

i,

THE HAVDALAH CEREMONY:
ITS DEVELOPMENT AS A PRAYER
FOR SALVATION

Alan J. Katz

Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of Requirements
for Ordination

Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion
New York, N. Y.

April 5, 1976

Advisor: Professor Lawrence A. Hoffman

Acknowledgments

I wish to express sincere gratitude to the following people who have aided me in the completion of this work.

I would like to thank Vivian Mendeles for her beautiful typing and her ability to complete this task under the pressing conditions of time.

I would like to thank Dr. Lawrence A. Hoffman, my advisor. He not only helped and encouraged me, but also became more than just an advisor, editor and supervisor. He became a true friend.

Most of all, I thank with my deepest love my wife, Jan. At an extremely difficult time, she encouraged, edited, typed, but most of all supported me with her warmest affection and love.

Table of Contents

	Page
I. Introduction	1
II. Origins of Basic Havdalah Liturgy	8
III. Biblical Verses Added to the Havdalah Ceremony	31
IV. Historical Development of the Prayer for Peace	41
V. Two Havdalah Hymns	51
VI. Peace and Salvation in Havdalah	52
VII. Conclusion	82
Selected Bibliography	89

I. INTRODUCTION

As in many religions, the concept of holiness or sanctification (קדושה) is fundamental to much of Judaism. The root קדש is derived from the meaning "to be cut off" or "to separate."¹ R. Alcalay defines it as "to be consecrated, sanctified, become holy; to be forbidden." Combining these definitions indicate that something holy is that which is put aside (for a special purpose). Holiness in terms of separation exists throughout Jewish ritual objects, ceremonies, liturgy, and even the Jewish people. The idea of the "Chosen People" is that the people of Israel as a separate and holy nation, עם קדוש. Much of Torah law is given the reason that because God is holy, so too His people must be holy by fulfilling His word. The tractate in the Talmud concerned with sacrifices and the ritual instruments of the sanctuary is called קדשים. A marriage ceremony is appropriately named קדושין, since the wife is separated out to be specifically for her husband. The קדושת היום is the prayer which sanctifies and declares the special nature of the Sabbath and other holidays, while the קדושת השם declares God's holiness. And yet with all these, only one ceremony is named "separation," namely havdalah.

The havdalah ceremony is recited at home, at the end of the Sabbath or festivals, after three stars appear in the sky or at such time when they would be seen. The core of the ceremony consists of four benedictions. The first, בָּאֵלֵינוּ אֱמִיּוֹת בּוֹרֵא פְּרִי הַגֶּפֶן is recited over a full cup of wine. If there is no wine available, any beverage except water may be substituted, at which time, instead of the benediction for wine, the appropriate blessing for the beverage in use is recited. The

second blessing, בא"י אפ"ה בורא מיני בשמים is recited over fragrant spices. One then inhales the spices to receive their pleasant fragrance. No specific type of spice is required for the ceremony. A third blessing בא"י אפ"ה בורא מאורי האש is made over light or fire. It is common to utilize a braided candle for this ceremony. If none is available, placing two candles together is an accepted practice. Other vehicles of light or fire can be used when no candle is available. "While this Blessing is recited, the hands are spread toward the light, so as to make some use of the light...."² Unlike most blessings over candles, recited on the Sabbath or on different holidays, this blessing does not command one to kindle the light, but rather praises God, "the Creator of lights of fire." The fourth benediction is the focal point of the ceremony. It praises God for various acts of separation, especially the distinction between the holy and the profane themselves. The usual text is as follows:

בא"י אפ"ה המבדיל בין קדש לחול בין אור לחשך
בין ישראל לעמים בין יום השביעי לששת ימי
המעשה בא"י המבדיל בין קדש לחול.³

In addition to these four benedictions there are presently three other sections of the ceremony. These sections have varying usage both in the contemporary ceremony and in the different earlier prayerbooks. The first additional part precedes the already outlined core ceremony. It consists of several biblical verses:

הנה אל ישועתי אבטח ולא אפחד כי עזי וזמרת יה
ה ויהי לי לישועה. (Is.12:2)
ושאבתם מים בשטון מסעיני הישועה. (Is.2:3)
לה הישועה על עמך ברכתך סלה. (Ps.3:9)
ה צבאות עבדו מסגב לנו אל ה יעקב סלה. (Ps.46:12)
ליהודים היתה אורה ושמחה ושטון ויקר. (Es.8:16)

(Ps.116:13)

כֵּן תִּהְיֶה לִּנּוֹ
כּוֹס יִשׁוּעָה אֲשֶׁר וּבִשְׁמֵךְ אֶקְרָא.

Throughout their existence in the havdalah ceremony, no one list of verses has been universally accepted and these particular ones, in fact, are not found in the Sephardic prayerbooks.⁴ They will be discussed in chapter three of this work.

Following the four benedictions, there are a number of hymns which may be sung. These two vary from prayerbook to prayerbook. The two most popular are HaMavdil and Eliahu Ha-Navi. Mordecai bar Hillel comments that he heard the piyyut HaMavdil recited aloud in synagogue at the conclusion of Yom Kippur.⁵ Moreover, Eliahu HaNavi is generally included in the ritual of the Passover seder. Thereby, both hymns are not limited to use at havdalah alone. However, for a number of reasons to be discussed later, these two hymns are an important part of the havdalah ritual.

The third addition to the havdalah ceremony to be analyzed here is the petition for peace in the coming week. The Hertz siddur contains this petition in its present form, Ribon HaOlamim,⁶ but there exists a dissimilarity in text between siddurim in common use.⁷ The status of this section has been altered at various times in history, and it is not now usually considered central to the service.

Obviously an appreciation of havdalah implies a prior ability to discern the two realms or entities being divided. Thus, the arvit tefillah of Saturday night contains an insertion in the fourth benediction, known as חונן הדעת (favor us with knowledge) in which the notion of havdalah is connected with the gift of discernment. Once this knowledge

is affirmed, the havdalah rite may be meaningfully performed.

Throughout the ceremony the knowledgeable participant is cognizant of a number of ideational themes. These themes are especially characteristic in the three additional sections: the biblical verses, the liturgical hymns and the petition for peace. We shall see that these additions to the havdalah ritual amount to a reinterpretation which emphasizes the attainment of peace and ultimate redemption (or salvation). We shall turn later to a fuller definition of what we take the term "salvation" to imply. For now, let us say simply that the themes of peace and salvation are linked one to the other, since a future of peace is one of salvation and vice versa. The biblical passages, the hymns, and the petition paragraph are intertwined with this all-encompassing dual theme. From an ideational perspective, their use in the ceremony, although optional and variable, should be considered almost as essential as the original four benedictions, if the peace and salvation theme is to be expressed.

These additional sections of the ritual will be analyzed to determine how and when they entered the liturgy. All components of the ritual will then be examined to describe the ideational overtones they provide to the ceremony as a whole. However, before the thematic aspects of the havdalah ceremony can be discussed, it is necessary to describe the historical development of the liturgical rubrics which express them.

This poses a problem since there is an absence of any single work which encompasses both the origins and reasons for havdalah, its development as a liturgical ceremony, and finally an analysis of the present-day rite. Therefore, this work proposes to look at these origins, discuss the reasons for the various parts of the ritual, trace the evolution of

this service, and examine the material in relationship to the contemporary observance of havdalah.

In tracing the origins of the ceremony, the Bible, the Mishnah, the Tosefta, and both the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds (Gemaras) will be used. Thus, the content of the havdalah ceremony will be determined at each stage in time (i.e., after the Bible, after the Mishnah, etc.). For the geonic period responsa of the geonim and the two earliest compiled prayerbooks, that of Rav Amram Gaon (d. 875) and that of Rav Saadyah Gaon (d. 942) will be consulted. Prayer manuals from the early Ashkenazic rite to be analyzed are Mahzor Vitry (eleventh century) and Siddur Rashi (twelfth century). For an illustration of the early Sephardic liturgy, the work of Ibn Ghiyyat (1038-89), Halachot Kelulot, and of David Abudarham (ca. 1340) Abudarham HaShalem will be used. Finally, a number of the more contemporary prayerbooks will be compared to one another. Both the Ashkenazic and Sephardic rites will be included in this study.

A number of secondary materials offer a clear picture of already existing knowledge about havdalah. The two major secondary works used are the Encyclopedia Talmudit, and Netiv Binah by Issachar Jacobson. In addition, A Companion to the Authorized Daily Prayerbook by Israel Abrahams, and the articles on havdalah in the Jewish Encyclopedia and the Encyclopedia Judaica furnish good summaries of the material. Surveying the existing English and Hebrew language periodical literature, one finds relatively little scholarly work on havdalah. The two most serviceable articles are "The Origin and Development of Two Sabbath Ceremonies" by Jacob Z. Lauterbach and "The Custom of Looking at the Fingernails at the Outgoing of the Sabbath" by Sol Finesinger. A less scholarly, although adequate general sum-

mary of the havdalah ceremony is an article by Hayim Donin in Tradition magazine entitled "Havdalah, the Ritual and the Concept." Other materials used and examined either devote only a minor section to havdalah or deal with some area of the havdalah ceremony not focused on in this work.⁸

Footnotes

Chapter I.

1. Marcus Jastrow, A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature (1950) Vol. II p. 1319.
2. Joseph H. Hertz, The Authorized Daily Prayer Book (Rev. ed. New York: Bloch Publishing Company, 1948), pp. 747-748.
3. ibid. p. 748.
4. Seligman Baer, Seder Avodat Yisrael (Rödelheim, 1868), p. 311.
5. Issachar Jacobson, Netiv Binah (3 vols.; Tel Aviv: Sinai, 1973), II, p. 394 citing "Ha Mordecai" on B. T. Yoma no. 727.
6. Hertz, p. 752.
7. Cf. Hertz, p. 752 and Philip Birnbaum, Daily Prayer Book (New York: Hebrew Publishing Co., 1949), pp. 559-560.
8. This work describes elements found only in the havdalah home ceremony over wine. I shall not deal with the insertion of havdalah in the Tefillah, which is found in the benediction חֲבוּנֵי הַדָּוָה. I will refer to this form of havdalah only when it relates to the home ceremony as well. Moreover, the halachic arguments and laws concerning havdalah will not appear here. If a halachic discussion can provide information clarifying the specific contents of this work, then it will be mentioned. The details of criteria of the laws of havdalah will be excluded. For that reason, the use of different codes, such as the Tur, of Jacob ben Asher, and the Shulchan Aruch, of Joseph Caro, will be helpful only as an historic framework or reason behind various customs.

II. ORIGINS OF BASIC HAVDALAH LITURGY

The first topic to be discussed is when a havdalah ceremony originated. How far back can the earliest ritual be traced? Once the data in regards to dating has been analyzed, a description of the ceremony as it existed at different periods of time shall be presented. By interpreting the Mishnah, the Tosefta and the Gemaras, a summary of what the elements of the havdalah ceremony were for those peoples, up to the period of redaction of each of the above works, shall be established.

A natural starting point to look for the first havdalah ceremony is in the Bible. But at no time in the Bible is there any direct reference to a havdalah ritual. Even though the verb form of separating (with the root בּוּדַל) occurs in many places, an examination of these references does not indicate the existence of a biblical havdalah ritual. On the other hand, in rabbinic thought, havdalah is said to have its origin in the Bible.

According to Rabbi Zeira the son of Rabbi Abahu, the first havdalah was performed by God during creation.¹ Zeira utilizes the biblical verse, "And God saw the light that it was good."² followed by, "and God divided the light from the darkness"³ to prove his point. Rabbi Brechyah also attributes a havdalah ceremony to God when he cites the statement of Rabbi Jochanan and Rabbi Shimon ben Lakish, וַיְבַדֵּל אֱלֹהִים אֶבְרָכָה וְאֶרְבָּא.⁴ However, these homiletical statements which may be evidence for the origin of the first havdalah ceremony in the minds of the rabbis, do not provide us with the necessary proof of the ritual's existence in the Bible. Rather, they are examples of the rabbinic method of supporting ideas and teachings of their own time.

Many of the early commentators (rishonim) claim that the commandment for havdalah derives from the Torah. They use the verses, "Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy" (Ex. 20:8) and "And thou shalt remember that thou was a servant..." (Deut. 5:15) as the scriptural basis. "Remember" in the first verse is for the Sabbath's entrance which is signified by kiddush. "And thou shalt remember" represents the Sabbath's departure, which is marked by havdalah. These two verses are from the two versions of the Ten Commandments in Exodus and Deuteronomy. Another opinion parallels the use of "Remember" in Exodus with "Observe" in Deuteronomy 5:12. In this case, "Remember" still represents kiddush, but now "Observe" indicates havdalah. But these commentators do not see kiddush and havdalah as possessing equal status. The kiddush is viewed as the primary rite for remembrance of the Sabbath, while havdalah is considered secondary.⁵

Pesachim (104a) presents a list of the items which are separated in the Bible. Rabbi Joshua b. Levi cites the following distinctions: holy and profane; light and darkness; Israel and the other nations; the seventh day and the six working days; unclean and clean; sea and dry land; upper and lower waters; Priest, Levites and Israelites. Although these particulars are said to be separated and made distinct in the Bible, they do not indicate any biblical havdalah ceremony. Also they do not involve any further statute which states in the Bible that one should perform any separation rite.

These biblical references are therefore supportive of havdalah rather than directly responsible for its inception. It would be logical to assume that the Bible was used as a source from which to draw material, rather than a foundation of the ceremony. Since there exists no other

Scriptural verse which would more directly point to any havdalah ritual during biblical times, later material must be investigated to find its origin.

The Mishnah (compiled c. 200) already discusses, although scantily, a havdalah ceremony. A passage from Hullin 1:7 states the following:

"Whenever the shofar is blown, no havdalah prayer is recited; and where the havdalah prayer is recited, no shofar is blown. Thus if a Festival-day falls on a Friday, the shofar is blown and no havdalah prayer is recited; but if on the day after the Sabbath, the havdalah prayer is recited, and no shofar is blown. How do they recite the havdalah prayer? (They say, 'Blessed art thou) that makest distinction between one holy (season) and another holy (season)' R. Dosa says: '...between the more holy (season) and the lesser holy(season)!'"⁶

This section reveals many points about havdalah. First, the shofar was blown at the time of the Temple's existence. Therefore, havdalah was recited before the destruction of the Temple is 70 C.E. Second, havdalah was said at the end of Sabbath even when the next day was a holiday. Yet, it was not recited at the end of a festival which fell on Friday (the next day being the Sabbath). Conversely, this also demonstrates that havdalah was said at the end of all Sabbaths, and festivals which did not come directly before the Sabbath. Historically, the recitation of havdalah has continued at the conclusion of the Sabbath which enters into a festival. However, as in the Mishnah, havdalah is not pronounced on a Friday evening at the conclusion of a festival. The reason is that one does not say havdalah when proceeding from a time of lesser holiness to one of stricter holiness (i.e., from a festival to Sabbath). The concluding sentences which describe how to recite the havdalah apparently provide a specific chatimah when the Sabbath is followed by a festival: המבדיל בין קדש לקדש. But a second opinion, according to Rabbi Dosa is: בין קדש החמור לקדש הקל.

As evident from our present usage, the first of these chatimot was accepted. Since the benediction of "Thou favorest us with knowledge" has its own conclusion, we can deduce that the Mishnah is referring to the separate ceremony (performed over the wine) where the chatimah is specifically for havdalah or havdalah al hakos. Therefore, the Mishnah's knowledge of havdalah already assumes the practice of a home (or at least a distinct) havdalah ritual.

Most of the mishnaic material concerned with havdalah is found in tractate Berachot. Berachot 5:2 says, "... (we make mention of) havdalah in (the Benediction) 'Thou favorest man with knowledge.'" ⁷ R. Akiba says: This should be said as a fourth Benediction by itself. R. Eliezer says: Together with the 'thanksgiving.'⁸ This passage is concerned with the havdalah in the Tefillah and not over the cup of wine.

Berachot 8:5 describes one of the items argued by the School of Shammai and the School of Hillel, generally dated from 0-70 C.E. Their discussion presupposes the basics of the havdalah ceremony over the wine. The first point of debate is the order in which the blessings were to be pronounced:

"The School of Shammai say: (the order of saying the Benedictions at the outgoing of the Sabbath is) the lamp, the food, the spices, and the Havdalah. And the School of Hillel say: The lamp, the spices, the food, and the Havdalah."

This is immediately followed by a difference in opinion for the blessing over the lamp (ner). "The School of Shammai say: (The Benediction over the lamp is 'Blessed art Thou who didst create the light of fire.' And the School of Hillel say: '...Who creates the lights of fire.'" It may be deduced that the havdalah ceremony already had a basic form and was generally known by the time of the debate. The other blessings must have

been common enough so that the Mishnah saw no need to mention them. In Berachot 6:6, a blessing over spices is mentioned. It is connected with the end of a meal rather than with the havdalah. In this case, however, the wording of the blessing is not spelled out. The final blessing of havdalah (except for the section in Hullin discussed above) is not described in the Mishnah. Since no explanation about it is provided, it is discussed in the Mishnah as though it is known.

In sum, the mishnaic evidence is sparse. It assumes a havdalah ceremony consisting of wine, spices, light (lamp), and havdalah. However, its discussion concerns itself with problems and disagreements about specific details in the havdalah ceremony. At no point are the fundamentals of how to perform the ceremony described. The wording of the benedictions is not listed, except in the few cases involving differences of opinion. The ner and the besamim (spices) are not explicitly described. Either some other work existed at the time which detailed the basics of the rite, or the details were commonly known. Probably, in the society of oral law, which preceded the redaction of the Mishnah, these features were known well enough so that no one deemed it necessary to record them.

The second Tannaitic source used to trace the havdalah ceremony is the Tosefta. In a passage (Ber. 6:5) which is also found in the Jerusalem Talmud (Ber. 8:5), an unusual custom is mentioned. In this discussion between the Schools of Shammai and Hillel we have one of the few cases in the material covered so far where the manner in which the ritual objects employed is described:

"Shammai says that the goblet of wine is carried in the right hand and the perfumed oil in the left; the wine is blessed first, and then the oil; according to Hillel the contrary is the case. A little oil is poured on the servant's head, or if he be a man of learning a little is rubbed on the wall, for it is not proper that a learned man should be perfumed when he goes out."⁹

Schwab comments that going out in public perfumed was the custom of the libertines.¹⁰

We have now surveyed the major points concerning the rituals of the havdalah ceremony as found in the Bible and the two Tannaitic works, the Mishnah and the Tosefta. We shall proceed into the Amoraic period. Our data will now be drawn from both the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds.

The discussion of havdalah in the Babylonian Gemara is found mainly in the tractates of Berachot and Pesachim. There is also additional material in the Jerusalem Talmud in the tractate Berachot. By analyzing the various passages, a reconstruction of the ceremony, as it existed at the time of the redaction of these Talmuds, will be attempted.

In the Gemara (as we will now refer to the Babylonian work), the establishment of the havdalah ceremony is attributed to the men of the Great Assembly (or Synagogue).¹¹ The Gemara says: "Rabbi Shaman b. Abba said to R. Jochanan: Let us see: It was the Men of the Great Synagogue who instituted for Israel blessings and prayers, sanctifications and havdalahs."¹² A little further in the text this statement is basically repeated. The second time it is attributed to Rabbi Hiyya bar Abba in the name of Rabbi Jochanan. In both cases the quote is traced back to Rabbi Jochanan. Also, Hiyya and Shaman (who may be Shimon in other parts of the Gemara) are brothers and therefore probably had similar educations. The second quote differs from the first only in the omission of the one word (מכדי), which does not essentially change the meaning of the statement. Our question posed by this statement is: who were the Men of the Great Synagogue, and when did they make their decree to establish havdalah? Since there is little evidence about the

Great Synagogue, its existence as a functioning legislative body is at least open to question. Strack, for example, notes, "We need not, of course, accept the Jewish traditional opinion that there existed in those early days a body of 120 men called the 'Great Synagogue' since it is held by modern scholars quite plausibly that the notion is a pure invention resting on the account in Neh. 8-10."¹³ The Talmudic discussion proceeds further by describing their decrees concerning havdalah.

"Let us see where they inserted them! He replied: at first they inserted it (the havdalah) in the Tefillah: when they (Israel) became richer, they instituted that it should be said over the cup (of wine); when they became poor again, they again inserted it in the Tefillah; and they said that one who has said havdalah in the Tefillah must say it (again) over the cup (of wine)."¹⁴

This passage, like the previous one, is quoted by Rabbi Shaman bar Abba and repeated by Rabbi Hiyya bar Abba in the name of Rabbi Jochanan.

The focus of the discussion shifts from who instituted havdalah to its proper placement. Should havdalah be said in the Tefillah or over wine? Or, should it be recited at both places?

This discussion does not add any details as to the components of the Talmudic havdalah ceremony. It does, however, imply that in the minds of the Tannaim there are some uncertainties about the ritual. By attributing it to the Great Synagogue, they are saying that the ceremony originates before the recording of any of the Mishnaic material, and most likely, before the Hasmonean rebellion, placing it before 167 B.C.E. The brothers Hiyya bar Abba and Shaman (or Shimon) bar Abba were third generation Amoraim (fourth century C.E.), so they lived, in any case, some five centuries after the Great Assembly. It would appear logical that if havdalah really originated in the Great Synagogue, some Tanna would have known it and mentioned it in the Mishnah. Therefore, even if the Great

Synagogue is accepted as a real institution, it provides us with little help in the historical dating of havdalah, which remains unclarified beyond the conclusions drawn from the mishnaic sources.

Now that we have discussed the dating of the havdalah ceremony, we shall turn to the ritual objects used and the blessings associated with them.

The Babylonian Talmud records little about the wine in relation to the havdalah ceremony. However, in Pesachim (107a), an incident is related by Mar Yanuka and Mar Kashisha, sons of Rabbi Hisda to Rabbi Ashi. They told him that Anemar once visited their town. Since they lacked wine they brought him beer for havdalah. He refused to say havdalah and fasted that night. The next day they took the trouble to acquire wine for him so he could recite havdalah and eat. The following year Anemar returned and again they brought him beer for havdalah. This time he realized that the beer was considered the local wine (chamar medinah)¹⁵ and proceeded to recite havdalah. The Talmud concludes that this teaches three things: First, whoever says havdalah in the Tefillah (as Anemar must have done) must still say havdalah over wine. Second, one must not eat until he recites havdalah. Third, if havdalah is not uttered immediately upon the conclusion of the Sabbath, it may be recited during the week. The discussion continues with divergent opinions as to whether or not havdalah can be made over beer. However, the story indicates, that when no wine is available, and beer is considered chamar medinah, then it can be used for havdalah. Rav and Samuel proposed that beer should not be used. Nevertheless, most commentators feel they were referring to beer which was not chamar medinah.¹⁶

Another discussion concerning the wine in the havdalah ritual is

found in the Jerusalem Talmud, Berachot 8:6. A difference of opinion is described between the School of Shammai and the School of Hillel. According to the School of Shammai, the conclusion (chatimah) for the blessing over the wine should be אשר ברא פרי הגפן 'who created the fruit of the vine.' The School of Hillel claimed it should be בורא פרי הגפן 'who creates (or creator of) the fruit of the vine.' The Hillelite position became the accepted version. However, it is important to keep in mind that the Shammaites held to the contrary opinion and probably recited their text for some period of time.

Discussions around the use of spices (besamim) demonstrate the various options which existed among the Tannaim, and are found in B.T. Berachot 42b - 43b. Although this section addresses itself to the mugmar (perfumes or spices put on coals) which is brought at the end of a meal, there is no section which specifies spices (besamim) used for havdalah. Therefore, we shall associate these discussions about the mugmar with the spices for havdalah.

The question is raised,

R. Zutra b. Tobiah said in the name of Rab: Whence do we learn that a blessing should be said over sweet odours? 'Because it says, let every soul praise the Lord.' What is it that gives enjoyment to the soul and not to the body? You must say that this is a fragrant smell.¹⁷

The answer given here represents a rabbinic type of logic which does not satisfy a critical and scientific scholarly approach. Therefore, the reason presented in the Talmud does not clarify for us why spices are used and blessed.

In this section (Ber. 43a-b), a number of different blessings for different spices or fragrant items are listed:

R. Hiyya the son of Abba b. Nahmani said in the name of Ze'iri: Over all incense-perfumes (המוגמרות) the blessing is 'who createst fragrant woods,' (בורא עצי בשמים) except over musk, which comes from a living creature and blessing is, 'who createst various kinds of spices' (בורא מיני בשמים). An objection was raised: The benediction, 'who createst fragrant woods' is said only over balsam trees (אפרסמון) of the household of the rabbi and the balsam trees of Caesar's household and over myrtle (הדס) everywhere - This is a refutation.¹⁸

R. Hisda said to R. Isaac: What blessing is said over balsam-oil (משהא דאפרסמון)? He replied: Thus said to him....what do ordinary people say? He replied: Thus said R. Johanan: 'Who createst pleasant oils' (בורא שמן ערב). R. Adda b. Ahabah said: Over costum (כשרתא) the blessing is, 'Who createst fragrant woods'....

(43b) R. Gidal said in the name of Rab: Over jasmine (סמלק) the blessing is 'Who createst fragrant woods.' R. Hananel said in the name of Rab: over sea-rush (חלפיר ימא) the blessing is 'Who createst fragrant woods'...R. Mesharsheya said: Over garden narcissus (נרקום דגנוניתא) the blessing is 'Who createst fragrant woods;' over wild narcissus (דברא)¹⁹ 'Who createst fragrant herbs' (בורא עשבי בשמים). R. Shesheth said: Over violets the blessing is, 'Who createst fragrant herbs.' Mar Zutra said: He who smells a citron or a quince should say, 'Blessed be he who has given a sweet odour to fruits' (ברוך שנתן ריח טוב בפירות)...

Because no specific benediction is listed in the Talmud for the spices at havdalah, it must be assumed that the blessing derives from this section. Also, since no description of the spices used is provided, none of the above items should be excluded. In addition, the present-day wording of the blessing (also found in the overwhelming majority of siddurim), בורא מיני בשמים was only referred to for the fragrance from musk, which is not of an herb or plant, but rather derived from animals.

The origin of the use of light in the havdalah ritual is connected with two separate aspects of the creation story. In Pesachim (53b), "Rab Judah said in Samuel's name: We do not recite a blessing over light

except at the termination of the Sabbath, since it was then created for the first time."²⁰ However, the blessing, which has previously been discussed in the Mishnah, refers not to light, but rather to "lights of fire." In Pesachim (54a), this explanation is given:

...while as for our fire, on the eve of the Sabbath, He decided to create it, but it was not created until the termination of the Sabbath. For it was taught, R. Jose said: Two things He decided to create on the eve of the Sabbath, but they were not created until the termination of the Sabbath, and at the termination of the Sabbath, the Holy One, blessed be He, inspired Adam with knowledge of a kind similar to Divine (knowledge), and he procured two stones and rubbed them on each other, and fire issued from them.

The Jerusalem Talmud (Berachot 8:6) presents a parallel example, which combines the aggadah concerning Adam with the statement that Saturday evening was the time when fire was created:

As soon as Saturday's work was completed darkness began to predominate. Adam was afraid and said: Behold, perhaps the moment when will be fulfilled the biblical prediction, according to which I will tread upon the serpent's head, and it will bite my heel (Gen. 3:15), and he cried out (Ps. 139:11) Surely the darkness will cover me: At this moment, says R. Levi, God caused him to touch two bricks, which he knocked together, and light sprang out, as it is written (ibid.): Even the night shall be light about me, and he blessed God, saying: "Be praised He who createst the light of fire." This is why, says Samuel, light is still blessed on Saturday evening, in remembrance of this creation...

At the end of the first Sabbath, God gave Adam two flints with which Adam produced the first fire. He then blessed the fire. Samuel said that is why fire is blessed on Saturday night, since it was the beginning of fire's existence. This refers to fire on earth produced by people, since the sun and stars had previously been created.

Over what items should the blessing of כּוֹרֵא כְּאוּרֵי הָאֵשׁ be recited? In the discussions of the order of the service, some of

which are attributed in the Mishnah to the Schools of Shammai and Hillel, the word "ner" is used to describe this benediction. Generally, "ner" is thought to be a candle or lamp. Berachot (53b), describing a discussion between the Schools of Shammai and Hillel concerning the wording of the benediction over light, says:

"Where they differ is as to whether מאור (light) or מאורי (lights) should be said. Bet Shammai are of the opinion that there is only one light in the fire (נחורא איכא בנורא) while Bet Hillel propose that there are several (סובא נהורי איכא בנורא). Said Bet Hillel to Bet Shammai: There are several illuminations in the light. (הרבה מאורות יש באור)."

This discussion still does not clarify which exact implement should be used.

The following incident is part of the interchange in a visit by Rabbi Jacob ben Aha to Raba, and it illustrates one possible vehicle of fire:²¹

When he (Raba) came to perform havdalah, his attendant arose and kindled a torch (אבוקה) at a lamp (שרגא). Said he to him, 'Why take all this trouble? Surely the lamp is standing before us.'²² 'my servant has acted of his own accord,' replied he. 'Had he not heard it thus from you,' he retorted, 'he would not have done it.' Said he to him: 'Do you then not hold, (to employ) a torch for havdalah in the best way of performing the precept?'

Finally, the Jerusalem Talmud (Berachot 8:7) explains that the blessing is not recited until the flame is seen and the light is used:

In the same manner, if one sees light on anybody's knee, or in a lantern, or in a transparent glass, specular, if one sees a (flickering) flame without profiting of the light, or if the contrary be the case (through separation), the blessing may not be made for this until all the conditions are fulfilled.

This passage is based on a similar passage in Tosefta, Ber. 6:7. Such occurrences as a candle shielded in one's lap or in a container, or seen through a reflection in a mirror are therefore not blessed.

We may summarize the discussion of light by noting that although the means of fire is not precisely defined, certain requirements have been set forth. First, the flame must be seen and the light usable. Second, the word ner implies a candle or lamp. Third, the use of a torch, abuka, or torchlike object seems preferable to a lamp.

The fourth blessing of the ceremony is concerned with the concept of separation, havdalah itself. The following discussion is found in Pesachim (103b - 104a). Raba made havdalah and said:

המבדיל בין קודש לחול, בין אור לחושך, בין
ישראל לעמים, בין יום השביעי לששת ימי המעשה.

Rabbi Jacob b. Aha asked him why he needed all of that since Judah haNasi recited המבדיל בין קודש לחול as the formula. Raba answered, claiming he held to the opinion of Rabbi Eleazar in Rabbi Oshaia's name that if he would only recite a few distinctions, he would say at least three, and if he were to add distinctions, he would not add more than seven. Finally Raba said that his last distinction between the seventh day and the six days of creation is a conclusion (chatimah).

Rab Judah said in Samuel's name: 'He who recites havdalah must say (something) in the nature of the conclusion near to its conclusion. While the Pumbeditheans maintain: (He must say something) in the nature of the commencement just before its conclusion.

Further, on page 104a, we read:

He who is well-versed recites many (points of distinction), while he who is not well-versed recites one? It is (dependent) on the Tannaim. For R. Johanan said: The sons of holy men recited one, but the people are accustomed to recite three....R. Samuel b. Idi sent (word) to him:²³ 'My brother Hananea recites one? But the law does not agree with him.'

This last statement reflects the final decision in the Talmud. One dis-

inction is not enough; three to seven must be said.

Rabbi Joshua ben Levi claims that the distinctions must be of things mentioned in the Torah. The Talmud then lists the following:²⁴

אומר: המבדיל בין קודש לחול, בין אור לחושך, בין ישראל לעמים, בין ים השביעי לששת ימי המעשה, בין סמא לטהור, בין הים לחרבה, בין מים העליונים למים התחתונים, בין כהנים ללויים וישראלים. וחוטם בסדר בראשית ואחרים ביוצר בראשית. רבי יוסי כרבי יהודה אומר: חוטם מקדש ישראל.

An objection is then raised in that there is no mention in the Torah of a distinction between the sea and dry land. Also, the distinction between the seventh day and the six working days should be excluded since it has already been compared to the chatimah. Therefore, the final distinctions are between the Priests and the Levites and between the Levites and the Israelites.

The Scriptural verses on which these distinctions are based are as follows:

- | | | |
|----|------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1) | בין קודש לחול | Leviticus 10:10 |
| 2) | בין אור לחושך | Genesis 1:4 |
| 3) | בין ישראל לעמים | Leviticus 20:26 |
| 4) | בין סמא לטהור | Leviticus 10:10 |
| 5) | בין מים עליונים למים תחתונים | Genesis 1:7 |
| 6) | בין לויים לישראלים | Deuteronomy 10:8 |
| 7) | בין כהנים ללויים | I Chronicles 23:73 ²⁵ |

Rab and Samuel present different eulogies.²⁶ Rab uses מקדש ישראל while Samuel uses המבדיל בין קודש לחול. The law favors Samuel.

The fourth benediction has been clearly spelled out in the Talmud. Although various traditions entered into the picture, one form was fin-

alized. However, because the number of distinctions may vary from three to seven, the individual may choose which distinctions to recite in the blessing.

The Gemara also determined the order of four benedictions. After a discussion of the dispute in the Mishnah between the Schools of Shammai and Hillel, Rabbi Johanan announces the final order: "The public has adopted the custom of following Bet Hillel, as reported by R. Judah."²⁷ That order is signified by the abbreviation **יבנ"ה**: that is, 1) wine, 2) spices, 3) light, and 4) separation.

When a festival immediately followed the Sabbath, the sequence of benedictions was altered. First, the blessing of spices was eliminated. The reason for its deletion is not given in the Talmud. Since a festival is beginning, the kiddush²⁸ (signified by **ק**) and the prayer for a new season or holiday, the **שהתנינו** (signified by **ז**, meaning **זמן** or time) are added. In Pesachim(103a) the opinion of Raba, **יבנ"ה** (wine, then kiddush, then light, then separation, then the new season) is accepted as law. However, the preceding passage contains many other opinions on an accepted order. Raba used the order **יבנ"ה**. Abaye, Raba's contemporary and opponent, claimed the order as **יבנ"ה**. Samuel opted for **יבנ"ה**, while Rabbah proposed **יהב"ק**. Levi said **קבנ"ה** and the Rabbis said **קיב"ה**. Two other opinions emanated from Mar, the son of Rabina, who favored **בקי"ה** and Martha, who said in Rabbi Joshua's name **בני"ה**. The only reason offered in this section for any of the opinions is contained in the following passage:

Samuel's father sent to Rabbi: Let our Master teach us what is the order of havdalo. He sent (back) to him: Thus did R. Ishmael b. Jose say, speaking in the name of his father, who said it on the authority of

R. Joshua b. Hananiah: The order is נתי"ק. R. Hanina said: R. Joshua b. Hananiah's (ruling) may be compared to a king who departs (from a place) and a governor who enters: (first) you escort the king (out), and then you go forth to greet the governor.

The Sabbath, whose sanctity is greater than the festival, is the king; while the festival is the governor. The fareweil is the blessing of separation (הבדלה) and the welcome is the kiddush.

In addition to the component blessings and the order of the havdalah ceremony, the method in which the ritual was performed can be traced through various sources. Pesachim (54a) says, "Rabbi used to 'scatter' them." The Soncino notes that this means that he recited the blessing over the light as soon as he was able, upon conclusion of the Sabbath. Later, when spices were brought to him, he would continue with the other blessings. "R. Hiyya 'collected' them." In other words, he recited all the blessings together at one time. "R. Isaac b. Abdimi said: Thou Rabbi scattered them, he subsequently repeated them in (their) order over the cup (of wine), so as to quit his children and household (of their obligation)." No single accepted method is presented here.

Pesachim (105a) relates that Rabbi Nahman ben Isaac replied to a query from Rabina, "Since the sons of R. Hiyya said, He who did not recite havdalah at the termination of the Sabbath can proceed to recite havdalah the whole week...." On page 106a, this comment is pronounced directly by the sons of Hiyya. Further on, an explanation and limitation to the delayed havdalah observance is expressed:

The sons of R. Hiyya said: He who did not recite havdalah at the termination of the Sabbath proceeds to recite havdalah any time during the week. And until when? Said R. Zera: Until the fourth day of the week. Even as R. Zera sat before R. Assi - others state,

R. Assi sat before R. Johanan - and he sat and stated: With respect to divorces, the first day of the week, the second, and the third (are defined as) after the Sabbath; the fourth, the fifth, and the eve of the (Sabbath) day (rank as) before the Sabbath. R. Jacob b. Idi said: But (he does) not (recite a blessing) over the light.²⁹

Three regulations of a delayed havdalah ceremony are deduced from this passage. First, it may be performed during the week. Second, the limit for a delayed havdalah is through Tuesday. Third, the blessing over the light is excluded from the delayed ceremony. The Jerusalem Talmud, in Berachot 5:2, contains a slightly different version of this opinion:

R. Zeira and R. Eleazar b. Antigonos say, in the name of R. Yannai and R. Judah: If one has not recited the said formula on Saturday night, it must be said, no matter when, until Thursday evening; (This rule only applies to the formula of separation, but not to the blessing of the light, which must be said at once.)

They hold that the havdalah may be performed even until Thursday.

The final aspect of the havdalah ceremony found in the Talmud sets a precedent for the prayer for peace, to be discussed at length in chapter four. It is mentioned in Berachot 5:2:

R. Jeremiah and R. Zeira, in the name of R. Hiyya b. Ashi, say that these words must be recited (they are still in the additional songs of Saturday evening): "Make us to commence Favourably the six days of labour which comes to us in peace." R. Abba adds the words: "Make us to hear the joy and gladness." R. Ezechia, in the name of R. Jeremiah says these words: "Make us to understand and teach us Thy law." R. Ezechia, in the name of R. Jeremiah says: When one answers Amen after the formula of blessing, one must raise one's eyes to the cup of wine and then to the light...

So by the time of the redaction of the Talmud, despite certain options that still remained, the fundamental core of the havdalah ceremony, as it is known and practiced today, had been fixed. The wording of the blessings over the wine and the light are set. No fixed wording for the

blessing over the spices is as yet decided. The fourth benediction of havdalah has certain requirements: It must contain three to seven distinctions which derive from a list of biblically-based separations; and the final usage of **בין יום השביעי לששת ימי המעשה** is not counted as one of these distinctions, but rather as a comparison to the conclusion (chatimah) **המבדיל בין קודש לחול**.

The sequence of the blessings is fixed at **יבנ"ה** and on a Saturday night which begins a holiday, the order is **יקנה"ז**. In addition to the benedictions, only the one passage found in both the Jerusalem Talmud and the Tosefa contains any other material said during the ritual. Little instruction is provided in the performance of the ceremony. Only the Jerusalem Talmud and the Tosefta offer directions on how to use the ritual items.

During the geonic times, various aspects of the havdalah ceremony were clarified. The prayerbooks by Rav Amram Gaon in the ninth century and Rav Saadyah Gaon in the tenth, provide an exact description of the ritual, and various isolated geonic responsa supplement the accounts. All of this material presents the ceremony as it developed in Babylonia.

In Seder Rav Amram Gaon, the description of the ceremony begins with these instructions: to bring a cup (of wine); to bring a torch of light; **(אבוקה של אור)** and then to make this blessing:³⁰

**בא"י אמ"ה בורא פרי הגפן. בא"י אמ"ה בורא מאורי האש.
בא"י אמ"ה המבדיל בין קודש לחול בין אור לחשך בין
ישראל לגוים בין יום השביעי לששת ימי המעשה.
בא"י המבדיל בין קודש לחול.**

The blessing over the spices is omitted in all the manuscripts except the Oxford manuscript which includes **בא"י אמ"ה בורא עצי בשמים**. This form of the blessing over the spices is one of the many found in

the Talmud.³¹ No explanation is provided by Amram as to why this blessing is excluded. Ibn Ghiyyat and Jacob ben Asher mention that this benediction is lacking in Seder Rav Amram.³² Therefore, the explanation for the Oxford manuscript's inclusion of the blessing is that it is a later insertion, since early sources were able to mark its absence.³³ A second modification in this text from the Talmudic sources is the word goyim which replaces the word 'amim in the fourth benediction.

According to Goldschmidt, the following paragraph is found in the Oxford manuscript:³⁴

ושתי כסא ואזיל ההוא דנקיש נורא ומחוי לצבורא
ומסתכלין מאור והדר מבדיל. והלכתא כבית הלל אליבא
דר יהודה דאמר בשמים ואח"כ מאור. והדר מבדיל דכתיב
וירא אלהים את האור והדר יבדיל אלהים וגו'.³⁵
ותניין בני אוריאן וגרסי כל חד וחד כפום דבעי וכד
גמרינן הלכיהו קאים חד בר בי רב ואמר ברוך אלהינו
וענו כלהו ברוך אלהינו שבראנו לכבודו וכו'. וקדיש
וכו'. ומעינן בי צבורא כולהו וענו כולהו בקלא
בעימה ובסימא יהא שמיה רבה מברך.

The first part of this insertion delineates the procedure of the ritual, which follows the order of Bet Hillel. A reason is given for the commandment to see the light. It is an interpretation of Genesis 1:3, where God saw the light...and then made a separation. The second part of the insertion is a description of an addition to the ritual. If this prayer invocation was practiced, it had minimal following and is not found in later sources.

The next addition to the ceremony found in the Amram text is missing in the Oxford manuscript.³⁶ It begins by invoking a number of angels to rid the petitioner of a foolish heart. This is then followed by a number of biblical verses. The subsequent section is the largest - a prayer for a peaceful existence. It concludes with Isaiah 12:12. One is then instructed to taste the wine and distribute it to the other

members of the household. This section of the text will be considered more fully in later chapters on the prayer for peace and the biblical verses added to the ceremony.

The next passage in Amram's siddur quotes Natronai Gaon. He notes the custom of the two Babylonian academies to observe the palms of their hands during the blessing over the light. They did this in order to benefit from the light, as was taught in Berachot(51b). This passage is followed by the description of a custom from Pirke d'Rabbi Eliezer ben Hyrkanos stating that the commandment was to look at one's fingernails in order to use this light.³⁷ However, it adds that the sages do not perform this custom.³⁸

Amram next describes the custom of filling with water the cup used previously for the benediction, (after all the wine has been drunk). One washed the cup and then drank from it. This was done, as told in Sukkot (38a), to delay retribution. The remains of the water was to be poured over the hands and then rubbed on the face. This apparently signified a further love for the command.³⁹

Following this section is another citation of the Pirke d'Rabbi Eliezer ben Hyrkanos. It offers various methods of making havdalah if wine is absent and unobtainable. However, Amram is of the opinion that havdalah should not be recited over anything save wine. He cites his own responsum in which the use of bread is ruled out in the havdalah ceremony. Havdalah, he claims, is unlike kiddush which is connected with a meal. After this section, Amram provides no more details concerning the havdalah ceremony.

The Siddur of Ram Saadyah Gaon is another geonic work dealing with havdalah.⁴⁰ The core of Saadyah's service is the same as that found in

Seder Rav Amram. Like the Amram text, this siddur omits the blessing over the spices. However, Saadyah more clearly points out the vehicle to be used for the benediction over the light. He states that the blessing can be recited over a lamp (מנורה) a wax candle (בר שפוחה) or any other type of candle (בר אחר). He then obliges all those present to spread out their hands and look at the light of the candle as it falls upon them.⁴¹ Saadyah differs from Amram in that he claims that those present should not be given any taste of the wine. Rather, the one reciting the benediction alone drinks.⁴² Saadyah's siddur contains only the core ceremony. Since he omits the spices, his ritual centers on the three benedictions only, over wine, light and separation.

Other geonic responsa contain no new information. They repeat the discussions of the Gemara or parallel details found in the prayerbooks of Amram and Saadyah. A responsum on Shabbat 118b states that the end of the day (i.e., Shabbat) should be delayed as long as possible. A second responsum comments on the same page from Shabbat, and offers a reason for the addition of certain liturgy to the Saturday night service. This is done to prolong the stay of the wicked who will return to gehinnom when the prayers are finished.⁴³ All these practices lead to the delaying and expansion of the Saturday night ritual.

In analyzing the havdalah ceremony of the geonic period, Seder of Rav Amram Gaon provides the most information. It is also in this prayerbook that innovations in addition to the benedictions can be found. The enigma, of course, of this prayerbook and of Saadyah's remains the absence of the benediction over the spices. No satisfactory answer has been provided by either the authors or their contemporaries. However, the remainder of the benedictions are clearly fixed. These blessings are the same as those found in our present rite.

Footnotes

Chapter II

1. Jerusalem Talmud, Berachot 8:7.
2. Gen. 1:4.
3. ibid.
4. J.T. Ber. 8:7.
5. Encyclopedia Talmudit, ed. Shlomo Yosef Zevin (1957), Vol. 8, p. 68.
6. All English passages from the Mishnah are taken from the Danby Mishnah.
7. The fourth benediction of the Tefillah.
8. The eighteenth benediction of the Tefillah.
9. This passage is taken from Schwab's translation of Berachot in the Jerusalem Talmud. Although the translation is not literal, it will serve our purpose.
10. The Talmud of Jerusalem, trans. by Moses Schwab (London: Williams and Norgate, 1886) Vol. I, Ber. 8:5.
11. Babylonian Talmud, Ber. 33a. All English translations of the Babylonian Talmud will be taken from the Soncino Talmud.
12. ibid.
13. Hermann L. Strack, Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash (New York: Harper Torchbook, 1931), p. 9.
14. B.T. Ber. 33a.
15. Wine of the country.
16. Encyclopedia Talmudit, Vol. VIII, p. 83.
17. B.T. Ber. 43b.
18. The Soncino Talmud notes that this refers to plants of which the wood itself is fragrant.
19. Meaning, "of the field" refers to the previous plant.
20. A note to this passage in the Soncino Talmud reads, "Lit., 'that was the beginning of its creation' - on the evening of the first day."
21. B.T. Pes. 103b.

22. The Soncino Talmud notes that the blessing over the light could be said over the lamp itself.
23. Unclear as to whom.
24. B.T. Pes. 104a.
25. Encyclopedia Talmudit, Vol. VIII, p. 73.
26. B.T. Pes. 104a.
27. B.T. Ber. 52b.
28. Kiddush is the blessing concluded by מקדש ישראל והזמנים, at the beginning of fe:tivals; and not בורא פרי הגפן, which is the accompanying blessing over wine.
29. B.T. Pes. 106a.
30. Daniel S. Goldschmidt, Seder Rav Amram Gaon (Jerusalem: Mosad HaRav Kook, 1971) p. 82. no. 38.
31. B.T. Ber. 43a-b. also v. above.
32. Tryggve Kronholm, Seder Rav Amram Gaon (Lund, Sweden: CWK Gleerup, 1974), p. 145 n.l. citing Hilkot Ibn Ghiyyat (I, p. 15) and Tur, OH. 299.
33. ibid.
34. Goldschmidt, p. 82.
35. Goldschmidt notes that Epstein in Tsiyonim 139 says the following conclusion of the paragraph is an addition from Africa.
36. Goldschmidt, pp. 82-83.
37. Chapter 20.
38. v. chap. VI.
39. v. chap. VI.
40. Siddur Rav Saadyah Gaon eds. Israel Davidson et. al. (Jerusalem: Mekitzey Nirdamim, 1941) p. 125.
41. ibid.
42. ibid.
43. Otzar HaGeonim, ed. Benjamin M. Lewin (Haifa: 1928) Vol. III, Pesachim p. 107.

III. BIBLICAL VERSES ADDED TO THE HAVDALAH CEREMONY

It is convenient to consider the havdalah ritual as having a core section with a number of additions. The central part of the ceremony is the four benedictions over wine, spices, light and separation. The extra sections of the ritual are the biblical verses, the prayer for peace and the various liturgical hymns.

In our discussion of these sections, we shall begin with scriptural verses. However, it must be said that a number of the verses are part of the text of the prayer for peace. Therefore, a general summary of this prayer is necessary.

The peace prayer asks God to make the coming week one of joy, gladness and good tidings. Those who desire peace for Israel in their thoughts and actions should be sustained by God. While those who seek evil for Israel should be dealt with accordingly. Some of the biblical verses in this prayer are used to give scriptural support to these ideas. This chapter will concern itself with these and the other verses found in the havdalah ritual.

In the Mishnah, Tosefta, and Talmuds there is no mention of reciting biblical verses along with the four benedictions. In discussions concerning the havdalah ceremony, the only biblical passages used, appear in the form of proof texts in order to heighten the status of a particular point under debate.

The Babylonian Talmud does, however, cite a verse as part of the ritual for the grace after meals כוס יסוד אשא ובסם ה אקרא (Psalms 116:13). Then, "He fixes his eyes on it: (i.e., the cup) so that his attention should not wander from it. 'He sends it around to

the members of the household: ' so that his wife may be blessed." The citation of this verse is mentioned because, although the Talmud connects it with the grace after meals, this verse is presently recited as part of the havdalah ceremony. Also, some of the discussions regarding the order of the havdalah benedictions include the grace after meals. Nevertheless, neither this verse nor any other is considered to be part of the havdalah ritual, as described in the Talmud.

The following chart is provided to simplify further discussion.

Chart I

(Gen.6:8)	ובח מצא חן בעיני ה'.	
(ISam.18:14)	ויהי דוד לכל דרכיו משכיל וה' עמו.	
(Ps.121:1)	(ואומר) שיר למעלות אשא עיני אל ההרים באין יבא עזרי.	
(Gen.1:1)	בראשית ברא אלהים את השמים ואת הארץ.	A
(Ps.46:12)	ה צבאות עמנו משגב לנו אלהי יעקב סלה.	
(Ps.33:10)	(כאמר) ה' הפיר עצת גוים הניא מחשבות עמים.	
(Prov.19:21)	רבות מחשבות בלב איש ועצת ה' היא תקום.	
(Ps.33:11)	עצת ה' לעולם תעמוד מחשבות לבו לדור ודור.	B
(Is.8:10)	עוצו עצה ותופר דברו ובר ולא יקום כי עמנו אל.	
(Is.14:27)	כי ה' צבאות יעץ ומי יפר וידו הנסויה ומי ישיבנה.	
(Ex.33:19)	(כאמר) וחננתי את אשר אחון ורחמתי את אשר ארחם.	C
(Is.12:2)	(הנה אל ישועתי) אבטח ולא אפחד כי עזי וזמרת יה' ה' ויהי לי ליסועה.	D
(Is.12:3)	ושאבתם מים בששון מסעיני היסועה.	
(Es.8:16)	ליהודים היתה אורה ושמחה וששון ויקר.	E

In Seder Rav Amram Gaon, no scriptural verses are found preceding the four benedictions. However, a number of biblical passages appear in the addition to the prayer for peace.² In the first paragraph, following a list of a few mystical names, the first group of verses reads as follows:

ונח מצא חן בעיני ה'.
(Gen.6:8)
ויהי דוד לכל דרכיו משכיל וה עמו.
(ISam.18:14)
(ואומר) שיר למעלות אשא עיני אל ההרים מאין יבא עזרי
(Ps.121:1)
בראשית ברא אלהים את השמים ואת הארץ.
(Gen.1:1)
ה צבאות עמנו מסגב לנו אלהי יעקב סלה.
(Ps.46:12)

(See Chart I: A)

No specific reason is presented for the inclusion of these verses. Also, they do not serve as proof texts for any particular point under debate. The verses exist simply as part of the prayer ritual itself.

This group of verses is followed by a second set whose function is clearer. They give scriptural support to the ideas expounded upon in the prayer. After the prayer entreats God to cancel the evil plans devised by others against Israel, it continues:

(כאמר) ה הפיר עצת גוים הניא מחשבות עמים.
(Ps.33:10)
רבות מחשבות בלב איש ועצת ה היא תקום.
(Prov.19:21)
עצת ה לעולם תעמוד מחשבות לבו לדור ודור.
(Ps.33:11)
עוצו עצה ותופר דברו דבר ולא יקום כי עמנו אל.
(Is. 8:10)
כי ה צבאות יעץ ומי יפר וידו הנסויה וזי ישיבנה
(Is.14:27)

(See Chart I: B)

This is followed by another biblical verse upholding the hope that God will establish good counsel toward us.

(כאמר) וחנותי את אשר אחון ורחמתי את אשר ארחם.
(second half, Ex.33:19)

(See Chart I: C)

One more verse is included in this section of the Amram text:

(הנה אל ישועתי) אבטח ולא אפחד כי עזי וזרתי יה נה ויהי³
(Is.12:2) לי לישועה.

(See Chart I: D)

Unlike the other verses already mentioned, this one is contained in the present day ritual before the benedictions.

Issachar Jacobson correctly states that Mahzor Vitry was the first to add scriptural verses before the havdalah.⁴ However, the above citations in the Talmud and Seder Rav Amram Gaon appear to be forerunners of this custom in the sense that verses are part of the ceremony at all. The Amram Text is especially important, because the verse used there (Chart I: D) is also quoted in Mahzor Vitry and is generally the first verse recited in later traditions. Also, unlike the Babli citation of Ps. 116:13, there is no doubt that this verse is recited in the havdalah ceremony.

Mahzor Vitry is unclear as to where the insertion of these verses occurs. Jacobson asserts that the biblical verses are recited before the havdalah ceremony. However, the wording in Mahzor Vitry might suggest a modification of this viewpoint.

The text in Vitry states that before tasting (the wine), one should recite the rendition of the prayer for peace.⁵ It appears that since the preceding paragraph offers the instructions for the order of the ceremony, the first three benedictions (for wine, spices and light) have already been pronounced. After the recitation of the prayer for peace and the biblical verses, it states umavdil, which at this point, seems to imply that the havdalah benediction of separation is said. The

text of Mahzor Vitry appears to indicate that the verses were inserted at the conclusion of the prayer for peace, after the first three benedictions and before the fourth.

In analyzing the prayer for peace in the Vitry, we discover that, just as in the Amram text, a number of verses are recited after the mystical names. The first set of verses (A) occurs in precisely the same order. The second set (B and C) is also included but in a slightly different arrangement: Ex. 33:19, Ps. 33:10, Prov. 19:21, Ps. 33:11, Is. 8:10 and Is. 14:27. This variation in order, however, may be insignificant in that different manuscripts of the Amram text vary their order. Where the Amram text concludes with the recitation of Isaiah 12:2, Mahzor Vitry's instructions are to continue and finish all (the verses) before making the havdalah (i.e., fourth) benediction. After Is. 12:2, Mahzor Vitry states: קודם שיבדיל יגמור, הכל כאשר כתוב. This passage returns us to the confusion mentioned above. If yavdil refers to the saying of the fourth benediction, then the next verses, in the text, are affixed to the conclusion. If, however, yavdil refers to the entire ceremony, then as Jacobson claimed, these verses are recited prior to the entire core ceremony.

A further peculiarity appears in the text at this point. Vitry repeats the verse Is. 12:2. (See Chart I: D) After the second citation of this verse, two additional verses, not found in Amram, are listed:

(Is.12:3) ושאתם מים בשסון ספעיני היסועה.
(Es.8:16) ליהודים היתה אורה ושמחה ושסון ויקר.

(See Chart I: E)

Another difference from the Amram text is that the instruction to drink the wine is not immediately given. The above two points provide more

evidence for Jacobson's assumption as to where these verses were placed.

Further evidence of the Ashkenazic ritual may be found in Siddur Rashi. This book provides a parallel source for the custom of Northern France in the period of the Tosafists.

Again, a number of biblical verses are found in the paragraph after the recitation of the mystical names.⁶ This first cluster of verses parallels the Amram text (A) and Mahzor Vitry save for one variation. Where the previous prayerbooks listed only the first verse from Psalm 121, Siddur Rashi adds the following:

שִׁיר לַמַּעֲלוֹת אֲשֶׁר עִינֵי אֵל הֵהָרִים מֵאֵין יבֹא עֲזָרִי.
 עֲזָרִי מִעַם הָעוֹשֶׂה שְׁמַיִם וָאָרֶץ. (Ps. 121:1-2)
 הָשׁוֹמֵר הוּא צִילְךָ עַל יַד יְמִינְךָ. יוֹסֵם הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ לֹא יִכְבֶּה
 וִירַח בְּלִילָהּ. הוּא יִשְׁמָרְךָ מִכָּל רָע יִשְׁמָר אֶת בְּפֶשֶׁךָ. הוּא
 יִשְׁמָר צֶאֱתָךְ וּבֹאֶךָ מִעַתָּה וְעַד עוֹלָם. (Ps. 121:5-8)

No explanation is provided as to either the inclusion of these verses or the exclusion of verses 3 and 4 of the same psalm.

The remainder of the paragraph here parallels the verses in Seder Rav Amram Gaon. The order in Siddur Rashi is: Ex. 33:19, Ps. 33:10, Prov. 19:21, Ps. 33:11, Is. 8:10, and Is. 14:27. The paragraph concludes as in the Amram, with Is. 12:2.

A section in Siddur Rashi sheds further light on the confusion as to whether or not some biblical verses (namely D and E) were recited before the entire ceremony.⁷ After giving the details of the liturgy and the ritual performed in the synagogue, Siddur Rashi states that the head of the household recites the following verses (D and E). He is to do that kodem shey-yavdil. Because this section follows the procedure describing the ritual in the synagogue, it appears that the verses were

meant to be said before the entire ceremony. Since the verses in Siddur Rashi are identical with those in the Vitry text (i.e., Is. 12:2-3 and Es. 8:16), and the instructions for their recitation are similar, once again Jacobson's assumption seems to be correct.

The havdalah ceremonies in the works of Ibn Ghiyyat and David Abudarham illustrate the early form of the Sephardic ritual. In his laws of havdalah, Ibn Ghiyyat quotes the Amram text concerning the ceremony and the petition for peace. The quote accurately reflects the Amram text, except that it omits Is. 8:10 among the quoted verses. It does conclude simply with Is. 12:2, thereby containing sections A, B, C and D. It makes no mention of Is. 12:3 or Esther 8:16, as is found in the Mahzor Vitry and Siddur Rashi.

Abudarham, on the other hand, does not include any of the verses in the home ritual. He does mention the extra paragraph from the Jerusalem Talmud and Seder Rav Amram Gaon, but indicates that it is exclusively part of the synagogue ceremony. Moreover, in his commentary, he does not distinguish the verses to be recited in the liturgy (if any) from the verses used solely to support and explain other parts of the text.⁸

Moses Isserles points out that these biblical verses are not required, but they grant good luck (siman tov) to the person who verbalizes them. Most likely he bases this opinion on the paragraph in Mahzor Vitry and Siddur Rashi, which follows the verses Is. 12:2-3 and Es. 8:16. In this paragraph the phrase "siman tov" is frequently used. Isserles also adds Ps. 116:13; כּוֹס יִשׁוּעַ אֲשֶׁר וּבִשָּׁם הָ אֶקְרָא to the verses Is. 12:2 and Es. 8:16, all of which are said before the blessings.⁹

Baer notes that the biblical verses preceding the benedictions are

not mentioned in the earlier commentaries.¹⁰ Moreover, they are not present in the Sephardic ritual. Baer claims that it was Maharil (Rabbi Judah Loew of Prague) who included Is. 12:3. However, since Mahzor Vitry, an earlier source, contains this verse, Baer's statement is incorrect.

Baer then quotes a text he found in a manuscript of Mahzor Roma:

1. כוס ישועות אשא ובשם ה' אקרא.
2. נשא ברכה מאת ה' וצדקה מאלהי ישענו.
3. אנא ה' הושיעה נא אנא ה' הצליחה נא.
4. אנא ה' עננו ביום קראנו.
5. הוא ישלח ברכה ורוחה והצלחה בכל מעשי ידינו.
6. ונאמר אמן.

Line 1 is from Ps. 116:13 and is found in other texts. Line 2 is similar to Ps. 24:5. The first word נשא appears in the Bible as ישא. Line 3 is taken from Ps. 118:25. Line 4 apparently derives from Ps. 20:10, which reads
 . ה' הושיה המלך יעננו ביום קראנו
 The first two words, ה' הושיעה, reappear as the second and third words of line 3. The two biblical verses (line 3 and Ps. 20:10) perhaps inspired the creation of line 4, a would be synthesis of the former two verses. Lines 5 and 6 are simply the completion of the prayer.

In the printed edition of the Mahzor Roma, Baer states that verses are added prior to the above. They read.

1. ליהודים היתה ותהיה אורה ושמחה וששון ויקר.
2. בשמחה נועדנו בבית הזה ובכל מקום שנהיה שם
 יהי אדיר בעזרנו.
3. סימן טוב בביתנו, מזל טוב בגורלנו.
4. יברכנו יוצרנו יוצר כל בפריה ורביה בעושר
 (בבריות) ובנכסים ובכר כל.
5. בכל ישמחנו אדון מעוזנו ובטובו הגדול ידריכנו.
- 6.¹¹ כוס... (See above)

It should be noted that line 1, which is close to the more common usage of Esther 8:16 in other havdalah rites, adds וְתִהְיֶה which reinforces the plea for 'good times.' The remainder of these added verses are quite similar to the paragraphs following the biblical verses in both Mahzor Vitry and Siddur Rashi. They deal exclusively with a petition for future peace and 'good times,' the subject of a later chapter.

Today, in most Ashkenazic prayerbooks, the verses preceding the havdalah blessings are: Is 12:2-3, Ps. 3:9, Ps. 46:12, Es. 8:16, followed by the words כֵּן תִּהְיֶה לָנוּ and concluding with Ps. 116:13. In addition, Goldschmidt includes two more sentences. He indicates that this is the custom in Israel. These verses are found specifically in the Sephardic rite of the Hasidic ritual.¹² The verses are:

הַ צְבֹאוֹת אֲשֶׁרִי אֶדָם בִּסְחָ בָךְ. (Ps. 84:13)

הַ הוֹשִׁיעָה הַמֶּלֶךְ יַעֲזֹרנוּ בַיּוֹם קִרְאָנוּ (Ps. 20:10)

Their placement in the ritual remains after Ps. 46:12 and before Es. 8:16. Ps. 20:10 has already been mentioned, due to its close connection with the section preceding the blessings in the Mahzor Roma.

The variant usage of the different verses imply the lack of any fixed ceremony. The comment of Moses Isserles, namely, that these verses are not required but are recited as a charm conducive to 'good luck,' is a fitting deduction. Yet, their presence has now become an integral part of the ceremony.

Footnotes

Chapter III

1. B.T. Ber. 51b.
2. v. chap. IV.
3. According to Goldschmidt, the manuscripts of the British Museum and The Jewish Theological Seminary omit these three words. V. Seder Rav Amram Gaon, ed. Daniel Goldschmidt (Jerusalem: Mosad HaRav Kook, 1971), p. 83.
4. Jacobson, Netiv Binah, p. 388.
5. Mahzor Vitry, ed. Shimon Ha Levi Ish Horowitz (Nuremberg: Bet Mischar Sifarim Yitzhak Bolka, 1923), p. 116, no. 150.
6. Siddur Rashi, ed. Yakov Freeman (Berlin: Miketzey Nirdamim, 1912), no. 523.
7. ibid., no. 534.
8. David Abudarham, Abudarham HaShalem (Jerusalem: 1959) pp. 187-188.
9. Moses Isserles to Shulchan Aruch, Orach Hayim, no. 296, cited by Jacobson, Netiv Binah, p. 388.
10. Baer, Seder Avodat Yisrael, p. 311.
11. Jacobson, Netiv Binah, p. 389.
12. Goldschmidt cited by Jacobson, Netiv Binah, pp. 388-389.

IV. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRAYER FOR PEACE

Issachar Jacobson lists Ribon HaOlamim as one of three Saturday evening hymns.¹ The present form of this hymn is quite different from the original which can be traced to a passage in the Jerusalem Talmud. It is this prayer, Ribon HaOlamim, and its predecessors which I have designated as the prayer for peace or peace prayer. The term, prayer for peace, will indicate the section of the liturgy involved, without restricting the statements to any specific text, e.g., Ribon HaOlamim.²

The earliest known allusion to the peace prayer connected with havdalah is found in Berachot 5:2 (Jerusalem Talmud). After enumerating the various separations in the fourth blessing of the havdalah ceremony, the text continues:

רבי ירמיה רבי זעירה בשם רב חייא בר אשי
צריך לומר, החל עלינו את הימים ששת ימי
המעשה הבאים לקראתינו לשלום: רבי אבא
פוסק: והסמיענו בהן ששון ושמחה:
רבי חזקיה בשם רבי ירמיה, הביגנו ולמדנו:
רבי חזקיה בשם רבי ירמיה, העונין אמן
צריכין ליתן עיניהן בכוס ועיניהן בנר.

Where these statements are derived from, and why they were added to the ceremony is not explained in the Talmudic text. Yet, these statements form the basis for a later, expanded petition for peace.

In the first compiled prayerbook, Seder Rav Amram Gaon, a lengthy prayer for peace is already included:

1 אשבעית עלך פותה שר שכחה שתסיר לב סיפש ממני ותפיל
 יתיה על טוריה ועל רמתא בשם שמהתא קדישתא ארימס ארימימס
 אנסיסיאל ופתחאל. ונח מצא חן בעיני ה'. ויהי דוד לכל דרכיו
 משכיל וזה עמו. ואומר שיר למעלות אשא עיני אל ההרים וכו'.
 5 בראשית ברא אלהים וכו'. ה' צבאות עמנו משגב לנו אלהי יעקב
 סלה.
 אלהינו ואלהי אבותינו החל עלנו את ששת ימי המעשה הבאים
 עלינו לשלום חשוכים מכל חסא ומוצלים מכל דבר עון ומדובקים
 לתלמוד תורתך וחכונים דעה והשכל מאתך ותשמיענו בהם ששון
 10 ושמחה. ולא תעלה קנאתנו על לב אדם ולא קנאת אדם תעלה על
 לבנו. ולא תעלה שנאתנו על לב אדם ולא שנאת אדם תעלה על לבנו.
 וכל היועץ עלינו עצה רעה בסלו ובטל עצתו. כאמור ה' הפיר עצת
 גוים הניא מחשבות עמים. רבות מחשבות בלב איש ועצת ה' היא תקום.
 עצת ה' לעולם תעמוד מחשבות לבו לדור ודור. עוצו עצה ותופר
 15 דברו דבר ולא יקום כי עמנו אל. כי ה' צבאות יעץ וסי יפר וידו
 הנסויה וסי ישיבנו. וכל היועץ עלינו עצה טובה קיימו וקים
 עצתו. כאמור וחנותי אשר אחון ורחמתי אשר ארחם. ברוך ספר
 עצות רעות מעלינו ומעל כל עמו ישראל ומקיים עלינו עצתו
 20 ועצתם של צדיקים לטובה. ברוך שלא עזבנו. כן ה' אלהינו לא
 יעזבנו ולא יטשנו ולא יכלימנו ולא יחפירנו לא בעולם הזה ולא
 בעולם הבא. ועם הצדיקים נפטר לשלום ושלום שלום יהיה עלינו.
 (הנה אל ישועתי) אבטח ולא אפחד כי עזי וזמרת יה ה' ויהי לי
 ליסועה.

The first paragraph (lines 1-6) is a separate petition from the
 one in the second paragraph (lines 7-24). This first paragraph seems to
 be a magical or mystical incantation used to introduce the petition.
 The listed holy names, ארימס ארימימס אנסיסיאל ופתחאל, and
 the calling of an angel, Puteh, is not what one generally considers
 typical of the halachic normative Judaism of the geonic period and its
 Amoraic paradigms.

As was mentioned in the previous chapter, these biblical verses in the first paragraph (see also Chart I: A) appear to have an unusual function. They do not seem to either support or demonstrate the ideas of this text. Rather, they serve to heighten the mystical and magical flavor of the initial lines.

Beginning with line 6, as we have seen, this section has its origin in the text of the Jerusalem Talmud. The major portion of this paragraph is an expansion of the ideas of the Talmud's earlier statement. The biblical verses included offer scriptural support to the request of the prayer. This entire prayer is to be recited after the fourth benediction, but before drinking the wine. (It should be noted that this paragraph from the Seder Rav Amram Gaon is still contained in the Yemenite ritual.³⁾

Siddur of Rav Saadyah Gaon contains no additions to the havdalah service. That is, only the benedictions are mentioned as part of the liturgy. Therefore, neither biblical verses nor any allusion to a prayer for peace appear in Saadyah's text.

The prayer for peace occurs in no other geonic sources, to our knowledge. The next source to cite it is Mahzor Vitry, where despite occasional alteration of phrases and word order, the text parallels the version in Amram. Also, as in Amram, the prayer is recited before drinking the wine. The few somewhat significant alterations in the Vitry text are:

1. Mahzor Vitry adds one more similar name to the list of holy names. Instead of just having ארימס ארמיס אנסיסאל ופתחאל, the name ארמס is added at the beginning, making the number of names recited, five.

2. Instead of החל עלינו את (הימים) ששת ימי המעשה הבאים (לקראתינו) לשלום. Mahzor Vitry reads:

החל עלינו את הימים האלה הבאים לקראתינו לשלום.

The coming week is no longer referred to as the "six working days: or the "days of creation," but simply as "these days."

3. Vitry substitutes the word רע for עון which is found in the Amram text. The meaning of the text is then altered from entreating God to save us from all transgressions, to saving us from all evil.

4. There is a consolidation of the pleas against envy (קנאה) and hatred (שנאה) into one sentence, which combines the two.

5. A few new words are added at various points in the text, mostly synonyms, e.g., אבדו added to בטלו and אבדו added to קיימו.

Thus, despite a few minor verbal discrepancies, the tone and message of the Vitry version remains faithful to its Amram prototype.

On the other hand, Mahzor Vitry contains a major additional paragraph which Amram lacked. Following the recitation of a number of biblical verses (Is. 12:2-3 and Es. 8:16) an entire new paragraph has been added! It follows immediately after the prayer for peace in Mahzor Vitry and is not treated as a separate item. Moreover, the theme of this paragraph is similar to the preceding petition. It reads:

בשמחה נועדנו בבית הזה. קול ששון ושמחה ורווחה
טובה והצלחה מרובה ורפואה שלימה ויטועה קרובה
ואהבה וחייבה עלינו בבית הזה. יהא אדיר בעזרינו
סימן טוב בביתנו ויברכינו יוצרינו יוצר בפריה
ורבייה ברוב כל סימן טוב סימן טוב יהיה לנו
בכל. אנא שוכן שמים ברכינו בטוב כפלים ונייחוך
בכל יום פעמים: שמחנו אדון מעודינו. שמחנו

בטובך הדריכנו ביטך ברכינו טוב ומטיב אתה גן
 עדן נסעת לעם אשר בחרת. שמחין ארון מעוזינו
 שמחין בטובך הדריכנו:

Like the prayer for peace, this prayer entreats God to make life pleasant for the one reciting the prayer. The expression סימן טוב i.e., a good sign, occurs three times in the paragraph, so that as we saw above, Moses Isserles was led to say that the verses recited beforehand are not obligatory, but are done for a סימן טוב.⁴

In Siddur Rashi, the prayer for peace is quite similar to the text found in Mahzor Vitry. Some of the discrepancies that occur are actually passages originally in the Seder Rav Amram Gaon. However, there are noteworthy modifications. In some manuscripts of the Siddur Rashi the name of the angel of forgetfulness is omitted. In others it is changed to פוסה or פורה (instead of פוחה). In addition, the string of mystical names differs slightly from the earlier prayer-books. Here, in Siddur Rashi, the names are

ארמס ארמיס אנסיפיול ופתחאל.

In the above instances, concerning the holy and angelic names, it appears that the earlier known tradition altered proportionately as time progressed from its point of origin. If we assume the existing oral culture and the rationalistic tendency to cover up magical or mystical reasons for a given custom, then the many changes in these names is a likely occurrence.

Another change in Siddur Rashi from earlier texts is the inclusion of more verses from Psalm 121 (see chapter 3). Also, Siddur Rashi contains the three words רע and חטא, עון. The reader will recall

that Mahzor Vitry had חסא and רע , while Seder Rav Amram Gaon had חסא and עון . Thus, it may be that the author of Siddur Rashi had both the Amram and the Vitry before him. He then altered the Vitry text to reflect the original wording of the Amram. In this case, he includes a synthesis of the two other prayerbooks. On the other hand, we shall see that the same three terms are to be found independently in Ibn Ghiyyat. Thus, it may also be that Siddur Rashi borrowed directly from Ghiyyat, or alternatively both Siddur Rashi and Ibn Ghiyyat used an older alternative, comments both of them.

The final considerable change in this paragraph is that the Siddur Rashi seeks protection only against envy. The concept of hatred is entirely omitted. Any other modifications are conceptually insignificant. Indeed, the meaning throughout the entire section can be equated fully with the meaning in both the Seder Rav Amram Gaon and the Mahzor Vitry.

Siddur Rashi also contains the additional paragraph, noted above as an addition in Mahzor Vitry. A number of differences are evident between the text in Siddur Rashi and the text in Vitry. These include the omission of a number of phrases in the Mahzor Vitry. The most obvious are רפואה שלמה, בפריה ורביה, טוב סימן טוב, and ביסעך. The absence of the phrase טוב סימן טוב makes the reading of the text in Siddur Rashi smoother. Probably, it was originally an expression whose value was lost and therefore not included in this later prayerbook. The idea of a טוב סימן טוב is not entirely omitted from the Siddur Rashi text, but is not repeated, as in the Mahzor Vitry. The omission of the other three phrases results in an exclusion of distinct ideas which they each contain: i.e., the concepts of healing and propagation. However, although the phrase ביסך ברכינו is left out, the concept of salvation appears in another part of the prayer. On the

whole, Siddur Rashi for both of the paragraphs changes little from its predecessors.

For the development of this prayer for peace in the Sephardic ritual, one first turns to the Halachot Kelulot of Ibn Ghiyyat. This eleventh century Spanish commentator includes the prayer for peace as found in Seder Rav Amram Gaon. There are a number of minor changes from Amram's text. Like the later Siddur Rashi, as we saw above, he includes the three words עוֹן, רָע, and חַטָּא. Moreover, he states that God should sustain all those with both good counsel for Israel and good thoughts (מַחֲשַׁבֵּה טוֹבָה). He also clarifies the passage in the Amram text which reads וְעַם בְּצִדִּיקִים נִפְסָר לְשָׁלוֹם. His text is וּבְעוֹלָם הָבָא יִהְיֶה חֲלָקָנוּ עִם הַצְדִּיקִים שֶׁנִּפְסְרוּ לְשָׁלוֹם. The twelfth century commentator, Abraham Ibn Yarhi, states that it is the Sephardic custom to recite songs before havdalah. The prayer "Our God and God of our Fathers" (the peace prayer) is said, but this is not the custom in other lands. He mentions that the prayer is based on the Jerusalem Talmud.⁵

David Abudarham provides us with an extensive commentary on "Elijah the Prophet" (to be discussed in the following chapter) and on the prayer for peace.⁶ He bases the text on the passage in the Jerusalem Talmud but admits that in some places they do not recite this prayer. He then indicates that the text is found in Seder Rav Amram. His comments offer biblical verses as support for language used in the prayer. He does not mention the first paragraph which addresses Puteh, the angel of forgetfulness and contains the mystical list of names.

Abudarham does not give the full wording of the text he uses. However, his comments about certain word usages demonstrates that he had a

different text than Amram, or than Ibn Ghiyyat's quote of the Amram text. He adds certain words which are not found in either of these texts. Such words and expressions as גדלו, פשע,

השפילו, גדעו, מחשבה שאינה טובה

do not appear in the texts previously analyzed. Nevertheless, these words do not alter the intention of the paragraph. Abudarham's text, although with somewhat different wording, preserves the ideas as expressed in the earlier texts of this prayer. The omission of the first paragraph may point to the influence of the Spanish rationalists as opposed to some mystical traditions. Abudarham's final comment expresses what he believes is the idea underlining this paragraph, that is, that redemption should come and hopefully it will be in the near future.

At present, the prayer which exists as the descendant of the peace prayer is Ribon HaOlamim. It, too, is based on the quote, mentioned above, from the Jerusalem Talmud. However, it has been altered greatly from the form of the prayer found in the Seder Rav Amram Gaon. Besides the section which is based on the Talmud and on the Amram text, an entirely new section has been added. According to Baer, this new section is not found in the Sephardic prayerbook, in the Seder Rav Amram, or in the Tur.⁷ He considers it not part of the main body of the prayer, but rather an addition. Its basis is a piyyut included in the Sephardic liturgy at the conclusion of all the prayers for the high holidays. This additional section takes the form of an acrostical list of gates. In certain places a letter may be used as many as eight times (e.g., the 'zayin'). According to Birnbaum, this alphabetical list is one of synonyms for salvation and wisdom.⁸ In some prayerbooks, such as the Authorized Daily Prayer Book of J. Hertz, this prayer and the acrostical

list are abbreviated. In other texts, such as the Traditional Prayer Book of David de Sola Pool, the entire prayer is omitted.

It should be noted that in the present peace prayer, the first paragraph as found in the Seder Rav Amram Gaon is omitted. All references to the holy names and to the angel of forgetfulness have been erased.

In conclusion, it can be said that the peace prayer has had a long and varied existence. Its basis can be found in the Talmud. However, the text of the prayer has been modified numerous times. Moreover, portions of this prayer, such as the earlier holy names and angels and the present acrostical list of gates, have provided a stepping-off point for the entrance of mystical trends into the liturgy. In chapter six, the themes contained in this prayer shall be explored further.

Footnotes

Chapter IV

1. Jacobson, Netiv Binah, p. 393
2. The remaining two hymns listed by Jacobson are HaMavdil and Eliahu HaNavi. The origin and development of these two hymns differ greatly from that of Ribon HaOlamim and, therefore, will be elaborated upon in chapter V.
3. Jacobson, Netiv Binah, p. 393.
4. ibid, p. 388 citing Moses Isserles.
5. ibid, p. 393 citing Abraham Ibn Yarhi, HaManhig, Laws of Sabbath, no. 72.
6. Abudarham, pp. 187-188.
7. Baer, Seder Avodat Yisrael, p. 314.
8. Birnbaum, Prayerbook, p. 559.

V. TWO HAVDALAH HYMNS

The third addition to the core liturgy (i.e., the four benedictions) of the havdalah ceremony are the liturgical hymns, known variously as zemirot (songs) and piyyutim (poetry). As early as Seder Rav Amram Gaon, such additions (since the present prayer for peace Ribon HaOlamim is incorporated into this category of hymns)¹ have existed in the ceremony. The other geonic prayerbook, Seder Rav Saadyah Gaon, has no hymns in its text of the havdalah al hakos. Mahzor Vitry also contains a section of liturgical hymns for Saturday night's departure of the Sabbath.

There seems to have been a question as to whether such hymns were permitted in the liturgy. According to Jakob Petuchowski, the introduction of piyyutim into the liturgy was opposed in Babylonia by many rabbis as an import from Palestine.² In Mahzor Vitry, the text states that the custom of hymns for the departure of the Sabbath is proper.³ The very affirmation of the hymns' permissibility implies the continued question of whether or not these hymns were to be used.

How were these hymns to be utilized? The text compares the outgoing of the Sabbath to the people of a country accompanying their king's departure with songs and instruments.⁴ This comparison is perhaps based on a passage in the Babylonian Talmud, which is part of a discussion on the order of the havdalah benedictions. One such order of the havdalah benedictions proposed by Rabbi Joshua ben Hananiah is light, separation, wine, and kiddush. His sequence is compared to a king who departs from a place (i.e., the Sabbath's termination) and a governor who enters (i.e., a festival, beginning). First, one escorts the king as he departs, and then goes to greet the governor.⁵ Mahzor Vitry states that since the

Sabbath is considered royalty (מלכה), its departure is accompanied by singing and joy.⁶

Abraham Ibn Yarhi discusses Sabbath hymns. He claims that it is a custom in Spain to recite hymns in the synagogue before havdalah. In Provence and France, however, these hymns are not recited in the synagogue but at home. He cites a midrash which compares these hymns to the accompanying of a bride and a queen, with songs of praise. He further notes that the reason songs are sung in the synagogue is that a majority of the people do not have wine in their homes in order to make havdalah. In addition, they sing of Elijah the prophet throughout Israel, for he is the one who will announce the coming of the Messiah. Moreover, since Elijah cannot come on the Sabbath or festivals, the people pray for his arrival at the outgoing of the Sabbath.⁷

The singing of Sabbath hymns also is mentioned in the late thirteenth-early fourteenth century work, the Kol Bo. This halachic compendium, possibly the work of Aaron ben Jacob ha-Kohen of Lunel,⁸ states that it is customary to recite havdalah with songs pertinent to Saturday evening. Like Ibn Yarhi, he too likens this practice to the escorting of royalty.⁹

The two hymns to be discussed in this chapter are HaMavdil and Eliahu HaNavi. They have been chosen for discussion because of their widespread usage. Moreover, both contain the central ideas of the havdalah ceremony (to be expanded upon in the following chapter).

The hymn HaMavdil contains the name יצחק הקטן found in the first letter of the first word of each stanza.¹⁰ It is assumed that this is the name of the author of this poem. Naftali Ben-Menahem in his book, Zemirot shel Shabbat, claims that the Isaac mentioned

is unknown.¹¹ According to Hertz,¹² Birnbaum,¹³ and F. L. Cohen,¹⁴ the author is Isaac Ibn Ghiyyat.

Baer mentions that in the Sephardic prayerbooks, at the conclusion of the Neilah service of Yom Kippur, there exists a similar hymn. Its author is also "Isaac." But, although the first stanza is identical to that of HaMavdil, all the other stanzas differ. Mordecai bar Hillel states that he heard this poem (HaMavdil) recited aloud in synagogue at the conclusion of Yom Kippur.¹⁵ However, Baer feels that one author composed two poems: one for the conclusion of the Sabbath, and the other for Yom Kippur.¹⁶

Ben Menahem quotes a passage from the Chatam Sofer which asserts that although the custom is to recite HaMavdil on Yom Kippur, the Chatam Sofer himself is accustomed to reciting it every Saturday night, with the departure of the Sabbath. He explains further, that the theme of much of this poem is atonement for sins, and therefore the hymn was sung on Yom Kippur as well.¹⁷

In style, the poem is unadorned and straight-forward. It consists of a refrain

הַמְבַדִּיל בֵּין קֹדֶשׁ לַחַל
חֲטָאֵינוּ יִסְחֹל
זֶרַעֲנוּ וְכִסְפֵּנוּ יִרְבֶּה כְּחֹל
וְכִכּוּבֵים בְּלִילָה.

which appears at the beginning of the poem and after each stanza. Each stanza contains three short verses which conclude with a rhyming word and a fourth sentence that ends with the word לילה .

An early text of HaMavdil appears in Mahzor Vitry. A number of changes are evidenced between this early text and the present one. In the

refrain the word כספנו is omitted. Another example of change in the refrain, according to the Vilna Gaon, is זרענו וטלומנו instead of זרענו וכספנו. In addition, in Mahzor Vitry the last phrase of the refrain, וכוכבים כלילה does not appear at all. In its place is בפסי אותיך כלילה. The order of the verses in the hymn have also been slightly altered. However, since the acrostic is essential in this poem, we can deduce that the verses that have exchanged places are the two beginning with "ק". Another difference is that the present hymn concludes after the line which begins with "נ" completing the spelling of יצחק הקטן. However, in Mahzor Vitry the text continues with the following lines:

חון נא כנעליך. זכם לנשפי סלליך. קום כי עליך.
 סוכר מה כלילה:
 יצוה ה' חסרו. זרע ישראל עבדו. יהודה חלקו ינחול.
 וזרעינו ירבה כחול:
 צדק ושלום נסקו. לעם אשר נעשקו. ועושקיהם ינחול.
 וזרעינו ירבה כחול:
 שובו לכם לאהליהם. וברכו שם אלהיכם. יהללו שמו מחול.
 וזרעינו ירבה כחול:
 קדוש ישראל מושיענו. נשא יסא לפטענו. לא נירא ולא
 נחול. וזרעינו ירבה כחול:

Some of the formal structure present in the beginning of the hymn is varied in this portion. Only the first line of this section contains the three rhyming short sentences followed by a fourth which concludes with the word לילה. The remaining five lines also consist each of four short sentences. However, the first two verses rhyme with one word, while the last two sentences rhyme with another word. Furthermore, the

last sentence in each of these four lines are identical. Moreover, it should be noted that there is no apparent continuation of the acrostic. The first letter of the five lines , ק/ט/ז/י/ח do not spell any known Hebrew word.

Baer cites an addition to the refrain and eight verses which are found in most prayerbooks. He states that in a few prayerbooks, three extra verses are included.¹⁹ They are the following:

אל פודה מכל צר, קראנוך מן הסצר, ידך לא תקצר,
 הבא יום שלא יום ולא לילה:
 מיכאל שר ישראל, אליהו וגבריאל, בואו נא עם הגואל,
 קומו בחצי הלילה:
 יתן לנו שבוע טוב, ורענן וכל טוב, ומה יבוא הטוב,
 כל היום וכל הלילה:

These lines, unlike the addition found in Mahzor Vitry, keep the formal structure of the rest of the hymn. However, they too fail to add to the acrostic of the remainder of the verses. They are perhaps not part of the original hymn, since they are not mentioned in any of the early siddurim which contain HaMavdil.

It has already been noted that the hymn of "Elijah the Prophet" has a long-standing connection with Saturday night and the departure of the Sabbath. Elijah, as mentioned in Malachi 3:23, will be sent as a messenger for the purpose of announcing the coming of the Messiah.²⁰ He will not arrive on the eve of the Sabbath of festivals since this will be a burden (for the people and their observances). Therefore (Eruvin 43b), the bearer of good news (i.e., Elijah) will come at the outgoing of the Sabbath. This time is chosen since, according to both the midrash and the Babli, "because of their observance of the Sabbath, Israel will be

redeemed."²¹

The Maharil of Prague offers another reason for Elijah's prominence in the songs for Saturday night. He cites a statement by Rabbi Shalom of Austria (סהל"ט) that it is customary to recite verses connected with Elijah and hymns based on his name on Saturday evening since it is at that time (according to the Tosefta) that he sits under the tree of life and records the merits of the Sabbath observers.²²

Abudarham presents a long commentary on "Eliahu HaNavi." He elaborates on Ibn Yarhi's statement to the effect that Elijah will not come on the eve of the Sabbath but rather at its outgoing. Abudarham then refers to the Babylonian Talmud (Shabbat 118b), which states that Israel will be redeemed immediately if it observes two Sabbaths. Thus, it is the custom to say to God that the Sabbath has been observed as He has commanded, and He should now send Elijah. Another point made by Abudarham is that the hymn "Eliahu HaNavi" is recited at havdalah because it is the time of separation between the holy and the profane. Likewise, when Elijah arrives, he will separate the qualified and unqualified of Israel for the coming redemption.²³

Although "Eliahu HaNavi" is widely used and has precedent as early as HaManhig and Mahzor Vitry, its author is unknown.²⁴ The rendition of this hymn in Mahzor Vitry,²⁵ although of similar style, uses a different text from the hymn found in the present-day prayerbook.²⁶ Both texts contain a refrain line, followed by an acrostical list, describing Elijah. The following chart is a helpful guide in a comparison of the two versions:

MAHZOR VITRY (only)

אליהו הנביא

במהרה יבא אלינו כימינו:

איש אזור אזור עור במתניו:

איש בעל שיער נקרא:

איש גש כעלות המנחה:

איש דיבר הבט לברית מסמים:

איש הנקרא מתושבי גלעד:

איש לימים ארבעים הלך:

איש זירז בכח האכילה ההיא:

איש חיה בן צרפית הגבירה:

איש טען רומה בידו:

איש יצא לקראת עובדיה:

איש כלכלוהו העורבים לחם

ובשר:

איש מזבח כשתים עשרה אבנים

בנה:

איש נגף נביאי המלכה:

איש טח ה הוא האלהים לכו

אחריו:

איש ענה מלאו ארבעה כדי

מים:

איש פץ שנו וישנו זלזל

וישלש:

איש צעק לה ובענה באש מן

השמים:

איש קרא לה נותרתי לבדי:

איש רץ והשיב לב אבות על

בנים:

איש שלא טעם טעם מות:

איש תתה לו ברית שלום:

איש תתה לו ברית כהונה:

BAER (and others, especially commentary by Abudraham)

אליהו הנביא אליהו התשבי אליהו

הגלעדי במהרה יבא אלינו עם

משיח בן-דוד:

איש אשר קנא לשם האל:

איש בשר שלום על-יד יקותיאל:

איש גש ויכפר על בני ישראל:

איש דורות שנים-עשר ראו עיניו:

איש הנקרא בעל שיער בסמניו:

איש האזור עור אזור במתניו:

איש זעף על עובדי חמנים:

איש חש ונשבע מהיות גשמי

מעונים:

איש טל ומטר עצה שלש שנים:

איש יצא למצוא לנפשו נחת:

איש כלכלוהו הערבים ולא מת

לשחת:

איש למענו נתברכו כד וצפחת:

איש מוסריו הקשיבו כמיהים:

איש בענה באש משמי גבוהים:

איש טחו אחריו ה הוא האלהים:

איש עתיד להשתלח משמי ערבות:

איש פקיד על כל בשורות טובות:

איש ציר נאמן להשיב לב בנים

על אבות:

איש קרא קנא קנאתי לה בתפארה:

איש רכב על-סוסי אש בסערה:

איש שלא טעם טעם מיתה וקבורה:

איש תשבי על שמו נקרא:

תצליחנו על ידו בתורה:

<p>איש תתה לו ברית חיים:</p> <p>איש אשרי מי שיש לו פרוטה מידו:</p> <p>במהרה יבא אלינו במהרה:</p>	<p>תסמיענו מפיו בשורה טובה במהרה:</p> <p>תוציאנו מאפלה לאורה:</p> <p>איש תשבי תצלינו מפי אריות:</p> <p>תבשרנו בשורות טובות</p> <p>תשמחנו בנים על-אבות</p> <p>במוצאי שבתות:</p> <p>ככתוב. הנה אנכי שלח לכם את אליה הנביא לפני בוא יום ה' הגדול והנורא. והשיב לב-אבות על-בנים ולב בנים על-אבותם: אשרי מי שראה פניו בחלום. אשרי מי שנתן לו שלום והחזיר לו שלום:</p> <p>ה יברך את עמו בשלום:</p>
--	--

Mahzor Vitry includes the refrain after every line. The other hymn version has a refrain after every third line. The refrain in both versions is the first sentence preceding the acrostic. The text of both refrains calls for the speedy arrival of Elijah. The repetition of the name Elijah three times in the Baer text, according to Abudarham, strengthens the subject. He bases his interpretation on Ecclesiastes 4:12, which states that the "threefold cord is not broken quickly." Moreover, Mahzor Vitry only mentions the coming of Elijah, while the other text offers that Elijah will come with the Messiah from the house of David.

Both texts demonstrate knowledge of the midrashic explanation of Elijah being equated with Pinhas.²⁷ In Mahzor Vitry, this is evidenced by the verse "ט". Abudarham explains verse "א" in his text by referring to Pinhas. In Mahzor Vitry, the letter "ל" is omitted. No explanation is given in the text. It was possibly omitted accidentally and never reinserted to correct the text. The Abudarham text leaves

out the lines from אִשׁ תִּשְׁבִּי until בְּמוֹצָאֵי שַׁבָּתוֹת. It does conclude, however, with verses from Malachi 3:23-24.

Since Mahzor Vitry is the earliest text to display the poem, its version may be the original. Such a conclusion would be strengthened by the realization that the other version seems more poetically elaborate. Instead of the acrostic alone, each three verses rhyme together and end with the refrain. It would seem more likely that a more poetic and ornamental version of the present text was written after the rendition in Mahzor Vitry, rather than the poetic text being of earlier origin.

In addition to HaMavdil and Eliahu HaNavi, other hymns exist in many prayerbooks. Mahzor Vitry alone contains sixteen other hymns.²⁸ However, the two hymns discussed in this chapter provide us with the basic ideational material connected with the havdalah ceremony. The following chapter shall deal with just what those ideas and themes are.

Footnotes

Chapter V

1. Jacobson, Netiv Binah, p. 401 ff.
2. Joseph Heinemann with Jakob J. Petuchowski, Literature of the Synagogue (New York: Behrman House, Inc. 1975), pp. 207-208.
3. Mahzor Vitry, p. 116, no. 150.
4. ibid.
5. B.T. Pes. 103a.
6. Mahzor Vitry, p. 116, no. 150.
7. Abraham Ibn Yarhi, cited in Jacobson, Netiv Binah, p. 393.
8. Encyclopedia Judaica, Vol. 10, p. 1159.
9. Jacobson, Netiv Binah, p. 393.
10. The words used are
11. Jacobson citing Ben-Menahem, p. 394.
12. Hertz, Prayerbook, p. 149.
13. Birnbaum, Prayerbook, p. 553.
14. F. L. Cohen, HaMavdil, Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. 6, p. 187.
15. Mordecai Bar Hillel, HaMordecai, no. 727 to B.T. Yoma, cited by Jacobson, Netiv Binah, p. 394.
16. Baer, Seder Avodat Yisrael, p. 312.
17. Chatam Sofer (Moses Sofer) on Orach Hayim, no. 67, cited by Jacobson, Netiv Binah, pp. 394-395.
18. Vilna Gaon cited by Jacobson, Netiv Binah, p. 395.
19. Baer, Seder Avodat Yisrael, p. 313.
20. Ibn Yarhi, HaManhig, Shabbat, no. 71, cited by Jacobson, Netiv Binah, p. 393.
21. Leviticus Rabbah, chap. 3, Exodus Rabbah, chap. 25 and B.T. Shabbat 118b, cited by Baer, Seder Avodat Yisrael, p. 310.

22. Jacobson, Netiv Binah, p. 397.
23. Abudarham, pp. 186-187.
24. Ben Menahem cited by Jacobson, Netiv Binah, p. 398.
25. Mahzor Vitry, p. 184.
26. Baer, Seder Avodat Yisrael, pp. 310-311.
27. Yalkut Shimoni, Remez 771 and Targunim Yonatan to Numbers 25:12.
28. Mahzor Vitry, p. 184 ff.

VI. PEACE AND SALVATION IN HAVDALAH

Up to this point, the discussion of this work has centered on what have been and presently are the components of the havdalah ceremony. The textual evidence for the development of the ceremony has been analyzed. The original text has been described; and various later additions as they appeared in a number of different prayerbooks have been examined. The numerous textual changes that have occurred and finally the development to our present-day havdalah ritual have been noted. However, as yet, there has been little examination of the reasons for the inclusion of the different parts of the ceremony. In attempting to deduce these reasons, the meaning of the service, for the people who use it, shall be explored. Determining what the ceremony implied in different times and generations, may explain why various sections of the ritual have been included. Conversely, by looking at the additions to the liturgy at different points in history, a conjecture can be made as to the meaning and the importance of the ceremony, for those who included those additions.

The four core benedictions of the ritual have been origin in immediate post-biblical literature. Chapter two presented the material from the Mishnah, Tosefta, and Gemaras, which contain the earliest notion of these benedictions. Even the order of these blessings was determined and given the mnemonic **יבנ"ה**.

One example of the attempt to see significance in the ceremony is described by Saul Lieberman.¹ There, the order of these blessings is compared to the physical senses proceeding from bottom to top. That is, the senses are expressed from the head of a person beginning with the mouth, going to the nose, then the eyes, and finally to the brain. The

first sense, taste, parallels the blessing over the wine. Second is that of smell which parallels the blessing over the spices. Third is sight - the blessing of the light. Finally, the sense or ability to think and discern parallels the blessing for separation. This idea does not pre-date medieval times; it is an attempt to read new meaning into an old ritual. Only the last element regarding the sense of discernment has ancient roots, as we saw in the Jerusalem Talmud, which states

אם אין דעה הבדלה מניין² thus intimating

that it is the human ability to differentiate phenomena which makes the ritual of havdalah possible in the first place.

But this is only one system of understanding the ritual's significance. Actually each section of the ceremony (i.e., the four separate benedictions, the biblical verses, the peace prayer, and the other hymns) could be seen as containing different symbolic meanings. Often the symbolic meaning of one section was connected with another. Also, at various times the symbolism changed radically.

The first of the four blessings is recited over the wine. We noted above that the use of wine here was due to the inherent connection between kiddush and havdalah,³ both being, essentially, demarcations of the limits of the Sabbath. Thus, as in the kiddush, wine was used in the ritual. However, when it came to the question of using bread if no wine were available, opinions were divided. Some felt that since bread was an acceptable substitute for kiddush, it should also be permitted for the less important ceremony of havdalah. However, others (a majority) disallowed bread, and thereby distinguished between the two rituals. They reasoned that bread was permissible since kiddush was inherently connected with a meal. But havdalah is not linked to any specific meal, and thus

bread could not be employed.⁴ All this demonstrates the concern that was felt to determine the exact relationship of havdalah to kiddush, specifically since the first benediction is over wine and connects the two ceremonies.

According to the Talmudic account, when the 'Great Synagogue' first decreed the recitation of havdalah, it was to be said in the tefillah. When Israel prospered, the ritual was shifted to the cup of wine. This same Talmudic section describes the havdalah ceremony as not originally connected with the wine, but subsequently proceeding to a ritual involving wine. If this were the case, then the shift to the wine might be noted as an attempt to relate the havdalah to the kiddush. The symbolic significance involved in wine itself would then merit our further investigation, as an early "meaning complex" of our ritual.

Many customs are linked with the use of wine in the havdalah ceremony. One custom prescribes the spilling of wine from the cup onto the ground. This is based on a quote from Eruvin (65a) which states that anyone who does not have wine spilled like water in his house is not blessed. A simple explanation of this statement is offered: whoever is well enough off has been truly blessed; however, whoever is so poor that he cannot afford to spill wine has not been blessed. Continuing with this custom, people came to believe that the wine cup was to be filled until the cup overflowed.⁵ But, in time, the symbolism seems to have changed. Instead of the reasoning that in a household that has been blessed, wine may be spilled to the ground, it is now the act of spilling the wine to the ground which itself becomes a good omen (siman tov)⁶ or the cause of the blessing. Jacobson states that one should fill the havdalah cup until the wine reaches the top of the sides. After the

blessings, one should extinguish the candle in wine. This is a symbol of prosperity.

A second custom concerning wine is found in Pirke d'Rabbi Eliezer⁷ where we are told that after drinking the wine it is customary to put a little water in the cup and drink that too. Then, one rubs what remains of the mixture of wine and water in one's eyes in order to glorify the commandment. The reason given for this rite is that the remains of a commandment (i.e., the wine left over) delays punishment or retribution (שִׁוּרֵי מִצְוֹת מַעֲכָבִים אֶת הַפּוֹרְעָנִיּוֹת)⁸. The introduction in the discussion of the concept of retribution should be noted. Apparently, it was felt that performance of commandments determines one's future. Later in this chapter we shall expand on this idea by observing how deliverance itself was eventually included as the ultimate reward inherent in the havdalah ritual.

Jacobson notes one further custom related to the application of the wine to the eyes. He says that some are accustomed to recite

"פְּקוּדֵי הַיִּשְׂרָאֵל מִשְׁמַחֵי לֵב, מִצְוֹת הַבְּרָאָה מְאִירַת עֵינַיִם"

(Psalm 19:9) at this point in the ceremony. In Seder Rav Amram, the custom of rinsing the cup with water and then placing it over the face and eyes is also connected with the kiddush. Joshua Trachtenberg claims that this application of the water and wine mixture was thought of as a remedy for weak eyes.⁹

The second core blessing, over the spices, leads to a number of questions. There is no clear indication of the reasoning behind this benediction. As mentioned in chapter two, the spices were originally connected with the meal ritual, so that the discussion in the Talmud pertaining to the blessing over the spices relates to the mugmar (burning

perfumes) brought after the meal. However, in the course of time, the use of spices independently became a prominent part of the havdalah ceremony. The Mishnah indicates this usage to have been at issue in a controversy between the Schools of Hillel and Shammai. But the issue for them is purely the order of blessings, not the rationale behind this particular benediction.

The first generation Amoraim, however, were concerned with developing such a rationale. We are told that Rav said:

"Whence do we learn that a blessing should be said over sweet odours? Because it says, 'Let every soul (neshamah) praise the Lord.' What is that which gives enjoyment to the soul and not to the body? - You must say that this is a fragrant smell."¹⁰

Here we have an early reference to the concept of the extra soul (neshamah yeterah) which is supposed to enter each person on each Sabbath. This idea of the additional or extra soul is expressed explicitly by Resh Lakish:

"On the eve of the Sabbath, God gives man an additional soul, and at the close of the Sabbath He withdraws it from him, for it says: 'He ceased from work and rested,' once it ceased, the additional soul is lost."¹¹

The idea of the extra soul and the consequent need to say a blessing over spices remained popular and is discussed as late as Abudarham, who states that the spices were intended to comfort the person for losing this additional soul at the conclusion of the Sabbath. This explains why we need say no blessing over spices when a festival follows the Sabbath. The joy of the festival serves to compensate for the lack of the soul.¹²

Jacob Z. Lauterbach has explored the connection between the use of the mugmar after meals and the spices in the havdalah ceremony.¹³ He claims that the original connection between havdalah and the last meal of the Sabbath was severed when it became customary to finish the meal

well before the evening service, and to say havdalah after services concluded. The separation of these two events was particularly marked in geonic times since the meal may have occurred before the afternoon service. The earlier connection of the spices with the meal explains why mishnaic discussion between the Schools of Hillel and Shammai revolves about the order of the blessings for food and spices, since food is not normally part of the havdalah ritual. In their discussion the late Saturday meal was connected with the havdalah ritual. However, according to Lauterbach, the spices were more important to these people than the mugmar, which was used simply for enjoyment at the meal's conclusion.

Lauterbach further suggests that the myrtle which was commonly used for spices as well as other mugmar substances, possessed mystical powers. However, in the non-mystical, rationalistically inclined talmudic discussions the mystical connections were hidden while the more rational reasons for spices were offered. To illustrate this, Lauterbach alludes to Pesachim 54a. The Talmud gives an explanation for the blessing over the light, but presents no explanation of the spices. He feels that the rabbis of the Talmud chose to ignore any mystical reasons and to accept the spices as simply a substitute for the mugmar.

Lauterbach then cites a reason given in Mahzor Vitry for the use of the blessing over spices.¹⁴ First, Mahzor Vitry states that the spices are used to compensate for the loss of the additional soul. However, it offers another reason in the name of the Rashi or in the name of his teacher, Jacob ben Yakar. During the entire Sabbath the fires of gehinnom do not burn and, therefore, cannot be smelled. But, after the Sabbath the fires are rekindled and the stench returns. Therefore, the sweet-smelling spices are inhaled to block out the stench. Lauterbach adds that

the mystical connection of the ceremony is based on the belief in the return of wicked ghosts to hell on Saturday night.

Lauterbach next turns to the usual rationale, that the spices are used to compensate for the loss of the additional soul. However, he holds that this reasoning can be refuted, because spices were also used in the ceremony at the Friday night meal when the additional soul was to have entered the body. The mystics continued this tradition of employing an aromatic substance, especially myrtle, on both Friday and Saturday nights. Lauterbach notes the special reasons for the use of myrtle branches. Myrtle supposedly possessed power to drive away demons. Also, it was a vehicle which could convey good spirits, souls, and angels. More specifically, the myrtle was the means by which the extra soul could pass in and out of the body.

Lauterbach notes a mystical ceremony of the Lurianic kabbalists, in which they recited a blessing over three sprigs of myrtle. These three sprigs represented neshamah, ruach, and nefesh, the tri-fold division of the soul presented by the Zohar. The additional soul would bless the person from whom it departed for the pleasures it received. However, if one did not have three sprigs of myrtle of the correct type, the arriving angels would find no place to rest and would thus move on, leaving the soul sad and lonely.

One is inclined to agree with Lauterbach's premise that the reasons given in the Talmud for the blessing over the spices are inadequate. The mere fact that the Talmud and later sources begin to rely on reasoning which speaks of an additional soul and the fires of gehinnom indicate a non-rational aspect of this part of the ceremony.

The Talmud is much more explicit in its reasoning for the light as

part of the havdalah ceremony. In the Jerusalem Talmud the first havdalah is described as having been performed by God.¹⁵ As was mentioned in chapter two, after God saw that the light He created was good, He then separated (ויבדל) between light and darkness. The interpretation of His separation follows that He performed a type of havdalah. Thus, it was light which constituted the first havdalah.

The creation account provides further connection between light and havdalah. In both the Babylonian Talmud¹⁶ and the Jerusalem Talmud¹⁷ a legend is related about Adam's kindling the first fire at the conclusion of the Sabbath. The former relates that God inspired Adam with the knowledge he needed, which was similar to Divine knowledge, and then Adam kindled the fire from two stones. Again, the idea that knowledge is needed by people is connected with the traditions of the havdalah ceremony. The story in the Jerusalem Talmud elaborates on this theme by portraying Adam as afraid of the dark. The light he was able to produce calmed these fears. The light acted as an agent of rescue. Other aspects of the havdalah ritual will illustrate that at the time of havdalah, Israel, like Adam, seeks rescue or salvation.

In Pesachim (53a), the text specifically states that light was created for the first time at the end of the Sabbath. This may be viewed in two ways. The first item created by God was light. It occurred at the beginning of the first day which would correspond to after Sabbath in any other week. Furthermore, the legend has Adam creating man-made fire (light) for the first time, after the Sabbath. With either interpretation, there exists a strong connection between the creation story, light, and Saturday evening, which is the time for havdalah.

This talmudic legend about Adam and the first light differs greatly

from the creation of light in Greek mythology. In the Greek legend, Prometheus steals the fire from the gods and is consequently punished for delivering the fire to humankind. The talmudic account portrays God aiding Adam, by providing him with the knowledge and rocks necessary to produce the fire.¹⁸

The Talmud is careful to mention that the light must be used in order for the blessing to be recited.¹⁹ The Talmud also mentions light as a vehicle to distinguish between two coins.²⁰ A second use of the light which is based on various customs enables one to look at his hands in the light of the havdalah candle. This custom is mentioned first in the Pirke d'Rabbi Eliezer. Adam is said to have spread out his hands toward the light and blessed it. When he pulled back his hands he said he now knew that the holy day was separate from the regular weekdays, and one should not burn fire on the Sabbath.

This passage from the Pirke d'Rabbi Eliezer again ties the incidents during the first days of creation with light (fire) and havdalah. However, the importance of this portion lies in its comment on or actual origin of the custom of looking at one's hands in the havdalah light.

A discussion of this custom is found in Seder Rav Amram cited in the name of Natronai. Natronai claims that in the two academies during the benedictions over the lights, the members looked at the palms of their hands.²² He bases this on their teachers who cited the Mishnah. The latter states that a benediction should not be recited over a lamp until the light has been enjoyed. Natronai then cites a custom from the Pirke d'Rabbi Eliezer (ben Hyrcanus) which commands one to look at the fingernails. However, he points out that the sages do not follow this practice. He describes his custom as first to pour water into the cup after drink-

ing²³ and to wash the cup and drink again from it. What remains is poured onto the hands and wiped on the face to glorify the commandment. Natronai continues by describing a custom from Pirke d'Rabbi Eliezer which he does not follow as he only makes havdalah over wine. He sets forth the custom according to Rabbi Muna, who states that one brings his hands toward the stars (which are the fire and the light), focuses on his fingernails, and recites the blessing over light. However, if the skies are cloud-covered and the stars are not visible, he should pick up a stone from the ground and make the benediction of separation. Natronai rejects this practice of looking at the fingernails as he rejects the recitation of havdalah over bread. This paragraph, in conclusion, notes that the practice of looking at the palms (described at the beginning of this section) exists in the two academies (Sura and Pumbeditha).

A responsa by Rabbi Meir of Rothenberg provides a symbolic explanation for the movement of the hands to and from the light. He states that at first one should bend the fingers. Until that movement, the hands are restricted as work is restricted on the Sabbath. Afterwards, the hands are spread to demonstrate that manual work is now permitted.²⁴

An article by Sol Finesinger provides us with much information on the custom of looking at the fingernails in the light of the havdalah candle.²⁵ He points to a Shulchan Aruch citation of the commandment to see the light reflected in the fingernails.²⁶ However, save for the implication in the Mishnah to use the light,²⁷ no talmudic reference for this custom can be found. In HaManhig, Ibn Yarhi traces the custom to the Jerusalem Talmud, but Finesinger notes that this may be a confusion with Pirke d'Rabbi Eliezer. Finesinger claims, as noted above, that the earliest reference to this custom is the statement by Rabbi Mani (above

Muna), a Palestinian of the fourth century. Finesinger also points out that the most essential element of the ceremony is the light. To explain the contrast between the use of the fingernails and the palms, Finesinger suggests that the fingernails were probably the popular custom of the masses, while the more enlightened used the palms.

Finesinger further quotes a statement by Hai Gaon cited by Ibn Ghiyyat. One must use the light to distinguish between two entities which are not known. The statement then cites the custom of the rishonim who would look at the lines on their hands until they could distinguish between them. Hai mentions both the custom of using the nails and the palms but favors the latter. Although looking at the palms is connected with superstitious beliefs, it perhaps had fewer superstitious implications than the focus on the nails. Finesinger then reasons that the reluctance to look at the nails derives from the opinion that this practice was a form of divination. Finesinger questions why a responsum would even bring up divination if the reason for looking at the nails was already assumed to be the use of the light. He, therefore, accepts divination as the true explanation for the custom. The difference between the palms and the nails is then clarified. The palms were used only when one sought a good omen. On the other hand, the fingernails were specifically used for divination. Therefore, it was common for the sages not to use their fingernails, so opposed were they to divination. However, the popular practice of the masses eventually triumphed. Yet the original reason for looking at the light through the fingernails, which is a type of divination, has been suppressed. Finesinger notes that the reason mentioned above by Meir of Rothenberg was an attempt to move toward a more rational explanation. Even if the explanation is not considered more rational, it

does conform more to the accepted traditional norms. According to Finesinger, Asher ben Yehiel believes the looking at the nails functioned to distinguish between the color of the skin and the white of the nails and was simply a replacement for the talmudic custom of differentiating between two coins. Asher ben Yehiel's son Jacob ben Asher codified his father's practice in the Tur. Thereafter, the looking at the fingernails became the acceptable status quo.

Finesinger's article indicates that there was more behind the early customs of the havdalah ceremony than what normally meets the eye. Jewish elements which did not fit into the mold of the rationalist mainstream are clear. Lauterbach speaks of a mystical strain while Finesinger alludes to divination. In the remainder of this discussion, I shall refer to these offshoots of rationalist-talmudic thought as 'mystical.'

In chapter two, the final benediction of separation was detailed. Different customs were mentioned in order that one could recite as few as one separation (others set the lower limit at three) or as many as seven. In the present form, which existed as early as Seder Rav Amram Gaon, all the separations are related to the Sabbath and the rest of the week. "Between holy and profane" is clearly the distinction between the Sabbath day and all others. "Between light and darkness" is connected to our earlier discussion on light. Light was created at the end of the Sabbath. The separation "between Israel and the nations" is also related to the Sabbath.²⁸ "Between the seventh day and the six days of creation" is clearly referring to the Sabbath. This blessing is specifically called the havdalah benediction. Because of that, general concepts about the entire havdalah ceremony may concern this blessing without specifically referring to it.

The original thesis as proposed in the introduction claims that the havdalah ceremony is intrinsically connected with the themes of peace and salvation. It is, therefore, necessary at this point to digress and clarify what Judaism defines as salvation.

Abraham Shusterman provides an explanation for the ever-changing and developing definition of the concept of Jewish salvation.²⁹ The earliest biblical idea of salvation was simply victory over Israel's enemies. Since God was seen stationed at the head of any Israelite army, His position was that of the savior. With the Babylonian exile and the development of Jewish belief, the idea of salvation also evolved. "It came to signify the survival of the Judeans and the eventual restoration to their pre-exilic life."³⁰ During this period of exile, salvation became connected to a belief in resurrection. "Written in the hope of redemption, Ezekiel 37 combines the two points of view into an harmonious picture of the resurrection of the dead and Israel's return to their own land."³¹

Around the time of the Maccabean period, salvation became associated with an even of the future. Daniel describes this salvation as the time when "many of them that sleep in the dust shall awake, some to everlasting life."³² Consequently, the idea of salvation as the world to come entered into Jewish theology. As Bertinoro summarizes, in his comment to Sanhedrin 10:1 ("All Israel has a place in the world to come"). This refers to the world to come, following their literal resurrection to eternal life.³³

Yet, Judaism has always stressed a very "this worldly" side of salvation. "Salvation for the individual, for Israel and for mankind as a whole is inherent in the higher life itself."³⁴ Modern Jewish thought expands on this by emphasizing the importance of one's actions during life.

Salvation is not only a reward from God, but it is also "a duty imposed by God, which man has to fulfill."³⁵

The above ideas have already been related to the four benedictions of the ceremony. Rabbinic thought, after all, identified the Sabbath as a taste of the idealized world to come.³⁶ It is this world to come which I identify by the word "salvation."

Once a ceremony which clearly marks the limits of the Sabbath is established, it also indicates the bandary with this taste in the world to come. Moreover, some of the symbolism connected with the spices establishes the time of havdalah as a time of loss. For the individual worshipper the loss is that of the additional soul. For those in gehinnom the reprieve that the Sabbath brings each week has been terminated. Just as the symbolism of the ceremony represents a deprivation for those involved, so the prayers represent a plea to regain that loss. The light in this ceremony, too, represents a saving force, as described above in connection with the legend of Adam. Adam's fear of the dark subsides after he is able to make a fire.

But these illustrations of havdalah's connection with salvation or eternal peace do not exhaust the symbolic pattern. The major additions to the ceremony (biblical verses, prayer for peace, and liturgical hymns) elaborate further on this concept.

Reference to the chart of verses found in chapter three reveals the theme of salvation in several places. True, the verses in section A do not in fact so obviously denote or connote salvation. But, they portray Noah's favor in God's sight. David's wisdom is mentioned. This wisdom parallels the idea of knowledge connected with the ability to separate (referred to earlier). Psalm 121 reflects upon the natural quest

of people to help and to seek salvation from God. The first verse of Genesis refers to the creation, also a concept mentioned above. The verse Psalms 46:12 proclaims God's closeness to us, the implication perhaps being that God is also ready to aid us immediately.

Sections B and C on the chart are much clearer in their reference. We saw above that they directly supported ideas alluded to in the peace prayer. God's counsel is supreme and thus the wicked plans against Israel will be vanquished, while good counsel for Israel will be supported. A time of peace for Israel will occur when these prayers have been answered affirmatively. This victory for Israel relates to the concept of salvation.

Sections D and E should be discussed along with Psalm 3:9, Psalm 46:12 (which is number five in section A), and Psalm 116:13. Psalm 84:13 and 20:10 might also be included since, as mentioned in chapter three, they are found in the Hasidic ritual based on the Sephardic rite. All of these verses are found in various present-day havdalah rituals. In five of these eight verses the word salvation appears. Three of the five references to God are as the savior. Isaiah 12:3 describes the drawing of water in joy from the springs of salvation. Finally, Psalm 116:13, the verse immediately preceding the benedictions, points to the cup of salvation. Once these verses introduce a cup of salvation, the cup of wine used in the ritual then becomes associated with salvation.

Verses that do not utilize the word salvation still supplement the overall theme. Psalm 46:12 describes God's closeness to us.³⁷ Psalm 84:13 speaks of our trust in God. Finally, Esther 8:16 characterizes a condition of joy and gladness for Jews. A time of joy and salvation will

be one of such gladness because Israel will be rescued from its enemies. In Mahzor Roma (as cited in chapter three), the meaning is spelled out explicitly: just as in the past Jews enjoyed joy and gladness, so too it shall be for us.

The peace prayer expands the peace-salvation theme. The original passage in the Jerusalem Talmud requests little more than joy and happiness in the coming week.³⁸ However, it is from this petition, for a good week, that the later ritual was extended to plea for a good life and a good future.

For a discussion of the peace prayer, the text found in Seder Rav Amram Gaon, which is quoted in chapter four, shall be used. The first paragraph begins with the reciter adjuring Puteh, the angel of forgetfulness, to remove his foolish heart. He does this by citing what he calls holy names. In this text the names are אַרְיָמָס

אַרְיָמָס אַנְסִימָל וּפְתַחֲיָאֵל , but the names do vary in other prayerbooks.³⁹ A number of biblical verses are then quoted (see chapter three, chart I, section A). The methodology involved in this plea is not common to most normative Jewish liturgy. Petitions are not made in the names of angels or with the use of uncommon seemingly magical holy names. Yet, Amram provides no explanation of the origin of this paragraph, but merely includes it since, presumably, it was a widely accepted custom.

The second paragraph of the petition begins with a similarity to the section of the Jerusalem Talmud mentioned above.⁴⁰ The Amram text is more explicit than the Talmud in its description of what is requested in the six days of the week: to live in peace, to be free from all sin and transgression, to be steadfast to the Torah, to be granted knowledge

and enlightenment from God, and to bear joy and gladness. The petition continues by entreating God to erase envy and hatred of others towards Israel and vice versa. Biblical verses (see chapter three, Chart I, section B) follow, characterizing God's power. The next section seeks the establishment of a good counsel in favor of Israel. This is also given scriptural support (see chapter three, Chart I, section C). The conclusion of the prayer praises God for fulfilling the above requests, and for not abandoning Israel either in this world or in the world to come. Finally, the same peaceful reward which the righteous have received is sought for those reciting this prayer.

As was remarked earlier, this prayer seeks a peaceful existence in the future. However, the emphasis at the conclusion of the paragraph shifts from the coming six weekdays to the world to come and the eternal reward received by the righteous. Both of these ideas, i.e., world to come and eternal reward, are concepts of salvation. Therefore, the conclusion of this peace prayer is an extension of the idea of immediate good tidings to that of future peace and salvation.

An additional paragraph found in both Mahzor Vitry and Siddur Rashi, although slightly altered in the latter, furthers this concept. This paragraph reiterates the plea for joy and gladness. It adds to the request for livelihood, success, good health, love and affection. Moreover, it explicitly calls for salvation in the near future. This paragraph also mentions the Garden of Eden which is the symbol of an already-experienced paradise.

Thus, the prayer for peace has further clarified the peace-salvation theme of the havdalah ceremony. At times the prayer is limited to the specific household and to the coming week. However, it expands a plea

for all of Israel and for a salvation in the world to come. Once again this theme will be elaborated upon in the liturgical hymns.

Chapter five discusses the two hymns, Eliahu HaNavi, and HaMavdil. HaMavdil, as mentioned in the above chapter, is also connected with the liturgy for the conclusion of Yom Kippur. Throughout this poem the constant petition for the forgiveness of sins illustrates the thematic tie with Yom Kippur. However, the forgiveness of sins is equivalent to saving the sinner from retribution. Again the view of God as savior connects this section to the overall peace-salvation theme of havdalah.

The use of Elijah the Prophet for a hymn immediately relates to the coming of the Messiah. In chapter five, we pointed out Elijah's legendary role as the harbinger of the Messiah. Therefore, it is not by chance that the hymn Eliahu HaNavi is recited at the havdalah ceremony. It, too, represents the overall peace-salvation complex which exists in all the elements of the ceremony.

Beginning with the four core blessings and extending through the various additions to the ritual, a complex of ideas concerning peace and salvation, can be found. As early as the Talmud, this connection of havdalah was made. Rabbi Johanan cites among the three who will inherit the world to come, the one who recites havdalah.⁴¹ Each supplement to the ceremony echoes this theme. Whether it is the selection of biblical verses, or the text of the prayer for peace, or the different liturgical hymns, each section of the ritual is a prayer to God for a more comfortable future, both for the individual and all of Israel.

Footnotes

Chapter VI

1. Saul Lieberman cited by Jacobson, Netiv Binah, Vol. I, p. 103.
2. J.T. Ber. 5:2.
3. B.T. Ber. 33b.
4. Encyclopedia Talmudit, Vol. VIII, p. 85.
5. Taz to Shulchan Aruch, Orach Hayim 296:1.
6. Encyclopedia Talmudit, Vol. VIII, p. 80.
7. Chapter 20.
8. Encyclopedia Talmudit, ibid.
9. Joshua Trachtenberg, Jewish Magic and Superstition, A Study in Folk Religion (New York: Atheneum, 1939), p. 185.
10. B.T. Ber. 43b.
11. B.T. Betza. 16a.
12. Abudarham, pp. 188-189.
13. Jacob Z. Lauterbach, "The Origin and Development of Two Sabbath Ceremonies," HUCA Vol. 15, 1940, pp. 367-424.
14. Mahzor Vitry, p. 117.
15. J.T. Ber. 8:7.
16. B.T. Pes. 54a.
17. J.T. Ber. 8:6.
18. Jacobson, Netiv Binah, Vol. 1, p. 104.
19. B.T. Ber. 51b.
20. ibid., 53b.
21. Chapter 20.
22. Seder Rav Amram Gaon, pp. 83-84.
23. v. supra.
24. Jacobson, Netiv Binah, Vol. 1, p. 104.

25. Sol Finesinger, "The Custom of Looking at the Fingernails at the Outgoing of the Sabbath," HUCA Vol. 12-13, 1937-38, pp. 347-365.
26. Shulchan Aruch, Orach Hayim, 298:3.
27. Ber. 8:6.
28. Encyclopedia Talmudit, Vol. 8, p. 73.
29. Abraham Shusterman, "Salvation," The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. 9, pp. 332-333.
30. ibid.
31. ibid.
32. ibid., quoting Daniel 12:3.
33. ibid.
34. ibid.
35. ibid., quoting Leo Baeck.
36. B.T. Ber. 57a.
37. v. supra.
38. J.T. Ber. 5:2.
39. v. Chap. III.
40. J.T. ibid.
41. B.T. Pes. 113a.

VII. CONCLUSION

The ceremony of havdalah cannot be viewed as an unchanging liturgical rite. At no time has there been one single ritual, which was allowed to remain in existence without alternatives. Even the earliest development of the core benedictions did not arise from a single decree at one fixed time. This should not be unexpected since all of Jewish liturgy has shared in an evolving existence.

According to Joseph Heinemann, "Official versions came into being only gradually; ...We cannot determine accurately what the text of any given prayer may have been prior to this date (i.e., ninth century when Seder Rav Amram Gaon was completed), although it may be assumed with a fair degree of certainty that the texts of the main prayers, as they are preserved in all the rites extant today, reflect at least one of the versions current in early Rabbinic times."¹

Although Heinemann is describing a general theory for Jewish liturgy, his conclusions can easily be applied to the havdalah ceremony. As evidenced in the talmudic sources, no fixed text was given for an entire havdalah ritual. Amram was the first to offer a ceremony in full. However, the blessings and additions to these blessings used by Amram did have precedence in the Mishnah and Gemara.

In chapter two we examined the mishnaic evidence for some form of havdalah ritual, concluding that havdalah existed coterminously with the Temple cult. Not only was it discussed by the Schools of Hillel and Shammai, but also, havdalah was linked to the Temple ritual of blowing the shofar. Thus, we may deduce that

a rite of havdalah existed at least by the first century C.E. and probably earlier.

In the Talmud the establishing of havdalah is attributed to the "Great Synagogue." However, the evidence is weak and, as stated, this authorship is doubtful.²

The Talmud does clarify the havdalah rite as primarily used to counterbalance the kiddush, which begins the Sabbath. However, after careful examination of the symbolism in the ceremony and the reasons behind the specific benedictions, themes other than the separation of Shabbat from the other days come to light. Thus, by the time of the completion of the Talmud, havdalah is associated with a theme of salvation as well as separation.³

Sometime before the actual compilation of Seder Rav Amram Gaon, additional elements entered the ceremony. For Amram there are only three core blessings, since he does not include spices. He also includes a number of biblical verses and a peace prayer. His explanations and analyses enable us to determine some of the logic behind the ceremony. In contrast to Amram's text, Seder Rav Saadyah Gaon contains a more abbreviated havdalah ceremony. With the exception of the three blessings, Saadyah excludes virtually all the other aspects of the ceremony.

By the eleventh century the havdalah ceremony had been further expanded. In Mahzor Vitry, an entire section of liturgical hymns has been added to the Saturday evening ritual. Piyyutim were quite common in the Sephardic world, too. (It will be recalled in fact that the acrostic in the hymn, HaMavdil led many scholars to suggest

its author was a Sefardi, Isaac Ibn Ghiyyat.) Thus, the eleventh century hymns were found both in the Ashkenazic and Sephardic ritual for havdalah.

The various additional sections to the havdalah ritual (i.e., the biblical verses, the peace prayer, and the liturgical hymns) have already been considered. The scriptural verses were added as early as Seder Rav Amram.⁴ However, the use of biblical passages to support an idea or opinion goes back to the earliest forms of rabbinic literature (i.e., the Mishnah). So, too, the verses in the havdalah ceremony give scriptural endorsement to the themes of the ceremony. Many of the verses are connected with the peace prayer and further emphasize God's supreme counsel. This, in turn, negates the evil counsel of others towards Israel.

Moreover, the verses which exist today as the preface to the core ceremony compliment the salvation theme of havdalah. Although these passages are not rigidly fixed in the ceremony, the reciter of havdalah is encouraged to pronounce them in order to promote good fortune in his household.

The second additional section discussed in this work is the prayer for peace.⁵ Precedence for this prayer, as already mentioned, is established in the Jerusalem Talmud. By the time of Amram's prayerbook, this prayer had been expanded. Its expansion leads one to believe that the ideas contained in it, essentially a hope for future peace, were significant to the people who recited it. By the eleventh and twelfth centuries, a further paragraph can be found in both Mahzor Vitry and Siddur Rashi. Again, extra stress on the hope for a peaceful life is applied.

Within the peace prayer there exist several angelic and mystical names. This illustrates that the havdalah service was not solely a rational ritual. There were, perhaps, mystical rites which were at one time included in the ceremony. However, due to the rationalistic approach of most of the Talmud and of the geonim, these hints of a mystical tradition are somewhat hidden or deemphasized. The unclear reasons for the use of the symbols of fire and spice are examples of the probable coverup of early mystical or nonrational elements. Chapter six contains evidence for this claim.

The prayer for peace has been preserved to the present liturgy in the prayer of Ribon HaOlamim. This form of the prayer also points toward the desire for peace and redemption. It combines a mystical methodology through the repetition of numerous items in an acrostical form. In this case, a list of many gates are set forth in the acrostic. It is not a consistent form of a single, double, or triple acrostic. Rather, there is a variance as to the number of times different letters are used.⁶

The third additional section discussed in this work is the liturgical hymns.⁷ The two hymns specifically cited in this work are Eliahu HaNavi and HaMavdil.

The inclusion of hymns has legal precedence from the Talmud, which compares the ritual at the outgoing Sabbath to the accompanying of a king on his departure.⁸ Nonetheless, it was also mentioned that there was some question as to the permissibility of hymns in traditional liturgy. Jakob Petuchowski reports opposition to the usage of the piyyut in Babylonia. The rabbis

were against the piyyut because it was the creation of Palestinian authorities whom they opposed.⁹

HaMavdil was described as originally having been part of the Yom Kippur liturgy. Its plea for redemption is clearly a theme of that holiday. However, its other theme, that of separation, connects it with the havdalah ritual.

The second hymn, Eliahu HaNavi, also fits appropriately into a theme of redemption. In chapter six, Elijah's strong link with future redemption is traced and supported. Elijah's role as the harbinger of the messiah connects him with Israel's salvation. Both of these hymns supplement the obvious intent of havdalah, to separate the holy from the profane. However, the second underlying theme of salvation and peace is also reinforced by the recitation of the poems.

The ideational theme of peace and salvation is part of the symbolism of the ceremony. As described in chapter six, each of the four benedictions plus the three additional sections, have a history of various symbolism. The wine is connected with the wine of kiddush. The spices apparently are associated with the additional soul that each person receives for the Sabbath, and the souls of gehinnom. It may be that neither of these two reasons given for the use of the spices is the original one. Nevertheless, the use of these reasons by various rabbis point to a non-rational and even mystical connection of the spices with the ceremony.

The use of the light in the fourth blessing also has been described as having origins outside the mainstream of rationalistic Jewish circles. As mentioned in chapter six, light on the palms

or the fingernails may have had ramifications of augury and necromancy. However, for both the spices and the lights, the mainstream of Judaism has covered over these non-rational elements, leaving barely a trace of their origins.

In conclusion, the havdalah ceremony has been shown to be intrinsically tied to a theme of peace and salvation. The four core benedictions have some connection with this theme. But even more important, each supplement to the ceremony added support to it. This ideational theme appears as early as some of the talmudic passages which mention havdalah. However, the emphasis of this motif became more apparent as the liturgy developed. The present-day traditional ceremony, especially its inclusion of the three afore-mentioned additions, continues to display the peace-salvation complex of ideas. This theme is also found in the modern liturgy of the Reform movement, both in England and in the United States.¹⁰

Footnotes

Chapter VII

1. Heinemann, Literature of the Synagogue, p. 3.
2. v. chap. II.
3. v. chap. VI.
4. v. chap. III.
5. v. chap. IV.
6. Baer, Seder Avodat Yisrael, pp. 313-314.
7. v. Chap. V.
8. B.T. Pes. 103a.
9. Petuchowski, and Heinemann, Literature of the Synagogue, pp. 207-208.
10. Service of the Heart, eds. John D. Rayner and Chaim Stern (London: Union of Liberal and Progressive Synagogues, 1967), pp. 409-412 and Gates of Prayer, The New Union Prayerbook, ed. Chaim Stern (New York: Central Conference of American Rabbis, 1975), pp. 633-641.

Selected Bibliography

This bibliography is divided into two parts. Part A is primary sources listed according to book title. Part B is secondary works listed according to author. Sometimes books will appear in both Parts A and B. This is done because these works were used both as primary textual material (Part A) and for the editors' comments (Part B.).

Part A:

Abudarham Ha-Shalem, Abudarham, David. Jerusalem: 1959.

The Authorized Daily Prayerbook, ed. Hertz, Joseph H.
Rev. ed. New York: Bloch Publishing Co., 1948.

Babylonian Talmud. Tractates Berachot, Pesachim, and Shabbat.
Bible.

Daily Prayer Book, Ha-Siddur Ha-Shalem, ed. Birnbaum, Philip.
New York: Hebrew Publishing Co., 1949.

Gates of Prayer, The New Union Prayer Book, ed. Stern, Chaim.
New York: Central Conference of American Rabbis, 1975.

Halachot Kelulot, Ibn Ghiyyat, Isaac.

Jerusalem Talmud. Tractate Berachot.

Mahzor Vitry, Simcha. ed. Horowitz, Shimon HaLevi Ish.
Nurember: Bet Mischar Sifarim Yitzhak Bolka, 1923.

Mishnah. Tractates Berachot, Hullin, and Sukkot.

Otzar HaGeonim, ed. Lewin, Benjamin M. Vols. 1, 3. Haifa:
Otzar HaGeonim, 1928.

Seder Avodat Yisrael, ed. Baer, Seligman. Rodelheim: 1868.

Seder Rav Amram Gaon, ed. Goldschmidt, Daniel S. Jerusalem:
Massad HaRav Kook, 1971.

Service of the Heart, eds. Rayner, John D. And Stern, Chaim.
London: Union of Liberal and Progressive Synagogues, 1967.

Shulchan Aruch, Joseph Caro.

Siddur Rav Saadyah Gaon, eds. Davidson, Yisrael; Assaf, Simcha; and Yoel, Issachar. Jerusalem: Mikitzey Nirdamim, 1941.

Siddur Rashi, ed. Freeman, Yakov. Berlin: Mikitzey Nirdamim, 1912.

Tosefta. Tractate Berachot.

The Traditional Prayer Book, ed. De Sola Pool, David. New York: The Rabbinical Council of America and Behrman House, Inc., 1960.

Tur, Jacob ben Asher.

Part B:

Abrahams, Israel. A Companion to the Authorized Daily Prayerbook. New rev. ed. New York: Hermon Press, 1966.

Alcalay, Reuben. The Complete Hebrew-English Dictionary. Ramat Gan: Massada Ltd., 1963.

Baer, Seligman, ed. Seder Avodat Yisrael. Rodelheim: 1868.

Birnbaum, Philip, ed. Daily Prayer Book, Ha-Siddur Ha-Shalem. New York: Hebrew Publishing Co., 1949.

Danby, Herbert. The Mishnah. London: Oxford University Press, 1933.

Donin, Hayim. "Havdalah, the Ritual and the Concept." Tradition. Vol. III, no. 1, Fall 1960, pp. 60-72.

Drachman, Bernard and Kholer, Kaufman. "Habdalah." Jewish Encyclopedia Vol. VI. New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1904, pp. 118-121.

Elbogen, Ismar. HaTefillah BeYisrael BeHitpatchut HaHistoriah. Tel Aviv: Dvir, 1972.

Epstein, Isidore, ed. The Babylonian Talmud Vols. I and II. Tractates Berakoth and Pesahim. London: The Soncino Press, 1948.

Finesinger, Sol. "The Custom of Looking at the Fingernails at the Outgoing of the Sabbath." HUCA. Vol. 12-13, 1937-38, pp. 347-365.

Goldschmidt, Daniel S. ed. Seder Rav Amram Gaon. Jerusalem: Mossad Ha-Rav Kook, 1971.

Heinemann, Joseph with Petuchowski, Jakob J. Literature of the Synagogue. New York: Behrman House, Inc., 1975.

Hertz, Joseph H. ed. The Authorized Daily Prayerbook. Rev. ed. New York: Bloch Publishing Co., 1948.

Idelsohn, A.Z. Jewish Liturgy and its Development. New York: Schocken Books, 1960.

Jacobson, Issachar. Netiv Binah. Vols. I and II. Tel Aviv: Sinai, 1973.

Jastrow, Marcus. A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature. Vols. I and II. New York: Pardes Publishing House, Inc., 1950.

Kronholm, Tryggve. Seder R. Amram Gaon, Part II. The Order of the Sabbath Prayer. Lund, Sweden: CWK Gleerup, 1974.

Landsberger, Franz. "The Origin of the Ritual Implements for the Sabbath." HUCA Vol. 27, 1956. pp. 387-411.

Lauterbach, Jacob Z. "The Origin and Development of Two Sabbath Ceremonies," HUCA Vol. 15, 1940. pp. 367-424.

Schwab, Moses, trans. The Talmud of Jerusalem. Vol I Berachot. London: Williams and Norgate, 1886.

Shusterman, Abraham. "Salvation." The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia. Vol. 19. New York: The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia, Inc., 1943. pp. 332-333.

Ta-Shma, Israel Moses. "Havdalah." Encyclopedia Judaica. Vol. VII. Jerusalem: Keter Publishing House, Ltd., 1971. pp. 1481-1489.

Trachtenberg, Joshua. Jewish Magic and Superstition, A Study in Folk Religion. New York: Atheneum, 1970.

Zevin, Shlomo Yosef, ed. Encyclopedia Talmudit Vol. 8, 1957. pp. 67-102.