

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS ABOUT קדושה FOR שבת

Our review of the lines of קדושה left us with several unanswered questions: why did the מחזור ויטרי adopt the opening line of כתר יתנו for the קדושה of מוסף שמונה עשרה on שבת but later Ashkenazic סידורים switched to the opening line of נעריצך ונקדישך? Why did Sephardic סידורים move away from opening קדושה of each שמונה עשרה on שבת with the line of כתר יתנו and replace it with the opening line of נעריצך ונקדישך for the קדושה of שחרית שמונה עשרה on שבת? Lastly why did נוסח אשכנז introduce the line of נקדש את שמך as the opening line of קדושה on weekdays and for the קדושה of שחרית שמונה עשרה on שבת? Professor Abraham Schechter in his PHD dissertation known as: Studies in Jewish Liturgy: Based On A Unique Manuscript Entitled Seder Hibur Berakot, The Dropsie College, 1930, spends several pages discussing קדושה and coincidentally presents answers for all these questions. The first section below represents part of Dr. Schechter's introduction to his work. It is followed by pages 64-69 of his book in which he discusses קדושה:

INTRODUCTION

In 1894 the library of Turin, Italy, with all its treasures in books and manuscripts, was destroyed by fire. Among the manuscripts was one containing a complete collection of Hebrew prayers, laws and customs and liturgical compositions (piyyutim) arranged in accordance with an old Ritual, the origin and nature of which had never been sufficiently investigated. Its title was סדר היבור ברכות i.e. "Order of a Collection of Benedictions," and its compiler unnamed. Long before the conflagration took place the contents of the library had been repeatedly catalogued, the last time by Bernh. Peyron, Turin, 1880, who gave a full description of the various works and who today is the chief source of our knowledge about the contents once harbored in that library. From the Jewish side Zunz and later Berliner had made a study of the Hebrew manuscripts in connection with their labors in the field of Hebrew literature, particularly in that of Jewish liturgy. Naturally the Ritual-Order came under their purview and some references to it are found in Zunz's famous work "Die synagogale Poesie der Juden" (1865). Berliner's enthusiastic description of the Ritual induced the late Prof. Solomon Schechter, while in Italy, to submit its contents to a thorough examination and, realizing its value at a glance, he copied the entire manuscript (261 folio leaves, about 200 in his own handwriting) for further study and eventual publication. He also had photographs made of a number of piyyutim, which, he thought, occurred only in that Ritual, so as to be able to produce facsimiles of the original script. It is due to Dr. Schechter's labors that the Ritual was saved from destruction. His copy, the only one in existence, as well as the aforementioned photographs, are now among the manuscripts of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America.

When in Zurich, Switzerland, I had been engaged in cataloguing the large number of Hebrew MSS. of the Züricher Zentralbibliothek (University and State Library) at the instance of the Board of Governors of the Library; I had especially interested myself in the manuscripts of prayer manuals, and felt a strong desire to specialize in the field of liturgy. Thus, when Professor Israel Davidson of the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, suggested to me the Seder Hibbur Berakot as an excellent subject for liturgical research, I gladly undertook this work, with the idea of making a thorough investigation of the manuscript as to its origin and authorship, as well as its historical and liturgical significance. The results of my investigation I present in this treatise.

CHAPTER XI

BABYLONIAN ELEMENTS IN THE SEDER HIBBUR BERAKOT'

It was emphasized in the introduction that the Italian rite of the SHB (Seder Hibbur Berakot) is preponderately Palestinian. That implies, of course, that it contains also other ingredients.

It would be one-sidedness on our part to ignore the Babylonian elements which in course of time had crept into the Palestinian-Italian rite and which are evident on the surface. Such influences are quite natural. We witness them in our own days, when Jews emigrate from their native land to another country and erect synagogues and introduce therein the rites and usages which they brought with them from their native land, instead of adopting out right the laws and customs of the synagogues in the new country. Later on, when these synagogues come in contact with others, a reciprocal influence enters between them. If some of the immigrant Jews affiliate themselves with the already existing synagogues and become influential there, the result will be that some of their rites and customs will enter these synagogues and become naturalized there or else bring about a compromise between them and the existing rites. German communities in Italy, Russian- Polish communities in Germany, are a good instance. When Rab emigrated to Babylon he undoubtedly introduced the Palestinian rite in his synagogue. On the other hand, as was pointed out above, when Babylonian Jews came to Palestine they forced even the native Palestinians to adopt their synagogical usages. Of Egypt we know to day that both the Babylonian and Palestinian rites were prevalent there. Saadia borrowed his liturgical texts from Palestinian synagogues. Maimonides derived his material not from purely Babylonian synagogues, since his rite exhibits also Palestinian elements, but from synagogues that were not altogether unsympathetic to the Palestinian rite. And the same seems to hold true also in Italy, where we likewise find some Babylonian influences exerted on the reigning Palestinian rite. This fact will be illustrated by two points which show Babylonian influence.

It has been stated already that in spite of all the discovered texts we are still unable to trace back all our prayers to their first sources. The fact is that the prayer-book did not originate in a day, but is the product of a long and continuous development. It is therefore difficult to answer the question where the text of the Yozer Kedushah which we possess had its origin. Ph. Bloch, in his treatise on the **יורדי מרכבה** or the mystics of the Geonic period, has endeavored to trace back the Kedushah in the Yozer with its fantastic content to these

obscure mystics. Bloch is probably right. Seder Rab Amram (p. 4a) already ascribes the introduction of this Kedushah in the Yozer to the **יורדי מרכבה**. Also Elbogen's evidence seems to be of weight, especially since Saadia and several Genizah fragments exhibit another and shorter Yozer text, which seems to be the old Palestinian. Ginzberg brings the 'Amidah-Kedushah (the Kedushah in the third benediction of the Shemone Esreh) in connection with the Yozer-Kedushah. As to the 'Amidah-Kedushah, it is well known that the Babylonian Jews who emigrated to Palestine forced the Jews there to recite an 'Amidah-Kedushah also on week-days. Ginzberg, following Rapoport concludes that "as the 'Amidah Kedushah is the product of the Babylonian mystics, so the Yozer-Kedushah goes back to the Palestinian mystics" (p. 132). Such a conclusion is hardly justified. The passage in Josephus to which Ginzberg refers speaks only of a morning prayer performed by the Essenes, but makes no mention of a Kedushah. To suppose that such a Kedushah must have existed, although the Palestinian sources are against it, is hardly warranted. Here the Seder Hibbur Berakot, which is also quoted by Ginzberg (Geonica II, 49), offers a clue to the solution of the problem.

We must, however, first point out other differences in the Kedushah text of the Babylonians and the Palestinians. The Babylonians, influenced by the mystic effusions of the **יורדי מרכבה** were fond of speaking of angels who "put the crown on the Creator." Of Sandalphon it is said (b. Hagigah 13b) that "he wreathes crowns to his Creator" (**קושר** **כתרים לקונו**). The best opportunity for the insertion of this expression was offered the Babylonians in the 'Amidah-Kedushah, which, owing to the Trisagion (**קדוש קדוש קדוש**), they found appropriate to preface with **כתר יתנו לך**. The Palestinians, on the other hand, know only **נקדישך ונעריצך** (Masseket Soferim, XV, 12). Now, it is surprising, that while Seder Rab Amram shows **כתר** in all the Kedushah prayers, the Italian ritual, as exemplified by our Seder, as well as the Sephardic and French rituals, contain **נקדישך** for Shahrit and Minhah, and **כתר** for Musaf. We can explain this fact only by the assumption that the mystic elements in all the Kedushot, in the Yozer as well as in the 'Amidah, are due to the Yorde Merkabah.

The Yorde Merkabah were in high esteem at the time of the Geonim. The mystic literature of the Geonim, and especially the Hekalot, are full of descriptions concerning their lives and activities. They imagined that they saw the seven halls, and all that is therein, with their own eyes, while passing from one hall into another, which may have gotten them the rather obscure name Yorde Merkabah. The leader of the Merkabah-travelers was Metatron or Metatron-Enoch, who initiated the members of the Merkabah into the secrets of the forces of nature and universe.

These Yorde Merkabah, although they contributed but little to the development of speculative mysticism, were of great service in the development of liturgical poetry as shown in our Kedushah and Yozer piyyutim.

Originally, the Yotzer was very short, and consisted only of the following:

ברוך אתה יי, א-להינו מלך העולם, יוצר אור ובורא חשך, עשה שלום ובורא את הכל.

המאיר לארץ ולדרים עליה ברחמים, טובו מחדש בכל יום תמיד מעשה בראשית, כאמור לעושה אורים גדולים כי לעולם חסדו. ברוך אתה י-י יוצר המאורות

which, according to Saadia and Genizah fragments, was Palestinian. Due to the influence of the Yorde Merkabah, the Yozer grew in proportion, until it contained long passages referring to the angels, as the משרתים—the ministers, the חיות—the living creatures, the שרפים—the fiery ones, and the אופנים wheels that carry the Throne.

Considering the zeal with which the Babylonians endeavored to make the daily Kedushah popular, we may venture a step farther, and assume that their interest lay not only in the Kedushah as such, but also in its wording, -since the Musaf text contained the mystical idea of the Yorde Merkabah about the the כתר crown that G-d receives from the angels and Israel, and since the Yozer text held the idea of the אופנים 'wheels.' That כתר was contained in the Babylonian Kedushah can be proven by the fact, that the Seder Rab Amram has this text for all the 'Amidot. The same holds true of the 'Ophanim' in the Yozer as is evident from Rab Amram's introduction to the Yozer. And it was to this mystical idea of the 'Keter' and the 'Ophanim' that the Palestinians objected.

The Babylonians finally succeeded in compelling the Palestinians to recite the Kedushah daily, but the כתר was taken out of the text.

We may even assume that the 'Keter' text in the third benediction of the 'Amidah was already used in Babylon, even at an earlier time than the above mentioned Responsum, namely, in the fifth century, before the completion of the Talmud Yerushalmi; and the Palestinians always objected to this custom. We may even go further and say, that what the Babylonians called the מרכבה (the chariot), the Palestinians called, in an abbreviated form אופן (the wheel). This last assumption will explain the passage in Yerushalmi V, 4, בטיטי אשתתיק באופניה a Palestinian cantor refused to recite the אופן which was the Babylonian 'Keter.'

Thus, if we accept the theory that the Palestinian term אופן corresponded to the Babylonian כתר this passage in the Yerushalmi that puzzled many commentators, can easily be solved. The process of the Yozer-Kedushah cannot be followed with certainty. However, of one fact we are surer namely, that the strong efforts of the Babylonian mystics are responsible for the incorporation of both the Yozer-Kedushah and the כתר text, not, however, without a slight modification, which the Babylonians found it convenient to accept: נקדישך was spared for the morning service, while כתר was applied only to the Musaf. Possibly later on, in the days of Ben Meir, when the Palestinian Jews freed themselves from Babylonian influence, they eliminated כתר and gave נקדישך its former place of honor. In this way it becomes clear why the German ritual never adopted כתר but in view of the 'Amidah—Kedushah already forming part of the week-day service, rabbis, out of respect to the old Palestinian נקדישך which was used only on Sabbath, composed a short Kedushah, namely נקדש את שמך בעולם.