



## LIBRARY COPYRIGHT NOTICE

[www.huc.edu/libraries](http://www.huc.edu/libraries)

### Regulated Warning

See Code of Federal Regulations, Title 37, Volume 1, Section 201.14:

The copyright law of the United States (title 17, United States Code) governs the making of photocopies or other reproductions of copyrighted material.

Under certain conditions specified in the law, libraries and archives are authorized to furnish a photocopy or other reproduction. One of these specific conditions is that the photocopy or reproduction is not to be "used for any purpose other than private study, scholarship, or research." If a user makes a request for, or later uses, a photocopy or reproduction for purposes in excess of "fair use," that user may be liable for copyright infringement.

This institution reserves the right to refuse to accept a copying order if, in its judgment, fulfillment of the order would involve violation of copyright law.

TITLE            A Study of a Liturgy of the Jews of Kai Feng Fu

**Master's [ ] Prize Essay [ ]**

- I understand that the Library may make a photocopy of my thesis for security purposes.

- Burton L. Padsee  
Signature of Author

Date \_\_\_\_\_

Signature of Library Staff Member

Statement by Referee of Senior Thesis

---

The Senior dissertation entitled:

"A Study of the Liturgy of the Jews of Kai Feng Fu"

written by Burton L. Padoll  
(name of student)

1) may (with revisions) be considered for publication: ( )

cannot be considered for publication: ( ✓ )

2) may, on request, be loaned by the Library: ( ✓ )

may not be loaned by the Library: ( )

E. Mihaly  
(signature of referee)

Eugene Mihaly  
(referee)

3/13/57  
(date)

*Microfilmed*  
*12/7/70*

A STUDY OF A LITURGY OF THE JEWS OF KAI FENG FU

BURTON L. PADOLL

Thesis submitted in partial  
fulfillment of requirements  
for the Master of Arts in  
Hebrew Letters Degree and  
Ordination.

Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion  
Cincinnati, Ohio

1957

Referee:  
Professor Eugene Mihaly

The Jewish community of Kai Feng Foo was first discovered by the outside world in 1605, when a Chinese Jew came to visit a Jesuit missionary, P. Ricci, in Peking. There remains a fairly detailed picture of the Jews of Kai Feng Foo subsequent to 1605, from those Jesuit and Protestant missionaries who began visiting these Jews for the avowed purpose of "revitalizing" their community. But despite all attempts at reeducation, the Jewish community of Kai Feng Foo finally succumbed to the process of assimilation with which it had struggled for centuries, and in 1888, it was reported to have disappeared as an organized community. Since that time a few Jewish families have come forth from Kai Feng Foo, seeking aid for the restoration of their congregation but there have been no accomplishments in that direction.

From this community itself, there remains a collection of manuscripts from the library of their synagogue, now in the possession of the Hebrew Union College Library. These manuscripts consist of Biblical books and prayer books, written in a Chinese-looking Hebrew script on rice paper bound in silk. In the hope of determining some information regarding the origin of this community, a detailed study was made, herein, of one of these Chinese siddurim -- a daily ritual for the Feast of Purim.

The analysis of this siddur was prepared through a comparison of it with the standard nuschoos and those of Persia and Yemen, with the result of establishing a very close relationship between the Chinese and Yemen rites. But in so doing

several other facts concerning these Chinese Jews emerged. At the time of the writing of this manuscript the standard of Hebrew knowledge was very low; the time of their immigration was probably prior to 1250; some rite, directly influenced by Maimonides, was apparently the prototype of this Chinese siddur.

There still remains an area for research and study in regard to this liturgy, but the way has been paved up to the new point of departure.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

|   | <u>Page</u> |
|---|-------------|
| INTRODUCTION . . . . .                          | 1           |
| TEXT ANALYSIS . . . . .                         | 10          |
| THE TITLE PAGE . . . . .                        | 14          |
| THE HATZI KADDISH . . . . .                     | 15          |
| THE SHEMA AND ITS BLESSINGS . . . . .           | 18          |
| THE SHEMA: BLESSING BEFORE . . . . .            | 19          |
| THE SHEMA . . . . .                             | 22          |
| THE SHEMA: BLESSINGS AFTER . . . . .            | 23          |
| THE AMIDAH . . . . .                            | 25          |
| THE AMIDAH: INTRODUCTORY BENEDICTIONS . . . . . | 26          |
| THE AMIDAH: INTERMEDIARY BENEDICTIONS . . . . . | 27          |
| THE AMIDAH: CONCLUDING BENEDICTIONS . . . . .   | 33          |
| THE AMIDAH: REPETITION . . . . .                | 35          |
| THE K'DUSHAS HASHEM . . . . .                   | 35          |
| THE PRIESTLY BENEDICTION . . . . .              | 36          |
| CONCLUSION . . . . .                            | 44          |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .                          | 53          |

## INTRODUCTION

In the year 1924, Adolph S. Oko, librarian of the Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio, obtained some fifty-four manuscripts, for the College Library, which had belonged to the Chinese Jewish community of Kai Feng Fu, capital of Honan. These manuscripts, small in size and written on Chinese rice-paper, bound in silk, were purchased from the London Society for the Promotion of Christianity among the Jews. This society had come into possession of the manuscripts in 1851, when two Chinese Protestant delegates, K'iu T'ien-sang and Tsiang Yungchi, were sent to Kai Feng Fu by Bishop George Smith of Hongkong, in conjunction with Rev. Dr. Medhurst of the London Society, with funds enabling them to purchase whatever they could.<sup>1</sup>

During the next fifteen years there was no further contact made with the community and in 1866, when Dr. W.A.P. Martin made his visit to Kai Feng Fu, the synagogue of these Jews had disappeared. All that remained was one memorial stone dated 1849. Martin discovered that all the building materials of the synagogue had been sold to the Moslems who used them in the erection of a large mosque in the area.<sup>2</sup>

Following this visit, and as early as 1880, the Catholic missionary Scarella reported from Honan that "the last survivors of the Jewish community in Kaifeng had disappeared."<sup>3</sup>

Although the Chinese Jewish community of Kai Feng Fu had existed for many centuries before 1605, it was not until that time that their existence became known to the outside world. It was in that year that a Chinese from Kai Feng Fu, Ai T'ien, a man approximately sixty years old,



visited the Jesuit missionary and scholar Pere Matteo Ricci in Peking.<sup>4</sup> Through conversation Ricci learned that Ai T'ien was a Jew, a member of a small Jewish community in Kai Feng Fu which kept the regular Jewish holidays and fasts, observed the seventh day of the week as the Sabbath, kept three periods of prayer each day, practiced circumcision and observed the dietary laws.<sup>5</sup>

It was not until three years later, in 1608, that the Jesuits were able to begin an investigation of this community. When they arrived in Kai Feng Fu they discovered the existence of a synagogue building very much akin to the average Chinese houses of worship but, instead of facing south, it faced west toward Jerusalem. The building contained the Emperor's Wan Sui Tablet (prescribed for all churches by Chinese law) on which was written: "May the present Emperor live for ever," an incense tripod, two candle sticks and two flower vases. In addition to these, it also contained a "Chair of Moses" from which the Torah was read, an elaborately decorated ark in which there were thirteen gold lacquered cases containing Torah scrolls, and a bath-house which was connected to the synagogue for purposes of ablutions.<sup>6</sup> The synagogue building was located on a street called T'iao-chin, the street of "the plucked sinew," and Judaism itself was referred to as T'iao-chin Chiao, "the sect which plucks the sinew," both of which were derived from their kosher practices.<sup>7</sup>

After 1608, the community was further investigated and discussed via mail by P. Gozani (1704), P. Gaubil (1723) and P. Domenge (1722), whose letters were compiled and published in The Memoir of Gabriel Brotier in 1771.<sup>8</sup> Very little pertinent information was contained therein.

In 1642, disaster struck the tiny community of Kai Feng Fu when the rebel Li Tzu-ch'eng besieged the city and broke the dykes of the Yellow River inundating the entire area. In the wake of this flood the synagogue building was destroyed, most of its Scriptures were lost and the community cemetery of the Jews, which was outside the west gate of the city was buried under deposits and sand dunes.<sup>9</sup>

Fortunately, the community was still active enough at this time that even though they had been scattered throughout the surrounding area because of the flood, they returned to Kai Feng Fu in 1653, and by 1666, the synagogue had been rebuilt and was once again being worshipped in by its congregants.<sup>10</sup>

It was not until 1843, that the existence of these Jews was brought to the attention of the English speaking world. In that year James Finn, who had lived in China for many years, published his book The Jews in China: their synagogue, their scriptures, their history, etc.,<sup>11</sup> in which he brought to light all of the information that had been uncovered up to that time along with a discussion of the unfriendly attitude of some of the early Jesuits who had been charged by Rome to investigate the community.

Fascinated by this little book, a wealthy English woman donated the necessary money for an investigation of the community to the London Society for the Promotion of Christianity among the Jews. It was this donation which resulted in the visits of 1850, and 1851, by the two Protestants dispatched by Bishop Smith and Rev. Dr. Medhurst.<sup>12</sup>

When these two Chinese delegates arrived in Kai Feng Fu in

December, 1850, they found a poverty-stricken, Jewishly uneducated and unobservant community in possession of a synagogue which they did not use. Although the building was intact, it was in very poor condition. The only thing that apparently held the Jewish community together was a common link of origin.<sup>13</sup>

Upon returning to Shanghai with their report, these two men were sent back to Kai Feng Fu the following year in order to purchase portions of the synagogue library and to attempt to persuade some of the Jews to return to Shanghai with them. Two of the members of the community accompanied them back at that time, while others joined them subsequently. In Shanghai they received instruction in Hebrew and Judaism in an attempt to help them revitalize their congregation.<sup>14</sup>

However, when Dr. W.A.P. Martin arrived in Kai Feng Fu in 1866, he discovered how completely the previous attempt had failed. The community had dwindled and disintegrated and, as previously noted, even the synagogue no longer stood.

Despite the remarks of Scarella in 1880,<sup>15</sup> reports continued coming from Kai Feng Fu regarding a few Jewish families who still remained there, even as recently as 1933. At that time an American Jew, David Brown, published several articles in the American Hebrew and the Jewish Tribune<sup>16</sup> concerning a trip he had made to Kai Feng Fu the previous year. In these articles he related several attempts that had been made between the years 1900 and 1925, by the "Society for the Rescue of the Chinese Jews" in Shanghai, to give aid to the Jews of Kai Feng Fu. None of these

attempts succeeded.

On his visit, Brown met with "Chao, the oldest living member of this ancient Jewish group in Kai-feng...now seventy-five, (who) keeps a tiny tea-shop in the rear of where the synagogue once stood."<sup>17</sup> He stated that "of the seventeen families, or clans, which originally came to K'ai-feng Fu, there were present representatives of five clans -- Chao, Ai, Li, Shih and Chang."<sup>18</sup>

That the remaining families would welcome any effort to bring them back to their ancient faith was evident during the several hours' interview that I had with the Jewish families who were gathered.... They know they are Jews, but know nothing of Judaism. They realize they are Chinese, completely assimilated, yet there is pride in the knowledge that they sprang from an ancient people who are different from the other Chinese in K'ai-feng.<sup>19</sup>

This is their history since the time of their discovery in 1605, but what of the many years before then, beginning with that day long ago when they first arrived in Kai Feng Fu?

#### Pre 1605 Origins

On the basis of all the information that has been uncovered concerning these Chinese Jews of Kai Feng Fu since the year 1605, many theories have developed in regard to when they arrived in China and the place of their origin. The sources are scarce, consisting of three memorial stones, their small library, a few government documents and the scanty information received from the inhabitants themselves.

That they originally came from Persia or India by land or by sea appears to be the general consensus of opinion -- leaving much less area for speculation than does the time of their arrival, which ranges anywhere from the third century B.C.E. to the first quarter of the seventeenth century C.E. The opinions regarding these facts are numerous and diverse and, before proceeding to a more recent and acceptable theory, it is best that they be cited.

White assumes that the first Jewish settlement in China resulted from trade relations between the east and the west during the Roman period.<sup>20</sup> He stated in a later article:

The Chinese Jews trace their history through inscriptions on memorial stones, to the Han Dynasty (206 B.C. - 220 A.D.) when the "Israelitish" religion came to China, and to another immigration, via India, in the 12th century, when 70 or more clans of Jews reached Kai Feng Fu.<sup>21</sup>

Cecil Roth states that "there was...a famous Jewish colony which was settled from the Medieval period onwards in Kai Feng Fu."<sup>22</sup> Adolf Neubauer writes: "Of course, if they emigrated to China in the 8th century, they could scarcely have had the Gemara with them."<sup>23</sup>

From the standpoint of their liturgy, Elkan Adler said that the Persian rubrics contained therein "are dated in the first quarter of the 17th century,"<sup>24</sup> with Neubauer adding that "the Persian....is not the old language, but that spoken now (1896) and since Firdusi."<sup>25</sup> Both Adler and Neubauer agree that the ritual itself is Persian in origin.<sup>26</sup>

All of this, however, leads nowhere. Indeed, the picture becomes much clearer on the basis of the organized information contained in an

article by Berthold Laufer which was written in 1930.<sup>27</sup> It too is conjecture, for the most part, but it is confessed to be such and is understandable in form.

The principal sources for our information are three Chinese inscriptions of considerable length on stone tablets written by Jews themselves and formerly erected in the synagogue of K'ai-feng....These inscriptions are dated 1489, 1512, and 1663 (also 1679), which means that they are of recent date, belonging to the time of the two last dynasties, the Ming and the Ch'ing, so that their chronological data with reference to events prior to the Ming period must be reviewed with critical eyes.... Besides the lapidary inscriptions there were twenty-three horizontal inscriptions on wooden tablets hung in the synagogue and containing only brief maxims or devices, but interesting for the names and dates of Chinese Jewish officials who dedicated them to the temple....

The Chinese, with their immense wealth of historical documents, leave us entirely in the lurch as regards the Jews....Another peculiar deficiency is that the Chinese Jews unfortunately failed to produce any literature....

Two facts are conspicuous in the history of the Chinese Jews: they hailed from Persia and India and reached China by way of the sea. The historical portion of the earliest inscription of 1489 point to India (T'ien-chu) as the country from which the Jews had started on their way to China -- seventy families, bringing cotton goods of the Western countries as tribute to the court of the Sung and settling at...K'ai-feng. No date for this event is fixed, nor is the name of the Sung emperor given. All that can be safely asserted is that the first settlement of Jews in the Sung capital took place between the years 960 and 1126....The first date on record is the year 1163 as that when the construction of the synagogue was commenced....In the third inscription of 1663 it is stated that "the religion took its origin in India." The official designation of the

Chinese Jews was "religion of India"....The Indian Jews had emigrated from Persia, and Persian influence is plainly evident among the Chinese Jews. Like the Persian Jews, they divided the Pentateuch into fifty-three sections.....Like the Persian Jews, they counted twenty-seven letters of the Hebrew alphabet....All directions as to the recitation of prayers were given in Persian....The most interesting point is that the Chinese Jews designated the rabbi by the Persian word ustad...used in the same sense by the Persian Jews....

The Iranian element in their midst is strictly New Persian which, as generally assumed, developed from about the tenth century, so that their immigration into China could hardly have taken place before that period....

In the course of a few generations the... Jews became almost completely sinicized, adopting the Chinese language, attire, manners, and customs and eagerly absorbing Chinese literature and Confucian ethics. In matters of phonetics they adapted themselves to Chinese to such a degree that in Chinese fashion they dropped the liquid r, replacing it by l, and forgot how to articulate the sonants....they applied Chinese phonetics to the pronunciation of Hebrew....

The synagogue of K'ai-feng was built after the model of a mosque. In company of Arabic and Persian Mohammedans the Jews must have made their first appearance in China, for the various stages of their migration can be traced with a fair degree of exactness; we meet them in the same ports of southern China as the Arabs and Persians.... It is not necessary to assume that there was but a single stream of immigration into China; more probably they poured in gradually, in small detachments, but they always entered China from India over the maritime route at the southern ports, not, as was formerly believed without reason, over the land route by way of Central Asia. The first immigration may be assigned to the ninth or tenth century.<sup>28</sup>

Although Laufer sounds rather definite in his account, stating that these Jews arrived in China from India and Persia in the ninth or tenth century via the sea, and embellishing his conclusion with interesting information concerning their development during their nine hundred

year history, there is still a great deal of doubt concerning the origin of this community. The purpose of this thesis, however, is not one of dispelling these doubts. It is rather one of a thorough investigation into one segment of the Chinese liturgy in an attempt to test some of the assumptions which have already been made, and to see whether a nusach parallel to that of the Chinese exists.

The ancient Indian liturgy was unobtainable for this study and therefore no light can be thrown on the possibility of an Indian origin. The Persian and the Yemenite, however, along with all of the standard nuschoos will be examined and, if nothing else, the relation of this Chinese ritual to all of them will be established. Therefore, there may remain only a few additional steps to be taken by future students of this subject at the conclusion of this work.





PERSIAN - בצ"ה...האל הגדול הגבור והנורא אל עליון מלך רם מושל  
על כל גומל חסדים טובים וקונה הכל זוכר חסדי אבות ומרחם על בניהם  
ומביא גואל לבני בניהם לזרם אהריהם למען שמו באהבה מלך רחמן אל  
חי גואל עוזר סומך ומושיע ומגן בא"י מן אברהם:

It is evident that the two uncommon expressions לזרם אהריהם and מלך רחמן which appear in the Chinese also occur in the Persian,<sup>5</sup> but the words למען שמו באהבה and לזרם אהריהם and ומביא גואל לבני בניהם which appear in the Persian do not occur in the Chinese.

Adler further comments:

The strangest part of the matter, however, is that nobody seems to have suspected that this Persian Rite would turn out to be founded on the Siddur of Saadia Gaon, whereas all our European rituals are founded on that of Amram Gaon.<sup>6</sup>

Therefore, on the basis of these two statements, it was the opinion of both Adler and Neubauer that the progression of development for this liturgy ran as follows: Saadia - Persian - Chinese. That Saadia had an indirect influence on the Chinese ritual is undeniable, as was discovered when these two nuschoos were compared, but that the Persian rite was the intermediary stage between the two is denied.

On the basis of other references to the effect that the Chinese liturgy was Yemenite in origin,<sup>7</sup> a study of the Yemen ritual was undertaken. Originally, two small Yemen MSS were examined and at once the unmistakable similarity was seen. Unfortunately, however, there were many lacunae in both of these MSS, plus the fact that there were significant variants in

several of the extant portions.

In consultation with Dr. Isaiah Sonne, Professor Emeritus of the Hebrew Union College, he estimated the dates of both MSS to be quite late - somewhere in the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries. A third MS, however, attracted his attention and after examination of it he was able to date it as the copy of MS which was written in 1329. The scribe who had copied this MS was so exacting in his reproduction that he had even copied the date of the original one.

This MS is quite a bit larger than the two previously discussed. It is not simply a siddur, but rather contains various rubrics under which each portion of the service appears with the various additions it may require, depending on the particular service in which it is recited. These rubrics are interspersed with Arabic notes and the major portion of the MS consists of those dinim regarding the worship service. The entire text, exclusive of the liturgical portions, is in Arabic.

At the conclusion of the comparison of this MS (which shall henceforth be referred to as MS Y) with the Chinese MS 24, it became quite evident that Dr. Finkelstein's statement on the texts of Maimonides and Yemen, in which he says: "The texts of Maimonides and Yemen are so much alike as almost to form a single ritual"<sup>8</sup> could well have included the Chinese text also.

It is because of such evidence that the progression of development for this liturgy, rather than that previously cited from Adler and Neubauer, was really: Saadia - Yemen - Chinese.

Therefore, in the text analysis to follow, there appears, aside from a correction of the scribal errors in the Chinese text, a list of all variants from the MS Y. Where it is thought advisable, from the standpoint of striking similarity or interesting difference, instances will also be cited from the other rituals examined - particularly from the Siddur of Saadia Gaon.

TITLE PAGE: This is a weekday, morning service for the Feast of Purim. The Title Page, written in Persian, has been translated by C. Rabin<sup>1</sup> as meaning:

Megillah, one day of Purim.  
One says the prayer of Tamid  
of the two days of Sukka.

*meg. 1 - Purim = Purim Day*

Concerning this rubric, Cecil Roth makes the following observation:

It proves to be...an ordinary week-day ritual, with the addition of a few lines...containing the prayer Al ha Nissim...added to the service on this day, according to all Jewish rites.... The Book of Esther or Megillah... is not included, nor is its recital prescribed or even referred to in the rubrics....It seems from this passage (i.e., the title) that at the time when the MS. was written the term Megillah was applied by the Chinese Jews to the service for Purim, the Book of Esther itself having been lost....at the time of the flood of 1642....One may conjecture the feast which was so popular continued nevertheless to be observed; and, precisely because the Book of Esther had been lost, the liturgy for the day was written in a separate volume, the title Megillah... (which had lost its significance) being transferred to this.<sup>2</sup>

Corrected translation  
Megillah of the day of  
Purim. One ~~says~~ prays the Tamid  
of the two days of Sukkah

E. Speckhard

מגלה רוזפורים תמיד דורון

סוכה נמאז בבאגד

№ 24

THE HATZI KADDISH: MS 24 begins with the hatzi Kaddish, although the Psalms and the Morning Benedictions are not included in the service. That another MS was used in connection with this one is possible, although such a MS is not extant in this collection. One other possibility also presents itself -- that these introductory portions of the morning service were recited at home, before coming to the Synagogue.



# HATZI KADDISH

|   |    |  |
|---|----|--|
| 3 | 1  | יתגדל ויתקדש שמיא רבא בעלמא            |
|   | 2  | יברא כרעיתיה ומליך מלכותיה ויצמח       |
|   | 3  | פורקניה ויקריב משיחיה ויפריה עמיה      |
|   | 4  | ברחמניה בחייכון וביומיוכון ובחיהון דכל |
|   | 5  | בית ישראל בעגלא : ובגמון קריב ואמרו    |
|   | 6  | אמן : יהי שמיא רבא מברך                |
|   | 7  | לעלמא ולעלמי עלמיא יתברך ישתבב         |
|   | 8  | יתפאר יתרוחם יתעלא יתנשא יתהדר         |
|   | 9  | ויתהלל שמיא דקדשא בריך הוא לעילא       |
|   | 10 | לעילא מכל בירכתא שירתא תושבחתא         |
|   | 11 | נחמתא דאמירן בעלמא ואמרו אמן           |

Line 2: The word  $\text{אָרָר}$ , appearing here as one word with a Yod, does not appear in this form elsewhere. In MS Y it is written as two words.

Line 2: In regard to the word  $\text{אָרָר}$ , which appears in just this form in MS Y, de Sola Pool comments:

For the first two paragraphs...every ritual is uniform within its own confines...except for the quite insignificant variant  $\text{אָרָר}$  and  $\text{אָרָר}$  in the Yemen ritual.<sup>1</sup>

$\text{אָרָר}$  not the invariably occurring Hebraizing form  $\text{אָרָר}$ . The second Yod...very often inserted...to avoid reading  $\text{אָרָר}$ , a reading found consistently<sup>49</sup> in the Yemen MSS.<sup>2</sup>

And then, Note 49 reads:

A solitary instance of  $\text{אָרָר}$  in the Kaddish de Rabbanan occurs in Or. 1479 no doubt under the influence of other rites.

This instance of  $\text{אָרָר}$  in MS Y would seem to indicate some error in the conclusions reached by Pool.

Lines 2 and 3: The expression  $\text{וְיִצְחָק בְּרָכָה וְיִקְרֶה מְשִׁיחָה}$  is an insertion found in the Sephardic ritual and in MS Y.

Line 3: The phrase  $\text{וְיִצְחָק בְּרָכָה}$ , which follows the expression just cited above, is found in MS Y, but in no others examined.

Line 4: The word  $\text{בְּרָכָה}$  is not found in MS Y, nor does it appear in any of the other rituals examined. Pool, however, notes that it appears in the Cochin ritual on page 22a.<sup>3</sup>

Line 5: The word וְהוֹחִי' (וְהוֹחִי) instead of וְהוֹחִי, which also appears in MS Y (and in Amram) is, according to Pool, "especially characteristic of Maimonides and Yemen."<sup>4</sup>

Line 7: Of כְּנֻסָּה for כְּנֻסָּה Pool says that it is exceptional. He cites its occurrence in two Genizah fragments, in the Chinese MSS (as seen here), and in the Yemen text of Maimonides' reading.<sup>5</sup> (It appears in MS Y also.) He apparently failed to notice that it also appears in Saadia's Siddur.

Lines 7, 8 and 9: The order of the words from וְהוֹחִי to וְהוֹחִי varies in many rituals.<sup>6</sup> The correct, or standard order, according to de Sola Pool, is:<sup>7</sup>

(1) וְהוֹחִי (2) וְהוֹחִי (3) וְהוֹחִי (4) וְהוֹחִי  
(5) וְהוֹחִי (6) וְהוֹחִי (7) וְהוֹחִי (8) וְהוֹחִי

Therefore, the Chinese MS would correspond 1 2 3 4 7 5 6 8, and the Yemen 1 2 3 4 7 6 8 5. The order adopted by the Chinese is not duplicated in any other ritual.<sup>8</sup>

Line 8: The word וְהוֹחִי is spelled in the Chinese MS with an Aleph instead of the correct Hey.

THE SHEMA AND ITS BLESSINGS: In this section of the service, as in all others, the minor variants from the standard rituals are numerous, but, once again, MS Y is almost an exact duplication of everything found in this Chinese MS. There are, however, variants even between these two and they will be noted. In those instances where both MSS vary from the standard rituals in significant points, mention will also be made.

אל ברוך

גדול ונעלה התקין ופעל גומלי חסד טוב

יצר כבוד לשמו מאורות נתן סביבות

עזר פניות עבדות קדושים רוחמי שדי

תמיד יספרו לאל קדושתו: תתגדלך

יהיה אלהינו בשמים ממעל ועל הארץ

מתחת ועל כל שבת מעשה ידיו ומאורות

אשר יצרת חסד יצא רוח סלח: תתברך

לעד צורינו מלכינו גואלנו בורא

קדושים ישתבח שמך לעד מלכינו יוצר

משרתים אשר משרתיו עומדים ברום

עולם ומשמיעם את קולם יחד בדברי

אלהים חיים ומלך עולם: כולם אהובים

כולם ברורים כולם גבורים עושים באימה

רצון קוניהם באהבה כולם מקבלים עליהם

Lines 1 and 2: In the "Call to Worship," the Bor'chu in this MS as well as in MS 1 is introduced by the ~~Hebrew~~ word יְהוָה. The following statement of instruction, יְהוָה יְהוָה יְהוָה, which apparently directs the congregation to respond, is not found in MS 1. Neither of these Persian rubrics appear in MS Y.

Line 1: Here, as in all instances throughout this MS, the Chinese scribe writes the Tetragrammaton as יהוה. It is, however, characteristic of all early Yemen MSS to write the Tetragrammaton as יה, which is the way it appears throughout MS Y.

Line 6: The ending of the word יְהוָה is the first of many instances in which the Chinese MS contains a final Nun instead of the final Mem used in the Yemen MS.

Line 7: The words יְהוָה יְהוָה, which appear in the standard rituals, are omitted in the Chinese and Yemen MSS (as well as in Saadia) and therefore the following word יְהוָה becomes יְהוה in these two MSS.

Line 8: The Vov at the end of יהוה is extended too far and looks like a final Nun.

Line 10: The addition of the word יְהוָה between יְהוָה and יְהוָה is also in MS Y.

Line 10: The word יְהוָה was not found in any other ritual which was examined.

Line 11: The word יְהוָה which is also an addition to this phrase, is included in MS Y.

Line 12: The addition of the word יְהוָה in both the Chinese and the Yemen MSS may be indicative of time in view of Finkelstein's remarks on the use of יְהוָה in the Amidah.<sup>1</sup>

אל צדק

גדול דעה התקין ופעל לזמרי חמה טוב

יצר כבוד לשמו מאורות נתן סביבות

עוזו פניו עבדות קדושים רוממי שדי

תמיד יספרו לאל קדושתו: תתברך

יהוה אלהינו בשמים מחעל ועלה ארץ

חתחת ועל כל שבת מעשה ידיך ומאורות

אשר יצרת חמה וצדק סלח: תתברך

לעד צורינו מלכינו גואלנו בורא

קדושים ישתבח שמך לעד מלכינו יוצר

משרתים אשר משרתיו עומדים ברום

עולם ומשמיעם את קולם יחד בדברי

אלהים חיים ומלך עולם: כולם אהובים

כולם ברורים כולם גבורים עושים באימה

רצון קוניהם באהבה כולם מקבלים עליהם

עול מלכות שמים זה מזה וגית עין רשות

16

זה לזה להקדיש ליועזרם בנחת רוח

17

בשפה ברורה כנעימה נהורה כולל

18

באמרי ענין ביראה ויזמריין קדושין

19

ק יהיה צבאות מלך כל הארץ כבודו

20

יהי אפנים וחיות הקדש מתגשמים

21

יחד לעומתן משפחין ואומריין ברוך

22

כבוד יהוה ממקומן

23

לאל ברוך געמית יתנו לחלך אל

24

וקיים זמירות יאמרו ותושביות

25

ישמיעו כי הוא לבדו פועל גבורות

26

עושה חדשות גורע בדקות מעמית

27

ישועות אידן הפלאות המחדש בכל

28



יום תמיד מעשה צראשית באמור לעושה 29

אורים גדולים כי לעולם חסדו התקנת 30

מאורות לשמח עולם ברוך אתה יהוה 31

יוצר המאורות : אמן 32

Line 2: Although the word 'ר'י' might appear to be a scribal or grammatical error for 'ר'י', which appears in all of the other rituals, this form is cited in one of the MSS of Saadia.<sup>2</sup>

Line 5: The phrase 'ר'י' instead of the usual 'ר'י' found in MS Y and Saadia.

Lines 5,6,7 and 8: This paragraph from 'ר'י' through 'ר'י' is duplicated in the Yemen MSS, but all other rituals examined vary to a certain extent.

Line 12: The word 'ר'י' should have a Yod between the last two letters, as it appears in MS 1.

Line 19: For 'ר'י', which appears here and in other rituals, MS Y has 'ר'י'.

Line 19: The word 'ר'י' is another example of the final Nun in the Chinese where a final Mem is found in MS Y.

Lines 19 and 20: It is interesting to note the abbreviation here for no other abbreviations appear in the text.

Lines 21 and 22: Although the word 'ר'י' follows 'ר'י' in the Chinese, it is inserted between 'ר'י' and 'ר'י' in MS Y. Both versions omit 'ר'י'.

Line 22: Once again, in the word 'ר'י', the Chinese has a final Nun while MS Y has a final Mem.

Line 30: The first Yod in 'ר'י' is a scribal error and should read 'ר'י'.

1 אהבת עולם אהבתנו יהוה אלהינו חמלה

2 גדולה יתירה חמלה עלינו אבינו חלבינו

3 בעבור שמך ובעבור אבותינו אשר

4 בטחובך ותלמידינו חסידים חיים בך תהנו

5 אבינו אב הרחמן הרחם רחם נא עלינו

6 יתן חלבינו להבי ולשכיל לשמוע ללמוד

7 וללמד לשמור ולעשות ולקיים את כל

8 דברי תלמוד תורתך באהבה : והא

9 עינינו במצותיך ודבק חלבינו יראתך

10 ויחד לחבינו לאהבה את שמך : ומלוד

11 עלינו מהרה אבה לפודך כי שם קדשך

12 באמת נקרא עלינו ובעבור שמך אהל

13 הגדול הגבור והנורא מהרה באהבה תרים

14 קרענו ותגשיענו למען שמך : כד

כְּטַחֲנוּ וּלֹא נָבוֹשׁ וּבִשְׁמֶךָ חֲסִינוּ לֹא נִכְלָם —

15

וּלֹא נִבְשַׁל עַד עוֹלָמִיכִי אֲבִינוּ מְלִכֵנוּ —

16

אֵתָהּ נִגְיִלָה וְנִשְׁמַחָה בִּישׁוּעֶתֶיךָ רַחֲמֶיךָ

17

יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ וְחֲסִדֶיךָ אֵל יַעֲזֹבֵינוּ גְּעַח סִלָּה

18

לַעֲדָה וְהִבָּא עֲלֵינוּ בְּרָכָה וּשְׁלוֹם מֵאֲרָבָע —

19

בְּנִפְתּוֹת הָאָרֶץ וְהוֹלִיכֵנוּ מִהֲרָה קוֹמִיזוּ —

20

לְאֶרְצֵינוּ כִּי בָנוּ בַּחֲרֵת מְכַל עַם וּלְשׁוֹן

21

וְקִרְבָּנוּ לְשִׁמְךָ לְהוֹדוֹת לָךְ וּלְיַחֲדֶךָ וּלְרוֹמְמֶךָ

22

לְאַהֲבָה אֶת שִׁמְךָ בְּרוּךְ אַתָּה יְהוָה חֲבוּתָהּ —

23

בַּעֲמוֹ יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּאַהֲבָה :

24

Line 1: The second of the blessings that precede the Shema begins here, and in MS Y (as well as in Saadia) with the words אהבה רבא.

Idelsohn comments:

The controversy in b. Ber. 11b whether ahava rabba or ahavath olam should be used was decided by the Gaonim by assigning the first version for Shaharith and the second version for Maariv. The Sephardic and Italian rituals, however, use the second version only.

Line 1: The word אהבה must be corrected to אהבה.

Line 4: The word חוקי must be corrected to חוקי.

Line 4: The word אהבה must be corrected to אהבה.

Line 6: The expression אהבה רבא must be corrected to אהבה רבא.

Line 7: MS Y has no Vov conjunctive before אהבה.

Lines 12 to 17: This section, from אהבה through אהבה appears only in MS Y and Saadia.

Line 12: The word אהבה does not occur in MS Y.

Line 18: Although the word אהבה appears as אהבה in MS Y as well as others, it does appear in this form in Spanish-Portuguese ritual.

Line 23: MS Y has a Vov conjunctive before the word אהבה.

THE SHEMA: Consisting, as it does, of Deuteronomy 6:4-8; 11:13-22; and Numbers 15:37-42, appears here just as it does in all of the rituals.

The only notation necessary in connection with these passages is in Line 13 where the word שׁוּר is incorrectly spelled שׁוּר'.

שמע ישראל יהוה אלהינו יהוה אחד: ברוך

שם כבוד מלכותו לעולם ועד:

וזהבית את יהוה אלהיך בכל לבבך ובכל

נפשך ובכך מאדך: והיו הדברים האלה

אשר אנכי מצוך היום על לבבך: ושננתם

לבניך ודברת בהם בשבתך בביתך ובלכתך

בדרך ובשכבך ובקומך: וקשרתם לאזות על

ידך והיו לטוטפת בין עיניך: וכתבתם ער-

מוזות ביתך ובישעריך: והיה אם

שמעו תשמעו אל מצותי אשר אנכי מצוה

אתכם היום לאהבה את יהוה אלהיכם ולעשיו

בכל לבבכם ובכל נפשכם: ונתתי מטר

ארצכם בעתו יורם ומלקוש ואספת ואגן

ותירשך ויצהריך: ונתתי עשב בשדה

לצהמותך ואכלת ושבעת: השמרן לכם  
פן יפתא לבבכם וסרתם ועבדתם אלהים  
אחרים ונשתחו יותם להם והרה אף יהוה  
בכם ועצר את השמים ולא יהיה מטר  
ומגדמה לא תתן את יכולה ואבדתם  
מהרה מעל הארץ העבה אשר יהוה נתן  
לכם: ושמרתם את דברי אלה על לבבכם  
ועל נפשכם וקשרתם אתם לאות על  
ידיכם והיו לטעפות בין עיניכם: ולמדתם  
אתם את בניכם לדבר בם בשבת  
בביתך ובלכתך בדרך ובשכבך ובקומך: וכתבתם  
על מזוזות ביתך ובשעריך: למען יראו  
ימיכם וימי בניכם על האדמה אשר נשבע יהוה  
לאבותיכם לתת להם כימי השמים על הארץ:



וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל חֹשֶׁה לֵאמֹר יִדְבַר אֵל  
בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וְאָמַרְתָּ אֲלֵהֶם וַעֲשׂוּ לָהֶם עֲצִיצֹת  
עַל כַּנְפֵי בְּגָדֵיהֶם לְדַרְתָּם וְנִתְּנוּ עַל עֲצִיצֹת  
הַכַּנָּף כִּתְלֵי תְּכֵלֶת וְהָיָה לָכֶם לְעִיצֹת וּרְאִיתֶם  
אֶתֹכֶם וְזָכַרְתֶּם אֶת כָּל מַעֲשֵׂוֹת יְהוָה וַעֲשִׂיתֶם  
אֹתָם וְלֹא תִגְדְּלוּ אַחֲרָיו לְבַבְכֶּם וְאַחֲרָיו  
עֵינֵיכֶם אֲשֶׁר אֲתֶם זֹנִים אַחֲרֵיהֶם לִמְעַן  
תִּזְכְּרוּ וַעֲשִׂיתֶם אֶת כָּל מַעֲשֵׂוֹתַי וְהָיִיתֶם —  
קְדוֹשִׁים לֵאלֹהֵיכֶם אֲנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם אֲשֶׁר  
הוֹצֵאתִי אֶתְכֶם מִמִּצְרָיִם מִעֲרִיִם לְהַיְיֹרֵת  
לָכֶם לֵאלֹהִים אֲנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם׃

THE SHEMA: BLESSINGS AFTER

- 1 אֶחָד וְיֵשׁוּעַ נְכוּן וְקַיִם יִשְׂרָאֵל וְנֶאֱמָר אֱלֹהִים
- 2 וְהַצִּיב נֶאֱמָר וְנֶעֱמִים נִוְרָא וְאֵדִיר אֱלֹהִים
- 3 חֲתִיקָן וְחִקְוָבֵל וְחִפּוּאָר טוֹב וִיפֵא אֱדָבֵר
- 4 אֱלֹהִים עֲלֵינוּ לְעִילָם וְעַד:
- 5 אֶחָד אֱלֹהִים עוֹלָם מְלִכֵנוּ צוּר יַעֲקֹב חֲגָן
- 6 יִשְׁעֵנוּ לְדוֹר וָדוֹר הוּא קַיִם וְשִׁמוֹ קַיִם
- 7 כִּסֵּאֵנוּ נְכוּן וְחִלְכוּתוֹ וְאֶמּוּנָתוֹ קַיִם וְחִדּוּתוֹ:
- 8 דְּבָרָיו אֱלֹהִים קַיִם וְחִדּוּתוֹ לְעַד וְלְעוֹלָמֵי עוֹלָמִים
- 9 עֲלֵינוּ וְעַל אֲבוֹתֵינוּ עַל בְּנֵינוּ וְעַל כָּל
- 10 דוֹרוֹתֵינוּ עַל אֲרָשׁוֹנֵינוּ וְעַל אֲחֵרֵינוּ
- 11 דְּבַר טוֹב וְקַיִם בְּאֶמֶת חוֹף וְלֹא וְעַבְרָה
- 12 אֶחָד שְׁמֵהּ הוּא יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ וְאֵלֵינוּ
- 13 אֲבוֹתֵנוּ מְלִכֵנוּ וְחִלְךָ אֲבוֹתֵנוּ גּוֹאֲלֵנוּ
- 14 וְגֹאֲלֵנוּ אֶת אֲבוֹתֵנוּ יוֹצֵרֵנוּ וְצוּר יִשׁוּעֵנוּ

15 פוּדִינוּ וּמַעֲלֵנוּ מֵעוֹלָם הוּא שֶׁמֶךְ וְהֵינּוּ

16 לָנוּ אֱלֹהִים עוֹד דּוֹלֵתֶיךָ:

17 עֲזַרְתָּ אֲבוֹתֵינוּ אֶתְּהָ הוּא מֵעוֹלָם — מִזֶּן

18 וּמוֹשִׁיעַ לְבַעֲיָהֶם אֶהְרִיחֶם בְּכָל יוֹר וְדוֹר —

19 בְּרוֹם עוֹלָם מוֹשִׁבֶיךָ וּמִשְׁפַּטֶּיךָ וְעִדְתְּךָ —

20 עַד אֶפְסֵי אֶרֶץ

21 אֶחָת אֲשֶׁרִי אִישׁ אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁמַע אֵל מִצִּיתֶיךָ

22 וְדַבְרֶיךָ וּמִקֵּיךָ יִשׁוּם עַל לִבּוֹ:

23 אֶחָת אֶתְּהָ הִיא אֶרֶץ לַעֲמֹךְ מֶלֶךְ גִּבּוֹר —

24 לְרֹב רִיבָם לְאֻבִּית וּבְנִים אֶחָת אֶתְּהָ הִיא

25 רִאשׁוֹן וְאַתָּה הוּא אַחֲרוֹן וּמַצְלֵעֵיךָ אֵין לָנוּ

26 מוֹשִׁיעַ: אֶחָת מִחֲעָרִים גְּאֻלָּתֵנוּ

27 וְהוּא אֱלֹהֵינוּ מִבֵּית עַבְדִּים פְּדִיתֵנוּ וּבְרָא

28 תְּכוּרֵי מִעָרִים צִדְרָה זֶרֶת וּבְכוֹרֶךָ גְּאֻלָּתֵנוּ

וים סוף בקעת וזדים טבעת וידידים עברו 29

מים ויבסו מים צריהם אחר מהם לא גוטר: 30

ועל זעת שבת ידובי ורוחמו לאל וגתנו 31

וידיים זמירות שירות אושבחות לחלף 32

Lines 2 and 3: The words חַנּוּךְ and מְנַבֵּאֵר which add to the description of God's words in this sentence are not found in any of the other rituals examined.

Line 8: MS Y has a Vov conjunctive before the word דָּבָרָיו.

Line 8: The expression דָּבָרָיו חַיִּים קִיִּימִים which appears here, appears in MS Y with the word וְנִכְנָחִים substituted for the word קִיִּימִים. Saadia has וְנִכְנָחִים קִיִּימִים דָּבָרָיו while the Ashkenazic and the Spanish-Portuguese rituals have דָּבָרָיו חַיִּים וְנִכְנָחִים וְנִכְנָחִים דָּבָרָיו.

Line 11: Omitted from this sentence in the Chinese and Yemen MSS but appearing in most others are the words דָּבָרָיו חַיִּים following וְנִכְנָחִים.

Line 22: MS Y, as well as most other rituals examined, contains the word מְנַבֵּאֵר following וְנִכְנָחִים.

Line 22: The word וְנִכְנָחִים does not appear in any other ritual which was examined.

Line 23: MS Y has a Vov conjunctive before מְנַבֵּאֵר.

Line 24: MS Y has מְנַבֵּאֵר instead of מְנַבֵּאֵר which occurs here.

Line 24: Both the Chinese and Yemen MSS include the expression מְנַבֵּאֵר דָּבָרָיו which does not occur elsewhere.

Line 27: The Vov conjunctive before the word וְנִכְנָחִים is probably a ditto-graphy from the Vov at the end of the word וְנִכְנָחִים and does not belong.

Line 31: The word וְנִכְנָחִים must be corrected to וְנִכְנָחִים. *It restores the way.*

Line 31: MS Y has the word וְנִכְנָחִים in place of וְנִכְנָחִים.

Line 32: The order of the words מְנַבֵּאֵר דָּבָרָיו is reversed in MS Y.

אֵל חַי וְקַיּוּם דָּם וְנֶשֶׁם גָּדוֹל גְּבוּר וְנוֹרָא 33

מִשְׁפִּיל גָּאִים עַד אֶרֶץ מַגְבִּיהַ שְׁפִלִים עַד 34

מִדָּם מוֹעִיָּא אֶסְיִדִים וּפְיִדָה עַנְיִים וְעוֹזֵר 35

וְלִיִּם וְעוֹנָה לַעֲמֹי שְׂרָאֵל בַּעַת שׁוֹעֵם — 36

אֵלֵינוּ תִּהְיֶה לֵאלֹהֵי עֲלִיוֹן בְּרוּךְ הוּא מִשֶּׁה 37

וְכָל בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל לְךָ אֲחֵרֵי שׁוֹרָה בְּשִׁחָה — 38


רַבָּה וְאֲמָרוּ כֹּלָם מִי כְמוֹכָהּ בְּאֵלֶם יְהוּדָה מִי 39

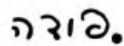
בְּמִכָּה גְּאֵדֵר בְּקֹדֶשׁ גּוֹרָא תִּהְיֶה עוֹשֶׂה — 40

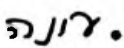
פֶּלֶא יִהְיֶה יִמְלֹךְ לַעֲוֹלָם וְעַד וְנֶאֱמָר — 41

גִּיּוֹלִינוּ יְהוּה עֲבָדָיו שְׁמוֹ קָדוֹשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל 42

בְּרוּךְ אַתָּה יְהוּה גִּאֲלֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל: דָּמֵן 43

Line 34: MS Y has  instead of .

Line 35: MS Y does not have a Vov conjunctive before .

Line 36: MS Y does not have a Vov conjunctive before .

Lines 41 and 42: The Chinese, Yemen and Saadia omit the Shiro Hadosho and the Tzur Yisroel statements between the verses of the Mee Chomocho.



THE AMIDAH: The text for the Amidah appears twice in this MS, the silent version on pages 15ff., and the repetition is found on pages 24ff. These two texts are identical.

The text analysis of this prayer will be treated in three parts - 1) the Introductory Benedictions, 2) the Intermediate Benedictions and 3) the Concluding Benedictions. In this prayer, an attempt will be made to show the full scope of variations between the Chinese ritual and the more standard rites -- i.e., Ashkenazic, Spanish-Portuguese, Amram, Saadia and the "almost unknown"<sup>1</sup> Persian. It must be kept in mind, however, that here as elsewhere, the basic similarity between MS Y and the Chinese (as was clearly evidenced in the precedings sections) still remains. Where these two texts do vary within the Amidah mention will be made, but aside from these noted variants the texts remain identical.

THE AMIDAH: INTRODUCTORY BENEDICTIONS

|                                      |    |
|--------------------------------------|----|
| יהוה שפתי תפתח ופי יגיד תהלתך ברוך   | 1  |
| אתה יהוה אלהינו ואלהי אבותינו אלהי   | 2  |
| אברהם אלהי יצחק ואלהי יעקב האלהי     | 3  |
| הגדול הגבור והנורא אל עליון גומל     | 4  |
| חסדים טובים וקונה הכל זוכר חסדי אבות | 5  |
| ומרחם על בניהם ומביא גואל לזרעם      | 6  |
| אמריהם מלך רחמן מושיע ומגן ברוך אתה  | 7  |
| יהוה מגן אברהם יצחק                  | 8  |
| אתה גבור לעולם יהוה מאיה מתים אתה    | 9  |
| רב להושיע משיב הרוח ומוריד הגשם      | 10 |
| מכל כל חיים באתה מאיה מתים בראתים    | 11 |
| רבים רופא חולים ודומך נפלים ומתיר    | 12 |
| אסורים ומקיים אמונתו לשינוי עפר מי   | 13 |
| במזבח בעל גבורות ומי יומה לך מחיה    | 14 |

וְחַיִּיתָ וְנִשְׁמַחְךָ אֲתָה לְחַיִּיִּת מִתֵּיבָה בְּרוּךְ—

15

אֲתָה יְהוָה חַיִּיתָ הַחַיִּיִּם אֲתָה קָדוֹשׁ—

16

וְשִׂמְךָ קָדוֹשׁ וְקָדוֹשִׁים בְּכָל יוֹם יִהְיֶה לְךָ—

17

סֵלָה בְּרוּךְ אֲתָה יְהוָה הָאֵל הַקָּדוֹשׁ :

18

Line 6: Concerning the phrase *וארחם על בנייהם*, it is not duplicated in any other ritual except the Persian. However, it must be noted that while all other rituals remain standard regarding everything surrounding this expression (therefore agreeing with the Chinese in all but this expression) the Persian agrees in these three words but disagrees around them.<sup>2</sup>

Line 6: The word *וארחם* must be corrected to *וארחם*.

Lines 6 and 7: The phrase *לפרצם אחריהם מלק רחמן* is duplicated, once again, in the Persian (which disagrees with the text around the phrase). Saadia contains the words *לפרצם אחריהם*, while MS Y contains only the words *מלק רחמן*. Amram, the Ashkenazic and the Spanish-Portuguese rituals have *לכני בנייהם למען יאמי באהבה מלק עוזר*.

Line 12: MS Y agrees with the reversed order of *רוכא חולים* and *וויסמק נובלים*, while Saadia omits *וויסמק נובלים* and includes an insertion at this point.

Lines 14 and 15: In Amram, the Ashkenazic and the Spanish-Portuguese rituals, the standard phrase *מלק ממית ומחיה ומצמיח יסודה* appears, while the Chinese, Saadia and MS Y omit *מלק* and *ומצמיח*.

Line 17: Saadia inserts *קדוש ופברק קדוש וכסאק קדוש* between *קדוש* and *לדור ודור המליכו לא*. Amram has the following text:

כי הוא לבדו מרים וקדוש וסבחך אלהינו מברך לא יחיש לעולם כי מלק  
שדוש וקדוש אתה ברוך אתה ה' האל הקדוש.

THE AMIDAH: INTERMEDIARY BENEDICTIONS

- 1 אַתָּה יְיָ לֵאמֹר וְעַתָּה וּמִלְחָמָה לֵאמֹר וְשׁ
- 2 בִּינָה וְאַתָּה הַבְּדִילָה בֵּין קוֹדֶשׁ לְאֹהֶל בֵּין
- 3 אֵוֶר לְחֹשֶׁךְ וּבֵין יוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי לַשִּׁשִּׁי יְיָ
- 4 הַמַּעֲשֶׂה בְּשֵׁם שְׁהַבְדִּילָה בֵּין קוֹדֶשׁ לְאֹהֶל בֵּין
- 5 פְּרִי וְהַצִּילוֹ מִכָּל מִינֵי מַשְׁמָחִית וּמִכָּל
- 6 מִינֵי פֹרְעָנוּת הַמַּעֲרָגִישׁוֹת בַּעֲוֹלָם וּשְׁמָרְנוּ
- 7 מִן הַכָּל וְחַנּוּנוֹ מֵאַתָּה יְיָ וְבִינָה וְהַשְׁכֵּל
- 8 בְּרוּךְ אַתָּה יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ הַדֹּעַת: אָמֵן
- 9 הַשִּׁיבֵנוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ לְתוֹרָתְךָ וְקִרְבָנוּ מִלִּבְנוּ
- 10 לַעֲבוּדֶיךָ וְהַחֲוִירָנוּ בַּתְּשׁוּבָה שְׁלִימָה
- 11 לְפָנֶיךָ בְּרוּךְ אַתָּה יְיָ הַרוֹצֶה בַּתְּשׁוּעָה:
- 12 יְיָ מִן סֵלָה לָנוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ כִּי מַעֲאָנוּ
- 13 מִיָּהוּל לָנוּ מִלִּבְנוּ כִּי פִשְׁעֵנוּ כִּי אֵל טוֹב
- 14 וּסֵלָה אַתָּה בְּרוּךְ אַתָּה יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ וְהַרְבֵּה

ראה בענינו וריצה

לסלוח: אמן

15

ריבנו ומהר לגאלנו כי אל גואל וחזק

16



Line 1: The first of the Intermediary Benedictions, Binoh, contains the Havdaloh which is found in MS Y and Saadia under the rubric הבדלה.

Its variants from these latter two muschoos follows.

Line 3: MS Y includes the expression והין ישראל לגוי.

Line 4: Saadia has the form ההבדלה instead of הבדלה.

Lines 4,5 and 6: Saadia has: הבדלה הארצית והכללית "ארצית" "כללית" הארץ והכלל, in variance from the Chinese text (with which MS Y agrees except as follows).

Line 5: The word גוי should be spelled גוי.

Line 6: MS Y inserts the word לכבוד after המארח.

Line 7: In place of מן הכל וחננו, Saadia has מן הכל וחננו.

Line 9: This benediction agrees with all other rituals except Saadia.

In this line he inserts הבדלה after למארח and then omitting הבדלה he inserts הבדלה.

Line 10: The word החזירנו must be corrected to החזירנו.

Line 11: The word המארח must be corrected to המארח.

Lines 13 and 14: Both Saadia and Amram omit the phrase כי אם לא while the Ashkenazic rite omits only כי אם and inserts כי מוחל.

Line 14: Both the Ashkenazic and Spanish-Portuguese rituals have המארח instead of המארח.

Line 15: This benediction disagrees primarily with Saadia. In this line he has וריה instead of וריה.

Line 16: Following the word רינו Saadia has המארח.

Line 16: before the hasimo.

Line 16: MS Y has the word מחל before המארח.

אתה ברוך אתה יהוה גואל ישראל:  
17

ימן רפאנו יהוה אלהינו  
18

ונרפא הושיענו ונושעת והעולה רפואה  
19

שלימה לכל תמלוטנו כי אל רופא  
20

ורחמן אתה ברוך אתה יהוה רופא מול  
21

Line 18: This benediction agrees, basically, only with MS Y, however, in this line even MS Y, along with all other rituals, does not have the word  $\text{יהוה}$  coupled with  $\text{אלהינו}$ .

Line 19: The word  $\text{והצלה}$  must be corrected to  $\text{והצלח}$  with MS Y.

Line 19: After the word  $\text{ועצרה}$  Saadia concludes with the basimo.

Amram omits the phrase  $\text{אחלואינו}$  and has  $\text{אחלואינו}$  before the basimo, while the Ashkenazic and Spanish-Portuguese rituals join him in this latter expression. Then there follows, in the Ashkenazic text the same phrase as that used in the Chinese except that it ends with  $\text{אחלואינו}$  instead of  $\text{אחלואינו}$ . The Spanish-Portuguese text has, however,  $\text{אחלואינו}$  and  $\text{אחלואינו}$ .

Line 20: Both the Ashkenazic and Spanish-Portuguese have  $\text{מלך}$  before  $\text{רובא}$ .

Line 21: Both the Ashkenazic and Spanish-Portuguese have  $\text{נאמן}$  before  $\text{רחמן}$ , with no Vov conjunctive (which is also absent in MS Y).

22 עמו ישראל: אמן צרכנו יהוה אלהינו

23 בכל מעשה ידיו וברך את שנותינו

24 ואתן על ומהר על פני האדמה ושבע את

25 העולם בולו מצרכות טובין ורוח פני תבל

26 מעשר מתנות ידיך שמחה והעילה יהוה

27 אלהינו את השנה הזאת ואת כל מין

28 תבואתה מכל מיני משמית ומכל מין

29 פורעניות ואתן לה אחריות ותקוה שובע

30 ושלום וברכא בשנים הטובות ברוך אתה

31 יהוה מצרך השנים: אמן

32 תקע בשופר גדול לאירותינו ושא נס

33 מחרה לקצץ את כלגליותינו חזרנו

34 בנפות הארץ לארצנו ברוך אתה יהוה

35 מקצץ נדחי עמו ישראל: אמן

השיבה שופטינו בראשונה ויועצינו — 36

בנחלתה והסר ממנו יגון ואנחה ומלך 37

עליו מהרה אתה לבדך צדקמים בעדך 38

ובמשפט ברוך אתה יהוה מלך אלהים 39

צדק וחשפט : אמן 40

Line 22: Aside from the agreement of texts between the Chinese and Yemen MSS regarding the form and content of this benediction, no other versions agree either with the Chinese or with one another. For example, although all of the words contained in the Ashkenazic ritual (with the exception of *קדוש* *והשם*) also appear here, the order is quite different and the Chinese version is longer; Saadia's text contains only fourteen words, all of which appear in the Chinese; while Amram and the Spanish-Portuguese ritual are much longer than any of the rest.

Line 25: Instead of the words *קדוש* *מברכות* MS Y has *קדוש*.

Line 32: Saadia has no *Bes* before *ברוך*.

Line 33: Neither MS Y, the Ashkenazic nor the Spanish-Portuguese rituals has the word *מהרה*.

Line 33: The Ashkenazic and Spanish Portuguese omit *כא*, and after *עליונים* they add *נח* *וקדוש*, while the Spanish-Portuguese further adds the word *מהרה*. Saadia has, instead of *קדוש*, the form *קדוש* followed by the basimo.

Line 34: The Ashkenazic ritual omits the word *אשר*.

Line 36: This benediction agrees with MS Y, the Ashkenazic and the Spanish-Portuguese except in the following instances.

Line 38: Both the Spanish-Portuguese and the Ashkenazic texts have *יהוה* between *אשר* and *קדוש*. The latter ritual also has *נח* before *ברוך* and instead of the word *קדוש* it has *קדוש*.

Line 39: MS Y omits the word *נח*.

Line 40: The word *קדוש* which is followed by *שם*, although it is not duplicated in any of the rituals examined and might appear to be a scribal error for *קדוש*, appears in the same form in the Repetition of the Amidah as well

לחשודים אל תהי תקוה וכל החינים כרע 41

יִתְּצֵם וְיִלְכֹּט זֶדֶן תַּעֲקֹר וְתִשְׁבֵּר מְהֵרָה 42

בְּיָמֵינוּ בְּרוּךְ אַתָּה יְיָ שׁוֹכֵר אֲזוּזִים 43

וּמַבְנֵי זִמְזִים: אָמֵן על הצדיקים 44

וְעַל גִּירוֹ הַצַּדִּיק וְעַל שְׁאֵרֵי עַמּוֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל 45

יְהִי רַחֲמֶיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ וְעַן שְׂכַר טוֹב 46

לְכָל הַבּוֹטְחִים בְּשִׁמְךָ בְּאַמֶּת וּשְׁיִם חֲרִיקֵינוּ 47

עֲמָהֶם לְעוֹלָם לֵךְ נְבוֹשָׁבִי בְּשִׁמְךָ בְּעֲמָנוּ 48

וְלִישׁוּעָתְךָ נִשְׁעָנוּ בְּרוּךְ אַתָּה יְיָ מִשְׁעָן 49

וּמִבְטָח לַעֲדִיקִים: אָמֵן בְּשִׁכּוֹן בְּעִין 50

יְרוּשָׁלַיִם עִירְךָ כַּאֲשֶׁר דָּבַרְתָּ וּבָנִיתָ אֶת 51

as in MS 1. It may, therefore, be vocalized as פֶּזֶז with the possibility of its having come from another rite.

Line 41: Here, as in MS Y, Saadia and Amram, the benediction begins with the word מְחַיֵּים instead of מְחַיֵּים which is in the Ashkenazic and the Spanish-Portuguese rites.

Line 41: Amram omits וְכֵן, the Spanish-Portuguese rite adds וְכֵן חַיֵּים and the Ashkenazic ritual substitutes הַרְעָה for הַחַיֵּים.

Lines 41 and 42: Saadia omits the phrase וְכֵן הַחַיֵּים כְּרָעָה יְאֵבֵדָה and places מְהֵרָה before אֶעֱקֹר וְאֶשְׁחֵר.

Line 42: Amram adds וְכֵן אֵיבֵי עַמְּךָ יִכְרְאוּ מְהֵרָה, the Ashkenazic text adds וְכֵן אֵיבֵי עַמְּךָ יִכְרְאוּ מְהֵרָה, while the Spanish-Portuguese omit אֶעֱקֹר וְאֶשְׁחֵר and then add a phrase concerning "enemies, haters and wicked ones."

Line 43: Amram adds וְכֵן אֵיבֵי עַמְּךָ before the word הַחַיֵּים.

Line 44: The variants between this version of the thirteenth benediction and the others are very insignificant, except for the following instance.

Line 45: This ritual omits the phrase וְכֵן הַחַיֵּים which appears in all others.

Line 50: This benediction agrees only with MS Y and Maimonides<sup>1</sup> with one interesting exception -- the omission of וְכֵן הַחַיֵּים in line 52 which is a phrase included in all other rituals except the Chinese and, as will be noted later, Saadia.

Line 50: The Ashkenazic version begins with וְכֵן הַחַיֵּים עֵרֶק בְּרַחֲמֵי אֱלֹהִים.

Line 51: MS Y has the word כֵּן before הַחַיֵּים.

Line 51: The Spanish-Portuguese rite adds וְכֵן הַחַיֵּים בְּרַחֲמֵי אֱלֹהִים after the word בְּרַחֲמֵי, whereas the Ashkenazic ritual adds this phrase before the hasimo.



מחרה בימנו ברוך אתה יהוה בונה ירושלים: 52

ימן את עצמך וייר מחרה תעמיד 53

וקרנו תרומ בישועתך ברוך אתה יהוה מעמיד 54

קרבן ישועה: ימן שח ע קולנו יהוה 55

אלהינו אום ורחם עלינו וקבל ברחמים 56

את תפלתינו חלפניך חלכנו ריקם אל 57

Line 52: The Ashkenazic text reads *מְהֵרָה בְּקוֹרָה* for *מְהֵרָה*, and then, along with the Spanish-Portuguese, Amram, MS Y and Maimonides, adds *בְּנֵי עוֹלָם*.

Lines 50, 51 and 52: The texts of both Amram and Saadia for this benediction (the fourteenth) follow here because they are so diverse from the Chinese.

Amram has a modified text - *גַּל יְחִיעֵל עִירָה בְּרַחֲמֵי שָׁלוֹם וְנֶחֱמָה אֵלֶיךָ*

*יְבִנֵּי עוֹלָם בְּיָמֵינוּ*

Saadia has - *רַחֵם יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ עַל יִשְׂרָאֵל עַמְּךָ וְעַל יְרוּשָׁלַיִם עִירָךָ וְעַל רִיבְכָךָ וְעַל מְנוּחָךָ וְעַל צִיּוֹן מְסֻכָּה כְּבֹדְךָ וְנֶחֱמָה בְּרַחֲמֵי אֵל יְרוּשָׁלַיִם*.

Therefore, Saadia, having an entirely different text, is the only ritual to agree with the Chinese MS in the omission of *בְּנֵי עוֹלָם*.

Line 53: Amram's text for this benediction is identical with the Chinese, while Saadia substitutes *עֵלֶיךָ* for *מְהֵרָה* in this line.

Line 53: The Ashkenazic and Spanish-Portuguese rituals add the words

*מְהֵרָה בְּקוֹרָה* after the word *וְנֶחֱמָה*.

Line 54: The Ashkenazic and Spanish-Portuguese rituals add *כִּי יִשְׂרָאֵל קוֹיָנוּ כָּל הַיּוֹם* after *בְּיָמֵינוּ*.

Line 55: MS Y has *יִשְׂרָאֵל* instead of *יִשְׂרָאֵל*.

Line 55: This benediction disagrees with all texts other than MS Y in the following instances.

Line 56: The Spanish-Portuguese add *אֱלֹהֵינוּ* after *אֵלֶיךָ הִרְחֵם*.

Line 56: The Spanish-Portuguese, Ashkenazic, Amram and MS Y add *וְהַרְחֵם* after *בְּרַחֲמֵי*.

Line 57: After the word *תְּפִלָּתֵנוּ* - Saadia substitutes *וּמִלֵּא בְּרַחֲמֵי הַרְבֵּי*

*כִּי מִסְאֵל וְלֹא לִבְנוֹ* and follows with the *basimo*; the Spanish-Portuguese,

Ashkenazic and Amram add *כִּי אֵל שְׂמוֹעַ תְּפִלָּתֵנוּ וְנֶחֱמָה אֵלֶיךָ*, and Amram continues

*מִדְּעוֹלָם וְלֹא נֶחֱמָה רִיקָה מִלְּפָנֶיךָ כִּי אֵל מִלֵּא בְּרַחֲמֵי אֵלֶיךָ*.

תשובנו בי אלה שומע תפלה כל צד צדק

58

אלה יהוה שומע תפלה : צדק

59

Line 58: After the word אלהינו the Spanish-Portuguese text adds

חננו וצנו ואנו.

Line 58: The form אלה in the phrase אלה כל מה must be corrected to אלה.

Line 58: Instead of אלה כל מה the Ashkenazic text has אלה צמח' עראל ברחמים.

THE AMIDAH: CONCLUDING BENEDICTIONS

רצה יהוה אלהינו בעמך ישראל ונתפלגו

1

שעה ואשב העבודה לדביר ביוסף זאשי

2

ישראל עמך ותפלגו מהרה באהבה

3

תקבל ברצון וטהר לרצון תמיד עבודה

4

ישראל עמך ותרצנו ותחסונה עתה

5

בשובך לגוף לעיון ברחמים במוסר צדוק

6

עתה יהוה המאזיר שפינתו לעיון :

7

קודים אלהנו לך שעתה הוא יהוה אלהינו

8

ואלהי אבותינו צור חיינו חגן ישענו אלה

9

הוא לדור ודור גודה לך זנספר תהלתך

10

על אלהינו המסורים בידך על גשמותינו

11

הפקודות לך על גסיך וגפלאותיך שבכל

12

עת ועת ערב ובוקר ועתה רים על הנסיון

13

ועל הגבורות ועל התשועות ועל הפודות

14

וְעַל הַפְּזָרָן שֶׁשִּׁיתָה עֲמָנוּ וְעַם אֲבוֹתֵינוּ

15

עֲנִינֵינוּ הַיּוֹם וּבְזִמְנֵי הַיּוֹם עִימֵי הַרְבֵּה וְאִסְטֵר

16

בְּשַׁעֲמֹד הַמֶּן הָרַע עַל עַמְּךָ בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל

17

וּבְרַשׁ לְהַשְׁמִיד לְהַרְוֹג וּלְאַבֵּד אֶת כָּל הַיְּהוּדִים

18

מִנְעֵר וְעַד גִּזְרֵן טָף וְנָשִׁים עִירֹם אֶחָד וּשְׁלָלָהּ

19

לָצֹנֶה וְאֶתָּה עֲבַדְתָּם הַרְבֵּים עֲמַדְתָּ לָהֶם פְּעִיר

20

עֲרִיתָם וְרַבֵּת אֶת הַיּוֹם וְהַלַּיְלָה וְהַחֲמִשָּׁת

21

כ

אֶת נִהְחָתָם וְהַפְּרִית עֲצָתוֹ וְהִלְחִיל מִחֲשָׁבוֹ

22

וְהַשְׁבִּית גְּמוּלוֹ פָּרַטְשׁוֹ וְקָלוּ אֹתוֹ וְאֶת עַמּוֹ

23

Line 1: Saadia has no <sup>ישראל</sup> after קמץ.

Line 1: The word <sup>והאבות</sup> appears as <sup>והאבות</sup> in MS Y and the Spanish-Portuguese ritual, and as <sup>והאבות</sup> in the Persian text.

Line 2: Both Saadia and the Ashkenazic texts omit the word <sup>עצ</sup>.

Line 3: None of the other rituals examined have the word קמץ.

Line 3: The Ashkenazic text omits the word <sup>מהרה</sup> while Saadia omits both <sup>מהרה</sup> and <sup>באהבה</sup>.

Line 5: While Saadia omits both קמץ and <sup>והאבות</sup>, both Amram and the Ashkenazic texts agree with him in the latter omission.

Line 5: Following the word קמץ the Spanish-Portuguese text adds <sup>ואלה</sup>  
<sup>ברחמיך הרבים לחייליך</sup>.

Line 6: While Saadia, Amram, the Ashkenazic and the Spanish-Portuguese omit the word <sup>לנאוק</sup>, the Persian text agrees and MS Y spells' it <sup>לנאוק</sup>.

Line 6: Amram, the Ashkenazic and the Spanish-Portuguese texts omit <sup>כח</sup> while Saadia adds <sup>והאבות</sup> before <sup>כח</sup>.

Line 9: Although MS Y omits the phrase <sup>אלהי אבותינו</sup> all other rituals agree with the Chinese.

Lines 11 and 12: MS Y uses Vov conjunctives before the last two occurrences of the word <sup>עצ</sup>.

Lines 13 to 28: This section of the benediction is an insertion for the Feast of Purim, with which other versions agree except as noted.

Lines 14 and 15: MS Y omits the phrase <sup>ועל הפירות ועל הפירות</sup> while the Ashkenazic omits only the first three words.

Line 17: MS Y and the Ashkenazic texts have <sup>הרע</sup> instead of <sup>הרע</sup>.

Line 22: MS Y precedes both <sup>עצ</sup> and <sup>ומחבת</sup> with the word <sup>את</sup>.

Line 23: MS Y has the word <sup>עצ</sup> before <sup>ומחבת</sup>.



על העץ ועשיה לך שם גדול בעולםך 24

ולעמך ושראל עשיה לך ורבים בשם 25

שעשיה עמך לך ורבים בך עשיה 26

עמך ורבים וקבורות בעת ובעונה חזרת 27

ועל פולם יהיה עליהם אל מוחים לך 28

הטוב כי לא כלו רחמך ומרחמים פי לא 29

יתמו חסדיך וכל החיים יתללו את שמך 30

הגדול פי טוב העל הטוב ברוך אתה יהוה 31

הטוב שמך וכל נפשה להודות 32

שיום שלום טובה וברכה מן וחסד ורחמים 33

עליו ועל ישראל עמך וברכינו פארו 34

באחד ממאור פניך פי ממאור פניך נתת לנו 35

נהיה עליהם תורה וחיים אלה וחסד עדיך 36

ורחמים ברכה ושלום וטוב בעיניך לברך את 37

עֲמַךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּכָל עֵת בְּשָׁלוֹם בְּרוּךְ אַתָּה יְהוָה 38

הַמְבַרֵּךְ אֶת עַמּוֹ יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּשָׁלוֹם 39

יְהִיו לְרַעְיוֹן אֲמִרֵי פִי וְהַגִּינוּן לְצִי לִפְנֵי יְהוָה עוֹרֵי 40

וְגוֹאֲלֵי 41

Line 28: The word <sup>ל</sup> must be corrected to <sup>ל</sup>, as seen in the Repetition of the Amidah.

Line 33: The Spanish-Portuguese text inserts <sup>ח"ו</sup> before <sup>ן</sup> and <sup>3</sup> before <sup>חמים</sup>.

Line 34: Saadia omits the phrase <sup>ל</sup> <sup>ל</sup> <sup>ל</sup>.

Line 34: The Ashkenazic and Spanish-Portuguese rituals add the word <sup>ל</sup> before <sup>ל</sup>.

Line 35: MS Y omits the word <sup>ל</sup>, while the Spanish-Portuguese substitutes <sup>ל</sup> for it.

Line 35: The word <sup>ל</sup>, which is repeated twice in this line, is rendered as <sup>ל</sup> by Amram, the Ashkenazic and the Spanish-Portuguese.

Saadia, however, was <sup>ל</sup> for the first and agrees with the second.

Line 37: While the Ashkenazic text adds <sup>ל</sup> before <sup>ל</sup>, MS Y omits <sup>ל</sup> and Saadia omits <sup>ל</sup>.

Line 38: Instead of the term <sup>ל</sup>, the Spanish-Portuguese text has <sup>ל</sup>; the Ashkenazic adds to <sup>ל</sup> the words <sup>ל</sup>; and Saadia adds <sup>ל</sup>.

Line 38: Amram omits the word <sup>ל</sup>.

THE AMIDAH: REPETITION

קול רם ברוך אתה יהוה

אלהינו ואלהי אבותינו אלהי אברהם אלהי

יעקב ואלהי יעקב האל הגדול הגבור —

והנורא אל עליון גומל חסדים טובים וקונה

תכלת אכר חסדי אבות ומרחם על בניה —

ומביא גואל לזרעם אחריהם מלך רחמן

חושיע ומגן ברוך אתה יהוה מגן אברהם: אין

5

אתה גבור לעולם יהיה שמיה

המים אתה רב להשווע חשוע הרוח

ומוריד אקשם מכל כל איים באסו —

מחיה מתים ברחמים רבים רופא מולים

וסומך נופלים ומתיר אסורים ומקיים —

אמונתו לישע עפר חי במקוה בעל —

גבורות ומידות לך מחית ומחיה וגאון

אֵתָהּ לְחַיֵּי חַיִּים בְּרוּךְ אַתָּה יְיָ חַיִּים

אֲחַיִּים:

THE K'DUSHAS HASHEM

- בקדושך ובערישך 1  
 ונש לש לך קדושה משולשת בדבר האמור 2  
 על יד נביאך וקרא זה אל זה ואמר קדוש 3  
 קדוש / קדוש / ואיה עצמות מלא בלא ארץ 4  
 כבודו: 5  
 כבודו וגודלו מלא עולם ומשרתיו שואלים 6  
 זא לזא איה מקום כבודו משבחין ואוקרין 7  
 צרון כבודו יהיה מחקותו: 8  
 מחקותך מלכנו אנפיע ותמלוך עלינו כי 9  
 מאבים אננו לך מתי תמלוך בעיון בחיינו 10  
 ונחיינו: " תשכון תתגדל ויתקדש 11  
 בתוך ירושלים עירך לדור ודור ולעלם 12  
 נעמים ועינינו תראנה בחילכות עוזך בדבר 13  
 אממור בשירי קדשך על יד דויד עבדך 14



15 משיח צדקך ימלוך יהוה לעולם אלהיך ציון

16 לדור ודור הללויה: לדור ודור —

17 נגיד גדלך ולנצח נצחים קדושתך נקדיש

18 ושבחך מלחינו מפנינו לך ימושיכי אל חלך

19 גדול וקדוש אעבך ברוך אתה יהוה אלהי —

20 הקדוש: אמן

The K'dushas Hashem appears in Amram beginning with the word Keser; in the Ashkenazic ritual with the word N'kadesh; and in the Spanish-Portuguese, MS Y and Saadia with the words found in the beginning of the Chinese. The Spanish-Portuguese nusach is entirely different from these two words on. MS Y agrees completely with the Chinese, and Saadia varies in the following instances.

Line 1: The word ונצריצק must be corrected to ונצריצק.

Line 2: Saadia has the word כבדו in place of כבדו האומר,

Lines 6 and 7: For the phrase beginning with the word כבודו and ending with the word כבודו, Saadia has אף ברעם אדום אדיר וחדה ונורא משמים קולם לעזמות.

Line 10: Saadia repeats the word תמול twice.

Line 10: Saadia substitutes the word בקרוב for בחיינו.

Line 11: Saadia has a Vov conjunctive before the word ואכן, and instead of the form ויתקדם he has ויתקדם.

Line 12: Saadia adds the word ואתנו after עירק.

Lines 12 and 13: Saadia omits the phrase ואנחנו נצחית.

Lines 13 and 14: Saadia omits the phrase כבדו האומר בשרי קדם and adds, in its place, the word באומר.

Line 14: Saadia omits the word עבד.

Line 18: In this line Saadia omits the Vov conjunctive on the word ואתה, omits the words אלהינו and א, and inserts the word ואתך after ואתה.

אתה מונן לאדם

דעת ומלמד למנוש בינה ואתה הבדלת

בין קודש לחול ובין טהור ולמושך ובין יום

השביעי לששת ימים המעשה בשם \*

שאבדלת בין קודש לחול כך פדני והפלו

חבל מיני משמית וחבל מיני פורעניות

המתרגשות בעולם ושחרנו חן הבר

וחגנו מאתך דעה ובינה והשכל ברוך

אתה יהוה מונן הדעת נאמן

השיבנו אצונו לתורתך וקרבנו מלכנו

לעבודתך ואמורינו בעשועה שרימה \*\*

לפניך ברוך אתה יהוה היוצא בעשועה: אמין

\* The word מ' should read י'.

\*\* The word והחזירנו should read והחזירנו.

סלח לנו אֱלֹהֵינוּ כִּי־חַסְדְּךָ־

חַחֹלֶל לָנוּ מִלִּבְנוּ כִּי־פִשְׁעֵנוּ כִּי־אֵל טוֹב

וּסְלֵחַ אַתָּה בָּרוּךְ אַתָּה יְהוָה חַיִּין וְחַיָּה

לְסִלּוּחַ אֱמִין רַחֵם צַדִּיקֵינוּ וְרוֹבֵא

רִיבֵנוּ וְחַהֵר לִגְאֻלָּנוּ כִּי אֵל גּוֹאֵל וְחֹזֵק אַתָּה

בָּרוּךְ אַתָּה יְהוָה גּוֹאֵל יִשְׂרָאֵל אֱמִין

רַחֲמֵנוּ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ וְנִרְפֵּי הוֹשִׁיעֵנוּ וְנוֹשְׁעָה

וְנַעֲלֵה רַחֲמֵיךָ שְׁלִיחָה לְכָל תַּחֲלוּמֵינוּ כִּי אֵל

רַחֲמֵי וְרַחֲמֵי אַתָּה בָּרוּךְ אַתָּה יְהוָה הוֹפֵק מְחִילִי

עַמּוֹ יִשְׂרָאֵל אֱמִין בְּרַבְנוּ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ

בְּכָל מַעֲשֵׂה יְדֵינוּ וּבִרְךְ אֶת שְׁנוֹתֵינוּ וְתוֹטֵל

וּמַטֵּר עַל פְּנֵי הָאָרֶץ וּשְׁבַע אֶת הָעוֹלָם בְּיָדוֹ

מִבְּרֻכּוֹת טוֹבָךְ יְהוָה פֶּנִּי תַבֵּל מַעֲשֵׂה מִגְנוֹת

וידוך שחרה ויהפולא יהוה מלוינו את השנה  
הזאת ואת כל מיני תבואתה מכל מיני משאת  
ומכל מיני פירות ותן לה אחרית ותקוה  
שובע ושלוש וברכה בשנים העובות ברוך

אתה יהוה מברך השנים : אמן

תקע בשופר גדול לאירועינו ושק נס מארה  
לקבץ את כל גליותינו מארבע כרפות  
הארץ לארצנו ברוך אתה יהוה מקבץ נדחי  
עמו ישראל : אמן השיבה שופעינו

בבראשונה ויועצינו בבת חלה והסר חמנו  
נגזך ונאחז ומלך עלינו מארה אתה לצורך  
ברחמים בעדך ובמשפט ברוך אתה יהוה מלך  
יהוה בעדך ומשפט : אמן

למשומרים אל תהי תקוה וכל

אמינים כרגע יאצאו זמלכות זיון תעקר

ותשר חרבה בימנו ברוך אתה יהוה שובר

אויבים ומכניע זרים: אמן

על הצדיקים ועל גיורי הצדיק ועל שארית

עמך ישראל יהמו רחמיך יהוה אלהינו זמן

שכר טוב לכל הצדקים בשמך באמת ושם

אלקינו עמם לעולם לא נבוש כי בשמך

בטחנו ולישועתך נשענו ברוך אתה יהוה

חשען ומבטח לצדיקים: אמן

תשבין בתוך ירושלים עירך כאשר דברת

ונבה אתה חרבה בימנו ברוך אתה יהוה בונה

ירושלים: אמן את עמך דויד חרבה

\* The word צלח should read צלח.

תעמיח וקרנו תרום בישועתך ברוך אתה

יהוה מעמיח קרן ישועה זמין

שמע קולנו יהוה אלהינו חוס ורחם עלינו

וקבל ברחמים את תפלתינו חלפניך

חלכנו ריקם אל תשיבנו כי אתה שומע

תפלה כל פה ברוך אתה יהוה שומע תפלה

זמן רעה יהוה אלהינו בעמך

ישראל זכתתם שעה זה שב העבוד

לדביר ביתך ואיש ישראל עמך ותפלתם

יהרה באהבה תקבל ברעון ותהא לרצון תמיד

עבודת ישראל עמך זתרצנו ותחזיננו עינינו

בשובך לנוך לעיון ברחמים כמו אז ברוך

אתה יהוה המחזיר שכינתו לעיון

מורדים אנחנו לך שאתה הוא יהוה

אלהינו ואלהי אבותינו צור חיינו חגן

ישענו אתה הוא לדור ודור נודה לך

ונספר תהליך על חיינו המוסורים בידך

על נשמותינו הפקודות לך על נסיון ונפלאותך

שכל עת ועת ערב וזוהר ועהרים ע

הנסיון ועל הקבוצות ועל השועות וע

הפירות ועל הפירותן שעשית עמנו ועם אבותינו

בזמנים ההם ובזמן הזה שימי מרחבי ואסתר

פשמד המן הרע על עמך בית ישראל

ובך ש להשמיד להרוג ולצבד את כל היהודים

מער ועד זרן טף ונשים ביום אחד ושלב

לבנו ואנך בבחמך ברבים עמדת להם בעת



עֲרִיכָה וְרִכְתָּה אֶת רִיבֶה וְהִלַּכְתָּ אֶת הַיָּם —  
 וְהִלַּכְתָּ אֶת גְּדֻמָּתָם וְהִפְרִיתָ עֲצָתוֹ וְהִלַּכְתָּ —  
 מִשְׁבֹּתָיו וְהִשְׁבִּיתָ גְּמוּלוֹ פְּרָשׁוֹ וְעָלוֹ סוֹאֵר וְיָמָה  
 פָּנָיו עַל הָעֵץ וְעָשִׂיתָ לָּהּ שֵׁם גְּדוּל פְּעוֹלָתָהּ  
 וְלַעֲמֻקּוֹ יִשְׁרָאֵל עָשִׂיתָ פְּלִיא וְנִסִּים פְּשָׁם —  
 שְׁעָשִׂיתָ בַּמִּיָּם פְּלִיא וְנִסִּים פֶּה עֲשֵׂה אֲחֵרֵי  
 נִסִּים וְנִפְלְאוֹת פְּעֻת וְעֹנֶה הַזֶּה וְעַל —  
 סוֹלֵם יְהוָה יִלְחָצוּ אֲנִי מוֹתִים לָהּ הַטּוֹב פִּי  
 לֹא כָלוּ רַחֲמֶיךָ הַמְרִיבִים פִּי לֹא יִתְמוֹתֶם הֵיכָל  
 וְכָל חַיִּים יִהְיוּ לָהּ אֶת שִׁמְךָ הַגְּדוֹל בִּי טוֹב  
 הַיָּל הַטּוֹב פְּרִיָּה אֶתֶּה יְהוָה הַטּוֹב שִׁמְךָ הַגָּדוֹל  
 גִּמְלָה לְהוֹדוֹת:

אֵל הַיָּם יִלְחָצוּ

THE PRIESTLY BENEDICTION

אֱלֹהֵינוּ וְאֱלֹהֵי אֲבוֹתֵינוּ בְּרַכְנוּ 1

הַשּׁוֹלֵשֶׁת בְּתוֹרַת הַכְּתוּבָה הַנִּתְּנָה עַל־יְדֵינוּ 2

מִשָּׁה הַמְּחֹרָה לְאַהֲרֹן וּלְבָנָיו כֹּהֲנֵי עַם קְדוֹשׁ 3

בְּמִזְמוֹר: יִבְרַךְ יְהוָה וְיִשְׁמְרֶךָ: יֵאָר 4

וְהוֹדוּ פָּנֵינוּ אֵלֶיךָ וְיִחַנֶּךָ: יִשָּׂא יְהוָה פְּגִישׁוֹ 5

אֵלֶיךָ וְיִשֶּׂם לְךָ שְׁלוֹמִים: וְשִׂמוּ אֶת־ 6

שְׁמוֹ עַל בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וְאֲנִי אֲבָרְכֵם: 7

The Priestly Benediction: This text is the standard one, agreeing even with our Ashkenazic nusach except in the following instances.

Line 2: The Ashkenazic text does not contain the word הַנְּאוּמָה.

Line 3: The Ashkenazic text contains the word עֲדָרָק after הַשֵּׁם, and reads לְאֵהֲרֹן instead of לְאֵהֲרֹן.

Line 3: The word כְּהֵנִי must be corrected to כְּהֵנִי.

Lines 6 and 7: The phrase from וְיָמֵינוּ to אֲבִרָה is absent from the Ashkenazic text.

שִׁים שְׁלוֹם טוֹבָה וּבְרָכָה חֵן וְחֶסֶד וְרַחֲמִים —  
עֲלֵינוּ וְעַל יִשְׂרָאֵל עַמָּךְ וּבְרַכְיֵנוּ בּוֹרְאֵנוּ  
בְּאֶחָד מִמְּאֹרֵי פֶנֶךְ נִתְּתָה  
לָנוּ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ תּוֹרָה וְחַיִּים אֶהְבָּה וְחֶסֶד  
עֲדִיקָה וְרַחֲמִים בְּרָכָה וְשְׁלוֹם וְטוֹב בְּעֵינֶיךָ —  
לְבָרְךָ אֵת עַמָּךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּכָל עֵת בְּשָׁלוֹם בְּרוּךְ  
אַתָּה יְהוָה הַחֲבֵרֶת אֵת עַמּוֹ יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּשָׁלוֹם: אָמֵן

## CONCLUSION

In attempting to draw conclusions from the material discussed in this study, the following categories present themselves: 1) Scribal errors and faulty vocalization; 2) Unique insertions and omissions; and 5) The possibility of further investigation into other nuschoos. An individual treatment of each of the above categories follows:

Scribal Errors and Faulty Vocalization

Upon first examination of this Chinese MS many types of errors, both in copying and in vocalization, present themselves. These mistakes may be attributed to a variety of causes. They are listed below according to the possible reasons for their presence.

A. Purely scribal errors, e.g., the slipping of the pen, the omission of a letter, the insertion of the wrong letter, etc.

- (1) First Blessing before Shema, Line 30 -  $\text{א'י'ג'ל}$  for  $\text{א'י'ג'ל}$ .
- (2) Second Blessing before Shema, Line 1 -  $\text{אחמל}$  for  $\text{אחמל}$ .
- (3) Second Blessing before Shema, Line 4 -  $\text{חיקי}$  for  $\text{חוקי}$ .
- (4) Second Blessing before Shema, Line 4 -  $\text{אחנינו}$  for  $\text{אחנינו}$ .
- (5) Second Blessing before Shema, Line 6 -  $\text{א'ה'כ'י'ל}$  for  $\text{א'ה'כ'י'ל}$ .
- (6) Shema, Line 13 -  $\text{א'ר}$  for  $\text{א'ר}$ .
- (7) After Shema, Line 31 -  $\text{אחל}$  for  $\text{אחל}$ .
- (8) Intermediary Amidah, Line 5 -  $\text{א'ג'ל}$  for  $\text{א'ג'ל}$ .

- (9) Intermediary Amidah, Line 10 - וְהַחֲזִירָנוּ for וְהַחֲזִירָנוּ.
- (10) Intermediary Amidah, Line 19 - וְהַחֲזִירָנוּ for וְהַחֲזִירָנוּ. (?)
- (11) Intermediary Amidah, Line 58 - וְהַחֲזִירָנוּ for וְהַחֲזִירָנוּ.
- (12) Concluding Amidah, Line 28 - וְהַחֲזִירָנוּ for וְהַחֲזִירָנוּ. (?)
- (13) K'dushas Hasem, Line 1 - וְהַחֲזִירָנוּ for וְהַחֲזִירָנוּ.
- (14) Priestly Benediction, Line 3 - וְהַחֲזִירָנוּ for וְהַחֲזִירָנוּ.

B. Dittography, i.e., repeating the same letter twice.

- (1) After Shema, Line 27 - וְהַחֲזִירָנוּ for וְהַחֲזִירָנוּ after וְהַחֲזִירָנוּ.

C. Indications of oral transmission, i.e., that the scribe who wrote this MS had no text before him but rather wrote from memory or that which was read or recited to him. (That the MS was written from memory is a possibility which could have resulted after the flood of 1642, also accounting for the poor Hebrew knowledge of the scribe.)

- (1) Hatzi Kaddish, Line 8 - וְהַחֲזִירָנוּ for וְהַחֲזִירָנוּ.
- (2) First Blessing before Shema, Line 12 - וְהַחֲזִירָנוּ for וְהַחֲזִירָנוּ.
- (3) Introductory Amidah, Line 6 - וְהַחֲזִירָנוּ for וְהַחֲזִירָנוּ.
- (4) Intermediary Amidah, Line 11 - וְהַחֲזִירָנוּ for וְהַחֲזִירָנוּ.

And in addition to the possibility of oral transmission accounting for these errors, it must be noted that instances (1), (3) and (4), and particularly the examples of faulty vocalization to follow, are indicative of the absence of any clear knowledge and understanding of Hebrew on the part of the scribe.

D. Poor Hebrew knowledge as seen in vocalization. This MS contains vocalization only within the Amidah. In the Silent

Version, both the Purim Insertion and the Peace Prayer are vocalized, while in the Repetition, only the Purim Insertion. The following are several examples of the faulty vocalization.

Purim Insertion:

- (1) Line 16 - יהוה נא / קדש (with a correction to יהוה נא)
- (2) Line 16 - נא for נא.
- (3) Line 17 - נא for נא.
- (4) Line 18 - נא for נא.
- (5) Lines 19 and 20 - נא (corrected to נא) for נא.

Plus many others.

Peace Prayer:

- (1) Line 34 - נא for נא.
- (2) Line 35 - נא for נא.
- (3) Line 37 - נא for נא.

Plus others.

The most prominent thing to be seen from the errors listed in this section is the fact that the standard of Hebrew knowledge exhibited by both the scribe and whoever endeavored to correct some of the errors made by the scribe was very low. Of course, the possibility that the vocalization is a later addition to the MS also presents itself.

Unique Insertions and Omissions

Within this daily worship service, the Chinese MSS 24 and 1 contain four words which are found in none of the other rituals examined,



and omit three words which were found in all of them.

A. Additions:

- (1) First Blessing before Shema, Line 10 - *המיוחזק*.
- (2) After Shema, Line 22 - *יחזיק*.
- (3) Intermediary Amidah, Line 18 - *אשר יהיה*.
- (4) Concluding Amidah, Line 3 - *אשר*.

B. Omissions:

- (1) After Shema, Line 22 - *אשר יהיה*.
- (2) Intermediary Amidah, Line 45 - *אשר יהיה*.
- (3) Intermediary Amidah, Line 52 - *אשר יהיה*.

All of which point to the possibility of another musach after which the Chinese was patterned.

But a further omission, in the form of the Morning Benedictions and the Psalms, deserve special consideration. Since this service begins with a hatzi Kaddish, it would appear that something had been recited beforehand. None of the Chinese MSS contain either the Morning Benedictions or the Psalms (P'sukei d'zimroh) and, therefore, at least from the standpoint of the extant MSS, it must be assumed that these sections were not considered part of the congregational prayer.

In regard to the Morning Benedictions, however, it might be assumed that these prayers, being private devotions, were recited in the home prior to the worshipper's coming to the synagogue and were therefore not included in the siddur itself.

The absence of the Psalms, however, presents another, more vital possibility, and may well have relevance to the dating of the liturgy and subsequently to the original immigration. In view of the statement

of Rabbi Joseph Hertz,<sup>1</sup> who said:

It is the merit of a great medieval teacher, poet and martyr - Rabbi Meir of Rothenberg (1230-1293) - that the Psalms came formally to be taken over into the congregational Morning Service.

and the support given thereto by Ismar Elbogen, who said that the Psalms did not become a part of the Morning Service until 1250,<sup>2</sup> and further, that "Maimonides counts among the congregational prayer neither the Psalms nor the Morning Benedictions."<sup>3</sup> An earlier dating than is generally assumed, is possible.

#### Relationship to Other Rites

The central core of Jewish liturgy, i.e., the Shema and its Blessings and the Amidah, are fairly standard and have been even since Talmudic times - a period which certainly antedates the Chinese MS. It was therefore expected that compared with any standard musoch the similarities would exceed by far any differences encountered. But the relationship of MS 24 to those muschoos (exclusive of MS Y) which were examined in this study is nothing more than this "central core" relationship.

#### Specific Relationship to MS Y

Regarding the Yemenite liturgy, which is the sole exception to the previous remarks, a striking resemblance appears between it and MS 24 which cannot be overlooked. In instance after instance, words and passages found in no other ritual occur side by side in these two rites. Examined together, with very few exceptions, they would seem to be one

and the same; but because of these exceptions, as insignificant as they may appear, a shadow is cast over their marked similarity.

There are, for example, certain scribal variants. Whereas the writing of the Tetragrammaton in Yemen MSS appears characteristically as 'I' (as seen in MS Y), throughout MS 24 it is written as יידי. While MS Y consistently maintains the standard Biblical final Mem ending for masculine plurals and suffixes, the Chinese often substitutes the later, rabbinic final Nun ending. Where double Yods often occur in MS Y the Chinese MS usually has a single Yod.

Aside from variants such as the ones seen above, there are cases throughout the service where certain words or phrases appearing in MS Y are absent from MS 24 and vice-versa.

Indeed, the similarity between MS Y and MS 24 is very great and yet, keeping in mind the variants listed it would be impossible to assume that one nusoch was a copy of the other. If such were the case there would be no accounting for the differences since they could not be ascribed to any logically occurring phenomenon during the transmission. It therefore becomes necessary to propose one further possibility in regard to the origin of the Chinese liturgy, but at the same time remaining aware of the closeness of the Yemen and Chinese rites.

#### The Possibility of Further Investigation into Other Nuschoos

Despite the occurrence of Persian words and phrases within this Chinese MS as well as the frequent mention of an Iranian origin cited within the Introduction, it has been felt that on the basis of the Persian text examined such a theory is unfounded. Roth's hypothesis that this

this service was the product of a period after the flood of 1642, when the damaged or destroyed siddurim were recopied, with the term Megilloh being ascribed to the service itself since the Book of Esther had been lost,<sup>4</sup> would account for the use of Modern Persian in the MS but explains little regarding the origin of the copied text.

Persia, however, was not the only country mentioned in connection with the possible origin of this community. India too, as cited several times within the Introduction, was linked with the early settlers of Kai Feng Foo. As explained before, however, extant MSS of early Indian liturgies were not available for this study.

It has been the accomplishment of this work to have examined and compared all standard muschoos (plus the Persian and Yemen rites) with the Chinese ritual and to have listed the results therefrom. These results, however, have not been conclusive in establishing any definite prototype for the Chinese liturgy. But they have done the following: they have established the absence of similarity between many nuschoos; they have shown, quite definitely, the presence of a close relationship with the Yemen rite, pointing out, as well, those specific areas in which they differ; and it has, in a very real sense, paved the way for further investigation of liturgies not covered in this study -- drawing particular attention to the early Indian (Chochin) liturgy as well as any others which might be closely related to the Yemen rite. For, with certainty, the ultimate answer must lie therein.

NOTESINTRODUCTION - PAGES 1-9

1. Rudolf Lowenthal, "The Early Jews in China: A Supplementary Bibliography," reprinted from The Chinese Social & Political Science Review, Peking (1940), p. 119.
2. W. C. White, Chinese Jews: A Compilation of Matters Relating to the Jews of K'aifeng Fu, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1942), I, p. 20.
3. Lowenthal, op. cit., p. 123.
4. Ibid., p. 119.
5. W. C. White, "Chinese Jews," Asia, New York (January, 1936), p. 59.
6. W. C. White, Chinese Jews, (Toronto: 1942), I, 12ff.
7. Ibid., p. 12; also Pearl Buck, Peony, (New York, John Day, 1948) in which she utilizes most of the historical data compiled here while writing the novel of a Chinese girl who was a servant in the home of a Chinese Jewish family in Kai Feng Foo.
8. (Paris, 1771), III, pp. 567-580.

9. W. C. White, Chinese Jews, (Toronto: 1942), I, p. 16.
10. W. C. White, "Chinese Jews," Asia, New York (January, 1936), p. 59.
11. (London, 1843).
12. See Introduction, p. 1.
13. W. C. White, Chinese Jews, (Toronto: 1942), I, p. 17.
14. Ibid.
15. See Introduction, p. 1.
16. David A. Brown, "Through the Eyes of an American Jew," articles from The American Hebrew and Jewish Tribune (January to March, 1933), cited in W. C. White, Chinese Jews, (Toronto: 1942), I, pp. 150-164.
17. Ibid., p. 158.
18. Ibid., p. 160.
19. Ibid., p. 157.
20. W. C. White, Chinese Jews, (Toronto: 1942), I, p. 9f.
21. W. C. White, "A Chinese Hebrew Codex," Asia, New York, (August, 1942), p. 459.

22. Cecil Roth, "An Illuminated Hebrew Scroll of Esther from China," offprint from Oriental Art, I, No. 4 (Spring, 1949), p. 180.
23. Adolf Neubauer, "Jews in China," JQR o.s., VIII (1896), p. 129.
24. Elkan Adler, "Persian Jews: Their Ritual," JQR o.s., X (1898), p. 601.
25. Neubauer, op. cit., p. 129.
26. Ibid., pp. 127, 129; Adler, op. cit., p. 601.
27. W. C. White, Chinese Jews, (Toronto: 1942), III, 6-11.

NOTESTEXT ANALYSIS - PAGES 10-13

1. Complete information regarding the editions of these rituals which were consulted appears in the Bibliography.
2. Adler, op. cit., and Neubauer, op. cit.
3. Neubauer, op. cit., p. 127.
4. Adler, op. cit., p. 601ff.
5. The first of these expressions also occurs in Saadia, while the latter is found in MS Y.
6. Adler, op. cit., p. 601.
7. Neubauer, op. cit., p. 127; "China," The Jewish Encyclopedia, IV, (New York: 1903), p. 38.
8. Louis Finkelstein, "The Development of the Amidah," reprinted from JQR n.s., XVI, No. 1 (1925), p. 136.



NOTESTITLE PAGE - PAGE 14

1. Roth, op. cit., "Additional Note," p. 180.
2. Ibid.

NOTESTHE HATZI KADDISH - PAGES 15-17

1. David de Sola Pool, The Kaddish, (New York: Bloch, 1929), p. 24.
2. Ibid., p. 35.
3. Ibid., p. 26.
4. Ibid., p. 41.
5. Ibid., p. 52.
6. Ibid., p. 54.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid., where the Yemen, Roman, Romania, Corfu, Provence and Chinese rites are cited as those varying from the accepted order, with the Chinese remaining unique.

NOTESTHE SHEMA: BLESSINGS BEFORE - PAGES 19-21

1. Finkelstein, op. cit., p. 18.
2. Saadia Gaon, Siddur R. Saadja Gaon, edited by Davidson et al,  
(Jerusalem: 1941), note 11, p. 16.

NOTESTHE AMIDAH: INTRODUCTORY BENEDICTIONS - PAGE 26

1. Neubauer, op. cit., p. 127.
2. See Text Analysis for details of the Persian variants in this benediction.

THE AMIDAH: INTERMEDIARY BENEDICTIONS - PAGES 27-32

1. Finkelstein, op. cit., p. 34.

NOTESCONCLUSION - PAGES 37-43

1. J. Hertz, The Authorized Daily Prayer Book, (New York: 1955), p. 51.
2. I. Elbogen, Der Judische Gottesdienst in Seiner Geschichtlichen Entwicklung, (Leipzig: 1913), Sec. 6, paragraph 15.
3. Ibid., Sec. 8, paragraph 11.
4. See Title Page, p. 14.

# BIBLIOGRAPHY

## Primary Sources: Rituals Examined

- AMRAM                      Seder R. Amram Gaon, Part I. Hebrew text with critical apparatus, translation with notes and introduction by David Hedegard. (MS O - Codex 1095 of Bodleian Library, Oxford, January 3, 1426.) Lund, Sweden, 1951.
- ASHKENAZIC                The Authorized Daily Prayer Book, revised. Hebrew text, English translation, commentary and notes by Dr. Joseph Hertz, the late Chief Rabbi of the British Empire. New York, Bloch, 1955.
- CHINESE                    MS #24 - A Ritual for Purim. 35 pages, handwritten with some vocalization, on rice-paper. (The primary text used). Kai Feng Fu, 1851 (?).
- MS #1 - A Daily Ritual. 45 pages, handwritten (different scribe) with some vocalization, on rice-paper. Kai Feng Fu, 1851 (?).
- PERSIAN                    Excerpts of MS B6 - A complete liturgy of the Old Persian Ritual. (In: Elkan Adler. "Persian Jews - their ritual" Jewish Quarterly Review. London, Macmillan, 1898).
- SAADIA                    Siddur R. Saadja Gaon. Edited by Davidson, Assaf, and Joel. Jerusalem, 1941.

## SPANISH-PORTUGUESE

Daily Prayers of the Spanish-Portuguese Jews.

Translated and printed by David Levi; revised  
and corrected by Rabbi S. M. Ish Yeminy.

London, 1809.

## YEMEN

MS Y. A large folio, copied by a fifteenth  
century scribe from a 1329 manuscript. Includes  
dinim in Arabic along with daily and holiday  
ritual.

MS W. A small bound daily prayer book with  
portions of the Amidah missing. Seventeenth  
or eighteenth centuries.

MS X. A small bound daily prayer book with  
portions missing at the beginning of the ser-  
vice. Seventeenth or eighteenth centuries.

BIBLIOGRAPHYSecondary Sources: Liturgy

- ELKAN ADLER "Persian Jews: Their Ritual," Jewish Quarterly Review o.s., X (London: 1898).
- ISMAR ELBOGEN Der Judische Gottesdienst in Seiner Geschichtlichen Entwicklung, (Leipzig: G. Frock, 1913).
- LOUIS FINKELSTEIN "The Development of the Amidah," Jewish Quarterly Review n.s., XVI, No. 1 (Philadelphia: 1925).
- A. Z. IDELSOHN Jewish Liturgy and its Development, (New York: Sacred Music Press, 1932).
- KAUFMAN KOHLER The Origin and Composition of the Eighteen Benedictions with a Translation of the Corresponding Essene Prayers in the Apostolic Constitution.
- M. LIBER "Structure and History of the Tefilah," Jewish Quarterly Review n.s., XL (Philadelphia: 1949-1950).
- ADOLF NEUBAUER "Jews in China," Jewish Quarterly Review o.s., VIII (London: 1896).
- DAVID de SOLA POOL The Kaddish, (New York: Bloch, 1929). "Hebrew Prayers Used by the Jews. Lately Discovered at Kae Fung Foo," The Jewish Chronicle, Nos. 356, 358 (London: 1853).



BIBLIOGRAPHYSecondary Sources: History

- MARCUS N. ADLER      Chinese Jews: A Lecture, (London: Oxford, 1900).
- PEARL S. BUCK      Peony, (New York: John Day, 1948).
- JAMES FINN      The Jews in China, (London: B. Wertheim, Aldine Chambers, 1843).
- JAMES FINN      The Orphan Colony of Jews in China, (London: James Nisbet, 1872).
- A. KINGSLEY GLOVER      Jewish Chinese Papers, (Apelton, Wisc.: 1894).
- RUDOLF LOWENTHAL      "The Jews in China: An Annotated Bibliography," reprinted from The Chinese Social & Political Science Review, (Peking: 1940).
- RUDOLF LOWENTHAL      "The Early Jews in China: A Supplementary Bibliography," reprinted from Folklore Studies, V, (Peking: 1946).
- CECIL ROTH      "An Illuminated Hebrew Scroll of Esther from China," offprint from Oriental Art, I, No. 4 (Spring, 1949).
- W. C. WHITE      "Chinese Jews," Asia, (New York: January, 1936).
- W. C. WHITE      "A Chinese Hebrew Codex," Asia, (New York: August, 1942)
- W. C. WHITE      Chinese Jews: A Compilation of Matters Relating to

the Jews of K'aifeng Fu, I and III (Toronto:  
University of Toronto Press, 1942).

"China," The Jewish Encyclopedia, IV (New York:  
Funk & Wagnalls, 1903).