

THE QUESTION OF THE CYCLIC READING OF THE
HEGIOGRAPHIA, AND ITS RELATION TO THE
CHRISTIAN LITURGY

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A. R.	<u>Agadat B'reshit</u>
B. R.	<u>B'reshit Rabba</u>
H.	<u>Haftora</u>
Heg.	<u>Hagiographa</u>
Ht.	<u>Haftarot</u>
K.	<u>Ketubin</u>
Midr.	<u>Midrash</u>
N.	<u>Nebim</u>
P.	<u>Petichtot</u>
P. R.	<u>Pesikta Rabbati</u>
S.	<u>Sedra</u>
Sm.	<u>Sadderim</u>
T.	<u>Torah</u>
Tan.	<u>Tanchuma</u>
T. C.	<u>Triennial Cycle</u>
V. R.	<u>Vayikra Rabba</u>
Yel.	<u>Yelamdenu</u>

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CHAPTER I

I. THE PROBLEM

The aim of the following investigation is two-fold. Firstly, to trace, and to check as far as possible, the rabbinic evidence for the claim of many Church Fathers that the basis for the Gradual (the cyclically changing portions of psalms chanted at every Mass), is really a legacy of the Old Synagogue; and the further claim that the practise of chanting verses of psalms varying from pericope to pericope is authentic, and a direct patrimony of the Synagogue. Furthermore, evidence will be adduced to indicate that this practise of chanting psalms was already included in the Synagogue liturgy as early as the third century A. D.¹

Secondly, to demonstrate the apologetic function of the psalm pericope of the Old Synagogue, and its apologetic, *character,* *directed against* ~~often~~ anti-Jewish interpretations as made by the ecclesiastic liturgies.

Professor Jacob Mann, addressing himself to the first of these problems, proposed in his book, The Bible as Read and Preached in the Old Synagogue, Vol. I,² the theory that during a certain period of Rabbinic Judaism, chiefly in the Amoraic and Saboraic period, parts of the Ketubim regularly constituted along with Torah and Haftarah, an element of the regular Scriptural lesson in the Synagogue. This Hagiographic pericope, according to Mann's theory, changed every week in accordance

with a set formula.³

Dr. Ludwig Venetianer, in his study, Ursprung und Bedeutung der Propheten Lektion,⁴ attempts to illustrate the apologetic function of the psalm pericope. Mann also points up the same characteristic of the psalm lesson. While very similar conclusions are reached by Venetianer and Mann, they are arrived at by totally different reasoning, and via the study of different sources. Their conceptions and interpretations will be discussed in the following pages.

Professor Eric Werner has attempted to trace the relationship between the psalm lesson in the Church, and in the Synagogue by correlating it with certain features found in the Pesikta Rabbati to which Dr. Venetianer drew attention. Professor Werner, however, did not complete his investigation; Mann's theory only came to his attention when his book, The Sacred Bridge, was already in the publisher's hands.⁵

This paper, it is hoped, will help to establish the high probability of Mann's theory. Beyond that, we hope to demonstrate Venetianer's theory of the apologetic function of the psalm pericope of the Old Synagogue. Although we shall try to sum up as far as possible, the rabbinic evidence for the claim of the Church Fathers, and adduce evidence to support Venetianer's theory, the main purpose of this paper will be to verify Professor Mann's thesis.

The primary sources to be used for examination will be the Midrashim, P'rushit Rabba, Pesikta Rabbati, and Agadat

B'reshit.

II. DR. MANN'S THEORY AND ITS RAMIFICATIONS

The Talmudic passage (Shab. 116B) shows clearly the different opinions of the rabbis concerning the reading of Ketubin at the Mincha Service in the Synagogue.

ומפני מה אין קוראין וכו': אמר רב לא שנו אלא
הצמן בית המדרש אהל שלם הצמן ההמ"ב
קורין ושמא לא אמר אפילו שלם הצמן בית
המדרש אין קורין אלף והא להרבה לא אחריה
בשמאל הוה וב להרבה לא פסקין סיבתא
בכחיהם במחמא יבש בתא אלא אי איתמר
הכי איתמר אמר רב לא שנו אלא במקום
ההמ"ב אהל שלם במקום בית המדרש
קורין שמאל אמר בין המקום ההמ"ב בין
שלם המקום ההמ"ב הצמן בית המדרש
אין קורין שלם הצמן בית המדרש קורין
ואצבע שמאל ושמאלה בהרבה לא
פסקין סיבתא בכחיהם במחמא פשטא
רב אש אמר יצום כבאמרן מציק לא
ושמאל כרב לחמיה בלגיא אע"פ שאמר
כרב הקדש קורין בהן אהל שולן ההם
ובורשין בהן לצריק פסוק מביא וכו' אה
הו אז לחמיה מפני מה שומר כרב
הקדש אין קורין בהן כב' שיאמרו בכחיה
הקדש אין קורין וכ"ש בשטר' הב' וכו'.

The reason for this proscription is vague and unconvincing. It would appear that there was a more central reason for the prohibition against reading Ketubim (=K). Rashi comments that the Hagiographa were not read in order that the Torah lesson might not be nullified. "דבר לך שיהיה פיעול" ^{of} ^{to be}

This Talmudic reference to a lesson ~~of~~ ^{to be} K. ~~being~~ read on the Sabbath at Mincha in Nehardea, and the objections to it, give evidence of a non-fixed practise, which varied in certain crucial regions, certainly at the time between the third and fifth centuries. Thus the Talmud does not offer conclusive evidence either for or against the practise of a changing psalm pericope.

Zunz comments on this practise in Nehardea: "In places in Babylonia they would read on the Sabbath a Haftorah at Mincha from Ketubim. In Persia and Nehardea they knew even from the beginning of the 11th century of special Haftarot for the whole year, which were recited on Shabbat Mincha. In the West there is no memory of such a practise."⁸

Professor Mann, resorting to other sources, indicates that the psalms were recited as a regular tri-partite Scriptural lesson in the Synagogue. The use of these psalms in connection with the readings from the Torah and Prophets were to be summed up in Volume III of his book, The Bible as Read and Preached in the Old Synagogue (which was never finished). In his preface to Volume I, Mann makes the following statement:

"Thus, e.g. the analysis of Aggadat B'reshit, with its

three-fold section to each Sedra headed Torah, Nevim and Ketubim respectively, reveals frequently that the first one is based on one Haftorah, whereas the second one is based on a different one, while in the section called Ketubim there can be detected the selection of specific psalms to be recited on given Sabbaths. Likewise, the use of psalms in connection with the readings from Torah and Prophets will be summed up in Volume III.⁹

Further on in this same work, Mann makes the following statement:

The explanation of the chapters in Aggadat B'reshit headed 'Ketubim,' as being sermons delivered on Sabbath afternoons is based on a Babylonian custom which does not pertain at all to our Midrash construed on the Palestinian Triennial Cycle. These chapters introduced exclusively by psalms, rather represent the homilies on the Mizmorim for the given Sabbaths in addition to the general *Shema Yisrael Yehovah Yehovah* (Psalm 92); the whole matter is summarized farther on in this work, Volume III.¹⁰

Nevertheless, Mann did discuss in detail in the present volume his hypothesis concerning the relationship of the weekly Sedra (=S.) to its parallel Haftorah (=H.), in which he touches upon the psalms. Mann's description of the development of Scriptural reading and its relationship to the Midrash (=Midr.), will help us to understand how the Torah, Haftorah, and Ketubim are utilized in the Scriptural reading.

The origins of the Scriptural reading are shrouded in mystery owing to its antiquity. Its main purpose was to provide adult education in the Synagogue by cyclic recitation (and study) of the Torah, Prophets and Hagiographa (=Hag.).

The M. itself reveals the existence of many different systems of Sedarim distributed over the cycle. The Triennial Cycle (= T.C.) existed in Palestine as early as 70 C. E.

Eleazar ben Hyrcanus preached on the T. C., showing that many shiftings of the S. had taken place.¹¹

The H. played a very significant role in the trend of the Midr. homilies. There are indications in the Sedderim (=Sm.) and Haffarot (=Ht.) that there were various commencements in each, which may go back to a time before the final fixing of the T. C. cycle. The Yelamdenu (=Yel.) homilies were based upon these older commencements.¹²

The characteristics of the T. C., its Sm. and Ht. were as follows: twenty-one verses were designated as a minimum reading for the S.¹³ The H. similarly consists of a minimum of twenty-one verses, corresponding to the S. reading.¹⁴

Occasionally, the Metargem or preachers, in order to shorten the service, would use only ten verses from the H., and sometimes as few as three verses.¹⁵ Sometimes verses in the H. were skipped so that the reader might conclude with a happy ending, but this only applied to the reading of the Prophets and did not apply to the Torah lesson.¹⁶

Very frequently the Bible codices contained a Siglum (D), either at the verse where the H. began or where it ended. The concluding verse after the "happy ending" that was added after the skipping, often coincided with the one having the Siglum.¹⁷

Thus we have the origin of the whole Masoretic division of the Prophets into Sm. The Siglum, according to the T. C., indicated where both the S. and H. began and ended.¹⁸

The Siglum was first used as an aid in the use of the Prophetic Books at the Synagogue service, ^{where} ~~in~~ the H. portions accompanied the S. of the Torah. At a later date, those Sigla were used all over the Prophets to provide the so-called division of each book, and were even carried over into the Hag., although the latter was never recited as specific reading, except for the psalms and the Five Megillot.¹⁹

For the coordination of an H. to a given S., a system of "Tallying motifs" was used, according to the following criteria:

- 1) "Linguistic affinity between the Haftarah and Sedra in the initial verse.
- 2) The frequent and intrinsic connection between the Sedra and Haftarah."²⁰

More often the choice was made according to the former, but only so long as the H. was of consolation and encouragement. Sometimes a given H. could be distinguished as already the result of a given homily that antedated it.²¹

According to Mann, it was the H. that formed the bridge between the Torah S. and the Petichta verse of the homily, which as a rule was chosen from the Hag., though not always. Thus, the preacher demonstrates the union of the three divisions of Scripture, Torah, Mivlim and Ketubim.²²

The Midrashic sections were arranged according to the Palestinian annual cycle.²³ The Petichta verse in the homily was left to the choice of the speaker, and its connection to the Torah pericope.²⁴ The H. was not used for that purpose

because it was used throughout. The verse chosen to introduce a particular Petichta was found within the frame of the H. It was the verse from the H. that gave the preacher his starting point, though this was not always evident in the verse read in the H. Sometimes it was contained in the sections skipped. Frequently, the tally verse was found in the H. and S., but often only in the H. in the form of a positive connection or by way of contrast.²⁵

Mann demonstrates the above through the use of the Midr. Tanchuma or Yelamdenu in conjunction with the A. B. and B. R. This is of particular interest to us since he alludes in the parallel between the Yel. and the latter Midrashim to the intrinsic connection between the S., the Prophets and the Psalms.²⁶

The earliest H. presupposed by the Yel. items correspond, as a rule, to those forming the basis of the Petichta of the homilies of the leading Amoraim Aggadists.

Often the Halacha in the Yel. has no bearing on the Torah reading. The preacher proceeds from the Halacha to the Aggada in order to lead down to the initial verse of the H., using the formula " וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת הַקּוֹל " וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת הַקּוֹל

What caused the homilist to choose the one Halacha for his purpose out of the mass of Halachot available? The H. gives us the explanation. Within the given H. the homilist obtained a suggestion for his choice of Halacha with which to begin his sermon with the rubric: וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת הַקּוֹל. As there were frequently more than one H. to one S., so there were more

than one corresponding Yel. item. The principle of tallying, which applied to the choice of the H. to a given S. was also applied to a particular Halacha to be used demonstrating the union of the written and oral Law.

Mann's investigation of the Yel. throws new light on the A. B. with its three-fold section for each S. headed Torah, Nasim and Ketubin, and reveals that the psalms tally with the respective Sm. or with their corresponding Ht. This arrangement of the A.B. can also be traced in sections of Exodus Rabba.²⁷

From Mann's analysis we have selected for close examination the S. Wayera in order to illustrate his main idea. We are utilizing the only S. from B'rashit contained in the Pesikta Rabbati (=P.R.), i.e. within the chapters headed Bar-chodesh Hash'vii, Adonai Pakad et Sarah, and Adonai Pakad et Channah.²⁸ These Midrashim, plus B'rashit Rabba (=B.R.) will be scrutinized in Chapters 3 and 4 of this paper.

In A.B., Chapters 19 to 21 (Wayera)

...the Ch. headed Torah, has items in (c. 19:1-2) on Is. 66:1-3 and Ex. 20:24, as in Tanchuma B'rashit §§ 2-4, which have been correlated with the H from Is. 33:17 ff., the story of "Anan, Shimon and Mara," is introduced. (c 19:3) by "וְיִשְׂרָאֵל יָדָע" (Dt. 7:9), which is reflected by the H (Is. 33:22) in a characterization by God. The peroration at the end, however, seems to be different from the one in Tanchuma B'rashit, § 5. But then there follows, c 20, headed Nasim, introducing Mal 3:19 (וְיִשְׂרָאֵל יָדָע) as if being another H to our S. Now such would tally with our initial verse of 3 (Gen. 18:1) by reason of "וְיִשְׂרָאֵל יָדָע," but it would consist of only 6 verses, Mal. 3:19-24. And for the next S, the chapter headed Nasim in AB (C. 23), practically gives us the same H, except that it begins with Mal 3:18! Hence it is doubtful

between Church and Synagogue. During this time they borrowed from one another and reacted to one another's moves. This relationship is demonstrated in Ludwig Venetianer's study Ursprung und Bedeutung der Propheten Lektion.³¹

According to Venetianer, a great part of the L. lectionary arrangement was influenced to a substantial degree by the efforts of the Jewish apologetes^{etes} during the first three centuries of Christianity.³²

Venetianer presents us with a remarkable analysis of the significant psalm verses selected for the Gradual and Introit of the Mass. Also, he compares the^{weekly} lessons of the Eucharistic service of the Roman Catholic Church with ~~those~~ ^{the calendarically periodic ones} of Rabbinic Judaism, basing his study on the L.R. "This source contains not only exegetic paraphrases of the lessons of the year, but uses as subsidiary texts many psalm quotations, seemingly selected at random."³³

Dr. Werner, in The Sacred Bridge, juxtaposes the special Synagogue lections with those of the Roman Catholic Church. We present herein a number of illustrations from Venetianer's study, followed by Werner's comparative lists.

^{commences}
~~In~~ the L.R. (11B) ~~the~~ ^{opening} section of Shabbat Shochlain, with R. Jochanan ~~begins~~ his homily with "Man is being humbled and elevated. Humbled was Moses." The preacher quotes Is. 2:9, "And man boweth down and Thou canst not bear with him (פֶּן יִכְרַס לְךָ)"; Ex. 30:12, "When you take the census (כִּלְיָהוּ)";

Ezek. 34:31, "And ye the sheep, the sheep of My pasture are men, and I am your God"; and Num. 12:3, "Now the man Moses was meek above all the men that were upon the face of the earth."

The phrase *ker* ' indicating pardon, and *ker* 's having to do with the census and the collecting of taxes is cleverly used by the preacher R. Jochanan to put the census and the call to pay taxes under the authority of a Divine pardon.³⁴

Shabbat Shekalim in ancient times was the day on which the people were requested to pay the Temple tax (Shekel). We see in the fragment of the sermon something entirely different if we realize that in the Roman Church the first Sunday of Quadragesima, the first Sunday in Lent, normally coincided with Rosh Chodesh Adar. This Sunday is called Innocent (Ps. 91:15), ^{which} ~~is~~ is recited on that day and on the Monday that follows, for which ^{h.} the Mass Ezek. 34:11 is read ^{where} ~~in which~~ Israel is compared with flocks. Also Is. 2:2-5 is read. These are verses which directly precede those quoted by R. Jochanan. When we realize that the verses from Isaiah are also contained in the lesson for the third Sunday of Advent, the sentence "Man is lowered, man is humbled" invites a polemic explanation. The R. R. relates humiliation to Moses and Israel. We understand the foregoing when we examine the relationship of the Synagogue to the original Christian community in its true perspective. There would be much stronger proof if they

would read Isaiah in the Roman Church, not in the Advent, but the Quadragesima. The Catholic Church, however, changed the liturgy in the 18th century, and it is possible that this section was altered.³⁵

In this same section of P.R., in the homily of R. Yona, he begins with Ps. 7:12, "God is a righteous Judge." We cannot consider it a coincidence that on the identical Sabbath of the Ecclesiastical year in the Roman Catholic Church, the verse from Ps. 7 is sung as Communion on the very same day as the lesson taken from Matt. 17:24-27 is read, and which relates to the Temple taxes. Jesus found a fish and in it a goldpiece which he gave for Temple taxes. *This day usually coincides with Sh. Shekalim*

It is no coincidence that the Gospel section dealing with Temple taxes was read, while in the Synagogue the Parasha Shekalim was also read. The Gospel lesson of the first week of Lent Invocavit has preserved to this day the second meaning of Shekalim. This is further substantiated when we realize that the H. was organized after The Gospel-pericopes were established. It is therefore apologetic.³⁶

Shabbat Shekalim
Torah: Exod. 30:12-20
Haftarah: Ezekiel 34:1-32

1st Sunday of Quadragesima
Sunday: Invocavit Ps. 91:15
O.T. Lesson: Monday there-
after Ezekiel 34:11-16
N.T. Lesson: Saturday of the
week. Matt. 17 (tithes)³⁷

The Sabbath of Zachor could not be retained in the Church since it deals with the curse invoked against Amalek. The early Church objected to this. An obsolete lesson of

Judaism, Exodus 17:8-16 containing references to Amalek (Moses with Joshua, Aaron and Hur on the mountain) left its traces in the New Testament lesson (Matt. 17) in the story of Jesus with Peter, James and John on the mountain. The Sabbath is called Zachor, which is the first word in the lesson, concerning Amalek. This is preserved in the Church where the analogous Sunday is called Reminiscere (remember) after its Introit Ps. 25:6. Another Psalm verse, Ps. 79:2, the Gradual of the ^{preceding} Sabbath ~~before~~ is quoted by the P.R. in its exposition.³⁸

Sabbath Zachor

Torah: Deut. 25:17-21
(earlier--probably
Exod. 17:8-16)
Haftorah: I Sam. 15
Ps. quote (P.R.)
Ps. 79:12

Second Sunday of Quadra-
gesima
Introit of Sunday Reminis-
cere
Ps. 25:6

Gradual of Sab. before Sun.
(Ember day of Quadragesima)

Ps. 79:12
New Test. Matt. 17³⁹

On the eve of Shabbat Parah the Church sings, as Communion, Ps. 12:8: "Thou wilt keep them O Lord; Thou wilt preserve us from this generation forever." The P.R. comments on the psalm for Para (298) "R. Tanchuma opened with Ps. 12:7 'The words of the Lord are pure, as silver tried in a crucible on the earth, refined seven times.'"⁴⁰

The proof that Shabbat Hachodesh appears as a polemic in the P. R. stems from the fact that on Tuesday of the fourth week of Lent the Church uses for the offertory Ps. 40:7 "Sac-

rifice and meal offering Thou hast not delight in." This verse is used as a protest against bloody sacrifices. ~~in~~ *in* the P. R., Shabbat Chodesh (42B) relates a homily about this very Ps. 40:6. "There is none to be compared to them." The P.R. (45B) refers to Ps. 43:3, "Send Thy light and Thy truth, let them lead me." R. Yehudah began his sermon: "The light refers to Moses and truth refers to Aaron." The same psalm is used on Passion Sunday, both in the Introit and the Gradual. On Passion Sunday, the Epistle to Hebrews 9 is read, where all bloody sacrifices are abandoned, and in Matt. 8:12, "I am the Light of the world."⁴¹

The fact that these passages appear in the P. R. on Shabbat Chodesh and for Passion Sunday cannot be a coincidence.

Shabbat Para (Heifer)
Torah: Num. 19:1-22
Haftorah Ezek. 36:18-32
Ps. Quotation
P.R. Ps. 12:8

Third Sunday of Quadragesima
(Oculi)
Q. T.: Wed. thereafter
Ezek. 36:23-38
Friday: Num. 20:2-3
Friday before: Communion
Ps. 12:18⁴²

The P. R. on Passover (70A) opens with "Seven perfect weeks shall it be." Ps. 68:10 is quoted: "A bounteous rain didst Thou pour down" (ב' י' ח') ב' י' ח' is also used with reference to Omer (ב' י' ח'). The preacher quotes Ps. 68:12 ב' י' ח' and deduces from it "God will give ב' י' ח' (with an "ח").

(The Galileans allegedly often confused the /c and y)⁴³

This very same Ps. 68 is chanted in the Catholic Church

at Pentecost when in the Synagogue the Omer Law is read. This is a very strange occurrence. The 68th Psalm makes sense, both on Pentecost and on Passover. The Omer Law does not find its place in Ps. 68, and yet the preacher in the P. R. speaks on Passover about the Law of Omer and Ps. 68 in the above quotation in connection with one another.⁴⁴

In P.R. (107A) for Shabbat, Ezekiel's Vision of the Dry Bones is referred to. There are two special sections containing many sermons with one fragment ר' ה' ה' ה' ה' referring to ר' ה' ה' ה' ה' God's chariots are myriads." (Ps. 68:18).

This little fragment is not connected with the harvest, but the giving of the Law, ר' ה' ה' ה' . Nevertheless, this fragment is based on Ps. 68 (97B), and is recited in the Introit in the Roman Church on Pentecost.

The P. R. states that the Song of Habakuk is read today in the Synagogue on the second day of Shabbat (Hab. 3:1-19). The tradition is based on the Talmud "on the Shabbat there is Torah, Parasha Deut. 16:9-12, and Prophets, Shir Habakuk."

The P. R. continues with Torah lesson Exod. 19:20-25 and the H., Vision of Ezekiel 1, "Inasmuch as we celebrate two days we follow both practises but in reverse order. The first day we read the opinion of others." Who are these others? They could be Judeo-Christians.

ch 2,
 Habakuk plays a big part in the Byzantine and Roman Church, but there it has no connection with Pentecost. That could be the reason why they eliminated Habakuk on the second day.⁴⁵

Shabbat (Pentecost)
 Psalm Quotation (PR)
 Ps. 68:18

Pentecost
 Ps. 68 (Introit of Pentecost)⁴⁶

The most conspicuous example is found in P.R. (174B) "Aaron shall come" (Lev. 16:3). The preacher's homily refers to Ps. 27:1, Rabbanan refers to Ps. 27 in its connection to the Rosh Hashona and Yom Kippur (175B). "Aaron shall come" refers to Rosh Hashona, and Ps. 27 refers to Yom Kippur.

"The Lord is my light and my salvation; whom shall I fear?" Thereupon Rabbanan compared verse by verse with Shirat Hayan.

obvious
 In the Catholic liturgy Ps. 27 is chanted ~~on~~ *in* Lent and the transplantation of the Penitential Period. Why did the preacher feel inclined to deal with Penitential matters on Yom Kippur?⁴⁷

Werner interprets this evidence in the following way:

The Pesikta makes the following statement: "The sons of Aaron died on Nisan. Why do we read about their death on Yom Kippur? To teach us that the death of the righteous atones in the same way as Yom Kippur atones."⁴⁸

This passage which refers to a pericope read in the Christian Church at the beginning of the Passion of Christ has an apologetic character to it. Venetianer's hypothesis of the shifting of the Jewish order for apologetic purposes appears most plausible here. The fact that the Easter Vigil adopted a good many traits of Yom Kippur is well known and confirms our theory.

The Ember Day in September, on the other hand, shows in its liturgy probably the last traces of a transposition

from the Yom Kippur in spite of the radical change in the Christian calendar. We have already mentioned the old custom of celebrating the Birth of Christ on the Birthday of the World. In Judaism the latter shifted from Yom Kippur to Rosh Hashona, but the older tradition was perpetuated in outlying Jewish communities on Yom Kippur. When the Church moved the Birthday of Christ it also transferred its accompanying lesson, so that we now discern two New Years of the Christian liturgical year: the Easter Vigil and Easter, and the Christmastide, both having preserved elements of the ancient Jewish New Year.

An analogous transportation of references may be observed in Jewish sources. In its discussion of Yom Kippur, The Pesiqta quotes a great number of Psalm verses from Ps. 27, all of them alluding to Passover (Easter). Later, it says rather meekly, "The Rabbis understand that the Psalm is significant of Yom Kippur and Rosh Hashona." Yet, without any clear motivation, the Pesiqta compares Ps. 27 with the Song of Moses (Exod. 15) verse for verse. This is read or chanted in the Greek and other Eastern Churches during the Easter Vigil, stressing the identity with the Jewish Passover.⁴⁹

Yom Kippur (10 Tishri,
formerly 1 Tishri)

Fast day lesson of the Church
First Sun. of Quadragesima
and Fri. after Ash Wed.
Isaiah 58:1-9a

Morning

Torah: Lev. 16
Num. 29:7-11
Haftarah Is. 57:14-
58:14

Easter Vigil

Jonah
Gen. 1

Afternoon

Torah: Lev. 18:1-30
(Today)
Lev. 23:26-32
(Formerly)

Ps. 27 (Gradual of Friday
after Ash Wednesday)

Haftarah: Jonah

Deut. 6:4-7:11 } (former-
Gen. 1:1 } ly also)
Deut. 7:12 ff }

Sabbatum quatuor temporum

Septembria
Lev. 23:26-32 50

Ps. quotation (PR) Ps. 27.

The R.R. refers to Ps. 47:6 on the second day of Rosh Hashona. R. J'shayahu opens with Ps. 89:16. These two Psalms are chanted in the Catholic liturgy. Ps. 47 is chanted on Sunday of Christ, and Ps. 89 on Christmas itself in the Oc-

tave of Christmas and on the first of January.

What can we conclude? The first Christian community celebrated the birth of Christ on the Jewish New Year. The transfer to December 25th did not occur until the fifth century. Psalms most characteristic of Rosh Hashona are recited. Rosh Hashona is traditionally considered the Birthday of the World.⁵¹

Rosh Hashona (1 Tishri)

First day

Torah: Num. 29:1-6

Haftarah: I Sam. 1

Second day

Torah: Gen. 22 (today)

Haftarah: Jer. 31 (today)

Psalm Quotations (PR):

Ps. 47:6

and 89:16 (formerly)

Various Days

Dec. 28

Jer. 32

Gen. 21 (in Brev.)

Easter Vigil

Gen. 22

Sunday after Christmas

Ps. 47 (Alleluia)

January 1st (Circumcision)

Ps. 89 (Offertory of third Mass)

Passover, First day (15 Nisan)

Torah: Exod. 12:21-51 (twice

also on Sabbath before)

Haftarah: Joshua 5 (today)

Ezek. 37 (formerly)

Passover, Seventh day

Torah: Exod. 13:17-15:26

Haftarah: II Sam. 22

Psalm Quotation (PR):

Ps. 35:17

Easter Eve (once the night before 15 Nisan)

Old Testament: Exod. 12:1-11

(also on Good Friday)

Ezek. 37:1-14

Holy Saturday

Exod. 14:24-15:3

Ps. 35:17

(also Introit of Palm Sunday)⁵²

Venetianer emphasizes the fact that the Latin text of the Psalms in the Catholic tradition is not based upon the Vulgate, but upon the considerably older *Vetus Italica*. All the psalms which we have compared here refer to the old tradition going back to the second century.⁵³

Werner makes this comment on Venetianer's study: "One

may not always agree with Venetianer's conclusion that many of the Prophetic lessons in the Synagogue were selected as polemics and apologetics against the Church's hostile interpretation of the Torah portion of the Synagogue, but in many cases facts speak for themselves, whatever the causes might be."⁵⁴

Venetianer draws his conclusions from a comparison between the psalms cited in the P.R. and those recited in the Roman Catholic Church on specific occasions. Mann arrives at his conclusions with regard to the polemics intrinsic in the psalm lessons by use of the Midrashim A.R., B. R., and Yel., and the textual material in each that lends support to the polemics of the psalm pericopes.

IV. DR. WERNER'S INVESTIGATION OF PSALMODY IN THE CHURCH AND SYNAGOGUE.

Before proceeding directly to Werner's investigation of the psalm reading in the K'riat Hatorah, it might be well to discuss some aspects of the development of the psalm readings in the Catholic Church, as described in The Sacred Bridge.

Of all the elements common to Jewish and Christian liturgy, the oldest is the Scriptural reading. The early Christian Church followed a Jewish practise by instituting weekly (in some Churches daily) Scriptural lessons.⁵⁵

The oldest element in the Christian liturgy was the Scriptural lesson and its framework of psalmody. Tertullian

gives us the oldest testimony about psalmody and its connection with the lesson. The Apostolic Constitutions (4th century) indicate an already well-established order "After each of the lessons (someone older than the cantor) shall chant the hymns of David and the people shall join in the last words of the verse."⁵⁶ This indicates that three or four readings from the Bible were already customary in the early Christian Church. In the Christian liturgy up to the 4th century psalmody played an outstanding part. Its relationship to the Synagogue psalter is basic. For example, before the Mass on Sunday, during Matins, Psalm 92, the Sabbath Psalm, was chanted, reflecting its transposition in the Church to Sunday.⁵⁷ The following table shows these psalms to be an integral part of the Synagogue, as well as the Church worship service.

Weekdays

Synagogue	Church
	(before the great schism)
Morning and evening	<u>Lauds, Compline, etc.</u>
Pss. 100; 145-50; 6	Pss. 100; 141:1; 63; 46; 71;
	93
Evening: 91; 134; 2; 4:5	<u>Compline</u> : 91; 134; 4.
Sabbath	Sunday
Morning Service	Eucharistic Service
Pss. 34; 90; 19; 91;	Pss. 34; 92; 93; 95;
92; 93; 95; 135;	133; 136:1; 100;
136; 33; 100.	63; 148-50. ⁵⁸

In the Mass the first psalmody between the lessons is called the Gradual. The term refers to the place from which

the cantor stood while chanting the psalms. The word *amha* refers to the steps in front of the altar and derives from the Greek *anabainai*, to mount the stairs. This ritual goes back as far as the 4th century.⁵ The *amha* corresponds to the *hine* in the Synagogue, and the Church fashioned the Gradual after the temple practise, when Levites would chant the psalms while standing on the steps of the sanctuary. The fact that the Medieval Church was acquainted with the Jewish origin of the *amha* is substantiated by Amalarius.

The lector and cantor ascending to the ancient custom concerning which it is written in the Book of Ezra: Ezra, the scribe, stood upon a wooden stair which he had made, to deliver his address (Nehemiah 8:4-5). And shortly afterwards he stood out over the people. ¹⁰

The Gradual, then, consisted of the cyclic reading from the psalms. Reading of scripture, and chanting of the psalms were not the only Jewish practises in psalmodic singing. Texts, chant, and details of psalmody were steeped in Jewish tradition. Mgr. Duchesne writes, in his Origin of Christian Worship:

I have already pointed out that the practise of chanting psalms between the lections of the Mass is as old as these lections themselves, and that both go back in direct line to the religious services of the Jewish Synagogue. In the Christian liturgy, these psalms constitute the most ancient and most solemn representation of Davidic Psalter. We must take care not to put them on the same footing as other chants, Introit, Offertory, and Communion, which were introduced later, and then merely to occupy attention during the long ceremony. The Gradual and similar chants had an intrinsic value, and during the time in which they were sung there was nothing else going on.⁶

The Church Fathers were fully aware the psalmody was

a synagogal legacy. Pope Damasus, Pope Celestine, St. Augustine, St. Jerome and many others spoke of the "Davidic songs and their melodies," which the Church had saved and preserved.⁶² St. Jerome, the great translator of the Bible, made his contemporary St. Paula aware of the psalms.⁶³ As added evidence, there are the polemics against the gnostics and Marcionites because they refused to chant the Davidic psalms.⁶⁴ The monk Diodore of Tarsus defended the Church's imitation of Jewish prayers and songs.⁶⁵ The rabbis were also aware of this interrelation. Manuella ha-Romi, a learned poet of the 13th century, made this caustic remark: "What says our music to the Christians? 'Stolen, yea stolen was I from the land of the Hebrews.'" (Gen. 40:15)⁶⁶

At the beginning, in the early Church, only one singer chanted the psalmody, later two or three psalmists chanted them. The early Synagogue designated only one precentor, but in the 3rd and 4th centuries, two men had to stand by the cantor. "The cantor must not chant the liturgy unless two men stand by him." This was to insure that the prayer responses were said, or to correct the reader.⁶⁷

These then are some of the sources indicating that ~~the~~ ^{verses} *cycle of* psalms accompanying these ecclesiastical lessons were the earliest and most common element in all of Christian liturgy.

Werner concludes: "It might be prudent to suspend judgment on this particular question."⁶⁸ However, after The Sacred

Bridge had gone to press, Werner learned that there was a strong indication of the synagogal origin of the Gradual. In a footnote that was added in The Sacred Bridge after it had gone to press, Dr. Werner stated: "The late Dr. Jacob Mann has demonstrated beyond any possible doubt that the ancient synagogue knew of a changing psalm lesson side by side with the Lesson of the Law and of the Prophets. This Proprium Psalmorum would constitute the basis for the Christian Gradual, which changes with the lesson and Ecclesiastical season."⁶⁹

NOTES CHAPTER I

¹Eric Werner, The Sacred Bridge (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), pp. 130-131.

²Jacob Mann, The Bible as Read and Preached in the Old Synagogue, Vol. I (Cincinnati, Ohio: Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1940).

³Ibid., Prolegomena, p. 15.

⁴Ludwig Venetianer, "Ursprung und Bedeutung der Propheeten-Lektionen," Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft, Vol. 63 (Leipzig, 1909, 1st Heft.)

⁵Werner, op.cit., p. 549, n. 118.

⁶Rab said: "They learnt this only for the time of the Beth Hamidrash, but we may read (them) when it is not the time of the Beth Hamidrash. But Samuel said: 'We may not read them (on the Sabbath) even when it is not the time of the Beth Hamidrash.' But that is not so, for Nehardea was Samuel's town, and in Nehardea they closed the prescribed lesson (of the Pentateuch) with (a reading from) the Hagiographa at Mincha on the Sabbath? 'Rather if stated, it was stated: Rab said: 'They learnt this only in the place of the Beth Hamidrash, but we may read (them) elsewhere than in the Beth Hamidrash. While Samuel said: 'Whether in the place of the Beth Hamidrash or elsewhere, at the time of the Beth Hamidrash we may not read (them). And Samuel is consistent with his view, for in Nehardea they closed the prescribed lesson (of the Pentateuch) with (a reading) from the Hagiographa. R. Ashi said: 'In Truth, it is as we just stated. Samuel's (ruling) according to R. Nehemiah. For it was taught: 'Though they (the sages) said Holy Writings may not be read, yet they may be studied, and lectures thereon given. If one needs a verse he may bring a scroll and see (it) therein. R. Nehemiah said: 'Why did they rule Holy Writings may not be read? So that people may say, if Holy Writings may not be read, how much more so secular documents.'" Shabbat 116B.

⁷Rashi commenting on the phrase: "פסוקי חזקתא דאורייתא" says: "פסוקי חזקתא דאורייתא דאורייתא דאורייתא" Shabbat 116B.

⁸Yom Tov Zunn, Die Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden Historische Entwickelt (Trans. and Ed. by Hanoeh Albeck) (Jerusalem: Mosad Bialik, 1892), p. 4.

⁹Mann, op.cit. p. 15.

¹¹Mann, *op.cit.* Gen. Seder 4a, p. 57.

¹²The Midr. Tanchuma is in three collections: two of them are extant, the third is known through citations only. The most ancient of these, Tanchuma A, is apparently older than the P.R., which quotes it. The Halachik sections quoted therein are from the Mishna, and B'raita. The P.R. quotes from it. The second Tanchuma, Tanchuma B (Yelamdenu-Rabbeni), is also under the name of Tanchuma. Buber makes no distinction between Yelamdenu and Tanchuma. A great part of the third Tanchuma (C), is taken from Part II of the Yelamdenu. The Tanchuma A is referred to in Tanchuma B and C, in the Yalkut, and in the writings of the old rabbinic authorities. Tanchuma C quotes many passages from Tanchuma A and B. Its homilies on Genesis are original, although they contain revised passages from Tanchuma A as well as Yelamdenu. Tanchuma C contains much of the material of the lost Yelamdenu. Jacob Zallel Lauterbach, The Jewish Encyclopedia (New York and London: Funk and Wagnell's Company, 1905), Vol. XII, pp. 45-6.

"The Yelamdenu homilies so frequently assumed by scholars to have been a late innovation, often turn out upon close examination to be based on Haftarot older than those indicated by Yannai (Kerobot of Yannai), who reflected the Pal. Minhag of his time and by the compilers of the Genizah lists who may be regarded to have had in mind the practice obtaining in the Pal. Synagogue in Fustat. These earlier Haftarot presupposed by the Y items correspond as a rule to those forming the basis of the Petichtot of the leading Amoraic Aggadists." Mann, The Bible as Read..., p. 8.

"Moreover, the fact that numerous Y topics presuppose older Haftarot than those listed in Yannai's Kerobot and in the Genizah fragments--the same older prophetic lections also underlying the Petichtot of the leading Amoraic Aggadists, tends to show that the Y homilies are not as late as usually assumed, since otherwise they would have been based on later Haftarot and not on the earlier ones." Mann, The Bible as Read..., p. 14.

¹³Mann, *op.cit.*, p. 8.

¹⁴Mann, *op.cit.*, p. 8.

¹⁵Mann, *op.cit.*, p. 9.

¹⁶Mann, *op.cit.*, p. 10.

¹⁷□ = 730 Mann., *op.cit.*, p. 10.

¹⁸Mann., *op.cit.*, p. 10.

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰Ibid., p. 11.

²¹Ibid.

²²Ibid., p. 12

²³Ibid.

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Ibid., p. 13.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Ibid., p. 15.

²⁸We have selected these three sections of the P.R. since their texts are the only ones in the Midr. that coincide with the text of the A.R.

²⁹Nann, op.cit., § Gen. Seder 15, p. 141.

³⁰Ibid., pp. 141, 142.

³¹Werner, op.cit., p. 77.

³²Ibid.

³³Ibid.

³⁴Venetianer, op.cit., p. 117.

³⁵Ibid., p. 118.

³⁶Werner, op.cit., p. 77.

³⁷Ibid.

³⁸Ibid.

³⁹Ibid.

⁴⁰Venetianer, op.cit., p. 118.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 126.

⁴²Werner, op.cit., p. 78

⁴³א"ר אבא א"ר איבא דשמואל עכו עבא

פופה דדי"ק עטל מאברין תנן א"ר מעברין

שאלוהו ואמר ליה איכה קרית מאברין ואיכה קרית מאברין
 איכה קרית אכוזו ואיכה קרית אכוזו בל יבדק דיין יושן מאן דיין
 קריתו ברי יבדק דאמר אפליגי ליה יושן מאברין או מאן דיין
 טליח אומר קריתו ברי יבדק אפליגי ליה בל יבדק דיין יושן
 מאן דיין (קריתו) קריתו ברי יבדק אפליגי ליה ואתר קריתו אומר
 מאן דיין אומר מאן דיין אומר ליה שוטה חמר עמיטה עמר
 מאן דיין אומר אומר ליה תנא.

R. Abba requested: "Is there anyone who would enquire of the Judeans who are exact in their language whether we learned M'abrin (א) or M'abrin (ב), and whether we learned akuzo (א) or akuzo (ב) for they would know (the correct spelling). When they were asked, they replied: "Some authorities learned M'abrin (א) while others learned M'abrin (ב). Some learned akuzo (א), and others akuzo (ב)."

The Judeans were exact in their language. For instance? A Judean once announced that he had a cloak to sell. 'What,' he was asked, 'is the colour of your cloak?' 'Like that of beet on the ground,' he replied.

The Galileans were not exact in their language 'For instance? A certain Galilean went about inquiring, "Who has an amar (א)?" 'Foolish Galilean,' they said to him, 'do you mean an "ass" for riding, or a "lamb" for killing?' (Eruh. 53B)

⁴⁴Venetianer, *op.cit.*, p. 131.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, p. 136.

⁴⁶Werner, *op.cit.*, p. 79.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, p. 80.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, p. 79, 80.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, p. 79.

⁵¹Venetianer, *op.cit.*, p. 115.

⁵²Werner, *op.cit.*, p. 78.

⁵³Venetianer, *op.cit.*, p. 111.

⁵⁴Werner, *op.cit.*, p. 70.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, p. 52.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, p. 130.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, p. 140.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, p. 145.

⁵⁹*Ibid.*, p. 130.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*

⁶¹*Ibid.*, p. 161, n. 4.

⁶²*Ibid.*, p. 132. Also, cf. p. 162, n. 17.

⁶³*Ibid.* Also, refer above n. 17.

⁶⁴*Ibid.* Refer. n. 19.

⁶⁵*Ibid.* Refer. n. 20.

⁶⁶*Ibid.*, p. 132.

⁶⁷*Ibid.*, p. 131.

⁶⁸*Ibid.*, p. 132.

⁶⁹*Ibid.*, p. 549, n. 118.

CHAPTER II

AN ANALYSIS OF THE MIDRASHIM: AGGADAT B'RESHIT, B'RESHIT RABBA, AND PESIKTA RABBATI.

This chapter will be devoted to an analysis of the three primary sources used to support Mann's theory concerning the changing psalm lectionary, and Venetianer's hypothesis that the homiletic use of psalms had an apologetic function: the A. B. and B. B., both of which were used by Mann to support his theory, and the P. B., which served as a basis for Venetianer's investigation.

I. THE AGGADAT B'RESHIT

The A. B. is arranged according to a tripart division, with a first chapter devoted to Torah (= T.), followed by a chapter headed Neviim (= N.), followed by a third headed K. From the chapters that belong to each Parasha, each first chapter is tied to verses from the Book of B'reshit; all of the second chapter to verses from N., and all of chapter three to verses in K.

The text which will be utilized for our analysis is the Buber edition of the A. B. (Krakow, 1903), edited according to a manuscript first brought to light by R. Menachem Lenzano in 1603. Lenzano published this manuscript in his book Sh'tey Yadot (Venice, 1618). It is still not known whether

Lenzano had any older manuscripts of the A. B. in his possession. By chance, however, Buber found another manuscript of that text in the Oxford collection under the title Seder Eliyahu Rabba, which he identified as the A. B.¹

While a number of editions were published previous to Buber's, he was the first who critically edited the manuscript, using the original in the Sh'tey Yadot, and the Vilna edition (1802). Apart from these, a copy was made for Buber by Yitzchok Litz from the Oxford Collection. As a result, it was now possible for Buber to introduce into his edition Chapter 42, which was missing in all previous texts.²

There is a total of 83 homilies in the 84 chapters of the A. B., since Chapters 82 and 83 form one chapter. Since the Midr. falls into a threefold division of T., N., and K., and there are 28 chapters under the heading of T., the total number of chapters should be 84. One chapter was apparently dropped from the book. Chapter 41 is designated N., followed by Chapter 42, T. The chapter headed K. was omitted, or is lost. Buber filled in this void according to the manuscript. Chapter 42, T., is now Chapter 43, T. Each succeeding chapter is designated by one higher number, reaching a total of 84 chapters. The last of these is designated K., but has as its verse Isaiah 84:12. A chapter of K. was apparently lost.³

The compiler arranged the homilies according to the incipits of the Sm. only seven times. Chapter 19 includes Vayera 18:1; Chapter 33 includes Toldoth 25:19; Chapter 45 (47) is

really Vayetsa 28; Chapter 54, which is really 58, contains Vayashay 37:1; Chapter 66, which is really 67, contains Miketz 46:1; Chapter 75, which is really 76, contains Vayigash 44:18. Fourteen of the homilies are based on the beginning of the Parashiyot.⁴

In Chapter 1, the verse:

(ה-ו) פ ד/כ ה אב ה ככ 'ו /כ' /

was not placed at the beginning of the S., nor does the Tan-chuma (Tan.) assign this verse to the beginning of the chapter. The same is true of other verses. Some verses with which the S. does not ordinarily begin are cited at the beginning of the chapters, and others with which the S. ordinarily begins, are not cited at the beginning of the chapter.⁵

In the A. B. the homilies to many Sm. are missing. It is possible that the compiler did not find homilies to all of the Sm. as arranged in the older order--homilies that had long since been forgotten.⁶

Each chapter opens with a scriptural verse, and is then followed by the rubric ו/כ ה אב ה ככ. Afterwards many /כ' / are introduced, which signify the introduction of another homily on a scriptural verse.

The assumption that the Prophetic sections in the A. B. are Ht. to respective Sm. is supported in part by the list of Sedarim Haftarah published by Buchler in a manuscript source in the Jewish Quarterly Review. In Buchler's list, as in the A. B., the Sm. Genesis 15:1, 20:1, 27:28, 28:10, 30:11

and 30:22, have assigned to them respectively the Ht. Isaiah 1:1, II Samuel 21, Micah 5:6, Hosea 12:13, I Samuel 11, Obadiah 1:50.⁷

Certain psalms expounded in A. B. are juxtaposed to more than one S. Psalm 18 occurs twice, Psalm 27:15 and 80:6 three times, Psalm 17 occurs twice, and Psalm 71 seven times.

As to the form of the A. B., Buber feels that the compiler had chosen this new and different arrangement in order to expound T., and afterwards, H before Mincha, and from Mincha on, his expositions were from K., because until the time of Mincha it was prohibited to read from K.⁸

Despite the claim of scholars that the Midr. was very ancient, Buber asseverates that no one knew of the book before Lenzano. R. Avraham, in his Vilna edition of the A. B. (1802) wrote on the title page of the book, "It is likely that the Tanna Rav compiled it." Thereafter the publishers continued to print the very same inscription on the title page.

מדרש איקרת בכאש"ר חכרן המלא רב, חב' כ' ע
שמואל ירחינא.

At the end of the Vilna edition, the following appears:

...ואם תרצה לדעת מ' מהקדושים התלואים חב' נ
מדרש צ' נראה שהיה חכרן' כמו שכתוב
בס' הדברי' (צ' - ע"ה) שכתב רב אלא באקדתי
דב' רב' ל' ח' כפי' ע"ה" אורה ואגד אורה
עלא ב' הדכא, וכ' כ' ח' ח' ח' ח' ח' ח' ח' ח' ח'
אקד' ח'

There is no proof at all that Rav ever knew of the A. B. As Buber points out, "Even if Rav had a Sefer Agadda, why

should we suppose that this was the one." He brings forth evidence showing that Rav could not have authored the Midr.¹⁰

Rabbi Aryeh Leib Gordon believes that the author of the A. B. was the Tanna R. Meir, because many of the sayings found in it seem to be parallel to those of R. Meir. Buber rejects this claim as having no foundation. There are, in fact, many sayings in the A. B. that are parallel to the sayings of the Chachamin, Tannaim, and Amoraim. He feels it is possible that the compiler drew upon the sayings of R. Meir without mentioning his name, as may be pointed out in other instances.¹¹ Nor is there any basis to the claim that Rashi knew of the A. B., because of the late date of its composition. Most of the Midrashic quotations used by Rashi were, in fact, taken from the Midr. Tan.¹²

The Tan. published by R. Ezra M'Fano in Mantuffa (1603), contains many additions. In Buber's opinion, R. Ezra M'Fano took many sections from the A. B. and added them to his edition of the Tan.¹³ Buber makes the same observation concerning the appearance of sections of the A. B. in R. Avraham Gedalia's edition of the Yalkut Shimoni () in which appear sections of the Talmud and Midr. that were not contained in the original work. Included in Avraham Gedalia's edition is a complete chapter borrowed from the A. B. according to Sh'tay Yadot. "It is not to be assumed," writes Buber, "that the original author of the Yalkut saw the A. B. and incorporated it in the Yalkut."¹⁴

Buber maintains that the A. B. is the work of a later compiler, who collected sayings and homilies from many different sources and incorporated them in the Midr. Almost the entire book seems to be taken from the early Tan.¹⁵ The compiler was familiar with the Pesikta D'Ray Kahana,¹⁶ the E. R.,¹⁷ Sefer Mekilta Yisro,¹⁸ and The Thirty Two Degrees of R. Jose Hagelili.¹⁹

Mann cites numerous similarities between A. B. and Exodus Rabba.

Here we begin to notice in Exodus Rabba the same feature as in A. B. to Genesis which contained a chapter headed Nebim to each respective Sedra, in addition to such listed as Torah and Ketubim respectively. Here, e.g., the first part of Exodus Rabba, Chapt. 19 would constitute such a chapter called Torah, whereas § 4 would be parallel to the one called Nebim. This interesting feature common also to other sections of Ex. Rabba, will be traced further on point by point in the course of the investigation of the Seddarim and their respective homilies to Exodus.²⁰

Mann makes reference to both these Midrashim in another statement:

Because (Aggadat B'reshit) has been preserved only to Genesis it is styled Aggadat B'reshit. However, we may safely assume that there existed similar points, with their threefold heading sections (headed Torah, Nebim and Ketubim respectively) to each Sedra, to the remainder of the Pentateuch. This assumption is borne out by the fact that several chapters in Exodus Rabba contains, upon close examination, features similar to those of Aggadat B'reshit.²¹

So close are the similarities between A. B. and Exodus Rabba, that Mann concludes:

Such illustrations frequently occur in Aggadat B'reshit (as has been pointed out several times above) which fact further strengthens the impression that certain parts of

Exodus Rabba are modelled after the structure of the former Midrash.²²

Zunz ascribes Exodus Rabba to about the eleventh century.

Although immediately following B'reshit Rabba in the collection of the Rabbot, it is separated from the latter by 500 years.²³

Zunz, in his book Al Had'rashot (Die Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden Historisch Entwickelt), makes only brief mention of the A. B., stating: "In addition to the B'reshit Rabba, there is one more midrash on B'reshit entitled Aggadat B'reshit, which is apparently later than Vay'ohi Rabba."²⁴ Buber challenged Zunz's statement, and is at a loss as to why he should have juxtaposed the two Midrashim.²⁵

Now this point, namely, this difference of opinion regarding V. R. and A. B., should be of some consequence in helping us to conjecture the date of compilation of the A. B. According to Mann, Exodus Rabba is styled after A. B. According to Zunz, it was compiled in the eleventh century. The A. B. cannot be later than that. In all likelihood it was earlier, since so much of the material contained in Exodus Rabba is of much earlier origin.

The V. R. is referred to by Nathan in his Aruk (SV. אנן)²⁶ and in several other passages, as well as by Rashl in his Commentaries on Genesis 46:26, Exodus 32:15, Lev. 19:24, etc. According to Zunz, Hai Gaon²⁷ and Nissim²⁸ knew and made use of this Midr. Zunz therefore dates its origin

to the middle of the seventh century.²⁹

According to the evidence cited above, the A. B. could not have been compiled later than the eleventh century, and most likely was completed before the seventh century. Certain sections contained therein are doubtless of an even earlier period.

Furthermore, Greek words (for which the compiler could have substituted the Hebrew equivalent) were used in the A. B. which were not found in earlier Midrashim.³⁰

The fact that there is a frequent resort to Greek terms may give us a further indication of the age and provance of the A. B. To begin with: Greek ceased to be a vernacular language after the eighth century in the Near East, with the exception of Western Egypt. During the seventh century, Greek was still a vernacular language in Byzantine (where it remained to 1453) in parts of Asia Minor, Palestine, Syria, and Western Egypt.³¹ We have examined the Greek terms found in this Midr. (They are appended to this paper). None of them is later than the Justinian or Byzantine Empire. The result of this investigation again narrows the time interval during which the A. B. was redacted.

II. THE B'RESHIT RABBA

The B. R., also known as B. R. d'Rabbi Oshayah, or the B'raita d'Rabbi Oshayah, is attributed to Oshayah, an Amora, who lived in the third century. In its original form, the

B. R. was an older, smaller essay, ascribed to R. Oshayah because the first proem begins with his name.³²

The Midr. is an exegesis on B'reshit following the biblical text verse by verse, and often word for word, except for genealogical passages. There has been no similar halachic haggada to Genesis because in the compositions of the Tannaitic Midrashim, vis. Mekilta, Sifra and Sifra, the collection of halachic comments was probably the chief object, and Genesis contains only a small portion of halachic matter. It is distinct in its composition from the other purely haggadic Midrashim on the Pentateuch, which do not comment on the text consecutively.³³ Frequently, foreign words appear, which occur for the most part in the Greek, and are preserved in no other Jewish literature. Sometimes the author of an individual haggada is mentioned, often not. Parables are woven into the simple explanation of the words and sentences, such as were customary in public discourses.³⁴ There are numerous references to contemporary gnostic speculation with the purpose of refuting the heretics.³⁵ The B. R. gives us a great deal of insight into contemporary events and people. A few halachic references from Mishna and other Talmudic sources are to be found in the Midr. It is written in rich language, and contains many beautiful parables.³⁶

The B. R. is divided into parashiyot. Proems head each section, which distinguishes the book from the other Tannaitic midrashim, the Mekilta, Sifre, and Sifra. Each

section or chapter is headed by the first verse taken from the scriptural passage to be explained, and is introduced by prefatory remarks, which vary in form and extent. In some, only the scriptural text is given in the introduction, its application to the verse under consideration being self-evident, or left to be worked out. These prefatory remarks start from a verse taken from another biblical passage, generally from the Hagiographa. By various explanations of these passages, the preacher moves through the exposition to the verse in Genesis heading the parasha.³⁷

The original work on these passages consisted in grouping a number of sentences and expositions into a coordinate whole, always arranged so that the last verse forms the exposition to the parasha. The parashiyot of the B. R. are characterized by these introductions, and have no formal ending, though some of them show a transition to the biblical passage that is found in the ensuing parasha.³⁸ Most of the passages are anonymous, and may be ascribed, at least in part, to the author of the B. R. The oldest sections of the Midr. can be substantiated as Tannaitic. These sections contain more than fifty controversies between R. Oshayah and R. Nehemiah, which bespeak their antiquity. It is difficult, nevertheless, to ascertain how much of the present Midr. has original material in it.³⁹

The author of Halachot Gedolot, R. Yehudai Gaon, included the B. R. among the Tannaitic midrashim Mekilta, Sifre and Sifra.⁴⁰ Hagaddic material was continually added, even

from the time of the Amoraim, swelling the work to its present size.⁴¹

The parashiyot are numerically constructed in both the manuscripts and editions, the total number varying from 97 to 101. Most of the manuscripts agree on the count of 96 chapters up to the exposition of Genesis 47:28. The best of these, as well as the Arak and Yalkut, differ only in a few sections from the divisions of chapters in the editions. The division by chapters or sections, therefore may be considered to be much older than has been assumed.⁴²

The division followed in the parashiyot of the R. E. was evidently the same as the Bible text, as fixed at the time of the compilation of the R. E. itself, in accordance with the "open" ו/ו/ו and the "closed" ו/ו/ו paragraphs of Genesis.⁴³

There is evidence of a relation to the Sm. of the Palestinian T. O., and careful study of these may reveal an arrangement of the Sm. heretofore known from old lectionaries. There are parashiyot, particularly in the beginning of the Midr., in which only a few verses are expounded at a time.⁴⁴

As a result of the loose composition of the hagaddic exegesis, it was a simple matter to insert a number of "rambling comments" to each verse, or even part of the verse, or to add hagaddic passages relating in some way or another to the scriptural text. This process continued from the time of the beginning of the Midr. on.⁴⁵

The date of the redaction of the B. R. is difficult to ascertain accurately, but it is probably not much later than the Jerusalem Talmud. According to Zunz, it was compiled and edited in the sixth century.⁴⁶ More recently it was estimated to have been redacted in the seventh century, possibly in the latter half of the eighth,⁴⁷ but this view is untenable, since, as we have mentioned, R. Yehudai included it in his Halachot G'dolot.

Even after its redaction, many new interpretations were added. Additional psalms were inserted, beginning with parasha Vayishlach, which contains lengthy passages characteristic of a later hagadda.⁴⁸

From an examination of the Parashiyot Vayigash and Vay'chi, it becomes evident that the editing of the B. R. was not completed. The pericope B'reshit in itself constitutes more than one-fourth of the entire work, and contains 29 parashiyot, showing a disproportion between that part of the Midr. devoted to S. B'reshit, and the remainder of the work. Several of these parashiyot deal with only a few verses, and in some instances with only a single scriptural verse. These sections may have been taken from a larger hagaddic work on Genesis that remained incomplete, and from which the B. R. may have derived its name. It is possible, however, that the title B. R. was used to distinguish the Midr. from the shorter and older one attributed to R. Oshayah.⁴⁹

The opinion that the Midr. was called Rabba because of the incipit "R. Oshayah Rabba began," and that the "Rabba"

originally belonged to the name of the Amora, is untenable because in the best manuscripts the name R. Oshayah appears without the subsequent "Rabba" in the preface.⁵⁰

The name "Rabba" was later applied to the Midrashim on the remainder of the Pentateuch. This collection was then called Midr. Rabba, or Midr. of the Rabbot, to which the Midrashim used in the Synagogue were added: Canticles, Ruth, Esther, Lamentations, and Ecclesiastes.⁵¹

The exposition to the entire Chapter 48 of Genesis is missing in all manuscripts, save one.⁵² The division of the R. R. was also used by the compiler of the Tan. In all manuscripts the exposition of Chapter 49 (Jacob's Blessing) appears in the younger recension, which in part is derived from the Tan. homilies. This recension alone is cited in the Aruk and Yalkut.⁵³ The R. R., therefore, is a combination of running commentary with that of the homily complete in itself as in the Tan. and Pesikta homilies.⁵⁴

III. THE PESIKTA RABBATI

The P. R. is a collection of homilies on the Pentateuch and Prophetic Lessons for special Sabbaths, and for Festivals and Holy Days. The Midr. was probably designated Rabbati in order to distinguish it from the earlier Pesikta.⁵⁵

There are 48 chapters in the P. R. which are not designated by numbers. The first section belongs to Rosh Chodesh; Sections 2 to 8 belong to Chanukah; Section 9 belongs to

Chanukah and to חג העצרת דברים; Sections 10 to 15 belong to the four special Sabbaths; Sections 16 through 19 are parallel to Sections 14 through 17. Sections 20 through 25 belong to Shavuot, Section 26 is to be joined to Section 19.⁵⁶

The H. pericopes begin with Section 27. Sections 27 and 28 belong to the Ht. that are expounded in the Petichtot (Pet.) 20 and 32; Sections 29 and 30 are connected to the Ht. of Tisha B'Av; Sections 31 through 34 are joined to Pet. 23 through 26; Sections 35 and 36 are joined to Pet. 27. Sections 37 and 38 are joined to the two last paragraphs. Sections 39 through 44 testify to Rosh Hashono. Section 35 is devoted to the Sabbath after Rosh Hashono. Section 46 is devoted to Yom Kippur, and to the Ten Days of Penitence. Section 47 testifies to the same, and to Tzom Gedaliah, and Section 48 to Yom Kippur.

The P. R. is compiled, then, according to the annual cycle, with its sections arranged and joined to one another according to the subjects of the holidays and special Sabbaths. Sections 2 through 9 are joined to Petichta 9; Sections 10 through 38 are connected with Pet. 10 to 29, and Sections 39 through 48, with which the P. R. concludes, are connected to Pet. 1 through 4.⁵⁸

Both the P. R. and the older Pesikta have five entire Piskot in common: No. 15, Hachodesh; No. 16, Korbani Lachmi; No. 17, Vay'chi B'achatzai; No. 18, Omer; No. 32, Aniya So'arah; and the larger part of No. 14, Parah. Otherwise these Midra-

shim are quite different in style and content.⁵⁹

It is apparent that the Rabbati has another point of origin than the Pesikta. Instead of Rosh Hashono, it opens with Rosh Chodesh. Because Rosh Chodesh comes before Chanukah, it therefore belongs to one of the two months of Kislev or Cheshvan. Rosh Chodesh Cheshvan comes one week after Succoth, and the blessing of Rosh Chodesh is always recited on the same Sabbath that the re-reading of the Torah cycle begins. Therefore it is called Shabbat B'reshit.⁶⁰

It is in the arrangement of the Rabbati that the order of the Sabbaths is reflected, and is connected with the order of the Parashiyot of the Torah. It was necessary, therefore, to push the Chapters that expound the Holidays of Chodesh Tishri, falling before Chesvan, from the beginning of the Parashiyot to the end, and to shift those chapters that belong to these Parashiyot to the first eight Pet. All the rest of the chapters remained in their regular order. Of those chapters that were shifted, there remains in the P. R. only those that belong to the Days of Penitence and Yom Kippur, corresponding to Sections 1 through 4, and these are the Festivals of Succoth, Sh'mini A'tzeret, and Simchat Torah, expounded in four sections, five through 8.⁶¹ Zunz does not know if the P. R. remained unfinished in its original form, or whether the various lacunae are the result of re-editing or later omissions.⁶²

According to Zunz, the P. R. borrowed Parashiyot from

Pet. By using the formula כך פתח ר' תנחומי, the compiler merely hinted at the source of the Midr. In a number of places the compiler substituted the name of R. Tanchuma in the Petichta, as is evidenced in Petichta No. 37.⁶⁶

א"ל א"ל: א"ל: כך פתח ר' תנחומי דרבי: 37

... / א"ל: הכתוב: וזרין מאלן / כ"ל

The above cannot be the carrier for the Petichta, because it is the continuation of the T. verse. Aside from this, there is in the Rabbati material similar to the later Hagaddot.⁶⁷

Albeck compares sections of the Rabbati to those in the Sh'iltot and in Masechet Sofrim, indicating that the P.R. was a later composition.⁶⁸

Zunz places the time of its compilation in the latter half of the ninth century. The work itself gives us the clearest evidence of its date of composition.

In the Rabbati (1b) the following is written: "More than 777 years past after the destruction." This is proof that the author wrote his book after 845 of the Sefira.⁶⁹

It is probable that the P. R. was composed in Europe, as was the Yel. Because of the inclusion of Greek in Hagaddot 1 and 26, it would appear that the most likely place would be the Byzantine Empire. If we were to consider Italy as the place of composition, as some do, it would be difficult to explain why R. Nathan did not know of the P.R.⁷⁰ The first to make mention of the Midr. were Kalir,⁷¹ R. Nissin,⁷² and R. Joseph Tov Elem.⁷³ The P. R. is also mentioned by Rashi,⁷⁴ his grandson the Rashbam,⁷⁵ and R. Jacob Tam.⁷⁶

Many of the ancient scholars referred to the Rabhati as Pesikta, Yal., and Midr.,⁷⁷ interchanging these names because of the similarities in the texts. These appellations caused much confusion, especially to the later editors of the P. R.⁷⁸

From the foregoing we may conclude that, in its present form, the P. R. does not represent a unified book, but rather section upon section collected by various compilers, who utilized many sources. It was, in fact, put together in a somewhat confused manner. The larger section is essentially from a Midr. of the class of Yal., while other Midrashim were borrowed from the Pesikta R'Bar. Kahana, the Yayikro Rabba, and many others.⁷⁹ Because there are sections in the P. R. introduced by different editors and compilers, we cannot judge any one section with reference to time or place of authorship.

Albeck cites an example of a Midr. published by Jellinek, entitled the Pesikta Haddata, a collection of Midrashim for the various holidays and festivals, in which the homilies differ so widely in style, structure and intent, that it is impossible to distinguish the authorship of any one person.⁸¹

NOTES CHAPTER II

¹Aggadat B'reshit (ed. Solomon Buber, Krakow: Joseph Fischer, 1903. Reprinted by Menorah Institute for Research and Publishing of Manuscripts and Rare Books, Inc., New York: 1959), Intro., p. VI.

²Ibid., p. VII.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid., p. IX.

⁵Ibid., p. X.

⁶Ibid., p. XI.

⁷Buchler, Jewish Quarterly Review, VI. 39 et sequa (1894), as cited in the Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. VIII, p. 563.

⁸op.cit., Buber, p. IX.

⁹Ibid., p. XII.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Ibid.

¹³Ibid., p. XIII.

¹⁴The author of the Yalkut cannot be determined with certainty. According to Zunz, it was written by R. Simeon Kara in South Germany in the early part of the 13th century. (Die Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge, p. 296.)

¹⁵Buber lists the passages in A. E. taken from the early Tan. op.cit., p. XXIII.

¹⁶Zunz takes this Midr. to be quite old, and assigns its authorship at the very beginning of the eighth century. The Pesikta D'Ray Kahana is dependent in the main on the older V. R. which is nearly as old as the R. R. (Jewish Encyclopedia Vol. VIII, p. 560.)

¹⁷Of. analysis of P.R., Chapter II, p. 43.

¹⁸The Mekilta is attributed to R. Ishamel. The redac-

tor, a pupil of Rav, based his work on the Midr. of R. Ishmael's school. (The Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. VIII, p. 446).

¹⁹Josi Hagilili was a Tanna, who lived in the first and second centuries, A.D. (Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. VII, p. 240.)

²⁰Mann, The Bible as Read and Preached in the Old Synagogue, p. 421.

²¹Ibid., pp. 356-7.

²²Ibid., p. 422.

²³Exodus Rabba consists of 52 parashiyot. It is not uniform in its composition. Many of its homilies are taken from the Tanchumas, although the author had access to many others in other Midrashic sources. In the editions the text is sometimes abbreviated and the reader referred to such collections as the Pesikta. Such references and abbreviations were no doubt made by later copyists. Exodus Rabba down to Ex. 12:1, is based on an earlier exegetical Midr., constituting, perhaps, the continuation of the R. R. Zunz ascribes the entire work to the eleventh or twelfth century (Die Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge, p. 256).

²⁴Ibid., p. 124.

²⁵Op. Cit., Buber, p. XX.

²⁶The Aruk, a Talmudic dictionary, was composed by Nathan ben Jehiel of Rome, and was completed in 1101. (Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. 11, p. 158.)

²⁷Hai Gaon was Gaon of Pumbedita, and lived at the end of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh century. (Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. VI, p. 153.)

²⁸Nissim ben Jacob lived during the first half of the eleventh century. (Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. IX, p. 315).

²⁹Ibid., Vol. VII, p. 560.

³⁰Op. cit., Buber, p. XIII.

³¹For these facts I am indebted to Dr. Eric Werner, who imparted this information during a conversation I had with him.

³²Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. III, p. 62.

³³Ibid., Vol. VIII, p. 557.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵"R. Isaac commenced with, 'The beginning of Thy Word is truth; and all Thy righteous ordinance endureth for ever.' (Ps. CXIX, 160). Said R. Isaac: From the very commencement of the world's creation, 'The beginning of Thy word is truth.' Thus, IN THE BEGINNING GOD CREATED (corroborates the statement) But the Lord God is the true God (Jer. X, 19). Therefore 'And all Thy righteous ordinance endureth for ever' (Ps. loc. cit.). For in regard to every single decree which Thou dost promulgate concerning Thy creatures, they affirm the righteousness of Thy judgment and accept it with faith. And no person can dispute and maintain that two powers gave the Torah or two powers created the world. For 'And the Gods spake' is not written here, but And God spake all these words (Ex. XX, 1); in the beginning the Gods created is not written here, but IN THE BEGINNING GOD CREATED."

The point is that though Elohim (God) is plural in form, the accompanying verb is always in the singular. This passage is directed against the gnostics. (Midrash Rabba 1, 7-2).

³⁶Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. III, p. 62.

³⁷Ibid.

³⁸Ibid.

³⁹Ibid., p. 64.

⁴⁰The Halakot of Yehudai Gaon (8th century) is a collection of legal decisions which first appeared in Yehudai's response, or was taken down by his students from his lectures, and arranged by them later on. Ibid., Vol. XII, p. 590.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 64.

⁴²Ibid., p. 63.

⁴³Ibid.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 64.

⁴⁵Ibid.

⁴⁶Ibid.

⁴⁷Ibid.

⁴⁸Ibid.

⁴⁸Ibid.

⁴⁹Ibid.

⁵⁰Ibid.

⁵¹Ibid., Vol. VIII, p. 557.

⁵²Ibid., Vol. III, p. 64.

⁵³Ibid.

⁵⁴Ibid.

⁵⁵Zunz, op. cit., p. 117.

⁵⁶Ibid.

⁵⁷Ibid.

⁵⁸Ibid.

⁵⁹Ibid.

⁶⁰Ibid.

⁶¹Ibid., p. 118.

⁶²Ibid.

⁶³Ibid.

⁶⁴Ibid.

⁶⁵Ibid.

⁶⁶Ibid.

⁶⁷Ibid.

⁶⁸Masechet Sofrim was finally redacted in the middle of the 8th century, an assumption which is supported by the statement of R. Asher (c. 1300) in the Hilkot Sefer Torah that Sofrim was composed at a late date. (Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. XI, p. 427.)

⁶⁹Zunz, op. cit., p. 380.

⁷⁰Zunz believes that the P. R. was compiled in Europe, probably in Greece. (Ibid., p. 118, n. 19.); Nathan ben Yechiel lived in Southern Italy (1035-1105). The Byzantine

Empire still controlled Southern Italy until the 11th century. This would explain the annual cycle. He may very well have known of the P. R., and yet never had reason to make mention of it. (Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. IX, p. 180.)

⁷¹The date of Eliezar Kalis is set at various times between the end of the 7th, and the end of the 10th centuries, A. D. In addition to Italy and Babylonia, Mesopotamia and Palestine have also been claimed by different scholars to be Kalir's native land. (Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. VII, p. 418.)

⁷²Cf. note 28, Chapter II.

⁷³Joseph Tov Elem, a French Talmudist, Bible commentator and payyatan, lived in the middle of the 11th century. (Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. III, p. 306.)

⁷⁴Rashi makes mention of the P. R. in his commentaries to Isaiah 61. (Zunz, op. cit., p. 380, n. 24.)

⁷⁵Ibid., n. 25. According to R. Yitzchok Aroma in the Akeda.

⁷⁶In a commentary on the Pentateuch from a manuscript of the 14th century. (Ibid., n. 26.)

⁷⁷Rashi confused sections of the P. R. with Pesikta de Rav Kahana. In a manuscript of De Rossi, the copyist referred to P. R. as Yel. But we should realize that sections of the P. R. contain many sections from these works. (Zunz, op. cit., p. 382, n. 29, 30, 31.)

⁷⁸Ibid., p. 118.

⁷⁹Ibid., p. 119.

⁸⁰Adolf Jellinek (1821-1893), Austrian Rabbi and scholar published a collection of small midrashim taken partly from manuscripts, partly from printed books, entitled Beth ha-Midrash (in 6 parts). The Midr. quoted above is a section of this larger work. (Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. VII, p. 92.)

CHAPTER III.

AN ANALYSIS OF PSALM PASSAGES COMMON TO THE AGGADAT B'RESHIT, THE B'RESHIT RABBA, AND THE PESIKTA RABBATI

As was mentioned (in Chapter I), there is before us a theory, proposed by Venetianer, that the homiletic use of psalms in the Synagogue had an apologetic function.

In the following pages an attempt will be made to support this theory by analyzing the parallel psalm passages in the three midrashim with regard to the context of their homilies in order to determine how many of them are apologetic. The psalm passages to be used will be compared to those found in the sedra Vayera in the B. R., and A. R., and to the sections Bachodesh Ha'shevi, Adonoy Pakad Et Sarah, and Adonoy Pakad Et Hannah, in P. R., for the reasons already stated in Chapter I.

I. AGGADAT B'RESHIT

A. Chapter 19, Section B. T. Ps. 45:9

מִן הַיָּם יִבְרָא אֱלֹהִים וְיִשְׁמַח בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל.

Abraham is in distress after having circumcised himself, and this homily tells of the three angels who accompany God to visit Abraham at this time, in order to comfort him. Myrrh and frankincense refer to Abraham, and not to Jesus, who is visited by the Three Wise Men from the East, bearing

gifts of myrrh and frankincense (Matt. 2:9-11).

B. Chapter 19, Section B, T.

Ps. 25:10.

Ps. 82:1.

כס אברהם חסד ואמונה שכל יום יום
אלהים יצא בשרו אדם

Having kept God's covenant by circumcision, (יצא)

(ברית מילה) Abraham is distressed that he should sit at God's right hand, while God stands. God, in turn, assures him that it is all right for him to sit at His right hand, and that his sons are destined to sit in the Synagogue, as it is said: אלהים יצא בשרו אדם (Ps. 82:1) Abraham's circumcised descendants will sit reciting the Sh'ma where God will be standing, in the Synagogue, not in the Church.

C. Chapter 20, Section B, N.

Ps. 73:27-28.

כי בשר כחיק יאבדו הוצאת כל יום
ממקדש קדש אלהים לו יאבדו

This homily is directed against those who claim that

the Messiah has already come. The preacher counters with the verse: אכאנו ולא גמר אשורנו ולא קדש (Num. 24:17).

The rest of the verse is not quoted, but it is implied:

דבר כוכב מיעקה וקם שכל היסכאל (Num. 24:17).

God judges now "The day of calamity is at hand."

(Deut. 32:35). But the "Star out of Jacob" is yet far off.

Therefore, "They that go far from Me shall perish." (Ps. 73:27-28).

D. Chapter 21, Section A, K.

Ps. 110:1.

עבד מלחמה לאם ב' אקדש שם ע' מ' י'

This verse, which is among the most often quoted in

the New Testament, was treated in some detail in Chapter I. It has been the subject of both Jewish and Christian apologetics.

In this homily, God elevates Abraham, seating him at His right hand, not because He needs him, but because He loves him, and because he is a faithful servant. God needs take counsel with no man. He created the whole world without help of counsel. Among others, Ps. 33:11 is quoted in the homily *אין ארץ פרשת'ו אבר'הם*. Why did God call him (Abraham), "The man of My counsel"? The preacher introduces a parable. A king gives his beloved a present, and then takes the gift back. But he does not do so without first consulting his beloved. Thus God gave Abraham five towns (Sodom and Gemorrah). Now that He is about to destroy them, He takes counsel with Abraham, as a matter of courtesy. Therefore, God seats Abraham at His right hand, as His advisor. *י'נ'ס'ע*. *אנח' אר'ע' פ'ת' י'נ'ס'ע י'ס' (Ps. 101:6)*. This psalm is quoted in connection with *י'נ'ס'ע* (Ps. 110:1). The entire midrashic conception is related to the idea that Abraham is "the friend of God." (Baba Batra 75B)¹

E. Chapter 22, Section E, T.

Ps. 33:14.

אנח' אר'ע' פ'ת' י'נ'ס'ע י'ס'

God said that man should not say, "We also speak with God," as Abraham spoke with Him. God said He would keep silent about Abraham's words (referring to Abraham's arguing with Him concerning Sodom and Gemorrah), because he was silent

when God asked him to sacrifice Isaac. The psalm verse

(Ps. 38:14) is quoted, meaning that God is deaf to Abraham's boasting (פִּי כִּי לֹא אֶשְׁבַּח). The homilist refers here to Jesus' boasting. God will be silent only to Abraham's boasting, but to no others.²

F. Chapter 23, Section D, N.

Ps. 106:35.

פִּי כִּי לֹא אֶשְׁבַּח וְיִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׁבַּח

In this homily the preacher presents the concept that God works alone. There is no weariness for the Lord, "for with a word He created the world, and in the future, He will renew it for the world to come." The preacher introduces a parable of one growth of wheat saying to another, "We are more beautiful than you, though the rain falls and the sun shines on us both." The other growth of wheat replies, "It is not what you say, or what we say, but the winnowing fan winnows us into the silo, and you to the birds." Thus are the nations in Israel. The psalm verse quoted is

פִּי כִּי לֹא אֶשְׁבַּח וְיִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׁבַּח (Ps. 106:35). The nations

say, "We are lovely because the rains fall, and the sun shines upon both of us." Israel's answer is, "It is not what you say or what we say, but behold, a day cometh and the righteous will be established in Ganeden, and the wicked in Gehinnom." The preacher concludes with a quotation from Daniel: "And many of them shall sleep in the dust of the earth, shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to the reproaches and everlasting abhorrence." (Dan. 12:2).

There is a parallel parable in the New Testament about a sower who sows some seeds that take hold and flourish, and others that fall between the rocks and wither. (Matt. 13:18-24). This parable is followed by another in Luke. "A man sowed good seeds in his field, and an enemy sowed tares among the wheat, and went his way. The man said to his servants, 'Do not uproot the tares lest you uproot the wheat as well. Let them grow up together. Then gather the tares and burn them. Jesus soweth the good, the field is the world, the good seeds are the children of the Kingdom, and the tares are the children of the wicked.'" (Luke 13:32-38).

G. Chapter 24, Section A, K.

Ps. 110:1.

יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ

The preacher speaks of the right hand of the Lord as the defender of Israel. He introduces the following parable. The son of a king had a protector without whom he could not carry on. Whenever the king would imprison the protector, the son was rendered helpless. This is "the right arm of the Lord." When He withholds it from Israel because of their sins, they are rendered helpless.

Ps. 110:1-2.
Ps. 60:7.

יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ

"At His right hand was a fiery Law." (Deut. 33:2).

The Torah is the protector and mediator, and since Abraham observed the Law, he sits at God's right hand. Jesus is no son, but the Torah sits at God's right hand to protect Abraham, who keeps it faithfully. "My rod of strength the Lord will

send out of Zion." (Ps. 110:1-2)

H. Chapter 27. Section A. K.

Ps. 110:1. *לְדָוִד מִצִּיּוֹן לֵאמֹר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ שֶׁבְּיָמֵינוּ*

R. B'rechia,³ in his homily, refers to the "wicked Babylonians who say, 'He has a son.'" A verse in Daniel is quoted. *וְכֹחַ בִּי רַעֲמָה לִכְרֹת אֱלֹהֵינוּ* "And the appearance of the fourth is like the son of gods." (Dan. 3:25) Since the plural is used, says the preacher, it cannot mean a son, but angels that were called the children of God. A verse is quoted from Zechariah, "And it shall pass that in all the land, saith the Lord, two parts shall be cut off and die" (Zech. 13:8). When Nebuchadnezzar said, *בְּרִיךְ אֱלֹהֵינוּ* "Blessed be the gods," (Dan. 3:28) he did not say that he sent his god, but that he sent his angel. The homily concludes with *וְכֹחַ בִּי רַעֲמָה לִכְרֹת אֱלֹהֵינוּ* "two parts shall be cut off and die." The polemic in this homily needs little elaboration. It is obviously directed against the Trinitarian idea. The opening and concluding verse from Zechariah is directed against the Trinity, "Two parts shall be cut off and die."

I. Chapter 28. Section C. T.

Ps. 80:15. *יְהוָה זָכַר לְסָרָה לֵאמֹר וְכֹחַ בִּי רַעֲמָה לִכְרֹת אֱלֹהֵינוּ*

"And God remembered Sarah." The preacher makes the point that just as God is able to rebuild ruined places, so will He be able to make Sarah fertile, "who has ceased to be after the way of women" (Gen. 18:11), and she will conceive.

"Then the nations that are round about you shall know that I, the Lord, have builded the ruined places and planted that which is desolate." (Ezek. 36:36). This homily is anti-Christian. The preacher stresses that Israel may be confident in the fact that God is able to rebuild this world.⁴

J. Chapter 29, Section B, H.

Ps. 106:4.

Ps. 69:14.

זכרתי ה' הרבון אמק בקדו'ת ה' שמו
ואני תפלת ה' את רצו'ן

The homily begins with "God remembered her." (1 Sam.

1:19). The preacher attributes the following prayer to Hannah, as she observed her fellow Israelites making the pilgrimage on the Festivals. "Master of the world, behold the hour that You will accept me. Remember me for the sake of Thy people. Remember me with Thy salvation." בקדו'ת ה' שמו
Both of these prayers were answered. God remembered Hannah, and God remembered Hannah with His שמו'. (Pun on the name of Jesus.) God remembered Hannah with His salvation, not Mary. Mary's prayer, the Magnificat, is a paraphrase of Shirat Hannah. The preacher refers to Hannah's prayer as having been answered.⁵

K. Chapter 30, Section A, K.

Ps. 110:1.

Ps. 140:14.

אברהם אבינו לא ה' לאדון שם עמי
אק צדיקים ואלו עמים ישרים אג פליק

The preacher says that God's love for Israel is such that He does not judge them, except that He do so in the presence of their fathers. The preacher introduces a parable.

A teacher would not punish his pupil in front of the father, lest the father intercede and plead in the child's behalf. He therefore waits for the father to leave, so that he may strike him. Not so with God, who never punishes His children for their sins unless He places their fathers in their midst, for whose sake "He will not forget the covenant of thy fathers" (Deut. 4:31). God does not relent for Jesus' sake, but by reason of zechut avot.⁶

L. Chapter 31, Section A, T.

Ps. 89:33. *וְלֹא יִשְׁכַּח אֱלֹהֵינוּ בְּרִיתוֹ וְלֹא יִשְׁכַּח אֱלֹהֵינוּ בְּרִיתוֹ*

The preacher, attempting to reconcile God's commandment to sacrifice Isaac with the above verse, says that God longed to see Isaac. Therefore, He commanded Abraham merely to bring him up to Mt. Moriah for Him to see. As regards the sacrifice, God intended that Abraham should sacrifice an animal, which He provided for that purpose. God does not want human sacrifice. He did not want Jephtha to sacrifice his daughter,⁷ nor did He want the king of Moab to offer his son on the wall. God wants cattle, and oxen, and lambs (Lev. 1:1-2). Jesus is referred to in the New Testament as the "lamb of God" (John 1:29).

M. Chapter 31, Section C, T.

Ps. 119:60.

וְלֹא יִשְׁכַּח אֱלֹהֵינוּ בְּרִיתוֹ וְלֹא יִשְׁכַּח אֱלֹהֵינוּ בְּרִיתוֹ

Avin, in the name of Hilкия,⁸ explains why God caused Abraham to delay three days before reaching Mt. Moriah, the reason being that the nations might not say that Abraham sac-

rificed out of fear, and that upon hearing God's commandment, lost all reason. Also, that if Abraham had had time to reconsider, he would not have sacrificed Isaac. The fact that Abraham, even after a three day reprieve, was willing to offer up his son, God had compassion upon him. Besides, continues the preacher, if God could not bear to see Abraham slaughter Isaac, how much more so would God have desisted from sacrificing his own son. "The heart of the liars was caught who say that God has a son." The section concludes with "there is One that is above, and He hath not a second. Yea, He hath neither son, nor brother" (Eccl. 4:5).⁹

II. B'RESHIT RABBA

A. Chapter 48, Section 7.

Ps. 82:1. *אלהים ימים*

Ps. 22:4. *אלהים קדוש יושב תהלות' שמים*

R. Chiya said in R. Levi's¹⁰ name, "God says to Abraham, who wished to rise in His presence, 'As you sit and I stand; so will your children sit in the synagogues, and I will stand in their midst as they read the Sh'ma in My honor.'" (Ps. 82:1 is quoted) *אלהים ימים* "God standeth in the congregation of God." R. Haggai said in the name of R. Isaac¹¹ said: "Not stand *נחמד*, but stationed *נצב* (stationed at His post)." "And Thou shalt be stationed upon the rock" (Exod. 33:21). "Thou art enthroned upon the praises of Israel" (Ps. 22:4). God is stationed upon a rock where the Synagogue remains established. Jesus says to Peter, "Upon this

rock will I build my church" (Matt. 16:18). Jesus gives Peter the keys to the kingdom of heaven (Matt. 16:19).¹² Not Jesus, but God, is enthroned "upon the praises of Israel," and Israel "upon the rock."

B. Chapter 48, Section 10.

Ps. 105:39. *2016/12/20*

R. Chiya taught: "Let now a little water be fetched" (Gen. 18:4). God says "I swear that I will repay thy children in the wilderness, in the land, and in the messianic future." Thus sang Israel in the wilderness, "Spring up, O well, Sing ye unto it" (Num. 21:7); and, referring to the land, "A land of brooks and water" (Deut. 8:7); and, in the messianic future, "And it shall come to pass that in that day the living waters shall go out of Jerusalem" (Zech. 14:8).

As Abraham said, "And wash your feet" so will God repay his children in the wilderness, "Then wash I thee in water" (Ezek. 16:9). In the land, "Wash you, make you clean" (Isa. 1:16); and, in the messianic future, "When the Lord shall have washed away the filth of the daughters of Zion" (Isa. 4:4); "And recline yourselves under a tree" (Gen. 18:4). The homily rejects Jesus' statement concerning the washing of feet. In the Gospel, according to John, Jesus says: "You ought to wash one another's feet, for I have given you an example. Do as I have done." (John 9:7). It is Abraham, not Jesus, who sets the example. This homily also speaks against baptism. In the messianic future, God will wash away sin.

sceptre of righteousness is the sceptre of Thy Kingdom. Thou hast loved righteousness and hated inequity. Therefore, God, even Thy God hath annointed thee with the oil of gladness above thine enemies. Sit on My right hand until I make their enemies a footstool!" (Hebr. 1:8-9-13).

God annoints Abraham, not Jesus. It is Abraham who "loved righteousness," (Ps. 45:8), in that he pleaded for Sodom and Gemorrah. Therefore he sits at the right hand of God as His friend (Baba Batra 75B).

Ps. 110:4 *וְיָשָׁב אֱלֹהִים בְּיָמֵינוּ כִּי יִשְׁמַח בְּנוֹרָתוֹ*
וְיִשְׁמַח בְּנוֹרָתוֹ וְיִשְׁמַח בְּנוֹרָתוֹ

R. Joshua said, "On two occasions Moses compared himself to Abraham, and God answered him, 'Glorify not thyself in the presence of the King, and stand not in the place of great men' (Prov. 25:6). When Abraham said, 'Here I am, ready for priesthood and kingship,' he attained them. As it is said, 'The Lord hath sworn and will not repent. Thou art a priest forever, after the manner of Melchizedek' (Ps. 110:4); and Kingship 'Thou art a mighty prince among us' (Gen. 23:5). Moses said, 'Here I am' (Exod. 3:4). 'Ready for priesthood and kingship.' But God answered, 'Draw not nigh hither. Drawing nigh *פִּדְיוֹן* refers to priesthood, as in the verse 'And the common man that draweth nigh shall be put to death' (Num. 1:51), while *פִּדְיוֹן* connotes kingship, as in the verse, 'Thou hast brought me thus far *פִּדְיוֹן*' (II Sam. 7:18).

Jesus, like Moses, glorifies himself by comparing himself to Abraham, and by seeking kingship and priesthood. In

the epistle to the Hebrews we read, "And it is yet far more evident for that after the similitude of Malchizedek there ariseth another priest, who is made not after the law of a carnal commandment, but after the power of an endless life, for he testifieth, Thou art a priest forever after the order of Malchisedec." (Hebr. 7:15).¹⁶

F. Chapter 56. Section 2.

Ps. 142:14:

Handwritten note: Dm/k 5 26/k 22, 28 28 11/11 N 1/13

When Abraham saw the mountain upon which he was to sacrifice Isaac, he said to his servants, "See ye what I see?" "No," they replied. "Since you do not see it, then 'Abide ye here with the ass' (Gen. 22:5), for you are like the ass. Whence it follows that slaves are like an ass. The verse spoken at Revelation, "Six days shalt thou labor,...nor thy cattle" (Exod. 20:10).

R. Isaac commented, "This place shall one day be alienated from its owner. Forever? No. For it is stated: "This is my resting place forever. Here will I dwell forever, for I have desired it" (Ps. 132:14). When he comes of whom it is said, "Lowly and riding upon an ass" (Zech. 1:9).

Two witnesses testify against Jesus, saying, "This fellow said, I am able to destroy the Temple of God, and to rebuild it in three days" (Matt. 26:61). After which it is written, "Hereafter ye shall see the Son of man sitting at the right hand of power and coming in the clouds of heaven" (Matt. 26:64).

In another place Jesus commands his two disciples to find a certain ass and a colt, and cut them loose, and bring them to him. "The Lord had need of them" (Matt. 21:3).

All this was done that it might be fulfilled, which was spoken by the prophet, "Behold thy King cometh unto thee, meek and sitting upon an ass, and a colt the foal of an ass" (Matt. 21:4-5). After which Jesus went up to the Temple of God and cast out all that sold and bought in the Temple, and overthrew the table of the money-changers...etc. (Matt. 21:12).

Jesus speaks of destroying the Temple and rebuilding it after three days. The preacher counters with the psalm verse, "This is my resting place forever. Here will I dwell forever, for I have desired it." (Ps. 132:14).

Jesus commands his disciples to bring an ass and a colt. Abraham tells his two servants to remain stationed with the ass, and wait for him to return. He has no need of them.

Also, there is a story in the New Testament of Jesus healing a woman on the Sabbath, who had been inform for 18 years. The "ruler of the synagogue" reproved Jesus for healing on the Sabbath, to which Jesus replies, "Thou hypocrite, doth not each of you, on the Sabbath, loose his ox or his ass from the stall and lead him away for the watering. And ought not this woman, being a daughter of Abraham, whom Satan hath bound to these 18 years, be loosed from this bond on the Sabbath day?" (Luke 13:11-14).

The preacher of the homily counters with: "Abide ye here with the ass" (Gen. 22:5), for ye are like the ass. Whence it follows that slaves are like an ass. The verse spoken at the revelation is "Six days shalt thou labor...nor thy cattle" (Deut. 20:10). Both interpretations are sharply polemic.¹⁷

III. PESIKTA RABRATI

Psaln 22:21

Psaln 38:14

הַצִּיִּיךָ מִמָּוֶת אֱלֹהִים אֵלֶיךָ כִּי יָדָעְתָּ כִּי אֲנִי
וְאֵלֶיךָ כִּי מָוֶת אֲנִי וְכִי אֲנִי יָדָעְתָּ כִּי אֲנִי

"And the angel of the Lord called to Him from heaven, and he said: 'Abraham, Abraham'" (Gen. 22:11).

The angel called to Abraham twice, in order to make certain he would not slaughter Isaac. The first time in order that he should not cut him with a knife, and the second time so that he should not strangle him. "Do nothing to him" (Gen. 22:11). Abraham asked God: "Was it not revealed to you what was in my heart? Why did You ask me to slaughter him?" God answered: "It was revealed to Me. I knew that you would not delay sacrificing your only son

but I wanted to make you known in the world. Therefore I tested you. Not for nothing have I chosen you from among the nations, for "I know that you fear the Lord" (Gen. 22:12).

God did not want Isaac or any human sacrifice. What God already knows does not have to be proven to Him. Abraham

did not have to be tested to prove his loyalty to God, but was tested in order that he might be made known to the nations of the world.

Also, Abraham said to God, "I knew that you would know what I would answer You if You told me to sacrifice my son. Namely: "For in Isaac will thy seed be called." And so knowing this, I made myself as one deaf and dumb. "I am as a deaf man, I hear not that openeth not his mouth" (Ps. 38:14).

וְכֵן יִשְׂרָאֵל יָדָע שֶׁיְהוָה יָדָע אֶת תְּשׁוּבָתוֹ

When the sons of Isaac will be judged before Thee on this day, and they have so many and so many categories, it is as if they had been silent and did not answer You. Thus, You will do to them. (To the Christians).¹⁸

NOTES CHAPTER III

¹Ps. 110 is one of the most frequently quoted psalm verses in the New Testament. It appears in Matt. 22:44, Mark 12:36, Luke 20:42, and Acts 2:34, Hebr. 1:13, Rom. 8:34, I Cor. 15:24, Eph. 1:20. The verse frequently appears in these books of the N. T. more than once. There is such vast material in the writings of the Church Fathers referring to this psalm, that we cannot begin to discuss it in this paper. These writings contain polemic references. Kirpatrick has the following to say concerning Ps. 110:

Many who in every other case regard Messianic Psalms as having a primary historical meaning, feel that here our Lord's authority compels them to hold that this Psalm was written by David, and was addressed by him to the future Messiah, who, he believe, would spring from his family. It is therefore necessary carefully to examine the precise nature of our Lord's references to the Psalm.

Pharisees, Herodians, Saducees, Scribes had been questioning Jesus, with the object of ensnaring him in His talk. When they had been silenced by the wisdom of His answers, so that "no man durst ask Him any questions." He proceeded to question His questioners. "How say the scribes that the Christ is the son of David? David himself said in the Holy Spirit,

The Lord said unto my Lord,
Sit thou on my right hand,
Till I make thine enemies the footstool of
thy feet.

David himself calleth him Lord; and whence is he his son?" (Mark XII 35 ff). St. Luke (XX, 41 f) is substantially the same. St. Matthew's account (XXII, 41 ff) differs somewhat in detail, and brings out more clearly the point, that the words are rather a question and a challenge than an assertion and an argument.

While the Pharisees were gathered together, Jesus asked them a question saying, What think ye of the Christ? Whose son is he? They say unto him, The son of David. He saith unto them, How then doth David in the Spirit call him Lord, saying

The Lord said unto my Lord,
Sit thou on my right hand,
Till I put thine enemies underneath thy feet.

If David then calleth him Lord, how is he his son? And no one was able to answer him a word, neither durst any man from that day forth ask him any more questions."

The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges, The Book of Psalms, Books IV and V (Cambridge:University Press, 1912, ed. by A. F. Kirpatrick), p. 661.

²R. Jehudah, the preacher of this homily, was a Palestinian Amora (4th century). He was the son of R. Gamliel the third, and lived in Tiberias. Ozar Yisrael, Vol. 5 (ed. J. D. Eisenstein, New York: J. D. Eisenstein, 1909), p. 225.

³R. B'rechia was a second generation Palestinian Amora (4th century). This homily is found also in the P.R., Yel. Ibid., Vol. 3, p.210.

⁴Ps. 82 is recited before the Gospel at Eastertide in the Nestorian Church, and in the Synagogue on Rosh Hashono. It is also recited in the Church on Autumn Ember Day. Werner, The Sacred Bridge, p. 151.

⁵Compare "My heart exulted in the Lord, My horn is exalted in the Lord" (I Sam. 2:1), and the Magnificat, "My soul magnifies the Lord" (Luke 1:46). In the Byzantine tradition this prayer is a song of angels performed by humans, an imitation of angels Amen, Halleluyah. The Rabbis also considered the Hallel as sung by a chorus of angels. Ps. 106:48 is a doxology in the Church. "Glory to the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit now and always and forever." Ibid. p. 169.

How deeply the Hebraic roots reach in some cases may be seen in the Irish Latin preface to the Gloria in Excelsis. The pertinent passage reads: "The angels sang the first verse of this hymn during the night of the nativity --they composed it at the Tower of Gabder i.e. a mile east of Jerusalem, etc. "The 'Tower of Gabder' is actually the Tower of Eder, Gen. 35:16 and Mic. 4:8. It is apparently through Jerome that this place was linked with the Gloria in Excelsis, since he referred to it first (Epitaphium Paulae, Epist. 108 and Eustochium). See also the Irish Liber Hymnorum 11, p. 135. The problem is extensively discussed from the Jewish angel in Michael Sacks, Beitrage Zur Sprach-und Altertums-Forschung (Berlin 1852) 1, p. 65; 11, pp. 98 ff, where the midrashic sources are given; also W. F. Castle, Syrian Pageant (London 1952), p. 90. Ibid., p. 572, n. 16.

⁶A similar story is told in the Apocrapha gospel in which Jesus comes before his teacher and embarrasses him. Thereupon, his teacher strikes him on the head. Jesus looks

at him, and the teacher falls dead. Frederic Norgate, The Apocryphal Gospels (London: B. Harris Comper, 1874), pp. 158-160, 165.

⁷In Midrash V. R. we are told that God is angry with Jephtha for sacrificing his daughter. God was angry, in the first place, because of Jephtha's vow. What if a dog meet Me? Now shall the vow of Jephtha be visited upon his first born. I deliver My people not for Jephtha's sake, but for the prayers of My people.

Sheila went up to the mountain to lament her fate, but to no avail. In vain did she seek to prove to Jephtha that the law speaks of animal sacrifices, never human sacrifices. His daughter visited various scholars who were to decide whether Jephtha was bound by his vow. According to the Law, his vow was entirely invalid. He did not even have to pay his daughter's value (to redeem her). But the scholars forgot this halacha, and they decided he must fulfill his vow. The forgetfulness of the scholars was caused by God for slaughtering 1,000 of the tribe of Ephraim. V. R., Vol. IV, p. 37.4.

The entire Ps. is sung on the third nocturn of Christmas. Werner, The Sacred Bridge, p. 527. Ps. 89:15 is among the 12 psalm verses surrounding the lesson in the synagogue mentioned in Sofrim 1. Ps. 89:16 is chanted on Rosh Hashono (formerly), January 1st circumcision, and offertory of the 3rd Mass. Ibid., p. 526.

⁸The homily is attributed to R. Hilкия, a Palestinian Amora, by R. Avin, a Babylonia Amora. Eisenstein, op.cit., Vol. IV, p. 271.

⁹Ps. 119 is recited in the Church on Friday of Advent, Ember Day, Friday after Ash Wednesday, every Sunday at Prime, Terce Sext and None (parts), funerals for children, the first day of Penitence, and at funerals in Church and Synagogue. Werner, op.cit., pp. 158-9.

The same psalm is an alphabetical acrostic, eight verses for every letter. "In Ps. 29, the text contains the voice of God seven times, and was an allusion to the harmony of the spheres. This kind of mystical, musical emphasis upon number eight reached its peak in the first two centuries of the Christian era under the aegis of a powerful gnostic movement, one of the many relevant passages from the apocryphal acts of St. John. Christ's hymn to his disciples. 'The number eight (Ogdoas) singeth praise with us. Amen.' Ibid., p. 380.

¹⁰R. Levi was a Palestinian Amora. Eisenstein, op.cit., Vol. I, p. 90.

¹¹R. Isaac was a Palestinian Amora, 4th Century. Ibid., Vol. V, p. 183.

¹²Ps. 22:29 is sung on Sabbath morning, and on Rosh Hashono. It is also recited in the Nestorian Church for Sunday Offices; in the Byzantine Church on the same occasion. Ps. 81 is sung at the Mass in the Nestorian Church. Werner, op.cit., p. 150.

¹³There is a washing of the feet in the Church on Monday and Thursday of Holy Week. I am indebted to Dr. Werner for this information.

¹⁴The midrash continues with the same parable cited in A.R. about a king who gives his beloved a present. We have already noted the apologetic character of the parable. Cf. Ch. III, p. 47.

¹⁵R. Acha is a 3rd generation Amora. Eisenstein, op.cit., Vol. I, p. 231.

¹⁶In Num. Rabba 4 (1410), we read: Malchizedek was God's highest priest. Yes, but was priesthood granted to him? Was not Aaron the first to whom priesthood was granted? "He was a priest" means that he sacrificed to God just as priests do (Bab. Ned. 326, Gen. R., Tehillim R. to Ps. 36:43).

It is noteworthy to observe that in the Targum Yer. (Gen. 14:18), Shem, the son of Noah, is equated with Malchizedek, being a king of Jerusalem. Up to the time of Abraham, there was no aging or senility. Only with Abraham (Gen. 13:12) does aging begin. By use of a gezerah shava (Ps. 110:4) the midrash arrived at the image and prototype of Malchizedek, who never grew old. Neither was he born, nor did he die (E.M. 87 a.). Herman L. Strack, Paul Billerbeck, Kommentar zum Neuen Testament (Munich: C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Oskar Beck, 1926), p. 694.

¹⁷Ps. 32:9-11 is mentioned in Sofrim XIV as the psalm verse surrounding the scriptural lesson. Ps. 32:9-11 is recited in the Introit and Gradual of the Mass on Pope and Confessor, and also occurs in Vespers of that feast. (Werner, op.cit., p. 526-7.)

¹⁸Ps. 22:29 is recited at the Sunday Offices of the Byzantine Church, Sabbath morning, weekday morning, Musaf of New Years in the Synagogue. Ibid., p. 150, 514.

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY OF EVIDENCE

The coincidence of parallel psalm verses occurring in the same parasha in the three midrashim analyzed in the preceding chapters would seem to support Mann's theory of a continuous psalm lesson once recited in the Synagogue.

Appended to this paper is a tabulation of these psalms quoted in the three midrashim for the parasha Vayara, which indicates the overwhelming proportion of passages paralleled in the three midrashim.

There is, however, no cogent evidence supporting Venetianer's hypothesis of apologetic psalm verses in the R. R. It has been pointed out in this study that only three short sections appear in the R. R., which coincide with the A. R., namely, Bachodesh Hash'vi, Adonai Pakad Et Sarah, and Adonai Pakad Et Channah. There is a total of only 17 psalm quotations contained in these sections, as compared to a total of 51 in the A. R., and 55 in the B. R. Only two of those found in the R. R. are apologetic, while 17 parallel psalm passages in the A. R., and 10 in B. R. are apologetic.

A further study should be made of those sections of the R. R. which do not coincide with the A. R. before a sound conclusion in the matter can be reached.

Furthermore, we would have to establish the length and extent of the Psalm cycle, whether it was of a month's or

six month's or a year's duration, and how many psalms or portions thereof were recited each Sabbath.

It would be difficult to deduce substantial information concerning the length and extent of the psalm lesson from the P. R., since the Midr. is based on the cycle of Holydays, Festivals, and the Special Sabbaths, and not on the regular Sabbatical cycle.

Furthermore, the P. R. is relatively late. We have shown that while large sections of it are taken from the Yel. in succeeding generations, even those sections were often ravaged by deletions and additions, and overlaid with later material. Many sections were shifted and reorganized.

The whole question insofar as the P. R. is concerned must be held in abeyance until a more complete study and analysis is conducted.

II. THE FUNCTION OF THE PSALM LESSON

The Psalm Lesson evidently had had a twofold function: liturgical and homiletic--apologetic.

It would seem quite consistent with the tripart arrangement of Scriptures into P., H., and K., that a parallel threefold division should also have been applied to the regular scriptural reading. We have already referred to the Nehardean tradition of reading K. in the Synagogue at the time of Mincba worship service, and the question of its prohibition in other areas. Yet, we do not know precisely the litur-

gical function of the psalms in the synagogue.

We find only a conjectural allusion here and there.¹

The second function, i.e., the apologetic function of the psalm lesson would have been directed against the early Christians who gave the psalms christological interpretation. We have already mentioned some of the numerous references of the early Church fathers to the fact that the Gradual was a direct legacy of the levitical Temple practise. This practise was introduced into the Synagogue as an apologetic device directed against the Judae-Christians, and was taken over by all of Christendom.²

The greater portion of psalms that are parallel in the A. R. and B. R. are apologetic in character. Of 25 such parallel psalm verses, 17 of those found in the A. R. are apologetic, as are 10 psalm verses in the B. R.

II. MANN'S THEORY

The high probability of Mann's theory of a psalm lesson recited in the Synagogue that had an apologetic function, as indicated in the A. R., the B. R., and Tan.-Tel. is amply supported by our analysis of the psalm apologetics, and by the overwhelming coincidence of parallel psalm passages in the three midrashim analyzed. We have already made reference in Chapter I to the system of verbal tallies used by Mann to link the tripartite scriptural readings, and by which he arrived at the theory that the psalm passage had an apologetic func-

tion. The example we cited from the sedra Vayyera indicates that Ps. 110 would have been the mizmor for that Sabbath.

III. THE MANNER OF RENDERING THE PSALM LESSON

The entire question of the rendering of the psalm lesson can only be conjectured by the homilies in the midrashim in which the psalms are quoted.

Hann's analysis would seem to indicate that only one psalm, or portion thereof, was recited as the mizmor for a particular Sabbath. We shall attempt to point up the possibility that the psalms may have been rendered in a different manner, namely: that groups of psalms, or portions thereof, were selected for each Sabbath, and were arranged topically;³ and, furthermore, this selection was influenced by anti-Christian apologetics.

We have selected those psalms most frequently paralleled in the A. R., B. R., and R. R. for a topical analysis. As a result, the passages from these psalms were grouped under three major themes. The first group includes Psalms 110:14-5; 45:2, 10; 48:11; 60:7, 9; 80:18. These psalms refer to God's anointed one who sits at "God's right hand." In most of the midrashim surrounding these psalms, Abraham is designated as God's friend, who sits at His right hand. We have already made mention of the fact that numerous references are made in the New Testament to "God's right hand," designating Jesus as he who occupies this singular position. This, of course,

invites a Jewish polemic.

The second group includes Psalms 80:9-16; 105:6, 9-11; 42; 128:3-4. In all three of these psalms references are made to Abraham's seed, or to the Covenant that is established with him. The "fruitful vine" that is mentioned in Psalms 80 and 128 is alluded to in the midrashim referring to Sarah in connection with the birth of Isaac.

It is well known that the Church fathers attempt to show that the Christians are the spiritual descendants of Abraham.⁴ This would be the basis for a Jewish polemic negating this Christian concept.

The third grouping consists of Psalms 60:3-7, 11-14; 8-:3-8, 15-20. These psalms are a petition for forgiveness and restoration. The psalmist implores God to deliver Israel from her enemies, and to restore her according to His promise.

The very early Christians pointed to the Jews with disdain in light of Christ's prophecy that the Temple would be destroyed (Matt. 23:38, 24:1-2; 26; Mark 13:1-2). These early Judao-Christians left Jerusalem for Pella in the year 66 A. D. in anticipation of its fall. The Jewish community never forgave them for this apostatic act.⁵

These psalms of restoration quoted in the midrashim were a plea to God to restore Israel, and to destroy the false prophets.

IV. A DATE WHEN THE PSALM LESSON WAS RECITED IN THE ANCIENT SYNAGOGUE

We cannot accurately estimate or even approximate a date for the introduction of the psalm lesson into the old Synagogue from any reference in early sources. Dr. Werner has pointed out, in his book, The Sacred Bridge, the fact that there are no references in early Talmudic sources to a practise in the Synagogue that paralleled the Church custom of a regular recitation of a continuing psalmody accompanying the scriptural lesson. Only in the treatise Sofrim (7th and 8th centuries) is psalmody, during and after the lesson, mentioned.⁶ This reference in Sofrim does not make mention of a changing psalm accompanying the lesson, but refers only to psalms that constitute a regular, but stationery, part of the liturgy. None of the post-biblical sources contains any definite information about a regular lesson in the temple, except for special occasions.⁷

A reference found in Sofrim does indicate that at the time of its compilation there was no psalm lesson recited in the Synagogue.

No reason is advanced for this proscription.

Under such circumstances, the dates established for the compilation of the midrashim utilized as a basis for our research should have important bearing on the matter.

The B. R. is the most ancient of the three midrashim scrutinized. Much of the material is very old, and dates back to the early Amoraic period. The date of its redaction

commonly agreed upon is around the 6th century.

According to Zunz, the A. R., in all likelihood, was a sixth or seventh century work. The Greek words found in this Midr., which are analyzed and appended to this paper, are not later than the Justinian or Byzantine Empire.

The P. R. is a late compilation of the latter part of the 9th century, yet the bulk of the material was taken from the earlier Tan.-Yel.

We may, therefore, conclude from the above evidence that the psalm lesson was read in the Synagogue before the 7th century, and was possibly an integral part of the Synagogue service between the 3rd and 5th centuries.

V. REASONS FOR THE DISCONTINUANCE OF THE PSAIM LESSON

The reasons why the psalm lesson fell into oblivion cannot be entered into in this study. Suffice it to say that while we have quoted a number of references proscribing the psalm lesson, we have only the vaguest references to the reasons for its prohibition.⁸ The question must therefore remain in abeyance, awaiting a thorough investigation into the matter.

It is not impossible that Gaonic sources hitherto untapped, or disregarded with respect to our problem, might give us some inkling of the thoughts and philosophies that let the practise of the regularly changing psalm lessons fall into oblivion.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

השנה שבקשו צדיקים לומר ספר תהילים אמר להם
הקב"ה בלשונם לצדיקים, וחסידים, ומשומעים להאמר הימנו
לעבד אלה קדש ואמר עיי' בלשונם, עמ"ק: שקולו ענה מה"ר אר"י זצ"ל
ישנאדם מ' מל"ג זצ"ל אמר: בואו הן ישי' (Tamid 33a)
(תמ"ג - ע"א)

At the time that ten righteous ones wished to recite the book of T'hillim, the Kadosh Baruch Hu said to them: All of you are good and righteous, and praiseworthy to recite them before Me. But David, will say them for all of you. Why? Because his voice is sweet, as it is said: "The songs of Israel are pleasant. Who makes their songs pleasant? David Ben Yishai."

²The tripartite Division of the O. T., and their constant cyclical use, was familiar, not only to the Rabbis, but also to the Hellenistic Synagogue, where the term for Ketubim is graphaion (Clement of Rome) 1, p. 92, note to V. 3, London, 1890.

³It is not likely that the psalm lessons were divided into groups of psalms of numerical sequence. The parallel psalm verses have been carefully analyzed. The numerical range is far too wide to consider this possibility. The parallel psalms range from Ps. 38 to Ps. 128.

⁴This whole matter would require an extensive study. Suffice it to say that the Church Fathers dealt extensively with the matter of the Christian's spiritual ancestry from Abraham. (I am indebted to Dr. Werner for these facts, obtained in a conversation with him.)

⁵Ibid.

⁶Werner, The Sacred Bridge, p. 131.

⁷Ibid., p. 132.

⁸Of. Chapter I, p. 1; also, Chapter IV, n. 1.

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APPENDIX A

APPENDIX B

MATHEMATICAL EVALUATION OF THE
TABULATION OF PSALM VERSES¹

In considering entire psalms, which recur in the three midrashim, we ask the question: if three times ^{sets of} 150 psalms were at the disposition of the ^{midrashic} authors, and ~~of these 450,~~ ^{out of these 450 three sets} how great is the probability that at least 70 will have the same number? This can be easily answered: the probability is 70:450, equal to ^{about} one sixth. The more involved question is: how great is the probability that of three sets of psalm verses (ca. 150 . 35 = 5250, or approximately 5000), distributed at random and unequally in three urns, and numbered ^{factually from 1a, 1b, 1c, to 1666a, 1666b, 1666c,} from 1 to 5000, drawings from each urn will result in at least 12 identical verses? The formula requires:

(k = number of urns = number of midrashim = 3;
(n = the highest number of the verses, in other words, the sum of verses; and m = 12, the actual number of identical psalm verses)

$$P = \frac{m^k - (m - 1)^k}{n^k}$$

$$\text{or, in numbers: } \frac{12^3 - 11^3}{5000^3} = \frac{397}{125.000\ 000\ 000}$$

a probability so small that it practically amounts to zero. This means, in other words: the coincidence of equal and identical psalms and psalm-verses in the three midrashim cannot be accidental; the extremely small probability shows that it is almost with perfect certainty a planned and intentional, not a coincidental, event. If we add to this mathematical

evidence the historical and internal evidence, we arrive at the conclusion that Prof. Mann's hypothesis has been proved beyond peradventure of doubt.

¹Formulated by Dr. Eric Werner.