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Report on the Rabbinic Dissertation Submitted by

Paul James Kipnes

in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for Ordination

The Literary Use of Bible in the Liturgy:
A Study of the Weekday Amida in Seder Rav Amram Gaon

A study of the relationship of the biblical text and its nachleben in Jewish sacred
literature has long been a desideratum. The varieties of literary genres which constitute
the Jewish post biblical canon make such a study a most difficult task. The Siddur and
its place in Jewish literature make it an ideal text for such a study. Like the bible, the
Siddur is a composite text which incorporate many sources. Another similarity between
the study of the Siddur and the Bible is that in both documents texts emerge from either
oral or written sources and assume a final redacted form at a much later date. The
redaction of the bible has been the subject of many studies, and the final editing of the
Siddur in the ninth century has been studied by Professor Lawrence Hoffman in The
Canonization of the Synagogue Service.

Paul J. Kipnes' rabbinic thesis builds upon the studies of Professor Hoffman with respect
to the canonized text of the ninth-century Seder Rav Amram, and the liturgical historical
essays on the Amida's text by Finkelstein, Ginzberg, and Goldschmidt. His work differs
from previous efforts in his focus upon the specific relationship of the amida text to the
Bible. Kipnes' inquiry leads him to utilize the tools of modern literary criticism,
particularly the concept of "intertextuality." Theories of "intertextuality" make the claim
that the relationship of a later text to its antecendents is not hierarchical [Siddur text
utilizes Bible as "proof text"]. Rather, there is a reciprocal relationship between the texts
of the Siddur and Bible where the reader recontextualizes the word or phrase. For the
worshipper both the bible and siddur take on new meaning.

The first chapter of the thesis analyzes the development of the text of the Siddur.
Kipnes adequately describes the theories of the canonization of the text. In addition, he
points to the importance of biblical quotation in Amran's Siddur. The chapter concludes
with some problems of how the Siddur can be studied with respect to its intersection
with the biblical text. In the second chapter, Kipnes focuses on how liturgical texts have
been studied. The key to the second chapter is the description of "intertextuality."
Kipnes draws on the work of Daniel Boyarin, Jacob Neusner, and David Tracy. A third
chapter adds a significant dimension to the originality of the method used in this thesis.
Kipnes demonstrates how computer data base research can be applied to the study of the
Amida.

After carefully describing his method of study, Kipnes proceeds to construct categories which describe how biblical texts are appropriated into the Amida of Seder Rav Amran. He establishes four basic methods of appropriation: the use of biblical word-pairs, changing verb tenses and suffixes, changing of the ways in which divine activity is manifest, and the appropriation of the biblical language of salvation. In further chapters Kipnes explores these categories in greater depth. One chapter is a sustained analysis of the relationship between the first prayer of the Amida and its biblical intertexts. The final chapter, "Making Meaning: The Appropriation of Biblical Verses" focuses on further implications of intertextual studies for a theology of Jewish liturgy.

Paul Kipnes has written an thesis which utilizes new disciplines of literary criticism and theological studies. He makes original contributions to the study of the siddur and the Jewish exegetical tradition. Readers will benefit from his use of the computer date base techniques. Kipnes' thesis also demonstrates how this interdisciplinary approach may benefit theological studies of liturgy.

We recommend the thesis of Paul J. Kipnes to the faculty with enthusiasm in partial requirement for the requirements for ordination.

Respectfully submitted,

Michael A. Signer
Lawrence Hoffman

THE LITERARY USE OF BIBLE IN THE LITURGY:

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PAUL JAMES KIPNES

Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of
Requirements for Ordination

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Graduate Rabbinic Program
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Referee: Michael Signer
Referee: Lawrence A. Hoffman

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PREFACE

A few of us would get up early in the morning to daven before we went out to work in the fields of Kibbutz Yahel in Israel. We each had our own way of preparing to pray. Mine was to familiarize myself with the community's Siddur, Seder Rinat Yisrael. I remember being captivated by the margin notes which identified the Biblical and Talmudic sources for some of the prayers. As a first-year Rabbinic student, I was familiar with the preponderance of Biblical verses quoted within Talmud and Midrash as prooftexts and homiletical devices. But except for a few easily recognizable instances of Biblical passages in the Siddur (Shema, Mi Chamocha, and Qedusha), I was unaware of the wealth of Biblical language which appeared in the liturgy. I did not know then that this fascination would lead me six years later to spend the better part of a year studying the phenomenon. And that after nine months of labor I would give birth to a two hundred page "bundle of joy."

When my thesis topic was conceived, I would dream about what it would be when it grew up. At the same time, I was concerned that I did not have what it took to carry it full term. I thought about giving it up. My teacher, Dr. Lawrence A. Hoffman, who turned me on to liturgy when I was a teenager at the North American Federation of Temple Youth's Kutz Camp in Warwick, NY, counselled me to keep the topic and give it life. Always thoughtful, sensitive and supportive, Larry set up the process so that I could deliver my child on the campus of my choice.

Throughout my labor, I was blessed with the guidance of a talented midwife, Dr. Michael Signer. Michael helped me discover which literature to consume, which mental exercise program to follow, and which vices I could still indulge in (including Diet Coke) to produce a healthy infant. He held my hand through all those terrible side-effects: exhaustion, worry, nausea and mental constipation. As my advisor, he showed me the joys of the labor. He taught me that my offspring could be a significant contribution to the world (of academia). It is too soon to tell whether it will grow up to become a book or even a dissertation someday. Nevertheless, it is because of Michael's tender nurturing that it (and I) leave the womb a bit more prepared to make it on our own in the world.

My wife Michelle and I were pregnant at the same time: she with our daughter Rachel, me with my thoughts. We shared in each other's experience, finding a way to understand as best as possible for one who is not living through it. My wife Michelle assumed the role of "birthing coach" for me as

I had been for her. From conception to delivery, she was my courage and strength. She believed in my ability to produce and helped create the conditions under which the embryonic idea could flourish. She gave me love and gave me strength. During the final hours of labor, she helped me push on in spite of my discomfort and exhaustion. She provided distraction and she gave me space. Now that both our daughter and our thesis are born, I look forward to focussing on the red-head.

I have been blessed with a wonderful community with whom to go through this rite of passage. The Los Angeles campus of HUC-JIR is full of inspiring teachers, nurturing administrators, helpful staff and a stimulating student body. They provided me with a unique opportunity grow and learn ... and enjoy it. This thesis owes its quality of life to them.

And finally, thank you: to Linda and Kenny for the encouragement and belief in me, to Teri and Murray for the crucial last minute child care, to Debbie Gordon for her time saving typing skills, and to my child, Rachel, who gave up her room (even before she knew she had one) so that Daddy could live out his fantasy of being pregnant.

CHAPTER ONE:

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE FIRST SIDDUR: SEDER RAV AMRAM GAON

Lawrence Hoffman has written that "the prayerbook [is] the community's major contact with primary Jewish sources."[1] From its modest beginning eleven centuries ago, as the responsum of a Babylonian Gaon, the Siddur has become the major Jewish religious classic most familiar to most Jews.

In this introductory chapter, I will examine two aspects of the Siddur's development from a Geonic responsum into a major Jewish religious classic. First, I will demonstrate the significance of the Siddur as a Jewish religious classic. I will use David Tracy's definition of the classic. I will then return to the first major collection of the order of prayers, the ninth century C.E. Seder Rav Amram Gaon. There is some controversy surrounding this document regarding whether Seder Rav Amram Gaon actually contained the words of the prayers. I will demonstrate that the prayer texts of the weekday Amida found in critical editions of the Seder Rav Amram Gaon reflect "in all probability" the original content and language of the

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[1]Lawrence A. Hoffman, "The Liturgical Message," in Gates of Understanding: Essays and Notes to Shaarei Tefillah, ed. Lawrence A. Hoffman (New York: Union of American Hebrew Congregations Press, 1977), p. 132.

Siddur.

In the final section of this chapter, I will introduce the specific problem which will be the focus of this thesis: the use of Biblical passages in the Amida. Recognizing this phenomenon is common to other Jewish religious classics, the Talmud and Midrash, I will describe the aspects of Scriptural citation which are unique to the Siddur. I will also discuss in brief the reasons why this study, on the appropriation of Biblical verses by the Amida, is important.

The Siddur as a Religious Classic

David Tracy, in Pluralism and Ambiguity, defines the classic,

> On historical grounds, classics are simply those texts that have helped to found or form a particular culture. On more specifically hermeneutical grounds, classics are those texts that bear an excess and permanence of meaning, yet always resist definitive interpretation. In their production, there is also the following paradox: though highly particular in origin and expression, classics have the possibility of being universal in their effect.[2]

By this definition, the Jewish daily prayerbook, known to Jews by the familiar Hebrew name Siddur, is a religious classic. In the following pages, I will demonstrate that the Siddur evidences those five qualities which Tracy finds

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[2]Pluralism and Ambiguity (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1987), p. 12.

indicative of the classic: (1) the Siddur played an important role in the formation of Rabbinic cultures; (2) as a multi-vocal text, it "bears an excess" of meaning; (3) the continuity between the first Siddur and subsequent Siddurim evidences "a permanence of meaning"; (4) the eclectic collection of commentaries on the Siddur attest to the Siddur's resistance to definitive interpretation; and (5) what began as a legal document, highly particular in its origin, has become the universal in its effect as the source of a plethora of different Siddurim.

From its first appearance as a legal responsum of an nineth century C.E. Rabbinic authority, throughout the process of canonization and its continual revision in recent times, the Siddur illustrates the efforts of various Jewish communities to define their own orthodoxy.[3] For example, the Reform Jewish Movement's most recent Siddur, Gates of Prayer, evidences the role a Siddur can have in the formation of a religious culture.[4] When David Ellenson suggests that "with the adoption of the Gates of Prayer as the official daily, Sabbath, and holiday liturgy of the Reform Movement in America in 1975, Reform forcefully signaled its abandonment of the

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[3]Lawrence A. Hoffman, The Canonization of the Synagogue Service (Notre Dame: Notre Dame Press, 1979), pp. 7-8.

[4]Gates of Prayer: The New Union Prayerbook [Hebrew: Shaarei Tefillah] (New York: Central Conference of American Rabbis, 1975).

sectarian posture it had assumed years earlier," he demon-
strates that by utilizing the Siddur one can learn about the
development of a religious community. Ellenson's sociological
analysis focuses on the Reform Siddur as a reflection of the
religious community which published it.[5] While correct in his
argument that changes in social, religious, ideological and
cultural assumptions made previous prayerbooks obsolete (and
gave rise to the need for new liturgies), he does not empha-
size the important formative and enculturating functions of
new Siddurim.

By comparison, Lawrence Hoffman, in his discussion of
Classical Reform Judaism and its prayerbooks, suggests a
causative relationship between a prayerbook and the culture,
or to use his term, the "sacred assembly," which uses it.
Like Ellenson, Hoffman recognizes that on one level, a new
Siddur represents the climactic fulfillment of an evolution of
cultural and religious change. Nevertheless, he correctly
identifies another significant role of liturgy,

> Clearly, one of the prime functions of liturgy is
> the presentation of sacred myths to sacred assem-
> blies, that through a selective vision of their

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[5]David Ellenson, "Reform Judaism in Present-Day America:
The Evidence of the Gates of Prayer," in Three Score and Ten:
Essays in Honor of Rabbi Seymour J. Cohen on the Occasion of
His Seventieth Birthday, Abraham J. Karp, Louis Jacobs, and
Chaim Zalman Dimitrovsky (Hoboken, NJ: Ktav Publishing House,
Inc., 1991), p. 379.

past, they may learn how to plot their future.[6]
As the words and prayers of the new Siddur, Gates of Prayer,
are repeated by a community in its sacred assemblies, sacred
values and myths are become firmly established in the self-
understanding of the community and create its religious
culture. Hoffman correctly argues that Siddurim act to form
and re-form the religious culture for the future. His
analysis demonstrates Tracy's first characteristic of the
classic.

The Siddur also conforms to the second element of Tracy's
definition of the classic on hermeneutic grounds. Many
contemporary students of liturgy have taught that the prayers
within the Siddur are multi-vocal in that Jews ascribe to
these prayers many levels of meaning.[7] As a single text, the
Siddur is highly generative of interpretation. Works like
B.S. Jacobson's The Weekday Siddur and The Sabbath Service
evidence the multiplicity of interpretation which the Siddur
has engendered.[8] Recent calls by Hoffman for an "interdisci-
plinary mutual encroachment" into the study of liturgy are
having the hoped for "beneficial result of unwrapping the

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[6]Lawrence A. Hoffman, Beyond the Text (Bloomington and
Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1987), p. 144.

[7]Lawrence A. Hoffman, "Non-Jews in Jewish Life Cycle
Liturgy," Journal of Reform Judaism, Summer 1990, 1-16.

[8]The Weekday Siddur, trans. Leonard Oschry (Tel Aviv:
"Sinai" Publishing, 1978) and The Sabbath Service, trans.
Leonard Oschry (Tel Aviv: "Sinai" Publishing, 1981).

hermeneutic seal that has hitherto kept it in its own discrete package, and opening it up to the fresh gaze of the academy-at-large, whose 'woods are full of eager interpreters,...'"[9] We can expect that, as a result of Hoffman's redefinition of the discipline, we might see a substantial number of articles on the Siddur which witness the "excess of meaning" to be found therein.

It becomes evident that the Siddur has "a permanence of meaning" when one considers its usage in every Jewish community from the time of its written compilation in the nineth century C.E.[10] Although many Jewish communities altered the Siddur to meet their religious needs, a common liturgical foundation remained. Louis Ginzberg describes the continuity between the first Siddur, Seder Rav Amram Gaon, and subsequent Siddurim.

> Though [Seder Rav Amram Gaon] was prepared for Spanish Jews primarily, it was used as extensively by the Franco-German authorities as by the Hispano-

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[9]Hoffman, Beyond the Text, pp. 7-8. Also see Lawrence A. Hoffman, The Art of Public Prayer (Washington, D.C.: The Pastoral Press, 1988). The work discloses the elements of the worship service for examination to non-liturgists. His chapter on "The Script of Prayer: Words Spoken" (pp. 225-242) focuses on the language of prayer.

[10]Louis Ginzberg, Geonica, I (New York: Hermon Press, 1968), pp. 120-122 and Ismar Elbogen, Der judische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung, (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlags buchhandlung, 1962), p. 565. Both Ginzberg and Elbogen claim on the basis of a responsum from Rabbi Natronai (ca. 860), that prayerbooks existed in Amram's time. I thank my teacher, Michael Signer, whose translation skills made Elbogen's work available to me in the German original.

Provencal. From Rashi down to the anonymous fif-
teenth-century commentator of the German prayer-
book, published at Trino, 1525, the Franco-German
scholars do not leave off appealing to the authori-
ty of Rab Amram. And the Hispano-Provencal schol-
ars of the same period, from Rabbi Isaac Ibn Gajat
down to Abudraham, likewise form an unbroken chain
of authors deriving their information from the
Seder Rab Amram.[11]

Even modern prayerbooks evidence the legacy of Seder Rav Amram

Gaon. For example, a casual comparison between the Amida in

Seder Rav Amram Gaon and the late twentieth century Gates of

Prayer yields an awareness of liturgical connections.[12]

Tracy's fourth characteristic of the classic, that it

"resists definitive interpretation," also describes the

Siddur. Within the Jewish world, interpretation of the

prayerbook can be accomplished in two ways: by writing

commentaries to the prayerbook or by writing a new prayerbook.

Medieval writers such as Rashi (1040-1105) and Maimonidies

(1135-1204) have written extensively on the Siddur;[13] many

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[11]Ginzberg, p. 124. In a footnote, Ginzberg notes that
"in brief observations preceding the prayers in 'Mahzor
Romani' the Seder is quoted."

[12]Ibid., p. 124. In a footnote, Ginzberg mentions that
Seder Rav Amram Gaon "ceased to be quoted only after printed
prayer-books became common." Also, see below for a discussion
of the historicity of liturgical passages found in the
critical edition of E.D. Goldschmidt, ed., Seder Rav Amram
Gaon (Jerusalem: Mossad haRav Kook, 1971).

[13]Rashi's decisions and regulations related to liturgy
were collected by his disciples and have been retained in four
compilations: Mahzor Vitry by Simcha b. Samuel of Vitry
(edited by S. Hurwitz and published by the Mekitze Nirdamim in
Berlin, 1893); Siddur Rashi (edited by S. Buber and published
by the Mekitze Nirdamim in Berlin, 1910; Sefer Happardes

modern scholars including Abraham Joshua Heschel have written extensively on the meaning of the Sidur.[14]

At the same time, every important Jewish sect has tried to define itself by offering its Siddur. Thus we have sixteenth-century mystical prayerbooks from Kabbalists, eighteenth-century Hasidic works, nineteenth-century prayerbooks from the German Reformers and, in the twentieth century, a different Siddur for each of four major branches of American Judaism.[15] No "definitive interpretation" of the Siddur exists because there is no universally accepted Siddur.

Finally, the Siddur maintains in tension, two opposing characteristics of the classic: particularity (its origin and

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(first published in Constantinople in 1707 and later edited anew by Rabbi H.L. Enrenreich, Budapest, 1924); and Sefer Haora (edited by S. Buber in Cracow, 1905).

Moses ben Maimon's (Maimonidies) Mishneh Torah, part II, Seder Tefillot Kol Hashana gives a complete order of the prayers for the entire year and his chapter on Hilchot Tefilla details all regulations pertaining to the ritual.

[14]Abraham Joshua Heschel, Man's Quest for God (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1954).

[15]See Petuchowski, Prayerbook Reform in Europe (New York: World Union of Progressive Judaism, 1968). The advent of German Reform of Judaism traced to their liturgical reforms (or perhaps re-interpretations of the elements of the synagogue service). For the observation that prayerbooks represent attempts by scholars to popularize their understanding of Judaism, see Hoffman, "The Liturgical Message," pp. 3-10. The most recent American Jewish Siddurim include: (Reform) Gates of Prayer, (Conservative) Sim Shalom [Ed. with trans. Jules Harlow (New York: Rabbinical Assembly, 1985)], and (Reconstructionist) Daily Prayerbook (New York: Reconstructionist Press, 1963).

relevance to a specific Jewish culture in a particular time and place) and universality (its applicability to many different Jewish cultures throughout time). The Siddur is a highly particularistic work. In its evolution, the Siddur was developed as a response to the need of a particular culture, the Jewish community of Northern Spain, to find "an authoritative guide for their liturgical conduct."[16] It represented a Babylonian Jewish rite, derived from Babylonian Talmudic and Geonic decisions regarding liturgy. It is known from the work of philologists like Leopold Zunz and form-critics like Joseph Heinemann and Arthur Spanier that various individual prayers grew out of a particular historical time and/or event.[17] Furthermore, as each new Siddur is written, it soon becomes a sectarian document reflecting and forming a particular ideological or theological prefernce.[18]

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[16]Hoffman, Canonization, p. 16.

[17]Hoffman, Beyond the Text, pp. 3-10. For a survey of the history of the study of liturgy, see Richard Sarason, "On the Use of Method in the Modern Study of Jewish Liturgy," in William Scott Green, ed., Approaches to Ancient Judaism: Theory and Practice (Chico, CA: Brown Judaic Studies I, 1978). Also see Stefan C. Reif, "Jewish Liturgical Research: Past, Present and Future," JJS, 34 (1983), pp. 161-170.

[18]Notwithstanding David Ellenson's observation ("Reform Judaism in Present Day America," p. 380) that within the Reform movement, "The Gates of Prayer is a consistently nonideological document, 'uncontaminated' by any sectarian impulse - other than the affirmation of choice - to impose an ideological platform upon Reform", this Siddur too is perceived as a Reform Jewish document whose usefulness is limited beyond walls of Reform Jewish synagogues.

At the same time, the Siddur as a religious classic is universal because Jews in different times, places, and theological orientations look to a Siddur to reflect their worship needs. The Siddur identifies the concerns of both those who composed it and those who read and pray it. It appears to reflect their aspirations as well as their immediate concerns. The multi-vocality of the prayers allows the Siddur to express for many different generations of Jews, their beliefs about God, about the relationship of the people to their God and about which needs this God can and will satisfy. It also addresses their religious ideas and values. Hoffman writes,

> Every such [religious] group provides religious rituals [including the siddur] that satisfy the individual member's need to confront the ultimate. We call our rituals of this kind, worship, and our ultimate, God ... Worship then does more than evoke the presence of God. It provides religious identification, declares what is right and wrong, and explains why being a Christian or Jew is ultimately valuable. Worship defines a world of values that group members share; it both mirrors and directs the social order in which the group lives."[19]

The Siddur also illuminates the connection of each generation of Jews to its past and to its future. Its universal messages can cross the boundaries of time. As Hoffman explains,

> the words of prayer locate us in a continuum between a sacred past that we identify as our own and a vision of a future that we hope to realize as the logical outcome of the story of our own lives.[20]

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[19]Hoffman, The Art of Public Prayer, p. 56.

[20]Ibid., p. 241.

In other words, the Siddur evidences a universality between Jews of different cultures, places and times.

The Development of the Siddur

The compilation of the first Siddur in the ninth century CE culminated a lengthy process of oral development of the prayer service. Joseph Heinemann argued "that the evolution of fixed prayers began hundreds of years before the destruction of the Second Temple, and reached the period of consolidation and editing ... in the generation following the destruction of the Temple."[21] He cites numerous Rabbinic sources which suggest that the daily prayers were instituted as far back as the Patriarchs, yet he accepts the testimony of B. Berakhot 28b which places the arrangement of the "Eighteen Benedictions" at the turn of the second century C.E. by Rabban Gamliel II in Yavneh.[22] Gamliel II determined themes and

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[21]Joseph Heinemann, Prayer in the Talmud (New York: Walter De Gruyter, 1977), p. 13.

[22]Ibid., p. 13. Heinemann lists the Rabbinic sources as: B. Berakhot 26b ("The daily prayers were instituted by the Patriarchs"), J. Berakhot, VII, 11c ("Moses ordained the form of prayer"), Tankhuma Ki Tavo 1 ("Moses ordained that Israel pray three times daily"), Midrash on Psalms, XVII. 4, 17 ("The early generations of pious men - khasidim harishonim - ordained that Israel pray three times daily"), Sifre on Deuteronomy ("The Eighteen Benedictions which Israel recites were ordained by the early generations of Sages"), B. Berakhòt 33a ("The men of the Great Assembly ordained benedictions and prayers, Qedushot and Havdalot for Israel."), and B. Megillah 18a ("One hundred and twenty elders, among whom were several prophets, instituted the Eighteen Benedictions, and arranged them in their proper order."). B. Berakhot 28b states:

sequence of the prayers; the requisite number of blessings and
their specific wording remained fluid.[23]

The prayers have a long oral development. Originally,
they were improvised spontaneously during the service and
often by the common people.[24] Prayers differed between
Rabbis and between geographical regions through the late
Amoraic period.[25] Form critics like Elbogen and Heinemann
claim that numerous versions of the benedictions existed side
by side.[26] Others like Louis Finkelstein argue that the
Eighteen Benedictions were "originally phrased in a single
standard formulation which could be reconstructed by a
systematic comparison of the extant versions."[27] Although

"Simeon hap-Pagoli arranged the Eighteen Benedictions in their
proper order in the presence of Rabban Gamliel in Jamnia."

[23]Ibid., pp. 13, 22 and 26 and Hoffman, Canonization, p.
50. Heinemann notes (p. 22) that "extant sources frequently
present us with alternate versions of the very same prayer,
which are interchangeable in their usage." Also see Elbogen,
p. 245.

[24]Tosefta Shabbat VII, 22 in Heinemann, p. 36ff. The
Rabbis often rejected the initiative of the common people.
Also see, A.Z. Idelsohn, Jewish Liturgy and its Development
(New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1932), p. 30.

[25]Hoffman, Canonization, p. 4-5. He points to the
multiple versions of private prayers listed in Ber. 16b-17a,
many Yom Kippur confessions in Yoma 87b, and Rav Papa's (4th
century) mention of the variety of extant customs regarding
particular prayers in Sota 40a, Berakhot 60b.

[26]Heinemann, p. 43ff. Elbogen, p. 41f.

[27]"The Development of the Amidah", in JQR (N.S.) 16 (1925-
26) pp. 1ff. as paraphrased in Heinemann, p. 44.

prayers were gradually written down in the Mishna and the Talmud, the oral development of the prayers continued until the Geonic period.

Considerable differences exist among scholars about the compilation of prayerbooks in the Geonic period. Some suggest that prayerbooks predate Amram; others argue that the written works available included only the titles of the prayers or limited collections of prayer texts.

Louis Ginzberg and Ismar Elbogen believed that written prayerbooks did exist in Amram's time (9th century CE). They based their argument on Rabbi Yehudai's (757-761) responsum that "the Reader at the synagogue in his time was permitted to use a prayer-book on the Day of Atonement and other fast-days" (although not on festivals).[28] Still, Ginzberg noted that written transmission of the prayers for the vast majority of worship services, including the festivals and daily worship, was banned.[29] Ginzberg and Elbogen also cited the responsum of Natronai ben Ilai (871-879 CE), Gaon of Sura, about whether a blind man (who could not read a prayerbook) could act as Reader in the synagogue. Regarding the latter, Ginzberg

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[28]As explained in Ginzberg, Geonica, vol. 1, p. 120. Cf. Muller, Handschriftliche Jehudai Gaon zugewiesene Lehrsutze, 10.

[29]Ginzberg, p. 119. For an explanation of the Yehudai's responsum, see below.

concluded,

> This reveals that, in Rabbi Natronai's day, the general custom was for the Reader to use a prayer-book, else a congregation would not have been in doubt as to the fitness of a blind man, who could recite the prayers by heart, for the office of Reader.[30]

Simcha Assaf disagreed with the claim that prayer-books were in existence prior to Amram. Citing the aforementioned responsum of Jehudai Gaon, Assaf posited a fluid history of the Siddur until Amram's time.[31]

Many scholars agree that the "hundred blessings" responsum of Amram's predecessor, Natronai Gaon, would have been available to Rav Amram.[32] The responsum is based on B. Menakhot 43b, which states that a Jew was supposed to recite these hundred blessings daily.[33] Natronai's responsum provides only the initial words (titles) of the prayers. No texts (complete language) of the prayers are provided, particularly for the morning or evening Amida. Ismar Elbogen

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[30]Ginzberg, pp. 120-121. Cf. Shulkhan Arukh, 245 and Mishneh Torah, Orakh Khaim, I, 18a. Also, Elbogen, p. 565.

[31]Simcha Assaf, The Geonic Period and its Literature [Hebrew: T'qufat HaGeonim v'Sifruta] (Jerusalem: Mossad HaRav Kook, 1955), pp. 180ff.

[32]The Fragment Taylor-Schechter containing the "Hundred Blessings" responsum of Natronai Gaon is reproduced with commentary in Ginzberg, Geonica, vol. 2., pp. 109-121.

[33]B. Menakhot 43b states "A man is obliged to retire one hundred benedictions each day.

suggested that the <u>khatimot</u> (closing blessing formulas) might also have been included in Natronai's responsum.[34] It is possible that Amram had seen or had in his possession copies of the Palestinian prayer texts. According to Larry Hoffman, Amram consistently championed the Babylonian tradition against the Palestinian. It appears likely then that Rav Amram knew about the Palestinian rite.[35] One can assume, then, that Amram was aware of Natronai's "hundred blessings" responsum and the Palestinian rite. Whether Amram had possession of the prayerbooks Elbogen and Ginzberg describe - if they ever existed - cannot be determined by the available evidence. Still, one can surmise that he did use whatever available resources he had to compile his <u>Seder</u>.

Seder Rav Amram Gaon

The Siddur, or more precisely, the <u>Seder Tefillot</u> found its genesis in a process of Geonic "sheaylot v'teshuvot" (questions and answers). It is generally accepted that Rav Amram ben Sheshan, Gaon of Sura (d. c. 875 CE) compiled the first complete rite or "prayerbook" known to us. His respon-

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[34]Elbogen, <u>Gottesdienst</u>, p. 360f. and the notes on p. 564-565.

[35]Hoffman, <u>Canonization</u>, p. 54-55.

sum is known as Seder Rav Amram Gaon.[36]

According to the preface written by Amram, a leader of
the Barcelona community, Rabbi Isaac ben Shimon, sent a letter
to the Rav Amram. The text of Rabbi Isaac's question has not
been located; it has been left to scholars to infer its
content from Rav Amram's response. Here, in the beginning of
his Seder, Rav Amram writes,

> As for your questions about the order of prayers
> and blessings for the entire year ... we ... give
> you answer according to the tradition which exists
> in our possession and as arranged by the Tannaim
> and Amoraim.[37]

The ambiguity of this single sentence raised a significant
question: Can we say with any probability that prayers found
in the extant copies of Seder Rav Amram Gaon are the same
prayers that Amram might have sent to Rabbi Isaac?

Scholars have argued over the identity of the author of
the Seder. Haim Yehudai David Azalai, an eighteenth century
scholar from Crete, doubted whether Rav Amram in fact had
composed the Seder as we have it. He suggested that Amram's

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[36]Hoffman, Canonization, p. 5 and Assaf, p. 181. Seder
Rav Amram Gaon is considered to be the first "prayerbook"
known to us which introduced a standard rite of communal
worship. Except where noted, all references to Seder Rav
Amram Gaon (hereafter, Seder) in this paper are to E.D. Gold-
schmidt's critical edition (Jerusalem: Mossad HaRav Kook,
1971).

[37]Rav Amram, in Goldschmidt, p. 1. All translations of
the Seder are my own.

school wrote the work and attributed it to their teacher.[38] According to Louis Ginzberg, Azulai's suggestion probably "originated in the fact that the name of Rab [sic] Amram is mentioned several times in the Halakic [sic] portions of the Seder, as are also decisions by authorities who lived after him..."[39] J.N. Epstein concluded that Rav Zemah, the Av Beit Din under Rav Amram, actually composed the work. His conclusion was based on the high number of legal decisions attributed to Zemah which were included in the Seder (far more than were attributed to Amram). Moreover, Epstein suggested that since it was the custom for an Av Bet Din to collaborate with the Gaon on important work, it is probable that Zemah authored the most of the work.[40]

Louis Ginzberg argues convincingly against both of these conclusions. Against Azulai's "School of Rav Amram" authorship, he notes that much of the Seder in his possession was corrupted. While the mention of Amram's opinions may be later additions, this need not negate Amram's authorship. Rather, subsequent generations added many later opinions to Amram's

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[38]Haim Yehuda David Azulai, Wa'ad la-Hakamim (??) as paraphrased in Goldschmidt, "Introduction," p. 7 and footnote 1.

[39]Ginzberg, Geonica, I, p. 125. Ginzberg lists Rabbi Nahshon, Rabbi Zemah, Rabbi Nathan, and Rabbi Saadia (and in one manuscript, Rabbi Hai) as the other authorities cited.

[40]J.N. Epstein, "Seder Rav Amram: His Prayerbook and its Arrangers" in Essays in Memory of N. Simchoni (Berlin, 1829), p. 122ff. as paraphrased in Goldschmidt, "Introduction", p. 7.

original work including those of Amram.[41] Ginzberg offers three arguments against Epstein: that Geonic literature does not evidence the supposed custom of an <u>Av Bet Din</u> formally being associated with his Gaon (excluding Epstein's single example of Sherira Gaon and Rabbi Hai), that in Amram's letter there is "not a single syllable about Rav Zemah's participation in his work", and that Zemah, had he written the work, would be more careful not to include so many opinions of Amram's adversary Rabbi Natronai (thirty opinions are counted), which would have added "glory" to Amram's adversary.[42] Ginzberg, consequently, argues that Amram authored an original responsum and sent it to Spain. Later, Rav Zemah "added to this copy excerpts of the geonic responsa, especially those by his former master, Natronai."[43]

Goldschmidt, however, claims that even this latter suggestion by Ginzberg is still "speculative". He asserts that Amram wrote the original, lengthy <u>Seder</u>. Goldschmidt's analysis of the documents led him to the conclusion that successive later generations added in the decisions of other Geonim. This explains the apparent additions and differences

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[41]Ginzberg, <u>Geonica</u>, I, p. 125.

[42]Louis Ginzberg, "Saadia's Siddur," <u>Jewish Quarterly Review</u>, 22 (1942-43), pp. 322-323. Goldschmidt ("Introduction", p. 7) also offers a well-articulated summary of Ginzberg's objections.

[43]<u>Ibid.</u>, p. 323.

between manuscripts.[44] Based on the opinions of Goldschmidt (and perhaps Ginzberg), therefore, one may assume that Amram was the author of the original Seder. The precise contents of the Seder in its original form must now be considered.

Differences existed among scholars about the content of the original Seder. There is general agreement that the original Seder included halakhic material. The disagreement focuses on whether the texts of the prayers were part of the original Seder or whether the Seder contained only Halakhic or legal statements about the prayers.

Ismar Elbogen claimed that at the time of its writing the Seder contained mostly halakhot concerning prayer and only the titles or opening words of the prayers. In support of his argument, he referred to Natronai Gaon's "hundred blessings" responsum which he thought to be available in Amram's time. Containing only the titles, possibly the khatimot, and no texts of the prayers, Natronai's responsum would have been Amram's model. It seems Elbogen read Amram's introductory words literally, that Amram was sending the "Order of the Prayers and Blessings" - only a list of titles and not the text of the prayers.[45] Elbogen explained that some parts of

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[44]Goldschmidt, Introduction, p. 7.

[45]Ismar Elbogen, Gottesdienst, p. 360f. and the notes on p. 564-565.

the liturgy (most notably the piyyutim) found in the Seder were later additions.

Louis Ginzberg argued that Amram included texts of the prayers in his responsum. He asserted that the Spanish Rabbi who sent the question to Amram might have been more concerned with the halakha than with the prayer texts because prayer-books "could have [been] procured from any Babylonian Jew... [Nevertheless,] ... the Gaon, in his introduction, briefly spoke of the order of the prayers, which in his mind included the Halakot [sic] appertaining to them."[46] Ginzberg strengthened his argument, that the Gaon did include the prayer texts, in a subsequent article. Here, he wrote,

> It would need a good deal of ingenuity to explain the provenance of some of the liturgical parts of the Siddur if we were to assume that they were not in the original copy sent by R. Amram to Spain.[47]

Ginzberg reasoned that the Seder's version of the third benediction of the Amida, not attested to elsewhere, must surely have been given in full by Amram. He concludes poignantly,

> If, however, the Amidah, the prayer best known, was given in full, how much more so the other less

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[46]Ginzberg, Geonica, I, p. 125. It should be noted that Ginzberg offers no example of the prayer-books he contends were available. It was left to Elbogen, as cited above, to cite Ginzberg's example.

[47]Ginzberg, "Saadia's Siddur," p. 321. Also, cf. Goldschmidt, Introduction, p. 10.

known prayers.[48]

Simcha Assaf asserted that the prayer texts were given in full by Rav Amram to Rabbi Isaac. He based his argument on a Palestinian version of the Seder which he had in his possession.[49]

E.D. Goldschmidt recognized that different types of passages co-mingled within the Seder,

> ...passages of halakha, which bring decisions related to t'filla, and passages of liturgy in which are given the texts of the t'fillot. These two groups are arranged one within the framework of the other for each subject.[50]

He claimed that this arrangement was developed by Amram himself in the original copy of the Seder. Expanding upon Ginzberg's argument, Goldschmidt observed that Rav Amram would cite in the halakhic portions of his Seder the language of prayer texts and then add "as we wrote" or "as we wrote above". For Goldschmidt, these "hints of the composer" proved that the original Seder most likely included the language of the prayer texts.[51]

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[48]Ginzberg, "Saadiah's Siddur," p. 321.

[49]Assaf, pp. 180ff.

[50]E.D. Goldschmidt, Introduction, p. 8.

[51]Goldschmidt, Introduction, p. 10, including footnote #11.

It appears then that only Elbogen alone opposed the idea that Rav Amram included the texts of the prayers in his original responsum. Consequently, on the basis of the reasoned opinions of Goldschmidt, Ginzberg, and Assaf, I will assume that both the halakhic portions and the prayer texts constituted the Seder Rav Amram Gaon in its earliest form.

The most difficult issue remains: can we isolate elements of the liturgy which reflect the original language used in the Seder? Most scholars acknowledge that the manuscripts we have in our possession evidence extensive corruption in both the halakhic and liturgical passages of the Seder. Elbogen dismissed the liturgical passages as late additions.[52] Ginzberg wrote that "a critical examination of the Seder shows that it was abused to an extreme degree ..."[53]

Goldschmidt illuminated glaring differences between the manuscripts regarding both the halakhic and the liturgical passages. In the halakhic passages, succeeding generations of Rabbis added the legal opinions and decisions from their authorities into their copies of the Seder. In the liturgical passages, distinct variations followed either the Palestinian or Babylonian nusakh [language] or their later developments,

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[52]Elbogen, p. 360 and notes.

[53]Ginzberg, Geonica, I, p. 127.

including the Ashkenazic, Sephardic, Polish and French rites. Moreover, Goldschmidt concisely summarized the process of change,

> The halakhic portions [of the Seder] are used as a study text and it is natural that they [later scholars] added into it decisions about laws that were in contention or conflicting decisions... The fate of the prayer texts depended on ancient copyists: everyone wrote with impunity the texts that he was familiar praying with, and thus obscured the tradition. It appears that in the middle ages they were accustomed to write Mahzorim according to different rites and to complete them by means of copying the relevant laws in Seder Rav Amram Gaon.[54]

Goldschmidt's analysis above appears to prevent the recovery of the original language of the Seder. He asserts that the texts are too corrupted,

> ... it is clear that the prayer texts of the manuscripts do not have great value regarding our purposes. For example, we will not in almost any instance be able to recognize a prayer text as it was in the Geonic period.[55]

Ginzberg appears to confirm this finding when he writes, "only in very rare cases are we in a position to recognize its original contents."[56] Yet even Ginzberg leaves open the possibility that a "rare case" of original language and texts

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[54]Goldschmidt, Introduction, p. 10.

[55]Ibid., Introduction, p. 10.

[56]Ginzberg, "Saadiah's Siddur," p. 328. In contrast to his statements made in Geonica (p. 125) that "the portion that suffered the most [corruption] is the Order of the Prayers specifically, rather than the Halakic [sic] explanations", this statement strengthens the possibility of locating original language within the manuscripts.

may be found.

Ginzberg himself provides the "rare case" in his scholarship with respect to the Amida. He does not rule out the possibility that "some" liturgical material has not been corrupted when he wrote that "there is in the Siddur very little liturgical and not very much halakic [sic] material which could be described with certainty as having reached us in the form given it by R. Amram."[57] Further on, he emphasizes that "the form given in the Siddur for the third benediction of the Amidah, for instance, is found nowhere else, and consequently the Amidah must have been given in full by R. Amram."[58] From this, I deduce two important ideas. First, we have a copy of at least one benediction - the third - which exists in a manuscript and which appears as it did in Rav Amram's original. Second, the Amida, the "prayer best known" was given in full by Rav Amram. From this, I would argue that it is possible that the entire weekday Amida, not just the third benediction, might represent the "rare case" spoken of by Ginzberg.

Ginzberg's Geonica is even more suggestive. In his analysis of liturgical passages of the Seder, Ginzberg offered important arguments "to show that our present Seder Rab Amram

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[57]Ibid., pp. 320-321.

[58]Ibid., p. 321.

has preserved a minimum of its original form, so far as the prayers themselves go."[59] For example, he demonstrated that in extant versions of the Seder the first Benediction of the Amida for the New Year was corrupted. He cited Abudraham's accusation that the appearance of El khai umagein (which appears also in Ginzberg's copy) was a change, attributed to the "ignorance of the people" from the Benediction as given by the people.[60] Similarly, Ginzberg determined that the appearance of yom tov miqra qodesh in the Amida for the New Year, found in his manuscripts of the Seder, was a latter insertion. He cited clear testimony from the author of the Manhig, 52-3 and determined that this importation was a peculiarity of the Spanish liturgy.[61] He adduced additional proofs which evidenced the corruption of the Amida for the Ten Penitential Days, Birkhat HaTorah, "Shema and its Blessings", and of numerous other benedictions.

Yet in these nineteen pages of proofs - about which he remarked "and they might be increased tenfold" - only one proof relates substantially to the text of the weekday Amida. Based on a comment by Rabbi Abraham in the Manhig, 16 that the

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[59]Ginzberg, Geonica, I, pp. 126-144.

[60]Ibid., p. 140. Ginzberg notes that "if we call to mind how zealous the Geonim were in denouncing any change in the Amida, there can be no doubt as to the correctness of Abudraham's version of the Seder in comparison with our text.

[61]Ibid., p. 140-141.

addition of "Morid haTal" for the summer is a Provencal
custom, Ginzberg concluded that the appearance of this phrase
in Ginzberg's Seder could not be original.[62]

This single proof of corruption in the weekday Amida,
however, does not taint the entire weekday Amida of the Seder.
It is known that "Morid haTal" is a late addition to the
Amida.   Consequently, if this is Ginzberg's only proof of
corruption to the weekday Amida of the Seder, it should not be
considered to be decisive. Given the paucity of proofs about
the most basic of prayer texts, the weekday Amida, I am com-
pelled to assume that "in all probability" the weekday Amida,
as presented in E.D. Goldschmidt's critical edition of the
Seder, represents a fragment which contains the same language
that Rav Amram would have written to Rabbi Isaac.

The Abundance of Biblical Quotes in the Siddur

In the previous section of this chapter, I have detailed
how the Siddur, a responsum from the ninth century C.E.,
originated as a part of the Rabbinic literature of sheaylot
v'teshuvot. In this section, I will describe the interweaving
of Biblical passages within a text as an important feature of

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[62]Ibid., p. 134. In his footnote #3, he states, "Ac-
cordingly, Rapoport (Kalir, note 33) is not right when he says
that Kalir and the Sephardim agree in having tal for the
summer, as the old Sephardic ritual did not have it."

three Jewish religious classics: Siddur, Talmud and Midrash.
The phenomenon is common to all three, yet the method of
appropriating these Biblical passages is clearly different in
each one. The curious absence in the Siddur of a specific
technical terminology to indicate the appearance of a Biblical
passage separates the methods. I will conclude by considering
the implications of the near-invisibility of the Biblical pas-
sages in the Siddur.

Gershon Shaked, in his study of Shmuel Yosef Agnon's
work, made a critical observation about the power of appropri-
ating quotations from the Bible and other Rabbinic literature
into contemporary fiction. His insight sheds light on the
phenomenon in Rabbinic literature. Shaked analyzed Agnon's
use of a "pseudo-midrashic" preface to his "Agunot" ["Deserted
Wives"] story and of an introductory paragraph of quotations
from traditional literature which opens each chapter of his
"Ve-Haya he-Akov le-Mishor" ["And the Crooked Shall Be Made
Straight"]. Shaked wrote,

> But whether, in fact, Agnon's works only contain
> hints pointing towards sacred texts or are actually
> written "as if" they themselves are quasi-sancti-
> fied, it is clear that the tales' creative power
> arises from the constant tension between the text
> itself and the sanctified or semi-sanctified liter-
> ary tradition (if we take into account the later
> literature of the religious community) which it
> invokes.[63]

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[63]Gershon Shaked, "Midrash and Narrative: Agnon's
'Agunot', in Geoffrey H. Hartman and Sandford Budick, eds.,
Midrash and Literature, (New Haven: Yale University Press,

Shaked was writing about the non-sacred, or perhaps, to use his term, the "pseudo-sacred" work of Agnon. He identified the element of Agnon's writing which gave his stories their "creative power". He specified as that element Agnon's use of the inherited sacred literary tradition to infuse his work with power and meaning.

This same phenomenon might be known to scholars of Rabbinic literature as the Rabbinic texts' "creative exegetical and interpretative power". It refers to one of the most significant features of any sacred Jewish text: its connection to, even utilization of, elements of the inherited sacred literary tradition which ultimately means Scripture. Siddur, Talmud and Midrash each quote passages from earlier sacred literature within their texts.

It requires only a cursory examination of Talmud and Midrash to discern this phenomenon. Both Talmud and Midrash employ a technical terminology to indicate the appearance of a Biblical quote within a Rabbinic text. William Scott Green illuminated the terms used.

> In rabbinic writing, therefore, passages and words of scripture are almost always identified as such by an introductory formula, such as "thus scripture says," "as it is written," "as it is said," or "a

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1986), p. 287.

[scriptural] teaching says."[64]

Whenever the rabbis imported a Biblical passage into their text, Green explained, they preceded the passage with an introductory formula.

Talmud and Midrash are replete with examples of Biblical verses which are preceded with an introductory formula. In each instance, one need not understand the meaning of the Biblical verse in its original Biblical context or in its new location within a Rabbinic text to be able to identify the subsequent word or words as having emanated from the Bible. Clearly, knowing the meaning and function of the Biblical verse in its original Biblical and later Rabbinic context is of critical importance for understanding the Rabbinic text in its fullness. This issue will be considered in the next chapter. Here, I only intend to point out the usefulness of these introductory formulas.

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[64]William Scott Green, "Writing with Scripture" in Jacob Neusner with William Scott Green, Writing with Scripture: The Authority and Uses of the Hebrew Bible in the Torah of Formative Judaism (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1898), p. 17. Green transforms the Rabbinic preoccupation with separating scripture from commentary into an attack on intertextuality. He writes (p. 17), "The routine and nearly ubiquitous marking of scriptural passages undermines the claim that rabbinic interpretation of scripture is 'intertextual' - at least in any revealing or distinctive sense - or that it is 'allusive' in any sense at all." I wonder, however, if the desire on the part of the rabbis to identify Biblical quotations might indicate their intention to recognize the integral connection between their writings and the inherited Biblical tradition. What Green sees as distinct separation, others might view as merely a literary sign of respect for the authority and heritage of the Bible.

For example, Pesikta d'Rav Kahana 1:2 illuminates one of the uses of the introductory formula "it is written" [kativ, elsewhere katuv].

> Said R. Aha bar Kahana, "It is written, 'And there I shall meet with you' (Ex. 25:22), to teach that even what is on the outside of the ark-cover is not empty of God's presence.[65]

Whether the reader can analyze if the peshat or plain meaning of the Biblical verse supports R. Aha bar Kahana's interpretation, is inconsequential to the fact that a reader familiar with the terminology can identify the words which follow the introductory formula, "it is written," as a Biblical verse.

A similar example can be found in Mishnah Berakhot 1:3 for the introductory formula "as it is said" or "for it is written" [shene'emar].

> The School of Shammai say: In the evening all should recline when they recite [the Shema], but in the morning they should stand up, for it is written, "And when thou liest down and when thou risest up." But the School of Hillel say: They may recite it every one in his own way, for it is written, "And when thou walkest by the way."[66]

Again, the Biblical passages, both from Deuteronomy 6:7, are easily identifiable to the reader familiar with the introduc-

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[65]Jacob Neusner, trans., Pesiqta deRab Kahana: An Analytical Translation, 2 vols. (Atlanta, 1987). Bernard Mandelbaum, ed., Pesikta de Rav Kahana, 2 vols. (New York, 1962). Emphasis added.

[66]Translation from Herbert Danby, trans., The Mishnah (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980). Hanuch Albeck, ed., Hebrew: Shisha Sidrei Mishnah (Jerusalem: Mossad Bialik, Tav-Shin-Lamed-Het). Emphasis added.

tory formula "shene'emar". This technical terminology provides the key to determining the meaning of the Talmudic or Midrashic text.[67]

Although the Siddur is a classic text born out of the same Rabbinic tradition as the Talmud and Midrash, it does not evidence such a technical terminology. Clearly, in some rare cases, the introductory formulae do appear in the Siddur. Most notably, in the Qedusha of the Amida one reads, "as it is written by your prophet"[68] as the introduction to the verse from Isaiah 6 ("And one called to the other, 'Holy, holy, holy is the Eternal of Hosts ...'"). Similarly, at the end of the Geula we read "As it is said"[69] which introduces the verse from Jeremiah 31:10 ("Indeed, the Eternal has delivered Jacob, and rescued him from a stronger power."). Yet these examples are more the exceptions than the rule.

The Biblical passages which appear in the Siddur are not identified as such by any technical terminology or introducto-

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[67]I have provided examples only for two of the most frequent introductory formulae. More detailed explication of the subject may be found in Hermann Strack, Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash (New York: Antheneum, 1969); Adin Steinsaltz, The Talmud: The Steinsaltz Edition (New York: Random House, 1989); and Jacob Neusner with William Scott Green, Writing with Scripture: The Authority and Uses of the Hebrew Bible in the Torah of Formative Judaism (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1988).

[68]In Hebrew: Kakatuv al yad n'vi-ekha ...

[69]In Hebrew, V'ne'emar...

ry formulae. Rather, these Biblical words and phrases are woven without acknowledgement of their source into the very fabric of the liturgical prayer texts. The method by which the phrases are appropriated into the prayer texts will be discussed in the next chapter.

On Studying the Intersection of the Siddur and the Bible

The significance of studying the intersection of the Siddur and the Bible should not be overlooked. Within both the traditional and liberal communities in the modern world, many Jews who are outside the scholarly elite have a greater knowledge of and facility with the Siddur (which traditional Jews pray thrice daily) than with any other Jewish text (including the Bible). As Larry Hoffman explains,

> The prayerbook thus becomes the community's major contact with primary Jewish sources. Despite romantic notions to the contrary, it is simply not true that whole generations of Jews in the past have habitually been at home in the vast literature of the rabbis. Before the invention of printing, how many people could afford to possess even a few of the goodly number of books upon which the elaborate structure of rabbinic Judaism was constructed? And even after the Gutenberg revolution in typesetting, how many people had the leisure time, the intellectual ability, or the economic freedom to undertake serious study of a literature that had grown by leaps and bounds to include not only the two Talmuds but responsa from around the world, commentaries, midrash, philosophy, and several schools of mysticism?
>
> But the prayerbook was the property of every Jew. Before printing, people repeated prayers by

rote, or at least listened to their recital dai-
ly... And after the sixteenth century, the prayer-
book was the one volume which made a crystalliza-
tion of the Jewish legacy readily availble.[70]

Consequently, the Siddur exerts a significant influence on the

individual Jew's understanding of Judaism and the Bible.

This in itself bespeaks the importance of revealing the

Biblical heritage found in the Siddur. If, as Hoffman claims,

the Siddur is a primary source of the individual Jew's contact

with, and perhaps, knowledge of Bible and Judaism, it becomes

critical that scholarship exposes the contents not only of the

prayer texts themselves, but of the sources of the words and

ideas of those prayers. Yet as Hoffman clearly stipulated

above, most Jews are not and would not have been familiar with

the Siddur's Biblical heritage. Thus, they would not be aware

that,

> As for the subject-matter of the Liturgy, aside
> from the sublime Psalter which was extensively
> drawn upon, Biblical passages relating to outstand-
> ing events or moments in the career of Israel, and
> others containing the essentials of the Jewish
> credo, were incorporated in the daily rubric,...[71]

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[70]Hoffman, "The Liturgical Message," p. 132. Hoffman
continues, "True, the literal meaning of the Hebrew words was
often beyond the linguistic competence of Jews whose education
was not what they might have wished, but the 'message'
inherent in the prayerbook is transmitted by factors that go
beyond comprehension of the prayers."

[71]Moses J. Feldman, "The Hebrew Liturgy: Its Place in
Jewish Life and Literature" in Moses J. Feldman, ed., Areshet
Sefatenu (English subtitle: Source Book of Hebrew Prayer and
Proverb), I (St. Louis, MO: Quality Printing and Publishing
Co., 1942), p. 10. Feldman lists as these Biblical passages:
Ex. 14, 30-15, 19; I Chr. 16, 8-36; 29, 10-18; Neh. 9, 6-11;

Consequently, I begin the work of this thesis. In the words of Moses J. Feldman, the author of the four volume work, Areshet Sefatenu (a concordance and dictionary of Biblical quotations and idioms), I will attempt in a systematic way "to show to what extent the Bible entered into the Jew's daily speech and idiom, largely through the medium of his [sic] traditional devotions, and partly through a general famil- iarity with or usage of its terms."[72]

Deut. 6, 4-9; II [sic], 13-21; Num. 15, 37-41; and Ex. 20, 1-17; 16, 4-36.

[72]Moses J. Feldman, ed., Areshet Sefatenu, 4 vols., (St. Louis, MO: Quality Printing and Publishing Co., 1942), pp. 10-11. Feldman's work, is a concordance and dictionary of Biblical quotations and idioms as well as quotations from Rabbinic literature. It deals primarily with major quotations and phrases. Since I will focus on both major and minor phrases in the Amida, I did not use Areshet Sefatenu too extensively.

CHAPTER TWO:

THE LITERARY ANALYSIS OF THE SIDDUR

In this second chapter, I will review the classical theories and methods which scholars have used in the study of liturgical texts. These two methods, described as philology and form-criticism and their contributions to the study of liturgy will be analyzed. I will then consider two perspectives on the use of Biblical passages in Rabbinic texts: "prooftexting" and "Writing with Scripture."

In the final section, I will describe the literary theory of intertextuality which will form the basis of this study. Intertextuality conceptualizes Biblical passages which appear in the other texts as "intertexts" and "cotexts". I will explain how intertextuality helps illuminate the way in which classical Rabbinic texts and post-Talmudic scholars like Rav Amram Gaon generated meaning. In the process, I will explore Biblical intra-textuality, the antecedent to Bible-Amida intertextuality.

Methods for Studying Liturgical Texts

Critical scholarship on liturgy, whose genesis may be found in the nineteenth century "Wissenschaft des Judentums" (the science of Judaism), has focused on the evolution of the Siddur. During the early period, Leopold Zunz (1794-1886), the pioneering scholar of liturgy, "studied Jewish literature seeking to reveal history of the Jewish spirit as it unfolded through the centuries."[73] Zunz and philologists after him, who made significant modifications on this method, sought to deduce what "must be" the Urtext (original wording) of a prayer, to search out later accretions, to place them in their historical setting and to identify the events which led to the liturgical evolution.[74]

Many historian-philologists noted the abundance of Biblical verses in the Siddur. Zunz utilized the appearance of late Biblical idioms to date the three opening and three concluding benedictions of the Amida as early.[75] Similarly, Louis Finkelstein (1895-) based his reconstruction of the

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[73]Hoffman, Beyond the Text, pp. 3-4.

[74]Ibid., p. 4. For a review of Historical-Philological studies, see Sarason, "On the Use of Method in the Modern Study of Jewish Liturgy."

[75]Sarason, p. 101. Zunz's dates the benedictions to the time of Rabbi Simon the Just (third century B.C.E. Tanna). Cf. Leopold Zunz, Ha-derasot beyisrael, ed. Hanoch Albeck (Jerusalem: 1954), p. 178ff.

development of the Amida partly on the assumption that he
could date texts by discriminating between characteristic uses
of Biblical phraseology from different historical periods.[76]
He posited, for example, that a particular devotion to
Scripture or a preference for using Scriptural expressions in
all prayers could be traced to the time of the canonization
conference in the first century C.E.[77]

Leon Liebreich (1899-1966) attempted to show "that the
order of Psalm verses and other biblical citations which are
contained in such originally nonstatutory liturgical rubrics
as the _qedussah desidra'_ and the _pesuge dezimra'_ [could] be
accounted for with the same precision as the structure of the
shema or the Eighteen Benedictions."[78] He also utilized the
Biblical phrases of the Prayer of the Levites (Neh. 9:5-37) to
demonstrate a direct influence of Biblical prayer on the post-

[76]Sarason, p. 115. With reference the parallel study of
the Haggada, see Louis Finkelstein, "Pre-Maccabean Documents
in the Passover Haggadah," _Harvard Theological Review_, 35
(1942), pp. 291-332, esp. p. 295.

[77]Finkelstein, "The Development of the Amidah," p. 15.
This article is reprinted in his _Pharisaism in the Making: Se-
lected Essays_ (Ktav, 1972), pp. 245-332. In footnote #32 (p.
13), Finkelstein mentions that Elbogen, in his "Achtzehn-
gebet," pp. 55 and 57 had noticed the use of scriptural verses
but had offered no explanation of the phenomenon.

[78]Sarason, p. 118. For a discussion of Liebreich's
related "verbal tallying" system, see Leon J. Liebreich, "An
Analysis of 'U-ba Le-Ziyyon' in the Liturgy," _Hebrew Union
College Annual_, 31 (1948), pp. 176-209, esp. 186ff. Also see
Liebreich, "The Compilation of the Pesuke de-Zimra," _Proceed-
ings of the American Academy of Jewish Research_, 18 (1948-49),
pp. 255-67.

Ezra synagogal liturgy.[79] For example, he identified the appropriation by the first prayer of the Amida (the "Avot") of the Nehemiah 9:5 phrase ha'eil hagadol hagibor v'hanora. Liebreich explicitly disputed the conclusion of the Talmud and Midrash which ascribed the use of the phrase to the Men of the Great Assembly.[80] Liebreich also pointed out the repeated reference of God's attribute and exercise of compassion (various forms of rakhamim rabim) in verses 17, 19, 27, 28, 31 of Nehemiah 9. He suggests that this phrase influences the three benedictions of the Shema in the Morning Service: elohai olam b'rakhamekha harabim rakheim aleinu in the first benediction, avinu ha'av harakhaman ham'rakheim rakheim aleinu in the second, and khus v'rakheim aleinu b'rakhamekha harabim ki eil rakheim tov ata ..hu H' eloheinu y'rakheim aleinu in the third.[81] Finally, he states, without providing details, that "Nehemiah 9:32-37 found its way into the supplicatory prayers of the Amida for Weekdays, as well as other Amidot of the liturgy."[82]

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[79]Leon J. Liebreich, "The Impact of Nehemiah 9:5-37 on the Liturgy of the Synagogue," Hebrew Union College Annual, 32 (1961), pp. 227-37, esp. p. 228.

[80]Ibid., p. 6. As sources of the Men of the Great Assembly attribution, he cited: Yer Berakhoth 7:4, Yer. Megillah 3:8, 74c, Bab. Yona 69b, and Midrash Tehillim on Psalms 19:2.

[81]Ibid., p. 233.

[82]Ibid., p. 232.

The contribution of early philological scholarship on understanding the way Biblical verses function within the prayer texts generally or in the Amida specifically was mixed. Work by Zunz and Finkelstein work utilized Biblical verses essentially for the purposes of dating the texts.[83]   Liebreich's work, however, represented an important attempt to evidence, if not explain the meaning of, the Biblical heritage of the Siddur.[84]

Another group of scholars, led by Arthur Spanier (1889-1944) and Joseph Heinemann, highly critical of the historical-philological method, pursued a form-critical approach to Jewish liturgy.[85]   They concluded that there existed "equally

[83]Moreover, Richard Sarason (p. 101) dismisses Zunz's (and, on pp. 115-117, Finkelstein's) criterion by noting that "a closer look at the language of Jewish liturgy in general reveals an overall tendency to make use of biblical idioms and citations" (Sarason's emphasis). While Sarason does not seem to offer evidence to support this observation about the liturgy's tendency, he may be basing his argument on Heinemann's Prayer in the Talmud, the English version of which Sarason prepared. See below for an explication of Heinemann's contribution on the use of Biblical phrases and idioms in liturgy.

[84]Sarason (p. 119), in his important critique of Liebreich's work, seems to dismiss the Bible-liturgy connects with his own undocumented opinion "that there existed a standard liturgical 'reservoir' of biblical citations which were felt to express admirably the supplicatory mood of the worshippers and hence came to pervade the liturgy."

[85]Sarason, p. 141. See Arthur Spanier, "Zur Formengeschichte des altjudischen Gebetes," Monatschrift fur Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums, 78 (1934), pp. 438-47; "Stilkritisches zum judischen Gebet," MGWJ, 80 (1936), pp. 339-50; "Die erste Benediktion des Achtzehngebetes," MGWJ, 81 (1937), pp. 71-76; and "Dubletten in Gebetstexten," MGWJ, 83

valid variations [of a given prayer text], rather than a correct Ur-text."[86] Consequently, they sought to separate prayers according to style and to "locate each such genre within a social milieu ... within Jewish society of ancient times."[87]

Joseph Heinemann has provided a number of important observations related to the appearance of Biblical passages within prayer texts. Heinemann's explanation of the "Berakha formula" recognized a significant Biblical influence on the development of the formula.[88] Moreover, he stated explicitly the notion that the Rabbis used Biblical passages within the prayers they composed.

> ...The "early generations of pious men" who began the formulation of the fixed prayers would no longer take it upon themselves to compose complete-ly new and original hymns and prayers in the clas-sical style of the psalms. They limited themselves instead to much more modest and simple prayers which, however, made use of Biblical prayer motifs and employed Biblical phraseology and formulae.[89]

He also suggested that other prayer composers created a novel

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(1939), pp. 142-49. Sarason considers Spanier to be "the first scholar to seriously question the appropriateness to Jewish liturgical studies of the pure philological method."

[86]Reif, "Jewish Liturgical Research, p. 164.

[87]Hoffman, Beyond the Text, p. 5. For a review of form-critical studies, see Sarason, pp. 131-147.

[88]Heinemann, pp. 41; 82ff. He provides (p. 83, including his footnote #9) many examples of this formula found in the Bible.

[89]Ibid., p. 17.

formal liturgical pattern "composed of separate Biblical elements which are woven into one unit." Here, Heinemann referred to those prayers and berakhot which appropriated Biblical attributes of praise in participial form, including "who builds Jerusalem," "who hears prayer," "who gathers the dispersed of Israel," and others.[90]

Heinemann described the process by which "stock liturgical formulas" were used by prayer composers.

> When a particular formula or idiomatic expression has been assimilated and become routine, we commonly find that it will be transferred to other prayers as well... But this transfer will not always be made without an accompanying shift in the meaning and very substance of the expression itself... Sometimes the expression will be preserved intact, but will acquire a completely new meaning in a different context. This is no longer, then, a simply mechanical transfer of some common formula from one benediction to another, but rather the creative, free transformation of that formula, which results in something new and original. ...[The formulas] come to [the worshipper] ready-made, whether or not he remembers the context in which he had originally heard them or what their meaning was in that context. And even if he should remember these, he still would not hesitate to employ the selfsame formulae for his own purposes in the context of his own prayer. It seems that this phenomenon is not unique to the field of liturgical creation, but occurs generally throughout the field of oral tradition.[91]

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[90] Ibid., pp. 88-89.

[91] Ibid., pp. 55-56. Heinemann noted that this description "pertains only to those prayers which were originally conceived in a free style, as are most of the Jewish prayers, and is not relevant to those which by their very nature are fixed word-for-word from the outset, as are, for example, magical invocations.

In the passage above, Heinemann suggested that prayer composers consciously utilized Biblical phrases and passages in their creations. His argument represented an important innovation regarding the literary use of Biblical passages in the liturgy. Heinemann delineated three important features of the process of appropriation. First, he maintained the existence of the phenomenon. Biblical formulas and idiomatic expressions were appropriated by and often exchanged between prayers. Second, he recognized that the appropriation of meaning was not uniform. In some cases, the meaning of the verse in its source text was appropriated along with its language. In other cases, Biblical verses were recontextualized to mean something "new and original". Third, Heinemann questioned whether the worshipper was aware of the original context of the verse.

Both philology and form-criticism, as classical methods of liturgical study, describe how certain prayers were thought to have evolved as well as provided hypotheses about when and how the particular themes of the whole service were ordered and canonized. I will build upon the contributions of Liebreich and Heinemann to the literary study of Biblical citation in the Amida. My analysis, however, will differ in a few significant ways. First, I will study the Amida synchronically, as it appeared during one historic moment in the first Seder Rav Amram Gaon. Diachronic studies (studies

of the evolution of prayer texts over time) yield important results, yet a synchronic study invites analysis about how the composer of one Siddur in one specific time period appropriated Biblical verses to "construct meaning". Second, I will approach the study using the literary theory of intertextuality. Although philology and form-criticism have made important contributions in understanding the function of Biblical passages in the liturgy, intertextuality directly addresses this issue.

The Classical Perspective: Prooftexting

One perspective on the function of Biblical passages in Rabbinic literature seems to have established primacy in early modern scholarship.[92] This perspective, called "prooftexting," claims that the primary function of a Biblical verse found in a Rabbinic text is to offer proof for the proposition being expounding. Daniel Boyarin explains,

> The regnant view is that when a midrash like the Mekhilta quotes a verse from another part of the Bible in the interpretation of the Exodus passages, these quotations are prooftexts - texts cited in good or bad faith in support of previously deter-

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[92]See Hermann Strack, Introduction to Talmud and Midrash, Adin Steinsaltz, The Talmud, Ephraim E. Urbach, The Sages: Their Concepts and Beliefs (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987), pp. 286ff, esp. 307-309, and William Braude and Israel J. Kapstein, trans., Pesikta De-Rab Kahana (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1975), p. xxxviii ff.

mined conclusions.[93]

This view asserts that the Bible as one of the classical documents of Judaism (the Oral Law in its various written forms being of equal authority) is used to bolster and authenticate legal or homiletical propositions of the Rabbis.

For example, Mishnah Berakhot 1:3, quoted in the previous chapter, evidences prooftexting. In a discussion about the proper position in which one should recite the Shema, the School of Shammai and the School of Hillel each turned to phrases from Deuteronomy 6:7. The School of Shammai reads the phrase "And when thou liest down and when thou risest up" to indicate a reclining position in the evening since one lies down at night and a standing position in the morning since one rises up in the morning. The School of Hillel utilize a different phrase "And when thou walkest by the way" to permit the recitation of Shema in any position one since each one walks in his or her own way (position).[94] Each ruling appears to be a plausible interpretation of the intent of the Biblical verse. By basing their argument on the Biblical verse, the two schools have supported and authenticated their

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[93]Daniel Boyarin, Intertextuality and the Reading of Midrash (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1990), p. 22.

[94]The School of Hillel explains the former phrase as indicating the time of recitation but not the position.

ruling. The Bible becomes the "court of final appeal."[95]

Increasingly, the prooftexting perspective has been questioned. At issue is the singularity of function of Biblical citations assumed by the prooftexting approach. Jacob Neusner suggests that for "former Israelite writers" (the Essene writers of Qumran and perhaps other early Rabbinic writers, including those of Genesis Rabbah), "scriptures do serve principally as a source of proof texts.[96] From the time of Leviticus Rabbah onward, Biblical verses do function as prooftexts.

> [Yet] we cannot take for granted that the appear-
> ance of a verse of the [Bible] in a rabbinic compo-
> sition ... serves a single, determinate purpose,
> e.g., as a "prooftext," as a source of vindication
> for a statement a later author wishes to prove.[97]

Jacob Neusner and Daniel Boyarin, then, agree that the use of Biblical quotes in Rabbinic literature is multifarious and cannot be confined to the "prooftexting" perspective.[98]

Another problem about "prooftexting" is formulated from within genre criticism. David Tracy, in his analysis of the use of Scripture in theology, describes the difficulty in determining the meaning of a recontextualized Biblical text.

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[95]Neusner, Writing with Scripture, p. 5.

[96]Ibid., p. 181.

[97]Ibid., p. 4.

[98]Ibid., p. 41 and Boyarin, p. 22ff.

His comments shed light on the analogous problem of clarifying the meaning of a Biblical phrase in the Siddur. He suggests that identifying the genre of the source text helps in the analysis of the meaning of the recontextualized text. He explains, "Genre criticism is helpful in placing texts in the usual historical critical way. But a knowledge of genre helps us understand the meaning of the text in a much more basic sense: namely, how both the sense and referent of the text are produced as refigured meanings through the genres themselves."[99] The Siddur's genesis, canonization and subsequent evolution occurred under the aegis of the Rabbinic hierarchy. Nevertheless, we can claim that even as the Siddur exists as a distinctive Jewish text, it becomes its own genre within Rabbinic literature.

Tracy asserts that we find such a designation will prove to be more than "merely a taxonomic device designed to help us locate the text." He continues,

> Genres are productive of meanings: both the sense and the refigured referent of the text are produced through the genre.... The reason why proof-text criticism does not prove anything is clear: as criticism, it cannot account for either historical context or literary-linguistic codes (i.e., either grammar and rhetoric or composition, genre, and style).[100]

In other words, the historical context and literary-linguistic

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[99]Tracy, p. 45.

[100]Ibid., p. 45.

codes within a text inform us that Biblical passages do more than act as prooftexts. We must look, therefore, for another perspective which recognizes the multiplicity of functions of a Biblical passage.

"Writing with Scripture"

A second approach to the appearance of Biblical passages within Rabbinic literature, called "Writing with Scripture," claims there are a multiplicity of uses of Biblical passages in Rabbinic literature. William Scott Green explains the "writing with scripture" perspective,

> By juxtaposing discrete biblical verses in the form of a list [in the particular case of the text he analyzes], and by strategically placing them in established rhetorical patterns and propositional frameworks, rabbinic interpretation made scripture appear to speak by itself and for itself and also to restrict its own connotation.[101]

Green reasons that the sages controlled Scripture, as a symbol and as a document to be interpreted, in order to "guarantee that it would always refer to their concerns and interests, that it would always validate and justify - but never contradict - their halakah and the religious ideology that undergirded it." In essence, he argues, the Rabbis wrote with Scripture, utilizing it to "speak with their voice, in their

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[101]Green, "Writing with Scripture," in Neusner, Writing with Scripture, p. 21.

idiom, and in their behalf."[102]

Jacob Neusner examines four Midrashic texts to substanti-
ate his hypothesis. He argues that these texts utilize
Biblical sources in ways far more complex than "prooftexting."
For example, he explains in an analysis of Leviticus Rabba
that the Rabbis used Biblical passages as part of syllogistic
arguments. A syllogistic argument has two statements, the
"clear statement" or "X" and the "conditional statement" or
"Y" (as in "If 'X', then 'Y'" and "If not 'X', then not 'Y'.")
Accordingly, if one condition is met, then another will come
about. And the opposite also is the fact. Neusner argues
that the Biblical passages in Leviticus Rabba were used as the
clear statements from which are derived the Rabbis' condition-
al arguments.[103] Using an example based on Leviticus 26:27,
he shows how the syllogism, "If Israel carries out its moral
obligations, then God will redeem Israel; if Israel does not,
then God will punish Israel," subsequently is given innumera-
ble illustrations by the Rabbis.[104]

In another example, from Sifre to Deuteronomy and Sifra,

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[102]Ibid., p. 21.

[103]Neusner, Writing with Scripture, p. 74.

[104]Ibid., p. 74. He writes, "...the document does not
express these syllogisms in the form of arguments at all...
Yet once we translate the statements the authors do make into
the language of abstract discourse, we find exact correspon-
dences..."

Neusner explains that the Scripture is appropriated for three different purposes. He derives three categories usage based on "syntax and grammar of thought." The "dialectical" category demonstrates that Scripture is used in Sifre to provide a taxa by which to classify things. This differs from the usual method of relying solely upon the traits of the things which need to be classified. The "citation" category cites passages of Mishna and Tosefta in the setting of Scripture. Here, Scripture is utilized according to the interpretation of the verse in its recontextualized setting. The "commentary" category situates the phrase of scripture in a text and then provides an amplificatory clause of some sort to clarify (or comment upon) its meaning.[105]

Neusner's analysis is well-thought out and convincing. I suggest, however, that there is another perspective on the appropriation of Biblical passages, called "intertextuality," which goes beyond Neusner's "Writing with Scripture." Daniel Boyarin contends that Neusner abandons the perspective prior to taking it to its next logical conclusion.[106] Boyarin points to the "seams," the exchange of meaning which takes place between different sources within each document of Rabbinic literature as well as within Rabbinic literature as

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[105]Ibid., p. 77ff, particularly, p. 114.

[106]Boyarin, pp. 12-14.

a whole.[107]   Those who claim that Biblical passages interact with Rabbinic writings to generate a new entity which redefines the meaning of both elements and of the whole look for to "intertextuality" to explain the function of Biblical passages found in Rabbinic texts.[108]

A Third Perspective: "Intertextuality"

The third perspective grew out of a literary approach called "deconstructionism" which has bequeathed an idea important for our study: the literary theory of intertextuality.[109]   Intertextuality concerns itself with the relationship between a particular text and the quotations from other texts which are in it.   William Cutter has discussed the relationship which exists between these two elements which constitute a literary text. The issues are embodied in three seemingly innocent questions,

> What happens when a poem draws on a Biblical passage? Is the Bible illumined, or is the poem made Biblical? And what happens when an interpretive

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[107]It is possible that the perspectives of intertextuality and "writing with Scripture" may be irreconcilable. I thank my teacher, Lewis M. Barth, for clarifying the issues and helping me understand the nature of this argument.

[108]Boyarin, p. 22.

[109]For an explanation of deconstructionism, see Jonathan Culler, The Pursuit of Signs (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981).

text quotes the text that it is explaining?[110]

Cutter describes to the essential parts of the intertextual problem as the source text (the source of the quotation) and the target text (the quotation's new resting place). Both may be involved in a symbiotic relationship, rather than a one-way, hierarchical relationship.

Daniel Boyarin addresses this notion of symbiosis in his definition of intertexuality. He writes,

> Now, if the term 'intertextuality' has any value at all, it is precisely in the way that it claims that no texts, including the classic single-authored works of Shakespeare or Dostoevsky, for example, are organic, self-contained unities, created out of spontaneous, freely willed act of a selfidentical subject. What this means is that every text is constrained by the literary system of which it is a part and that every text is ultimately dialogical in that it cannot but record the traces of its contentions and doubling of earlier discourses.[111]

This definition provides us with additional features of intertextuality. First, in contrast to Jacob Neusner's concept of "Writing with Scripture," those who hold the views of intertextuality claim that texts do not exist (and perhaps

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[110]William Cutter, "Citing and Translating a Context: The Talmud in its 'Post Modern' Setting," Judaism, 39, No. 1 (Winter 1990), p. 105. Cutter bases his questions on those of J. Hillis Miller, "The Critic as Host," Deconstruction and Criticism (Boston, 1979), who inquires, "What happens when a critical essay extracts a passage and cites it? Is a citation an alien parasite within the body of the main text, or is the interpretive text the parasite which surrounds and strangles the citation which is its host?"

[111]Boyarin, p. 14.

never have existed) in isolation from other texts. Every text is intricately connected to prior literary traditions.

Second, it follows that the creation of a new text necessarily involves reference to the extant literary culture, whether that connection be conscious or unconscious. This means that no writer works in isolation; by the definition of the intertextual approach, every author exploits - explicitly or implicitly - the richness of the literary tradition which proceeds him or her. Third, intertextuality implies dialogue, that two relationships are occurring simultaneously: one between an author and his or her predecessors and the other between a text and its antecedents (including those directly related to the content and those that have subtly influenced the writer). Dialogue presumes exchanges in both directions; even as newly created texts (NEW TEXTS) evidence the influence of prior literary traditions (PRIOR TEXTS), so too are the prior texts changed by the appearance, contentions and influence of the new (See DIAGRAM 1.1).

DIAGRAM 2.1: INTERTEXTUALITY AND DIALOGUE		
ANCESTORS	<--------->	AUTHOR
^ ¦ ¦ v		^ ¦ ¦ v
PRIOR TEXTS	<--------->	NEW TEXT
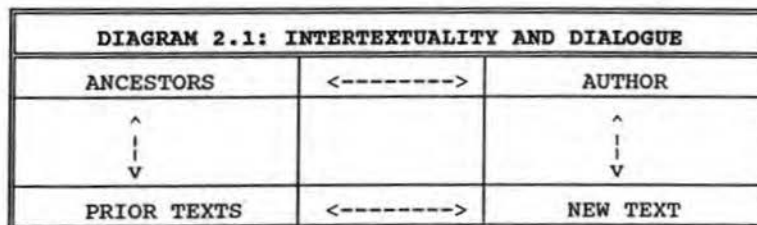
Intertextuality should not be confused with the concept

of "allusion." These differ in that intertextuality claims a symbiotic relationship between texts in which each element (source text and target text) transmits to the other both its essence and its prior meanings while a literary allusion redeploys the entire pattern of form and meaning from a prior text.[112]

William Cutter reveals the implications of this intertextuality for our understanding of the nature of texts. A quotation ("QUOTATION A") is altered and reshaped by means of its importation from its source text into a target text (See DIAGRAM 1.2).

DIAGRAM 2.2: IMPORTATION OF QUOTATION A		
SOURCE TEXT		TARGET TEXT
QUOTATION A ------------> QUOTATION A'		
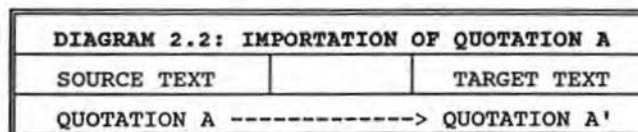
Consequently, the recontextualized quotation (QUOTATION A') no longer embraces an objective meaning. Thus, "the context which material comes to occupy in later literature can [and surely does] yield an even richer meaning, by moving the text from being apodictic into the status of metaphor" (See DIAGRAM 1.3).[113]

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[112]Culler, p. 104.

[113]Cutter, p. 108.

DIAGRAM 3.3: QUOTATION A'		
MEANING IN SOURCE TEXT		MEANING IN TARGET TEXT
QUOTATION A ---------------> QUOTATION A'		
OBJECTIVE MEANING --------> METAPHOR		

The stability of meaning with which we invest our source texts disappears. Texts become metaphors, purveyors of many meanings, comprehensible to us as a result of our understanding of its connections to other literary traditions. Advocates of intertextuality would express it more succinctly: the once stable text is now unstable.[114]

Intertextuality presumes a special function for passages which are quoted in a target text.

> ... The so-called 'prooftexts' are to be read as intertexts and cotexts of the Torah's narrative, as subtexts of the midrashic interpretation. There is a tension between the meaning(s) of the quoted text in its 'original' context and in its present context. What is so striking (and strange) about Midrash is its claim that the new context is implied by the old one, that the new meanings (oral Torah) revealed by recontextualizing pieces of the authoritative text are a legitimate interpretation of the Written Torah itself, and indeed given with its

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[114]Tracy, p. 12. He wrote in 1987, "In recent years we have come a long way from the now old New Criticism's belief in the stability of an autonomous text. We are in the midst of a deconstructive drive designed to expose the radical instability of all texts and the inevitable intertextuality of all seemingly autonomous texts." Even as intertextuality has taken on new life apart from deconstructionism, the notion of the instability of the texts persists.

very revelation.[115]

Boyarin refers to Torah as the source text and Midrash as the target text. For him, they do not constitute a hierarchy but a co-hegemony of determining meaning. He makes two highly significant points here. First, what were once referred to as "prooftexts" are now conceived of as "intertexts" and "co-texts". Hierarchy is dissipated; interaction takes its place. The Rabbinic text and the Biblical quotation become partners, co-equal if you will. Meaning is conceived as symbiotically flowing from source text to target text and vice versa: the Rabbinic text derives meaning from the intertext (or Biblical quotation), the intertext projects new meaning into its old context from its interaction with the Rabbinic text, and the entire enterprise (of interpretation) is changed by the interaction of the two texts.[116] This notion makes a critical assumption: No longer does the Rabbinic text (be it Midrash, Talmud, or Siddur) utilize Biblical quotations solely to prove the Rabbinic this notion of intertextuality is not foreign to Judaism. Its roots lie in the Bible itself. He claims that the Bible evidences "intra-textuality" which antedates and influences the development of intertextuality in Rabbinic literature.

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[115]Boyarin, p. 22.

[116]Boyarin, p. 18.

Michael Fishbane claims that the Bible exhibits inner Biblical exegesis in which "older traditions fostered new insights which, in turn, thickened the intertextual marix..."[117] This intra-textuality is evidenced throughout the Bible. Fishbane cites the appropriation of Leviticus 4:13-21, 27-31 by Numbers 15:22-29 (compare Lev 4:20b with Num 15:25-26).[118] The Numbers verses recontextualize the Leviticus verses, changing the language and expanding upon their meaning. Numbers 15:22 hints at the change in language: the teaching is describe as those "which YHVH spoke to Moses" (Num 15:22) even though the Leviticus verses were framed as "YHVH's active command to Moses to speak the divine words to the people."[119]

Fishbane examines the appropriation and expansion of the Sabbath rule from the Decalogue (Deut 5:12-13) by Jeremiah. The Deuteronomy verses "Heed the Sabbath day to sanctify it - as YHWH, your god commanded you. Six days you may labor and do all your work, but the seventh is the Sabbath of YHWH, your

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[117]Michael Fishbane, "Inner Biblical Exegesis," in Geoffrey H. Hartman and Sanford Budick, eds., Midrash and Literature (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), p. 20.

[118]Ibid., p. 35. Fishbane also briefly cites intra-textuality in Ezra 9 and 2 Chronicles 30:2-3 as examples. Ezra 9, he argues, "introduces exegetical developments under the authoritative citation of the Torah of Moses." 2 Chronicles 30:2-3 appropriates and recontextualizes Numbers 9:9-14.

[119]Ibid., p. 26.

God: do not do any work." Jeremiah 17:21-22 appropriates five phrases from Deuteronomy 5:12-13 ("be heedful," "the Sabbath day," "do not do any work," "you shall sanctify the Sabbath day," and "I commanded"). These verse are recontextualized as (the Deuteronomy verse are in **bold print**): "Thus says YHWH: **Be heedful** and do not bear any burden [for commerce] on **the Sabbath day** and bring it to the gates of Jerusalem; do not take any burden from your homes on **the Sabbath day**. **Do not do any work: you shall sanctify the Sabbath day**, as **I commanded** your forefathers."[120] One notes that the Jeremiah verses explicate the rules of prohibited Sabbath labor,

> by doubly restricting them: first, by prohibiting the bearing of burdens from one's house to the gates of Jerusalem for storage or sale; and, second, by prohibiting the transfer of burdens from the private to the public domain.[121]

Biblical prayers offer some of the clearest examples of Biblical intra-textuality.[122] The prayer in Daniel 9:4-20 is a case in point. Although a complete analysis of the prayer remains beyond the scope of this paper, Daniel 9:4-20 does substantiate the existence of intra-textuality in the Bible. Moreover, numerous scholars corroborate its appropriation of

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[120]Ibid., pp. 26-27. I have included his translations of the Biblical verses.

[121]Ibid., p. 27.

[122]For more on the Bible's intra-textuality, see Geoffrey H. Hartman, "The Struggle for the Text," in Hartman and Fishbane, Midrash and Literature, pp. 3-18.

phrases and passages, and the potential of exchanges of meanings.

A liturgical piece thought to have been composed in Jerusalem during the time of the exile (between 587 and 538 BCE), Daniel 9 reveals the influence of Deuteronomy and Jeremian writings and extensively borrows phrases from other Biblical books.[123] Many scholars (John J. Collins, Andre LaCocque, Bruce William Jones and others) have recognized that the prayer has a "strongly Deuteronomic character which contrasts ... with the theology of [the rest of] Daniel, including that expressed in 9:24-27."[124]

This intra-textuality has led them to wonder about how each of the borrowed phrases individually and the prayer as a whole functions to create meaning. Collins suggests that the

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[123]Andre LaCocque, "The Liturgical Prayer in Daniel 9," Hebrew Union College Annual, 47 (1976), p. 141. Also, Louis Hartman and Alexander A. DiLella, The Book of Daniel: Anchor Bible Series (Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1978), p. 248. Hartman and DiLella list as some of the appropriations in this prayer: vs. 4b from Neh. 1:5 (based ultimately on Deut. 7:9,21); vs. 6 from Jer. 7:25; 24:4; 26:5; 29:19; 35:15; 44:4; vs. 7 from Ezra 9:7; Jer. 4:4; I Kings 8:26; Lev. 26:40; vs. 10 from Neh. 9:17; Deut. 5:30-31; vs. 11 from Jer. 7:20; Deut. 29:20 (with reference to Lev. 26:14-39; Deut. 28:15-68); vs. 12 from Neh. 9:8; Jer. 35:17; Deut. 2:5; vs. 14 from Jer. 44:27; Ezra 9:15; vs. 15 from Deut. 6:21; Jer. 32:20; vs. 16 from Num. 25:4; Isa. 12:1; Neh. 9:2; vs. 17 from I Kings 8:28; Neh. 1:6,11; vs. 18 from I Kings 19:16; and vs. 19 from I Kings 8:30,34,36,39.

[124]John J. Collins, Daniel (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1984), p. 93.

prayer was added by a redactor whose theology differed from that of Daniel.[125]   B.W. Jones argued that the prayer "is placed here deliberately to contrast with the angel's interpretation."   W.S. Tower minimized the supposed Deuteronomic theology of the prayer by claiming that the prayer "is not intended to influence the will of God [as it so appears] but is an act of piety in itself..."   O.H. Steck claimed that "Daniel 9 attests a shift in the theology of the book and ascribes it to the influence of the Deuteronomic strand of tradition which we find in the penitential prayers of the post-post-exilic period."[126]   Andre LaCocque asserted that the individual borrowed phrases function in such a manner as to evidence that "the original deuteronomic setting of the prayer has been replaced by an apocalyptic setting..."[127]

Thesis Statement: On Intertextuality and Liturgy

The literary theory of intertextuality provides the lens through which I will consider the abundance of Biblical passages which appear in the weekday Amida of Seder Rav Amram Gaon.   Boyarin and others study the appearance of Biblical passages in Midrash and Talmud; it remains the purpose of this

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[125]Ibid., p. 94.

[126]B.W. Jones, W.S. Towner and O.H. Steck as reported in Collins, p. 94.

[127]LaCocque, p. 123.

paper to utilize the perspective of intertextuality to study the Siddur and Scripture.

Throughout this paper, the text of Seder Rav Amram Gaon will be described as an intertextual structure of meaning, collecting elements from the Bible, Talmud and Geonic responsa and weaving them into a discursive whole. I seek to discover how the Biblical passages interrelate within the prayer texts of the weekday Amida in order to determine the levels of meaning that readers (or worshippers) can derive from their use of, or worship with, the Siddur in daily prayer.[128]

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[128]Throughout the remainder of this paper, the word "Amida" will refer to the Weekday Amida in Seder Rav Amram Gaon. See the Goldschmidt edition, pp. 24-26.

CHAPTER THREE:

DATA BASE RESEARCH AND THE STUDY OF THE AMIDA

In this third chapter, I will describe my method of research and present an overview of the data. I will begin by explaining how I analyzed the prayers of the Amida to isolate specific words and phrases for examination which became the basis of the research. The use of a Biblical concordance and computer data base, which I will explain below, facilitated the identification of significant parallel words and phrases in the Bible, the formalization of a simple system of coding, and the recognition of patterns of intertextuality. A survey of the data reveals which of the books of the Bible account for the intertextual relationship. The chapter will conclude with a discussion of the advantages presented by the utilization of computers and data bases in the literary analysis of liturgy.

Isolation of Units of Meaning

After selecting the Amida as the text for study, I needed to decide upon the division of the prayers of the Amida into units which would serve as the basis for comparison between the Amida and the Bible. My reading of the Amida led me to discover ways in which the Amida itself indicated the division

of prayers into phrases. The prayer texts seem to be composed
of short phrases which represent individual structures or
"units of meaning." These phrases are separated, in most
cases, by a connective or conjunctive vav, an adverbial
connective (including l'ma'an and ki), an adverbial phrase
(including b'rakhamim and b'khesed), or the Divine name (H' or
eloheinu). Often, but not universally, the individual phrases
begin or include a verb. A unit of meaning is not the same as
a sentence. Sometimes a sentence is broken up into a verb
phrase and an object phrase, if the latter is a "key word" or
critical element of the prayer on its own (see below). For
example, the 16th prayer in the Amida, what I call PR16,[129]
may be divided into the following phrases (clues used for
dividing are in **bold print**):

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[129]Throughout the remainder of the paper, I will refer to
the prayers of the Amida using the following abbreviations: **PR**
and a number between 1 and 19, corresponding to their order in
the Amida. For a complete listing of the prayers, their
wording in Goldschmidt's Seder, and their number, see APPENDIX
1.

TABLE 3.1	
PHRASE NUMBER	PHRASES -- UNITS OF MEANING FROM PR16 -- "SH'MA QOLEINU"
1	**Sh'ma qoleinu** H' eloheinu
2	v'rakheim aleinu
3	v'qabeil b'rakhamim uv'ratzon et t'filateinu
4	**ki** eil shomei'a
5	t'filoteinu v'takhanuneinu ata mei'olam
6	**Barukh ata H'**
7	shomei'a t'fila.

Many prayers contain individual words which we would designate as "key words" critical to understanding the meaning of the prayer. Often they appear in the opening phrase(s) or the khatima, the formulaic closing phrase of the prayer. For example, in the opening phrases of two prayers - PR8 and PR10 - are found the words t'vu'ata and shofar, respectively. The Biblical contexts of these words are central to understanding the meaning of the prayer. The khatimot of PR4 and PR7 have the words da'at and go'eil, respectively. Sometimes key words appear within the body of the prayer. In these cases, which provide a similar indication of a central theme, the context helps the reader to identify them as key words. Thus, the word panekha of b'ur panekha, which appears twice in the body of PR19, would constitute a key word for our purposes. In general, all verbs were considered significant and were

investigated.

A third set of units of meaning emerged during my research. The Amida reveals a pattern of using words which frequently are paired in the Bible. By identifying these potential word-pairs in the Amida prayers, important units of meaning can be discovered. For example, the nouns hagadol, hagibor, and hanora appearing consecutively in PR1 and the verbs meimit and m'khayeh in PR2 were hypothesized to be word-pairs (or triplets), a hypothesis confirmed during the "concordance work phase" of research.

This led to another discovery that the Amida had appropriated a form of Biblical parallelism wherein a word from one phrase of a prayer was paired with a word from another phrase as a unit of meaning. For example, in PR4 nouns da'at and bina and in PR6 verbs khatanu and fashanu were found to be evidence of prior Biblical pairing.

Concordance Work Phase

The "concordance work phase" of research consisted of a search through the Bible for the units of meaning of the prayer texts in order to identify any intersections between the Bible and the Amida. In order for a Biblical verse to be considered a "significant" antecedent of a unit of meaning

from the Amida, the Biblical verse needed to contain: (1) at least two words from an Amida phrase, usually but not exclusively including the main verb, (2) one key word (as described above), or (3) both elements of a word-pair.

Two tools were used in this phase: the Mandelkern Qongordantzia laTorah Nevi'im uKhtuvim (Concordance to the TaNaKh)[130] and a computerized data base called Otzar haTora Ham'mukhshav (Computerized Tora Treasure).[131] The Mandelkern Concordance which places all the possible configuration of meanings on a few pages, allows close scrutiny of every possibility and consequently led to discovery of important connections including the phenomenon of Biblical parallelism and word pairs. Initially, I also used S. Schonfeld's Standard Siddur - Prayerbook which offers a lineal set of Biblical and Rabbinic references.[132] A vast majority of his Biblical sources, however, appeared to be based on similari-

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[130]Solomon Mandelkern, Qongordantzia laTorah Nevi'im uKh'tuvim [Mandelkern Concordance to the Holy Scriptures] (Lipsia: Veit et Comp., c. 1896). Mandelkern organizes words by roots, beginning with the verbs in tenses and with suffixes and following them with nouns.

[131]Otzar haTora haM'mukhshav, a Hebrew data base produced in B'nei B'rak, Israel, contains the entire TaNaKh and a large selection of the major works of Rabbinic literature (including Mishnah, Babylonian and Palestinian Talmuds, Tosefta and collections of Midrash). The data base is available in the Judaica Reading Room of the National Library in Israel. I would like to thank my teacher, Dr. Lewis M. Barth, for inviting me into his home for large chunks of time to use his copy of the data base.

[132](Great Britain: Lowe & Brydone Ltd., 1974).

ties in theme. My work required more precise linguistic connections between the Amida and the Bible.

The Computerized Tora Treasure speeds the process. For units of meaning with common roots - for example tashuv in PR14 or l'tova in PR9 - the computer enables a researcher to sift through large numbers of entries quickly. Since the computer responds only to what it is asked, some not-so-readily apparent connections might be overlooked. Here the advantages of the concordance are readily apparent; it presents all possible intersections on a few pages. With both tools, research on one word occasionally would yield the necessary information; more often, multiple words from the same phrase needed to be investigated.

Using a Data Base

I constructed a data base to store the results of the research.[133] It contained the following fields for separate pieces of information: a pre-assigned RECORD number, the

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[133]I chose a data base called 3BY5, a public domain software program which resembles a modified 3by5 index card filing system. It is simple to set up and easy to use. The program can be ordered from Softshell Corporation, 1254 Thornbury Rd., West Chester, PA 19380, (215) 696-3137. I also set up separate data bases for my bibliography and research notes. See APPENDIX 2 for a print-out of one entry.

I would like to thank Gay Courter for her advice and suggestions on the use of a data base for research and writing.

SOURCE code (to identify research using the concordance, computer data base, etc.), the Amida PRAYER number, the PRAYER phrase or word in HEBREW and ENGLISH as it appears in the Amida, the LOCATION of the Biblical citation, the full quotation of the Biblical VERSE in ENGLISH and HEBREW trans- literation, comments on the CONTEXT of the verse, and NOTES on significance or potential intertextual categories for the verse.   Over 435 records were entered into the data base during the initial research.[134]

During the course of my research, various similarities emerged among the verses I was finding. After developing a list of categories of intertextuality and assigning a code to each category, I returned to the data base entered category codes.[135] This also allowed me to code those verses which at second glance lacked a fundamental connection to the Amida unit and therefore needed to be eliminated from the final analysis.   This reduced the significant matches to 346 entries.

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[134]These 435 records included entries for multiple appear- ances some word pairs and entries for a word or word-pair in which multiple examples were listed in the same entry. These discrepancies were accounted for in later phases of the research.

[135]The major categories included: Biblical prayers, references to Divine actions, word-pairs, the changing of tenses, Divine promises, verses with God as speaker, involving salvation language (in verse or context), related to the exodus, repetitions of the history of Israel, references to the covenant or berit.

Once all the entries were coded, the benefits were readily apparent. Reports printed in Biblical verse order indicated which sections of the Bible and which specific narratives and poetry were utilized extensively.[136] Other reports were to be generated to reveal all the Biblical verses which fell into a certain category and to show which prayers evidenced which categories. Additionally, reports were constructed to determine which individual prayers drew from which books of the Bible.

Overview of the Data

The computer data base indicates that there are approximately 346 examples of the intersection of a Biblical verse with the Amida. In the case where a single verse related to more than one prayer, that verse was included once for each prayer in the final count.[137]

Of the 346 intersections, 54 are derived from the Torah, 134 from the Prophets and 158 from the Writings. When looking at the numbers derived from individual books, I note that Psalms offers the largest number of entries (eighty). The

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[136]The reports appear in APPENDIXES 3 and 4. See Chapters 4-6 for analyses of the results.

[137]The number 346 is approximate. I have attempted to identify those verses with the closest connection to the Amida.

second largest influence comes from Isaiah (fifty one) and Proverbs (twenty nine). The next number of entries are distributed among all three sections of the Bible: Jeremiah (twenty three), Deuteronomy (twenty), Ezekiel (eighteen), Exodus (fourteen), and 2 Chronicles (eleven) and Nehemiah (ten).

The Advantages of Computers for Literary Analysis of Liturgy

The use of computers and the compilation of data bases of liturgical texts could expand the frontiers of research and discovery. Three particular advantages present themselves:

First, computerized data bases of liturgy enable a researcher to review large amounts of data on liturgy. Computers when properly used can reduce the size and amount of the data which needs to be studied. Confronted by an ever-increasing volume of data, specialists and non-specialists alike could search through an abundance of liturgical litera-ture which is part of existing data bases to locate needed sources.

Second, one might apply computer technology to the study of different siddurim. One might enter the texts from the Amida of Siddurim of different rites. Such a data base would enhance form-critical analyses by enabling its users to make

precise determinations of major and minor differences in texts and to assign them more precisely to time periods or locations. Philologists would be able to trace the linguistic changes. For example, a fruitful study of the changing Siddur would analyze modern versions of Siddurim including but not limited to the Reform Gates of Prayer, self-produced synagogue Siddurim, the Reconstructionist Daily Prayerbk, the Conservative Sim Shalom, and the Israeli Liberal HaAvoda Shebaleiv.[138]

Third, to my knowledge, the only concordance of liturgy available is Jacob Moshe Feldman's Areshet Sefateinu whose work focuses only on Biblical and Rabbinic sources of major phrases in the siddur.[139] However, there is not a concordance which catalogues all the individual words of the siddur. The use of a data base would speed the process of compilation and production of such a work. A printed concordance of liturgy would offers the same benefits as any concordance; a concordance on computer data base would be more beneficial. One could connect two databases - for example the siddur and TaNaKh concordance databases or the siddur concordance and a TaNaKh text database - and instruct them to locate specific, pre-determined categories of intertextuality. The results of

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[138]Siddur Sim Shalom: A Prayer Book for Shabbat, Festivals and Weekdays, ed., with trans., Jules Harlow (New York: Rabbinical Assembly, 1885); Avoda Shebaleiv, [English: Service of the Heart], (Jerusalem: Israeli Movement of Progressive Judaism);

[139]Feldman, Areshet Sefatenu.

such research just on the Amida would far surpass this paper in its comprehensiveness.

<div align="center">CHAPTER FOUR:</div>

LITERARY TECHNIQUES FOR THE APPROPRIATION OF BIBLICAL VERSES

The appropriation of Biblical verses by the Amida is achieved by means of by means of four techniques of appropriation. These technique are: the use of Biblical word-pairs and Biblical parallelism, the changing of verb tenses and suffixes, the utilization of the language of Divine self-description, and the appropriation of the Biblical language of salvation. In this sixth chapter, I will summarize the principles of each technique, give evidence of its function in the Amida, and clarify its contribution to the study of intertextuality.[140]

The Use of Biblical Word-Pairs and Biblical Parallelism

In my research I came across groups of words which appeared together both in the Amida and in a variety of locations in the Bible. Almost every prayer in the Amida could offer at least one example of this phenomenon.

This literary technique, using Biblical word-pairs and Biblical parallelism, provides the direct link between the Bible and the Amida. Even as the Biblical antecedents invoke

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[140]In Chapter 7, I will analyze one Amida prayer to show how these four techniques interact to create meaning.

specific themes and events (for example, tz'daqa and mishpat, appropriated by PR11, recalls Amos' prophetic messages), the word-pairs and parallelism serve to ground the newer target text (Amida) in the earlier source text (Bible). Together the word-pairs and parallelism foster an awareness of connection and continuity between the two texts.

The first category of word-pairs consists of nouns, adjectives, or verbs which appear in the same sequence in both the Bible and the Amida. I will list the word-pairs (followed by the Biblical citations) in the order they appear in the Amida. The most frequent examples include: in PR1, Avraham, Yitzkhaq and Ya'aqov (Ex 3:6, 3:15, 4:5, 6:3); in PR1, haqadol, haqibor, and hanora (Deut 10:17; Jer 32:18; Dan 9:4; Neh 1:5, 9:32); in PR1, various groupings of the words melekh, ozeir, moshi'a and magein (Deut 33:29; Is 43:11; Hos 13:4; Ps 33:20, 54:6, 115:9); in PR2, meimit and m'khaye (Deut 32:39; 1 Sam 1:6, 2:6); in PR3, gadol and qadosh (Is 12:6, 57:15; Ps 99:3, 102:20); in PR4, various grouping of the words dei'a, bina and haskeil (Ex 31:3; 1 K 7:14; Is 44:19; Jer 3:15; Ps 119:29; Prov 2:6, 4:1, 9:10, 21:11; Eccl 12:9; Dan 1:17, 9:22; 1 Ch 22:12); in PR9, tal and matar (Deut 28:12, 32:2; 2 Sam 1:21; 1 K 17:1); in PR11, tz'daqa and mishpat (Gen 18:19; 2 Sam 8:15; 1 K 10:9; Is 16:5, 33:5, 56:1; Jer 22:3/15, 33:15, 9:23; Ez 18:5 /21 /19 /27, 33:14/19, 45:9; Ps 33:5, 37:28, 99:4, 119:121; 2 Ch 9:8); in PR16, t'filoteinu and takhanu-

<u>neinu</u> (1 K 8:45/49; 2 Ch 6:35/39; Ps 6:10; Dan 9:3/17); and in PR19, various combinations of <u>shalom</u>, <u>tova</u>, <u>b'rakha</u>, <u>khesed</u>, <u>rakhamim</u> or <u>khesed</u>, <u>tz'daqa</u>, <u>rakhamim</u> and <u>shalom</u> (Deut 30:15/19; Is 60:17; Jer 33:9; Mal 2:5; Ps 23:6; Prov 21:-21;).[141]

The second category of word-pairs contains nouns, adjectives or verbs which are used in parallel structures in both the Bible and the Amida. This category includes: in PR2, <u>b'khesed</u> and <u>b'rakhamim</u> (2 K 3:17; Jer 16:5; Ps 103:4; Dan 1:9); in PR6, <u>khatanu</u> and <u>fashanu</u> (Ex 34:7; Is 1:28; Jer 33:8; Ps 25:7; Job 13:23, 34:37; Dan 9:24); in PR10, <u>shofar</u> and <u>neis</u> (Is 18:3; Jer 51:27); in PR10, <u>t'qa</u> and <u>sa</u> (Is 18:3; Jer 51:27); and in PR12, <u>ya'avdu</u> and <u>yakhritu</u> (Deut 9:3; 2 K 9:8; Is 13:11; Ez 25:16; Micah 5:9).

In the process of appropriating the second category of word-pairs, the compiler of the Amida utilized the structure of Biblical parallelism. In Biblical parallelism, two versets which follow consecutively modify one another. As Robert Alter has shown, these verses function generally in one of two ways: "static" (as mere repetitions for emphasis) or "dynamic" (where the second verset emphasizes and heightens the force of

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[141]The word-pair, <u>avinu</u> and <u>malkeinu</u> does not appear in this study since it is a Rabbinic, not Biblical, pairing.

the first verset).[142] In either case, the point here is that the word-pairs which appear in both the Bible and the Amida are both identified as part of a parallel structure. The appropriation of the structure of Biblical parallelism does not presume or necessitate an appropriation of meaning with the word-pair.

An examination of the Amida reveals that the dynamic function is utilized. For example, the appearance of word-pair b'khesed and b'rakhamim evidences dynamic parallelism in PR2. The phrases of PR2 exhibit a subtle shift in the intensity of God's power. In the first phrase, God is m'khalkeil khayim b'khesed ("sustaining of life with kindness"). The second phrase, God is m'khayei meitim b'rakhamim rabim ("reviving the dead with great mercy"). The extent of God's power of God expands from the power to continue life to a more awe-inspiring power of giving life to that which has died. The heightening movement from b'khesed to b'rakhamim rabim is explained in a homiletically by R. Joseph Albo who focused on the addition of the word rabim or "great". He suggested that Divine kindness (khesed) was sufficient to maintain life. Yet after death, Divine kindness and mercy, rakhamim, alone were not sufficient to bring a person to life again, "but there is

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[142]See the chapter entitled "The Dynamics of Parallelism," In Robert Alter, The Art of Biblical Poetry (New York: Basic Books, 1985), pp. 3-26.

need of great mercy [rakhamim **rabim**]."[143]   Similarly, PR10
evidences parallel structuring with its use of the Biblical
pairs: t'ga + sa and shofar + neis.   In their Biblical
contexts (Is 18:3 and Jer 51:27), these words signal the
beginning of the messianic future.   Through recontextual-
ization, they are transformed from "the prediction of the
messianic future ... into a petition for the [general]
future."[144]   The initial words in each pair (t'ga and shofar)
announce the immanent freedom while the latter two words (sa
and neis) begin the process of the march to freedom (with the
raising of the banners).[145]   A slight movement, then, is
evidenced from announcement to physically readying the people
to march.

Changing of Verb Tenses and Suffixes

One of the most frequent intertextual techniques employed

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[143]R. Joseph Albo as reported in Jacobson, The Weekday
Siddur, p. 219.

[144]Ibid., p. 235.   Jacobson comments specifically on two
verses from Isaiah (11:12 and 27:13) which contain only one
word of each pair.   His explanation, however, is relevant to
the Biblical passages we cite.

[145]Pirkei de R. Eliezer (end of Chap. 31; also Yalkut
Shim'oni, Isa. 436) as quoted in Jacobson, pp. 234-235. "No
part of the ram [sacrificed instead of Isaac] went to waste...
As for its two horns, the blast of the left was heard at Mt.
Sinai, while the right horn ... is destined to be blown in the
future to come, at the assembling of the dispersed, as it is
said (Isa. 27:13): 'And it shall come to pass that on that day
a great shofar shall be blown...'"

by the compiler of the Amida is the changing of verb tenses, moods and suffixes. While the Bible as a classic is utilized as a thesaurus of language and for the composition of prayer texts, the verb forms and suffixes need adjustment to make them more specific to the prayer texts. In the process of changing verb forms and suffixes, the Biblical language, specific to a certain time period, is transferred to a new context. It becomes an integral part of the worshipper's current situation or moment. By altering a phrase slightly - from a suffix -ekha or "your" to -einu or "our" or from a first person singular verb (God saying "I will") to third person cohortative (worshipper praying "God, please do ..."), the Biblical reality is made immediate. In other words, the meaning of Biblical phrase can transcend Biblical experience and become contemporary reality. This form is so frequent that it creates one of the primary rules for Bible-Amida intertextual relationship.

The first category consists of changing the singular to the plural. In most cases this means that Biblical suffixes "my" and "your" (singular) to "our". In some examples this change will include changing the verb from the first person singular to first person plural. In this category, the verbs which are changed must describe human, not Divine, actions. Also, the suffixes which are changed must pertain only to humans. For example, the Jeremiah 17:14 phrase includes the

word r'fa'eini. Since the suffix -i denotes a person, a change of this suffix would be included in this category. In contrast, if the suffix -i denoted God, the change would be not included. Changes to verbs where God does the action are included in category 3; changes to suffixes which refer to God (as in rakhamav where the suffix -av denotes God) are included in category 4 (see below). Clear examples of category 1 changes are:

The Exodus 3:6 phrase elohei avikha elohei avraham ... from which the word avikha is changed in PR4 to avoteinu (as in elohei avoteinu elohei avraham ...). The singular suffix -kha is changed to the plural suffix -einu.

The Psalm 119:153-154 phrase R'ei on'yii ... Riva rivi ug'aleinu from which the word on'yii is changed in PR7 to v'on'einu and the word rivi is changed to riveinu (as in R'ei v'on'einu v'riva riveinu ug'aleinu). The singular suffix -i is changed to the plural suffix -einu two times.

The Jeremiah 17:14 phrase R'fa'eini YHVH v'eirafei hoshi-'eini v'ivashei'a from which the words r'fa'eini and hoshi'eini are changed in PR8 to r'fa'einu and hoshi'einu and the words v'eirafei and v'ivashei'a are changed to v'neirafei and v'nivashei'a (as in R'fa'einu H' v'neir-

afei hoshi'einu v'nivashei'a). The singular suffix -i is
twice changed to the plural suffix -einu). Also, the
first person singular verb tenses ei'rafei and ivashei'a
are changed to the first person plural verb tenses
nei'rafei and nivashei'a.

The second category encompasses changes from a second or
third person plural form to a first person plural. Most fre-
quently, this refers to switching suffixes from "your"
(plural), "their," or "them" to "our". This category only
encompasses changes of those suffixes which denote a human
beings and excludes changes to suffixes which denote God.
Examples include:

The Exodus 3:15 phrase elohei avoteikhem elohei avraham
from which the word avoteikhem is changed in PR1 to
avoteinu (as in becomes elohei avoteinu elohei avraham
...). The suffix -khem is changed to the first person
plural suffix -einu.

The Exodus 4:4 phrase elohei avotam elohei avraham...
from which the word avotam is changed in PR1 to avoteinu
(as in elohei avoteinu elohei avraham...). The suffix -am
is changed to the first person plural suffix -einu.

The Nehemiah 9:29 phrase lahashivam el toratekha from

which the word lahashivam is changed in PR5 to hashiveinu (as in hashiveinu avinu latoratekha). The suffix -am is changed to the first person plural suffix -einu.

The third category encompasses changes in verbs (for which God is the subject) in which a first person singular verb tense in Scripture is replaced by a second or third person singular verb form or a participial phrase. Examples include:

The Deuteronomy 32:39 phrase amit va'akhayeh from which the words amit and va'akhayeh are changed in PR2 to meimit and um'khaye (as in meimit um'khaye). The first person singular verb tenses (with the prefix a) are changed to the participles (beginning with the prefix m' or mei).

The Jeremiah 33:15 atzmi'akh l'david tzemakh from which the word atzmi'akh is changed in PR15 to tatzmi'akh (as in et tzemakh david ... tatzmi'akh). The first person singular verb tense (with the prefix a-) is changed to a second person singular verb tense (with the prefix ta-).

The fourth category contains changes in which a reference to the Divine in the third person is replaced by a reference to God in the second person. Examples include:

The Deuteronomy 7:9 phrase ha'eil hane'eman from which
the word ha'eil is changed in PR2 to ata (as in v'ne'eman
ata). The mention of the Divine in the third person as
ha'eil is changed to a reference in the second person
ata.

The Psalm 47:3 phrase ki YHVH ... melekh gadol from which
the word YHVH is changed in PR3 to ata (as in ki melekh
gadol ... ata). The mention of the Divine in the third
person as YHVH is changed to a reference in the second
person ata.

The Lamentations 3:22 phrase Khasdei YHVH ki lo tamnu ki
lo kholo rakhamav from which the words khasdei YHVH are
changed in PR18 to khasidekha and the word rakhamav is
changed to rakhamekha (as in ki lo khulo rakhamekha ...
ki lo tamu khasidekha). The mention of the Divine in the
third person YHVH is changed to a second person singular
suffix -kha. The third person singular suffix -av is
changed to a second person singular suffix -kha.

Utilization of Divine Self-Description

The Bible is replete with situations in which God speaks
directly to humans and reveals the Divine attributes. Many of
these phrases of Divine "self-description" were appropriated

by the compiler of the Amida. These Divine utterances become
integral parts of the communal prayer through the use of the
technique of changing tenses, suffixes and pronouns.

PR1 and Exodus 3:6

For example, the PR1 phrase _elohei avoteinu elohei_
avraham... appropriates language from Exodus 3:6 _elohei_
avikha elohei avraham..... In Exodus 3, when Moses marvels at
the sight of "a bush all aflame, yet ... not consumed," he
wonders why the bush does not burn up.[146] God calls to him
out of the bush _Moshe Moshe_ and identifies the phenomenon as
the Divine presence.[147] God says, _anokhi elohei avikha elo-_
hei avraham elohei yitzkhaq veilohei ya'aqov ("I am the God of
your father, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God
of Jacob") (Ex 3:6). God's self-identification represents a
significant moment in the narrative. As Nahum Sarna writes,

> In the present instance, the epithet ["the God of
> your father"] identifies the God who is addressing
> Moses with the One who made promises of peoplehood
> and national territory to each of the patriarchs.

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[146]Nahum Sarna, The JPS Torah Commentary: Exodus (Philad-
elphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1991), p.14. He writes,
"The startling suspension of nature's fixed laws arouses
Moses' curiosity."

Except where otherwise noted, all translations of
Biblical passages are from Tanakh (Philadelphia: Jewish
Publication Society, 1985).

[147]Ibid., p. 15. Sarna notes that "In the Bible, repeti-
tion of a name often characterizes a direct divine call." He
also explains the phrase anokhi or "I am" in Ex 3:6 is a
"solemn, self-identifying mode of address ..."

> It gives voice to the unbroken continuity of the generations and puts the present plight of the Israelites and the imminent call to Moses into historical and theological perspective.[148]

According to the above passage, Moses has not yet encountered God. Therefore, the identification acts as a formal introduction. It also serves as to review of God's relationship with Israel throughout time. Moses' reconnection with the Israelite people comes later in his life. With verse 6, God instruct Moses regarding the extensive, covenantal ties between God, the patriarchs and their descendants. God also prepares Moses for the "imminent call" into the service of God.

PR1 transforms the Biblical phrase elohei avikha elohei avraham ... from an utterance in which God reveals the Divine identity into a liturgical phrase of address toward God. The PR1 phrase elohei avoteinu elohei avraham ... functions for the worshipper in a manner similar the way its Biblical antecedent functioned for Moses. In acknowledging the connection between Exodus 3 and the Amida, the worshipper relives with Moses the introduction to God described in Exodus 3. Like Moses who answered God's call of Moshe Moshe, the worshipper answers God's "call to prayer"[149] by reciting the prayer. Consequently, he or she answers the call to prayer thus answering Hineni by his or her physical presence. Thus

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[148]Ibid., p. 15.

[149]Tankhuma Ki Tavo 1. The Tankhuma statement assumes that God ordains prayer through Moses.

the worshipper voluntarily enters a relationship with God[150] through PR1 which utilizes God's own words. Simultaneously, the worshipper becomes part of the historical familial relationship with God through his or her descendance from the patriarchs. By making the connection verbally with the patriarchs and with Moses, the worshipper reestablishes a connection with the God and the people of Israel.[151]

PR2 + PR8 and Exodus 15:26

The PR2 phrase v'rofei hakholim and the PR8 phrase H' rofei kholei amo yisrael appropriate language from Exodus 15:26 ki ani YHVH rof'ekha. In Exodus 15:26, God explains that the conditions for protection from the danger of diseases that inflict the Egyptians are "doing what is upright in His sight" and observing the commandments and laws.[152] God's statement refers to the incident at Marah (Ex 15:22-25) where the Israelites were threatened with bitter undrinkable water.[153] God delivers them from this danger. In verse 26, God promises to deliver them again if only they are obedient.

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[150]Sarna, p. 14. He writes, "Hebrew hinneni [sic] is the standard, spontaneous, unhesitating response to a call.

[151]Ibid., p. 15. See his comments on "the God of your father" above.

[152]Mekhilta de-R. Ishmael Beshallah, Va-Yissa I understands this phrase to refer to honesty in business dealings.

[153]J.H. Hertz, The Pentateuch and Haftorahs (London: Soncino Press, 1981), p. 274.

God describes another Divine attribute, ki ani YHVH rof'ekha ("I the Lord am your healer"), that God "is the ultimate source of all healing."[154]

In PR2 the Biblical phrase ki ani YHVH rof'ekha is changed to v'rofei hakholim ("and who heals the sick") and is attached to a list of other Divine attributes. In PR8 the Biblical phrase becomes the final phrase of the khatima, H' rofei kholei amo yisrael ("God, who heals the sick of His people Israel"). Both prayers appropriate the Divine utterance of self-description but they generalize it. The attribute to heal against the diseases brought upon the Egyptians (vs. 26) is transformed to a power to heal to all ailments.[155]

The appropriation of Divine self-descriptions has a pedagogical purpose. In PR2 and PR8, the worshipper is instructed about God's power to heal. The continuous mention of Divine attributes, as part of the daily liturgy, firmly embeds the theological concept of God as healer in the worshipper's God-concept.

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[154]Sarna, p. 85.

[155]T.B. Bava Metzi'a 107b as quoted in Urbach, p. 280. R. Hanina said, "All (ailments) are in the power of Heaven except colds and draughts ..." The latter are considered the result of human deeds ("keeping one's soul far from oneself").

Three other particularly clear examples of Divine self-description should be pointed out briefly:

God uses the descriptive v'go'aleikh q'dosh yisrael ("I your Redeemer, the Holy One of Israel") in Isaiah 41:14. This phrase becomes part of the final formulaic closing of Amida PR7, wherein God is called go'eil yisrael ("the redeemer of Israel).[156]

In Isaiah 61:08, God declares ki ani YHVH oheiv mishpat ("for I the Lord love justice"). This descriptive becomes part of the formula closing of PR11 oheiv tz'daqa u'mishpat ("who loves righteousness and justice").

In Malachi 1:14, God describes the Divine presence as ki melekh gadol ani ("for I am a great King"). PR3 transforms this into a ki melekh gadol v'qadosh ata ("For You are a great and holy King").

The Appropriation of the Biblical Language of Salvation

Of the 346 Biblical verses which were appropriated by the Amida, approximately 177 or approximately fifty percent of the

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[156]Urbach, p.649ff. Urbach points out that the Rabbinic concepts of ga'al (to redeem) and q'ula (redemption) a derived only in part from the Scriptures and in part from other sources.

entries contain or relate to themes of salvation. These verses originate in all the books of the Bible, particularly the prophetic books and the Psalms. The Amida, I will show, appropriates a large number of verses containing multiple notions of salvation from the Bible and recontextualizes them into Rabbinic concepts of Salvation. A few examples of Biblical intertexts which deal with salvation will need to suffice.

Some verses contain words of redemption. Examples include (words of salvation are in **bold print**): Isaiah 49:7 (ko amar YHVH **go'eil** yisrael) which is appropriated by PR2; Jeremiah 17:14 (r'fa'eini YHVH v'eirafei **hoshi'eini v'iva-sheia**) which is appropriated by PR8; and Psalm 40:14 (r'tzei YHVH **l'hatzileini** YHVH l'ezrati khusha) which is utilized by PR1.

Some verse address themes of redemption. Examples include: in PR5, 1 Kings 8:34 (vahasheivotam el ha'adama asher natata la'avotam) which deals with return to the land; in PR6, Jeremiah 33:8 (V'tihartim mikol avonam asher khat'u li v'salakhti l'khol avonoteihem asher khat'u li) which discusses forgiveness of sin in the future; and in PR10, Isaiah 18:3 (Kol yoshvei teiveil v'shokhnei aretz kinso neis harim tir'u v'khitqo'a shofar tishma'u) which discusses the defeat of enemies and the new day of God.

Some verses, not included in the total of 177 verse, convey notions of immediate salvation (wherein salvation occurs within the narrative itself). If these were added to the total number of verse with Salvation language, then the influence of the Biblical language of salvation on the Amida would rise appreciably. Intertexts in this grouping include: in PR2, Exodus 15:20ff wherein God's saving power at the waters of Marah is actualized in the narrative; and in PR16, 1 Kings 17:22 (Vayishma YHVH b'qol eiliyahu vatashav nefesh hayeled al qirbo) in which the dead child is immediately resurrected.

Two portrayals of the "End" and "the days of the Messiah," the Biblical terms most closely related to redemption, come from the vision of "the end of days" of the prophets. Urbach explains,

> This vision already has two aspects: The one regards the future as the time when the existing world would be perfected, when it would be freed from its faults, from wickedness and injustice, from wars and catastrophe, and the world would be full of knowledge, and the spirit of the Lord would be poured upon all flesh (Isaiah 4:2-6, Joel 3:1-4). The other aspect conceives "the day of the Lord" as a day of ruin and destruction of the present world. That day will be "a day of darkness and gloom" (Zephaniah 1:15). The earth will again be without form and void, and the Carmel a wilderness (Jeremiah 4:23).[157]

These two Biblical visions were appropriated by the Rabbis as

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[157]Urbach, p. 650. In this last sectino of the chapter, all translations of the Bible are from Urbach's book.

they created their own idea of redemption.

The Bible offers multiple images of the "redeemer" who would bring the redemption. God is identified as the redeemer in Isaiah 43:11-12: "I, even I, am the Lord; and beside Me there is no savior." A human king is suggested by Balaam's prophesy in Numbers 24:17: "There shall step forth a star out of Jacob, and a scepter shall rise out of Israel, and shall smite through the corners of Moab, and break down all the sons of Seth." Isaiah 11:1-10 notes that the redeemer will be of the "stock of Jesse." His power will derive not from military might, but from the "rod of his mouth," "the breath of his lips," and his "righteousness" and "faithfulness." Isaiah 52:13 and 53:2-6 describe an "exalted and lifted up" redeemer who "had no form or comeliness."[158]

The Rabbis appropriated the Biblical ideas and visions and utilized them to develop their own vision of redemption. The various Biblical verses which "recognize the possibility of the resurrection of the dead and the power of God – and even prophets to revive the dead" (e.g., 1 Sam 2:6) are transformed into the belief of a general resurrection of the dead in the end of days.[159] The general terms of redemption

[158]Ibid., pp. 650-651.

[159]Ibid., pp. 652-653. M. Sanhedrin 10, 1 which mentions "And these are they that have no share in the world to come: he who says that there is not resurrections of the dead, and

found in the Bible (e.g., <u>ga'al</u> and <u>yoshu'a</u>) were transformed during the Second Temple period into specific forms with concrete meanings related to national-Messianic hopes.[160] Thus a Mishna dating from Temple times mentions the eight benedictions pronounced by the High Priest on Yom Kippur as: "for the Torah, for the Temple-service, for the Thanksgiving, for the Forgiveness of Sin, for the Temple, for Israel, for the Priests, and for the rest a (general) prayer.[161] Also, prior to the destruction, repentance is a necessary precursor to redemption.

Following the destruction of the Temple, there was a transformation of the notion of redemption. We see a "complete abandonment of the realistic elements surrounding the redemption and its absolute integration into supernatural processes built on the ruins of existing history and actualities."[162] The work of redemption is removed from human control. Some Rabbis argue that God will bring the redemption; others even abolish the personal Messiah concept. Moreover, redemption develops its "national-political connota-

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(he who says that) the Torah is not from Heaven, and an Epicurean." Urbach notes that the mention of resurrection in the above passage "does not attest the commencement of this belief, but the struggle for its acceptance against its opponents."

[160]Urbach, p. 656.

[161]<u>M. Yoma 7, 1</u>.

[162]Urbach, p. 676.

tion."[163]

Within the Amida the Biblical verses and phrases have been recontextualized to reflect the Rabbinic and Geonic ideas of redemption. Hoffman details Geonic conflict (particularly Saadia Gaon's objections) over the notion of redemption in the Siddur which nevertheless was included in the Siddur.[164] As Joseph Heinemann explains,

> Granted that the messianic supplications inserted in these prayers do not occur in all of the rites, and that some of the Geonim and the later codifiers of the law objected strenuously to them, nonetheless their persistence in many of the rites is an eloquent testimony to the impassioned yearning of generations of Jewish worshippers who were unable to restrain themselves from adding an urgent plea for the speedy coming of the future Deliverance whenever they were to recall, or to praise God for, the deliverances of the past.[165]

Salvation, then, can be future-oriented, past-oriented, apocalyptic or immediate. The verses from the Bible invites a mixture of all four notions simultaneously. The Amida as a whole looks toward the realization of the messianic world whenever it will happen - whether in the end of days, in some other future time or in the immediate present (in some small way) during or soon after the moment of worship.

Joseph Heinemann argues that the Amida (as well as the

[163]Urbach, pp. 690-692.

[164]Hoffman, Canonization, pp. 42-44, 52-53.

[165]Heinemann, p. 35.

prayers U-beken ten pakhdeka and aleinu l'shabei'akh in the High Holiday liturgy, and the benedictions recited after the prophets) contains a detailed picture of the nature and significance of the future redemption.[166] It mixes pre-destruction national-Messianic hopes with the post-destruction national-political themes. The benedictions of the Amida create an impression that the act of prayer, at least as it applies to the Amida, is in fact a messianic, salvatory process. It suggests that the Amida can be read as a blue-print for the messianic world. Each prayer becomes a plea for another element of salvation to be realized.

An analysis of the specific messianic theology of the Amida remains beyond the scope of this paper. However, the outlines of the messianic vision are clear. The messianic world will be full of da'at and bina and of people returning to toratekha in full t'shuva. God will forgive khatoteinu (and we will be healed of all disease including our sins), leading perhaps to go'aleinu and of all Israel. The t'vu'a will be plentiful; rain will be abundant. Israel will be gathered mei'arbot k'nafei ha'aretz to return to Israel, a land ruled by tzemakh David and judged by shofteinu and

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[166]Ibid., p. 35.

yo'atzeinu.   With our enemies destroyed, _tzadiqim_ will flourish. Jerusalem will be rebuilt, the service reinstated and God will continue to hear all our prayers.   This world will witness God's _neis_ daily as it is blessed with _shalom_.[167]

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[167]_Ibid._, p. 35.   Heinemann also lists the "manifold aspects of future redemption" contained in the Amida: "prayers for the ingathering of the exiles; for the total destruction of the wicked and of the 'kingdom of arrogance'; for the happiness and the glorification of the righteous (and of the Jewish people), when the divine promises in which the people had for so long believed would be fulfilled; for the rebuilding of Jerusalem and the Temple, and the return to its midst of the Divine Presence; for the restoration of the Davidic monarchy and the coming of the Messianic King from the line of David; for the submission of all flesh to the Lord alone; for the destruction of idolatry and the establishment on earth of the kingdom of God, with its universal acceptance by all mankind."

THE FIRST RUBRIC OF INTERTEXTUALITY:

APPROPRIATION OF THE LANGUAGE AND GENRE OF BIBLICAL PRAYER

In the next two chapters, I will delineate what I call the Three Rubrics of Intertextuality between the Amida and the Bible which corresponds to the three ways Biblical language and genres are appropriated and recontextualized. According to my research, the compiler/composer of the Amida drew upon language which students of the Bible have called Biblical Prayers, Divine Promises and Divine Actions in constructing his liturgical creation. By weaving Biblical language into the Amida, the compiler created a typology through which Biblical events that had singular meaning in the Biblical period simultaneously developed new meanings when recontextualized into the liturgy. An analysis of each pattern of language appropriation separately will demonstrate how each exhibits slightly different features of intertextuality. The recontextualization of the Biblical verses into the Amida will be explained by referring to relevant aspects of Rabbinic and Geonic thought.

In this chapter I will focus on the appropriation of language from Biblical Prayers. The Bible is replete with

instances of individual and communal prayer to God.[168]   I
would venture that almost every book of the Bible, with the
possible exception of the Scroll of Esther, includes some
explicit form of prayer to God. Prayers take many forms in
the Bible: "petition, expostulation, confession, meditation,
recollection, thanksgiving, praise, adoration, and interces-
sion." Some Biblical prayers contain more than one form. For
example, the Solomonic prayer at the consecration of the
Temple (1 Kings 8:12-53) includes almost every type of prayer
- adoration, thanksgiving, petition, and confession.[169]   In
the patriarchal period, prayer was a simple invocation -
spontaneous, direct and familiar - which called upon the name
of the God (Gen 12:8; 21:33). Some Biblical prayers included
a request for a sign or oracle (Gen 24:12-14, 1 Sam 14:36-37,
and 2 Kings 19:2ff.). This form of prayer evolved into the
prayers for understanding and guidance of Numbers 6:24-26, 1
Kings 3:6ff., and Psalms 119:33f. Prayers entreating God's
help are numerous.[170]   Fewer prayers are evidenced which

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[168]Koehler-Baumgartner as reported in "Prayer" in Ency-
clopaedia Judaica [Hereafter: EJ] (Jerusalem: Keter Publish-
ing, 1971), p. 978. According to Koehler-Baumgartner, there
are eighty-five prayers in the Bible in addition to sixty
complete psalms and fourteen parts of psalms that can be
considered prayers. Also five psalms are specifically called
prayers (Ps 17, 86, 90, 102, 142). ["But such liturgical
statistics depend on the definition given to prayer."]

[169]EJ, pp. 978-979.

[170]Ibid., p. 979. The EJ lists: Gen 28:20ff. for material
needs; Gen 24:12-14 for a successful mission; Gen 18:23-33 for
the salvation of Sodom; Ex 32:31-32 for erring Israel; Josh
7:6-9 for help in the hour of defeat; 2 Kings 19:15-19 for

express "the highest spiritual yearnings (Ps 51:1ff., 119:-
1ff.), transcending, like prophecy, the horizon of history and
reaching to the realm of eschatology (Is 66:22-23)."[171]

Prayer in the Bible is a critical part of the Divine-
human relationship. The concept of prayer is based on a
concept of God as a personal deity who "exists, hears, and
answers" (Ps 65:3; cf. 115:3-7). Essentially an emotional
outpouring to God, it expresses humanity's need to enter a
relationship with the Divine.[172] Prayer evolved from a spon-
taneous and personal outpouring to God to the more complex
liturgical patterns and musical renderings (Ezra 2:65; 1 Ch
16; and many of the Psalms).[173]

In my investigation on the Amida, over 84 examples
emerged where the prayers of the Amida appropriated language
from Biblical prayers. Approximately 37 verses come from the
Psalms; the remainder are evenly distributed throughout the
remainder of the TaNaKh. Most significantly, with the
exception of PR10, PR11 and PR15, all the prayers of the Amida

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deliverance from enemies; Jer 14:1ff., 15:1ff., Amos 7:2ff.
from prophets on behalf of the people; Dan 9:3-19 for Israel's
restoration; Ezra 9:6-15 for the sins of the people; Neh 1:4-
11 for the distress of the people.

[171]Ibid., p. 979.

[172]EJ, pp. 978-979.

[173]Ibid., p. 981.

use language from at least one Biblical prayer.

These statistics, then, point to a significant instance of intertextuality. It suggests that the genre of Biblical prayer has been adopted as a genre by the Rabbis in general, and by the compiler of the Amida in particular. Heinemann wrote,

> ...the prayers [of fixed statutory worship] them-selves were not created ex nihilo. Biblical prayers and hymns, especially those in the book of Psalms, served as stylistic, formal, and linguistic sources for the new forms of prayer, which were freely derived from them ... the "early generations of pious men" who began the formulation of the fixed prayers would no longer take it upon them-selves to compose completely new and original hymns and prayers in the classical style of the psalms. They limited themselves instead to much more modest and simple prayers which, however, made use of Biblical prayer motifs and employed Biblical phras-eology and formulae.[174]

Heinemann's comments evidence the appropriation of the genre of Biblical prayer by the Rabbis. As worship evolved in the Rabbinic period from a spontaneous outpouring to a fixed process, it returned to its Biblical roots. The genre of Biblical prayers became the basis of the fixed prayers;[175] the language of the Biblical prayers became the thesaurus of Rabbinic prayer. Rabbinic prayer embraced many of the forms of prayer found in the Bible including praise, petition,

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[174]Heinemann, p. 17.

[175]See Heinemann (p. 39ff.) for an examination of the berakha and nodeh l'kha formulas. He notes the Biblical sources for these recontextualized forms.

thanksgiving, confession, and intercession.[176]

Heinemann also wrote that the purpose of the weekday Amida in the Rabbinic period was "to petition for Israel's necessities out of the firm conviction that the Lord will hear these supplications and respond favorably to them."[177]   His conception echos the aforementioned Biblical conception of prayer, that God exists, hears and answers. A few elements of Rabbinic worship distinguish it greatly from its Biblical antecedents.   The Rabbis attributed more significance to communal prayer than to private prayer.[178]   The Rabbis also stressed the importance of praying for the community ("grant us") instead of praying for oneself ("grant me").[179]   The Bible evidences both forms without stressing either.[180]

The following Biblical prayers are appropriated by the Amida two or more times (they are presented in order of the number of Biblical intertexts): 1 Kings 8 and 2 Chronicles 6 (very close parallels) in which Solomon prays as the Ark of

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[176]Ibid., p. 309.

[177]Ibid., p. 18.

[178]Berachot 8a and Deuteronomy Rabba 2:12.

[179]Berakhot 29b-30a. Also see EJ, p. 982. Bava Kama 92a suggests that such unselfish prayers are more likely to gain a positive response from God.

[180]I would surmise, however, that there are more examples of personal prayer in the Bible.

the Covenant is moved up to the Temple (ten times - PR1, PR6
[eight verses], PR17); Nehemiah 9 in which the people plead
for forgiveness following their separation from foreign wives
(ten times - PR1, PR2 [four verses], PR5, PR9, PR18 [three
verses]); Psalm 119 (nine times - PR2, PR4 [two verses], PR7
[two verses], PR9, PR17, PR18, PR19); Psalm 18 and 2 Samuel 22
(close parallels) containing the Davidic prayer thanking God
for saving him from Saul and his other enemies (seven times -
PR17, PR18 [six verses]); Daniel 9 in which he confesses his
own and the people's sins, asks forgiveness, and receives a
vision from an angel (four times - PR4, PR6 [two verses],
PR19); Deuteronomy 26 which introduces the "My father was a
wandering Aramean" recitation-prayer (3 times - PR1, PR16,
PR19); 1 Chronicles 29 recounting David's prayer after seeing
the abundant gifts to the treasury (two times - PR2, PR18);
Isaiah 33, a prophesy-prayer (four times - PR4 [two verses],
PR11, PR18); and 1 Samuel 1-2 about Hannah's prayer (2 times -
PR2 twice).

In order to examine the function and effect of this
prayer intertextuality, I will analyze two Biblical prayers:
Nehemiah 9 and the Solomonic prayer which appears in both in
1 Kings 8 and 2 Chronicles 42. I will investigate the appro-
priation by the Amida of language and structures from the
Biblical prayers. The analysis will examine how recontextual-
ization changes the meaning of the verses.

Analysis of Nehemiah 9:4-37

The first prayer, in Nehemiah 9:4-37, is the communal prayer of a people standing before their God in the land of Israel.[181] After returning from exile in Babylonia, these Israelites under the leadership of Nehemiah, Ezra and others, set about to rebuild the city of Jerusalem and to return to the Torah of God. Their assembly, a form of communal confession and worship, consisted of a formal separation of Israelites from their foreign spouses (particularly the foreign wives), a confession of their own sins and those of their ancestors, and the reading and learning about the Torah. Another quarter of the day was spent prostrating themselves before God (Neh. 9:1-4).[182] The prayer is followed by a sworn oath to forsake future marriages with foreigners, to observe the sabbath and holy days, to give a yearly one-third shekel and regular offerings to God at the Temple and to bring wood regularly to the Temple for the Altar (Neh. 10:1-40). In essence, the people learned the Torah and promised to fulfil their obligations according to the covenant with God.[183]

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[181]Tamara Cohn Eskenazi, In an Age of Prose: A Literary Approach to Ezra-Nehemiah (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988). Eskenazi points out the prayer's emphasis on the centrality of the community in that the people have the most prominent voice and that the recitation of history focuses on community (Abraham is the only leader mentioned).

[182]David J.A. Clines, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publ. Co., 1984), p. 191.

[183]Eskenazi, p. 101.

David J.A. Clines suggests a structure of the prayer:[184]

	UNITS	VERSES
	TABLE 5.1: STRUCTURE OF NEHEMIAH 9:4-37	
1.	Introduction of Prayer[185]	4
2.	Divine Blessing	6-15
3.	Blessing continued in spite of Rebellion	16-25
4.	Rebellion in spite of Blessing	26-31
5.	Appeal for Deliverance	32-37

The prayer is a recital of Israel's history. This form of prayer appears elsewhere in the Bible, including the "wandering Aramean" prayer in Deuteronomy 26, Daniel's prayer in Daniel 9 and various historical Psalms (Psalms 68 and 78). The second section of the prayer (vss. 6-15) begins with God's blessing of wondrous acts on behalf of Israel (from creation and the covenant with Abraham to the Exodus to the Sinaitic gift of Torah and the safe arrival in Canaan). The third section (vss. 16-25) describes God's continual compassion and blessing (giving manna, water, forgiving the golden calf incident and bringing the Israelites to the land) despite Israel's continuing rebellion against God and the Torah (in the desert and in Canaan/Israel). The fourth section (26-31)

[184]Clines, p. 192.

[185]Clines does not include this verse in his structure of the prayer.

recounts Israel's rebellion against God (casting aside the
Torah, killing prophets, disobeying the commandments, and
repeatedly sinning in the face of God's compassion) in spite
of God's compassion and blessing (continual forgiveness,
providing saviors to defeat their adversaries, and not
completely destroying the Israelites). The prayer concludes
with the fifth section (vss. 32-37) with an appeal by Nehe-
miah's generation for deliverance from their "overlords" and
for restoration of the promised land for them.[186]

The prayer in Nehemiah praises God for goodness and
compassion and accepts responsibility for the troubles that
befell Israel. As prayer of communal confession, Nehemiah 9
asks for God's forgiveness and recognizes God was "in the
right with respect to all that has come upon us for You have
acted faithfully, and we have been wicked" (Neh. 9:33).[187]

The prayer situates Nehemiah and his contemporaries in a
historical continuum which began with Abraham (or before him,
with creation). As the returned community of Israel, they re-
claim their historical connection to God as part of God's
chosen people. Their past sins (especially taking foreign
spouses) constitute a breach of the covenant yet they ask for

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[186]Clines, pp. 193-199.

[187]Ibid., p. 192 and 199.

the same Divine compassion and forgiveness which God showed
their ancestors who strayed from their covenant.[188]   By
referring to the covenant in verse 37 ("God, who stays
faithful to His covenant"), they announce their desire and
intention to continue and renew it in their time. By pledging
to observe the rules laid out in Torah, these Israelites
formalize their agreement to the terms of the covenant and
thereby further the renewal of the Divine-human relation-
ship.[189]

This prayer is also a study in the intra-textuality of
the Bible. The prayer utilizes words, phrases and concepts
from other parts of the canon. Clines describes it as "a
patchwork of citations from earlier Hebrew literature ...
[which] draws upon a wide range of texts to elaborate [its]
themes..."[190]   In the analysis, I will point out the words
and phrases which were appropriated by Nehemiah 9 from other
sections of the Bible. As such, the Nehemiah prayer evidences
the process by which successive generations of Israelites/Jews
attempt to situate themselves and their needs within the
historical continuum.

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[188]Ibid., p. 198 on verses 33 and 35-37.

[189]Eskenazi, p. 101.

[190]Clines, p. 192. See J.M. Myers, Ezra, Nehemiah (Garden
City, NY: Doubleday, 1965), pp. 169-170 for a list of sources.

PR2 and Nehemiah 9:32

The Nehemiah prayer is appropriated without change by PR1. The appropriated phrase, ha'eil hagadol hagibor v'ha-nora, is located in the fifth section of the Biblical prayer (Neh 9:32) in which the Israelites appeal to God for forgiveness and deliverance. The terms, "great, mighty and awesome", are general attributes of God. They precede a list of more specific Divine attributes which the worshippers want to invoke (the attribute in Nehemiah is "[God] who stays faithful to His covenant"). The Israelites in Nehemiah's time want God to reinstate the covenant with them.

The Nehemiah verse, recalls the same phrase from Deuteronomy 10:17, the section in which Moses recounts his stay on Mount Sinai to receive the second set of Tablets.[191] Moses also pronounces the three-fold expression of the extent of God's power, hagadol hagibor v'hanora, and then lists other more specific attributes of God: "shows no favor and takes no bribes, but upholds the cause of the fatherless and the widow, and befriends the stranger, providing him with food and clothing." Although the literary setting of the phrases Nehemiah 9:32 and Deuteronomy 10:17 differ (Nehemiah 9 is part of a

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[191]Abbreviated versions of this phrase also appear in Jeremiah 32:18 (hagadol v'hagibor), Daniel 9:4 (hagadol v'hanora) and Nehemiah 1:5 (hagadol v'hanora). Both Daniel and Nehemiah invoke the convenantal relationship.

prayer and Deuteronomy 10 is part of a Divine admonition), they share the structure of listing general attributes of God first (ha'eil hagadol hagibor v'hanora) followed by specific attributes.

In PR1, the worshipper calls God the ancestral Divinity of Abraham, of Isaac and of Jacob. He or she then praises God's using God's general attributes, ha'eil hagadol hagibor v'hanora. In general, the Rabbis limit the number of eulogistic titles one may use to praise God. Excessive recounting is explicitly prohibited; however, the liturgical words hagadol, hagibor and hanora are considered sufficient.[192] It appears that the Rabbis differentiated between two types of praise ("general praise" as in "great, mighty and awesome" and "specific praise" as in "bestower of lovingkindness ..."). In PR1 the general praise is followed by four more specific attributes (bestower of lovingkindness, Master of all things, rememberer of the good deeds of our ancestors, bringer of the redeemer). The post-Biblical PR1, then, has appropriated the structuring of ha'eil hagadol ... from the Biblical prayer: as a generic title expressing God's attributes and then moving to more specific attributes.

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[192]Berakhot 33b and Megillah 18a as cited in George Foot Moore, Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era: The Age of the Tannaim, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927), p. 229.

The theme of covenant with God also connects the phrases in Nehemiah, Deuteronomy and PR1. In Deuteronomy, ha'eil hagadol hagibor v'hanora is spoken during the formalization of the covenant between God and Israel. In Nehemiah, the people invoke the same phrase to ask God to continue the convenantal relationship with them. PR1, then, must situate the worshipper in the same covenantal relationship as his or her Biblical ancestors. The worshipper, like the community in Nehemiah, asks God to remain faithful to the covenant.[193]

PR2 and Nehemiah 9:19/27/28/31

PR2 praises God "who revives the dead with great mercy." The sub-unit, b'rakhamim rabim, appears to be derived from four verses in Nehemiah 9 (vss. 19, 27, 28, 31). Through this repetition, the Biblical prayer identifies God's great compassion is identified as the significant attribute exercised by God throughout history.[194] With rakhamim rabim God forgives the people of their sins and saves them. After the people turned to their own creation, the molten calf, and committed a great sin against God and the covenant, God with rakhamim rabim did not abandon the people (vs. 19). When the Israelites rebelled, rejected the Torah, killed the prophets

[193]In PR2, the request is based on z'khut avot or "the merits of the ancestors".

[194]Liebreich, "Impact of Nehemiah 9:5-37," p. 233.

and were punished by God with delivery "into the power of their adversaries," God did not abandon them. Rather, when they cried out to God, God with rakhamim rabim gave them saviors (vs. 27). Later the people sinned again, enemies subjugated them, they cried to God, and with rakhamim rabim God rescued them "time after time" (vs. 28). As expected, the Israelites (presumably the generations just prior to Nehemiah's) sinned again, were conquered and exiled. And again, God with rakhamim rabim did not completely destroy or abandon them (vs. 31). Now Nehemiah's generation, having recently returned from exile, prays to God to act toward them with the very same rakhamim rabim (vs. 32ff.). The cycle - sin, punishment, crying out to God, and compassionate forgiveness - is continuous. Nehemiah's generation situates itself in the latter half of the cycle, crying out only for the compassion which God already has provided preceding generations of Israelites.

The Nehemiah verses share the phrase rakhamim rabim with Psalm 119:156. The paragraph of the Hebrew letter Resh contains a plea to God to "see my affliction and rescue me, for I have not neglected Your teaching" (Ps. 119:153). Subsequent verses expand on this same theme: that the unnamed supplicant follows God's laws and therefore requests God's protection. Verse 156 makes explicit that which the Nehemiah verse only implies through repetition: God should respond to

the plea of the individual (and by extension of Israel) because rakhamekha rabim, God's mercies are great. Moreover, according to God's own mode of operation within the world, God should preserve the individual, even if he or she sins: "as is your rule, preserve me."[195]

PR2 must be understood in light of these verses from Psalms and Nehemiah. B'rakhamim rabim in Nehemiah 9 expresses the idea that God's compassionate redemption of the people in the Biblical past despite their sins foreshadows God's compassionate redemption even in the post-historical future.[196] The phrase m'khaye meitim b'rakhamim rabim understood in this way effects the force of the preceding phrase which praises God as "reviver of the dead". The belief in resurrection evolved from the individual cases of resurrection in the Bible to a belief in the general resurrection of the dead at the end of days is firmly set in Rabbinic thought.[197] The language of God's compassion evolves in a similar way from a specific b'rakhamekha rabim in Nehemiah 9:31 to a more general attribute of mercy b'rakhamim rabim in PR1. By its connection to Nehemiah 9, PR2 moves from being a hopeful longing for resurrection at the end of days to being a confident ac-

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[195]Samson Raphael Hirsch, The Psalms (New York: Feldheim Publishers, 1978), p. 366. Emphasis Added.

[196]Ibid., p. 366.

[197]M. Sanhedrin 10, 1. Also, Urbach, p. 652.

knowledgement that God will surely resurrect the faithful.

PR5 and Nehemiah 9:29

PR5 asks God, hashiveinu avinu latoratekha ("restore us, our Parent, to your Torah"). This phrase recalls Nehemiah 9:29: lahashivam el toratekha ("in order to turn them back to Your Teaching)".[198] The Biblical prayer recalls a generation of Israelites who ignored God's warnings and urging to follow the Torah. They "turned a defiant shoulder, stiffened their neck, and would not obey" (vs. 29), even after being rescued by God. After losing the land to conquerors, being exiled, and then regaining the land through God's forgiveness, the Israelites of Nehemiah's generation still kept their foreign spouses. As much as their ancestors, they had "turned a defiant shoulder." Now with the acknowledgement of their own sins, they return to Torah. They "demonstrate a ... new understanding of what they have read, and prove able to translate these into commitment and action," particularly through their subsequent pledge to disavow marriages with foreign women and to obey God's laws.[199]

When PR5 (hashiveinu avinu latoratekha) appropriates the Biblical verse in the opening of the prayer text, PR5 also

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[198]Liebreich, p. 232.

[199]Eskenazi, p. 101.

appropriates the notion that all generations are capable of sin or have sinned. It transforms the Biblical language and makes explicit what the Nehemiah prayer implies. Instead of retaining the suffix -am or "them" (unnamed others as in lahashivam or "to turn them back"), PR5 changes the suffix of the Biblical text to -einu or "us" (as in hashiveinu or "turn us back"). This literary technique, changing suffixes and verb tenses, occurs numerous times in intertextual appropriations. It functions to make immediate and personal the Biblical experience or prayer - in effect allowing the worshippers praying the Amida, to acknowledge their sins in their prayers that their sins and to turn back to God's Torah.

PR9 and Nehemiah 9:37

PR9 asks God to bless kol minei t'vu'ata, "all kinds of [the year's] produce." The word t'vu'ata appears over twenty times in the Bible in various forms.[200] In Nehemiah 9:37, the Israelites' estrangement from the produce (t'vu'ata), of their land symbolizes their sinfulness and punishment. Clines

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[200]Including Ex 23:10; Lev 23:29, 25:21; Num 18:30; Deut 14:22, 16:15, 22:29; Josh 5:12; 2 K 8:6; Is 23:3, 30:23; Ez 48:18; Ps 107:38; Prov 3:9/14/15, 10:16, 18:20; Job 31:12; and 2 Ch 31:5. In the vast majority of the contexts, the term connotes the produce (usually agricultural) of the land. It appears in relation to Sukkot, the Sabbatical year and regular sacrificial offerings. The Proverbs verses, however, speak of wealth and the "produce of the lips".

points out that "though release from exile in a foreign land was a great blessing (cf. Ezra 9:9; Neh 1:2), there was a bitter irony in being slaves in their own land..."[201] They no longer enjoy the produce of their land because their sinfulness has led to domination by foreign powers. Foreign kings receive t'vu'ata. The prayer in Nehemiah reaffirms the covenant between God and Abraham and succeeding generations; it emphasizes the link between following God's commandments and the possession of the land of Israel.[202] As worshippers recite PR9, this connection is reaffirmed through the use of Biblical language. Their prayers for the blessing of the year and the produce of the land depends upon the worshippers affirmation of their covenantal responsibilities.[203]

PR18 and Nehemiah 9:17,19,31

PR18, categorized as a prayer of thanksgiving, contains

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[201]Clines, p. 198.

[202]Similarly, Deuteronomy 11:13-21, recited as part of Sh'ma uvirkhoteha (Sh'ma and its Blessings) section of the liturgy makes explicit the connection between God's providing timely rains to ensure a good harvest and Israel's following the commandments and forsaking foreign gods.

[203]Harry M. Orlinsky, "The Biblical Concept of the Land of Israel," in Lawrence A. Hoffman, ed., The Land of Israel: Jewish Perspectives (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1986), p. 38.

a phrase v'lo azavtanu, "do not abandon us."[204] This phrase
appears three times in the Nehemiah prayer where repeatedly
the worshippers acknowledge that God did not abandon previous
generations of Israelites, even when they continuously sinned.
In the prayer of Nehemiah, the repeated recitation of v'lo
azavtam functions as a guarantee that the covenantal promise
with the Divine remains steadfast. The covenant would
continue despite Israel's rebellion: when they refused to
possess the land God had sworn to them (vs. 17); when, turning
away from God, they made and worshipped the golden calf (vs.
18-19) and when they would not listen to God's admonishments
to follow the commandments (vs.29-31). In each case, God did
not abandon them. The covenant remained in place, the people
survived and God took them back.[205]

PR18 refers to to the covenantal history in recontextua-
lizing the Nehemiah phrase v'lo azavtam in accordance with
Rabbinic thought. The Rabbis believed that punishment for
Israel's breaking the covenant would not be the annulment of
the covenant itself on the part of God because z'khut avot or
the merits of the ancestors. The Rabbis believed that the

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[204]Heinemann, p. 18. The entire phrase, lo hikh'lamtanu
H' eloheinu v'lo azavtanu v'lo his'tarta panekha mimenu,
appears in Seder Rav Amram Gaon. It does not, however, appear
in later Siddurim including J.H. Hertz, The Authorised Daily
Prayerbook (New York: Bloch Pub. C., 1948).

[205]Clines, pp. 195-198. Thus Clines titles the third and
fourth sections of the prayer: "Blessing continued in spite of
rebellion" and "Rebellion in spite of Blessing."

merits of earlier generations of Israelites (patriarchs and the righteous of each generation) would protect Israel from the repudiation of the covenant by God.[206] Z'khut avot, as a concept illuminates the differences between Rabbinic prayer and the Nehemiah prayer. The Nehemiah prayer recalls numerous examples of the Israelites' rebellion; they are characterized as lacking any merit. Moreover, there is no mention of any meritorious ancestors in the Nehemiah prayer. Yet God continues the covenant despite this because of God's compassion. PR18 does not explicitly include z'khut avot, yet the concept is found in PR1. The Amida in general bases prayers for God not to abandon Israel are based on this notion of z'khut avot.[207] The Rabbis also consider Israel's cosmic-eternal election to shield them from complete abandonment and destruction. Urbach notes that although some Tannaim and Amoraim questioned Israel's election based on the destruction of the Temple, "the view that the election of Israel had been planned by God when the world was created makes the election, of course, absolute and independent of any circumstances."[208] Thus PR18 recontextualizes the Nehemiah prayer so that the idea that God will not abandon Israel can function despite the destruction of the Temple.

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[206]Urbach, p. 496.

[207]Ibid., p. 496ff.

[208]Ibid., p. 528ff.

The compiler of the Amida utilizes the technique of changing suffixes to personalize the words of the Biblical prayer and to illuminate the transformation of its meaning through recontextualization. The phrase from the Bible (Neh 9:31) which states God "did not abandon **them**" or lo azavtam is changed in PR18 to a plea to God, "do not abandon **us**" or lo azavtanu. The suffix -am is changed to -anu.

Analysis of 1 Kings 8:15-64 and 2 Chronicles 6:14-7:7

The second Biblical prayer text to be analyzed appears in 1 Kings 8:15-64 and in 2 Chronicles 6:14-7:7. The textual alterations which differentiate the two versions of the prayer include alternative pointings, alternative spellings, transpositions, omissions and additions, altered grammatical forms and altered vocabulary.[209] I will treat the two prayers as one using 1 Kings 8 as the base text for the major part of my analysis of the prayer. An examination of the Amida will evidence its appropriation of the genre and language of this Biblical prayer.

The prayer in 1 Kings 8 is set in Jerusalem where King Solomon has convened all the elders of Israel to celebrate the bringing up of the Ark of the Covenant from the City of David

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[209]See Simon J. De Vries, 1 and 2 Chronicles (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1989), pp. 258-260 for an analysis of these differences.

to the Temple (1 K 8:1). Following a feast, abundant sacrifices and bringing up the Ark, Solomon rises before the congregation to bless them.

Solomon's prayer may be divided into three main sections: the address to the assembly (vss. 15-22), the dedicatory prayer (vss. 22-53), and the benediction (vss. 54-61). The following structure depends largely upon the structure of John Gray with modifications suggested by A. Graeme Auld.[210]

TABLE 5.2: STRUCTURE OF 1 KINGS 8:15-64	
UNITS	**VERSES**
I. **ADDRESS TO THE ASSEMBLY:** Davidic Covenant	**15-21**
II. **THE DEDICATORY PRAYER**	**22-53**
A. Covenant Fulfilled through Solomon	22-26
B. Temple as Guarantor of God's Accessibility	27-53
1. Introduction of theme[211]	27-30
2. Situations Needing God's Accessibility	31-53
III. **THE BENEDICTION**	**54-61**

In the first section of the prayer (vss. 14-21), Solomon

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[210]John Gray, _I & II Kings: A Commentary_ (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1970), pp. 212ff. A. Graeme Auld, _I & II Kings_ (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1986), pp. 58ff.

[211]This sub-division (B1 and B2) is based on Auld, pp. 62-63.

addresses the assembly by praising God "who has fulfilled with deeds the promises He made to my father David" (vs. 15). He focuses on God's choice of Jerusalem and of David (vs. 16). He describes the erection of the Temple as the fulfillment of the promise made to David in 2 Samuel 7 - that David's son would succeed him as king (thus continuing the Davidic dynasty) and that his son would build the Temple.[212] The reason for this address to the assembly is to emphasize that God is faithful to the Davidic covenant.

The Dedicatory Prayer (vss. 22-53) opens with a repetition of the theme of the address. The first subsection (vss. 22-26) reiterates that God fulfilled the promises to David by continuing the Davidic dynasty through Solomon. The second subsection (vss. 27-53) consists of a petition to God that "the Temple may be the effective guarantee of God's accessibility in Israel's adversity."[213] The subsection is introduced (vss. 27-30) by a statement of Deuteronomic theology concerning God's transcendence.[214] Solomon hopes that God will make the Temple the place where the Divine presence will dwell. He acknowledges the theological difficulty of the request, "But will God really dwell on earth? Even the

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[212]P. Kyle McCarter Jr., "I Kings" in James L. Mays, ed., Harper's Biblical Commentary, (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1988), p. 312.

[213]Gray, p. 215.

[214]Auld, p. 62.

heavens to their uttermost reaches cannot contain You, how much less this House that I have built!" (vs. 27). Nevertheless, he hopes the Temple will be the place God chooses to dwell and where God's name will abide (vs. 29).[215] Moreover, Solomon asks that the Temple be the place to which the Israelites can turn to pray to God and that God will hear those prayers. Verses 32-53 expand the request that the Temple be a place toward which Israelites can pray. In verses 27-31, Solomon asks God to hear his prayer; in verses 32-53, Solomon asks God to hear the prayer of the people (including non-Jews who turn to God (vss. 41-43). Replete with Deuteronomic language, style and thought, these verses provide for prayer and supplication in a number of possible future situations.[216] The situations include Israelites turning to the Temple for judgement, after being routed by an enemy, in repentance after lack of rain or famine or agricultural pestilence, after plague or disease, foreigners who heard about God's power and great name, Israelites in the field during a battle, and Israelites after being exiled because of their (or their ancestors') sins. The Benediction (vs. 54-61), which is omitted from the 2 Chronicles passage,[217]

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[215]McCarter, p. 312.

[216]Gray, p. 215, 223ff. Gray mentions, for example, that "in the enumeration of the various calamities the catalogue of curses consequent upon the breaking of the law in Deut. 28:15-68 is at once suggested..."

[217]Ibid., pp. 230.

contains Solomon's blessing to God for granting a time of rest for Israel after the conquest of the land.[218]

PR1 and 2 Chronicles 6:42

The first example of Bible-Amida intertextuality is found in PR1. In PR1, the worshipper identifies God as v'zokheir khasdei avot, the One who "remembers the merits of our ancestors." 2 Chronicles 6:42 contains a parallel phrase zakhra l'khasdei david avdekha ("remember the loyalty [or merits] of Your servant David"). Part of a poetic flourish which does not appear in the 1 Kings 8 version, this phrase appears as a Solomon's final plea for Divine attention.[219] Solomon asks God to "advance ... to your resting place" in the Temple (vs. 41). To ensure that his prayer is answered, Solomon invokes the special relationship which God had with David, his father. He asks God to remember the deeds of David, zakhra l'khasdei david avdekha and to answer Solomon's prayers on account of the merit of David. Solomon asks God to continue the covenantal relationship to the next generation.

The request by Solomon recalls a line from the Psalms (purported to be written by Solomon). In Psalm 109:14, the

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[218]McCarter, p. 312.

[219]De Vries, p. 260.

Psalmist asks God yizakheir avon avotav ("remember the sins of [the wicked man's] father").[220] In both Psalm 109:14 and 2 Chronicles 6:42 the operative root is ZKhR ("to remember"). God is described as a Divine who remembers the deeds and sins of past generations and who relates to subsequent generations on the basis of their ancestors deeds or sins.

The Rabbis appropriate the attribute of God who remembers and expands it into the concept of z'khut avot, the "merits of the ancestors." This theological concept is founded upon God's love for the patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and upon the good character and conduct of the patriarchs.[221] Moses declares (in Deut 10:15) "Yet it was to your fathers that the Lord was drawn in His love for them, so that He chose you, their lineal descendants, from among all peoples..." Sifre to Deuteronomy 32 on Deut 6:5) characterizes the patriarchs as exemplifying the fundamental law, "You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your might." The appeal to the patriarchs finds Biblical warrant in statements by the Israelite leaders (Ex 32:11-13, Deut 9:27, Is 41:8ff.) and by God (Lev 26:40-45, Deut 9:5, 26-29, and Micah 7:18-20).[222] Exodus Rabba 49:7

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[220]JPS's translates this verse as "to be ever mindful of his father's iniquity." I have used my own translation to retain the parallel with 2 Ch 6:42.

[221]Moore, p. 536.

[222]Moore, pp. 536-538.

attributes God's forgiveness of the people after the golden calf incident to the three patriarchs.[223] Preeminent among the meritorious acts of the patriarchs is Abraham's willingness to heed God's command to sacrifice Isaac. The parting of the Sea of Reeds and the averting of the tenth plague from killing the first-born sons in Egypt were attributed to patriarchal merit from the Aqeda.[224]

George Foot Moore makes an explicit connection between the 2 Chronicles 6 verse and the concept of z'khut avot (as it pertains to all ancestors). He writes, "Solomon, in difficulty about the installation of the ark in the temple, was answered at once when he made mention of the good desert of his father David."[225] Yet the Rabbinic shift from David to the patriarchs reflects the preeminence given to the patriarchs. A Midrash from T. Sanhedrin 107a (also Yalqut Makhiri, Psalms 17:11) reveals the bases of the differentiation between David and the ancestors. I will quote only part of it,

> [David] said unto God: "Sovereign of the universe! why do we say (in the Amida prayer) 'the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob', but not 'the God of David?'" He answered: "They were tried by Me, but you were not." Thereupon he (David) said to Him: "Sovereign of the universe

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[223]Cited in Urbach, p. 498.

[224]Urbach, pp. 502ff. In some cases, the Aqeda is understood as a reflection of Isaac's merit also.

[225]Tankhuma 6 as paraphrased by Moore, vol. 1, p. 543. Also, Berakhot 10b claims that "for the good desert of David, God promises to deliver Jerusalem from Sennacherib."

examine and try me", as it is said: "Examine me, O Lord and try me" etc. (Psalms 26:2). Said He: "I shall try you and yet vouchsafe you a privilege, for whereas I did not apprise the Patriarchs (beforehand how they would be tested), I tell you (now) that I shall put you to a test of chastity..."' When David had failed to stand up to the test, ...[226]

The above passage illuminates the Rabbinic observation that David's character did not measure up to the patriarchs' characters. For example, David was not allowed to build the Temple on account of his sins. Although many attempts were made by the Rabbis to extenuate David's sins in the affair of Bathsheba, few succeeded.[227] Consequently, when PR1 uses the phrase v'zokheir khasdei avot, it may have appropriated the 2 Chronicles 6 verse zakhra l'khasdei david avdekha from Solomon's prayer and recontextualized it to reflect the Rabbinic preference for the ancestors over David.

The intertextual relationship is significant for PR1. In PR1, the worshipper invokes z'khut avot in order to urge God to grant his or her prayers. He or she recalls, through its connection with 2 Chronicles 6, the covenantal promises God has made to the Israelites. Moreover, Solomon pointed to specific Divine promises related to the monarchy and the Temple; those who recite the Amida (PR14, PR15, and PR17) request that God fulfill similar promises in the future.

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[226]As reported in Urbach, p. 367. The translations of the Bible are from Urbach.

[227]Ibid., p. 495-496.

PR6 and 1 Kings 8:50 (2 Chronicles 6:39)

PR6, a short petitionary prayer, contains two lines in the text of Seder Rav Amram Gaon. The first line, s'lakh lanu avinu ki khatanu m'khol lanu malkeinu ki fashanu, appropriates language from five different places in the Solomonic prayer.[228] The most complete Biblical antecedent (1 Kings 8:50 and 2 Ch. 6:39) asks God to pardon those of the people who sinned and transgressed: V'salakhta l'amkha asher khat'u lakh ul'khol pisheihem asher pash'u. In six other verses (in 1 K 8:30/34/36 and 2 Ch. 6:25/27/30), Solomon prays that God will "pardon the sin of Your people". His requests does not focus on the specific sins in the present, rather they refer to "a whole sampling of possible [future] supplications."[229]

PR6 recalls Solomon's prayer, presenting the worshipper with the language of petition for Divine forgiveness. PR6 also appropriates from 1 Kings 8:47 the concept of admitting sin before God as well as one of the Biblical words khatanu from khatanu he'evinu v'rashanu. Rabbinic theology incorporates the idea that the individual can appeal to the Divine attribute of forgiveness. As Moore explains,

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[228]The prayer also recalls Exodus 34:7, Leviticus 19:22 and Jeremiah 36:3.

[229]De Vries, p. 259.

God has compassion like a father and comforts like
a mother (Psalm 103:13; Is 66:13)   This side is
naturally appealed to in the liturgy, especially in
prayers of forgiveness.[230]

According to Rosh ha-Shana 17b and Tankhuma Vayyera 9, "God

himself is said to have taught Moses the liturgical use of the

thirteen norms of God's grace (Ex 34:6f), and promises to

accept the prayer and pardon the sinner."[231]

PR6 differs from the Solomonic prayers regarding when the

forgiveness is requested and for whom the forgiveness is

requested.   The Solomonic prayer is future-oriented; it

requests forgiveness for some future time when Israel will

need it (1 Kings 8:32-53).   PR6 addresses sins of the wor-

shipper in his or her present and past; the worshipper asks

for forgiveness for the present.   Solomon requests God's

forgiveness for others, l'amkha ("for Your people").   PR6

transforms that other-directedness and focuses on the per-

sonal. The request in PR6 is directed toward the worshipper

and his or her community, lanu ("for us"). Additionally, PR6

transforms 1 Kings 8:50 into a parallelism. Where Solomon (in

verse 50) offers a single verb with two objects of focus

(V'salakhta with khat'u and pash'u), PR6 adds another verb

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[230]Moore, pp. 395-396.

[231]As paraphrased in Moore, p. 396.

$(m'khol)$[232] to create the parallelism: s'lakh + khatanu with m'khol + fashanu.

PR16 and 1 Kings 8:45,49 (2 Chronicles 6:35,39)

PR16 contains the phrase ki eil shomei'a t'filoteinu v'takhanuneinu ata mei'olam ("for You are God who always hears our prayers and our supplications") which it appropriates form 1 Kings 8 and 2 Chronicles 6. The repetition of the root, ShMA or "to hear" in the Solomonic prayers (1 K 8:28 /30 /33 /36 /39 /43 /45 /49 and similarly in 2 Chronicles chapter 6) makes it a leitwort for in these Biblical prayers.[233] The most direct antecedent for PR6 is 1 Kings 8:45,49 (2 Ch. 6:35,39) where it is written, v'shamata hashamayim et t'filatam v'et t'khinatam. Other Biblical prayers share the Biblical root ShMA, "to hear": Daniel 9:17 V'ata sh'ma eloheinu el t'filat av'd'kha v'el takhanunav ("God, hear now the prayer of your servant and his plea)", Psalm 6:10 Shama YHVH t'khinati YHVH t'filati yiqakh ("The Lord heeds my plea,

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[232]The verb, m'khol, is a Rabbinic Hebrew term which does not appear in the Bible. See Marcus Jastrow, A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature (New York: Traditional Press), p.761.

[233]Robert Alter, The Art of Biblical Narrative (Basic Books of HarperCollins Publishers: 1981), p.93. Alter (p. 95) explains that a leitwort is "a word or a word-root that recurs significantly in a text," and which provides a clue to deciphering or grasping a meaning of the text. He offers as examples "good" and "return" in the Book of Ruth and the verb "to see" with its poetic synonyms in the Balaam story.

the Lord accepts my prayer"), and Psalm 143:1 <u>... YHVH sh'ma</u>
<u>t'filati ha'azina el takhanunay ...</u> ("...O Lord, hear my
prayer; give ear to my plea..."). Each verse demonstrates
that <u>ShMA</u> is an attribute of God with respect to Biblical
prayer. The attribute is appropriated as a basis for Rabbinic
and Geonic prayer.[234]

A few transformations of the Biblical antecedent (1 Kings
8:45) are evidenced in PR16. The root <u>ShMA</u> is changed from
<u>v'shamata</u> in verse 45 to the participle <u>shomei'a</u> in the PR16.
This suggests that God's actions are not complete. God will
continue to hear the human prayers in the present and in the
future. Also the word <u>t'filatam</u> in 1 Kings 8 is changed to
<u>t'filateinu</u> in PR16. The suffix <u>-am</u> or "their" (in <u>t'filatam</u>)
becomes <u>-einu</u> or "our" (in <u>t'filateinu</u>) to signal a person-
alization of the request.

PR17 and 1 Kings 8:6 (2 Chronicles 6:7)

The final example of Bible-Amida intertextuality with 1
Kings 8 appears in PR17; the appropriated phrase is <u>d'vir</u>
<u>habayit</u>. In PR17, worshippers pray <u>v'heisheiv et ha'avoda</u>
<u>lid'vir beitekha</u> ("return the service to the Shrine of Your
House"). The prayer is future-directed, awaiting the re-

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[234]Moore, p. 231ff.

building of the Temple and the resumption of sacrifices.[235] p'vir habayit is the name of a central location in the Temple wherein the Holy of Holies was located and the Ark of the Covenant was placed (cf. 1 K 8:6 and 2 Ch. 5:7). 1 Kings 6:19ff provides a full description of the location.

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[235]Jacobson, p. 252.

THE SECOND AND THIRD RUBRICS OF INTERTEXTUALITY

The Second Rubric of Intertextuality:
The Appropriation of the Language of Divine Promises

A second major rubric of intertextuality is the use of Divine Promises in the Bible as a source of language for prayers of the Amida. The phrase "Divine Promises" does not appear as a specific term in the Bible, yet the concept of "promise" pervades the Scriptures.[236] The phrase denotes an assurance by God that some future action will occur.

Divine promises in the Bible include "the prediction of offspring for the childless (for Abraham and Sarah in Gen 15:5, 17:6-7; 22:17), of a land for [the people] Israel (Gen 15:18-21; 50:22-25), of the perpetual rule of David's descendants (2 Sam 7:16), and of a future world of God's liking (e.g., Is 11:1-9)."[237] Another group of Biblical promises are the covenantal promises. The early covenantal promises are first explained in Genesis 15:1-21. Here God promises Abram offspring as numerous as the stars in the sky (vss. 4-6). God also promises Abram that his descendants will have a

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[236]"Promises" in Paul J. Achtemeier, ed., Harper's Bible Dictionary (San Francisco: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1971), p. 825.

[237]Ibid., p. 825.

national territory (vss. 7-21).[238]   When the covenant is renewed at Mount Sinai (Ex chapter 19ff.), the Divine promises are expanded (Ex 23:20-33). The characteristic themes include a promise for Divine help in conquering the land and Divine blessings for Israel after the settlement.[239]   Throughout the Bible, the covenantal promises are reiterated and transformed (as with Jeremiah and the new covenant).   A third group of promises are the prophetic promises and the promises embraced by Deuteronomic theology.

One way to understand the purpose and function of the appropriation of Divine promises in the Bible is that it offers the worshipper hope in obtaining a more favorable hearing by using God's own words.   This should not be reduced to the idea that God will automatically grant a worshipper's wishes.   Rather, it evidences an ingenious technique based on the notion that God remains faithful to the covenant and other promises.   This category appears simple in theory: when formulating a prayer to petition God for a particular need, one uses God's "own words" - the very language in fact with which God, in the Bible, promised to grant the same need.   The use of the Biblical language of Divine promises in the Amida may also be a deliberate attempt to maintain linguistic

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[238]Nahum Sarna, The JPS Commentary: Genesis, (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1989), pp. 112-116.

[239]Sarna, Exodus, p. 147.

continuity with the Bible.

The use of the language of Divine Promises in prayer may engender expectation that God will listen to the worshipper's prayers yet still leaves open the possibility that God will reject the request.[240] The Bible offers two theories of why prayers may not be answered. One suggests that "deliverance and the golden age which it should inaugurate were conditional upon the repentance of the people as a whole." The second explained that God's plan for history had not yet arrived at the predetermined time for salvation.[241]

There are two ways in which prayers might be created utilizing the language of Divine promises. According to the first, when praise and thanksgiving prayers appropriate the language of Divine promise. God is praised and thanked for fulfilling a Divine promise in the past or future. Solomon's prayer (1 Kings 8 and 2 Chronicles 6), analyzed in the previous chapter evidences this appropriation. In the second section of the prayer (22-26), Solomon praises (and thanks) God for fulfilling the Divine promise with deeds: continuing the Davidic line in the monarchy and allowing Solomon to build the Temple. The prayer includes a paraphrase of the language

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[240]See Moore, p. 231ff. for a discussion of the Rabbinic explanations of why prayers may not always be answered immediately.

[241]Moore, p. 231, 351.

of the promises from Nathan's oracle in 2 Sam 7.[242] The second method consists of using language of Divine promises to request that the promise be fulfilled (or fulfilled again in the future). The Divine promise might be cited explicitly or only alluded to implicitly.

My research has shown that of the approximately 346 examples of Bible-Amida intertextuality, over 61 of the entries evidence recontextualization of the Divine promises. Of the 61 entries related to Divine promises, 13 are from the Torah (the section in which God enters into the covenant with Israel), 36 from the Prophets (which includes promises of salvation) and 12 from the Writings. Grouping the historical books (including Joshua, Kings, Nehemiah and Chronicles) together accounts for 10 of the entries. All the prayers but three - PR5, PR13, and PR17 - appropriate the language of Divine promises. I will analyze three examples of this pattern from Leviticus 25:21, Isaiah 1:26 and Zechariah 1:16. The second and third examples exhibit the method of using previously fulfilled promises. In each case, a Divine promise is mentioned which the worshipper knows God has already fulfilled - Ezra and Nehemiah describe the fulfillment of God's promises to restore the land and rebuild the Temple.

PR9 and Leviticus 25:21

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[242]Auld, p. 61.

The PR9 phrase, bareikh aleinu ... et hashana hazot l'tova v'et kol minei t'vu'ata, appropriates language from Leviticus 25:21, v'tziviti et birkhati lakhem bashana hashishit v'a'sat et hat'vu'a lishlosh hashana. Leviticus 25 details the laws of the seventh year sabbatical when the land must lie fallow and certain slaves are to be redeemed as well as the laws of the fiftieth year Jubilee. Verses 18-22 address how and what people will eat in the seventh year when they are forbidden to work the land. God promises (vs. 21) v'tsiviti et birkhati lakhem bashana hashishit v'a'sat et hat'vu'a lishlosh hashana (to "ordain My blessing for you in the sixth year, so that it shall yield a crop sufficient for three years"). God's promise ensures sustenance for the sixth, seventh and eighth years.[243]

The PR9 phrase bareikh aleinu ... et hashana hazot l'tova v'et kol minei t'vu'ata appropriates the Divine blessing revealed in this verse and manipulates it for use in the prayer. PR9 three words of common roots with Leviticus 25:21: bareikh and birkhati; shana and bashana; and t'vu'a and hat'vu'a. This triple word connection suggests intertextuality because of the word correspondence and the fact that PR9

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[243]Baruch A. Levine, The JPS Torah Commentary: Leviticus (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1989), p. 174. Levine explains that the language of verses 19-21 "is the language of God's promise of blessing, since God is the ultimate provider of His people."

and Leviticus 25:21 have the same words used in sequence.[244] The mood of the Biblical verb birkhati is changed to the imperative bareikh in PR9. This change transforms God's words of promise of the Bible into the worshipper's petition to God in PR9.

To understand the verse's connection to the Amida, therefore, three critical issues must be understood. First, according to Leviticus 25:21, the blessing by God actually falls upon the people, even though the tangible result is the fruitfulness of the land.[245] Similarly, the year itself is not directly blessed although it could be so construed because of the abundance of produce during those years. Rather the people are blessed. In PR9, however, the blessing is directed to the year and produce, bareikh aleinu ... et hashana hazot l'tova v'et kol minei t'vu'ata. The Levitical blessing refers, of course, to the Sabbatical. Since the Sabbatical is in effect only in Israel, PR9 may reflect a Geonic transformation of the Divine blessing into a prayer for the year in general and the crop. It is possible that the Tannaim created

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[244]No other Biblical verse connects as significantly with this phrase from PR9.

[245]Levine, p. 174. In reference to verse 21, Levine notes, "God employs the forces of nature, which are under His control, to provide for His people."

a prayer text specific to the land of Israel[246] from the Divine promise in Leviticus verses which later were transferred to the diaspora[247] Second, the promise of blessing in Leviticus 25:21 is limited to a time period, beginning in the sixth year and continuing through the eighth. In contrast, the composer of PR9 generalized the time limitations of the Leviticus verse. The phrase in PR9 reflects a request for continual blessing upon the year and the crop. Third, in Leviticus 25:21 the promise and blessing are contingent upon the behavior of the people. They must "observe My laws and faithfully keep My rules, that you may live upon the land in security" (vs. 18). In PR9, there is no explicit mention of any conditions upon the blessing. The concept, that there were conditions on the blessing, does find expression elsewhere in the Siddur. The "Shema and its Blessings" section appropriates Deuteronomy 11:13-21 in which God conditions the blessing of the land (and rain) on the Israelites' observance of the laws and commandments.

PR11 and Isaiah 1:26

The second example of the appropriation of the language of Divine promises is more direct. PR9 hashiva shofteinu

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[246]For a differentiation between laws binding only in the land and those binding everywhere, see Sifre to Deuteronomy 59 (also cf. 44).

[247]Cfr. Megilla 17.

k'v'rishona v'yo'atzeinu k'vat'khila appropriates language from Isaiah 1:26 V'ashiva shoftayikh k'varishona v'yo'a-tza'yikh k'vat'khila ("I will restore your magistrates as of old, and your counselors as of yore"). PR11 then makes only two significant changes to the text of Isaiah. The Biblical verb v'ashiva is changed from God speaking (first person singular) to an address to God hashiva in PR11 using the third person co-hortative. Also, PR11 alters the suffixes on the Biblical words shoftayikh and yo'atza'yikh from -yikh or "your" to -einu or "our" (as in shofteinu and v'yo'azteinu. The words k'varishona and k'vat'khila are ambiguous. Otto Kaiser addresses the possibilities,

> We may ask whether in this [the redactor of Isaiah] is cherishing the anti-monarchical ideal to be found in some Deuteronomistic circles, or does not rather have in mind the renewed kingdom announced in [Isaiah] 9.1ff.; 11.1ff. In that case the judges and perhaps even the counsellors should be seen as members of the renewed dynasty.[248]

Others suggest the ideal time referred to in verse 21 to be that of the Judges.[249] For PR11, those words which point to the past may be expanded to include any ideal time prior to the lifetime of the individual worshipper. Former times are idealized and become the model for later generations. Worshippers who pray the Amida, therefore, can feel doubly assured. Not only are they asking for something God already

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[248]Otto Kaiser, Isaiah 1-12: A Commentary, John Bowden, trans. (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1983), p. 45.

[249]Vermeylen I, 90 as noted in Kaiser, p. 45.

promised to do, but it is a promise the fulfillment of which their ancestors had witnessed (for example, during the restoration of Jerusalem in Ezra-Nehemiah).

PR14 and Zechariah 1:16

The initial phrase of PR14, al yirushalayim irkha v'rakhamim tashuv, appropriates with only minor changes, the language of Zechariah 1:16 shavti lirushalayim b'rakhamim beiti yibaneh ba. The Zechariah 1:16 phrase, which appears at the end of his first vision, concerns God's return to Jerusalem and rebuilding of the Temple.[250] God, being "very jealous for Jerusalem" (vs. 14), decreed that return and rebuilding is immanent. God promised through an Angel that "I graciously return to Jerusalem. My House shall be built in her" (vs. 16).

The appropriation of these words into PR14 evidences only a modicum of change. First, in the initial phrase of the prayer, the verb tense switches from perfect (shavti) to imperfect (tashuv). This enables the move from God as subject and speaker to God as the object of the sentence. Second, the latter phrase of the Biblical verse beiti yibaneh ba is changed to uvanei ota binyan olam b'yameinu. The verb

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[250]For an analysis of the vision, see Gerhard von Rad, The Message of the Prophets (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1965), pp. 252-253.

switches from first person <u>uvanei</u> to third person <u>yibaneh</u> and the mood from imperfect to perfect. The promise to build "My House within it [Jerusalem]" is changed to "build it [Jerusalem] as an everlasting structure". The House or <u>bayit</u> is replaced by the City or <u>ir</u>. One might argue that since the Rabbinic notion of return to Jerusalem includes a resumption of sacrifices in the Temple (as in PR17, for example), then PR14 presupposes the rebuilding of the Temple. However, the Rabbis tend to focus on the City of Jerusalem (inclusive of the Temple) whereas the Bible tends to refer more frequently to the Temple itself.[251] Third, the intertextual relationship between PR14 and Zechariah 1:16 transmits the essential meaning of the verse that God's return to Jerusalem and the rebuilding (of the city and through the Biblical connection, of the Temple) is immanent. In PR14, the word <u>b'yameinu</u> is added, emphasizing the promise's immanent fulfillment.

The Third Rubric of Intertextuality:

The Appropriation of the Language of Divine Actions

The third rubric of intertextuality, the appropriation of the language of Divine actions differs from the second rubric

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[251]See Shalom Rosenberg, "The Link to the Land of Israel in Jewish Thought: A Clash of Perspectives," in Lawrence A. Hoffman, ed., The Land of Israel: Jewish Perspectives (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1986), pp. 139-169, esp. 162-163.

of intertextuality (Divine promises). In passages which I have called Divine Promises, the worshipper urges God to recall a Biblical promise with the hope that God will faithfully fulfil it. The category which I call Divine actions, however, diverges in that the prayer text now references an event from the Bible during which God performed some action on behalf of the Israelites and contains a petition to God to repeat the action within the worshipper's lifetime. In prayers of the Amida which have appropriated the language of Divine actions, the Divine action functions as a type-scene. The Biblical actions of God simultaneously are actions with meaning in their own context and models of Divine actions which are re-experienced throughout time.

According to my research, of the approximately 346 entries relating to the Amida to the Bible, ninety eight recall a Biblical action by God. The Torah accounts for twenty two entries (ten from Deuteronomy, eight from Exodus and two each from Genesis and Numbers), Prophets account for thirty (twenty of which are from prophetic books), and Writings account for forty four entries.

The concept of reliving what I have called "Divine actions" exists in other Jewish ritual. The Passover seder, for example, instructs each Jew to relive the Exodus as a participant in the event - b'khol dor vador khayav adam lir'ot

et atzmo k'ilu hu yatza mimitzrayim, ("in every generation a person must consider himself as if he went forth out of Egypt")[252]   The Siddur, with its appropriation of Biblical language related to Divine actions, evidences the same use of Biblical typology.

First Sub-category: Actions which Respond to Human Prayers

The Divine Actions category (eighteen examples of which are appropriated by the Amida) can be divided into three sub-categories. The first subcategory describes appropriation of Divine actions from the Bible which represent God's response to a prayer from the Israelites. For example, the PR2 phrase melekh meimit um'khaye appropriates the phrase YHVH meimit um'khaye from 1 Samuel 2:6. The prayer in 1 Samuel 2 represents the final episode in the dramatic story of a barren woman who prays to God for a child, and when her request is granted, then offers thanks and praise. In her prayer in chapter 2, Hannah says, YHVH meimit um'khaye morid sheol va'ya'al ("The Lord deals death and gives life, casts down into Sheol and raises up"). When read in context with the narrative in chapter 1, the phrase praises God for granting Hannah's request for new life; God m'khaye. It recalls other instances when God gave new life, including (Isaac) to a barren Sarah and Abraham in Genesis 21, (Jacob and Esau) to

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[252]Haggada, based on Exodus 13:8.

Isaac and Rebecca in Genesis 25:19ff., and the reviving the life of the Shunammite woman's child in 2 Kings 4:32-37. In its Biblical context, the phrase meimit um'khaye may refer to God as the giver of life. It may also refer to God's preserving of life (m'khaye) of those who are desperately ill as in Deuteronomy 32:39: ani amit va'akhaye makhatzti va'ani erpa ("I kill, and I make alive; I have wounded and I heal").[253]

Later Rabbinic tradition reinterprets meimit um'khaye to mean that God has the power to resurrect the dead.[254] This phrase meimit um'khaye in 1 Samuel 2 is understood as praising God's power to resurrect the dead (that is, to give life back to the once-living). Here the recontextualization transforms the meaning of the Samuel verse into the idea of resurrection in PR2.[255] As Ralph Klein explains, that "the thought of resurrection was probably not in the poet's mind though the passages [Deut 32:39 and 1 Sam 2:6) ... formed one of the theological bases for the later, apocalyptic break-through."[256]

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[253]Ralph W. Klein, 1 Samuel (Waco, TX: Word Books, Publisher, 1983), p. 17.

[254]For a full treatment of resurrection, see Moore, vol. 2, p. 377ff. and Urbach, p. 562ff.

[255]Urbach, p. 89ff.

[256]Klein, p. 17.

Second Sub-Category: Actions Made without Human Prayers

The second sub-category (forty one examples of which are appropriated by the Amida) includes Divine actions from the Bible where God responds without any request. The PR19 phrase v'tov b'einekha l'varekh et amkha yisrael is appropriated from the phrase ki YHVH beirakh et amo in 2 Chronicles 31:10. The 2 Chronicles narrative recounts King Hezekiah's order that the people of Jerusalem "to deliver the portions of the priests and Levites" (vs. 4) and the result that "ever since the gifts began to be brought to the House of the Lord, people have been eating to satiety and leaving over in great amounts, for the Lord has blessed His people; this huge amount is left over" (vs. 10). The explanation for the abundance of food is theocentric: God acted by blessing the people.[257]

The Biblical phrase ki YHVH beirakh et amo is the source for the Amida PR19 phrase v'tov b'einekha l'varekh et amkha yisrael. The theocentric concept of God blessing the people is passed on to the Amida text. PR19 thanks God for b'shlome-kha, "wholeness" - for the people, with justice and abundance of food.[258] Although the 2 Chronicles text recalls a specific event (blessing in the Israelite historical past), PR19

[257]De Vries, p. 384.

[258]On the concept of peace as a gift of God, see Sifre to Numbers 42. Also, Moore, vol. 2, pp. 195-197.

changes the tense of the verb from third person past beirakh to an infinitive l'vareikh which implies continuing action. Simultaneously, PR19 adds the phrase v'tov b'einekha ("may it be favorable in your sight"), leaving the worshipper with a note of uncertainty as to whether God will repeat the action.[259]

Third Sub-Category: References to Attributes of God

The third sub-category (thirty nine examples of which are appropriated by the Amida) consists of the attribution in the Bible of general actions or powers to God which are not immediately acquired in the passage. This include the phrases: "who heals the sick," "frees the captive," and "keeps faith with those who sleep in the dust."

For example, the PR2 phrase someikh noflim appropriates language from Psalm 145:14 someikh YHVH l'khol hanoflim v'zo-qeif l'khol hak'fufim ("The Lord supports all who stumble, and makes all who are bent stand straight"). The Psalm verse refers to Divine action in a general way. God's attribute of "supporting those who stumble" is set as a theological concept; no specific instance of God supporting those who stumble is mentioned. When PR2 appropriates the language of the first verse (rendering it someikh noflim), it retains this

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[259]Moore, vol. 2, p. 232ff.

sense of generality. How God supports those who stumble is not explained and the stumblers are never identified. The appropriation of the Psalms verse is accomplished with few changes (only the removal of the definite article ha- and of the words YHVH l'khol). PR2 appropriates only the briefest description of God's attribute and attaches it to a list of other Divine attributes which depict the power of God.

CHAPTER SEVEN:

AN INTERTEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF PR1 ("AVOT")

In this seventh chapter, I will study a single prayer, PR1, (also called the "Avot") as an example of the intertextuality between the Bible and the Amida. Beginning with an overview of the research data, I will identify and explain the Biblical units isolated in PR1. Then, I will delineate the distribution of intertexts among the books of the Bible. Finally, I will analyze the entire PR1. Here, I will reveal how Seder Rav Amram Gaon appropriated Biblical verses, using the three rubrics of intertextuality and the four literary techniques to create meaning. I will show how the appropriation of Biblical phrases transformed the simple meaning of the verses. In the process, it will become clear that the intertextual understanding of PR1 is quite different from an understanding one might gain of PR1 without an awareness of the Bible-Amida intertextuality.

Overview of the Research Data

PR1 is the first prayer in the Amida. In Seder Rav Amram Gaon, PR1 begins with a verse from Psalms 51:17 (H' s'fatai tiftakh ufi yagid t'hilatekha) and then continues Barukh ata H' eloheinu .... From a formal perspective the "Avot" prayer begins with the Berakha formula "Avot" prayer with Barukh ata H' eloheinu ... and ends with the khatima, Barukh ata H' magein Avraham. Yet the text of the Seder makes no distinction between the Psalms verse and the rest of the "Avot." Therefore, I will consider the Psalms verse as part of PR1.

PR1 contains forty-eight individual words. It can be divided, according to the process described in Chapter 3, into fifteen separate phrases. These phrases, and the numbering assigned to each phrase, are presented in TABLE 7.1 below (the indicators for the units of meaning are marked in **bold print**):

PHRASE NUMBER	UNITS OF MEANING
	TABLE 7.1: UNITS OF MEANING FOR PR1
1	H' s'fatai **tiftakh**
2	ufi **yagid** t'hilatekha
3	**Barukh Ata H'** eloheinu
4	veilohei avoteinu
5	elohei **Avraham** elohei **Yitzkhaq** veilohei **Ya'aqov**
6	ha'eil **hagadol hagibor v'hanora**
7	eil elyon
8	**gomeil** khasadim tovim
9	**v'qonei** hakol
10	**v'zokheir** khasdei avot
11	**umeivi** go'eil livnei v'neihem
12	**l'ma'an** sh'mo **b'ahava**
13	melekh ozeir umoshi'a umagein
14	**Barukh Ata H'**
15	magein Avraham.

The isolation of the units of meaning required both the specifications described in Chapter 3. The following paragraph details more specifically the rationalization for each decision.

Phrases #1 and #2 are considered separate units of meaning because each contains a verb. Moreover, the Masoretic accents provide an additional clue: the Etnakh separates the

Psalm 51:17 source text into two halves in the same manner. Phrases #3 and #15 can be isolated as opening and closing formulaic verses.[260] The name of God, H', also identifies the general point of separation. The word eloheinu, however, is attached to Phrase #3 because it is the object of the verb. Phrase #5 is separated by means of the word-triplet Avraham + Yitzkhaq + Ya'aqov. Phrase #6 is isolated because of the word-triplet hagadol + hagibor + hanora. Phrases #8, #9, #10, and #11 are identified by the initial verb; Phrase #7 is then separated out because it is in opposition to Phrase #6 and an independent form of address to the Divine. Phrase #12 is isolated by means of l'ma'an. Phrase #13 contains a series of attributes in the form of direct address to the Divine: melekh + ozeir + moshi'a + magein. Phrase #15 is separated as the final phrase of the khatima.

I have identified a total of forty possible intertexts which conform to the specifications established in Chapter 3 for a "significant" intertext, and further sub-divided the forty intertexts into two groups which I have called **primary** and **secondary** intertexts. I identified twenty-nine primary intertexts (see TABLE 7.2 below) and eleven secondary intertexts (see TABLE 7.3 below).

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[260]I addressed the issue of Biblical antecedents of this formula in Chapter 1. Therefore, throughout the research, I have not focused on these phrases, found in each Amida prayer, except where a prayer appropriates a Biblical antecedent on the basis of other key words.

Primary intertexts are those Biblical verses which conform to the following specifications: (#1) a verse which contains approximate word-for-word correspondence of the Biblical unit of meaning; or (#2) In the case that there is no verse with direct word-for-word correspondence but the verse(s) which contain the highest number of what we call "key words" (words whose meaning is critical to the understanding of the prayer). Multiple verses might fulfill specification #1. For example, three verses are primary intertexts for Phrase #5, elohei avraham elohei yitzkhaq veilohei ya'aqov... (Ex 3:6, Ex 3:15, and Ex 4:5) and two verses are intertexts for Phrase #5, ha'eil hagadol haqibor v'hanora (Deut 26:7 and Neh 9:32). Similarly, multiple verses might fulfil specification #2. For example, six verses are primary intertexts for Phrase #12, melekh ozeir umoshi'a umagein (Ps 54:6, Ps 33:20, Ps 115:9, Hos 13:4, Is 43:11, Deut 33:29).

Secondary intertexts are those Biblical verses which do not qualify as a primary intertext yet have some significant link to the units of meaning in the Amida as we have constructed them. I will comment upon the contribution of each secondary intertext during the formal analysis of PR1.

TABLE 7.2: PRIMARY INTERTEXTS FOR PR1			
PHR #	LANGUAGE FROM PR1 "AVOT"	BIBL VERSE	LANGUAGE OF THE BIBLICAL INTERTEXT
1 2	Adonai s'fatai ... t'hilatekha	Ps 51:17	Adonai s'fatai ... t'hilatekha
3 4 14	Barukh ata H' eloh-einu	Ezra 7:27	Barukh YHVH (H') elohei avoteinu
4	elohei avoteinu	Deut 26:7	YHVH elohei avoteinu
4 5	Elohei avoteinu el-ohei Avraham ... Ya'aqov	Ex 3:6	elohei avikha elohei Avraham ... Ya'aqov
4 5	" "	Ex 3:15	elohei avoteikhem elohei Avraham ... Ya'aqov
4 5	" "	Ex 4:5	eilekha YHVH elohei avotam elohei Avraham..
6	ha'eil hagadol ha-gibor v'hanora	Neh 9:32	ha'eil hagadol hagibor v'hanora
6	" "	Deut 10:17	" "
7	Eil elyon	Gen 14:18	l'eil elyon
7 9	Eil elyon + v'qonei hakol	Gen 14:19	l'eil elyon qonei sha-mayim va'aretz
7 9	Eil elyon + v'qonei hakol	Gen 14:22	l'eil elyon qonei sha-mayim va'aretz
8	gomeil khasadim tovim	X X X X X X	NO BIBLICAL INTERTEXT EXISTS
10	v'zokheir khasdei avot	2 Ch 6:42	zakhra l'khasdei david avdekha
10	" "	Ps 1-09:14	Yizakheir avon avotav el YHVH
10	" "	Jer 2:2	Zakharti lakh khesed n'urayikh

TABLE 7.2: PRIMARY INTERTEXTS FOR PR1			
PHR #	LANGUAGE FROM PR1 "AVOT"	BIBL VERSE	LANGUAGE OF THE BIBLICAL INTERTEXT
11	u'meivi go'eil	X X X X X X	NO BIBLICAL INTERTEXT EXISTS
11	livnei v'neihem	Ez 37:25	uv'nei v'neihem ad olam v'david avdi nasi lahem
11	" "	Deut 4:9	v'hodatam l'vanekha v'livnei vanekha
12	l'ma'an shmo	Ps 106:8	Vayoshi'eim l'ma'an shmo
12	" "	Is 45:9	L'ma'an shmi a'arikh api
12	" "	Ez 20:44	l'ma'an shmi
12	" "	Ps 79:9	l'ma'an shmekha
12	" "	Ps 109:21	asei iti l'ma'an shme-kha ki tov khase'kha hatzileini
12 11	b'ahava	Is 63:2	b'ahavato uv'khemlato hu g'alam
13	melekh ozeir umoshi'a umagein	Ps 33:20	ezreinu umagineinu hu
13	" "	Ps 115:9	ezram umaginam hu
13	" "	Deut 33:29	magein ezrekha
13	" "	Ps 54:6	Hinei elohim ozeir li
13	" "	Hos 13:4	lo teida umoshi'a ayin bilti
13	" "	Is 43:11	v'ein mibaladai mos-hi'a
15	H' magein Avraham	Gen 15:1	al tira Avraham anokhi magein lakh

TABLE 7.3 : SECONDARY INTERTEXTS FOR PR1			
PHR #	LANGUAGE FROM PR1 "AVOT"	BIBL VERSE	LANGUAGE OF THE BIBLICAL INTERTEXT
3	Barukh ata H' elohei	1 Ch 29:10	Barukh ata YHVH elohei
5	elohei Avraham ... Ya'aqov	Ex 6:3	Avraham Yitzkhaq v'Ya'aqov
6	ha'eil hagadol hagibor v'hanora	Dan 9:4	ha'eil hagadol v'hanora
6	" "	Jer 32:18	ha'eil hagadol hagibor
6	" "	Neh 1:5	ha'eil hagadol v'hanora
7	Eil elyon	Ps 78:35	v'eil elyon go'alam
10	v'zokheir khasdei avot	Ps 98:3	zakhor khasdo ve'emu- nato l'beit yisrael
11	livnei v'neihem	2 K 17:41	b'neihem uv'nei v'neihem
12	b'ahava	1 K 10:9	b'ahavat YHVH et yisrael
12	" "	2 Ch 2:10	b'ahavat YHVH et amo
12	" "	2 Ch 9:8	b'ahavat YHVH et yisrael

OVERVIEW OF THE PRIMARY INTERTEXTS

Of the forty-eight words in PR1, the twenty-nine primary intertexts account for forty one words or eighty five percent of the total. Seven words (or fifteen percent) do not have specific intertexts: gomeil khasadim tovim (Phrase #8); hakol

(Phrase #9); <u>umeivi go'eil</u> (Phrase #11); and <u>melekh</u> (Phrase #13).[261]

Of the twenty-nine primary intertexts, Torah accounts for eleven (4 each from Genesis and Deuteronomy; 3 from Exodus), Prophets for seven (3 from Isaiah, 2 from Ezekiel, 1 each from Jeremiah and Hosea) and Writings for eleven (8 from Psalms, 1 each from Ezra, Nehemiah and 2 Chronicles). Psalms contributes the most verses of all the Biblical books; Genesis and Deuteronomy offering the second highest number of verses leaving Isaiah and Ezekiel third and fourth.

All three patterns of the appropriation of Biblical language which we have called the three Rubrics of Intertextuality are evidenced. Nine intertexts derive from a Biblical Prayer.[262] Eleven intertexts refer to a Divine Action.[263] Two intertext refers to a Divine Promise.[264]

All four Literary Techniques of Intertextuality are employed within PR1. Eight verses include elements of three

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[261]I will discuss why some of these words are not attested to by intertexts in the formal analysis below.

[262]Ezra 7:27; Deut 26:7; Neh 9:32; Gen 14:19, 14:22; 2 Ch 6:42; and Psalms 51:17, 79:9 and 109:21.

[263]God responds to human prayer in 2 verses (Deut 26:7 and Neh 9:32). God's action is "unilateral" in 6 verses (Ezra 7:27, Ex 4:5, Psalm 106:8, Is 45:9, Is 63:2-two different actions). General qualities or actions of God are referred to in 3 verses (Deut 4:9, Deut 10:17, and 2 Ch 6:42).

[264]Gen 15:1 and Ez 37:25.

different word-pairs. Avraham + Yitzkhaq + Ya'aqov (in Ex 3:6, Ex 3:15 and Ex 4:5), hagadol + hagibor + hanora (in Deut 10:17 and Neh 9:32), and combinations of melekh + ozeir + moshi'a + magein (in Deut 33:29, Ps 33:20 and Ps 115:9). Twelve verses evidence changing tenses or suffixes. Category #1 changes were made to Exodus 3:6, Exodus 3:15, Exodus 4:5 and Ps 115:9 and category #2 changes were made to Isaiah 45:3, Jeremiah 2:2, and Ezekiel 20:44. Four verses involve miscellaneous changes (Deut 4:9 from vanekha to vaneihem, Ps 109:14 from yizakheir to zokheir, and Ps 79:9 and Ps 109:21 from shmekha to shmo). Seven verse involve Divine self-description (Gen 15:1, Ex 3:6, Ex 3:15, Ex 4:5, Is 43:11, Hos 13:4, and Jer 2:2). Fourteen verses contain or are associated with salvation language from the Bible (Gen 14:18, Gen 14:19, Gen 14:22, Deut 33:29, Is 43:11, Is 45:9, Is 63:2, Ez 20:44, Ez 37:25, Hos 13:4, Ps 79:9, Ps 106:8, Ps 109:21, and Ezra 7:27).

Formal Analysis of PR1 - "Avot"

Phrases #1 and #2 are appropriated directly from Psalm 51:17. An examination of its context reveals the significance of its placement at the beginning of the Amida. Psalm 51 represents the genre of Psalms known as "personal lament" in which an individual in need pours out his or her soul to God. Distinguished by the consciousness of sin described therein (vs. 5 - "for I recognize my transgressions and am ever conscious of my sin"), Psalm 51 confesses that sin is habitual

(vs. 7). The supplicant turns to God for mercy (vs. 3) and asks God for forgiveness - "hide Your face from my sins; blot out all my iniquities." Verses 8-11 reveal the magnitude of the request; the supplicant asks for nothing less than wisdom, cleansing, renewal, healing and forgiveness. The desired end is a "pure heart," "a steadfast spirit" and a deep abiding connection to God's presence (vss. 12-13). This intertext is part of a triplet of verses (vss. 17-19) which "contrasts animal sacrifices with the sacrifice of a broken (repentant) spirit." Psalm 51:17, therefore, expresses the importance of verbal prayer and praise - over and against the sacrifices as the path toward repentance and forgiveness by God.[265] Psalm 51:17 provides the rationale and the Biblical justification for the entire enterprise of a liturgical approach to God. Through the context appropriated along with the verse, Psalm 51:17 authenticates the notion that verbal prayers have supplanted sacrificial offerings as the means by which one praises, petitions and thanks God. It reminds the worshipper that the fixed service, though a Rabbinic innovation to replace the sacrificial cult, finds Divine approval within the canon of the Bible.[266] As the opening words of PR1 and therefore the entire Amida, these phrases then establish the purpose, process and tone of the Amida.

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[265]John Carmody, Denise Lardner Carmody and Robert L. Cohn, "Psalms," in Carmody et al., Exploring the Hebrew Bible (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall), pp. 272-273. They suggest (p. 273) that vss. 20-21 "have the note of a later addition by a priestly editor fearful that the spiritual note struck in [the previous verses] would denigrate the cult."

[266]B. Berakhot 26b. Heinemann, p. 14-15.

Psalm 51:17 also reminds the worshipper of the need for a fixed liturgical format, that Amida provides the means by which the individual can approach God and plead for mercy. The intertext foreshadows PR6 in which the request for forgiveness assumes that people sin as part of the natural order of their lives and PR8 in which the request for health presumes healing from a state of sinfulness.[267] Psalm 51:17 also directs attention to PR16 where the worshipper asks God sh'ma qoleinu to hear our voices or the words of our prayers. PR1 and PR16 provide a frame for the intermediate praises and petitions of the Amida. They provide an opportunity for worshippers to proclaim that the Rabbinic liturgy consists of prayers and not animal sacrifices. Finally, Phrases #1 and #2 of PR1, through the contexts of their source, encapsulate for the individual many of the values expressed in the Rabbinic messianic vision (wisdom, cleansing, renewal, healing and forgiveness).[268]

The Biblical antecedent for Phrase #3, the initial formula of the khatima in PR1, is Ezra 7:27 Barukh YHVH elohei

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[267] See Chapter 5 in which I analyze the meaning of the intertextual connection between PR6 (ki khatanu ... ki fashanu) and 1 Kings 8:46-47 (khatanu, he'evinu v'rashanu). Exodus 15:26 and Psalm 103:3, the intertexts for both PR2 (rofei hakholim) and PR8, reveal an intimate connection between sin and disease and forgiveness and healing.

[268] See the discussion of salvation language in Chapter 4 for my analysis of the messianic vision of the Amida.

avoteinu.[269] The verse follows an Aramaic letter from King
Artaxerxes which gives Ezra permission to return to Israel
with other Israelites and their wealth, to "regulate Judah and
Jerusalem" (vs. 14) and to reestablish a working House of God.
Verse 27 serves to identify Ezra's good fortune as the result
of Divine action. It recognizes God as the source of Ezra's
courage and his ability to "assemble leading men in Israel to
go [with him]" (vs. 28). Moreover, Ezra blesses God as elohei
avoteinu ("the God of our ancestors"). This would indicate
that he acknowledges God as the One who intervened for the
sake of previous generations of Israelites.

As the intertext for Phrase #3, Ezra 7:27 - an example of
Divine Action - enables the worshipper to affirm that God does
intervene on behalf of the covenanted people Israel.   It
offers a paradigm of God returning the exiles to Jerusalem.
Moreover, as Phrase #4 suggests, God's relationship with
Israel extends all the way back to avoteinu, the worshipper's
Biblical ancestors who instituted the covenant. The Biblical
text alludes to the post-exilic return to Jerusalem and the
rebuilding of the Temple. Both of these events form the basis
for messianic ideas in the Amida and to other petitionary
prayers which petition for their fulfillment such as PR10
(return), PR11 (raise up righteous judges and advisors), PR14

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[269]1 Chronicles 29:10 is a secondary intertext to Phrase
#3. The Chronicles reference to elohei yisrael avinu advances
a similar theme as Ezra's elohei avoteinu. However, the
version in Ezra 7 contains a more expansive concept of God's
relationship to all our ancestors and more closely approxi-
mates the language of PR1.

(rebuilding), PR15 (ruler of the Davidic line) and PR17 (resumption of Temple activities).

Of the five intertexts for Phrase #4, only Deuteronomy 26:7 YHVH elohei avoteinu contains the same wording as the PR1 phrase. This verse is part of a recital on the festival of first fruits through which prayer outlined the history of the sacred relationship between God and Israel.[270] In addition to supporting the notion that God hears and answers our prayers (vayishma YHVH et goleinu...), this phrase represents a continuation of the Biblical prayer form in which praise is linked to a recitation of God's faithful relationship with Israel.

The other three intertexts for Phrase #4 (Ex 3:6, 3:15 and 4:5) also are intertexts for Phrase #5. Each of the verses evidence the intertextual techniques of Changing Suffixes[271] and Utilization of Biblical Word-pairs.[272]   To-

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[270]See my analysis of Nehemiah 9 in Chapter 5.

[271]I have shown in the section Changing Verb Tenses and Suffixes in Chapter 4 that the appropriations of Exodus 3:15 and 4:5 evidence first category suffix changes. Exodus 3:6, also undergoes a first category suffix change (from avikha to avinu) plus an expansion of the focus from the singular "ancestor" to the plural "ancestors".

[272]Specifically, the phrase Avraham, Yitzkhaq and Ya'aqov. The secondary intertext Exodus 6:3 (va'eira el avraham el yitzkhaq v'el ya'aqov b'eil shadai ushmi YHVH lo nodati lahem) includes the same word-triplet as well as the accompanying sense of God's intimacy with Moses and later generations through the name YHVH. Other verses include elements of the triplet (Gen 28:13 - God says to Jacob: ani YHVH elohei avraham avikha veilohei yitzkhaq) or (recalling Genesis 32:29) substitute Yisrael for Ya'aqov (1 Kings 18:36, 2 Chronicles

gether, these techniques develop a connection to the unique moment described in the Biblical text as well as a consciousness that the moment can be renewed during the lifetime of the worshipper. These intertexts correspond almost word for word with Phrases #4 and #5.

The combined Phrase (#4 and #5), elohei avoteinu elohei avraham elohei yitzkhaq veilohei ya'aqov, originates according to the narrative as an instance of Divine revelation (Ex 3:6). In my analysis of the Exodus 3:6 intertext in chapter 4, I suggested that this appropriation functions in PR1 in two ways. First, the repetition of this verse renews the Biblical moment when Moses first encountered God and initiates a voluntary relationship between the worshipper and God. Second, as I have reiterated above, it reestablishes a connection synchronically (in the same time period) and diachronically (throughout history) between the worshipper and the people of Israel.

In Exodus 3:15, a similar phrase, elohei avoteikhem elohei avraham..., is associated with the revelation of the Divine name Ehyeh-Asher-Ehyeh or YHVH (Ex 3:14). By praying these same words, YHVH elohei avoteikhem elohei avraham..., the worshipper re-experiences with Moses the encounter with God at the burning bush.

29:18 and 30:6).

Another intertext, Exodus 4:5, _elohei avotam elohei avraham..._ continues the connection with God's revelation to Moses. Here God provides Moses with three signs to reassure them that "the Lord, the God of their fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, did appear to [Moses]" (Ex 4:6).[273] As an intertext, this verse brings to conclusion the narration of Moses encounter with God. It may be argued that since the verse acknowledges the Israelites' skepticism, it might foreshadows a worshipper's possible skepticism that an encounter with God was, is, or will be possible. Yet it also offers a release from this sense of doubt. The worshipper is challenged to recognize Biblical signs as proof of the possibility of Divine-human encounter.

The primary Biblical antecedents for Phrase #6 (Neh 9:32 and Deut 10:17) were analyzed in previously in Chapter 5 as part of the examination of the Biblical prayer in Nehemiah 9.[274] Only the conclusions will be reproduced here. The words in the intertexts (_hagadol_, _hagibor_, and _hanora_), as general expressions of awe for the extent of God's power, function to introduce specific Divine attributes in prayers.

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[273]The signs were: Moses' rod changing into and back from a snake; his hand entering his bosom, coming out "encrusted with snowy scales" and returning to normal; and water taken from the Nile turning to blood as it poured on dry ground (Ex 4:2-9).

[274]Other secondary intertexts include Jeremiah 32:18, Daniel 9:4, and Nehemiah 1:5. Each cites only two of the three qualities and therefore are assigned a secondary intertextual status.

In PR1, they introduce four attributes most sought after by the compiler of the Amida: God who is gomeil khasadim tovim, gonei hakol, zokheir khasdei avot, and meivi go'eil. At the same time, the Exodus verses recall through their Biblical intra-textual relationship other Divine qualities worthy of praise: God who "stays faithful to His covenant" (Neh 9:37) and who "shows no favor and takes no bribes, but upholds the cause of the fatherless and the widow, and befriends the stranger, providing him with food and clothing" (Deut 10:17).

The two primary antecedents also recall two moments in the history of the covenant relationship: receiving of the Torah at Mount Horeb and the reaffirmation of the covenant after the return from exile with Nehemiah. These intertexts may enrich the worship experience through the recontextualization of the language and imagery of these critical Biblical events. They situate the worshipper as a partner in the covenant between God and Israel and formally petition God on behalf of the worshipper to continue this covenantal relationship.

PR1, as the opening of the Amida, introduces the themes of subsequent prayers. Thus PR1's intertexts allude to other prayers of the Amida. The Nehemiah 9 verses focus on forgiveness and mercy introduces PR6. The context of returning to the study of Torah and to Jerusalem suggests PR5 and PR14.

Phrases #7 and #9 (eil elyon + v'qonei hakol) seem to be appropriated from the narrative in Genesis 14:18-24. Abram has just returned from defeating King Chedorlaomer in the "war of the four kings against those five" (Gen 14:9). He encounters King Melchizedek of Salem who is called kohein l'eil elyon ("a priest of God Most High"). The priest-king blesses both Abram (in vs. 19) l'eil elyon qonei shamayim va'aretz ("of God Most High, Creator of heaven and earth") and God (in vs. 20). Later, Abram takes an oath to YHVH eil elyon qonei shamayim va'aretz (vs. 22).[275]

A number of significant concepts in the Genesis passage are appropriated by PR1. First, another Biblical name of God, Eil elyon, is used. It is a composite Divine name found in only one other place in the Bible (Ps 78:35). Considered exceedingly old, it is later replaced by YHVH. Nevertheless, the second element elyon "is invariably [and continually] used in poetic texts and exclusively in liturgical contexts."[276] It reaches back to an ancient name, connected to the patriarch Abram, as a means of underscoring the eternality of God and God's unending relationship to the Israelite people (and therefore with the worshipper who prays PR1). The fact that Melchizedek, a non-Israelite, uses the name suggests that this is a universal name of God.

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[275]The Shabbat Maariv service appropriates this verse duing the repetition of the Amida.

[276]Sarna, JPS: Genesis, p. 381. His "Excursus 7: El Elyon" gives a full overview of the linguistic history of the term.

Second, the phrase, gonei shamayim va'aretz is twice attached to the liturgical formulation eil elyon (in Gen 14:19/20). It recognizes God as being both Creator and Guide of the universe. The use of shamayim and aretz might be a hendiadys, suggesting all of creation or "everything." Given the fact gonei et hakol does not appear elsewhere in the Bible in connection to God,[277] it appears that gonei et hakol in PR1 simply may be a Rabbinic substitution for konei shamayim va'aretz. The Divine appellation title gonei shamayim va'aretz is particularly fitting for the Biblical prayer because it highlights God's power. Here, "the victory in the war is attributed not to Abram's skill and valor but to the will of God who is the ultimate arbiter of human destiny."[278]

Phrase #8, gomeil khasadim tovim, does not have a Biblical antecedent. The roots GML and KhSD are associated in two verses: Isaiah 63:7 (asher g'malam k'rakhamav ukh'rov khasadav) and Proverbs 11:16 (Gomeil nafsho ish khased). Neither the words nor the contexts suggests that either verse is a primary intertext. Clearly a post-Biblical expression, Phrase #8 reveals the Rabbinic composer operating independent of the Biblical text and summarizing ideas in his own lan-

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[277]Two other Biblical verses contain the requisite words but in a very different context. Genesis 47:20 (Vayigen yosef et kol admat mitzrayim l'far'o) and Ruth 4:9-10 (ki ganiti et kol asher le'elimelekh and v'gam et rut...ganiti li l'isha) are secondary intertexts whose secondary status was determined on the basis of the connection of the words to humans (not God).

[278]Sarna, JPS: Genesis, p. 107. Also see "Excursus 8: 'Creator of Heaven and Earth'" on p. 382.

quage.[279]

The Bible-Amida intertextuality of Phrase #10, v'zokheir khasdei avot, which recalls three verses from the Bible (2 Ch 6:42, Ps 109:14 and Jer 2:2), was analyzed as part of the treatment of the Solomonic prayer in Chapter 5.[280] These intertexts, are recontextualized by the Rabbis to remind the worshipper that God remembers both good and bad deeds. Their appropriation into PR1, however, invokes the righteousness of past generations of Israelites in order to persuade God to grant the worshipper's prayers.[281] Phrase #10, by means of its association with 2 Chronicles 6, recalls the Divine promise of a covenant with Israel. Additionally, it points toward two specific petitions addressed later in the Amida: the resumption of the monarchy (embodied in PR15) and the rebuilding of the Temple (embodied in PR17).

Phrase #11 might be sub-divided into two parts: u'meivi go'eil and livnei v'neihem. A significant antecedent for the first part cannot be found in the Bible. Although many verses call God go'eil or go'aleinu, I have not found one which refers to a (non-God) redeemer brought by God. This phrase umeivi go'eil may simply be an addition to reflect Rabbinic

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[279]The phrase does appear among other places in B. Berakhot 54b and 60b.

[280]Another verse, Psalm 98:3, is considered a secondary intertext.

[281]See the discussion (and footnotes) of z'khut avot in Chapter 5.

concept of a personal messiah.[282]

The second half of Phrase #11 livnei v'neihem has two primary intertexts (Ez 37:25 and Deut 4:9).[283] Ezekiel 37, containing the "joined stick" oracle, foresees the re-joining of Judah and Israel into a single nation, the accompanying ingathering of exiles, the resumption of the Davidic monarchy, and the cleansing of sin (vss. 19-23). The prophesy speaks of a new "covenant of friendship ... an everlasting covenant" with a new Sanctuary and with the indwelling of God's presence (vss. 26-28). Ezekiel 37:25 joins three important elements. First, God promises that the people shall dwell on the land forever. The phrase uv'nei v'neihem emphasizes the continuation of the promise throughout the generations. Second, the land is identified as the land given to ya'aqov and in which the ancestors dwelled. As such, it links back to Phrases #4 and #5 of PR1 - avoteinu and Avraham + Yitzkhaq + Ya'aqov - and all the ideas about the timelessness of the covenantal relationship and the everlasting value of Divine Promises. Third, the juxtaposition in Jeremiah 37:25 of God's promise that v'david avdi nasi lahem ("David my servant will be their prince") to its recipients uv'nei v'neihem suggests a deeper connection between Ezekiel 37 and Phrase #11: David (or his descendants may be the go'eil which God brings to the succeeding generations of Israelites.

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[282]For an analysis of the evolution of the concept of a personal messiah, see Urbach, p. 672ff.

[283]2 Kings 17:14 is a secondary intertext.

In Deuteronomy 4:9, another intersection of v'nei
v'neihem, Moses cautions the Israelites not to forget the
experience of the Exodus and standing before God at Horeb. He
implores them to retell it to each subsequent generation -
l'vanekha v'livnei vanekha - in order that they too will
uphold the covenant and forsake idol worship. The connection
between redemption (or a redeemer) and the covenantal respon-
sibilities is explicit: any future Israelite presence on the
land is conditioned by fulfillment of the terms of the
covenant. Punishment for disloyalty will be exile (vss. 25-
28).

When read together, these two intertexts remind the
worshipper that as one of the descendants, she or he is
promised an everlasting covenant with God, a return from exile
and a righteous ruler (David's descendant). The condition of
fulfillment remains valid for all generations, obliging Jews
to maintain the covenant. By reading the prayers, the
worshipper is reminded that God had previously returned the
people to the land (during Ezra and Nehemiah's time) and on
this basis the Rabbis suggested that God will surely redeem
them again. Moreover, the worshipper's attention is again
directed to subsequent prayers in the Amida: toward PR10
(ingathering) and PR15 (Davidic monarchy).

Phrase #12 of PR1 may also be sub-divided into two parts:
l'ma'an shmo and b'ahava. I have located five intertexts for
the first part. One, Psalm 106:8, duplicates the wording

l'ma'an shmo exactly; the others verses (Is 45:9, Ez 20:44, Ps 79:9 and Ps 109:21) each require a change of suffix from shmi or shmekha to shmo. All five intertexts, share a common theme: God's redemptive power. Psalm 106 reviews the history of salvation, noting the sinfulness of the Israelites and the compassion and graciousness of God who redeems them.[284] Psalms 79:9 and 109:21 consist of requests for redemption in the immediate present for the community and the individual (respectively).[285] Ezekiel 20:44 and Isaiah 45:9 contain God's promise to save the people in the future (in the case of the latter, God's promise not to destroy Israel in the future). The verses imply that God is the redeemer or go'eil.

The reason given in each intertext that God should redeem the people is l'ma'an shm[o] (either shmo, shmi or shmekha) or "for the sake of [God's] name". This may, allude to Numbers 14:1-20 in which Moses pleads with God not to destroy the Israelites in the desert so that other "nations" would not say "It must be because the Lord was powerless to bring them in the wilderness" (Num 14:16). The phrase l'ma'an shmo suggests that the ultimate arbiter of whether God will use Divine powers is God alone. The concept that God alone is final arbiter contrasts with Phrase #8 which invokes the merits of

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[284]Carmody, Carmody and Cohn, p. 278. The end of the Psalm includes a plea for deliverance in the present.

[285]Psalm 79 asks for redemption from "our sins". Psalm 109:21 asks for salvation from being the object of scorn of enemies.

the ancestors (and therefore God's relationship with them) as the reason God should answer the worshipper's requests. Phrase #12, b'ahava suggests that salvation comes only for the sake of God's good and honored name and not on account of the merits of the worshipper or of his or her ancestors. The term b'ahava must be discussed before the juxtaposition of these opposites can be understood.

The key word, b'ahava, has one primary intertext. Isaiah 63:2 depicts a God with empathy with Israel. God is troubled by their troubles; God loves and pities them. God's acts of redemption arise out of the love (and pity) which God has for Israel.[286] This connection of Divine love with redemption also appears also in PR1: umeivi go'eil ... b'ahava.

I would suggest that the word B'ahava mediates the opposition between gomeil khasadim tovim (that God should respond to a worshipper's prayer because of the merits of the ancestors and God's close relationship with them) and l'ma'an shmo (that God responds only on the basis of God's own reasons, not human praise, thanks or petition). Divine love provides the solution. Because of God's love for Israel, God cannot act alone without regard for Israel's needs or troubles. According to Isaiah, God, after all, feels empathy with Israel - B'khol tzaratam lo tzar (Isaiah 63:2). Similarly,

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[286]Three secondary intertexts, 1 Kings 10:9, 2 Chronicles 2:10 and 2 Chronicles 9:8 each connect God's love for Israel with God's anointing of Solomon as king.

because of God's love for Israel, God cannot act solely on the basis of the merits of the ancestors. God must act as a loving, responsible parent in deciding whether to respond to the prayers. Consequently, it is through Divine love ahava, God balances l'ma'an shmo with z'khut avot.

Phrase #13 contains two sets of word pairs: melekh, ozeir, moshi'a, and magein. I have found, however, that no more than two terms appear together in a Biblical verse. Moreover, the word melekh, which is so prevalent in the Bible, does not seem to appear in conjunction with any of the words.[287] This may reveal Rabbinic creativity within the prayer. Six verses have been isolated as the "most" significant intertexts (Psalms 33:20, 54:6, 115:9; Deut 33:29; Is 43:11; Hos 13:4).

Three verses (Deut 33:29, Ps 33:20, and Ps 115:9) identify ozeir and magein as a word-pair. The appropriation of these Biblical verses evidence a category #3 change of subject from hu or YHVH to ata (Ps 33:20 - ezreinu umagineinu hu; Ps 115:9 - ezram umaginam hu; and Deut 33:29 - YHVH magein ezrekha). Such a transformation, as explained in Chapter 4, creates immediacy by putting Biblical praises in the mouths of later generations of worshippers.

Psalm 33 is a hymn, expressing descriptive praise of God.

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[287]Moore, vol. 2, p. 209.

Its multiple themes include God's creative word (which brought the heavens and earth into being - vss. 4-11),[288] God's oversight from heaven (especially of those who fear and dread God - vs. 18) and humanity's hope in God (vss. 20-21).[289] Within the latter theme is God identified as ezreinu umagineinu hu "our help and shield" (vs. 20). These forms are understood as stressing God's faithful care for the people (vs. 22).

Psalm 115 is considered a "communal psalm of confidence" in which the community "expresses its full certainty that God will give it a good hearing."[290] It contrasts God with inert idols (vss. 4-8), calls on Israel to "trust in the Lord!" (vss. 9-11), announces confidently that "God will bless us" (vss. 12-13), and claims that humans should rule their God-given world as God rules in heaven. The phrase b'takh baYHVH ezram umaginam hu appears three times in the Psalm (vss. 9, 10, 11) and is directed toward Israel, the house of Aaron, and "you who fear the Lord". The text describes God's role as "help and shield." It also urges the addressee to accept God and put trust in God.

Deuteronomy 33 recounts Moses' final blessing to the Israelites. After blessing each tribe individually, Moses

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[288]This recalls gonei shamayim va'aretz.

[289]Carmody, Carmody and Cohn, p. 269.

[290]Norman Gottwald in Carmody, Carmody and Cohn, p. 280.

addresses Israel as a whole. Verse 29, the final verse, extols the uniqueness of Israel. God, who is called magein ezrekha, delivered and will protect Israel. Although the parallel phrase kherev ga'avatekha invokes military imagery, PR1 does not. Rather, PR1 recalls the same Source of victory as in Genesis 14:18-22: God's power.

Three other verses (Ps 54:6 with ozeir and Is 43:11 and Hos 13:4 with moshi'a) associate God with one of the terms of PR1 phrase melekh ozeir umoshi'a umagein. Each provides further allusions to enrich this liturgical phrase. Psalm 54:6, described as part of an individual lament, identifies God through a parallelism as ozeir li ("my helper") and someikh nafshi ("my support"). It explains that God will "repay the evil" and "destroy" the supplicant's enemies (vs. 7). This intertext expands on the confidence that "God is Helper" through the addition of promises of freewill offerings and praise for God's protection (vss. 7-8). It also foreshadows the hoda'ot, prayers of thanksgiving in the Amida (PR17-PR19).

The final two intertexts for Phrase #13 melekh ozeir umoshi'a umagein describe God as moshi'a ("savior"). In each case, the prophet is the mouthpiece of God voicing God's words of self-description.[291] Isaiah 43:11 is part of large oracle in which God reminds Israel of God's triumphant power to

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[291]See Von Rad, pp. 60-76.

create, to punish, to vindicate, and to save. This verse, like Psalm 115 in which God's power is compared to inert idols, reiterates that "before Me no god was formed, and after Me none shall exist" (vs. 10). The verse rejects other gods; it directs all Israel to recognize God alone as the Sovereign and as the Redeemer. The saving act of the Exodus proves that God's power alone redeemed the people.

PR1 also appropriates the word moshi'a from Hosea 13:4 which must also be understood in its Biblical context as part of a rejection of other gods. Chapter 13 condemns those Israelites involved in sinful Baal and idol worship (vss. 1-2). God's power reveals the impotence of idols and Baal. "God as moshi'a" proclaims the Sovereignty of the only true power and the only true God.

Taken together, these six intertexts extol God's great power while denying the power of other gods. The verses allude repeatedly to the Exodus as a sign of the power of God as the Sovereign force in the world. The worshipper is reassured that if she or he "trusts in God" (Ps 115:9) and voices prayers, God will help, save and protect her or him.

Phrase #14, barukh ata H', the formulaic closing, repeats the language of Phrase #3. In PR1, it shares the intertexts and meanings discussed above.

Phrase #15, magein avraham, invokes Genesis 15:1, God's

self-description and Divine promise that God will be Abram's
shield (al tira avram anokhi magein lakh). The mention of
fear might refer to Abram's fear of revenge by the aforemen-
tioned defeated kings (Gen 14:17). In this context, God's
promise to be Abram's magein can be understood as a "poetic
simile of divine protection."[292] This intertext also in-
cludes a Divine Promise of great reward to which Abram reacts
by questioning its value in light of his childlessness.[293]
God responds by promising Abram countless descendants. It is
also important to note that this is the first time in the
Bible that Abram speaks to God.

This Genesis intertext concludes PR1. It offers the wor-
shipper assurance that God will be protect Abram, and there-
fore by extension, all of Abram's descendants. It promises
great reward of numberless descendants, foreshadowing PR2's
meimit um'khaye which, according to my analysis in Chapter 6,
refers to God's power to give life. If God can promise life
and protection, the worshipper would recognize that God can
answer all petitions.

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[292]Sarna, JPS: Genesis, p. 112. Genesis 14 provides the
intertexts for Phrases #7 and #9; see my analysis above.

[293]See Bereshit Rabba on Genesis 14 for a Rabbinic re-
narration of this passage.

CONCLUSION:

MAKING MEANING: THE APPROPRIATION OF BIBLICAL VERSES

In this study, I set out to demonstrate that Rav Amram Gaon, whose name is linked with the earliest known prayerbook, Seder Rav Amram Gaon, gleaned the treasures of his inherited tradition (particularly the Bible) to compile the Seder. More specifically, I argued that Rav Amram and his Rabbinic predecessors appropriated phrases and verses from the Bible and put them together with bits of Rabbinic and Geonic material to create the prayers known collectively as the Amida. The Seder must be recognized as both new creation and recontextualization at once. As the "author" of this new work, Rav Amram created the earliest written version of the prayer texts. But Amram was more than an author; he was a composer. Like the symphonic composer who coordinates the sounds he or she knows each instrument can make to produce a final work of harmonious beauty, Rav Amram Gaon recontext- ualized the phrases, language and forms of the Bible to compose the Siddur. Rav Amram, therefore, might be called an "intertextualizer," a composer who consciously and conscien- tiously borrows language from a variety of sources and, taking into account the context and message of each unit of meaning, weaves them into a coherent whole.

This paper confirms this characterization of Amram. The paper presents data which demonstrates that the Amida appro-

priates a large number of phrases and verses from the Bible.
In addition to borrowing heavily from the genre of Biblical
prayer, Rav Amram seems to have borrowed language from two
other categories, which I have called the language of Divine
promises and of Divine actions. Through analysis of individu-
al examples of intertextuality, I described four literary
techniques with which the appropriation was accomplished. In
the process, I discovered and explicated what I believe to be
an irrefutable continuity between the Bible and the Amida
regarding their devotion to the concept of Covenant with God,
their perception of a bond among Israelites (and Jews)
throughout time, and their belief in the efficacy of prayer to
God.

Next Steps in the Study of Intertextuality and the Liturgy

This paper remains but a first step in the study of
intertextuality and the liturgy. My research focuses on
compiling the data on the Bible-Amida connection. Moreover,
it primarily addresses the "how" or the mechanics of Bible-
Amida intertextuality: How does the Amida appropriate and
utilize Biblical intertexts? How does the Amida alter the
intertexts to weave them into the prayer texts? And how do
the intertexts function in the Amida as a whole?

I have only begun to consider the "what" or the signif-
icance of the findings. Important questions must still be
asked: What is the significance of the intertextuality for

each individual prayer and for the Amida as a whole? What differences exist between the meaning of the intertexts in their source text (the Bible) and in their target text (the Amida)? And in light of intertextuality, what is the theology of the Siddur?

A comprehensive theological analysis of the Amida would require a formal analysis of the remaining eighteen benedictions. It would need to evaluate systematically Rav Amram's mediation between the meaning of the intertext in its source text versus in its target location. This would require indepth analysis of the Rabbinic (and Geonic) interpretation of Biblical texts as compared with the literary critical appraisal of the same texts. A comparison with Genizah fragments of the Palestinian Amida would be necessary. It would demand philological evaluations of the phrases in both their source and target locations to determine the formal connections. It would have to examine extra-Biblical intertextuality with the Amida to determine how other Rabbinic sources of language (including Talmud, Midrash, Tosefta, and Geonic writings) function in the prayers and how they interact with the Biblical phrases. Finally, the formal theological analysis would need to explain the correspondences and divergences between the theology of the Amida and theology of the Bible and Rabbis.

Other areas of study suggest themselves. Formal analyses of intertextuality in other sections of the liturgy would

assist in developing a systematic theology of the liturgy as a whole. Does the Sh'ma u'Virkhoteha ("Shema and its Bless-ings") section utilize Biblical (or Rabbinic) intertexts as pervasively as the Amida? Are the techniques and rubrics of appropriation similar or different? Another valuable study might compare the liturgical intertextuality within several different versions of the Siddur. Saadia Gaon's disagreements with Rav Amram Gaon on aspects of the liturgy are well known.[294] Does the appropriation of Biblical verses in their respective Siddurim differ appreciably? If so, how does it correspond with their distinct theologies?

Implications of this Paper for
the Study of Liturgy and the Composition of New Siddurim

There are many possible implications of this paper for the study of intertextuality and liturgy. I have already sug-gested a number of potential studies that would provide insight into the literary character of Siddurim and into the nature of the cultures which produced these works.

This study offers another method for determining the value and authority of Bible in the Rabbinic and Geonic periods. Considerable work is being done on how the Midrash

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[294]See Hoffman, Canonization.

and Talmud read and interpret the Bible.[295] This paper, in contrast, represents one of the first to study the way the Siddur reads and interprets the Bible. Owing to the fact that Midrash, Talmud and the Siddur originate in a similar processes of Rabbinic writing, this study suggests that these works share the process of appropriating Biblical verses. We can begin to compare the statements these works make about the nature and authority of the Bible. Before these questions can be definitively answered, however, more formal studies on the Siddur are needed. Still it appears that we are on the verge of developing an overarching statement about the significance of intertextuality in Rabbinic literature as a whole.

This paper urges that the writing, creating, and compiling of new Siddurim should take into account its use of Biblical and Rabbinic intertexts. Composers of new prayer texts need to consider intertextuality as they make decisions related to retaining language of prayer texts, altering them in some fashion, and/or adding in new prayer texts. One must utilize phrases from the Bible only after serious consideration of their contextual meaning. Phrases drawn from the Bible necessarily bring with them meanings from their source context. Consequently, haphazard appropriation or retention of language can adversely affect ideological or theological consistency.

[295]Published works include Jacob Neusner and William Scott Green (on both Talmud and Midrash), Daniel Boyarin (on Midrash and Mekhilta specifically), James L. Kugel and David Stern (Vayikra Rabbah) and others.

It remains to be seen whether theological consistency actually can be maintained in non-traditional Siddurim without a complete overhaul of the choice and use of Biblical inter-texts. Two examples will suffice. The Reform prayerbook Gates of Prayer includes a revised version of PR10 (titled "for Freedom") which is intended to eliminate the notion of ingathering of the exiles. The theme of ingathering persists, however, through the retention of other phrases in the prayer.[296] . Similarly, the Reconstructionist movement's prayerbook Daily Prayerbook removes overt statements of "chosenness" from Birkhot haTorah (the Torah Blessings) and from Aleinu ("The Sanctification").[297] An understanding of the Bible-liturgy intertextuality cautions that the "chosen-ness" theme might still pervade the Siddur implicitly through the Biblical intertexts retained in other prayers. Conse-quently, the study of the appropriation of Biblical verses in modern Siddurim could reveal valuable insights into the congruity or inconsistency between the community's theology and its Siddurim.

As the primary point of entre' for most Jews into the

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[296]T'ga b'shofar gadol, from Isaiah 27:13 ("the strayed who are in the land of Assyria and the expelled who are in the land of Egypt shall come and worship on the holy mountain"), contains a promise of ingathering. The words b'arba k'nafot ha'aretz ("in the four corners of the earth") does slightly alter Isaiah 11:12's mei'arba (from the four...), yet the source context's verb v'gabeitz or "and gather") still influences the understanding of the phrase through the intertextual transference of meaning.

[297]Daily Prayerbook (New York: Reconstructionist Press, 1963).

vast treasures of Bible and Rabbinic literature, the Siddur advances critical ideas about a community's connection to and appreciation for the Bible and Rabbinic literature.[298] If more Siddurim were to include citations in the margins for Biblical intertexts (whole verses and partial phrases), it would inform worshippers explicitly that the Siddur is an integral part of a larger treasure of Jewish literature. Perhaps this might spark interest in the study of Bible and Rabbinic literature. It is clear from this study that the appropriation of language and patterns from the Bible has a profound influence on the Siddur's theological message. Margin notes, illuminating the Biblical origin of certain theological statements in the Siddur, could provide the impetus for discussions about the theological differences between the Siddur, the Bible, and perhaps, modern theologians.[299] This would be an important step toward differentiating between Biblical theology and modern theology (which tend to present a concept of God more acceptable to modern Jews).

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[298]Whether the worshipper consciously is aware of the Biblical or Rabbinic intertexts in the Siddur or of theological messages it promulgates is immaterial. Even through casual interaction with the Siddur, a worshipper develops important ideas about God, covenant and Judaism.

[299]Many modern thinkers reject significant elements of the theology of the Bible (Milton Steinberg's "Limited Theism" which rejects God's omnipotence, Eugene Borowitz who moderates God who Commands with Communal which has Autonomy, and Mordechai Kaplan whose impersonal naturalistic concept of God rejects common Biblical notions of a personal God). [See Eugene B. Borowitz, Choices in Modern Jewish Thought (New York: Behrman House, 1983) and Neil Gillman, Sacred Fragments (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1990).]

Intertextuality and the Modern Worshipper

Still to be considered is the effect Amram's appropria-
tion of Biblical language could have on the individual
worshipper. A worshipper who is familiar with the inter-
textuality between the Bible and the Amida would understand
the prayers in a vastly different manner than the worshipper
who has no knowledge of this intertextuality. The inter-
textual connection would engender in the worshipper new
insights into the intellectual, emotional and spiritual
experience of prayer.

Consider the modern worshipper about whom I can write
with greater accuracy than the worshippers of Amram's time.
How might knowledge of the intertextuality effect his or her
prayer experience? Let us use PR1 or "Avot" as the example.
The many intertextual relationships between Amida and Bible
teaches that PR1 is a prayer of praise and yet so much more.
As the opening prayer of the Amida, PR1 also provides through
its intertexts an overview of many of the themes of the
service including forgiveness, the ingathering, rebuilding of
the Temple, and God's attributes of power.

PR1 invites the worshipper to begin or resume an encoun-
ter with God. The final clauses of its formulaic beginning
and ending (identified by Barukh ata YHVH...) recall powerful
encounters with God: Moses' introduction to and first meeting
with God and the intensification (to speaking terms) of

Abram's relationship with God. By framing the prayer with encounters with God and by including within the prayer other examples of when God heard and responded to the prayers of the Biblical Israelites, the composer of PR1 provided the worshipper with reassurance that encounters with God have occurred in Israel's past and will occur again.

According to a Midrash in Pesikta Rabbati, God is waiting for people to take the first step and meet God halfway.[300] Often a first step toward God involves admitting one's need or desire for such a relationship. The worshipper finds that the words of PR1, through their intertextual connections, help him or her to open up and admit his or her desire for this relationship. He or she is given names of God, words which recall God's own promises, and words of prayer which have proven successful for others who have prayed to God. The Biblical antecedents provide concrete examples of Divine actions to praise. These help the worshipper form a relationship with God who zokheir khasdei avot ("remembers the merits of the ancestors"). This serves to connect or reconnect the worshipper with his or her people and their historical covenantal relationship with God. The worshipper relives critical moments in the relationship - at Sinai with the receipt of Torah (when she or he can join the Israelites, promising na'aseh v'nishma - "we will do and we will understand") and in

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[300]Pesikta Rabbati, as reported in S.Y. Agnon, Days of Awe (Schocken Books, NY 1948), p. 139. I thank Rabbi Eli Herscher for helping me track down this reference.

Jerusalem (when she or he can join Nehemiah's contemporaries in reaffirming the covenant). Also, the intertexts recognize God's power to forgive; they help personalize the Divine as an ozeir (helper), moshi'a (redeemer) and magein (shield). They illuminate the path toward salvation as the process of prayer to God.

The varied concepts of God, many arising out of the Biblical source texts, prod the worshipper into developing his or her own understanding of the Divine. Many Divine-human relationships are hidden in the Biblical background of the prayers. By bringing them into the foreground, the worshipper obtains a profound sense of comfort and assurance that the difficult process of prayer can have satisfying, beneficial results. In sum, the power of intertextuality is found in its effects: the Biblical moment of relationship with God provides the example, the optimism and the model of process to move the worshipper toward a relationship with the Divine in keeping with the promise of covenant between God and the Jewish people.

APPENDICES

להשוות את רגליו. תרין אמוראים ר' לוי ור' סימון. חד אמר כמלאכים וחד אמר
5 ככהנים. מאן דאמר ככהנים, דכתיב לא תעלה במעלות על מזבחי אשר לא תגלה
ערותך עליו. שיהו עקב בצד גודל וגודל אצל עקב. ומאן דאמר כמלאכים, דכתיב
ורגליהם רגל ישרה.

לאחר סי' ל"ז באה בכ"י A תוספת זו : וכל המאריך בתפלתו ואינו מעיין בה
מאריכין ימיו של אדם (עי' ברכות לב: נד:־נה.) והיכי דמי דמפיש ברחמי כדאמר
רב יהודה במסכת ברכות בפרק הרואה (נד:) אבל אי מעיין בה האמר ר' חייא בר
אבא א"ר יוחנן כל המאריך בתפלתו ומעיין בה סוף בא לידי כאב לב. שנאמר
תוחלת ממשכה מחלת לב. מאי תקנתיה יעסוק בתורה, שגא' ועץ (ה)חיים תאוה באה.

לח ופותח בתפלה.

ה' שפתי תפתח ופי יגיד תהלתך. ברוך אתה ה' אלהינו ואלהי אבותינו אלהי אברהם אלהי   PR1
יצחק ואלהי יעקב האל הגדול הגבור והנורא אל עליון גומל חסדים טובים וקונה הכל וזוכר
חסדי אבות ומביא גואל לבני בניהם למען שמו באהבה. מלך עוזר ומושיע ומגן. ברוך
5 אתה ה' מגן אברהם.

וכורע תחלה וסוף. דאמר רב חנינא סבא משמיה דרב (ברכות יב.) כשהוא כורע
כורע בברוך וכשהוא זוקף זוקף בשם. מאי טעמא, דכתיב (תהלי' קמו, ח) ה' זוקף
כפופים.

אתה גבור לעולם ה' מחיה מתים אתה רב להושיע.

10 ובימות הגשמים אומר [משיב הרוח ומוריד הגשם.] מכלכל חיים בחסד. ובימות החמה   PR2
אינו צריך אלא אומר

מכלכל חיים בחסד מחיה מתים ברחמים רבים סומך נופלים רופא חולים מתיר אסורים
ומקיים אמונתו לישני עפר. מי כמוך בעל גבורות ומי דומה לך מלך ממית ומחיה ומצמיח
ישועה. ונאמן אתה להחיות מתים ברוך אתה ה' מחיה המתים.
15 לדור ודור המליכו לאל כי הוא לבדו מרום וקדוש ושבחך אלהינו מפינו לא ימוש לעולם ועד   PR3
כי מלך גדול וקדוש אתה. ברוך אתה ה' האל הקדוש.
אתה חונן לאדם דעת ומלמד לאנוש בינה וחננו מאתך דעה בינה והשכל. ברוך אתה ה'   PR4
חונן הדעת.
השיבנו אבינו לתורתך וקרבנו מלכנו לעבודתך והחזירנו בתשובה שלימה לפניך. ברוך   PR5
20 אתה ה' הרוצה בתשובה.
סלח לנו אבינו כי חטאנו מחול לנו מלכנו כי פשענו. ברוך אתה ה' חנון המרבה לסלוח.   PR6
ראה בעניינו וריבה ריבנו וגאלנו מהרה למען שמך כי גואל חזק אתה. ברוך אתה ה'   PR7
גואל ישראל.

שהוא עומד T   5 דכתיב חס' T   6 שיהו עכביו A שהיו מהלכין עקב . . . ירוש' שלפנינו דכתיב חס' M
לח,1 וסוחה בתפלה A־1 : ועומרין בתפלה ומתפללין M   6 וכורע . . . 8 זוקף כפופים מאר (סי' ל־ב) T
(סי' כ־ה): חס' T   9 אתה רב להושיע חס' T : מוריד הטל הוס' M   10 ובימות MA : בימות T
אומר כ: A   מכלכל חיים כחסד חס' A מכלכל . . . 11 אלא אומר חס' M   11 אינו צריך אינו אומר T.
אינו מזכיר אלא A   13 ומצמיח ישועה : כקרוב (עי' מח' רומניא) הוס' T   17 וחננו . . . והשכל
חס' A   21 חטאנו : לד הוס' T   פשענו : כי טוב וסלח אתה הוס' M   המרבה : נוסח הגאון היה
כנראה ומרבה, עי' להלן ח"ב סי' נ־ז   22 ונאלנו : ומהר ונואלנו T   וחזק T   24 הי': אלהינו

לח 10 מנהיג סי' נ"ד (דף ט"ז ב') : בימות הקיץ נהגו לומר ורב להושיע מכלכל חיים בחסד
וכו', וכן כתב רב עמרם...

רפאנו ה' ונרפא הושיענו ונושעה והעלה רפואה שלמה לכל מכותינו כי אל רופא רחמן   P7

25 אתה. ברוך אתה ה' רופא חולי עמו ישראל.

ברך עלינו ה' אלהינו את השנה הזאת לטובה ואת כל מיני תבואתה.

ומיום ששים של תקופת תשרי עד תפלת המנחה, ותפלת המנחה בכלל, של ערב

יום טוב הראשון של פסח שואל כך.   Pi

ותן טל ומטר לברכה על פני האדמה ושבע את העולם כלו מברכותיך ורוה פני תבל מעשר

30 מתנות ידך. ושמרה והצילה שנה זו מכל מיני משחית ומכל מיני פורענות ותהא אחריתה

שובע ושלום. ותן ברכה במעשה ידינו וברכה כשנים הטובות. כי אל טוב ומטיב אתה.

ברוך אתה ה' מברך השנים.

לט ומאחר תפלת מנחת ארבע עשר בניסן שהוא ערב יום טוב אינו שואל טל ומטר

בברכת השנים עד שיגיע יום ששים של תקופת תשרי. וביום ששים גופו שואל.

דאיבעיא להו (תענית י.) יום ששים כלפני ששים או כלאחר ששים, ופליגי בה

רב ושמואל, ואתא ר' פפא ופסקה יום ששים כלאחר ששים.

5 תקע בשופר גדול לחירותנו ושא נס לקבץ גליותינו וקרא דרור לקבצנו יחד מארבע כנפות   PR10

הארץ. ברוך אתה ה' מקבץ נדחי עמו ישראל.

השיבה שופטינו כבראשונה ויועצנו כבתחלה ומלוך עלינו בצדק ומשפט. ברוך אתה ה'   PR11

אוהב צדקה ומשפט.

למשומדים אל תהי תקוה והמינים כרגע יאבדו וכל אויבי עמך מהרה יכרתו ומלכות זדון   PR12

10 מהרה תעקר ותשבר ותכניע במהרה בימינו. ברוך אתה ה' שובר רשעים ומכניע זדים.

על הצדיקים ועל החסידים ועל גירי הצדק יהמו רחמיך ה' אלהינו ותן שכר טוב לכל   PR13

הבוטחים בשמך באמת ושים חלקנו עמהם ולעולם לא נבוש. ברוך אתה ה' משען ומבטח

לצדיקים.

על ירושלים עירך ברחמים תשוב ובנה אותה בנין עולם בימינו. ברוך אתה ה' בתה   PR14

15 ירושלים.

את צמח דוד מהרה תצמיח וקרנו תרום בישועתך. ברוך אתה ה' מצמיח קרן ישועה.   PR15

שמע קולנו ה' אלהינו ורחם עלינו וקבל ברחמים וברצון את תפלתנו כי אל שומע תפלותינו   PR16

ותחנונינו אתה מעולם. ברוך אתה ה' שומע תפלה.

דוס' 7 ונושעה : כי תהלתנו אתה הוס' א   והעלה ... מכותינו מ : חס' א : וכל תחלואינו (כנראה
יש להשלים [והעלה ארוכה] לכל תחלואינו) 7   כי ... רחמן אתה מ : חס' אז : חס' א   25 ואת כל מיני
תבואתה : חס' מ   27 ומיום ששים ... 28 שואל כך לאחר סוף הברכה מ   29 לברכה חס' 7
ורוה פני תבל קודם ושבע את העולם (8) מ   מברכותיך : מסובך ומלא ידינו מברכותיך מ   30 מכל
דבר רע ומכל מיני משחית מ   ותהא ... ומסיב אתה : ועשה לה תקוה ואחרית שלום חום ורחם עלינו
ועל כל תבואתה ועל כל פרוחיה וברכה כשנים הטובות בשללי ברכה וחיים ושבע ושלום מ
לם. 1. ומאחר ... שר צ שואל : נוסח שונה לנמרי רל   3 ופליני כה רב ושמואל חס' רו   7 ומלור
עלינו : אתה ה' לבדך הוס' מא   בצדק : בחסר ברחמים כצדק מ   8 אוהב ז : מלך אוהב מא
9 למשומדים : למלשינים מ   אל תהי תקוה : סי"א אם לא ישובו לכריתך הוס' א   והמינים ז : וכל
הזדים מ והנוצרים והמינים א   כרגע יאברו מז : יכלו כרגע א   וכל אויבי עמך ז : וכל אויבינו מ
וכל אויבינו ומנשאי' (!) א   יכרתו מהרה 7   10 רשעים : אויכים א   11 החסידים : ועל שאריה
עמר בית ישראל הוס' א   יהמו נא מ   12 לא נבוש : אל נבוש כי כך בטחנו א   14 תשוב : ושכון
כתוכה כאשר דברת הוס' מ   16 וקרנו : וקרנינו א   בישועתך : כי לישועתך קוינו כל היום (כל
היום חס' א), הוס' מא   17 ורחם עלינו חס' א   18 ותחנונינו : ותחנינו א   אתה מעולם :

רצה ה׳ אלהינו בעמך ישראל ובתפלתם והשב עבודה לדביר ביתך ואשי ישראל ותפלתם
מהרה באהבה תקבל ברצון ותהי לרצון תמיד עבודה ישראל עמך. ותחזינה עינינו בשובך
לציון ברחמים. ברוך אתה ה׳ המחזיר שכינתו לציון. **PR17**

מודים אנחנו לך שאתה הוא ה׳ אלהינו צור חיינו מגן ישענו. לדור ודור נודה לך ונספר
תהלתך על חיינו המסורים בידך ועל נשמותינו הפקודות לך. הטוב כי לא כלו רחמיך
המרחם כי לא תמו חסדיך ומעולם קוינו לך. לא הכלמתנו ה׳ אלהינו ולא עזבתנו ולא
הסתרת פניך ממנו. ועל כלם יתברך ויתרומם שמך מלכנו לעולם ועד. כל החיים יודוך
סלה ויהללו לשמך הטוב באמת. ברוך אתה ה׳ הטוב שמך ולך נאה להודות. **PR18**

שים שלום טובה וברכה חסד ורחמים עלינו ועל כל ישראל עמך וברכנו אבינו כלנו כאחד
באור פניך. כי באור פניך נתת לנו ה׳ אלהינו תורת חיים אהבה וחסד צדקה ורחמים
ושלום. וטוב בעיניך לברך את עמך ישראל בכל עת. ברוך אתה ה׳ המברך את עמו
ישראל בשלום. **PR19**

מ וכורע בהודאה תחלה וסוף. (ברכות לד:) תני חדא **הכורע בהודאה** הרי זה משובח
ותניא אידך הרי זה מגונה, קשיין אהדדי. ומשנינן להו **הא לכתחלה** הא לבסוף.
ואמרינן רבא כרע כרע תחלה וסוף. אמר רבא חזינא ליה לרב **נחמן** דכרע תחלה וסוף.
וחזינא ליה לרב ששת דכרע תחלה וסוף. ומקשינן **והתניא הכורע בהודאה** הרי זה
מגונה. ומשנינן כי תניא ההיא בהודאה דהלל. **והדר תו מקשינן, והתניא הכורע**
בהודאה ובהודאה של הלל הרי זה מגונה, ומשנינן תו כי **תניא ההיא בהודאה** של
ברכת המזון.

מא ולא מבעי ליה לאינש לאוסופי אסדר צלותה דכתבינן לעיל. דתניא (מגילה יח.
ועי׳ ברכות כח:) שמעון הפקולי הסדיר שמונה עשרה **ברכות** לפני רבן גמליאל על
הסדר ביבנה. ואמר ר׳ ירמיה ואי תימא ר׳ חייא בר אבא, **ואמרי** לה במתניתא תנא,
מאה ועשרים זקנים ומהם כמה נביאים תקנו שמונה עשרה **ברכות על הסדר.**

מב תנו רבנן (מגילה יז:) מנין שאומרים אבות, ת״ל הבו לה׳ **בני אלים.** ומנין שאומרים
גבורות. ת״ל הבו לה׳ כבוד ועוז. ומנין שאומרים קדושת **השם,** דכתיב והקדישו
את קדוש יעקב ואת אלהי ישראל יעריצו. וסמיך ליה **וידעו תעי רוח** בינה ורוגנים
ילמדו לקח. ומה ראו לומר תשובה אחר בינה, דכתיב **השמן לב העם הזה ואזניו**

מעולם חס׳. ולמפניך מלכנו ריקם אל תשיבנו כי אתה שומע תפלת כל פה הוס׳ מ ולא נשוב ריק
מלפניך כי אב מלא רחמים אתה הוס׳ א והשב... עד ותפלתם חס׳ א   19 ובתפלתם : שיח הוס׳ ז
22 שאתה הוא חס׳ מ   ה׳ אלהינו : ואלהי אבותינו הוס׳ מא   מגן ישענו : אתה הוא הוס׳ מא
23 הפקודות לך : ועל נסיך שבכל יום עמנו ועל נפלאותיך וטובותיך שבכל עת הוס׳ א   24 ומעולם מא
כי מעולם ז   עזבתנו מז : תעזבנו א   ולא הסתרת מז : ואל תסתר א   25 ויתרומם : תמיד
הוס׳ ז   27 אפינו חס׳ א   כאחד חס׳ ז   28 כאור (הראשון) : כמאור ז   תזרה וחיים א
צרכה : כרבה הוס׳ א   29 ישראל : כרחמים הוס׳ מ
מ,1 וכורע בהודאה : הניף לתהודאה כורע רו   תני חדא... ז ברכת המזון חס׳ רו   3 אמר רבא
רבא חס׳ ז   4 וחזינא... וסוף חס׳ מ
כא,2.4 ברכות חם ר   לפני רבן גמליאל חס׳ רו   3 תנא חס׳ מ
מב,1 ת״ל : שנאמ׳-(כנירסת התלמוד). וכן הלאה. רו   3 וסמיך ליה : וכתיב רו   4 דכתיב חס׳ א
לס,27 הגה׳ מיימ׳, סדר תפלות, נוסח ברכות התפלה אות א׳ : אמנם בסדר ר״ע לא חלק
באותה ברכה כלל [ר״ל בין שים שלום לשלום רב].

APPENDIX 2:

SAMPLE PAGE FOR THE "3BY5" DATA BASE

RECORD #:	4^{301}
BOOK #:	37^{302}
PRAYER #:	1^{303}

PRHEBWRD: <u>elohei avoteinu elohei avraham elohei yitz-khaq veilohei ya'aqov</u>

PRENGWRD: God of your ancestors, God of Abraham, God of Isaac, and God of Jacob

BIB LOC: Ex 3:6

ENG QUOTE: "I am," He said, "the God of your father, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob." And Moses hid his face, for he was afraid to look at God.[304]

HEB QUOTE: <u>Vayomer anokhi elohei avikha elohei avraham elohei yitzkhaq veilohei ya'aqov vayasteir moshe panav ki yarei meihabit el ha'elohim.</u>

CONTEXT: Burning Bush narrative

NOTES: God's own words of introduction to Moses
Note difference in Suffix:
   <u>avoteinu</u> in SR"A but <u>avikha</u> in Exodus 3:6
Word Triplet: <u>avraham</u> + <u>yitzkhaq</u> + <u>ya'aqov</u>

CODES: Prim: WP1, CV&S1, SELF[305]

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[301]Internal tracking system of Data Base Program.

[302]Identifies research tool. "37" is Mandelkern's <u>Concordance to the Holy Scriptures</u>.

[303]Amida prayer number. "PR1" is "Avot" prayer (see APPENDIX 1).

[304]English Translation from <u>Tanakh</u> (New York: JPS, 1985).

[305]See "Key to Codes" in APPENDIX 4.

APPENDIX 3:

PRIMARY INTERTEXTS FOR AMIDA IN VERSE ORDER

TOTALS: TORAH: 54; PROPHETS: 134; WRITINGS: 158;

TOTAL NUMBER OF INTERTEXTS: 346

TORAH -- TOTAL: 54

VERSE	PR#		VERSE	PR#
Gen -14:18	1		Num - 6:26	
Gen -14:19	1		Num -18:30	9
Gen -14:22	1		Num -20:16	16
Gen -15:1	1		Num -21:03	16
Gen -18:19	11		Num -24:01	19
Gen -20:15	19		Num -28:02	17
Gen -26:12	9		**TOTAL: 6**	
TOTAL: 7				
			Deut- 2:07	9
Ex - 3:15/16	1		Deut- 4:9	1
Ex - 3:6	1		Deut- 7:9	2
Ex - 3:6	2		Deut- 9:03	12
Ex - 4:5	1		Deut-10:17	1
Ex -15:11	2		Deut-14:22	9
Ex -15:26	2		Deut-16:15	9
Ex -15:26	8		Deut-22:09	9
Ex -18:22	19		Deut-24:19	9
Ex -23:10	09		Deut-26:15	19
Ex -31:03	4		Deut-26:07	1
Ex -33:19	16		Deut-26:07	16
Ex -34:07	6		Deut-28:12	9
Ex -35:31	4		Deut-30:15	19
TOTAL: 14			Deut-30:19	19
			Deut-31:17	18
			Deut-32:02	9
Lev -19:02	3		Deut-32:20	18
Lev -23:39	9		Deut-32:39	2
Lev -25:3/12	9		Deut-33:29	1
Lev -25:20	9		**TOTAL: 20**	
Lev -25:21/22	9			
TOTAL: 7				

PROPHETS -- TOTAL: 134

VERSE	PR#
Josh- 1:08	3
Josh- 5:12	9
Josh- 8:33	19
TOTAL: 3	
1 S - 1:06	2
1 S - 2:06	2
1 S - 2:06	
TOTAL: 3	
2 S - 1:21	9
2 S - 8:15	11
2 S -17:12	9
2 S -22:03/37	18
2 S -22:47	18
2 S -24:23	17
TOTAL: 7	
1 K - 6:20/21	17
1 K - 6:31	17
1 K - 7:14	4
1 K - 8:06	17
1 K - 8:34	6
1 K - 8:30/36	6
1 K - 8:50	6
1 K -10:09	11
1 K -17:1	9
1 K -17:22	16
TOTAL: 12	
2 K - 3:17	2
2 K - 8:06	9
2 K - 9:08	12
2 K -23:25	5
TOTAL: 4	
Is - 1:26	11
Is - 1:28	6
Is - 5:16	3
Is - 8:17	18
Is -11:12	10

VERSE	PR#
Is -12:06	3
Is -13:11	12
Is -14:05	12
Is -16:05	11
Is -18:03	10
Is -23:03	9
Is -25:09	18
Is -26:19	2
Is -26:12	19
Is -26:19	2
Is -27:13	10
Is -30:23	9
Is -33:02	4
Is -33:02	18
Is -33:05	11
Is -33:17	17
Is -38:19	18
Is -40:18	2
Is -40:25	2
Is -41:14	7
Is -42:13	2
Is -43:11	1
Is -44:19	4
Is -44:28	14
Is -45: 9	1
Is -45:17	18
Is -46:5	2
Is -48:17	6
Is -49:07	7
Is -49:08	17
Is -50:07	18
Is -50:07	13
Is -50:10	13
Is -54:04	18
Is -55:07	6
Is -56:01	11
Is -56:08	10
Is -57:15	3
Is -59:21	3
Is -60:17	19
Is -61:01	10
Is -61:08	11
Is -61:11	2
Is -63:1	2
Is -63:2	1
Is -64:06	18
TOTAL: 51	

PROPHETS (continued)

Jer - 2:2	1	
Jer - 3:15	4	
Jer - 3:22	18	
Jer - 7:28	12	
Jer - 9:23	11	
Jer -14:22	18	
Jer -16:5	2	
Jer -17:14	8	
Jer -20:11	2	
Jer -22:3/15	11	
Jer -23:05	15	
Jer -23:05	11	
Jer -30:17	8	
Jer -33:08	6	
Jer -33:09	19	
Jer -33:15	2	
Jer -33:15	11	
Jer -33:15	15	
Jer -34:08	10	
Jer -36:03	6	
Jer -50:34	7	
Jer -51:27	10	
TOTAL: 23		

Ez -18:05	11	
Ez -18:19	11	
Ez -18:21	11	
Ez -18:27	11	
Ez -20:44	1	
Ez -29:21	2	
Ez -25:16	12	
Ez -29:21	15	
Ez -33:10	6	
Ez -33:14	11	
Ez -33:19	11	
Ez -34:26	2	
Ez -37:25	1	
Ez -39:23/24	18	
Ez -39:29	18	
Ez -45:09	11	
Ez -48:18	9	
TOTAL: 18		

Hos - 2:21	2	
Hos -13:4	1	
TOTAL: 2		

Joel- 2:23	2	
Joel- 2:26	18	
TOTAL: 2		

Mica- 4:11	17	
Mica- 5:09	12	
Mica- 6:08	19	
TOTAL: 3		

Zeph- 3:17	2	
TOTAL: 1		

Zech- 8:03	17	
Zech- 1:16	14	
TOTAL: 2		

Mal - 1:14	3	
Mal - 2:05	19	
Mal - 3:04	17	
TOTAL: 3		

WRITINGS -- TOTAL: 158

VERSE	PR#		VERSE	PR#
Ps - 3:08	12		Ps -94:10	4
Ps - 4:07	19		Ps -95:03	3
Ps - 9:02	18		Ps -99:03	3
Ps -17:02	17		Ps -99:4	11
Ps -18:03	18		Ps 1-02:20	3
Ps -18:36	18		Ps 1-03:03	8
Ps -18:47	18		Ps 1-03:3	2
Ps -19:08	5		Ps 1-03:4	2
Ps -23:06	19		Ps 1-03:17	18
Ps -23:25	18		Ps 1-06:2	2
Ps -24:08	2		Ps 1-06:8	1
Ps -25:06	18		Ps 1-07:38	9
Ps -25:07	6		Ps 1-09:14	1
Ps -29:11	19		Ps 1-12:09	15
Ps -32:10	13		Ps 1-13:01	18
Ps -33:05	11		Ps 1-13:02	18
Ps -33:20	1		Ps 1-15:9	1
Ps -35:10	2		Ps 1-16:05	18
Ps -37:17	12		Ps 1-19:29	4
Ps -37:28	11		Ps 1-19:62	18
Ps -40:14	17		Ps 1-19:68	9
Ps -47:03	3		Ps 1-19:108	17
Ps -51:17	1		Ps 1-19:121	11
Ps -51:20	14		Ps 1-19:135	19
Ps -54:06/7	1		Ps 1-19:153/4	7
Ps -75:02	18		Ps 1-19:156	2
Ps -79:9	1		Ps 1-23:03	4
Ps -79:13	18		Ps 1-25:05	19
Ps -80:04	11		Ps 1-28:06	19
Ps -80:04/8	5		Ps 1-32:17	2
Ps -80:20	19		Ps 1-32:17	15
Ps -85:13	19		Ps 1-35:01	18
Ps -86:02	13		Ps 1-44:01	18
Ps -89:7	2		Ps 1-45:14	2
Ps -89:16	19		Ps 1-46: 7	2
Ps -89:18	15		Ps 1-46:10	3
Ps -89:25	15		Ps 1-46:10	13
Ps -92:9	3		Ps 1-47:2	14
			Ps 1-49:04	17
			TOTAL: 80	

WRITINGS (continued)

VERSE	PR#
Prov- :	13
Prov- 2:02-5	4
Prov- 2:06	4
Prov- 2:09-11	4
Prov- 3:02	19
Prov- 3:09/10	9
Prov- 3:14/15	9
Prov- 4:01	4
Prov- 9:10	4
Prov-10:16	9
Prov-10:28	12
Prov-11:07	12
Prov-16:20	13
Prov-16:15	19
Prov-18:20	9
Prov-21:11	4
Prov-21:21	19
Prov-23:11	7
Prov-26:12	12
Prov-28:25	13
Prov-29:20	12
Prov-29:25	13
TOTAL: 29	

VERSE	PR#
Job - 1:21	18
Job - 5:10	9
Job -10:12	19
Job -12:10	18
Job -13:23	6
Job -29:22/23	9
Job -31:12	9
Job -34:37	6
TOTAL: 9	

Lam - 3:22	18
Lam - 3:58	7
Lam - 5:21	5
TOTAL: 3	

Eccl- 4:09	13
Eccl-12:09	4
TOTAL: 2	

VERSE	PR#
Dan - 1:09	2
Dan - 1:17	4
Dan - 9:10	19
Dan - 9:11	6
Dan - 9:22	4
Dan - 9:24	6
Dan -12:02	2
Dan -12:02	2
TOTAL: 8	

| Ezra- 7:27 | 1 |
| **TOTAL: 1** | |

Neh - 9:17/19	18
Neh - 9:19	2
Neh - 9:27/28	2
Neh - 9:29	5
Neh - 9:31	2
Neh - 9:31	18
Neh - 9:32	1
Neh - 9:37	9
TOTAL: 10	

1 Ch- 3:12	5
1 Ch-17:08	12
1 Ch-22:12	4
1 Ch-29:11	2
1 Ch-29:13	18
TOTAL: 5	

2 Ch- 5:07	17
2 Ch- 6:25/27	6
2 Ch- 6:37	6
2 Ch- 6:39	6
2 Ch- 6:42	1
2 Ch- 7:14	6
2 Ch- 9:08	11
2 Ch-14:10	18
2 Ch-31:05	9
2 Ch-31:10	19
TOTAL: 11	

APPENDIX 4:

ALL INTERTEXTS FOR THE AMIDA BY PRAYER NUMBER

KEY TO THE CODES	
INTERTEXT CLASSIFICATION:	
PRIM	Primary Intertext
SCND	Secondary Intertext
LITERARY CATEGORY CODES:	
WP1	Word-Pair (words appearing consecutively)
WP2	Word-Pair (words appearing in parallelism)
CV&S	Changes of Verbs and Suffixes (Misc.)
CV&S1	from Singular to Plural
CV&S2	from 2nd/3rd plural to 1st plural
CV&S3	from 1st sing to 2nd/3rd sing (GOD)
CV&S4	from 3rd person to 2nd person
SELF	Divine Self-Description
SALV	Biblical Language of Salvation
RUBRICS OF INTERTEXTUALITY CODES:	
BIBPR	Biblical Prayer (First Rubric)
PROM	Divine Promises (Second Rubric)
ACT1	Divine Actions (Third Rubric) as Response to Human Prayers
ACT2	Divine Actions (Third Rubric) without Human Prayers
ACT3	Divine Actions (Third Rubric) Attributes of God

PRAYER 1

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1 Ch  29:18      Scnd: BIBPR, WP1,
2 Ch   6:42      Prim: BIBPR, ACT3,
2 K   17:41      Scnd:
Dan    9:4       Prim: Scnd,
Deut   4:9       Prim: ACT3, CV&S,
Deut  10:17      Prim: ACT3, WP1,
Deut  26:7       Prim: BIBPR, ACT1,
Deut  33:29      Prim: WP1, SALV,
Ex     3:15      Prim: WP1, CV&S1, SELF,
Ex     3:6       Prim: WP1, CV&S1, SELF,
Ex     4:5       Prim: ACT2, WP1, CV&S1, CV&S2,
Ex     6:3       Scnd, WP1,
Ez    20:44      Prim: CV&S3, SALV,
Ez    37:25      Prim: PROM, SALV,
Ezra   7:27      Prim: BIBPR, ACT2, SALV,
Gen   14:18      Prim:
Gen   14:19      Prim: BIBPR, SALV,
Gen   14:22      Prim: BIBPR, SALV,
Gen   15:1       Prim, WP1, PROM,
Hos   13:4       Prim: SELF, SALV,
Is    43:11      Prim: SELF, SALV,
Is    45:9       Prim: ACT2, CV&S3, SALV,
Is    63:2       Prim: ACT2, ACT2, SALV,
Jer    2:2       Prim: CV&S3, SELF,
Jer   32:18      Scnd: BIBPR, ACT3, WP1, SALV,
Neh    1:5       Scnd: BIBPR, WP1,
Neh    9:32      Prim: BIBPR, ACT1, WP1,
Ps    33:20      Prim: WP1,
Ps    51:17      Prim: BIBPR,
Ps    54:6       Prim: SALV,
Ps    78:35      Scnd, SALV,
Ps    79:9       Prim: BIBPR, CV&S, SALV,
Ps   106:8       Prim: BIBPR, ACT2,
Ps   109:14      Prim:
Ps   109:21      Prim: BIBPR, CV&S, SALV,
Ps   115:9       Prim: WP1, CV&S2,
```

PRAYER 2

```
1 Ch 29:11      Prim: BIBPR,
1 Ch 29:11      Prim: BIBPR,
1 S    1:6      Prim: BIBPR, ACT1, WP1, SALV,
1 S    2:6      Prim: BIBPR, ACT1, ACT3, WP1, SALV,
2 K    3:17     Prim: ACT2, WP2, PROM, SALV,
2 K    8:5      Scnd: ACT1, CV&S1,
Dan    1:9      Prim: ACT1, WP2,
Dan   12:2      Prim: SALV,
Dan   12:2      Prim: SALV,
Deut   7:9      Prim: CV&S4, PROM,
Deut  32:39     Prim: ACT3, WP1, CV&S3, SELF,
Ex    15:11     Prim: BIBPR, ACT2, SALV,
Ex    15:26     Prim: ACT2, ACT3, PROM, SELF,
Ez    13:19     Scnd:
Ez    29:21     Prim:  CV&S3, PROM, SALV,
Ez    34:26     Prim: CV&S3, PROM, SALV,
Hos    2:21     Prim: WP2, PROM, SELF,
1 S    2:8      Scnd: BIBPR, ACT1,
Is    10:21     Scnd: SALV,
Is    26:19     Prim: CV&S,
Is    40:18     Prim:
Is    40:25     Prim: CV&S3,
Is    42:13     Prim: ACT3,
Is    44:7      Scnd: CV&S3, SELF, SALV,
Is    46:5      Prim: ACT3, SELF,
Is    49:7      Scnd: ACT3, PROM, SALV,
Is    57:15     Scnd: ACT3, SELF, SALV,
Is    61:11     Prim: ACT3, SALV,
Is    63:1      Prim: SELF,
Jer   16:5      Prim: ACT3, WP2, SELF, SALV,
Jer   20:11     Prim:
Jer   33:15     Prim: CV&S3, PROM, SALV,
Joel   2:23     Prim: ACT2,
Neh    9:       Prim: BIBPR, ACT2, SALV,
Neh    9:6      Scnd: BIBPR, ACT3,
Ps    24:8      Prim: BIBPR,
Ps    35:10     Prim: BIBPR, ACT3, SALV,
Ps   ·71:19     Scnd: BIBPR, SALV,
Ps    89:7      Prim: BIBPR, ACT3,
Ps   103:3      Prim: BIBPR, ACT3,
Ps   103:4      Prim: WP2, SALV,
Ps   106:2      Prim:
Ps   113:7      Scnd: ACT3,
Ps   119:       Prim: BIBPR,
Ps   119:77     Scnd: BIBPR, SALV,
Ps   132:17     Prim: ACT1, CV&S3, PROM, SALV,
Ps   145:14     Prim: BIBPR, ACT3,
Ps   145:4      Scnd: ACT3,
Ps   146:7      Prim: ACT3,
Zeph   3:17     Prim: SALV,
```

PRAYER 3

```
1 S    6:20      Prim: ACT2,
Ez    20:40      Scnd: WP1, SELF, SALV,
Is     5:16      Prim: SALV,
Is    12:6       Prim: BIBPR, WP1, CV&S4, SALV,
Is    57:15      Prim: WP1, CV&S3, SELF, SALV,
Is    59:21      Prim: CV&T,
Josh   1:8       Prim: CV&S1, PROM,
Lev   19:2       Prim: CV&S3, SELF,
Mal    1:14      Prim: CV&S3, SELF,
Ps    47:3       Prim: ACT2, ACT3, CV&S4, SALV,
Ps    92:9       Prim: BIBPR, CV&T,
Ps    95:3       Prim: ACT3, CV&S4,
Ps    99:3       Prim: WP1, CV&T4,
Ps   102:20      Prim: WP1,
Ps   146:10      Prim: BIBPR, ACT3,
```

PRAYER 4

```
1 Ch 22:12      Prim: BIBPR, WP1,
1 K    7:14     Prim: WP1, WP2,
Dan    1:17     Prim: ACT2, WP1,
Dan    9:22     Prim: BIBPR, ACT1, WP1,
Eccl 12:9       Prim: WP1, WP2,
Ex    31:3      Prim: ACT2, WP1, WP2,
Is    33:2      Prim: BIBPR, SALV,
Is    44:19     Prim: WP1, WP2,
Jer    3:15     Prim: WP1, CV&S3, PROM, SALV,
Jer    9:23     Scnd: WP1,
Prov   2:6      Prim: ACT2, ACT3, WP1, WP2, CV&S4,
Prov   4:1      Prim: WP1, WP2,
Prov   9:10     Prim: WP1, WP2, CV&S4,
Prov 21:11      Prim: WP1,
Ps    94:10     Prim: ACT3,
Ps   119:29     Prim: WP1, WP2, CV&S,
Ps   123:3      Prim: BIBPR,
```

PRAYER 5

```
1 Ch   3:12     Prim: WP2,
2 K   23:25     Prim: Scnd:
Is     6:10     Scnd: ACT2, SALV,
Lam    5:21     Prim: BIBPR, SALV,
Neh    9:29     Prim: BIBPR, ACT2, CV&S2,
Ps    19:8      Prim:
Ps    80:4      Prim: BIBPR,
```

PRAYER 6

```
1 K    8:34      Prim: BIBPR, CV&S2, SALV,
2 Ch   6:37      Prim: BIBPR, SALV,
2 Ch   7:14      Prim: CV&S2, CV&S3, PROM, SALV,
Dan    9:11      Prim: BIBPR, SALV,
Dan    9:24      Prim: ACT1, WP2, PROM, SALV,
Ex     34:7      Prim: ACT3, WP2, SALV,
Ex     34:9      Prim: BIBPR, ACT1, SALV,
Ez     33:10     Prim: SALV,
1 K    8:50      Prim: BIBPR, WP2, WP2, CV&S2,
Is     1:28      Prim: WP2, SALV,
Is     48:17     Prim:
Is     53:12     Scnd: WP2, PROM,
Is     55:7      Prim: PROM,
Jer    33:8      Prim: WP2, CV&S3, PROM, SALV,
Jer    36:3      Prim: CV&S2, PROM, SALV,
Job    13:23     Prim: BIBPR, WP2,
Job    34:37     Prim: WP2,
Lev    19:22     Scnd: ACT2, CV&S, SALV,
Neh    9:17      Scnd: BIBPR,
Ps     25:7      Prim: BIBPR, WP2,
Ps     59:4      Scnd: BIBPR, WP2, SALV,
```

PRAYER 7

```
Is     41:14     Prim: ACT3, CV&S1, PROM, SELF, SALV,
Is     49:7      Prim: SALV,
Is     63:16     Scnd: BIBPR, ACT3,
Jer    50:34     Prim: ACT3, CV&S2, SELF, SALV,
Lam    3:58      Prim: BIBPR, ACT2, CV&S1, SALV,
Neh    9:9       Scnd: BIBPR, ACT1,
Prov   23:11     Prim: ACT3, CV&S1, SALV,
Ps     25:18     Scnd: BIBPR, CV&S1, SALV,
Ps     119:      Prim: BIBPR, CV&S1, PROM, SALV,
```

PRAYER 8

```
Deut   28:59     Scnd: CV&S1, PROM,
Ex     15:26     Prim: CV&S3, PROM, SELF,
Jer    17:14     Prim: BIBPR, CV&S1, SALV,
Jer    30:17     Prim: CV&S1, CV&S3, PROM, SALV,
Ps     103:3     Prim: SALV,
Ps     107:20    Scnd: CV&S, ACT2,
```

PRAYER 9

```
1 K -17:1      Prim: BIBPR, ACT1, WP1,
2 S   1:21     Prim: BIBPR, WP1,
2 S  17:12     Prim:
Deut  2:7      Prim: ACT2,
Deut 16:15     Prim: ACT2, CV&S4, PROM,
Deut 24:19     Prim: CV&S4, PROM,
Deut 28:12     Prim: ACT3, WP1, PROM,
Deut 32:2      Prim: WP1,
Gen  26:12     Prim: ACT3, CV&S4,
Job   5:10     Prim: ACT2,
Jud   6:39     Scnd: BIBPR, ACT1,
Lev  25:21     Prim: CV&S3, PROM,
Neh   9:37     Prim: BIBPR, ACT2, SALV,
Prov  3:9      Prim:
Ps  119:68     Prim: BIBPR,
```

PRAYER 10

```
Deut 30:4      Scnd: CV&S1, SALV,
Ez   20:41     Scnd: SALV,
Gen  49:2      Scnd:
Is   11:12     Prim: WP2, WP2, CV&S1, SALV,
Is   18:3      Prim: WP2, WP2, SALV,
Is   27:13     Prim: PROM, SALV,
Is   56:8      Prim: ACT2, PROM, SALV,
Is   61:1      Prim: ACT3, SALV,
Jer  32:37     Scnd: CV&S2, PROM, SALV,
Jer  34:8      Prim: SALV,
Jer  51:27     Prim: WP2, WP2, SALV,
```

PRAYER 11

```
Is    1:26     Prim: WP2, PROM, SALV,
Is   61:8      Prim: CV&S3, SELF, SALV,
Ps   33:5      Prim: ACT3, WP1,
Ps   99:4      Prim: ACT3, WP1, WP1,
```

PRAYER 12

```
1 Ch  17:8      Prim: ACT2, CV&S3, PROM,
2 K    9:8      Prim: ACT2, WP2, SALV,
Deut   9:3      Prim: ACT2, WP2, PROM, SALV,
Deut  18:22     Scnd:
Ez     7:10     Scnd: SALV,
Ez    25:16     Prim: WP2, PROM, SALV,
Is    13:11     Prim: WP2, WP2, PROM, SALV,
Is    14:5      Prim: ACT2,
Is    25:5      Scnd:
Jer    7:28     Prim: WP2,
Jer   49:16     Scnd:
Mica   5:9      Prim: WP2, PROM, SALV,
Prov  10:28     Prim: SALV,
Prov  11:7      Prim: SALV,
Ps     3:8      Prim: BIBPR, SALV,
Ps    19:14     Scnd: BIBPR,
Ps    37:17     Prim:
Ps   119:       Scnd:
```

PRAYER 13

```
Eccl   4:9      Prim:
Is    50:7      Prim: CV&S1, SALV,
Is    50:10     Prim: CV&S1, SALV,
Jer    6:15     Scnd: CV&S2, SALV,
Jer   17:7      Scnd:
Job    6:20     Scnd:
Prov            Prim: CV&S1,
Ps    32:10     Prim: CV&S1, SALV,
Ps    86:2      Prim: BIBPR, CV&S1, SALV,
Ps   146:10     Prim:
Zeph   3:11     Scnd: CV&S, PROM, SALV,
```

PRAYER 14

```
Is    44:28     Prim: CV&S, PROM, SALV,
Neh    2:17     Scnd: CV&S, SALV,
Ps    51:20     Prim: BIBPR, CV&S,
Ps   147:2      Prim: ACT3,
Zech   1:16     Prim: CV&S3, PROM, SELF, SALV,
Zech   8:3      Scnd: ACT2, CV&S3, PROM,
```

PRAYER 15

Ez	29:21	Prim: CV&S3, PROM, SALV,
Jer	23:5	Prim: PROM, SALV,
Jer	33:15	Prim: CV&S3, PROM, SALV,
Ps	89:18	Prim: CV&S1, PROM, SALV,
Ps	89:25	Prim: PROM, SALV,
Ps	112:9	Prim: SALV,
Ps	132:17	Prim: CV&S3, PROM, SALV,

PRAYER 16

1 K	17:22	Prim: ACT1, CV&S1, SALV,
A4K	8:45	Prim: BIBPR, A31
Dan	9:17	Prim: BIBPR, WP1, CV&S, SALV,
Deut	26:7	Prim: BIBPR, ACT1,
Ex	33:19	Prim: ACT1, CV&S3, PROM, A62;
Neh	1:11	Scnd: BIBPR, SALV,
Num	20:16	Prim: ACT2, CV&S, SALV,
Num	21:3	Prim: ACT1, CV&S2, SALV,
Ps	4:2	Scnd: BIBPR,
Ps	6:9	Scnd: BIBPR,
Ps	6:10	Prim: BIBPR,
Ps	31:23	Scnd: BIBPR,
Ps	54:4	Prim: A12
Ps	65:3	Prim: BIBPR,
Ps	84:9	Scnd: BIBPR,
Ps	143:1	Prim: BIBPR, SALV,

PRAYER 17

1 K	6:20	Prim: BIBPR,
1 K	8:6	Prim: BIBPR, ACT2,
2 S	24:23	Prim: BIBPR, CV&S,
Is	33:17	Prim: CV&S, SALV,
Is	49:8	Prim: ACT3,
Mal	3:4	Prim: ACT3, SALV,
Mica	4:11	Prim:
Num	28:2	Prim: CV&S,
Ps	17:2	Prim: BIBPR, CV&S1,
Ps	40:14	Prim: SALV,
Ps	119:	Prim: BIBPR,
Ps	126:1	Scnd: SALV,
Ps	149:4	Prim:
SoS	7:1	Scnd:
Zach	8:3	Prim: ACT2, CV&S3, PROM,ALV,

PRAYER 18

```
1 Ch  16:14     Scnd: BIBPR,
1 Ch  29:13     Prim: BIBPR, ACT3,
2 Ch  14:10     Prim: BIBPR, ACT1, SALV,
2 S   22:47     Prim: BIBPR, ACT2, SALV,
Deut  31:17     Prim: BIBPR,
Deut  32:20     Prim: ACT2, CV&S2, CV&S3, PROM,
Ez    39:29     Prim: CV&S3, PROM,ALV, WP1,
Is     8:17     Prim: CV&S, CV&S4,
Is    25:9      Prim: ACT2, CV&S4, SALV,
Is    33:2      Prim: BIBPR, SALV,
Is    38:19     Prim: BIBPR, ACT2, SALV,
Is    45:17     Prim: SALV,
Is    50:7      Prim: CV&S1,
Is    54:4      Prim: CV&S1, PROM, A62;
Is    64:6      Prim: BIBPR, ACT2, SALV,
Is    65:16     Scnd:
Jer    3:22     Prim:
Jer   14:22     Prim: BIBPR, ACT3,
Job    1:21     Prim: CV&S4,
Job   12:10     Prim: ACT3, CV&S4,
Job   34:19     Scnd:
Joel   2:26     Prim: CV&S4,ALV,
Lam    3:22     Prim: WP2, CV&S4,
Neh    9:17     Prim: BIBPR, ACT2, CV&S2,
Ps     9:2      Prim: BIBPR, ACT3, SALV,
Ps     1:3      Prim: BIBPR, ACT1, CV&S, CV&S1, SALV,
Ps    18:36     Prim: BIBPR, ACT1, CV&S1, SALV,
Ps    18:47     Prim: BIBPR, ACT2, SALV,
Ps    23:25     Prim: BIBPR, ACT2, CV&S4,
Ps    25:6      Prim: BIBPR, WP2,
Ps    27:9      Scnd: BIBPR, CV&S1, SALV,
Ps    31:6      Scnd: BIBPR,
Ps    44:9      Scnd: BIBPR, SALV,
Ps    75:2      Prim: BIBPR,
Ps    79:13     Prim: BIBPR, ACT2, SALV,
Ps   103:17     Prim: CV&S4,
Ps   105:7      Scnd: BIBPR,
Ps   113:1      Prim: BIBPR, CV&S4,
Ps   113:2      Prim: BIBPR, CV&S4,
Ps   116:5      Prim: ACT2, SALV,
Ps   119:62     Prim: BIBPR,
Ps   144:1      Prim: BIBPR, ACT2, SALV,
```

PRAYER 19

1 S	29:9	Scnd:
2 Ch	31:10	Prim: ACT2, CV&S4,
Dan	9:10	Prim: BIBPR,
Deut	26:15	Prim: BIBPR, PROM,
Deut	30:15	Prim: WP1,
Deut	30:19	Prim: WP1,
Ex	18:22	Prim:
Ex	32:29	Prim:
Gen	20:15	Prim:
Is	26:12	Prim: BIBPR, SALV,
Is	54:13	Scnd:
Is	60:17	Prim: WP1, CV&S3, SALV,
Jer	33:9	Prim: WP1, PROM, SALV, SALV,
Josh	8:33	Prim:
Mala	2:5	Prim: WP1, CV&S4,
Mich	6:8	Prim:
Num	6:26	Prim:
Num	24:1	Prim:
Prov	3:2	Prim:
Prov	16:15	Prim:
Prov	21:21	Prim: WP1,
Ps	4:7	Prim:
Ps	23:6	Prim: WP1,
Ps	29:11	Prim: BIBPR, ACT2, SALV,
Ps	80:20	Prim: BIBPR, SALV,
Ps	85:13	Prim:
Ps	89:16	Prim:
Ps	119:	Prim: BIBPR,
Ps	128:6	Prim: BIBPR,
Ps	129:8	Scnd:

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