very conquest the conflict does not altogether vanish, but sounds on and on, yet now as something overcome, until at last the harmony finally triumphs."[2]

Thus, sacrifice enables man to attain to the treasures of the spirit. And self sacrifice and self realization represent the two phases of the religious life. When Alexander the Great asked the sages of the south: "What shall man do that he may live?" they replied, "Let him mortify himself." When he asked again, "What shall he do that he may die?" the answer came, "Let him seek his own preservation."[3] "This paradox expresses a truth which in various forms, most great spirits of humanity have continually stressed.

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1. The Truth of Religion, pp. 488 f
2. Ibid.
3. Tamid 31a

In the alphabet of religion, selfishness spells spiritual death; sacrifice, life eternal. The religious man is expected to offer himself upon the altar of his faith, to exemplify through his deeds the life he professes."[1] He must not only surrender his self-centeredness, but above all dedicate his strength and substance to the service of ideal ends, the building of God's kingdom upon earth. Like that upon the altar of old, the fire upon the altar within his heart never dies; rather does it flourish as it consumes the sin and guilt offerings for the transgressions of the day, the lapses from self restraint; the thank offerings for life's bounties, and the perpetual offerings of devotion to the work of God, all wreathing themselves into the reah nihoah, the sweet fragrance that brings joy to God and man.

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[1] Cohon, ibid., pp. 304 f

APPENDIX

It remains here to indicate certain reminiscences of the sacrificial cult in private devotions.

1. The Maamadoth: The origin of the Maamadoth has been explained in Chapter I; the custom of reading a passage from Genesis I was extended after the Destruction to the reading of portions from Mishnah and Talmud dealing with the sacrifices; and this was accounted, as we have seen, as if the actual sacrifices had been brought. Aggadic selections and meditations are also included. This institution is said to uphold the world.[1] A number of selections were added through Kabbalistic influence, and the Maamadoth came to close with two petitions.[2]

2. Prayer at Midnight: In accordance with Psalm 119:62, it became customary to rise at midnight for prayer and meditation. The supplications for this occasion have dealt since the tenth century with the destruction of the Temple.[3] Likkute Tzevi[4] gives an elaborate ritual, including sections of the Tahanun, Widdui, Kinoth, and selections from the Mishnah dealing with the sacrifices.

3. The Sefer Avodah Tamah, given in the Siddur Keneseth Hagedolah, describes all the sacrifices appointed for each day in the

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1. Ta'anith 27b
2. Idel., p. 258; a complete text of the Maamadoth is to be found in Baer, pp. 495 to 546.
3. Idel., p. 259
4. Sulzbach, 1796

Temple. The rubric reads that this section should be recited each day in order to fulfill the verse, "We will render for bullocks the words of our lips."[1]

4. In the Grace after Meals, a prayer for the Temple is inserted, following the prescription in Ber. 49a.

5. The Prayer of Thanksgiving after childbirth[2] is based upon the requirement of the Law that the mother should offer a sacrifice after the birth of her child.[3]

6. Circumcision: In the grace following the Milah ceremony, a poem by Abraham b. Isaac Hacohen is inserted, praying that the new member of the covenant may be found worthy to appear three times each year at the Temple, and closing with a plea for the coming of the Kohen Tzedek.[4]

7. Redemption of the first born. According to Exodus XIII:2, the firstborn son was to be sacrificed to the Lord, but the child was to be redeemed on the payment of five shekels to the priest.[5] The ceremonies as observed today are Gaonic in age.[6]

8. Wedding service. The happiness of the bridal couple is joined in the latter benedictions of the wedding service to the joy of Jerusalem and the rebuilding of the Temple. The breaking of a glass by the bridegroom may be done out of mourning for the Destruction.[7]

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1. Hosea 14:3; MG, p. 698b
2. Singer, P.B., p. 312
3. Lev. XII:6-8, Abrahams, Notes, p. ccxiii
4. Singer, p. 307; Idel., p. 167
5. Num. XVIII:16
6. Abrahams, p. ccxii; text, Singer, p. 308 f
7. Abrahams, p. ccxvii; Singer, p. 299 f

9. The Confession on the death bed[1] contains the supplication that death may atone completely for the sins committed during life. Taken from the Mishnah,[2] this petition may have been in use even during the days of the sacrificial rites of atonement.

10. The Burial Kaddish[3] connects the idea of ressurrection with that of the approaching restoration of the Temple and its worship, "two ideas very often connected on the basis of Isaiah 66:13. 'As one whom his mother comforteth, so will I comfort you, and in Jerusalem shall ye be comforted.' The same combination of individual with communal hopes and experiences may be noted in the Marriage service.[4]"

The Rosh Hodesh Musaf (for weekdays and the Hallel, though not for private devotion,) may also be mentioned here.

1. The Musaf for New Moon: Originally, according to Kohler, the Sabbath played an inferior role to the New Moon, being celebrated on the 7th, the 14th, the 21st and the 28th of the month, while the 29th and 30th days formed the New Moon festival, as may be learned from 1 Samuel XX: 5, 18, 27. The 30th was counted either as the last day of the old month or the first of the new, depending upon the appearance of the new moon. After the Exile, with the establishment of the Babylonian week of seven days, the Sabbath becoming the closing day of the week

1. Singer, P.B., p. 317
2. Sanhedrin 6:2
3. Singer, P.B., p. 317
4. Abrahams, p. cxxx

independently of the four lunar phases, the New Moon fell into abeyance, retaining only the character of a sacrificial day in the Temple, without holiness.[1]

The Musaf opens Rashe Hodshechem[2] with the thought that God assigned the New Moon as a period of atonement. The first part of the prayer refers to the goat offered in the Temple as an atonement;[3] the text, Lev. X:17, is interpreted as referring to the New Moon. The second part, derived from the Festival Musaf, laments the destruction of the Temple, and expresses the hope for its rebuilding and the restitution of the sacrifices.[4]

2. The Ha'lel: While special Psalms were chanted on every week day by the Levites,[5] "it was above all the Hallel Psalms that gave solemnity to the festal days, whether the Biblical or the post-biblical ones,[6] or some day of rejoicing over the fertilizing rain after a season of drought.[7]" The Hallel Psalms (CXIII-CXVIII) were brought over into the liturgy of the synagogue where they are recited in full on those holidays on which no work is permitted and on which separate sacrifices were offered. No Hallel is recited on the New Year and the Day of Atonement, for these days are intended for the serious contemplation of life instead of joy. (Kohler, ibid., p. 90; Idelsohn, ibid., p. 158).

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1. Kohler, Origins, p. 81
2. Singer, P. B., p. 225
3. Num. XXVIII:15; of Shebuoth I:4, 9b
4. Abrahams, Notes, p. clxxxviii; Idelsohn, Liturgy, p. 159
5. Tamid VII:4
6. Sukkah IV:8; Shab. 91b
7. Taan. III:9

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