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by


Jerome Sheldon Gurland

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SUMMARY

This thesis is a translation of one section of work in the field of liturgy written by Ismar Elbogen.

In the section translated are to be found the following general topics:

1. The poetry of the synagogue, its origin, its development and its impact upon Jewish religious thinking and worship. The author presents a detailed analysis of the individual forms of poetry as well as biographical sketches of the outstanding Payettanim.
2. The development of the liturgy through the ages. The author attempts to go back to the earliest period in the history of the Jewish people and trace the growth of what eventually became the prayer-book. In this section, he does not discuss the minute details of the individual prayers. Rather does he attempt to set the liturgy as a whole in its historical context and the role its various aspects played in each era. In this lengthy discussion of the various periods in the development of the liturgy, the author includes the liturgy of the Reform Movement in America as well as its beginnings in Germany.

In addition to the translation which constitutes the bulk of this thesis, there are two appendices. One attempts to discuss some of the propositions and conclusions given by Dr. Elbogen in light of more recent literature on the subject of the development of the liturgy. The other is a record of some of the achievements in the field of liturgy since the publication of the book in 1931. In this appendix, an attempt is made to make mention of the discussions within the various rabbinical organizations on the subject of the prayer-book as well as give a brief summary of major prayer-books that have appeared in more recent times.

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Chapter 4: Synagogue Poetry

31. General Information

- 206 Bibliography: Dukes L., Zur Kenntnis der Neuhebräischen religiösen Poesie; Zunz L., G.V.2, p. 395b Synagogale Poesie, p. 60ff.; Duschak, p. 224ff.; Perles J., Beiträge zur Geschichte der hebräischen und aramäischen Studien, p. 63ff. J.E. article on Piut 10, 65ff.; Pison, ibid. 68.

1. The prayers discussed up to this point are generally designated as the basic prayers (Stammgebete). They are characteristic of all prayerbooks and the text is more or less uniform in all of the prayerbooks except for the changes initiated by the Reform Movement. These prayers are present in the Talmud and were expanded and revised in the period immediately after the close of the Talmud. As a result of their early composition, they were universally accepted and recognized as mandatory prayers. To a certain degree, they were recognized as authoritative (הַשְׁמָרָה) and served as the הַשְׁמָרָה לְעֵצָה the form of the blessing. They were viewed as the content of the prayers arranged by ancient scholars from which one was not to deviate.

Despite all the reverence for tradition, the spiritual sense of the Jewish people did not permit itself to be shackled by a rigid traditional liturgy. This spirituality at all times demanded the right of independent activity and the freedom to express one's own religiosity. It sought to incorporate a personal, or even better, a timely element into the prayer form that had been handed down. Thus along with the fixed traditional prayer, there developed a flexible element which was left to the discretion of the congregation (הַשְׁמָרָה). The

religious needs, the tendencies and predilections of the various countries and times have therefore effected the structure of prayer. The culture, the environment and the political and social conditions have either elevated or diminished the significance of a prayer and expanded or restricted its usage. Occasionally, this flexible quality was prevalent throughout the liturgy and at times it was strongly limited.

207 We have already encountered this flexible element in the prayers preceding the Kriat Shema (§§ 11.12) and those which follow the Tefillah (§10) but these changes came at an early enough time to have received general acceptance. Here, in this section, we will deal with those prayers that originated in a later period. There were religious poems that represented¹ the expansion of the basic prayers and were therefore called

פ'ת'ע like the Biblical Psalms. Zunz applied the term "synagogue poetry" to these compositions. Most of these poems were given other names in Hebrew which correspond to the cultural milieu under whose influence they developed. The one term is פ'ת'ע Piyyut derived from the Greek indicating the Byzantine era. Another, חזנות Hazanuth comes from the Arabic and prevailed in the Islamic period.

2. פ'ת'ע, חזנות from the Greek, is the term already used in the Midrash designating the disciplined poet using artistic form. A characteristic sign of the author's style is the alphabetical acrostic running throughout the poem or broken off in the middle.

הָיָה עִיבָא דְּרַבִּי אֶלְפָּא בִּתְלָא זַמְנִין מַחֲסֵס לִיהִי זַמְנִין אֲרֵי
מִיחֲסֵס הֵי

"When a poet writes an alphabetical poem, sometimes he completes it, sometimes he does not," (Cant. rab. 1:7 to verse 1:1). From the word עִיבָא the verb עִיב was formed and conjugated in the piel and pual as if it were basically a Hebrew word (עִיבָא , עִיב , עִיבָא , עִיבָא). The most frequently used form of this word is the noun עִיבָא . The Targum Jerusalmi to Second Kings 3:15 renders the Hebrew word שָׁא , to sing, as עִיבָא . In the category of the term Piyyut, one generally includes every type of poetry. Sabbatai Donato in the tenth century, for example, calls the whole introduction to his Jezira commentary a Piyyut. The term is, however, primarily used to designate religious poetry appended to the basic prayers or inserted into them. Along with the word Piyyut, there is another expression עִיבָא that has not yet been satisfactorily explained. Here again, it has been given the root עִיב , עִיבָא and conjugated and treated as if it were pure Hebrew. The Targum Jerusalmi to Second Samuel 6:16 translates עִיבָא as עִיבָא . This word like עִיבָא is apparently Greek in origin, a derivative of ἐπίω , ἐπιθή . It always occurs with עִיבָא and in one instance it is used as the opposite of עִיבָא and to be understood as an acrostic poem.

3. עִיבָא , the arabic عيبا is not used now as frequently as the term Piyyut. At an earlier period and in the Orient, the home of synagogue poetry, this term was used to designate Piyyut. The works of the oldest writers of

synagogue poetry known to us are designated by the name Hazanah. Into the thirteenth century, they are listed in book indices as works with and without commentary under the heading הזקסן . An Arabic author specifically distinguishes between the הזקסן and the mandatory prayers into which the poetry was inserted. The word did not remain in use as long as Piyyut but has an extremely important meaning for the understanding of the beginnings of synagogue poetry as we shall see later on.

4. הינסן is another general term that is related to הזקסן though employed, for the most part, in a more limited sense. It is a derivative of the verb נסן and a translation of נחל (נחל) in the Pseudo-Palestinian Targumim of Exodus 15:21 and Job 3:1. In the Midrash it is used in the sense of נחל נחל pleasantness, and apparently has some connection with נחל נחל . Originally the word indicated hymns that were scanned, rhymed and divided into stanzas. Later on it referred only to hymns with a refrain. Either the entire selection including the refrain or the lines of the refrain alone were identified by the term הינסן . Augustin placed a verse at the beginning of one of his songs which was then repeated at the end of every stanza. He called this poem a "hypopsalm". This term hypopsalm is similar to the usage of הינסן developed in Jewish circles. In the later Medieval period, the loud antistrophe was substituted for הינסן . Though הינסן for the most part appears as the term for poetry with a refrain, it is also used indiscriminately as the

general designation for synagogue poetry.

By virtue of its content, the synagogue poetry falls into two groups, the hymnic and elegiac compositions. We shall follow the example of Zunz and differentiate between them by using the terms Piyyut and Selicha respectively.

32. The Piyyut

Bibliography: Dukes, ibid.; Zunz, ibid., Brody H. and Albrecht K., Die neuhebräische Dichterschule der spansich-arabischen Epoche; JE, ibid. as well as the articles: Avodah 1, 75f., Asharot 2, 368ff., Kerovot 7, 468ff., Yozerot 12, 622f.

1. As we have seen, the Piyyut fundamentally designates every type of synagogue poetry. The colloquial usage, however, has so developed that only the poetry of the hymnic type is called Piyyut. These hymns are songs of praise and thanksgiving whose contents can be of a general nature or bear some relationship to nature or history.

- 209 1. The name Piyyut is the generic term for all synagogue poetry whereas special terms are given to the individual types of poetry. The latter particular designations are determined by the outer form of the poem but mostly according to its contents or its place in the liturgy.
2. The names derived from the outer form are of a more general nature. They can be applied to every selection regardless of its contents or place in the prayers. They are extracted from many languages and indicate the various cultural circles that influenced the synagogue poets. Here we shall record only those names that are the most important and occur more frequently.

a) $\text{לכל'ק'ב} \delta \text{לכ}$ plural ל'לכל'ק'ב abbreviated to

לכל'ק'ב is generally used for every type of alphabetical poetry.

b) ל'הלל, הלל'הלל plural ל'לל'הלל , rail or

girder. Originally, Biblical words and parts of a verse that served as the framework of a poem were called ל'הלל . This name then became a designation for the selections themselves that had such a framework or for poems whose brief stanzas consisted of plays on a Biblical word. Instead of ל'הלל , the Greek $\delta \epsilon \delta \rho \omicron \varsigma$, rafter, runner, is sometimes found and likewise refers to the varied refrain which consists of a play on a Biblical word. The term ל'הלל is also applied to selections that are recited quickly and without melody.

c) מל'ל מ Muvashshach; so-called Gürtelreim, a type of poetry derived from the Arabic poetic form. In this particular scheme, there is a verse which sets the theme preceding the poem and rhymes with the end of every stanza. This form was only utilized by the Spanish poets.

d) ל'ק'ק apparently from the Latin circulare. This name was chosen because the Biblical verse at the end of every stanza ends with the same word. This word thus pervades the entire poem. This form is likewise to be found only amongst the Spanish poets.

e) לכל'ל'לל'לל probably derived from the old Spanish estribot, estrambot and likewise a type of poem with a refrain.

3. Some names are given according to the position of the poem in the liturgy. The most common one is ל'לל which designates

210 would more accurately use the term אֵלֶּה אֵלֶּיךָ. Instead of אֵלֶּיךָ, אֵלֶּיךָ is used also or in Arabic אֵלֶּיךָ.

פְּסוּקוֹת (p. 23) apparently has a similar meaning. Just as there are specific names for the poems at the beginning of the prayer, the same holds true for those at the end of a prayer. The longer concluding poems are called פְּסוּקוֹת, finale; the shorter ones פְּסוּקוֹת, supplement or פְּסוּקוֹת conclusion.

4. The position of the poem within the liturgy was the determining factor when the poem was named according to its contents. Piyyutim are primarily used in two places in the liturgy, in the benedictions of the Shema and the Amidah.

1. The Piyyutim in the benedictions of the Shema

A. In the morning Service

The benedictions of the Shema in the morning service of the sabbath and holydays contain poetic insertions. These additions are collectively called γ^3 , plural $\wedge \gamma^3$. In the earliest times, the γ^3 poetry consisted of the following three selections: γ^3 , it follows the first benediction and was so called in accordance with the opening phrase of the benediction γ^3 . The oldest poetry of this type is the γ^3 recited every sabbath in the Italian rite. In the German tradition, it was recited only on special occasions. The theme

of the ש' is mainly the creation story and the stanzas or the refrain often conclude with the word ע'י'ן .

b) ש' directly before ש'י'ן (p. 67). At this point we find the selection ש'י'ן which probably originated in Palestine. The subject matter of this Piyyut is a description of the Kedusha recited by the angels which would explain its position in the liturgy.

c) ש' , directly preceding ש'י'ן (p. 23) and attached to ש'י'ן . This Piyyut speaks of the hope for better times and frequently alludes to contemporaneous suffering. The terse style of the Palestinian rite is preserved in ש'י'ן which precedes ש'י'ן and to which the ש' is attached (p. 23).

The format presented here is the simplest that occurs. This structure can be considerably expanded in that after b) and c) other selections are added as follows:

b α) ש'י'ן is joined to ש'י'ן (p. 20)

b β) ש'י'ן preceding ש'י'ן

c α) ש'י'ן preceding the same verse from the song of the Red Sea (p. 23).

c β) ש'י'ן occurs in the rituals that have these words before ש'י'ן , and finally

c γ) ש'י'ן directly before ש'י'ן at which point the Ashkenazic ritual again uses the Palestinian prayer ש'י'ן . The content of the latter selections pri-

marily concern God's love for Israel. Some also deal with individual commandments and the hope for God's grace which is

derived from them. Seldom, however, do we find the additions to the אִתְּכֶם , which is the collective title given to all these selections, in such a complete form except with the Spanish writers. Nor do they all have to appear together since frequently only individual ones like אִתְּכֶם or אִתְּכֶם are composed for a holyday or sabbath.

The Spanish poets of the Golden Age placed their insertions even before the אִתְּכֶם . They set some type of an introduction, אִתְּכֶם , before the אִתְּכֶם and the אִתְּכֶם which precedes. They also re-worked in many ways the אִתְּכֶם (p. 113) which serves as the conclusion of the Psalms on the holydays and festivals and it was mistakenly considered part of the אִתְּכֶם .

The compositions for the אִתְּכֶם fall into the following categories:

a) Introductions which have the Hebrew names אִתְּכֶם or the Arabic אִתְּכֶם which is a designation for a similar composition. The form of the אִתְּכֶם that has been preserved is of such a nature that an introductory verse precedes the poem. The conclusion of every stanza rhymes with the last word of this verse. In many ways אִתְּכֶם and אִתְּכֶם are similar to one another.

b) אִתְּכֶם , pl. אִתְּכֶם , poems in which every stanza begins with the word אִתְּכֶם . They are recited after the first paragraph in the אִתְּכֶם before the words אִתְּכֶם .

אִתְּכֶם As a rule we also have these words at the end of the last stanza. The authenticity of the concluding section is questionable, however, for they

are primarily later additions.

c) וְיִשְׂרָאֵל would have to be the same as b). The poems begin with פִּי'אֵל which is the last word before the Piyyut (see b.) Perhaps the unauthentic words of the song mentioned in b come from the וְיִשְׂרָאֵל poems.

d) וְיִשְׂרָאֵל and e) וְיִשְׂרָאֵל are both joined to the beginning and end of the section of Psalm: 35:10 quoted in the וְיִשְׂרָאֵל . There are also poems for f) וְיִשְׂרָאֵל and g) וְיִשְׂרָאֵל but they do not have any specific names.

212 The contents of all the above-mentioned poems are of a hymnic nature and refer, for the most part, to the significance of the day for which they were composed. The form is usually similar to that of the וְיִשְׂרָאֵל .

An examination of Brody and Albrecht number 88-103, pages 100ff., reveals a picture of the vast number of the וְיִשְׂרָאֵל and וְיִשְׂרָאֵל poems written by Jehudah Ha-Levi.

B. In the Evening Service

The וְיִשְׂרָאֵל that are inserted in the evening prayers on the festivals and at one time on the sabbaths also correspond to those in the morning service. The whole group is called וְיִשְׂרָאֵל and since approximately 1600 וְיִשְׂרָאֵל Specific names for the individual selections are not known. The nature of the compositions is such that there is a short poem at every pause in the central liturgy. Accordingly, we find two poems before the וְיִשְׂרָאֵל , one before וְיִשְׂרָאֵל

and the other before פסוקי דשירה (p. 101). After the שמונה עשרה , there are four selections, one before the קריאת התורה , the פסוקי דשירה , the פסוקי דשירה , and before פסוקי דשירה . It is to be remarked here again that in conjunction with the Piyyut, the conclusion of these prayers follows the Palestinian recension (p. 267). A longer poem is joined to the six that are usually short. It has either a single or double acrostic and a refrain and usually precedes the קריאת התורה and the other short selections. Frequently before the last composition, פסוקי דשירה , a lengthy legal section in prose is inserted called פסוקי דשירה or פסוקי דשירה . In the German rite, such an addition is found in the Machsor only on the second evening of Passover. There are also introductory Piyyutim for the Maariv service (פסוקי דשירה). Maarivim have been composed for all of the Festivals though all of them have not retained equal importance or usage. In the Orient, they even had such compositions for special sabbaths. The Spanish writers never composed them and they found no place in the Sephardic ritual.

2. Poems for the Amidah

A. Kerova

The general name for the poems inserted in the Tefillah 213 is קרוונה or קרונה . This word is a derivation of קרונה , a name given to the reader (Vorbeter) who recited the Amidah. The Midrash designates this congregational representative as קרונה . By mistake, the word was substituted for קרונה and was thought of as a mnemonic from the first letters of the first four words of Psalm 118:15

פ'ק'ד'ס דאס וואס ק' . This error occurred in the French because of the transliteration of the word א'ר'ק' which used the old-French plural ending es. The entire prayerbook for the festivals would sometimes be called א'ר'ק' since it contained the א'ר'ק' . There are א'ר'ק' for special weekdays, for sabbaths and holydays. On weekdays, a Piyyut is inserted in every section of the Tefillah. All א'ר'ק' for the weekdays originated at an early period in the Oriental countries in which the Palestinian version of the Tefillah was used. These א'ר'ק' also consist of eighteen selections and are called א'ר'ק' . The Kerovot recited at a specific benediction are expanded according to the significance of the particular day. An example of this type of א'ר'ק' would be the א'ר'ק' (p. 57). Other similar ones are to be found in the fourteenth benediction of the Amidah, on the ninth day of Av, and on other fast days in the twelfth benediction, א'ר'ק' . On the sabbath and festivals, the א'ר'ק' are limited to seven sections of the Amidah and are correspondingly called א'ר'ק' . These are only recited in the additional service. The א'ר'ק' for the morning service are also called א'ר'ק' or א'ר'ק' . We find that they have only been arranged for the first three benedictions of the Tefillah and for the introduction to the Kedusha recited by the congregational reader. These א'ר'ק' of the morning service are divided into the following parts:

a) א'ר'ק' or א'ר'ק' , an introduction with which the poet presented himself to the congregation. The old

introduction begins *פ' וידן פ' וידן וידן* but later it was not satisfactory to the French and German poets. They then composed new ones which were placed before the poems.

b) *ידן*, to be found before the closing blessing of the *ידן* prayer and on the High Holydays before *ידן* (p. 43). The *ידן* consists of two parts, the Piyyut itself and a concluding stanza. The Piyyut ends with a reference to the Torah reading of the day, *ידן*, to which a number of other verses are appended. At the end of these verses, there begins a short conclusion called a finale, *ידן*, that leads into the benediction (*ידן*). The Spanish poets called the conclusion *ידן* and omitted the intervening Biblical verses.

c) *ידן*, to be found before the blessing of the *ידן* prayer or the *ידן* (P. 44ff). Its structure is the same as the *ידן*.

214 d) *ידן* comes before the third benediction, that is before the insertion of the Kedushah (*ידן*), from which the name *ידן* is derived). This Piyyut likewise ends with Biblical verses the last of which are usually *ידן* (Psalm 146:10) and *ידן* (Psalm 22:4). In this selection, the concluding stanza is omitted because a great number of Piyyutim are appended. We find that with the older writers of Piyyutim, the selections b and d are joined to some type of story concerning one of the three patriarchs. Only after d do we find a more thorough treatment of the theme of the Festivals. Following d, the older writers usually added

another four selections:

e) begins with אֲנִי הָיִיתִי and concludes with וְיָקִיץ הָיָה
 עֲלֵינוּ ;

f) a historical section of an Aggadic nature which precedes
 וְיָקִיץ הָיָה . This Piyyut is probably the remainder
 of an alphabetic acrostic of Jannais which was inserted when-
 ever e) was missing.

g) a poem whose stanzas conclude with עֲלֵינוּ or deal with
 the Torah portion.

h) וְיָקִיץ הָיָה a long finale with the superscription וְיָקִיץ הָיָה
 וְיָקִיץ הָיָה . This forms the transition to the
 Kedushah and is generally in prose and of a narrative nature
 and therefore called פִּזְמוֹן . The Spanish poets
 had h) follow directly after d) and therefore often added a
 special poem called פִּזְמוֹן . Additions can be made accord-
 ing to the nature of the sabbaths and festivals for which the
 poems were written. The Spanish poets, for example, inserted
 Pizmon and Selichah selections. Other examples of such com-
 plete compositions are to be found in the Amram Prayerbook 2,
 43b ff., Brody, Divan of Judah Ha-Levi 3, 240ff. In the German
Machzor for the second day of every festival, we find older
 Payyetic Kerovot.

On the specific Holydays, the Kerovot are subjected to
 variations determined by the Scriptural lesson of the day.
 A number of poems are inserted before the finale h) on the
 Feast of Weeks (Shavuot) when the Decalogue is read and on
 the concluding day of Passover which has the song of the Red

every two stanzas are devoted to the prayer for dew and rain for each of the twelve months. One of the two stanzas relates to the name of the month and the other to the month's constellation in the Zodiac and the twelve tribes of Israel.

This whole group of four poems ends with a short prayer for dew or rain which concludes

יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ

יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ

The Kerovah for dew and rain are to be found in the rites of the Balkans and the Ashkenazim. Apparently, the Italian liturgy also included them but today we find that only the last verses of these poems are used.

The Sephardic prayerbook likewise contains Piyyutim and prayers for both the first day of Passover and the eighth day of Tabernacles (פֶּסַח וְשִׁמְשׁוֹן) but they are recited before the additional service when the Torah is returned to the ark.

In the Yozer poetry, we do not find that they exist as a group for every section of the Yozer prayer. Rather do we see that only occasionally at certain intervals in the benediction were the poems written and used by the congregation. This holds true for the Kerovah as well where there are isolated selections for specific benedictions. For example, the Italian rite has poems at the end of the additional service of the Pilgrim Festivals. The names of these selections correspond to the name of the concluding prayers of the Tefillah, namely, פֶּסַח פֶּסַח or פֶּסַח וְשִׁמְשׁוֹן and have been re-worked to a large extent by the Spanish poets. The Kedushah has also been rearranged poetically and one might say the sections that connect the Biblical verses of the Kedushah are almost poetical.

These permanent insertions can be considered as part of the Kedushah on the basis of their age. Aside from these, there are other detailed poetic songs that interrupt the Kedushah though they have only been retained for the High Holydays. Frequently, on the Festivals and on special occasions on the sabbaths, several verses are inserted after $\text{פְּדוּנוֹתָנוּ} \text{ וְיִשְׁלַח$. They begin with the word פְּדוּנוֹתָנוּ and are therefore referred to by this name.

B. Other Insertions in the Tefillah

a) On the High Holydays, the Kerovot are expanded by numerous Rehitim of all types.

216 The Kerovot do not conclude with the beginning of the Kedushah for we find many longer poems inserted between the verses of the Kedushah. In the additional service of the New Year and the morning and additional services of the Day of Atonement, poems follow immediately after the Kedushah. These insertions prohibit one from continuing directly with פסוקים and the repetition of the Amidah. Up to a point, one can consider the Piyyutim as a continuation of the Kerovot but for the New Year and the Day of Atonement, there are other additions that cannot be included in the category of Kerovot and are older than they. These additions have a special introduction which reads פתח ופתיחה . In the Ashkenazic rite there is another introduction which reads פתח ופתיחה. These introductions correspond to the פתח ופתיחה with which the poet presents himself to the congregation (p. 213). The

poet in reciting the ^{ה'ה} asked for the permission of the worshippers whereas in the case of ^{אבותיהם} and

^{ה'ה} we have a prayer to God asking for the proper devotion and inspiration in the reading of the selections that follow.

b) On the New Year, ^{אבותיהם} and ^{ה'ה} introduce the poems that are related to the ^{מלכות}, ^{מלכות}

^{אבותיהם} benedictions of the Tefillah. These poems do not interrupt the actual text of the Tefillah as do the Kerovot.

Rather do these poems precede ^{אבותיהם}, ^{אבותיהם} which are the introductory prayers for the ^{מלכות}, ^{מלכות}

^{אבותיהם} blessings. The poems deal with the content of these three blessings and illustrate them by giving examples from Biblical history. The poems are constructed in such a manner so that every stanza ends with the words ^{מלכות},

^{מלכות}, ^{מלכות} depending upon which of the three blessings follows. A Biblical verse appears after every stanza and frequently is the same as the one to be found later in the blessings. The poems are called ^{תקיעות}, ^{תקיעות} as are

the prayers which they accompany, but these poems have only been retained in the Ashkenazic rite. Of all the other rites, only the Italian has a poetic addition, namely, a Pizmon for

^{אבותיהם} and ^{אבותיהם} which interrupts the prayer. Common to all rituals is the short selection ^{היום הזה} following every sounding of the shofar. At this point in the Ashkenazic rite and that of the Balkan countries, there

is to be found the *וְהָיָה כְּעֵת* which is somewhat of an epilogue to the three prayers *וְהָיָה כְּעֵת*, *וְהָיָה כְּעֵת* and *וְהָיָה כְּעֵת*.

c) On the Day of Atonement, we primarily have a combination of Kerovah and Selichah which are found in all the Tefillot and shall be discussed in section 33. Aside from this, the Avodah service, describing the worship of the High Priest in the Temple at Jerusalem, is likewise peculiar to the Day of Atonement. Today the *וְהָיָה כְּעֵת* is found only in the additional service but at one time was also used in the *וְהָיָה כְּעֵת* and *וְהָיָה כְּעֵת* services. This remembrance of the sacrificial cult has no internal relationship to the Tefillah. It is only a superficial connection in that it is recited shortly before the end of the middle benediction during the repetition of the Amidah.

217 In the Talmud, we are already made cognizant of the recitation of the Avodah service by the reader. Only a short time ago, the oldest Avodah composition in the Talmud became known to us and it follows almost literally the Mishnaic formula. Appended to this composition are a series of confessions and sacrificial rituals not listed in the Mishnah. The subsequent renditions of the Avodah service have been reworked poetically. Despite the fact that these later compositions might differ from one another, they all have been fashioned after one model. In all likelihood, these later Avodah services have been based upon a very old version which apparently is the *וְהָיָה כְּעֵת* of the Sephardic rite. In these poems,

we find that a dramatically live description of the ritual is added to the Mishnaic statement of the rite in the Temple on the Day of Atonement. The Avodah service is preceded by an introduction which begins with the creation of the world. It deals with highlights of Biblical history up to the selection of Aaron's family for the priesthood followed by the service of the High Priest. After the Avodah, there is a prayer for a year of blessing followed by a description of the splendor of the Temple ritual and the glory of the High Priest. Included here is also the lament that all this magnificence has disappeared. Many poets have revised the Avodah service and most of them have composed a prologue ($\text{הַבְּרִיחַ} \text{ 'סֵד הַלֵּל}$) which precedes it. There are poets who have also composed prologues for the Avodah service written by others. Every one of the well-known liturgical rites has adopted a different Avodah service in its ritual and have thus prevented the disappearance of the service. The number of those selections that have been preserved form only an insignificant part of those that once existed. In the Genizah manuscripts numerous fragments of Avodah services have been found which only hints of the attraction this material had for the people and the poets. In more recent times, many arrangements in the vernacular have been used in place of the Pietanic renditions of the Avodah service. Only the old formula for the confession of sins has been retained in the Hebrew.

The Spanish writers likewise arranged poems for the morning service of the Day of Atonement. These were related to the Scriptural reading from Leviticus 16 and described the sacrificial rites of the High Priest. These selections were also called.

a) The Azharot (אֲזָרוֹת) closely resembled the Avodah service in terms of their place in the liturgy and pedagogic nature. The Azharot are enumerations of the 613 negative and positive commandments (שְׁשָׁנִים וְעֶשְׂרִים וְשָׁלוֹשׁ) and are recited on the Feast of Weeks.

218 In the Talmud, the word אֲזָרוֹת only indicates the negative commandments. The association of the word with both positive and negative commandments is based on the beginning of the poem entitled אֲזָרוֹת אֲזָרוֹת the oldest selection of the אֲזָרוֹת type. The number 613 is derived from an Aggadic statement by Rabbi Simlai (b. Maccoth 23b) who lived about 200 C.E. The number 613 representing the positive and negative commandments has been generally adhered to since that time. Numerous attempts have been made to justify the number 613 by counting up all the individual laws though up to this time no consistent and unobjectionable calculation has been established. Originally, there were only general statements concerning the commandments in the Azharot but later the actual calculations were presented. At first, the system of reckoning made no distinction between positive and negative commandments though finally the 248 positive and 365 negative commandments were presented in two separate

groups. Saadia classified collective groups of laws under each of the Ten Commandments and his example was widely followed by others. There are some Azharot in which similar laws have been grouped together but there are others like *אין הן הן* in the Ashkenazic rite that have no set arrangement of the laws and therefore always evoke much consternation. The Azharot can be worked into the Tefillah of the additional service in the form of a Shivata (p. 213) as Saadia has demonstrated in a poem that was very painstakingly composed and difficult to understand. This arrangement of the Azharot is found in the minority of cases for like the Avodot, the Azharot are usually independent of the Tefillah. The Azharot are, however, considered a part of the Tefillah and inserted during the repetition of the Musaf-Tefillah after the recitation of the sacrificial sections (p. 134). Originally, the Azharot were very dull calculations of the commandments but were subsequently poetically embellished and enlivened and the introductory and transitional sections were artistically reworked. At the conclusion of the Azharot, there is a poetic transition *אין רע יק* showing the relationship between the Azharot and the prayers. The *אין רע יק* has become so widespread in usage and found in the liturgy of such distant countries that it must be considered as being a very old selection. In some rituals, the Azharot are not read in the Musaf-Tefillah but before the afternoon service and in many rites they are even read on the sabbath prior to the Feast of Weeks. Even the

distribution of the Azharot on the two days of the festivals is different. Some poets have set a prologue (/ מִשְׁכּוֹל, פְּתִילָה) before the Azharot in which they can work more freely and give expression to their thoughts in a poetic style.

In the Middle Ages, the term Azharot was applied in a figurative sense to those Piyyutim that either dealt in detail with a single commandment in all its aspects or with all the commandments relating to any festival.

219 The מִשְׁכּוֹל were also recited on the Sabbath preceding a festival and joined to the מִשְׁכּוֹל, the statement announcing the forthcoming festival (מִשְׁכּוֹל הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה) (p. 123). This was especially true on the sabbaths prior to the Pilgrim Festivals. Throughout the ages, each of these three sabbaths have retained the name, the great Sabbath, מִשְׁכּוֹל הַגָּדוֹל.

e) The special poems for the Feast of Tabernacles are not inserted in the Tefillah but follow directly after it. These poems are called Hoshanoth, מִשְׁכּוֹל. The name itself has a complete history connected with it. The festive procession with the willow was one of the customs observed in the Temple on the Feast of Tabernacles. It is written in the Mishnah: "On each day of the festival, they marched around the altar once, on the seventh day, seven times." Psalm 118:25 אֶל יְהוָה הוֹדִיעָה לָּךְ was recited during the procession but according to another report אֶל יְהוָה הוֹדִיעָה לָּךְ (Succoth 4:4) a mystical interpretation of the Psalm verse was sung. The willow is referred to in the Talmud (b. Sukk.

30b f.) as לולב derived from the refrain לולב or its apocopated form לול . The use of the willow was primarily commanded for the seventh day of the Feast of Tabernacles. In the Mishnah, the seventh day is called יום השמיני but in the Midrash and post-Talmudic writing it is likewise called לולב . After the destruction of the Temple, the processions were discontinued but the accompanying prayers were retained in the synagogues. In the synagogue, a substitute was found for the procession. A Torah scroll was removed from the ark and the procession revolved about it. On the first six days of the festival either one or three circuits were made about the Torah and on the seventh, seven. There could be no procession on the sabbath and the seventh day could therefore never fall on the sabbath. Special considerations were made when the calendar was fixed so that the sabbath and the seventh day of the Feast of Tabernacles would not coincide. In the Middle Ages, there was some concern as to whether the lulav or willow were to be carried during the procession. This element of doubt was based on a controversy that is found in the Talmud (b. Sukk. 43a). For centuries now, the lulav is carried though all sources would tend to indicate that the willow alone be used.

The oldest reports of the processions and the prayers come from the Gaonic period. At the conclusion of the Tefillah, the reader would begin the לולב . The congregation then repeated it and the reader again recited a

Sephardic rite. This third insertion began with הוֹשַׁנָּה and its contents were adapted so as to fit in with the particular day of the festival, i.e., the first day, the second day, etc.. $\text{הוֹשַׁנָּה קְדוֹשָׁה וְהַיּוֹם הַזֶּה הוֹשַׁנָּה קְדוֹשָׁה}$ is the refrain which is constantly repeated. On the seventh day, the style of the poetry is such that the alphabet is repeated three times and the refrain is $\text{הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה הוֹשַׁנָּה קְדוֹשָׁה}$. In the course of time, however, the refrain has disappeared and is no longer found in the Sephardic rite. Kalir's arrangement of the Hoshanot is used in the Ashkenazic liturgy and in the rites of Italy and the Balkan countries. According to Kalir's arrangement, we have an alphabetic acrostic at first with the $\text{הוֹשַׁנָּה קְדוֹשָׁה}$ refrain and then another selection with the refrain $\text{הוֹשַׁנָּה קְדוֹשָׁה ... הוֹשַׁנָּה קְדוֹשָׁה}$. The latter selection is the same for every day of the festival but the first selection changes. On the seventh day of the festival, all the selections are combined and are augmented by a larger number of poems. The rites using Kalir's arrangement of the Hoshanot are much more like a litany than are the Hoshanot of the Sephardic rite. In the Sephardic ritual the additional selections for the seventh day have been developed much more so that Hoshanah Rabah has become a day of repentance and penitential prayers have been combined with the Hoshanot. Despite initial opposition, Hoshanot have even been composed for the sabbath though there is no procession. The dominant content of the Hoshanot is the

prayer for a year of blessing to which there is frequently appended the prayer for the coming redemption. According to a report of the Halachot Gedoloth, it was a custom in Palestine to recite Hoshanot after the Minchah service. In the tenth and eleventh centuries, there apparently were processions around the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem. This ceremony attracted numerous pious people who made pilgrimages to Jerusalem from distant places.

221

3. Other Piyyutim

Aside from inclusion in the Yozer and Tefillah, the Piyyut was also extensively used in other sections of the liturgy. This is primarily true of the use of Piyyutim in the Torah service. Special hymns, *חננו*, were composed for the Torah service and particularly for those Torah passages of special significance like the Decalogue or the Song of the Red Sea. These hymns were introductions to the actual Torah reading itself or to the Targum and were written in Hebrew or Aramaic (p. 191, 193). Similarly, there were special forms for welcoming to the service those who participated in the festivities of the wedding week, a circumcision or other similar event. The greetings for the participants in a wedding were used for the entire seven days following the marriage. There were also certain salutations for those called to the Torah on a festival. On Simchat Torah, a large number of hymns were recited after the reading of the

Torah. A special selection for Simchat Torah describes the death of Moses, הָרַג מֹשֶׁה . A Midrash of the same name was further embellished and set in verse. If it was desirable not to prolong the morning service then these poems were recited before Minchah. "On the whole, the Piyyut began to pervade the entire religious life in the course of time as did every section of the liturgy. The Piyyut was not limited to the synagogue but became part of family life recited at the Sabbath meal, the conclusion of the Sabbath, on joyous as well as sad occasions, at the time of birth and at funerals."

33. The Selicha

Bibliography: Dukes, Zunz, Brody and Albrecht ibid.; Hamburger Suppl. Vol. 2, pp. 90ff.; Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. 11, pp. 170ff. on Selichah; J.E. article on Kinah, Vol. 7, p. 498ff.

1. If we classify all types of hymns as Piyyutin then we should designate as Selichat the elegies, prayers for forgiveness, confessionals and lamentations along with the related prayers and aspirations. Very generally stated, the Selichah is the prayer recited on the fast days and on those days which serve as the preparation for the great fast of the Day of Atonement. The word Selichah has its own history which at the same time is the history of the institution of fasting. Selichah means pardon, the remission of sins which can come from God (Ps. 130:4) and obtained by entreating His mercy (רַחֲמֵי) (Daniel 9:9). God has promised man forgive-

ness of his sins and has designated the manner in which pardon can be obtained.

- 222 God taught the people the penitential prayer that would never fade away without being heard. As often as we call to Him with the words "Help, O God," He answers us (Ps. 20:10). Such prayers for the remission of sins are called *תפילות* in the Midrash (T. d. B. El. S. p 42) and as a result of this the expression Selichah was applied to the realm of prayer. As a specific example, we might cite the Thirteen Attributes of God, *אשר נאמר לו*, which bear the name *אשר נאמר לו* and were revealed when Moses transmitted the second set of commandments. These attributes of God are an old heritage and have been widely disseminated as is evidenced by their frequent occurrence in the Bible. "God taught Moses to utter them in prayer; as often as Israel sins, he should pray to me according to this formula and I will forgive his sins. (b. R.H. 17b) A covenant has been entered into with reference to the Thirteen Attributes, (*אשר נאמר לו*) that they shall not be ineffective (ibid). This interpretation of the Talmud explains that the Thirteen Attributes became the core of every prayer for the remission of sins. Even today these Thirteen Attributes are always repeated as the refrain of all penitential prayers. The Biblical verse *אשר נאמר לו* could not be suddenly recited in the prayer. An introduction was therefore prefaced to this Biblical verse which established the use of the Thirteen Attributes in prayer according to the

interpretation given them in the Talmud. (*למאן דא* *סל*)

למאן דא]. The Biblical verse was expanded by the addition of the well-known selection *אנין* *סל* which made it acceptable for inclusion in all the rites. This universal inclusion in the liturgy took place as early as the fifth or sixth century.

2. The prayer for forgiveness, in addition to having the traditional confession for every fast day, had a description of human weaknesses and tendencies to sin on the one hand and the perfection and grace of God on the other. This prayer for forgiveness only made sense if it was preceded by confession of sins. In the liturgy of the fast days, a prototype personality is presented instead of the abstract statements of God's perfection and man's sins. Biblical prayers were used and primarily those prayers in Daniel and Ezra that are related to confessions. Biblical verses were compiled or penitential Psalms recited with which forgiveness was entreated. All of these Biblical formulations of prayer were called *למאן דא* *סל* and were soon shortened to *למאן דא* . In the Selichot of Amram and particularly in the manuscripts as well as in the rites of the Italian and the Balkan countries, one can still note today the important role the Biblical verse once had in the area. It can be determined that it was the compilation of such Biblical verses that was designated as "Selicha". One can notice very clearly that these Biblical verses were grouped together in such a manner as to reflect a certain

point of view. There are, for example, a number of verses set together that have the word לֵא , a number with לֵא with לֵא or other words. Another form is a group of verses which have the same word concluding one verse and beginning the next verse, (e.g. $\text{לֵא אֵלֶיךָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ}$).

223 Zunz has indicated several dozen such catch words. In short, there are pauses for the listener and the person who prays that can help him to follow or to respond to the prayer of the congregational reader. If there were no appropriate Biblical verses to begin a prayer then very simple introductions with Biblical expressions were composed such as כִּי יֵצֵא מִן הַמִּקְדָּשׁ or $\text{לֵא אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ}$ or $\text{לֵא אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ}$ etc. The Biblical verses containing the Thirteen Attributes were then appended to these introductions.

3. The usual conclusion of the confession formed a plea for help and for the change of the present unhealthy situation. The plea consisted of a litany in the simplest style $\text{אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ}$ etc. This plea could also consist of a number of appeals with the introduction $\text{אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ}$ or $\text{אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ}$ among others. The liturgy for the fast days as presented in the Mishnah offers an example of such a form of litany. There we find the litany accompanied by a reference to a Biblical personality and the salvation granted him, $\text{לֵא אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ}$. Needless to say, these litanies were carried

over into the Selichah prayers. These litanies begin with
 מ' ע' א' or the Aramaic ܕܚܡܢܐ ܐܩܝܕ.

In the course of time, all the litanies were expanded and later were occasionally shortened. The alphabetic acrostic was the simplest form that was used in reworking the litanies, (ܐܢܝܢܐ ܐܢܝܢܐ, ܐܢܝܢܐ ܐܢܝܢܐ, ܐܢܝܢܐ ܐܢܝܢܐ, ܐܢܝܢܐ ܐܢܝܢܐ)
 Aramaic litanies ܕܚܡܢܐ ܕܚܡܢܐ among others were added to the older Hebrew ones. Remnants of these litanies are preserved in Selichah collections. In the manuscripts, they are called ܕܚܡܢܐ and in the Tachanunim (p. 76ff.) we still find sections of the old Selichah. The old Selichot were composed of these simple elements. Apparently, they were the same for all the fast days and were only used on them. For the fast on the eve of the new moon which was introduced at a late date, we find Selichot in the Ashkenazic rite. These Selichot are close to the old pattern of the Selichah.

4. The simple substance of the penitential prayer was no longer suitable for the needs and the tastes of later times.

224 As the Piyyut gained in popularity and experienced wide dissemination and as all prayers were enriched by poetic embellishments, the Selichah could not remain unaffected. At first there appeared simple unadorned poems but they were deeply sensitive. Later more complicated poems were composed whose content was adversely affected as a result of artificiality. The outer form, language and method of presentation of these poems differed in no way from the Piyyutim. The content,

however, could not be as varied as that of the Piyyutim since it had to be limited to the themes of an elegy appropriate for a penitential prayer, to the exposition of the sinfulness of man, to the weaknesses and transitory nature of man, to the lament over the former glory now vanished, to the oppression and persecution, to prayers for merciful forgiveness, for the suppression of the oppressor, for liberation and prayers for the realization of the messianic hope. All of these themes were not the exclusive province of the Selichah but could also be developed within the Piyyut. Whereas the Piyyut had many other religious questions at its disposal, the Selichah was limited to the above themes. The poetic Selichah was merely a form of the Piyyut.

5. The traditional aspects of the Selichah, namely, the Biblical verses and the litanies were divided into groups so that the poetic selections could be introduced. These selections were inserted between the groups of biblical verses and litanies. These selections were composed in consideration of their position in the liturgy. The content of these selections or the words with which they begin correspond to the groups of verses. In the rite of the Balkan countries, for example, we find the poems for 'ר' 171' (Ps. 107:8) for

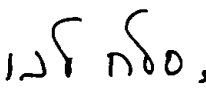
וְאֵלֵינוּ יְהוָה (Ps. 5:8) and others (לְפָנֶיךָ יְהוָה מְסֻדָּה וְלִפְנֵי מַלְאָכֶיךָ).

A familiar example is Gabirol's *וְאֵלֵינוּ יְהוָה* which is joined to verses that contain the word *וְאֵלֵינוּ*. The last in the group of verses with the word *וְאֵלֵינוּ* is Genesis

18:25 which concludes with *הַשְׁמֵל בְּהַאֲרֵךְ*. The poetic insertions were originally called *פִּזְמוֹן* but later all were called *סֵלִיחַ*, pl. *סֵלִיחוֹת*. The term Pizmon was reserved for those Selichot that had a refrain. The others were given names in accordance with their position in the liturgy. These names will be discussed later. By way of contrast, the Biblical verses were called *פְּסוּקִים* or *פְּסוּקֵי* *פְּסוּקֵי*. The Selichot in the old sense, namely, the Biblical verses and the litanies represented the permanent aspect of this section of the liturgy of the fast days under discussion and the poetic selections the flexible aspect. There was no regulation regarding the acceptance of these selections and their recitation was dependent upon the needs of the time (*וְאֵינוֹת סֵלִיחוֹת כִּי צוּרֵק הָיָה*). In the rites of Italy and the Balkan countries, the poetic insertions were separated from the old Selichot.

225 In the Italian rite, the poetic selections are not included. Their inclusion was at the discretion of the reader (הנהיגו להוסיף). He most likely had these selections in front of him in a special compilation. In the rite of the Balkan countries, a collection of poetic selections followed the ritual of penitence. Any one of these selections could be chosen and inserted into the service according to the custom of the congregation. The Sephardic rite had a similar format but not too many were added. In Germany and France, on the other hand, there was a completely different

arrangement. There the poetic insertions were in preponderance and the groups of verses were secondary to these insertions. The groups of verses were constantly shortened and for the most part overlooked by the congregations. This resulted in the fact that in these countries the term Selichah was understood as poetic selections only. In the twelfth century, we already find the appearance of voluminous collections of these selections.

6. The arrangement of the Selichot underwent still another change. Originally the Selichah was intended for fast days. These fast days were of different types, either commemorative or for a special occasion. The fasts for special occasions were instituted as a result of drought or other calamities. Every misfortune was considered as being a result of sin and sin required atonement. The liturgy for these days as presented in outline form in the Mishnah was retained for a long time in the Orient. This liturgy was nevertheless enriched by poetic selections from time to time. In Palestine, Kerovot were recited on fast days commemorating a historical event so that poems were not needed within the Selichah. In Babylonia, on the other hand, Kerovot were not popular. Selichot were therefore inserted in the Tefillah at the ~~sixth~~ benediction, , on those fast days proclaimed due to lack of rain. It was the task of these poetic insertions to deal with the event that gave cause for the fast. This latter type of arrangement of the liturgy for the fast days was the more common one. The number of commemorative days increased greatly

since the day of death of famous personalities or days of calamity of the Bible and later history were established as fast days. The date of observance was set in accordance with the date on which these events occurred. Indeed, such fast days were neither generally observed nor for any length of time. They were observed as little as were those fast days which individual pious people enjoined for themselves and then following their example entire congregations did likewise. Along with Biblically derived fast days (§21,22), the fasts after the festivals of Passover and Succoth stood the test of time. These fasts after the festivals were, however, eventually postponed to Monday and Thursday when many people ordinarily fasted. In addition to the fast days mentioned, there were a large number of local commemorative days resulting from the tragic events of Jewish history.

226 Massacres and expulsions impressed themselves upon the memory of the communities as gloomy reminders of the past. The dates of the martyrdom of their brethren were observed as fast days by the survivors and the succeeding generations. Zunz was the first to compile a copious index of such commemorative days. ~~This index~~ This index was repeatedly enlarged by the addition of dates from older and more recent times. Whenever a fast took place, Selichot were part of the liturgy and were recited according to the old ritual. The event that served as the subject of the poetic insertions led to the establishment of the particular fast. The Selichot of these

fast days have provided the source material for the history of Jewish persecution.

7. The Day of Atonement has a special place among the fast days for it is both a festive and a fast day at the same time. both of these aspects are expressed in the poetic insertions of the Tefillah. According to Amram's prayerbook, the reader, on the Day of Atonement, inserted a combination of Kerovah and Selichah in the Tefilla. This combination included Piyyutim for the first three benedictions of the Tefillah to be selected at will and those Selichot associated with the obligatory prayers of the day (*פיוט דאורייתא*).

Amram called such a composition *תפלה* and more precisely *תפלה דאורייתא*. The Spanish poets used to compose compositions for the Day of Atonement that consisted of both Kerovah and Selichah. In these selections, the Selichah is worked into the individual sections of the Kerovah. Al Harizi named Josef ibn Abitur the first among the Spanish poets to compose *תפלה דאורייתא*. In Spain the selections specified for the Day of Atonement were used on all fast days. Thus, for example, Al Harizi called Gabirol's compositions for the fast days *תפלה דאורייתא*. In the other rites, neither the name nor the organic combination of the Piyyut and the poetic Selichah were customary. Nevertheless, we find that before the end of the Tefillah, before *תפלה דאורייתא* Selichot were likewise inserted which anticipated the confessional (p. 152).

8. In all the cases mentioned, we have been dealing with

fast days, The Selichah was not removed from its usual position but was recited either within the Tefillah or directly after it. A new type of Selichah was developed for the period immediately preceding the Day of Atonement. First let us discuss the Ten Days of Repentance (p. 140) which at an early date were often observed as a fast day. On some of them such as the New Year's Day and the sabbath, fasting had to be eliminated. As a substitute, the pious people would fast for about four days before the New Year's festival.

227 As time went on, the number of fast days before the New Year's festival increased. There were some who began to fast on the first of Elul, forty days prior to the Day of Atonement. These forty days correspond to the length of time Moses had to spend on Mt. Sinai before receiving the second set of tablets and the revelation of the Thirteen Attributes of God (Dt. 10:10). In an area in which a group of days were established as fast days, the penitential prayers were likewise prescribed *שבעה ימים של ימים טובים*. Since these fast days occurred at that time which was preferably chosen as the time for the forgiveness of sins, they were simply called Selichah-days (*ימי שליחה*). The number of these days varies in the individual countries. There are still areas today where the Selichot are recited beginning with the first of Elul. Here in Germany, they are begun on the Sunday preceding the New Year's festival. If the New Year's day falls on Monday and Tuesday then the recitation of the Selichot begins a week prior to the preceding Sunday. As a result

of this arrangement, we find that there are from four to nine days before the New Year's festival and six days after it during which Selichot can be recited. This takes into consideration the suspension of the recitation of the Selichot on the sabbath. On the Selichah-days, the prayers begin before daybreak (*לפני יציאת הכוכבים*) and in some places even at midnight which gave rise to the name *ליל מלכות* or *ליל מלך* *ליל*. These days are likewise called *לילות* as are the compositions composed for them. Fasting was not generally mandatory since the arrangement of the Selichah is kept separate from the fasting. The Selichah could not be inserted in the Tefillah in view of the fact that the service took place at night without being connected to any of the daily services. The Selichot are therefore introduced differently from the method used in introducing them on the fast days. The Selichot do not begin with *אנחנו* as on the fast days but rather with Ps. 145, *אנחנו*, as well as with a long group of verses *הקדמה*. The number of poetic Selichot is comparatively great for these Selichah-days which last until the Day of Atonement. The Selichot are far more numerous on these days than on the other fast days. In the Amram prayerbook, we find that the nights of the New Year's festival are provided with a Selichah service. Every rite has a sufficiently rich collection of poetic Selichot for these Selichah-days so that it is not necessary to repeat any of them. The Machzor of Tripoli contains Selichot for twenty-three days in the month

of Elul and were written by one poet, Isaak ibn Gajjat. The first night of the Selichah-days and the eve of the New Year's festival excelled in the number of Selichot. On the eve of the Day of Atonement, the opposite was the case. In consideration of the large number of prayers to be recited on the following day, the amount of Selichot was limited. The customs, however, vary a great deal depending upon the country and the community.

228 The selection of the poetic Selichot was completely voluntary and arbitrary and was not dependent upon any set of rules such as regulated the content and order of the Piyyutim. The difference between the rites as regards the collection of Selichot used is therefore far greater than is the case with the Piyyutim.

As with the Piyyutim, so we find 'special groups' among the Selichot. The names of these Selichot are derived from the content, outer form or position within the prayers.

A. Those Selichot whose name is dependent upon their position in the prayers are: a) $\text{הַשְּׁלִיחַ הַבְּרִיחַ}$, beginning, those poetic Selichot that are inserted first. In the Amram prayer-book, the short introductory Selichah is called $\text{הַשְּׁלִיחַ הַקָּטָן}$.

b) $\text{הַשְּׁלִיחַ הַגָּדוֹל}$ the last Selichot are thus named because they are joined to the Tachanun at which time the reader is seated. In the Italian rite, we encounter the term $\text{הַשְּׁלִיחַ הַגָּדוֹל הַקָּטָן}$.

B. Among the Selichot named according to their poetic form, we would differentiate the following:

a) $\text{הַשְּׁלִיחַ הַמְּשֻׁבָּב}$ is a Selicha which has a refrain. The refrain can consist of one stanza as well as one line. In the

arrangement of the Selichot in Germany, the Pizmon is usually the last of the poetic Selichot or at least next to the last one which is קדושה חתומה . In the Orient, the refrain as such is also called פזמון and is abbreviated to פז in the Amram prayerbook.

b) פזמון is a term derived from the Arabic denoting the word used in rhyme and repeated. A Biblical word, a complete verse or only part of a verse precedes the poem, usually it is a verse from the next group of verses. The word or the last word of the verse that precedes the poem is either the same as or rhymes with the last word of each stanza of the poem. These poems are only to be found amongst the Spanish poets.

c) שנייה and d) שלישית are the names of Selichot containing two and three lines respectively.

e) שלישית Selichot of four lines are called complete Selichot. The majority of the Selichot of this name were composed by Salomo ha Babli of Rome. People were therefore tempted to derive the name of this Selichah from the composer's name, בבלי . There was, however, no dearth of poets with other names who made use of this poetic form.

f) עשרה are Selichot with the refrain עשרה נאמרים . The content of the Selichot deals mainly with the martyrdom of the Jewish people or selected martyrs and especially the "ten martyrs."

229 C. The following names of Selichot are derived from their content:

a) אָנשולדן a self-accusation. In Amram's collection of Selichot, it is usually the first Selichah after the introduction. The poetic form is of such a nature that a verse usually precedes as a kind of introduction. It is similar to the structure of the Mustagib with the exception that this verse is not repeated. The Spanish poets have incorporated the Tochecha into the Maamad.

b) בִּקְשָׁה - request. These Selichot are not always poetic and are frequently detailed prayers in prose with אֲדוֹנָיִךְ or אֲדוֹנָיִךְ as a beginning. These Selichot would more properly fit into the category of the Maamad.

c) הַשְׁמַדָּה - The presentation of the bloody persecutions of the Jews and the willing sacrifice by the faithful of their lives. These Selichot have primarily been arranged in Germany and France.

d) זִכְרוֹן יִצְחָק - the recollection of the sacrifice of Isaac. In the liturgy of the fast days, we find that reference is made to Abraham's submission at Mt. Moriah. The Selichah poets have created a thousand times the theme of complete submissiveness of father and son to the sacrifice. The closely related allusion of the willingness of parents to die with their children for the sake of God forms the elegiac conclusion of these Selichot. The Spanish poets often connected the Akeda with the Kerova. The Akeda was mostly connected with the זִכְרוֹן יִצְחָק type of Kerova which traditionally deals with the patriarch Isaac (p. 213).

When re-translated into Hebrew these terms are rendered as

שליחות . The Selichot are the oldest insertions for the
for the Ninth of Av as they are for each of the other fast
days. Such is the report given us by Amram and even Saadia.
Even before their time, another type of elegy was prevalent.
This other form was a Kerovah containing extended amplifi-
cations inserted at the fourteenth benediction of the Te-
fillah. The concluding words of the blessing are *אשר יתן לנו*.
Kalir is to be accredited with the development in this area
of poetry. We still have two Kerovot for the Ninth of Av
written by him. One of them is used in the rites of the
Balkans and Italy and the other in the rite of Western Germany.
Inserted in these Kerovot are a large number of Kinot. In
Germany, about twenty of these Kinot have been accepted and
in the rites of Italy and the Balkans even more of them are
used. Only in the rites of the latter two countries do we
find that the original position of the Kinot within the
Kerovot has been retained. In all the other rites, on the
other hand, the Kinot are separated from the Tefillah. In
the German tradition, they are recited after the reading of
Scripture and in the Sephardic rite immediately after the
Tefillah. According to this arrangement, the Kinot in the
Sephardic rite have the same position in the liturgy as do
the Selichot. Actually, the beginning of these Kinot is
similar to that of the Selichot and therein still lies an-
other reminder of their origin. As a result of the separa-
tion of the Kinot from the Tefillah, we find that some of

the Kinot were also read on the eve of the Ninth of Av.

One of the reasons decisive in the separation of the Kinot from the Kerovah must have been the greater scope and amplified content of the Kinot. The actual content of the Kinot is the lament over the destruction of the Temple, the priests and the cult worship, the desecration of the sanctuary by the enemies, the destruction of the states of Judah and Israel, and the contrast between the misery in the diaspora and the tranquillity of the homeland. The cause of the misery is also explored as is done in the Selicha. The sins of the fathers are recalled as is their disobedience to all the admonitions of the prophets. God's kind actions to Israel in the course of history are likewise rehearsed as is Israel's ingratitude toward Him. These themes are dealt with in the most varied ways. The poems conclude with a devastating indictment of personal sinfulness and a thorough justification of God's decree.

231 Despite all the misery that existed, the poems never betray any doubt in God's justice. The Kinot therefore conclude like the prophetic utterances as regards their admonitions to repent, their promise of consolation, and their description of future well-being. The poets of Spain, Africa and Provence ordinarily described the suffering in general terms without going into detail. On the other hand, the poems by Kalir pursue all the themes very thoroughly. One of the subjects that received special consideration by Kalir was the contemporary oppression. As a result of the emphasis of Kalir,

poets at a later time derived their own right to eternalize in lamentations the misery they experienced. These lamentations were likewise established as part of the liturgy for the Ninth of Av by the poets themselves or the communities that were victims of persecution. Beginning with the first crusade in 1096 until after the Black Plague, 1348-49, there were either general or local massacres of Jews or other catastrophes as, for example, the burning of the Talmud in Paris. These events were used by the poets of France and Germany as material for the lamentations. These lamentations sooner or later became a permanent part of the Kinot collections. There were not as many martyrs in Spain but there too the persecutions were perpetuated through the Kinot and namely the persecutions of 1391. Amongst the early Kinot, Jehudah Ha Levi's *שירי ציון* met with special approval. This poem tenderly and intimately expressed the longing for the holy places and the love for the devastated home of our ancestors. A large number of poems imitating Judah Ha Levis ensued. All of them addressed Zion directly and began with the word *יְיָ*. These poems were therefore called *יְיָ*, *יְיָ* and became a permanent section of the collection of Kinot of all the rites and considered precious and indispensable. As time passed, there were a considerable number of Kinot and congregations often spent the whole morning reciting them. Only in more recent times have the Kinot been greatly reduced in number and in Reform congregations to either one or two.

C. Section Two

History of the Jewish Divine Service

Chapter 1. The Period of the Basic Prayers

§34. The beginnings of the regular congregational worship.

Bibliography: Zunz, Die Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge, Second Edition,² p. 379ff.; Herzfeld, p. 183ff.; Graetz Geschichte der Juden, Volume 2, Second Edition, p. 186ff.; Duschak, p. 183ff.; Kohler, Kaufmann, "Über die Ursprünge und Grundformen des synagogalen Liturgie," Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums, 37, 1893, p. 441ff.; Jewish Encyclopedia, Article on Liturgy, Volume 8, p. 132ff.

1. The history of the liturgy is determined by the history of religious ideas. Whatever was in the foreground in the realm of religious thought strove to permeate the liturgy as well. This was not absolutely successful. For in religion as well, development is gradual and never desultory. The old arrangements or prayers hallowed by tradition are not easily supplanted in their entirety by new forms. In most instances, the battle ends with a blending of the old and the new. As far as we are able to survey the development of the liturgy, we find that it has taken place in such a manner so that the original core of the liturgy has always remained. The oldest permanent parts are in the liturgy today as they were at the very beginning of the development of the liturgy. The form and method by which the service was brought to its completion, the influence that sought strengthening by inclusion in the liturgy and the garments with which the core of prayer was clothed have not always been the same. All of these have changed with the environment. All of the three periods into which we have divided the history of the liturgy (§5, p.13)

have not taken the same attitude toward the question of changing the liturgy. The first and third periods show more independence than does the second.

233 The second period was not lacking its own judgment and wishes as regards the traditional liturgy. The criticism offered during this period concerned itself with the Piyyut and the recent additions to the prayers. These supplementary sections were known as late additions and it was thus easy to change or remove them. During the second period in the development of the liturgy, there was no expression of doubt concerning the basic prayers. This basic core of prayer was kept in its traditional form except for minor changes necessitated by the times. The other two periods, on the other hand, did not hesitate to attack even the basic prayers. The age in which these basic prayers were formulated displayed a great veneration for them but nevertheless felt justified in dealing freely with these prayers and especially with limiting them. Even during the age that gave birth to these prayers, it was often felt that they were a heritage from the past and represented remote antiquity. The modern age, the third period, given its distinctive quality by the emphasis upon criticism, is different. Just as the modern age has maintained its independence as regards every field of human knowledge and action so it did as regards the liturgy. The modern age did not withhold the practical application of its judgments out of deference to the age of the tradition nor to the ideas bequeathed to it.

2. It is not easy to trace the development of the liturgy in its every detail. The changes are often present in the service before the sources mention them. Often the case is such that the literature on the subject refers to the changes only after they have come into force. With reference to the earliest period, we are faced with an added difficulty in that we do not possess any immediately contemporary sources. When the literary reports begin, we already find the liturgy in its completed form. There is no evidence available from the time of the liturgy's beginning and the first steps of its development. The history of the transmission of the liturgy from one age to another is given us by later generations who often presented the liturgical arrangements of the previous age as they themselves knew it. These later generations did not take cognizance of the opposing ideas that existed earlier and the intermediate steps in the development of the liturgy.

Research in the field of liturgy must start with the source of the synagogue and an investigation of its origin. There is no doubt that the synagogue was an arrangement that was unknown up to this time. Likewise doubtless is the fact that the synagogue introduced a new type of Divine worship. There are, however, no historically verified dates that can be ascertained regarding the date of the synagogue's establishment or the conditions that gave rise to it. The founding of the synagogue marks one of the most important advances in the growth of religion.

234 With the institution of the synagogue, we have the first occurrence in the history of humanity when regular convocations for worship were held in places where there was no consecration other than that given them by the coming together of religionists. The service of the synagogue had freed itself of all the practices customary amongst all peoples up to that time. The worship service renounced all material appendages such as sacrifices and other offerings as well as the representation by the priests. Man and his inner life became the central element in the worship of God. It is this form of worship that has become dominant in the European religious and is thus so familiar to the civilized world.

At the beginning, Jewish religious worship consisted of a sacrificial service as did the worship of all the ancient peoples. The Jews, likewise, attributed importance to sacrifices only. It cannot be doubted that even in the time of the first Temple prayer was part of the worship service but the exact manner in which it took place is not known to us. There is no proof whatsoever that a congregational service took place regularly on all or at least some of the definitely appointed days. How then, did the later congregational prayers and the constantly recurring religious convocations come into being? How did numerous places of worship, the small sanctuaries, replace the one central sanctuary? The change did not take place suddenly at one time. For hundreds of years both institutions, the Temple and the synagogue, existed

together. The synagogues, however, constantly spread and evidently won strength and meaning for the religious life. The synagogues made the Temple dispensable and brought it about that at the fall of the Temple, no breach in the religious life developed. We know the results of the synagogue movement but do not know the driving forces that were operative at its beginning. If we attempt to establish the origin of the synagogue then we encounter insurmountable difficulties. Due to a lack of direct reports concerning the source of the synagogue, we are not able to find a definite answer. Conjectures are made with reference to certain elements that were parallel in the Temple services and in the development of the Jewish religious life that could have meaning for the origin and the arrangement of congregational worship.

3. The convocations on fast days are some of the oldest examples of a worship service in which the prayers rather than the sacrifices were in the foreground.

235 The gatherings on the fast days were already taking place in pre-exilic times and even then they were not always at those places where there was a sacrificial altar. On the contrary, the fast days were usually accompanied by prayers and now and then the sacrifices were even omitted and the time set aside for ceremonial activity was filled by prayer alone. The assemblies for worship on the fast days and their petitionary prayers had a great influence upon arrangement of the later synagogue worship. A description of the ceremonies practised on the fast days comes to us from a later time. The

Mishnah presents these ceremonies as they were observed in the age of the Tannaim. These reports of the Mishnah include most of the rituals practiced and by chance the most important ones as well. Furthermore, these Mishnaic statements are in agreement with the Biblical narratives and the description of the fasts in the Apocryphal books. Thus the age of the ceremonies cannot be doubted.

4. The convocations for worship on the fast days were nevertheless only temporary and infrequent occurrences whereas we are seeking prototypes for the daily services. It has been agreed upon by scholars that the beginnings of religious convocations are to be found during the Babylonian exile. In Babylonia, the Jews lacked a common central point of focus. If they wanted to maintain their relationship to the past, to preserve their national and religious individuality, to enliven and strengthen their group consciousness then there remained for them but one possibility, the synagogue. This was the only means for the people to unite and express those ideas and feelings which stirred everyone. The prophets amongst the exiled strengthened the religious consciousness of the people and prepared for the regeneration of the nation by reading from Scripture and related instruction as well as by words of monition and comfort. Especially on the sabbaths and the national holidays did the people gather to hear the words of the teachers. Here then lie the origins of the regular convocations for prayer. In the main, we must consider the content of these services as readings and instructions

from Holy Writ as well as the expression of a common confession of faith. Instruction and expression of a creed are the two oldest aspects of the liturgy and have given the Jewish liturgy its distinctive quality. We can assume that after the return from the exile, the convocations begun in Babylonia were continued in the homeland and were maintained after the rebuilding of the Temple and the reinstitution of the sacrificial service.

236 5. Even within the Temple at Jerusalem, the influence of the new type of worship made itself felt. The first example of a daily public prayer that can be verified comes from the Temple. The priests officiating at the service (זמן קדש) interrupted their sacrificial work every morning in order to devote a moment to prayer in the chamber of hewn stone (Tam. 5:1). This was a short service which was not associated with something priestly or any aspect of cult worship. In the Temple with its prescribed sacrificial ritual and levitical singing, no provision was made for communal prayer. Even after the element of prayer had been introduced, it only had the slightest connection with the cult. At the prayer service, no function was given to the priests and no consideration taken of their office. The language of the prayers did not correspond to that of the Temple worship. Whereas the priests used Aramaic in the Temple service, Hebrew emerged as the language of prayer. The content of the daily liturgy of the priests is reminiscent of the gatherings during the exile at which a common confession of faith was recited.

The Biblical sections were the dominant aspects of the liturgy. Several sections of the Pentateuch were recited which expressed the principle teaching of the religion. The Decalogue, the Shema and perhaps other words of great meaning which were of a national character, such as the words of Bileam were recited. The Biblical sections were encased in an introduction and a conclusion. The introduction contained an expression of gratitude for the revelation at Sinai. The conclusion was a reassurance of the congregation that the revelation experienced by their ancestors still formed the substance of their own faith too (חגגה, פ' 8'1 חגגה

חגגה p. 25). Whenever there followed a prayer for the gracious acceptance of the sacrifice (חגגה) and a form of a priestly benediction (פ' חגגה חגגה), we are given the opportunity to take note of the concession to the rank of the priests and the position of their prayers. A decision about the origin of the arrangement of the liturgy itself cannot be influenced by these facts.

6. The post-exilic time brought about a closer tie between the people and the cult worship. The relationship of the people to the Temple had basically changed during the exile. The old attitude toward the ~~value~~ of sacrifice no longer corresponded to the dominant trend of exilic thinking. The new spirit of the exile demanded personal piety, the practical application of every precept through a religious life and "worship of God with the heart."

237 If followed through logically, such a trend of thinking had to lead to the abrogation of sacrifices. Though such a decision was not reached immediately, adjustments were nevertheless made which gave the people greater participation in the cult worship. Individual pious people who either lived in Jerusalem or happened to be passing through took part in the daily sacrifice. They also attended the ceremony at which the priests stood on the steps of the Temple hall and pronounced their blessing upon the people. These pious ones likewise prostrated themselves in prayer and directed their petitions to God. They also listened to the singing of the levites and as the Book of Chronicles demonstrates this singing was highly regarded during the time of the second Temple. The Book of Psalms was the hymnal of that age and was recited by the singers of the Temple. The congregation participated by joining in with an Amen, Hallelujah or larger refrains (*הלל יהוה*). The doxologies found at the end of the individual books of the Book of Psalms have the same function as the above-mentioned responses had. In this way, the Book of Psalms became songs for the congregation and gained a great deal of popularity and wide dissemination. These facts explain the reason for the great influence the Book of Psalms had upon the liturgy and piety of all times.

In order to guarantee the participation of the people in the sacrificial service, the institution of the Maamadot, lay representatives, was introduced. The sacrifice was to be

offered in the presence of the people and with their participation so that it would be looked upon as an action of the congregation. Since it was impossible to always have all the people attend the sacrificial service, there was an arrangement whereby the ritual was divided amongst the "prophets in Jerusalem" and the priest and levites in the twenty-four districts as well. Each of these districts alternated in sending a group to Jerusalem for one week out of every six months. This delegation attended the sacrificial service (*ל'כח יר נח*) and was given the name,

נח נח , *נח נח* , lay representative. Every day of the week of service in Jerusalem these lay representatives conducted a service four times daily, *נח נח* , *נח נח* ,

נח נח , *נח נח* . This service consisted of prayer and the reading of Scripture. The people who remained at home organized gatherings for the purpose of prayer and Scriptural readings during the week their representatives served in Jerusalem (Taan. 2). The arrangement of Maamadot brought it about that for the first time throughout the land a regularly recurring prayer service took place though there were large gaps in time between them. It is to be noted that this was the first time a regular service for weekdays was formulated.

238 How then did they decide upon four different services? Of the two daily sacrifices, one was brought in the morning and in early times the other was brought before nightfall. Later this second sacrifice was transferred to the early

afternoon hours, (2:30 P.M. Pêš, 6:1). As a result of the observation of the position of the sun, its rising and setting as well as its high point, three times were designated for prayer, morning, noon and evening. We find reference to these in Psalm 55:8,

אֲרָא, וְקָרָא, וְהִתְפַּלֵּל;

and in Daniel 6:11 they are regarded as the customary time for prayer for pious men like Daniel. At the end of the third century, the famous agadist R. Samuel b. Nachmani considered these three times for worship as the original cause for the institution of the prayers recited during his time (j. Ber. 4, 1, f. 7a). The four times for daily prayer observed in the Maamadot were derived from a combination of these two elements, the position of the sun and the daily sacrifices. In the morning, אֲרָא, both prayer and sacrifice were part of the service. The Musaf, מוֹסֵף, service grew out of the noon prayers. Originally the second sacrifice (שְׁלֵמִים) was brought in the afternoon at the time the night prayer was recited. After the change in the time of the afternoon sacrifice, two prayers were recited. One prayer that had preceded the sacrifice was recited at about the ninth hour (Acts 3:1) תְּשֻׁבָּה. The second prayer was recited in the evening shortly before the closing of the Temple gates אֲרָא, and was tersely called אֲרָא.

The exact content of the liturgy of the Maamadot is not known. The only item transmitted to us is the fact that at

the morning and Musaf services two excerpts from the story of creation were read. In the afternoon, these same selections were repeated from memory (Taanith 4). From the difference in the procedures used, one can see that all the arrangements of the service did not originate at one time but continued to change. The priestly benediction was a part of every one of these services though it could not always be recited outside of Jerusalem since there were no priests in all the districts. It is not certain whether the Psalms were part of the order of worship. Based on the fact that the collection of Psalms follows directly after the levitical singing, it is probable that from the beginning the Psalms were part of the service in the Maamadot. In the morning, the selections expressing a confession of faith such as the Decalogue etc. (p. 236) were recited. Finally, it is most likely that there were petitionary prayers in all services. We know that at times of calamity in the district, the people would direct their attention toward their representatives in Jerusalem and they were to intercede on their behalf, (b. Taanith 22b).

- 239 Whenever great dangers produced fasting and prayer amongst the congregation, they would likewise effect the prayers in the Maamadot. The pious men who took part in the sacrificial service as delegates of the congregation must have been considered suitable representatives for intercession on behalf of the people. The result of such an attitude was the introduction of petitionary prayers at the Maamadot.

At first these prayers must have constituted the content of the Musaf service which corresponded to the liturgy of the fast days and was patterned after it. The petitionary aspect of the daily Musaf service was later transferred to the other services as well. The exact formulation of these prayers can only be determined on basis of the form of the prayers found in Daniel and Ezra which display a striking similarity in structure. Using the prayer in Daniel and Ezra as an analogy, we would expect the prayers to begin with a hymn. A confession of personal sinfulness would then precede the recitation of the petitionary prayers.

7. All of the arrangements of the service mentioned in the previous paragraphs contributed material for the synagogue service. From the exilic convocations, the synagogue service took the reading and explanation of Scripture; from the liturgy of the priests, came the confession of faith and the benediction; from the levitical singing, the Psalms; and from the devotions at the Maamadot, the petitionary prayers. The most valuable stimuli for the synagogue service were the Maamadot because it was through them that a worship service was carried over to all places and conducted regularly on every day of the week.

Much time was needed before such an innovation as the synagogue service was able to spread and succeed. During the first decades of the second Temple, there were internal quarrels and external interferences which the community had to overcome. These difficulties were not favorable for the

implementation of these innovations. We therefore assume that the synagogue service along with its new mode of thought had little strength or firmness at first but they apparently were not a failure. They gained in strength and firmness only when Ezra and Nehemiah brought security to the state and order into the religious institutions. The convocations begun in Babylonia were continued. No doubt can underlie the fact that it was Ezra who reinstituted these convocations in Palestine and so elevated their position that they were held regularly. Ezra had also made the familiarity with Scripture and the fulfillment of its ordinances the center of the religious life. Only after Ezra's and Nehemiah's influence could we expect that the Maamadot would take place punctually. Then only after this had taken place and time went on would a daily service be arranged with a set form.

240 According to Jewish tradition, the basic form of the prayers comes to us from the men of the Great Assembly. Tradition attributes the creation of the prayers of praise and petition and the benedictions for the beginning and end of the festivals to this assembly (אנשי בנסת הגדולה תקנו להק' ליהאין)

(b. Ber. 33a). (ברכות ואכאן קדושה וקדושה)

This tradition is supported by good arguments because the congregational prayer service was formulated and disseminated in the time elapsing between Ezra and the Syrian oppression. This was not accomplished suddenly but gradually through the completion and the further development of the

material already available.

8. The convocations on the sabbaths and festivals had been a practice for a long time. On the weekdays they were first held twice a year during the week of the Maamad. Once this had been established it would be easy to make the transition and have these convocations take place constantly even when the district did not have its representatives in Jerusalem. The devotions offered in the morning and evening by many pious people in their homes existed independent of the times designated for public prayer. The deeper Jewish piety became, the greater was the need for the congregational service. The distance of the people from the places of the sacrificial cult was not the only cause for the establishment of the daily synagogue service. The cause was primarily the desire for spiritual worship and for devotion. Within the Temple at Jerusalem where the Maamad always assembled, there was a service daily without exception. In the provinces as well, the custom of prayer which grew out of the Maamadot and the devotions at home gradually developed to the extent that the prayer service was to be held every day irrespective of the day. Surely the prayer service could not become as extensive in the Maamad unless all work was to stop. The Musaf and Neilah prayers belonging exclusively to the Temple were discontinued. Public prayers were only held in the morning and evening before the beginning and after the completion of the time for work. The

old night prayer was maintained as a home devotion until it became the third daily prayer, $\wedge'278$, at a later date. Musaf was retained only for special days, for the sabbath, festivals as well as for those half-holidays on which a sacrifice was offered. Neilah was only recited on public fast days and later only on the Day of Atonement.

241 Some change had to likewise take place in the liturgy. For the benefit of brevity, the daily reading from the Torah was eliminated and only retained for the festive days. For the weekday, on the other hand, only the market days were provided with scriptural readings because on these days the inhabitants of the countryside came to the city. These people had no communal worship service at home and on the festivals they were not able to go to the city. Nevertheless, these people were not to be excluded from the blessings of scriptural reading.

Once the worship service became a permanent arrangement then the genesis of an order of prayer could not fail to appear. It is hardly thinkable that an individual prays without repeating himself and without arriving at the point where his prayer would retain a stable structure. It is likewise impossible that a whole group of people would assemble at regular intervals for a worship service without having specific forms develop which are then always repeated. In our own time as well, we maintain that the liturgy should serve congregations in all lands as well as a wide diaspora growing from year to year. Furthermore, it is likewise

felt that religious unity can only be properly preserved through the similarity in liturgical arrangements and permanent forms must therefore be created for such a liturgy.

9. How the development of a set order of prayer was established or by whom is not mentioned in the tradition. The tradition includes the authorities responsible for the development of the form of synagogue worship under the name of the men of the great assembly. It was they who added prayer in a limited sense of the word to the didactic sections and those which contained the confession of faith. It was these men who created the forms of the prayers of praise and petition which are familiar to us. The style of the basic form of all prayers, *הַלְלוּ*, is attributed to them. The direct address to God in the form *אֱלֹהֵינוּ* which is not found in the Bible with the exception of Ps. 119:12 and 1 Chronicles 29:12 and not even in the later books became the basis for all prayers. This formulation is a clear expression of a very distinct religious individualism. The praise of God and the hymn became and remain as the form through which the congregation holds a dialogue with its God. Even when the congregation recites petitionary prayers, it concludes with a blessing. The first order of prayers also comes to us from the time of the men of the great assembly. This order of prayer consisted of two parts, the expression of faith and prayer. The congregational confession of faith existed in the oldest convocations for

worship. Expression of the congregation's faith was given by means of a recitation of Scriptural passages.

242 The fact that all the Scriptural passages were taken from the Pentateuch proves that they were compiled at a time when no other section of the Bible had achieved canonical status. All of these biblical portions have not been retained in the liturgy. The Decalogue, for example, was again removed from the liturgy due to polemical reasons at the time of primitive Christianity (b. Ber. 12a, j. 18, f. 3 c). The liturgy of the priests (p. 236), the preface to Dt. 6:4 in the Septuagint and finally the Nash Papyrus discovered a century ago show that the Decalogue had once belonged to the daily liturgy. On the other hand, all of the three biblical selections present in the section of the confession of faith were not part of the original liturgy. The third selection, at least, became part of the service at a late stage in the development of the liturgy (p. 24). The selections containing the confession of faith were encased in hymnic prayers and אֱלֹהֵינוּ as was mentioned with regard to the liturgy of the priests which in itself was under the influence of the great assembly. Several communal petitions אֲנִי וְעַמִּי were added to the section of faith. These petitions were a younger part of the liturgy and were always considered as such. The Shema was considered the biblical section but the Tefillah was not. The petitionary prayers were not yet known to those groups that convened in order to express their confession of faith. At

such convocations, a silent prayer followed the congregational worship and there was no prescribed form or content for this prayer. The form and content were left to the discretion and the mood of the person who prayed. The silent prayer was a private devotion within a public service and during this private section every person could express his personal desires. Old sources refer to this individual prayer as פ'רנא but later on it received the name השחית , פ'רנא (p. 74) based on a biblical expression. We first find petitionary prayer at a public service in the prayers of the fast days. From the liturgy of these days, the petitions were carried over to the Maamadot and were finally incorporated into the daily congregational service as the השחית . The structure of the Tefillah, namely, a hymnic introduction, petition and prayers of thanksgiving is fashioned after a biblical pattern and the time of its origin cannot be too far removed from the biblical period. At first the content was very general. Just as the petitionary prayers of the latest books of the Bible use the sinfulness of man as their point of departure so apparently did the petitionary prayers of the Tefillah. The favours asked in these petitionary prayers were of such a nature that they were indispensable for every person. They were therefore equally close to the heart of every member of the congregation. There were also some requests for the whole congregation of Israel as, for example, the prayer for Jerusalem and the Temple. The prayer for the re-uniting of all the

limbs of the widely dispersed people of Israel was also present at an early date and we even learn of it in the Apocrapha.

243 The explanation for the introduction to the petitionary prayers which contained an appeal to the covenant made with the fathers is to be found in the later biblical and apocryphal prayers. This introduction testifies to a firm and a positive faith in the protection and grace of God. Later generations did not always have such an attitude. The confession of sinfulness emerges from a completely healthy conscience and is free from the self-tormenting accusations of the era prior to the fall of the Jewish state. Every service was to be accompanied by the priestly benediction. We have already mentioned that it was often impossible to have the priestly benediction at every service. We learn from the Talmud that the priestly benediction was removed from the afternoon service at an early date (b. Taan. 26b).

The contributions of the men of the Great Assembly were unfortunately made in the arrangement and the content of the prayers only but not in their wording. The wording was not set forth or prescribed but rather left to the inspiration of the moment. Indeed it was unavoidable as time passed, that certain formulations for individual aspects of the liturgy should appear. The *הַשְׁמֵנוּ* *שֶׁלְמִנְחָה* and *אֶחָד מִן* were among these formulations. In the book of Daniel we already note the influence of the liturgy upon religious ideas. The prayers of antiquity were short, in a simple style and plainly expressed. The innate power of faith and

sensitivity always enables one to say much in few words and at the proper moment. As if mechanically, there came a flow of vocabulary for these prayers from the familiar verses of Scripture.

The prayers were so simple and the thoughts of such a general nature that they could be used for every day of the year without distinction. It can hardly be thought that there were special formulations of the prayers for the sabbaths and festivals. The core of prayer, that is the confession of faith and the benedictions that encase it, and the introductory and concluding sections of the Tefilla are still the same for every day of the year. The reading and interpretation of Scripture are the peculiarities of the sabbaths and festivals and consumed the greatest amount of time. In addition, the sabbath was greeted upon its arrival and departure in the home by ceremonies of religious fellowship. The formulae for these occasions (*אלהינו* *אלהינו*) are also among the contributions of the Great Assembly (p. 240).

244 On the holidays these formulae were not recited but in their stead there were other forms of special observance. On the pilgrim festivals there was the pilgrimage to Jerusalem and on the Day of Atonement the cult rites performed by the High Priest were mentioned.

10. We are not told how much time was necessary before the regular daily worship service became widespread. It is sufficiently striking to note that in the Books of the Maccabees

no mention is made of the prayer service among the laments over the prohibitions against religious convocations and ceremonies. Yet there are many passages in these books indicating that already at that time the worship service was very common. Had the worship service been introduced at a later time surely the sources would not have failed to speak about the new institution. In the partisan conflicts of later times, we never find an argument concerning the prayer service as such or about details concerning it. In the books of Daniel and Sirach there are unquestionably allusions that assume the existence of the worship service. We possess a definite report of its existence from the Diaspora.

Agratharcides von Knidos who wrote about the middle of the second century also mentions the Jewish service and notes that the Jews spend the whole sabbath until late evening in the synagogue. At that time, the exposition of Scripture must have taken a long time.

11. The Maccabean revolt should have been a meaningful turning point in the development of the liturgy. Prayer had already become so common that one could reflect upon it.

Prayer was a strong factor in the national life for all ideas and feelings that stirred the people contended for expression through prayer. The thought of deliverance became the center of religious ideas. The longing for liberation not only from the oppression and misfortune of this world but also the longing for the future messianic salvation became an effective element in the religious development. The

exodus from Egypt is an event which that age recalled frequently and with pleasure. The liberation from that servitude in Egypt (פ'ג'ן ח'ק'ג') became the symbol of liberation generally and reference to it became an important part of the daily prayers. The prayers for the coming of the messianic era were taken up in the Tefillah and the religious life was thus filled with nationalistic thoughts.

245 §35 The Liturgy in the Tannaitic Period

1. Prior to the Destruction of the Temple

Bibliography: Zunz, ibid; Herzfeld; ibid; Sachs, M. Die religiöse Poesie der Juden in Spanien, Chapter 2, p. 164ff.

1. In the pre-tannaitic period we are not working on very firm ground as regards the development of the liturgy. First in the Mishnah do we find coherent reports about the form and content of the liturgy. Surely, then, we are faced with the difficulty that the Mishnah we possess was redacted about the year two hundred. The Mishnah also contains many anonymous passages which cannot be accurately dated. Frequently, from other parallel sources we have the names of authorities who participated in the development of certain liturgical institutions. With this information, we are in the position to determine at which time these institutions came into existence. This information can also indicate to us whether we must assume that these institutions were already in existence at a certain time. The Mishnah must be re-

garded as a late source for the development of the liturgy. Even the oldest sections of the Mishnah show us that the development of the liturgy was in a very advanced stage. The basic forms and the structure of the public worship service were almost completed and were essentially in the same form as we have it today. Yet a long and not always peaceful movement must have taken place before such a fixing of the innovations could be brought about. At the beginning of the Common Era, the worship service and the principle prayers were the subject of scholastic discussion. They had become a matter of course and lost the quality of being informal. The forms of prayer had become so much a part of the people that they could be taught as fixed doctrine. The justification of the prayers and their applicability as well as the possibility and permissibility for deviations from the prayers were studied. The prayers were studied by theologians and even casuistically treated. The liturgy was generally known and had become such a widespread custom that it was considered as an ancient mosaic institution. Philo and Josephus as well as the authorities of the Talmud considered the liturgy as an ancient institution. There was no doubt as to the justification of the liturgy and its binding character. All schools of thought were united on this point no matter how much they differed on other issues. Wherever Jews lived, there were regular convocations for worship.

2. In the first period in the development of the liturgy, only the congregation had a firmly established order of

prayer and a specific time for prayer. The individual prayed when the inner spirit moved him to do so. The content of the prayer depended upon whatever the individual's religiosity suggested.

246 At the public service, the individual person listened quietly and only participated as he recited the responses and the silent prayer at the end. Though the silent prayer was offered in the midst of the congregation nevertheless it was still a private matter. Then the worship service changed and the fact that it was not merely a congregational service but rather an obligation felt by every individual testifies to the extensive and successful dissemination and recognition gained by the liturgy. The liturgy became the possession of the community and everyone knew and repeated it daily. The worship service had won over all the people and it ruled every aspect of life. The synagogue was not the only place for prayer at the appointed times. The artisans and workers interrupted their work to pray (Ber. 2:4). Peoples prayed while on a journey and some liked to stand in a corner on the street and pray publicly (Matt. 6:5). We cannot go into detail here as to the immeasurable value the daily devotion, the consecration of one hour each day, the understanding of the relationship between the earthly and the godly, and the elevation of the commonplace to the festive had upon the development of religiosity and the deepening of piety. Two thousand years of the religious life of Judaism, Christianity and Islam render an eloquent testimony to this fact.

We are no longer able to fathom the development of the liturgy. This movement was one of the most important in the history of religion. Surely several individual pious people like Onias, the drawer of circles, and R. Chanina b. Dosa had some influence upon the liturgy. We should not, however, overlook the fact that the whole tendency of pharisaic piety was aimed at the spiritualisation of religious forms and the development of personal religiosity. There were many groups of pious people (*ק'רן, ק'רן, ק'רן, ק'רן*) who placed special value upon commencing prayer early and reciting the prayers with deep devotion and withdrawn from the world. Today we are no longer able to say whether these groups emerged from the midst of the Essenes. It is likewise impossible for us to determine how much credit for the shaping of the liturgy is to be attributed to these sects. It is most unlikely that the sect devoted to removing itself from worldly matters should attract emulation.

3. As a result of the dissemination of the liturgy it took on another character in that the didactic elements receded and the main purpose of the liturgy became prayer and devotion.

247 The Shema, the confession of faith, was recited as in former times but the original meaning of the scriptural passages was forgotten and they were explained academically. The obligation to pray twice daily and the commandments concerning the symbols of *ק'רן, ק'רן, ק'רן, ק'רן*, were derived from it. The two latter reasons became as much a

part of the people as did the Shema itself and have been sufficiently misused by those whose orientation is directed at externals. These externals have, however, played a great role in the stimulation toward spiritual elevation. The prayers for the weekdays were likewise distinguished from those of the sabbaths and the festivals. On this point too, people were prepared to discuss and introduce casuistic differentiations. The tractates Berachot, Rosh Ha Shanah, Taanit and Megillah give us a picture of how the individual prayers, how liturgical arrangements had already taken on a special character and how widespread prayer had become. These talmudic sections likewise describe the method of discussing these prayers in the various schools. None of the sources presents us with a thorough and exhaustive picture of the liturgy. The liturgical arrangements were familiar as a universal matter and assumed to be accessible to every individual.

4. If we are to consider the liturgy insofar as it can be determined on the basis of the Mishnah, then it consisted of two parts, the scriptural reading and prayer. The prayer section in itself had two main divisions שמונה עשרה and שמע ישראל. The Shema was recited at the morning and evening service and the שמונה עשרה at the morning and afternoon service. Three biblical excerpts were part of the Shema (p. 16). The third was nevertheless omitted at the evening service. In the morning service, two prayers preceded the Shema and one followed it (שמונה עשרה שמע ישראל)

(לפניה ואחריה). In the evening, there were two blessings before and after the Shema (לפניה ואחריה). Of the two prayers that preceded the Shema, one of them was a special morning or evening prayer. The other was a prayer of thanksgiving for the revelation at Sinai. The first prayer following the Shema was a confirmation of the confession of faith and gratitude for the redemption from Egypt was associated with it. The *שמונה עשרה* was the second blessing after the Shema and was especially for the evening. It also came as the substitute for the *שמונה עשרה* which was omitted. The *שמונה עשרה* contained a prayer for God's protection during the night. The wording of the two prayers common to both services (*אור וצל*) need not have been different at first. Even today they show a great deal of similarity which can allow us to conclude that they were originally the same. Even the introductory praise of God, *אור וצל*, could have been used in the morning or the evening since it speaks of the creation of light and darkness.

248 Just as the Shema was the same every day of the year so the blessings before and after it.

The Tefillah was simply the petitionary prayer. The congregation could only present its petitions in the Tefillah. We are no longer able to state with confidence (p. 32) the number of sections in the Tefillah and if there was unity amongst the various sections. We only know how the Tefillah was divided. The beginning of the Tefillah was of a hymnic

nature, the middle contained the petitions and as people are used to saying, the conclusion consists of prayers of thanksgiving. In reality, however, the conclusion also had two petitions along with thanksgiving. Both of the petitions were remnants of the liturgy recited in the Temple at the time of the priest's prayer (p. 31). The content of the petitions were primarily of a national character and thus similar to the subject matter of the prayers of the Maamadot which we have already pointed out. The content touched upon the future of the people and messianic salvation. The introductory and concluding section of the Tefillah had already acquired their names (R.H. Shanah 4:6) and were retained for every day of the year and never changed. The intermediate petitions, on the other hand, were only to be recited on weekdays. The semi-holydays were mentioned by means of a special insertion in the Tefillah. On fast days, the Tefillah was supplemented by a large number of petitions as was the custom since ancient times. On the sabbaths and festivals, the petitions within the Tefillah were limited to one which expressed the desire for the ability to consecrate the festival properly. The one exception to the structure of the Tefillah on the festivals is to be found on the New Year's Day. At that time the Tefillah was expanded and instead of having one intermediate blessing, there were three. On the Day of Atonement the confession of sins was appended to the Tefillah. The schools of Hillel and Shammai differed on the issue of the precedence of the sabbath or the festivals when both fell on

the same day. The question was whether the prayer for the ability to properly consecrate each of these days was to be joined or kept apart. The number of benedictions in the Tefillah on the sabbath and festival, seven, and on Rosh Ha Shanah, nine, found complete acceptance by both schools. The custom for such a structure of the Tefillah was familiar and recognized by both groups. In the disputes between the two schools, reference is made to the actual practice of many years standing (Tos. Ber. 3:12 f., p. 7:10ff; Tos. R.H. 4:11, p. 214:1ff.)

On the Festivals and on the intermediate days as well as on the day of the New Moon, there was a Musaf service in addition. The Musaf service likewise used the Tefillah. The service was apparently not held everywhere. Only the larger places with local congregations (חג'ר Ber. 4,4) and the capital cities of the Maamad districts had the Musaf service. The wording of the Musaf Tefillah need not have been different from the wording of the other Tefillot.

249 Joshua b. Chananya tells how he had participated during his youth (about 60 C.E.) in a morning, Musaf and afternoon service on the Festival of Tabernacles. He also relates that following the pattern of the first service, the morning service, the other two services were held prior to the offering of the corresponding sacrifice. At the same time, we have an instructive example of how prayer and sacrifice occurred at the same time (Tos. Succ. 4,5, p. 198:16).

From the Mishnah we cannot determine what degree of acceptance the Psalms found in the liturgy. We only learn about the Hallel Psalms and the fact that they were recited on eighteen days during the year and were appended to the morning service. The Hallel Psalms had their own benediction which either introduced or concluded their recitation (וְעַל הַחֲלֵל).

It must be noted that the ideas in the prayers were fixed but their wording was not except for Biblical verses. A Biblical verse, וְיִשְׂרָאֵל, could not be used as a blessing,

וְיִשְׂרָאֵל, without having something to supplement it. The prayers could or could not begin with וְיִשְׂרָאֵל. Most of the prayers had a concluding blessing, וְיִשְׂרָאֵל, which gave the thoughts of the prayer at the same time. This concluding blessing could be omitted. The prayers were recited aloud from beginning to end by the reader whereas the congregation only joined in with the responses. Every prayer was arranged separately and a special person was called upon to recite each prayer before the congregation. During the Tefillah one faced East, that is the one who prayed faced the Holy of Holies in Jerusalem. In the evening, there was no congregational service. The liturgy generally is short except for the Day of Atonement when the entire day is devoted to prayer. The liturgy for the Day of Atonement is so unusually long that its length has become the subject of a proverb.

5. Scripture reading was also a part of the service. On the

market days, Monday and Thursday, on the sabbath morning and afternoon, as well as on the Festivals and semi-holydays, the Torah was read. In addition a selection from the prophets was read on the sabbaths and festivals. The Scriptural lesson was short on weekdays, festivals and semi-holydays and only longer on the sabbaths. In no way, however, were the Scriptural passages excessively long on the sabbaths. On the festivals Biblical sections pertaining to them were read. On the sabbaths, a system was adopted at an early time whereby the Torah was read in consecutive sections but without being bound to any set cycle.

250 The Torah reading was conducted by members of the congregation who alternated in reading from the Torah. Wherever feasible, the Torah was read in Hebrew even in the Diaspora. When necessary, the vernacular was permitted. The translation and interpretation of the Torah selection was joined to the Torah service. As far as can be determined, the translation and interpretation were originally the same. The translation was not a literal one and therefore contained the interpretation simultaneously. During the period under discussion, the interpretation and translation had already been separated from one another. The exposition of the text became an independent item and the expositors did not stay close to the wording of the text. To the interpretation, they joined free and independent thoughts that were germane to a related theme. The details of religious practice

were the subject of these discussions but above all, the expositors spoke about the views of religion and the hopes for the future.

6. In the Hellenistic countries, the reading and interpretation of the Bible was the foremost and consumed the entire sabbath day until late evening. These aspects of the service made of the synagogues schools for the teaching of ethics and morals. These conclusions are arrived at on the basis of Philo's writings. The descriptions of the rituals in Philo's works is limited to the sabbath. They are also effected by his endeavour to give the picture of life in these countries as much of a philosophic tinge as possible. We do not know what constituted the prayers in these countries but we must at least suppose that the selections of the confession of faith were recited. We have reports concerning the Therapeutae which tell that they thanked God every morning and evening for the physical and spiritual light. On the sabbath and especially on the great festival of the Therapeutae, the night of the seventh sabbath, they recited prayers of thanksgiving, Psalms and sang hymns which they composed. Greek was the language used in the synagogues of the Diaspora. Even in Palestine, the Hellenists used Greek as the language of prayer in the synagogue. The recitation of the prayers followed the same format in the Diaspora as in Palestine. A reader recited the prayer aloud while the congregation remained quiet and only joined in with the responses.

§ 36 The Liturgy During the Tanaaitic Period

2. After the Destruction of the Temple

Bibliography: L. Herzfeld, Geschichte des Volkes Israel; Graetz, Geschichte der Juden, Vol. 6; Sachs, Die religiöse Poesie der Juden in Spanien.

1. The fall of the Jewish state had no greater effect upon the development of the liturgy than did any other important event in the national history of the Jews.

251 The destruction of the Temple and the cessation of the sacrificial cult were not accompanied by any strong emotional feelings. The role of the Temple in the religious life of the people had been fixed in such a way that no noticeable change took place. It is clear that the liturgy of the synagogue was the center of the entire worship of God. Furthermore, the worship service had attained a dominant position not only in the practical observance but also in the religious thinking and theology of the time. Up to the destruction of the Temple, the people prayed in the synagogues and the Temple as well. Many went to the Temple and participated in the service there. After the destruction, the synagogue was the only place where the congregation could hold its worship service. The theory that prayers were a substitute for sacrifice is the thought of a later age. This is based on an interpretation of the prophetic words וְהָיָה עֲרֵב פִּי כֶּדֶם וְהָיָה לִי (Hos. 14:3), that the words of the lips are to substitute for the sacrifices. This, however, is not an entirely sensible interpretation. The contemporaries of the destruction did not think along these lines. As is well known, Jochanan b. Zakkai declared that the deeds of brotherly love were the substitute

for sacrifice. No tannaitic authority stated that the prayers were the substitute. The hour of prayer corresponded to the hour of the sacrifice but people were convinced that the institution of prayer was a product of antiquity as were the sacrifices. The liturgy had existed along with the sacrifices at an earlier time. When the sacrifices were discontinued, the worship service continued in its former strength. The entire order of prayer could remain completely unchanged. Certain details of the prayers, however, had to be reworked in order to take the new situations into consideration. These changes did not take place by the elimination of those sections that were no longer meaningful but rather through a change in their tone and emphasis. Wherever possible, the prayers were retained in the original wording and short additions were inserted. These insertions changed the meaning of the prayers in such a way so that they corresponded to the new situations. This was the procedure followed at the time of the destruction and also later on when changes relating to new situations were necessary. At that ancient time when written prayers were not known, this method must have been the only means to preserve the continuity of prayer and not and not confuse the one who prayed. Added to this was the general hope for the speedy restoration of the Temple (הנה נא

עזר קי' הנה נא). This hope justified the continued use of the prayers in the forms that had been in existence for many years prior to the destruction.

The prayers for the acceptance of the sacrifice could not remain with their wording. In place of the prayers for the preservation of the Temple, there were prayers for its restoration and for the coming of the Messiah. Prayers for the changes that might be brought about in connection with the restoration and the coming of the Messiah became much more urgent than before. Since the singing of the levites was silenced, the Psalms found a new home in the synagogue. Individual pious people, made the Psalms a part of their daily prayers. The priestly benediction was also retained and several new statements corresponding to the changed situation were formulated and taken up in the Tefillah. When priests were not present a prayer was substituted for the benediction but within this prayer the reader recited the words of the benediction (p. 69). It was likewise necessary to make new regulations with regard to the ceremonies connected with the Temple such as the blowing of the Shofar on the New Year's Day and the palm and willow branches on the Festival of Tabernacles. Whatever could possibly be transferred to the synagogue was saved and incorporated into the liturgy.

2. Additional innovations resulted from the religious movement of those days. A statement concerning the then young Christianity could no longer be postponed. The Jewish-Christians visited the synagogues as before and instituted new practices with which they caused the people who prayed to err (The end of Megillah). In accordance with their belief in the resurrection of Jesus, they expanded the simple formula

of the Berachah in such a way that it closely resembled the heathen formulation. We frequently find these blessings in the remainders of old Christian prayers that have been preserved. The longer the Christian movement and belief in Jesus' resurrection continued, the more divine attributes were vested in Jesus. Finally, the Jewish-Christians used the synagogue as a favorable opportunity for their propaganda. The example of the Apostles shows this and we are able to determine this on the basis of later reports too. The Jewish-Christians served as readers and as preachers as did other congregants. They had become so well entrenched in the synagogue that they could give expression and further dissemination to their ideas. About the year one hundred, there was a serious division and the Jewish-Christians were expelled from the synagogue. One of the defense measures used by the Jews was the introduction of prayer against the sectarians

הַנִּיחַ הַרְבֵּהּ which Gamaliel the second had Samuel the Younger write in Jamnia (כְּסוּפִי רַ' אֶלְדָּר עֲזַרְיָהוּ לְתַקֵּן הַרְבֵּהּ b. Ber. 28b). The explicit intent of this blessing was to make the sojourn of the sectarians in the synagogue and unpleasant one or completely impossible.

- 253 Special attention was given this prayer so that it be recited in the correct form and the curse directed at the sectarians not be suppressed. As a result, a Christian could no longer serve as a reader. Neither could a Christian stand amongst

those who prayed and listen to the recitation of a condemnation of his Christian community along with, the "Amen," the usual response of the congregation (p. 37f.). There is another statement that can be exclusively and satisfactorily explained by the history of that period. If a Cushite recited a blessing, only the person who heard it in its entirety was to respond with "Amen" (the end of Ber. 8). When, however, a Samaritan recited a blessing such a strict regulation is inconceivable. Though it was agreed upon that the Samaritans recited the Tetragrammaton improperly nevertheless it was sufficient to hear the closing benediction of the blessing in order to decide whether or not to say "Amen." It was not required to hear the blessing in its entirety. In other instances, even when one heard a blessing recited by a heathen, there was no prohibition against saying "Amen." Why then was there such an unusual stringency as regards the Cushites? If we would picture to ourselves the form of the blessing according to the old Christian tradition such as the following:

Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, πάτερ, ὕψιστε... ἡς ἐχάρησας ἡμῖ διὰ
 Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου· σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας (Did. 8:2);
 or even 'Ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ, ὁ ἀγέννητος υἱὸν ἀπετόκον
 ... ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου τοῦ μονογενοῦς υἱὸν σου
 and other prayers of the Apostolic Constitutions we find that

the beginning and conclusion could very well be completely correct as Jewish prayers. The offensive aspects of the prayer only appeared in the middle and it was therefore specified that whosoever said "Amen" and professed belief in the contents

of the prayer had to have heard the entire blessing. Since we know that in the manuscripts the word $\text{ }^{\prime}N$ is so often designated by $\text{ }^{\prime}N$ or other similar words then we cannot exclude the possibility of such a substitution in the text of the Mishnah in Berachot. This is true even though the substitution makes the statement practically incomprehensible.

The relation of the liturgy to heretical gnostics likewise demands discussion. There were various trends within the gnostics. Some of the gnostics wanted to foster and demand one deviation from the conduct of the community and the others advocated other deviations. Especially prohibited was the view of the dualists who believed in two divine powers.

- 254 The dualists therefore constantly repeated certain words twice ($\text{ }^{\prime}N \text{ }^{\prime}N \text{ }^{\prime}N \text{ }^{\prime}N$). Other gnostics might have associated magical concepts with prayers. In order to accomplish their purpose they elected to change the order of the words in the prayer or even recite them in the opposite order ($\text{ }^{\prime}N \text{ }^{\prime}N$). Finally, there were other gnostics who felt only certain attributes of God were valid and emphasized His goodness in opposition to His omnipotence. They wished to consider the true worship of God limited to good people as if they formed a special order. All of these peculiarities of the gnostics were rejected with more or less of the same determination. Naturally those ideas that contradicted the doctrine of God's unity were most strongly rejected. A complete success was not immediately achieved. Many deviations that

were already considered prohibitive in the second century are still encountered individually in the fourth century.

3. The needs of the time, the political revolution and the internal turbulence made it obvious to Gamaliel to introduce set regulations in the area of liturgy as in many other areas too. Whatever aspects of the liturgy were maintained on the basis of tradition up to that time, were now to be authoritatively legislated and regulated. The selections belonging to the Shema, the confession of faith, had their position for a long time and there was not very much to change in them. The only innovation prescribed was the mention of the exile from Egypt in the evening prayer as well. Up to that time this had not been present in the selections of the Shema recited in the evening. As regards the Tefillah, there was complete freedom and choice until then. At Gamaliel's command, a redaction (730) of the Tefillah was therefore undertaken. This redaction was the work of an otherwise unknown person named Simon. He was a flaxmaker by trade

(b. Ber. 28b. אמרין הקדוש (הסדר י"ח) הרבוי לפני ר"ע על הסדר ביבנה).

This redaction is not to be considered as a complete fixing of the prayers from beginning to end. This was even more impossible when every language agreeable to a person was permitted to be used in prayer (Sota 7:1). Deviations in the wording of the prayers continued to occur and have never ceased. A century after Gamaliel, the demand was still made

that the wording of the prayers should not remain uniform

but should always contain something new (730).

The redaction of the benedictions (*אין ארבע*) of the Tefillah and the sequence of order was primary. At least in theory even the blessings and the sequence were not considered unchangeable. They could be arranged according to the preference of the individual (*אין ארבע ב. Ber. 29b*). The important item was the limitation of the number of benedictions. They were limited to eighteen and the Tefillah received its name on the basis of the number of blessings *אשר יאמר* *אשר יאמר*.

255 Such a limitation of the number of blessings could only be achieved by recommending the combination of several selections that had previously been separated. The possibility of keeping the benedictions separate was not completely ruled out. In one case in Babylonia at a late date this theory was applied. For there a nineteenth benediction in the form of a prayer for the coming of the Messiah from the House of David was added to the Tefillah.

Surely long before the redaction of the Tefillah, it was a custom amongst certain pious ones to recite the Tefillah in their devotions at home as well as with the congregation. Before the redaction, the utmost liberty was possible as regards the nature of the Tefillah. After the redaction, it became a seemingly extensive prayer and the question arose as to whether every person was obligated to recite such a long prayer. In contrast to Gamaliel the Second, his contemporaries were not inclined to do so. One group of them wanted to shorten the prayer and the others did not want to limit the former

freedom in any way (b. Ber. 29a). Actually a shortened version of the Tefillah or at least of the middle selections was already in use (ה'ר'נ'נ'ן / צ'נ'ן / צ'נ'ן b. Ber. 29a). What then was the state of the congregational service? Up to the redaction, the reader read the Tefillah aloud and the utmost liberty in the composition of the prayer applied to him as well. After the redaction, when the reader had to restrict himself to a set sequence of prayers and prescribed blessings, he had some time for meditation (מ'פ'ס'ת' / מ'פ'ס'ת' / מ'פ'ס'ת' before he recited the prayer aloud. Accordingly, there was a pause in the service when the congregational leader meditated upon his own prayer. During this pause were the congregants presents to quietly recite the Tefillah as far as they understood it, or not? R. Gamaliel did not consider this necessary ostensibly because he placed the emphasis upon congregational prayer. The decision, however, was against him and in favor of the individual's prayer. From that time on the Tefillah was first spoken quietly and then recited aloud by the reader. Except for some passing and individual deviations, this custom remained untouched and unchanged until the modern period.

The Tefillah was a part of every service. Even in the evening when no public service took place, the Tefillah was declared mandatory. This point led to a great conflict which threatened to cause a division in the circle of scholars at Jamnia and did cost Gamaliel his office for a while.

256 The deeper meaning of the controversy was whether the evening service should also have an official character or not. In theory, the opinion that it was a voluntary addition to the evening service prevailed. In practice, however, the Tefillah remained a part of the service and was only distinguished from the others by not being repeated.

The wording of the Tefillah was plain and simple, the composition of the benedictions was mostly short. Wherever possible the composition of the blessings was based on the Bible and complete verses were adapted literally. As a result of frequent usage, these blessings spread and were generally known (לזרה נפה). There were many people who knew how to recite the blessings without the assistance of the reader. We should not have any exaggerated conceptions of attendance at the synagogues, and particularly in the week-days. The occupations of the people did not enable too many to participate regularly in the synagogue service. Even the scholars were not always ready to interrupt their discourses in order to devote themselves to prayer. In consideration of these difficulties, the worship service was not to consume too much time. Each individual could pray privately as long as he wanted. In the congregation, care had to be taken so that the people were not unnecessarily burdened. The liturgy had received full acceptance even in the life of the individual. Something that had never been accomplished in any religion had now succeeded. Religious individualism had achieved a complete

victory. Personal piety had disseminated itself in such a manner that later on it was able to influence the liturgy of the congregation. The old private prayer, פ'נייה, פ'נייה, continued to exist and came after the Tefillah.

This private prayer was that part of the liturgy which remained untouched by any of the authoritative regulations. The more the liturgy was established according to set rules, the more rewarding was the prayer whose essence was left to the individual in that he could move freely and pour out his heart as it demanded of him.

4. This period also made progress in differentiating the Tefillah of the various occasions and particularly of special weekdays. The difference between the prayers for the weekdays and the festivals had taken place long before. Now, however, there was a differentiation in the Tefillah for the weekdays insofar as they might have had a festive quality. For the day of the New Moon and the both festivals of thanksgiving, Hanukah and Purim, a change was instituted in the Tefillah. When we read about the details concerning the form of these insertions on the special weekdays, we always find that authorities of the period under discussion participated.

257 The same names are likewise repeated when the discussion dealt with a special prayer for the rainy season or the position of the Havdalah at the conclusion of the sabbath. Exactly how far the liturgy for the festivals was elaborated is not known. It can, however, hardly be a mere coincidence that R. Akiba is the first about whom it is reported that the entire Day of Atonement was spent in prayer. Perhaps the first traces of

the description of the Avodah service in the liturgy are to be found at that time.

5. In the realm of Scripture reading, it was almost considered a rule to read the entire Pentateuch in consecutive sections. The reading from the Torah was as yet not bound to a certain length and the cycle of readings was not fixed. There were still a variety of opinions concerning the number of people participating in the Torah reading on the festivals. The interpretation of Scripture still formed an important part of the service on the sabbaths and festivals as it had done previously. The exposition had gradually freed itself from the text and developed into independent discourses. The interpretation of Scripture received a certain degree of competition from the discourses of the scholars which did not always take place in the synagogue nor were they joined to the Scripture reading. The period under discussion did not bring forth any new religious ideas. If we consider the experiences of that generation, we must be amazed at the steadfastness of their faith. In the face of all the difficulty, distress and oppression experienced, nevertheless, they maintained a firm trust in God. The confidence in the grace of God inherited from the past was not lost and the religious temperament was neither darkened nor dulled. Prayer was accompanied by the unwavering hope that it would be heard.

6. The Bar Kochba revolt and the hadrianic persecutions led to the complete collapse of Jewish community life. As a result of the destruction of all organizations and institutions,

there was a transfer of the center of Jewish life from South Palestine to the North. In the age of the restoration (after 140) the primary task was the gathering of the dispersed and the restitution of the old ordinances. All the men who had known the classical period had died. As a result of the great catastrophe, the tradition had been broken and in many of its aspects had become unclear. Other aspects of the tradition had been completely forgotten. Within every community there were numerous institutions that were only continued as a matter of habit.

- 258 Only when there was an interruption in the regular observance of these practices did people begin to reflect upon the details of the practices. Frequently these details had been forgotten or their exact arrangement had never impressed itself upon the mind. After the gatherings for worship had been prohibited for a long time and the customs instituted in Judea had been destroyed, the first task after the restoration had to be the restitution of the old worship service. Undoubtedly, it occasionally occurred that the men of authority in a one-sided decision accepted their personal tradition or point of view as the guide and suppressed deviating customs. In the main, however, the tradition was taken into account because it was believed that only on the basis of tradition was it possible to organize the liturgy in the proper manner.

The leading men of the period under discussion were occupied with deliberations of many questions concerning the liturgy. These deliberations afford us an insight into the

new trend and the new difficulties of the time. We always find, for example, the same men working on the prayers for the New Year's Day and attempting to restore the old traditional forms wherever possible. The order of prayer, the restoration of the nine blessings of the Musaf Tefillah, the Biblical verses and the benedictions suddenly seemed to be unclear. In reality the difficulty lay in the fact that previously several customs had been considered equally important and were observed at the same time. Now, however, one permanent order of prayers was desired. Such difficulties as were sometimes caused by the influence of important personalities and the difference in local custom had to be overcome and opposing points of view had to be reconciled. It is important to note that even during those years of the most horrible persecution the spirit was that of former times. We do not note melancholy thoughts of resignation and doubt or an unhealthy, self-tormenting, guilty conscience. The former joy in hoping continued to exist with its old vigor.

7. New prayers were seldom introduced during this period, and at most only the old ones were expanded. One can see that this period did not feel itself capable of creative activity but felt itself satisfied in possessing the past. Accordingly, the most minute attention was given the casuistry concerning the prayers. The hours for prayer, for example, had existed before and in accordance with the old custom people gathered in the house of prayer at the customary hours.

259 Now, however, there was much detailed reflection and deliberation concerning the time of prayer. The hours were limited when one could begin and end the prayers that were to be recited at a certain time of day. Earlier generations had allowed themselves more liberty in this area, whereas later generations desired exact rules and set regulations. The principle that one was to remain in consonance with the tradition of the past was generally acknowledged. Since living conditions had become changed and the references of the old tradition were not always meaningful, there often evolved misunderstanding and erroneous statements. The basic error was in the idea that every detail of the liturgy was based upon old traditional laws. In reality, most of the liturgy was formed as a result of a free development of ideas. Interruptions that could occur during a service gave rise to numerous discussions. The obvious goal of the scholars was to exhaustively consider the individual cases whenever possible. This goal, however, was in no way attainable. Even the amount of attention to be given to prayer (ה' י' ד) was discussed. Inner piety was the concern of the individual and was dealt with in the haggadic discussions. The same scholars who took the lead in dialectics in Halachah and rigorised prayer, expressed completely different views about prayer in the haggadic expositions and exhortations. Their words in the Haggadah breathe a spirit of deep piety and living religiosity.

The details for the prayers of special days, the changes, the insertions and perhaps the errors that could occur were also discussed in accordance with the trend of that era. The judges took up the questions of the liturgy and regulated it according to their method by the setting up regulations. Since nothing belonging to the liturgy was to be written down, the perfecting of a ritual was impossible. All the details of the liturgy were therefore subjected to casuistic discussions. Life and real devotion at first remained untouched and there continued to exist much freedom within the liturgy. Later generations, however, took up these discussions, considered them authoritative and raised them to the level whereby they had the right to be codified.

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§37. The Liturgy During the Amoraic Period

Bibliography: Zunz, Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden, p. 379ff.; Graetz, Geschichte der Juden, vol. 4, especially note 39, p. 464ff.

1. The amoraic period brought about important progress in the development of the liturgy. The problem discussed earlier concerning the reports to be found in the sources is relevant for this period as well. Statements made over a long period of time are all set together without any differentiation. The Talmud gives a general report of the work that took place over a period of three hundred years and it is not always easy to distinguish the statements belonging to an earlier or later generation. The Amora had already found a core of prayer and the congregational prayers had been introduced in

every place a long time before. Individuals were accustomed to hold services regularly. The way was prepared for further development based upon what already existed. This development of the liturgy was accomplished simultaneously in Babylonia and Palestine though not in the same manner. As in other areas, so in the realm of liturgy, certain differences occurred. The ritual in Palestine became different from the one in Babylonia.

2. The efforts of the Amora were primarily directed at the creation of a set form for the liturgy. Regulations that would be universally applicable were sought and there was to be no deviation from them. This could best be accomplished if all the members of the congregation took part in the congregational worship, in the worship at the synagogue. In contrast to the silence of the previous period, the great meaning attributed to congregational worship by the Amora is all the more striking. Of the exceptionally large number of statements in which this thought was expressed, we can only mention but a few here. At the beginning of the tractate Berachot, we find these statements at every point. We read: "Where ten pray, God's majesty sojourns," "God Himself is in the synagogue," or even "Prayer is only heard when it is recited in the synagogue," (b. Ber. 6a f). Attendance at synagogue was therefore established as a very meritorious deed. It was loathesome to abstain from attending the synagogue. The Babylonian Jews are famous and esteemed because

they gathered in the synagogue early in the morning and late in the evening.

261 We do not lack statements that oppose such an evaluation of synagogue attendance. The scholars were not always in favor of interrupting their scholarly discourses in order to go to the synagogue. In a deliberate rejoinder to the over-exaggeration of the other point of view, the scholars declared that the four walls of the house of study are more pleasing to God than all the houses of prayer (R. Chisda, b. Ber. 8a). Many of the scholars recited their prayers in the house of study where they held their lectures. It could even happen that scholars present in the synagogue would continue their studies during a part of the service, for example, during the reading of the Torah (b. Ber. 8a).

According to the view held during this period, whoever did not pray in the synagogue was to recite his prayer at the same time as the congregation did. This specific time was the acceptable hour, ¹¹⁸⁷ ¹⁸ mentioned by the Psalmist. Only one story might be cited that sheds a bright light upon the trends discussed here. In b. Ber 7b., we read: "R. Isaac said to R. Nachman: Why does the Master not come to the Synagogue in order to pray? He said to him: I cannot. He asked him: Let the Master gather ten people and pray with them (in his house)? - He answered: It is too much trouble for me. (He then said): Why all this (trouble)? - He said to him: For R. Johanan said in the name of R. Simeon b. Yohai: What is the meaning of the verse: "But as for me, let my

prayer be made unto Thee, O Lord, in acceptable time (Ps. 69:14). When is the time acceptable? When the congregation prays. The conversation of the two scholars is exceptionally instructive. The zeal of the one and the consternation of the other are equally pointed out. R. Nachman ostensibly has no idea of the goals which are very close to the heart of his interrogator.

Just as the congregation prays in one place, so the individual should strive to do the same. The house of prayer is a "miniature sanctuary." As we shall see, a number of requirements are set for the site of the sanctuary and its architecture. These demands equate the synagogue with the large sanctuary, the Temple. Even in one's own home, the room used for prayer was to fulfill some of these stipulations. In accordance with the meaning of prayer, it was to be the first item with which one began the day. No work was to be undertaken nor anything eaten or drunk before the prayers were recited.

262 The older Amora still continued to begin their day's work with a lecture. For the younger Amora such a thing would be unheard of (b. Ber. 14b). The obligatory nature of one service was particularly emphasized. The Minchah service had an unfavorable position and outside of the Temple, its recitation was hardly feasible. If it was recited in the middle of the day, it interrupted the business activities of the people. If held in the evening, it almost coincided with the evening service. There is no question that the Minchah service was

neglected and therefore had to be emphatically prescribed, "special consideration was to be given to the Minchah service" (b. Ber. 6b, cf. 28b). The evening service was elevated to the status of a congregational service and recited at nightfall. As a result of this, the Shema recited before going to bed was again commanded and in this way a new night prayer ($\text{הַלְלָהּ שְׁמָע וְשִׁיר הַלְלָהּ}$) was introduced.

Along with the increased meaning attributed to prayer, the long prayers were no longer prohibited. The long prayers were considered a guarantee for having the requests granted. Especially during states of emergency and times of danger, insertions were permitted and even their inclusion in the Tefillah was not prevented. The old Techinah continued as a private prayer but the art of praying alone and faith in personal prayers were vanishing. People took refuge in the model prayers offered by famous men. The private prayers of these men were given over to the congregation and then imitated.

3. The attitude of this period toward prayer made its imprint upon the liturgy by a further expansion of the prayers already in existence. The simple prayers were embellished and in place of the uniform prayers which were repeated, different types of prayers were introduced. In Babylonia especially, a great variety of prayer forms and formulae were created. The more intensive encouragement of religious life and the inclusion of the great mass of people in religious

activity from the beginning of the amoraic period made a clear imprint upon the liturgy. Mar Samuel and his contemporary Abbab Areca, simply called Rav, a teacher, were the founders of talmudic learning in Babylonia and made outstanding contributions to the liturgy. In practically all the prayers we find a trace of their activity. Rav took part in the formulation of the Berachah (b. Ber. 12a).

- 263 The benedictions before and after the Shema were originally the same but were now varied. The $\text{אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ}$ in the morning service originated with Samuel (b. Ber. 11b) and Rav was responsible for the differentiation between $\text{אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ}$ and $\text{אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ}$ (b. Ber. 12b). Both of them were occupied with the shortening of the Tefillah and from Samuel we have the abridged prayer $\text{אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ}$ (b. Ber. 21a). Rav, on the other hand, was active in introducing the prayer for the coming of the Messiah from the House of David (b. San. 107a) which was written in honor of the family of the exilarch of Babylonia (b. Pes. 117b). The influence of both scholars upon the liturgy for the sabbaths and festivals is even more lasting. For apparently during their time much of what we possess for the sabbath and holydays was newly created. At that time in Babylonia, the evening service at the beginning of the Sabbath, Friday evening, was introduced. In order to make the service longer, a special kind of repetition of the Tefillah was instituted ($\text{אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ}$ p. 111). Rav is likewise responsible for the insertion of Biblical verses in the Tefillah of the Friday

evening service (b. Sabb. 114b). From the evening service, the verses apparently penetrated into the other services of the sabbath as well. Mar Samuel knew the Musaftefillah as a congregational prayer in remembrance of its origin in the gatherings of the Maamad (p. 237). This was also the rule that Samuel had set concerning the recitation of the Musaf-tefillah but even during his time, individuals had begun to recite it. The wording was the same as the other Tefillot (cf. ^{יג} ^{יג} ^{יג} ^{יג} b. Ber. 30b). Rav, however, associated the Musaftefillah with the Musaf sacrifice and therefore demanded a change in the wording of the prayer. He wanted to have some reference to the sacrifice included in the Musaf-tefillah (j. Ber. 4,6, f. 8c). This was not thought through logically for if the prayers were to be considered as substitutes for the sacrifices then the daily Tefillot and the other Tefillot on the sabbaths and festivals should have made mention of their peculiar quality as substitutes for the sacrifices. Rav's demand which corresponded to a widespread opinion did nevertheless prevail. The type of addition suggested was inserted in the Musaftefillah. The result of such an insertion was the introduction in the Musaf of the festivals of a reference to the pilgrimages that had once taken place on the festivals. Later a new introduction for the Musaftefillah was written (^{יג} ^{יג} ^{יג} ^{יג}). Thus, one Tefillah of the festivals was completely different from the others. In addition, we/both of these men were responsible for the

Babylonian "pearl," / ל' ח' י' י' /, recited at the evening service of the festival when it coincides with the conclusion of the Sabbath.

- 264 In all likelihood, אתה החרתנו and ל' ח' י' י' / are part of the "pearl" (p. 133). Both Rav and Samuel had taken part in the composition of the prayers accompanying the confession of sins on the Day of Atonement (b. Joma 87b). Rav introduced the phrases המלך הקדוש and המלך המעלה during the ten days of repentance (b. Ber. 12b). The nature of Rav's activity in reworking the prayers for the New Year's Day is distinct. In the sources, the introduction to the תפלת יום הכיפורים is explicitly called תקיעתא דה' רה. The introductions to the other two sections, תפלת יום הכיפורים and תפלת יום הכיפורים are most likely his contributions as well. Previously all three intermediate benedictions of the New Year's Day Musaf-tefillah consisted of Biblical verses that were loosely connected and concluded with a benediction. Rav was the one who fashioned them into regular prayers. First of all, he had introductions, he included the religious ideas that were exclusive to the prayers of the New Year's Day. Then he concluded these prayers with a petition corresponding to the contents of the prayer. The arrangement of all three selections is so similar that we have no reason to doubt their common origin. The thoughts of the prayers are so lofty and the language so noble that we must acknowledge Rav as a worshipper of great stature.

Many more details could be cited that are the contributions of Rav and Mar Samuel (cf. e.g. b. Ber. 60b, j. Ber. 1, 8f. 3d about *P'qin*, j. Succ. 3:4). All of these cases display the same goal, to bring a unity into the service and the liturgy, to further elaborate upon those prayers already extant and to breach any gaps in the service by introducing new prayers.

In Palestine, R. Jochanan endeavored to work in the same direction. He was also responsible for a large number of details which testify that he too had worked to create an order within the liturgy. The sources do not mention whether he had composed new prayers. It is not likely that he did since the Palestinian authorities had no inducement to forsake their old tradition and substitute new prayers.

Of the late Amora, the names of Abaya and Raba occur more frequently and again in regard to the questions concerning the order of prayer (cf. e.g. b. Ber. 27b, 29a; Pes. 117b; Joma 87a; Sotah 40a and in other places). R. Papa, their junior, did not participate any less than they in the arrangement of the prayers.

265 Papa's activity took place in those instances when there were several traditions or benedictions. He would recommend a method of combining the texts and in this manner eliminated the difficulty of deciding which text to accept.

4. In comparison with the length of the amoraic period, the sources report very little about the details in the arrangement of the prayers during this period. Especially lacking

are details that can be dated. It is nevertheless worthwhile to consider for a moment the liturgy as a whole and see how much development must have taken place at that time. As a result of our considerations, we note the following: the order was more or less fixed insofar as it dealt with the hours for prayer and the structure of the liturgy. The liturgy of that period is not very different from the one used today. When we speak of the wording of the prayers, we must say that, like everything else, it was in a state of flux. Even at the end of this period there were still strikingly few prayers whose wording was set. Practically none of the liturgical selections mentioned in the Talmud are presented without variant readings. Indeed, taking into consideration the desultory nature of the Talmud one might doubt whether the prayers would even be mentioned if the variant readings were not to be considered. Even the basic form of the Berachah was still a matter of discussion. Even Abaya in the middle of the amoraic period was inclined to recognize Rav's position with regard to the form of the Berachah. The generally accepted formulation corresponded to R. Jochanan's point of view (b. Ber. 40b). Neither one of the selections before and after the Shema in the morning or evening could have had a fixed text. There was likewise no uniform opinion concerning the status of the third section of the Shema in the evening service. Different deviations in the Tefillah are reported and several readers took it

upon themselves to recite texts which no one knew or anticipated. Only a small portion of the variants used are reported in the sources. We can gain an idea of how numerous these variations were on the basis of the considerable list of these variants that had to be mentioned when the individual aspects of the Tefillah were discussed (§9). The insertions for special days as well as the abridged prayer *ה'כ'ל'ל* were the subject of dispute. There was no regulation as to what was to follow the Tefillah. One person recited the

תחנונים, another omitted it, each one acting as it was pleasing to him (*דא'ס אומר תחנונים אחר תפלה* b. Ber. 29b).

- 266 There is no specific text for the Tachanunim but the personal prayers of the scholars have been handed down to us. As to the composition of the prayers, we find that each scholar followed his own inclination. There were also variations on the festivals and those on the Pilgrim Festivals as well as on the serious holydays have been preserved for us. If, for example, one were to read the discussion about the *סוף שמיני* etc., for the New Year's Day and about the confession of sins for the Day of Atonement, one becomes aware of the fact that there was no firmly fixed material. Furthermore, we also find that until that time everything was left to independent judgment. Numerous details of the Scripture reading were likewise unregulated and subject to discussion without any solution being immediately decided upon. It is therefore

no wonder that many successive generations argued about the same problems. To repeat a fact deserving the greatest amount of attention, the readers were either praised or accused in the Talmud for having included or omitted this or that liturgical selection. Such statements of approbation or displeasure are only applied when reader is not bound to any set text. Furthermore, these opinions are rendered when a certain permissiveness exists. The age of the Amora still felt adequately capable of independently composing its prayers. The few prayers of that period whose text is available display a strength, a healthy religious outlook and a fine ability in expressing religious ideas and feelings. Such an era could not tolerate the binding power of the wording of the prayers and numerous texts of the prayers thus exist side by side. To a certain degree, there was uniformity at the important centres of Jewish life. This uniformity was established on the basis of tradition but differences still developed which continued to exist for a long time and no one had the interest in or the intention of destroying them.

5. The most important differences existed between Palestine and Babylonia. The list of differences compiled later (תלמוד בבלי) dealt mostly with the outward behaviour at the worship service. Our goal here is to discuss the differences in the prayers but these have not been collected. Only occasionally do we learn about them

and particularly in the new fund of manuscripts available. These documents give us the Palestinian tradition but they do make it possible for us to become acquainted with the differences. Several example will suffice to indicate what is meant.

- 267 According to the old sources, in Palestine the concluding formulation of the ה'א'ל'ה'י read $\text{ה'א'ל'ה'י ו'ה'א'ל'ה'י}$ (מ'ק). The Babylonian Raba ruled that it be $\text{ה'א'ל'ה'י ו'ה'א'ל'ה'י}$ (b. Pes. 117b). The Ashkenazic rite still has the Palestinian benediction $\text{ה'א'ל'ה'י ו'ה'א'ל'ה'י}$ for the festivals. This occurs because it was associated with the Piyyutim which had first originated in Palestine and were inserted into the liturgy. ~~on these days~~ At the same place in the liturgy for the festival morning service, the Ashkenazic rite contains $\text{ה'א'ל'ה'י ו'ה'א'ל'ה'י}$ which is always present in the Italian rite. The reason is the same. The German rite also has an abridged version of the $\text{ה'א'ל'ה'י ו'ה'א'ל'ה'י}$ $\text{ה'א'ל'ה'י ו'ה'א'ל'ה'י}$ which is used in connection with a Piyyut. The texts named here have all been found in the Cairo Genizah manuscripts. These documents show that aspects of the Palestinian rituals had been transported to Germany along with the Piyyutim. In the evening service of the Palestinian rite, the last benediction of the blessings after the Shema was always $\text{ה'א'ל'ה'י ו'ה'א'ל'ה'י}$ etc. In the Babylonian rite, a distinction was made in this blessing between the weekdays and the festivals.

According to the Babylonian redaction of the Tefillah, it consisted of nineteen selections whereas in Palestine there were only eighteen. This difference continued for centuries and is still exists between the Ashkenazic and Italian rites when Kerovot are inserted (§32). The text of the third benediction of the Palestinian version of the Tefillah reads $\text{קִנְיָה וְכִנְיָה וְכִנְיָה וְכִנְיָה}$ and has only been preserved in the prayer books for Rosh Ha Shanah and Yom Kippur. On the other hand, the $\text{וְכִנְיָה וְכִנְיָה וְכִנְיָה וְכִנְיָה}$ introduced by Rav for the Ten Days of Repentance remained unknown in Palestine. The Palestinian text of the $\text{וְכִנְיָה וְכִנְיָה}$ has been retained in southern France. The concluding blessing of the $\text{וְכִנְיָה וְכִנְיָה}$ is also to be found in the Ashkenazic rite at that point when the priestly benediction is recited. The benediction for the end of the Tefillah $\text{וְכִנְיָה וְכִנְיָה}$ is only found in the prayer book for the Ten Days of Repentance. The sources, however, indicate that it had once been recited as the daily conclusion. There were also differences between the insertions. The Kedushah was recited daily in Babylonia but only on the sabbaths and festivals in Palestine. In Babylonia, where no priests (Aaronites) were present, the appropriate Biblical verses of the priestly benediction were recited by the reader. In Palestine, this was not considered valid and only the post-script $\text{וְכִנְיָה וְכִנְיָה}$ was to be recited when there were no priests present. In Palestine, the priestly benediction continued to be recited several times on the fast days as was the custom in ancient times. In Babylonia,

on the other hand, it was to be recited but once.

268 Of those insertions used at specific times, we find that

שלח ק'רין was recited during the summer in Palestine but was unknown in Babylonia. It is, however, interesting to note that in a somewhat surprising fashion, the שלח ק'רין was included in those rites based upon the Babylonian tradition.

As regards the sabbath prayers, the Palestinian rite included insertions for the Tefillah that were different from those of Babylonia. The introduction to the Sabbath Musaf-tefillah of the Sephardic rite, מ'יז דענד, is based upon a Palestinian source. The Tefillah for the festivals had developed into completely different formats in both countries. This difference is not only to be seen in the deviation in the Musaf-tefillah which as compared with the Palestinian rite was rather elementary and limited only to Biblical verses. We also find that the order of thoughts and the structure of the Palestinian Tefillah differed considerably. In addition, the Babylonians observed the second day of the festivals and also brought about certain modifications in the calendar.

The Babylonians substituted the one year cycle for the Torah reading in place of the three year cycle. A change in the Haftorah was naturally also connected with the change in the Torah readings. In Babylonia, the Torah readings for the festivals were changed taking into consideration that each festival involved two days. On those days that had a

Musaf service and on the four special sabbaths the Maftir section was introduced. As a result, not only one but two Torah scrolls were used. In Palestine, the custom continued for a long time to have those called to the Torah read their own portion. In Babylonia, the reader assisted with the Torah reading at a very early period. In Palestine, they only knew of one benediction before and after the Torah reading as was the custom previously. In Babylonia, however, every individual recited a blessing before and after his short selection. The benedictions of the Haftorah were more embellished in Babylonia than in Palestine. The middle blessing especially had gone through a change similar to the related section of the Tefillah.

There must have been a variety of customs in the various parts of Babylonia itself. It is most probable that these differences increased in the course of time due to the various kinds of influence exerted by respected leaders. It is told concerning Rav, that he was very surprised to hear the Hallel Psalms recited by a congregation on the day of the New Moon. Nevertheless, from the way it was done, Rav was convinced that he was confronted by an old tradition (b. Taan. 28b).

269 Upon other occasions, he witnessed customs which were strange to him (cf. e.g. b. Meg. 22a). Above all, it is important to consider that in spite of all attempts to create a hard and fast norm, much was still left to the inclination of the individual. Babylonia, nevertheless, had its own tra-

took offense at long prayers. Rather did it even conceive of long prayers as desirable though at the same time the principle that the congregation should not be extremely burdened never fell into disuse. We have already mentioned R. Papa's statement *ה' דלכך נאמרי'הו' דלכך* (p. 265). He was not alone in this opinion though the accumulation of prayers and prayer formulae was still very popular.

7. Coupled with the tendencies mentioned was the wish to set everything into rigid formulae whenever possible. This led to numerous halachic discussions which make it appear as if the Amora considered the whole area of liturgy from a purely legal point of view and confined it within laws.

270 One does not get the correct picture from the halachic discussions alone. When we are able to look into the hearts of these Amora, we get to know them as human beings who were not exclusively hardened lawyers. Rather do we note that the Amora possessed a very keen religious sensitivity. Though they might have spoken about prayer as an obligation and the details for the fulfillment of this duty, nevertheless when one asked their opinion all casuistry and sophistry disappeared and prayer was the only demand they placed upon the people. To the person who was not able to pray with devotion, they recommend that he abstain from it! How harsh seems the mockery directed at the reader who was unable to utter enough attributes for God. For a further insight into the true attitude of the Amora we might consider Raba's words that a person cannot have dealings with God as with a contemporary.

These are statements found in the midst of the Halachah. The true thoughts about the liturgy are to be sought in the Haggadah which omits the legal viewpoint and only deals with the demand of religious sensitivity and personal piety.

8. An important aspect in the development of the liturgy is the change in individual religious attitudes that had become noticeable during this period and particularly in Babylonia. It is unfortunate that little research has been done in the field of the history of the Jewish religion and the change that individual concepts underwent in the course of time.

We therefore find that it is not easy to establish definite theories about the changes. Let us but point up one idea, namely, the concept of the messiah. Surely during the epoch under discussion, a new understanding of this concept must have been disseminated. In the usual text of the Tefillah, for example, the plea in the fourteenth blessing reads

וְהַחֲזִיק אֱלֹהֵינוּ בְּיָמֵינוּ וְהַחֲזִיק אֱלֹהֵינוּ בְּיָמֵינוּ and the benediction of the seventeenth reads

וְהַחֲזִיק אֱלֹהֵינוּ בְּיָמֵינוּ וְהַחֲזִיק אֱלֹהֵינוּ בְּיָמֵינוּ. Both of these statements express the view that places the dwelling place of the godhead in Zion. Thus these prayers declare the return of the godhead to Zion as necessary for the ideal era of the future. This, however, could not have always been the prevalent opinion for the corresponding sections of the Palestinian Tefillah do not propose this concept. These statements of the Babylonian Tefillah definitely come from Babylonia and the amoraic period. It must not be overlooked

that Babylonia was the ancestral home of all superstitions. A segment of the Amora were not emancipated from the erroneous thoughts of their homeland. The fear of demons, of bad dreams and of magic governed the Amora too.

271 The wording of the prayers remained simple and unaffected and only in a very few cases was it effected by these superstitions. These ideas did have a great influence upon the arrangement of the liturgy. Such erroneous thoughts became quite dangerous especially in later generations which were governed by the belief in witchcraft and fear of ghosts and considered every word of the Talmud as binding.

§38. The Amplifications and Embellishments of the Basic Prayers

Bibliography: Zunz, Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden, p. 388ff.; Literaturgeschichte der synagogalen Poesie, p. 11ff.

1. The talmudic period was still creative and attempted to compose new prayers. Even though these new prayers were operative within the framework prescribed by the past, they still brought their own and new ideas. Toward the end of the talmudic period this strength was exhausted. An era of enervation followed during which the serious persecutions prohibited further development. As a result of the political oppression in Palestine, the gatherings in the academies were discontinued. For centuries, there were no authoritative scholarly places of learning. Moreover, what is of serious consequence for us, there are no cohesive reports concerning the further development of religious matters. The

situation of the Jews in Babylonia apparently became more unfavorable. There too the hostilities which were seldom interrupted encroached upon the flow of thoughts and the success of the work. The last generations of Amora and the Saboraim who followed were satisfied with gathering and protecting the treasures they had taken over from the past. They accomplished something for the liturgy the value of which cannot be too highly appraised. They were the first to record the prayers and thus guaranteed their transmission to later generations. Their strength did not suffice when it came to independent action and they had to satisfy themselves by accepting the traditional thoughts and then further embellishing and amplifying them. The need for new creations had not disappeared at that time either. Every period harbours the wish to be able to contribute something toward the elevation of the liturgy and to expand the traditional prayers in the direction of contemporary thought.

272 This need was no longer satisfied as it had been previously but was directed along another course. The period of individuals' insertions and independent work on the liturgy was past and the core of prayers available was respected as binding and unchangeable. Nevertheless, this period did not lack in its own creativity for we find much in this period which as yet was not even mentioned in the Talmud. The tractate Sofrim written at the end of this era, introduced prayers still unknown to the Amora or it assumes that certain

of Biblical verses were appended. Today these verses seem in part to be purposeless but at one time they must have likewise been arranged according to a set plan and cohesiveness. Before Psalm 145, there are two verses with the word

וְעַל but at one time there were many more (p. 85). Other such groupings of Biblical verses are to be found in the daily Techinah in אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ. הַיּוֹם was arranged in a similar manner. In the evening service, the הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה

הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה is such a composition and the sources expressly attribute its compilation to הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה הַזֶּה. This explicitly designates the representatives of the period under discussion as the authors of the prayer.

- 273 The unifying principle in the הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה was the occurrence of God's name exactly like the הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה of the morning service. On the Sabbath, we find הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה before the Tefillah and other Biblical verses within it. The Palestinian rite also had such collections of verses from all three sections of the Bible in the Tefillah of the festivals. This was very similar to the way Biblical verses were used in ancient times in the New Year's prayers. All of these compilations of Biblical verses shared in common the fact that they were loosely connected and without any rational coherence or transition. The only connection between the verses is mostly to be found in external symbols such as similar words. Sometimes the groups of verses were compiled in order to carry out a suggestion of an older period. The

180'1 for example is related to a reference in the Talmud. A somewhat more advanced stage in the compilation of Biblical verses is to be seen in prayers like *פידן קידן* (p. 77) where many Biblical passages are literally adopted. In juxtaposition to these verses there are other selections that offer a very simple re-working of the Biblical theme using Biblical words and expressions.

3. Another easily accomplished potentiality for embellishing the extant material was the varying of prayers. An example of this is found in the intermediate benediction of the sabbath Tefillot. In contrast to the festivals when all four Tefillot had the same form, on the sabbath each service was provided with a special insertion. Four similar texts of the Tefillah for the weekly sabbath day were considered monotonous. Four exact texts of the Tefillah, however, were retained without hesitation for the infrequently occurring festivals. The Yozer prayer was provided with insertions that embellished it. Among these additions were selections that referred to the creation story and alternated everyday. On the sabbath, the Yozer was changed considerably and expanded in a significant way. In several rites, the benedictions for the beginning and end of the sabbath were provided with additions that referred to the sabbath day. The Kedushah had at its disposal a choice of introductory selections and related texts. All of these come from the post-talmudic period for not a trace of them is to be found in

an earlier period. These selections deal with the same theme but in different words.

4. Now and then, prayers were arranged that were based upon talmudic passages.

274 The whole *הַלְלָת הַלְלָת* section is based upon a suggestion in b. Ber. 60b. The advice presented was carried out by formulating benedictions. Introductory and concluding benedictions were necessary for the recitation of Psalms. These benedictions grew out of the implementation in a few remarks about the *הַלְלָת הַלְלָת* in the Talmud. The use of synonyms in composing the prayers of the *הַלְלָת הַלְלָת* etc. was in imitation of the same procedure used in similar prayers found in the Mishnah (cf. *הַלְלָת הַלְלָת* and *הַלְלָת* with Pes. 10:5). This technique was used in arranging the Kaddish and above all, it is noticeable in the *הַלְלָת* undoubtedly a late addition to the *הַלְלָת*. It is likewise apparent in the hymn *הַלְלָת הַלְלָת* which is similar to the Kaddish and precedes the reading of Scripture. The prayers following the Scripture reading were also a fulfillment of older suggestions. Some of these late compositions based upon old references are, for example, the blessing of the congregation and its benefactors, the prayer for the government, the petitions in behalf of persecuted co-religionists and the announcement of the New Moon and the public fast days. Such additions could be easily appended to the Torah service which was independent and had a very loose connection with the other sections of the service.

The prayers we have just mentioned did not originate simultaneously and above all, they did not become known at the same time. Nevertheless, they must have spread very quickly for they are common to all the prayer books in the most diverse countries.

5. Certain literary forms were used for embellishing the prayers. These techniques were easily applied and thus frequently used. A very simple and timely method was the arrangement of a succession of words and sentences according to the alphabet. Biblical examples of this method could be referred to. In the Bible the alphabet was used in numerous ways but, to be sure, it was only used for complete sentences. The most well-known example of a prayer in the form of an alphabetical acrostic is the confessional *יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ* in which the first letter of every word formed the alphabet. In the other confessional, *קְדוֹשׁ אֱלֹהֵינוּ*, the characteristic word at the end of the sentences appeared in the acrostic form (*אֱלֹהֵינוּ קְדוֹשׁ*). No less familiar is the sentence *הָאֵל אֱלֹהֵינוּ קְדוֹשׁ* in the Yozer blessing. Today this section seems to be a set part of the prayer—but at one time it was independent of it and only existed as an insertion for the embellishment of the text. The *קְדוֹשׁ אֱלֹהֵינוּ* was a selection like many others that were used but it enjoyed a more favorable fate and was included in the prayerbook.

275 The other insertions were lost or after having disappeared for thousands of year have now suddenly appeared in manu-

scripts. An innovation in the composition of the acrostic was the ability to have the alphabet remain incomplete. It could be interrupted and then resumed. The Yozer also gives an example for this in the ... אהוב'יך כרוז'יך גבור'יך ... בול'יך פותח'יך (p.18). Another innovation was the reversal of the alphabet which, by way of example, is apparent in the קרנהות'יה תקנת שבת רצית קרנהות'יה for the sabbath Musaf. Both types of acrostics are to be seen in the insertions for the benedictions of the Shema at the beginning and end of the sabbath. The manuscripts have also provided us with these benedictions for the sabbath morning service in the form of alphabetic acrostics. These benedictions had otherwise been unknown in this form. The acrostics that were composed at an earlier time could be reworked and alphabetic acrostics could be formed using sentences instead of words. The selection אל אדון עולם בל המעלים found in the sabbath Yozer, for example, is an amplification of the אל ברוך דודי mentioned above.

6. Another possibility for the embellishment of prayers was the further amplification of individual sentences in the style of the Targum or Midrash. In the sabbath Yozer, for example, expositions of the four parts of the sentence בל ערובך ואין בולתך אפס באתך ומי קדושה לך are appended in the style of the Midrash. Similar treatment was given the description of sabbath rest in the sabbath Minchah service (ננוחת אקקו ונדקו ננוחת אמת ואמת נד etc.). Rhyme was another form used in order to join together all sentences

in short uniform sentences that were recited alternately by the reader and the congregation. On the basis of their composition, one could possibly compare these litanies with the groups of Biblical verses mentioned. Some of them were maintained in an alphabetical order and others dealt with historical events and personalities. The method used here was not new for an example of such a litany is already present in the liturgy for the fast days found in the Mishnah (תענית 'N Taan. 2). The beginnings of one of the most well known litanies, לשן נשכח, are attributed to R. Akiba (p. 147). In the liturgy, however, the litanies were developed in an extraordinary way. From the few lines originally contained in the litanies, extensive prayers were created. It was not difficult to amplify them just as it was not laborious to contrive new prayers that were similar. In this manner, the voluminous group of litanies was formed with which our prayerbook provides us. The variety of these litanies becomes even clearer when we take into consideration the rare rites and the liturgies in manuscripts. Various aspects of the material of the litanies has gone over into the Techinah. The litanies were frequently recited in Aramaic, the language of the Babylonian Jews. Practically without exception, these Aramaic litanies have disappeared from the German rite. Their presence in the liturgy, however, is well proven from other sources. Zunz has presented a considerable number of such selections in Literaturgeschichte

der synagogalen Poesie, p. 17ff., and has attributed them to the period under discussion.

8. Selections that exhibit the onset of a new literary form by virtue of their simplicity in structure and content also belong to the ritual for the fast days. They neither contain rhyme nor meter but a certain rhythm governs them.

These selections can be divided into several subdivisions which have approximately the same number of syllables. Most of the sentences are in an alphabetical order but this is not an essential qualification.

277 The following are examples of these type of selection:

אנא' אנה אנה. הא' הכח מעשה'ם. גבורים לעמוד בשר' דוחים

תמהנו מרעות. תש כחנו מצרות. רחנו עד למא' רבנו עד עברנו אהבה

אל תעש עמנו בלה. תאמז'דך במשפט. בבוא תוכחה ג'דך. שמו מספרק אל תמהנו

One is reminded of the hymns of the syrian church that are written in the same form. At that time, there must have been a great contact between the synagogue and the church. It would not be evident, however, as to which side took the lead.

9. The insertions for the festivals are not of such a simple form nor free construction as those for the fast days. From ancient times, the liturgy for the Day of Atonement was very long (b. Meg. 23a). It received its peculiar character by virtue of the confession of sins contained within it. It has already been stressed that the wording of the confession was still completely optional.

The well known form of the confession of sins is the alphabetic

acrostic and it was acquired at a later date by means of the prayerbook. Already at a very early time, it had become the custom to mention the sacrificial service in addition to the confession of sins. The recitation of the Avodah, אָדאָה commemorated the sacrificial service formerly held in the Temple and officiated at by the High Priest. The oldest Avodah preserved is in a very simple style and follows the description of the Mishnah. It also used the words of the Mishnah and in all probability is a product of the talmudic period. The אָדאָה which follows in the Sephardic rite is of a different type. The direct connection with the Mishnah was abandoned and though, to be sure, the theme was prescribed and the traditional arrangement had to be retained, the description was freely arranged as long as it was possible to remain within the prescribed framework. The language is independent throughout and the alphabetic acrostic was the artistic form. A new element was the introduction to the אָדאָה. This introduction briefly gave a sketch of the earliest history until the origin of the priesthood. The poets took hold of this theme and the introduction of this description became the prototype for all successive poets. The introduction to the אָדאָה was that section of the liturgy in which the poet could fully display his talent. Later writers therefore gave more time to and exerted more effort upon the introduction than upon the description of the Avodah.

During the period under discussion, however, we have the first occurrence of this selection and though it was composed with adroitness and skill it was done without artificiality. Following the description of the sacrificial service, there was a succession of selections that were new and later on they occur in all the rites in either the same or a revised form.

- 278 The prayer of the High Priest in the Holy of Holies was presented in the form of an alphabetic acrostic. The glorious appearance of the High Priest and the pomp of the ceremonies at which he officiated were pictured in flowing language. This composition was based upon an allusion to the ceremony in the book of Sirach. The olden times that had offered such pomp were praised in excess. Furthermore, it was contended that the splendour had disappeared because of the sinfulness of the people and in place of it splendour came the grief of the exile. The exile was lamented in a melancholy language. The method used in compiling these selections was the same as mentioned above. Simple or double acrostics and rhythm within a section of verses was used. In short, the same simple elements with which we are acquainted from the arrangement of the liturgy for the fast days and the days of repentance were used in these selections.
10. The Azharot for the Feast of Weeks were likewise embellishments of a simple type. In their oldest form, they contained cut and dry lists of commandments and prohibitions without

any cohesiveness. Soon, however, they were revised in such a way that summarizing outlines, arrangements and evaluations of the individual types of commandments were added along with rhythmic songs as conclusions.

11. The oldest Hoshanot for the Festival of Tabernacles are of the same genre as the Azharot and stem from the same period. The Hoshanot were all simple litanies and their only embellishment was the alphabetic acrostic. Introductory selections for the reader such as *ה' ע' כ' י' ו', א' ו' ח' י' ו'* likewise show the lack of artificiality of that period.

These selections were of a very simple language based on the Bible, of a simple thought structure and uncomplicated metres which was only dependent upon the accentuation of words.

All of this likewise indicates the lack of artificiality in that period. Certain invocations preceding individual prayers are most likely the products of the readers. These compositions had short sentences and simple thoughts and were later used as prototypes for numerous similar passages.

Above all, however, they were the connecting links between
difficult and extensively amplified poems (*שירים קשים ומופרטים*)
שירים קשים ומופרטים.

12. Characteristic of the amplifications of the basic prayers dealt with in this section is that most of them are common to all rites. They were therefore arranged during the same period when it was possible to have one uniform influence upon all of Jewry. The simplicity of form and language is likewise common to all of these embellishments. We do not

find either rhyme or the use of difficult and new word formations in these selections. Likewise lacking is the use of obscure allusions to the exegesis in the Midrash.

- 279 Many compositions of the older period were later reworked or extended. It is only necessary to compare the later forms with the original in order to recognize the characteristic peculiarities and merits of the older works. The selections are only appended to the prayers but do not interrupt the traditional sequence of prayers. Finally, all of them are anonymous. The writers neither indicated their names within the selections nor is there any tradition available as to their origin. The home of the first additions to the basic prayers is for the most part Palestine or neighboring Syria. Only there was the Hebrew language fostered to such a degree that it could be handled so stylistically correct and used expressively. The Babylonian compositions available are in Aramaic and had entirely different ideas. According to the tradition, the Azharot are attributed to the Babylonian academies. The content is such a dry enumeration that one cannot create an argument against the tradition on the basis of content. One thing, however, does contradict the tradition and that is the fact that the attitude in Babylonia was generally against insertions. In Babylonia, the goal was to set the entire area of liturgy into fixed unchangeable forms. On the other hand, in Palestine the tendency was just the opposite. There they sought alternation within the liturgy.

Whenever possible, they wanted to have many prayers in order not to have to constantly use the same prayers. They also considered themselves capable of enriching the liturgy. Palestine still had sufficient authority and especially in the field of liturgy so that it could successfully follow its inclination contrary to the desires of the Babylonians.

Chapter 2. The Era of the Piyyut

§39. The Piyyut

Bibliography: Zunz, Synagogale Poesie, p. 59ff.; Dukes, Zur Kenntnis neuhebräischen religiösen Poesie; Sachs, Die religiöse Poesie der Juden in Spanien, p. 178ff.; Duschak, Geschichte und Darstellung des jüdischen Kultus, p. 222 ff.; Eppenstein, Beiträge etc. in Monatsschrift, 52, 1900, p. 465ff.; J.E. articles, Piyyut, Vol. 10, p. 65ff.

1. We must consider the basic prayers as having been completed about the year 550. By this time, the first embellishments of these prayers must have already been present and acknowledged. No longer did new prayers originate that were uniformly disseminated amongst all of Jewry nor were they accepted as binding by all. In no way, however, did this mean inactivity in the realm of liturgy. Likewise, the permanency of the prayers was in no way determined once and for all times so that it could not be changed any more. All the events, the experiences and moods that had a decisive effect upon the Jewish community exerted influence upon the liturgy. The enrichment of the liturgy was later accomplished by adding artistic poems, hymns, elegies and petitions to the basic prayers. These additions remained independent of the basic

prayers and developed their own sequence of thoughts. These insertions were only connected with the basic prayers in a superficial manner and were no longer blended with them. The Pilyut introduced a new era in the development of the liturgy. The attitude favoring such a method for expanding the service lasted for over a thousand years. This method was not always applied in the same manner but no matter how different these attempts might have been, there was one principle shared in common by all the writers. The common principle was the inviolability of the basic prayers and the permissiveness to embellish the liturgy with unfamiliar additions that had developed differently according to the country and the times.

Two new phenomena in the history of Judaism are connected with completion of the Talmud. One was the recording of the tradition which had been transmitted orally up to that time. Second, the splitting of the once uniform tradition into several branches. Both of these occurrences had an effect upon the liturgy.

281 Written prayerbooks came into existence and formed a rich literature unknown until then. The innovations became of great importance for the development of the liturgy. Just as a literature containing the liturgy developed so did a literature about the liturgy. In the various countries, different customs were created and the fixing of these customs as well as a comparison of them and an exchange of ideas concerning them influenced the liturgy. While one

group worked at restoring the external order of the liturgy, the other placed every emphasis upon the inner value of the liturgy, that is the religious worth of the liturgy, and upon the pious mood of the worshipper. Mysticism also seized upon the liturgy. At the beginning it sought to influence the liturgy by demanding deeper devotion. Later, however, it also created additions to the traditional prayers.

These supplements displayed a certain degree of similarity to the Piyyut. Throughout this long period, the Piyyut was the dominant element that gave the liturgy its character.

2. The first attempts at embellishing the liturgy for the festivals and the fast days (p. 276ff.) are contained within those insertions that can be designated as Piyyutim. The use of the alphabetic order present in a large number of these selections is one of the peculiarities of the writers of Piyyutim. In actuality, these selections are completely different from the Piyyut. First, they always remained separated from the basic prayers and were never included within them. Nor did they interrupt the traditional continuity of the prayers as was the case with the Piyyut. It cannot be pointed out sufficiently that they likewise differed in their simplicity of form and language, in their lucidity and clarity of presentation. The Piyyut, on the other hand, is artistic poetry in every way. The construction of the stanzas, the use of rhyme, the choice phrase and its connection with the Midrash which gave it a didactic method of presentation are all symbolic of the Piyyut. There is a

broad cleft between the primitive additions of the fifth and sixth centuries and the perfected Piyyut patterned after Kalir's poems. There must have been a transitional period during which a tradition must have been developed concerning the Piyyut and the sections of the liturgy suitable for poetic embellishments. It must likewise have been a period during which the stylistic form of the Piyyut was constantly developed. Those elements that were found fixed and generally acceptable at a later date must have been in conflict with other elements and it was during this period that these fixed forms must have developed and been worked out.

282 The compositions of the transition period were displaced by the better poems that followed. This resulted in the disappearance, except for slight traces, of the information concerning the ideas in that period as well as the names of the authorities of the time. We cannot doubt that there were great agitations, strong conflicts between ideas and occasionally bitter battles connected with these new endeavors. The Piyyut did not receive general acceptance from the very first moment of its appearance. A calamity was decisive in the dissemination and favorable acceptance of the Piyyut. This calamity was the religious discourses. It became necessary to introduce a new type of religious instruction.

3. Jehuda b. Barsilai of Barcelona reports in his S. ha-Ittim on the basis of information provided by other authorities (קטן) that the introduction of the Piyyut took

place during a period of religious distress (יְהוֹשֻׁעַ בֶּן נֵחֶמְשִׁי). He states that this took place "because at that time the words of instruction were not permitted." "The enemies of Israel," he continues "prohibited the Jews from occupying themselves with Torah. As a result, the scholars of that time made adjustments according to which they set forth the laws of every festival for the uneducated within the framework of the Tefillah. They likewise gave the laws in connection with the sabbath Torah portions as well as the details of the religious laws. All of this was accomplished in the form of hymns and rhymed poetry. (וְהָיוּ שִׁירֵי מִשְׁנָה וְשִׁירֵי תַפִּילָה)". This description was only included parenthetically within Barsilai's work. The section about the prayers, הַתְּפִלָּה, in which the question was discussed more fully has not been preserved. Exactly which religious persecution is meant cannot be determined without further thought. First of all, one thinks of the Justinian laws of 528 which in the course of settling synagogue controversies, completely prohibited the usage of the "so-called Deuterocanon because it was an invention of man and came to the Bible from an outside source. It was unwritten and godless babble." The word δευτερόκανον was also used by the church fathers as a designation for the literature of the Jewish tradition. It was primarily applied as a term for the Mishnah but in this case mentioned here, it is used in conjunction with Scripture reading and can only refer to the paraphrases of Scripture found in the Targum. It

might also refer to the didactic discourse of a haggadic or halachic nature. This second possibility exists due to the fact that it is questionable whether the Targum was still read along with the Greek translation. The controversy took place because of the question of the use of the Greek translation.

- 283 According to Barsilai's report, it is these latter discourses which were prohibited and to be replaced by the Piyyutim. If such be true, then we might have here a statement attempting to explain the cessation of Midrashic discourses in Palestine which took place during the Byzantine period.

Though there is much that speaks for the acceptance of this theory, nevertheless, it must not be forgotten that al-Barceloni's source was apparently a Babylonian one and had in mind the religious restrictions against the Jews in Babylonia. The situation in Babylonia, however, is spoken about by another reporter. Though one cannot always trust him as a reliable source, as regards this question, he deserves the fullest attention since his discussion of the matter is complete incidental. This writer is Samuel b. Jehudah ibn Aun of Fez who converted to Islam in the twelfth century and became known as a writer under the name of Samau'al b. Yahja al-magribi. He composed an extensive polemic treatise called "Ifham al-yahud," the silencing of the Jews. The subject of this work was a detailed refutation of Jewish doctrine. At times, he discusses the fate of the

Jews and the numerous severe persecutions to which they were subjected. The author notes: "Islam reached the Jews under the reign of the Persians....; the latter often prohibited the Jews from reciting the liturgy.... When the Jews realized that the Persians were serious with the prohibition against the liturgy, they composed prayers into which they inserted the usual prayers. These new prayers were called al-ḥizana (חִזְנָה). They composed many melodies for this prayer and at the hours of prayer, they gathered together in order to sing and read these new prayers. The difference between the Ḥizana and the mandatory prayer (salât) was the absence of melody in the mandatory prayers. The obligatory prayer was only recited by the reader without accompaniment. In reciting the Ḥizan, many people accompanied the reader with shouting and singing and assisted him with the melodies. When the Persians prohibited them from doing this, the Jews thought that they were only to discontinue the singing at intervals and at other times they might be zealous in their singing. The remarkable item connected with this is the fact that when Islam under Ahl al-dimma consented to the religious practices of the Jews and permitted them to recite the mandatory prayers, the Ḥizana for the festivals and holydays as well as for joyous occasions were considered meritorious religious practices by the Jews.

284 The Jews substituted the Ḥizana for the mandatory prayers and were satisfied with them without being forced to do so. "This interesting statement is not free of contradictions and unclear

points. Most of these are primarily with reference to the method of reciting the Hizana and its relationship to the basic prayers. Nevertheless, this statement surely proves that Samau'al knew that the origin of the Hizana was the oppression that restricted the recitation of the liturgy. He also found fault with the fact that after more peaceful conditions had set in, the Hizana were still retained. According to his account, the Persians caused the persecutions. This coincides very well with the reports of the Jewish sources of the period from approximately 450 to 589. Directly preceding the discussion of the liturgical problems, Samau'al mentions the fact that Jewish "teachers were murdered, their books burned and they themselves prevented from fulfillment of their religious laws." We must therefore especially think of the unfortunate events which made the dissemination of Jewish doctrine impossible at the end of the amoraic and during the saboraic periods. This statement concerning the dissemination of Jewish doctrine during the period mentioned is made in the letter of Sherira Gaon who likewise stated that these tragic events led to the closing of the academies and brought death or exile to many distinguished scholars. According to Samau'al, the Hizana became a set part of the liturgy during those desperate times which lasted for a century with the exception of a few short peaceful periods. The origin of the Piyut is apparently the same as the one mentioned by Jehudah b. Barsilai. The cessation of didactic discourses led to the substitution of religious songs whose content was either didactic or edifying. It is difficult to grasp the

concept that the convocations for the recitation of the liturgy were prohibited but when only songs were recited and not the mandatory prayers, the gatherings were again permitted. According to these accounts, the religious persecution that gave rise to the introduction of the *Piyyut* was not the persecutions brought about by Justinian. On the contrary, it must have been the extensive persecution of the Jews of Mesopotamia which coincided with the decline of the kingdom of the Sassanids.

The arabic author al-Kalhaschandi who lived at the end of the fourteenth century informs us of the connection between the name Hizana and the sermons. In describing the Jewish community of Cairo and the officials, he names the *חסד* as being in the second highest position. The word is given with an exact spelling and the *חסד* is described as a "good preacher (חסדן) and from the Minbar (Almemar), he exhorted the people.

- 285 In another document from Fostat, the *חסד* is distinguished from the *חסדן* and he was considered superior to *חסדן*. On the other hand, the word Hizana was used in Jewish circles in the same sense as the word *Piyyut* had otherwise been used. In particular the poems of Jannai, one of the oldest writers of *Piyyutim*, were referred to as Hizana. Kirkisani repeatedly names the *חסדן* as one of the sources of Anan who was the founder of the karaitic sects. Likewise in the book indices of the Middle Ages made public recently, the term Hizana is often used in connection with the prayers of almost

all the festivals.

4. The Piyyut did not originate as a result of the persecutions mentioned. Babylonia was not its mother-country for the Piyyut was never considered a domestic product of the country nor equal to the basic prayers of the liturgy. The country of its origin was Palestine. The need to disseminate in a new form the religious views arrived at by the Hagadah was decisive for the birth of the Piyyut. Its origin was likewise a result of the need to embellish the liturgy for the festivals and glorify it in the light of religious ideas. "The poetry for the festivals was the substitute for the institution of public instruction and gradually appeared as though it were the permanent characteristic of the festivals. The festival poetry became the vehicle for expressing the meaning and interpretation of the festivals, the voice of history and the mood of the congregation expressed in words." The pressure exerted to re-establish public didactic discourses helped exceedingly in promoting the spread of the Piyyut. It also gained entry for the Piyyut into Babylonia and insured the approval of the most recognized authorities for the Piyyut.

The attitude in favor of the Piyyut was primarily a result of the dismal conditions of the times. It was then substantially strengthened by the contact with Arabic culture and poetry (after 635). The new artistic form that lent external beauty and impetus to the Piyyut came from Arabic culture and poetry. The Jewish writers learned rhyme and later also meter from them. It was from the Arabic poet that the Jewish poets

drew the suggestion for the development of the mosaic style. The Piyyut poetry existed before contact was made with Arabic words. Nevertheless, the interest aroused by the Arabic art of poetry is responsible for the shaping, the refinement, the dissemination and the favorable acceptance of the Piyyut.

286 Without the Arabic influence, the Piyyut would not have gained the recognition of the authoritative circles nor would it have had the diverse artistic forms. We must date the ascent of the Piyyut poetry from the beginning of the spread of Islam into Palestine and Babylonia. Almost a century later (before 750) the Piyyut governed the most important parts of the service. The places where the Piyyut was to be included were determined and fixed. The Piyyut had likewise been generally accepted as having a part in the Shema. The assumption that a longer development must have preceded the preparation and the working out of the final form of the Piyyut cannot be rejected.

5. The most important step in this period of development was the penetration of the Piyyut into the Tefillah. The innovation lies in the fact that the Piyyut was no longer considered an addition to the traditional prayers but had attained the status of being able to interrupt the traditional order and be recited within that order (הַפְּסֵקִים Ittim). By virtue of this change, the Piyyut became a legal part of the liturgy and there was no barrier to prevent its dissemination. First, the Piyyut was used as a Keroba, in the first benedictions of the Tefillah only. Soon, however, it permeated the entire Tefillah. From there, it moved forward to the Yozer.

In the Yozer too, the Piyyut was inserted in the main sections only in order to gradually gain new positions within the other prayers. The Piyyut did not stop with the Yozer for finally the introductory and concluding selections of the Zemiroth were provided with poetry. Just as the morning services came under the influence of the Piyyut, so the Musaf and evening services. The Minchah service was much less frequently effected by the Piyyut. Next to the prayers, the Torah and Haftarah sections gave the Piyyut another opportunity to penetrate into the liturgy. The Biblical passages and the litanies in the Selichah were interrupted by poetic selections. In short, no place within the liturgy, no ceremony and no opportunity was overlooked by the writers of Piyyutim when there was a possibility to insert poetry. The occasions for writing Piyyutim also increased. In accordance with its origin, the Piyyut was designated for the festivals and the special sabbaths. The poets also occupied themselves with writing Piyyutim for the half-holydays and the fast days. Just as there were midrashic expositions for every sabbath of the year, so Piyyutim were written for all the sabbaths in connection with the Torah portions following the three year cycle.

287 It is not impossible that the Piyyutim were even written for the weekdays and had reference to the weekly Torah portion. Even when it came to the needs and experiences of the community, the writers of Piyyutim composed poems. The destiny of the individual likewise became a subject of poetry. The birth,

marriage and death of the members of the community, contributed toward the extension of the liturgy of the community. We must not conclude that in every community and at all times, every form of the Piyyut was developed and accepted in the same way. For it was in this realm that there reigned the greatest difference conceivable. Not all communities subscribed to the Piyyut in the same manner. Those communities that were inclined toward the Piyyut were frequently overwhelmed by poets without knowing previously whether poems would be recited and upon what occasion they would be heard. The Piyyut had an advantage over the basic prayers in that the wording and the number or the sequence of poems were not subject to any stipulations and limitations. Except for the rule that the Piyyut had to correspond to the content of the prayer to which it was appended, the Piyyut was not bound by any hard and fast regulations. It could be inserted, omitted or replaced by new works according to the taste and the mood in which the congregation would have liked the selection to appear. Versatility was the greatest strength of the Piyyut and the possibility of constantly attaching new poems was the primary cause for the popularity of the Piyyut. The congregation could never become tired of the Piyyut for it was in the power of the congregation to exclude the unpopular compositions. New or better ones could be substituted or as soon as the taste changed, more contemporary selections could be taken up in place of the obsolete ones. The Piyyut lent a strong

flexibility to the entire liturgy and brought a welcome relief to the regularly repeated basic prayers which remained uniform. To a great extent, the initial success of the Piyyut was due to the wish for change though it should not be denied that the contents and the artistic form also satisfied the need of the times. The Piyyut became an important factor in the liturgy and had succeeded and had asserted itself in spite of many powerful obstacles. The composition of Piyyutim grew considerably and the number of synagogue poems increased immeasurably. The printed prayerbooks give a very insufficient presentation of the wealth of poetry that was once available for the liturgy.

288 The prayerbooks do not give a satisfactory account of the meaning of the Piyyut for the religious life. Even by virtue of the existence of the prayerbook, wrong conceptions are engendered for the Piyyut appears as a permanent unchangeable element in the order of prayers. It is also thought that the Piyyut was accessible to everyone and could be read by the entire congregation. In reality, the Piyyut was once the sole possession of the poet, to be recited by him and used whenever he pleased. Above all, it is to be noted that the printed prayerbook was only able to include a small selection of the large amount of Piyyutim found in manuscript collections..

In the Literaturgeschichte, Zunz deals with not less than 400 poets and along with 1816 Selichot, he mentions 40 Musaf-Kedushot, 57 Maarivim, 70 Nishmot, 70 metrical Bakashots, 100 Kerobot, 120 Reshuyot, 150 Mostedshab, 150 aramaic compositions

180 Techinnot, 200 Hoshanot as compared with 600 songs and Piyyutim in a more limited sense, 600 lamentations, 600 Yozerot and Yozer selections, Ofanim, etc. During the half century that has passed since Zunz' work, the number has increased considerably. The numerous poems brought to light as a result of the discovery of the Cairo Geniza alone number in the thousands.

6. The Piyyut is not a uniform structure. Its rise was in the sixth and seventh centuries and continues until today. In many oriental countries, the period of the Piyyut has not ended. During this long period, the Piyyut underwent many changes. The form, content, language and presentation have changed according to the countries and the times when it originated. It kept pace with the general Jewish culture and, like the latter, the Piyyut experienced high points and eras of decline. Changes in the popularity of the Piyyut and in its usage moved along with the changes of tastes and ideas.

7. The material for the Piyyut was designated by the aim of the Piyyut. The purpose of the poems was to represent the sermons and to act as a substitution to the congregation for that information and edification formerly available from the Derashah (§29). The Payyetan was the successor of the Darshan and he had to deal with the entire realm of religious doctrine, institutions, ceremonies as did the Darshan. He had to develop the theme of the history of the Patriarchs as well as the hopes of the future. One of the oldest tasks of the interpretation

of Scripture was the explanation of the meaning of the festivals and its customs. This goal was adopted by the Payyetanim whose primary efforts were dedicated to the elucidation of the symbols and ideas of the festivals.

289 Soon, however, the area covered by the Piyyut was enlarged and "the inexhaustible wealth of material of the Haggadah spread into the religious poetry. This poetry then interwove the national literature and history and the substance of faith and not infrequently the substance of the law into the prayers. The Piyyut itself became a means of expressing all the deeds and sufferings of Israel." The sufferings form a gloomy chain that did not break and continues until the present. The poets themselves had to drink of the bitter cup for they had to observe the massacres and persecutions of communities and listen to the lamentations and wailing of co-religionists and friends who were pursued unto death. The fervent sigh emanating from the hearts of the poets was transformed into a lamentation for the congregation. In complete resignation, they turned to God with the prayer for the forthcoming period of redemption which He so definitely promised. During the period of the constant raging annihilation, the Selichah contained a contemporaneous and personal note rather than the general religious ideas concerning sin and forgiveness, human transitoriness and God's grace, oppression and redemption to which it had given expression up to that time. The Selichah repeated the attitude that was produced amongst those who became the

sacrifices of religious hatred. They expressed unwavering loyalty to the faith of the patriarchs and indestructible confidence in the coming of the messianic well-being.

Even the style of the Piyyut was strongly influenced by the Haggadah. In the beginning, the presentation of the Payyetan completely followed the example of the Midrash. The Payyetanim repeated the ideas and frequently even the words of the Midrash. Wherever the scholastic endeavors of the Jews remained limited to the Talmud and Midrash, the material extracted from them continued to be the exclusive source of themes for the religious poetry. On the other hand, in countries like Spain, where the occupation with the sciences furthered knowledge and the range of ideas, and philosophy turned the understanding of religious problems in a new direction, the Piyyut assumed a new form. The new elements of knowledge enriched the material of the Piyyut and the changing mode of thinking influenced its content. The Piyyut was susceptible to all influence and in it was reflected the degree of education of the poet and the trends of the times.

290 The ideas of natural science, philosophy, mysticism and kabbalah had an influence upon the Piyyut. These subjects were blended with the Biblical and agadic elements which the Piyyut traditionally contained. The didactic content formed both the strengths and the weaknesses of the Piyyut at the same time. It was exceptionally worthwhile that the Piyyut could serve as an instrument for the dissemination into the most distant areas of the religious community of the religious ideas, educational

stories and comforting promises of the Haggadah. How much piety was awakened as a result of the Piyyut, how many disheartened people were given courage, how many disillusioned were given hope by these poems. The easy accessibility of material for the Piyyut was frequently also a temptation to compose verses. This temptation attracted people who were not poets to compose Piyyutim. A certain pattern developed that was only too gladly used. The same thoughts and certain specific themes like the suffering of the ten martyrs, the sacrifice of Isaac, the Kedushah of the heavenly hosts were used for similar passages and similar occasions. These themes were always dealt with and frequently described in the same stereotyped expressions. In itself, it was difficult to find an original and stirring form of expression. To be sure, only few poets succeeded in doing this and very many poets became long winded and indulged in monotonous repetitions. The poets of the Golden Age surely knew how to keep themselves completely independent of every external influence and only followed their inner inspiration. During the period of decline, reliance upon the old examples came to the fore more strongly. One new element, however, changed the picture slightly for during the period of decline, classical poetry also had some influence. The Piyyut with its extensive content was a source of instruction. It was the interpreter of faith in God, His grace, the trust in the power of prayer and the confidence in the fulfillment of the hopes for the future. In this area,

the Piyyut performed a meaningful mission and still fulfills it whenever its content and mode of expression correspond to the sensitivity of the faithful.

8. The outer form of the Piyyut did not play a less significant role than did the content. The Piyyut was a work of art and was subjected to the laws of predilections of the times and the environment. The demands changed and the Piyyut assumed another external form corresponding to the demands and thus became more diverse and complicated. The Piyyut took part in all developments and appeared in the most varied forms. At first, the alphabet was the only connection between the lines and then rhyme was added as a connecting link.

291 The alternation of the rhyme scheme necessitated the division into stanzas. Whenever a single rhyme permeated the entire poem, the refrains or Biblical verses often served as dividers between stanzas. The alphabetic acrostics alternate with other acrostics that indicate names or Biblical verses. The alphabetic acrostics are even joined or alternated with them. At first, a certain rhythm was standard for the structure of the verses but an artistic meter soon became a substitute for rhythm. In the course of time, each of the forms mentioned was used in a more artistic and artificial way.

9. We shall first discuss the acrostic (ן'ד , later דן'דן)

a) which can be an alphabetic acrostic. Alphabetic succession of words or sentences in different variations were already present in the very first beginnings of synagogue poetry (p. 274f.). The Piyyut could only make use of alphabetic

daring combinations could be undertaken with the Biblical verses as was done with the alphabet.

- 292 One of the daring combinations to be found in a poem of Kalirs and fortunately they are infrequent, is his Kerovah for the 9th of Av in the Italian rite. The first verse begins with one of the words that begin a line in Lamentations 5 which is not alphabetically arranged and one from Lamentation 4. The next three verses begin with the words at the beginning of three consecutive lines found in Lamentations 3 but in the reversed order (3,2,1,6,5,4). The fifth and sixth verses begin each with a word from a verse from Lamentations 2 and 1. The sixth line concludes with the last two words of the abovementioned verses from chapter five. The complication is not exhausted with this for it is substantially increased by the rhyme.

By far, the most frequent and the most important poetic form from the viewpoint of the history of literature are the

c) acrostics based on names.

The idea of the poet giving his name is likewise based upon a Biblical example. The acrostic form in which the name occurs in the Piyyut, is, however, derived from the Arabic prototype. In any case, this form cannot be pointed out before the influence of the Arabs. The name is either given at the end of the poem after the alphabetic acrostic which preceded or takes up all the lines of the poem or occurs at the beginning of the stanzas. Sometimes the poets only gave their own

names but most often they also mentioned their father's name. While giving the father's name, use was frequently made in older times of the Palestinian 'ה'ר'ק. Since the tenth century, by-names or family names like בונפילס (Bonfils), דלונג (del Lungo), פישלין (Fischlin) etc. appear. The home of the poet or his family is also given, 'רח' (from Lunel), 'האנז' (from Orange), 'גראנאד' (from Granada), etc. After the middle of the twelfth century, we find that titles of honor or designations of profession such as פרוכט, רופא, חזן, רב are given along with the name. The Spanish writers wrote 'א' before their names and הקטן after it. At the end of the eleventh century, they wrote ה'ע' after the name and especially at times of persecution, they wrote ה'ע' or ה'ע' . Sometimes formulae of benediction were added to the name. At first, they were simple and short like חזק or ח'ה or י'ד' but in the course of time they constantly grew in length and finally there arose formulae like י'ד' בתורה ובמצות אבות חזק ואמץ or וא' וי' לנצח חיי ע' ס' אמן א' . Then Biblical verses or other types of formulae of benediction appeared that contained a prayer (e.g., Neh. 13:22 זכרה ל' א'). Additions that had reference to the contents of the poem also occurred. A famous poem for the Day of Atonement by Jehudah Ha Levi is signed יהודה הלוי בר שמאון המורה לאדוני המתודה על עונ' ה'יום הכפורים.

In the meantime, the poets were not satisfied with signing their name and sometimes they included the name of a brother or a son accompanied by a long formula of benediction. Simon b. Isaac wrote in a Yozer for the second day of the New Year:

אלהן בני יבול חבול לחי עול
 over, Solomon ha Babli wrote the following in a poem: מרפ"ק הקטן

יגדל בתורה כהן וזוהר. Many gave genealogies.

Jechiel b. Josef who lived about 1340 listed so many ancestors that he needed no less than 114 letters for the acrostic.

Names and attributes of God, names of the festival for which the selection was written or passages from the liturgy for the festivals were used in the acrostic form. In short, there was the greatest variety in this area, indeed there was an overabundance of artistic means for embellishing the poems.

10. The rhyme, סוף, at the end of the lines corresponds to the acrostic at the beginning. An attempt was likewise made to again find this form in the Bible, but whenever there is a unity of sound in the Bible it is a coincidence. The conscious use of rhyme is only to be explained as a result of Arabic influence. As the grammarians of the Middle Ages have indicated, rhyme in the Hebrew language prior to Kalir's time cannot be pointed out. The rhyme could vary for every stanza or could continue throughout the entire poem. If it continued throughout then it was done in such a manner that either all the verses without exception or only the conclusions of the stanzas had the same syllabic ending. Sometimes, they even had the same word. If only the last verses rhymed then the

other lines of the stanza could remain without rhymes or they could contain a new rhyme which was present in all the lines except the last. It was also possible for the lines of such a stanza to have several alternating rhymes. Especially elegant was the arrangement of the concluding words of each verse in such a way that the last word of the first verse was the same as the first of the second verse, etc. Such connecting words were also to be found in the rhymeless poems. In alphabetic Piyyutim the rhyme and the acrostic are thus connected when there are linking words between the end of one verse and the beginning of the next. The words ~~are~~ dependant upon one another. The art of the rhyme can be so expanded that half-verses can rhyme and the linking words are used between the half-verses.

Frequently, the rhyme is regulated by the content of the poem. In the poetic selection for *מִשְׁכַּן, כְּבוֹד, וְיִשְׁרָאֵל, יִפְתָּח* for example, the stanzas end in *מִשְׁכַּן*, *יִפְתָּח* and *יִשְׁרָאֵל*. In the poems for *שֶׁל* and *פֶּעַל* the stanzas end in *שֶׁל* and *יִשְׁרָאֵל*.

- 294 A similar occurrence is to be found in other poetic selections. The sentences of the refrain and the Biblical verses were above all of the greatest influence. Frequently the refrain determines all the verse endings because they all rhymed with the refrain. In the Mustedshab, the refrain preceding the stanza regulated the word at the end of the stanza. Usually it is a Biblical quotation. Biblical verses are very frequently used as concluding lines of the stanzas. The grammarian Efodi extolled

it as a particular advantage of Hebrew synagogue poetry that it could use the Biblical verses in the original. He apparently had in mind the hymns of the Christian Church that followed the same method but naturally had to use the translations of the Bible. In Kalir's Kerovah for the 9th of Av that was already mentioned, the end of a stanza is always a Biblical verse with the word נח . The concluding word of the verses determine the rhyme for the entire stanza. Saadia's work indicates how early the acrostic and rhyme had spread amongst the Jews and were considered by poets as a necessary aid. Already during his early years (920) Saadia had written two alphabetic arrangements of the Hebrew roots. In one of the selections he arranged the roots according to the first letter of the words and in the other according to the last letter. This was done so that the poets could make use of them for the acrostic and rhyme. This work took him a long time and it was repeated by him at which time he expanded it. The fragment of his Agron that has been preserved gives us a picture of the efforts and demands existing in this field at that time.

11. Just as the beginning and end of the verse were regulated by the acrostic and rhyme so the verses themselves were regulated by rhythm and meter. How much meter and rhythm is contained within Biblical poetry is a question that is argued a great deal and frequently discussed in recent times. The Jewish poets and philologists of the Middle Ages were not familiar

with this. They were not conscious of using the Bible as an example of rhythm and meter. The basic prayers follow the rule of parallelism known from the Bible but they were not bound to any other stylistic construction. As indicated above (p. 275ff.) the first simple embellishments of the basic prayers and the oldest Piyyutim used rhythm which was suitable to the sound of the word. The piyyut poetry remained at this stage for a long time. The rules of rhyme were not always followed very strictly. Those Payyetanin living in Christian countries especially did not concern themselves very much with the symmetry of the verses.

- 295 The case was different with the poets in Mohammedan countries who learned from the Arabs to bear in mind the number of syllables in a verse (פ'קע פ'קע). In this fashion, meter (ספן) was brought into Hebrew poetry. First it was applied to secular songs and then liturgical as well. Even Saadia knew nothing of metrical verses in the Hebrew language. Dunash who was Saadia's junior is the first to put meter into practice. For this innovation, he had to tolerate the accusations that he introduced strange elements into the poetic art and they were a detriment to the Hebrew language. This reproach has never again been silenced and only too frequently the lament is heard that meter is a foreign fetter and was not suitable for the Hebrew language. Though quite infrequently, yet even poets like Jehudah ha Levi and Harisi made known their opposition to the intruder from a foreign country. This, however, did not

prevent these poets from constantly adhering to the metric form of the Arabs. All of the poets of the Spanish Golden Age composed metrical poems without fear. Sometimes the critics also began to speak in praise of meter. Arabic meter could not be transferred into the Hebrew without further ado. First, the valuation of the quantity of syllables had to be brought into a specific system. Some of the important meters had to be completely omitted. As far as possible, however, all the meters of the Arabs were taken up into Hebrew poetry. The most contradictory estimates have been established concerning the number of meters. According to Hartmann's calculation, "in the verse-poems, that is the poems in which the verses have the same rhyme, there are forty-seven kinds of meters. In the stanza-poems, that is poems that consist of groups of several verses with the last verses having the same rhyme and the other verses having a special rhyme, there are sixty-four different kinds of meters. In all, there are one hundred eleven different meters."

The acceptance of rhythm and meter was favored by virtue of the fact that the Piyyutim were sung according to set melodies. Samau'al al-Magribi expressly points out that characteristic of the Hizana is the fact that the reader sings them and the congregation accompanies him with singing and shouting and also helps him with the melodies (p. 283). Actually, the written prayerbooks more frequently give the melody according to which the Piyyut was sung than do the printed prayerbooks. People demanded nice melodies which should be

sung by a person with a pleasant voice (מזמור נחמד בקול צרור).
 296 The term for melody is פזמון but פזמ and פזמ are also
 used. Amongst Arabic speaking Jews, פזמ is used most fre-
 quently. The melodies were taken from every source. Folk
 songs and other songs from every cultural circle provided the
 material for the melodies.

12. The Piyyut poets created their own language. They tried
 whenever possible to follow the Bible, "the synagogue poets
 took the pearls from the Midrash and the strings from the Bible."
 The Biblical language was in no way sufficient for it was neces-
 sary to present certain ideas and concepts that were not pre-
 viously familiar. As a result of the acrostic and of rhyme
 which were indispensable for the artistic form, there was a
 great limitation in the choice of words. They exceedingly
 increased the difficulty of expressing a thought. The poets
 saw that it was necessary to go beyond the traditional material
 and find their refuge in new forms. This was not a completely
 new process for the Mishnah and Talmud had already done this and
 had contributed to the further development of the Hebrew lan-
 guage by adding no less than new grammatical forms and peculiar
 linguistic formations. Even the basic prayers did not always
 completely adhere to the Biblical mode of expression. In
 these basic prayers we find that a later Hebrew idiom is some-
 times used. In contrast with the innovations of the Payyetanim
 the deviations mentioned with regard to the basic prayers
 seemed like nothing. The Payyetanim created their own kind

of language formation and mode of expression.

The peculiarities indicated in the language and style of the Piyyut have been collected and divided into groups by Zunz. He did this work with an admirable degree of patience and care. He condensed all the peculiarities into the following three groupings: The writers of Piyyutim used: "a) words and expressions from the Talmud, Midrash, Targum; b) deviating inflections, unusual syntaxes and new forms; c) peculiarities in style and original expressions."

a) It was the right of the Piyyut poets to use the new Hebrew words found in talmudic writing and not to adhere solely to Biblical language. This action on the part of the writer of the Piyyut corresponded to the natural development of the Hebrew idiom. The error made by these men was the indiscriminate use of the entire vocabulary to be found in the literature that was available. They used this vocabulary as if it were entirely classical.

297 These writers erred in that they also borrowed Aramaic, Latin and Greek words and dealt with them as if they were pure Hebrew. Foreign words like לִבֵּלָרִי (libellarius), like δραστηριαι) like καταχρηστος) and συνηγορος) penetrated into the language through the Piyyut poets. Some words like סג (from τάξις) were conjugated like Hebrew roots. To a limited extent, this likewise appeared in the Mishnah and Talmud. The older writers of Piyyut only nominally surpassed what had been done in the Mishnah and Talmud. The later writers, however, certainly went far beyond. This was

especially true of the French and German poets who were not subjected to the control of profound grammatical studies and linguistics. They had a strong predilection for unfamiliar and unusual expressions. Artificiality was considered by these poets as a true art and they therefore included numerous Aramaic words and even complete sentences in their poems. For many purposes, for example, for the introductions to the Torah reading, the Aramaic seemed more appropriate to them than did the Hebrew.

b) The writers of the Piyyutim did not adhere to the laws of the language. In this field, they also followed the example of what had sometimes been done in the Talmud. They formed the plural of words that had no plural such as proper names or particles. They also were not afraid to provide the plural with an ending that had otherwise not been used. They used the construct and absolute forms of the noun indiscriminately. They were arbitrary in the use of inflectional endings for the nouns and verbs just as on the other hand they attached particles to verbs though these particles could only be connected to nouns. The weak verbal roots were often treated as if they were all equally defective so that the most different types of verbs were conjugated according to the same paradigm. A very usual occurrence was the use of such conjugations of a verb that never occurs in classical Hebrew. There appeared a special preference for the passive forms. The passive participles had to especially give the permanent characteristics of the hero of the Piyyut. As a result, not only were such passive forms

used that were unknown in the older language but the writers were not deterred from giving intransitive verbs in the passive form. A special peculiarity of the Payyetanim was the words that they created. They used nouns that were hitherto unknown. 298 They introduced not less than forty forms that had not been used up to that time. They acquired these forms in part by not paying attention to the endings specified by the root or the usual formation of nouns. They also produced new words on the basis of false analogies. In most of the cases, it was the limitations imposed by the rhyme that compelled the poets to produce a contrived form.

c) A person would be able to find his way through the unusual and incorrect forms after some practice. It was the obscure mode of expression that made the Piyyutim exceptionally difficult and sometimes unenjoyable. The poets liked to use words whose comprehension necessitated a prior extensive reading in the Bible, Talmud and Midrash. Above all, they liked to adorn their style with metaphors derived from Biblical or Talmudic statements. In giving descriptions taken from Israel's history, for example, the epithets for the people or the leading men are based upon the remotest designations, images or events. Frequently the allusion is given in one word so that a person is faced with a puzzle. When the case in question dealt with a designation for Israel's enemies and her oppressors, all possible names of Biblical peoples as well as their peculiarities mentioned in the Bible and Biblical illustrations about them were used. The Payyetanim also had examples of this from

the language of the Apocalypses and the Midrash which have very similar peculiarities as did the Piyyutim. Just as the number of works of the Payyetanim surpassed those of the older poets so did the amount of difficulties and puzzles increase.

13. Fault is often found with the method of presentation used by the Payyetanim. The Piyyut also offered sufficient opportunity for attacks by the purists in the field of language.

The most well-known criticisms are those offered by Abraham ibn Ezra. He stated that the Piyyutim patterned after Kalir's works exhibited four kinds of defects which must make them appear unsuitable as prayers. The four defects are: the obscurity in the mode of expression and the many puzzling allusions, the mosaic use of many passages from the Agadah, the use of talmudic expressions and the trifling degree of correctness in the language. Kalir has found an eloquent and warm-hearted defender in Zunz and especially in Heidenheim. From his own standpoint, ibn Ezra was indisputably right. The errors and especially the obscurity of expression and the transgression of the laws of language cannot be denied.

299 The historical justification of the Piyyut does not demand that we close our eyes to the difficulties that faced the writers of the Piyyut. The task fell to the lot of these poets to write poems in a language which centuries before had ceased to be the language of the people. The existence of this language was only prolonged in the schools and even there it was only used as a teaching device demonstrating methodical rules and lawful norms. It is a sign of great courage and firm self-

confidence that the poets did not fear to again animate the language, to elicit new tone from it and also make it expressive and smooth. The poets began their work with an amazing boldness and one cannot deny them the recognition of having created something great. They were successful in producing new means of expression and stylistic forms for religious consciousness. Many centuries were able to derive exaltation, education and edification from these poems. The poets also introduced a continuation in the development of the Hebrew language and saved its duration as a written and literary language. This did not come about without violence, "the Payyetan struggled with that language^{which}/resisted form and content and yet extracted from^{it}/many a felicitous phrase." The language form of the older Payyetananim overwhelms by its boldness without repulsing by its roughness. The excesses first became a burden to a later period. The rules of language were not heeded only because they were not familiar and not because they were scorned. The young Payyetananim are to be blamed for not having used the knowledge acquired as a result of philology which had made considerable advances during their time. A great source of temptation was the artistic form and its heavy fetters, "the linguistically correct expression had to succumb to the technical requirements and beauty and was obscured by enthusiasm for the style." The obscurity in presentation and the use of puzzling allusions were concessions to the trends of time. The poets met halfway the public that loved such

embellishments and adornments. To be sure, we must say that the congregations of that period must have had an enviably extensive knowledge of the old writings if they were able to follow such difficult modes of presentation. Kalir did not voluntarily select the kind of style he used but rather did so because during his time it was the only way a poet could achieve success.

300 In the field of style, examples of other peoples had an effect upon the poetry of the Jews. Saadia, who in contrast to Kalir, had become so very famous as the composer of prayer through Abraham ibn Ezra did not fare any better as regards style and language. If Kalir's Piyyutim are to be called obscure then Saadia's are a book with seven seals. In every literature there have been writers whose poems are full of obscurities and even their contemporaries were hardly able to understand two lines thoroughly without referring to dictionaries and encyclopediae. This, however, did not prevent many of them from being recognized as first rate writers. The classic writers of synagogue poetry successfully overcame the difficulties of the old Piyyut poetry. The strong ones amongst these writers did not let themselves be conquered by the power of the artistic form but rather did they throw off this fetter with ease; "as a strong of two is broken when it touches the fire," so did their gift for writing and their genius free itself from the bond of form. They did not spurn traditional form but on the contrary, the structure of the poem frequently became more artistic. Nevertheless, these poets knew how to

raise their works to the height of classical songs. They came close to the Biblical Psalms in terms of depth of sensitivity majesty of thought and purity of language. These were true poets who made use of the words whereas the overwhelming majority of Payyetanim lacked the poetic talent. The didactic elements in the content of the Piyyut and the artificiality of the outer form and word formation were easily copied. The need of the congregations for a new adornment for the liturgy was very strong. Thus the custom to compose Piyyutim spread like a contagious disease. The model was available and readers of the service and scholars, professional and non-professional poets made use of the pattern in order to delight the congregations with their product. The actual mistake then does not lie in the Piyyut poetry itself but rather in the fact that it gained ground unchecked and men without poetic sensitivity for understanding the language felt themselves driven to write Piyyutim and Selichot. In spite of everything, though this might have been an error, the Piyyut poetry was not completely worthless. The Piyyutim adequately fulfilled their purpose for that period and the cultural circle for which they were designated.

301 People should not have wanted to canonize the Piyyut as was done later. The Piyyutim spoke to each period according to the language and the attitudes of that period. They were the interpreters of the feelings and thoughts of the immediate present. The Piyyutim thus offered a balance for the set mass

of traditional basic prayers.

14. The spread of the Piyyut was extremely quick and it enjoyed a constantly growing popularity. For a time, its significance overshadowed that of the basic prayers. One would therefore assume that the Piyyut had always been successful and from the beginning enjoyed the aid of the most authoritative religious leaders. This, however, is not completely true for the Piyyut had to fight against a thousand obstacles. Almost at every period the most influential voices were raised against the Piyyut with a hostile intent. This opposition could not prevail since the masses favored the Piyyut. The great innovation as regards the Piyyut was its ability to interrupt the traditional succession of basic prayers. In Palestine, the mother country of the Piyyut, people were familiar with the fact that the prayers frequently varied. They were only concerned with retaining the traditional order of prayers and the fixed benedictions (נ/כרן). The Palestinians were accustomed to deviations from the wording of the prayers and even favored them. In Babylonia, on the other hand, the Piyyut met with strong opposition. The Babylonians opposed the admission of the Piyyut into the liturgy with complete determination because the Piyyut interrupted the order of the prayers. It was likewise felt that the Piyyut expanded the Tefillah and sometimes inserted trends of thoughts in places where they were strange or did not belong. This was the same attitude that opposed every type of insertion even the short ones in

prose (/ 1 7 3 etc.) that conformed to the old wording and hardly struck one as innovations (p. 43, 58). It is reported concerning Jehudai Gaon that on principle he resisted every insertion in the traditional Tefillah, even the Kedushah. Though the statements in the sources of that period are sparse, nevertheless, they do present an insight into the progress of the matter and they illustrate that in every age, the new thing is fought. In the following generation or two generations later, the former innovation is recognized as fully authorized. The Gaon Kohen Zedek was still faced with resolving the question whether the above-mentioned insertions for the Days of Repentance were valid.

302 His successor Natronai went so far as to permit the Kerovot for all the festivals, for Hanukkah, Purim and the ninth of Av. The only requirement was that the content of every verse correspond to the prayer selections into which they were inserted. The opposition was in no way finally silenced as a result of the permission given by Natronai. One hundred and fifty years later, Hai Gaon still had to take a position concerning the same questions. He had the courage to make himself known as an opposer of the innovation. His school at Pumbeditha continued the opposition against the Piyyut longer than did the academy at Sura. Then Jehuda b. Barsilai directed the opposition against the Piyyut in the sharpest language conceivable. He termed the Piyyut an error concerning which the people must be informed and it was to be strictly prohibited to them.

the Piyyutim introduced a new form of piety and praying. Furthermore, he failed to realize that, as a younger contemporary of his expressed, the Piyyut served as a supplement to the prayers and they were designed to make known God's fame in a poetic language.

303 It was not because Jehuda b. Barsilai was wrong that his opposition had little effect upon the Piyyut but rather because in the interim, the Piyyutim were sanctioned by the age and the example of famous men. When such a beacon as Saadia had joined the ranks of the Piyyut poets, no one could any longer prohibit the Piyyut. Though R. Gershom could hardly have known Jannai as anything more than a name, nevertheless Jannai was sufficiently removed in terms of time that Gershom could also have Jannai serve as a celebrated scholar and witness in favor of the Piyyut. Since R. Gershom knew a list of famous men in the capacity of writers, and he considered the example set by them as authoritative, he allowed the use of Piyyutim without limitation. It was also natural for R. Gershom's influential voice to be heard throughout Germany and France. As a result, the people in these areas gladly guaranteed for the Piyyut admission into the liturgy as a means of enriching the prayers through hymns. R. Jacob Tam was then the first to place Kalir amongst the Tannaim and thereby brought about the most effective justification for the Piyyut. The simple fact that the Piyyut must have been frequently and energetically protected of itself proves how often and with how much force the attacks

were conducted against the Piyyut. The best names were on the side of the opposition. Abraham ibn Ezra, for example, raised his voice warning against the usage of the unintelligible and irrational Piyyutim. Maimonides also spoke out very energetically against the method of the Payyetanim who liked to compose hymns with long compilations of the attributes of God. The poets thought that by doing this they might come closer to the Godhead. In reality, however, "they spoke foolishly, with a daring tongue and in their enthusiasm, actually went so far as to give expression to atheism." Harisi's treatment of the matter is very significant. In his Makama "The reader of Mosul", he lashed out at the lack of reason that lay in over-emphasizing the Piyyut. In Mosul, he learns of marvelous things about the abilities of the reader who is admired by the community. As the story continues, Harisi is eager to become acquainted with this man. Instead of realizing the fulfillment of his expectations, he hears a man who recites the most select nonsense in the most simple basic prayers. Then the man torments his ignorant and stupid congregation in such a way with "Piyyutim having no form and content, with dull and paltry verses, with poems having no strength or savour," that either exhausted they fall asleep, or horrified they explore the matter further.

304 A prudent man in the congregation, who is Harisi himself, censures the group for neglecting the basic prayers in favor of the senseless Piyyutim. He encounters a number of opponents

who actually consider the Piyyut the main aspect of the service. According to them, the other prayers must step to the background in deference to the Piyyut. These people compare the Piyyut with the levites' songs of the Temple and regard the Piyyut as something presented in the same Bible which is completely silent about the basic prayers. These opponents finally refer to the fact that the Piyyut has been disseminated and become popular in every community without exception and they themselves cannot possibly stand back. Harisi answers this claim by stating that the Piyyut might very well have its sense and meaning whenever one understands it. The Piyyut, however, actually implies a religious danger for such an ignorant congregation. It is impossible to reproduce in a foreign language Harisi's humorous presentation with its fine points. The point of the remarks are lost in translation, however, the meaning of his statements is clear and he is no implacable opponent of the Piyyut. Harisi only demanded that one should not go too far with the Piyyutim and the ability of the congregation to absorb the content of the Piyyut should not be overrated.

Similar criticisms of the Piyyut were constantly made in all succeeding centuries. The complaint was made that the Piyyut interrupted the prayers that belonged together, excessively extended the service and remained incomprehensible to the congregation. With the passing of time, this latter lament was taken up more frequently. Even the numerous commentaries composed for the Piyyutim in the course of centuries could not

remedy this drawback. The poems were even puzzling to the scholars let alone to the great mass of worshippers. As a result, the congregations disrupted the service by talking or in some other manner when the Piyyutim were recited. When it was not absolutely necessary, scholars would avoid attending the long service of the congregation. Sometimes they used the time spent in reciting the Piyyutim for study and thus set a poor example for the congregation. Those who wanted to avoid this latter offense still did not recite the Piyyutim even if they did nothing else during the recitation of the Piyyutim. Indeed, the opposition to the Piyyut was almost over and the understanding of this method of edification was dying out.

305 On the other hand, the congregations had accorded acceptance and a legitimate status in the liturgy to a certain amount of Piyyutim. The fewer the manuscripts in existence, the more widespread was printing, the more limited was the understanding of historical and local peculiarities, and the more tenacious the adherence to meaningless customs became, all the more firm a position did the Piyyutim occupy and the less was it possible for great halachic authorities like Joseph Karo and Elijah of Vilna to displace them from their position. The opinion of these men was listened to by the informed people but the uninformed did not permit themselves to be prejudiced in their old customs. This was not accomplished until a new age and a new culture overcame their opposition. On the one hand, the

modern era unsparingly eliminated the large mass of unintelligible and worthless Piyyutim from the liturgy. On the other hand, the modern era properly valued the historical meaning of these poems and gave no thought to retaining Piyyutim of artistic value in the Machzor.

S40. The Most Important Payyetananim

1. Up to and Including Kalir

Bibliography: Rapaport, Kalir; Zunz, Literaturegeschichte; Landshut, הגות חזו"ה; Graetz, Die Anfänge der hebräischen Poesie in Monatsschrift, 8, 401; 9, p. 19ff.; Luzzatto, S.D., פ' חזו"ה in O.T., 3, p. 1ff., 1880; Geiger, A. in Jüdische Zeitschrift, 10, 1872, p. 262 ff.; Harkavy, Studien und Mitteilungen etc. 5, p. 106ff.; Schechter, Saadyana, No. 51, Bacher in JQR 14, p. 742ff.; Epperstein, Beiträge etc. in Monatsschrift 52, 1908, p. 591; Jewish Encyclopedia, the articles concerning the men.

1. If we attempt to discuss the activity of the Payyetanim, it is obviously impossible to enumerate all the poets who at one time were active in the enriching of the liturgy. Otherwise we would have to repeat Zunz' extensive work concerning the literary history of synagogue poetry. This would then have to be enriched by a listing of the numerous discoveries that have appeared on the scene since Zunz' work. However even then the literature would not be completely indicated since we still lack a large mass of anonymous poems. Such a literary-historical enumeration would exceed the framework of the present book. It is also unnecessary since the greatest part of the literature dealt with by Zunz is not accessible and are only to be found in manuscripts. Here we shall only present those poets who were of actual significance for the history of the liturgy.

306 Older sources that have compiled the names of Payyetanim are only available to a limited degree. Little was known about the poets themselves and in most cases only legends have been handed down. Sometimes the older authors completely vanished amidst the abundance of the fairy tales concerning them. They had the good fortune of having their works survive their name.

2. The history of the Piyyut did not run an even course. There are different periods in this history that must be distinguished. First, the oldest period during which the poet had to find the pattern and the laws of poetry. This era continued until about 750 and Kalir marks its high point. Then there followed a period during which the poets directed their entire efforts at emulating the example of the old poets. They imitated them in ideas and in their style and wrote according to the form indicated by these older poets. The oldest synagogue poets of the Orient primarily belong to this period but then we must also include the poets who wrote Piyyutim in the Christian countries of Europe. These poets are Payyetanim in the literal meaning of the word. This period extends to about 1250. They had isolated followers in later centuries and until this day in the Orient there are poets whose activity runs in the same direction. The Spanish poets from approximately 1050 to 1200 form a third group. These are men who, under the influence of Arabic poetry, emancipated themselves from the

form and language of the Piyyut. They mark the classical Golden Age of synagogue poetry in the Middle Ages.

3. Piyyut poetry began with a number of anonymous works. They were displaced by the better and more worthwhile accomplishments of the later period. In the beginning, the custom to indicate the author's name in the form of an acrostic was not known. Thus we have no tradition concerning the first advocates of the Piyyut and their names have fallen into oblivion. Only one name of a synagogue poet of the oldest period has been preserved. This is the name of Jose b. Jose. Nothing is known of his life and he is called the orphan יָסֵב . This name was apparently given for no other reason than the fact that he bore the same name as his father. The idea that he was a high priest is likewise an arbitrary assumption just as the numerous errors spread concerning him during the Middle Ages because no one knew anything about him. His native country must have been Palestine since we cannot point to Hebrew poets in any other country at that time.

307 His lifetime is not known but according to the kind of poetry he wrote, it must be set at an early date and not later than 600 to 650. Jose's poems still have all the characteristics of the oldest insertions in the prayers. He is not familiar with the acrostic and uses no rhyme. His poems on the other hand are marked by simple language and a noble mode of expression in which Midrash has no place. In the Middle Ages, they were not even categorised as poetry but rather as Chutab (חֻטָּב), i.e. related to prose. Jose never wrote a Piyyut which was included in the Tefillah but only such as formed supplements to

the Tefillah. As far as we know, he wrote poems for the major Holydays only, i.e. New Year's Day and the Day of Atonement. His name was highly revered by Saadia and other old writers. His works were also disseminated in Babylonia at an early time although he was not a Babylonian. All of this likewise speaks in favor of setting his lifetime at an early period.

Of his compositions, *אֶלֶּה אֵלֶּיךָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ* along with *אֶלֶּיךָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ* and *אֶלֶּיךָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ* for New Year's Day are to be mentioned. They are called *תְּפִלָּה* and each varies ten Biblical verses that are designated for *מִלְכוּת זְכוּרוֹת יוֹשֵׁפֶת*. These poems thus present the Biblical verse toward the end of each line. According to the type of poetry and its name, it is not impossible that in Palestine these selections served as substitutes for the introductions to the *מִלְכוּת זְכוּרוֹת יוֹשֵׁפֶת* prayers. At a later time in the Ashkenazic rite they did not know what to do with the Biblical verses which were presented twice. After long deliberations as to when the selections were to be inserted, they finally decided to eliminate the verses. There were some other items in the text that were changed which obviously offered too severe an attack against Christians. In addition, Jose worked on the Avodah of the Day of Atonement. As is definitely established today, he dealt with this theme not less than three times. At one time, the three Avodah selections were apparently recited in one and the same congregation at three different prayers on the Day of Atonement. Later, however, as the custom ceased and only the one Avodah remained in the Musaf service, they were separated and preserved individually in the prayer-books of distant countries. The first one,

was used during the Middle Ages in Burgundy, Savoy and has been preserved to the present day in the upper-Italian cities of Asti, Fossano and Moncalvo (פ"דא).

- 308 In France, they also had a poetic introduction to this Avodah beginning with אַתָּן תְּהִי. It was ascribed to no less a person than the apostle Peter. Saadia incorporated a second Avodah, אַכְכִּיר עֲבוֹדוֹת אֱלֹהֵי גֵאָרָה בֶּכָח, for the morning service in his prayerbook. Only recently it has been made public from this source. Finally, there was a third composition, אַכְכִּיר עֲבוֹדוֹת אֱלֹהֵי גֵאָרָה, and it is definitely stated that it was used during the Minchah service.

Formerly, only a few lines of the poem were known but according to the structure of the verse *נחמנו חתנו חתנו* frequently quoted in Jose's name, it might also be from this selection. *ל'נרק פ'נק* is also designated for the Day of Atonement. In the Ashkenazic rite, it is found in the prayers for the Eve of the Day of Atonement. It is a confessional ('131) which was likewise considered a supplement to the main prayers. In most of the prayerbooks, it is greatly abridged and more or less omitted. Very frequently only the verses of the refrain *א'ה'נ' ו'ר'כ'ך* and *א'ה'נ' ו'ר'כ'ך* are retained. Finally, a Yozer is also ascribed to Jose but only the first line *א'ה'נ' ו'ר'כ'ך* has been preserved. No irrefutable proofs can be proposed for the assumption that it is by Jose and it is probably not by him.

4. In his early work Agron, Saadia also mentioned Jannai, Eleasar, Josua and Pinchas along with Jose b. Jose as Payyetananim of ages past (*א'ה'נ' ו'ר'כ'ך*). The only thing known about Josua and Pinchas is their names. There are a number of Piyyutim with the acrostic Josua. Nevertheless they do not give the impression that they could date back to such an early period. We also know nothing of Pinchas but it is worthwhile to note that in the tradition handed down by the masorites, a Josua, was head of an academy and is mentioned as living in Tiberias about 700 (*א'ה'נ' ו'ר'כ'ך*). There is no confirmation of this from any source. One cannot deny a certain connection between the blossoming of

masoretic studies and the spread of poetry. Study of the Bible and immersion in the Hebrew language had to take place before a revival of poetry could occur. No matter how little we know about Pinchas, it is certain that his poems must have been very widespread at one time and people referred to them frequently. None of the known prayerbooks included these compositions. In the Cairo Genizah, however, there are poems ascribed to a וְיִשְׁכְּנֵהוּ. These poems fit very well into the period during which we place Pinchas.

- 309 5. Jannai is the first poet of whose works something has been preserved for us. וְיִשְׁכְּנֵהוּ a Rahit found in the Passover Haggadah is one of Jannai's poem that has circulated widely. Jannai is the oldest known poet who used the acrostic and rhyme. According to an old study of poetry, his poems were likewise not included amongst the Piyyutim in the literal sense of the word. Jannai's poems were only classified as Biblical rhymes and it was noted that the verses were not equal, now they were short and now they were long. He is the first poet famous for writing Kerovot that were inserted into the Tefillah. Jannai must have lived at a very early time for according to reliable communications of the followers of Anan, the founder of the Karaitic sects, their leader had already used Jannai's works. If Jannai's poems had already become so widespread and familiar even in Babylonia by about 770, the time when

Anan wrote his Book of Laws, that his poems were used as authoritative sources, then it is not too radical to set Jannai's lifetime at least two generations earlier. Thus we would assume that Jannai flourished about 700 at the latest. Saadia and R. Gershom almost considered him as having lived in antiquity. Jannai's native land was Palestine and not Babylonia. His strange name indicates this as does his style of writing it, 'י', which is only present in the Palestinian dialect. In addition, we finally find that at that time the composition of Kerovot was only considered permissible in Palestine. Jannai must have been extremely famous in the Orient during the early Middle Ages. The above-mentioned study of poetry refers to him as יאן' ס' 178, the well known Jannai. His poems fill entire volumes. The

יאן' ס' 178 or as called in Hebrew

יאן' ס' 178 was a very widely circulated literary work. It is frequently encountered in the book indices of the Middle Ages. Only one of his compositions has been preserved for us and that is the Kerovah יאן' ס' 178. It was written for the sabbath prior to Passover if it falls on the fourteenth of Nisan or for the first day of Passover itself. The above-named יאן' ס' 178 is derived from this Kerovah. The beginning of this Kerovah was incorporated into the Ashkenazic rite. R. Gershom reports that Jannai composed Kerovot for all the festivals (יאן' ס' 178).
(הראשונים ופ"ט קרובות לכולן סדר ראשון של כס
השנה

310 Recently a fragmentary enumeration of poems has been found. This contains the beginning of three of Jannai's poems and one longer composition from a (77) (p. 209). All these beginnings of the poems are quoted in such a way that it is assumed they are familiar selections. It seems they are all taken from a selection which deals with the story of Moses' death. In the Genizah manuscripts, there are numerous poems by Jannai that have not been printed up to the present time. In Italy and perhaps in France and Germany too more of Jannai's poems must have been in circulation than the ones we know about. These poems were not used in the liturgy because an ugly legend spread that did harm to Jannai's reputation. It was told that Kalir was Jannai's student and Kalir had taken away some of the glory from Jannai. In envy, Jannai placed a snake in Kalir's shoe and killed him. Naturally, the only true statement is that Kalir's poems did supplant Jannai's. It is very interesting to note that in Italy similar stories were in circulation about famous Italian poets.

6. The most popular among the old Payyetananim is the fourth one, Eleasar. This is Kalir who has been mentioned so frequently and is usually called Kalir for short. No other poet has ever again been so fruitful in this field. His poems encompassed every significant day in the year. These poems were widespread and treasured. They were considered exemplary; not unjustly was Kalir called the prince and the law-giver of the Piyyut. Just as we have so much of his works, in contrast, that is how little we know of his life. A deep darkness hovers over his personal relationships. The scholarly investigations attempting to shed some light on

his personal life have often erred. "Kalir's name should be set as an inscription on a bulletin board to show how research experts are also subject to error."

The only positive thing we know about him is his name which he indicated in the form of an acrostic in all his words. This name was $\aleph \delta \aleph \kappa$, Eleasar, As soon as we go beyond this, we come upon the most contradictory postulations. The complete acrostics read $\aleph \delta \aleph \kappa \delta \aleph \kappa \delta \aleph \kappa \delta \aleph \kappa$. Sometimes $\aleph \delta \aleph \kappa$ is found in place of $\aleph \delta \aleph \kappa$. We then ask, what is the meaning of the name Kalir which is repeated in no other place. Two explanations are given, the one assumes that it was his father's given name; the other, that it is a nickname.

- 311 An extremely old explanation associates the name Kalir with the Syrian word $\aleph \kappa \delta \aleph \kappa$ meaning the cake. It draws our attention to the fact that it was an old custom to illustrate the forms of the letters of the alphabet with a cake. This was done for children in order to make their first reading lessons more pleasant. The cakes were then given to the child to eat. According to this explanation, Kalir was nourished by his parents on such sweets. His parents did this because they saw in this a favorable omen for the rousing of their son's talent. In gratitude for this amulet, the name "cake-man" was retained. Others who were not pacified by this daring explanation assume that Kalir is a designation derived from the poet's home. Cagliari in Sardinia is supposed to

have been his home and he called himself Kalir, the man from Cagliari. The postulation that it is an appellative is favored by the fact that one poem is allegedly signed 'כל
 א'ל'ס'ר נ'ר'ק'ה הק'ר. This would indicate that his father's name was Jacob and Kalir would very well be a nickname. To the same degree to which this tradition is given in such reliable terms, that is how little proof there is for it. It is certain that this explanation is based upon an error. If one examines further the kind of acrostic in the words א'ל'ס'ר נ'ר'ק'ה הק'ר then there is no doubt that actually the father's name is to be given in it. Indeed, we find so many metaphors and symbolic expressions in Kalir's works that it would be no surprise if here too in the use of the word Kalir, he had chosen an obscure word. As long as we know nothing more, it is best to seek a name in the word Kalir. On Jewish tombstone inscriptions in Italy, we find the name Κ'ε'λ'ε'ρ = Celer. Though the identification of the name is connected with an erroneous postulation about Kalir's home as we shall see later, it is nevertheless not impossible that his father actually had such a name derived from the Greek. There is another opinion that Kalir's father bore a name common in the Byzantine Empire and it cannot be rejected without further thought. Indeed Kalir's poems did indicate a great deal of the influence of Byzantine poetry. According to this theory, ק'ר'ס' is a result of a metathesis in the word ק'ר'ס' Cyrill which is a Byzantine name.

312 Kalir's native country has likewise been sought in the most varied places. He himself named קִרְיַת סֵפֶר as his hometown. This name is already present in the Bible in Joshua 15:15. This time we might assume with a degree of certainty that we are dealing with a symbolic name. Even in Biblical times, the name Kiryat Sefer was no longer current. Therefore there is a certain amount of justification in seeking another place for the word even if we investigate places outside of Palestine. On the basis of false postulations concerning his lifetime, Kalir's hometown was first set in Southern Italy. This conclusion was also reached on the basis of the discovery that in the tenth century a flourishing and widely famous Jewish academy existed there. It was stated that the name of his hometown was to be pronounced differently from the place of the same name in the Bible. Thus Kalir's home was Kiryat S'far and therefore meant a city on the coast. His home was thus changed to Bari or preferably Cagliari which fitted the name Kalir so well. Then Jewish burial places in Porto were discovered. This city was once the port city of Rome. Soon it was considered as having been determined that Kalir's home was to be found in Civitas Portus if not in Rome itself. Others emphasized another location. It was observed that in writing his name and in the use of impure rhyme, Kalir showed a great deal of similarity to the Payyetanin living in Germany. For a while it was considered definite that he had lived in Germany.

In a similar way, his home town was sought in those countries where it was possible to prove that there was a blossoming of Jewish learning during the age in which Kalir was thought to have lived. Some scholars changed their opinion several times in the course of a few years, each time offering new conjectures on the matter. It was then decided with determination to refuse to consider that the native country of such an influential and universally recognized man could be outside of those countries in which centers of Jewish life and scholarship existed. This decision in itself was progress. Even with this assumption, there were still two countries that had to be considered. For a long time, the choice wavered between Babylonia and Palestine. On the basis of a far-fetched interpretation, an attempt was made to establish that Kiryat Sefer actually meant Pumbedeitha which became famous through its academy.

313 When a place allced Siparra was unfortunately discovered in the vicinity of Pumbeditha, this assumption seemed definite. It became especially true since phonetically it was easy to identify Siparra with ספרא . Babylonia is completely excluded from being Kalir's native country since his poems unequivocally presuppose a Christian environment. Furthermore, Kalir's method was not known at all in Babylonia. For a long time, there was opposition in Babylonia against sanctioning poems such as Kalir composed. In addition, there are many positive indications that compels us to assume that

Kalir lived in Palestine. The Holy Land was the home of the Piyyut since only there could a poet dare have Piyyutim accompany the entire cycle of prayers for the festivals as Kalir did. Furthermore, centuries ago, cognizance was already given to the fact that Kalir's poems for the festivals presuppose that they were observed for one and not two days. This observance of the festivals existed nowhere outside of Palestine. Objection was raised to this conclusion on the basis of there actually being some of Kalir's poems for the second day of the festivals. When this objection was answered, it was then stated that the use of these poems on the second day was arbitrarily arranged by the congregations. In an attempt to further prove that Kalir's native country was Palestine, it was proposed that the poems are actually based upon the Torah readings of the first day of the festivals. This was contradicted by the hint that for some festivals there were many poems by Kalir that were similar and therefore he also knew of the second day. We have, however, recently become acquainted with poems by Kalir that were duplicated and were written for occasions like Purim and the ninth of Av. Surely about these days there can be no question of a second day. It is therefore undoubtedly determined that Kalir actually gave no thought to the idea of reworking a prayer several times for one and the same festival. It is likewise certain that in various succeeding years, Kalir constantly brought forth new poems and thus the similarity in poems for one festival. It has been known for a

long time that Kalir advantageously used Palestinian sources in his poems and showed a great familiarity with Palestinian conditions. In connection with our subject, the liturgy, it is more important to know that Kalir always presupposes the wording of the Palestinian Tefillah. Until a short time ago, Kalir's poems were the most important sources for the structure of the text of the Palestinian Tefillah. Since we have acquired the text itself, we see how closely Kalir had followed it. Today it should seem an indisputable fact that Kalir lived in Palestine or at least in those sections of Syria that bordered closely on Palestine.

- 314 Now there is a question whether we can also seek out his residence and identify the term $\gamma\omega\theta\ \eta'\ \gamma\gamma$ with a city that is otherwise familiar. We must therefore make reference to two more recent attempts in this area. One of these theories takes up the fact that in one manuscript the acrostic reads $\gamma\delta\delta\gamma$. According to this postulation, the word alludes to $\kappa\alpha\lambda\lambda\iota\epsilon\epsilon\ \omicron\eta$ which was another common name for the Syrian Edessa during the Byzantine period. During its prime, this city was the center of scientific studies and very well deserved to be eternalized as $\gamma\omega\theta\ \eta'\ \gamma\gamma$, the city of the book. At first glance, the truth of the statement seems evident. The facts that an important colony of Jews is not known to have existed in Edessa and that we cannot assume there was such a tolerant atmosphere in Edessa that would favor the advancement of Jewish studies speak unfavorably of the assumption. Furthermore, if this theory were correct

then Kalir would have alluded to it as his home town in the two adjacent statements of the same content when he presented himself one time as the man from Kallirrhoe and the other time as being from the city of books. If we would think of naming Kalir's home town as a village of books then we would be led to chose Tiberius. For centuries, this was the city that actually sheltered the most important places of Jewish scholarship in Palestine. During Kalir's time, Biblical studies were the center of Jewish scholarship. As we have seen, Tiberius was in all likelihood the resident of Pinchas named along with Kalir as a poet of the old period. For the present, we do not have a direct testimony to the fact that Tiberius is identical with $\gamma\theta\theta\ \eta'\gamma\gamma$. In consideration of the variations to which the research about Kalir has been subject, for the time being, it is preferable to forego the efforts to definitely determine the location of his home. Let us therefore be satisfied with the knowledge that Palestine was his native country.

The dates of Kalir's life time were likewise set in the most varying centuries, from the second to the tenth and even the eleventh century. The research is so interrelated that erroneous conjectures about one aspect of his life effect the other facts as well. A significant discovery was made when Jacob Tam set Kalir amongst the Tannaim and said that Kalir was Eleasar b. Simon praised in the Midrash as a Payyetan.

315 The assertion that Kalir was a Tanna lasted until the brink of the modern era. He was not always equated with Eleasar b. Simon. Sometimes he was identified with Eleasar b. Arach so that he would even have lived in the first century. Seldom, however, was there any objection to his being a Tanna. Today we do not have to waste any words on this postulation which was so beneficial for the appreciation of Kalir and his poems. No intelligent person would suppose that the writer of such difficult Piyyutim could have lived during the talmudic period. Since scientific research has taken possession of the subject, attempts have been made to find supporting points in Kalir's own statements aside from the general criteria used in establishing the dates of his lifetime. In his poems, Kalir actually mentioned several times the period of time that had elapsed since the destruction of the second Temple. We know that those who transcribed the prayers did not always reproduce the old figures exactly. They took the liberty of appropriately changing figures that did not agree with their own age. It thus occurs that many of these dates acquired higher numbers in the course of time. There are, however, two figures in Kalir's poems written for the ninth of Av. Undoubtedly he gives these figures in reference to God's anger toward Israel. He said that this anger exists for nine hundred years. What then could possible come closer to telling us something of his time and lend an insight into the fact that Kalir wrote approximately nine hundred years after the destruction, the year 950 at the

latest? This conjecture, however, is based upon an erroneous interpretation of the pertinent verses. When Kalir writes

אֶלֶּם הַצִּדְקָה הַתַּעֲלִימָה
הַיְּהוֹדִיעָה

or
וְלֹא כִּי לֹא בָּרַךְ אֱלֹהֵינוּ כְּהוֹדִיעָה מֵעַתָּה

he is obviously referring to the passage in the Midrash which

reads: קְדוּשַׁת הַתַּעֲלִימָה הַיְּהוֹדִיעָה הַשְּׂמִימָה כְּהוֹדִיעָה בֵּין

'(Lev. r. chapter 7:1). According to the midrashic statement God had suppressed the anger he fostered against Israel for nine hundred years and did not translate it into deeds. The nine hundred years refers to the time that elapsed between the Exodus from Egypt and the destruction of the Temple. This calculation thus has no relationship to Kalir's lifetime. Today we know that writers like Saadia who died about 942 praised Kalir as a scholar and poet who lived long before their time. Surely, it is impossible to uphold the theory that Kalir's lifetime is to be set in the tenth century.

316 We must realize that in the eighth and ninth centuries Kalir's poems already had influence upon the arrangement of the prayers for the festivals. Finally we must add that Kalir was mentioned as Jannai's student and as we have pointed out previously, Jannai must have lived about 700. We thus arrived at the conclusion that Kalir's lifetime can be set at about 750 at the latest. Accepting this postulation, we find ourselves in agreement with the whole development of the Piyyut as we are able to survey it today.

We have tarried for so long a time on the inquiry into Kalir's personal life because his name indicates a landmark in the history of synagogue poetry. He was the poet who gave the cycle of festivals that form which at a later time was universally practiced and acknowledged. Kalir had provided compositions for all of the special days of the year. Fifty years ago, Zunz ascribed more than two hundred poems to him. As a result of the recent information provided by the manuscripts of the Cairo Genizah, this figure can be doubled and perhaps the number might even exceed that. In the main, Kalir's poems are Kerovot and he composed only a few Yozer and Hoshanot. By far the greatest part of his poems were for the embellishment of the Tefillah. An enumeration of Kalir's poems would entail too much. Here we must be satisfied with a summarizing survey of his works. There is no important holyday for which Kalir did not elaborate upon the prayers. As mentioned beofre, he sometimes composed selections several times for the same festival. According to the earlier findings, it appears that Passover was only sparsely provided with poems by Kalir. As it turns out, this is to be attributed to the arrangements of the European communities. These congregations had poems for the festivals composed by poets of their native countries and thus did not use those written by Kalir. In general, we must note that the printed prayerbooks and the manuscripts do not always give an exact picture of Kalir's poetry. Very

frequently, selections by a composer closely connected with the community are inserted into the midst of Kalir's works. It likewise happened that sections were cut from Kalir's Kerovot in order to put other selections in their stead.

317 Along with the main holydays, Kalir also composed poems for the four special sabbaths. In most of the cases, he worked on the Musaf as well as the morning service. The weekdays of a festive nature were also provided with poems. Kalir composed Kerovot for Purim, Hannukah and all the fast days. These poems are present throughout the Tefillah in all the eighteen benedictions. It was already stated that these very difficult compositions are available in several versions for individual days. The Kerovot for the fast of the ninth of Av are especially extensive. In reference to this day, he did not only compose poems that accompanied the individual blessings of the Tefillah. Kalir went a bit further for the ninth of Av and when it came to the fourteenth benediction, he used the occasion to vary in the most different ways the theme of the destruction of the Temple and Israel's suffering. This was accomplished by giving a large group of detailed poems. The Ashkenazic rite contains about twenty of Kalir's Kinot and one still does not have any proper conception of the immense piece of work Kalir had accomplished in this area. The rites of Italy and the Baltic countries have about twice as many of these poems and first there can we understand how little difficulty Kalir had in dealing with the same theme over and over again in different ways.

The historic meaning of Kalir's poetry lies primarily in the fact that he created the framework for the poetic revision of the service. He was the law giver of the Piyyut and his examples were followed in later times. Kalir was also the authority for determining which passages in the liturgy should be embellished by poems. The later poems were called ^{ו'ס'ג}, arranged according to Kalir. Also in the area of style, Kalir's example was followed. This is the second field in which Kalir had a pioneering effect. Through Kalir the Hagada became the most significant subject matter for poetry presentation. Kalir's poems follow very closely the interpretation and language of the Midrash. There was no old Midrash that was unfamiliar to him. Sometimes, he followed the presentation of the Hagada literally. His Piyyutim especially agreed with the Pesiktot in a striking manner. There was good reason for this since the embellishments he introduced for the basic prayers were designated for those days for which Hagadic treatment was given in the Pesikta.

318 All the messianic and apocalyptic writings that existed up to his time were known by Kalir and frequently used by him. Kalir's method of using the Midrash distinguished him favorably from those who copied from him. He was never under obligation to follow the pattern of the Midrash. He knew how to free himself from the Midrash. Indeed, Kalir extracted material from the Midrash but he acted completely

independent when it came to the formation of the material. This was especially true of the linguistic exposition. Kalir's method of presentation is permeated by obscurities which we already discussed in detail. This could not have been otherwise for he had to make as much use as possible of the vast material of the Hagada for the poetry. The linguistic expression, however, was a matter of his own choice. He was not pressured by the expressions of the available material but rather did he choose the language from the Bible. Kalir's works are exceptionally rich in new words and surprising formations. He surpasses all the other Payyetanin in fullness of language and creativity in expression. It is, however, very easy to see that his vocabulary is based upon the Bible. Kalir's works are not lacking in difficult and grammatically incorrect word formations, forms and expressions. He could hardly fail to do so since he had to make allowance for the difficult aspects of the poetic form which he forced into his poetry. The acrostic forms of the alphabet, names and Biblical verses and the amalgamation of all of these compelled him to coin new words. This was also due to the demands of rhyme which often became very complicated because of the linking words and the Biblical quotations. All of these aspects likewise compelled him not to fear deviations from the grammar and the usual forms. We constantly observe that he had a masterly understanding of how to turn and transform the comparatively simple Biblical vocabulary

so that it would suit his purpose. We must realize that Kalir dealt very frequently with the same theme and presents the same ideas. One cannot deny him the recognition for constantly setting them in a new garb and providing them with new embellishments and adornments. There is no lofty strain in Kalir's poetry nor are there profound thoughts. The poems were determined by the character of the festivals. Since they were dependent upon the Midrash, the ideas were limited.

319 Despite the limits set for him, the fixed basic ideas and the repetitious images, Kalir knew how to create an assortment of versatile elements.

Kalir's poems were widespread and were incorporated into the liturgies of the Orient, the Balkan peninsula, Italy, France and Germany and remained one of the most important aspects of the liturgy. This was also true after native poets had poetically revised the festival cycle. Kalir's poems were not included in those countries that were under the influence of Arabic culture. Kalir's Piyutim are not to be found in Spain and in the prayerbooks of North Africa and Asia which were dependent upon Spain. We cannot determine whether they were once part of these rites and were later replaced by better compositions. Kalir's works were not only recited in the synagogue but were also zealously studied. These poems were quoted as authorities were. They were thus used both for their interpretation of material as well as linguistic formations. It goes without saying that

commentaries for Kalir's works were also written. This was entirely necessary due to the obscurity of most of his poetry.

§41. The Most Important Payyetanim

2. Those who imitated Kalir

Bibliography: Rapaport, Kalir; Zunz, Literaturegeschichte; Landshut, ibid.; Luzzatto, ibid.

1. Kalir's example was not only decisive for the recognition of synagogue poetry and the acceptance of poetry into the congregational liturgy. His work had an effect for centuries after and attracted new men who followed Kalir's example. These novices also endeavored from their position to contribute to the embellishment of the liturgy. With the exception of the Spaniards, all the poets of the period after Kalir more or less closely followed his example. The oldest imitators of Kalir felt themselves presented with an important task and they considered it their duty to fill the gaps present in Kalir's poetry for the festival cycle. As a result of insufficient care in transmitting Kalir's works to later generations, many of his poems disappeared in the course of time as we have already seen. Furthermore, Kalir only composed poems for the first day of the festivals and later poets felt induced to provide poems for those festive seasons that lacked Kalir's poems.

320 This continued until 1050. At that time the festival cycle can be considered as having been completed. The Piyyut

enjoyed an indisputable recognition in all the communities at that time. The opposition raised here and there by scholars was not able to accomplish anything in the face of the approbation of the masses. The authority of poetry increased as a result of the popularity and dissemination of the Piyyut. The desire to be active in the field of poetry likewise grew amongst famous men. Thus it occurred that after 1050, the number of Payyetanim appreciably increased. Scholarly studies were more widespread amongst the Jews of the Occident and the knowledge of Talmud and Midrash and the familiarity with the Bible and the Hebrew language were constantly augmented. "At that time, no region in the romance or germanic countries under the influence of grammatic, exegetic and poetic achievements lacked a rabbi or reader who endowed the public prayers as well as those recited at home with a discourse or a composition." The opportunities for writing poetry increased as did the number of poets. Kalir composed very many Kerovot but few Yozer. Even his successors still left many gaps. Thus a field for activity was left open for the later poets. Furthermore, during the early period, only the main festivals and the most important special sabbaths were provided with poetic revisions. Later on the number of sabbaths having poetic works increased. Whenever the nature of the sabbath or its Scripture reading lent itself to some sort of poetic embellishment, the poets wrote the appropriate compositions. The Yozer were especially popular but complete compositions were not always composed. Frequently only individual sections

of the Yozer were written. The Yozer prayer was also embellished and passages previously free of poetry were provided with poetic selections. Cognizance was also taken of the important events in family life. Weddings, circumcisions, and other festivities that brought the participants to the synagogue found expression in Yozer and Kerovot or in the introductions to the Torah reading. Finally, the poets were also very frequently stimulated to compose lamentations because of the increasing abundance of suffering. The martyrdom which Jews incessantly endured from 1076 on found its echo in the synagogue.

- 321 The Piyyut eternalized the memory of the martyrs in the form of poetry and provided the glory for their heroic death. Fidelity to the faith as exemplified by the ancestors became a constant admonition to and encouragement for the successive generations. These Jews revered their forebears with tears and, when necessary, by following their example.
2. The names of most of the poets who directly followed are unknown. This was the period when the center of Jewish life and learning gradually shifted to Europe. All the products of the writers in the Orient were not take over to Europe. Of those that were transferred to Europe, it was most often done because the compositions were of special significance or the fame of the author guaranteed their immortality. This it is that the name of only one Payyetan is known to us from the Orient during the centuries immediately

following Kalir. This one poet's name is known because he was amongst the most celebrated scholars. The name is that of Saadia b. Joseph (892-942), "the most famous of the Gaonim. In his liturgical compositions he speaks the most fluent and the most ponderous language. When he uses ponderous language, he is the worshipper, the fluent, he is the Payyetan, but in neither a real poet." Saadia's poems were not included in any of the well known prayerbooks. Their transmission to later generations resulted from his great work, his Siddur, in which he collected "the prayers and praises." We shall discuss his poems. Three great works by Saadia have reference to the Feast of Weeks and deal with the six hundred and thirteen positive and negative commandments. One of these in Arabic begins $\text{נִכְנָסוּ סִיחַ יְהוָה}$. This was designated for Shevuot and perhaps is still recited in North African communities. An index of Saadia's works is available in Zunz' Literaturgeschichte, p. 96. A second treatment of the same theme is present in the verses that begin with $\text{אֵלֶּה הֵן תִּרְאֶה}$. The six hundred and thirteen positive and negative commandments are presented in six sections. Each of these is organized in such a way that the alphabet is alternately presented in the forward and reversed order. Each section consists of eleven rhymed lines of verses and linking words. This is not a dry enumeration. The author classified the laws and at the end, he gave those laws that had many subsidiary commandments.

This selection is not an acrostic and thus does not in itself reveal its author's name. Actually, its authenticity has also been doubted but without justification for the combination of the laws and the style of the poem completely correspond to Saadia's other words. Saadia reworked the same theme of the Azharot a third time. This, however, was done in the form of a Kerovah with the beginning אלהים יוסף

הנה נ' נ' פ' נ' נ' הנה. There is not another Piyyut of those known to us that can be compared in terms of artificiality of structure or difficulty of expression to this composition by Saadia. He did not only include the six hundred and thirteen positive and negative commandments but categorized them under the ten words of the Decalogue. He set the whole Piyyut in such a difficult outer form that it was necessary to use the most unusual word formations and the most unintelligible word combinations for his poetry. Saadia's Azharot can be divided into three parts. The beginning and the end form a correct Shivata and accompany the seven benedictions of the Tefillah. The middle section begins with אנכי אר אונות וניחרת מכל הנהרות and is devoted to the laws. Saadia took several types of Biblical verses as the basis for this massive structure. He begins the stanzas in succession with the words of Psalm 68:8 and 9. Prefixed to the middle are the verses from Canticles 1:1-14. In the Azharot he sometimes prefixed the first words of the Decalogue to this middle section in addition to the other Biblical verses. He also embellished the end of the stanzas

with Biblical verses as he did at the beginning. The fourth line of the stanza is always a Biblical verse and all the preceding verses must rhyme with the end of this verse. Each section ends with the enumeration of the commandments. Thus it is that the list of laws falling under one section of the Decalogue have the same conclusion as the corresponding sentence in the Bible. No true poetry could succeed within such a framework. It is clear that Saadia endeavored to follow in Kalir's footsteps but he was unsuccessful. He exceeded Kalir in artificiality but he never attained that type of artificiality contained within Kalir's poetry.

Saadia loved to work out his larger works in several forms. His Avodot for the Day of Atonement are available in two different versions. One begins *כאדני' צדקו ויוצאיהו פנימה חדמה ופני*. Like the Azharot, this is also structured in the most artificial form. There is an alphabetic acrostic and the same beginning for a verse is repeated eight times in each stanza.

323 This also contains the added difficulty that the particle נ is prefixed to the respective letters of the even numbered lines whereas the odd numbered lines begin with the Biblical passage. In addition, the even verses end with the same word with which the preceding odd verses began. Aside from this every two verses rhyme. What's more, the verses have another caesura in that the first half of the verses in the whole stanza are rhymed. The content of the Avodot does not deviate from the usual ones. Saadia evidently follows Jose's example in that

the greater part of the poem was the introduction and the cult of the Day of Atonement is found in the second half. We must give Saadia his due for having attempted to dramatically enliven the description of the Avodah. Since he exerted so much effort in conforming to the rules concerning the external form, it was impossible for the content not to suffer. According to Saadia's own testimony, he had composed still more versions of the Avodah and one of these was found recently in almost its complete form. It begins $\text{פִּקְדוֹן ה' פִּדְיוֹן}$ and likewise has twenty-two stanzas each one having four sets of doublets in the form of an alphabetic acrostic. The form is much simpler than the Avodah discussed. The odd and even numbered verses have the rhyme all the way through. The even numbered have פ' as their rhyme and the odd have נ . The linking words complicate the arrangement somewhat. The even numbered verses end with the same word with which the odd numbered begin. Thus it is that the same word is repeated twice in succession. The language in this poem is apparently simpler than in the preceding poem. The contents of both correspond completely in such a way that in most cases, even the stanzas correspond with one another. The difference lies in the fact that in the second selection, the presentation is much shorter. There is no acrostic in either that reveals Saadia's authorship though both are attributed to him and offer no occasion to doubt their authenticity. We should mention Saadia's Hoshanat-cycle amongst his larger works. The Hoshanot for the individual days fall into three parts. The first selection always begins with יְחַיֵּנוּ , the second with $\text{יְחַיֵּנוּ הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה}$ and the

third with the previously mentioned refrain (p. 220) תהנה יי' . The number of Hoshanot is not increased on the seventh day. Most of the poems of this cycle are the same as those contained within the Sephardic rite. They are all in a simpler language than we have otherwise become accustomed to find in Saadia.

324 It is very questionable how much of it Saadia composed himself and what proportion he had taken over from others. His lesser works are mostly Selichot for the fast days or the Days of Repentance. In accordance with Saadia's manner, the method of presentation in these poems is considerably ponderous. He often deals with certain themes like the twelve tribes of Israel, the twelve stones in the High Priest's breastplate, the destruction of the seven Heiligtümer and similar subjects. The authenticity of these selections transmitted in Saadia's name cannot be determined without further ado. Some of these have nevertheless recently been recovered in the Genizah fragments and designate Saadia as the author.

Saadia's best work with which he enriched the prayerbook are his two petitions (הקדוּת). One of them begins 'אָדָנָי and the other 'אָתָּה הוּא ד' לְבָרְכָךְ. These are the two works praised by Abraham ibn Ezra for their agreeable content and simple style. Actually, these are the only works by Saadia that were incorporated into the prayerbooks. The text which we have completely justifies the praise bestowed upon these prayers. They are mainly related to the Bible and either join together Biblical verses or sentences patterned after them.

In these selections, there is expressed a simple but a profound inner piety.. In the form that has been handed down to us these selections are nevertheless not pure for later additions have penetrated them. Aside from this, these selections were lengthened more than once by the works of the other poets of a later period. A detailed analysis is to be found in Landshuth's הגותו של סאדיה p. 293ff.

Saadia's method of writing presents the highest degree of complications and difficulties that the Piyyut was capable of having. The author of the old study of poetry that has been mentioned several times saw in Saadia's Piyyutim the last expression of this type of writing. Saadia's works could not be used in the liturgy because of their difficulties. As a result of the great reverence for Saadia's name, his poems were studied and frequently quoted. Saadia's activity in the field of poetry was important because he not only tried his hand at being a poet but he cultivated the theory of poetry.

- 325 The many worthless poems in circulation during Saadia's time attracted his attention. He considered himself called upon to compose some kind of manual for the improvement of the language and the style of the poets. Recently we came into possession of fragments of Saadia's Agron originally intended as a kind of dictionary of rhyme. In this work, he compiled the Hebrew roots alphabetically according to the letters at the beginning and end of the word. In his later life, Saadia expanded upon this work of his youth. In it he also paid attention to the

"soul of the poems" and he added a theory of poetry where he enlarged upon the matter of style and poetic images.

3. In the period after Saadia, the poets of significance followed one another at close intervals. The first mention of the names of poets occurs in Europe and they all came primarily from Italy. It was this country that was the bridge between the European countries and the Orient in the field of Jewish learning. The spread of poetry is a sign of the increase in scholarship and the growing stability in the practices of the congregations. Solomon b. Jehuda ha Babli (שלמה ברבי יהודה הכהן) is the first name we have of a European Payyetan and he lived about 950-980. His surname, ha Bavli, was acquired from his native city of Rome. Since the apocalyptic period, Rome was metaphorically called Babel. At one time, Solomon was a much read and treasured poet and often named along with Kalir. In most of his poems, Solomon emulated Kalir and indeed most of the time quite well. Sometimes, however, his sentence structure is more ponderous than Kalirs, his presentation more obscure and his more language difficult. A great portion of his poems have only been preserved in manuscript form and few have been incorporated into the prayerbooks. Amongst those that were included in the prayerbooks was *פ'רעאן זע' וויל*, a Yozer for the first day of Passover, which became particularly well known. The poet indicates his name four times and that of apparently his brother, three times. These poems were included in the rites of Italy, Germany and the Balkans and Rashi had already commented upon them. Aside from these, Solomon composed

a number of Selichot of which a few were circulated by means of the prayerbook. Throughout his poems, there is present a strain of lament, "almost a soft restrained sob which captivates every reader." We do not know whether Solomon experienced the persecution of the Jews but according to the tone of his laments, we must assume he did. In the realm of Selichah, his works were considered authoritative examples. His type of Selichah was named after the pattern of the selection *ת'לכח* which he had written.

326 Of his more important works, we must mention Solomon's Avodah *תע'לכח תלכח*. This is one of the longest and most difficult poems of its kind which displays within it a fine poetic tactfulness because he dwells for a long time upon the theme of the history of creation and the patriarchs. Nevertheless, he does not appear as being equal to the task. This selection is still used in the rites of the Balkans.

4. The next group of poets belong to the Kalonymus family which became famous through the large number of worthy men it gave to Judaism. The family came from Lucca in Italy. Provided with a favorable privilege, the family emigrated to Mainz as a result of one of the members having rendered himself worthy in his endeavors for saving the life of Kaiser Otto the Second. In Mainz, the Kalonymus family likewise played a prominent role. Some members of the family who went to Germany continued to keep the surname "from Lucca" and it is frequently difficult to determine whether the bearer of the name lived in Italy or France.

An added difficulty was the fact that the same names were constantly given to the children and were thus frequently repeated. It is therefore not always easy to distinguish between grandfathers and grandchildren when they bear the same name. In all likelihood, the Kalonymus family made an exceptional contribution to the embellishment of the liturgy in Germany. They brought the native traditions of Italy to Germany and in later centuries the transference of the doctrines of the "Secrets of Prayer" was attributed to their immigration. Surely they brought much of the Italian and Palestinian rites with them and replanted them in Germany. In all probability, the Piyyut falls under this category. The first Payyetan from this family was Moses b. Kalonymus called Moses the Elder (משה הזקן קלוןימי). In one of his verses, he gives information concerning his lifetime when he says 'תשס"ג ירדתי אל העולם. Therefore he must have been active about nine hundred years after the destruction of the second Temple and that would lead us to about the year 980. His main work is the Kerovah for the seventh day of Passover which begins 'הוא יתברך ויגדל ויפארו ויגדלו ויגדלו ויגדלו and has passed over into many prayerbooks. It is greatly interspersed with Midrash and it is written in the style of Kalir. This, however, is one of the best imitations of Kalir's type of poetry; it is pithy and sonorous. Another Payyetan from the same family is Kalonymus from Lucca who might have flourished earlier than the above-mentioned Moses.

327 R. Gershom praised him as a scholar and mentions that he composed Kerovot for all the festivals and these compositions were richly endowed with Hagada. We nevertheless have very little of these poems. Zunz ascribes to him the authorship of the Rehitim for the Day of Atonement that refer to Jer. 10:7, *וְיָבֹא הַיּוֹם וְהָיָה כְּכֹחַ הַיּוֹם*. These compositions are likewise a sign of his fine ability. His son Meshullam b. Kolonymus is more well known. Meshullam is often described as an Italian. It is possible that he was born in Italy but it is certain that he died in Mainz. Recently his tombstone was discovered in Mainz. R. Gershom also praises him as a celebrated scholar and also states that he was connected with the most distinguished men of his time. He was also a prolific Payyetan. Of his compositions, the Kerovah *וְיָבֹא הַיּוֹם וְהָיָה כְּכֹחַ הַיּוֹם* for the Day of Atonement is especially familiar. This is still used in the Ashkenazic rite in the morning service. Several times the acrostics *וְיָבֹא הַיּוֹם וְהָיָה כְּכֹחַ הַיּוֹם* is found in this selection and it testifies to his authorship. Today this Kerovah consists of thirty sections but not all of them are by him. A good deal of strange material has penetrated into this selection. The above-mentioned compositions by his father are some of the foreign elements amongst others. Twice Meshullam wrote an Avodah for the Musaf liturgy of the Day of Atonement. He is the author of *וְיָבֹא הַיּוֹם וְהָיָה כְּכֹחַ הַיּוֹם* used in the Ashkenazic rite. Amongst all the known Avodah, this selection has the most irregular poetic form. Later this aspect was

likewise indicative of the poets living in Germany for they did not heed the basic law of poetry nor did they pay attention to uniformity. It is surprising that the Avodah also lacked rhyme. It has been proven that the author, Meshullam, had the intent of shortening Jose's Avodah and present it in a form pleasing to his contemporaries. This new form was filled with difficult words and poetic expressions. In addition to the alphabet, he had to incorporate into this selection a comparatively long acrostic of his name. He was not able to help himself out of these difficulties and he thus set the Avodah in a very irregular structure. As a result, he also had much in the poem that was terse and desultory and yet treated many subjects in great detail. The introduction 'סדן ערן ס'ל' also belongs to this Avodah by Meshullam but it was not included into the rites of the congregations. Thus it remained buried in manuscripts until recently.

328 His second Avodah זר נסעאות'ק אסחה had the same fate.

As it seems, the selection was used in Saxony and Bohemia during the Middle Ages and in the manuscripts of the Ashkenazic rite, it is most frequently in the margins of ס'ל' כ'ל' NK. The structure of זר נסעאות'ק is much more regular and the whole selection contains twenty-four stanzas that are provided with rhymes. The content is the same as ס'ל' כ'ל' NK and the type of adaptation of the Avodah is even closer to Jose's. Meshullam composed compositions for Passover as well as for the Day of Atonement. Amongst the Piyyutim for the

second day of Passover in the Ashkenazic rites; there is many a selection by him. His poems had the fate that was prepared for many Piyyutim. They were considerably shortened by those who transcribed the selections and by the congregations. This was done when it was felt that the Piyyut was too long and as a result they were thus cut down. This was especially true of the Biblical verses that form the embellishment of the stanzas and they had to frequently give way.

5. All of the poets just mentioned here had primarily endeavored to work in those areas where there were gaps in Kalir's festival cycle. They aided the congregation in completing the chain of Piyyutim when material by Kalir was lacking. Simon b. Isaac b. Abun (ר' שמואל בן יצחק בן יצחק) was the most important among the Payyetanim in Germany whose activity was in this area. He was from Mainz and lived about the year 1000. He was sometimes surnamed "The Great." He was universally revered as one of the most deserving contemporaries and was often considered as an approved miracle-worker (ר' שמואל הגדול). He earned special merit by his prevention^{or}/termination of the persecutions of the Jews in Mainz in 1012. In gratitude for his efforts in rescuing the communities, his name continued to be mentioned in eternal remembrance in the memorial services. He had a good reputation in every respect, however, his main virtue was in the field of the Piyyut. His compositions were adopted in practically all of France and Germany and formed the best and most admirable supplement to Kalir's works. It can be

safely said that when Kalir's works were lacking for any part of the service, those of Simon b. Isaac filled the gaps. This was true with the exception of the few poets mentioned above who had filled these gaps for the congregations. We thus have in the Ashkenazic rite a Yozer by Simon b. Isaac and a complete Kerovah for the second day of the New Year's Festival and the same kind of selections for the seventh day of Passover and the second day of Shevuot.

329 Simon b. Isaac also composed a Yozer for the intermediate sabbath during Passover. He likewise followed in Kalir's footsteps but used the later Payyëtanim as well. He did not surpass their strength in presentation and above all the ability to express himself as tersely as they did. The external accessories of his poetry are the same as those of the other Payyëtanim. He used alphabetic and name acrostics and even unusually long rhymes and refrains. He was not always fortunate with his acrostics for in the course of time they were often omitted. The desire to reduce the length hit his poetry quite hard. Of the Rahit *י"ח קס"ו*, for example, half was stricken out. Originally every verse with *י"ח קס"ו* was accompanied by one with *י"א קס"ו*. The omnipotence of the heavenly kingship was contrasted with the weaknesses and nothingness of an earthly kingship. As it appears, Simon was the first Payyëtan in Germany who composed poetic introductions and it was through him that this type of poetry was introduced. Later on, the Payyëtanim frequently copied these introductions and did not refrain from writing poetic

introductions for these compositions. Much in the festival liturgy was attributed to Simon without justification. Thus, for example, the Azharot אֶחָד הָיָה הַיּוֹם in the Ashkenazic rite was already quoted by older writers but attributed to Simon. What's more, in contrast to all the other selections by Simon, this one lacked rhyme. Apparently he never worked on Azhorot since the Ashkenazic rite already had them. It would not be impossible that one of these compositions written by him did become lost. He also composed very many Piyyutim for the sabbath. At that time the number of sabbaths that were capable of being provided with poetic compositions were considerably expanded. In this field, Simon also served as the prototype for many of those who followed. Finally, we must mention his activity in the field of the Selichah for which the tenth and eleventh centuries were decisive. The poetic Selichah became more and more an integral part of the service and displaced the old rhymeless and simple compositions. These older compositions frequently surpassed the artistic products of the later period, above all in the depth of feeling. We have a large number of Selichot, Techinot and introductions to the Selichot for the Day of Atonement that were written by Simon. The poet makes his appearance as the reader and begins to speak in the name of the congregation. In addition to the consciousness of sinfulness that resounds throughout the poems, the poet also lamented over the oppression of the times.

330 Horrible persecutions had just taken place during which it was prohibited to profess faith in Judaism. Many were forcibly baptized and others preferred to die. At such times, the women especially took the lead with a sacrificial courage and defiance of death as they plunged into the streams in order not to fall into the hands of their oppressors.

6. The same mood of Simon's Selichot are repeated in those of his somewhat younger contemporary, R. Gershom b. Jehudah, the "light of the exile." Gershom's historical significance is not in the field of liturgy but he also became known as a composer of Selichot. In these compositions, he likewise bewailed the persecutions under which he had to suffer. It is known that during these persecutions his own child was forcibly baptized. Gershom's Pismon אהרנו מארץ סוּכָה בחפזון with the introduction אהרנו ברכנו became particularly familiar. This introduction gave the name of the prayers for the evening of the New Year's Festival. The great esteem for Gershom and the popularity of his poetry could not prevent them from being greatly shortened. This same fate fell to the other compositions by the same author. Benjamin b. Zerah is practically exclusively known as a composer of Selichot. He was given the surname "the Great" and sometimes he was even called "Master of the Name," רבן שלום. This was not because he appeared as a worker of miracles but rather because one of his Selichot שלום ה' ה' ה' is constructed according to the first letters of God's names which amount to forty-two

letters. This name was also given to him because he often worked with God's name in his Ofan poems. He said that he lived nine hundred and ninety years after the destruction of the Temple which would be about 1060. His home was most likely in the Balkan countries. He composed a great number of Selichot of which several have been incorporated into the Ashkenazic rite and recited with great festivity such as the Akedat P'J'N'K'N '32 P'J'N'K and ס'לסח סלח'ק . Most of them are composed in a simple style and permeated by profound and real feelings. The content is primarily devoted to a lament since the author apparently also experienced difficult times in his native country. Along with Selichot, he also did work on the Yozer. In the Ashkenazic rite for the sabbath preceding Passover his poems הס'ח ס'לסח סלח'ק have been retained. His Ofan is very dramatic and in alternating order one stanza always is devoted to the angel's adulation of God and the next to Israel's corresponding response.

331 We shall mention here another two poets of the same period. They have attracted attention because of the exceedingly artistic form found in their works. The first is Joseph b. Solomon of Carcassonne who must have written before Rashi. His Yozer for the sabbath during Hannukah is used in the Ashkenazic and the Italian rites. This selection, ס'לסח ס'לסח ס'לסח , consists of stanzas having a ninefold alphabetic acrostic, a number found very seldom amongst the older poets. The language of the poem naturally became exceedingly difficult and

and the selection had to therefore be provided with commentaries at an early time. His contemporary Zahlal b. Netanel was even more original. He became known as the author of one poem which attracted attention because of its structure. His hymn consists of 248 lines with the rhyme throughout of which the poet was very proud. The content of the selection is remarkable because he gives a description of God's unity and work of creation which for the first time is based entirely upon Sefer ha-Yezirah. Corresponding to the concept found in that ancient work, here too all of creation including man is derived from the combination of letters of the alphabet. At the end of the poem, the poet goes into a description of God's goodness and His favours toward Israel. Since he especially refers to the Hasmonean victory, he too must have written for Hannukah. Zahlal's native country was either France or the Balkans. His poetry demonstrates to us the oddities to which the development of the Piyyut lead. Despite the fact that this poem consists almost exclusively of artificiality and erudition and was far removed from the tone and content of prayer, it was nevertheless highly regarded during the Middle Ages.

7. To a certain extent, a new era in the history of the Piyyut begins about 1050 in that there was hardly any more room for simple compositions. The poets thus applied themselves to constantly compose poetry within the prescribed framework. Thus they also worked more within the area of the Selichah than they had previously. At that time, a certain degree of progress is to be noted in the language. Linguistic studies gradually spread and more attention was thus given to the correctness of style. A certain liberation from the pattern of the old Payyetanim also took place.

332 The poets no longer used the Midrash as much as before. They preferred the Bible but they liked to reproduce the Biblical content in the Talmudic and Midrashic idiom.

It cannot be doubted that there was some influence from Spanish poetry which was flourishing at the same time. It is, however, not easy to prove how much effect it had upon the specific cases. At the head of the new era stand two writers from northern France. Both of them enjoyed great esteem as teachers of Talmud. They are the last authorities who expressed themselves about the inclusion of the Piyyut into the prayers. It goes without saying that both of them did render their opinion. The first one is Elijah b. Menachem the Elder from Le Mans. He is the composer of the more important compositions. First of all, we mention 'סח ה'ה' סח
an Azharot having stanzas of four lines each that rhyme and contain the alphabet and an acrostic of his name. They are

very skillfully worked out and in the proper order, they give the Biblical commandments and the later ordinances. As regards the negative commandments, he first gives those for which there is a harsh punishment and then the simple prohibitions. Elijah's Azharot were highly regarded and were often quoted as reliable interpretations of the Biblical and Talmudic laws. They were likewise zealously discussed in the scholarly deliberations. Another more important composition by Elijah is entitled 790 or more explicitly 730. This selection gave a compilation of the Biblical passages that are recited during the daily morning service and contains two longer prayers אלהי אבות and אלהי אבות. These two prayers were included in the prayers for the Day of Atonement and the Italian ^{rite} in its oldest edition, contains the whole selection. Elijah was also known as a writer of Selichot but most of them have disappeared along with the old French rite which contained them. His contemporary was Joseph b. Samuel Bonfils (1701-1780) who came from Narbonne, the seat of the old Jewish tradition. He taught in Limoges, Samuel was highly regarded as the collector and propagator of halachic literature. He also had a prominent position as a liturgical writer. His works testify of a bold express of ideas and contain beautiful images. Not many of these were used though he wrote for practically all of the festivals. Most of his poems have disappeared together with the old French rite though several of them have

been preserved in other prayerbooks. Amongst them are the Maariv compositions for the first evening of the Feast of Weeks which is entitled *אָרְבֵּי עֵצִים* and one for the Feast of Tabernacles called *אֶרְבֵּי עֵצִים*.

- 333 All of these compositions have his name indicated in them. We also have Yozer and Kerovot for the Great Sabbath before Passover. In all, there are eleven selections among which is the extensive halachic discussion *אֵלֶּה הַרוֹחוֹת*. The conclusion of this selection *חֲסֵד מִלְּפָנֶיךָ יְיָ* has been incorporated into the Passover Hagadah. This treatise by Tovelem was likewise highly regarded and commentaries were written for it more than once. He also composed several Yozer selections for the sabbath after the Passover Festival and is perhaps the first one who wrote poetry for this sabbath. The Greek rite in addition to the Ashkenazic and old French rites also included a number of his compositions.

8. Among the contemporaries of these poets, Elifah b. Shemaya is the most outstanding. According to a tradition of unknown origin, his native city was Bari in Southern Italy where a very famous school of Jewish scholars was located at that time. This school was proverbially spoken of from Italy to France and Germany. Otherwise, we know nothing about Elijah's personal life. He is one of the best Selichah poets who even frequently neglected the generally practised artistic form in order to be able to pay more attention to the content and language of his compositions. The structure of the Selichah

is always followed through very carefully and in accordance with the three sections, the lamentations, the petition and the hope. His thoughts are not very numerous and he constantly operates within the same circle of ideas. One does notice in each of his poems that the words emanate from the heart of a deeply sensitive person. The content is mostly elegiac and the poet searches for words in order to express his concern for the suffering of the community. He attributes all suffering to the sinfulness of the generation but he is not a slave to the pressure of sin. On the contrary, he always understands how to struggle through to the conviction that God annuls sin and along with this will destroy the oppressors. Hardly ever has another Selichah poet again found the inner, heartfelt, artistic and pithy expression for the nothingness and powerlessness of man in comparison with the greatness and omnipotence of God. The number of his Selichot amount to more than thirty selections and some of the most beautiful and best in the Ashkenazic rite are by him. Among

these are *אבון בשטן אנוש רמה, או'ת'יך קו'ת'יך מאורע*
מרחק'יך, אליה ביצר צמית, אקרא בשמך להחצ'יך בק
אתצורה, אתה חלקי וצור לבבי.

- 134 9. Meir b. Isaac was very popular in Germany throughout the Middle Ages. He was the reader in Worms at the time that Rashi lived there and is mostly called "reader" (*ר' מאיר בר*)
ויצחק שלם צבור. He was considered one of the best experts on the order of prayers and the liturgical customs.

His method of compiling and reciting prayers was universally recognized as being the standard form. He was an authority in the field of the texts of prayers and Piyyutim. He took the liberty of making certain innovations which were later accepted on the basis of his example. He was very popular as a liturgical writer and it was boasted that no one knew how to compose prayers of atonement according to Hagadah Halachah and the other prescriptions as did Meir. From thence forth, the congregations mentioned him in their memorial services and with this, they gave as a reason the fact that "he enlightened the eyes of Israel by his Piyyutim." He contributed a great deal to the shaping of the liturgy and only a little bit has survived. His compositions were primarily used in his native city of Worms. Indeed many a selection by Meir is still used in that city at the present time. Other compositions were common in central Germany but disappeared after the unification of the German rites. Only the smallest portion have become widespread. Meir's style is not always the same. He composed marriage songs and their style is very simple. Only one of his Yozer is used outside of Worms and the style in these selections is obscure. In the Selichot, the style is adroit and captivating. Some types of poetry are peculiar to him and were first introduced in his time by his compositions. The longer Halachic discussion (ג' ד' ד') for the Maariv poems used all over Germany is one such type of poetry distinct for Meir. ³ג' ד' ד' is one of these Maariv

poems that is used on the second evening of Passover. The other one, פסח ויום ראשון is for the first night of Passover and has only been preserved in Western Germany. Another kind of poetry peculiar to Meir is the Aramaic introductions to the Targum of the Torah and Haftorah portions on the festivals. These were only used in Germany on those festivals when it was customary to read the Aramaic translations to the Torah portion (p. 191, 193). Of these compositions, only one has been preserved and that is אקדמת ראשון for the first day of Shevuot. This selection praises the Creator and Lawgiver as the Friend of Israel which has been promised heavenly and earthly joys at the time of redemption. This selection has become exceptionally popular because of the glorious and colorful description of the joys prepared for the pious ones during the messianic period.

- 335 As a result of its popularity, this selection was the only one of its kind written at that time that survived. Most of Meir's Selichot deal with the theme of the Akeda or the Te-chinnah which resulted in the same content. Perhaps there is a connection between this peculiarity and the somber mood into which the Jews had been placed at the end of Meir's lifetime as a result of the bloody persecutions of 1096. Rashi is also to be named among the younger contemporaries of Meir. He lived from 1040 to 1105 and his fame is based upon his unprecedented commentary. It is self-explanatory that a man of such renown should pay full attention to every field of endeavor. Thus it is that as a compiler of a Siddur,

which dealt with the first crusade. Menachem was a friend of Rashi and corresponded with him. He wrote the Kinah אכ
אכ recited in the Ashkenazic rite on the Ninth of Av
 which very generally describes the sufferings of the year 1096.

336 This selections contains the words אנ' מנחם העלום הרב' מכ'ר

By this epithet the poet wanted to make known his depressed mood. Menachem is also the author of Selichot for the fast days of the seventh of Tammuz and the thirteenth of Adar. Aside from this, he also wrote several Yozer selections for the sabbath and to a degree for those sabbaths that had no poetic compositions until that time. He was the first in Germany to compose a poetic אנ' מנחם in which it is perhaps already possible to recognize the influence of Spanish writers.

Finally the אנ' מנחם a Hoshanah used on the sabbath in the Ashkenazic rite is also by him. David b. Meshullam is another poet who describes the sufferings of 1096. He was among the representatives of the Jewish community of Speyer who, acquired for them generally favorable privileges from Emperor Henry the Fourth in 1090. The sudden reversal in the state of the community resounds throughout his poetry. He is the composer of the Selichah אכ

אכ which tells of the cruelty of the crusaders but it has been abridged several times. Kalonymus b. Jehudah of Mainz deals with the same theme. As it appears, he was the son of that Jehudah b. Kalonymus who was likewise part of the delegation to Emperor Henry. He wrote the two Kinot אכ and אכ as well as

several Selichot. Among others, he wrote the Selichot ^{את הקול}
^{קול יעקב} and ^{זולות} all of

which are dedicated to the lament over the decline of the famous and flourishing communities on the Rhein. He wrote numerous Yozer, Ofan and Zilot for the Sabbath. In the latter, he likewise especially lamented the tragic experience of his time. Since then the Zilot have very frequently been used in order to deal with the theme of the persecutions. The sabbaths between Passover and Shevuot have all been provided with poems. Aside from this, Kelonymus composed sabbath poems for special occasions like the wedding week, circumcision, etc. Amongst the men who wrote elegies about the year 1096 we must mention Eliezer b. Nathan of Mainz. The Zilot ^{אלהים}

^{זולות} and ^{אלהים} as well as
 the Selichot ^{זולות} and ^{אלהים}
 were written by him. He bewails the religious persecutions and praises the willingness on the part of the congregations to sacrifice themselves. Eliezer lived to a very old age and at the end of his days, he also had to witness the incitations against the Jews in 1147 that preceded the second crusade.

337 He also dedicated a lamentations to this theme in the Selichah

^{זולות} Otherwise he also occupied himself a great deal with the synagogue poetry. He composed individual Yozer for the sabbath and Ten Days of Repentance, and for special family occasions. More important was the

fact that he studied the old Piyyutim and wrote a most scholarly commentary on them.

11. The tragic events of 1096 repeated themselves very frequently though not always to the same horrifying extent. In those times of religious agitation, the people were accustomed to see in the Jews the cause of every misfortune and every distress. It was during those times that a decade seldom went by during which several communities did not become the victims of the people's wrath or their vigorously released passions. A memorial to the Jews' fidelity to their faith, their surrender of their wealth and their lives was erected within the synagogue poetry. For the most part, these poems were only recited in those communities that suffered this fate.. As a result, most of them remained in manuscript form until the modern period. Frequently these poems are the only testimony of the heroic spirit that the Jewish communities displayed during their suffering. That period aroused many men to compose who are of no significance either generally or historically. Thus we shall pass over their names here. Their only merit exists in the fact that they glorified the martyrdom of their communities. Only a very few who might command a more general interest should be mentioned. Joel b. Isaac ha Levi of Bonn reports about the events of the second crusade in his *שיר השיר*. His fellow countryman Ephraim b. Jacob does the same and he himself lived through the entire horrible period. Thus his poems attract our attention because they frequently mention all the persecutions and the

martyrs. One also notes that these poems grew out of a blood-soaked environment. Furthermore, he is the last Payyetan in Germany who composed Aramaic selections. His most worthy accomplishment for the liturgy is his extensive commentary on the Machzor. According to those parts that have been published, this is a very important work and gives an account of the sources used from the older literature. Ephraim b. Isaac from Regensburg is his contemporary and often mistaken for him. B. Isaac is known as a halachic writer. He produced the best works among the poets of France and Germany, "short and yet clear, gracious though sharp. He used pure and fluent expressions embellished by Biblical and Talmudic allusions."

- 338 Of his poems, only the Selichot have been disseminated. Some of these are the *יחללנו* 'ח' אלת' for the fast of the tenth of Teveth and several (*אין ארץ ישראל* and *אין ארץ ישראל*) for the Day of Atonement and the Ten Days of Repentance. Menachem b. Jacob who died in 1203 in Worms is younger than he. He composed many Yozer, lamentations and Selichot, all of which have the tragic content peculiar to that period. Along with Ephraim, he is the last who composed poems about the ten martyrs. From the school of the Tosafists we may mention here, in addition, Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg who died in 1293. He is the most famous rabbi in Germany who had the greatest influence upon the development of the liturgical customs in Germany. As a liturgical poet, he composed a large number of poems for most

of the serious holydays. Here we only mention the Kinah
 עֵקֶב נִבְרָח 'Sike a lamentation over the public burning
 of Jewish writings in Paris in 1250. This selection has been
 incorporated for the Ninth of Av in all the prayerbooks of
 the Ashkenazic rite and even in the rites of the Reform con-
 gregations.

12. The number of Piyyut writers decreased in the course of
 time and the compositions became scanty. The principle parts
 of the liturgy had already been richly provided with poetry.
 The congregations had already selected their Piyyutim from
 the material available to them and were no longer inclined
 to change and replace the old poems with the new ones. The
 fountain producing synagogue poetry was still not completely
 sealed. There were individual poets in every century and
 there was always an occasion, now sad, now joyous, that moti-
 vated them to write poetry. From the sixteenth century on,
 the synagogue poetry received new impetus in several Oriental
 countries. The Sephardic rite brought over into these
 countries by the exiles from Spain and Portugal was practically
 completely lacking in Piyyutim. Thus for the Jews in the
 Balkans, Yemen, Persia there arose a number of poets who
 very richly embellished the liturgy with their works. These
 men did not always adhere to the Hebrew language but often
 made use of their native tongue. There are hardly any poets
 of any special artistic significance among them.

339 In general, they follow the pattern of the older religious

poetry and sometimes the facsimiles are very worthwhile.

§42. The Most Important Payyetanim

3. The Spaniards

Bibliography: Zunz, Literaturgeschichte; Landshut, דברי ימינו
M. Sachs, Die religiösen Poesie der Juden in Spanien; G.
Karpeles, Geschichte der jüdischen Literature, Vol. 1;
Brody and Albrecht, Die neuhebräische Dichterschule der
Spanisch-arabischen Epoche.

1. In Spain the synagogue poetry had reached its prime and found its most complete expression. Never again did it reach a stage when a similar number of religious songs of such perfection in form and content arose. The Golden Age of Hebrew poetry in Spain began after the cessation of the great masters in the Orient. Spanish poetry took up where they left off. "When the sons of the East ceased to write poetry, then the poets of the West arose." The poets who were active in Spain between 1000 and 1150 marked the highpoint of Hebrew poetry in the Middle Ages. The Spaniards also began with the old Oriental Piyyut and they took up the example given them by Kalir and his first successors. The Spaniards, however, were the only ones who completely freed themselves from the kind of poetry written by their predecessors. They proceeded on their own and substituted the charm of poetry, the wisdom of the Midrash, and the inspiration of their own fantasy and sentiments for the scholarly and affected style. The prayer-books of the Jews in Spain are the only ones that do not contain the old Piyyut or replaced it by the much more perfect product of their native poets. The influence of the

Arab culture is responsible for the Golden Age of learning and poetry amongst the Jews. The motivation for striving after culture and learning, beauty and uniformity of form was taken from the Arabs. Most of the poets were men of extensive scholarship and scientific training, well read in all of the literature known at the time and above all familiar with the copious works of Arabic writers. Their own talent for writing contributed more than all the external means of edification. All of them were not only religious but worldly poets as well.

340 Religious poetry was just one area of material they dealt with, only one aspect of art practised by these men. It is just this that distinguished them from the Payyetanin of other countries for they were true poets, artists with a true poetic genius. A common characteristic of all the Spanish poets was the fact that they all composed an exceedingly large number of poems. Every one of them had written almost as many as Kalir which was never achieved in other countries. The poems were not destined for a favorable fate though they did deserve one on the basis of their merits. The great catastrophe that overcame the Jews of Spain destroyed the communities and with them their poetic treasures. For a long time little heed was given to the poems of the Spanish masters. The modern period renewed interest in them and made them the subject of scientific research. Most of them had to be rediscovered from manuscripts and others from the rare

unusual prayerbooks of the individual congregations of Provence, North Africa and Turkey which retained these compositions. Only in the most isolated cases were these poems handed down in the same form in which they were written. It was a peculiarity of the Spaniards that they did not compose individual independent selections but rather large compositions. The communities did not have any literary-historical understanding of these selections and it made no difference to them to tear asunder the coherence of the selections. Thus they omitted poems at will or also inserted the poems of other writers which for some reason appeared more suitable to them.

The poetry did not come in a perfected form for the Spanish poets. They struggled with it and worked sincerely for its improvement. A period of searching and groping, storm and stress preceded the highest perfection of poetry. The Spaniards had to learn to limit their field, to find the form and to master the Hebrew language. The advances in poetry went hand in hand with the scientific studies. The results of Biblical research, the gains in linguistic and the purification of the religious-philosophic attitudes opened new vistas for poetry and creative modes of expression. The two great patrons of Spanish Jewry mark the milestone of development in religious poetry too: "In the days of R. Hisdai, the prince, the poets began to chirp, and in the days of R. Samuel ha Nagid, they let their voices resound."

341 The Spanish poets can be divided into two groups. Joseph ibn Abitur and Isaac ibn Gayyat are the most famous representatives of the first period which signified the first

stage of development in Spanish synagogue poetry. Solomon ibn Gabirol forms the transition to the period of perfection and the both ibn Ezras and Jehudah ha Levi mark the period of the prime of synagogue poetry in Spain.

2. Joseph b. Isaac ibn Abitur also called ibn Santas or Satanas was from Merida (י"ס בן יצחק בן שטנאס בן אביתור מאר'רה) lived about 970 and is the first representative of synagogue poetry in Spain. He was a great scholar in all branches of rabbinic literature and had an outstanding grasp of Arabic language and culture. As a synagogue poet, he was the one who created the form and the laws for writing poetry in Spain which the later poets followed. He was the first who composed a Maamad for the Day of Atonement. By doing this, he formed that combination of Piyyut and Selichah which has remained the standard for Spanish prayerbooks for all times. It is most likely that he wrote a Maamad for all the services of the Day of Atonement. It is certain that one for the Musaf service written by him was very widespread. He wrote the Avodah of which only the introduction *אלהים אל בק יצחק* has been retained in the Minchah and Nekilah service. His Kedushah has become famous and it utilizes the description of the Midrash. In the latter, the Kedushah is sung on earth at the same time as in heaven and the alternate chant between Israel and the heavenly hosts is worked out poetically, "in its striking significant brevity, it reveals a deep national feeling and a strong

clear historical consciousness." Abitur was a prolific writer and today one hundred of his poems are still known. Among them, there are Kerovot for all the festivals, Yozer for many of the special sabbaths or also for festive occasions such as the wedding week. His Hoshanah cycle is known and is very complete. He knew how to constantly find new striking expressions for the same thought. The greatest portion of this cycle is still retained within the Sephardic rite. Ibn Abitur's language is in no way perfect and it is sometimes difficult and awkward and reminds one of the old Payyetanim but one feels a poetic strength throughout.

342 Harisi could therefore justly describe ibn Abitur's poetry as charming and worthwhile. The influence of the old style of the Piyyut is noticed in ibn Abitur's predilection for scholarly discussion and he therefore used frequently the Midrash. It is already detectable that within this framework, he used new methods. As a matter of preference, he directed his attention to the themes dealing with natural science. His interest was attracted by the world and the elements that are contained within it. Whatever the Midrash knew to explain concerning natural phenomena and the mass of created materials, ibn Abitur presented with partiality. His style is therefore more flexible, his descriptions more lively and interesting than Kalir's.

3. Related to ibn Abitur's type of poetry is that of Isaac b. Jehudah ibn Gayyat who died in 1089 as the rabbi of the famous community of Lucena (ישיבת אבות בן יהודה, צחק בן אשר).

As a rabbi and Talmud scholar, he was highly revered. The Halachot for the festivals written by him are full of worthwhile statements about the liturgy. These Halachot were also very frequently used later and form one of the important sources for our knowledge of the liturgy and the practices of that early period. Isaac b. Jehudah came from a family of poetic talent and he accomplished distinguished achievements in the field of synagogue poetry. Moses ibn Ezra praised him as having surpassed all his predecessors in many fields of endeavor. Actually among all the Spanish writers, he displayed the greatest wealth of distinctive poetic traits as well as innovations in expression. The external form of his poetry is also not very attractive, his language is not free of difficulties and obscurities. He knew, however, how to blend the rhyme very skillfully but quite frequently it compelled him to use odd forms. Thus in many ways, he reminds us of Kalir. Nevertheless, his whole class of poetry indicates in its form, in the pleasing sound of his verses, an essential advance over the old princes of the Piyyut. Frequently, he also reminds us of Kalir by the content of his poetry and the terse but abundant thoughts which remain obscure. Even in terms of content, we recognize a new tendency for in place of Hagadah there is science and a good portion of his poetry is based on science. In ibn Gayyat's poetry, we find a mass of statements from the fields of anatomy, physiology, psychology and astronomy. The cosmogony of Sefer Yezira and the philosophy

of the Greeks were reworked by him and set in the form of alphabetic hymns and prayers.

343 For example, when he composed an Avodah, he gladly spent a long time in discussing the marvels of creation which offered him the opportunity to mention scientific observations and statements. The history of the beginnings of mankind up to the tower of Babel were treated by him in detail. Here too, he was also in the position to manifest his fantasy and erudition. By way of contrast, he devoted the last third of this poem to deal with those aspects of the presentation for which the material and the attitude was prescribed and he was not able to insert his own thoughts. His poetic accomplishments of which we still have more than one hundred and twenty can be divided into four groups: 1) the Maamad for the Day of Atonement to which the above-mentioned Avodah belongs, 2) the Selichah of the Days of Repentance, 3) the Piyyutim for the festivals, 4) the poems for the morning service. His joy in "erudite lumber" that has been described is not to be found in all his poetry. The Maamad is primarily filled with it but it also concludes with a prayer "of which no old prophet would need be ashamed as regards either the style or the ideas." We must distinguish the poet ibn Gayyat who had his weakness from ibn Gayyat the worshipper who was

unsurpassable. One unique creation that no one else produced are his songs of repentance for the whole month of Elul. He dealt with this theme of repentance for the early devotions of his community not less than twenty times. Yet each time he knew how to express a deeply religious content with new expressions. Always in a pure and impressive form, he presented the prayer for the forgiveness of sin, monitions for penitent remorse and return to God and hopes for the restoration of the afflicted people and their sanctuary. Ibn Gayyat's poems have become especially widespread in the North African congregations. In Tripoli particularly, his poetry fills up the greatest segment of the prayerbook.

4. In comparison to the vast bulk of the poetic works of these two poets the works of their contemporaries Bachya ibn Pakuda from Aragossa and Isaac ben Reuben from Barcelona disappear. Works of these latter two have disappeared but we shall briefly mention them here. Pakuda is to be mentioned because of his profound and pure piety which is expressed in his two prayers the *תפלה* and *הקדמה*, and Reuben because of his skill in using Biblical verses in the stanzas. He made use of them in his Azharot *אזהרות מקומות* which was mentioned a great deal at one time.

344 5. More significant than all the others mentioned is Solomon b. Jehudah ibn Gabirol from Cordova (*שלמה בן יהודה אבן גבירול*) "a poet whose poems are pensively consecrated, a thinker whose thoughts are poetically clarified." He was full of enthusiasm

for the Hebrew language. From his early youth, he had set his goal to work toward reproducing the charm and freshness of the Hebrew language so that the songs of the pious singers' of antiquity could again resound in the language. He remained loyal to his project and did more for the dissemination of Hebrew poetry through his compositions than did any other poet. The religious poetry was a refuge for the poets who were sorely afflicted, suffering under a hard pressed fate and filled with the most gloomy thoughts. In these poems, the poet could again find equilibrium of soul and elevate himself to the pure harmony of a faithful heart. Through these poems, the daring skeptic and the proud thinker became the humble worshipper. Gabirol cultivated the whole area of religious lyric poetry. We have hymns and meditations, poems of repentance and prayers, lamentations and hopeful and yearning images of the future that were written by Gabirol with the most varied expressions and forms. "The nature of these poems is practically informative throughout and of a gloomy seriousness. His poetry also displays a stern severity that unsparingly does away with all gleaming or dazzling colorful adornments of life. Nevertheless, there is within his works a humble devotion to God springing forth from the deepest consciousness of the human soul. Gabirol judges the nothingness and vanity of worldly existence very harshly pitilessly. He also appears to be so indefatigable in reminding one of the powerlessness and frailty of all earthly things.

By means of an inexhaustible variation of images, Gabirol attempted to show the uncertainty and instability of life's destiny. Just as he presents this somber mood in his poetry that is how noble and truly lofty is the serene and lucid composure of his soul when he expresses his profoundly filled with innermost feeling God's greatness and majesty and with the nobility and holiness of this greatest subject of human thought and reasoning. Likewise lofty is the manner in which he brings as a sacrificial offering the gift of writing noble poetry which was bestowed upon him in such a rich quantity. Noble too is his method of dignifying and elevating the most beautiful and splendid thing with which God had blessed him through the dignity of the purpose for which he used this gift of poetry bestowed upon him." The number of Gabirol's poems runs in the hundreds and comprise the whole gamut of prayers in the entire calendar year.

345 Aside from the Maamad for the Day of Atonement and the related admonitions and penitential prayers, we have works by Gabirol for the three Pilgrim Festivals, Purim, Hanukah, the Ninth of Av and other fast days. He enriched the prayers by insertions in all sections of the Yozer and the lovely smaller poems that open and close the morning service. No one knew how to again capture the feeling of prayer as did Gabirol.

His didactic poem *תורת מלכות*, the Royal Crown, is the most worthwhile testimonial to his poetry. In this selection, the religious, rational and philosophic poetry

appear as a united entity. The Weltanschauung of his time and the basic ideas of Judaism meet in poetic form in the שיר השירים. The work is introduced by a pious lifting of his thoughts to God whose wonderful revelations in the universe are exemplified by spheres; "how the structure of the universe is a result of God's omnipotence." From this high point, the poet descends to the subject of man whose soul is praised as a beam kindled by the divine wisdom. Just as he used all his poetic prowess for praising and lauding the Almighty so in this section he cannot find enough depressed and humble qualities in order to give expression by way of contrast to man's lack of the highest perfection. He concluded this remarkable poem with a penitential prayer and confession of sins. This selection is one of the most unusual products of the religious-philosophic poems in world literature.

We can justifiably doubt whether שיר השירים was designated for the synagogue. The deeply religious content alone made it appear so worthwhile to the congregations that it was included in all the prayerbooks and designated as an addition to the liturgy of the Day of Atonement. This was the same process that occurred with many other poems by Gabirol. The poet did not write them for the liturgy but they were nevertheless incorporated into most of the prayerbooks as the highest expression of a religious mood and trusting elevation of one's thoughts to God. There is no

rite that does not have a large number of prayers and poems by Gabirol. As a result, his large compositions were frequently destroyed since only individual sections from them were taken over by the congregations. Nevertheless, his spirit continued to have an effect.

346 Today his poetry continues to have a great influence in all congregations and everywhere lives the memory of

Our Gabirol, minnesinger
Pledged by song unto the Lord
That religious nightingale
Whose beloved rose was God

That pure mightingale, Gabirol
Warbling love-songs tenderly.

Gabirol's historical significance lies in the fact that he brought about perfection in the liturgical poetry of the Spanish-Arabic Jews. The transition from the Piyyut to religious lyric poetry is not recognized clearer in any other poet. In his youth, he still followed the methods of the old Payyetanim and his poetry did not lack difficult expressions and hard and unusual linguistic constructions that were peculiar to the old Piyyut. In the course of his development, he constantly attained more and more of the classical style and almost perfect expression of his ideas. His poems frequently remind one of the beauty and charm of the Biblical songs. He was the first to introduce the Arabic poetic method of meter in his poems. He did not use it throughout his poetry and meter never became a shackle for him. He used it completely, freely and would rather revert to

the old form of simple rhythm than permit meter to unfavorably influence the content or expression of his poetry. Gabirol's poetry already had an unusually strong influence upon his contemporaries. Moses ibn Ezra lived only one generation later and characterized his poetry in the following words: "Gabirol was a perfect poet, eloquent and reaching the highest goal in the field of poetry. He knew how to use the finest expressions and was thus universally considered the master of the word and an artist of verse. His style is smooth, his expressions flowing and his treatment of the material charming. All eyes were directed at Gabirol in admiration and all the later poets used the pattern of language which he had set." Harisi was born a century after Gabirol and was already familiar with the poetry of the outstanding Spanish poets. Yet Harisi was still full of praise for Gabirol's poetry which is unrivalled. "He reached the highest stage of poetic art. His predecessor's poems were empty, no successor equally skillful. Later poets were his pupils-recipients of his poetic spirit - he remained the king great and noble - the Song of Songs was written by Solomon."

347 6. The poetry of the Spanish Jewish poets reached its pinnacle in the generation after Gabirol. The three shining lights Moses and Abraham ibn Ezra and Jehudah ha Levi mark the perfection of poetry. Their predecessors prepared the groundwork, struggled with form and language and Gabirol especially had created exemplary poetry. On this recently built basic foundation, the structure could be further

developed and perfected. Skill in expression, charm in form and pleasing sounds and timber adorned the poetry from this time on. At the same time the poets were representatives of the highest culture of their era. They were deeply entrenched in the field of science so that Talmudic and Agadic elements diminished significantly though never completely. These three creative spirits presented Hebrew poetry in its natural beauty and noble charm for the first time since the period of the Psalmists. The oldest of these three was Moses ben Jacob ibn Ezra from Granada who was still living in 1138 ("משה בן יצחק אבן עזרא ז"ל"). He was¹ esteemed as a poet in all fields of poetry and Harisi praises him as one of the most brilliant poetic masters. As a poet of religious compositions he was especially endowed with a versatility only attained by a few. "The purity of his language, the adroitness with which he knew how to present from constantly different aspects and perspectives the material so often dealt with by his predecessors and by him indicate the spirit of a richly gifted person. This talent is also evident in the elegance of his form. Despite the intricate meter and the most artistic rhythmic arrangements, the poetry almost always successfully and surprisingly retains its elegance of form. Another indication of his gifted spirit is the splendid tone and sound of his verses. Moses ibn Ezra manipulated the artistic method with a skilled mastery and grew through practise." The influence of the Arab poets is not

as clear in any other writer as it is in Moses ibn Ezra who used the artistic forms of Hebrew poetry in the most abundant variations. In this fact there likewise rests a certain deficiency in his poetry for frequently it seems as if the outer form meant everything to him. Often the smoothness and elegance of diction, the clever and apt expression, and the clever interweaving of Biblical verses appear to be the main goal and meaning of his poetry. As a result, the truth and depth of his sensitivities are injured. Moses ibn Ezra is the poet of the greatest artistic perfection in the area of form.

348 He expressed his thoughts in very specific phrases and in no other poet do we see such a frequent repetition of images and expressions. His greatest skill is revealed in the area of penitential poems and the content mostly seems to correspond to his own attitude and spiritual state. He wrote a large number of Selichot and was thus simply called by the by-name "the Selichah poet." Moses ibn Ezra's penitential prayers reach their zenith in the admonitions for remorse and repentance, humility and contrition, and the reminder concerning the day of the Lord, the transitoriness of earthly matters, death and the divine judgment. It was not sufficient for Moses ibn Ezra to deal with general observations and admonitions for the congregation alone for in the middle of his poetry his own individual person is set. These poems contained the confession of the poet's own soul, the

consciousness of the futility and vanity of life as it appeared to him and the elevation to divine omnipotence toward which he struggled. A new element in Moses ibn Ezra's works are the numerous observations concerning nature which are no longer bound to the few Agadic statements as is found in the writings of the older poets. With Moses ibn Ezra, these observations came from the depth of his heart and revealed that a new era had begun. Moses ibn Ezra marks the beginning of that epoch in which poetry was no longer patterned after the old example but was rather the expression of poetic genius.

7. More than two hundred of Moses ibn Ezra's poems are known though his Divan is still to be published. His works were widespread and practically no rite is free of them even though most of the rites only included a few of his poems. His poetry is well represented in the prayerbooks of Provence and North Africa.

7. Jehudah ben Samuel ha Levi (יהודה בן שלמה) of Castile (1085-1145), the most famous of all the Spanish poets of the Golden Age, combined within him all the merits of his predecessors.

"In the realm of thought Gabirol
Shines, and pleases best the thinker,
While in art shine Iben Ezra,
And thereby delights the artist;

"But Jehuda ben Halevy
Both their attributes combining,
Is a great and glorious poet
And beloved of all alike."

349 Behind every one of his poems there is not only a great poetic

talent but also the most genuine personality, a most enthusiastic disposition full of glowing ardour and the most noble sensitivity.

True and pure and without blemish
Was his singing, like his soul.

Jehudah ha Levi is a man who cannot be described other than as a revelation of religious genius and the most glorious blossoming of the Jewish spirit. His religious compositions are the crown of his lyric poetry. The entire religious ingenuity of Judaism, its prophets and Psalmists is revealed in Jehudah ha Levi. He sings of God whom he feels within him, whose messages he carried in his soul, to whom the history of his people bore witness and about whose power information is gained from nature. The vanity of earthly life is as clear to ha Levi as it is to anyone else. He calls upon the people to be humble, to rely upon the unsearchable will of God, to repent and have remorse all of which point out the way to God which is man's highest goal. His religious poetry might have been more reverently and more uniquely felt than those of his predecessors but it does not form the distinguishing principle in Jehudah ha Levi. He rose above all the Jewish poets in his unsurpassable devotion to his people, the love for its sanctuaries and the submersion in its historic greatness. For Jehudah ha Levi, Israel's past was alive, he had a relationship to the men of antiquity and he sees the strong pulsating life of his people. In his poetry he endures the battles with his people, suffers

their martyrdom and is blessed in their aspirations. To Jehudah ha Levi "the doors of the devastated Jerusalem open and the golden halls of the Temple open before the poet's eyes, and pious priests and variegated groups of devoted people enter; the sacrificial scent and the song of the Levites penetrates through and Jerusalem is full of the people whom the Lord hath led back like dreamers to their homeland." No poet knew as did Jehudah ha Levi "how to discover and express the moments of the wonderful past and group them together within the framework of a small poem. With an artistically adept hand, he combines the present and the past. He knew how to spread the bright light of a joyful future over the darkness of joyless reality."

In his poem of Zion entitled *'סִכְרֵן כִּסֵּן מִיָּב*, Jehudah ha Levi expressed the complete fervour into which he developed the yearning for the places of the Jewish past.

350 This selection is the most famous of his religious poetry and "still resounds today in all the synagogues of Israel in a solemn manner on the day of mourning for the destruction of Jerusalem. It imparts to the hearts of all the faithful a profound exaltation." An outstanding non-Jewish critic asserted concerning this poem that "all religious poetry not excluding that of Milton and Klopstock would not be able to point to any selection that could be ranked higher than this elegy. Language has generously opened all its richness and magic to this poet who nowhere wants to manifest and

demonstrate his mastery with the mania of an artist. Rather does he attempt to manifest the deepest impulses of his soul with a pious devotion and self-effacing modesty."

We are no longer able to say with confidence that Jehudah ha Levi composed larger cycles of poetry. The number of his poems was exceptionally large and already during his lifetime a collection of more than three hundred of his religious poems was compiled. A large segment of these poems was included in the prayerbooks. There is no rite that does not contain something by him. Even the Karaites did not refuse to adorn their liturgy with ha Levi's poetry. Jehudah ha Levi developed all kinds of religious poetry and wrote for all the festivals, for special sabbaths and significant occasions. All of the prayers that seemed suitable to be embellished by poetry were glorified by ha Levi through poetry. For most of them he wrote several selections. He also dealt with purely didactic material. He was not deterred from setting legal rules in verse. There is, however, no one selection among his poetry that does not reveal its author by one of his obvious merits. The truth and sincerity of his feeling distinguish ha Levi and throughout his poems we find a balance and discreet limitation. Nowhere is there artificial and false pathos. The power and beauty of expression do not leave him either in the highest enthusiasm or the most painful lament. Nowhere do we encounter forced and difficult utterances resulting from the adherence to a

specific form of the verse. It is as if the otherwise inflexible and indignant vocabulary of the language wanted to spare him all difficulties and struggling. It is as if this vocabulary met the poet halfway, the poet for whom the only task was to give expression to the feeling that deeply stirred his soul. Unsought, the proper word and the expressive Biblical verse were at his disposal. Everything that rendered poetry more difficult such as meter, rhyme, acrostic and refrain was formed into the most lofty and charming beauty under his skillful hand.

351 The spirit of poetry was even breathed into the very formal matters. As with a true work of art and with nature where the pleasure is not impaired by any externals and foreign elements so with ha Levi's poetry. In Jehudah ha Levi, the old Hebrew poetry thus again arose in full splendor. For the first time, there was again heard the old sounds of Hebrew poetry which once flowed forth from the Psālmists.

8. Abraham b. Meir ibn Ezra was not equal to Jehudah ha Levi but was nevertheless a significant poet and above all had great influence upon the liturgy. Abbaḥam ibn Ezra was from Toledo (אברהם בן מרדכי) and lived from 1093 to 1168. He could not devote himself exclusively to poetry as did his previously mentioned contemporaries. A disagreeable fate drove him wandering about the whole earth. He had to move about from place to place, toil and drudge to manage to live scantily by means of teaching and scholarly

writings. The restless wanderer lacked the serenity and clarity for poetic creativity. His temperament was more suited to scholarly studies rather than to the inspiration of fantasy. The meaningful talent that lay dormant in him also made him capable of very worthy accomplishments. His merit lies above all in the fact that he familiarized the Jews in Christian countries with the advances made by their co-religionists under Mohammedan rule. The gap between the Piyyut and classical poetry was never brought to the conscious level as clearly in any other poet nor was it expressed so much as in Abraham ibn Ezra's works.

- 352 By cultivating and spreading classical poetry, Abraham ibn Ezra became its herald and teacher in the romance countries. The warm sincerity was lacking in order to make him a perfect poet. Exact reason was predominant in him and it is clearly noticeable in his verses that he valued the clever expression and surprising turn of words and the brilliant witticism. "We seldom encounter the lofty jubilation of a powerfully stirred inner core of being in the form of an inspired hymn nor a noble majesty of poetry struggling for the highest and therefore also attaining the highest." On the contrary he is extremely careful in the order and clarity of the idea and purity of form. The deficiencies in his talent are balanced by the fact that he never attempted to write larger compositions and aside from the Avodah no other larger selection written by him is known. His one hundred

and fifty religious poems that are extant are mostly short poems for the individual prayers and especially for *שמע ישראל* and *שמואל*. In these short poems, he could always deal with a set theme, a religious or philosophic statement and moral teaching or an episode from the national history of the Jews. Even though in most of the cases there are more reflections, philosophic teachings or reprimanding admonitions they nevertheless have an effect through their finely pure form, the elegant and easily understood expression and the value of the content. Abraham ibn Ezra's short poems were thus very popular and widespread. For the most part, they are to be found in Provence and North Africa like the works of the other Spanish poets but those of ibn Ezra also penetrated into distant and remote places.

During the classical period of poetry there was a large number of poets along with the few leading ones mentioned here. These other ones did not rank among the top names but they were of significance and their works were occasionally incorporated into the prayerbooks. It is the merit of the great Spanish poets that they elevated the synagogue poetry to the highest stage of perfection thinkable. By doing this they simultaneously brought about the actual end of this poetry for the liturgy was now richly endowed with poetic material.

353 Poetry of equal rank could not be set alongside these compositions of the great Spanish poets. In the future, the pious

feelings of religious men who desired to contribute to the embellishment of the liturgy from their point of view had to find expression and application in another direction.

§43. Prayer-books and Prayer-codes

Bibliography: Zunz, Die Ritus der synagogalen Gottesdienst, Jewish Encyclopedia article on Liturgy, no. 8, p. 138ff., and article on Prayer-book, vol. 10, p. 117ff.

1. In order to gain a clearer insight into the history of the liturgy from the moment of the fixing of the basic prayers, we must clarify for ourselves the origin and development of the prayer-book and prayer-codes. We have to likewise examine more closely the means used in handing down the prayer-books and codes from one generation to another. In ancient times, it was strictly forbidden to record prayers. As long as the entire tradition was only transmitted orally, there was likewise no written material for prayer. As a result, the handing down of the tradition became very uncertain and difficult. It is amazing that despite all of this, the tradition transmitted always structured itself into a seemingly unified structure. In order to illustrate this point, we might say that if one considers the extent of the Jewish Diaspora, one must wonder as to how it was possible to manage for centuries without written material. This phenomenon can only be explained if there was an equally heedful and lasting care dedicated to teaching the tradition. Furthermore, this can be explained if a close connection between the community and the central authorities was maintained by means

of the institution of the Apostolate. It is not completely impossible that in the course of unavoidable correspondence, prayers were also once imparted. As concerns the Agadah, the prohibition against recording it was not always strictly heeded. We know that already at an early time, books containing Agadah were available and were used. It might always be possible that the readers also took the liberty of preparing written material for their own use. Nevertheless, it is to be noted that no mention is made of a prayer-book in the Talmud or Midrash nor is there a noting down of any prayers. In connection with all the errors of the readers which are reported there is never a discussion of an unsuitable rendition of a written prayer. In such cases, it was not a text being rejected because it was not a problem of the text being recited from memory.

354 It must also be noticed that the necessity to use written material was not as great as later. The prayers were shorter and simpler and their wording was not fixed. The only concern was for the retention of the succession of the prayers, the reproduction of the proper ideas to which expression was given in the benedictions. The only passages with prescribed texts were the Biblical verses and they were recorded. The remainder of the prayers could be shaped according to one's preference. The customary wording of the prayers was short and simple and the expressions followed the Bible as closely as possible. The advantage of a verbal transmission was the

fact that the prayers did not become dulled into fixed unchangeable formulae. Rather did they always remain in a state of flux and the congregation or its representative, the reader, could place as much emotion and pious feeling into these prayers as they wanted. In the course of time, the precise wording came by itself. Even if one considers that the art of writing and improvising was much more widespread in the Orient than it is with us, one must ask one's self from what source the prophetic powers, namely the inspiration for constantly finding new expressions and usages was to emanate everywhere and constantly. In Palestine one could become accustomed with great difficulty to using the text of a prayer that was permanently fixed. Recently numerous poetic treatments of the basic prayers have been found; they are sometimes shorter and sometimes longer than the basic prayers and they seem so curious to us. Nevertheless, they were created for the purpose of bringing some variety into the service and to prevent monotonous repetition.

2. Finally, the people must have gone over to the practice of recording prayers and write collections of prayers and prayer-codes of prayers. Both of these activities must be kept apart from one another for at that time they do not belong together. The prayer-codes were not prayer-books in our sense of the term. In most instances, the prayer-codes note only the stipulation concerning the succession of prayers and the conduct during the service. The recording of the texts

of the prayers is not found in these prayer-codes. The texts were reserved for special collections. The oldest document that speaks of the prayers in a penetrating and systematic manner is the tractate Sofrim which originated about the sixth century though in its present form it contains several later additions.

355 Whatever we learn in this tractate concerning the liturgy is only imparted on occasion and then merely in passing and only insofar as the liturgy was necessary to supplement the stipulations concerning Scriptural reading. Thus except for a single unimportant contribution, there is no discussion about the prayers for the sabbaths and weekdays. Only the prayers for the festive days were quoted but also as concerns them, the general order of the liturgy was not described. Moreover, only the Psalms, special insertions or deviating benedictions were mentioned. In addition, there were several rules given that had reference to the kind of liturgy. The tractate Sofrim is to be sure not a discussion of the entire liturgy. The theme of this treatise is the Scriptural reading which it describes in detail in that it begins with the rules for writing Biblical manuscripts and then discusses the procedure used during the reading of Scripture. The prayers belonging to the Scripture reading are the only ones reproduced in their exact wording, the others are only incidentally cited. It is known that the tractate Sofrim generally exclusively pre-supposes the Palestinian customs and

prayer formulae though here and there Babylonian influences are noticeable. It is noteworthy that in Babylonia too, the first written accounts given regarding the liturgy were with reference to the regulations for the Torah readings. These rules were recorded by Jehudai. The use of written material for Selichot and Kerovot on the Day of Atonement seemed to this same Gaon Jehudai as an innovation of doubtful value. On the festivals, he was in no way inclined to permit this innovation and much less would he permit the use of books for the recitation of the basic prayers.

3. In the meantime, a new authority arose that gradually won more power and influence than the tradition and the basic prayers. This new element had also fundamentally contributed to the origin of the first prayer-codes. The Minhag, the custom, was this new authority. It is an institution which for centuries has developed apparently freely in the most widely scattered regions. The Minhag experienced great differences in practical fulfillment. It was a sign of personal participation and lively interest when the congregations shaped their liturgy according to their own method. In the beginning, there were very few regulations concerning the service or obligatory practices (*הנהגה*).

356 When these regulations did occur, they were limited to the small number of statements in the Mishnah and Talmud concerning the arrangement and succession of the prayers. At most, they dealt with the information concerning the wording of

most of the benedictions and concerning the Torah reading. At that time, they were still very far from having a set ritual for the service, binding regulations for every detail, for the recitation of the prayers and for the conduct of the congregation. There were old traditions handed down from one generation to the next but by no means were they considered legally binding. The Mishnah knows of deviations from the customs and practices that were determined by the locale (*לכל מקום*). The Mishnah permits these deviations to exist side by side. In the Talmud, there is much more discussion about prayer and liturgy and the extent of these deviations is considerably larger. The tradition concerning such local customs sometimes became doubtful in the course of time. The custom was usually respected as it was found in the congregation and if it could be justified even in some measure then it was permitted to exist peacefully. The Minhag was in reference to the form of the liturgy, the use of certain prayers and ceremonies or the addition of new material. With the passage of time, this development led to that point when much of that which had existed as a custom assumed a fixed form and a binding nature. Thus it could happen that a practice introduced in a certain place on the basis of traditional institutions could be displaced by a custom of another locale that had been elevated to Halachah. Customs could set aside old legal arrangements (*הנהגות*). The Minhag could have a varied origin and could also be a false practice and religion had

to be protected against this. Thus it was that such a custom was only considered worthy of being copied when it was observed by authoritative pious people (*ל'ק'ח' ל'ד'ב'ר' נ'כ'ח'ן*). For example, the customs and practices of respected men, namely, beloved teachers, were actually thoroughly studied, adhered to and it was recommended that they be copied. Only the fixed prayers in the Talmud belong to the prescribed institutions. Furthermore, only those sections of the prayers were considered which were actually mentioned in the Talmud. Sometimes even the mentioning of these sections was dependent upon chance. All other parts of the prayers merely fall under the category of Minhag. Accordingly, only the confession of faith, the Shema, along with its appropriate blessings, the Tefillah and readings from Scripture were the only aspects bound by laws. In the other sections, the custom could develop itself completely freely and unregulated.

- 357 The significant differences with which we became acquainted in the Tachanunim, the Psalms and the first benedictions (§10-12) show how much the practices actually deviated from one another. In the individual countries, deviating customs were found as well as deviating texts of the basic prayers. Even in the various areas and communities of one and the same country, the opinions and the practices could be very dissimilar (p. 266f). The more the dispersion of the Jews increased and communities were established in distant countries, the more was the formation of deviating forms abetted.

Sometimes customs of different origin merged in a community and this led to a mixture of practices coming from several areas. As a result, later observers recognized inconsistency in these matters. The fate of the community was decisive in the expansion of the liturgy. The degree of education and the habits, the climate and culture, the customs and language and the ideas and the ways of the people surrounding the Jewish community had an influence upon the liturgical arrangements and customs. Life did not permit people to hermetically seal themselves off from one another. Wherever there were several strata amongst the population living next to one another, there was a mutual exertion of influence in terms of custom and practices. There was a constant give and take and it was only dependent on external circumstances whether the local element had a greater or lesser attractiveness than the foreign element. This was true of the liturgy as well for it never remained completely free of foreign intrusions. "The theory of emanation, Astrology, god-parents, rhyme and memorial services were taken by the Jews from others. Ecclesiastical expressions and liturgical customs like jumping during prayer were received by others from the Jews. Since a millenium ago the laments over the foreign elements that have become part of Jewish life have not ceased." The customs became firmly entrenched in individual places and then could no longer be omitted. Especially when popular teachers or readers backed these customs,

all the efforts of the greatest authorities could not abolish them.

In this fashion, differences developed at an early time and even in neighboring locales the prayers and liturgical customs were not always the same. The correspondence and travels of the scholars often brought it about that the congregations were made aware of the deviations of their customs from the general tradition.

358 When these communities then wavered in their attitudes toward these deviating customs, they would turn to authoritative places in order to clarify their doubt and receive information about it. From the beginning, the Gaonim were bombarded with numerous inquiries about liturgical questions. They frequently had to decide when there was some obscurity concerning the wording of the prayers or the form of the liturgy. In the interim, numerous communities arose in North Africa and Europe reaching to the extreme Western part and they were not always sure about that which the tradition and regulations demanded of them. Aside from this, sects were formed which did not spare the traditional liturgy from their attacks. In their efforts to win new adherents, these sects upset the communities and frequently questioned the justification of the communities' tradition. After the spread of the Karaitic sects the inquiries directed at the Gaonim and their instructions concerning liturgical matters became more frequent and detailed. The retention of the

tradition was insisted upon with a greater strictness and every "deviation from the words of the sages" was not only considered an error but rather was also referred to as a sin. The Gaonim achieved comparatively little for only in the most infrequent cases did the congregation consent to depart from their habits. The communications and efforts of the academies consulted frequently only contributed to the increase of deviations and the rise in the amount of confusion.

4. The writing of the first known prayer codes was due to the irregularities of the liturgy and the difficulty of finding one's way in it. It is significant that all the prayer codes were written for distant countries. It was at the request of the community in Lucena, Spain that Gaon Natronai b. Hilai of Sura drew up his prayer-code. The scheme to derive daily prayers from the hundred benedictions of R. Meir (p. 7) also became known in Spain. The community demanded to know what it was about (*מה בין מאה ברכות*) and the Gaon adapted his answer accordingly. He listed in order the blessings that one has the opportunity to recite daily from morning till evening. He also included the prayers that did not even belong to the public worship such as the morning benedictions and grace. Corresponding to the inquiry and the arrangement of his reply, the Gaon only listed the benedictions of the blessings.

359 Even this he did only for the less familiar blessings and

omitted those that were so familiar such as the blessings of the Amidah. Natronai was contented to deal with the ritual in the most concise form and style and did not discuss the details of the text of the liturgy at all. The entire prayer-code was only a framework and amounts to about four printed sides. Natronai's activity in the field of liturgy is not exhausted with this work for in innumerable responsa he took the opportunity to express himself in detail about the individual questions. He is one of those scholars who fought most strongly against the deviations of the Karaites. This is a sign that at that time the propaganda of these sects was pursued with special effort and apparently not without success. It is not easy to speak about the state of the prayer-books in Natronai's time. It can, however, be concluded that the readers were almost universally using the prayer-books without facing any opposition.

Much more detailed is the prayer-code for the whole year *ספר תפילות וברכות לשנה כולה* written by Amram b. Sheshna, Natronai's successor. This code was likewise sent to Spain and as it seems to Barcelona. It contains detailed discussions about the liturgy and notes all the customs concerning the conduct at the worship service and along with them the wording of the prayers is also given. It cannot be contested that the extant form of Amram's prayer-code is not the original one. It is impossible that the texts of the prayers could have been imparted by him in the form in which they are in

print today. This is obvious from the comparisons with his authentic statements that were handed down. The manuscripts of this work which have recently become known deviate in numerous passages from the printed editions. These manuscripts contain much of that which did not actually belong to the public worship. They likewise offer detailed selections which have been justifiably missed until now. The material handed down frequently differed in the wording of the prayers. From this it is proven with full clarity that in the course of time to Amram's prayer code there were added such texts as were customary in the country of the man who transcribed Amram's work. It is entirely public that in one manuscript, we find the influence of the Spanish communities and in the other that of the congregations of Provence. In a third manuscript malpractices of the Kabbalah predominate. The question now arises whether Amram's prayer-code originally contained the texts of prayers or whether it merely consisted of halachic directions and statements concerning customs into which the short sketch of the benedictions of the blessings were interspersed following the pattern of Natronai's short statements.

360 In the numerous quotations taken from this work in the early Middle Ages, there is never found the exact wording of the prayers. The conjecture that originally the wording of the prayers was not contained in Amram's work cannot be rejected. The halachic section of the work has not come to us intact. Completely apart from the easily recognizable additions of the

later period, the text must have still experienced other changes. Frequently the statements of the text contradict well-established utterances of Amram found in other sources. It also occurs that the text of this work does not contain such statements that have been handed down from another source. Amram's information often refers to the views of his predecessors and to the customs of both Babylonian academies. He likewise makes reference to the liturgy in the house of the Exilarfch where the tradition seems to have been guarded with special care.

Throughout the Middle Ages, Amram's prayer-code was one of the most important and most frequently used sources about the liturgy. Practically all of the authoritative scholars of the Middle Ages regardless of the country in which they lived or taught frequently quote פרמלך דר גרוד or 'מלך דר גרוד as his work was called. Even more, the most important prayer-codes and halachic writings about the liturgy are actually built upon his work. Whenever they were able to do so, the writers of these works literally adopted entire sections. Amram forms the basis for their exposition and the later or deviating material is only rendered as a supplement to his work. The men who transcribed Amram's work were unconcerned about the fact that since Amram wrote his treatise the liturgy had taken on a new form and the prayers another wording. As noted above, these men proceeded to insert the texts of prayers between Amram's regulations. As a result of this process, there arose new and varied editions of Amram's important work. If Amram

had actually imparted the texts of prayers they could only have been the basic prayers. The large number of Piyyutim had already been widely disseminated and recognized during his time but were only mentioned by name in his work and the wording is not given. On the otherhand, Amram accepted for the Selichot primarily their old form of Biblical verses and litanies.

The first true prayer-book in our sense of the word is Gaon Saadia b. Joseph's "collection of prayers and hymns of praise" (*ספר תפילות ופיוטים*).

- 361 This prayer-book has not been preserved in its entirety and only fragments have come down to us. To be sure, these fragments can be supplemented by other small selections so that except for the beginning and end, there is apparently little missing. The work has not yet been published and is only familiar from the quotations of the authors of the Middle Ages and short communications of a more recent date. There already is a universal opinion concerning the importance of the work and its meaning as a source for the history of the liturgy. Saadia's motive for working out his prayer-code was the observation that so much was inserted, omitted and shortened in the liturgy. Along with this, he also observed that many a selection disappeared from the public liturgy or was only customary in private devotion and other prayers were changed so that they became unrecognizable. He already complained that in the course of transmitting the liturgy,

scholars took the liberty to introduce unfounded innovations and the mass of new material displaced the old customs. Thus, he complained, that as a result of this action even the customs of neighboring communities differed so much from one another. Saadia's book contains the basic prayers and numerous poetic additions. He divided the whole work into two sections; the first deals with the liturgy of the ordinary days and then that of the festivals. Aside from this, he added in Arabic the regulations concerning the liturgy and sometimes he did this in very detailed discussions. In this section, he also gives the explanation of the individual prayers and delves into their origin and sources. Saadia, however, was not only a compiler and a Halachist but rather a systematic theologian as well. After the information about the prayers, he therefore gave shorter or longer discussions about the meaning, content and significance of the liturgy, the prayers and their accompanying customary ceremonies. Perhaps the Siddur was compiled after Saadia's emigration to Babylonia but in the wording of the prayers and the customs that he imparts, the influence of his Egyptian homeland is clearly recognized throughout. We again find in Saadia's prayer-book the traditions of the Palestinian rite which were followed in Egypt. Thus it is that his regulations and the individual prayers recommended by him received strong opposition from the Babylonian Gaonim. At one time, Saadia's prayer-book was widespread and especially in Egypt, the country for which it was designated.

362 In Spain his work was also regarded and frequently quoted as an authoritative source. Then apparently through Maimonides it became known in Yemen and in the prayer-books of that country much has been literally taken from Saadia's prayerbook.

In the Orient, it appears to have been customary for a long time for scholars to compile a Siddur. In most of these works a report was only given concerning the order of the liturgy in general. The customs that were considered proper were also given and often explained. Involuntarily individual sentences from prayers were sometimes given at the same time and at times those prayers that were presented were controversial ones. A cohesive reproduction of the prayers was not contained in these works. The prayers were not the task of these scholars and they would therefore not publish them under their name. On the other hand, the communities at whose request the prayer-codes were created had the texts and it would have been superfluous for the scholars to send them to the communities. All of these works have disappeared with the passage of time and whatever we have about them, we learn for the most part from the systematic works about the liturgy that were written in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Some of these works are the Halachot of Isaac ibn Giryat, the Sefer ha Ittim by Jehudah ben Barzilai or the Eshkol by Abraham b. Isaac from Narbonne. The detailed abstracts from the older

literature that are found in these works influenced the communities in many ways and motivated them to accept new customs and new prayer formulae. Maimonides' Mishnah Torah is the first to again offer a combination of prayer texts and discussions about the liturgy. In perfect order, there are first compiled all the regulations about the liturgy and all the customs. As an addition, there follows the noting down of the prayers for the whole year תפילות כל השנה which were abridged by the copyists and thus came down to us in a shortened form. In Egypt and perhaps Palestine, the liturgy was retained according to Maimonides' arrangement. In Yemen, it still is the basis of the prayer-book to this very day.

In Germany and northern France, the development was similar. To what extent the recognized scholars could change the prayers is most evident from the example of Isaac ha Levi of Worms about whose innovations we have frequently mentioned. In all likelihood, he became familiar with new sources concerning the liturgy which motivated him to do some work in this field.

363 Rashi or his school was the first to compose a prayer-code for both of these countries. Rashi's Siddur corresponds to those of his predecessors in that he only gives a description of the liturgy, offers the explanation of the customs and omits the text of the prayers. On the other hand, the Siddur was obviously intended as a compendium of material for the religious life and the festive period. Thus it is

that the regulations relating to the sabbaths and festivals are discussed and presented in detail. The Machzor of Simcha b. Samuel of Vitry is of a completely different type from Rashi's prayer-code. The author came from the same region as Rashi. Again after a long period we have in this Machsor a work which joins the prayer-code with the texts. Alongside the rules that are frequently taken literally from Amram, we find the prayers and an explanation of their wording. It also presents the Torah readings for the festivals with the Aramaic renditions. Above and beyond this, the Machzor contains detailed additions such as the Sayings of the Fathers, the principle features of the calendar, regulations about the production of ritual objects, etc. Finally, we find in this work a large number of similar poems that have been gathered and divided according to groups. This indicates that the manuscripts were still provided with a rich supply of Piyyutim and they arranged the poetic additions according to the sequence of the prayers. This likewise indicates that it was left to the preference of the reader which poems he would like to use at any specific time. In the supplement to this work which has been preserved for us under the title קורבן וסודי' פ' there still are only poetic selections for Maariv, Yozer and Nishmat. There can, however, be no doubt about the fact that at one time the kinds of Piyyutim now missing and above all the Selichot and Kerovot were likewise contained in this supplement.

5. Later prayer-books were no longer written with such an abundance of poetry. Only in special collections of poetry were such masses of Piyyutim joined. In other compilations it was the custom to record only those prayers which the congregation actually used according to the ritual (לְפָנֶיךָ) that was in vogue for them. There thus developed two types of prayer-books; the one type recorded the basic prayers and indeed mostly for private use and translations were then sometimes supplied. In the other type much more extensive collections of the basic prayers and Piyyutim were presented and this compilation was called a Machzor.

364 Due to the great number of Piyyutim, the difference in the practices of the individual communities and countries became extremely clear. Already in the tenth century, the arrangement of the festival prayers was no longer the same everywhere. From that time on, the rites continued to become different from one another because the tastes developed differently. This was also due to the authority of the native poets and local customs which decisively influenced the liturgy.

In no place was a rite preserved in a completely pure and unified tradition. The mixture already began when the codes and prayer-books emanating from Babylonia frequently came in contact with the Palestinian traditions and were fused with them. Aside from this, the many migrations brought it about that the most varied traditions met and existed alongside

one another. The prayer-codes of the individual countries took on a different form depending upon whether the Palestinian or Babylonian element dominated. Most of the Palestinian rite has been preserved in the prayer-codes of the Balkan countries. Practically all the Psalms and many texts of the basic prayers are again found in these codes. Significantly fewer are the remnants of the Palestinian rite which became customary in Italy. By comparison, only very little could be saved for Germany and France. The Babylonian rite is practically completely authoritative for the Spanish prayer-code. Even in Spain, the prayers were not the same everywhere. In Toledo, for example, many texts were used in accordance with the Palestinian custom which apparently goes back to the influence of Saadia's Siddur. Generally, it is to be noted that the rites were not artistically compiled with scientific exactness nor on the basis of research into the sources. Rather did these rites grow haphazardly and actually developed according to the dominant influences without due concern for protecting the boundaries against wild weedy growth. Frequently, the main item in the development of the liturgy was the origin of the founders of the community and the individual reputable scholars as well as the traditions they brought with them and wished to implement.

The differences in the liturgy were not noticeable in the basic prayers. In their arrangement in the important

part of the text by and large, they were all the same. Deviations in the basic prayers were infrequent and not always striking.

365 The real differences first appeared in the use of the Piyyut. The Piyyut also had its fate. The old poems and especially those by Kalir were taken up in all countries and the works of the native poets then joined them and more or less displaced the older poems. As regards the Piyyut, the tradition seldom remained uniform. Long compositions were not always retained in their complete form, much would be left out and they would be interrupted by the works of other poets. Whenever the congregations became familiar with new poems and found pleasure in them then they were accepted without iniquity into their source. The poems of the Spanish writers were accepted all over. Thus there occurred a mixture of Piyyutim but the Piyyut as a general type, nevertheless remained uniform. If one considers the Piyyut, one notes that there resulted two groups as occurred with the basic prayers. The rites of the Balkans, Italy, France and Germany in which the basic prayers were analogous also displayed a great similarity in terms of the Piyyutim. These rites are similar as regards how the festivals and special sabbaths should be embellished with Yozer and Kerovah. The names of the poets one encounters in these rites are frequently the same. In certain individual instances, these rites are embellished with poems by men of the native countries but the name of Kalir continues to be

dominant and characteristic in these Piyyutim. The similarity in development amongst these rites is discernible above all in the observation of the material for individual special days. On the Ninth of Av, for example, the prayer-codes mentioned all use Kalir's Kinot. In the individual countries and in the various communities of the same country, the customs deviate very much from one another but the temperament is the same all over. Kalir's mourning-cycle has been most purely preserved in the Roman prayer-book for we find in practically their original form Kalir's Kerovot and his Kinot composed for the extension of the Kerovah. The rite of the romance countries has incorporated more foreign insertions. In the western part of the area where the Ashkenazic rite is used, there is another Kerovah by Kalir and in the eastern section even this one is omitted and the Kinot have been separated from the Kerovah. However, we find that in the Ashkenazic rite as well, the earliest of the Kinot which are the cohesive and most extensive group are also taken from Kalir's cycle. The same holds true for the Hoshanot for the countries mentioned have either exclusively or for the most part adopted Kalir's works.

366 In ancient times, only the Selichot and confession of sins was considered obligatory on the Day of Atonement. The use of a Kerovah was optional. The period in which the Piyyut dominated brought about a change in that Kerovah and hymns were set alongside the Selichah. The Selichah itself was written in a poetic form, Piyyut material was presented in

the garb of a Selichah and every Tefillah was endowed with its own Kerovah. The countries mentioned all arranged the liturgy for the Day of Atonement in the very same way. They had the Yozer and Ofan in common. At least two of the Kerovot were used by all even though one of these two was used in different prayers. The areas of agreement between the rites of Italy and the Balkans was much greater than between Italy and Germany. One notes in all the deviations that the tendency was the same and the difference only became so great because of the work of the native poets. One should not exclusively render judgment on the basis of the material available today. If one refers back to the old manuscripts then the agreement in the poetry of the rites becomes even clearer. Furthermore, the countries mentioned have several selections in the Musaf service in common as for example the famous ב וְהַתְּהִלָּה. The Avodah poems themselves were different. According to old tradition, every country used its own Avodah. The selections attached to the Avodah and especially its extension by means of the Selichot again show the exceptionally close relationship between the rites.

The prayers for the three days mentioned developed completely differently in the Spanish rite. Indeed, Spain likewise had no uniform custom and one must at least distinguish between Catalonia and Castile though the principle features and the construction are the same. On the

Ninth of Av in Spain many Psalms and the lamentations universally preserved are characteristic but Kalir's abundant lamentations that go into detail are not known. On the other hand, the three sabbaths preceding the festivals were already provided with very copious Yozer compositions. The Hoshanot arrangement of the Spanish rite likewise deviated from the other rites, the poetic exposition and the construction is completely different from Kalirs. The difference in the liturgy between Spain and the other countries becomes especially clear on the Day of Atonement. In many prayer collections of Spanish origin, there is practically nothing of the old material except for the Avoda.

367 The poetic treatment of the prayers was accomplished by the native poets. In these collections of Spanish prayers we likewise find that the construction of the Maamad is peculiar to the Spanish poets, and the poetic Selichot became a constituent part of the poems that belong to the Kerovah whereas the Selichot in the actual sense of the word, that is with their simple, traditional litanies follow the Tefillah. Another significant aspect of the Spanish prayer-codes is the fact that they do not know of the poetic Maariv, they use neither Kerovah nor Yozer on the Pilgrim Festivals or the special sabbaths and the Aramaic rendition of the Scripture reading is not present in them. In another branch of the Spanish prayer codes, such Piyyutim are not completely excluded. The Spanish prayer-codes had great

influence and were widespread. In North Africa especially most of the congregations arranged the festival prayers according to the pattern of the Spanish rite. In the most westerly sections of Africa like Tripoli and Egypt Saadia's tradition of the basic prayers was of course the authoritative one. The bridge between the Spanish rite and that of the other countries was to be found in the southern part of France. Provence had as much of a connection with Spain as with Northern France. Thus, it is that in the congregations of Provence, there was much material borrowed from both groups and this is true of the basic prayers as well as the poetry. In Provence it was decided to follow the pattern of Northern France in terms of the places where poetic insertions might be made. The actual poems, however, were frequently taken from the Spanish masters.

At the beginning, the delineation of the prayer arrangements was not strict and immovable. Even within a rite there more or less existed freedom and the composition of the communities did not always remain the same and the tastes changed. In addition, we find that until 1150 the poets were very creative and thus new material frequently appeared. The number of Piyyutim and their content did not remain fixed throughout but would often be changed from time to time. Except for the High Holydays, in most cases only the reader had a collection of Piyyutim before him and the decision as to which should be used was completely left to him. The selection and arrangement of the Selichot especially

were entirely left to his discretion. Both the number of Biblical verses and the decision as to where the verse should end as well as the insertion of poetic material was dependent upon caprice.

368 Only very few Selichot were permanently fixed for the fast days on which they were to be recited. Most of these poetic selections originated as a result of local events or the recollections of the congregation. The number of these poems as well as the consideration given them varied not too infrequently. The Selichah days before the High Holydays were likewise not maintained or developed in the same way. In many areas, a few days were used for the Selichah days and in others a whole month was devoted to them. In Spain, the people were satisfied with repeating the old litanies on every one of these days. In the other countries, on the other hand, they worked out poetic selections for the Selichah days but the number or content did not depend upon any set rules. They could be incorporated into the rites and also influence them in a completely different way. The structure of the arrangement of prayers depended upon such details and thus it is that every great rite falls into several subdivisions.

6. As a result of the observation of the numerous deviations, a compilation and written notation was made of them. These deviations could be seen from community to community in those passages of prayers that had not been fixed by the

tradition. There developed a literature which preserves an insight into the mobility of several elements in the liturgy. This new literature also contributed to the fixing of certain aspects of the liturgy that had been uncontrolled until that time. In the description of the deviating customs themselves, there was at first no obligation to introduce or observe them. The fact that so many details were given already indicates that great meaning was attributed to them. This conclusion was reached by later generations that recognized a deep meaning and obligatory quality in the entire literary heritage. Actually the custom became a powerful force and the deeds of the forefathers were examined with great reverence and exactness. As long as the actions of the forefathers were applicable in any way then it was recommended that they be copied. The statements that "the customs even replaced recognized institutions," and the precept "not to forsake the custom of the patriarchs and not to give up the practice of the matriarch" were more frequently and more emphatically imprinted upon the minds of the people. The "customs and the arrangements" or the "correct custom" became not only repeated idioms but with the passage of time the most influential elements in the liturgy. Thus, at an early time good customs worthy of emulation were compiled.

369 Whether the customs were those of prominent and revered men like the reader R. Meir of Worms or the customs of famous

and well-established communities like Cologne, Mainz and Speyer, they were all carefully noted, compiled and recommended to future generations as models. This type of literature was especially cultivated in Germany and France. The compilation worked out by Abraham b. Nathan from Lunel (אברהם בן נתן ה'רח') became very important. He was born in Provence, spent his youth in the important community of Lunel and then migrated later to Northern France and finally to Spain. He attentively observed in every place which customs were followed during the service. He apparently met colleagues from other countries at the schools where he studied and he questioned them concerning these matters. Thus in his book ספר חמדים usually called חמדי' in short which was written about 1205 in Toledo, he could give information about the customs of Northern France, Western Germany, Burgundy, Champagne, Provence, England and Spain. These are the customs which he had either seen practised or heard about. He also collected much material from the available literature and as it appears, he also transcribed large compilations like the Michsor Vitry and he provided them with glosses. For the historian, his work is one of the most worthwhile in this field. Insufficient attention was given it and it was poorly transmitted to succeeding generations. It was frequently shortened and marred by the insertion of the works of others. Meir of Rothenburg became very significant for Germany and his

customs were carefully followed, and were recorded and handed down by his students. He himself had already compiled an arrangement of the blessings though most of the material was first treated by his students in various works. In 1292, Simson b. Zadok wrote the work גזן but as a result of a very dissimilar transmission the exact scope of this work is not known. Meir ha Kohen, the compiler of ת'ל'ין'ן תורת joins to the texts of prayers offered by Maimonides reports about the deviating customs in Germany. Even in the later compendia up to the Turim, Meir of Rothenburg was used as the prototype and model. In Italy, Meir's younger contemporary Zidkia b. Abraham compiled the ritual work גזן'ן. The "Gleanings" is actually a codex of all the ritual laws and starts with the public worship and gives preponderant consideration to those prayers which are in connection with the public service.

- 370 The writer restricts the presentation of his own opinions and in their stead he offers very detailed quotations from the older writings available to him. He compiled a list of the customs which were accessible to him and thus made his work into an exceptionally useful and didactic product. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, Ahron ha Kohen by Jacob from Narbonne did a similar piece of work. He was exiled from his native country and composed his comprehensive book תורת אהרן in Majorca. The first part of this work dealt exclusively with the questions about the liturgy. He explicitly remarks that this work

was to serve those men like himself who were forcefully torn from their homes and thus remained without a tradition and without books. The merit of his work lies in his method, the abundant sources and the literal quotations taken from them. From amongst these sources quoted, we have derived the most important statements from the lost sections of S.ha Ittim. B. Jacob's work was later shortened and changed by Shemarya b. Simcha for the use of the Germans. At times, it was edited using another sequence for the abstractions and under the name IN 85 became very widespread from the sixteenth century onward. David Abudraham was the leader for the Spanish Jews. In the year 1340 in Seville, he wrote a commentary to the prayer-book which rapidly acquired great popularity because of its clarity and simplicity. To this commentary he also joined information about the liturgical customs which in this manner likewise became widespread.

The authors' names mentioned up until now primarily describe such customs as they knew from their own observations or took from older literary works. The more independent spiritual activity receded amongst the Jews and independent thinking was suppressed by political and social oppression, the more important did the traditions of the past become. People applied themselves to such compilations since they did not have either the composure or the spirit to compose better and greater works. All the nuances and details in the service and in the liturgical customs were studied and fixed. The

practices of the forefathers were endowed with excessive meaning. As early as 1313, Menachem b. Joseph of Troyes wrote his ע"י 176 790 with the explicit intent of giving directions as to how the reader should conduct the service according to the correct custom of the congregation of Troyes.

371 These instructions were given the readers so that they would not stand ignorant and unintelligent nor would they step before God like fools or dreamers and commit errors in their important office. There then follow ten sections whose content is in no way related to the importance attributed to this book. These sections refer to such prayers as were not fixed and whose inclusion in the service was left to the discretion of the congregation. These included the use and position of the Psalms, the Tachanunim, the prayers for the Torah service, the exact fixing of the Sidra and the Haftorah portions and finally the fixing of the Piyyut and Selichah. Especially after the period of the Black Death (1348-49) the plague prevailed in Germany and Austria which with justification has been called the sickness of Minhagim. As a result of the confusion in the communities, the earlier arrangements, regulations and habits were forgotten. Investigations in these matters were undertaken and their thoroughness seems more than amazing today. The justification for these endeavors would rest in the extent to which they dealt with the restoration of coherence within tradition. This frequently served to remove the confusion and maladministration

which prevailed. These investigations nevertheless far exceeded this and also gave to the trivial matters and to the most unimportant customs such an exaggerated consideration that it can only be viewed as a sickly and tragic sign of a period of disintegration. The most well-known listing of Minhagim is the one which was disseminated under the name of R. Jacob b. Moses Mollin from Cologne (ספר חסידים 1356-1427). The compilation of Minhagim arranged by Zalman from St. Goar also contains the Minhagim of R. Shalom from Wiener Neustadt and R. Abraham Klausner. The significance attributed by the compiler to his work and research is worthy of attention. "I endeavored," he writes, "and have taken pains to precisely observe which customs and practices the pious one Jacob Möllin followed. As concerns matters that seem very simple and self-evident, I, also did not refrain from including such information in order to make known that Jacob Möllin used to conduct himself in such a manner. For he was worthy that others should follow his practice as Jacob Möllin himself had strived to follow with great exactness the traditions of other famous masters which he had."

372 The author, Zalman, actually considered himself unworthy of composing such a meaningful work. Since his notations were used so frequently by others and were disseminated and made known, he was prepared to publish them and thus meet a general need. The result of the exact study made of the Minhagim was the fixing of everything possible. Every word was heeded

exactly and all passages about which there could prevail any doubt were thoroughly investigated. Exact reports were given about every Yozer, even about every melody used in one of the large communities of the time that were located on the Rhine or in Austria or in the vicinity of one of the famous scholars. They also reported with thoroughness and care about every gesture and every bow of those authorities. The unnatural evaluation of customs was the basis of the diligence and effort we see expended upon those details. At that time, one could frequently hear the statement "the custom is the main thing" or "the practices of our ancestors are equal to revealed doctrine" repeated very frequently. As a result of this trend, the last bit of freedom of flexibility in the liturgy also vanished and all prayers, customs and practices were fixed in writing. With the passage of time, such traditions constantly received more consideration and recognition. In the Shulchan Aruch, the Minhagim form an exceptionally important source for the codification of the ritual. The more time that transpired, the stronger did the power of the custom become and finally it reached that point where change in the tradition of the forefathers was declared to be strictly prohibited. Thus the cultivation of Minhagim became an evil of great consequence. The poignant word of a gifted scholar of the Middle Ages verifies that in its activity, the exaggerated cultivation of the customs could become a hell for the communities.

6. The fixing of all the details of practice became especially ominous because the transmission of the prayers and sometimes the poetic selections were in no way guaranteed nor reliable. This could not be otherwise for the destinies of the communities themselves were too unstable. The incessant exiles, the destruction of the large communities, the hasty flight when frequently only the naked body and seldom any books were rescued as well as the vandalism and the burning of Jewish writings all too frequently brought about the destruction of the prayer-books and the poetic treasures in them.

373 The example reported about the congregation in Worms must have been frequently repeated. We are told that in Worms only one copy of the prayer-book could be rescued from a conflagration and then only a fragment of it was retrieved. Of one Piyyut only a half of it was still available and could be used in the future. Such an involuntary mutilation of liturgical poems was not at all seldom. In addition, there were other sources of errors which were completely natural for the written transmission of material. The errors of the transcribers play by comparison the smallest role. The fact that the congregations frequently used the poetry in places which the authors had not intended could still be overlooked. More critical were the times when they voluntarily shortened selections that seemed too long. Whole sections of the Piyyutim were skipped and as a result they were not vocalized

and finally were no longer transcribed so that they fell out of the manuscripts completely. The Biblical verses within the Piyyutim practically regularly suffered this same fate. Rhymed passages that were too long or even complete sections of the Kerovah compositions were also arbitrarily omitted and disappeared from the prayer-books. In the manuscripts of the Spaniards, they passed over the concluding stanza (ל'ו'ו) and frequently also Yozer and Kerovah. Amongst the Yozer and Kerovah the Germans omitted half-sections of the hymns for the New Year's Festival as, for example, in the poems with $\text{ל'ו'ו} \text{ל'ו'ו}$ the verses with $\text{ל'ו'ו} \text{ל'ו'ו}$ that alternated with them were omitted. This also occurred in the poems with $\text{ל'ו'ו} \text{ל'ו'ו}$ in which the verses $\text{ל'ו'ו} \text{ל'ו'ו}$ alternating with them were omitted and so forth. Only in the most seldom instances were such selections retained in their unshortened form. The prayer-books of Provence had the fate of having all the mutilated poems joined in them so that these prayer-books are especially rich in such fragments of complete or half stanzas. The omissions in the manuscripts were innumerable and especially with the alphabetic acrostics or the litanies we find that complete lists of letters are completely arbitrarily stricken from the poems. Hardly any of the rites retained all the lines of the acrostics but the exact sections omitted were completely different in all the rites. The opposite, however, likewise took place in that such litanies were lengthened at will so that the

N for example, is found in one place with twenty-two lines and in another with forty-four.

374 The abridgement of the Selichot was already lamented from the twelfth century on. The division of these poetic insertions, the combining of selections by different authors was even more easily accomplished. Very frequently this liberty was taken. The people did not refrain from composing additions for the prayers and Piyyutim written by others. Sometimes several stanzas were omitted from a poem and other foreign ones were uncritically substituted for them. The only consolation amongst all the mutilations and dismemberments of the manuscripts which did not result from historical events is the fact that intentional and conscious changes of the basic prayers only occurred infrequently.

3. Very important variations in the structure of the prayers took place at the brink of modern times. They were primarily introduced by the wanderings and expulsions of the Jews during which most of the books were naturally destroyed. The sudden expulsion of the Jews from Spain resulted in the fact that the members of different communities had to join for prayer in one synagogue. It was impossible for them in their new colonies to organize the liturgy according to the practice of Saragossa and Seville, Toledo and Barcelona, etc. Even in the large communities like Constantinople and Salonica where at the beginning the former residents of a city joined in worship according to their tradition, this division could

not be maintained for long. With the passage of time, all the liturgy became more or less uniform. Among practically all of the Jews from Spain and Portugal, the simple and short prayer-book of Catalonia was introduced and likewise everywhere in the Orient wherever Sephardic immigrants came, this prayer-book became the prevailing one. In Germany, the same process took place. It is completely out of the question that the Jews who were driven back to the East continued to retain for any length of time the old customs from Saxony, Swabia, Bohemia, Austria and whatever the names of the distinctive rites might be. The rites of these exiled people also became uniform. Only a very few large communities like Prague, Posen, Worms and Frankfurt maintained certain details of their particular traditions.

The consequence of the discovery of the art of printing books had at least as ^{great} an effect upon the liturgy as did the decomposition of the communities.

375 It goes without saying that the prayer-books were among the first products of printing in the Hebrew language. In a short time printed editions of the prayer-books were provided for all the rites. The printing of books brought with it a great revolution in the field of liturgy. From that time on, the printer arranged what should be included in or omitted from the compilation of prayers. These men were no scholars and they were not troubled about creating the best possible texts for their

editions. Coincidence determined what was printed and in most of the cases the concern regarding the sale of the book also played this role. The wealth of manuscripts was an unnecessary burden for the printer for he had to see to it that the books were handy and not too expensive. Thus when it seemed at all possible, the printers limited the amount of material that could be taken from the manuscripts. The diversity of customs had to also be discontinued for it did not pay to publish prayer-books for every small group of interested parties according to their special tradition.

Aside from the arbitrariness with which the printer acted, the new art of printing had important consequences for the development of the liturgy. These were primarily favorable because the tradition now became a more reliable and safe one. The knowledge of the Hebrew language could be promoted more, instruction in it was easy and the reading of Hebrew could be learned without difficulty. Now it was also possible for every member of a congregation to obtain a copy of the prayer-book. In earlier times the manuscripts were exorbitantly expensive and very rare and only on the High Holydays did the congregants make use of prayer-books. After the more severe persecutions, the available copies of the prayer-book vanished almost completely. Now, however, it was easier to create prayer-books and they constantly spread so that practically no congregant remained without one.

An unfavorable effect of the new method of reproducing the prayer-book was the strengthening of the church's censorship of

the prayer-books. Already in the Middle Ages, repeated complaints were brought up against individual passages in the prayer-book like יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ and $\text{פְּדֵנוּ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ}$. As a result of the complaints there was a change in these prayers. With printing, the supervision of the prayer-book was more severe and the denunciations of baptized Jews were more frequent and the inquisition became "the disciplinarian of Jewish curses and groans."

376 The lament about oppression and persecution was also "placed under control and was actually the only freedom of which Israel had remained conscious." In the Selichot, the excessively harsh expressions had to be changed and sometimes whole passages were omitted. In the beginning the omissions were indicated by spaces but these also finally vanished and "there were secret executions." The changes brought about by censorship sometimes deteriorated into the most comical absurdities about which it is difficult to write without being satiric. Finally, the Jews themselves often altered the texts in order to avoid the church's suspicion and penalties.

Another source of errors was the carelessness and poor education of the printers and the compositors. As a result, the text of the prayers was extremely chaotic. One can hardly conceive of the fact that the rabbis permitted such impropriety to prevail. The rabbis themselves, however, were not capable of appreciating the carefulness of printing or the correctness of expression and they would apparently also be able to

accomplish only very little. The readers and the teachers of the youth who dominated in this field spread an unclear and incorrect pronunciation of prayers and their example was followed by the printers. Of what help were the laments of the learned and conscientious editors of the prayer-books like Shabbatai Sofer from Lublin (1611) and of what use were the daring changes by linguists like Salomo Hanau (1700)! The epoch did not heed the words of these men and thus the old improper method remained. Tradition hallowed all errors and abuses and a new era had to first strongly jolt everything before improvement came about.

The worst and most disastrous result of the development described, however, was the worship of the letter. This resulted from a pious attitude and from an endeavor to follow everything faithfully according to the regulations. This attitude was an intensification of the old sickness of the Minhagim and had an even more devastating effect. Scholars who did not refrain from engaging in these questions were very well acquainted with how much value they should attribute to the new authority, the printed word. They knew of the numerous coincidences which had contributed to the origin of the printed arrangements. The majority of scholars, however, put up with whatever existed as the acceptable material. For the great mass of uneducated, the prayer-book in their possession was considered a binding regulation. Any deviation from it appeared to them as a deadly sin.

377 No one could entertain a warm interest for such a liturgy.

Tradition and regulations meant everything in it and personal devotion receded behind them. The deadly activity of the worship of letters harmed the liturgy in the highest degree for the spirit which could enliven the liturgy was likewise extremely unhealthy. The attempts to remedy this faith in letters led to such absurdities as a result of the complete lack of general education and discipline that at the brink of modern times the form of the liturgy was entirely untenable.

§44. The Influence of Mysticism Upon the Liturgy

Bibliography: Zunz, Die Ritus der synagogalen Gottesdienstes, Ph. Bloch in MS 37, 1893, p. 18ff; 49, 1905, p. 129ff.; Schechter, Studies in Judaism, 1, p. 1ff.; 2, 148ff.; p. 202ff. JE Article Kabalah, 3, p. 456 ff.; Hasidim, 6, p. 152ff.; Prayer, 10, 156ff.

1. "A prayer without devotion is like a body without a soul." With this expression we find that devotion is designated as the life element in prayer. When devotion is lacking, prayer loses its meaning if it does not entirely sink to the point of being blasphemy. The first arrangement of a service arises out of the need of the faithful to lift themselves up to their creator. For every later conscious alteration and change in the liturgy, the desire for strengthening and deepening of devotion was decisive above all. Thus in the beginnings of the liturgy or a specific liturgical form there is little discussion of sincerity and the moral aspects of the prayer are a matter of course. Only when the prayer becomes a habit, when

prescribed prayers are arranged for a set time does the possibility for superficiality present intself. No religious community could dispense with such arrangements. Every one of them sees itself from time to time threatened by that danger which makes the prayers into a human institution acquired through study and a mere function of the lips. It was the task of religious instruction to counteract the superficiality in the liturgy with all possible means. Along with the rich literature which aimed at the restoration of the external arrangements there is a no less extensive literature that deals with the sentiment and devotion necessary for the liturgy.

378 We almost always find both these demands for devotion and external order adjacent to one another in the same writings. For the most part, the instructions for the intensification of prayer through the liturgy were not at all codified nor made the subject of discussion in the schools. Instead, however, it was emphasized in a thousand popular books which had penetrated into the widest groups and become public property. The admonitions of the prophets and the psalmists against every superficiality in the liturgy resounds throughout all of rabbinic writing and the first demand made everywhere upon those who prayed was devotion, נִסְחָה . "Devotion is the complete inner resignation to honoring God and the repression of all other thoughts from heart and soul so that the entire inner life concentrated itself upon the one concept of God's greatness and goodness."

2. The demand for devotion was obvious to the sober religious teachers among whom we should not exclude the intellectual ones as well. Along with this demand there went those enthusiastic endeavors that sought to reach the highest possible activity with the aide of the liturgy. All groups devoted to mysticism considered prayer as one of the strongest and most effective means of bringing about the condition for which they yearned, namely, the direct mystical union of the human soul with the godhead. In Judaism there were never lacking currents of a more or less clearly expressed mystical nature. All of them had influence upon the liturgy. Sometimes this influence was such that it brought about special provisions for the elevation of devotion. At another time and in most of the instances, the influence of these mystical currents was in the direction of creating new prayers or even new kinds of prayers that were filled with fanciful ideas. The result was not always equally favorable to the endeavors of the mystics for there were times when they received little or no recognition from the official circles. During other periods they evoked enthusiastic concurrence. The deep national longing of men for the godly which is to be found in the hearts of the masses was not to be compensated for by spiritual culture. Thus these mystical expressions always won over the hearts of the masses quickly and the ideas repeated in them could not continuously be prevented from gaining entrance into the synagogue.

3. The oldest example in post-Biblical times of mystically inclined pious people is the Essenes and Therapeutae in whom the spirit of inner devotion and religious contemplation was strong.

379 One of the frequently presented opinions in the scientific study of Judaism is the assertion that the basic form of the Jewish liturgy was created by the Essenes. There are no reliable reports about this and in all probability it is not so. Last but not least, we cite the fact that the calm serenity and the content of the Jewish prayers free from every form of ecstasy speak against any possible Essenic origin. Indeed not all of the pious ones remained untouched by that spirit. There were not lacking in the ranks of the Pharisees and later rabbis men who prayed, and who strived for the inner experience of the godhead at every service. To this group belong those "pious ones of antiquity"

(חסידים , תיקון הכהנים) who observed the break of the first rays of sun in order to immediately recite their confession of faith in the one and only God. These men first spent an hour in devout preparation and pious immersion before reciting the Tefillah. Visionaries and enraptured men appeared individually throughout the era of the Talmud. Their teachers were not always the rational formalists as one knows them. Amongst their teachers were numerous adherents to the doctrine which made prayer dependent upon special preparations and accompanying gestures. As a result of this action and preparation it was felt

prayer would bring about God's nearness. These men were interested in seeing that the discussions and regulations which had as their aim the external arrangement and correctness of the liturgy should not become dominant.

4. In the period after the close of the Talmud do we first encounter the mystics as a closed circle with uniform endeavors. The movement of the *מרכבה* 'מ' arose as a reaction against the one-sided occupation with Halachah and the over evaluation of studies which left the heart cold. These were mystics who fasted all day, let their heads droop toward the ground and whispered all kinds of hymns in order to become filled with the godhead. They called this "ascending in the Merkavah." The term Merkavah (*מרכבה*) is already used by the teachers in the Mishnah as the summarizing term for all esoteric views. "The heavenly events and above all those that directly take place as if around God, the grouping of the heavenly hosts according to their various ranks and especially the numerous allegiances offered to the invisible God by the angels form the subject of the Merkavah."

380 The thoughts and efforts of those mystics are recorded in the Hechalot literature. These works describe the seven heavenly halls filled with angels which the mystics in their ecstasy believed they saw and traversed. For the most part, the Kedushah hymns comprise the content of the oldest Hechalot literature extant, namely, the ה'כ"ו רבתי. This composition consisted of "peculiar fantasy selections

that were both long and short and always ended in "Holy, Holy, Holy". The hymns dispense with every idea concerning reality but are sometimes permeated by a glowing fantasy borne by an effervescent verbosity." The angels, their service and their praise before God play the main role in this work. A very unusual and secretive name is used to designate God. At the conclusion of the book there follow songs that are designated for the highest grade of ecstasy. Among them is the hymn *יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ* which has been incorporated into practically all prayer-books and has been retained in that half-clear verbosity which is characteristic of the prayers of those mystics. The mystics' ecstatic worship of God corresponds to the accumulations of synonyms and homonyms which say nothing and do not promote any development of ideas. Their most rapturous hymns they preferred to set into the mouths of the angels. They introduced and presented entire new bands of angels. By this approach, the mystics distinguished themselves from the sober piety that was familiar in the Bible, Talmud and ancient prayers. These mystics likewise were not orientated according to the words of the Psalmist: "For You silence is praise." With the zeal manifest by those mystics in disseminating their ideas it is conceivable that they did influence the liturgy. Even in the basic prayers there are passages whose exuberating wealth of words had no relationship to the content of the prayers and contrary to the otherwise followed

custom, the angels played a great role. This is most apparent in the Kedushah, the favorite prayer in these circles. They believed themselves summoned by God to zealously nurture and make known these prayers and they hoped thereby to achieve grateful recognition. The Kedushah of the Yozer contains all the characteristics of the mystics' individuality and its acceptance into the morning service is due to them (cf. p. 66f.). The abundance of formulae for the introduction and transition to the Kedushah verses in the Tefillah did not originate without the influence of the mystics. The idea of the crown קדש which the heavenly hosts and Israel simultaneously bestowed upon God is especially a purely mystic concept.

- 381 Along with the Kedushah, the Kaddish also belonged to the favorite prayers of the ecstatics. The hymn following the core of the Kaddish, the benediction קדשך ה' אלהינו , is most likely of a mystic origin. Moreover, in contrast to the preceding section, this hymn is recited in Hebrew and shows no development of ideas (קדשך ה' אלהינו p. 94). A similar abundance of synonyms are found in prayers like קדשך ה' אלהינו (p. 22) and קדשך ה' אלהינו (p. 86). It is likewise striking that the number of words in each of these is the same. The Piyyut also did not remain free from the influence of those mystics. Kalir's Kedushot with their detailed description of the angels remind one of the Hechalot and are a clear proof of the mystic influence upon the

Piyyutim. Perhaps the demand for hymns called forth by the mystics was generally decisive in the dissemination of the Piyyut. Certain frequently repeated formulae (like

ק'ר'ק' | כ'כ' | ק'כ'כ' | כ'כ' etc.) make this quite likely.

5. It is not known how long the movement of the ק'כ'כ' נ'כ' remained in the foreground. Of this much, however, we are certain, namely that the mystic ideas won over large groups of the common folk and had an influence for many centuries. A straight direct connection leads from the mysticism of the Gaonic period to the similar endeavors that achieved great significance in Germany from the middle of the twelfth century onward. The "secrets of the prayers," (א'ק' / 10 ק'כ'כ') that begin to play a powerful role at that time are attributed to Ahron b. Samuel. Heretofore he was considered a "fabrication of the traditionalists" but today we know that he arrived in Italy from Bagdad about the year 850. He roamed the whole length and breadth of the land and finally disappeared as mysteriously as he came. His biography is so embellished by legend that we are no longer able to recognize the true aspects of it. All descriptions, however, picture him as an unusual man who was able to work wonders without numbers because of the mysterious name of God. One gets the impression that he was worshipped as the "father of all mysteries." In the circles of the German mystics, there circulated a geneology of the teachers of mysticism whose individual names are incorrect beyond question. Only one item can be concluded from it, namely, that

the tradition deduces the origin of the mystic teachings as coming from Italy and in the final analysis from Ahron's sojourn there.

382 Evidently the Kalonymus family (p. 326) brought with them the "secrets of prayer" when they immigrated to Germany. They continued to cultivate them within the confines of the family until they became a powerful element through Samuel and Jehudah "the pious ones."

Samuel the Pious (*החסיד הגדול קלוןמוס הדקן*)
 was born in Speyer in 1115 and his son Jehudah (*החידה הגדול*)
החסיד הגדול (*החסיד הגדול*) died in 1217 in Regensburg. They were the founders of mysticism amongst the Jews in Germany. The movement was likewise a reaction against the study of Talmud which at that time had developed according to the ingenious method of the Tosafists. Both of these men were not opposers of the Talmud for they were both recognized teachers of the Halachah. Their efforts merely aimed in the direction of making the demands of the soul acceptable and making into a reality the deeply felt ideal of piety and morality. Both of these men proceeded according to their own method each consciously and differently deviating from the trend of their time. Of interest for us here is their judgment of prayer and the liturgy. For the talmudists, piety had to express itself primarily in the study of the laws so that wherever possible the time for prayer was shortened. The mystics on the other hand emphasized that prayer is the

highest expression of piety. These men were nevertheless dissatisfied with the traditional type of liturgy. They demanded moreover that enthusiastic intimacy of relationship to God which the soul could only find in contemplation apart from the world. They felt that true prayer is an ascent of the soul to God and could therefore only be accomplished in a state of ecstasy. Proceeding from this point of view both "pious ones" made known to their contemporaries the deeper meaning of prayer which until then had been a secretly kept inheritance of their family. Samuel was still young when his father died and his father gave the "arrangement of the prayers and their inner meaning" (1175
הנהיגה והסודות) to the reader Eleazar in Speyer. This was done so that when Samuel grew older Eleazar would impart this knowledge to him. Samuel with his rich imagination and profound spiritual life then cultivated these teachings and propagated them through his son. From the commentaries that both wrote on the prayer-book, we can see what these secret teachings consisted of. To be sure these commentaries were distorted by all kinds of later modified texts and additions. The secret teachings known to us from the commentaries are no less than those deduced from the statements about prayer that are found in the Book of the Pious and in the writings of Eleazar of Worms their disciple.

- 383 The profoundest intimacy and the most sincere devotion was required for prayer. The behavior in the house of worship

had to correspond to the holiness of the place where we entreat the Lord of the whole world. The contemporaries of these men heard bitter words and sharp reproach because they did not always devote themselves to such deportment. One was to pray only in the language which one understands for prayer required devotion which was impossible without an understanding of the content. The highest ethical demands were placed upon the reader. Purity of morals, humility and unselfishness were to be characteristic of him. He had to be generally popular and was not to have disputes with the congregation. The reader furthermore had to understand his prayer, not to show off through the beauty of his voice but rather serve the devotion of the congregation. Truthfulness and emotion had to be the basic characteristics of his prayer. Whoever was not in want or was at an advantage during the high cost of living was not to be a reader when, at the time of drought, prayers for rain were offered. Whoever was not moved to tears was not to recite Selichot in which the worshipper is described as crying. The artistic Piyyut in which emphasis is put upon that foreign element the "un-Jewish" rhyme was therefore rejected. The mystics did not oppose the Piyyut on principle, however, they were familiar with too many poems that evoked their displeasure. They themselves composed religious songs. Samuel wrote the Hoshanah וְהוֹשָׁנָה הַזֶּה הָיָה לְפָנֶיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ of which only two lines and the Biblical verses belonging to it at the end have been

retained in the prayer-books. Several prayers were likewise attributed to Jehudah without having anything certain which definitely speaks of his authorship. Like all mystics they liked hymns and one of the most detailed and at the same time the most noble in the prayer-book, the Hymn of Unity (אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְהוָה p. 81) is attributed to Samuel and the Hymn of Glory (אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְהוָה) to Jehudah. Since the doctrine of God's glory (אֱלֹהֵינוּ) is the central point of Jehudah's theosophy there can be no doubt of the tradition. The poem, however, must have at least emanated from their circle of disciples. Other hymns have apparently been lost for the Book of the Pious expressly speaks of newly composed prayers. The striving after devotion in the traditional prayers did however remain the essential element.

- 384 Throughout all of mysticism there is a conservative quality in that it did not want to displace the tradition but rather only to fill it with that spirit of piety which the mystics demanded during prayer. The invocation of the angels, the use of mystical names of God and artistic alphabetic arrangements were the means for the elevation of one's soul to that ecstatic state. The pious person considered himself in constant contact with the angels who were also thought to have filled the whole earth. The letters of the alphabet had their profound meaning and no letter appeared too frequent or too seldom in the prayers. A secret meaning was connected with the number and arrangement of the letters. The pious in Germany therefore used to count the number of

words and letters in the blessings of the Tefillah. The mystics also enjoined that one should neither remove or insert even one letter because everything was arranged in the prayers with a specific intent. Furthermore, they stated that everyone who proposed changes in the "very holy" prayers must render account before the divine tribunal. Whatever the masters had only intimated, their disciple Eleazar b. Jehudah presented to the widest circles and in the most extensive detail in his work "Rokeach." Through him the mysticism of the German Jews became popular. The art of "removing the wall from the spiritual eye in order to see the godhead" was made universally known by him. The group of visionaries and the longing for visions increased. There were not lacking sober thinkers who found fault with this vigorous calling forth of trances because that condition was not always reached. Even when it did occur the opposers felt that afterward the soul again sank back into a confused state. Surely in this whole trend of mysticism there was a sickly exaggeration and there was no time for clarity and circumspection of thinking. Thus all sorts of superstitions intermingled within the movement. One thing, however, cannot be denied and that is the fact that in this movement there was taught an idea of the most genuine and the most sincere piety that was far beyond the usual. This prevailed among the German Jews for a long time and even in the most troubled times it lent a great energy to the souls of the

Jews. In prayer, they forgot themselves and their misfortune and felt themselves completely at one with their Father in heaven.

6. The Kabbalah that originated in Provence and primarily developed in Spain proceeded along a path different from German mysticism. Kabbalah was a reaction against the rationalism of aristotelian philosophy which was particularly disseminated through the writings of Maimonides.

385 The Kabbalah likewise opposed the dissipation of Judaism into theoretic speculations. The interest of Kabbalah was at first a theoretic one and the doctrine of the incomparability of God and the emanation of the Sephirot was in the foreground. The Maimonists were offensive by their interpretation of the Jewish ceremonial laws and it was thus natural that the opposing movement would again emphasize the significance of ceremonial laws. A magical effect was attributed to the practice of the ceremonies and it was felt by the mystics that this effect contributed to the maintenance of the universe and procured for the world the blessing of the world of the spheres. Prayer became exceptionally important and one was to comprehend its deeper meaning and perform it carefully according to regulation. It was thought that prayer draws nearer the abundance of mercy which emanates from God. Man had to be guided exactly by the tradition for only in this way could he properly work his way into the higher world and not directly. It was not a long time before practical mysticism became known in Spain too and

blended with theoretic mysticism. In the Zohar which was written about 1300, this blending is almost complete. Then all the means for attaining ecstasy were recommended with which we are already familiar from the German mystics. These include the invocation of the angels, the twisting of letters, hypnotic movements and all measures which lead to removing the human soul to heaven and enabling it to view the divine glory. Again prayer was granted the prime position among the means of uniting the higher and lower world. "What the igniting spark means for inflammable material that is what prayer achieves for the elevation of man to the world of light." The angels are the leaders of the spheres and are ready to accept true prayers. Sandalfon weaves a crown out of prayer for the eternal God and Metatron brings about the reward of prayer by bestowing the heavenly blessing. The attitude of the Zohar toward the meaning of prayer exceptionally elevated the appreciation of the liturgy. At a time when the educated looked indifferently at the traditional liturgy and the large masses viewed it without understanding, the Zohar attributed a new value to it and created a kind of deification of the liturgy. The fanciful ideas of the Zohar removed the tortures of this world from innumerable people who were depressed by the conditions of life. The ecstasy during the recitation of the traditional prayers and the numerous kabbalistic hymns gave these people a foreboding of heavenly joys in the midst of the torments of existence.

386 Nevertheless one ought not forget the great harms which the kabbalists prepared for Jewish piety. Through them prayer became a tool for the vigorous drawing forth of miraculous effects. The introduction of intermediaries between God and man signified one of the most disastrous regressions in the history of the Jewish religion. This new doctrine also abetted all superstition.

7. One can understand that under the influence of both mystical currents care in the fixing of the tradition of the prayers increased a great deal. When such incalculable results actually depended upon every word and letter, every gesture and expression then the correct tradition and the proper kind of prayer had to be examined and taught in the most exact and minutest manner. The fact that in spite of this the customs deviated from one another in innumerable areas would have had to lead to a wavering of these mystic doctrines in a period of healthy thinking and a strong spiritual life. That period during which these doctrines grew up was less accessible to such considerations than any other. The uncertainty of life and indefiniteness about the cares and dangers the next day could bring made an elevation of the spirit as given by the pious practices of the kabbalist very desirable. The more the spiritual life receded and the firmer the Zohar became a "holy book" the greater influence did its teachings have upon life. The Zohar found favorable territory in the Holy Land in the newly developed community in Safed after the

exile of the Jews from Spain. Seldom had change joined together in a confined area so many enthusiasts and gifted adherents of a doctrine as were present at that time in the kabbalist circles of Safed. The whole atmosphere was steeped in mystical thinking. A large group was ready to fulfill the practical demands evolving from these ideas. Safed was a city of the "holy ones and men of action" and led by highly revered talmudists like David ibn Zimra and Joseph Karo, by popular preachers like the "saintly" Moses Alshezh and Abraham ha Levi Beruchim, by poets and visionaries like Solomon Alkabetz and Moses Cordovero. Isaac Luria, however, surpassed them all. His short lifetime of only thirty-eight years and his two year sojourn in Safed (1570-72) were sufficient to yield an almost divine veneration of him.

387 Isaac Luria was the sun that darkened all the others stars of Safed. The new Kabbalah was connected with his name and wherever Jews lived it was disseminated. "Ari" was Luria's name amongst his disciples. The arrangements of the saintly "Ari" still enjoy an exceptional esteem among all the Jews who remained unaffected by the religious movements of modern times. Isaac Luria established a new system on the basis of the Zohar though the actual goal of his teaching and that of the entire circle at Safed was an extremely practical one. This goal was to prepare for the period of redemption in which the system of ^{the} universe would attain its perfection (*לְקַדְּשׁ אֶת הָעוֹלָם*). The objective sought by these men

was a high moral one. In Safed a type of order had formed which demanded of its adherents the most noble, human and practically super-human virtues. It was a repentant mood that seized the whole human being and changed him inwardly. Among the pious practices of the mystics of Safed the liturgical arrangements were formed that made their way through all countries. For Luria, prayer was one of the most important functions of life. According to man's inner communion with God did he become the reservoir for a new reflection of the divine light and a new radiation of God's grace. Every sound in prayer had a profound secret meaning along with the literal one. According to Luria whoever recited prayer without devotion or profaned it through impure thoughts postponed the arrival of the period of redemption. Thus special preparations were arranged for prayer such as $\aleph/\aleph/\aleph$ that is words to make thoughts concentrate upon a certain name of God during prayer. Another such means for preparation were the $\aleph/\aleph/\aleph$ which is the manner of reciting and making the appropriate divine name for every special occasion stand out in the composition of a prayer. It became a duty amongst the adherents of the mystic circles in Safed to join daily with a colleague to express their opinion about the proper method for worshipping God. They were not satisfied with the thrice daily prayers the regular observance of which was seriously urged upon them. They therefore introduced a new service at midnight ($\aleph/\aleph/\aleph$). These mystics appeared

every weekday in the synagogue in mourning garments.

388 The mystics sat on the bare earth and intoned lamentations over the destruction of the Temple and the dispersion of Israel. They concluded with a confession of their sins whose gravity postponed the redemption. On the Eve of the Sabbath one was to give an accounting of his action during the entire week. Then one was to dress festively and go out into the field or the court of the synagogue and there recite the Song of Songs, various Psalms and the hymn 'שִׁיר דָּוִד in order to worthily receive the "Sabbath Princess" (p. 108). The whole life was considered as a constant liturgical service. The teachers of the Kabbalah roamed about the environs with their disciples and sang hymns. Teachers were sent around to teach the women and children the prayers and hymns. On the day prior to the New Moon, they held a fast and recited prayers and Selichot as they did on every Biblical fast day. They also engaged in self-torment as was otherwise customary only on the Day of Atonement (p. 124). Needless to say, the fast days commemorating the destruction of the Temple were charged with an exceptional burden. On the seventeenth of Tamuz, one sat in the synagogue from noon on and on the Ninth of Av, one did not depart from the synagogue at all. Rather did one spend the entire time in reciting lamentations. There was no sleeping on the eve of the seventh day of Passover, the first day of Shevuot and Hoshanah Rabah. The whole night was spent in the singing of hymns and the reading of passages from the Bible and the Zohar. The forty-nine days

Of the Omer were connected with the forty-nine words in Psalm 67. Every day corresponded to another word which had to be loudly emphasized and then it had its effect. The symbolic beacon which was made out of the words of the Psalm attain a real magical meaning and served as an amulet and an admonition for devotion. The Psalm was provided with all kinds of unintelligible superstitious symbols and set in prayer-books and on the walls of the synagogues. During Kôl Nidre night, there was likewise no sleeping and the entire night served moreover as a time for the study of the commandments for the Day of Atonement and the chanting of all kinds of hymns.

Such a life with constant penitential prayers, sorrowful rites and confessions of sin make an exceptionally gloomy impression. Life was nevertheless not so for the aim of the mystics of Safed went in just the opposite direction. The joy of the person who feels himself close to his God lived within them.

389The celebration of the sabbath, the New Moon and the festivals especially were periods of the purest cheerfulness and most elevated mood. The communal meals and the hymns sung at them exhilarated the mystics and awoke in them ecstasies as if they were participating in the joys of paradise. Israel Nagara was the most gifted Payyetan of his century and "even knew how to attract the angels by his hymns." He enchanted his colleagues through hymns at whose sound one

thought himself transported to heaven.

The mysticism of Luria and its new liturgical arrangements spread itself quickly and widely like a contagious disease. There has never again been a movement which so vigorously influenced the liturgy and the prayer-book in such a short time. Hayyim Vital (died about 1620) became Luria's apostle and through him the new doctrine was made known. Its adherents wandered through every country and subjected every community to this teaching. Luria's mystical treatment of the prayers was disseminated through printing and thus the new prayers, the incomprehensible concentrations (חידושים), the fasts and the ordinances for repentance, became familiar everywhere. "No rite was spared as every Siddur and Machzor from Tlemsan to Kaffa indicate. In the innumerable Yehi Ratzon, names of angels and the exaggeration of the Sefirot, superstition and the worship of spirits was perpetuated. The significance of public worship was set in the background and everything about the amulet was brought into the prayer-book and amongst the people." From Palestine the fanaticism of Luria was first propagated in Italy where Menachem Asarya da Fano supported it. It was in Italy that Yom Kippur Koton was first observed and it was there that societies were formed that fasted and prayed on Monday and Thursday and places for early devotion (מקום קדוש) and midnight lamentations (תפילות) were also established. Selections were taken from the compilations of prayers

of Germany, Spain and the romance countries and new ones were composed part of which were of a kabbalistic content. This new liturgy was declared to be more important and capable of bringing more blessing than the public service." The name | 17 5 was customary for all such collections. The texts of the Sephardic rite which have been published since then are full of statements in accord with the ideas of Isaac Luria.

Decisive for the dissemination of the mysticism of Luria was the fact that it was also recognized in Poland where the largest number of Jews lived.

390 The "secrets of prayer" did not again disappear from the German scene after the thirteenth century. The scholars took the secrets with them in their migration to Poland but they primarily remained a type of secret doctrine whose content was only imparted to certain selected disciples. About the year 1600 when the plight of the Jews in Poland also began to get worse they resorted to the comfort richly emanating from Luria's Kabbalah. Nathan Shapiro who died in 1633 in Krakow won for it many faithful adherents through his popular and widespread sermons מקראות פשוטות. Its greatest success, however, was due to the power of propaganda of R. Isaiah Horowitz who was filled with reverence for the masters of the Kabbalah. He declined the best rabbinical positions in Germany and made a pilgrimage to Palestine where he died in Safed in 1630. He himself enjoyed the reputation of being

a saintly person and his religious book ש' חסידות הגר"ת was decisive for the general recognition and dissemination of Luria's ideas and the acceptance of his new prayers in the order of the liturgy. Indeed the prayer-book ר' נרדק first appeared in 1777 in which Horowitz recorded all the kabbalistic ideas. The ground for the new seed, however, had been prepared in 1662 when Nathan Hannover, the chronicler of the persecutions by the cossacks published his prayer-book ר' נרדק. These became the main sources from which all the new revelation poured in all directions. From then on no prayer-book was to be published without those additions. This ecstasy was not limited to Poland. The refugee's went in bands through all the western European communities and introduced this revolutionary spirit into Germany, Holland and England. A great number of additions remain in the prayer-book from that time. Such is the nature of the songs ש' חסידות and ר' נרדק at the beginning of the prayer-book, the verses ש' חסידות and the hymn ר' נרדק as well as several prayers recited at the taking out of the Torah from the Ark, the sabbath song ש' חסידות, a number of invocations of the angels as for example between the sounding of the Shofar and between the Hymn of Unity and Gabirol's The Royal-Crown. Amongst them there are very valuable selections. One cannot deny that the kabbalists understood how to select that which elevated the heart and aroused the spirit of religiosity. There are, however, not lacking evidences of the worst form of superstition.

391 Above all, however, the peculiarities of Luria's mysticism like the *תקוני*, *תולדות* and *פ'ג/ד'* placed a heavy burden upon the religious life and an insult to every genuine worship service. These peculiarities disappeared from the prayer-books of Western Europe a long time ago.

8. The frenzy of Sabbatai Zvi movement made known the bankruptcy of the Kabbalah. The increasingly more shameful events that were associated with the Sabbatai Zvi movement would have been suitable to sober down the people but the Kabbalah then experienced a revival in Hassidism. Hassidism was also a movement reacting against the excessive study of the Talmud and the abuses of the formalism in ritual. It originated in the circles of the uneducated and the suppressed who found no satisfaction in the prevalent practise of religion. These people sought spiritual warmth instead of rigid formality, inspiration rather than insipid hairsplitting. Israel Baal Shem (died 1761) the founder of the Hassidic sects was no scholar but rather a child of nature full of glowing faith and passionate longing for the godly. Israel Baal Shem was no gloomy meditator but rather an inspired person to the degree of frenzy and made happy by the revelations constantly streaming toward him. Hassidism became so popular because it demanded nothing except a receptive heart and a human soul that was ready to lose itself in order to again regain itself in a more pure state. Israel Baal Shem revived Luria's system of ecstasy. For the Baal

Shem, the core of religion was the proper love for God combined with inner faith and unwavering trust in the power of prayer. He could not do enough praying and singing of hymns. Every true prayer had to operate in the heavenly world. Prayer was not to remain cleaving to human requests and desires but must bring us closer to God. One's own individuality had to be denied in prayer and the soul had to tear itself away from its earthly home. It had to make a lofty flight above the world of the sensual into the realm of the divine grace. The Hassidim thus placed the greatest emphasis upon prayer. With the summoning up of all their untempered natural power they tried to set themselves in states of exhalation and did not refrain from also using liquor as a means of reaching a dreamlike state. Since for them ecstasy seemed indispensable for prayer, they were concerned very little about the traditional times for prayer and communal worship.

- 392 The Hassidim joined in special convocations for prayer but even there each individual prayed alone when the moment of ecstasy seemed to come to him. They also rejected the prayer-book of the Polish rite and introduced the prayers of Isaac Luria (תקין האר"). In this manner they broke with the liturgical tradition of their environment. This movement did not signify a gain for the religious life. The merit that lay in the striving for warmth in religion was abundantly removed by the absurdity of their superstitious ideas and their wild conduct. "It was comical to

observe how they frequently interrupted their prayers with all kinds of odd sounds and comic movements. These sounds and movements were to be regarded as threats and curse words against their opponent, the loathesome satan, who endeavored to disrupt their devotion. It was likewise funny to observe how they exerted themselves so much that at the completion of their prayers, they usually fell down completely powerless."

9. According to its principles, Hassidism signified a complete rebellion against the liturgy. The untenableness of the liturgy could not be more forcefully presented than when a large group turned away from it not because of a lack of faith or skepticism but out of the most inner longing for piety. That should have been a serious admonition for the revision of the liturgy but it never came to that. Hassidism did not remain in the position of opposition which its founders took but rather did it seek a compromise with rabbinism. As a result, it contributed more to the degeneration of the liturgy than toward its improvement. The system of utter inflexibility and the faith in letters, the ascetic mood and that of being separated from the world, the striving for the forced drawing near of the messianic redemption were strengthened by Hassidism. It brought with it noise and wild restless movements as a new interruption in the service. Thus the second era in the history of the liturgy ended with a condition of serious degeneration. It began with few prayers and a strong freedom of movement. Customs were

suited to the congregation, prayer and instruction were offered in a pleasing manner. At the end of this period, everything was just the opposite. The prayers were long, fixed from the first to the last word, customs that were designated for other times and areas were followed with the most painful exactness as a strict commandment. Instruction discontinued and the Torah reading degenerated as a result of the accompanying malpractices that prevailed. The Piyyut now dominated the liturgy. At one time it was a didactic device but now was no longer understood.

393 The direction of the worship service was in the hands of uneducated readers who selected the "hymns" without consideration and taste. With these hymns, they prolonged the service. It is no wonder that at such a time there were complaints about the lack of devotion and attention, the disorder and the interruptions. The liturgy was in need of a thorough renovation and revival if it was to continue to survive. Both of these were given the liturgy in modern times.

§ 45 The first reforms in the liturgy

3. The Modern Period

Bibliography: Zunz, Gottesdienstliche Vorträge ², p. 463ff.; Graetz, Geschichte der Juden, Vol. 11; Philipson D., The Reform Movement in Judaism; Philippson, M., Neueste Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes, Vol. 1; Bernfeld, S. ה'רפורמה בל"ו הדת ^{ה'רפורמה}; Jewish Encyclopedia article on Prayer-books, Vol. 10, p. 174ff; J.E. article on Reform Judaism, Vol. 10, p. 347ff.

394 1. The modern era begins with Moses Mendelssohn, the "reformer of the German Israelites". With his appearance begin those endeavors that comprise the internal history of the Jews for more than a century. This is no place to deal in detail with every aspect of the Reform Movement. Rather shall we present only the attempts of the Reform Movement to improve the liturgy.

The Jews awoke from a century-long dream. The longing for the messianic redemption yielded to the wish to establish oneself comfortably in the world. The Jews again attempted to find their way amongst the people. They emerged from their seclusion and wanted to be as others were. They demanded for themselves the rights of man and strove for the easing of their position in the state. The improvement of their situations as citizens and their demand for complete equality of rights became the watchwords that completely dominated the thinking and action of several generations. With the progress in the education system, their wish for culture and order grew and their understanding of the beauty of form and pleasant sounds improved. They devoted themselves to general education and were swept away with the stream of the prevalent ideas. Critical thinking that had seized all of Europe took possession of their religion too. Pious practice no longer formed the only or

dominant object of their interest. The dogmatism that had dominated the Jewish religion throughout the Middle Ages was surmounted and a new fresh life stirred in the treatment of all questions.

395 The liturgy could not remain untouched by the enormous change that took place in the life and thought of the Jews. The form of the liturgy no longer corresponded to the demands of the new period. Both eye and ear felt themselves equally repulsed by the liturgy. Reason and spirit remained unsatisfied and cold. Many among the educated could no longer recognize the worthwhile core behind the few pleasing externals. They therefore were lost to the synagogue though they did not renounce their faith. In contrast to these people, the overwhelming majority consisted of those to whom every conscious change appeared as a defection from Judaism. A small number of intelligent people demanded improvements which did not touch the essence of the liturgy. Such improvements like the simplification of the prayers, the removal of the prevailing bad customs, asthetic forms and behaviour worthy of a house of worship were demanded. Nevertheless before it reached this point, a new period appeared that brought new political ideals and formed a new concept of humanity. One questioned whether the tradition both in its expression and its thought always agreed with the new ideals. It was proposed that whatever was untimely should be altered. Finally scientific thinking led to a critical examination of the entire tradition and a complete re-organization of the liturgical arrangements was demanded.

The Reform Movement evoked great excitement. More than once

did the contrast between the adherents to the tradition and the friends of the innovations seem irreconcilable. This contrast led to great struggles and divisions within the congregations. Not all Jews were equally effected by these endeavors. These new ideas remained almost completely apart from the "sephardic" congregations for the Kabbalah had quenched all healthy life among them. They have never again been able to soar upwards toward strong spiritual activity and their prayer-book has never been freed of the additions brought forth by mysticism. Upon the great mass of Jews in the Europeans countries, there rested too heavy a burden of a political and economic nature

395 : that they might be able to take part in the new movement which surged forward. Hundreds of thousands remained devoted to Hassidism and large groups completely fell victims to indifference. Only in Western Europe where the Jew could mark an undreamed of soaring in all areas did the liturgical question deeply stir the people. Germany was the center of the conflicts and from there at a later date the reform endeavours spread to England, America and ultimately to again react upon the land of their origin.

396 2. Though a new generation with a better education and a refined taste had grown, the liturgy continued to exist in its old form. The tradition with all its ugly abuses remained unchanged within the liturgy. This was an untenable condition for the continuance of the liturgy. Something had to occur in order to meet the demands. Among the disciples of Mendelssohn there was aroused an appreciation for Hebrew poetry and the Hebrew language. At first they took offense at the unasthetic and hardly

correct manner in which the prayers were recited. Their thinking trained in accordance with the philosophy of the enlightenment could not be satisfied with the ideas of mysticism. The first endeavours of Mendelssohn's disciples were therefore directed toward the dissemination of carefully produced editions of the prayer-book and the cleansing of the prayer-book from the distortions it had suffered under kabbalistic influences. Among the men who distinguished themselves in this activity, let it suffice to mention by name Wolf Heidenheim (1747-1832). He has been justly designated the Mendelssohn of the prayer-book. The fame of being the one who introduced a new era in the prayer-book literature belongs to Heidenheim. His edition of the Siddur and Machzor are distinguished by their correctness equally as much as by their pleasing form. His translation that accompanies the text was of a high standard and his commentary was revolutionary for the study of the Piyyut. Heidenheim omitted from the prayer-book the additions introduced by Luria's mysticism except for a very few remnants. Heidenheim's text in conjunction with Michael Sach's translation have also become the leading prayer-book for the circles that were untouched by the Reform Movement. A decisive step was taken with the removal of the kabbalistic non-essentials of the prayers. With this action, an immediate separation was made from the attitudes and traditions of the preceding era which had been generally accepted. It was one of those quiet revolutions which without causing any sensation was of epoch-making significance. The prayer-book reworked by Seligmann Baer closely followed the method of Heidenheim. In so far as one can demand

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correctness in the preparation of the text and the vocalization, this prayer-book is undoubtedly perfect. On the other hand, it meant a retrogression because it again included many of the old distorted additions. By doing this the prayer-book subscribed to the set-back brought about by romanticism which had emerged in the course of the nineteenth century.

Translations of the traditional prayers were disseminated more and more and those who were not versed in Hebrew were now able to understand the liturgy. Among the Portugese and Italian Jews, translations of the prayers were used for many centuries and no one objected to them. In the area in which the German-Polish rite was used, a Jewish-German translation had been available for a long time. Nevertheless wherever the Polish rabbis were in the majority, a translation into the vernacular was prohibited. When Isaac Pinto wanted to publish an English translation of the prayers in London, he encountered so much opposition that he had to have his work printed in New York. The first translation of the prayers into German fared no better. In 1786 David Friedländer published a translation of the prayers and the "Sayings of the Fathers" with explanatory notes which he presented in Hebrew characters. His work was not banned as was Mendelssohn's translation of the Bible. His work was nevertheless publicly attacked by the preacher Eleasar Fleckles in Prague. Friedländer felt compelled to exonerate himself by means of a special "open-letter to the German Jews". Despite this, in 1788, Issac Euchel published a new translation in German characters. There then followed translations in Dutch, Danish, Hungarian and gradually

in every language spoken by the Jews without it being necessary to wage great campaigns for the translations. The very extreme circles of the Hassidim today still consider the old jargon as the only legitimate and permitted language of the Jews. Aside from them there is no one who has again risen in opposition to the use of the vernacular for the translation of the prayers.

3. These translations were indeed deviations from the tradition but they left the liturgy as such unchanged. The
 397-2 much lamented abuses, the length of the prayers, the burden of incomprehensible piyyutim and the disturbances that occurred during the Torah service particularly were not remedied by the translations. No one dared touch the firmly fixed procedures of the synagogue until the sovereign rights of the people in opposition to the absolute dominion of authority had been led
 398 to a victory by means of the French Revolution. In 1795 in Amsterdam a society was organized named Felix Libertate.. The main purpose of this group was to fight for civil rights though at the same time its members demanded reforms in the liturgy, the abolition of the Piyyutim and a change in those prayers that pre-supposed a political or social antithesis between Jews and non-Jews. Since the leaders and the rabbis of the time were opposed to this group, the members formed their own congregation Adas Jeshurun. In the numerous polemical treatises published by both sides, there was a discussion of the question of the justification of the reforms demanded. When Napoleon convened the Great Sanhedrin many circles hoped than an extensive liturgical reform would emanate from this corporate body. Everything nevertheless remained the same.

The only effect upon the liturgy brought forth by that gathering was the statement of the consistorial ordinance of 1807. This gave the rabbis the right to look after the order in the synagogue and to preach a sermon in the vernacular during the weekly sabbath service. This was an innovation for all countries. Though outside of Germany it was nothing uncommon, it was nevertheless not held regularly. Until that time sermons only in German were held in isolated instances in Germany and were only tolerated on certain occasions. Since the government now ordained these sermons, they had to be permitted without opposition. There were, however, lacking capable speakers who were sufficiently fluent in the language.

The demands of the consistorial ordinance achieved their significance when they were rigorously carried out in and transferred to Westfalia by Israel Jacobsohn. He was no reformer in the actual sense of the word. He was lacking theological knowledge and scientific profundity but he was, on the other hand, a man with a practical eye and of hastily decided and vigorous action. It was his wish above all to provide Jewish practises with an appearance corresponding to the times. He wanted to produce these institutions in a worthy form which would also be pleasing to people of other faiths.

398-2 He thus placed his greatest emphasis upon the elimination of all external deficiencies of the liturgy and the embellishment
399 of all its forms. Whenever he could exercise influence, he stressed the German sermon and organized singing. In the synagogues in the region of the consistory, the Piyyutim were also omitted. Several prayers that contained the laments

about oppression and persecution and thus were not in consonance with the political conditions were changed. All of this was tolerated though frequently with opposition. It was noted with great unpleasantness when Jacobsohn also introduced German prayers and songs during the service in Kassel, in the school of the consistory. He completely aroused the general indignation when he even permitted the playing of an organ in the synagogue in Seesen which built by him. The liturgy, however, primarily consisted of the old Hebrew prayers in an unaltered form. The German part of the liturgy, however, experienced opposition. Jacobsohn referred to the fact that the knowledge of Hebrew was just then decreasing. His opponents answered that the omission of Hebrew from the liturgy had to result in an even greater neglect of the language of the forefathers which at the same time was the language of Holy Writ and the only common bond between co-religionists. Already then at the beginning of the movement the same arguments were set up against one another that are still leading the battle today one hundred years later. In a similar manner as in Sessen an hour of prayer was held every Sunday in Frankfurt on the Main at The Philanthropin. Later at the instigation of Johlsohn who also worked out a hymnal for this service, it was held on the sabbath. In many ways, the form of the liturgy and especially the German hymns were imitations of Christian examples which obviously evoked strong opposition. After a short time, however, these hymns etc. were recognized as proper and accepted without disagreement. The religious services in the Jewish schools had the effect with the aid of

school discipline of making the student accustomed to order and very dignified behaviour in the synagogue as well as to the sermon and the singing of the choir. Even more important was the pupils' parents pleasure in these liturgical practises and their participation in them. In this manner, the sermon and singing, quiet and devotion became an innermost desire. The regularly given German sermon was especially widely disseminated and was soon no longer considered strange.

Jacobsohn also attempted to make the confirmation of boys and girls a regular practise. Such an obligation for a confession of faith had no roots in the past and thus could not prevail. It only became part of the liturgy of reform congregations in Berlin and America. Confirmation was part of the program of reform of several governments that were well-disposed toward the Jews. Confirmation was to offer a guarantee for the fact that Jewish youth were given religious instruction in the vernacular. In Denmark it was ordained by law. In the few congregations of Denmark there stirred at that time a seemingly free spirit. Along with sermon in Danish, other reforms along the line of Jacobsohn's thinking found zealous supporters. In all countries in which the naturalization of the Jew in terms of custom and language was a new occurrence, the endeavour was repeated to give a more or less clear expression to this transformation. This effort applied to transformations in the area of liturgical customs as well.

4. Of significance was the fact that in 1815 Jacobsohn moved to Berlin. Here the indifference of the educated to the institutions of Judaism assumed horrible proportions. Here

Mendelssohn's disciples had attempted to reorganize the didactic content of the Jewish religion in the sense of the enlightenment. In the congregations, however, everything remained unchanged. Directly after the issuance of the Edict of March 11, 1812, David Friedländer wrote "about the reformation of the liturgy in the synagogues of Prussia that had become necessary due to the new organization of the Jews in the Prussian states". He also sought to obtain the support of the government for a thorough change. Aside from the "production of a pleasing external form" he demanded "the full uncurtailed introduction of the German language into the service". Even more decisive was his omission of all prayers of a messianic content and his desire to see the hopes for the future stricken from the prayers because they no longer had any purpose due to the granting of emancipation.

400-2 Friedländer thus identified himself with one of the most dangerous errors of the Jewish enlightenment. According to this view, the messianic idea was completely stripped of its idealistic content and made to refer merely to the attainment of earthly happiness and political equality. Friedländer's writing caused a sensation that is understandable. Except for a few rejoinders, however, it had no further results. When Jacobsohn settled in Berlin, he organized services for 401 the sabbaths and festivals in his own home. This service had organ accompaniment, German choral singing and a weekly sermon. The arrangement of the prayers was more or less the traditional one though in the introductory prayers much was shortened or translated into German. The most essential innovation was the

omission of the repetition of the Tefillah and the complete elimination of the Musaf service. The Hebrew prayers and the reading of the Torah were given in the sephardic pronunciation which was considered the correct one. Jacobsohn's liturgy found a great deal of approval amongst the many educated people of the community. Soon it was necessary to select a larger hall for the service. The new arrangement did not last long for already in December 1815 the service was prohibited by the government. This was done according to an old ordinance governing the Jews that had been issued in 1750 which prohibited convocations for prayer outside of the community synagogue. Thus Jacobsohn's innovation ceased for a while. The most influential men of the community, however, had the greatest interest in continuing the liturgy in the form pleasing to them. They therefore used the closing of the synagogue because of alterations that had become necessary as the motive for again reviving the liturgy according to the arrangement introduced by Jacobsohn. A hymnal and prayer-book for the sabbaths and festivals were published for these services. Again the changes referred more to the form of the liturgy than ^{to} its content. The variations consisted essentially in the extensive use of the German language for the introductory benedictions and Psalms and in the use of some readings from the Sephardic rite. The Musaf service was again introduced. On the holy days, the largest portion of the Hebrew prayers likewise continued in the same manner and only the Piyyutim were greatly reduced. On the Day of Atonement, the Piyyutim

401-2 were nevertheless used in considerable number. Though the deviations from the traditional liturgy were not significant the German sermon prayers, and hymns as well as the organ accompaniment were felt by many to be a violation of their freedom of conscience. These people therefore demanded through a complaint to the government a hasty restoration of the community synagogue. The supporters of the innovations, however, did not want to complete the building before some unity about the reforms had been achieved. They desired an expansion of the synagogue and the establishment of two 402 services side by side. This was the actual result when the opponents of the reforms had the uncompleted synagogue put crudely in order so that they might hold a service in accordance with the tradition. The lengthy conflict between the parties and the investigation of the government finally led to an unfortunate result. On December 9, 1823 by order of the cabinet, every change in the Jewish liturgy and likewise the sermon in German and the choral singing were prohibited as a matter of principle. In other Prussian communities like Breslau and Königsberg the services that had been introduced a long time before also had to be discontinued. With this edict, every advance in the field of liturgy was made impossible for decades in the region of the kingdom of Prussia.

5. The necessity to change the liturgy into a form more in consonance with modern experience was felt everywhere. The establishment of "Der Neue Israelitische Tempelverein" in Hamburg caused the greatest sensation. In 1817 a large number of co-religionists joined together with the intent of

"establishing a worthy and ordered rite which was to be followed on the sabbaths and festivals as well as other festive occasions. The service was to be conducted in a Temple established for this purpose. The sermon in German and choral singing with organ accompaniment were to be introduced". Here for the first time a congregation had formed which set as its task the use of a reformed liturgy. The prayer-book that appeared at the opening of the Temple in the fall of 1818 deviated in essential points from all the liturgical arrangements known until that time.

The service was only held on the sabbaths and festivals and the prayer-book thus contained only the prayers for these days. Later there appeared a supplement with the prayers for Purim and the Ninth of Av. The external characteristics of the service at the Temple were the singing by a mixed choir, organ music and a weekly sermon in German and German hymns.

The preacher Kley published a special hymnal. The prayer-book was based upon the tradition of the Sephardic rite and used the Sephardic pronunciation of the Hebrew Jews. The differentiation between typical and supplementary prayers was decisive in the selection of the prayers to be inserted in the new prayer-book. Typical prayers "were those that were always considered an essential part of the Israelite liturgy" and were "scrupulously retained, and only with the supplementary prayers did one deal freely". By using the Sephardic arrangement of the prayers there naturally were numerous deviations from the wording of the prayers customary amongst the majority of the Jews of Hamburg. Within the Sephardic

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prayer-book used, however, the text remained in a practically unchanged form. The most striking innovation was the inclusion of many of the basic prayers in German translation and not in the Hebrew. The liturgy for the Indagation of the Sabbath omitted all the introductory prayers that were not found in the older prayer-books. The service began with Psalm 92 and then had the Evening Service in the traditional form. Indeed, the Shema and the selections following the Tefillah were in Hebrew and all the others were in German. In the Sabbath Morning Service, the introductory benedictions and the Psalms (§ 11,12) were shortened considerably and rendered in German. The Shema and its blessings were in the same form as in the Evening Service. The Tefillah was in Hebrew with the insertion of the Kedushah recited aloud immediately. The three year cycle of Torah readings was introduced. The reading was done without cantillation and in the Sephardic pronunciation. The Haftarah was omitted. German hymns were sung when the Torah was removed from and returned to the ark as well as before and after the sermon. The Musaf Prayer was likewise recited aloud immediately. On the festivals, the structure of the prayers was the same as on the sabbaths. There were no Piyyutim on the Pilgrim Festivals which corresponded to the Sephardic arrangement of the liturgy. On the High Holydays, on the other hand, the Piyyutim were retained in very large number and were all taken from the Sephardic tradition. The liturgy for the Day of Atonement lasted the entire day in the traditional manner. When the prayer arrangement for Purim appeared, it brought along with it the innovation of substituting the abridged prayer שְׁמַח מִיּוֹם for the middle benedictions of the Tefillah.

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The changes in the wording of the prayers were not very significant and concerned mainly only the details of style.

The aim of the innovation was mainly a shortening and simplification of the liturgy. Furthermore the prayers were to become more comprehensible and speak more to the heart than was the case up to that time. There are only two changes

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of fundamental significance. In the Musaf prayers, another prayer was substituted for the request for the re-building of the Temple and the restoration of the sacrifices. This prayer contains the plea for the gracious acceptance of prayer as a substitution for the sacrifices. In addition, a revision of the prayer for the bringing about of the messianic kingdom was undertaken. The expression of the hope for the future was not eliminated from the prayers but was more or less retained in its traditional form. Whenever there was a discussion of the historical significance of the Jewish people or whenever a symbolic and a purely religious interpretation of the messianic ideals was possible then the wording was left unchanged. On the other hand wherever the national aspect of the hope for the future was emphasized, wherever a prayer was offered for the general return to the Holy Land and the uniting of all Jews in the land of their ancestors, the passages were given a more universal and symbolic content.

If one overlooks the mixing of German and Hebrew selections within the same section of prayer as well as the changes in the Scripture readings, then one can designate the deviations from the traditional prayer-book as very moderate. In no way was it revolutionary and the thought of separation from the

Jewish community was far from the founders of the Temple. The endeavours were directed at "providing the cult in its entirety with dignity and efficacy". In no respect did they want to renounce the religious teachings of Judaism. The prayer-book was not compiled by theologians but rather by educated laymen in accordance with the needs of the moment. They did not conceive of it as a final, definitive and inviolable work. Just as it originated in the name of "progress" so it could be subjected from time to time to examination and improvement. The prayer-book was no magnum opus and had scrupulously kept itself far from taking a stand on principles. In order to satisfy as many and as varied groups as possible, it made compromises of every type. Abraham Geiger submitted it to a merciless critique and rejected it as backward "because in every point, it avoided a clear and systematic implementation of a progressive religious principle". On the other hand, it was censored by others because it seemed too radical to them, took into too little consideration the views of the congregation and had removed itself quickly from the dominant religious views. The deviations in the messianic prayers were also frequently criticized by those men who subscribed to the reforms and did not deny recognition to the liturgy of the Temple as a totality. They thus touched upon the most delicate spot in the Temple's prayer-book. Indeed as we saw, the question of the binding power of the messianic belief in the form it had taken until that time had already entered into a state of flux. The problem of exactly what formed the actual content of the messianic idea

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and how it could be expressed in prayer had hardly been dealt with. In no way had this problem already found a conclusive solution so that it would be justified to make a change on the basis of it. In dealing with this question, theological deliberations were likewise not decisive as at a later time when they led to the revision of the entire messianic concept. Rather were exaggerated anxieties about the attainment of emancipation the decisive factors in the solution of the messianic idea. The opponents of the equality of rights for the Jews used the reference in the hopes for the future, that is the establishment of a Jewish kingdom in the Holy Land, as a welcome weapon. They found this belief expressed in the prayers. It was an absurdity on the part of the reformers that then and even long after they were ready to bring the messianic belief in its traditional form as a sacrifice to the objection of those who opposed equal rights for the Jews. By doing this, the reformers imputed to the old form of Judaism a certain deficiency in loyalty to, and love for the father land. The political prejudices had to be fought with political arguments. When examined properly and without bias, no sound argument against equal rights for the Jews could be derived from the messianic belief. In his defense of the Jews, Macaulay, the famous English statesman, presented the evidence for equal rights of the Jews with irrefutable arguments. The founders of the Temple did not only permit themselves to be led by the consideration of opportuneness on these points alone for their entire action was determined by external consideration. Practically men worked on the reforms. They were neither scholars

nor spiritual men who sought to develop a new religious concept and carry it out logically in the shaping of the prayers. Nonetheless, the recognition is due their endeavours for having been the first to find the courage to make an attempt at reviving the liturgy. Even the opponents of the Temple had to concede that the Temple "removed from the synagogue in one stroke and without much deliberation the abundance of material accumulated through the centuries. The holy cobweb that no one dared touch was swept away in youthful violence and awoke a desire for an orderly system for proper decorum during services and for good taste and simplicity".

406 If the rabbis had taken possession of the new movement as intelligent adherents of the old tradition had suggested and if they would have influenced the reformers and sought to rectify the errors which in their opinion the reformers had committed, who knows how Judaism would have developed in Germany. Instead of this, the rabbis took a distinctly hostile attitude to the new undertaking. The first sheet of the new prayer-book had hardly appeared when the Hamburg rabbinate, by means of a poster in the synagogue, warned members of the community against using the book. Already one day later, the rabbi in Altona released a similar notice. It is only necessary to read the documents with their half-Hebrew half-German wording in order to immediately comprehend that two world views had collided and it was impossible to effectuate any agreement between them. The Tempelverein did not allow itself to be intimidated by the threats and continued to publish its prayer-book. It likewise

constantly used the prayer-book during the service which from the beginning had a good attendance. The Hamburg rabbinate obtained advice from the most distinguished rabbis of Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy and published it in a collection entitled ת'רצ"ה 'רצ"ז ס'ק. The rabbis could already announce on the title page as a harmonious conclusion "that from the first to the last word, it is forbidden to change the prayer-book used in Israel and all the more to omit something from it; that it is prohibited to pray in any language other than Hebrew and every prayer-book not printed according to the regulations and the custom is not valid and consequently illegal to pray from it. It is finally prohibited to play any instrument in the synagogue on the sabbath or the festivals even though it is done by non-Jews". The statements of the rabbis were very sharp. They were accustomed to command and to receive unqualified obedience. It was the first time the rabbis had encountered a larger united group that consciously removed itself from the tradition and the rabbinical regulations. The rabbis went much too far in their charge of heresy and only reacted to all demands with an unequivocal prohibition. The rabbis opposed the innovations completely devoid of understanding and advice though some of them knew from their own experience of endeavours that dealt with withdrawal from traditional Judaism. The rabbis did not know the world and only lived in their books. Indeed, they had a most thorough command of the Talmud and its decisions up to the last details. They were however caught up in dialectics and clung to the letter. They were not able to set themselves into the spirit of Biblical

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and rabbinic Judaism and had no concept of the influence of his tory upon the development of customs and religious views. They thus unanimously took the viewpoint that every innovation was to be rejected. They did not want to permit things that were nowhere prohibited and for which a rejection could only be found with effort and difficulty and by means of ingenious derivations and disputable conclusions. In their opinion not only was the wording of the prayers based upon an old tradition but also all the liturgical arrangements without differentiation. According to them no customs were to be changed since they were also "extremely holy" and "even the simplest deviation among them made the effect of prayer questionable". One notices from these opinions that the authors were influenced by those views that had been introduced into the Halachah by the Kabbalah. They were afraid that the special meanings and effects that had been attributed in the Halachah to every ceremony and even the most insignificant customs were being questioned. Especially indicative of their perplexity in opposition to all the new occurrences was their attitude toward the question of the organ. In Talmudic writing there is no discussion about it. It was, however, decided even before the investigation that the organ could not be permitted. Indeed they did not quite know whether

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408 It was dialectics that dealt itself the death blow. There is only one thing gratifying in the judgments of the rabbis and that is the unanimous declaration that the messianic belief and the hopes for the future did not render the Jews incapable of fulfilling their duties as citizens and that loyalty to the ruler and the fatherland belong amongst the religious precepts of Judaism.

The sharpness of the rejecting attitude of the rabbis was, however, unjustifiable because they themselves did nothing to prevent the decline of religious life. It was now public that practically an entire generation had become estranged from the liturgy because it no longer understood the contents. This generation felt itself repulsed by the form of the liturgy. The rabbis looked on at the indifference without concern and not once did they engage in the examination of the motives of those who sought to check this evil. An agreement between the two opposing trends was entirely impossible because the representatives of the tradition in no way showed any inclination to become familiar with the aims and desires of the reformers. The arguments and views of the tradition, on the other hand, could in no way make any impression upon the members of the Temple. The reformers had in their possession several rabbinical decisions that were rendered in favor of similar efforts in Berlin and completely approved of the innovations. In addition, however, one of the reformer's most active members had published a sharp satiric refutation of the opponents and confronted the decisions of the investigators with the most contradictory statements from the rabbinical sources. This,

however, was in no way decisive. If the Shulchan Aruch and its most reputable commentators were all against the Tempelverein, its members would not allow themselves to be restrained from their efforts. The times had likewise changed and the reverence for Talmudism had declined. No longer was judgment rendered according to the formal decisions and dialectic deductions of rabbinic documents. Dogmas and religious practices had to submit themselves to the verdict of reason. No longer were they held in high esteem merely because they were handed down by the forefathers. On the other hand, they were examined on the basis of their inner value and propriety. The old liturgy had gone out of fashion and had become an empty form. The recitation of incomprehensible prayers, the repulsive singing of the Hazzan and the noisy activity in the synagogues were no longer timely. They brought no edification and did not satisfy the need for prayer. The two latter demands were unusual and had not been heard for a long time. It was, however, a new generation with entirely different necessities of life which they extolled. When steps were taken to simplify the order of prayers and to re-institute devotion and solemnity during the service, it could surely not be considered a sin against the spirit of the Jewish religion. In one of the opinions expressed against the Temple, the "apostasy" of the new congregation was explained as a punishment for the many malpractices which the service in Germany suffered and the worshippers' interruption of the service by conversing and sometimes even quarreling. Indeed, that was the root of the evil. The advocates of reform

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could not justify their movement more impressively. The rabbis, however, in their pathetic ignorance of the ways of the world failed to realize that the abuses were determined by the retention of those practices which they would not allow to be touched because of their alleged holiness.

By their objection, the rabbis completely forfeited every influence upon the educated and the progressive segment of Jewry, and did not hinder the existence and success of the Temple. It is dubious whether the members of the Hamburg community were conscious of the importance of their action or whether they felt themselves representatives of a new principle. The Temple in no way justified the aspirations and the apprehensions associated with its origin. The revolutionary sentiment that perhaps had dominated it at the beginning had soon vanished. The members of the Temple loved their comfort and peace and thought more about their business than of a reorganization of the religion. These congregants were satisfied with the new arrangements and in no way were they filled with the fervid activity replete with eagerness for controversy nor did they possess a self-sacrificing enthusiasm. The preachers of that time were not men of exceptional significance. They engaged exclusively in their obligations toward the congregation and their entire activity was taken up with preaching and teaching. They did not feel themselves called upon to be spiritual leaders of Jewry nor did they possess the ability. Devastating was the impression of their personalities which Leopold Zunz wrote in his scathing judgment that "there would be more Judaism to study in a stuffed rabbi in the zoological

410 museum than in the living preachers of the Temple". After several years, no one any longer expected that the re-birth of Judaism could emanate from the Temple. One could only see in it nothing more than the attempt to externally dress up a structure in whose productiveness one did not really believe and for whose thorough repair one did not consider the expense and the effort rewarding. "The members of the Hamburg community deceived themselves if they attributed a universal significance to their ideas of reformation. It is, however, a deception that one can allow them. Why do they have to know that they themselves are in transition?" Already in 1824 Moritz Moser wrote these words. Nothing, however, was more remote from him than blind prejudice against the progressive movement.

The Temple was not an unimportant episode though no historian can designate its origin as "a new era in the history of the Jewish religion". "We wanted to improve the liturgy and this happened, but I do not feel myself called upon to be a reformer". These words of the most energetic and spiritual among the founders of the Temple clearly indicate the narrow limitations of the undertaking with which the results were also commensurate. Within its small circle, the Temple contributed to the fight against indifference. It fortified the faith of those who participated in the new liturgy and also aroused anew and maintained the religious enthusiasm of those who had become estranged from the synagogue. Beyond this the achievements and successes of the Temple were few. The most significant action of the Tempelverein was the establishment of a branch

service in Leipzig in 1820. Numerous merchants from Hamburg stopped in Leipzig during the Holydays which often coincided with the Easter and fall fairs. Visitors from every country and especially from Poland, Russia and Hungary became acquainted with the new form of the Liturgy and appreciated much of it. In their native countries, they reported what they had seen. In this way, the interest in and appreciation for a similar service spread to many places. The sermon and choral singing, 410-2 the elimination of the most incomprehensible sections of the prayer-book and the Piyyutim and above all the re-institution of quiet and order in the synagogue were felt in many communities to be an urgent needs.

In large communities like Vienna and Prague, individual Temples were established which had a service with a sermon. In spite of a choir and an organ, the entire rabbinate appeared at the dedication of the Temple in Prague in 1837. In Germany, 411 the government of several small states issued synagogue ordinances in order to achieve a worthy and proper service. They also permitted these ordinances to be carried out against the will of the congregations. The encroachments of the ordinances governing the Jews in Saxony-Weimar were made without understanding. In addition to the change in many liturgical practices they designated that all the prayers should only be recited in German with the exception of a few. Hess, the Land rabbiner was filled with such a fanatic hatred toward traditional Judaism that he encouraged the government in its action though at the same time the government made the legal position of the Jew worse. The communities so distinctly

opposed the reforms that they could only be enforced fifteen years later. In Prussia too the prohibition of 1823 (p. 402) gradually fell into oblivion and the community could introduce a German sermon as a regular institution. Thus in every place there stirred the desire for innovations and above all for the shortening and embellishment of the service and for religious instruction. Here and there, there was conflict because of the elimination of malpractices or the omission of a Piyyut. Generally, however, there reigned peace and torpidity. Nowhere could one notice the appearance of a new spirit. In spite of all the attempts at change nothing of a thorough nature occurred in order to restrain the decline.

§ 45. The Reform Movement at its Pinnacle

Bibliography: Philipson, The Reform Movement in Judaism; Philippson, Neueste Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes, Bd. 1; Bernfeld, תולדות התנועה הרפורמית; JE articles on Prayer-books and Reform Judaism; Protokolle und Aktenstücke der zweiten Rabbinerversammlung (Minutes and official documents of the second rabbinical conference).

1. Gloomy years followed for the German Jews after the establishment of the Hamburg Temple. Their messianic dream was suddenly interrupted. A mighty flood of deprecatory writings and the Hep-Hep movement reminded them that at least for the Jews, the Middle Ages had not ended. As a result of increased reaction in all the states of Germany, the prospect of attaining equal rights was remotely distant. The ideal for whose realization two generations had expended their entire energy was destroyed. The hope that had given them courage and support had vanished. The majority of the educated Jews lost their

confidence in the future. Many sought association with the dominant church and others continued to live in apathetic despair without caring about their co-religionists. The religious conditions assumed a desperate form, Judaism declined more and more and it lacked leaders and followers. The teachers of Judaism had no appreciation of the language and efforts of their contemporaries. The adherents of the faith carried out the traditional regulations with the strictest conscientiousness but without any inner participation and thus without the desire to bequeath these practices to their descendants. There grew up a generation that "continued to live godlessly and immorally in mere intoxication of the senses. There was no religious instruction, no good examples only the scorning of everything good and complete ignorance". The more profound spirits could not hide from themselves the fact that the lack of ingenuity in faith and the incomprehensible worship of forms had to lead to an abyss if in due course a complete change of the spirit in Judaism and a thorough reform did not take place. Samson Raphael Hirsch's "Nineteen Letters" was such a warning cry. These made an overwhelming impression upon his contemporaries because of the warmth of sensitivity and the depth of comprehension that emanated from them. They represented a new view of the course of development and the mission of the Jewish religion and removed themselves intellectually from the prevailing doctrine. When, however, Hirsch discussed the molding of one's life, he considerably exceeded the Schulchan Aruch with the principle of stability. For his doctrine "Judaism begins and ends with the Shulchan Aruch and the

Minhag-book". His teaching could therefore not introduce a change in the religious life. At about the same time, Abraham Geiger had developed a concept of Jewish theology on the basis of historical criticism. He also urged a reform. He likewise called for a complete revision of all religious thought and life and not for individual changes and minor improvements of the liturgy. Reform for him signified a "new and changed structure, a rejuvenated life and penetrating forms nurtured by the intellect. The difficult as well as the easy, the whole as well the parts should have meaning and significance, elevate the spirit, and warm the heart in order to influence the entire expression of life". Gradually times improved and the people were again more open to idealistic challenges. With the progressive accomplishments of the bourgeoisie after 1830, the situation of the Jews also became more promising. In Gabriel Riesser there arose for the Jews a courageous representative of high moral pathos. The credit for the renewed elevation of the self-consciousness of the Jews and the growth of fidelity to their religion is to be attributed to him. Every reform in the area of religion that was intended to facilitate civil emancipation, Riesser declined with determination. The impact of his example did not fail to appear. The governments of Baden and Bavaria demanded certain changes in the religious life and liturgical practices as a pre-requisite for the granting of civil rights. Their desires were resolutely rejected.

2. The atmosphere had changed and signs of a new age were noticeable everywhere. For the time being, the movement did

not assume any set form in any place until the calm was again interrupted by the Hamburg Temple. This time, however, a storm was unleashed that raged far off too and seized all of Jewry. It gave the impetus for a thorough reform of the liturgy. As a result of the increased number of members, the Temple congregation saw that it was necessary to expand their house of prayer. It was therefore decided to use the opportunity to revise its prayer-book "in consonance with the spirit of contemporary progress". During the holydays in the fall of 1841, the new edition of the prayer-book appeared under the double title " *דבר ודבר*, prayer-book for public and private devotion according to the custom of the new Israelite Temple in Hamburg". The revisions primarily consisted of the substitution of more soul-stirring and effective prayers for the German prayers that were of little value. The Piyyutim that had proven too numerous and thus impractical were omitted. The basic prayers, however, were expanded and completed. Much of that which had fallen out earlier was again restored. Thus there again appeared above all the prayers for the weekdays. The introductory blessings were shortened and recited in German, the Psalms were not essentially shortened and were recited in Hebrew and the Shema was the same as previously (p. 403).

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The first and last three blessings of the Tefillah were recited *ללל* in Hebrew along with the Kedushah. The others were rendered in German. At the conclusion, there followed the Kaddish and a German hymn. The insertions and the Torah readings were retained in the old manner. Great innovations were not undertaken

in individual sections, "every deviation was to be avoided wherever possible. The Hebrew expression was treated with special consideration and preference was given to the older sacred expression over the new one though it might be better". In the Tefillah, for example, in the translation of the fourteenth and fifteenth blessings, the national hope was spiritualized corresponding to the procedure of the first edition. The wording of the old sources was inserted into the benediction of the seventeenth blessing (p. 31,56). On the whole, these changes were simple and undertaken in a conservative tone in comparison with the earlier edition. No one thought the appearance of the prayer-book could cause any excitement. It was also used during all the holydays that year without any opposition. The holydays had, however, hardly ended when a long publication (*דבר חם*) by Hacham Bernays appeared. This statement reminds one of the decision of the rabbinate in the year 1819. It prohibited the recitation of the prescribed prayers from the new prayer-book. The new prayer-book was spoken of in the harshest manner. It was attacked as an "arbitrary mutilation, elimination, deviation and flippant treatment of our religiously promised future, the wanton treatment of God and the dismemberment and destruction of practically all the prayers". Such a statement was not expected from Bernays. He was not a rabbi of the old type and was versed in all sciences, philosophy and Kabbalah. He had also expressed ideas about the developmental process of Judaism which, if spoken to an old rabbi and if he were able to understand them,

they would sound like heresies worthy of punishment. One could therefore have anticipated more prudence and freedom from bias from Bernays. Actually at first he too must have been led to make this statement by the pressures of his supporters who were angered at the growth of the Temple. Bernays in his attacks, however, overstepped the limits of what was permissible and what is of more seriousness, the boundaries of truth. It was thus understandable that in the widest circles fault was found with his conduct. The result of Bernays' attack was not only a passionate statement by the Temple congregation defending itself from the interference by Bernays. Theologians who took exception with much of the Temple's prayer-book also declared their anger about the popular charge of heresy against the congregation which Bernays had made. It was a congregation about whose religious life he had shown no interest until that time. As a consequence of the rashness of the Temple's opponents, the appearance of the new prayer-book became the occasion for renewed conflict. The controversy did not continue to revolve about the original point of departure but led to a difference on principle which was of great consequence.

3. The conditions were not the same as in 1819 when the negative judgment of the rabbis was accepted without contradiction. In the interim, a new generation with new attitudes and new endeavours had developed. Progress was no longer represented by men "who were not adequately learned in religion and indulged in shallow babble about sham enlightenment". In the meantime, die Wissenschaft des Judentums had come on the scene and the way to a historical understanding of religion had

been found. Zunz's Gottesdienstliche Vorträge had set forth in classical method with irrefutable proofs the development of religious practices. It was shown that the Jewish liturgy in no manner had the same completed form and the same scope from the very beginning. On the other hand, the liturgy was subjected to continuous changes. Furthermore it was pointed out that the liturgy emanated from modest beginnings and through constant embellishments became what appeared to Zunz' contemporaries as something eternally unchanged and unchangeable. Zunz also took a position on contemporary problems and thus formulated the results of his investigations that "the right could not be disputed for any organized Jewish authority or congregation to introduce new prayers as well as to again exclude certain quotations from the order of prayer that had become more obstructive than beneficial to culture due to their length, incomprehensibility and objectionable content". The most important segment of improvements seemed to Zunz to be the necessity "for the reconstruction of the past, the return from the malpractice to the proper practice which is the return from the petrified form to the vibrant form". Geiger built the Jewish theology upon Zunz' investigations. For Geiger, the reorganization of the liturgy was no longer an end in itself but a branch of the great program of reform which constituted the basic problem of Judaism. One could not be concerned only with external changes for the entire religious outlook had been set upon a new foundation. The question arose as to how much the religious views represented in the prayers

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corresponded to the revised concepts. In addition, a Jewish press had developed and the disputed point was zealously discussed in it. A public opinion was formed which took a vigorous position either for or against the proposed reform. Above all, there was already a large number of rabbis with a modern academic education which was of importance for the prayer-book controversy in Hamburg. The necessity for liturgical reforms was recognized by these men and they had instituted these reforms in their congregations to a lesser or greater degree. This time it was therefore the Temple that demanded theological judgment about the disputed prayer-book in order to confirm "whether the prayer-book was actually counter to the Israelite religious teachings and therefore its use was not permissible at a service". The opinions were very far from rendering the prayer-book unlimited praise. Some opinions objected to the deviations from the traditional text or to the arbitrary blending of different texts. For others, the changes did not go far enough and lacked a consistent application of the principles of Reform. All judgments agreed to resolutely condemn Bernay's position. They did not only accuse him because of the disregard for freedom of conscience. Rather did they also generally deny the right to a rabbi to appear as a judge in this matter who himself did nothing for the improvement of the malpractices of the liturgy in existence up to that time.

4. For Hamburg, the affair was thus brought to a close. As a result of the liturgy battle and the public stir that was connected with it, it had become a question for all Jewry. A

generally acceptable solution had to thus be reached. For a long time, a convocation of rabbis was advocated. The Temple controversy hastened this convention and on the twelfth of June 1844, the first one took place in Braunschweig. The rabbinical gatherings were considered non-partisan in which all movements joined together for general consultation about the ways and means for removal of the blemishes in contemporary Judaism. The rabbinical convocations were to end arbitrary action and disunion. It was likewise their purpose to seek a solution to the difficulties arising daily. These solutions were to be of such a nature that they would be acceptable to the entire Jewish community. The group of rabbis which considered that everything holy must be maintained according to the tradition purposely remained away from the assemblies. The group thus gave up every influence upon the future form of the condition of the great mass of German Jews. It was their fault when the representatives of radical reform acquired the majority. It was in consonance with the interpretation of these reformers that the liturgical problems became of prime importance in the conferences concerned with the reorganization of Judaism. Only one of the resolutions of the first rabbinical conference was related to the liturgy and this was a recommendation for the elimination of the Kol Nidre. It was thought that this prayer was an absurdity that came into being in connection with the question of the Jew's oath. In this instance, too, a religious tradition became the victim of a political endeavour. To begin with, only detailed discussion was devoted to the

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liturgy and a committee was given the task of reporting about the following six points:

1. "Whether the Hebrew language is necessary during the service and if so how much of it? If it is not necessary, then for the time being does it still seem advisable to employ it?"

2. To what extent must the doctrine of the messiah and whatever is related to it be mentioned in the prayers?

3. Whether the repetition of the eighteen blessings is necessary and whether the Musaf service must be retained?

4. In what manner should the *קריאת התורה* and *קריאת שמע* (the reading of the Torah and the calling to the Torah) be arranged?

5. In what manner is the *תקיעת שופר* (blowing of the ram's horn) and *חשיאת הכוכבים* (holding the *כוכב* to be arranged?

6. Whether the organ is advisable and permissible at a Jewish service?"

The task that fell to the committee was not an easy one. The difference of opinion in the assembly had already indicated that this was a matter of serious consequences.

5. The deliberation about the liturgy consumed the greatest portion of the sessions of the second rabbinical conference that was held in Frankfurt am Main from the fifteenth to the twenty-eighth of July 1845. The committee consisting of five members presented an extensive report. This report "enlarged in detail upon the principles which must be taken into consideration in a reform of the ritual. It likewise gave a

very precise detailed survey of the liturgy for the entire year that might be proposed". At this point, the difficulties already began. One member of the committee declared himself opposed to every modification of the public service that had been brought as a recommendation. The other members were likewise not united on all points and especially protected themselves from being held responsible for the entire content of the report. From the midst of the assembly, the charge was made that that committee had independently gone beyond the scope of its assignment. Instead of being satisfied with the deliberation of the six questions, it had presented a complete program of reform. The committee was therefore given the assignment of revising the report in such a manner that it merely contained a decision about the six points. If such dissension had taken place at the mere treatment of the purely formal externals then one could anticipate how much the opinions would clash at the discussion of essential problems. The committee's report used as its point of departure the thesis that a reform of the liturgy in the fashion it occurred until that time was not sufficient. Rather was it stated that "a new organic formation of the liturgy would be necessary". The "defects of the liturgy" were suggested as "the most important causes of the lack of participation in religious life". By the elimination of these defects, the synagogues would again be elevated to their proper dignity and the people would turn to them.

The debates took a passionate and an unpleasant form. The opinions were still as unclear as they were in Braunschweig the year before. The short period between the two conferences

was not actually sufficient to work out a question of such girth and importance from every aspect. The basic understanding of the principle problems of religion had to be decisive for the formation of the liturgy. Jewish theology, however, was still too young a science to be able to offer ready answers for such numerous and important problems. At all of the subsequent voting, the consequences of the lack of a guiding principle manifested themselves unpleasantly. The majority of the assembly, however, considered it more important to formulate resolutions than to be delayed in deciding basic principles. The first question had to be divided into several parts. Otherwise a resolution could not be reached at all. The committee denied the objective necessity for reciting the prayers in Hebrew. They merely discussed the use of Hebrew from the standpoint of the Talmud and its codifiers and found no refutation of their opinion in them. Nevertheless, it was still a question as to whether there were not reasons aside from legal ones, namely religious and historical reasons that demanded the recognition of the objective necessity for the retention of Hebrew for the most important prayers. On this point, there was a division and only thirteen votes in favor and three undecided. The majority of fifteen took the position that the goal, that the prayers were to be entirely in the vernacular had to remain. It was, however, felt by this group that at that time it was still advisable to retain Hebrew prayers. The vote brought the first division in the assembly. Frankel felt compelled to remove himself from the conference and tread his own path in the solution of the question of reform.

Complete disunity developed as soon as they moved on to a discussion of the individual details. It was not the intent of the assembly to create a new liturgy but rather to retain whatever was possible of the traditional material. The opinions varied a great deal as to the mass of material which might be possible to retain. The committee proposed a complete plan for a prayer-book. There was, nevertheless, hardly one of those assembled who was inclined to accept the plan unchanged. The committee had limited the Hebrew prayers to a very small number. They suggested only the first section of the Shema, the first and last blessings of the Tefillah be read in Hebrew. This was taken as good advice but almost unanimously declared as being insufficient. The question of the messiah concealed many difficult theological problems that had not as yet been clarified. There was only unity on the one point, "that the prayers for the return to the land of our fathers and the re-establishment of a Jewish state should be eliminated from our prayers". Otherwise the views concerning the origin and content of the messianic idea were very different. One had to thus be satisfied with the general decision that "the messianic idea deserved high regard in the prayers". An advance beyond the teaching of the old reformers was indicated in the explicit protest against the idea that the messianic belief in its old form was in opposition to the love toward the land of one's birth. Characteristic of the spirit that prevailed at the conference is the fact that many speakers declared that the messianic age of universal love of man had already come and begun. It was a fortunate age in which one could, with security, build upon

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the victory of right, truth and humanity which was imminent. The proposal to eliminate the repetition of the Tefillah was accepted without opposition. According to the majority opinion, on weekdays only the beginning and the end were to be recited aloud. On the sabbaths and festivals, everything was to be recited aloud immediately by the reader. The majority of the committee declared the Musaf service unsuitable. Indeed, the assembly was against the retention of the prayer for the restoration of the sacrifice but just as undivided against the elimination of the entire Musaf service. A majority even desired the inclusion of a reminder of the sacrifice once offered. They even favored the retention of the sacrificial verses "if the text remains in Hebrew". This was an addition hardly reconcilable with the other attitude toward the Hebrew language. The Torah reading was to be retained in Hebrew though shortened and arranged in such a manner that it caused no interruption in the decorum of the service. The committee proposed the introduction of the three year cycle which was accepted by a large majority. Simchat Torah (rejoicing of the law) was likewise to be observed every third year. The reading from the Torah was to be without cantillation and the section was then to be rendered in the vernacular. There was a great difference of opinion concerning the style of this "modern targum". Along with the Torah, the hagiographa was to be read as well as the prophets. These were to be read in German and, according to the majority opinion, during the morning service. The book of Esther was only to be read once. In contrast to the committee, a large majority wanted to retain the practice

of asking men to ascend to the pulpit during the Torah reading. Nevertheless, they desired the elimination of the Torah section designated for the Maftir. The question of the Shofar and the Lulav was postponed. Finally, it was unanimously decided that the organ was not only permissible but should and could be played by Jews on the sabbath. A committee was entrusted with the task of compiling a prayer-book on the basis of the resolutions formulated. The selection of the committee again disclosed the great disunity of the assembly which was repeated again in the most startling way at the deliberations of the committee.

The assignment was never completed by the committee since the rabbinical conference only convened once more. In Breslau (July 13th, 24th, 1846) the question of the sabbath stood in the foreground. The liturgy was only touched upon when a proposal was suddenly made to introduce Sunday services. This, nevertheless, did not receive the support of the majority. In addition, it was decided in Breslau that the second day of the festivals could be eliminated. It was furthermore decided that the blowing of the Shofar on New Year's Day and the use of the Lulav on the Feast of Tabernacles were not to be omitted on the sabbath.

The resolutions of the rabbinical conferences shared a fate similar to that of the Temple's prayer-book. They wanted to please everyone and satisfied no one. The resolutions had too few positive elements of the old liturgy and contained too many radical points. Those men who were familiar with the traditional

liturgy rejected the proposals because they were too far from their point of view. The other men rejected the propositions because they did not go far enough. The theories advocated by the spokesmen of the rabbinical conference stirred the hope within the representatives of radical reform for a complete withdrawal from rabbinic Judaism. The realization of this hope did not follow. The anticipated agreement between the rabbis who had met and the friends of reform did not take place. The first defiance of the rabbinical meeting occurred ^{when} in 1845 the "Genossenschaft für Reform in Judentum" in Berlin arranged a liturgy for the fall holydays.

6. The history of the origin of that society which later adopted the name Jewish Reform Congregation is familiar. It was primarily the result of dissatisfaction with the conditions of the congregation in Berlin and the desire for religious revival that led to its establishment. "In many respects, the conditions of the Berlin congregation were to be called rotten. On the one hand, the stubborn strictly conservative party presented the most obstinate opposition to the introduction of the most innocent innovations. These changes were sought in order to at least give some consideration to asthetic needs and common sense. On the other hand, there were those who remained loyal to the spirit of the essence of Judaism. These people longed for an inner regeneration of Judaism's eternal ideas and a fusion of them with the higher religious consciousness of the present. They did, however, find no greater satisfaction in the direction of ^{an} entirely external restoration of ceremonial institutions though they might be set in modern garb".

The state of the community was very sad. Observers from the most varied religious strata universally lamented the increasing decline and growing estrangement of wide circles of Jews. As a result of Sachs' uncompromising conservative strictness, he was unable to exercise the strong influence upon those who were alienated from the religious life which his talent as a preacher and his outstanding personality would have enabled him to do. The unsatisfied longing for a pleasing form of religious practice looked for its fulfillment in that radical solution which the "Society for Reform" presented. The founders of the society fulfilled a deeply serious religious striving. "We want: faith; we want: positive religion: we want: Judaism. We adhere firmly to the spirit of Holy Writ which we recognize as a sign of divine revelation. The spirit of our ancestors was enlightened by this revelation. We firmly adhere to everything that belongs to a genuine deep-rooted worship of God in the spirit of our religion. We firmly adhere to the conviction that the theology of Judaism is the eternally true one and to the promise that this knowledge of God will someday become the possession of all mankind". This extensive expression of faith lost much of its value because of the principles according to which it was expounded. The first one of these principles was the unlimited right of self-determination. The "balance between life and doctrine" to which they aspired was accomplished upon a very unreasonable basis. Only life with all its errors and perversities remained authoritative. Religious forms had to yield in favor of the habits of a community that was estranged from historical Judaism.

4.22-2 It was a continuation of this error when the community used as its point of departure Germany's political conditions and wanted to limit itself to its German co-religionists. The antithesis between religious and national sentiment had no intrinsic justification for a truly religious reform had to be applicable to all Jews. Finally, it was a misunderstanding of reality when the community claimed the messianic calling of Judaism for itself alone. All of Jewry pursued this endeavour and it was done on the basis of historical Judaism and not on that of free humanity as the spokesman of the society proclaimed.

423 Shortly after the establishment of the society, the resolution was passed "to arrange a temporary service primarily for the approaching High Holydays for the satisfaction of the religious need manifested in the society". In principle the service was different from the traditional liturgy. Men and women sat in the same room. One group on the right and the other on the left sides of the room. Men appeared without head covering and did not have to wear a Talit. The service was conducted entirely in German. Only a few Biblical passages like the Shema, the Kedushah and the priestly blessing were recited in German and Hebrew. The prayers were accompanied by choral singing and instrumental music. According to the principles of the congregation, every privilege of the priests was eliminated. The priestly benediction was spoken by the preacher and repeated by the choir. In addition, it was decided to omit the blowing of the Shofar on New Year's Day. On the Day of Atonement, the service was interrupted by an

intermission of several hours.

The prayers were expressly adapted for this new type of service. The most essential older prayers were incorporated into the service. New ones were inserted which "especially brought before the soul of the worshipper the historical recollections and the more profound ideas of the Holydays in the lofty tone of the older prayers". The dominant ideas of the prayers were those that were of prime importance in the policy of the congregation. These ideas were the courageous devotion and the priesthood of Israel as well as the mission it had to fulfill amongst the nations. On the New Year's Day particularly, it was not too difficult to implement these for on that day the messianic idea is the central theme of the traditional prayers. Furthermore, it was decided that the service should not be too lengthy. Since, in addition, every service had a Scripture reading in Hebrew and German as well as a sermon, the prayers had to be shortened considerably. The prayers for the eve of the New Year adhered pretty much to the structure of the old order of prayers. In the morning only one service was held which corresponded to Schacharith. Prayers were grouped around the Hebrew passages of the Shema and the Kedusha which were retained. These prayers were based upon the traditional Yozer and Tefillah. Since the M'saf service was eliminated, part of its content was likewise incorporated into this service. In addition, there were long statements and reflections in the spirit of the basic ideas of the congregation. The prayers were recited by the reader "in a strictly oratorical form without any melody." Sometimes

this reading was interrupted by a silent prayer or choral singing. The impact of the service was profound. Six hundred worshippers were present and were all filled with enthusiasm because of the inspiration that had been lacking for a long time. The results for the congregation were especially propitious. In Berlin at that time, the congregants numbered three hundred twenty-seven and outside of Berlin four hundred twenty-six. This represented a promulgation which the congregation never again achieved.

The most significant effect, however, was the desire of the congregants for a repetition of the service and they proposed to arrange it into a permanent institution. On April 2, 1846, the congregation took possession of its own house of worship. After long conflicts, it was decided to conduct the service twice weekly on the sabbath, and on Sunday. The leading members declared themselves to be for the sabbath service and resolutely voted against a postponement of the sabbath to Sunday. Finally a unity was achieved to the effect that the service on both days exist as completely equal and both should not be treated as a festive day. Already in 1849, the sabbath worship service ceased due to a lack of participation. The idea that Sunday was the actual day of rest for the congregation constantly gained more ground. The service on Sunday acquired a definite festive character. Except for the New Year, only the first days of the festivals were observed. On the seventh day of Passover and the eighth day of Tabernacles, services were also held. Other commemorative days during the Jewish year were not observed. On the other hand, confirmation

was introduced as a festive religious observance. The prayer-book was set up according to need. It was mostly revised with a certain degree of haste. Holdheim became the preacher of the congregation in 1847 and theologically revised the content of its doctrines. Upon doing so, he immediately recognized the necessity to undertake a new revision of the prayer-book. In 1856, a thorough revision was first attempted. Even Holdheim found fault with the fact that at the beginning the congregation was revolutionary and too negative. He missed the consideration for the historical episodes whose absence gave the liturgy only a "half-Jewish" quality. Holdheim finally recognized that "there were more modern phrases than spiritual creations in the newly introduced prayers". In the interest of historical Judaism and in order to have the point of contact with history and the entire community come to the fore, Holdheim demanded a revision of the prayer-book. The Biblical spirit and the Biblical form were to be dominant in the prayers. The motivating ideas of Reform were to likewise attain clear expression in the prayers. According to Holdheim's revision, the service always consisted of three parts. It began with a hymn and then there always followed the prayers themselves. Finally, after the reading of the Torah and the sermon, there was a concluding hymn. The prayers were recited in various styles. Nine cycles were formulated and were to be used alternately. As a result of this structure, "an indirect confession appeared to be made that with the passage of time, the prayers in the vernacular must have a tiring effect". The structure of the prayers remained the same as that order

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established when the congregation began. The external form and the arrangement of the service remained unchanged. Many times later on, the prayer-book was also subjected to improvement to a lesser or more limited extent. These changes did not effect the essence of the liturgy.

In 1885, the prayer-book was basically revised. This was accomplished above all by the new compilation which was undertaken by M. Levin on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the congregation's founding. The hymns were completely omitted and were replaced by Biblical Psalms. The prayers were set in one form and the same text was designated for every Sunday. The order of prayers basically followed the old prayer-book. The leading ideas of the congregation continued to maintain their old position. The construction of the prayers followed the traditional form and the old style of the benedictions with their terseness were again accepted. The Shema that had been limited to the first two lines was again encased in its blessings. This had been its form from the earliest times. The Tefillah appeared in the form having seven prayers and the verses of the Kedushah were in Hebrew. For the removal of the Torah from the ark and its return to the ark, Biblical passages were substituted for the earlier hymns. The service ended with a shortened version of the Olenu and the priestly benediction in Hebrew. A basic deviation from the older interpretation occurred in that the service on Sunday was no longer considered a festive one. The liturgy for the festivals was also revised according to the same principles. Every

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festival acquired its own peculiar quality. If one should but compare the liturgy for the Day of Atonement with the earlier version, it is especially clear that it is closer to the Jewish tradition.

The founders of the Reform congregation had hoped Reform would have a great influence upon the re-organization of German Judaism. The opponents of Reform feared this effect. It did, however, not take place. The growth of the movement remained very moderate. Except for Berlin, no similar service was introduced in any other place in Germany. The adherents to the movement outside Berlin gradually decreased again. Even in Berlin, the congregation's power of attraction did not take hold. The circle of its members remained limited within the same confines since 1854. The great enthusiasm manifest at the beginning gradually declined into increasing half-heartedness and indifference. The great majority of German Jewry did not provide the Reform congregation with followers. The movement's radical changes in the existing liturgical arrangements meant a violent break with the tradition and the historical bond was completely given up. The few ideas taken over from the old Judaism by the founders of the congregation did not suffice to breach the gap that separated them from their ancestors. The founders of the congregation permitted themselves to be led in excess by the purely rational considerations and neglected the demands of the spirit. With these arrangements, they could not achieve lasting success.

7. The radicalism contained within the Reform congregations' liturgical arrangements was easy to implement. This was possible since this liturgy was to serve a congregation established for the purpose of reform. The conditions were much more difficult in the old congregations where the new liturgy was to be introduced in accordance with the resolutions of the rabbinical conference. The congregations were not united and for the most part, not completely inclined toward these reforms. Nowhere at all, could we speak of an enthusiasm for the exceedingly radical actions of the Frankfurt resolutions. On the contrary, the high esteem for Minhag continued in its former strength. A great battle had to be fought for every deviation from the tradition of the congregations. Profound disputes arose with reference to such trivial items such as the summoning of a person by name to the Torah or the elimination of the first | | 72 8 17' and the prayer for the old babylonian courts that had not existed for years. In Germany, it was Poland that was generally decried as a land of darkness. Yet even in Poland people united much more easily for the removal of certain malpractices or the elimination of Piyutim. The differences between the two countries is to be found in the fact that in Poland one was primarily dealing with men learned in Talmud and more or less familiar with the process in the development of the prayer-book. The Polish Jews did not fall victim to complete narrow mindedness and worship of letters which often dominated in the German congregations. The most critical condition which manifested itself then and has been repeated since that time particularly in large congregations

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was the attitude on the part of those men who had personally completely removed themselves from the observance of the traditional Jewish precepts. These men took such a resolute position in opposition to the change in the most insignificant customs in the synagogue as if the continuance of Judaism was endangered. There was thus no discussion regarding the implementation of the resolutions of the rabbinical conference. Even where the government backed the reforms and favored the introduction of ordinances concerning the synagogue one could not dare propose such vast reforms. In most of the congregations, there only resulted an abridgement of the liturgy by the elimination of several selections of the prayer-book that were especially incomprehensible. This was also accomplished by the partial or complete omission of the Piyyutim which had been retained for the High Holydays. In addition, efforts were expended for the establishment of the external order in the synagogue, for dignified conduct and for moderation and peace within the synagogue. In most of the congregations, choral singing was introduced. Aside from German songs, there were, in addition, several German prayers for the government and for special occasions such as the removal of the Torah from and its return to the ark. To this extent, even in congregations with orthodox leadership, the reforms were accepted.

8. The Shibboleth of the parties was the organ or other instrumental music. In the first period of the reforms, the battle broke out most fiercely concerning this point. After a while, the service in practically all the larger congregations had musical accompaniment. As a result, practically throughout

these congregations, a part of the membership held a separate service in accordance with the traditional format. The use of the organ did not make it at all imperative that the prayers be changed. In the beginning, only several German songs were introduced along with the organ in most of the cases. The reform of the prayer-book came very gradually. In 1854, Abraham Geiger published the first reformed prayer-book designated for actual use by a congregation. In no way, did the prayer-book correspond to the principles of the rabbinical conference. The entire service remained in Hebrew. To be sure, the prayers were shortened a bit and the Piyyutim were omitted. On the whole, the prayer-book was the traditional one. Only those passages that were not in consonance with Geiger's general views were changed. Thus hateful expressions against those professing another faith were excluded and the prayer for the re-institution of the sacrifice and the establishment of the Jewish state were eliminated. These were replaced by prayers of a purely spiritual content. Even the mention of the chosenness of Israel was mellowed in its expression. The German text in the prayer-book was actually new. Here Geiger gave a completely free rendition of the Hebrew and not a literal translation. This was set in a classical modern form. To be sure, the German text was intended for private devotion and not for the congregational service. The readings from the Torah followed the three year cycle. The Haftarah was only in German and a new choice of texts was provided. At the beginning of the sabbath and holydays, before and after the sermon as well as at the above mentioned places, prayers or

hymns in German were added. Originally Geiger himself had more extensive desires in conjunction with the reform of the prayer-book. When he revised the liturgy, however, he felt it necessary to have the prayer-book suit the views and the needs of his congregation. In later years, he undertook to write a revised edition of the prayer-book for his new sphere of action in Berlin and Frankfurt. This appeared in a form for both Western and Eastern Germany. The German element was taken into consideration more in this prayer-book and the shortening of the liturgy was more strictly implemented in several places. Some selections were further revised in accordance with advanced theological views. This prayer-book was introduced in many congregations but generally speaking, it also preserved the traditional character.

Later M. Joel adapted Geiger's Breslau prayer-book to fit the tradition even more. Some changes innovated by Geiger such as those in connection with the chosenness of Israel and the sacrificial prayers were not retained to the same degree. The distinctive nature of this revision was, above all, the printing of the traditional wording of the prayer in small print in juxtaposition to the revised wording. Thus the reader did read the revised text but every person was permitted to read the traditional prayer. Joel's version of the prayer-book was adopted in many large and small congregations. This version corresponded for the most part to the viewpoint of positive historical reform which became dominant in Germany through Frankel's school. Geiger's and Joel's prayer-books remained

the pattern after which all the German Reform prayer-books were arranged. The greatest amount of variety prevailed in the details of expression and in the German prayers that were inserted.

9. Enthusiasm for the reforms declined very quickly. The active movement receded into the background and people were satisfied with what had already been accomplished. Likewise when the rabbinical conference in Kassel in 1868 and the Leipzig Synod of 1869 proposed new reforms for the liturgy, no deeper impression was made. The synod's resolutions were exceptionally restrained and displayed a more positive spirit than those of the rabbinical conference of 1845. The synod was in favor of the retention of the Torah reading in Hebrew. It wanted to have the weekly Torah portion shortened but within the one year cycle. To the congregations was left the task of deciding what method they would employ in order to harmoniously implement both these demands. The Hafatan was to be recited in the vernacular and to be selected from the hagiographa as well as from the prophets. The synod adopted the principles followed by Geiger for the re-organization of the prayers. It finally spoke out against the repetition of the Tefillah. The festival liturgy was to more or less remain the traditional one but on the sabbaths and festivals, the Pittutim were to be omitted. On the New Year and the Day of Atonement some Pittutim of especially rich content were to be retained and alternated with expressive German prayers. In 1894 H. Vogelstein was commissioned by the congregations of Westphalia to publish a prayer-book. It was the first reform to transcend the reforms that had been generally accepted.

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The German element came to the fore very strongly and the Hebrew section was correspondingly curtailed. The texts of some of the prayers such as the election of Israel and messianism were changed even more than before. An important innovation of this prayer-book was the simultaneous introduction of a school edition. With this prayer-book for the youth, the youth was prepared from the beginning for the congregational service. This was the first time within the Reform movement that a unified prayer-book was presented for a larger group of congregations. A similar attempt was made in 1905 by the grand-ducal president of the Israelites in Baden. This prayer-book was also for an entire country though a smaller one. It was intended to thereby introduce a uniform prayer-book corresponding to the modern demands. It was compiled with great care and many of the errors of previous prayer-books were avoided. It was, however, never accepted because of the stormy opposition of the orthodox party which opposed every change with its old non possumus. The orthodox fought the deviations from the customary text with the same arguments given in 1819 against the first prayer-book of the Hamburg Temple.

47. The Reform Movement Outside Germany

Bibliography: Philipson, The Reform Movement in Judaism, Jewish Encyclopedia articles: Prayer-books, Volume 10, p. 174ff; Reform Judaism, Volume 10, p. 347ff.

1. In the nineteenth century, the living conditions of the Jews were the same in practically all of the progressive countries as they were in Germany. As a result, the same movements and the same conflicts arose everywhere. Dissatis-

faction with the traditional liturgy was manifest when the spiritual and social ghettos had been overcome, education had improved and the range of ideas had expanded. The external form of the liturgy was hardly of value and felt to be disturbing. The unintelligible content of the liturgy gave occasion for complaint. The generation that had grown up under more favorable external conditions felt themselves estranged from the liturgy. The question then was whether these people would sink into total indifference or should be won back by the elimination of the malpractices and the introduction of a suitable form of the liturgy. The reforms in the liturgy became of vital importance for the continued existence of the religious community. In all the civilized countries, the external structure of the liturgy had more or less undergone striking improvements. Choral singing was introduced everywhere and in France and Italy organ music as well. The liturgy, however, remained unchanged. In many countries like Hungary, for example, complete enfranchisement of the Jews was demanded in turn for the equal rights granted them. This enfranchisement meant amongst other things that the sermons be given in the vernacular rather than in Yiddish which had become widespread. This met with strong opposition from the orthodox but was nevertheless implemented. Under the influence of the revolution of 1848, a congregation patterned after the Berlin Reform Congregation was formed in Budapest. It enjoyed, however, but a brief existence because the country was not ripe for such sudden transitions. Provoking and sometimes bloody battles had to be fought in Hungary regarding the most

meaningless details in the structure of the synagogues and in the liturgical practices. It was a great accomplishment when the liturgy was shortened in many congregations, the Piyyutim were eliminated and the weekly sermon was given in Hungarian.

2. The Reform Movement in England and America developed under the direct influence of the Hamburg Temple. In London, the demands for reforms emanated from the Sephardim. There were strict stipulations in their congregation. The members were not only completely bound by the doctrines in their religious life but in their private life as well. Much was left to be desired in the external beauty, dignity and reverence of the liturgy. In 1828 among the means for the improvement of the liturgy it was proposed that it be shortened as much as possible and the sermon be delivered in English. Up until that time everything not in Hebrew was recited in Portuguese. It was likewise recommended that the sermon on Saturday afternoons be on a Biblical text. For awhile, the sermon was held and then suspended again. Thus at the end of 1836, a demand was made for a change of the liturgy in accordance with the pattern set by the Temple in Hamburg. The congregation rejected this for fear of forming a sect. The first traces of dissatisfaction were also noticeable amongst the Ashkenazim. The malpractices connected with the reading of the Torah did especially evoke attack. Eventually the prosperous Jewish population moved from the center of the city and wanted a religious service held closer to their homes. A proposal was made to the Sephardic congregation to establish a synagogue in West London having a different liturgy. The congregation,

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however, did not accept the proposal. As a result, a new congregation was formed in 1840 which removed the distinction between Sephardim and Ashkenazim and established a synagogue for English Jews. The program of the new congregation called for a service in Hebrew and in complete agreement with the principles of Judaism. The service, was nevertheless to be revised and organized in such a manner as to be able to arouse a feeling of reverence. In addition, there were to be regularly occurring sermons preached in English. The elimination of the second day of the festivals was part of the reforms introduced immediately. A special prayer-book was published and the changes consisted primarily of reduction of the service and the elimination of the most objectionable selections of the liturgy. In the Musaf service, the Tefillah was substantially shortened. The most striking deviation was the translation of the Kaddish into Hebrew and the omission of the prayer for the re-introduction of the sacrifices. The prayers for the return to Zion, on the other hand, as well as for the coming of the messiah were retained. In 1859, organ music was introduced.

The founding of the new congregation unleashed the wildest emotions from the recognized religious groups. The Sephardic congregation excluded the members of the new group from its midst and denied them burial on its cemetery. The weddings conducted in the new synagogue did not receive the recognition prescribed by English laws. Religious services were denied these who married members of the new congregation. All the statements regarding the intention of the new congregations

432-2 did not help. The congregation's assertions that it only wanted to serve the cause of religion and the dissemination and deepening of piety were disregarded. The congregation defended its reforms on the basis of its renunciation of the authority of the Talmud. This, however, worsened its position and the rabbinate warned all the congregations of England about the reformers. The rabbinate did not subsequently receive very polite replies from the most important congregations of the country. In spite of all the attacks, the congregation continued and in 1850 was recognized by an act of Parliament. The principles and the liturgy of the congregation had been retained and not changed though no additional reform was undertaken. The establishment of the congregation had a beneficial effect upon the other congregations of the country. In the official synagogue regulation, it was commanded that the service be dignified and a periodic English sermon was supported. In many places, choral singing was introduced. On the whole, however, English Jewry maintained the traditional liturgy. In addition to the London congregation, the only other reform congregations organized were in Manchester and Bradford. Even they have abandoned their quality of opposing the old system. A more extensive reform was first introduced in London in more recent times. In order to understand this reform we must first of all consider the conditions in America.

433 3. One hundred years ago, the number of Jews in the United States was still exceedingly small. The organization of the congregations was very weak with the exception of the Sephardic congregations. Isaac Leeser of Philadelphia was the man

responsible for uniting the American congregations and giving them their English character. It was through his efforts that the English sermon became a fundamental part of the liturgy in 1830. He translated the prayer-book and the Bible into English and thereby rendered a worthwhile service for the understanding of the liturgy. He was a traditionalist and was of the firm conviction that the Reform Movement would be short-lived and transitory. When Lesser began his career, the radical reformers had already made a very strong advance. Charleston, South Carolina was the largest congregation in the United States at that time and in 1824 the way had already been prepared for a revision of the liturgy. At that time, the stimulation had come from Germany and reform was demanded in the name of enlightenment. The reader was to repeat the most important sections of the liturgy in English in order to elevate the reverence for and understanding of the service. Whenever possible, the prayers were to be shortened in such a way that they could all be recited in English and German. Finally, the reading from the Torah was to be made worthwhile by having a didactic sermon joined to it every week. When the demands were rejected, a small group of twelve men joined together to form "The Reformed Society of Israelities". Out of a moderate program of reform which only demanded a consideration for the vernacular, there developed a total antagonism toward rabbinic Judaism. The congregation immediately established its expression of faith on the basis of Maimonides' principle doctrines. Several of Maimonides' most important teachings, however, were replaced by some of the

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congregations' own principles. Only the Decalogue was
 recognized as a revealed doctrine. The congregation denied
 physical resurrection and only retained the belief in the
 immortality of the soul. Faith in the messiah was excluded
 and love of God, the only redeemer, was demanded as a
 substitute as well as good deeds. The liturgy was arranged
 so as to conform with these principles. At that time, such a
 radical change had not been undertaken anywhere. On Friday
 evening at the beginning of the Sabbath, Psalms 92 and 93
 were read in English and the Shema was recited in Hebrew and
 English. The Tefillah was read in English but shortened a
 great deal. Only the conclusion ^{שְׁמַח מְדִינָה} was read in
 Hebrew and English and finally the ^{וְיִשְׂרָאֵל} was recited in
 English. A chapter from prophetic literature followed and
 then a hymn. The conclusion of the service consisted of a
 prayer composed by the reader and the priestly benediction.
 On Saturday morning, the service again began with an English
 hymn and prayer. Then there followed Psalm 33, ^{שְׂמֵחַ מְדִינָה},
 and ^{שְׂמֵחַ מְדִינָה} in English. The Shema and the Tefillah
 were the same as the evening service and there then followed
 selected verses from the Psalms in Hebrew and English, a
 prayer for the government, reading of Scripture, the sermon,
 an English hymn, a prayer and the priestly benediction. On
 the festivals, special prayers having reference to the occasion
 were inserted. The service had musical accompaniment and the
 congregation did not wear hats. The congregation did not
 last long since there was no spiritual leader. From historical

point of view, this group is of extreme interest. Here we find at such an early time all of the elements that later became American Reform Judaism. The influence of the external order of the Protestant service is likewise already evident. About ten years after the cessation of the first Reform congregation, the old congregation in Charleston introduced reforms similar to those of the Hamburg Temple. The same conflicts that took place in Europe occurred there and sometimes they even took on a more violent form.

4. As a result of the large Jewish immigration from Germany, which began about 1840, numerous new congregations were organized.

From the beginning, these congregations had a revised liturgy based on the Hamburg prayer-book. In the United States, there was no such thing as the restraint of a congregation. At that time as well as today, there was no government statute preventing the organization of new religious groups. Young congregations having no past or connection with any tradition could develop religious institutions according to their own wishes without any difficulties. The membership in such congregations was voluntary and thus consisted of like-minded individuals. The American congregations were thus able to implement their reforms in the liturgy with ease. They often changed it to such a degree that the Jewish quality of the service was hardly recognizable. Until 1840, the liturgy was retained everywhere in the traditional form. There developed within the existing congregations Reform groups. When these elements felt that they were strong enough, they established

new congregations some having fewer and others having more deviations from the traditional liturgy. Most of the congregants and their spiritual leaders had come from Germany and German sermons and prayers were therefore introduced. The changes in the Hebrew prayers were limited to a few areas and primarily dealt only with the prayer for the re-introduction of the sacrifice and the return to Zion. At an early time, however, opposition to the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead had already begun. In Albany, New York, Issac Mayer Wise introduced a practice unknown in any Jewish circles. He adopted the Protestant custom of family pews and mixed seating.

The radical American Reform Movement began with Wise. It was then given its theological and philosophical formulations by David Einhorn and Samuel Hirsch both of whom participated in the rabbinical conferences in Germany. The basic ideas of this reform can only be understood in the light of the great amount of self-reliance with which the unanticipated growth of the United States gave to all its citizens. Those immigrants who had fled from the oppression and poverty of Germany were especially dazzled by the free laws and the increasing comfort of the new world. Thus it was that Wise could declare that American Judaism ushered in a new epoch in Jewish history. He was likewise able to demand that the religious forms take into consideration the demands of American life and thought. The guiding principle of Reform was the adaptation of religion to the times and to the environment.

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It is clear that in accordance with these views the liturgy was actually set in the most modern and most pleasing form. It is however also evident that principles of doubtful value were introduced into the realm of religion. Here was a movement that sought to give the purest form of expression to the eternal essence of religion. Yet Reform was completely dependent upon purely mundane considerations. It sought its orientation from very practical goals that were of a vacillating and very doubtful merit. The principle that forms which had become foreign to the consciousness of the congregation had lost their *raison d'être* was frequently expressed in Germany. The American reformers carried this principle too far without testing whether the forms could contain any values that would make them worthwhile to retain and revive. Einhorn brought significant depth to the Reform Movement when he set Israel's messianic mission to all peoples as the center of religious thought. He wanted to structure all of religious life using this theme as his point of departure. Indeed, he too could not satisfactorily repress americanization as the central idea.

The reform of the liturgy in American took place in accordance with the principles briefly mentioned above. The reform, however, was not executed in the same manner in all the synagogues that accepted it. Even within the congregations that joined together to form the Union of American Congregations, there were various degrees of reform. In external matters, all the synagogues were the same. They all used musical accompaniment, mixed choirs and eliminated the

separate section for women. Differences in practice were found in the matter of head-covering and the recitation of the prayers by the rabbi rather than the Hazzan. Many congregations held services on Friday evening, Saturday and Sunday. Very few held them only on Sunday. The second days of the festivals were eliminated everywhere. The liturgy too was not the same throughout all these congregations. In some communities, the prayers were completely revised and had little more than a slight resemblance to the old Jewish arrangement of prayers. The prayer-books that were widely used, however, were based on the traditional liturgy though they too arranged the prayers very freely. In 1857, Wise published a prayer-book entitled "Minhag America" (מנהג אמריקה). It was widely used in the western and southern congregations. The prayer-book was entirely in Hebrew and the introductory and concluding sections were slightly shortened. Otherwise, its structure was in complete accord with the tradition. The only passages radically changed were those mentioning the doctrines of resurrection and the messiah and the changes connected with his coming. It is very interesting that all the titles and references in the book were in Hebrew and were even up-pointed. One must therefore assume that at that time there was a good knowledge of the Hebrew language in America. In 1858, Einhorn published his prayer-book "פירוש ושינוי", Prayer-book for Reform Jewish Congregations. Einhorn's arrangement of the liturgy and his emphasis upon the guiding reform religious ideas followed Holdheim's example. "While adhering as far as

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possible to the main structure of the ancient liturgy as pointed out by Zunz, he made each service ring with the cheering note of thanksgiving of God's actions in Israel's history. Particularly the Yom Kippur service peals forth in inimitable art the sublime truth of Israel's world-mission as the priest-people, and interprets, with a pathos that emanates from the innermost soul of the Jew, both the ancient and the modern idea of sin, repentance and divine forgiveness. The whole is the work of a master whose greatness is manifested in each detail". The prayer-book was written in Hebrew and German and was therefore to be used by German-speaking congregations only. In 1896, it was translated into English. In the interim, the prayer-book of the American rabbinical conference, "סדרת אגודת רבנים" The Union Prayer-book for Jewish Worship was introduced in 1894. Since then, it has been accepted by about two hundred and fifty congregations in the United States. The publishers said their aim was to unite the soul-stirring reminiscences of the past with the urgent demands of the present. It was also their goal to elevate the solemnity of the service by combining the two essential elements, the ancient time-hallowed formulae with modern prayers and meditations in the vernacular. The prayer-book follows the pattern set by Einhorn in its non-Hebrew sections, in its theological concepts as well as in the changes in the Hebrew text necessitated by these concepts. The Hebrew section was richer in content than its predecessors. The prayer-book is divided into two sections. The first contains the prayers

for the sabbath, the pilgrim festivals, the weekdays and home devotions as well as the Torah readings. The second part contains the prayers for the High Holydays. All the Hebrew prayers are accompanied by an English translation. The structure of the prayer-book is as follows: the evening service begins with a Hebrew Psalm and a compilation of Biblical passages in English which are read responsively. Then there follows the evening prayer in its traditional form but in a shortened version. Only the first section of the Shema is retained along with one sentence (Numbers 15:40) from the third section and the *וְיִשְׁמַח* is omitted. On the sabbaths and festivals, the Tefillah consists of the first two benedictions and one selection from the intermediate blessings in Hebrew as well as one concluding prayer in English. On the weekdays, the Tefillah is entirely in English. There again follows a compilation of Biblical passages in English, an English prayer by the reader, a congregational hymn, an English rendition of the Olenu, an address to the mourners and the mourner's Kaddish patterned after the one used in the Hamburg Temple. The service finally concludes with the hymn *וְיִשְׁמַח* *וְיִשְׁמַח*. A great deal of attention was given the prayer for the mourners and a special liturgy was arranged for the service held in the house of mourning. The most striking deviation from the tradition in the sabbath and the festival morning services is the elimination of the Musaf service. The structure of these morning services is the same as the evening service. There is an opening hymn having Biblical

verses which is sung in Hebrew, several English prayers from the old Siddur, the Shema and its blessings in a shortened form, the Tefillah with the Kedushah and the intermediate blessings in Hebrew, a compilation of Biblical verses in English in addition to a prayer by the reader and the final benedictions of the Tefillah in English. On the festivals, they also included the ברכה , the priestly benediction as well as a selection of verses from the Hallel Psalms (Psalm 113, 117, 118) in Hebrew. The removal of the Torah from and its return to the ark are accompanied by Hebrew hymns. The Haftarot are read in English and selected from the prophets and the hagiographa. In this section of the service, the customs observed in the various congregations differ a great deal from one another. The sermon follows the reading from Scripture. A hymn is sung before and after the sermon. The service concludes as in the evening with the exception that the priestly benediction is recited by the rabbi at the end. There is also an afternoon service for the sabbath. It consists of an opening hymn in Hebrew, Psalm 145, Scripture reading, the Tefillah in English with the Kedushah in Hebrew, a sermon, Biblical verses, reading of a passage from "Sayings of the Fathers" in English and the benediction. Cognizance is taken of special occasions such as the announcement of the new moon, the day of the new moon, Hannukah, the Ninth of Av, and the prayer for rain on Shemini Atzeret. The observance of Simchat Torah is completely omitted since the first days of the festivals were the only ones observed. The Union

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Prayer-book is consistent in its theological approach. The choice of prayers and the consideration of special occasions, however, are in keeping with the demands of the congregations. The theories of radical theologians were sacrificed for this conformity to the congregations' demands.

It was impossible that American Reform should not react upon Europe. The Jewish Religious Union in London and the Reform Congregation in Paris were organized, in accordance with the pattern set by American Reform. In Germany, Einhorn's influence is noticeable in the prayer-book of Westphalia. The structure of the prayer-book recently revised by C. Seligmann entitled "Israelitisch Gebetbuch für neue Synagoge in Frankfurt A.M." is patterned after the American prayer-books. This is true in spite of the fact that the prayers retained in Hebrew are reproduced practically unchanged. In contrast to the practice in America, there was more Hebrew on the weekdays than on the sabbaths and festivals. These are very recent innovations and for the time being, history has no definitive judgments concerning them.

439-2 5. We have traced the Reform Movement to the present and have become acquainted with its demands and the forms it took in the various countries. It is now incumbent upon us to ascertain the common denominator of Reform from the mass of diversity and then in a brief judgment evaluate it historically. The points of departure of the Reform Movement are the same everywhere. Dissatisfaction with the traditional liturgy set in with the change of the Jews' social position and the

440 elevation of their general education. The object of the complaints were primarily the external deficiencies that were very apparent. These were the restlessness and sometimes the undignified conduct of the congregation, and the recitation of the prayers with little sanctity and, not infrequently, repulsively. Once these improprieties were recognized and censured as such, it would be sufficient to gradually remove them. It was only a question of advanced education that would determine when they would completely disappear. In the eyes of cultured people, peace and order, dignity and devotion are obvious requirements. At the same time, they are in accord with the precepts of traditional Judaism so that even in the most conservative circles these requirements were justified and attempts were made everywhere to implement them. Demands came from all quarters for the refinement of the cantorial recitations and for the introduction of harmonious choral singing. These were then used to beautify the service. The permissibility of organ accompaniment was disputed. In some countries like Italy and France, organ music was unhesitatingly introduced even amongst those who would strictly adhere to the tradition. In other countries like England, the introduction of the organ was considered a declaration of war against the congregation. In Germany, the organ issue formed the dividing line between the parties but constantly found more and more acceptance. The opposition that was still in existence was not as much against the instrument itself as against the playing of the organ on the sabbath and holydays.

There was general objection to the length of the service. In part, this was connected with the external shortcomings already mentioned. For the most part, however, it was based on the fact that in the course of the centuries, the prayers had grown far in excess of their original number. Beyond this, the liturgy was burdened with numerous Piyyutim. It was impossible to grasp the meaning of the Piyyut and the sense of many selections within the basic prayers also remained beyond the comprehension of the laity. The sparser the knowledge of Hebrew became, the more difficult it was to understand even the simple prayers and Scripture readings.

440-2 The women especially fell far short of the knowledge of Hebrew demanded by the service and they desired to participate in public worship more than before. The natural result was the desire to shorten the service, eliminate the incomprehensible prayers and Piyyutim and introduce prayers and didactic sermons in the vernacular. Widespread agreement was reached on a portion of these demands. In the countries of culture, the sermon in the vernacular was recognized and introduced by all groups as a salutary and beneficial practice. Though it was not a universal practice to have the sermon in the vernacular accompanying every reading of Scripture on the sabbaths and festivals, nevertheless, they were given regularly and with brief intervals between them. The omission of the Piyyutim and the incomprehensible selections from the prayer-book were also ultimately opposed only by those few implacable people who could in no way tolerate any deviation from the Minhag-book. To a moderate degree, a general agreement was even reached

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in the realm of curtailing the length of the basic prayers. Just as sermons in the vernacular found their way into the synagogue so did prayers in the vernacular. All factions even gave their approval to these prayers for use in the liturgy in the more limited sense of the term (p. 205). Changes in the traditional order of prayers that exceeded those already mentioned were undertaken only by those synagogues having a definite progressive tendency. Amongst these additional changes are to be included the abridgment of the Torah reading and the introductory and concluding sections of the morning service, and the interruption of Hebrew prayers by those that were in the vernacular. These changes were also agreed upon by a large percentage of the congregations. A fundamental tampering with the main selections of the service first began on a higher level of reform. They led to those radical changes that left little of the traditional form of the liturgy and as good as nothing of the Hebrew language in the service.

Reform in the actual sense of the term does not consist of curtailing prayers and limiting Hebrew. Rather does it refer to those changes in the text that result from a consideration of dogma and an opposition to a different interpretation of religious doctrines. Reform primarily dealt with the doctrine of physical resurrection and the belief in the personal messiah. In accordance with the view presented in the prayers, the restoration of the Temple and the sacrificial service, the gathering of all the dispersed of Israel and

their return to Zion are bound up with the appearance of the messiah. In contrast to the demands mentioned previously which were presented by people of all levels of intelligence, the ideas involving dogma were primarily represented by educated theologians. These reforms did not enjoy great popularity and were never of special interest in any other circles. Their influence was limited to the mass of innovations already implemented in the Hamburg Temple.

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The success of the reform movement was not commensurate with the effort and energy expended and the upsets in congregational life because of the discrepancy between the efforts of the theologians and the ideas of the congregations. In their idealistic enthusiasm, the leaders of the Reform Movement lost sight of reality. They greatly over-estimated the general progress of the time as well as the upsurge of religious education amongst the Jews. Just as the year 1848 did not introduce the era of perfected humanity that had been longed for so the views represented at the rabbinical conferences failed to result in a penetrating enlightenment amongst co-religionists. There was a small upper stratum of intellectuals who accepted the theories of reform. They were, however, filled with general cultural interests and were comparatively indifferent toward the religious movement. These intellectuals thus offered little support. The masses whose lives were deeply rooted in the attitudes and forms of the past were not affected by reform. Theological reforms were not able to uproot them. Reform's decisions concerning dogma

did not have the power to arouse enthusiasm. In addition, the conditions of the time were not favorable for they geared men toward the pursuit of material well-being and pleasure and distracted them from striving for the messianic ideal. The reformers, nevertheless, did not succumb to long theological deliberations but went ahead with their task. With reliance upon their example and their doctrines, they attempted to re-structure life. This was surely a sign of both courage and energy. The damages of hasty action, however, were not avoided. Reform was undertaken with deliberate reason. Thus much of the poetry and the emotional content of the liturgy became the sacrifice of sober rationalism. The scientific proofs for the new concepts had been introduced only a short time before. Reform hastily undertook to establish theological concepts which in no way could stand up under scientific investigation for all times. In the congregations, these views met with strong opposition. History had already given its verdict of all radical changes and had shown that only a continuous development related to the past was justified.

The errors made at the beginning of the movement have always impaired its development. This is true even though evidence mounts that the conditions are more favorable for reform. Enough work remains to be done. Little is achieved by changing and abridging the prayers if at the same time enthusiasm for and understanding of the liturgy is not stimulated. This is what has been lacking most of all until the present. The Reform Movement has still remained most

distant from its most obvious goals. It has not been successful in bringing the freedom it strove for into the liturgical forms. The supporters of reform lacked an interest and a loving involvement in this material. The reform liturgy has likewise not avoided the danger of superficiality and its format has been no less binding than that of the old arrangement of prayers. Finally, the fear spoken of at the beginning of the movement has been fulfilled in the most horrible manner. Familiarity with the liturgy has not taken place despite its simplification. Indifference toward the liturgy has increased. This is especially true of those areas where the greatest amount of consideration was given to the demands for timely changes. Here, however, lies the most important task for the future, namely to re-awaken this old enthusiasm for the liturgy and the spirituality of the mood of prayer. The religious service must become what it was to our ancestors, the center of the religious life and the place of religious inspiration and consecration.

FOOTNOTES

549 Sec. 31

1. (p. 207) The expression Stammgebet (basic prayer) is first found in Zunz, Ri. 5.

נחמנ etc., cf. Levy, Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch, 3, 85.

Concerning נחמנ cf. what is said in addition about Minhag in sec. 43, p. 355ff. and in Ri. p. 3ff.

2. (p. 207) נחמנ, concerning its derivation see G.V. 393, S.P. 60. Steinschneider, Jüd. Literatur in Ersch and Gruber 2, 27, S. 421, sec. 18.

נחמנ ibid., Perles, ibid., p. 63ff. For the meaning of both see S. Krauss, Lehenwörter 2, 443, 262. Acrostic poetry means נחמנ in Warnheims נסח נחמנ, p. 107.

3. (p. 207) נחמנ S.P. 60. Concerning נחמנ cf. finally with Eppenstein in MS, 52, 1908, 467ff.

4. (p. 208) נחמנ Brody and Albrecht, p. 17, the derivation S.P. 88, 367f., Perles, loc. cit. 67.

נחמנ as refrain poetry see Jos. ibn Migash, Resp. Nu. 204, see Dukes, Zur Kenntnis, p. 140.

Piyyut, Selichah S.P. chap. 3, p. 59.

Sec. 32

32. (p. 209)

a) Steinschneider, ibid., p. 422.

b) S.P. 79. Steinschneider sec. 19, ft. 19, Brody and Albrecht, p. 19.

c) see M. Hartmann, Die hebräische Verskunst etc., p. 84.

d) S.P. 80; According to J. Berles in Byzant. Zeitschrift 2, 573, it is from חזק חזק.

550 e) Perles says this in MS 1886, 231f.

592 The names for Piyyutim have been increased by the discovery of the Genisah. Cf. e.g. Halper, Descriptive Catalogue of Genisah-Fragments in Philadelphia, 1024, and Davidson in Ginse Schechter 3.

3. (p. 209) S.P. 61, Brody Albr. p. 35, Nu. 30; e.g. Amr. 2, 23a, Brody, Diwan des Abu-l-Hasan Jehuda ha-Levi 3, p. 209ff

מַהְזֹרֹר and מַהְזֹרֹר (finale) Brody Albr. p. 114, I. Davidson Mahzor Yannai 27.

מַהְזֹרֹר Amr. 2, 1a, 3b.

4. (p. 210.) 1.A. a-c) S.P. 61ff., Brody Albr. p. 23 cc β מַהְזֹרֹר Studien 31.

מַהְזֹרֹר Steinschneider p. 426.1).

מַהְזֹרֹר S.P. 64f. S.D. Luzzatto, Divan des Jehuda ha-Levi, 1864, p. 37a, Brody Albr. p. 9, Brody, Diwan 3, p. 5. The relations between the poem a-c is still not entirely clear. The authenticity of concluding stanza of מַהְזֹרֹר with the end מַהְזֹרֹר is strongly doubted; cf. Luzzatto loc cit., Brody Albr. p. 102, Nu. 92.

B. S.P. 69f.

Orient, cf. e.g. Neubauer u. Cowley. Catalogue of the Hebr. Manuscripts in the Bodleian Libr. 2, 26313, 271218, 27147 and many others.

2. (p. 212.) A. Kerovah S.P. 65ff. Berliner, Randb. 2, 66, Stud. 47. The word also occurs in the syrian liturgy, Sachs, Rel. Poesie, p. 178. Kerovot for the weekday, see S.P. 73. Studien among others.

מַהְזֹרֹר S.P. 69.

The sections of the Kerovah S.P. 65ff., Brody-Albr. p. 113f., I. Davidson *ibid.* 28ff.

מַהְזֹרֹר the Biblical verses can be found in manuscripts and old editions of the מַהְזֹרֹר as well as in the rites of Italy and the Balkan countries.

Concerning e) Berliner among others points out that the beginning מַהְזֹרֹר has already been set to the end of the preceeding selection Ps. 22:44 concerning f) also cf. Berliner, *ibid.* Davidson states that מַהְזֹרֹר and מַהְזֹרֹר are the catch-words for the Piyyutim of the third benediction. As a result of abridged copies of this, errors were made.

Concerning מַהְזֹרֹר and מַהְזֹרֹר cf. S.P. 69, other compositions, Neubauer and Cowley Nu. 2710 מַהְזֹרֹר; the connection with old Babylonian attitudes is proven in MS 54, 535ff.

2. (p. 213.) It is possible that the interpretation of Ex. 14:20 found in b. Meg. 10b had already preceded this meaning of the word מַהְזֹרֹר (Marx in *Jeschurun* 10, 1923, p. 180). On the other hand, it is very unlikely that this same meaning is also in the Sifre Deut. Sec. 17 (*ibid.* 5, 130).

The division of the Kerovah had to be modified according to the discoveries that are mentioned later in sec. 40, 5 (p. 309). Concerning Shivata cf. among others Davidson 3, 2-4. As we now know, there were also Shivatot for maariv.

Page 215 is to be changed according to HUCA, 3, 214ff., namely that in the poems of Kalir available to us, we find that the Shivatah and Kerovah are combined.

550 B. a) Concerning the introductions, cf. Sachs, p. 247, footnotes, Berliner 2, 62ff. In Amr. and after it in the Seph. rite, שְׁמִינִי is a part of the Tefillah.

b) Now I no longer consider Jose b. Joses poetry for שְׁמִינִי as insertions. The author apparently thought of them as substitutes for the customary introductions (שְׁמִינִי etc. above p. 143). Thus at the end, Biblical verses were also introduced which have only been omitted in more recent editions of the Ashkenazic rite. In Palestine, such poems were very much preferred over the traditional prayers. Another very elaborate poem for שְׁמִינִי is by יִצְחָק בֶּן יִצְחָק JQR NS 8 431ff. It is hardly very old but nevertheless clearly indicates the influence of Palestine and contains Biblical verses that deviate from all other traditions.

c) Concerning Avodah, see Ri 101, Studien 49ff., see S.P. 80 concerning אֲוֹדָה.

d) cf. JE 2, 368ff. The enumeration of the poets can be found in Jellinek, אֲוֹדָה, and Neubauer in JQR 6, 698ff.

אֲוֹדָה in a figurative sense, e.g., in the rite of the Balkan countries.

Concerning the name אֲוֹדָה cf. Ri 10, JQR, 5 434f. This designation which according to the Christian example was first used only for the sabbath preceding Passover, was then carried over to indicate all sabbaths preceding a festival. This is what Sal. b. ha Jatomi writes in the commentary to Moed K.

(ed. Chajes, p. 15), cf. Riv. Isr. 7, 1053.

592 p. 217 d), cf. Enc. Jud. 3, 508ff. and the bibliography given there.

e) אֲוֹדָה as a mystical formula is explained in Klein's Der älteste christl. Katechismus, p. 48.

אֲוֹדָה Lev. r. 37:2.

Provisions in the calendar, b. Succah 54b, j. ibid. 4:1 (54b). J.E. 3, 503b.

Processions with the lulav or the willow, cf. V. p. 443, Or Zar. 2, sec. 315 (69a). Concerning the processions and the poetic Hoshanot cf. Amr. 51b, H. Ged. 173, ibn Gayy. 1, 114ff. In the quotation from Saadia which is found there, the words אֲוֹדָה obviously transposed, cf. Kohut in MS 37, 506ff., where Saadia's Hoshanot are printed.

Concerning the procession see page 139 and also cf. S.P. 73ff., J.E. 6, 16lf., 476ff. Sch. L. sec. 369 (166a) only knows of the processions on the seventh day. Concerning the processions on the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem, see S. Krauss in Jahrb. für jüd. Gesch. u. Lit., 1919, p. 43ff., and J. Mann, The Jews in Egypt 1, 63.

3. (p. 221.) The quotation at the end is from S.P. 70;
ibid. 73. sec. 33. 1. (p. 221.) S.P., Berliner 2, 21.

The Thirteen Attributes, see e.g. Num 14:18, Joel 2:13, Nahum 1:3, Ps. 103:8, 145:8.

The introduction

S.P. has

145:8.
tion
אמר אף כן is always in Amr.
אמר אף כן in translation. Cf. Litg. 17.

2. (p. 222.) The liturgy for the fast days found in Taan.
2 uses several Psalms.

Daniel 9, Ezra 9.

137 1200 of Amr. in Mx. 28, S.P. 77, ft. a,b.

The catch-words of the groups of verses, Ri. 120f.

The short introductions, Amr. 35a compared with V. p. 233.

3. (p. 223.) Two such litanies see S.P. 153. Concerning the early origin of most of them, see. Litg. 18. The influence of these litanies upon the Christian liturgy is proven in Michel's Gebet u. Bild n fruchristl. Zeit, p. 44ff.

The Selichot for פ"ד are similar to those in the Italian rite and thus their ancient character.

- 592 sec. 33, 3. (p. 223.) An old Aramaic litany from the Gaonic period has been published by B.M. Lewin in Ginse Kedem 4, 65ff., also cf. Kiryat Sefer 2, 146.

- 551 4. (p. 223) S.P. 82ff., 152ff.

5. (p. 224.) R1. 120ff.

Gabirol's RI 12011. COLE is used in the Ashkenazic rite on

ד"ר and מחותן S.P. 77, ft. e.

etc. frequently in the Italian rite.

The distinct form of the Selichot see Ri. 117ff.

See p'0'76 in Ri. 33, ft. e.

6. (p. 225.) The old order of Selichot for fast days convened because of a lack of rain was still used in Babylonia at about the year 1000, cf. p. 127.

The Italian rite today still uses Kalir's Kerovot for the fast days commemorating historical events. His Kerovot for the ninth of Av are also found in the Ashkenazic rite and in that of the Balkan countries.

The development of the Selichah, Ri. 125. There one can also find a list of the fast days that originated in the post-

C. Part Two

Chapter 1

sec. 34. 2. (p. 233.) For the religious-historical meaning of the liturgy see W. Bousset, above p. 511, Heiler, Gebet 474. Concerning the meaning of the synagogue also cf. Herford, Pharisaism 78ff. (64ff.).

Concerning the lesser sanctuary see Ezra 11:16. In b. Meg. 29a one of the oldest synagogues is called by this name. In later Jewish literature the expression is frequently used as a name for synagogues.

Regarding the gradual repression of the sacrificial cult see Bousset ibid. 124ff.

592 sec. 34. 2. (p. 233.) Regarding the origin of the synagogue, also cf. Moore, Judaism 1, 283 f. We cannot consider as a proven fact Finkelstein's attempt to find the synagogue in existence in the pre-exilic times. This likewise is true of his assumption that they were meeting places for the purpose of prayer and were under the leadership of the prophets especially during the reaction that took place at the time of Manasseh's reign. (Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research 1930, p. 49-59.)

3. (p. 234.) Concerning the fasts, cf. Groenman's work quoted in the footnotes of sec. 21, 1; JE 5, 347, 8, 133, Mishnah, Taani 2, the passages in the Apocrapha found in Bousset, ibid. 207.

4. (p. 235.) Bibliography in Schürer 2, 500. In addition to the arguments given in the text, the fast days emphasized by Bacher in Hasting's Dictionary of the Bible 4, 636 and the discussions in Herford's Pharisaism 78f. are to be added. With these, Bousset's doubt loc.cit. p. 197f. is refuted. There is much material in Krauss' VA 52ff, 92ff.

Special attention is given the position of the confession of faith in the oldest liturgies in Studien 14. According to Blau in JE 8, 133 the Shema was introduced in opposition to dualism. Its origin then is to be found in the Temple in Jerusalem but its nature as a confession of faith would likewise be decisive.

5. (p. 236.) Concerning Tam. 5:1 and the morning prayer of the priests, cf. Kohler-Festschrift 77ff, and b. Ber. 12b. Büchler in Priester u. Kultus 60ff. has proven that the priests in the Temple spoke Aramaic.

6. (p. 236.) The participation of the laymen at the sacrifice is based on Tam. 7:3, Sir. 50:11ff.

The levitical singing in the Chronicle, cf. Büchler in ZAW 19, 1899, 123, 133, 333; The Temple-singers, in A.T. especially p. 100, 199, Schwaab, Histor. Einleitung p. 187.

Concerning Maamadot cf. Herzfeld 3, 188, 204; Müller, Sofrim 236, ft. 14; Buchler, Priester u. Kultus 92ff.; Schürer 2, 338, ft. 6. The correct circumstances have to be ascertained from 553 Taan. 4:1ff., with the aid of Tos. ibid. 4:3, (219:16) and j. 4:2 (67d). According to these sources, each of the twenty-four districts was called שְׁמֹנֶה עָשָׂר. The delegation of the laymen that was present at the sacrifice in Jerusalem was שְׁמֹנֶה עָשָׂר and the leader was called שְׁמֹנֶה עָשָׂר Tam. 5:6. Even in the Mishnah, the names were already used incorrectly, e.g. Bicc. 3:2. The twenty-four שְׁמֹנֶה עָשָׂר divided their service into forty-eight weeks in the year. During the weeks of Passover and Tabernacles, all the priests without distinction could function just as there were also laymen present who had come as pilgrims to Jerusalem, cf. b. Succ. 55b. The reports in the sources give the impression that the arrangement was an old one; when "in the later period of Judaism" (Bousset 127) it is supposed to have been arranged is not clear.

For an attempt to explain the reason for four services, see Herzfeld 3, 188ff. According to Blau in JE 8, 132 the noon prayer originated in connection with the private sacrifice. The fact that prayer is derived from the sacrifices is also given in the Talmud, נִסְכֵּי הַיּוֹם

לִפְנֵי הַמִּזְבֵּחַ (b. Ber. 26b and Tos. ibid. 3:1,2) or לִפְנֵי הַמִּזְבֵּחַ (j. ibid. 4:1, 7b). Nevertheless, there is no proof given there for the Musaf service and insufficient proof and insufficient proof for the evening service. The fact that the Musaf service took place at noon is substantiated in the Tos. Meg. 4:1 where בְּיָמֵינוּ is found instead of the Mishnaic בְּיָמֵינוּ.

The three times for prayer in Christianity and Islam, see Döllner 66ff.

Confessions of faith in the liturgy of the Maamad is based on שְׁמֹנֶה עָשָׂר j. Ber. 1:8 (3c), b. Yoma 20a.

Pool in Kaddish p. 2f. has mentioned the similarity between the prayers in Ezra and Daniel.

7. (p. 239.) It makes no difference to us as to how one imagines the שְׁמֹנֶה עָשָׂר to have been; (cf. the bibliography in Schürer's work, 2, 418f.). There must have also been leading religious authorities in the centuries between Ezra and the Maccabees. It is just during that period concerning which no sources report in detail that there was an important change in the views and the practises of the Jewish people. Also cf. Herford, Pharasaism, p. 20, in the translation, p. 17f. The Hebrew quote given in the text is a statement by R. Jochanan who lived during the first generation of the Amora. It gives the impression of being an old tradition. In Bacher's Agada pal. Amor. 1, 207 we have further evidence that Jochanan frequently made such statements.

8. (p. 240.) The significance of private devotions for the development of the liturgy (see JE 8, 134f.) should have been more emphatically stressed. Many prayers preserved in the Apocrypha and the Pseudepigrapha (see Schlatter, Gesch. Israels,² p. 60f.) could have come from these private

devotions. From them too could have come the stimulus for the inclusion of Psalms into the liturgy (REJ 83, 148).

The limitation of the Musaf service to the sabbath etc., is apparently connected with the designation of the additional sacrifices as פ'סח. It is not known when this took place. In the Bible there is no trace of this.

The reading of Scripture during the week the districts' representatives were in Jerusalem is found in Tos. Taan. 4:3. The introduction of Scripture readings on Monday and Thursday is attributed to Ezra, cf. above p. 156. Cf. Tos. Taan. 2:4 (217:3).

Concerning the order of prayer (Gebetordnung) cf. Ewald, Geschichte, Altertümer,³ p. 19, Sachs, Rel. Poesie 164ff.

- 554 9. (p. 241.) ברכא the characteristic address of the Berachah is not present in Ps. 119:12 and 1 Chron. 29:10 and likewise Tobias 8:5, 15ff. This meaningful address to God is not mentioned in Bousset 43lf and Döllner 72.

Concerning ברכא at the end of the petitionary prayers see above p. 5.

Concerning the confession of faith, cf. the bibliography given on p. 514 in the footnote concerning page 21.

That the Tefillah was later cf. Stud. 39f., JE 8, 133.

Silent prayer, above p. 25.

Tefillah, p. 30ff. Concerning the invocation of the names of the patriarchs, see Bousset 414ff.

ברכא above, p. 5.

For the religious content of the prayers, see Bousset 419ff.

The confession of faith, above pp. 109, 114, 136;

Tefillah p. 31f.

For the celebrations at home, above p. 107, 120 and Elbogen, Eingang u. Ausgang des Sabbats, 7ff.

Day of Atonement, Studien 54.

- 592 9. In reference to p. 241, Holtzmann in AFRW 25, 328, refers to Jer. 14:1-9, 19-22; 15:15-18. The mood of such prayers surely had an effect upon the old formulae and perhaps even contributed to the formulation of these prayers.

- 554 10. Concerning Agartharchides, see Josephus, Ap. 1, 22 (Niese 5, 37, Th. Reinach, Textes d'auteurs grecs et romains etc. 43).

11. (p. 244.) ברכא above p. 22; the nationalistic petitions p. 32ff. Also cf. Cohen-Festschrift, Judaica, p. 669ff.

sec. 35 1. (p. 245.) S. Funk in Die Entstehung des Talmuds, sec. 6ff. had especially attempted to point out the old elements in the Mishnah.

For parallel sources, ibid. sec. 36, p. 95f. Frequently, they are present in both Talmuds.

The beginning of the Common Era--indicated by the schools

of Hillel and Shammai (Strack, Einleitung in der Talmud,⁵ (p. 119) and more about what took place then on p. 248.

Philo, in Eusebius, Præp. ev. 8,7.

Josephus, Ant. 8, 8:13.

Talmud, e.g. b. Ber. 2a, j. I, 5 (3b), Tos. 3:1, Maim. ḥal. L, 1; JE 8, 134, Stud. 39.

All the movements-among the controversies between the Pharisees and the Sadducees or the Essenes there are none about the liturgy. Wherever Jews live--see in addition p. 250, 4.

2. Times for prayer -- cf. ע"פ חז"ל j. Moed K. 3:5 (83a). ע"פ חז"ל Tose. Ber. 3:1, Cf. Luke 1:10 τὸ πλῆθος τὸν λαὸν ἦν προσευχόμενον τῇ ᾠᾷ τοῦ θυμῆ ἀμαρτοῦ which refers to the participation of the people in the sacrificial service (פ' אר"י Yoma 3:5) and Acts 3:1 ἐπὶ τὴν ᾠδὴν τῆς προσευχῆς τὴν ἐννάτην which speak of approximately the same period. Also see Acts 10:30 and Schürer 2, 350, ft. 40.

Praying on the street-Ber. 2:12, on a journey, ibid. 4:4ff.

The significance of regular prayer for the religious life, see Bousset 202, 206; Herford, loc. cit.

Onias, JE 9, 404f.

For additional comments on the old pious people, see page 379.

Concerning the influence of the Essenes upon prayer cf. JE 5, 225ff.

3. (p. 246.) For an interpretation of the Shema see Sifre Dt. 34ff. (74ff.) Num. sec. 115 (34a f.). An extensive bibliography on the subject is given by Schürer on p. 566ff. cf. Studien 16f.

Ber. 1-5, R. Ha Sh. 4:5ff., Taan. 4:15, 4:1-3, Meg. 2-4.

Generally known, cf. Maim. on Men. 4:1 g.E. In the Mishnah, the liturgical arrangements and prayers are only incidentally discussed. In R. Ha Sh. 4:5 e.g. they were only discussed because of the controversy as to when the Shofar should be blown.

4. (p. 247.) Only those prayers that were already spoken of by the schools of Hillel and Shammai are mentioned here. Shema, Ber. 1:4, Ber. 2:2 does not have יְהוָה יְהוָה (cf. 1:5). Concerning the blessings, see b. Ber. 11b, j. I, 8 (3c, d), above, p. 16ff., p. 100. יְהוָה יְהוָה above p. 101.

Wording, above p. 100.

ḥal. Ber. 4:1-3.

Semi-holydays, Tos. Ber. 3:10 (7:4) and parallel sources.

Fast days, Taan. 2.

Sabbaths and festivals, Tos. Ber. 3:12f.

Musaf, Ber. 6:1.

ג'ר ג'רן , Mar Samuel also mentions this in b. Ber. 30af., j. 4,6 (8c).

Tos. Succ., the text is to be properly read in accordance with the reading in j. 5,2 (55b).

Concerning the Hallel in the earliest period, cf. Büchler in ZAW 20, 123ff.

ג'רן, above p. 5.

ג'רן, ibid., cf. Ber. 1:4.

Reader, at the end of R. Ha Sh.

Special readers, ibid. 4:7

The direction, Ber. 4:5, 6 and in addition, above p. 454.

Evening, above p. 100.

The Day of Atonement, above p. 149, 157f.

5. (p. 249.) Meg. 4:1-5, above p. 156f.

Consecutive sections, p. 159.

Members of the congregation, p. 169; diaspora, 170.

Translation, p. 186ff., exposition, 194f.; subject of the discussions, G.V. 364ff., Sachs, Rel. Poesie 150ff.

6. (250.) Philo, compiled in Schürer 2, 528, ft. 98.

Therapeutae, JE 12, 138f.

Greek in Palestine, j. Sotah 7, 1 (21b).

sec. 36. 1. (p. 250.) Concerning tracing back prayer to the sacrifice, see b. Ber. 26b, j. 4:1 (7b). The decision in b. finally reads תכילת אבות תקנו ואסמכוהו רבן אקראות. Jochanan b. Z., AdRN IV, also cf. the discussion in Schurer 1, 652ff.

Times for prayer corresponding to the sacrifices, Tos. Ber. 3:1; b. and j. Ber. 4 at the beginning.

Hope for the reinstitution of the sacrifices, b. R. Ha Sh. 30a.

Prayer for the acceptance of the sacrifice which is included in the Tefillah, XVII, above p. 55.

Jerusalem in the fourteenth benediction, p. 53.

Prayer for the messiah, above p. 33f. Psalms, p. 82.

Priestly benediction, p. 69f.

Shofar, R. Ha Sh. 4:1, Palm branch, ibid. 2 and Succ. 3:12ff.

2. (p. 252.) The end of Megillah, Schürer 2, 339:8, Krauss SA 169f. Both of these see in the passage a reference to priestly clothing. According to the argument in the Talmud, it cannot be a discussion of priestly garments. Moreover, it is a question of the customs of the Essenes that is under discussion and frequently they continued during early Christianity. Cf. JE 5, 231f., 7, 68.

Increasing deification of Jesus, see E.v.d. Goltz, Das Gebet in der alt. Christneheit p. 72f., 127.

Concerning propaganda, see additional material on p. 448.

In b. Ber. 28b. the word ג'רן could possibly mean "to fix the text" in contrast to ג'רן "to set the order" which

would have then taken place in this exceptional case. Nevertheless, the word לְפָנָיו found in the quotation on p. 240 contradicts this theory.

Samaritans, cf. Lewy Isr., Abba Saul p. 33.

The second Greek quotation, Const. Ap. VI, II; other Christian prayers are to be found in Goltz' work, p. 332ff.

As far as is known, the word לְפָנָיו is not found in any manuscript. Nevertheless, I should not like to surrender the explanation in the text since it is essentially well founded.

Gnostics, JE 5, 685f. and the bibliography quoted.

Dualists (לְפָנָיו b. Ber. 33b) ibid. 684.

לְפָנָיו Ber. 5:3, Meg. 4:9 and the Talmud of St.

לְפָנָיו Ber. 2:3, Meg. 2:1, Levy 3, 202. Such peculiarities are better understood because of the many heathen and Christian prayers that were re-discovered in Egypt and Nubia.

The attributes of God, Ber. 5:3, Meg. 4:9.

Concerning a later period, see b. Ber. 33b, j. Meg. 4:9 (75c); concerning לְפָנָיו also cf. Simonsen in Genenkbuch für D. Kaufmann, p. 115f.

3. (p. 254.) Evening service, Ber. 1:9 לְפָנָיו cf. the inscription found on a tombstone in Jaffa (Pal. Explor. Fund, Quat. Stat. 1900, 118) Schürer 3, 23. Further discussion is found on pp. 39, 41.

Concerning the name לְפָנָיו cf. the inscription found on a tombstone in Jaffa (Pal. Explor. Fund, Quat. Stat. 1900, 118) Schürer 3, 23. Further discussion is found on pp. 39, 41.

Concerning the name לְפָנָיו cf. the inscription found on a tombstone in Jaffa (Pal. Explor. Fund, Quat. Stat. 1900, 118) Schürer 3, 23. Further discussion is found on pp. 39, 41.

on pp. 39, 41.

Babylonia, p. 39.

לְפָנָיו p. 60.

Discussion concerning the silent Tefillah is to be found at the end of R. Ha Sh. As early as two generations later, the other reason is given, namely, that those who wished to confess a sin should not be put to shame, b. Sotah 32b, cf. Rshi to St.

Deviations, above, the ft. for p. 28, sec. 8:2; Modern period, p. 401ff.

It cannot be established as to how far the development of the Kedushah had gotten and how it was used in the liturgy. In the first Clementine letter, it is found in 34:6. It should be noted that in this literature which was written about the year 100, emphasis is likewise placed upon a fixed liturgical order.

Evening service, above, p. 102.

The wording of the Tefillah, sec. 9, p. 42ff.

Familiar, Ber. 4:3, end of 5.

B. Gitt. 59b specifically speaks of poor synagogue attendance during the amoraic period.

Short prayers, cf. Mech. to Ex. 15:25 (45b).

A report about R. Akiba's attitude is to be found in Tos. Ber. 3:5 (6:5).

לְפָנָיו above p. 242.

592 sec. 36. 3. (p. 254.) Cf. above sec. 8, 4. The details discussed in the first part should be applied in this part too.

556 4. (p. 256.) The differentiation, e.g. Ber. 5:2, Tos.

Ber. 3:10f. (7:4ff.), Taan. 1:1, j. Ber. 4:1 (7c), 4:3 (8a), 5:2 (9a), b. 29a, Shab. 24a and parallel passages. The Tannaim taking part in all of these discussions lived during the period in question.

R. Akiba, R. Ha Sh. 4:5, Tos. Yom Ha Kip. 4:12 (189:19),
and see also Studien 55.

5. (p. 257.) Cycle of readings, cf. above p. 160. Even during the time of R. Meir, the cycle was not yet fixed.

The number of people, b. Meg. 23a.

Interpretation of Scripture, p. 195; the scholars' sermons, G.V. 352.

6. (p. 257.) The results of the Bar Kachba revolt, Graetz, 44, 152ff.; JE 2, 508f.

The Mishnah and Baraitha contain many controversies of Meir's contemporaries concerning the prayers.

Local customs, e.g. j. R. Ha Sh. 4:6 (59c), above p. 141.

New Year's prayers, above p. 142.

7. (p. 258.) Old prayers embellished, e.g. ^{נ' 811} ANK above p. 22, Psalms, p. 82. Perhaps the Kaddish was also perfected at that time.

Casuistry, practically all of the material in Schürer 2, 569ff. belongs to this period and should not be used for the period which he discusses there.

Times for prayer, Ber. 1:1, and the Tos. and Talmud on this Mishnah.

Interruptions, Ber. 2:1, 3:5, Tos. Ber. 2:6ff., 3:20.

Ber. 2:1 and the Talmud on St.

Hagadah, see Bacher, Agada d. Tann. 2, 22, 161, 199 and in other places.

Errors, Ber. 5:5, Tos. 2:5 (3:24), b. 21a, 29a and other places; also cf. Stossel in MS 56, 1912, 58lff.

sec. 37. 2. (p. 260.) In Hasting's Dictionary of the Bible 4, 642, Bacher attributes the exhortation to prayer in the synagogue to Eliezer b. Jacob. The reading in Pes. d.R.K., however, is not definitely correct. It cannot be determined when Abba Benjamin (b. Ber. 6a) lived. In any case, one is astonished by the urgency with which the Amora recommended worship in the synagogue. The passage Sh. T. to Ps. 5:6 (27a) is apparently later than the Talmud passages mentioned. Concerning synagogue attendance at a later time, see p. 493f.

R. Yitzchok, see Bacher, Ag. Pal. Amor. 2, 205ff. Concerning this point also cf. j. Ber. 5, 1 (8d f.).

3. (p. 262.) Concerning Rab and Samuel's accomplishments in the area of liturgy cf. G.V. 386 and Note 39 to Graetz' Geschichte 4³ added by F. Rosenthal.

אגדה רבה above p. 20.

p. 101. אמת ואמונה

p. 60. המ'נ'נ'

- Messiah, p. 40
 Biblical verses, b. Shabb. 119b.
 Mar Samuel, b. Ber. 30a.
 Rav, above p. 116; the addition arranged by him was the only change in the Musaf in Palestine, cf. p. 134.
 וְהוֹדוּ לַיהוָה p. 136.
 Confession of sins, p. 150.
 New Year, p. 143.
 R. Jochanan, G.V. 386, 391; Bacher, Ag. d. Pal. Amor. 1, 241ff.
 R. Papa's sentence הָלַךְ נִמְרִינָה לְכוּלָּהּ (b. Sotah 40a),
 הָלַךְ נִמְרִינָה לְכוּלָּהּ (b. Ber. 11b according to MS. Munchen, 59b, 60b, Meg. 21b).
- 557 4. (p. 265.) The order of the liturgical arrangement was set in the Mishnah and thus was considered as being unalterable.
 Wording still in a state of flux, cf. Luzzatto קדש
 3f. Prayers for the Shema above p. 17ff., 100f.
Tefillah, cf. e.g. b. Ber. 34a, j. 4, 3 (8a), 5, 3 (9c)
 b. Pes. 117b.
 Insertions, b. Ber. 33b, j. 4, 3 (8a), 5, 2 (9b).
 Festivals, b. Pes. 117b, New Year, b. R. Ha Sh. 32a f.,
 Day of Atonement, b. Yoma 87b.
 Scriptural reading, e.g. b. Meg. 21b f., 29b. ff., j. Meg. 3, 6 (74b).
 The reader either praised or criticized, b. Ber. 33b, b. Pes. 117b, b. Yoma 36b, 56b, 87b among others, j. Ber. I, 8 (3d), Shev. 1, 5 (33b).
5. (p. 266.) פסוקי תורה cf. the bibliography, p. XIV.
 אָוֹרָה Studien 31f., above p. 23f.
 הָרִאשִׁיטָה above p. 23, JQR 10, 656.
 פִּנְיָה above p. 105, 109.
Tefillah, p. 40, 53.
 קִדְּשָׁה p. 45f.
 יְקִינָה p. 55f.
 לִשְׁמֵהּ הָאֵל p. 59.
Kedushah, p. 62.
 Priestly benediction, p. 71.
 מְרִיבָה p. 44.
Musaf, p. 116.
Tefillah for the festivals, 133f.
 Scripture reading, p. 160.
 Festivals, p. 165f.
 Maftir section, p. 169.
 The individuals' reading their own passage from the Torah, p. 170f.
 Blessings, 171f.
 The Haftorah benedictions, p. 180ff.
 Deviations in Babylonia itself: Nehardea, b. Shabb. 116b, Pumbedita, b. Pes. 117b; cf. b. Meg. 22a. From a later period, in the Resp. Is. b. Sheshet sec. 412.

6. (p. 275.) כחגדג, ibid.
מנוחה אלהה above p. 118f.
פסד p. 17f.
הכח"ד, p. 114
פסד אכד אכד, p. 78
7. (p. 276.) Selichah, p. 222f.
 Litanies, ibid., Litg. 17f. Techinah, above p. 78.
8. (p. 276.) Luzzatto כחג, במנוחה 11ff.
מנוחה in the Sephardic rite for Mondays and Thursdays,
 and in the Ashkenazic rite for Selichot; מנוחה in the
Ashkenazic rite after the Avodah.
Syrian church, Sachs, Rel. Poesie 177f.
9. (p. 277.) Avodah, Studien 56ff., the oldest one with
 the beginning פסד was the first one published, ibid.
 102ff.
כחג, ibid. 77, concerning the introduction, 59ff.,
 the prayer of the high priest, p. 66ff.
10. (p. 278.) Hoshanot, p. 219f.
פסד etc. p. 216.
 Sentences with the word פסד are very abundant in all
 the rites.
11. (p. 278.) Azharot, above p. 217f.
12. (p. 278.) Litg. 23f.
 Reworked, e.g. מנוחה Litg. 228, Sachs, 176.¹
 In the manuscripts, the Azharot are called מנוחה
Sachs 177.¹

Chapter 2.

sec. 39. 1. (p. 280.) More about the prayer-books on p. 353ff.;
 mysticism, 377ff.

2. (p. 281.) Alphabetic acrostic, cf. Cant. r. 1:7, Koh.r.
 1:13.

3. (p. 282.) Itt., p. 252.
Deuteroze, Graetz 5:4, 412, Schürer 2, 385.
Samuel ha Nagid was the main source for Itt. (JE 11, 24f.)
 He in turn relied heavily upon Sam. b. Chofnis' writings
 (Harkavy-Festschrift 168f.)

Benjamin b. Samuel from Constantinople comments in pard.
 43d that the Piyyut took the place of Midrash (מנוחה פסד מנוחה)
פסד (MS 1900, 295)

sec. 39. 3. Concerning the origin of the Piyyut also cf. Mann.
 in HUCA 4, 281f.

- 558 Concerning Samuel b. Jehudah, see Schreiner in MS 42, 1898, 123ff.; the passage quoted is according to Schreiner's translation, ibid. p. 220.
 450-589, cf. Brull, Jahrbücher 2, 15ff.
 Sherira, in Neubauer, Med. Jew. Chronicles 1, 33f., ed. Lewin 95ff. Concerning the simultaneous persecutions in the Byzantine Empire, cf. above p. 63f.
 See Gottheil in JQR 19, 500, 527 about Kalkaschandi.
 Another document, ibid. 18, p. 13.
 Jannai's poetry, cf. I. Davidson, Machzor Jannai, New York 1919.
4. (p. 285.) The quotation from Sachs, Rel. Poesie, 180. der arab. Literature 1, 137. Metre, see. Hartmann, Die hebräische Verskunst, p. 41.
 Prior to 750, i.e. Kalir's lifetime, see additional comments on p. 316.
5. (p. 286.) The penetration of the Piyyut, Ri. 6f., S.P. 61.
Kerovah etc., above p. 210ff.
 Only on Yom Kippur does the Minchah service have Piyyutim.
Selichah, p. 224.
Piyyutim for the Torah readings, see Neubauer and Cowley, Catalogue etc. 2, 2706:16, 2710:6, 9, 2712:4 among others. The destinies of the individuals, above p. 221
 Freedom in the Piyyut, Sachs 179.
 Zunz, the preface to the Litg., 5.
 Concerning the Piyyutim from the Genisah, see Neubauer and Cowley loc. cit. in the index p. 469ff. The number of manuscripts in Cambridge is nevertheless incomparably larger. Aside from this, many later collections from Yemen and Persia have become known during recent centuries, cf. Bacher in REJ 58-60, 62, 74ff., Die hebr.-arab. Poesie d. Juden Yemens 1910 and JQR N.S. 2, 373ff., Persian in JE 7, 320, ZfHB 14, 16ff., also cf. REJ 53, 101ff.; 62, 85ff.
- 559 7. (p. 288.) Content of the Piyyut, Sachs loc. cit., S.P. 126f. Co
 Content of the Selichah, S.P. 85ff.
 Style, ibid. 127.
 Development of the philosophy of life, Sachs 204f.
 Ten martyrs, S.P. 139ff., sacrifice of Isaac, ibid. 136ff.
Kedushah, Sachs, 253:1.
 The Golden Age, e.g. Moses ibn Ezra in the Avodah, Studien 59; ibid. concerning the imitation of examples found in Arabic poetry that were admired. Also cf. Brockelmann loc. cit. 1, 6.
- 593 7. (p. 290.) Concerning the Piyyut as a source of Halachah see Ferteles in Fahrb. lit. Ges. 19, 293.
- 559 9. (p. 291.) Acrostics, S.P. 104ff.

Alphabetic lines where particles and the like are not heeded. Thus they can be introduced with פֶּלֶךְ with אֶלֶף and the like.

Talmud, b. Shabb. 104a, Succ. 52b.

Biblical verses, S.P. 95ff., 110f.

Kalir's Kerovah כִּרְוָה is described in Litg. 46f.

Name acrostics, S.P. 106ff., formula of benediction, ibid. 108f. and pp. 369-372.

Jehudah ha Levi, Amr. 2, 44a, Brody, Diwan 3, 286.

Strange names, S.P. 109f.

Additional comments about Simon and Solomon are found on p. 328, Yechiel, S.P. 108.

10. (p. 293). The rhymes in the Bible (G.V. 392b) are not intentional, cf. König loc. cit. 356f.; even in the verses in the Talmud (Brody in the note to Frances פ'תלך מן p. 33) it is very doubtful how much intention there was to have rhyme. All the Jewish writers of the Middle Ages concur that rhyme was unknown in Hebrew poetry before Kalir and Jannai respectively; cf. Hartmann loc. cit. and Brody, Studien zu den Dichtungen Jehudah Ha Levis p. 10.

The kind of rhyme in the Piyyut, S.P. 86ff.

Rhyme corresponding to the content, ibid. 96f.

Biblical verses as refrain, ibid. 95.

Mostedshab, above p. 228, something similar occurs in the Rehitim S.P. 99.

Efodi, in פֶּלֶךְ דְּרִיבָא Chap. 8, p. 43.

Additional discussion about Saadia, p. 325.

11. (p. 294) Concerning metre in the Bible, cf. the bibliography in König 303ff. and Steuernagel, Lehrbuch d. Einleitung etc. sec. 30, 108ff.

Poets, cf. Hartmann loc. cit., about the rhythmic measuring of the syllables as either long or short, ibid. 47.

Reproach directed at Dunash in the פְּדִינָה דְּרִיבָא ibid. p. 7, 21ff.

Jehudah Ha Levi, Kuzari 2, 70, 78, 82.

Harisi, Tachkemoni 18, also cf. Buch der Frommen sec. 469f.

The valuation of the quantity of syllables, Brody, Studien p. 17ff. פְּדִינָה and פְּדִינָה are to be included among the technical names.

The enumeration of the metres to be found in Rosin's Reime u. Gedichte Abraham ibn Esras p. 6ff. and Brody loc. cit. 26ff. Brody was corrected by Halper in JQR NS 4, 153ff.

Hartmann, p. 83.

Song, S.P. 114ff.

12. (p. 296.) The quote is found in S.P. p. 126.

Peculiarities, ibid. 117f.

Aramaic words, ibid., 372-375; Latin and Greek, see Krauss, Lehnwörter 1, p. XXViff.

Excess (Übermass) S.P. 118.

Unusual plurals ibid. pp. 376-379.

Nouns, S.P. 119.

The verb, 120ff. infinitives, p. 379f. Formations of two letters p. 380-383.

ד'קל before the finite verb, pp. 383-385. Payyetic words, p. 385f. Nouns forms, p. 386-420. New verb forms, pp. 420-435. Particles as verbs, pp. 436-438. Obscure words, p. 123ff., to which the appendices 15-17 belong. Information about the various expressions that the earlier synagogue poets preferred to use or were peculiar to them, see pp. 438-453. For the appropriate expressions referring to the nations and the churches that ruled Israel, see pp. 474-477. Concerning the language of the Piyyutim also cf. Luzzatto קאנן 10ff.

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13. (p. 298.) Abraham ibn Ezra on Ecc. 5:1, S.P. 117.

Heidenheim in the commentary on מסכת סוכה in the Musaf for the first day of the New Year.

The quotation (p. 299) is from S.P. 117, and the second one, ibid. 123.

Additional information about Saadia on pp. 322ff.

Classicists, in modern times, only Victor Hugo and Gabriel d'Annunzio are given this title.

Quotation is from Judges 16:9.

Spanish poets, G.V. 433f..

14. (p. 301.) Judgments about the Piyyutim are found in A.A. Wolff אנכי פירע ארנא, Stimmen d. altesten, glaubwurdigsten Rabbiner über die Piutim, Leipzig 1857 and Ri 163ff. Defenders of the Piyyut are also presented, the obstacles and oppositions are underrated.

Difference between Babylonia and Palestine, Ker. Chem. 6, 247.

Gradual admission of the Piyyut, c.f. Eppenstein loc. cit. p. 596.

Jehudai, Geon, 2,51, Like him, the author of פירקין ג' בבב'ל who was loyal to Jehudai and greatly revered him rejected the Piyyut, REJ 70, 130.

Kohen Zedek, s. Sch. L. sec. 28.

Matronai, see Resp. Ch. Gen. 50, Sch. L. sec. 28 (13a), also cf. MS 54, 355.

Hai, in Itt. 252, also cf. Chananel in Sch. L. loc. cit. 12b.

Jehuda b. Barsilai, Itt. 252.

Younger contemporary, see V. p. 370.

Gershon, Sch. L. loc. cit., V. p. 362ff.

Tam, ibid.

Abr. ibn Ezra, see above.

Maim., More 1, 59, also cf. Resp., ed. Lichtenberg 1, Nu. 127 and Lewy Fest-schrift hebr. p. 49.

Harisi, Tachkemoni 24, in Brody Albr. p. 187.

Similar reproaches, Wolff p. 14ff., Ri 166.

Jos. Karo on the Tur 1,68,112.

Elijah of Vilna, in אור שמחה sec. 127.

Informed people, see additional comments on p. 427.

- 593 14. (p. 301ff.) Concerning the acceptance of the Piyyut during its early period, cf. now the detailed discussion by Ginzberg, Ginse Schechter 2, 508ff. He not only makes a distinction between Babylonia and Palestine but also within Babylonia between the academies of Sura and Pumbeditha. In Pumbeditha, the opposition was the strongest and the most enduring.
- 560 sec. 40. 1. (p. 305) The list of old Selichah poets belong amongst the scanty sources, Litg., p. 625f., the enumeration in Harkavy loc. cit., Harisi, Tachk. 3 (Brody Albr. 170ff), die Poetik Saadyana 51 and JQR 14, 742. A good choice of examples is found in the work of Brody and Wiener's in Biblioteca Mundi, Leipzig 1922.
- 593 sec. 40. 1. (p. 305.) Concerning the research in the field of medieval poetry during the 19th century, cf. Davidson in Proceedings (the full title in sec. 34:8) p. 33ff. and Maddae Hajahdut 1.
- 560 3. (p. 306.) Anonymous Piyyut, Litg. 23ff.
 Jose, ibid. 26ff., Landshut 85ff., Harkavy 106ff., Jawitz in Festschr. für D. Hoffmann hebr. p. 74ff. In L. and H., the errors of all the earlier men are also recorded.
 Middle Ages, JQR 14, 742.
 Concerning the abridgment in the Ashkenazic rite, see the remarks on p. 216.
Avodah, see Studien 78ff. and 118.
 אָוֹדָה in Rosenberg's אָוֹדָה 2, 111ff.
 אָוֹדָה Litg. 646f., concerning Peter as the author, see Studien 74:2.
 אָוֹדָה in אָוֹדָה 2, 1ff where 'אָוֹדָה is erroneously found.
 אָוֹדָה Stud. 81 and 118, אָוֹדָה Litg. 28.
 אָוֹדָה R1 142, Landshuth 87; transference of authorship to Jose, S.P. 163.
 Translations of אָוֹדָה can be found in Sachs, Festgebete der Israeliten 2.
4. (p. 308.) Saadia, in Harkavy ibid., Eppenstein loc. cit. 595.
 Concerning Pinchas as a poet, cf. Marmorstein in reference to p. 123.
5. (p. 309.) Concerning Yannai, cf. I. Davidson, Machzor Yannai.
 Theory of poetry, JQR 14, 742.
 Anan, in Harkavy p. 107f., cf. MS 1902, 377.
 Gershom, in Sch. L. sec. 28; accordingly Davidson correctly explained that Yannai wrote poetry for every Sidra of the three year cycle. Some of these Kerovot found in palimpsests have been deciphered by Davidson.

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Book indices, above note on sec. 39a.

Enumeration, in Davidson XIII, XLIX.

Legend, in Landshut 103. I recall that I read a similar story about an Italian poet but cannot find it. According to the information given me by Dr. Aldo Sorani of Florence, there is something analogous told in Morgante Maggiore by Pulci (15th cent.)

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5. (p. 309.) These poems by Yannai have become known since Davidson's Machzor Yannai. Two were published by Levias AJSL 1898/99, p. 156ff.; Kahle in Massoreten des Westens p. 24f., was the first to correctly identify them. Others who published Yannai's poetry hitherto unknown were Max Kober, Zum Machsor Jannai, Frankfurt 1929 (also Jahrb. f. lit. Ges. 20, 21ff.); Davidson, Ginse Schechter 3, 8-24 (cf. p. 1-6). Several additional selections appeared in a dissertation in Bonn, Concerning Kober, cf. Spiegel in MS 74, 1930, p. 94ff.

6. (310.) Concerning Kalir, cf. Rapoport's biography in Bikk. ha Itt. XI, 95ff., Litg. 29ff., Landshuth 27ff., Luzzatto KJN 9ff.

The quote by Frankel is in Zunz-Jubelschr. p. 160.

לכונן Aruch. see under לכונן III.

Custom, see Zunz, Zur Geschichte 188f.

Cagliari, Rapoport, note 17.

Jacob, in Juchasin by Schullam ed. Krakau, 34b, 48b.

Opposed to this is Landshuth, p. 29.

Rapoport, note 12, assumes metaphoric and symbolic expressions. It has frequently been reported to him that he over-emphasizes this matter.

Kele, in Melanges Renier 433, Berliner, Gesch. d. Juden in Rom, IIa 15f.

Cyrrill, J. Perles in Byzant. Zeitschr. II, 582.

Southern Italy, see above.

Port city, Berliner loc. cit.

Germany, Ker. Chem. VI, 7, other countries, ibid. 8,

Krauss, Stud. zur bysant. jüd. Geschichte p. 128 states that he was from Constantinople.

Babylonia, Luzzatto KJN 9.

The first to give his birthplace as Palestine is S. Cassel in Frankel's Zeitschr. f. d. rel. Inter. 1846, 224f.

Only one day of the festival, Tos. Hag. 13a s.v. לכונן.

Rapoport's objections to this theory (note 1) are not sound since the recitation of the Piyyutim by the congregations does not prove anything about their original purpose. Double Kerovot written by Kalir are to be found for the Ninth of Av. One is in the Ashkenazic rite and the other in the Italian rite. For Purim, cf. Frankl loc. cit. 162.

Sources, Litg. 33.

The structure of the Palestinian text, see Rapoport, note 28, 33, cf. Amidah p. 26.

Palestine, Zunz also has this opinion in his Litg. 33.

Kallirrhoe, Casel and F. Perles in OLZ X, 1907, 543 give this view.

Kalir the Tanna, Landshut 27. Jos. Steinhardt in his 90' 1223 was the first to speak out against this theory. Tiberius, Eppenstein loc. cit. 594.

Poems for the Ninth of Av 918' 1223 and are in Rapoport, note 3. The correct explanation is given in Luzzatto loc. cit. 10.

Landshut 31ff., Litg. 43ff. give Kalir's poetry.

Geniza, e.g. in Neubauer and Cowley, Catalogue, Index p. 444; ibid. 2708:1 also unfamiliar poems for Pesach. Unfamiliar Kerovot for Hannukah, Cambridge, Tayl. Sch. Coll. H 1.

Kerovot, Litg. 32.

Arbitrarily, ibid. 60.

Four sabbaths, 43ff.

Ninth of Av, 46ff.

Kalir as an example, Litg. 31. ft. 34.

Hagada, ibid. 29f.

Messianic etc. writings, ibid. 603ff.

Language, ibid. 35ff.

The dissemination of Kalir's poetry, ibid. 33. Translations are abundant in Sachs, Festgebete d. Israeliten, also cf. p. 67, 75, 130.

The quotation, Litg. 61ff.

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6. (310) I have published other compositions by Kalir in HUCA II and III; Bericht der Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums, 1929, p. 47f.; Zijunim zum Andenken an J.N. Simchoni, p. 83ff. (a poetic Amidah upon the death of a scholar), p. 86f. (a fragment of a Tekiata for New Year's festival).

Ginzberg in Ginse I, 246ff. printed the oldest commentary for one of his Kinot.

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sec. 41.1. (p. 319.) Cf. Litg. 64.

Concerning the period after 1050, ibid. 126. The quotation is from there.

2. (p. 321.) Anonymous poems, ibid. 64-93, 219-232.

Concerning Saadia, H. Malter, Life and Works of Saadia Gaon, 149ff., 330-421.

אזהר in Rosenberg's 922' II, 30ff., we erroneously found אזהר (26ff.) amongst the Azharot; Oeuvres IX, 58ff.

Avodah, Studien 82f., printed in 922' II, 10ff.; the second אזהר Studien 83f. and 122ff.

Hoshanah-cycle, see MS XXX VII, 1893, 506ff. Selichot, Litg. 97; cf. Schechter, Saadyana, Nu. XVIII. In nos. XVII-XXIV other unknown Piyyutim by Saadia are also printed. Tochechah, in Brody 51ff. Cf. Neubauer and Cowley loc. cit. p. 494f.

Concerning Agron, see Malter loc. cit. p. 139.

3. (p. 325.) Solomon ha Babli, Litg. 100ff., Vogelstein u. Rieger, Gesch. d. Juden in Rom I, 181ff.

Selichot, ibid. Litg. 232ff., translations S.P. 167ff., Vogelstein u. Rieger 183.

Litg. 233. Nevertheless, see above 288 B.e. Avodah, Studien 87f.

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4. (p. 326.) Concerning the Kalonymus family, cf. the bibliography in Aronius, Regesten Nu. 136, p. 58, JE VII, 424f.

Moses b. Kal., Litg. 104ff., Landshuth 257f.

Kalonymus from Lucca, Litg. 108.

Meshullam b. Kal., Litg. 108ff., Landshuth 265ff.

Mainz, REJ XXIV, 149ff., Salfeld, Martyrologium 434.

Avodah, see Studien 85ff., 126ff., translations, S.P. 130f. and Sachs, Festgebete der Israeliten, Vol. IV.

5. (p. 328.) Simon b. Isaac, Litg. 11ff. The epithet can mean that he had experienced many miracles during his lifetime.

The persecution of 1012, see Aronius, Regesten, Nu. 145, p. 62, Salfeld loc. cit. 288.

Abridgements, Ri 140.

Selichah, Litg. 235ff., translations, S.P. 174ff. and Sachs, Festgebete der Israeliten, in practically all of the volumes.

6. (p. 330.) Gershom, Litg. 238f., translations, S.P. 171ff.

Concerning the persecutions see the note in 5. Concerning the forced baptism of his son, see Graetz V⁴ 387, Gallia 303, JE V, 639.

Benjamin, Litg. 120ff., 239ff. In Zunz' S.P. 176, he calls him the most prolific Selichah poet of his century and "perhaps of all the poets of Germany and the romance countries." He also has some of the translations of his Selichot.

Joseph b. Solomon, Litg. 123.

Zahlal, ibid. 123ff., S.P. 132.

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sec. 41, 6. (p. 331.) in HUCA III, Davidson published Zahlal's Piyyut. For the explanation of the details, cf. Baneth, MS LXXI, 1927, 426ff., LXXIII, 1929, 376, Barol ibid. LXXIII, 302f.

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7. (p. 331.) Cf. above 1. Elijah b. Menachem, Litg. 126ff., Landshut 13ff.

אמין in Rosenberg's שיר II, 55ff.

Selichot, Litg. 243.

Josef Bonfils, see Luzzatto in שיר I, 48ff., Landshut 96ff., Litg. 129ff., Gallia 308. The selections mentioned are all in the Ashkenazic rite. Commentaries on אמין are in Or Sar. II, 57c. Selichot, Litg. 243, S.P. 180.

8. (p. 33.) Lit. 139, 244ff., Landshuth 17f.; translations, S.P. 206ff.; parallels in the Selichot, Litg. 616.

9. (p. 334.) Meir, Litg. 145ff., 248ff. Concerning the name, ibid. 610, Landshut 162, translations S.P. 188ff. Rashi (cf. the bibliography in JE X, 328) Litg. 252ff. S.P. 181. Concerning the Siddur, Berlin 1911, cf. the introduction by Buber and J. Freimann. Jacob Tam, Litg. 265ff., Landshuth 106ff.

10. (p. 335.) Elegies about the persecutions during the first crusade are mentioned in Graetz' Gesch. VI,³ 357 (very inaccurate), Salfeld, Martyrologium 101ff.; some German extracts, S.P. 95ff.

Menachem b. Machir, Litg. 158, 250, Landshut 189ff., Salfeld 103, cf. Epstein MS XLI, 300ff.

David b. Meshullam, Litg. 254, Landshut 59. The delegation to Henry 4, see Aronius, Regesten Nu. 170, p. 71ff.

Kalonymus, Litg. 164ff., 255.

Eliezer b. Nathan, Litg. 259ff., Landshut 20ff, JE V, 118f., cf. S.P. 246.

10. (p. 337.) Unknown elegies by Kalonymus and Eliezer were published by Lichtenstein in Z.G.d.J.i.D. II, 1930, 237ff.

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11. (p. 337.) Joel, see Litg. 269, Landshut 81f., Salfeld 113, cf. S.P. 252.

Ephraim b. Jacob, Litg. 288ff., 619, Landshut 47, JE V, 190f., cf. S.P. 262.

Ephraim b. Isaac, Litg. 274ff., Landshut 48, cf. S.P. 263.

Meir b. Baruch, Litg. 357ff., 623, Landshuth 160f., cf. S.P. 312f., JE VIII, 437ff.

12. (p. 338.) See above sec. 39, 5 about later poems.

sec. 42. 1. (p. 339.) General characteristics, see Sachs, Karpeles loc. cit., Kaufmann in the preface to S. Heller's Die echten hebr. Melodien, II. Aufl., 1893.

The quotation is from Charisi III.

Dukes, Kämpf, Letteris, Edelmann and above all S.D. Luzzatto have done exceptional work in the re-discovery of the poems of the Spanish Jews. M. and S. Sachs, A. Geiger and recently H. Brody and Isr. Davidson are to be praised in addition to the others for their work in the area of explaining the poetry. Of the numerous works which contain translations of the poems, we shall mention here: Karpeles, Zionsharfe, 1893, A. Sulzbach, Die religiöse u. weltl. Poesie der Juden, (also Winter and Wunsche, Die jüd. Literatur, III) and Heller (see above).

2. (p. 341.) Ibn Abitur, see Sachs, Rel. Poesie 248-255, Litg. 178-186, Landshuth 92-94.

Maamad: Harisi III, 140 (Brody Albr. p. 175).

Avodah: Studien 88f.

- 564 7. (p. 348) The extensive bibliography about Jehudah Ha Levi, see Brody, Studien, p. 5 the note., JE VII, 351. The new material for a biography of the poet is taken into account by Emil Bernhard, Jehuda Halevy, Ein Diwan.
The verses are from Heine's Jeh. ben Halevy; concerning the following, see Sachs 303ff., Karpeles 420ff., 426.
The Zionides: Karpeles 426. German translations by Moses Mendelssohn and Herder, see Karpeles, Diwan d. Jeh. Halevi II. Aufl., p. 172ff.
Listing of the religious poems, Litg. 203-207, Landshuth 69-77. The most extensive though disorganized listing is in Luzzatto's preface to his Diwan.
Examples in Sachs 83-106; S.P. 231ff.; A. Geiger, Diwan des Casteliers Abu 'l Hassan etc., p. 56ff. (N.S. III 138ff.); Karpeles, Diwan and Emil Bernhard loc. cit.; Brody Albr. 100ff.
- 593 7. (p. 3481) A continuation of Brody's Diwan appeared in 1930. Sixty of Jehudah Ha Levi's religious poetry have been translated and published by Franz Rosenzweig.
- 564 8. (p. 351.) Concerning Abraham ibn Ezra's life, see finally Ochs in MS LX, 47ff.; about his religious poetry, Sachs 310-320, Litg. 207-14, Landshuth 5-9. A collection of poems is to be found in Egers' Diwan des Abr. ibn Esra. There you will also find a statement about the religious poems which are not in the Diwan.
Examples, S.P. 238ff.; Sachs 109-118; Rosin, Reime und Gedichte des Abr. ibn Esra, Bd. II, Gottesd. Poesie. Brody Albr. 145ff.
- 593 8. (p. 352.) Davidson in Ginse Schechter III published new poems from the Orient.
- 564 sec. 43. 1. (p. 353.) Education see Gudemann's article "Education" in JE V, 43ff.
Apostolage, cf. Vogelstein in MS IL, 427ff.
Correspondence, see J. Muller, Briefe u. Responsen in der vorgeonäischen jüd. Literatur, 1886.
Books of Agadah, G.V. 182d.
Prayers during the Talmudic period, above 265ff.
2. (p. 354.) Sofrim has been thoroughly revised by J. Müller, Leipzig, 1878. The necessary information about the origin and nature of the work is to be found in the introduction. Sof. IX:9 and following speak of the reading of the Torah and the prayers. XII:8b-XIII:8 again come back to the theme of the writing of the Torah; there are also Agadic digressions. Weekday prayers in X:7. Above p. 85 and 113 prove that XVII:11 refer to festivals.
Jehudai, above p. 163.

3. (p. 355.) Minhag, Ri 2ff., above p. 206.
 10000 10000 10000 10000 10000 10000 10000 10000 10000 10000
 Ne.g. Pes. IV, Meg. II and in other places.
 10000 10000 10000 10000 10000 10000 10000 10000 10000 10000
 Sof. XIV:18

How it was formed and was influenced, see Ri 3f.

Inquiries directed at the Geonim, Ri 5, 16, 184ff. and J. Müller, Einleitung in d. Responsonsen d. Geonim. The material has since become considerably larger.

- 593 3. (p. 355.) Unna in Jeschurun X, 1923, p. 464 calls the Minhag "the creative power of the lively spirit of the people within the limits set by the Torah." The Minhag is a kind of religious instinct which has its support not in the tradition but rather in the people. Carlebach goes even further, ibid. XIV, 676f. XV, 69ff.; 139ff.

- 564 4. (p. 358.) Concerning the development of the literature about the prayer-book, see Geon. I, 119ff.

Natronai's prayer-code, ibid. II, 119ff.: his responses are in Müller's Einleitung p. 104ff.

Ginzberg correctly states that prayer-books were already widespread at that time. This is true despite the fact that the indirect proof given by him is not sound. The question as to whether a blind person could act as a reader refers to Meg. IV:6. If one nevertheless compares Natronai's answer with Jehudai's statement in J. Müller's Handschriftl., Jehudai Gaon zugewiesene Lehrsätze, p. 10, Nu. IX, one recognizes that Jehudai's opposition to prayer-books has already been completely overcome.

That Kohen Zedek composed a Siddur as Ri 18c assumes, has not been proven tenable. Cf. Müller, Handschriftliche etc. p. 17, X; Geon. I, 123.

- 565 Concerning Amram, see above p. 7 and 512. The form of the Siddur which we have has been subjected to a very thorough examination by Ginzberg, Geon. I, 126-154. On p. 124, it is acknowledged that the text of the prayers underwent numerous changes. In contrast to Ginzberg, I doubt whether the wording of the prayers was given in its entirety from the very beginning.

10000 10000 10000 10000 10000 10000 10000 10000 10000 10000
 does not always have to mean the "wording of the prayers." This expression could also refer to the arrangement, the succession of prayer and to the blessings as it does in Natronai's usage. Among Amram's sources, the custom followed in both academies and in the house of the exilarch are of the most significance. (The expression 10000 10000 10000 10000 10000 10000 10000 10000 10000 10000
 interpret as being the house of the exilarch in opposition to Ginzberg, I, 42f and Krauss SA 18, 221). Of the literary sources, he especially used Natronai's responsa. Along with the titles dispersed throughout the text, the titles 10000 10000 10000 10000 10000 10000 10000 10000 10000 10000
 10000 10000 10000 10000 10000 10000 10000 10000 10000 10000
 Or. Sar. I, 26b also occurs. The sources

that Amram used become quite clear when one compares his work with Itt. and V. We need say nothing more about the fact that the Plyyutim in Bd. II of the ed. Warschau are not by Amram.

The Selichot for the Ten Days of Repentance have now been made known in MS. 28, Fr. II, 308ff.

Concerning Saadia's Siddur, see Steinschneider C.B. 2203ff. and the bibliography in Malter's Saadia Gaon 147ff., 329, 427.

Its composition in Babylonia and the influence from Egypt, Geonica I, 166f. and Moses b. Maimon I, 327.

Scholars, e.g. Hain. Geon. I, 175.

Others, Ri 19. One should nevertheless not assume that during the Middle Ages when the work דפוס is quoted that it means prayer-book. Thus, e.g. the reference דפוס '770 in the book indices given by E.N. Adler in JQR XIV, 57 is not Rashi's Siddur or similar ones but rather the Avodah by Gabirol. The first verse given there forms the beginning of the long Avodah which Studien p. 143ff. and דפוס V, 178 have published. Likewise, we find that Jos. Tob Elem's halachic poem (above p. 333) is frequently called דפוס cf. e.g. Tos. Pes. 115a s.v.

Ibn Gayyat's Halachot were first discussed by Dernburg in Geiger's Wiss. Zeitschr. V, 396ff and published by S. Bamberger, 1861 under the name דפוס; also see above p. 342.

Jeh. ben Barzillai, cf. JE VII, 340f and Albeck in Lewy-Festschr. hebr. 104ff.

Eshkol, in Gallia 414, JE I, 110f.

Mishnah Torah, in Mose b. Maimon I, 319-331.

Rashi, cf. above 562, 9; concerning V also cf. Ri 20.

דפוס, ed. Brody 1894.

- 594 4. (p. 358.) Concerning the bibliography about the Siddurim, cf. Krauss in Soncino-Blätter II, 1ff. Concerning Amram, cf. the study made by J. N. Epstein in דפוס (Gedenkb. für J.N. Simchoni, 1929), p. 122ff. He points out that the compilation of prayers was redacted by Zemach b. Solomon who was the Av Bet Din under Natronai and Amram and not long after this redaction foreign additions were made to the texts.

- 565 5. (p. 363.) Minhag in its new meaning of rite, Ri 38.

Differences, ibid. 7f.

The Balkans, ibid. 79f., Italy, 76f., Germany 59ff.

Spain, 39ff.

Poems were divided, ibid. 106ff., 131, 139ff.

Kinot, 89f.

Hoshanot, 91.

Day of Atonement, 95, 97ff.

דפוס Litg. 107, 110, Berliner II, 13ff., 63.

The Amnon legend, Landshuth 45f and in older editions of the German-Polish Machzor for דפוס. In accordance with its dissemination and its language, the selection must go back to the very beginnings of the Piyyut. Cf. JE I, 525f.

Spain, Ri 88f., 92ff., 104ff.

Provence, ibid. p. 45.

Selichot, 131ff., in Spain, ibid. 132.

The subdivision of the rites, Ri 39ff. Hai Gaon e.g. stresses in דפוס sec. 119 at the end that many rites

existed along-side one another (כמה מנהגים נמשכו זה לצד זה).

6. (p. 368.) Bibliography about the Minhagim, Ri 21ff. One should compare the very interesting work מנהגים by Menachem Meiri (1249-1306) to this other material. This book does not deal exclusively with liturgical customs but gives many important general observations about the Minhagim. Meiri is of the view that each individual should strive to preserve the tradition of his home-town in its authenticity. No one, however, should force his customs upon others (p. 6.) and especially not in the area of questions about the liturgy and the text of the prayers. (p. 101)

566 Concerning the books of customs of the city of Worms, cf. Epstein in Kaufmann-Gedenkbuch p. 288ff.

Meir of Worms, above p. 334.

Abr. b. Nathan, cf. D. Cassel in Zunz-Jubelschr. 122ff. Gallia 283, JE I, 116f.

Meir, above p. 338.

Zidka, Vogelstein u. Rieger I, 382ff.

Ahron ha Cohen and Kolbo, Ri 31, Gallia, 290, 420, JE I, Kolbo, ibid. VII, 538f.

Abudraham, Ri 30, JE, I, 139.

ע"י ר"ד Gallia 240, the text is in Jubelschr. für M. Bloch 1905, corrected in ZfHB IX, 143ff.

The sickness of the Minhagim, see Gudemann, Erziehungswesen d. Juden in Frankr. u. Deutschl. II, 13ff.

Jacob Mölln, JE VIII, 652; the quotation is taken from the preface to מנהגים.

The over evaluation of the Minhagim came to light especially crudely in the conflict revolving around the Hamburg Temple (above p. 406 f.). The opinions in מנהגים constantly refer to the immutability of the Minhagim, cf. Ia, 3, 23. Likewise see the statement made by Abr. Gumbiner in אברהם גומבין on Sch. Ar. I, 68 which is taken from the end of J. Er. III: אברהם גומבין אברהם גומבין אברהם גומבין

As is well known, the quotation is wrong and should read אברהם גומבין. It deals with the introduction of a fixed calendar and has nothing to do with the prayers. In support of his theory Abr. Gumbiner makes reference to Is. Luria.

594 6. (p. 370.) the first part of Abudraham's work has been printed in a new edition by Ch. L. Ehrenreich, Cluj 1927 with detailed notes. The name is pointed Abidarham in Al-Nakawa's Menorat Ha-Maor, ed. Enelow II, p. 449.

566 7. (p. 372.) Many examples of the mutilation of poems, Ri 139ff.

Worms, see Berliner's Über den Einfluss d. ersten hebr. Buchdrucks, p. 22. מנהגים Ri 119f.

Selichot, ibid. 142.

Additions, 144.

594 7. (p. 372.) Many of the poems that have been divided can now be found in Davidson's Ozar in their original form.

566 8. (p. 374.) Synagogues in Constantinople and Salonica, see Rosanes, Gesch. d. Jud. i. d. Türkei I, 59ff.
The influence of printing, Ri 145f. and Berliner, loc. cit.
also cf. Randb. I, 8ff.

Complaints against prayer-books, Ri 147; the quotation from 148f. Censorship, 222ff. and also cf. Berliner, Zensur u. Konfiskation hebr. Schriften.

Deficiencies of printing, Ri 174f; Berliner, Abhandlung über den Siddur des Schabtai ha-Söfer, 1909.

sec. 44. 1. (p. 377.) Devotion, see JE IV, 549f., and also the definition of Maimonides which is given there; cf. F. Perles, Bousset's Religion des Judentums, p. 101ff. Bachya, Duties of the Heart VIII:3: Our aim in prayer is that the soul be bound up with God.

3. (p. 378.) Essenes and Therapeutae, above p. 246, 250.
לְהַשְׁכִּיחַ בְּיָדָם Ber. V:1, b. 23b, וְיִתְּנוּ ibid. 26a.

4. (p. 379.) Cf. Bloch MS XXXVII, 18ff. The quotation, ibid. p. 22.

Kedushah hymns, ibid. 73

וְהָאֵלֹהִים וְהָאֵלֹהִים, ibid. p. 258.

The prayers of the וְהָאֵלֹהִים, ibid. 252ff.

5. (p. 381.) Ahron b. Samuel, Litg. 105 as a fabrication etc. Now he is better known through the chronicle of Achimaaz of Oria (in Neubauer, Med. Jew. Chron. II, 112); cf. Kaufmann in MS XL, 1896, 465ff. Ges. Schr. III, 5 and Mann, Jews in Egypt I, 56.

Geneology of the mystics, see REJ XXIII, 230ff., MS IL, 1905, 692ff., and also the entire bibliography belonging to it.

Concerning Samuel the Pious, see Epstein in הגדה IV, 81ff., about Jehudah, Litg. 218ff., Landshuth 77f., Gudemann, Erziehungswesen etc. I, 153ff.

A cohesive group of statements about devotion and prayers are to be found in P'3'0N 'D sections 393-588.

Concerning the Hymn of Unity, see Berliner's work of the same name.

Counting of letters, Tur I, toward end of 116., cf. this with Perles in Graetz-Jubelschr. p. 17f.

Concerning Eleasar b. Jehudah, see Litg. 317ff., Landshuth 24ff., Gudemann, ibid. 173, JE V, 100ff.

594 sec. 44, 5ff. The attitude toward mysticism has changed considerably since the first appearance of this book. In Sholem's Bibliotheca Kabbalistica, p. 42, fault is found with the criticism found in this book on p. 388ff. This point must be clarified. Regardless of how high one might value mysticism for

religiosity and for the life of prayer, it should not be overlooked that mysticism is an individual matter and not a congregational one. As a result, the implementation of mystic and ecstatic prayer must lead to the cessation of congregational worship as in Hassidism. The error in the development of Jewish mysticism was making of the mood which was applicable for the individual become a matter for the congregation for a prescribed law and for the public worship. The great inspiration for the intensification of prayer which came from the mystics is recognized throughout this book.

567 6. (p. 384.) Kabbalah, see JE III, 456ff. Zohar, ibid. 699ff. The prayer הַשְׁמֵךְ נֶאֱמָר recited when the Torah is removed from the ark comes from the Zohar, above p. 200.

7. (p. 386.) For additional information about this whole section, see Schechter, Studies II, 202ff., Bloch MS IL, 129ff., the Kabbalah at its pinnacle etc. (also separate).
Safed, Schechter 209ff.

Luria, ibid. 254ff.

Order in Safed, ibid. 242.

Luria concerning prayer, p. 271.

New liturgy, 242ff.

Meals, 249; Isr. Nagara as a singer of hymns, 251, also cf. REJ LVIII-LX, LXII, 74ff., 85ff., Rosanes loc. cit. III, 309ff.

Vital, see Schechter 266ff., Landshuth 64; ibid. 122 about Luria's Piyyutim.

Lurianic material in the prayer-book, Ri 149ff., the quotation from ibid. 150. The influence of the Kabbalah upon the Ashkenazic rite since the Thiengen edition 1560 can be proven. On this matter, cf. Berliner Randb. I, 30ff.

Men. As. da Fano, JE V, 341f.

The large number of פיוטים is evident from the quotations found in Steinschneider C.B. 455-477, Zedner, 447ff. and van Straalen, Index 519f. although these listings are not without omissions.

Nathan Spira, JE XI, 523, Nu. 24.

Is. Horowitz, ibid. VI, 465f., Landshuth 133f.

Nathan Hannover, JE VI, 220.

Additions, Ri 152f., Berliner loc. cit.

8. (p. 391.) Schechter, Studies I, 1ff., JE VI, 152ff., Horodezky S.A. אורח חיים, Warschau 1912. Concerning Isr. Baal Shem, Schechter pp. 7ff., Horodezky, ibid. p. 17f.

His theories about prayers, Schechter 29ff.

Its own prayer-book, ibid. 46.

The quotation from Sol. Maimon's Lebensgeschichte, 1792, I, p. 222.

9. (p. 392.) In the opinions in א'ר'r'k (p. 406) one can notice throughout the influence of Lurianic mysticism. Changes or germanizing of the prayers were considered illegal because as a result of doing this, the original intention and the influence upon the higher world would be frustrated.

594 9. (p. 392.) Even in 1927 J. Carlebach wrote in Jeschurun XIV, 676: "The meaning the essence and the decisive forms of the prayers have been authoritatively set down for all times by our scholars."

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Chapter III

sec. 45.1. (p. 394.) As an example of the critical examination of the liturgy by the educated people, the interpretation of Bendavid and Dav. Friedlander would be well-suited. Also cf. Bernfeld 13.

2. (p. 396.) Concerning Isaac Satanow's prayer book, see Ri 169f., 175, 231ff.

567 Concerning Heidenheim, Ri 175, Berliner Randb. I, 9, 38ff.; about his life, MS LIV, 127ff., XLX, 422ff., JE VI, 319.

Concerning Sachs, see Eschelbacher in MS LII, 385ff., JE X, 613.

Baer, JE II, 433f.

Translations from the older period, Ri 154f., Steinschneider, Arab. Literatur XVII; the list can be easily increased.

Pinto in London and the other early translations, G.V. 467, Ri 170; Philipson, Reform Movement 14f., JE X, 172.

Chapter III

594 2. (p. 396.) Concerning Heidenheim, see Lewin in Jeschurun X, 1923.

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3. (p. 397.) Amsterdam: Graetz XI², 211f., Philippson I², 66, JE I, 542. The polemical writings are given by de Silva Rosa in ZfHB XV, 1911, 107ff.

The French consistorial ordinance, see Lemoine, Napoleon I et les Juifs, p. 281.

Concerning Jacobsohn, see Jost, Kulturgesch. 14ff., Philippson I, 29ff., Graetz XI², 278ff., 373ff. (which as is known is incorrect), Bernfeld 59ff.

Concerning the reforms in the kingdom of Westphalia and their acceptance, see Auerbach, Gesch. d. Juden in Halberstadt, 216ff., also in G.V. 475.

Philanthropin, see Baerwald and Adler, Gesch. des Philanthropin, p. 50ff.

Confirmation: Zunz, G.V. 472 and Ges. Schr. II, 214f., JE IV, 219f. L. Low in Lebensalter 218ff., 412 says that this is a strange practise.

Denmark, JE IV, 524.

594 3. (p. 398.) Concerning Napolen, now cf. Anchel, Napoléon et les Juifs, Paris 1928.

Concerning Jacobsohn, cf. J. R. Marcus in Year Book of the Central Conference of Amer. Rabbis 1928.

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4. (p. 400.) Concerning David Friedländer, see J.H. Ritter's work of the same name and JE V, 514f.

The polemical writings are to be found in L. Geiger, Gesch. d. Juden in Berlin, II, 210ff., Friedländer's views in Jost loc. cit. p. 12ff.

Concerning Jacobsohn's service, see Jost (loc. cit.) and Zunz (Liberales Judtm. IX, 114f., G.V. 475f.) both of whom took part in it and Zunz for a while in the capacity of preacher.

Concerning the prayer-books and the details of the conflict, see Geiger, loc. cit. II, 219ff. and the reports in Bernfeld 63ff., 214ff.

Prussia, G.V. 476 where 3-3-1824 is given as the date. Concerning the great public stir about the movement, see Liber. Judtm. loc. cit.

5. (p. 402.) Concerning the Hamburg Temple, see Jost 20ff., theological opinions about the prayer-book according to the custom of Theologische Gutachten über das Gebetbuch nach d. Gebrauch d. Neuen Isr. Tempelvereins in Der neue Isr. Tempelvereins, in Hamburg, p. 4ff., Graetz XI², 376ff., Festschr. zum hundertjahr. Bestehen des Tempels, Hamburg, 1918; concerning the prayer-book that first appeared in Aug. 1819, Bernfeld p. 247ff.

Critique by Geiger in his Der Hamburger Tempelstreit, 1842, p. 37ff.; others, e.g. Mannheimer in Theologische Gutachten, p. 96, Stein ibid. 113f., Frankel in Orient 1842, Numbers 7-9.

Macaulay, On the disabilities of the Jews, ed. Abrahams and Levy, p. 31ff.

Opponents, e.g. Graetz XI², 378f.

Adherents to the old, like J.L. Riesser, Sendschreiben an meinen Glaubensgenossen.

The position of the rabbis is found in אורח חיים, Altona 1819 and Löwenstamm אורח חיים, Amsterdam 1823, Cf. Jost 22ff., Graetz 379ff., and above to sections 43,6 and 44,9 with these.

Concerning the question of the organ, cf. אורח חיים p. 4f., 15,19ff., 30ff. and Löwenstamm p. 17f.

The judgments in אורח חיים were compiled before the Hamburg conflict for the support of the Berlin liturgy as Jost 24f. and Löwenstamm correctly note. Concerning Liebermann's character, see Graetz XI, 381 and Berliner in Jüd. Presse, 1891, p. 547.

The satire by M.J. Bresselau under the title אורח חיים has again been printed in Bernfeld 254ff. Other polemical writings are in Jost loc. cit., G.V. 493ff. in the notes.

Malpractices in the service are reprimanded by Eleazar Shemen Rokeach of Triesch in אורח חיים p. 95.

Inactivity in the Temple, A. Geiger loc. cit. 63ff.

Zunz and Moser in Strodtmann's Heinr. Heine's Leben I, 283. Well-known are Heine's repeated scornful remarks about the Temple and its preachers.

The statement on p. 410 is from Bresselau, see Theol. Gutachten, p. 25.

Leipzig and other congregations, G.V. 477f., Jost 27, 66ff. Liber. Judtm. loc. cit.

Saxony-Weimar in D. Philipson 52,105. According to Jost 226, Hess protested against the use of all force. S. Stern in Gesch. d. Judtms., p. 256 contradicts this.

569 sec. 45. 1. (p. 411.) Concerning the period from 1820-1830, see M. Philipson I, 83ff.

The internal declines, Geiger, Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theol. I, 1ff. and in Hirsch's "Neunzehn Briefen," Nu. 1.

About Hirsch, see the jubilee issue of Der Israelit, 1908, JE VI, 417, concerning Geiger, cf. Abraham Geiger, Leben u. Lebenswerk, published by Ludw. Geiger, Berlin 1910.

Riesser, see M. Philippon I², 245ff., S. Stern loc. cit. p. 198ff.

2. (p. 413.) Concerning the second Hamburg Temple controversy, cf. Theologische Gutachten (above p. 402) etc., Jost 193ff. and Festschrift, p. 26.

Concerning Bernays, see Graetz XI, 387, JE III, 90; the fact that he was forced into the conflict by members of the congregation, see Bernfeld 137, the note.

3. (p. 415.) The quote is from Geiger, Wiss. Zeitschr. I, 11; the following quote is from G.V. 492f.

The press became especially important through Ludw. Philippon who published Die Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums since 1837. Aside from this paper there also appeared in Germany at that time der Orient and der Israelit des nunzhenten Jahrhunderts and on the orthodox side der treue Zionswächter.

Concerning rabbis with a secular education, G.V. 475, 482 gives a number of names. The innovations implemented until 1844 have been compiled by Zunz, Ges. Schritten II, 216.

4. (p. 416.) Rabbinical conferences, see Jost 48, 86f., 143, Geiger Leben u. Lebenswerk p. 45ff. Ludwig Philippon's initiative is responsible for the convening of the Braunschweig meeting, see Allg. Zeitg. d. Jud. 1843 and 44.

Opposition of the conservative rabbis, Allg. Zeitg. d. Jud. ibid. and Rapoport, Sendschriften eines Rabbinen 1845.

Concerning Braunschweig, see Protokolle der ersten Rabbiner-Versammlung whose correctness has been strongly attacked, cf. Jost 237ff., D. Philippon 220ff.

Kol Nidre, in Protokolle p. 41.

Committee on liturgy, ibid. 99ff., 45ff.

5. (p. 417.) Frankfurt, see Protokolle und Aktenstücke der zweiten Rabbinerversammlung, Jost 249ff., Philippon 233-259. The committee's report, see Protokolle p. 285ff., the

debate about the formal matters, ibid. 14f. The report repeated essentially the program of Maier of Stuttgart who was a member of the consistory JE VIII, 264), see Protok. 289ff.

Principle demanded particularly by Frankel, Protok. 19f., cf. Jost 251f.

The vote about Hebrew, Protok. 30, 54, 59f.; concerning Frankel's withdrawal, see MS XLV, 234, Stern p. 278.

The plan of a prayer-book, Protok. 314ff., vote with regard to it, 72.

The question of the messiah, 106.

Repetition of the Tefillah, 107.

Musaf, 123f.

Torah reading, 319ff., decisions, 127, 133.

Prophets and hagiographa, 135ff.

Calling to the Torah, 145.

Organ, 151.

Breslau, see Protokolle der dritt. Versammlung deutsch. Rabbiner; Sunday services, ibid. 249ff.; second day of festivals,

208ff.; Shofar etc. on the sabbath, 245ff.

Criticism of the rabbinical conference by those who participated, see e.g. Holdheim, Gesch. d. Entsteh. u. Entwickl. d. jüd. Reformgem. in Berlin, p. 319f. and Jost 250; Geiger, Die dritte Versammlung deutscher Rabbiner. Concerning the criticism from the orthodox, see Philipson 225ff. 271⁵.

- 570 6. (p. 421.) Concerning the reform congregation, see Holdheim and Stern loc. cit., M. Lewin, Die Reform d. Judentums, 1895, Philipson 317ff. The Berlin congregation, see Honigsmann's notes in Jahrb. f. j. Gesch. u. Lit. VII, 177 and A. H. Heymann (conservative), Lebenserinnerungen, p. 242ff.

The quotation, from the appeal "An unsere deutschen Glaubensbrüder" in Holdheim 49ff.

Service, ibid. 123.

Regular service, Holdheim 146ff.

The nature of the latter, 153.

Only on Sunday, 181.

Prayer-book, 193ff., Holdheim's proposals 195ff., the principles of his prayer-book, 204ff.

Criticism of the cycles, Levin, p. 96; there one can also find the principles according to which the revision was made.

- 594 sec. 45. 6. (p. 426.) A revised edition of the prayer-book followed in 1927. Concerning the beginnings of the congregation, cf. A. Galliner, Sigismund Stern, 1930, p. 56ff.

- 570 7. (p. 426.) Quarrels in the congregations, see Heymann loc. cit. p. 278. Poland, see H. Chajes הוראה 9c.

The support of the government, e.g. Stuttgart; Maier's prayer-book for "home and public worship" appeared in 1848. In most of the congregation there came into being in the middle of the 19th century synagogue regulations. It would be very important to compile them and to compare them. Zunz names several of them in Ges. Schriften II, 219 and Löw V, 24.

- 594 7. (p. 427.) Concerning the attitude of the government of Bavaria to the Reform Movement, see Winter in Jeschurun XVI, p. 144ff.

- 570 8. (p. 427.) Organ, G.V. 491; there is much literature about the subject in Philipson 258, JE IX, 433.

Geiger's חיינו (Leben etc. p. 146ff.) appeared in 1854 because the conditions of the congregations in Breslau were first legally settled at the end of 1853, see Brann, D. schles. Judentum vor u. nach d. Edikt von 1812, p. 31. Other prayer-books like L. Philippson's were designated for private devotion.

Geiger's second prayer-book, see Jüd. Zeitschr. VII, 1ff. and 240 as well as Joel's Zum Schutz gegen "Trutz."

9. (p. 429.) Cf. Verhandlungen der I. israel. Synode zu Leipzig, p. 185, note.

H. Vogelstein, התפילות ישראל. Gebetbuch, two volumes. 1895f., see the published compilations of opinions both in favor and against the prayer-book.

Concerning the prayer-book of Baden, see the memorandum of the executive board of the Jews, D. Hoffmann's letter and M. Steckelmacher's refutation of the letter. In all of the conflicts revolving around the prayer-book up to most recent times, the sentence כִּי הָיְתָה מִתְחַלְחֵל לְפָנֵינוּ plays a great role. The statement, however, does not refer to prayers but rather to blessings before pleasant things (ברכות הנחמין) as S. Serillo correctly notes in his Commentary on Ber. VI:2, Mainz 1878, p. 72a.

594 9. The prayer-book התפילות לכל השנה Gebetbuch für das ganze Jahr I. II., Frankfurt a.M. 1929 was compiled by the Liberal ritual committee of the Prussian Association of Jewish communities and was to serve as the uniform revised prayer-book for all the German congregations. Cf. the article "Einheitsgebetbuch" in Jüd. Lexikon II.

570 sec. 47. 1. (p. 430.) Concerning Hungary, see Jost 70-77. Löw, Ges. Schr. IV, 331 ff., JE VI, 501. Recently people have frequently gone beyond the reforms mentioned in the text.

2. (p. 431.) Cf. G.V. 486., Philipson 122ff., 537ff., JE VIII, 163, 33, Gaster, The Ancient Synagogue of the Spanish and Portug. Jews, p. 176f.

3. (p. 433.) Leeser, see JE VII, 663. Charleston, G.V. 486, Philipson 461 ff. B.A. Elzas, The Reformed Society of Isr. of Charleston, New York 1916; The Sabbath Service, ibid.

571 4. (p. 434.) Philipson, 468ff. Concerning Wise, see JE XII, 541f., Sam. Hirsch, ibid. VI, 417, concerning Einhorn, see Kohler in Year Book of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, XIX, 215ff.

Wise's ideas about reform, Philipson 477ff. Concerning Einhorn's prayer-book, Kohler ibid. 252ff., the quotation from p. 254.

Concerning the Union Prayer-book, Philipson 493ff., Year Book XXIV, 125f., 191ff. A revised edition has appeared.

Concerning the Jewish Religious Union, cf. C.G. Montefiore sermon collection "Truth in religion," 1906. The 1903 prayer-book is called "A selection of prayers, psalms and other passages and hymns for use at the services of the Jew. Re. Un." The selections were arbitrarily selected for the services that were held on Saturday afternoon and the festivals. Aside from this there was reading of Scripture and a sermon. The prayer-book of the "Union Libérale Israélite" in Paris was called Des Aliés à la Terre, two volumes, had many

prayers in the vernacular but in the Hebrew text it kept the wording practically unchanged.

Seligmann, Israelitisches Gebetbuch, 2 Teile, 1910 and the memorandum about it. 1912.

595 sec. 47, 4. (p. 437.) Concerning the Union Prayer-book cf. Year Book of the Central Conference XXXVIII. A revised edition appeared in 1922 and at the present time there is again talk of a revision.

(p. 439.) The Liberal Jewish Synagogue developed out of the Jewish Religious Union. It published its own prayer-book under the title Liberal Jewish Prayer Book, I 1926, II 1923, III 1926 though to a certain extent it was based on the American pattern. Cf. the preface by Isr. Mattuck who revised it. Now the Parisian prayer-book has the title הסדר הליברלי Rituel des Prières Journalières (with Haftoroth for every sabbath in French) I 1925 with a long introduction by Louis Germain Levy, II. III, 1928.

APPENDIX I

The purpose of the following section is to deal with material written after the publication of Elbogen's revised text. Though the number of scholarly endeavors in this field have not been many, they nevertheless do exist and attempt to shed new light on the liturgy. Here we shall deal with the material relating to the second section of the book, which first chapter of which discusses the history of the Jewish liturgy.

In his discussion of the development of the liturgy as presented in this chapter, Elbogen repeats much of what is found in the first part of the book. Here, however, he makes mention of the various prayers in a superficial manner and only insofar as they relate to the development of the liturgy. In this section, it is not his intention to go into great detail concerning any individual items as regards their origin and the usage. Thus in keeping with Elbogen's purpose in writing this chapter, the present writer will only deal with those items which shed light on the general subject of the development of the liturgy. Individual prayers or sections of the liturgy will be discussed only if they relate to this general subject. As for the controversies regarding each individual prayer per se we shall attempt to leave them to those who would deal with the first section of Elbogen's work.

Before we proceed directly with the proposed project, it would seem proper at this time to comment briefly on the nature of the works that have been investigated. Very

generally stated, we find that most of the scholarly efforts in the realm of liturgy since the latest revision of Elbogen's book, i.e., 1931, are not based upon new sources. Rather do we see that opinions differing from those stated by Ismar Elbogen are posited on interpretation of the same texts available to Elbogen. In only one instance do we find new theories based upon source material overlooked by or unknown to Elbogen. This latter case is to be found in Isaac Baer's book

P'N'X'N S'K'Z'.

As regards the organization of this brief essay, we shall proceed systematically through the chapter under discussion. Those pages on which a controversial statement is found will be stated numerically and the discussion given. Many of the disputed statements are often repeated in several places through the chapter. Since it is not our purpose to thoroughly revise this chapter, we shall only discuss each item when it first appears and not cite the other pages where the comment might again be found. In most instances, the present writer will merely give the point in dispute and the alternative solutions as presented by other writers. No attempt will be made to judge the validity of any of the statements, neither to refute nor to defend them. If, however, a point of view is supported by something very obvious in the text or in the position taken then the present writer shall not hesitate to make mention of it.

234 Elbogen is of the opinion that prayers were recited during the period of the first Temple. The exact manner in which the prayers were recited or the place of prayer are not known. The experience of exile saw the development of the institution known as the synagogue. On this latter point, Eliezer Levi, the author of התפילה והמקום is in agreement. He states, however, that prior to the exile prayer in the streets of the cities was a common thing.¹ As a result of the exile, the Jews could no longer pray in the street since they were dwelling in a foreign land and thus the creation of the synagogue. Elbogen poses a rhetorical question when he asks how prayer at one central sanctuary developed into prayer at numerous places. To this, Eliezer Levi would answer that gathering for prayer in the streets merely became gathering for prayer in enclosed edifices.²

This point is not of great significance but has merely been cited as an example of a different approach to the development of the institution of the synagogue and the liturgy. The one, Elbogen's is more of a problematic discussion seeking to find the threads of development not merely of an institution but of the thinking of a people. The other, Levi's, is based on traditional material without carefully sifting through the points of view and opinions rendered for dating, historicity and frequently plausibility. His is the very orthodox point of view. In keeping with this point of view, all Talmudic and Mishnaic statements are taken literally and certain developmental problems as regards the liturgy are thus completely neglected and overlooked.

235 As mentioned above, most scholars cite the Babylonian exile as the source of the institution of the synagogue. What preceded the synagogue as a place of worship prior to the exile is a matter of dispute or in Elbogen's point of view obscure. The actual reason for the establishment of a regular worship service within Babylonia is likewise a controversial subject. Elbogen sees national and political groupings. In order to maintain the Jews as a people with a particular past and particular ideas, the synagogue was established. For through it and through worship these qualities of Judaism and the Jew could be preserved. In his work סדר מנהג ונהל Melamed sees the fixing of the prayers in the Babylonian exile and the establishment of regular worship services as a result of distress which became fixed, namely, the constancy of the exile. Until the exile, he contends, prayers of a petitionary or penitential nature were recited when the occasion demanded. During the exile the occasion for such prayers was a continuous one and thus there developed regular worship. With the fixing of the prayers came likewise the setting of times for prayer.³ In these two opinions, we note two different approaches to the same problem. Elbogen sees the growth of the synagogue arising from the need to retain a national and political identity. Melamed, on the other hand, sees a natural development where the need for the synagogue grew out of the need to pray daily since distress had then become a daily item.

237 Elbogen places the system of the Maamadot in the period of the

Second Temple. Eliezer Levi in his traditional approach to the liturgy accepts the statement in Taanith 4:2. There it is written that the first prophets established the Maamadoth. According to tradition the first prophets were David and Solomon.⁴ Elbogen along with other scholars, sees this development at a later period as part of the gradual growth of the liturgy.⁵ According to Elbogen's concept of the individual's role in the liturgy, the concept of the Maamad could only come after the exile. He takes the position that the Maamad indicates an elevated concept of prayer in that individuals become responsible for the recitation of prayer in some sort of regulated way. Prior to the exile there is no indication of such a concept of prayer or of man's role in it. Levi, however, is the literalist and the traditionalist and thus accepts the statement found in the Mishnah.

238 Elbogen states that the Musaf service was originally based upon the prayers recited at midday and had no connection with the sacrificial system. The morning and afternoon services, however, were, according to Elbogen, bound up with the respective sacrifices. The basic point at hand is the assumption on his part that the services were based upon two criteria. The one was the sacrificial cult and the other, the observation of the position of the sun. The Musaf service then was based on the noonday prayer when the sun assumed a unique position. Zvi Karl takes exception with Elbogen and claims that the Musaf prayer is from post Temple times. According to him, the content

of the prayer indicates its late composition. The institution of the Musaf service was similar to other practices on special occasions which had special observances לפניו וסוף as a reminder of the destruction.⁶ This then would explain the presence of the Musaf service on the sabbaths, festivals and other holy days. The institution of the service accordingly would be after the destruction of the Temple. Elbogen, however, sees it from the opposite point of view. As he writes, the Musaf service was early and at a later time was restricted only to the sabbaths and festivals. The date that this took place, however, is not known.⁷ Thus, originally, Musaf was merely a prayer having no connection with the sacrifice. Only later was a passage inserted to associate it with the additional sacrifice. At about that time, the Musaf prayer was also limited to special occasions.

By way of example, we shall cite one of Karl's criterion for refuting Elbogen. The controversy seems to revolve around a passage in Berachot dealing with the necessity for adding something to the Musaf prayers. On the basis of this passage, Elbogen concludes that the Musaf service was originally the same as the other Tefillot, namely, neither a reminder of the sacrifice, a substitute for it, nor based upon it. It was only during the Amoraic period that an addition was added to the Musaf prayer since it was felt that prayers were a substitute for sacrifices.⁸ Karl, however, interprets the passage differently. The statement לפניו וסוף in his opinion

refers to the necessity for each individual to insert something in the prayer to indicate that his heart is directed toward prayer and it is not another burden nor routine item.⁹ The statement then indicates nothing about a Musaf service that already existed and the revisions to be made within it.

Eliezer Levi, on the other hand, assumes the origin to be still different. He contends that Musaf was originally the additional prayers recited by the people at home when they fasted from Monday to Thursday and recited prayers for the alleviation of their troubles. The Musaf service then was based upon the additional prayers of the fast days,¹⁰ and only later after the destruction of the Temple were sacrificial sections added.¹¹ Elbogen's conclusions are similar to Levi's when he assumes that the Musaf service was fashioned after the liturgy of the fast days.¹² The raison d'etre of the Musaf service, however, was the midday prayer based on the position of the sun.

241 The development of the practice of reading the Torah is likewise a controversial question. Elbogen contends that the daily reading of the Maamad was later limited to holidays only. The weekdays that were market days for those living in the country were also provided with Torah readings. This took place because the rural areas had no congregational service on Holydays during which they might hear the Torah read.¹³ Zvi Karl posits another order in the development of the institution of reading from the Torah. The reading of the Torah on the Sabbath at the Minchah service was the first step in the development of the

complicated system of Torah readings which we now have. After the destruction of the Temple when Karl assumes that the Musaf service was ordained, he contends that they also ordained a reading from Scripture proceeding it. Thus every day having a Musaf service also has a Torah reading prior to it.¹⁴ Karl can arrive at this conclusion only if he assumes that the Musaf service itself is a late practice. This as we have pointed out previously is what he does.¹⁵

242 Perhaps the most significant discussion on the subject of the development of the liturgy revolves about the Tefillah. Here we not only find many opinions differing with Elbogen but also opinions which are based on otherwise untapped sources. Elbogen speaks of the Tefillah as being based upon the pattern of prayer found in the late Biblical books and the books of the Apocrypha. Thus, when Elbogen writes that the Tefillah cannot come from an era too far from the Biblical era he means after what we call the Biblical era. This, then, would be approximately the second pre-Christian century at the earliest. Isaac Baer in his work פניני תפילה shows that there were Greek prayers similar to the benedictions of the Tefillah. These are to be found in Aeschulos' Heketides.¹⁶ It is not his goal in the discussion of the liturgy to prove that the Hebrews were influenced by the Greeks or vice versa. Rather does he attempt to indicate that prototypes of the Tefilla existed almost verbatim about the year five hundred and prior to the Hasmoneans during whose time many of the prayers were assumed to be written. Thus such items as the restoration of the

sacrificial cult, the ingathering of the exiles, the rebuilding of Zion, etc., not only have much in common with early Greek prayers but historically were appropriate at a very early period. By way of example, he claims that prayers dealing with disorder or disruption in the sacrificial system could have been recited as a result of the conditions under the Ptolomaic kings.¹⁷

Liber, on the other hand, takes issues with the concept that the Tefillah can be divided into three distinct sections. Furthermore, he is of the opinion that the Tefillah was not organized with the purpose of having the introductory hymnic section, the petitionary and the final section of thanksgiving. According to him, the first three blessings contain a logical progression of ideas, namely the coming of the Messiah, resurrection of the dead and the establishment of the kingdom of God. These three thoughts found in the first three blessings of the Tefillah are three acts in the messianic drama. Their position in the Tefillah is based on the content of the last benediction of the Shema which speaks of the exodus and glorifies the redeemer. The association of ideas accounts for the juxtaposition. Such prayers accordingly were written during a time of persecution and anguish.¹⁸ The last three blessings are devoted to prayers which had their origin in the Maamad and dealt with the sacrificial system and prayer. Originally, this was an independent section and its theme was not that of Thanksgiving.¹⁹

252 Elbogen ascribes a late date to the פ'י'ן ה'א'ר'ן benediction concerning the sectarians. He asserts that it was written in Jamnia by Samuel at the direction of Gamaliel. Kohler, however, is of the opinion that in their original form the blessings numbers twelve and thirteen, according to the present system of numbering the blessings of the Tefillah, refer to a messianic period. The derogatory aspects were most likely directed at Syria or Rome. Only later when prayers against Christian heretics were needed did Samuel change the wording using the word פ'י'ן, sectarians, explicitly.²⁰ Eliezer Levi likewise states that the פ'י'ן ה'א'ר'ן was not the product of Samuel in Jamnia. He claims it was a blessing formerly directed against the Samaritans (פ'א'ר'ן) then applied to the Sadducees (פ'ק'ר'ן) and then directed against the sectarians.²¹ The latter we assume to be Christians. Levi bases his position on the term פ'ק'ר'ן and since it does not read פ'ק'ר'ן in Berachot 28b we can assume that it was not a new blessing. Kohler also concludes that blessing number 15 פ'ק'ר'ן is not the last benediction added during the third century. Its language as well as parallel sources indicate its ancient quality.²²

254- Gamaliel the Second is given as the authority who directed
255 Simon to arrange the eighteen benedictions. It was likewise under his direction that the blessing against the heretics was arranged. This in the opinion of Elbogen. Zvi Karl, however, states that it would have been impossible for this

to take place during the lifetime of Gamaliel the Second after the destruction of the Temple. He concludes that the Gamaliel mentioned is Gamaliel the Elder. Karl substantiates his thesis on the basis of the fact that during the lifetime of Gamaliel the Second the eighteen benedictions were already known and fixed. During his generation the controversy had already arisen as to whether every individual was obligated to recite the blessings. Karl contends that if this be during the lifetime of Gamaliel the Second then we must assume that ^{the} blessings were already known.²³ As for the Gamaliel involved in the arranging of the blessing against the heretics Karl is of the opinion that he was Gamaliel the Elder. He bases this hypothesis on Sanhedrin 11a where Samuel, *יבן שמואל*, is mentioned in reference to events prior to the destruction.²⁴ This then sets the arrangement of the Tefillah two generations earlier than Elbogen would have it.

Zvi Karl sees confusion in the interpretation of the various Talmudic texts involving the Gamaliels when there is no indication as to which one it is. This is what happened with those references dealing ^{with} the Tefillah and the Gamaliels. He asserts that during the days of Gamaliel the Elder when the Tefillah was arranged an attempt was made to ordain its recitation for all who were able. Gamaliel the Elder,, however, was of the opinion that the reader, *גמליאל הנביא*, fulfills the obligation for all. Again during the time of Gamaliel the Second, the same controversy arose and he was

in favor of having every individual recite the eighteen benedictions. Thus, when Simon set down the blessings he did so for the reader. Only later on in the days of Gamaliel the Second when the prayers had become familiar to most men did the question arise as to whether everyone was to recite them. Gamaliel the Second and the others were of the opinion that the eighteen benedictions²⁵ should be recited by all. Eliezer, however, said *העושה תפלתו קבץ אין תפלתו תחנונים* "he who makes his prayer fixed, his prayer is not a supplication." According to a baraita we find that the majority of the people followed the opinion of Gamaliel the Second. During the Amoraic period, the daily recitation of the eighteen benediction was a practice observed by everyone.²⁶ This then the story of the Tefillah as it involved the two Gamaliels.

It should be noted that on page 255 Elbogen refers to Gamaliel the Second involved in two separate controversies. When the question arose as to whether every individual should recite the Tefillah he was in favor of it. The second controversy deals with recitation of the Tefillah by the reader, *קורא*, It developed that there was a pause before the reader would recite the prayer. During this pause some were in favor of having the individuals recite the Tefillah silently and others were opposed. In this instance, Elbogen states that Gamaliel the Second was opposed because he emphasized "das gemeinsame Gebet," the group prayer. Thus, we have two problems dealing with prayer in which a Gamaliel is

involved. Elbogen claims they are both Gamaliel the Second though in both instances the Gamaliel has a different attitude toward the problem. The present writer cannot judge the accuracy of either Elbogen's or Karl's thesis but there seems to be some confusion worthy of further clarification.

262 Elbogen is of the opinion that the old Techinah was of a private nature and continued as such during the Amoraic period. In a lengthy footnote, Zvi Karl objects to this point of view. Speaking of the Techinah which was accompanied by *נְכִיחַת אֶרֶץ*, prostration, in the Temple, he notes that the nature of the prayers was congregational in tone and not private.²⁷ Though Baer does not speak of the Techinah under discussion here, we might, however, note that the criteria Karl uses cannot always be valid. For Baer states that the prayers of the Tefillah which the Talmud and most scholars assume to be of a private nature are actually prayers recited by a group.²⁸

270 Elbogen cites the present phrasing in the fourteenth and seventeenth blessings of the Tefillah as products of the Amoraic period and Babylonia. These phrases are: *וְלִירוּשָׁלַיִם עֵירָךְ* and *וְלִירוּשָׁלַיִם עֵירָךְ* respectively, This indicates a direct association between the messianic future and Zion. Elbogen implies that this is a less noble idea than apparently existed before since the Palestinian version of the Tefillah did not include these phrases. These phrases likewise indicate an exilic situation. If, however, we accept Baer's evidence and opinions, it is possible that such ideas existed prior to the Amoraic period and are not necessarily original with it.

In conclusion, it becomes quite clear that there remain obscure moments in the history of the development of the liturgy. Many problems are yet to be solved, some offering no solution. As Elbogen constantly reiterates, the sparsity of sources leaves room for speculation and nothing more. As illustrated on the pages of this appendix, there is much evidence that seems plausible and especially after only superficial investigation. As Kaufmann Kohler remarked in the opening lines of his article which appeared after Elbogen's scholarly and admirable work, "the last word has not yet been written."

Footnotes

1. Eliezer Levi, הסדרות החדשים (3rd ed. Tel-Aviv, 1954) p. 73.
2. ibid.
3. Ezra Melamed, פרקי מנהג ונהל (Jerusalem, 1954), p. 130.
4. Levi, op. cit., p. 36.
5. Ismar Elbogen, Der jüdische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung (Leipzig, 1913) footnote to p. 237.
6. Zvi Karl, מחקר'י בתולדות התפילה (Tel-Aviv, 1950) pp. 130ff.
7. Elbogen, op. cit., p. 240 and footnote.
8. ibid., p. 263.
9. Karl, op. cit., p. 130. For additional statements that give rise to different interpretations regarding the origin of the Musaf service, see Karl's chapter entitled "תפילת מוסף" pp. 129-34.
10. Levi, op. cit., p. 45.
11. Ibid., p. 241.
12. Elbogen, op. cit., p. 239.
13. Ibid., p. 241.
14. Karl, op. cit., p. 164-5.
15. For further comments on Elbogen's point of view, see Karl, op. cit., pp. 158-9.
16. Isaac Baer, פניני פקד'י, (Jerusalem, 1955), p. 32.
17. Ibid.
18. M. Liber, "The Structure and History of the Tefillah," Jewish Quarterly Review, XL, no. 4, 342 (Philadelphia, 1950).
19. Ibid., p. 335.
20. Kaufmann Kohler, "Origin and Composition of the Eighteen Benedictions," Hebrew Union College Annual, I, 401 (Cincinnati, 1924).

21. Levi, op. cit., p. 154.
22. Kohler, op. cit., p. 405.
23. Karl, op. cit., p. 80.
24. Ibid., p. 80, ft. 82.
25. Some said the $\text{נ"ן } \text{ל'ן}$ was permissible.
26. Karl, op. cit., pp. 186-7.
27. Ibid., p. 99, ft. 104.
28. Baer, op. cit., p. 34 makes this statement in reference to the following petitionary prayers which are assumed to be of a private nature: ל'ן , נאמל etc.

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APPENDIX II

In this section, we shall attempt to deal with the developments in the history of the liturgy since the publication of the third edition of Elbogen's work. This then will supplement chapter three of the text dealing with the modern period.

Following the pattern set by Elbogen in his own revision of the text as is found on p. 595 of the third edition, we shall not describe the latest prayer-books in their every detail. Rather shall we give the motivation for the writing of these books as given by the editors as well as their methodology and criteria used in making the revisions. In certain cases, we will cite some of the deliberations which led to the edition of a new prayer-book.

In 1922, the Central Conference of American Rabbis revised the Union Prayer-Book.¹ By 1923, only six years later, there was already criticism of the revision and a movement was afoot for a new prayer-book. This recommendation on the part of the conference was perhaps spurred by the papers read at the conferences held in 1928-30. In 1928, Samuel Cohon delivered a paper entitled "The Theology of the Union Prayer-Book." In it he not only analyzes what motivated the 1922 revision and the practical application of these motivations but also offers criticism both positive and negative. He notes that it was the desire of certain groups to endow the services of the synagogue with a sense of reality. This the motivation of the original prayer-book as well.² In the

course of presenting what is really a part of the Jewish people in the modern world, the authors of the prayer-book unconsciously reflected in the Union Prayer-Book apathy and skepticism toward prayer. This, in the opinion of Cohon, is the chief distinction between the Reform and the traditional prayer-books. Prayer thus did not express the deeply felt human needs but rather rhetorically gave vent to the heart's hunger for God.³ As a result of this, Cohon states that the Union Prayer-Book gives the impression "of the intrusion of the scientific mood" and imbues the prayerbook with a homiletical quality rather than a petitionary one.⁴ Prayer itself is conceived of as a means for moral improvement as formulated in the Union Prayer-Book which is one of the reasons for the reduction of the amount of Hebrew used.⁵

Despite the rationalistic approach employed in the revision and composition of the Union Prayer-Book, Cohon asserts that it did not provide the proper balance between the tradition and the modern world. This he finds in the concept of God. Though he asserts that it is presented soundly and with dignity he still feels this concept is replete with certain contradictions which hamper the thinking individual in his prayer.⁶ These contradictory and disturbing elements are to be found in phrases dealing with the divinity of the Torah, reward and punishment as well as Israel and the Sabbath.⁷ He finds weaknesses in the presentation of the Festivals which are dealt with in the liturgy as historical events bringing beneficences to our forefathers but not to us. The appeal of

the Festival to the modern Jew living in the twentieth century was felt to be lacking.⁸

Cohon, however, was not impractical in his analysis. He did praise the overall beauty and nobility of the High Holyday services. More important than the praise was his recognition that the inconsistencies in the Union Prayer-Book come as a result of compromise within the committee writing the book. Compromise, however, is the only manner in which progress can be made.⁹

One of the comments made by Cohon as well as by other men discussing the subject deals with the improper use of the Union Prayer-Book within the congregations.¹⁰

The discussion which followed the paper did not always reflect the same views expressed by Dr. Cohon. Rauch saw no need to have a well-defined theological system in the prayer-book. His desire was to merely see a general harmony between ritual and theology that underlie the approach of Reform to Judaism. This he found fulfilled in the Union Prayer-Book as it was at the time.¹¹ Isserman, however, agreed with Cohon that the prayer-book should not remain in the state it was. He, however, had other motivations for this. Cohon was in favor of petitionary prayers in the traditional and not the rhetorical sense. Isserman, rejected the concept of petitionary prayer citing as his support Kohler who stated that the laws of nature are fixed and one cannot ask God to change them. Since we as Reform Jews do not believe in miracles petitionary prayers had lost their function.¹² He sought a

more universal personality within God rather than the social snobbery expressed in the emphasis upon God's relationship to Israel. The emphasis should rather be on the God of all humanity.¹³ Isserman's motivation for more Hebrew was different from Cohon's though both agreed that the amount of Hebrew should be increased. This type of agreement on the basis of different motivations was attacked by Abrams when he said one advocates Hebrew because he understands it and the other because he does not.¹⁴

As for the basis of revision, Rabbi Parker recommended one which had hitherto not been employed in the composition of a prayer-book, namely psychology. He claimed that in order to refresh the emotional experiences in life and imbue them with meaning neither the theological, speculative or philosophical approaches toward prayer should be used. In his opinion, psychology contains that solution for the understanding of the potentialities that can be realized from prayer.¹⁵

The result of the paper and the discussion was the resolution submitted to the conference to appoint a commission to revise the Union Prayer-Book "to make the spiritual ideas consistent and modernize them in accordance with contemporary tendencies in religious, theological and social thought using as its point of departure the paper read by Samuel S. Cohon."¹⁶

In 1930, the conference had an entire section devoted to the problem of revising a prayer-book. At this point specific recommendations were made as the Union Prayer-Book was

once again subjected to a thoroughgoing analysis. In addition, the papers dealt with the general topic of liturgy and prayer.

In his analysis of the Union Prayer-Book viz a viz the evolution of the liturgy, Freehof points out that the Reform movement has only created a Siddur. In keeping with the nature of a Siddur, there is little if any room for creativity. The old vehicle for expressing new ideas within the old traditional liturgy, namely the Piyyutim, is lacking in the Union Prayer-Book. He therefore recommended that the conference publish a supplement to the prayer-book which would contain material compiled by "every prayerful soul among us." This prayer-book supplement having the format of an anthology ought to be revised every five years.¹⁷

Bettan's paper on the function of the prayer-book again points out some of the basic weaknesses within it. These were offered as suggestions for improvement when the revision would be undertaken. Much of what he said agreed with Cohon and particularly in the area of the wording of prayers. The homiletical nature of some prayers had reduced them to mere expressions of personal opinion and frequently were directed against some traditional aspect of the liturgy. By way of example, he cites the passage in the Yom Kippur afternoon service which reads "...our longing and aspirations reach toward a higher goal" with reference to the centrality of Zion in Jewish life. Obviously, this passage is anti Zion.¹⁸ In opposition to those voices within the conference that tended toward a more mystical approach in the prayer-book, Bettan

writes that it cannot be done when the pulpit is an exceedingly rationalistic one.¹⁹

Again in 1930, Cohon offered his suggestions for the revision of the prayer-book. His basic belief was centered in the fact that if a prayer-book is to serve the spiritual needs of a people then it must have a sound concept of religion.²⁰ He was aware of the dangers that were inherent in an entirely mystic, rationalistic, or traditional approach to the liturgy. He therefore wrote: "If the new forms of religious life are not to become mere formalism and if the fervor of mysticism is not to degenerate into sentimental pietism, they must be checked by reason and thus linked with the historical formulations of the creedal content of Judaism." The task made necessary by such an approach was a reformulation of our religious ideas that might serve as the basis for a new prayer-book.²¹

In the realm of specific concepts to be expressed in the revised prayer-book, Cohon suggested that in the fore must be the idea of the relationship of finite man to the infinite God. These ideas could be best expressed when the religious experiences of the past are utilized. Thus from the patriarchal period emanates the concept of the Divine Fatherhood, from the tribal period the judgeship of God, from the monarchic period the kingship of God, from the "reflective thoughts" of our people come the ideas of God as the fountain of life, ל'ה' אלהינו, and the creator, אלהינו, and leader ל'ה' אלהינו. Cohon was of the opinion that the liturgy

should not neglect the attributes of God though they ought to be presented in an attractive and a convincing fashion. Attributes, he felt, give content to "nebulous emotions and kindle a holy flame within us." In addition to theology in the liturgy, prayers according to Cohon should also give expression to the longings and hopes of the Jewish people. "Prayers that do not grow out of the conditions of a definite group are of a doubtful value." In opposition to that point of view which sought only a universalism within the prayer-book, Cohon stated that frequently the longings of one group²² are at the same time goals that are universal.

Perhaps as an indication of the clamor for a revision we might cite Jonah Wise's attitude when he wrote that the Union Prayer-Book should be discussed as an "existing, important factor and not as a whimsical, easily altered trivial project." This was most likely a reaction to some of the opinions expressed. Wise felt that despite some archaic formulae and other shortcomings the Union Prayer-Book fulfilled the purpose of a Jewish prayer-book.²³

These proceedings at the conference set the foundations for the revision of the Union Prayer-Book as it appeared in 1940.

Shortly after the Revised Prayer-Book was issued by the Central Conference of American Rabbis in 1922, Israel Mattuck published a prayer for Liberal Jews in England. In the preface, Mattuck stated that only those traditional prayers expressing ideas which of themselves or by re-interpretation coincide

with the beliefs of liberal Jews are retained. Frequently, certain prayers were paraphrased so as to make them accord with the then existing beliefs. In addition to the prayers in the formal section of the prayer-book, the editors compiled a supplement containing selections from the Bible, Apocrypha, the Talmud or even non-Jewish writings.²⁴

In 1945 the Jewish Reconstructionist Foundation of New York published its own prayer-book. The ideas expressed in it did not represent those of either of the three major branches of Judaism but of the members of the Foundation alone. In the preparation of the text, the editors proposed to adapt their prayer-book for the Jews devoted to the Jewish tradition as well as to the truths of the modern spirit. In so doing, they employed the following four principles:

1. a reverence for the traditional liturgy,
2. the utilization of the resources of historic Judaism
3. a recognition of the problems and aspirations of mankind and specifically of Jewry today
4. the courage to eliminate or modify prayers or phrases unacceptable to modern man.²⁵

By way of example we shall cite here two aspects of the prayer-book which were scrutinized and revised in accordance with the principles proposed. The one is the concept of Israel which frequently is expressed so as to indicate the superiority of Israel. True, says the editor, Israel does play a unique role in God's design but all people must serve Him. In keeping with this concept the prayer-book does not give expression to those traditional phrases contrasting Israel and the other peoples. Modern Biblical scholarship is likewise

taken into account in the structure of the prayer-book. Thus all Biblical statements which the tradition would ascribe to Divine dictation are not accepted as such in the Reconstructionist Prayer-Book.²⁶

In 1946 the Rabbinical Assembly published its own prayer-book. The purpose here again was to perpetuate traditional Judaism in the modern spirit.²⁷ The editors likewise based their work on three principles:

1. continuity with tradition because the tradition is the strongest defense against those elements that threaten the survival of the Jews,
2. relevance to the needs and ideals of the present generation,
3. intellectual integrity.

Definite reasons were given for these guiding principles. As for the continuing with the tradition, it was felt that one can no longer blindly follow the patterns set by our ancestors and thus fall victim to ancestor worship. On the other hand, it was stated that our generation cannot pretend to possess the genius for religious expression as found in the traditional prayer-book. Thus an amalgamation of the two, modern creativity along with adherence to traditional forms.²⁸

In the preface, Gordis recognizes the problems involved in adhering to the second principle, namely relevance to the needs and ideals of the present generation. The one problem rests in the fact that modern thoughts, ideals and aspirations are not adequately expressed in the traditional liturgy. As a solution to this problem the editors supplemented the liturgy

with additional prayers which at the same time stimulated creative activity in this field. The second problem presented itself when the traditional prayer-book expressed ideas or aspirations that no longer reflect the thoughts of contemporary Jewry. The method in overcoming this problem was a "sympathetic study and skillful treatment" of those passages so as to make them coincide with the ideas of the modern age.²⁹

Again we shall cite two instances where the abovementioned principles were employed in the revision of the traditional prayer-book. The Avodah section of the liturgy need not mean sacrifices exclusively but could be interpreted as a reference to worship. Thus, the re-establishment of Jerusalem likewise need not include the hope for the restoration of the sacrificial cult. The resurrection of the dead as found in the second blessing of the Tefillah can be retained since it can coincide with the thought of immortality as well as resurrection for those who might adhere to this concept.²⁷

In 1953 the problem of the prayer-book was again taken up at a meeting of the Rabbinical Assembly. The report called for a new prayer-book of the 1285 type-a prayer-book for all occasions. The prayer-book was to have a new English translation as well as a new commentary. This new edition was to have the entire morning service. By using a certain kind of type as well as providing model services, the liturgy could thus be abbreviated and yet retain the prescribed halachic structure. One of the important features was to be

a modern form of belief in place of the ancient dogmas though the old concepts were to be footnoted so as to remain honest.³¹ The suggestions again stress the formation of a prayer-book that would meet the needs of the most progressive and the most traditional Jews.

From the multitude of opinions expressed in the course of the past twenty-five years, we must conclude that the last revision of the Jewish liturgy has not yet taken place. For this too, we must be thankful.

Footnotes

1. Elbogen mentions this fact along with others that took place subsequent to the 1913 edition of his book. He treats many of the events very superficially and we shall therefore treat them in more detail here.
2. Samuel Cohon, "Theology of the Union Prayer-Book," Yearbook, Central Conference of American Rabbis, XXXVIII, p. 248.
3. Ibid., p. 249-50.
4. Ibid., p. 250.
5. Ibid., p. 251.
6. Ibid., p. 252 and p. 255.
7. Cohon, op. cit., pp. 256, 259, 265.
8. Ibid., p. 266.
9. Ibid., p. 268.
10. Ibid., p. 268, discussion of paper by Foster p. 286 and Jonah Wise, "Devotional Values of the Union Prayer-Book," Yearbook, Central Conference of American Rabbis, XL, p. 302.
11. Cohon, op. cit., discussion of paper by Rauch, p. 273.
12. Ibid., discussion by Isserman, p. 276-77.
13. Ibid., p. 279.
14. Cohon, op. cit., discussion by Abrams, p. 288.
15. Ibid., discussion by Parker, p. 285.
16. Yearbook, Central Conference of American Rabbis, XXXVIII, p. 138.
17. Solomon Freehof, "Union Prayer-Book in the Evolution of the Liturgy," Yearbook, Central Conference of American Rabbis, XL, p. 256-7.
18. Israel Bettan, "The Function of the Prayer-Book," Yearbook, Central Conference of American Rabbis, XL, p. 264-5.
19. Ibid., p. 268.
20. Samuel S. Cohon, "Religious Ideas of the Union Prayer-Book," Yearbook, Central Conference of American Rabbis, XL, p. 278.

21. Ibid., p. 283-4.
22. Ibid., p. 292-3.
23. Wise, op. cit., p. 298.
24. Liberal Jewish Prayer-Book, London, 1926, pp. 1-III.
25. Prayerbook, Jewish Reconstructionist Foundation, New York, 1945, p. XVIIIf.
26. For a detailed list of such changes see the introduction to the prayer-book.
27. פסדג דעם אגד פיקד' אדאנ 700 , Rabbinical Assembly, New York, 1946, p. IV.
28. Ibid., p. VI.
29. Ibid.
30. Ibid., p. VIII.
31. Prayer-Book Committee, Proceedings, Rabbinical Assembly of America, 1953, pp. 95-96.

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APPENDIX III

Additional Notes to the Translation

1. The translation of Heine's poetry found in the German on page 348 of the German text was taken from: The Works of Heinrich Heine, vol. III, p. 46; translation by Margaret Armour; published by E. P. Dutton and Company, N.Y. and Wm. Heinemann, London, 1906.
2. The translation of the poetry found on page 349 is taken from the above work, page 17.
3. The poetry found in the German text on page 346 is taken from The Poetry and Prose of Heinrich Heine edited by Frederic Ewen; published by the Citadel Press, New York, 1948.
4. The poetry quoted on page 351 of the German text is quoted by Karpeles as indicated in the footnote. Since Karpeles does not give the author, we have eliminated the translation from the present text.
5. On page 268 of Idelsohn's The Jewish Liturgy and its Development, it is erroneously stated that a society was founded by "Felix Libertatum" in Amsterdam in 1795. The name of the society was Felix Libertate and only after some difficulty did this group form a congregation called Adath Jeshurun. This is verified in the account given in the Jewish Encyclopedia in its discussion of Amsterdam.