THEOLOGICAL MOTIFS
IN THE EVOLUTION OF THE
JEWISH NEW YEAR FESTIVAL

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Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for Ordination

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Cincinnati, Ohio

June, 1981

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

To Dr. Jakob J. Petuchowski, for his learning and teaching, advice, piety, and humor:

"Why is a scholar like a nut? Even as a nut has four layers, the scholar has four virtues: wisdom, understanding, knowledge, and common sense."

Eliyahu Rabbah 18

To my parents, Ralph and Muriel, for their patience, support, and innumerable kindnesses:

"Honor your father and your mother, even as you honor God; for all three were partners in your creation."

Book of Splendor 3: 93 a

To my adorable helpmeet, Nancy, for her assistance, editing, and typing, enthusiasm, affection, and love:

"I will betroth you to me forever; I will betroth you to me in righteousness, and in justice, and in lovingkindness, and in compassion; and I will betroth you to me in faithfulness; and you shall know the Lord."

Hosea 2: 21-22

DIGEST

This thesis seeks to ascertain the theological motifs in the rabbinic evolution of the Jewish New Year Festival. The holy day which today is known as Rosh Hashanah was not observed in biblical times. Yet there are rudimentary elements present in the Bible which relate to the present day celebration of the New Year. These include the following: the theme of God's judgment over His creatures and the world He created; the acclamation of God as the divine Ruler; the use of the shofar or ram's horn; and the liturgical component of the Malkhuyoth, Zikhronoth, and Shofaroth verses, which denote respectively kingship, memory, and shofar.

Chapter One analyzes the "first day of the seventh month" from the biblical record. Chapter Two provides a survey of the relevant parallels to the New Year in the traditions of cultures in the Ancient Near East. Chapter Three begins the process of determining the development of the New Year during the Intertestamental period. Chapters Four and Five investigate the rabbinic interpretations of the New Year with respect to observance, idea-content, halakhic and aggadic understandings. Chapter Six delves into the liturgy of the New Year.

The Jewish New Year Festival, based on the biblical "first day of the seventh month", represents a marvelous evolution of a holy day. New theological meanings relate the biblical text to acute insights into human behavior. Ancient rites have been transformed into practical ceremonies. Historical necessity has dictated changes in the ritual. Notions of creation, revelation, and the ultimate redemption are incorporated on the anniversary of the day of creation, the day on which the shofar at Sinai is heard again; the day which heralds the future messianic era. The motifs of the shofar, of God as King, and of God as Judge, comprehended through the unique organic thought of the Rabbis, are rooted in the Bible. These motifs have grown, developed, and matured until they are firmly expanded in the liturgy of Rosh Hashanah.

GUIDE TO TRANSLITERATION

א - nothing
ב - b
ב - bh
ג - g
ד - d
ה - h
ו - v
ז - z
ח - ḥ
ט - t
י - y
כ - k
כ ך - kh
ל - l
מ ם - m
נ - n
ס - s
ע - '
פ - p
פ ף - ph
צ ץ - tz
ק - q
ר - r
ש - sh
ש - s
ת - t
ת - th

The exception to this are words in common usage, e.g., Shabbat.

CHAPTER I

THE FIRST DAY OF THE SEVENTH MONTH

The holy day which today is known as ראש השנה, Rosh Hashanah, the Jewish New Year, was not observed in biblical times. But there are distinct connections between the "first day of the seventh month" mentioned four times in the Bible and our modern celebration. These include the following: the theme of God's judgment over His creatures and the world He created; the acclamation of God as the divine Ruler; the use of the shofar or ram's horn; and the liturgical component of the Malkhuyoth, Zikhronoth, and Shofaroth verses, which denote respectively kingship, memory, and shofar. These four areas will provide the foci for our understanding of the evolution of the Jewish New Year Festival. Before proceeding to an analysis of these four major points, it is crucial to determine when the New Year occurred.

The Biblical evidence for a new year's day corresponding to the traditional Jewish observance on Tishri 1 is limited. There are four citations which deal specifically with the "first day of the seventh month". One which explicitly mentions 'rosh hashanah' is from Ezekiel 40:1.

בעשרים וחמש שנה לגלותינו בראש השנה בעשור לחדש.

> "In the twenty fifth year of our exile, in the beginning of the year, in the tenth day of the month..."

The mention of '<u>rosh hashanah</u>' is almost universally accepted as meaning 'the beginning of the year' and has no connection with the New Year festival. [1] Snaith, however, relying on the text itself, sets Tishri 10 as the New Year's day.[2] Using convoluted astronomical logic, he views this day as a "relic of the changeover from a twelve lunar month year with occasional intercalary months to some sort of attempt to keep a true solar year."[3] DeVaux maintains that the text means "the beginning of the year": "it is surprising to find so many writers accepting, without the flicker of an eyelid," that Ezekiel 40:1 refers to a "New Year Festival."[4]

The first reference to "first day of the seventh month" appears in Leviticus 23: 23-25.

וידבר ה' אל משה לאמר:
דבר אל בני ישראל לאמר בחדש השביעי באחד לחדש
יהיה לכם שבתון זכרון תרועה מקרא קדש
כל מלאכת עבודה לא תעשו והקרבתם אשה לה'.

> The Lord spoke to Moses, saying: Speak to the Israelite people thus: In the seventh month, on the first day of the month, you shall observe complete rest, a sacred occasion commemorated with loud blasts. You shall not work at your occupations; and you shall bring an offering by fire to the Lord.

חדש השביעי The "seventh month" referred to corresponds to the Babylonian name Tishri. It is of note that in Akkadian and Ugaritic the cognates for Tishri are ta šritu and תשרת respectively, which mean 'beginning'.[5]

שבתון Translated either as 'sabbath observance' or 'day of rest', the word shabbaton denotes a special type of shabbat observance.[6] The technical term carries no implication of solemnity.[7] The only days called shabbaton are Tishri 1 (Lev. 23:24), the first and last days of Sukkoth (Lev. 23:39), the Sabbath (Lev. 23:3), the whole of the Sabbatical year (Lev. 25:4), and the Day of Atonement (Lev. 23:32). Each reference is from the Priestly Code.

זכרון Zikhron is a construct from Zikkaron. Both major lexicons translate this as memorial, a way of remembrance.[8] However, Brichto denies this by asserting that the word did not mean this in Biblical times, although later this became a connotation of the word. It means only 'utterance' or 'marking' of an event. The shade of meaning implied in understanding zikkaron as memory obfuscates the Biblical text.[9] Either way, it is specified in the text as being performed via תרועה.

תרועה Teru'ah occurs often in the Bible and its usage is categorized in the following ways: a shout or blast announcing war, an alarm, or joy.[10] In Leviticus 25:9 the word is used in the construct form with שופר for use on

the day of Atonement in the Jubilee year. It is from this locus classicus that the sound emanating from the shofar is construed as a teru'ah.[11]

שופר The shofar comes from the horn of a cow or ram and is primarily used in the Bible as an instrument announcing war; only later is it used for religious occasions.[12] Gray interprets the biblical use of the shofar in this way:

> Trumpets blown in time of battle keep God in remembrance of Israel, and secure Israel's delivery. For if God 'forgets', Israel suffers defeat. The blast of trumpets on extraordinary public festivals accompanies offerings to secure God's attention.[13]

The shofar is most frequently associated with the verb תקע meaning, in this context, to blow any instrument, or particularly a clarion. It may also mean to clap or thrust.[14]

מקרא קדש Miqra Qodesh is a technical term meaning a religious gathering. It is often used in the Priestly Code to denote a convocation for worship at specified times such as the Sabbath and certain sacred days.[15]

The text ends in verse 25 of Leviticus 23 with the commandment against servile work and the sacrifice of an undescribed offering by fire to the Lord.

According to Martin Noth, the festivals mentioned in the full chapter of Leviticus 23 parallel those in Deuteronomy 16, although the latter is abruptly silent with respect to both the New Year festival and the Day of Atonement. "One can provisionally detect a double rhythm of feasts in the

course of the cultic year."[16] This double dating also occurs in Ezekiel 45:21-25. From these few verses about the "first day of the seventh month" all we can deduce is that there was a proclamation of sorts at an appointed time, a cessation of work, and a fire offering to Yahweh, not explained in detail. Noth is satisfied that the acclamation was marked by the use of the ram's horn. "This may well have originally had an apotropaic significance; later however it may be supposed it came to mean merely the festive introduction to a new period of time."[17] Noth is not certain whether the memorial is to 'remind' Yahweh of his people by the trumpet's sound or whether Israel was to 'remember' her God.[18]

Kaufmann provisionally accepts Noth's view of the New Year. The custom of blowing the trumpets had been sundered from its roots. The religious transformation of the shofar, calling God's attention to man's waiting on His salvation, is remotely connected with a custom of expelling demons. The Psalms suggest that the shofar celebrates God's kingship. "The Israelite trumpet blast celebrated a kingdom which became known to men only through divine self-revelation." Thus the trumpet blast at Mt. Sinai (Exodus 19) heralded the God who revealed Himself before the people Israel.[19]

The second text which mentions the "first day of the seventh month' is found in Numbers 29:1-6.

> In the seventh month on the first day of the month, you shall observe a sacred occasion: you shall not work at your occupations. You shall observe it as a day when the horn is sounded. You shall present a burnt offering of pleasing odor to the Lord: one bull of the herd, one ram, and seven yearling lambs, without blemish. The meal offering with them - choice flour with oil mixed in - shall be: three-tenths of a measure for a bull, two-tenths for a ram, and one-tenth for each of the seven lambs. And there shall be one goat for a sin offering, to make expiation in your behalf - in addition to the burnt offering of the new moon with its meal offering and the regular burnt offering with its meal offering, each with its libation as prescribed, offerings by fire of pleasing odor to the Lord.

Verse one is very similar in content to the previous passage from Leviticus 23. A major change is that instead of a זכרון תרועה 'marking by Teru'ah' we have a יום תרועה, a 'day of Teru'ah'. Rather than, as Noth translates, "a memorial of Teru'ah", we have here a complete day devoted to this function. Although not mentioned here as shabbaton, the day is set aside for special significance as previously noted. It is a migra qodesh, a holy convocation, and the interdiction against work is repeated. In marked contrast to the Leviticus 23:24-5 passage, the emphasis here is on the sacrificial cult. The sacrifices are detailed in category (burnt, meal, drink, and sin), quality, amount, and purpose. Where in Leviticus there was mention of a single 'offering by fire', here we have numerous types of sacrifices with instructions as to their disposition. The sacrifices are to make expiation on the people's behalf before God. This is their stated purpose. Yet the "first day of the

seventh month" is also a New Moon, and it is helpful to see if there are any distinguishing features marking the new moon of the seventh month.

וביום שמחתכם ובמועדיכם ובראשי חדשיכם
ותקעתם בחצצרת על עלתיכם ועל זבחי שלמיכם
והיו לכם לזכרון לפני אלהיכם אני ה׳ אלהיכם.

"And on your joyous occasions, your fixed festivals and new moon days you shall sound the trumpets over your burnt offerings and your sacrifices of well-being. They shall be a reminder of you before your God: I the Lord am your God." (Numbers 10:10) The first day of every month was marked by two occurrences which set that day apart. Trumpets חצצרות were sounded, and sacrifices were offered. Again the word זכרון zikaron is used, and some type of connection is indicated between the people Israel and God.[20] Thus the "first day of the seventh month", which falls on the new moon day, is marked by similar rituals as any of the other new moon days. It may be useful to compare the sacrifices offered on the "first day of the seventh month" with those of the New Moon and also the Day of Atonement. This will help to clarify the distinctions among the three holy days.

New Moon (Numbers 28:11-15)
two young bullocks
one ram
seven unblemished he-lambs (one year old)
3/10 ephah flour-oil mixture per bullock
2/10 ephah flour-oil mixture per ram
several tenths ephah flour-oil mixture per lamb

New Moon (con't)
½ hin wine per bullock
¼ hin wine for the ram
¼ hin wine per lamb
One he-goat as sin offering
regular burnt-offering and drink offering.

"first day of the seventh month" (Numbers 29:1-6)
one young bullock
one ram
seven unblemished he-lambs (one year old)
3/10 ephah flour-oil mixture per bullock
2/10 ephah flour-oil mixture per ram
1/10 ephah flour-oil mixture per lamb
to make atonement: one he-goat for sin offering
in addition: burnt offering of new moon
meal offering of new moon
regular burnt, meal, and drink offerings.

Day of Atonement (Numbers 29:7-11)
one young bullock
one ram
seven unblemished he-lambs (one year old)
3/10 ephah flour-oil mixture per bullock
2/10 ephah flour-oil mixture per ram
several tenths ephah flour-oil mixture per lamb
one he-goat for sin offering
beside: sin offering of atonement
regular burnt, meal, and drink offerings.

On both New Moon and "first day of the seventh month" there was an acclamation: by teru'ah in the case of "first day of the seventh month" and by tegi'ah for New Moon. It may be assumed that the difference is that shofar was used

on the "first day of the seventh month" and hatzotzeroth were used for New Moon. On each of the three holy days there is a he-goat for a sin offering. On the Day of Atonement and "first day of the seventh month" the sacrifice of a he-goat is used to make expiation. Both the Day of Atonement and the "first day of the seventh month" have the same size offering.

Unfortunately there are no great discrepancies which would indicate the unique nature of the "first day of the seventh month". Perhaps it is in the nature and use of the shofar, but this is not explicit. As such the "first day of the seventh month" is literally a special new moon, perhaps the chief new moon of the year, due to the increase in the number of sacrifices. "Thus the seventh new moon stands to ordinary new moons much as the seventh day to ordinary days."[21]

The third text which mentions the "first day of the seventh month" is Ezra 3:16. There is a record of the rebuilding of the altar upon the return from Babylonian exile. This marks the new beginning of religious services and sacrifices in Jerusalem. Conspicuously absent is any mention of the ritual blowing of the shofar. "The Chronicler introduces his account of the congregational worship service after the return with the same formula used in connection with the reading of the Torah by Ezra."[22]

In Nehemiah 7:73 - 8:13 Ezra reads the Law of Moses

to the assembled people of Israel. This passage in Nehemiah is the last explicit reference to "first day of the seventh month". There is seeming neglect for the law stated in Leviticus 23:24-5 and Numbers 29:1-6 regarding the "first day of the seventh month". Perhaps the day became holy because the Law was read, since the people would not yet know that it was a holy day until this was announced to them. Ezra, the most knowledgeable member of the community, certainly must have known of the requirements for the "first day of the seventh month".[23] As he read the Law the people burst out crying, seemingly repentant. Ezra comforted them and described to them the joyous nature of the day.

The content of Ezra's reading is at a proper and appointed time, yet the setting is not a worship service. It rather appears to be a public rally in which Ezra begins with a blessing and reads from the latest recension of the Pentateuch.[24] Elements of the "first day of the seventh month" are missing: there are no sacrifices; there is no blowing of the shofar. Bloch guesses that the shofar rite was omitted because it had been performed by the kohanim in the Temple.[25] Whatever the case may be, the public festivities described in Nehemiah are at great variance with the legal requirements of the Torah.

In addition to all the previous biblical evidence for a festival at the "first day of the seventh month", there

appears to be circumstantial support for a parallel custom at the first month, Nisan.[26]

החדש הזה לכם ראש חדשים
ראשון הוא לכם לחדשי השנה.

> This month shall mark for you the beginning of the months; it shall be the first of the months of the year for you. (Exodus 12:2)

According to the text, the year begins in the spring, with Nisan as the first month. The counting of all the months thus begins with Nisan; hence Tishri is called the seventh month. The great pilgrimage festivals correspond to this of the calendar: Exodus 23:14-17, 34:18,22-23; Deuteronomy 16:16. In each case the people are commanded to appear before God at the feasts of Passover, Pentecost, and Tabernacles. The calendar would commence in the spring with Passover, continue through the harvest festival seven weeks later, and the last major festival of Ingathering at the turn of the year would be held in the autumn. Missing from these festival calendars is any mention of a specific New Year festival.

Licht assumes that Ezekiel 45:18ff is trying to innovate a New Year's celebration in Nisan, complete with the cleansing of the sanctuary. In this, he sees the first of Nisan as preparatory for the essential festival on the fifteenth, Passover. The Exodus 12:2 text would accomodate this view, as it would indicate a change in the calendar.[27]

Kaufmann attests to an additional spring New Year's Day. It occurs during the month in which the Exodus from Egypt is celebrated.[28] This day, Nisan 1, must begin the cultic year, for the tabernacle itself was erected on the first day of the first month(Exodus 40:17). This dating of the New Year must be an innovation, though Exodus 12:2 is not a polemical defense. As Passover marks the beginning of the people of Israel, the month in which it is celebrated marks the beginning of the year.[29] Segal views the Passover as the time for the New Year's feast par excellence. This does not preclude the efficacy of the autumnal New Year at Tabernacles.[30] The festival was a rite de passage for the people Israel.[31] The timing of Purim (literally, 'lots') indicates the importance of determining the fates at this New Year season.[32] "Thus the Passover was primarily a New Year Festival."[33]

DeVaux is convinced that all prior texts raised do not determine an actual New Year Festival. There is no mention of the New Year at Exodus 12:2 or Leviticus 23:24. There is a Day of Acclamation, yet this feast on the "first day of the seventh month" is not clearly recognized as a New Year feast. It was a solemn New Moon occasion, marking a month which was full of feasts. Despite implicit references in the Bible, "there is no mention of it in the liturgical texts or in the pre-exilic historical texts... the feast never existed in Old Testament times."[34]

DeMoor believes that there was a New Year Festival, although for him this occurred at the time of the great autumnal feast.[35] He places the following events all on החג , the supreme biblical festival, Sukkoth: the feast of Yahweh(Judges 21:19-21); Elkanah's prayer in Shiloh (1Samuel 1:3); Saul's celebration at Bethel and accession to the throne (1 Samuel 10:1); the dedication of the Ark in Jerusalem by David (2 Samuel 6); Absalom's revolt and self-proclamation as king (2 Samuel 15); Adonijah's rebellion (1 Kings 1:5); and the coronation feast and temple dedication by Solomon (1 Kings 8:2). These were expressly performed at "the festival" which equaled New Year. Noth agrees that Sukkoth was the original major feast.[36]

What we may actually have extant in the Bible is a pair of chief festivals, one at springtime and one in autumn. According to Tadmor, the ecclesiastical year began in the spring, whereas the agricultural year began in autumn.[37] The Gezer calendar, discovered in 1908, has been established as a tenth-century B.C.E. inscription. In Biblical Hebrew the author marks his calendar on an agricultural basis, beginning with the fall harvest.[38] Kaufmann substantiates Tadmor's claim, citing a priestly New Year in Nisan and an agrarian New Year in Tishri.[39]

Probably the great fall festival had many elements in it, including acclamation, purification, and celebration. The festivals of the New Year and Day of Atonement may have been separated from the day of the actual feast. This process of detachment preserved the character of the holiday. Different days were assigned for the observance of the rites of trumpet blowing, atonement and cleansing, and ingathering. Thus Noth, Porter, Gaster, and Bamberger agree on this process of distribution of the essential elements of the fall festival.[40]

Porter dates the synthesis of one unique festal day to pre-exilic times, and the separation to an unspecified post-exilic date.[41]

> Why atonement was separated from the great autumn feast, made independent, and transferred to a point five days before the beginning of the feast- this can no longer be ascertained. The separation and independent institution of a New Year's Day would appear to be a further step...in the division of the original New Year and autumn feasts.[42]

Kaufmann maintains that "the rites of the New Year must have been marked by an unusual amount of trumpeting... of the New Year we know only that it was the 'day of trumpet blasts' par excellence."[43] It was a cosmic festival, combining New Moon and New Year sacrifices, which made it a unique cultic experience.[44] It was a solemn rest day, a sacred convocation, with shouting and blowing of horns to God.[45] The popularity of the fall

folk festival gained such favor among the people that the priestly New Year is not even mentioned. Thus the "first day of the seventh month" became the standard New Year festival in biblical times.

With respect to the four major themes of this study, at this point only a limited knowledge is available. There is biblical support for the use of the shofar, and in the Bible it develops from an instrument of war to an instrument of religious value.[46] In Leviticus 23:24 the phrase zikhron teru'ah occurs. Of the connection between this phrase and the later embellishment into unique liturgical verses (Zikhronoth and Shofaroth) nothing definitive can now be stated. The theme of God's judgment will be dealt with in the next chapter, as will the biblical idea of God as the divine Ruler.

CHAPTER II

MYTH AND RITUAL . . . ?

Much has been written and analyzed about the role of the New Year Festival in the Ancient Near East. There are those who would maintain that the Israelite New Year Festival, as well as other holy days, grew out of a cultural milieu which held common concepts and participated in similar forms of religious observances. Proximity in geography and transmission of language forms aided the processes of sharing among Near Eastern civilizations. Thus the "Myth and Ritual" school endeavored to establish that religious myths and rituals stood in organic relationship within the religions of the Ancient Near East.[1]

Hooke, the founder of this far-reaching position, maintained that "borrowing and interchange ... is an important part of the process ... it is not without influence upon the content of myth and ritual."[2] Israel, in this view, developed and adapted prevalent customs extant in the Ancient Near East; the Hebrew Bible preserves this gradual development of religious thought and practice.[3] Proponents of this view stated that it is possible "to identify traces in the Old Testament of a New Year Festival

identical in many respects to those of the rest of the Ancient Near East."[4]

All New Year Festivals included five major elements. Although each culture may have a permutation of one or more of the elements, the context and celebration of the festival which was the center and climax of all the religious activities of the year contained five major elements: the dramatic representation of the death and resurrection of the god; the recitation or symbolic representation of the creation myth; the ritual combat in which the triumph of the god over his enemies was depicted; the sacred marriage; and the triumphal procession in which the king role-played the god.[5]

In his discussion of the Hebrew Passover, Segal agrees with Hooke's analysis of myth and ritual. His interpretation of the common characteristics differed. For Segal, the shared elements included: a fixed calendar date; a ritual going-forth from city to country; various rites of purification; recital of the creation myth; enactment of the sacred marriage; removal of conventional social rules; and dedication of the temple.[6]

Seven Near Eastern cultures have been analyzed by the 'myth and ritual' school. These are: Babylonia, Assyria, Canaan, Egypt, Harran, Hittite, and Ugarit. The features of the New Year Festival in each culture must be reviewed

to determine the value of Hooke's hypothesis. The Babylonian comparison is the most lengthy and involved parallel.

The akitu festival was most probably the New Year Festival at the opening of spring in Babylon.[7] Tadmor, however, believes that akitu simply marked a processional holy day, while zagmuku was the actual New Year.[8] The akitu was also held at Erech and Ur at autumn. This double feature of celebration in Nisan and Tishri came from reckoning the year according to two alternative systems.[9] Zag-mu in Sumerian means edge of the year, whereas the word akitu has nothing to do with seasons and has not been rendered philologically.[10] Eventually zagmuku and akitu were uniquely intertwined as the New Year in Babylon, although the dual New Year remained constant.[11]

The text commenting on the Babylonian ritual for the twelve day festival is incomplete. The high priest began with the recitation of the Epic of Creation. In this, Bel-Marduk conquers his enemies, man is created, and the temple is constructed in heaven.[12] The creation epic had a magical virtue to bring about triumphs and annual benefits.[13] On the 5th of Nisan sacrifices were offered and the temple was purified.[14]

Next, in order to renew his authority, the king was formally humiliated. "The high priest stripped him of his robe and other insignia, made him kneel, and then solemnly

boxed his ears and tweaked his nose. Only towards the end of the festival was the monarch reinstated."[15] Following this there was a solemn procession to the bit akitu, outside the city; depicted there was a drama showing Marduk's primordial victory over Tiamat, the chaos monster.[16]

At this point came Marduk's reward of the 'tablets of destiny' by which he could determine the fates of humanity.[17] Langdon stated that the myth of a general judgment of souls goes back to a belief based on the passing of the sun.[18] At this time of judgment intercession on behalf of humanity occurred.[19] "Here the connexion between the poem and the ritual is especially manifest; every year at Babylon (Esagila) a new 'fate' of supremacy was decreed by the gods to Marduk, and by a parallel acceptation no doubt to the King of Babylon as his earthly vicegerent."[20] The registrar of the heavenly court recorded on clay tablets the good and evil deeds of people.[21]

Finally there was a sacred marriage of Marduk, crowned in the Temple Esagila. Segal affirms that the king took the part of Marduk, for the god's regeneration renewed the monarch's powers and royal prerogatives.[22] Clines denies this: "It is doubtful that the king played the role of the god in these ceremonies."[23] Babylon, as the creator of an ancient world civilization, exerted its influence primarily upon the Hebrews both before and after the exile.[24]

Tadmor maintains that the most important elements in the Babylonian New Year were first, the glorification of God through prayers and hymns, and second, the enthronement in Babylon His city.[25]

Celebrations were similar in Assyria, as again the unique focus was on the enthronement of the king. However, there is a limited knowledge of the Assyrian New Year Festival.[26] The festival was longer, and a sacred banquet of the gods was held. There is no record of a humiliation ceremony. Akitu festivals occurred in other months as well.[27]

In Canaan, the god Ba'al was the pivot on whom the ceremonies of the New Year revolved. The conquering of Mot, god of death, by Ba'al, the supreme weather god, is the theme of the epic poem found at Ras Shamra.[28] The festival was an autumn New Moon, celebrated with sensuality and drinking, a sacred marriage, communion with the dead, music, dancing, and contributions to the cult. The principal officiant was the king, whose powers were renewed.[29] Ba'al also served as judge of those who had been unfaithful to him.[30] He was enthroned in a special palace celebrating his victory and resurrection.[31] The same general characteristics of the New Year Festival exist in this Canaanite myth and ritual, and the pattern is distinctly self-evident to Hooke.[32] Yet Clines doubts whether this festival was for the New Year. The Ba'al myth may have had no special connection with an autumnal New Year Festival.[33]

The New Year Festival in Egypt was dedicated to Horus at Edfu. On this day Horus ascended to the throne.[34] The king participated in a sacred procession in which he played the role of the deity. Sacrifices, singing, dancing, and music accompanied the kingship renewal.[35] The periodic jubilee festival of Egyptian kings was celebrated at this time, the first day of the fifth month, designated as the first day of the year.[36] This falls between the seasons of inundation and sowing. There is a sacred marriage in the complex fourteen-day ritual festival, and again the deity is symbolically resurrected in the person of Horus.[37] The recitation of the creation myth narrative involved Horus' accession to the throne as the now and living king.[38] Also prominent in the elaborate ritual was the exposure of the statue of Horus to the sun's rays, reuniting the god's soul with his body.[39]

Despite the gaps in reconstructing the Egyptian New Year Festival, the focus was on the renewal of the monarch's fertility, strength, and kingship. Achitov maintains that three New Year Festivals were held, all dealing with fer-fertility: one in connection with the Nile River, the second dealing with planting and seeding, the third with the harvest. Thus the year would be divided in thirds with a special festival inaugurating each season.[40]

In Harran the festivities occurred at the times of equinox and solstice. Visits to a temple outside the city,

sacrifices, fasting, and later feasting marked the observance to the deity. Poll taxes were paid yearly at approximately the same date as the festivities.[41] The Hittites observed a lunisolar calendar and celebrated both new moons and new seasons. The purulli festival occurred in the spring at the various cultic centers. A recital of the cosmic struggle between the dragon and the weather-god accompanied other elements such as a solemn procession, a sacred marriage, and the fixing of the fates. But in the fall the festival involved a mock battle, singing, sacrifice, feasting, and drinking.[42]

The suggestion has been made that texts uncovered at Ugarit may have been recited at the autumn New Year Festival. Two elements surface, remotely similar to other cultures of the Ancient Near East: ritual combat between Ba'al and Mot, and a sacred marriage and procreation. Yet Segal disputes this view, having found no concrete evidence of festival practice.[43]

There is a close parallelism among the festivals of the Ancient Near East cultures. The general pattern of Cannanite myth and ritual derived from the influences of Egypt to a lesser extent and from Babylonia to a greater degree.[44] Elements such as the installation or re-installation of the earthly king, the kingship of the deity, divine judgment and punishment of the wicked, as well as various cultic

ceremonies, led DeMoor to conclude that Israel took over the festival from the Canaanites.[45] Oesterley states the view that the three Israelite agricultural festivals represent the breaking-up and adaptation of the Babylonian New Year Festival to the worship of Yahweh.[46]

Engnell insists that it is possible to "look first to Israel and Canaan to determine the independent and highly unique form of the festival".[47] The biblical record almost entirely succeeds in obliterating germane elements of the dying and resurrected god, the sacred marriage, the focus on the earthly king by the community.[48] Yahweh assumed all deity roles as He alone was King and Judge. There was no sacred marriage rite, and excessive drinking was rigorously debarred. The Israelite version was celebrated in a more sober yet by no means less happy or satisfying manner.[49]

Contemporaneous with the Myth and Ritual school, Mowinckel sought to prove that the Psalms were the basis of the Israelite ritual. Mowinckel, following Gunkel's type-history, categorized various Psalms relative to their purpose in the cult. Of major concern to this study is the analysis of "Psalms at the Enthronement Festival of Yahweh".[50] According to this point of view, there was a yearly festival in which the king of Israel symbolized Yahweh in a ritual drama. This drama was the religious raison d'être of the Jerusalem cult. The festival bore the character of a New

Year celebration which followed the typology of the Myth and Ritual school.[51]

> Characteristic of this group (of Psalms) is that they salute Yahweh as the king, who has just ascended his royal throne to wield his royal power. The situation envisaged in the poet's imagination, is Yahweh's ascent to the throne and the acclamation of Yahweh as king; the psalm is meant as the song of praise which is to meet Yahweh on his 'epiphany', his appearance as the new victorious king. Hence the name: enthronement Psalms.[52]

Fertility, good fortune, judgment, and covenant renewal were crucial to the festival. Mowinckel concluded that Israel's eschatological hopes were molded by this expression of expectation and faith.[53]

The Psalms reviewed by Mowinckel in this context were 47, 81, 93, 96-99. DeMoor concurred with Mowinckel both in his analysis of the psalms and in the parallels found in the Ancient Near East.[54] Hooke maintained that these Processional Psalms did imply the existence of an enthronement festival for Yahweh.[55] Engnell not only supports Mowinckel but adds, "when we see the connection between these different forms of the Ancient Annual Festival and realize their their connection with its earlier form, it is erroneous to admit that there was a Jewish Near Year Festival."[56]

Morgenstern agreed with Mowinckel on the whole, though emphasizing Yahweh's role as Judge and limiting His role as Inhabitant of the Holy Temple.[57] Morgenstern went so far as to credit Solomon with transforming Yahweh into a sun

god, accepting a resurrected solar Yahweh as the Divine King at the New Year. The temple was built in such an orientation that the first rays of the sun on New Year's Day would shine directly into the Holy of Holies, marking the entrance of Yahweh into His Sanctuary.[58] This provocative theory was accepted in part, i.e., the sun played a crucial symbolic role. Yet even the most imaginative scholars hesitated to accept Morgenstern's circumstantial and indeterminate evidence.[59]

Criticisms of the Myth and Ritual school do exist. They fall into two categories: specific reference to Mowinckel's theory of the Psalms, and general rebuttal of the gestalt underlying the total hypothesis. Buttenwieser was among the first to object to Mowinckel's ritualistic conception of the Psalms. These were not cultic Psalms and had no association with an enthronement festival. This idea is a web of fancy, has no facts with which to support it, and is purely conjecture.[60] Rather, these Psalms have a hymnal purpose or social content in determining God's providence.

Dahood does not support a ritualistic use of the Psalms. Yet the very Psalms that Mowinckel uses for his point of view do deal with God's kingship, enthronement, suzerainty, victory, praise, judgment, universality, holiness, and sanctity.[61] De Vaux stated that the texts themselves contain nothing similar to the mythological drama

drawn out of the Babylonian ritual.[62] "These are not enthronement Psalms but Psalms about the kingship of Yahweh. The idea of Yahweh as king certainly existed from early times in Israel . . . The cult practised in Israel was not the outward expression of myth," but an acknowledgment of Israel's personal covenant with God.[63]

Clines suggests that these Psalms are designed for the Sabbath and have no direct relevance to the observance of a New Year Festival. He also proposes that these Psalms of kingship might echo specific historical situations. Their relation to ritual would thus have no relation to their understanding. "The paucity of incontestable data leaves any hypothesis . . . extremely vulnerable."[64] Kaufmann calls this reconstruction of the New Year Festival ritual based on Psalms "one of the most remarkable products of the creative imagination."[65]

The general views of the Myth and Ritual school have been debated since their inception. Frankfort's criticism of the entire approach was as follows. The myth and ritual contributors slavishly followed Frazer. Similarities between myths and rituals need not be described as a pattern because alleged similarities do not exist! The contributors "recklessly imposed this imaginary pattern upon the religion of Israel."[66] Although Segal accepts the view that the Israelites were the heirs to traditions and idioms of the Ancient Near East, he holds that they moulded their

unique thought and faith through unshared experiences.[67] His reservations of comparing Israel to other Near Eastern religions involved these factors: geography, natural resources, temperament, culture, social and economic structure. As these were different in Israel, so the religion which expressed this people's thought and faith was different.[68]

Clines' objections fall into two areas. First, the ritual pattern invoked is fragmentary. There is a dearth of information. New studies emphasize the differences in belief and ritual among cultures. There is no fixed Near Eastern pattern. Little specific biblical evidence does not enable a reconstruction of New Year observances in Israel, and gaps cannot be filled from a knowledge of extraneous Near Eastern religions. Secondly, the relation between mythological texts and rituals is too complex to offer a strict reconstruction. Near Eastern myths are literary productions with distant connections to particular ritual acts. "Myth is not simply the spoken accompaniment of ritual."[69]

Finally, Tadmor rejects the superimposition of a Mesopotamian New Year upon the Israelite New Year. No crystallized picture has appeared from Mesopotamian sources. Similarities with respect to enthronement of the deity and fixing of the fates do exist, yet the reconstruction crumbles under severe historical and philological evidence.[70]

The Psalms do echo two important themes: God's kingship and His judgment. יהוה מלך appears in 93:1, 96:10, and 97:1, translated as "the Lord is King." In 47:8 God is King over all the earth: כי מלך על כל הארץ Other expressions proclaim His reign. "For the Lord is most high, awesome, great king over all the earth."(47:3) "For You, Lord, are supreme over all the earth; You are exalted high above all divine beings." (97:9) In 99:4 God is the supreme universal Monarch, the Mighty King. He is also the Judge of the whole world. This unique combination is noted twice, in 98:9 and 96:13. "He is coming to rule the earth, he will rule the world justly." God judges (97:8), rules (99:1), loves justice and establishes equity(99:4). These two themes of kingship and judgment are later developed by the Rabbis.

CHAPTER III

THE INTERTESTAMENTAL PERIOD AND THE JEWISH NEW YEAR FESTIVAL

During the Intertestamental period there is little evolution of the essential theological elements of the New Year: God's kingship, God's judgment, the use of the shofar, and liturgic aspects of the holy day. There is, in fact, more information missing than one would expect. If the holy day were in a fixed state after the biblical period, the assumption could be made that elementary features of the New Year would not only be extant, but also in a developed or developing state. Rather, we are able to observe a period in which "the calendar and the entire religious life of the Jews was as yet in an unsettled condition, and not fixed by rabbinical authorities."[1] The book of Esdras, the book of Jubilees, the Dead Sea Scrolls, Philo, and Josephus provide our sources for this period of transition in Jewish history.

Esdras 9:37-55 parallels the Nehemiah 7:73 - 8:13 text previously discussed. Found in the Apocrypha, we read of the "new moon of the seventh month" and the festivities on that day. There is no specific reference to a New Year. There is no mention of a shofar. The liturgy for the day

consists totally of a reading of the Law by Esdras. It is a holy convocation, and the people weep due to the unique nature of the day. Festivities include eating, drinking, and merriment. No somber notions appear. There is no sense of God's impending judgment causing any grief or dismay. God is the Most High and Almighty, but is not referred to as King. As observed in both Ezra and Nehemiah above, there is little continuity between the laws of Leviticus 23:24-5 and Numbers 29:1-6 and these passages.

The Pseudepigraphic Jubilees identifies Abram sitting on "the night of the new moon of the seventh month." This language is very similar to that of the "first day of the seventh month" which is a new moon day.

> (16) Abram sat up throughout the night on the new moon of the seventh month to observe the stars from the evening to the morning, in order to see what would be the character of the year with regard to the rains, and he was alone as he sat and observed. (17) And a word came into his heart and he said: All the signs of the stars, and the signs of the moon and of the sun are all in the hand of the Lord. Why do I search (them) out?
>
> (18) If he desires, He causes it to rain, morning and evening;
> And if He desires, He withholds it,
> And all things are in His hand.
> (19) And he prayed that night and said,
> My God, God Most High, Thou alone art my God,
> And Thee and Thy dominion have I chosen.
> And Thou hast created all things,
> And all things that are are the work of Thy hands.
> (20) Deliver me from the hands of evil spirits who have dominion over the thoughts of men's hearts,
> And let them not lead me astray from Thee, my God.
> (21) And stablish Thou me and my seed for ever
> That we go not astray from henceforth and for evermore.[2]

Abram is concerned with his future, the fertility of the land, the amount of rainfall, evil spirits, and God's dominion. With respect to the categories established for this study, Abram's words parallel the issues of God's judgment and God's kingship. First it is God's dominion in the world to which Abram prays. God is the Creator of the world and the possessor of all power. Pondering the stars, Abram asserts God's majesty, control, and supreme authority. Though Abram does not call God by the appellation of King, he ascribes to Him all supreme power and control of the universe.

Secondly, Abram acknowledges God as the supreme Judge. It is God who directs the spatial elements: sun, moon, and stars. It is thus God who is the decision-maker as to the amount of rainfall allotted to the earth. The determination of the "character of the year" is a key reference to God's judgment. Fate is in God's domain; human destiny is His to decide; "and all things are in His hand". Punishment and reward are God's tools, not humanity's. The amount of rain is the symbol through which people comprehend God's decision, be it positive or negative. Abram even shows his humility before God as he wonders whether it is proper for him to search out the heavenly signs. God is, in Abram's eyes, Judge and Monarch of the universe.

In addition, the author of Jubilees is aware of four New Years which are "feasts for the generations for ever".

The first day of the first, fourth, seventh, and tenth months are set aside as special times. Although similar to Mishnah Rosh Hashanah 1:1, neither the dates nor the significance are identical. Jubilees does not mark periods in a "normal agricultural life but rather of cosmic events which occurred at the time of the flood".[3] There is no mention either of a liturgy for the New Year day nor of any sounding of the shofar.

In the Dead Sea Scrolls there is no explicit reference to any New Year day. There is no mention of kingship or judgment. Trumpets do appear and are primarily used for military purposes, as in the scroll of the War Rule III:1-11. In addition, trumpets are used for assembly in the Damascus Document (11:22) and as a reminder before God in the Scroll of the War Rule X:6-8. Dupont-Sommer notes that both of these latter references parallel texts from Numbers.[4] The Damascus Document is similar to Numbers 10:2-7, while the second reference from the Scroll of the War Rule simply quotes Numbers 10:9. However these texts refer to חצצרת and not שופר .

The only possible inference to a New Year day occurs in the Manual of Discipline (columns X and XI). Implicitly there is mention of sabbaths and a New Year Day. Both Dupont-Sommer and Gaster suggest this interpretation.[5] This is as close as we get to any liturgical New Year Day. There is a fixed and appointed time for certain festivities.

Sabbaths, beginnings of the year, and celebration of the four seasons as found in Jubilees 6:23 are marked special days. Questions which are unanswerable leave us in doubt as to the significance of the source. Does this Sabbath come on the seventh day? Do the dates of celebration of the four seasons concur specifically with Jubilees or Mishnah Rosh Hashanah 1:1? When is this beginning of the year: one Tishri, one Nisan, or some other day? These doubts make any definitive conclusion connecting a New Year festival to any celebration in the Qumran community unlikely.

Philo calls the opening of the seventh month a trumpet festival. Although knowledgeable of the temple sacrifices, Philo insists on describing the significance of the trumpet. God is viewed neither as King nor as Judge; rather God is the giver of peace and ordainer of the Law. Glatzer notes that Philo does not seem to know the New Year Festival; his "eighth festival" is the commencement of the sacred month in which most holy occasions fall.[6]

Philo distinctly refers to the use of trumpets, but it is not known whether they were hatzotzeroth or shofar. Both Philo and the septuagent use the same Greek word, σάλπιγξ salpingas, interchangeably for both terms. Nor is it deducible whether there were any special festivities. What is known is that Philo is the first to draw meaning from the sound of the trumpet. His universal understanding, albeit interesting, has neither precedent nor parallel in

Jewish literature of the tannaitic or amoraic period. For the purpose of this study, the 'peculiar nature' is of great interest. Philo suggests the connection between the trumpets of the seventh month and the trumpets heard at Mt. Sinai. The importance of the Sinaitic covenant and of the Holy Law given on that occasion, remembered through yearly celebrations marked by re-creating the awesome sound, is unique to Philo.

This offers us a glimpse into the beginnings of a special liturgical element in the New Year: the use of the shofar to mediate between God and Israel. There is support for Philo's view in biblical sources as noted above. In the liturgy, there is a special set of Shofaroth verses which specifically recall the theophany at Sinai. Here is a piece of the evolutionary puzzle of the New Year Festival. Although no specific benedictions are mentioned, the theological motif connecting Rosh Hashanah with Sinai through the shofar has its source in Philo's Special Laws.

Hoenig asserts that Rosh Hashanah and shofar are concomitant in Philo's view. That Philo calls the feast "a reminder of a mighty and marvelous event" indicates to Hoenig a primary source of the Zikhronoth, or remembrance verses. The trumpet's use as an instrument of war resembles the Shofaroth. "Though the rabbis did not utilize in the liturgy any prophetic verse of a war-like aspect...it is to be recognized that Philo's view parallels the rabbinic notion

that Rosh Hashanah is not limited to the Jewish people but that it is a Judgment day for all creatures."[7]

The final aspect of God as peace-maker and peace-keeper connotes His power and kingship. Thus it reflects the last phase of the liturgy, namely, the Malkhuyoth, or kingship verses.

> It may therefore be inferred that already in Philo's day in Alexandria the threefold aspect of Malkhuyoth, Zikhronoth, and Shofaroth, was recognized as part of the mode of worship fitting for the beginning of the New Year...This indeed may be the oldest extra-biblical allusion to the concept of God's judgment and His power over the world, concepts to be enunciated especially on Rosh Hashanah.[8]

Josephus, writing after the destruction of the Second Temple, retells the story of Ezra's reading the Torah in the seventh month. Josephus, for an unknown reason, reports that the assembly before Ezra was held on Sukkoth. Again, the festivities follow Ezra's reading. The people's weeping was to be replaced by feasting and celebration. As with Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esdras, there is no mention of the New Year, of a shofar, of kingship, or of judgment. Josephus does mention the sacrifices of the "first day of the seventh month" in Jewish Antiquities 3:10. The words "on the new moon" are to be inferred from the previous sentence. The dual calendar system is noted in Jewish Antiquities I :81-82. Both Tishri and Nisan are reckoned as first months, the former for a civil year and the latter for "everything relating to divine worship", or an ecclesiastical year.

The Intertestamental period offers us only two reliable bridges between the biblical record and the fully developed New Year noted in tannaitic sources. Philo may have written allegorically about the New Year and the shofar, yet there is no trace of this idea-content in Josephus, Jubilees, and Esdras. Jubilees alone mentions theologic elements of kingship and judgment. Josephus and Esdras transmit the tale of Ezra and the Law, but no details of the New Year are given. From the Dead Sea Scrolls we have scant information about a fixed festivity at the beginning of the year, and military uses of the trumpet, but it is not possible to infer any New Year celebration at Qumran. Bits and pieces of the New Year have surfaced, but there is no concrete gradual development of the New Year Festival.

CHAPTER IV

THE TANNAITIC PERIOD

During the tannaitic period the records we have of the Jewish New Year Festival, now officially called Rosh Hashanah[1], depict a developed, functioning, and complex holy day. There is a transition from intertestamental times, in which no clear scheme of practice is evident, to tannaitic times, in which a day pregnant with ritual, theology, and observance exists. What caused this evolution is, however, unclear from the sources. The gap in knowledge is the great missing link, perhaps in all of Jewish history. We have in the Mishnah, Tosefta, and Midrash only the sherds of the Jewish way of life during the Second Temple period and shortly thereafter. This chapter will seek to ferret out the motifs of judgment, shofar, and kingship. In addition, the fundamental question of the date of the New Year will be discussed.

Mishnah Rosh Hashanah 1:1 and 1:3 focus on the dates for the New Year. The ancient debate between Nisan and Tishri surfaces, with the apparent victor being Tishri. The parallel texts in Tosefta 1:1ff and 1:7ff outline the identical problem. Herr[2] points to the destruction of the Temple as the turning point in formulating the date of

reckoning the New Year. However, this demarcation is neither clear-cut nor total. Prior to that, Nisan was the New Year for kings, feasts, months, appropriation of shekalim, and leasing houses. Tishri was the New Year for reckoning years, jubilee and release years, planting trees and vegetables, tithes, and vows.

> A tradition from the Second Temple period distinguished between the New Year for kings, the royal New Year, and the New Year for years, the calendrical New Year; the former in Nisan and the latter in Tishri. This tradition seems to have reflected the practice of the first century C.E. The Hasmoneans, King Herod, and the leaders of the First Revolt against Rome reckoned their years from Nisan, as had apparently been the case in Judah in the biblical period. In the course of the first century C.E., however, and especially during the first half of the second century, counting the years from Tishri in matters of economy and religion, prevailed over that of Nisan. Since then Tishri 1 has been the only New Year in the Jewish tradition.[3]

The Mishnah elaborates its proof documenting Tishri 1 as the New Year day. Shekalim were appropriated one half month prior to the three harvest festivals. Yet the date of collection for Sukkoth was moved to 29 Elul, so as not to fall on Tishri 1, "for it is a Yom Tobh": the festival of New Year.[4] Cattle tithing was likewise adjusted due to the sanctity of the New Year day.[5]

Of the three main motifs, God's kingship is barely touched. External to the liturgy, wherein there is no question that God is King, the theme of kingship in the tannaitic period is not a major one. From the biblical period God is

viewed as King in the Prophets and the Psalms.[6] The sovereignty of God in Judaism is an essential element, yet in the Mishnah references to God are scant. God is the King of Kings in Avot 3:1, and He is the Divine Monarch in Avot 4:22. Although kingship references occur primarily in the liturgy, the entire corpus of Jewish law is dedicated to God.

> That God did rule the world with almighty power directed by perfect wisdom and perfect goodness; that its history was a whole divine plan, the end of which was the good world to be, when the Lord should be the King over all the earth, his sovereignty acknowledged and His righteous and beneficent will obeyed by all creatures;[7]

this was the goal to which the Oral Law was a means of realization.

The motif of judgment at New Year has a locus classicus:

> At four times in the year is the world judged: at Passover, through grain; at Pentecost, through the fruits of the tree; on New Year's Day all that come into the world pass before him like legions of soldiers, for it is written, "He that fashioneth the hearts of them all, that considereth all their works"; and at the Feast (of Tabernacles) they are judged through water.[8]

Support in the Mishnah is offered from Psalm 33:15: "He who fashions the heart of them all, who discerns all their doings." In addition the Tosefta adds proof from Psalm 81:4-5: "Blow the horn on the New Moon, on the full moon for our feast day. For it is a law for Israel, a ruling of the God of Jacob." This addition is quite important as it is the first mention of a text which becomes essential for the rabbinic homilies on the New Year.

This mishnah has caused great consternation with respect to the obscure words kibhnai maron כבני מרון. In the Tosefta 1:11 the word is numeron נומרון and various corruptions of the phrase occur. Liebermann has collected, annotated, and coalesced all the opinions about this in Tosefta Kifshuta. His conclusion is that the word should read כבנומירון kibhnumeiron, and that the intention of the text is that all peoples pass before God like a battalion or regiment.[9] The essential feature of the New Year is thus God's passing judgment on His creatures.

Habermann questions the Rabbis' use of כבני מרון. Why would there have been cause to use a Greek or Latin loan word in lieu of perfectly acceptable Hebrew equivalents? בני חיל or חיילים could have made sense contextually. An alternative possibility Habermann offers is to change the nun ending to a mem, leaving the reader with כבני מרום, "angels". Thus all creatures pass before the Holy One just as angels do in Job 1:6. This phrase "עוברים לפניו" may have been part of an early פיוט used as a source in the Mishnah. Although many textual variants would weigh the evidence in Lieberman's favor, this latter emendation contains creative homiletic potential.[10]

God is the Divine Judge in Isaiah 33:22 and Zechariah 14:17. Rosh Hashanah is the day of judgment, יום הדין yom ha din. Whereas the Mishnah and Tosefta do not elaborate

further, the tannaitic Midrash depicts the day of divine decision-making. God will grant rewards to the righteous and dole out punishment to the wicked. The process of God's judgment yields the determination of the quantity of rain:[11] the reward of good human action is plenty; the punishment of evil is drought. God can be entreated to send rain if people will seek Him out.[12] There must be atonement for human actions of an evil variety; this must be a sin offering.[13] God's eyes are upon the world, viewing the actions of the wicked and the righteous. Each human being is judged individually and his/her actions weighed.

The most important ritual at Rosh Hashanah is the blowing of the shofar. Many important questions concerned the Rabbis about the shofar: what kind could be used; what sounds should it make; were there other instruments used; under what circumstances is it blown; what is its biblical source; and can it be used at other times? These and more questions were the focus of the tannaitic texts on the shofar. According to Finesinger, the shofar had two distinct purposes. There is a constant struggle between these two views.

> It is used to attract the attention of God so that He will listen to the entreaties of His worshippers and deal kindly with them, and . . . it is used to frighten and repel evil powers.[14]

The shofar's use was not restricted to Rosh Hashanah. The shofar sounded between twenty-one and fourty-eight

times daily in accordance with the requisite number of sacrifices.[15] At these times it was blasted loud enough to be heard in Jericho.[16] The shofar was used to announce the special sacrifice on Passover.[17] On Sukkoth it was used in the great procession to the House of Water Drawing.[18] The shofar was used to announce fast days.[19] Ushering in the Sabbath with numerous blasts, the shofar sounds announced the cessation from work and the actual time of the Shabbat. The shofar blasts demarcated a holy day (Yom Tobh) from a Shabbat and was actually utilized in lieu of the habhdalah prayer.[21]

The shofar is a vehicle of propitiation between God and Israel. At times of distress, whether on a weekday or on the sabbath, the shofar is sounded.[22] Pestilence, earthquake, calamity, major afflictions, and disease all required the use of the shofar. Floods, attacks on the community by Gentiles, and even a ship storm-tossed at sea would be grievous incidents requiring an alarm on the Shabbat. Drought was one of the most severe problems which faced Israel, and the shofar was also blown at such a time.[23]

> The shofar, because of its association with sin and repentance, reminds the people of their errors and induces them to repent. Or it reminds God of the plight of the people. But let us go beyond this. To the primitive mind a phenomenon like the absence of rain is caused by some adverse power .. . originally the shofar in times of drought may have been used to frighten off this adverse power.[24]

Was the alarm a summons to God? Rabbi Yose, in the minority of this opinion, said the shofar sounds were much like a modern-day alarm summoning help. Yet the Sages, overruling Rabbi Yose, cited the shofar as a means to make God aware of Israel's suffering, crying for God's help. The shofar, according to the Sages, heralded good luck for Israel, and its use was a good omen. It is a symbol of good fortune and good will which will triumph in the end.[25]

Mishnah Rosh Hashanah chapters three and four are devoted largely to the specifics of blowing the shofar. All shofaroth are usable except that of a cow, which is properly called geren.[26] Both rams' horns and wild goats' horns are suitable.[27] Although all shofaroth must be whole, a repaired shofar is usable if the sound is not impeded. Generally a broken or cracked shofar was ineligible for the holiness of its ordained purpose.[28]

The delineation in type of instrument caused the Rabbis confusion. What is the distinction between the shofar and the hatzotzerah, both of which are ancient instruments? This conflict is expressed in the Mishnah Rosh Hashanah 3:3-4. Finesinger suggests that the popular instrument in biblical times was the shofar, while the priestly instrument was the hatzotzerah. The conflict lasted through to the destruction of the Temple when the use of the shofar took precedence.

> Undoubtedly the gradual weakening of the priestly, or Sadducean, party and the ultimate triumph of

> the popular Pharisaic party had a great deal to do with this. Furthermore, since the shofar may have been used in early times at the time of the new moon it might have been somewhat the easier for its use to become a regular part of the Rosh Hashanah ritual. 29

Later traditions do not refer to the use of hatzotzerah at all. The people's choice of shofar has supplanted the cultic hatzotzerah; the folk instrument then became adapted for Temple use. It had a golden mouthpiece at New Year and is the quintessential solo instrument.

Tannaitic passages show the importance of the shofar to all involved. The shofar cannot be used as an excuse to violate other commandments.[30] It is a viable tool in the educational process, and children may be encouraged to use it, to learn how to blow it, and to become proficient in its use. Both the sounder and the listener must have kavvanah when the shofar is used. It is by no means a laissez-faire activity for either the doer or the respondent.[31] Directing the heart and mind to the purposeful activity of the shofar is critical.[32]

As for the blasts themselves, texts describe both the particulars of the te i'ah and teru'ah and their significance. The blasts must be of a specific duration so as to separate them one from another.[33] The one who blows has to sound the shofar in precise ways else the mitzvah has not been fulfilled.[34] Why are there three sets of blasts? There are three references to teru'ah in the Bible.[35] The

order of blasts is teqi'ah - teru'ah-teqi'ah, and each has a distinct pattern.[36] The sources are both biblical and rabbinic. There is no definitive conclusion whether two are from the Bible and one from the Rabbis, or vice versa.

It is deemed commendable to blow to the north, south, east, and west; some say one blows three times to each of the four directions. The blasts themselves are reminders of the wilderness experience at the Tent of Meeting, Ohel Mo'ed. Just as the Israelites were given the law in the wilderness and the shofar sounded, so must they re-create that unique moment when the shofar sounds at Rosh Hashanah.[37]

Even in tannaitic times the question was asked: why blow the shofar at Rosh Hashanah? The existence of an answer to this question implies the existence of debate on the issue. The answer given comes from the halakhic midrash.

> Our Rabbis taught: Whence do we know (that the blowing on New Year must be) with a shofar? Because it says, Make a proclamation with shofar teru'ah (Leviticus 25:9). I know this so far only of the Jubilee year, how do I know of it for New Year? The text says significantly, bahodesh hashevi'i, in the seventh month, when it is superfluous. Why then does it say, in the seventh month? So that the teru'ah of the seventh month must be consistent. Just as the teru'ah of the Jubilee is made with shofar, so the teru'ah of the New Year is made with shofar.[38]

The rabbis use a gezerah shavah to equate the teru'ah to the shofar's sound. This is a hermeneutic rule which utilizes the application to one subject of a rule known to apply to another based on the strength of a commonly used

phrase. Even though the former text applies to a Jubilee year, the release of which is announced at Yom Kippur, the tenth day of the month, it is applied to Rosh Hashanah, the first day of the month! These textual gymnastics provided the Rabbis with the required isegesis. They want to prove that teru'ah comes from shofar, and they need the hermeneutic rule, based on Leviticus 25:9, as the means to their stated end. This is neither precise nor convincing, yet for the Tannaim it was essential.

Finally, the shofar sounds herald the future redemption. It will come in Tishri, on the New Moon, which is Rosh Hashanah. The shofar sounded at the present Jewish New Year festival is a hint of the Messianic redemption which will be ushered in with shofar blasts.[39] God, prior to the first Shabbat, created the ram used in Isaac's place at the 'aqedah. The ram was designed with a unique purpose in mind, for its two horns were special. The left horn of this ram was blown at the Sinaitic Revelation, and the right horn will be blown at the Messianic Redemption.[40] God pre-ordained all things; as the community listens to the shofar it must consider the past, present, and future. The creation of the world, the revelation at Sinai, and the final redemption, all connected with the shofar, are organic elements in God's divine plan.

CHAPTER V

THE AMORAIC PERIOD

The period of the amoraim is distinguished by the expansion in halakhic and aggadic understanding of tannaitic Judaism. That which is written in the Mishnah, for example, may be enlarged, abridged, deleted, or superceded by strictures in the Gemara. In the roughly three hundred years that pass between the compilation of the Mishnah and the codification of the Talmud,[1] expositions, commentary, analyses, and discussions add to the available material and develop its scope. Additionally the homiletic commentaries on the Bible were redacted in the same environment and age as the Talmud, approximately the early part of the fifth century.[2] This chapter will discuss the major motifs of shofar and judgment on Rosh Hashanah as depicted in texts from the amoraic age.

The theme which is missing in its relation to the New Year is that of God's kingship. This motif has few references outside the scope of the liturgy. There the theme is self-evident, but only once in relation to the purpose of sacrifices is God's sovereignty mentioned.[3] The goal of the offerings on New Year, as well as on New Moon, Passover, Atonement, and Ingathering, is to acknowledge the

Universal Monarch. External to the Maḥzor, one can glean very little regarding the impact of God's kingship at the New Year Festival. An additional passage is discussed further on wherein God is both King and Judge.[4] Yet the motifs of shofar and God's judgment, the interrelation between the use of shofar and the impact of judgment, and the connection of these motifs with the story of the binding of Isaac, do actively interest the Rabbis.

According to the Talmud Bavli, the sounds of the shofar emanate from the commandment in Leviticus 23:24.[5] Using the same hermeneutics as the Sifra passage above, the teru'ah must be the same for all religious observances of the seventh month. The teru'ah at Rosh Hashanah, Yom Kippur, and Sukkoth emanates uniquely from the shofar. The shofar is a hollow animal horn at least the size of the palm of one's hand. When one holds the shofar it must be wider than the hand and visible at either end; if it is too small it is unacceptable.[6]

All shofaroth are permissible except that of a cow, which is called ʿeren.[7] In discussing this mishnah, the Rabbis rely on the commandment: if God prescribed shofar, then it is shofar which we are required to use! In Rosh Hashanah 16a the same principle is used. When Rabbi Isaac asks why we blow the sounds of teqi'ah and teru'ah, the rejoinder is this: the All-Merciful One has commanded it. The divine command is the only reason, and no further elaboration is needed. "One of two things may be at the bottom of such statements:

Either the real reason is unknown, or, what is more likely, the real reason is so unsatisfactory that it has to be ignored or repressed."[8]

Rabbi Isaac persists in asking, why are there two sets of blasts; and the answer is: In order to confound Satan. The shrill tone of the shofar can confuse evil spirits such as Satan. When Israel sounds the shofar, Satan is too confounded to utter any charges against them. Thus the two sets of blasts are required both to fulfill the obligation and to eliminate Satan's presence. The two reasons co-exist side by side, yet the Rabbis choose to replace the superstitious reason with a divine command.

The blowing of the shofar is a time-bound affirmative precept. מצות עשה שהזמן גרמה.[9] The mitzvah of sounding the shofar on the New Year was so important that even minors were encouraged to try. "One does not prevent a minor from blowing the shofar."[10] A woman is not obligated to blow, for she is exempt from the aforementioned category of precepts. She may choose to do so of her own free will, however.[11] Priests are obligated to observe the commandment of the shofar; even one who is unfit for the kehunah priesthood may be allowed to blow the shofar on Rosh Hashanah.[12]

The Rabbis expand the list of eligible shofar blowers as much as possible. They are very inclusive in facilitating the performance of this mitzvah. Even though women

are normally excluded, the mitzvah of shofar is permissible to them. The essential feature of the New Year was the ritual of the shofar, and as many people as possible were brought into the festivities and observances.[13]

Rabbi Hisda announces the replacement of the priestly hatzotzerah with the popular shofar. Not content with excising the use of the priestly trumpet, he changes the language itself. "The following groups of words had their meanings interchanged after the destruction of the Temple. What was formerly called hatzotzerah was called shofar, and what was formerly called shofar was called hatzotzerah."[14] It would be too simplistic to think that the words simply exchanged definitions. What may actually be happening is that the shofar has totally supplanted the hatzotzerah after the destruction of the Temple. "The phrase, 'alarm trumpets', means shofar."[15] The same idea occurs in Rosh Hashanah 34a,

> And to the tanna who derives the rule (regarding the teqi'ah) from (the blowing commanded) in the wilderness, (it may be objected that) just as there hatzotzeroth were to be used, so here (on New Year) hatzotzeroth should be used? Therefore the text says, "Sound the shofar." 16

Using hermeneutic logic, the instrument used on New Year could be understood as hatzotzerah and not shofar. The Rabbis, however, do not allow the use of hatzotzerah anymore. The unnamed tanna is overruled, and his opinion is banned. Certainly it is the shofar which must be used,

and no other instrument. The text used is pivotal for the Rabbis, for through their understanding the shofar is inseparable from Rosh Hashanah.[17]

The shofar used on the New Year cannot be one which was used for idolatrous purposes. However, if the deed were already done, the obligation has been fulfilled.[18] Even a shofar which comes from a town condemned for idolatry is not permissible.[19] The horn of a cow is also banned because the cow is of the same breed as a calf. the Golden Calf was used for idolatry, so the shofar of a calf = cow cannot be used. It is unthinkable that a reminder of the archtypical idol worship, the worship of the Golden Calf, would be used at the New Year.[20] The ritual impact of a shofar must be a pure one; any shofar which is tainted or impure is disallowed. The holy day must not be denegrated through the ritual object.

The shofar is, finally, a herald of the final redemption. Its sounds are a hint of the heavenly sounds of the great Shofar.[21] It is a reminder of the revelation at Sinai and a harbinger of the great redemption to come. The shofar of redemption comes from Jerusalem and will be blown in Zion.[22] The Pesiqta Rabbathi is similar in content to the passage quoted above from Pirqe de Rabbi Eliezer. It uses Joel 2:1 as the proof text for the theological message of the shofar. This instrument is not an undistinguished animal

horn through which noise is made. The shofar has a divine purpose: to announce the time of universal freedom.

The drama of God's judgment on Rosh Hashanah is awesome. The fate of each individual as well as the future of the community of Israel hangs in the balance. Psalm 81:4-5 is an essential proof text for the Rabbis. "Blow the horn on the New Moon, on the full moon for our feast day."

תקעו בחדש שופר בכסה ליום חגנו (Psalm 81:4)

The only festival on which the moon is 'covered' is the New Year. It alone of all the festivals occurs on the first of the month. This first verse identifies the New Year as well as the ritual of blowing the shofar. "For it is a law for Israel, a ruling of the God of Jacob;"

כי חק לישראל הוא משפט לאלהי יעקב (Psalm 81:5) In context, this next verse applies to the New Year also. Since it mentions words which are variously translated as decree, ordinance, law, or statute (hok), and justice, judgment, and sentence (mishpat), Rosh Hashanah must be the day when God executes His judgment.[23]

A debate among the tannaim ensued regarding whether Rosh Hashanah was the only day of judgment. The process of judgment takes ten days, in Rabbi Meir's opinion; for although the judgment itself occurs on Rosh Hashanah, the decree is not finalized until Yom Kippur. Rabbi Judah agreed that the judgment time was at Rosh Hashanah, yet the decree for each category occurs in its proper season:

the three harvest festivals for produce, fruits and water, respectively; and humanity is judged in accordance with the previous view. Rabbi Yose, however, believed even more stringently that a person is judged daily. Yose's minority opinion was noted, although Rosh Hashanah has come to be known as the day sine qua non of judgment.[24]

The process of judging is neither clear-cut nor precise; there are mitigating factors. The defendant, Israel, is placed in a courtroom. There are advocates, clerks, and prosecutors present, with God serving in His capacity as Divine Judge. Thus the scene is prepared for the decision-making process.[25] Israel has a vigorous role in the Rosh Hashanah proceedings. It is up to the earthly court to decide the actual time for the hearing; the case cannot proceed until the defendant is fully prepared.[26]

The New Year can begin only when human beings have decreed it. God may ordain the purpose, but Israel decides the time and place. The ministering angels, ready and willing to decide Israel's fate, must wait.[27] The scriptural proof is from Psalm 81:5. If it is not a statute for Israel, it cannot become an ordinance for God. Unlike the earthly arena where a king makes a decree,and thieves request a delay, the authority is with the government.[28] It does not work this way for Israel because the process is not purely God's mandate. Israel has a stake and a role in the judgment process.[29]

God decides matters of life and death on the New Year Day as all inhabitants pass before Him.[30] Both Talmuds share the notion that God is an active observer of human action.[31] God views the events of humanity and considers all the ramifications, as Psalm 33:15 proclaims: "who fashions the hearts of them all, who considers all their doings." It is on the New Year Day that all the people of the world pass before God as troops of soldiers, accountable to the Commander-in-Chief. However, the decision is postponed until Sukkoth. Israel has suitably passed inspection when the sword of victory (lulabh) is in their hands.[32]

The New Year Day is approached in a unique manner. The day is a festive one, yet it is also a day filled with awe. The intermingling of joy and trepidation is echoed in the Midrash. The New Year, a time of sanctification, revolves around issues of justice and law. The word for decree, hok, is very similar to the word for festival, hag. This reflects the intimate feelings of the Jew on Rosh Hashanah.[33]

Israel is conscious of its place in the world and in the positive outcome of God's judging. Unlike other nations who wear black clothes, grow beards, and mourn in fear of the coming decree, Israel acts in a contradictory manner. Knowing that the outcome will be fair and trusting in God's righteous decrees, Israel dresses in white, shaves, eats, drinks, and acts happily. The judgment is not tantamount

to peril and doom; it is rather a way of explaining the relation between God and His creatures.[34]

The time of judging separates Israel from the other nations. The nations are judged at nighttime when they are weary of sin and they rest from their transgressions. Israel is judged during the day when commandments are being performed.[35] Both actions reflect on the compassion of the Judge; God is universally equitable, for He judges all peoples fairly.[36] God could judge the nations in the day and Israel at night, but in so doing He would be totally merciless. Israel would not be fulfilling precepts, and the nations would be embroiled in sin. It is in His interest as well to judge as charitably as possible. If He judged brutally it would reflect poorly on the human being's Creator.

There is contradicting testimony as to the frame of mind a Jew should have on Rosh Hashanah. On one hand there is no greater way to greet the Lord on the New Year Day than through celebration. Since God is coming to rule the world with righteousness and the peoples with equity, one must sing and exult before the Lord.[37] As the human level of hopeful expectation and joy rises, the chances are greater that God will follow through in His stated objective.[38]

On the other hand, Rosh Hashanah is a day of reverence

and anxiety. There is no command to rejoice, since people's lives are judged. A person is filled with trepidation and fear about his/her future even more than about material possessions.[39] Another reason is recorded in reference to the omission of Hallel on the New Year (which is recited on other New Moons and festivals). The angels ask the Holy One why Israel does not chant hymns of praise to God on Rosh Hashanah. God's response is rhetorical: "Is it possible that the King should be sitting on the throne of justice with the books of life and death open before Him, and Israel should chant hymns of praise?"[40]

The day of judgment is an ominous one. If Rosh Hashana is a warm day, then the year will be warm. If the day is cold, then the entire year will be cold.[41] The concern about one's future is so critical that a ruling was made with regard to biblical curses. The curses in Deuteronomy had to be read prior to the New Year Day "so that the year should end along with its curses."[42] God forbid that the year should begin with any negativity! There was also a method to deduce God's judgment on an individual. In order to know whether one would survive the year, the suggestion is to take a burning lamp during the ten days of penitence and place it in a house which has no draft. If the lamp burns out to the end, the individual will survive the year.[43] So great was the need to know one's fate that this method was a popular one. "Light is universally regarded as a symbol of

life. The association is logical and obvious."[44]

Many factors are included in God's decision-making process. God scans the totality of a person's actions.[45] This covers relations between God and humanity and relations among people.[46] The scope of ritual observance is very important. Ritual impurity, lack of performing mitzvoth (such as tefillin), and sins of a sexual nature are all negative actions.[47] Those who scoff, lack communal concern, espouse heretical positions, or inform on their co-religionists oppose their fellow Jews. One whose public leadership is overbearing, causing fear in others, exhibits little care for the public welfare.[48] An individual's wrongdoings are also accountable with regard to the Torah. If one shows no respect for teachers of Torah, or never studies Torah at all, God is mindful of this deficiency in character.[49]

What does God do with all this information? The Righteous Judge determines a person's fate. An individual's sustenance during the entire year is predicated upon a positive decree.[49] One's personal and material losses are determined on Rosh Hashanah.[50] One is allotted a specific livelihood and a particular portion in the world.[51] These decisions hold for individuals as well as for whole communities.[52]

The sentence given on Rosh Hashanah is neither enacted immediately nor sealed fully. If one takes the effort to seek out God commencing with the New Year Day, there is hope

for acquittal.[53] An individual has the potential to acknowledge that God is righteous and good. If this is done, the judgment decreed on New Year Day will be waived on Yom Kippur, and the righteous victory will be evident at Sukkoth.[54] Even though Israel is guilty, God will acquit Israel due to zekhuth abhoth, the principle of the "merit of the ancestors."[55] God shows favor to Israel purely on the debt He owes to the Patriarchs and Matriarchs.[65] God even desires Israel's acquittal. Despite the vociferous attacks of Israel's accusers, God only listens to those who speak in defense. God's compassion in judgment allows Him to view Israel's faults with a blind eye, to hear of Israel's failings with a deaf ear.[57]

Yet there is evidence that a person's decree is irreversible. This has become a minority opinion and has little support in the literature. A person is judged on Rosh Hashanah, sentenced to life or death, and the decree is immediately sealed. Consequently it is futile to pray for the recovery of the sick during the year. This is in accordance with Rabbi Yose's belief that one is judged daily.[58]

The amount of rains indicates whether or not Israel has been found guiltless at the New Year.

> Rabbi Shimon bar Yohai said: If Israel were good on New Year and plenty of rain was allotted to them, and finally they sinned, it is impossible to diminish the rains once the decision has been passed. So what does the Holy One Blessed be He do? He disperses the rains over seas and deserts

> and rivers, that the earth may not enjoy them . .. If Israel were not good on New Year, and little rain was allotted, and finally they repented, to add to the rains is impossible once the decision has been passed. So what does the Holy One Blessed be He do? He causes the rains to descend directly to the earth, and causes dews to come and winds to blow with them.[59]

This passage also shows the power and effectiveness of human action in averting the stern decree. Prayer and repentance may rescind God's judgment. Even King David prayed and repented on New Year Day, not only for past generations of guilty evil-doers, but also for future generations who would lack priests, prophets, teachers, and the Temple itself.[60]

Prayer and supplication are important despite the content of the divine judgment. Whenever Israel prays it causes God to forgive sin.[61] Repentance is so great and powerful that, according to Rabbi Johanan , it can rescind the final sentence. Rabbi **Isaac** elaborated that "four things cancel the doom of a person, namely, tzedaqah, supplication, change of name, and change of conduct . . . and some say change of place." People do not have to react passively to God's decision; something can be done. God leaves room for human action before the final decree is determined.[62]

Just as Israel's lack of faith and disloyalty to God bring chastisement and punishment, so too ethical and moral conduct can cause God to grant mercy. Prior to the commandment of the "first day of the seventh month"[63] comes the

commandment: "And when you reap the harvest of your land, you shall not reap all the way to the edges of your field, or gather the gleanings of your harvest; you shall leave them for the poor and the stranger; I the Lord am your God."[64] Israel's just action, in allowing the impoverished and the alien not only the raw produce for nourishment, but also the self-dignity to provide for themselves, is noble. Where other nations completely reap their fields, Isreal manifests social concern. Performance of such commandments can cause God's forgiveness on Rosh Hashanah.[65]

The very month in which humanity is judged gives a clue as to what will portend. The month, Tishri, has as its zodiacal sign the Balance. Libra, the scales of justice, can fall to one side or the other. Without repentance, Israel may be judged harshly. If Israel does turn and effect teshuvah, then the decree is merciful. The name Tishri תִּשְׁרֵי comes from the root שרי sh-r-y which means to loosen or release. Tishri thus demands remission: תַּשְׁרֵי. In Tishri God must remit and forgive the sins of Israel. At first the leaders of the generation fast on the eve of the New Year, and God absolves one-third of Israel's sins. Between the New Year and the Day of Atonement certain individuals fast, and God absolves another third. Finally on Yom Kippur everybody fasts, and God says, "Let bygones be bygones; from now onwards we shall begin a new account."[66]

God's reckoning and judgment will be compassionate, as He will forgive Israel's sins. As Israel considers its deeds and attempts to turn to righteous living, God absolves their transgressions. The process is reciprocal: to the measure that Israel repents, God will judge with mercy.[67] Human behavioral change, in the image of God's divine attributes, can lead to repentance and redemption. "He that abounds in grace inclines the scales to grace."[68]

> R. Kruspedai said in the name of R. Johanan: Three books are opened (in heaven) on New Year, one for the thoroughly wicked, one for the thoroughly righteous, and one for the intermediate. The thoroughly righteous are forthwith inscribed definitively in the book of life; the thoroughly wicked are forthwith inscribed definitively in the book of death; the doom of the intermediate is suspended from New Year till the Day of Atonement; if they deserve well, they are inscribed in the book of life; if they do not deserve well, they are inscribed in the book of death.[69]

God records humanity's actions, the positive and the negative, in a Heavenly Ledger.[70] Knowledgeable of the book of life and the book of death, one may think twice before doing something rash, such as making frivolous vows.[71] God inscribes His decision in the open book.[72] For example, God judged Enoch harshly: he was not written in the roll of the righteous but the roll of the wicked. Enoch, according to Rabbi Abihu, was a hypocrite, for at times he was righteous, at times wicked. This judging occurred on Rosh Hashanah, according to Rabbi Abihu.[73]

The Rabbis interpret כבני מרון, literally, children of Maron, in many ways. Some rabbis connect the word maron with the Aramaic "amra", meaning sheep. Thus the idea comes that God is the shepherd who watches His flock. Another remarks that the word is a reference to a narrow mountain pass where travellers had to proceed in a single file line. A third connects the word to the word מרות, meaning lordship; God reviews his "troop of soldiers" on the New Year Day. Samuel's conception is closest to the point that Liebermann has deduced above. The meaning remains the same, that God scrutinizes each individual on Rosh Hashanah.

The timing of the day of judgment, the meaning of the day, and the possibility of hope are contained in the first and last passages of the rabbinic homily for Rosh Hashanah.[74] The first proem describes Adam's creation on the first of Tishri. That very day he sinned, was judged, and was acquitted. Ever since then on the New Year Day God decrees the fate of countries: war or peace, famine or plenty. God decides the future of individuals, whether they will live or die. Just as Adam was judged and set free on Rosh Hashanah, Israel will be judged and freed for all posterity on each subsequent Rosh Hashanah.

The nehemtah בחמתא or final conciliatory passage, is a midrash on Numbers 29:1-6. The verb usually associated with sacrifices is והקרבתם "offer"; but in this passage it is ועשיתם, "make". Since Israel has come before God's

presence in penitence, has entered into judgment, and has been released, God announces his consolation. "The Holy One, Blessed be He, says to Israel: 'My children! I will consider it as though you have this day been made before Me, as though this day I had created you as a new being.'"

Creation and redemption are intertwined in these passages, as Israel is bonded to its Creator. The day of judgment, Rosh Hashanah, occurs on the anniversary of the creation of humanity. The message enunciated is that Israel, and all peoples, can be reconciled with God through human action and Divine mercy. The hope exists that there is a yearly chance to begin again, as if God had created people anew.[75] Rosh Hashanah thus becomes the day when Israel effects a realized eschatology. It is ultimately effective because, as it was the day of Adam's creation, so it is the day of Israel's new creation. Heaven, earth, and humanity will ultimately be restored year after year on Rosh Hashanah as the new heavens, the new earth, and the new humanity.[76]

The shofar is a vital link in causing a positive outcome of God's judgment. The instrument is purely a vehicle to achieve the proper harmony between Israel and its Creator. There are two specific ways in which the shofar is a means of creating a change. First, the shofar is used solely by Israel, who when nearing its sounds, behaves differently. Second, the uniqueness of the shofar is its effect on God as Judge.

The shofar inspires repentance in many ways. The people Israel are filled with enormous fear before God's awful judgment, therefore they turn in repentance when the shofar sounds.[77] Israel's goal is to become whole and complete. A shofar which has a hole in it can be patched. Though repair may be necessary, the shofar can be utilized for the New Year. Israel, in like fashion, may be unfit for fair judgment prior to the New Year. However if Israel repairs itself, becoming **shalem** like the shofar, it will be redeemed from the Angel of Death and find shalom on the New Year Day.[78]

Israel only blows the shofar after abundant prayer and supplication. Hopefully that process can lead to the goal of performing the mitzvoth. When the meditation is complete, and the goal in mind is positive action, then the congregation hears the blasts. Only when the intent to change has been realized will God acquit Israel in His judgment.[79]

The impact of the judgment is caused by Israel. If Israel is penitent, then God declares them innocent. If Israel does not change, then God's wrathful judgment will be sealed on Yom Kippur. This will be self-inflicted, brought upon Israel by their own lack of redeeming value. Yet God builds in a safety valve. The outlet for Israel, the shofar, causes fear and trembling, reminding Israel to become penitent and be saved.[80]

The word _hodesh_ חדש "month" in Psalm 81:4, is interpreted as a time of becoming _hadash_, or new. _Rosh Hashanah_ becomes the time for personal renewal. When the _shofar_ sounds and behavior change occurs, then God will clean the slate. Before _Rosh Hashanah_ there exist many sins charged against Israel. On _Rosh Hashanah_, the day the moon is _keseh_, covered, God will _mikhaseh_, cover up, Israel's transgressions. The _shofar_ sounded at the time of renewal, initiates personal repentance and a re-thinking of one's way of life.[81]

The _shofar_ also changes God's behavior, for the blowing of the ram's horn "brings the remembrance of Israel to their Father in Heaven."[82] The _shofar_ uniquely propitiates the Creator to become more compassionate. Israel alone knows the suitable technique of persuasion.[83] The blowing of the _shofar_ at _Rosh Hashanah_ causes God to remit Israel's sins and remove the intended punishment.[84] Israel's purpose in blowing the _shofar_ is to have the _Kadosh Baruh Hu_ judge them with compassion. The _shofar_ removes God from considerations of harsh judgment and places Him in a merciful frome of mind.[85]

Not only does God change His point of view; he literally changes His position. The _shofar_ entreats God to move from the Throne of Judgment to the Throne of Mercy.[86] The Rabbis are able to interpret the psalm verse 47:6 since it includes two names of God: Elohim and Adonai.

> Judah ben Nahman opened his discourse with the text, 'God ascends midst acclamation, the Lord, to the blasts of the horn.' When the Holy One, Blessed be He, ascends and sits upon the Throne of Judgment, He ascends with intent to do (strict) judgment. What is the reason for this statement? 'God=Elohim, ascends midst acclamation.' But when Israel take their horns and blow them in the presence of the Holy One, Blessed be He, He rises from the Throne of Judgment and sits upon the Throne of Mercy. For it is written, 'The Lord=Adonai, to the blasts of the horn.' He is filled with compassion for them, taking pity upon them and changing for them the attribute of Justice to one of Mercy. 87

In the rabbinic understandings of these two names of God, Elohim and Adonai, the former specifically denotes the measure of Judgment, while the latter refers to the measure of Mercy. Just as the shofar is the instrument causing divine mercy, so Israel is the nation which realizes this goal at the New Year.

God understands that His judgment must end in acquittal for Israel. What artist desires that the vessels made by his/her hands should be shattered? There is futility in God's gaining a complete victory over His creatures; when He wins, He loses, and when He loses, He wins. The shofar reminds God of this process, that His loss is actually His gain. The shofar fixes the judgment to be in Israel's favor.[88]

Not only does the shofar propitiate God, it transforms God into acting like a shofar. God will become like a shofar into which a person blows from one end and makes the sound come out the other. God shall let in one ear and

out the other any charges that any accuser shall bring against you."[89] Israel must take the intention of the shofar to heart, and understand the root meaning of the word שפר. They will then amend their actions (shaperu) renew themselves, and make their deeds acceptable. When they change their pattern of living (shipartem) God will also re-examine His attribute of Justice and move to the seat of Mercy.[90]

The process of judgment is thus interconnected with the shofar. It reminds Israel to change its behavior. It causes God to become merciful. Just as Israel is motivated to pray, repent, and perform the commandments, so too God is able to be stirred to His full compassion. The blowing of the shofar accomplishes both goals. In appeasing God at Rosh Hashanah, Israel will bring redemption closer each time it subsequently blows the shofar. God will be moved both in this world and in the world to come.[91]

As the shofar and judgment become bound together, all the previous understandings are superimposed upon the story of the 'aqedah. Abraham willingly followed God's instructions to sacrifice Isaac. At the final moment, Isaac was spared, and a ram sacrificed in his place. The ram's horn, sounded on the New Year, is meant to remind God of the binding of Isaac.

> Rabbi Abihu said: Why do we blow on a ram's horn? The Holy One, Blessed be He, said: Sound before

> Me a ram's horn so that I may remember on your behalf the binding of Isaac, the son of Abraham, and account it to you as if you had bound yourselves before Me. 92

Since Isaac was willing to die, but was saved due to God's mercy, so Israel will be judged compassionately when it is committed to God's service, and will be acquitted.[93]

According to another homiletical exposition, Isaac eventually returns to Sarah. Immediately she uttered six cries, which correspond to the blasts of the shofar on the New Year.[94] Again the connection between the ram which was sacrificed and the ram's horn which is sounded at Rosh Hashanah is concretized.

Abraham convinced God to take an oath to remember the 'aqedah.[95] God must always keep in mind that which occurred on Mount Moriah, and therefore be willing to accept Israel's repentance and forgive their sins. Forever after, on Rosh Hashanah, when Isaac's children are held accountable to God, He must listen in silence. Since Abraham listened and obeyed silently, God is required to act in the same way when accusers bring charges against Israel. The binding of Isaac therefore is especially noted at the New Year.[96] This oath, shevu'ah, is held in pledge until the seventh month, shevi'i.[97]

The mountain, Moriah, is interpreted in three ways indicative of what transpires on the New Year's Day. The feelings expressed at the time of the 'aqedah relate to the

emotions of Rosh Hashanah. The day is filled with instruction and is a learning experience, hora'ah. The participants actively generate thoughts of awe, yir'ah, and also reverence, mora'ah.

The merit of the ancestors, specifically Abraham and Isaac, is cited to win Israel's case. Midrashically, Leviticus 23:24 includes references to each of the three patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. The key reference is that of Isaac. The sounding of teru'ah, proclaimed by the blasts of a shofar, recall the binding of Isaac, and the ram which took his place. [98]

The ram which God showed Abraham represents Israel's future. Just as the ram was tangled in a thicket, so too will Israel be tangled in transgressions and various troubles. Through their sin, the people Israel become victims of persecutions, and will be entangled in the snare of the four kingdoms. Yet the sound of the shofar will announce their release from the iniquity.[99] The shofar is a call asking God for help in alleviating pain and sorrow. It also brings on the Messianic Redemption. For the ram which extricated itself from the thicket is symbolic of Israel, which will eventually be redeemed by the sound of the ram's horn.[100] How will this occur? When Israel lifts up the shofar and blows it God is reminded of the 'aqedah. He will acquit Israel as He becomes filled with mercy and

compassion. As Moses said to Israel, "The shofar is an instrument of defense for you: lift the shofar up on Rosh Hashanah and blow!"[101]

This chapter has detailed the amoraic expansion of the motifs of shofar and judgment. Although originally distinct motifs, the amoraim intertwine the two, and expand them specifically with respect to the Binding of Isaac. The themes of repentance, forgiveness, absolution from sin, mercy, and change are especially stressed. Rosh Hashanah becomes the anniversary of creation. The ability to begin anew, to rectify evil deeds and act justly, heralded by the shofar, is unique to the Jewish New Year Festival.

CHAPTER VI

THE LITURGY OF THE NEW YEAR

The oldest strata of our liturgy distinguish three special themes which must be enunciated during the additional 'Amidah of the New Year service. These are the Malkhuyoth, or kingship verses, the Zikhronoth, or remembrance verses, and the Shofaroth, or shofar verses. They contain the "most sublime thoughts on God and His relationship to man; (they are) a summary of the Jewish faith and its cosmic significance in which are heard the accents of lawgiver, prpphet, and saint."[1]

There is an awesome character to those three insertions. In the Malkhuyoth, God is viewed as the Universal King, whose divine unity is acclaimed on Rosh Hashanah. The Zikhronoth affirm God as the Judge who is mindful of human deeds and actions. Last, the Shofaroth remind the congregation that "the Ruler of history, who revealed Himself to Israel in the trumpet-blasts of Sinai, will gather all men and all nations by the trumpet blasts of the Judgment day at the end of time."[2] Just as the shofar sounded at the Sinaitic Revelation, so will it sound at the Redemption to come.

Liebreich viewed the three benedictions in this way. The Malkhuyoth express the hope for the ultimate recognition by mankind of God's universal sovereignty. The Zikhronoth mention God's favorable remembrance of His people Israel, God's covenant with the patriarchs, and finally, the 'aqedah. The Shofaroth describe the hopeful ingathering of the exiles for the purpose of restoring the cult in Jerusalem.[3]

Elbogen viewed the New Year day as the one wherein the Kingdom of Heaven is called upon, and God will reign over all His creatures. The three-part process which presents itself in these insertions is as follows. First, God unites all humans as one. Second, God judges His creatures, remembers their acts, and decrees their fate. Finally, if the Kingdom of Heaven is not realized now, the Holy One Blessed be He will spread His kingdom, and all creatures will recognize His leadership.[4]

The integration of these three sections into the Musaf 'Amidah caused no little difficulty for the Rabbis. There was disagreement on the proper biblical support for the insertions. The position of the verses, their selection, the number required, and the precise order also presented problems. Despite these specific differences of opinion, scholars generally agree that the New Year service used today was already in use in the Temple era.

Both Safrai and Hoenig suggest a terminus ad quem with the Bar Kokhba revolution. This custom must have been in force during the tannaitic era, and its enactment resolved at this time.[5] Heinemann concurs that the triad was in use in the Temple, as required by an ancient tradition. Since services in Temple times had a common feature of shofar on New Year and public fast days, "it seems most probable that the three additional insertions already formed a part of the prayer of the New Year in Jerusalem in Temple times; the blowing of the horn and trumpets followed the recital of each insertion."[6] Elbogen suggests that the date of 140 C.E. could be the time when the Malkhuyoth, Zikhronoth, and Shofaroth were finalized in their present form.[7] Hoenig places it earlier, at 120 C.E., after the institution of the 'Amidah.[8]

Various texts assert the authenticity of those insertions. The Sifra explains that they are based on Leviticus 23:24. Each word in the passage is interpreted with reference to the 'Amidah blessings. Zikhron indicates the Zikhronoth, teru'ah implies the Shofaroth, and Miqra Kodesh suggests the blessing Qedushat ha Yom. But whence do we derive the Malkhuyoth? Since the previous verse ends with the mention of God's name, we deduce the kingship verses and include them with the fourth benediction.[9] This reasoning also occurs in the Tosefta and the Talmud.[10] Further on,

the Sifra asserts that since Numbers 10:10 juxtaposes the word zikhron with God's name, this creates a framework that when remembrance verses are said, kingship verses accompany them.[11]

The Sifre also offers two possibilities. Kingship and shofar verses are derived from Numbers 23:21, "the Lord their God is with them, and the teru'ah of a king is among them." Additionally, the reference may be from Numbers 10:10 in its entirety. "You shall sound the trumpets" implies the Shofaroth, "and they shall be a zikkaron" mandates the Zikhronoth; from " I am the Lord your God" the Malkhuyoth are derived.[12] The Yerushalmi draws the triad from three separate verses. Kinghsip comes from Numbers 10:10, remembrance from Leviticus 23:24, and shofar verses from Leviticus 25:9(shofar teru'ah).[13]

Having elucidated various means of referring to the biblical antecedents of the insertions, the texts answer why this particular order is used. The Sifra quoted above says that first, one must acknowledge God's kingship, then request mercy from Him, and finally blow the sounds of freedom. These three actions relate to the Malkhuyoth, Zikhronoth, and Shofaroth, respectively. The Tosefta takes another approach. After acknowledging God's rule, one may be remembered for goodness, and then the prayer is heard in the acclamation of the shofar.[14] The Mishnah may assume

this general body of knowledge and thus has no need to state further support.

There are two ways to understand those textual reasonings. There was a need to show specific biblical proof for the insertions. If one reason was not satisfactory, others had to substitute. Yet we are never told that the Sifra is "wrong", and the Yerushalmi "right". The alternative is to consider that the more variations of support, the stronger the case was to be made that these sets of verses were justifiably included. The Rabbis not only enjoyed those hermeneutic processes of logic, they may have needed to solidify the defense of their insertion into the Musaf 'Amidah.

The Zikhronoth and Shofaroth were used on other days beside the New Year. In the Mishnah, they are read on public fast days during seasons of drought. For these occasions, the hatimah was "Praised are You ∞Lord, who remembers the forgotten things" for the Zikhronoth. The eulogy for the Shofaroth was "Praised are You ∞Lord, who hears the trumpet blast."[15] The Malkhuyoth, on the other hand, are unique to the New Year. Eventually Rabbi Judah abrogated the use of Zikhronoth and Shofaroth at times of calamity, limiting their use only in conjunction with the Malkhuyoth.[16]

This next passage records a tannaitic debate on the Rosh Hashanah triad.

> As for the order of the Benedictions, a man recites 'the Fathers', 'Power', and 'the Hallowing of the Name', and combines with them the Sovereignty verses; but he does not then sound the shofar; (he then recites) 'the Hallowing of the Day' and sounds the shofar; (he then recites) the Remembrance verses and sounds the shofar; (he then recites) the Shofar verses and sounds the shofar; then he recites the Benedictions, 'the (Temple) Service' and the 'Thanksgiving' and the Benediction of the Priests. So R. Johanan b. Nuri. R. Akiba said to him: If he does not sound the shofar at the Sovereignty verses why does he make mention of them? but rather, he recites 'the Fathers', 'Power', and 'the Hallowing of the Name', and combines the Sovereignty verses with the 'Hallowing of the Day', and sounds the shofar; (he then recites) the Remembrance verses and sounds the shofar; (he then recites) the Shofar verses and sounds the shofar; and then he recites the Benedictions, 'the (Temple)Service', and the'Thanksgiving', and the Benediction of the Priests. 17.

This passage reflects texts extant in the Sifra, Tosefta and Yerushalmi. Shimon ben Gamliel is quoted as suggesting an alternative, albeit minority, opinion. The Zikhronoth would be recited along with the Qedushat ha Yom, but this view is not heeded.[18] According to the Yerushalmi, Akiba's practice was followed in Judea, and Johanan ben Nuri's custom in Galilee. If the opposite were done, the obligation would be fulfilled.

Rules and regulations for the verses are prescribed. Ten verses must be said, although there are two minority views which require only seven or three.[20] Why ten? Various homiletical answers are given: ten commandments

were given to Moses and Israel, David sang ten praises of God in Psalm 150, through ten utterances the world was created, ten sacrifices were offered on New Year's Day, and ten days of repentance connect the New Year with the Day of Atonement.[21] Seven is also deemed acceptable for there are seven firmaments, and three corresponds either to the division of the Bible-Torah, Prophets, and Writings-or that of the Jews-Priests, Levites, and Israelites.[22]

The verses selected cannot contain references to divine punishment. The verses have to be in the order of the tripartite biblical division; yet one who concludes with a Torah verse fulfills the ritual obligation.[23] Two verbs are equated which enlarge the list of eligible verses, p-q-d and z-kh-r, פקד and זכר. It must have been quite challenging to find suitable verses for this purpose, especially with the restriction. Rosh Hashanah 32b elaborates acceptable and unacceptable verses. Yet total freedom and flexibility is given within the stated framework. It is only with the Mahzor that the process of creativity has been stifled.

The pattern which now appears in the Malkhuyoth, Zikhronoth, and Shofaroth is as follows. Each section is introduced with an opening prayer. Next, three verses are selected from the Torah, three or four verses from the Writings (all of which come from the Psalms), three verses

from the Prophets (all of which are selected from the Later Prophets), a final verse from the Torah, and a concluding prayer ending with a eulogy.

The 'Aleinu introduces the Malkhuyoth verses. This prayer has two parts. In the first paragraph, the unique position of Israel in the world is stressed. God is the Creator, and Israel a nation set apart for special service. In the second paragraph the hope is expressed that Israel's vision will be humanity's realization one day. Petuchowski adds, "This was the 'Aleinu's initial-and for a long time, only-place in the standard Jewish liturgy. It was not until some time around the twelfth to fourteenth centuries that the 'Aleinu was also chosen as the concluding prayer for each and every Jewish service throughout the year."[24] The ten verses then recited are Exodus 15:18, Numbers 23:21, Deuteronomy 33:5, Psalms 22:29, 93:1, 24:7-10, Isaiah 44:6, Obadiah 1:21, Zechariah 14:9 and Deuteronomy 6:4. A prayer asking God to "rule over the entire world", leads to the eulogy, "Praised are You, o Lord, King over all the earth, who sanctifies Israel and the Day of Memorial."

The Zikhronoth begins with a prayer in which God is extolled as the One who has remembered all past events, and who will continue to oversee all future events. God remembers, and God judges based on the particular remembrance, be it for good or for evil. The covenant God has made with

the ancestors from the time of Noah to the patriarchs is invoked. The scriptural verses selected are Genesis 8:1, Exodus 2:24, Leviticus 26:42, Psalms 111:4-5, 106:45, Jeremiah 2:2, Ezekiel 16:60, Jeremiah 31:20, Leviticus 26:45 is intertwined in the paragraph preceding the eulogy, "Praised are You, o Lord, who remembers the covenant."

The Sinaitic Revelation was accompanied by blasts of the shofar. Thus it is that this vivid memory introduces the Shofaroth insertion. References to Torah and Mitzvoth follow before the following scriptural verses are recited: Exodus 19:18-19, Exodus 20:18, Psalms 47:6, 98:6, 81:4, 150:1-6, Isaiah 18:3, 27:13, Zechariah 9:14, Numbers 10:10 forms part of the final prayer which enunciates the messianic hope for the redemption to come. The section concludes with the eulogy, "Praised are You, o Lord, who in mercy, hears the sound of the shofar-blast of His people Israel."

One element distinctly missing from the Rosh Hashanah triad is any mention of the New Moon. There is a mishnah in which reference is nade to the New Moon. Dosa ben Hyrcanus says, "one who passes before the Ark on the Festival of the New Year says, Give us streagth, o Lord our God, this day of Rosh Hodesh." This interpolation was not allowed by the Sages.[25] There should be only mention of one type of "remembrance", say the Rabbis.[26] Elbogen suggests that

there was an alternative ending to the blessing for the Sanctification of the Day. This comes from Masekhet Soferim 19:5, wherein one is obliged to mention that the day is a holy convocation, a New Moon day, a day of remembrance by shofar blowing, and the New Year's day.[27] Thus the prayer itself would have concluded with a eulogy incorporating all these elements: "who sanctifies Israel and New Years, renews months and remembrance by teru'ah, appointed times of gladness, seasons, and holy convocations." However, the Rabbis eventually excised any mention of the New Moon in favor of the emphasis on the New Year. This included the elimination of many references to New Moon sacrifices.

There are numerous explanations for the disagreement among the tannaim with respect to the Rosh Hashanah insertions. Many scholars have tried to unlock Mishnah Rosh Hashanah 4:5 (above, p. 76). The following opinions are offered in an attempt to elucidate the debate about the benedictions.

The Malkhuyoth are specifically a New Year declaration. This is further substantiated by the constant reference to God as King in the liturgical changes. The eulogy of the Sanctification of the Name, the third blessing in the 'Amidah, is changed from the "holy God" to the "holy King". Licht assumes that the tradition of kingship was an

ancient one. The first generation of tannaim already recognized the importance of the Malkhuyoth. Whereas the other two insertions can summon proper scriptural support in the phrase זכרון תרועה zikhron teru'ah (Leviticus 23:24), the Malkhuyoth have no such persuasive proof. It was inserted later. The focus of the Rabbis' dilemma is the position of the section; it is a matter of form, not of content. From this unique feature of the New Year, Licht asserts that the recognition of God's kingship is the essential feature of the New Year.[28]

Finkelstein noted that the statements of Rabbis Johanan ben Nuri and Akiba differ only in respect of the Malkhuyoth. If one omits this disagreement, the Rabbis are united in their opinions. Therefore, they must have utilized an old mishnah which had no mention of, or reference to , the Malkhuyoth. Further, the fast day liturgy contains no kingship insertion. Yet the need existed for three separate insertions to parallel three distinct shofar blasts.[29] Albeck criticized this view, saying that it is not conclusive. The commonality in the Mishnah is the work of a later editor.[30]

Snaith concurs with Finkelstein and Licht: the Malkhuyoth were a later insertion. The verses were not dependent upon immediate inference from scripture, but from the developed canons of rabbinic exegesis. The

Malkhuyoth insertion is the only special section which has no independent blessing. Zikhronoth and Shofaroth were used independently before the Malkhuyoth were added. Even the position of the Malkhuyoth is anomalous, for from the various rabbinic texts cited one could assume the Malkhuyoth should be the last insertion.

> The only likely explanation of the curious position of the Malkhuyoth is that they were placed in their extraordinary position at a time when it was desired to place more than ordinary emphasis upon them, and upon the New Year's Day in connection with them. 31

Tabory suggests that the original first of the three additional benedictions was the Zikhronoth. Johanan ben Nuri wanted the first insertion to be included with the third 'Amidah blessing. Akiba wanted it integrated with the fourth blessing. Later, Akiba's opinion prevailed, but disagreement existed as to the designation of the first section. A second debate in Tosefta Rosh Hashanah 2:11 occurs between Shimon ben Gamliel and Judah ha Nasi on the insertions, a full generation later.

> Rabban Shimon ben Gamliel, considering Zikhronoth the first of the three, claimed that Qedushat ha Yom was to be recited together with Zikhronoth while Rabbi Judah ha Nasi, who maintained that Malkhuyoth was the first, stated that Qedushat ha Yom should be recited with Malkhuyoth. Later redactors of these statements, unaware that the disagreement between (the Rabbis) was based on the existence of differences in the order of the additional blessings, adapted their dicta according to the order with which each redactor was familiar. 32

Thus the Tosefta redactor followed Shimon ben Gamliel,

while the editor of the Sifra parashat Emor 11 followed Judah ha Nasi.

Hovering in the background of Liebreich's views on the Rosh Hashanah liturgy is the assumption that the somber character of the New Year came from Babylonian influences. Rosh Hashanah is a festival limited to two aspects, remembrance and shofar-blowing, arising from Leviticus 23:24. Discussing the Malkhuyoth as an early or late addition misses the point. The debate was over the position of the verses, for it was obvious that it could not be independent. The day is called Yom Teru'ah or Yom ha Zikkaron; no isolated notion of sovereignty exists. Knowing that a separate blessing for the Malkhuyoth was inconceivable, Akiba found a unique place for the insertion. He gave the section prominence (next to the shofar sounds and verses of the Zikhronoth and Shofaroth) and maintained the two-fold character of the New Year.[33]

As to the verses themselves, the Torah verses implied the past, the Prophetic verses the future. The last group of verses had to be from the Late Prophets for only they had themes of conciliation and consolation. This messianic hope gave the verses a midrashic flavor similar to a נחמתא nehemtah.[34] The paucity of verses in the Torah wherein God is called King was a difficulty. "Sheer necessity invented the concept of the implicit presence

of divine kingship." Of the four Torah verses, those from Exodus and Numbers are perfectly acceptable, whereas the Deuteronomy verses are included only by virtue of the rabbinic understanding of the "yoke of God's kingdom".[35]

The Zikhronoth are unique in their integration of three strata. The first incorporates the themes of the Palestinian "ya'aleh ve'yavo" to produce an abridgement of that festival prayer. The second layer deals with God's covenant to Abraham and the patriarchs. The third is specifically related to the 'aqedah.[36] God's remembrance of the forgotten things, which must have been the original version of the eulogy, has been excised. The interpolation of berith and zekhuth abhoth into the present eulogy, "who remembers the covenant", is a later introduction.[37]

The connection that exists between the prologue, verses, and epilogue to each section is the future orientation and the particularistic concern. Only when Israel is redeemed and returned to Jerusalem will the religious ideal be consummated. God will then become the universal King.

Rav is seen as the author only of the prologues to the Zikhronoth and Shofaroth, although his work is seen elsewhere.[39] The themes of the New Year elaborated in the triad are echoed in four other insertions attributed to Rav. These four, in the first and last pair of blessings in the 'Amidah, all deal with the theme of God's role in human life.[40]

> 1. Remember us unto life, o King, who delights in life, and inscribe us in the book of life, for your own sake, o Living God.
>
> 2. Who is like You, Father of mercy, who in mercy remembers Your creatures unto life?
>
> 3. Inscribe all the children of Your covenant for a happy life.
>
> 4. In the book of life, blessing, peace, and good sustenance, may we be remembered and inscribed before You, we and all Your people, the House of Israel, for a happy life and for peace.

Thus the universalistic-particularistic dichotomy is balanced on the side of the particular, with the requests for life, happiness, and peace.

With respect to the Uv'khen insertions in the third benediction of the 'Amidah, Liebreich calls these the original prologue to the Malkhuyoth, left in after the debate between Akiba and Johanan ben Nuri.[41] They preserve a Palestinian retention of the interrelation between God's kingship and His holiness. The Babylonian intent was to separate these concepts. Thus, although the Babylonian format has been victorious, the Palestinian concept has been retained.[42]

In addition, the sections do not simply correspond to the Malkhuyoth, Zikhronoth, and Shofaroth. Liebreich calls this attempt both strained and far-fetched.[43]

> As regards Uv'khen, it proceeds from the general to the particular. The first in the series of prayers constituting the liturgical composition voices the hope that all men, imbued with a sense of fear of, or reverence for, God, might unitedly perform His will. The transition is then made

> from this universalistic outlook to a particularistic one in the second prayer, which envisions the renewal of Israel's national glory. Singled our for renewed honor are those whose hope remained steadfast. The restoration of national honor will bring joy in its wake to Jerusalem and the Land of Israel, and accelerate the advent of the Davidic messiah. The third prayer pertains to the supreme joy that will prevail over the disappearance of tyrannical Rome. With the removal of the latter the climax is reached in the last prayer of the series, in which God is portrayed as the acknowledged sovereign af all mankind. [44]

Heinemann examines the text differently. He perceives the 'Aleinu as being older than the "teqiata de bei Rav".[45] Several passages connect the entire composition of the Malkhuyoth, Zikhronoth, and Shofaroth to Rav or the academy in which he taught. Yet the'Aleinu is completely different in style from all other prayers in the 'Amidah and especially the Rosh Hashanah triad.[46] Although the 'Aleinu is not in the pattern of general synagogal liturgy, it is perfect for an introduction to the Malkhuyoth.[47] Its emphasis on God as Creator and King of the world is confluent with the themes of the Malkhuyoth. The motifs of kingship, redemption, God's universality as Creator and King, the merit of the ancestors, Israel's election, and God's providence in human affairs and history are uniquely integrated in the New Year liturgy.[48]

Akiba's question in Mishnah Rosh Hashanah 4:5 reflects on the need for the Malkhuyoth, for each insertion had to have its concomitant shofar blast. Heinemann suggests that the inclusion of this section may have begun as a custom in

a few congregations prior to the time of Akiba and Johanan ben Nuri. Only in their time did it spread throughout Israel and receive the halakhic seal of approval.[49] The debate may have been a regional one, between Galilee and Judaa. Hoenig agrees with Heinemann on this point:

> The differences in practice between Judea and Galilee may be due to local factors already evident in the Second Temple era. Judea was the center of sacerdotal devotion, where Jewish rites were commonplace, as in the Temple and Jerusalem proper. There during the period of the Second Commonwealth, the stress was laid on this new factor, namely, that the new moon of the biblical seventh month was according to Pharisaic directive, the beginning of the year in the new calendar. According to Rabbi Akiba, therefore, when the prayers were canonized, Malkhuyoth was to be inserted in the section of 'Sanctification of the Day'. Galilee, on the other hand, was an environment of non-Jewish, Greek population where the influence of Hellenism permeated greatly during the Second Temple days. There a greater stress on the sanctification of God (The Name) was alway essential; this emphasis on Divine Power surely had priority over the significance of the day, even if there was a change of calendar. Such emphasis continued even after 70 C.E. when Galilee became a strong Jewish center. Hence, according to Rabbi Johanan ben Nuri, Malkhuyoth, emphasizing His Kingship, was incorporated with the "Benediction of the Name" to teach His rule above all other beliefs current in the Galilean surroundings. 50

The halakhah according to Rabbi Akiba was accepted finally, i.e., the Malkhuyoth are in the fourth benediction. Yet the insertions in the third benediction express a similar theme, possibly written in the spirit of Johanan ben Nuri. An ancient eulogy for the Qedushat ha Shem from the Cairo Genizah supports this point of view:

ברוך אתה ה אדיר המלוכה והאל הקדוש

"Blessed are You, o Lord, Powerful in Kingship, the Holy God." [51]

The issue remains for Heinemann, why the specific need for Malkhuyoth? Blessings must include the phrase, King of the Universe, eloheinu melekh ha'olam, otherwise they are not considered blessings. Berakhoth 12a informs us that כל ברכה שאין בה מלכות אינה ברכה . This theme of God's kingship crystallized in the second century in Yavneh. The Jews desired to confirm their eternal faith in the heavenly King, and in no other.[52]

At one time Heinemann believed that the Malkhuyoth verses were inserted at the same time and for the identical purpose. Just as every blessing requires the marking of God's kingship, so on the day when God is acclaimed as King, there should be special recognition in the 'Amidah. [53] Petuchowski concurs with this position of Heinemann. Between the Hebrew edition of his book and the subsequent English translation, Heinemann changed his mind. The Malkhuyoth were not connected with the mention of malkhuth in the opening of the berakhah formula. The insertion was a cornerstone of the Rosh Hashanah liturgy in Temple times. Together with the Zikhronoth and Shofaroth, this provided the occasion for the tripartite blowing of the shofar. The unanimity of style and the autonomous nature of the triad, constituting the service for the day in its entirety,

point to an early origin.[55] Heinemann's prior position is far more convincing and logical.

Heinemann asks three questions. Where are the biblical verses if the Uv'khen insertion is the actual introduction to the Malkhuyoth? There was no need for redundancy. Once the verses had been placed in the fourth benediction the obligation was fulfilled. Why are the views of Akiba and Johanan ben Nuri both represented? Although the former became the law, there was no need to eliminate the beautiful and uplifting Uv'khen. Since both were meaningful and expressive, a compromise was reached to recite both prayers. Why is the Uv'khen repeated throughout the ten days of penitence? It became beloved to the worshippers and the congregation desired the opportunity to repeat it.[56]

As to the matter of verse selection, Heinemann notes that originally there was both great flexibility and leniency. Verses which at face value do not seem appropriate are included based on the rabbinic understanding, such as the Shema (Deuteronomy 6:4) or Numbers 10:10. These last verses, along with Leviticus 26:45, distinguish themselves in their ability to clearly restate the major themes of the 'Amidah insertions. Each is therefore the last verse in its section. Verses were selected due to thematic considerations, not specific diction.[57] The

major restriction upon the reader is that one should not recite the Musaf service of the New Year alone, "since judgment is then proceeding, deeds may be scrutinized, and the prayer rejected."[58]

Finally, Heinemann views the Malkhuyoth, Zikhronoth, and Shofaroth in an holistic way.[59]

יצירה בת רעיון, משקל, וכובד, היא דרך מקורית ביותר.
הרי פה עושה משורר הקודש את הפסוקים סדן ליצירתו.
שלוש המערכות של פסוקי מלכויות, זכרונות, ושופרות,
משולבות ומחוברות למעשה יצירה אחת; יצירה בעלה ובשגבה
על ישראל והעמים של העבר, ההוה, והעתיד.

Hoenig asserts that the themes of the Rosh Hashanah triad are all apparent in Psalm 81. The Shofaroth are alluded to in verse four, "Blow the horn at the New Moon". The Zikhronoth relate to the reference to the Exodus in verse six and the theophany at Sinai in verse eight. In verses ten and eleven the Malkhuyoth are inferred. "Thus already in the Temple service, on the first day of the seventh month, which later became Rosh Hashanah, the song of the Levites in their Psalms appropriately conveyed the basic themes of the day."[60]

Petuchowski views the Uv'khen section as a remnant of Rabbi Johanan ben Nuri's Malkhuyoth. The insertions

> voice the hope that all mankind will form one band to do the will of God with a perfect heart, pray for Jewish self-respect and messianic fulfillment, look forward to the time when the 'dominion of arrogance' will have passed away from the

> earth, and confidently expect the sole reign of God. 61

The introduction to the Zikhronoth is ascribed to Rav.[62] From this the inference is made that Rav is the author of the entire shofar liturgy. This assumption jumps to an unwarranted conclusion. Petuchowski sees Rav rather as the redactor of the present form of the Rosh Hashanah insertions.

> Rav's edition of the Malkhuyoth, Zikhronoth, and Shofaroth has remained unsurpassed in the loftiness of its expression, in the aptness of scripture verses, and in the universal sweep of its vision. 63

It seems odd that the essential element of the Rosh Hashanah liturgy, the service for the blowing of the shofar, should be in the Additional service. A statement attributed to Rabbi Johanan explains the reason. The shofar originally was sounded in the Morning service. Once, when the shofar was sounded early in the morning, the Roman guards mistakenly thought the sounds were a call to battle. The guards came and slaughtered the Jewish community, thereby preventing the supposed attack. After this, the entire liturgy was shifted to the Additional service, thereby eliminating the possibility of misinterpretation.[64]

> This report has a ring of historical veracity. You can just picture the Roman garrison in occupied Palestine frightened by the early morning sounds of the shofar! You can also understand why they reacted the way they did. Moreover, it stands to reason that the same kind of shofar sounds

> would be considerably less frightening, and far less suspicious, during the noon hours of the Additional service, when the heat of the day is far less conducive to armed rebellion. 65

If the text is indeed authentic, a proper reason exists for the change. The shofar sounds may actually have been relatively early in the day in Temple times. Only later were they transferred to Musaf.[66]

Mann notes that during times of persecution under Hadrian all synagogal services were proscribed. There is evidence of clandestine sounding of the shofar in Mishnah Rosh Hashanah 3:7. Blowing the shofar in a pit of in a cistern may be proof of secret shofar blowing. Yet in Hadrianic times there was no teru'ah in Shaharith or Musaf.[67] Later, after Hadrian's death in 138 C.E., local Roman authorities permitted Jews to resume their religious practices. In certain places, the control was relaxed, in others, watchfulness was maintained. The shofar sounds early in the day could have alarmed the authorities. The resulting panic forced a change in the synagogue service due to persecution.[68]

Heinemann asserts that there is a clue to the litur-i gical transfer in Mishnah Rosh Hashanah 4:7. " When a man passes before the Ark(to lead the prayer)on a Festival-day of the New Year (not he but) the second blows the shofar." It is also possible that the change was due to public relations. More congregants attended the later service.

Hence more Jews could fulfill the mitzvah of hearing the shofar sounds at Musaf. Yet the text dealing with persecution also has its merits. The conclusion is that the Sages were actually left with a tradition which had no appropriate reason. They may have interpreted the circumstance based on many different views as best they could.[69]

Eventually the rite was restored to the Morning service. It may have been re-instituted so that the congregation would not become impatient. The custom of blowing the shofar at Musaf was retained. Elbogen holds that this existed in services by the year 300 C.E. [70] This explains the two-fold repetition of the shofar sounds in the traditional liturgy.[71] The teqi'oth meyushabh (sitting shofar sounds) occur after the Torah reading, while the second set of blasts, teqi'oth me'ummad (standing shofar sounds), are heard during the reader's repetition of the Musaf 'Amidah.[72]

Allon suggests that the Musaf blowing was actually an ancient Temple tradition. The shofar was blown at the time of the Additional Sacrifice. Eventually the custom arose to sound the shofar at a parallel time.[73] This view could be corroborated by two additional texts. In the Yerushalmi, Psalm 17:1 is interpreted exegetically. The four parts of the verse correspond to sections of the service for Rosh Hashanah. The exegesis ends with a

reference to Musaf. It is only after Musaf that God's judgment is passed; therefore the mitzvah of the day is with the Additional service.[74] מצות היום במוסף

A parallel passage from the Pesiqta RabbatM indicates a slight variation. During Shaharith, one is not engaged in either idle speech or words of deceit. One should be meditating on Torah, mitzvoth, and good deeds. Then, in Musaf, one can beseech God to disregard evil actions or wicked deeds and thereby hope for a positive outcome. Thus the time for blowing the shofar, calling for acquittal in judgment, is after the prayer in the Morning service, i.e., the Additional service. This is consistent with the Rabbis' desire to adduce scriptural proof for laws or customs.[75]

The Mishnah informs us of a dispute regarding the the blowing of the shofar when Rosh Hashanah falls on the Sabbath.[76] While the Temple was in existence, the shofar was blown in the Temple but not in the provinces, in this situation. This led Rabbi Johanan ben Zakkai, after the destruction of the Temple, to ordain a new rule. On days when Rosh Hashanah was coterminous with the Sabbath, the shofar could be blown wherever there was a court of law. Rabbi Ele'azar tried to limit this specifically to the area of Yavneh, but this was overruled. The Talmud quotes a story of ben Zakkai and the B'nai Batira, opponents of his view.

> Our Rabbis taught: Once New Year fell on a Sabbath (and all the towns assembled), and Rabban Johanan said to the B'nai Batira, Let us blow the shofar. They said to him, Let us discuss the matter. He said to them, Let us blow, and afterwards discuss. After they had blown they said to him, Let us discuss the question now. He replied, The horn has already been heard in Yavneh, and what has been done is no longer open to discussion. 77

The blowing of the shofar is considered a skill and not work. Therefore it is allowed on the Sabbath.[78] The skill can be practised on the Sabbath day.[79] The Gemara suggests that one may go to an expert in order to learn the proper technique of shofar blowing. In doing so, however, the blower may transgress the prohibition of carrying an object from one domain to another. Due to this secondary reason, there are those who would disallow the blowing on Shabbat.[80] Yet if experts from the Beit Din were present, there would be no fear of breaking the commandment.

Is the New Year considered a single holy day or a two day festival? Varying opinions speak in favor of both points of view. Those who maintain that Rosh Hashanah is celebrated for two days support with many texts. Citing evidence from the Mishnah, Herr states that two days Rosh Hashanah were observed as early as the late first century C.E. This was probably the case for Rosh Hodesh as well.[81] In addition the Yerushalmi maintains that "the Prophets ordained two days of New Year."[82] The two days are considered one continual holy day; the Rabbis enacted this from the very

beginning.[83] The shewbread was baked early if one of the two days of the New Year fell on the Sabbath.[84]

The two days were crucial for the liturgy. Though conflicting opinions of Johanan ben Nuri and Akiba existed, both views could be harmonized with a two day observance. Thus two days of Rosh Hashanah were observed in Usha. On the first day, the observance was accordding to ben Nuri, while on the second day Akiba's view was heeded.[85] Two days of New Year also utilized two biblical texts. Leviticus 23:24 includes the phrase זכרון תרועה zikhron teru'ah, "a remembrance of teru'ah", whereas in Numbers 29:1 the phrase is יום תרועה yom teru'ah, "a day of teru'ah". This apparent discrepancy is eliminated in this way. "At a time when the festival comes on a Sabbath, we recall the act of blowing to memory, but we do not blow."[86] Therefore the shofar is only sounded on a weekday. This would satisfy those who would not want the shofar sounded on Shabbat. Thus the New Year would appear to be a two day celebration.

However a different text would contradict this view. The seventy shekels in Numbers 7:79 are indicative of the number of holy days in the year. There are fifty-two Sabbath days, seven days of Passover, eight days of Tabernacles, and one day each of New Year, Atonement, and Weeks. The total of seventy holy days corresponds to the seventy shekels.[87] This text must have been written

at an earlier period, prior to the elongation of Passover, New Year, and Weeks. Thus the New Year may have been celebrated for a single day only.

Zeitlin discusses this problem. After reviewing the process of intercalation, he explains the purpose of two days' observance of the New Year. Since the determination of the New Year was so pivotal for the entire year's calendar, the date was fixed retroactively. It depended on whether or not the previous month was full. Two days were observed so as to certify that at least one of them had been the proper day. Babylonian authorities eventually placed the calendar on a scientific basis, and the New Year became a single day's observance. In parts of the Diaspora, the two days of celebration were, however, maintained. The custom grew so strong that the populace held on to the "ancestral tradition". Zeitlin quotes a sage who says the second day observance of holidays belong to a category of statutes that were no good. In Palestine, the second day became established by Diaspora Jews who migrated there. Only one day of Rosh Hashanah was observed from the establishment of the calendar until the migration. This period extended from the fourth to the twelfth centuries C.E. After this date the tradition of the Diaspora Jews overwhelmed the Palestinian authorities.[88]

This argument is inconclusive. Zeitlin fails to support his position adequately and overlooks texts which would make his dating scheme inconceivable. There is definitely support for the hypothesis that he maintains. Originally the New Year festival must have taken place on one day. The Bible tells us the observance was on Tishri 1, a "yom", a single day (Numbers 29:1). Perhaps the strongest argument for this hypothesis comes from the selected Torah and Haftarah readings for the New Year. Certainly if the observance was for two days, the earliest sources would offer readings from the Pentateuch and the Prophets for both days.

This is precisely not the case. In both the Mishnah and Tosefta only one text is read for Rosh Hashanah.[89] Since the observance at that time was only one day, there was need only to list a single reading. Between the codification of the Mishnah and the redaction of the Talmud, the change has taken place. Additional texts are required for the elongated observance. Two days of celebration now require two days of Torah and Haftarah readings. The Gemara here completely overrules the Mishnah.

> On New Year, we read "In the seventh month', (Numbers 29:1) and for Haftarah, 'Is Ephraim a darling son unto me'(Jeremiah 31:20). According to others we read, 'And the Lord remembered Sarah' (Genesis 21) and for Haftarah the story of Hannah(1Samuel 1). Nowadays that we keep two days, on the first day we follow the ruling of the other authority, and on the next day we read,

'And God tried Abraham'(Genesis 22) with 'Is Ephraim a darling son unto me' for haftarah. 90

Büchler would maintain that the former view relates the Palestinian custom, whereas the latter position corresponds to the Babylonian tradition.[91]

This leads to a discussion of the Torah readings. Büchler and Mann shared the assumption of a Palestinian triennial cycle. Mann believed the cycle began in Tishri, while Büchler held that the readings commenced in Nisan.[92] The Babylonian custom was a yearly cycle of Pentateuchal readings. There is no specific evidence for the existence of a uniform three year cycle in the Talmudic age.

Büchler creates an ingenious theory which would account for the choice of Torah readings. In the earlier Palestinian triennial cycle, every third year the reading for Rosh Hashanah was Genesis 21. Although the Babylonian custom ultimately prevailed, this reading of God's remembrance of Sarah became the beloved New Year lesson. In an alternate year God's remembrance of Rachel was read(Genesis 30). This was expanded to include Hannah as well (1 Samuel 1), which became the accepted Haftarah. Büchler further asserts that each of the five books of Moses were read on specific dates during the three year period. They uniquely correspond to the four dates listed in Mishnah Rosh Hashanah 1:1.

Further consideration would lead Buchler to an additional conclusion. When the observance was expanded to two days, what would be more natural, than to read the chapter following the story of Sarah? The theme of the 'aqedah was certainly fitting for the New Year. The appropriate Haftarah comes from the second year of the cycle, Jeremiah 31:20. The standardization of two days' readings would then follow the Talmud quote above.[93]

There may have been an additional Haftarah, an alternative as it were, from Joel 2:1. "Blow a horn in Zion, sound an alarm on My holy mount! Let all dwellers on earth tremble, for the day of the Lord has come! It is close." The themes of the following chapter are quite applicable for New Year. Both the Pesiqta Rabbathi and the Tanhuma use this as a Haf ırah selection.[94] This may have replaced the reading from ɜremiah.

Liebreich acknowledges that the notion of God's judgment and remembrance, although originally not part of the New Year, became a pervasive theme. The Zikhronoth of the matriarchs provided the way to historicize the New Year.[95] "Rabbi Ele'azar said on New Year, Sarah, Rachel, and Hannah were remembered."[96] This theme was elaborated in the Midrash. Whole chapters of the homiletical literature interpret God's visiting of Sarah and Hannah.[97]

Finally, Liebreich offers the theory that the 'aqedah was introduced both in the liturgy and the Torah reading once the decision was made to embody this theme on the New Year. It was included as the second day's scriptural reading. It was woven into the middle of the three insertions in the Musaf 'Amidah. This was a late innovation and occurred under Babylonian influence.[98]

DeMoor gives an ancient precedent for the New Year Haftarah reading.

> We are on firmer ground, however, with the moving account of Samuel's birth. Every year Elkanah went up to the sanctuary of Yahweh at Shiloh to perform his religious duties. Apparently it was a special occasion which he used to attend. The Hebrew text calls it the "sacrificial banquet of the days". As we have seen this was a Phoenician designation of the New Year Festival. 99

Thus it would be obvious to include this as the Prophetic reading for the Jewish New Year.

"Into the traditional structure of the festival Judaism has woven certain elements of its own, designed to relate it more closely to the particular history of Israel."[100] The Binding of Isaac as a Torah reading and the birth of Samuel as a Haftarah selection most definitely place Judaism's own stamp upon Rosh Hashanah. The perpetuation of the covenant and the abiding memory and virtue of the patriarchs who walked with God are evident themes both in the biblical readings and the liturgy of Rosh

Hashanah. "The promise of the new and changing year becomes the fulfillment of the old and eternal pledge."[101]

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS

The Jewish New Year Festival as now celebrated has evolved over the centuries. It has been shaped by events both internal and external to the Jewish people. Historical circumstance and creative exegesis have enabled the "first day of the seventh month" to assume a far greater importance in the mind of the Rabbis than could be inferred from the biblical text itself. Those connections which have existed over time, namely God's kingship, God's judgment, and the use of the shofar, have been deepened and broadened. The scope of the festival has been widened, and its purpose raised more lofty.

The Bible's evidence for a New Year celebrated on Tishri 1 is scant. The Israelite version of the New Year held ideas in common with those festivals of other cultures in the Ancient Near East, yet Israel transformed the purpose to that of serving Yahweh. The biblical holy convocation originally included three elements of acclamation, atonement, and ingathering. After their separation and autonomous celebration, each day developed its own history, theology, and observance.

Originally the New Year day may have had only two distinct elements, remembrance and acclamation. These points of contact between the biblical text and the present holy day specifically come from the phrase in Leviticus 23:24, zikhron teru'ah. Yom ha Zikkaron, the supreme Day of Remembrance, was the day when God was reminded of the needs of His people. The significance is corrolated to the common idea that the fresh agricultural cycle was related to the renewal of all creation. In ancient Babylonia, the New Year day was the occasion when the destiny of a nation was determined. This became a vital link in the Jewish New Year as well. Yet the Karaites found no connection between the Bible and the determination of one's fate.[1]

The second element is of a technical nature. Teru'ah denotes an expression of approval, praise, or assent. The Rabbis consciously chose to connote this to the shofar, but in the Bible it is not clear what is meant. The word may actually mean a great shout, as in Joshua 6:5. The Karaites do not use a shofar, and find no connection between shofar and teru'ah.[2] Yom Teru'ah, the Day of Acclamation, is celebrated through a day of prayer, jubilation, and alarm. Preparatory to Yom Kippur, the day is marked by the raising of one's voice and the singing of praises. No instruments are used.[3]

The Samaritans, relying on the same biblical texts, celebrate the occasion of Tishri 1 by praying and feasting. The day commemorates the birthday of Moses.[4] "The Samaritans do not regard this so much as a New Year festival as rather the beginning of the great penitential season of the year."[5]

The third element which surfaces, especially in the liturgy, is that of kingship. This is not as obvious a biblical intention as it is implicit. The installation of God as King of the world was an apparent belief from the traditions of the Ancient Near East, which Israel may have adapted from other cultures. God's universal rule is apparent in the Psalms, wherein it is related to God's justice. Praise and glory are given to God as the divine King.

The shofar is the symbol which uniquely binds the themes of kingship and judgment together. It is the instrument which heralds God's reign and His justice. The religious application of the use of the trumpet as an alarm signifies an intended change. The original use of the shofar, i.e., scaring away demons, has become the vehicle of reminding God of His people. The cry of the alarm in battle has become the cry of a people toward its God. The blasts pay homage to the Monarch and Judge, and recall the sounds at the Sinaitic theophany. Through this instrument, Israel is able to acknowledge God's sovereignty.

The Babylonian "fixing of the fates" and the clay tablets on which humanity's destiny is recorded are certainly precursors to the same themes apparent in the Bible and embellished by the rabbinic mind. These were adaptable to Israel's purpose of sublimating the primitive belief to the divine will.

> The New Year Festival was conceived in early times as the day when the destiny of the world was fixed. Since the New Year celebration in Babylon involved a similar motif, there is a point of contrast here between the two cultures. The idea is an ancient one and is usually combined with the deliverance of the god from some danger, and the divine marriage. Of these three motifs, only that of fixing destinies could be adopted into the religion of Israel; this was naturally attached to the autumn New Year festival, when the agricultural outlook for the future was a primary concern. Later the day became a day of divine retribution. New Year and the Day of Atonement turned into 'days of awe' with prayers for forgiveness and repentance. In the Bible this process is only incipient; the two are not joined as days of retribution. They are still separate and festive in expectation of God's beneficent decisions. 6

The Bible's picture of the New Year, unique to Israel, allows but a glimpse into the world of God's fixing of humanity's fate. The evolutionary process inherits from the Bible a foundation based on the shofar, kingship, and judgment.

The "first day of the seventh month" of the Bible is neither somber nor awesome. Ezra's need to tell the people to rejoice is indicative of the festive mood of the day in biblical times. Additionally there were no strictures or

rituals, e.g., shofar or sacrifices, which related to actual Levitical laws. Forgiveness and repentance on the New Year day, as recorded in the Bible, do not exist to the extent later developed as intrinsic to the observance by the Rabbis.

It thus is difficult to ascertain the scope and nature of Tishri 1 in ancient times. It was a form of commencement, the beginning of the new agricultural year. Yet it may also have been an exalted New Moon observance, the holiest of the year. Just as the seventh day and the seventh year were unique to the biblical redactor, so too the seventh month was undoubtedly special.

During the Intertestamental period, certain themes relevant to the New Year present themselves. Despite this evidence, no gradual construction of the holy day occurs. The motifs under study exist in their raw or natural state; they have neither been moulded nor shaped by the Rabbis. Hoenig's suggestion that the Malkhuyoth, Zikhronoth, and Shofaroth exist in Philo's allegorical commentary is premature. This is isegesis from an orthodox point of view. Only through the vision of the later liturgy can Hoenig see this three-fold aspect in the Alexandrian community. Finding the Malkhuyoth and Zikhronoth is wishful thinking. Yet one must complement Philo for being the first extra-biblical author to connect God, Israel, Sinai and the shofar.

This antecedent for the Shofaroth elucidates relevance from the blast of the ram's horn. The modern day practice has been given an historical basis and a future orientation. The environment of the covenant hewn at Sinai is thus renewed at the New Year through the shofar.

In Jubilees, Abram views God as omnipotent and omniscient. These attributes correspond to later rabbinic concepts of kingship and judgment on the New Year. God is the Creator of the world, the One who fixes the fates, and the super-eminent authority figure. It is within His domain to determine humanity's reward or punishment. Through the medium of rainfall allotment, God sends His verdict directly to the earth. This uniquely parallels the statement of Shimon bar Yohai (see above, p. 58). Abram, who ponders the "character of the year " is acting just as a Jew should on Rosh Hashanah. As God determines the destiny of His universe, Abram becomes pensive and humbled. What does Abram do? He prays to God and hopes his words are heard. These allusions both to the theological motifs and to the frame of mind of the worshipper constitute part of the evolution of the New Year. Jubilees becomes the oldest extra-biblical text which alludes to Rosh Hashanah.

The rabbinic development of the New Year transforms it into a complex time when God decrees life and sustenance for His creatures.

> On the first day of Tishri sentence is pronounded upon the countries of the world- those destined for war and those destined for peace. On this day the lives of mortals are scrutinized to determine who is to have life and who is to have death. 'Now', God declares, 'if you will vow repentance before Me, I will receive you, and I will judge you in scales weighted in your favor. The gates of heaven are open, and I yearn to hear your prayers,hopefully looking down, as I do, through the windows of heaven, and peering out through its lattices up until the moment when I have no choice but to seal the decree on Yom Kippur.' Hence with the judgment on Rosh Hashanah in mind, Isaiah said, 'Seek ye the Lord while He may be found.' 7

By the time of the Second Temple, the day of Tishri 1 has assumed a particularly significant role in the life of the Jewish people. Essential aspects of life, both the concrete and the eternal, are interwoven in the tapestry of the New Year: creation, forgiveness, sustenance, covenant, sin, revelation, justice, mercy, life, providence, and redemption. Despite the ominous mood of the day, with God fixing the fate of each person, there is a quality of hope. Prayer, repentance, and righteous action become efficacious, as they avert the stern judgment.

The Karaites rejected this concept in toto, calling it non-biblical.

> The Rabbanites say that man's deeds are calculated on New Year's Day. If it is found that his sins are more numerous than his merits, he becomes one of the people of Hell, even if he has some merits;

> however, if he repents he may cancel the punishment for his evil deeds, so that only his merits will remain. If his merits are more numerous than his sins, he becomes one of the people of Paradise, and his few sins are regarded as of no account. In case his sins and his merits balance each other, if he repents his sins within the ten days of mercy from New Year's Day to the Day of Atonement, he is regarded as meritorious and is counted with the righteous. If he does not earn the merit of repentance, he is counted with the wicked, and all his merits are as nothing. They thus divide them into three groups: those perfectly righteous, those absolutely wicked, and those who are intermediate; and it is the latter group that is referred to in their aforementioned opinion. This theory, however, clearly constitutes a perversion of justice, since it implies that God does not repay everyone according to his deeds.[8]

The Rabbis had other purposes in mind for the New Year's day. The Pharisaic revolution transformed cultic holidays into days of personal salvation.

> The first day of the seventh month, the day of the blowing of the ram's horn, which so long as the Temple stood was primarily a day devoted to displaying the expiatory efficacy of the cult, was now proclaimed preeminently as the New Year, Rosh Hashanah, the day on which God had created the world and the day on which he judged each individual and determined his fate for the coming year...(a day) of direct confrontation with God. 9

Under Babylonian influence the biblical Tishri 1 received a new name and meaning. The Rabbis sincerely believed that matters of life and death were on the line, and incorporated prayers, symbols, and readings accordingly into the liturgy.

Both the world and humanity are held accountable. Repentance, though always possible, takes on special

urgency at the New Year. The goal is to propitiate the Creator and effect merciful judgment. The rabbinic understanding of Psalm 81:4-5 becomes crystallized. If not according to the actual meaning of the text, then due to its homiletical interpretation, judgment and mercy are bonded to the blowing of the shofar.

The shofar itself becomes subject to a process of transvaluation. The ram's horn is sounded even though its original meaning has been replaced with a new understanding.

> In these explanations all the objectionable associations that the shofar may have had are completely gone. Yet they are not far-fetched, for they are based upon uses of the shofar that are found in the Bible - whether in its role at the inauguration of a king, or of reminding its hearers of something. The original function of the shofar, in which it was used to frighten away evil forces, and of which we may have traces even in the Bible, is toned down or got rid of by making the evil the attribute of justice as opposed to mercy, or making it synonymous with sin or oppression. Or the driving away of the evil power is sublimated into the idea that people repent and submit to God. This is characteristic of the way the Rabbis took popular and superstitious practices and beliefs and transformed them. 10

The motif of the shofar has become acceptable theologically as well as aesthetically. The connection of the ram's horn to the Bible is solidified, yet its Pharisaic re-interpretation has made it relevant. God's merciful judgment on the New Year is inextricably connected to the sounding of the shofar by the Jewish people.

The liturgy of Rosh Hashanah connects the transcendent Rabbinic understanding with the immanence of prayer. The

scholarly homiletical expositions become the pragmatic bases of the prayers of עמך 'amkha, the people. The entire spectrum of rabbinic thought associated with Tishri 1 is actually enunciated by the worshippers in the Malkhuyoth, Zikhronoth, and Shofaroth. Sounding the ram's horn epitomizes the rabbinic need to combine historical observance, a present confluence of belief and emotion, and a messianic future.

Yet the Rabbis' goals and thought processes must not be underestimated. As much as the shofar sounds have positive connotations, there may be polemical undercurrents. Not purely coincidental, the Malkhuyoth, Zikhronoth, and Shofaroth may each be the embodiment of thoughts and reactions to other value systems.[11] In addition to praising God as the Creator of the world, one may be denying the Roman god-king. While God is extolled as providential, the views of the Epicureans are attacked. Finally there are anti-Christian implications in the Shofaroth and the reading of the 'aqedah.

Kingship references in the liturgy may have been included for two reasons: a positive statement of belief in the One Ruler of Heaven and Earth, and a negative statement of denial to Rome. From the time of Augustus the cult of the emperor was common in the Hellenistic East.[12] Since the Malkhuyoth was seemingly a later insert than the Zikhronoth or Shofaroth, its introduction could be construed as polemical. This explicitly negates the worship of the god-king.

The Rabbis saw an antagonism between the Kingdom of God and the kingdom of Rome. They denigrated the government, whose authority derived from the deification of might, and whose emperor was its incarnate principal. The practice of violence, corruption, cruelty, bribery, murder, and rapacious action on Rome's behalf was, for the Rabbis, incompatible with the kingdom of heaven.[13]

Heinemann is convinced that the mention of God's kingship was thus introduced as a protest against Roman emperor worship.[14] The Jews, who affirm their faith in God as a this-worldly Sovereign, reject the recognition of a temporary human ruler. There is only one King who is worthy of praise. This liturgical insert of the Malkhuyoth is a manifestation of the opposition to the imperial cult.

The Zikhronoth explicitly confirm faith in the God who "remembers the covenant" and implicitly repudiates the views of Epicurus.

> It is abundantly clear to Epicurus the gods are not supernatural beings controlling Nature from outside. His denial of Divine providence and Divine interference with the world is unqualified. . . (The gods) are utterly indifferent to human interests. No benefits are to be expected from their favour, no punishments to be dreaded from their anger . . . To such superhuman excellence our reverence is due; but neither prayers, nor vows, nor prophecies have any part in true piety.[16]

This philosophy is totally at odds with the Jewish God who takes a keen interest in the affairs of His people. According to the Rabbis, God is supernatural and also interested

in human action. Reward and punishment emanate from the Divine Judge. God is worshipped through prayer, study, and acts of loving kindness.

> Epicurus was chosen as a symbol of heresy not only because of his immense popularity but also because of the particular danger inherent in his philosophy. . . The Epicurean notion that the gods care about nothing and nobody, thereby denying reward and punishment for men's actions, was regarded by the Rabbis as worse than atheism. 16

Throughout the Talmudic development of Rosh Hashanah human action and behavior change can avert the destiny of doom. God hears prayers, God obeys the cry of the shofar, and God grants human forgiveness. This is contrary to an Epicurean view of the universe.

The insertion of the Shofaroth is a subtle polemic against Christianity. According to the Talmud, the Decalogue was originally part of the Temple service. The populace wanted to include it as part of the daily service external to the Temple. They were forbidden to do so in order to refute a heresy of the Minim, that only the Ten Commandments were given by God.[17]

By tangibly re-creating the sounds heard at Mt. Sinai, the service for Rosh Hashanah includes a reminder of God's covenant. Büchler notes that the Deuteronomic Decalogue was read on New Year in the third year of the triennial cycle.[18] God has preserved the eternal bond with Israel. Among the verses chosen for the Shofaroth, some refer to Sinai and others tell of the great Shofar which will announce the

redemption. The people which received the Ten Commandments has always been beloved by God, who will liberate them at the end of time. There is no Redeemer other than God, who gave the Torah in its entirety to Israel at Sinai. Both the Revelation and the final Redemption are accompanied by the sounding of the shofar.

Additionally, the 'aqedah may have been chosen as a reading for the second day of Rosh Hashanah to counteract Christian claims that Isaac was a prefigurement of Jesus. By making the binding of Isaac such an important part of the ritual, the passage's utility within the total Jewish gestalt of the New Year is demonstrated. In the story, God does not desire the death of His people through human sacrifice; rather, He desires a sacrifice of the heart through prayer and repentance.

> A reading of the Creation story to commemorate the day of Creation - which would have been logical - was deliberately avoided. Under the circumstances the Rabbis chose a far more relevant passage: the 'Aqedah. This passage has all the elements of sacrifice, vicarious atonement, and the necessary mythology to stem the tide of conversion to Christianity. The 'Aqedah is an anti-Christian polemic. 19

What may have been just another parashah assumes unparalleled importance. Liebreich was convinced that the 'aqedah was the last strata introduced into the Zikhronoth. This drama of Abraham and Isaac is perhaps the capstone to the Rabbis' evolution of the idea-content of the New Year. The 'aqedah addresses the psychological need for atonement,

a need which provided comfort for Jews at times of persecution.

> Throughout the centuries of Jewish martyrdom, many a Jew, and many a Jewish community, had occasion to identify themselves with just such a 'hero' as Isaac was understood to have been. 20

The Jewish New Year Festival, based on the biblical "first day of the seventh month", represents a marvelous evolution of a holy day. New theological meanings relate the biblical text to acute insights into human behavior. Ancient rites have been transformed into practical ceremonies. Historical necessity has dictated changes in the ritual. Notions of creation, revelation, and the ultimate redemption are incorporated on the anniversary of the day of creation, the day on which the shofar at Sinai is heard again: the day which heralds the future messianic era. The motifs of the shofar, of God as King, and of God as Judge, comprehended through the unique organic thought of the Rabbis, are rooted in the Bible. These motifs have grown, developed, and matured until they are firmly expanded in the liturgy of Rosh Hashanah.

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