

Peter Sh. Lehnardt

Ha-Šur Tamim be-khol Po'al: **On some Italian roots of the Poetic *Šidduq*** ***Ha-Din* in the Early Ashkenazi rite**

Dedicated to Shlomo Simonsohn and
Cesare Colafemmina, two pioneers in
uncovering new sources
for our understanding of Jewish culture
in Italy

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Ashkenazi literary tradition is connected by its navel to the beginnings of the Hebrew culture of medieval Europe in southern Italy. This unique area of encounter between Byzantine, Romano-Germanic and, later on, even Arabic culture, was not only the cradle of Middle-Latin as *officialese* but also saw the emergence of Hebrew as the language of Jewish literacy in the western hemisphere of the Mediterranean.¹ The Latin part of this southern Italian renaissance was based on the collection and reproduction of manuscripts from Antiquity and Late Antiquity while its Hebrew part depended on the acquisition and copying of written material from the two creative literary centres in the Orient, the Land of Israel and Babylonia. This nexus between the older and newer Hebrew worlds was revealed for the first time in one of the earliest historico-critical studies by the nestor of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums*, Shlomo Yehuda Leib Rapoport (1790–1867). It was Rapoport who traced back Ashkenazi knowledge about Ele'azar Bi-Rebbi Qillir, the major contributor to

¹ For the cultural importance of the transition from the use of Hebrew as icon in Antiquity and Late Antiquity into Hebrew literacy, see Shlomo Simonsohn, 'The Hebrew revival among early medieval European Jews' in *Salo Wittmayer Baron Jubilee volume* ed. by Saul Lieberman (Jerusalem: American Academy for Jewish Research, 1974), II, pp. 831–858 and for much of the new epigraphic evidence attesting this process in Southern Italy see the bibliography (up to the year 2000) of Cesare Colafemmina: http://www.humnet.unipi.it/medievistica/aisg/AISG_Colafemmina/Colafemmina.html (01.08.10) and up to the year 2005: 'Bibliografia di Cesare Colafemmina', in *Hebraica Hereditas: studi in onore di Cesare Colafemmina*, ed. by Giancarlo Lacerenza, Series Minor, 70, (Napoli: Istituto universitario orientale, Dipartimento di studi asiatici, 2005), pp. [xi]–xxv.

the earliest stratum of the liturgical poetry in the Ashkenazi rite, to its earliest European origins.²

Even after more than 150 years of research, this general picture of the transmission and tradition of synagogue literature having taken place in the east and travelled via southern Italy to central Europe requires only little refinement.

This article has two purposes. Firstly, it deals with the flow of Jewish liturgical traditions into Italy, and deeper into Christian Europe, and traces how the *šidduq ha-din* ceremony in the early Italian rite may have influenced later Ashkenazi developments. Secondly, it presents a critical edition of the complex textual element of the burial ceremony in the rite of Rome, thereby offering an analysis not only of textual, but also of ceremonial, evolution. This will draw attention to the scientific need to examine the ongoing relationship between words and rituals and their mutual impact. It will also set an example that can then followed in the close study of texts and ceremonies in other rites.

As already indicated, the early stratum of Ashkenazi liturgical poetry came from its classic predecessor in the Land of Israel during the late Byzantine period, and was augmented with an important layer of creative response in ninth- and tenth-century Italy. Thus, Ashkenazi Judaism learned from the Italian tradition not only how to embellish public prayers with the liturgical poetry of old but also how *piyyuṭ* could provide an arena in which to perform a living tradition of replacement and local creativity. Although the main route of tradition was from Apulia through Lucca – traditionally associated with the famous Qalonymos family – to Ashkenaz, we should also consider, especially for the second half of the tenth century, the existence of an additional path by which Babylonian poetical traditions made their way from the East not via Italy but via Byzantium, or most probably via France. This may be exemplified by the proemia for the groom, a genre that evolved in Babylonia³ and was embraced by the early Ashkenazi poets but is completely absent from the Italian tradition.⁴

² S. Y. L. Rapoport, 'Zeman u-Meqom R. Ele'azar Ha-Kallir we-'Inyyanei Piyyuṭaw u-Fiyyutei Zulato, u-Qeṣat 'Inyyanei Ha-Tefillot', *Bikkure Ha-Ittim*, 10 (1830), pp. 95–123, 11 (1831), pp. 92–102 [repr. as, 'Toldot R. Ele'azar Ha-Kallir', in Rapoport, *Toldot Gedolei Yisrael*, Warsaw 1913, pp. 125–95].

³ See Tova Beeri, 'Reshit Ha-Yešira Ha-Payṭanit Be-Bavel: Piyyuṭei R. Ḥayyim Al-Baradani', *HUCA*, 68 (1997), [1]–[33] (Hebrew part), esp. p. [30].

⁴ Menahem Schmelzer, 'Wedding Piyyuṭim by the Early Sages of Ashkenaz', in *Studies in Hebrew Poetry and Jewish Heritage In Memory of Aharon Mirsky*, ed. by Ephraim Hazan and Joseph Yahalom (Hebrew; Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University, 2006), 173–85 [reprinted in Schmelzer, *Studies in Jewish Bibliography and Medieval Hebrew Poetry: Collected Essays* (New York, Jerusalem: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 2006), 190–208 (Hebrew part)].

Even bearing in mind his French origin, the poetical œuvre of the head of the *yeshiva* of Magenza, Rabbenu Gershom Meor Ha-Gola (c. 960–c. 1028/1040), may nevertheless be wholly explained against the background of the Italian tradition, especially that of Shelomo Ha-Bavli, the transmitter of Apulian tradition to the northern parts of Italy.⁵ For its part, however, the corpus of *piyyuṭim* written at least a generation earlier by Shim'on Bar Yiṣḥaq (Magenza, late tenth century) already attests to a perfect and creative blend of the sources mentioned above, namely, the Land of Israel, Italy and Babylonia.⁶ This occurred two or three generations before Ashkenazi culture began its creative phase of writing in other genres, and developed its literary identity, at the beginning of the eleventh century.⁷ Liturgical poetry was in Ashkenaz, like in Italy, one of the earliest components of Hebrew literary response. Such a response involved the absorption of corpora of texts from the Mishna, Talmudim and *midrashim*, as well as from liturgical poetry and constituted an astonishing approach, given liturgical poetry's complexity of expression and its intertextuality with these books. It went far beyond the first steps of acquiring a library of canonical texts through copying, commenting or rearranging them.

The process of outlining the genres of liturgical poetry in each rite has two different aspects to it. The first concerns which genres are existent in a rite and for which specific liturgical locus, for example, the questions as to whether there is a proem for the reading of a *haḥṭara* on the Passover festival, and whether there are *zemirot* for the Sabbath? The other aspect concerns which genres are 'imported' from other rites, which are not, and which are reflected in local creative response and which are local developments, eg the *bikkurim* supplements for the *ma'ariv* compositions.

Another important criterion concerns the hierarchies of the different liturgical loci. One such hierarchy may be detected in the cycle of the year, eg Yom Kippur vs. an ordinary weekday; another in the different services of a day, eg *shaḥarit* vs. *minḥa*; and a third in the place during the service eg the congrega-

5 See Ezra Fleischer (ed.), *The Poems of Shelomo Ha-Bavli: Critical Edition with Introduction and Commentary* (Hebrew; Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1973), and *The Yozer: Its Emergence and Development* (Hebrew; Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1984), esp. pp. 615–23, 647–53, 686–701; *Preces Poenitentiales quae Selichoth vocantur*, ed. Avraham Fraenkel (Hebrew; Jerusalem: Mekize Nirdamim, 1993), pp. 598–608, 814–24.

6 See Elisabeth Hollender, *Synagogale Hymnen: Qedushta'ot des Simon b. Isaak im Amsterdam Mahsor*, *Judentum und Umwelt*, 55 (Frankfurt a. M.: Lang, 1994), pp. 19–24.

7 Cf. Israel Moses Ta-Shma, *Ritual, Custom and Reality in Franco-Germany, 1000–1350* (Hebrew; Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1996), pp. 13–16, and 'Rabbinic literature in the Middle Ages, 1000–1492', in *The Oxford Handbook of Jewish Studies*, ed. Martin Goodman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 221–24.

tional *qedusha* vs. private preparations leading up to the service. But there is one more distinction that challenges Ezra Fleischer's clear-cut definition of *piyyuṭ* as the poetry used for the embellishment of public prayer in the synagogue as distinct from the secular poetry with religious themes that was never intended to be included in the agenda of such synagogal rites.⁸ There are in fact other sequences of texts in liturgical settings that are not connected to the statutory synagogal prayers promoted by Rabbinic Judaism. They include the Grace after Meals, and other ceremonies such as those of a circumcision and a wedding, that are nevertheless public and may be performed by the same persons as those who lead the the synagogal liturgy. The Jewish communities of the Middle Ages also applied the idea of a clear hierarchy to such services and ceremonies, as is reflected again and again in the poetic embellishments. It is not only the sheer length that clearly distinguishes between a *qedushta* for the morning service of the Day of Atonement and a *zemer* for a meal after a wedding; it is also the composition's complexity of structure, the number and complexity of the literary events in terms of prosody, *figurae* and *tropoi* per line, and the levels of density, sophistication and horizon concerning the intertextuality employed that confirmed for those whose literacy extended to medieval Hebrew poetry where to locate the centre and the margins of the synagogal literature.⁹ Moreover this synchronic hierarchy was made even more manifest in the diachronic tradition and creative response represented in the acts of choice made for maintaining established custom or creating new poems.

Against the background of such considerations, we have to evaluate the fact that the Ashkenazi rite demonstrates no creativity in liturgical poetry used for the rubric of the burial ceremony but restricted its tradition to one famous poem '*Ha-Ṣur Tamim Be-Khol Po'al*' which it inherited, apparently in earliest times, from outside. The following discussion is intended to explore the historical, literary and cultural background of this *piyyuṭ* in the early Apulian tradition and to promote a better understanding of the possible functions of the *šidduq ha-din* as public ceremony, such as is reflected in the texts that occur

⁸ Ezra Fleischer, *Hebrew Liturgical Poetry in the Middle Ages* (Hebrew; Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 20072), pp. 7–8.

⁹ This awareness, as manifest in thousands of text throughout generations of tradition and creation, is the reason why a distinction between liturgical poetry used for the embellishment of the public prayer texts in the synagogue service, and the para-liturgical poetry employed for the embellishment of religious ceremonies beyond the institutional frame of the synagogue, is valid for Hebrew liturgical poetry. The problem of the enforcement of centralistic authority in world liturgy is not an intrinsic problem of Jewish liturgy but arises under the ecclesiastical influences of Catholicism and Orthodoxy.

as standard elements in the literary sources of the Italian rite. Beginning with a review of the literary sources available to us for our reconstruction, the article will then include a critical edition of the textual elements of the burial ceremony based on liturgical manuscripts from Italy from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries CE. The edition will serve as the basis for a literary analysis of the poetical texts, against the background of the historical development of Hebrew liturgical poetry, and especially as a test case for a new way of reading Hebrew liturgical poetry in the context of ceremony.¹⁰

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The burial ceremony may be seen as an act of religion, using the word 'religion' in its basic etymological sense, as developed from the Latin *religio* meaning 'obligation', 'reverence', 'bond': describing something that has to be done, according to what has traditionally been done, and thereby meeting one's obligation to the deceased. The pious need to act according to the will of the deceased, within the basic concept of *gemilut ḥasadim*,¹¹ imposes on this ceremony the kind of fundamentally conservative attitude that might explain the slow and limited developments at this liturgical locus within all the liturgical rites. Consideration should also, however, be given to another tendency that might encourage literary creativity within the traditional framework of the ceremony in order to stress the unique personality of the deceased, or the special circumstances of their death.¹²

10 For the methodological considerations see Peter Sh. Lehnardt, 'Studies in the Emergence of the Tradition of Hebrew Liturgical Poetry in Italy' (Hebrew; doctoral dissertation, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Beer-Sheva, 2006), pp. 19–30.

11 For an overview of concepts associated with *gemilut ḥasadim*, see Jack D. Spiro, 'An Exploration of *Gemilut Ḥasadim*', *Judaism*, 33 (1984), pp. 448–57, esp. p. 450. For the beginnings of the *šidduq ha-din* as attested in rabbinical literature, see Ruth Langer's contribution to this volume.

12 In the matter of the dialectics of unique dirges *ad personam* and generic laments for different kinds of people, compare the classical study of Emanuel Feldman, 'The Rabbinic Lament', *JQR*, 63 (1972–73), pp. 51–75 with the Aramaic corpus of texts published by Michael Sokoloff and Joseph Yahalom (eds.), *Jewish Palestinian Aramaic Poetry from Late Antiquity: Critical Edition with Introduction and Commentary* (Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1999), pp. 282–329. (For an introduction see Joseph Yahalom, "'Syriac for Dirges, Hebrew for Speech': Ancient Jewish Poetry in Aramaic and Hebrew", in *The Literature of the Sages: Second Part: Midrash and Targum, Liturgy, Poetry, Mysticism, Contracts, Inscriptions, Ancient Science and the Languages of Rabbinic Literature*, ed. Shmuel Safrai, Assen; Philadelphia: Van Gorcum, 2006, pp. 375–91, esp. pp. 375–80.) See also Harry Sysling, 'Laments at the Departure of a Sage: funeral songs for great scholars as recorded in rabbinic

What may serve as a starting point for our 'literary excavation' of the antiquities of the Italian rite is the rubric of the *šidduq ha-din* in the *editio princeps* of the *Maḥzor Roma*, Soncino–Casal-Maggiore, 1486.¹³ Most of the later editions seem to be reprints, in full or in part, or adaptations of this form to match the multi-rite reality of the Italian Ghetto with its mutual influences.¹⁴ What is interesting, however, is that a review of some 600 manuscripts has clarified that this edition represents, by way of this rubric, the final stage of canonization of the rite of Rome as known in the second half of the thirteenth century and as attested in the earliest existing manuscripts.¹⁵ To date I know of no form of text to be habitually recited after a death, and during the burial ceremony, other than the one attested in one of the earliest dated liturgical manuscript of the Jews in Italy, Ms Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale héb. 599, from the year 1265.¹⁶ This includes what appear to be the latest prints from the end of the seventeenth century.¹⁷ This redaction was obviously based on

literature', in *Studies in Hebrew Literature and Jewish Culture: Presented to Albert van der Heide on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. by Martin F. J. Baasten and Reinier Munk (Dordrecht: Springer, 2007), pp. 81–102.

13 See the description of J. Joseph Cohen, 'Bibliyografiya shel Maḥzorim we-Siddure Tefilla le-fi Minhag Benei Roma', in Samuel David Luzatto, *Introduzione al Formulario delle Orazioni di rito italiano pubblicata in ebraico, a Livorno nel 1856*, ed. by Daniel Goldschmidt (Tel Aviv: Dvir, 1966), p. 111 (# 1) and, for bibliography and reference of copies, see Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke M19921 (<http://gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/docs/M19921.htm>, last change 2010-08-10). See the facsimile: *Maḥzor Ke-Minhag Roma Soncino – Casalmaggiore, 1485–1486*, Jerusalem: Magnes, 2012.

14 This is at least the first and foremost impression although the general prevalence of a uniform rite of Rome through northern Italy in the age of printing might be misleading. See, however, the print from Bologna 1540–1541 with the commentary *Qimḥa De-Avishuna* attributed to Yoḥanan b. Yosef Trèves (see: J. Joseph Cohen, *Bibliyografiya*, pp. 113–114 [#7]) which seems to reflect an independent manuscript source.

15 See Peter Sh. Lehnardt, 'Redactions of the Prayer Book according to the Italian Rite: First Reconsiderations on the Basis of the Different Outlines of the Liturgical Poetry', *Italia*, 20 (2010), pp. 31–66.

16 For a palaeographic description, see Malachi Beit-Arié and Colette Sirat, *Manuscripts Médiévaux en Caractères Hébraïques portant des indications de date jusqu'à 1540, II. Bibliothèques de France et d'Israël, Manuscrits de petit format jusqu'à 1470* (Jerusalem; Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique; Académie Nationale des Sciences et des Lettres d'Israel, 1979), # II, 10.

17 The *Siddur Mi-Berakha Ke-Minhag Italiyani* (Ferrara: [Girolamo] Filoni, 1693), deserves a brief mention. Another octavo print without page numbering is partly preserved in a copy in the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York (SHF 1907:26 / RB 5802) and bound with another siddorello with a colophon mentioning Mantova אֲנִי אֶתְכֶּם שָׁנָה כִּי אֶתְכֶּם = שָׁנָה כִּי אֶתְכֶּם (with an apparently more complete copy to be found in the Valmadonna Trust Library, London). I have found no bibliographic reference to this print, but the minor prints of prayer-books in Italy are still worthy of study, even after the bibliographic work of Jacob J. Cohen.

earlier material emanating from the circles of the Min Ha-'Anawim/Piattelli family at the *yeshiva* in Rome which arranged prayer forms and halakhic traditions for the book now known as *Maḥzor Benei Roma*, the *maḥzor* of the rite of Rome. The revision of prayer texts and liturgical poetry in mid-thirteenth-century Rome and the arrangement of the halakhic traditions are both to be seen as a reaction to halakhic material, or even a form of *siddur/maḥzor*, from the school of Rashi (eg *Siddur Rashi*¹⁸ or *Maḥzor Vitry*¹⁹) introduced into Italy through the authority of Yesh'aya di Trani ben Mali (the Elder) (c. 1180–c. 1250)²⁰ that evolved an intensive literary activity out of formulating the regulations for the ceremony of the *šidduq ha-din*:

- *Seder Ḥibbur Berakhot* (Rome, late 12th/early 13th cent.), MS Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria A. III. 2, [first part of a] *maḥzor*, Italian rite (thirteenth century – lost, partly copied by and for Solomon Schechter in MS New York – JTS Library Ms. 8401) – [presumably in the missing second part];
- Yeḥiel b. Yequtiel (Rome, mid thirteenth century), *Halakhot* (written soon after 1240 and no later than 1260), [not part of the subjects in the unique, remnant source MS Munich, Bayrische Staatsbibliothek hebr. 232, *Collectanea* (Italy, thirteenth-fourteenth centuries), ff. 97a–142b];²¹

All that may confidently be stated about the copy is that it seems to be one of the local reprints of the *Siddur Mi-Berakha* of (Venice: Pietro e Lorenzo Bragadin, 1618). The latest partial reprint of this form should also be considered in the context of its research; see Leser M. Landshuth, *Vollständiges Gebet- und Andachtsbuch zum Gebrauche bei Kranken, Sterbenden und Leichenbestattungen, sowie beim Besuchen der Gräber von Verwandten und Lieben* (Berlin: Adolf Cohn, 1867), pp. LVIII–LIX.

18 See *Siddur Raschi: Ritualwerk Salomo ben Isaak zugeschrieben*, ed. by Salomon Buber, *Schriften des Vereins Mekize Nirdamim*, 3,11 (Berlin: Mekize Nirdamim, 1911) and Andreas Lehnardt, “‘Siddur Rashi’ und die Halacha-Kompendien aus der Schule Raschis”, in *Raschi und sein Erbe; internationale Tagung der Hochschule für Jüdische Studien mit der Stadt Worms*, ed. by Daniel Krochmalnik, Hanna Liss, Ronen Reichman (Heidelberg: Universitäts-Verlag Winter, 2007), pp. 65–99.

19 See, for a late augmented version of this work, *Machsor Vitry: nach der Handschrift im British Museum (Cod. Add. No. 27200 u. 27201) zum ersten Male hrsg. und mit Anm. vers.*, ed. Simon H. Hurwitz (Hebrew; Berlin: Mekize Nirdamim, 1888–1897; repr. Nürnberg: Bulka, 1923).

20 For the major shift in talmudic scholarship after the establishment of the *yeshiva* in Rome in the eleventh century promoted by Yesh'aya di Trani, see Israel Moses Ta-Shma, ‘Rabbinic literature in the Middle Ages, 1000–1492’, in Martin Goodman (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Jewish Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 229.

21 Edited by Israel M. Ta-Shma, ‘*Sefer Halakhot Itālqi Qadmon le-Rav Yeḥiel b"r Yequtiel*’, *Kobez al Yad*, n.s. 15 (25) (2000), pp. 143–206 [repr. in Ta-Shma, *Studies in Medieval Rabbinic Literature*, 3. *Italy & Byzantium* (Hebrew; Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 2005), pp. 76–148].

- Şedaqia b. Avraham Anaw (Rome, c. 1210–1275), *Shibbolei Ha-Leqeṭ Ha-Qaṣar* (c. 1250) [not part of the printed edition of this version of the book, Venice 1546];
- Yeḥiel b. Yequtieli, *Tanya Rabbati*, [a redaction of the former to be copied on the margins of forms of prayer]: *‘Inyan Şidduq Ha-Din*;²²
- Şedaqia b. Avraham Anaw, *Shibbolei Ha-Leqeṭ Ha-Shalem*, [the final edition of this work by its author from c. 1260]: *Din Şidduq Ha-Din She-Omrin ‘Al Ha-Met We-Yamim Ha-Reuyim Le-Omro*;²³
- Anonymus, *Hilkhot Avel* (before 1265) in the *maḥzor* MSS;²⁴
- Moshe b. Yequtieli (Rome, fourteenth century), *Sefer Ha-Tadir*, chap. 34, *Dinei Ha-Avelut*.²⁵

The most important characteristic of all these texts is that they are written to report traditional halakhic rulings and to facilitate future ones concerning the *şidduq ha-din* and do not reproduce the actual texts to be recited. Despite the impression that the text of the *şidduq ha-din* is to be found in the *maḥzor* manuscripts and prints of the Roman rite in a section of rulings for *rites de passage*, it has to be stressed that even here the Italian literary tradition is clearly manifest. The basis for the halakhic decision and the format of the textual element of the ceremony are to be found in two distinct literary genres. Additionally, the texts are in different genres but are not intended for different readers, since we find on the one hand no historical evidence of any professional distinction in the world of prayer in medieval Italy between a rabbi and a precentor and, on the other hand, we see an effort to arrange both kinds of texts side by side in *maḥzor* manuscripts with the *Tanya Rabbati*.²⁶ But even

²² See *Tanya Rabbati*, ed. Shim'on Horovitz (Warsaw: I. Goldmann, 1879), ff. 70c–71a. And see now *Tanya Rabbati, le-Rabbi Yeḥiel B"R Yequtieli Ha-Rofe mi-Mishpaḥat Ha-'Anawim*, ed. Yisrael Braun, (Jerusalem: Mossad Harav Kook, 2011), pp. 267–69.

²³ *Shibbolei Ha-Leqeṭ Ha-Shalem*, ed. S. Buber (Vilna: Witwe und Brüder Romm 1887), ff. 172b–173a.

²⁴ Among the more comprehensive manuscripts and prints, see editio princeps Soncino – Casal-Maggiore: Benei Soncino, 1486, II, f. 149a–150b or ed. Bologna: Menahem ben Avraham Mi-Modena; Yeḥiel Ben Shelomo; Dan Ariye Ben Shelomo Ḥayyim Mi-Monticelli, 1541, f. 387a.

²⁵ Moshe J. Blau, *Şiṭat Ha-Qadmonim* (New York: author's edition, 1992), pp. 237–38. The chronological arrangement and the attribution to the authors of the sources listed here is based on Israel M. Ta-Shma, 'Sefer Shibbolei Ha-Leqeṭ u-Khfilaw', *Italia*, 11 (1994), pp. 39–51 [reprinted in Ta-Shma, *Studies in Medieval Rabbinic Literature, 3. Italy & Byzantium*, (Hebrew; Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 2005), 63–75].

²⁶ For a basic survey of the sources of the *Tanya* see Israel Z. Feintuch, 'Tanya Rabbati', *Sinai*, 90 (1977), pp. 14–25 [reprinted in his *Mesorot we-Nuṣṣaot Ba-Talmud: Meḥqarim*, ed. by Daniel Sperber (Hebrew; Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University, 1985), pp. 65–76, 77–88].

if both categories of information are to be found on the same page, a clear and graphical distinction is maintained between the layout of the text to be performed in the ceremony, with its minimal interspersed instructions, and the comments being offered with regard to the halakhic aspects; and, even if the halakhic texts are transmitted in a separate bibliographic unit, they do not reproduce the liturgical text to which they refer. Therefore, we too have to pay particular attention, if we want to learn something about the textual part of the *şidduq ha-din* in the rite of Rome, to the copies of the *maḥzor*.

For the purposes of our investigation of the different (and habitual) textual elements of the *şidduq ha-din* and their interrelations, the texts are given here in a critical edition according to the earliest, and almost complete, manuscript of the Roman rite that is available to us and that has already been mentioned above.²⁷

²⁷ This is an appropriate place for a caveat for the reader: the version of MS Paris is, on the one hand, the earliest that is available but, on the other hand, it does not represent the popular version that should serve as the basis of any critical edition of the Roman rite. The purpose of using this version here is not because it is the 'original' text; its importance lies rather in the fact that it may represent an early (thirteenth century!) redaction that shows by its almost unique interconnection (*Verschränkung*) of the various elements their relative independence, as well as the intention of arranging them in such a way as to blur the borders, especially between the first two textual elements. The text has been transcribed from the manuscripts but obviously with the addition of modern, critical apparatus and method of presentation. For an edition of the first text '*Ha-Şur Tamim be-khol Po'al*', not only according to sources from the Italian rite but from all medieval European rites, see the contribution of Ruth Langer to this volume.

וזהו צידוק הדין

[א] הַצּוֹר תָּמִים פָּעֵל, פִּי כָל דְּרָכָיו מְשֻׁפָּט;
אֵל אֱמוּנָה וְאֵין עָוֹל, צָדִיק וְיֵשֶׁר הוּא (דב' לב 4).

הַצּוֹר תָּמִים בְּכָל פּוֹעֵל
וְמִי יֵאמָר לוֹ: 'מָה תַּפְעֵל' –

מקורות: [מנהג איטליה: • כ"י פריז, הספרייה הלאומית heb. 599, מחזור, מנהג איטליה (משנת 1265), דף 143ב–144ב [= נוסח הפנים, פ1]; • כ"י וטיקן, הספרייה האפוסטולית Cod. Neofiti 9, מחזור, מנהג איטליה (מאה י"ג/ט"ו), דף 425א–426ב [=נ]; • כ"י לונדון, הספרייה הבריטית Or. 14055 (לשעבר 408 Sassoon), תפילות לעת מצוא, מנהג איטליה (מאה י"ד), עמ' 125–141 [=ל]; • כ"י מודנה, ספריית אסטנזה a.F.10.13 (ברנהיימר 30), מחזור, מנהג איטליה (מאה י"ג/י"ד), דף 221ב–222ב [=מ]; • כ"י לונדון, ג'וס קולג', אוסף מונטיפיורי Halberstam 69 (הירשפלד 217), מחזור, מנהג איטליה (שנת 1300 לערך), דף 299אב [=1ט]; • כ"י ירושלים Heb. 8° 4281 (לשעבר ברסלאו בהמ"ד לרבנים לוינגר-ויינרב 194), מחזור, מנהג איטליה (משנת 1381), דף 252ב–253א [=1י]; • כ"י פריז, הספרייה הלאומית MS heb. 598, מחזור, מנהג איטליה (מאה י"ד), דף 310ב–314א [=2פ]; • כ"י מוסקבה, ספריית המדינה Guenzburg 255, מחזור, מנהג איטליה (מאה י"ד/ט"ו), דף 263ב–264ב [=10מ]; • כ"י רומא, קונסטנזה Cod. Casanat. 2873 (סצ'רדוטה 70), מחזור, מנהג איטליה (מאה י"ד/ט"ו), דף 246ב–247א [=1ר]; • כ"י ניו-יורק, ספריית בהמ"ד לרבנים Ms. 4750 (ENA 4153), מחזור, מנהג איטליה (מאה ט"ו), דף 209ב–211א [=10ג]; • כ"י וינה, הספרייה הלאומית Cod. Hebr. 172 (שוורץ 98), מחזור, מנהג איטליה (המאה ה"ט), דף 180א–181ב [=1ו]; [דפוסים: • מחזור כמנהג בני רומא, שונצין-קזאלמיורי רמ"ו, דף ב[149]–ב[150] א [=ש"ק]; • מחזור רומא, עם פירוש קמחא דאבישונא, בולוניא ש'–ש"א, דף [387] א [=ב"ו];

שינויי הנוסח צוינו רק להבדלים בעלי השלכות לפרוזודיה או למשמעות הדברים.
נוסח: [א] כותרת: סדר צידוק הדין נ צידוק הדין שאומרים על המת ל מ צידוק הדין י 1 2פ
מ 10 ט 11 ב"ו צדוק הדין 10ג ש"ק.

פירוש: [א] 3 הצור תמים בכל פועל: אלהים ישר בכל מעשה, שילוב בין לשון שתי הצלעיות הראשונות של דב' לב 4. 4 מה תפעל: לצירוף השוו: 'גבהי שמים מה תפעל עמקה משאול מה תדע' (איוב יא 8) 'הבט שמים וראה ושור שחקים גבהו ממך. אם חטאת מה תפעל בו ורבו פשעך מה תעשה לו' (איוב לה 5–6) והשוו

השליט בתחת ובמעל, 5
ממית ומחיה, מוריד שאול ויעל.

[הצור תמים פעלו, כי כל דרכיו משפט;
אל אמונה ואין עול, צדיק וישר הוא (דב' לב 4).]

הצור תמים בכל מעשה
ומי יאמר לו: 'מה תעשה?' – 10
הגוזר ועושה / חינם לנו חסד תעשה
ובזכות הנעקד כשה – / הקשיבה ועשה!

[הצור תמים פעלו, כי כל דרכיו משפט;

5 ובמעל] ומעל מ. 7–8 השימוש של פסוק הפתיחה כרפרין נשתמר רק בכ"י צרפתי אחד, ראו בפירוש. 11 הגוזר ועושה... תעשה] חסר ר.1.

שורה 10. 5 בתחת ובמעל: כמו בארץ ובשמים, השוו: 'יידעתה כי מושלך במעל [ושל] טונד בתחת] והישמדתה [פר] יים ממעל ושרשם מתחת' (יניי, הטור השלישי במשלש בקדושתא 'ארץ מנוחה לנו תרתה' לשבת הסדר 'ראה החלתי' [דב' ב 31], השוו: צבי מאיר רבינוביץ, מחזור פיוטי רבי יניי לתורה ולמועדים, ב, ירושלים תשמ"ז, עמ' 132 שורה 31). 6 ממית ומחיה... ויעל: על פי 'ה' ממית ומחיה מוריד שאול ויעל' (שמ"א ב 6). 7–8 פסוק הפתיחה אינו נרמז במקורות של מנהג איטליה מן המאה הי"ג ואילך כרפרין בין מחרוזות השיר אלא בכ"י אוקספורד קורפוס קריסטי 133, מחזור מנהג צרפת (אנגליה, מחצית הראשונה של המאה הי"ב), דפים 330–334 (וכאן לאורך כל השיר גם לאחר הפסוקים) והעבתי אותם כאן לשם המחשה לדגם אפשרי של ביצוע משולב בין פסוקים למחרוזות השיר. 9–10 הצור תמים... תעשה: וריאציה על שורות 3–4 וראו לפירוש שם. 10 ומי יאמר... תעשה: על פי 'באשר דבר מלך שלטון ומי יאמר לו מה תעשה' (קה' ח 4). 11 הגוזר ועושה: השוו 'ברוך שאמר והיה העולם, ... ברוך אומר ועושה, ברוך גוזר ומקים' (ברכת השיר לפני פסוקי דזמרה). חינם לנו חסד תעשה: הצירוף 'ע.ש.ה. חסד' הוא מקראי והשוו לצירוף 'חסד' ו'חינם': 'עושה חסד חנם בכל דור ודור' (מתוך התחנן לשני וחמישי). 12 ובזכות הנעקד כשה: כינוי ליצחק על פי המסופר בבר' פרק כב. הקשיבה ועשה: צירוף מתוך: 'ה' שמעה ה' סלחה ה' הקשיבה ועשה אל תאחר למענד אלהי כי שמך נקרא על עירך ועל עמך' (דנ' ט 19) פסוק מרכזי בתחנן ובסדר הסליחות.

אֵל אֲמוֹנָה וְאֵין עוֹל, צָדִיק וְיֵשֶׁר הוּא (דב' לב 4).

15 הַצּוֹר תָּמִים פָּעֵלוֹ אֶמֶת,
כִּי כָל דְּרָכָיו חֶסֶד וְאֶמֶת;
הוּא אֶמֶת וּמִשְׁפָּטָיו אֶמֶת
אֶרֶץ אֲפִים וְרַב חֶסֶד וְאֶמֶת.

וְהוּא רַחוּם, יְכַפֵּר עֹון וְלֹא יִשְׁחִית
20 וְהִרְבָּה לְהָשִׁיב אָפּוֹ, וְלֹא יַעֲרֵךְ כָּל חַמְתּוֹ (תה' עח 38).

בְּרוּךְ כִּי אֶמֶת דִּינוֹ
וּמִשְׁפָּט הַכֹּל בְּעֵינָיו
וּמִשְׁלֵם לְאָדָם חֲשָׁבוֹנוֹ –
וְהַכֹּל לְשִׁמוֹ הוֹדִיָּה יִתְּנוּ.

25 רְאוּ עֵתָה כִּי אֲנִי אֲנִי הוּא, וְאֵין אֱלֹהִים עִמָּדִי

23 חשבוננו] כחשבוננו 10.

15 פעלו אמת: וריאציה על שורת הפתיחה, הצירוף השגור יותר במקרא הוא 'ע.ש.ה. אמת'. 16 כל דרכיו חסד ואמת: השוו: 'כל ארחות ה' חסד ואמת' (תה' כה 10) ולצירוף חסד ואמת השוו שורה 18. 17 הוא אמת: השוו: וה' אלהים אמת' (יר' י 10). 18 ארץ אפים... ואמת: על פי 'ויעבר ה' על פניו ויקרא ה' ה' אל רחום וחנן ארץ אפים ורב חסד ואמת' (שמ' לד 6) אזכור י"ג המידות מתוך סדר התחננון וסדר הסליחות. 19–20 הפסוק הפותח את סדר התחננונים. 22 ומשוטט הכל בעינו: והכול גלוי לפניו, הניסוח על פי 'שבעה אלה עיני ה', המה משוטטים בכל הארץ' (זכ' ד 10), 'כי ה' עיניו משטטות בכל הארץ להתחזק עם לבבם שלם אליו' (דה"ב טז 9). 23 חשבוננו: גמולו לפי החישוב של מה שמגיע לו. 24 לשמו הודיה יתנו: הודאה והודיה הן צורות מתחלפות בספרות הבתור מקראית, ובמקום: 'יאמרו לו תודה (=שבח)' ונראה שיש כאן לגרוס כמו: 'וכולם) יכירו בו (כדיין)'. 25–26 ראו עתה... מציל: למשמעות הבאת הפסוק בהמשך למחרוזת הקודמת בעניין הכרה באל כבורא וכדיין, השוו: "אנכי יי אלהיך (שמ' כ 2) - למה נאמר? [...]" שלא ליתן פתחון פה לאומות העולם לומר: שתי רשויות הן. אלא 'אנכי יי אלהיך' - [...] אני לשעבר, אני לעתיד לבא, אני בעולם הזה, אני לעולם הבא, שנאמר:

אָנִי אָמְ[י]ת וְאַחִיהָ, מִחֲצָתִי וְאֲנִי אֶרְפָּא, וְאִין מִיָּדִי מִצִּיל (דב' לב 39).

אָדָם אִם בֶּן שָׁנָה יִהְיֶה
אוֹ אִם אֶלֶף שָׁנִים יִחְיֶה
מִה יִתְרוֹן לוֹ הָיֹת כִּלָּא יִהְיֶה? –
בְּרוּךְ דִּיין הָאֲמֶת, מִמִּית וּמְחִייה. 30

נֶפֶשׁ כָּל חַי בִּידֶךָ
צֶדֶק מְלֵאָה יְמִינֶךָ,
רַחֵם עַל פְּלִיטַת צֶאֱן יֶדֶךָ
וְתֹאמַר לְמֵלֶאכֶּךָ: 'הֶרֶף יֶדֶךָ'.

זְכוֹר לְאַבְרָהָם וְהַבֵּט מִמְרוֹמֶיךָ 35

26 אמית] אמת (טעות סופר) פ1. 28 אס] נוסף מעל השורה ט חסר פ2 ר1 נ10
11. 29 כלא] נוסף היה מ. 34 ידך] בידך פ2. 35 ממרומיך] ממרומך נ מ ט1 פ2
103. 37 תמימך] תמימך פ2.

'ראו עתה כי אני הוא' וגו' (דב' לב 39) 'מכילתא, מסכתא דבחדש (יתרו), ה [מהד' הורוביץ-רבינ, עמ' 220]. 27–29 אדם אס... יהיה: השוו: 'ואלו חיה אלף שנים פעמים וטובה לא ראה הלא אל מקום אחד הכל הולך' (קה' ו 6). 29 מה יתרון לו: השוו: 'מה יתרון לאדם בכל עמלו שיעמל תחת השמש' (קה' א 3), 'כאשר יצא מבטן אמו ערום ישוב ללכת כשבא ומאומה לא ישא בעמלו שילך בידו. וגם זה רעה חולה כל עמת שבא כן ילך ומה יתרון לו שיעמל לרוח' (קה' ה 14–15). ברוך דיין האמת: מלשון ברכת ההודאה, השוו: 'ועל שמועות הרעות הוא אומר: ב' דיין האמת' (משנה, ברכות ט, ב). ממיית ומחיה: ראו לעיל לשורה 6. 31 נפש כל... בידך: כינוי לאל, על פי 'אשר בידו נפש כל חי' (איוב יב 10). 32 צדק מלאה ימינך: על פי 'תהלתך על קצוי ארץ, צדק מלאה ימינך' (תה' מח 11). 33 פליטת צאן ידך: שארית עמך ישראל, הכינוי מבוסס על צירוף מקראי כגון 'שאר ישראל ופליטת בית יעקב' (יש' י 20) ולשון הפסוק 'ואנחנו עם מרעיתו וצאן ידו' (תה' צה 7). 34 ותאמר למלאך... ידך: ותאמר למלאך המוות, על פי 'וינחם ה' אל הרעה ויאמר למלאך המשחית בעם רב: עתה הרף ידך' (ש"ב כד 16). 35 זכור לאברהם: רמיזה לבקשת המחילה מתוך אזכור ברית האבות מאת משה לפני האל: 'זכר לאברהם ליצחק ולישראל עבדיך אשר נשבעת להם בך ותדבר אלהם ארבה את זרעכם ככוכבי השמים וכל הארץ הזאת אשר אמרתי אתן לזרעכם ונחלו לעלם' (ש"ב לב 13). והבט ממרומיך: השוו: 'שוב נא הבט משמים וראה ופקד גפן זאת'

וּלְיִצְחָק הַנֶּעֱקָד עַל שְׁמֶךָ |
וּלְמַעַן יֵעָקֵב הַנִּקְרָא תְּמִימָךְ – [144א]
לְמַעַנְךָ וּלְמַעַנֵּם חוּסָה וְחִמּוּל עַל עֲמָךְ.

אָמְנָם עַל שְׁלֹשָׁה דְּבָרִים
יְסוּדֵי עוֹלָם מִיּוֹסָדִים 40
עַל הַתּוֹרָה וְעַל הָעֲבוּדָה וְעַל גְּמִילוּת חֲסָדִים –
בְּרוּךְ מְשַׁלֵּם שָׂכָר טוֹב לְגוֹמְלֵי חֲסָדִים.

מָה יִתְרוֹן לְאָדָם בְּכָל עֲמָלוֹ
כִּי עַל כָּל אֱלֹה מְנוּת גּוֹרְלוֹ;
וּבְיוֹם הַמָּוֶת אֵין עוֹזָר לוֹ 45
כִּי אִם הַצּוֹר תָּמִיד פֶּעֱלוֹ.

צָדִיק בְּכָל דְּרָכָיו הַצּוֹר תָּמִיד

שורות 43-46 אחרי שורה 50 נ 1 ט 1 2 פ 10 מ 1 ר 10 נ 1 ו 1 ש"ק ב"ו. 46 אס] חסר פ2.

(תה' פ 15) 'הוא מרומים ישכן' (יש' לג 16). 36 על שמך: משמעות הביטוי בלשון חז"ל כמו 'על קידוש שמך' בלשון ימי-הביניים. 37 הנקרא תמימך: השוו: 'שדה ויעקב איש תם ישב אהלים' (בר' כה 27). 38 למענך ולמענם: מלשונות סדר התחנונים והסליחות, השוו דג' ט 19 (לעיל לשורה 12) ולשונות כמו: 'אבינו מלכנו עשה למענך אם לא למעננו'. חוסה וחמול על עמך: השוו מתוך תיאור מקראי של מעמד של תענית: 'חוסה ה' על עמך ואל תתן נחלתך לחרפה למשל בס גוים למה יאמרו בעמים איה אלהיהם. ויקנא ה' לארצו ויחמל על עמו' (יואל ב 17-18). 39-41 אמנם על... חסדים: על פי 'שמעון הצדיק [...] היה אומר: על שלשה דברים העולם עומד, על התורה ועל העבודה ועל גמילות חסדים' (משנה, אבות א, ב). 42 ברוך משלם... חסדים: במקביל ללשון ברכת השיר: 'ברוך משלם שכר טוב ליראיו' והשוו בניסוח של ברכה בהקשר של מנהגי אבלות: 'ורואין את האבל ויושבין לארץ כדי שישבו ויצאו כל ישראל ידי חובתן בגמילות חסדים, ועליהם הוא אומר: ברוך אתה ה', נותן שכר טוב לגומלי חסדים' (פרקי דרבי אליעזר, פרק 'גמילות חסדים לאבלים מנן' (יז) [ורשה תרי"ב, דף מא ע"ב]). 43 מה יתרון... עמלו: ראו לעיל לשורה 29. 44 כי על... גורלו: השוו גם 'גורלך תפיל בתוכנו כיס אחד יהיה לכלנו' (מש' א 14). 45 וביום המות... לו: השוו: 'ובא עד קצו ואין עוזר לו' (דג' יא 45). 46 כי אם... פעלו: על פי דב' לב 4 (לעיל שורה 1). 47 צדיק בכל דרכיו: על פי

אַרְךְ אַפִּים וּמְלֵא רַחֲמִים,
חֲמוּל-נָא חוּס נָא עַל אָבוֹת וּבָנִים
כִּי לָךְ, [אֲדוֹן], הַסְּלִיחוֹת וְהַרְחֲמִים. 50

צְדִיק וְיֹצֵר כָּל מַעֲשֵׂה
חֲסִיד בְּכָל אֲשֶׁר יַעֲשֶׂה,
שְׁלִיט חֲפָצוֹ עוֹשֶׂה
וּמִי יֹאמֶר לוֹ: 'מָה תַּעֲשֶׂה'?

צְדִיק וְיֹשֵׁר וְאִין בְּדַרְכֵּי עוֹל 55

כִּי הוּא נִקְרָא הַצּוֹר תָּמִיד;
זָךְ פְּעֻלּוֹ וְצָדֵק אֲוִרְחוֹתָיו
וְאִין לְהִסְתַּר מִפְּנֵי פֹעֵל כָּל.

צָדֵק וּמִשְׁפָּט כָּל דְּרָכָיו
חֲסֵד וְאַמֶּת אֲוִרְחוֹתָיו 60
מִשׁוּא פָּנִים אִין לְפָנָיו

49 חוס נא] חוסה נ 17 חוס 10 10 11. 50 לך] נוסף אדון נ מ ט 1 2 10 17 11 ש"ק
ש"ק ב"ו נוסף מתן ל. שורות 51–54 אחרי שורה 58 נ ט 1 2 10 17 11 ש"ק
ב"ו. 53 שליט חפצו עושה] חסר ל. 54 ומי] מי ב"ו. 55 וישר] ישר פ. 56 נקרא
הנקרא פ 2 10 17 11. 59 צדק] צדיק (!) פ 2 כל] בכל ש"ק. 60 אורחותיו] כל
אורחותיו ב"ו. 61 פנים] פניו פ.

'צדיק ה' בכל דרכיו וחסיד בכל מעשיו' (תה' קמה 17). הצור תמים: כינוי לאל, על
פי דב' לב 4. 48 ארך אפים: ממידות האל, השוו לעיל לשורה 18. ומלא רחמים:
השוו את לשון סדר נפילת האפים: 'רחום וחנן חטאתי לפניך, ה' מלא רחמים, רחם
עלי וקבל תחנוני' עם פתיחת תפילת יזכור: 'אל מלא רחמים'. 49 חמול נא חוס
נא: מלשונות הפנייה בסדרי הסליחות. 50 לך אדון.. והרחמים: השוו: 'לה' אלהינו
הרחמים והסלחות' (דג' ט 9). 51–52 צדיק ויוצר... יעשה: כינוי לאל, על פי תה'
קמה 17 (לעיל לשורה 47). 53–54 שליט חפצו... תעשה: על פי 'באשר דבר
מלך שלטון ומי יאמר לו מה תעשה' (קה' ח 4). 55–57 צדיק וישר... אורחותיו:
פרפרזה בפרוזה על דב' לב 4 (לעיל שורות 1–2). 58 ואין להסתתר: השוו 'כי עיניו
על דרכי איש וכל צעדיו יראה. אין חשך ואין צלמות להסתתר שם פעלי און' (איוב לד
21–22). 59–60 צדק ומשפט... אורחותיו: פרפרזה לדב' לב 4. 61 משוא פנים

וְעָלִינוּ יְהֵמוּ רִמְחִיו / כִּי כוֹלָנוּ מַעֲשֵׂה יָדָיו.

דִּיין אַמֶּת,

שׁוֹפֵט צָדֵק וְאַמֶּת,

בְּרוּךְ דִּיין הָאֱמֶת,

65

כִּי כָל מִשְׁפָּטָיו חֶסֶד וְאַמֶּת.

[רְאוּ חֲכָמִים וְהִבִּינוּ עַל לֵב

כִּי אֵין שְׁלֹטוֹן בְּיוֹם הַמָּוֶת

כְּמוֹ דְּבַר אִישׁ תָּם וְיָשָׁר:

יֵי נֶתָן וְיֵי לָקַח יְהִי שָׁם יֵי מְבוֹרָךְ].

70

[יִדְעֵנוּ יֵי כִּי צָדֵקוֹ מִשְׁפָּטִיד]

62 מעשה] מעשי נ. שורות 67–70 שולבו ב-[ב] לפני שורה 13 ויד שנייה הפנתה בגיליון בעזרת הציון 'ראו – רך' שמקום הדברים כאן פ1 ל מ (ללא הפניה). 67 על לב] חסר פ1. 69 דבר] דס(!) פ1 דיבר ט1 י1 פ2 ר1 10נ וישר] חסר ש"ק. שורות 71–74 שולבו ב-[ב] לפני שורה 9 פ1 לפני שורה 13 בהמשך לשורות 67–70 מ והחזרתי אותם לכאן לפי רוב עדי הנוסח. 71 צדקו] צדק נ ט1 פ2 מ10 ר1 ו1 ש"ק.

אין לפנינו: על פי 'אין עם ה' אלהינו עולה ומשא פנים ומקח שחד' (דה"ב יט 7) והשוו: "ויאמר יי אל משה הן קרבו ימיד למות' (דב' לא 14) – ר' שמעון בן יוחי אומ>ר: ברוך דיין אמת, אדון כל המעשים שאין עוולה ומשוא פנים לפניו' (ספרי דברים, נצבים, סי' שד [מהד' פינקלשטיין, עמ' 323]). 62 ועלינו יהמו רחמיו: השוו נוסח של ברכת הצדיקים: 'ועלינו יהמו רחמיה' אלהינו'. כי כולנו מעשה ידיו: על פי 'אשר לא נשא פני שרים ולא נפר שוע לפני דל כי מעשה ידיו כלם' (איוב לד 19) וזה בהמשך ישיר לשורה הקודמת. 63–66 דיין אמת... ואמת: ואריאציה על נושא ברכת ההודאה, ראו לעיל לשורה 61. 67 ראו חכמים: השוו: 'איזהו חכם? – הרואה את הנולד!' (תלמוד בבלי, תמיד לב ע"א). והבינו על לב: כמו ושימו על לב והשוו 'שמועה רעה לא יירא נכון לבו בטח בה' (תה' קיב 7). 68 כי אין... המות: על פי 'אין אדם שליט ברוח לכלוא את הרוח ואין שלטון ביום המות' (קה' ח 8). 69 איש תם וישר: לפי הציטוט בשורה הבאה כינוי פריפרסטי לאיוב. 70 ה' נתן... מבורך: איוב 21 בספרות חז"ל מופת לאמירת הודאה. 71 ידענו ה'... משפטיד: על פי 'ידעתי ה' כי צדק משפטיד' (תה' קיט 75). 72 תצדק בדוברך... בשופטך: על פי 'לך לבדך חטאתי והרע בעיניך עשיתי למען תצדק בדברך תזכה בשפטך' (תה' נא 6).

תִּצְדֵּק בְּדוֹבָרָךְ, תִּזְכֶּה בְּשׁוֹפְטֶיךָ
וְאִין לְהִרְהֵר אַחֲר מִידַת שְׁפִטֶיךָ
צִדִּיק אֶתָּה יי וְיִשָּׁר מִשְׁפָּטֶיךָ].

[ב] אָדָם אִם-יִחְיֶה אֶלְף שָׁנִים
וְשִׁלְטוֹן מְשָׁלוֹ בְּכָל-צַד וּפְנִינִים
מִבְּלִי עוֹשְׂרוֹ יֵרֵד בְּאַשְׁמָנִים
וּבִדְיִן יִעֲמֵד לִפְנֵי אֵל אֲשֶׁר לֹא יֵשָׂא פָנִים.

5 תִּקְרִיף שְׁמוֹ מִיֻּחָד
וּלְפָנָיו קָטוֹן וְגָדוֹל שְׁוִים יָחַד
יִצִּיר, זֹאת יֵשִׁיב אֶל-לְבוֹ וַיִּפָּחַד
כִּי יִתּוּכַח לִפְנֵי שׁוֹפֵט אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִקַּח שׁוֹחַד.

[ב] 1 אִם] כי 17. 2 וְשִׁלְטוֹן] שלטון נ ל מ ט 1 1 25 10 מ 17 10 נ 11 ש"ק ב"ו צד] חסר
1 וּפְנִינִים] ופנים ט 1 ב"ו. 3 מִבְּלִי] ומבלי ל חבלי ש"ק באשמנים] במשמנים ש"ק. 4 וּבִדְיִן]
ופנים 17 יעמד] יעמד ט 1 יעמד ש"ק. 5 מִיֻּחָד] ומיוחד נ ל מ ט 1 25 מ 17
10 נ 11 ב"ו. 6 וּלְפָנָיו] לפניו ל ב"ו קטון] קטן ל ט 1 1 ש"ק ב"ו. 7 יֵשִׁיב] ישים 25. 8
שׁוֹפֵט] אל מ 25 17 10 נ יקח שוחד] ישא פנים ולא יקח שוחד נ ל מ ט 1 25 10 מ 17 10 נ
11 ב"ו.

73 וְאִין לְהִרְהֵר: השוו את שתי הדרשות למילים 'הצור' ו-'תמים פעלו' בעניין שאין
להרהר במידת הבורא ובמידת הדין בספרי דברים, האזינו, פסקה שז (מהד' פינקל-
שטיין, עמ' 344–345) ולצירוף הלשון 'להרהר אחר מידות' שמ"ר ו, א (מהד' שנאן,
עמ' 185–184). 74 צִדִּיק אֶתָּה... משפטיך: תה' קיט 137.
[ב] 1 אִם יִחְיֶה אֶלְף שָׁנִים: על פי קה' ו 6 ראו לעיל [א] שורות 27–29. יחיה: כמו
תחיה. צורת הנסתר מקנה כאן לתוכחה ממד אוניברסלי יותר מאשר צורת הנוכח,
השוו שורה 7. 2 וּפְנִינִים: ופינות, מתוך התאמה לחריוה. ירד באשמנים: ירד לקבר,
על פי 'נגששה כעורים קיר וכאין עינים נגששה כשלנו בצהרים כנשף באשמנים
כמתים' (יש' נט 10), ובתרגום יונתן: '... כמא דאחידין קבריא באפי מתיא'. 4 אשר
לֹא יֵשָׂא פָנִים: על פי 'כי ה' אלהיכם הוא אלהי האלהים ואדני האדנים האל הגדל
הגבר והנורא אשר לא ישא פנים ולא יקח שחד' (דב' י 17), השוו לעיל [א] שורה
61. 8 יִתּוּכַח: יישפט, על פי 'ושפט בצדק דלים והוכיח במישור לעוני ארץ' (יש' יא
4). לֹא יִקַּח שׁוֹחַד: על פי דב' י 17 כמו לסיום המחרוזת הקודמת.

* יִדְעֵנוּ יי כִּי צָדִקוּ מִשְׁפָּטֶיךָ
תִּצְדַּק בְּדוֹבְרֶיךָ תִּזְכֶּה בְּשׁוֹפְטֶיךָ
וְאֵין לְהִרְהֹר אַחֵר מִיִּדַּת שְׁפָטֶיךָ
צָדִיק אֶתָּה יי וַיֵּשֶׁר מִשְׁפָּטֶיךָ .

חִי וְקַיִים, בְּחִרְתָּנוּ
10 וּבְחִרְנוֹךָ חֶלֶק מִנְתִּינוּ;
עַל-דָּבָר כְּבוֹד שְׁמֶךָ הֶצִּילָנוּ
וּכְפָר עַל-חַטֹּאתֵינוּ.

** וְלִמְעַן דָּם עֲבָדֶיךָ הַשְׁפוּךְ בְּשָׁנַת תַּתְנָ"ו
אֲשֶׁר נִפְשָׁם וּמֵאוֹדָם עַל יִיחוד שֵׁם קֹדֶשְׁךָ נִתְּנוּ.
זְכוֹת עֲקוֹד בֶּן שְׁלֹשִׁים וְשִׁבְעֵי הַמִּיּוֹחָד

* שורות אלה הועברו לכאן מ-[א] ראו לעיל [א] שורות 71-74 פ' ולפני כן השורות המסומנות ב-*** (= [א] שורות 67-70) ל' מ. 11 הצילנו] והצילנו ל' מ' 10 ר' 10 ב"ו. ** שארית של מחרוזות וחצי מסליחה בענייני גזרות תתנ"ו 1** [ולמען] למען ל' פ' 2 ר' 10 ב"ו תתנ"ו] שמונה מאות וחמשים וששה ש"ק. 2** שם [קדשך] קדשך מ' ש"ק ב"ו נתנו] נתנו (צ"ל נתנו השוו יח' כז 19) ג. 3** [זכות] זכור ל' י' בן ב"ו.

* למחרוזות זו ראו במדור חילופי הנוסח והשוו [א] שורות 71-74. 9 ח' וקיים: פנייה לאל, כינוי פריפרסטי המשמש בתפילות הקבע (ברכת מעריב, נשמת וכדומה). 10 חלק מנתינו: כמו מנת חלקינו בסמיכות הפוכה. 11-12 על דבר... חטאותינו: על פי 'עזרנו' אלהי ישענו על דבר כבוד שמך והצילנו וכפר על חטאותינו למען שמך' (תה' עט 9); במהלך המסירה התאימו את לשון הפיוט ('הצילנו') ללשון הפסוק ('והצילנו') ושיבשו בכך את התחביר עד שב' קלאר ראה צורך להשלים בראש הטור 'עזרנו' גם על פי לשון הפסוק. ** תוספת של מחרוזות וחצי שנכתב בעקבות הגזרות בשנת תתנ"ו (1096) באשכנז. 1** למען דם עבדיך השפוך: על מנת להפריך את הטענה הגלומה בדברי הפסוק ביסוד הניסוח: 'למה יאמרו הגוים איה אלהיהם יודע בגוים לעינינו נקמת דם עבדיך השפוך' (תה' עט 10). 2** נפשם ומאודם: השוו: 'ואהבת את ה' אלהיך בכל לבבך ובכל נפשך ובכל מאדך' (דב' ו 5). על ייחוד... נתנו: מתו על קידוש השם. 3** עקוד: יצחק, כינוי פריפרסטי על פי המסופר בבר' כב. בן שלושים ושבע: על פי מסורת מדרשית לסיפור העקדה, ראו מדרש תנחומא, וירא, כג (מהד' ורשה, עמ' 78) ולמקבילות בראשית רבא, נה, ה (מהד' תיאודור-אלבק, עמ' 588) ושם בפירוש.

ובציוויך נמסר לטבח ולבסוף איל תמורו נאחד
הבטחתה היות שמור לדורי דורות לעובדיך באהב ובפחד
כל שכן כמה אלופינו אשר בשנת כל"ו כלו יחד.

***ראו חכמים והבינו [על לב]
כי אין שלטון ביום המוות
כמו דם איש תם וישר:
יי נתן ויי לקח יהי שם יי מבורך (איוב א 21).

זו היא דרך כל-העולם
האספו ועשו חסד כולם
כי אין דבר [מ]מנו נעלים | 15
נשמתו לחיי עולם. [144ב]

4** ובציוויך [בצוויך נ איל] אל ש"ק [תמורו] תמורתו ל. 5** לדורי דורות] חסר 10ג
לעובדיך] לעבדך נ לעובדך פ. 6** כל] וכל פ 2 כל"ו] כל"ו נ קלו (כלומר שנת 1176!)
ב"ו. *** שורות אלה הועברו לכאן מ-[א] שורות 67–70 ונרמז שם בגיליון שמקומם ברצף
שם פ. 15 [ממנו] מנו פ 15 ט ש"ק. 16 [נשמתו] ונשמתו נ 10 ר 10 נ 11 ב"ו (ומכאן
ואילך נרשמו בגיליון סיום המלים הנדרשות התאמה למין נקבה: כגון –תה וכו') נ ל ט (רק
התחלה) ר 11.

6** בשנת כל"ו: כמו נ"ו, כלומר תתנ"ו, השוו: 'ובימיו נגזרה גזרה כלו שנת תתנ"ו
לפרט' (שו"ת מהרש"ל סימן כט [מהד' לובלין של"ד, דף [55] ע"ב]), לנדסהוט,
סדר בקור חולים, עמ' LIX *** לארבע שורות אלה ראו במדור חילופי הנוסח
והשוו [א] שורות 67–70. 13 זו היא... העולם: רמיזה לחוקיות המוות וגם לטבס
ההלוויה. 14 האספו ועשו חסד: פנייה לקהל לגמול חסדים למת, כמו 'ולמה זכו
להעמיד אליהו הצדיק? - בשביל שעשו חסד עם עצמותיו של שאול' (דברים רבה,
פרשת עקב (מהד' ליברמן, עמ' 73). 15 כי אין... נעלים: על דרך הלשון 'לא היה
דבר נעלים מן המלך' (מל"א י 3) מתוך הסבת הדברים על אלהים ורמיזה לזכות
שבקיום המצווה או שמא לאור המעבר המפתיע לקביעה על אודות נפשו של
הנפטר מדובר כאן באמונה שאף על פי שמטמינים את המת בקבר ומסתירים אותו,
זהותו ידועה לפני האל, והשוו לקשר בין קבורה, ידיעת זהות הנקבר וחיי עולם:
מסכת חייבוט הקבר א, ו. 16 נשמתו לחיי עולם: ככל הנראה רמז לסיום טבס
האשכבה, השוו את התיעוד הספרותי: 'וכשבקש יהושע רבו [את משה] ולא מצאו
היה בוכה ואומר: 'הושיעה ה' כי גמר חסיד כי פסו אמונים מבני אדם' (תה' יב 2),

קול נשמע מְבֹשֶׁר שְׁלוֹם
 רְצוֹן יִרְאִיו עוֹשֶׂה שְׁלוֹם
 שְׁמֵעוּ דְּבַר שְׁלוֹם
 תִּנּוּחַ נִפְשׁוֹ בְּמִשְׁכְּבוֹ בְּשְׁלוֹם. 20
 יִשְׁכַּב בְּשְׁלוֹם / וְיִישֶׁן בְּשְׁלוֹם
 עַד-יָבוֹא מִנְחָם מְשַׁמֵּיעַ שְׁלוֹם.

18 עושה] יעשה נ 17 ש"ק ב"ו. 20 במשכבו] ומשכבו מ 25 ש"ק. 21–22 ישכב בשלום... שלום] השורות הועברו לאחר [ג] שורה 6 ל מ. 22 מנחם] מבשר נ10.

ומלאכי השרת אומרים: 'צדקת ה' עשה' (דב' לג 21), וישראל היו אומרים: 'ומשפטיו עם ישראל' (שם); אלו ואלו היו אומרים: 'יבא שלום ינחו על משכבותם הולך נכוחו' (יש' נז 2), 'זכר צדיק לברכה' (משלי י 7) ונשמתו לחיי עולם הבא. אמן כן יהי רצון, ברוך ה' לעולם אמן ואמן' (דברים רבה יא, ט (הוצ' וילנא, דף קב ע"ד)) והשוו ילקוט שמעוני, וילך (רמז תתקס) [מהד' הימן-שילוני, עמ' 605]. 17–20 שילוב של סיום של פיוט אלפביתי קדום (קרש"ת), השוו כבר התרשמות של א"ל לנדסהוטה, סדר בקור חולים, עמ. LVIII 'ארבע שורות אלה מופיעות (בשינוי קל – 'ינוח' במקום 'תנוח' מתוך הסבת הפועל על המנוח בעקבות הביטוי 'hic requiescit' n. n. על מצבתו של ר' ברוך בן רבי יונה מברנידיז מן המאה התשיעית, ראו: Cesare Colafemmina, 'Archeologia ed epigrafia ebraica nell'Italia meridionale', Italia Judaica, 1 (1983), p. 205. ממצא זה מחזק את הרושם שלטקסט היה קיום עצמאי לפני שהוא שולב בפיוטו של אמת. לאפשרות של חיבור פתיחה חדשה של קינה למת שתוביל אל סיום מסורתי השוו את דרך ההבאה של קינתו של אמת ב"ר שפטיה 'אי אכסניה אי גלות' במגילת אחימעץ (מהד' בונפיל, עמ' 311). 17 קול נשמע... שלום: על פי 'מה נאוו על ההרים רגלי מבשר משמיע שלום מבשר טוב משמיע ישועה אמר לציון מלך אלהיך' (יש' נב 7). 18 רצון יריאיו... שלום: על פי 'רצון יראיו יעשה ואת שועתם ישמע ויושיעם' (תה' קמה 19). 19 דבר שלום: הצירוף על פי 'והכרתי רכב מאפרים וסוס מירושלם ונכרתה קשת מלחמה ודבר שלום לגוים ומשלו מים עד ים ומנהר עד אפסי ארץ (זכ' ט 10). 20 תנוח נפשו: לצירוף השוו את המובא אצל Jean-Baptiste Frey, Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaicarum: I. Europe [Suddidi allo Studio delle Antichita Cristiane, 1], Roma: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana 1936, p. 422 22 מנחם: המשיח, הכינוי על פי איכה א 16 השוו: 'ויש אומרים מנחם בן חזקיה שמו, שנאמר: 'כי רחוק ממני מנחם משיב נפשי' (איכה א 16)' (תלמוד בבלי, סנהדרין דף צח ע"ב).

[ג]

אבות עולם, ישיני חברון,
שערי גן עדן פתחו לו ואמרו לו: 'שלום בואו'.

[ג] שורות 1-6 סדר השורות 5-6 ל מ 1-2 5-6 3-4 פ 17. שורות 3-6 סדר השורות 5-6, 3-4 פ 17 וסידרתי אותם ככרוב עדי הנוסח. 2 [בואו] בציוני ההתאמה למין נקבה רשום בגליון בואך ג.

[ג] 1 אבות עולם: לפי ההמשך כינוי לאברהם, יצחק ויעקב הקבורים במערת המכפלה בחברון. לפי ההקבלה ל-'גבעות עולם' (שורה 3), השימוש 'שבח אבות עולם' בבן-סירא (העברי) מד 1 (מהד' סגל, עמ' שב) והכינוי 'אבות העולם' להלל ושמאי במשנה עדויות א, ד, תלמוד ירושלמי, חגיגה ב, ב (דף עז ע"ד) ועוד, משמעות הצירוף: גדולי תבל. אבל השוו: "ארץ חמדה" (במ' טו 2) - שנתחמדו לה אבות העולם אברהם יצחק ויעקב' (מדרש תנחומא-ילמדנו [מהד' גינצבורג, קטעי מדרש והגדה מן הגניזה שבמצרים (גנזי שכטר, א), ניו-יורק תרפ"ח, עמ' 101]).

ישיני חברון: הקבורים בחברון, השוו 'ורבים מישיני אדמת עפר יקיצו' (דג' יב 2), והצירוף ככינוי לאבות בפיוטים כגון: 'חוננו למען ישיני חברון' (אלעזר ברבי קליר, 'איילותי אקראך בגרון', משלש של הקדושתא 'אזרחי ידעך מכל אומות' ליום כפור [אלכסנדר שייבר, 'פיוט קלירי המובא ע"י קרקסאני', בתוך: דוד שמואל לוינגר ואלכסנדר שייבר (עורכים), גנזי קויפמן, א, בודפשט 1949, עמ' 11-12]) והשוו בהקשר איטלקי: 'מניני ישיני חברון' (אחימעץ בן פלטיאל, ספר יוחסין, 2 (מהד' בונפיל, עמ' 239). 2 שערי גן עדן: לנרטיב הסיטואציה ביסוד הדברים השוו: 'נשמה כד נפקת מהאי עלמא, אי זכאת עאלת בגנתא דעדן דארעא דנטע קודשא בריך הוא לרוחיהון דצדיקיא כגונא דההוא גנתא דעדן דלעילא ותמן כל צדיקא דעלמא. וכד נשמתא נפקת מהאי עלמא, עאלת במערתא דכפלתא דתמן איהו פתחא דג> <ד> פגעת באדם הראשון ובאינון אבהן דתמן. אי זכאת איהי חדאן בה ופתחין לה פתחין ועאלת' (זוהר - סתרי תורה, לך לך [מהד' מרגליות, א, דף פא ע"א] (= נשמה כאשר היא יוצאת מן העולם הזה, אם היא זכאית היא נכנסת לגן עדן של הארץ שנטע הקדוש ברוך הוא לרוחותיהם של הצדיקים כמו אותו גן של מעלה ושם כל צדיקי העולם. וכאשר הנשמה יוצאת מן העולם הזה, היא נכנסת למערת המכפלה ששם נמצא הפתח לגן עדן, פוגשת את האדם הראשון ובאותם אבות הנמצאים שם. אם היא זכאית, שמחים בה ופותחים לה את הפתחים והיא נכנסת; 'ותאנא: שבע פתחים יש לנפשות הצדיקים להכנס עד מקום מעלתם ועל כל פתח ופתח שומרים. הפתח ראשון נכנסת הנשמה במערת המכפלה שהיא סמוכה לג> <ד> ע>דן> ואד>ס> הר>אשון> שומר עליו. זכתה, הוא מכריז ואומר: פנו מקום, שלום בואך!' (זוהר חדש - מדרש הנעלם, נח [מהד' מרגליות, דף כ ע"ב-כא ע"א]). וזה רק ניסוח מאוחר ורצוף על סמך מסורות קדומים, השוו: 'אמר ריש לקיש: כל העונה אמן בכל כחו, פותחין לו שערי גן עדן, שנאמר: 'פתחו שערים ויבא גוי צדיק שומר אמונים' (יש' כו 2) - אל תיקרי 'שומר אמונים' אלא 'שומרים אמן' (תלמוד בבלי, שבת קיט ע"ב).

גְּבֻעוֹת עוֹלָם מִמְּכַפְּלָה
 שְׁעָרֵי גֵן עֵדֶן פִּתְחוּ לוֹ וְאָמְרוּ לוֹ: 'שְׁלוֹם בּוֹא'וֹ'.
 5 מְלֶאכִי שְׁלוֹם צְאוּ לִקְרֹאתוֹ
 שְׁעָרֵי גֵן עֵדֶן פִּתְחוּ לוֹ וְאָמְרוּ לוֹ: 'שְׁלוֹם בּוֹא'וֹ'.
 שׁוֹמְרֵי גֵינְזֵי גֵן עֵדֶן,
 שׁוֹמְרֵי גֵינְזֵי גֵן עֵדֶן,
 פִּתְחוּ לוֹ שְׁעָרֵי גֵן עֵדֶן.
 10 וַיְבֹא ר' פִּלְוִנִי בְּגֵן עֵדֶן
 וַיִּשְׁתַּעֲשִׂיעַ מִפְּרֵי גֵן עֵדֶן
 מִחֲמַדִּים בְּיָמֵינוּ וּמִמֶּתְקִים מְשֻׁמָּאֵל –
 זֹאת תַּעֲנֶה וְתֹאמַר לוֹ: 'שְׁלוֹם בּוֹא'וֹ'.

3–4 גבעות עולם... בואו] חסר 11. 5–6 מלאכי שלום... בואו] חסר י' 10 ש"ק ב"ו. 7
 שומרי] לפני השורה ישכב בשלום וישן בשלום עד יבוא מנחם ל יישן בשלום וישכב בשלום
 עד יבוא מנחם משמיע שלום מ (השוו שורות [ב] 21–22). 8 שומרי גינזי... עדן] חסר ר'.
 10 ר'] זה מר ל זה ט' רבי ש"ק חסר ב"ו פלוני] נוסף זה מ' 25 11. 11 עדן] חסר ל.
 12 בימינו] מימינו נ' ט' 10 10 11 ש"ק ב"ו וממתקים] ממתקים ש"ק משמאלו] בשמאלו
 ש"ק. 13 זאת] זו ש"ק.

3 גבעות עולם: כינוי לאבות ולאמהות, שרה, רבקה ולאה, השוו: "וממגד גבעות
 עולם" (דב' לג 15) – מלמד שאבות ואימהות קרויין גבעות, שנאמר: 'עד שיפוח
 היום ונסו הצללים אלך לי אל הר המור אל גבעת הלבונה' (שה"ש ד 6) (ספרי
 דברים, וזאת הברכה, פסקה שנג [מהד' פינקלשטיין, עמ' 414]). 5 מלאכי שלום:
 צירוף מקראי (יש' לג 7) בניגוד למלאכי חבלה. 7 שומרי גינזי גן עדן: פנייה אל
 הדמויות הממונים על מתן רשות כניסה לזכאים להיכנס בדומה לשומרי הסף
 בספרות ההיכלות. גינזי גן עדן: השוו: "בכל בית" (במ' יב 7) – מלמד שהפקידו
 הקב"ה למשה על כל ישראל, ועל כל גינזי התורה, ועל כל גינזי חכמה, ועל כל גינזי
 תבונה, ועל כל גינזי מזימה, ועל כל גינזי מדע, ועל גינזי גן עדן, ועל כל גינזי חיים,
 והראהו כל חמודות שבעולם הזה וכל חמודות שבעו<לם> ה>ב<א' (אלפא ביתא
 דרבי עקיבא [א], צ [מהד' ילינק, עמ' 43–44]). 11 וישתעשע: השוו 'בְּחֶקְתִּיךְ
 אֲשַׁתְּעֶשֶׂע' (תה' קיט 16), 'ואשתעשע במצותיך' (תה' קיט 47). מפרי גן עדן: לפי
 ההקשר כאן: מפרי עץ הדעת, כלומר בתלמוד תורה. 12 ממחמדים... וממתקים:
 כינויים לדברי תורה, השוו: 'משפטי ה' אמת צדקו יחדו. הנחמדים מזהב ומפז רב
 ומתוקים מדבש ונפת צופים' (תה' יט 10–11) והשוו: 'חכו ממתקים וכלו מחמדים
 זה דודי וזה רעי בנות ירושלם' (שה"ש ה 16). זאת תענה: לפי ההקשר אולי התורה
 כדמות מואנשת.

[ד] יתגדל ויתקדש שְׁמִיה רַבָּא בְּעֵלְמָא דְּהוּא עָתִיד לְחַדָּאָתָא וּלְאַחֲיָהּ מַתְיָא
 [וּלְשַׁכְּלָא הִיכְלָא] וּלְמַבְנֵי קַרְתָּא דִּירוּשָׁלַיִם וּלְמִיעָקֵר פּוֹלְחָנָא נּוֹכְרָאָה מֵאַרְעֵנָא
 וּלְאַתְבָּא קוֹדֶשָׁא בְּרִידָה הוּא מְשִׁיחִיה בְּמַלְכוּתִיה וְיִקְרִיה לְאַתְרִיה
 בְּחַיִּכּוֹן וּבְיוֹמִיכּוֹן [וּבְחַיִּי] דְּכָל בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל < [בְּעֵגְלָא וּבְזֶמֶן קָרִיב וְאִמְרוּ אָמֵן]
 5 [יְהֵא שְׁמִיה רַבָּא מְבָרַךְ לְעָלְמָא וּלְעָלְמֵי עָלְמֵיָא]
 יתְבָרַךְ וְיִשְׁתַּבַּח [וְיִתְפָּאֵר וְיִתְרוֹמֵם וְיִתְנַשָּׂא וְיִתְהַדָּר וְיִתְעַלָּה וְיִתְהַלָּל
 שְׁמִיה דְּקוֹדֶשָׁא בְּרִידָה הוּא]
 לְעִילָא לְעִילָא [מִן כָּל בְּרַכְתָּא שִׁירְתָּא תּוֹשְׁבְּתָתָא וְנִיחָמְתָּא דְּאִמְרִין בְּעֵלְמָא
 וְאִמְרוּ אָמֵן].
 יְהֵא שְׁלָמָא [רַבָּא מִן שְׁמַיָּא וְחַיִּים טוֹבִים עָלֵינוּ וְעַל כָּל יִשְׂרָאֵל וְאִמְרוּ אָמֵן].
 10 עוֹשֶׂה שְׁלוֹם [בְּמְרוֹמָיו הוּא בְּרַחֲמָיו יַעֲשֶׂה שְׁלוֹם עָלֵינוּ וְעַל כָּל יִשְׂרָאֵל אָמֵן].

[ד] הרישום ב-19 ש"ק מקוצר והשלמתי על פי ג ומרבית עדי הנוסח. 1 לחדאתא
 לאיתחדתא ג 10ג לחדתא ל מ ט 11 1 מ 10מ לאתחדתא פ 2 ר 17 ב"ו לאיתחדתא 11 לאדדתא
 ש"ק ולאחיה [ולאחיה ב"ו. 1-2 מתיא] מוטיא 17 נוסף ולשכללי היכלי ג ולשכללא
 היכלא ל מ ט 11 1 2פ 10מ 10ג 11 ש"ק ב"ו. 2 דירושלים] דירושלם ל י 1 ר 11 ש"ק ב"ו
 מארענא [מארעא ר. 3 במלכותיה] למלכותיה ר. 4 ובימיכון] או ביומיכון ש"ק. ובחיי
 חסר 19 והשלמתי על פי ג. 6 ויתהדר ויתעלה] ויתעלה ויתהדר מ 1. 10 עלינו ועל כל
 ישראל] על כל ישראל ל מ ר. 10 אמן] נוסף ועתה יי אבינו אתה אנחנו החומר ואתה
 יוצרנו ומעשה ידך כלנו (יש' סד 7). מודה אני לפניך [- -] יי אלהי שאני עפר ואפר רמה
 ותולעה עץ יבש צל עובר. ואתה יי לעולם תשב כסאך לדר ודור (איכה ה 19*) [- - -]
 (מטושטש – מן האמירות בשעת החזרה מבית הקברות) מ.

[ד] במקום פירוש תרגום של החלק הראשון: יתגדל ויתקדש שמו הגדול, בעולם
 שהוא עתיק לחדש ולהחיות את המתים / ולהקים את ההיכל, ולבנות את העיר
 ירושלים, ולעקור את העבודה הזרה מארצנו / ולהביא הקדוש ברוך הוא את משיחו
 במלכותו ובכבודו למקומו / בחיכם... לנוסחים אחרים השוו: Andreas Lehnardt,
 Qaddish: Untersuchungen zur Entstehung und Rezeption eines rabbinischen
 Gebetes, Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism, 87, (Tübingen: Mohr
 Siebeck, 2002), pp. 33–39, 309, 313–15.

came into being, and continued to be a creative force in synagogal literature, for the following four basic reasons:

- a. replacing prose sentences in benediction(s) of the long form within a composition of benedictions like the *qeriyat shema'* and its surrounding blessings, the *'amida* etc;²⁹
- b. replacing prose 'bridges' to fixed biblical verses in statutory prayers;
- c. adding poems before statutory text units;
- d. replacing *piyyuṭ*.

Bearing in mind that these four considerations define the framework for the creation of some ten thousand pieces of liturgical poetry in medieval Hebrew literature, we may assume that there was also a text at the end of the ninth century in southern Italy that was routinely used in the burial ceremony and that could be replaced with a poetical alternative.

3

Adam Im Yiḥye Elef Shanim – the piyyuṭ of Amittai as attesting to Ha-Şur Tamim Be-Khol Po 'al

A poem for the burial ceremony was apparently composed by a poet named Amittai who seems to be known to us from other poems but mainly through the *Chronicle of Aḥima'aş*, even if it remains uncertain whether he was Amittai the Elder (Oria, mid ninth century) or his grandson, Amittai birebbi Shefaṭya (Oria around 900 CE) mentioned there.³⁰ As already shown, this poem resembles parts of *Ha-Şur Tamim Be-Khol Po'al*, especially the central part, lines 27–42:

- a rebuke (*tokheḥa*) that leads to the acknowledgment that God is the eternal judge ([A] lines 27–30 / [B] lines 1–8);

²⁹ For the criteria used in the analysis of the different forms of benedictions in order to distinguish between the statutory and the private in rabbinic prayer, see Joseph Heinemann, *Prayer in the Talmud: Forms and Patterns*, Studia Judaica, 9, (Berlin, New York, DeGruyter, 1977), pp. 158–92.

³⁰ The source of the discussion concerning this identification is in Robert Bonfil, *History and Folklore in a Medieval Jewish Chronicle: The Family Chronicle of Aḥima'az ben Paltiel*, Studies in Jewish History and Culture, 22 (Leiden, Boston, Brill, 2009), p. 384. I prefer to regard the grandson as the author, mainly because of the author's prosodic sophistication in signing his name at the head and in the middle of the strophes and thus dividing the quatrains into hemistichs. For the patterns of strophic acrostics by the ninth-century Apulian *payyeṭanim* Silano or Shefaṭya BiRebbi Amittai, see Peter Sh. Lehnardt, 'Studies' (n. 10 above), pp. 36–38

- a section with the rhetoric of a penitential poem (*seliḥa*) that articulates a plea for forgiveness in the forthcoming trial of the deceased, while recalling the merits of the fathers ([A] lines 31–38 / [B] lines 9–12 and the part marked by**;
- an invitation to earn merit by taking part in the burial and by escorting the dead body to its resting place ([A] lines 39–42 / [B] lines 13–16).

In spite of these common topoi, the two compositions later develop in different directions. While *Ha-Ṣur Tamim* turns into a reprise designed to bring the escorting congregation and the mourning relatives to an acceptance of the death as a deed of divine righteousness ([A] lines 43–74), the continuation of Amittai's poem focuses on the place of the deceased in his grave but not without broadening the horizon into a quest for redemption and peace for the whole congregation.

Such a variation of focus might reflect the different settings of the two compositions, one a confrontation with death while escorting the dead to the cemetery, the other an attendance at the interment and a recital of the first words of consolation. If the two texts had even slightly different settings within the ceremony the recurrence of topics in the cumulative line-up would be less disturbing. A similar argument might be used in connection with the iterative character of *Ha-Ṣur Tamim*, especially if the congregation was not standing listening but, rather, making progress toward the cemetery, at a more expeditious rate than the rhetoric of the poem.

Turning once more to the rhetoric of the poem written by Amittai, we can (as already noted) discern between, on the one hand, the two quatrains divided into two hemistichs by the four-letter acrostic yielding the name of its author, and, on the other, the three quatrains yielding in their opening letters the word *ḥazaq*. The copyist-redactor of MS Paris inserted at the point of transition a quatrain that serves in the popular tradition as a final concord of *Ha-Ṣur Tamim* and thus becomes at this point a response constituting a congregational consent to the rebuke about the *condition humaine* issued by Amittai.

After the first subsequent quatrain (to the letter *h*, lines 9–12) – a plea formulated in the first person plural for the forgiveness of sins as befitting the final section of any penitential poem – we find in all Italian testimonies the relic of a half quatrain and then a complete quatrain of a *seliḥa*-like poem that recalls, among the 'merits of the fathers', not only the binding of Isaac but also the martyrdom of the congregations in Ashkenaz in the summer of 1096:

- [B**] For the sake of the blood shed in the year 856 (= 1096 CE)
 Who gave their life and their goods to make Your Holy Name one.
 The merit of the only son, bound at the age of thirty seven
 And according Your command handed over for slaughter
 and in the end a ram was singled out instead of him

- 5 You promised (that he would be) kept (in mind) for generations to come
 for the sake of those who worship You with love and fear
 Just like our teachers who were in the year KaLU (= [48]56 = 1096 CE)
 extinguished all together

These lines are characteristic of the penitential poems written in and around the Rhine valley after the persecutions of 1096 during the twelfth century, even if the precise poem has not yet been identified in any of the Ashkenazi sources.³¹ What we may assume is that these lines, together with a number of liturgical compositions, either originated in the first centre of Ashkenazi Judaism that was established in Italy as early as the eleventh and twelfth centuries³² or were brought by one of the Italian scholars studying in thirteenth-century Ashkenaz, such as Yesh'aya di Trani or, more likely by members of the Anaw family of Rome, given the crucial influence they had on the final redaction of the Roman rite.

The copyist-redactor of MS Paris transcribed, after this martyrological passage, one of the last 'quatrains'³³ of *Ha-Šur Tamim*. He seems to have been guided by an association of ideas. After mentioning *allufenu* ('our teachers', 'our masters'), he turns in direct speech to the *hakhamim* ('the skilled', 'the learned') of the (broader) congregation:

- *** See, wise man, and prepare in the heart³⁴
 Because there is no test at the day of death
 Like the blood³⁵ of a honest and righteous man:
 'The LORD has given, and the LORD has taken away,
 blessed be the name of the LORD' (Job 1:21).

31 Cf. Leopold Zunz, *Literaturgeschichte der synagogalen Poesie* (Berlin: Louis Gerschel Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1865), p. 167–68, Abraham David, 'Historical Records of the Persecutions during the First Crusade in Hebrew Printed Works and Hebrew Manuscripts', in Yom Tov Assis [et. al.] (eds.), *Facing the Cross: The Persecutions of 1096 in History and Historiography* (Hebrew; Jerusalem: Magnes, 2000), pp. 199–200.

32 See the fragment of an Italian *maḥzor* with Ashkenazi elements in the eleventh-century MS Cambridge, CUL T-S H12.23, but the most important document for this phenomenon of Ashkenazi 'feedback' to Italy is the *Seder Hibbur Berakhot*, mentioned above on p. 7.

33 This four-liner is structured not with a rhyme but according to a four-unit rhythm (*Ha-Miqšav Ha-Merubba'*), a basic feature in the Hebrew poetry of Late Antiquity, in which the biblical clausula is here stressed by adding, as in many *silluq* endings, an extra third unit.

34 The strange expression *we-hakhinu 'al lev* seems to derive from a combination of the more idiomatic phrase *לִבְּךָ שִׁמּוֹ* ('take to heart') with the wording of a verse like: *מִשְׁמֹעַה רָעָה* 'לא יִירָא נֶכּוֹן לְבוֹ בְּטַח בָּהּ' (Ps 112:7) according to an interpretation influenced by the use of the phrase *שְׁמוֹעַה רָעָה* in *mBer.* 9. 2.

35 Taking into account that all other manuscripts read *dibber* ('he said'), the phrasing *dam* is an interesting interweaving of ideas by the redactor, or a slip of the pen caused by dragging the subject of the former strophe into this line.

The original continuation of the *h* strophe (lines 9–12) with its penitential rhetoric was far more focused on the situation of the burial ceremony. The *z* strophe (lines 13–16) parallels the two courses, that of man towards death and that of the congregation escorting the dead to their final rest. It appeals to the public to earn merits in a last act of solidarity since such an act, like the fate of the one to be buried and to be hidden from the eyes of the living, is known before God.

This combination of the concrete and the universal is continued in the final *q* strophe (lines 17–22) taking the *Vorlage* in *Ha-Šur Tamim* into new directions. The word ‘peace’ serves as a bridge between the wish expressed over the last resting-place of the dead in the grave and the hoped-for announcement of the redemption. And all this would fit well with the image of Amittai of Oria as a skilled author of liturgical poetry if we had not before us a ninth-century epitaph for Rabbi Barukh from nearby Brindisi:

Epitaph of Rebbi Barukh ben Rebbi Yona

Final section of the poem of Amittai

<p>[מ]שכב רבי ברוך בן רבי יונה[ה] פה הרגיע במרגוע נפש ר[בין] ברוך בן רבי יונה נוח נפש מבן שישים ושמונה שנים יהי שלום על מנוחתו 5 קול נשמע מבשר שלום רצון יראיו עושה שלום שמעו דבר שלום יונה נפשו משכבו בשולם</p>	<p>[ב] [...] קול נשמע מבשר שלום רצון יראיו עושה שלום שמעו דבר שלום תנוח נפשו במשכבו בשלום. 20 ישכב בשלום / ויירשן בשלום עד יבוא מנחם משמיע שלום.</p>
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It seems to me that Amittai took the well-known ending, as attested by the epitaph, of an older and anonymous alphabetical poem – which had a different prosodic allocation of the acrostic, in the form of one letter per line³⁶ but basically the same four unit rhythm scheme – and used it, in a typically medieval process of thought and craftsmanship, as a literary spolia for the rhetorically elaborated cap-stone of his poem. If this, or any subsequent, precentor was the sole speaker who was addressing his rebuke to the public (lines 1–8), his use of a familiar element of tradition by way of conclusion turned his voice

³⁶ Compare the archaic styled dirges in Aramaic as in *Jewish Palestinian Aramaic Poetry from Late Antiquity* ed. by Michael Sokoloff and Joseph Yahalom (Aramaic and Hebrew; Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1999), pp. 282–323, and see, for an example in Hebrew based on this pattern, *Iggeret Ḥatuma Ha-Yom Niftaḥat*, as in Israel Davidson, *Genizah Studies in Memory of Doctor Solomon Schechter, III: Liturgical and Secular Poetry*, Texts and Studies of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 9 (New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1928), pp. 263–64.

into one of public consent, similar to the use of the first person plural at the end of the *Ha-Ṣur Tamim* (lines 71–74) in the popular version of the Roman rite.³⁷

Of central significance for our understanding of the literary aspect of the burial ceremony in southern Italy is the fact that in the days of Amittai there was a living tradition of poetic embellishment within a given frame and there is even an eleventh-century source concerning this period that appears to support such a suggestion:

Once, he (= Amittai b. Shefatya) went out to his vineyard and to his estate (= outside Oria), and on that day a stranger (*akhsenai*) died, a wise and God-fearing man, and the elders of the community sent word to him, to join them in attending the dead who had nobody else to attend him, to proceed to bury him, to mourn, eulogize and honour him, as is commanded by the Law. He sent word to them: 'You go out of the city and I will await your arrival and will come with you to the cemetery and recite well-ordered lamentations.'

All the community came out to bury him, R. Amittai prepared a eulogy to mourn him, and all the community cried and mourned for him. R. Amittai eulogized him with a dirge that he composed for him, and this is the beginning of the dirge that he began to recite:

אי אַכְסֵנַי, אי גִּלּוּת
מִי לֹא יִכְיֶירֶךְ יַעֲשֶׂה מִמֶּךָ הוֹלָלוּת
וּמִי יִכְיֶירֶךְ יִקְוֶנָּה בִּילָלוּת

O (temporary) lodging, O exile

He who does not know you may speak superficially of you,

But he who knows you will mourn with moaning.³⁸

The discrepancy between the religious duty to escort the bier of a Torah scholar (*hakham*) and the fact that the man is nameless and defined only as stranger is a challenge for the Jewish community of Oria and for Amittai. How could the latter bring the congregation from a mere act of human solidarity to an honest mourning of the fate of a stranger. Amittai accepted the challenge, as he had promised, and makes a connection by means of the word *akhsan-iyā* – a lodging facility for the wayfarer – the situation of the stranger, the *akhsenai* – both words based on the Greek word ξένος – with the existential situation of the Jews in Italy. They for their part were living as strangers in exile from Ereṣ Israel under Byzantine rule and Amittai is therefore able, in the absence of family ties, to encourage the congregation to weep by appealing

³⁷ Compare the far less skilled use of the Italian tradition in a Genizah fragment of the *Seder Rav Amram*, MS Oxford, Bodleian Library Heb. c. 20, f. 16; see *Seder Rav Amram Gaon*, ed. by Daniel Goldschmidt (Hebrew; Jerusalem: Mossad Harav Kook, 1972), p. 187.

³⁸ Robert Bonfil, *History and Folklore* (see n. 30 above), pp. 308–11 (§ 41).

to an existential common denominator. While we may assume in the case of the poem *Adam Im Yiḥye Elef Shanīm* that the private and public ties to the deceased are a given fact and that Amittai therefore opens with a universal *tokheḥa* based on the *condition humain*, such a universal appeal could not work in this case where the stranger has no family or other social ties. The use of a foreign word, even if well established in Hebrew and Aramaic from talmudic times onwards, in a Hebrew ceremony that demonstrates by the use of Hebrew poetry the new Jewish cultural group identity as a Hebrew literate people among a Greek speaking majority, may serve as a trigger for the release of feelings of estrangement³⁹ and may arouse a longing for the peace referred to in the final stanza (lines 17–22) as well as an agreement to ‘mourn with moaning’.

This scene might also shed some light on the agenda of the ceremony and permit a possible reconstruction: (a) the community (*‘eda*) brought the deceased to the cemetery outside the town; (b) here Amittai joins the funeral and takes the lead with a new composed dirge; and (c) from here on the ceremony continues with the interment. If we parallel this agenda with the order in the Roman rite, we may be justified in seeing in the long formula of [A] *Ha-Šur Tamīm* a kind of litany that routinely accompanied the escorting of the bier to the cemetery. There, as the subject changed from a justification of the deeds of God towards the fate of man, a precentor like Amittai could insert [B] a dirge that was specific to the deceased, from a stock of dirges for a man, woman, child, *kohen* or *levi* etc⁴⁰ or was written ad hoc,⁴¹ and then the ceremony would continue with texts like [C] *Avot ‘Olam* and [D] a final *qaddish*.

The analysis of *Adam Im Yiḥye Elef Shanīm* by Amittai leads to our first important conclusions for the understanding of the history of *Ha-Šur Tamīm Be-Khol Po‘al*. There was a version used as a matter of routine at burial ceremonies in Southern Italy in the ninth century. This version was obviously understood as having two parts, with an opening focusing on God as performing

39 The background to this is recorded in the *Chronicle of Aḥima‘aš* which reports that the Jews have lived for generations in Oria and have, as reported about Amittai, houses in the town and land or agricultural estates in the countryside.

40 Compare the collection of dirges mentioned above in n. 36, and see also, for rich collections of Hebrew *misped* poems, examples in the Yemenite rite: *Sefer Ha-Tikhlal: Siddur Tefilla Qadmon ke-Minhag Yehudei Teyman (Tikhlal Qadmonim)* (Jerusalem: Joosef S. Habareh, 1964), ff. 81a–84b.

41 This may mean that on the one hand only the strophes signed AMiTaY ([B] lines 1–8) are undoubtedly his, the *HaZaQ* strophes ([B] lines 9–22) constituting an already traditional poetic bridge to the following texts, as seems in any case very likely for the final stanza. On the other hand, Amittai is the first known *payyeṭan* in Italy to use the letters of the term *ḥazaq*, which is already known from acrostics of the classical period in Byzantine Ereṣ Yisrael, as the opening letters of three subsequent strophes.

just deeds in creation and judgement and a second section reflecting the *condition humaine* and leading into the ceremonial frame and the texts that accompanied the act of committing the deceased to his final rest. Thus, we may take the year 900 as a *terminus ante quem* for the institutionalized use – and existence – of a version of *Ha-Šur Tamim Be-Khol Po'al*. The tempting question that therefore arises is whether there are any hints that might help to determine the original date of a first version of this poem.

4

For most, if not all, Hebrew poetry we have virtually no autographs before the eleventh century and this latter date is possible mainly because of the extraordinary existence of the fragments from the Cairo Genizah.⁴² If we acknowledge that Amittai wrote his *Adam Im Yiḥye Elef Shaním* in creative response to some of the strophes of the anonymous *Ha-Šur Tamim*, we may hardly expect to find an 'original' copy by the author himself, or from soon after its date of creation, that could give us a clue as to its place and date of origin. But there are features of prosody and style that might enable us to determine its approximate place on the line of development of liturgical poetry up to the ninth century.⁴³

The obvious fact that the poem is written in quatrains defines the earliest possible date as in the second half, if not the end of, the sixth century, when the arrangement in strophic forms, especially in quatrains, became predominant and subsequently the most popular form in the history of Hebrew poetry. But even a dating at this early period of the so-called classical (= strophic) *piyyuṭ* in Ereš Yisrael is hard to accept, given the fact that the strophic poems are mostly arranged in an alphaetic acrostic or signed with the name of the author, and that only very distinct parts of compositions (such as *Piyyuṭ* IV or a *silluq*) could be denied this literary device.

Another criterion in the prosodic development of Hebrew liturgical poetry is the matter of the rhyme. While this norm dates from the sixth century and

⁴² See, for example, Shulamit Elizur, *Poet at a Turning Point: Rabbi Yehoshua Bar Khalfa and His Poetry* (Hebrew; Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 1994), pp. 19–25, 82–89, pl. 7, 8, 9–11 (drafts in cursive), 1–2, 3–6, 13–14, 15–16 (clean copies in a square script).

⁴³ Any attempt of this kind with regard to a later period would be more difficult due to the fact that the ninth century saw the beginning of the regional diversity of creative centres of Hebrew liturgical poetry, and the recognition that a *piyyuṭ* found only in southern Italy gives no hint about its place of origin.

is based on the identity of sound made by the consonant before the last vowel at the end of each prosodic unit, the poets of the classical period in Ereš Yisrael, and later in the classicistic renewal of their norms in Italy and Ashenaz in the tenth to the twelfth centuries, knew how to adjoin to this combination of sounds in the rhymed syllable one or more sounds based on an additional root consonant, even where this sequence was interrupted by another vowel, or even consonant, and thus to create rich assonances that augmented the basic rhyme.⁴⁴ For a moment it seems that we also find in *Ha-Šur Tamim* augmented rhymes, but almost immediately it becomes clear that any stanzas do not comply even with the minimal principle of rhyme. Rhyming primarily means an act of abstraction under one formal aspect of words, namely, their sequence of sounds. This abstraction enables the poet to create – and the listener to experience – new combinations of words having in common the final sound(s). Here we find iterations if not of the same root then of exactly the same word. Together with the numerous repetitions of the same opening words, this prosodic device calls to mind the lining up of sounds in the so-called pre-classical (= non strophic) Hebrew liturgical poetry. A *payeṭan* like Yose ben Yose could choose a relevant *Leitwort* to end all the lines of a non-strophic composition with an alphabetic acrostic,⁴⁵ but a closer look reveals that the rhymes of *Ha-Šur Tamim* are not reminiscent of the early strata of Hebrew liturgical poetry but of the post-classical strata from the ninth century onwards. Besides two plain ‘quatrains’ (lines 55–58, 67–71), which resemble in their rhythmic division both the surrounding quatrains and the opening biblical verse, the basic rhyme norm is consonant-vowel (cf. lines 43–46) or consonant-vowel-consonant (cf. lines 3–6).⁴⁶ Any shift of stress is irrelevant to the rhyme (cf.

44 A description of the historical development of Hebrew prosody and much of its terminology was first suggested by Benjamin Hrushovski, ‘Prosody, Hebrew’, *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (1970), 13, cols. 1195–1240. See now *Encyclopaedia Judaica* 2nd ed. (2007), 16, cols. 595–623, abridged in T. Carmi (ed.), *The Penguin Book of Hebrew Verse* (London, New York: Penguin, 1981), pp. 57–72. For a new enlarged edition of this analytic survey, see Benjamin Harshav, *The History of Hebrew Versification: From Bible to Modernism* (Hebrew; Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University, 2008).

45 For his *Teqī’atot* for Rosh Ha-Shana (New Year), see *Maḥzor La-Yamim Ha-Noraim, Le-Fi Minhagei Benei Ashkenaz Le-Khol Anfehem, I. Rosh Ha-Shana*, ed. by Daniel Goldschmidt (Jerusalem, New York: Koren, Leo Baeck Institute, 1970), pp. 238–42, 251–56, 265–70; *Yosse Ben Yosse: Poems*, ed. Aharon Mirsky, (Hebrew; Jerusalem: Mossad Bialik, 1991), pp. 93–117.

46 All Hebrew poets, especially but not exclusively in the area of liturgical poetry, adhered to this norm of Hebrew rhyme until even the twentieth century when the rhyme norm of the majority culture was from the last vowel onward as in Arabic poetry, or in the poetry of Romance or Germanic languages. This may be one of the seemingly marginal testimonies to the centrality of liturgical poetry for training the ears of Hebrew poets, whatever the differences in their emerging pronunciations, over a period of some 1400 years.

3–6).⁴⁷ But the rhyme may also be based solely on suffixes;⁴⁸ only on the common sound of a grammatical ending;⁴⁹ or on similar vowels like o/u.⁵⁰ Another technique of ‘rhyming’ in *Ha-Šur Tamim* involves using variations of the same root, which may be found fairly often as a local solution according to the morphology of Semitic languages, but seldom occurs in classical poetry as a solution for complete strophes (cf. lines 9–12), or simply the same word. All these are found in the corpora of liturgical poetry from the end of the ninth to the eleventh century, the period of the so-called post-classical late oriental *piyyuṭ*.⁵¹ From this era we also have the first Hebrew poems that were written not for the embellishment of the statutory prayers but as songs to be sung during gatherings to perform a *mišwa* especially within the life cycle, such as circumcision,⁵² marriage, and the final escort towards burial, as well as for the Sabbath and festival meals.⁵³

In a world of intensive creativity on the part of Hebrew liturgical poetry mainly up to the twelfth-thirteenth century), we find consistent incursions by liturgical poetry and, even when poetic versions of most of the services became more and more canonized in the different rites, the genres of occasional poetry for the life cycle and for paraliturgical gatherings was still left in the hand of the precentors. This general and well-attested picture of a transition of the focus of creativity from the liturgical ceremonies to their margins and to paraliturgical contexts, seems to require at least a minor correction with regard to the burial ceremony and the Jewish culture of Christian Europe, especially in Ashkenaz. Although we have texts and testimonies for the composition of per-

47 This is the norm for all Hebrew rhyme until the encounter with distinctly tonic poetry in Romance languages, as in Christian Spain or Italy.

48 The syllable of the rhyme may be based on four different consonants -KhAW, -TAW, -NAW and -DAW in one quatrain (cf. lines 59–62)!

49 Again, the syllable of the rhyme may be based on different consonants: -RIM, -DIM (lines 39–40) or -NIM, -MIM (lines 49–50).

50 See lines 23–24: -NO (3×) -NU.

51 Cf. for an examination of a cycle of *yoserot* compositions from about the year 900 in Ereš Yisrael or Syria, see Shulamit Elizur, *The Piyyutim of Rabbi El'azar Birabbi Kīllar* (Hebrew; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1988), pp. 64–66 and for a thorough description of the use of rhyme toward the end of the classical period, see Elizur, *The Liturgical Poems of Rabbi Pinḥas Ha-Kohen: Critical edition, Introduction and Commentaries* (Hebrew; Jerusalem: Word Union of Jewish Studies; The David Moses and Amalia Rosen Foundation, 2004), pp. 166–76.

52 See, for example, one of the earliest datable *Shirei Zemer* for this occasion: *Panaw Yaer Šur Le-ḥonnehu*, in Elizur, *The Liturgical Poems of Rabbi Pinḥas Ha-Kohen* (above n. 51), p. 740 and compare pp. 20–21.

53 See, example, for Italy of the ninth and tenth centuries. Zvi Malachi, ‘Qoveš *Shirei-Zemer shel Payṭanei Italya Ha-Qadmonim*’, in *Yad Le-Heman: The A. M. Habermann Memorial Volume*, ed. Zvi Malachi (Lod: Habermann Institute, 1984), pp. 73–102.

sonal creations or the rewriting of traditional ones for the mourning ceremonies of the Jews in the Arabic-speaking Mediterranean culture,⁵⁴ and, as we have seen above, a specifically documented case in Apulia around the year 900, Ashkenazi Judaism finally opted for an approach that did not tally with these others. It saw *Ha-Şur Tamim* not as liturgical poetry that could be replaced at least in part but as a statutory text to be recited (by the individual) in the hour of death and at the funeral.⁵⁵ This might go back to a process attested in a halakhic responsum attributed to Rashi:

I found in the name of Rabbenu Shelomo z"l: It is customary to say the *şidduq ha-din* at the moment the soul departs but one should wait for the sake of [according] honour and say it in the courtyard of the cemetery or at the opening of the burial cave, may you rest in peace [sic]. Once they conducted a burial on the intermediate days of a festival and they did not want to say either a *şidduq ha-din* or a *qaddish*, because the *qaddish* is recited because of the (biblical) verses of the *şidduq ha-din*. And a Rabbi stood up and said over him the *şidduq ha-din* and a *qaddish*, because they are neither eulogy nor dirge and this is not a case of a desecration of the festival but a confession and an acceptance of the judgement from heaven [...] And I do not know a reason for this severity (of implementing the religious rules), but the people of Israel are sages, and are the children of sages, and if they are not prophets, they are the children of prophets, and a custom that hey learned from their fathers is religious law that may not expanded or contracted. [...] so far the words of Rabbenu Shelomo z"l.⁵⁶

The *şidduq ha-din* mentioned here is certainly to be identified as *Ha-Şur Tamim Be-Khol Po 'al*, the only such known text in the Ashkenazi tradition, and it reveals another aspect of its nature that goes beyond the dialectics of personal performance versus more general, public participation. It is not only the halakhic concept that you have to recite something that might be referred to as study of Torah in order to fulfil the conditions for reciting a *qaddish* that makes *Ha-Şur Tamim* part of a dialogue. A closer look makes it clear that this dialogue is not only against the background of *halakha* or *piyyuṭ*, or like Amittai's dialogue with the congregation's particular agenda; it has, as a matter of fact, a

⁵⁴ See, for example, Menaḥem Ben Saruq, *Afqid Ḥamasi Be-Yad El*, his letter for help from Ḥasday Ibn Shaprut (ed. Schirmann, p. 23, lines 281–88).

⁵⁵ Cf. for example: 'Tzidduk Hadin. A declaration of submission to the justice of the Divine judgement, by which the Burial Service is called. This faith is derived from such verses embodied in the text, *Hatzur tamim po'alo* (Deut. 32:4) [...] Following this prayer [...]', Macy Nulman, *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Prayer: Ashkenazic and Sephardic Rites*, (Northvale, NJ; London: Jason Aronson, 1993), pp. 326–27 (citation, p. 326) – nothing remains of the original setting within liturgical poetry.

⁵⁶ *Shibbolei Ha-Leqet Ha-Shalem*, ed. S. Buber (Vilna: Witwe und Brüder Romm, 1887), fol. 172b; cf. the annotated reprint in *Responsa, Rashi, Solomon ben Isaac* ed. by Israel Elfenbein (New York: Schlesinger, 1943), p. 301.

very literary character. Precisely what we described as predictable rhymes at a very low level of innovation are paralleled by the frequent use of biblical idioms and expressions. Both these styles, together with the possible use of a biblical verse as a refrain, create an intensive dialogue between the text as it plays out and the anticipation felt by the community members according to their literary knowledge and even if they have only a basic Hebrew. Maybe all this disqualifies *Ha-Šur Tamim* as a specimen of classical Hebrew liturgical poetry but it might explain its success as congregational poetry and as a canonical text-form only a few generations after its first formulation.⁵⁷ Even if *Ha-Šur Tamim* may hardly serve as an example of the sublime in Hebrew poetry, it certainly functions successfully as the correct text for a situation that is based on the participation not only of the intellectual elite but of all kinds of members in a local congregation.

5

The period under discussion constituted a new era in which Jewish communities not only followed the classical option of renewal according to older traditions but also developed new patterns of presentation – especially with musical aspects – involving various forms of participation on the part of the congregation. We shall now attempt to demonstrate how we can, on the threshold of such a period, read *šidduq ha-din* in the Italian rite as the reception of an obviously non classical text which amounted to a ceremony with the proposed purpose of public participation.

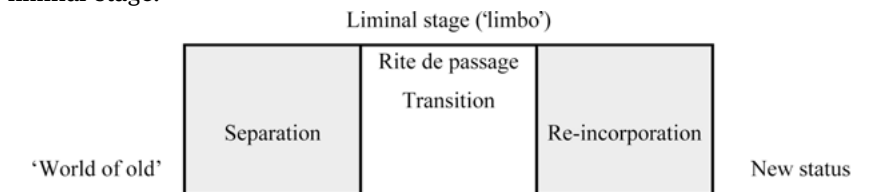
For this task we have to introduce into our research a basic shift of perspective on the burial ceremony. It has now to be viewed not only as the framework for the inhumation of the dead in Jewish tradition but also as a ‘rite de passage’ of the mourners according to the model of the ethnographer and folklorist Arnold van Gennep.⁵⁸

He basically identifies three phases of the ceremony: (a) the *préliminaire* separation from a statically perceived ‘world of old’; (b) a central *liminaire* phase of transition; and (c) the *postliminaire* re-incorporation in a new status quo. In the course of the past hundred years, his identification has proved to

⁵⁷ See, in this volume, Ruth Langer’s study of the different textual traditions in the European rites.

⁵⁸ Arnold van Gennep, *Les rites de passage: étude systématique des rites de la porte et du seuil* (1909) (Paris: Gallimard, 1981) and see, for an application of this approach: Margaret Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1974).

be a helpful tool for understanding ceremonies as a routine framework employed by the congregation in order to cope with the uncertainties of the liminal stage.



And implemented at a funeral:

death → burial ceremony → grave

or:

confrontation with the death → burial ceremony → living without the deceased

The liturgical texts within the ceremony function, in a manner of speaking, as a bridge over the troubled waters of the liminal stage of the mourning⁵⁹ not only by their form ('because something has to be said') but also by their content and – as reflected in the basic choice of language in the Hebrew renaissance in southern Italy – by the *religio* of the national and ancient literary tradition.

Looking again at the *šidduq ha-din* in the Roman rite of Rome as a composite *agenda mortuorum*, we can discern that the different parts are focused on, or append different subjects:

- [A] *Ha-Šur Tamim Be-Khol Po 'al* is focused on the righteousness of the powerful deeds of God, the creator and judge, as foundations of the world order;
- [B] Amittai, *Adam Im Yiḥye Elef Shanim* adds the perspective of the vacuity of mankind in the world order and the need for a plea for mercy and for a reference to the merits of former generations;

⁵⁹ Some of the texts in the ceremony also refer also to the deceased's change of status, as if he is to be seen as the subject of a transition, but we here follow the basic approach of van Gennep to a society of human beings. Thus, the report of what happens to the deceased, his body or his soul, is primarily considered as a process in the world of the mourners. The puzzling Janus-faced *rites de passage* at a funeral and the related literary reflections within the community concerning the fate of the dead and the living in the liminal phase after a death should be mentioned here only as a broader theme to be dealt with elsewhere; but see, for an example of literary and imaginary communication between these mirrored worlds: Varda Padva, 'The Voice of the Dead in the Elegy', *Jerusalem Studies in Hebrew Literature*, 10–11 (Hebrew; 1987–1988), pp. 629–59.

- [D] *Qaddish Le-Iṭḥaddeta* strikes a more positive note, beyond the limits of the specific burial, and speaks about the timeless holiness of God and the hope for holiness within the time and space of Israel, and for peace.

So what might be the special contribution of *Avot 'Olam Yeshenei Hevron* as the third section, between the last lines of the poem opened by Amittai and closing with the phrase 'may he rest in peace on his bier', and the final universal sounds of the *qaddish*?

We have already encountered epitaph evidence from Southern Italy as an early testimony to texts otherwise attested, at the earliest, only in late thirteenth-century manuscripts:

Epitaph of Lea, daughter of Yefe Mazal Part of the *šidduq ha-din* ceremony

פה שכן[בת] לאה בת יפה מזל	אבות עולם, ישיני חֲבֵרוֹן,	[C]
שתהא נפשא בצרור החיים	שְׁעָרֵי גֶן עֵדֶן פִּתְחוּ לוֹ וְאָמְרוּ לוֹ: 'שְׁלוֹם בּוֹא'.	
שהיא נפטרת משחרב בית	גִּבְעוֹת עוֹלָם מִמִּכְפֶּלֶה	
המקדש עד מותה שבע מאות	שְׁעָרֵי גֶן עֵדֶן פִּתְחוּ לוֹ וְאָמְרוּ לוֹ: 'שְׁלוֹם בּוֹא'.	
וששים וארבעה שנה וימי חייה	מִלֵּאכֵי שְׁלוֹם צֶאֱו לְקִרְאָתוֹ	5
היו שבע עשר שנה והק'ב' יזכה	שְׁעָרֵי גֶן עֵדֶן פִּתְחוּ לוֹ וְאָמְרוּ לוֹ: 'שְׁלוֹם בּוֹא'.	5
אותה להקים נפשה עים הצדקת[ה]	שׁוּמְרֵי גִינְזֵי גֶן עֵדֶן,	
ותבוא שלום ותנוח על מנוחתה.	שׁוּמְרֵי גִינְזֵי גֶן עֵדֶן,	
שומרי גינזי גן עדן פיתחו לה שער[ן]	פִּתְחוּ לוֹ שְׁעָרֵי גֶן עֵדֶן.	
גן עדן ותבוא לאה לגן עדן פיתחו	וַיְבֹא ר' פִּלּוֹנִי בֶּגֶן עֵדֶן	10
לה שיערי גן עדן מחמדים בימינה	וַיִּשְׁתַּעֲשֵׂעַ מִפְּרֵי גֶן עֵדֶן	
וממתקים בישמואלה זאת תענה	מִחֲמָדִים בִּימִינוֹ וּמִמֵּתָקִים מִשְׁמוּאֵל –	
ותאמר לה זה דודי וזה ריעי ⁶⁰	זֹאת תַּעֲנֶה וְתֹאמֶר לוֹ: 'שְׁלוֹם בּוֹא'.	

This epitaph from Brindisi, as that of Rabbi Barukh of Oria, mentioned above, is bipartite: a first part with the personal data and a second one with a literary text. We learn from the first part (lines 1–8) that the epitaph is dedicated to the memory of Leah, the daughter of Eutychos – here in the hebraized form *Yefe Mazal*, who died at the age of 17 in the year 764 after the destruction

60 First published by Graziadio Isaia Ascoli, 'Iscrizioni inedite o malnote, greche, latine, ebraiche, di antichi sepolcri giudaici del Napolitano', in: *Atti del IV Congresso Internazionale degli Orientalisti, tenuto in Firenze nel settembre 1878*, I, (Firenze: Arnaldo Forni, 1880), pp. 298–299 (# 24), pl. VIII, cf. Shlomo Simonsohn, 'The Hebrew revival among early medieval European Jews', in: Saul Lieberman (ed.), *Salomon Wittmayer Baron Jubilee Volume*, (Jerusalem: American Academy for Jewish Research, 1974), II, pp. 853, n. 60; Cesare Colafemmina, 'Hebrew Inscriptions of the Early Medieval Period in Southern Italy', in: Bernard D. Cooperman – Barbara Garvin (eds.), *The Jews of Italy: Memory and Identity* (Studies and Texts in Jewish History and Culture, 7), (Bethesda: University Press of Maryland, 2000), pp. 78, 81.

of the temple (= 832 CE) – while in the second part we see again a partial adaptation of a text from the *šidduq ha-din* ceremony.

- [C] Fathers of the world,⁶¹ sleepers in Hebron,
 open the gates of paradise for him and say to him: 'He shall come in peace!'
 Eternal hills,⁶² from Makhpela,
 open the gates of paradise for him and say to him: 'He shall come in peace!'
 5 Angels of peace, go to meet him,
 open the gates of paradise for him and say to him: 'He shall come in peace!'
 Guardians of the hoards of paradise,
 Guardians of the hoards of paradise,
 open the gates of paradise for him
 10 and Rabbi n. n. shall enter paradise
 and take enjoyment in the fruit of paradise
 with delights on his right and sweetmeats on his left –
 'He shall come in peace' is the reply that you will offer him.

This audio drama of appeals to different characters, to humans, to angels and to cosmic principles such as the Torah, for them all to issue a direct invitation to the deceased to leave limbo and to enter paradise, is based on a situation that must have been known to the congregation in ninth-century southern Italy, even if the full narrative is known to us only from much later sources.⁶³ While the body of the deceased is put to rest in the grave, his soul seeks to reach the paradise. The entrance to paradise is in the Makhpela cave in Hebron near the graves of (Adam and Eve, in some traditions,) Abraham and Sarah, Isaac and Rebecca and Jacob and Leah, the forefathers and mothers of (man-kind and of) Israel. The entrance to paradise is like the entrance to the palace of a king and the guards have to summon the one who wants to enter, if he is worthy in their eyes. At first the poem refers to the human relatives of the deceased, still at the threshold between the known world and paradise. A second plea, made as in a hallway, is addressed to the angels of peace, those opposed to the angels of wrath,⁶⁴ and the third is already to the guardians at the entrance to paradise. What is more, paradise is not an empty place but has treasures and fruit to offer to anyone worthy of entering it. The metaphor is not spelt out but the epithet *maḥmadim* may provide a hint that the study

⁶¹ This may also yield the sense 'principles of the world', but is here defined by the context as Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, who are buried in Hebron.

⁶² Payyetic, metonymic antonomasy based on Gen 49: 26 and referring to the forefathers or the four mothers of the tribes of Israel. Cf. *bRoš. Haš.* 11a.

⁶³ For the sources, see the Hebrew commentary to the edition.

⁶⁴ For similar traditions, see Aharon Berekhia of Modena, *Ma'avar Yabboq* (Modena: Yehuda Shemuel Mi-Perugia, 1626), fols. 38a, 42a.

of the words of the Torah, the ultimate fruit of the tree of knowledge, are meant. This lofty, lyrical style with its hints at an allegedly identifiable situation leaves us puzzled with regard to the last character addressed: is he, who has to issue the final invitation to the soul of the deceased, the messiah, or perhaps God Himself? It becomes quite clear that, as with every lyrical text, the meaning changes with our knowledge of the situation. Therefore, every additional testimony that clarifies the situation in the early Middle Ages is important. The epitaph for Leah, for instance, reveals not only the fact that the text was part of the burial ceremony in southern Italy at the beginning of the ninth century, but also that it also no mere citation but an adaptation made to fit the special situation of a father burying his young daughter.

Guardians of the hoards of paradise,
 open the gates of paradise for her
 and Leah shall enter paradise
 open the gates of paradise for her
 and sweetsmeats in her left and delights in her right –
 this is the reply that you will offer her: 'Such is my beloved, and such is my darling'.

First, we can see how the draft format was completed, with 'Rabbi n.n.' being replaced by the name of the young woman. Secondly, the metaphorical fruit, that we interpreted as fruit of the tree of knowledge, is not mentioned here and thus the 'sweetmeats' and the 'delights' in her hands may be not so much the words of the Torah referred to as 'the judgements of the LORD are true, righteous altogether, more delightful (*neḥmadim*) than gold, than much fine gold; sweeter (*metuqim*) than honey, than drippings of the comb' (Ps 19:10–11) but, rather, the intercessional deeds of righteousness that she had performed. But the combination of the words *mamtaqim*/*maḥmadim* in the poem was for the one who formulated the epitaph an allusion to the climactical description of the groom in one of the songs of the bride in the Song of Songs: "His mouth is sweetmeats (*mamtaqim*), and all of him is delights (*maḥmadim*). Such is my beloved, and such is my darling, O maidens of Jerusalem!" (Song 6:3). The entrance to paradise becomes the realization of the prolonged marriage metaphor that lies at the basis of an allegorical reading of Song of Songs. Here, the father, who was denied the opportunity of escorting his daughter to the bride's canopy (*le-hakhnis la-ḥuppa*) because she died at the age of seventeen, rephrases the text of the burial ceremony, the very text said that is recited after interment to accompany her journey that is hidden from human eyes. Thus the ceremony of passing each of the different kinds of intercessors and guardians on the way to paradise ends differently with an intertextual allusion that replaces Torah study before God with a *hieros gamos*. The act of passing through the world of death into the world near the tree of life, in paradise,

has become a transition from a father's house to a groom's house. Paradise makes good what is deficient in life; Eros takes over from Thanatos.

The fact that the formula could be adapted in such a way demonstrates that the Jews in southern Italy did not use such texts as quasi-magical spells but paid heed to them according to their literary style. This kind of attention to the text is also reflected in the *variae lectiones* of the manuscripts more than 400 years later. One aspect is the censoring out of the guardian angels, which might be explained as a polemic against angelic intercession.⁶⁵ Another aspect is the adaptation of the form according to the gender of the deceased. Thus we find on the margins of the text in some manuscripts a predominance of notes concerning the changes of the suffixes and verbal forms that are necessary in order to use the text for a woman. This is summarized in a brief note of instruction at the end of the text in one of the manuscripts:

ואין מנהג לומר <ר> שומרי גינני גן עדן על הקטין. ואם רוצה אביו לכבודו אומרים אותו.
ואם היא נקיבה אומרין: 'ונשמתה לחיי עולם', 'תנוח נפשה' ו'משכבה', 'תשכב בשלום'
ותישן בשלום'; 'צאו לקראתה', 'פתחו לה', 'ואמרו לה שלום בואך', 'ותבוא מרת פלנית בגן'
עדן, 'ותשתעשע', 'מחמדים מימינה וממתקים משמאלה', 'ואת תענה ותאמרי לה שלום'
בואך.⁶⁶

And it is not an accepted custom to recite 'Guardians of the hoards of paradise' over a minor.⁶⁷ But if his father wants it in his honour, you say it.⁶⁸

And if she is female, you say: 'And her soul for eternal life' ([B], line 16), 'May her soul' and 'her rest' ([B], line 20), 'May she rest in peace and sleep in peace' [B], line 22), 'go to meet her' ([C], line 5), 'open for her', 'and you say to her: Come in peace' ([C], lines 2, 4), 'And may Mrs. n.n. come into paradise' ([C], line 10), 'and she shall take enjoyment in' ([C], line 11), 'And delights on her right, and sweetmeats on her left' ([C], line 12), 'And You(!) shall reply to her: Come in peace' ([C], line 13).

Another way of adapting the text to the gender of the deceased is found only in late sources like the influential *Siddur Mi-Berakha Ke-Minhag Q"Q Italiyani*, Venice 1618 (and its reprints). There *Avot 'Olam* is assigned '*le-zakhar*' ('for a

⁶⁵ The idea that such 'intercessors' were censored out of the liturgy needs special attention, particularly when it occurred against the background of the Italian tradition, and this will have to be done in another context. Meanwhile, compare similar poems for this occasion like *Raḥem Na Alaw El Elohim Ḥayyim* or *Šur Mi-Me'ono Šaddiq Hu We-Šaddiq Dino*; see eg Joseph Shalom Galliano, *Imrei No'am* (Amsterdam: Menashe Ben Yosef Ben Yisrael, 1628–1630), fols. 131b–33b.

⁶⁶ MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale héb. 598, *Maḥzor*, Italian rite (14th cent.), fol. 314a.

⁶⁷ This may relate to its different status in the context of religious duties and study of the Torah.

⁶⁸ It is noteworthy that this is exactly the position adopted by Eutychos with regard to his daughter in Brindisi, and it may be that the detail of custom recorded in this passage was brought to his special attention.

male') and *Giv'ot 'Olam 'Le-Negeva* ('for a female').⁶⁹ This is an interesting gender-biased interpretation of the term *Giv'ot 'Olam* against the background of the tradition concerning the graves in the Makhpela cave. If the fathers, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob are mentioned in the term *Avot 'Olam*, then the phrase *Giv'ot 'Olam* must refer to the mothers, Sarah, Rebecca and Leah who are also buried there. And the next step is to see the fathers as intercessors for the male deceased and the mothers for the females so that they can all find their final resting place in paradise.

Thus we may now summarize our interpretation of the texts of the *šidduq ha-din* ceremony at a funeral according the Italian rite as a balanced *rite de passage*, in which

- [A] *Ha-Šur Tamim Be-Khol Po 'al* creates a community with a common background and world view;
- [B] *Amitay, Adam Im Yiḥye Elef Shanim* evokes the attitudes and deeds of solidarity, and accompanies the inhumation of the dead;
- [C] *Avot 'Olam Yeshenei Hevron* dramatizes a narrative dealing with the reincorporation of the dead,⁷⁰
- [E] *Qaddish Le-Iṭḥaddeta* turns the focus from the graveyard to future hopes and to the vision of '*shalom*' in both contexts.

Even if we use the modern concept of *rite de passage* to explain how the ceremony stayed the course, it seems plausible that it was not only a conservatively pious attitude to the matter of burial that kept this *agenda mortuorum*, with only minor changes, as part of the Italian Jewish tradition for some 800 years. Even when literary style changed and became more refined over the ages, the texts of the ceremony were not replaced until the age of baroque with its kabbalistic elements and a new focus on personal ceremonies leading to new forms of staging 'proper' deaths and burials.⁷¹

6

So what has this ceremony according the Italian rite, with its roots in ninth century Byzantine Apulia and its canonization in thirteenth century Rome, to

⁶⁹ Cf. also the fragment of the print at the Jewish Theological Seminary Library in New York, already mentioned in n. 17 above.

⁷⁰ A narrative, because other notions were also apparently attached to the term *Šeror Ha-Hayyim*, which is already found on some of the earliest epitaphs in southern Italy and develops later into the famous תנצב"ה formula.

⁷¹ See Avriel Bar-Levav, 'The Concept of Death in *Sefer Ha-Hayyim (The Book of Life)* by Rabbi Shimon Frankfurt' (Hebrew; doctoral dissertation, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Jeru-

do with the Ashkenazi rite, where *mutatis mutandis* only the first element *Ha-Şur Tamim Be-Khol Po'al* and the final *Qaddish Le-Iṭḥaddeta* gained a foothold? If replacements of text in the funeral ceremony by *piyyuṭ* compositions were unacceptable, or not customary, in Ashkenaz, and appealing to intercessors was perhaps problematic according some theological concepts of Jewish prayer, we need testimonies from elsewhere that might show a link between both traditions.

Such a testimony has survived in the margins of an illuminated Haggada manuscript from thirteenth-century southern Germany, Ms Jerusalem, Israel Museum 180/57, the so-called 'Birdhead Haggadah'. On fol. 33a we find as an illustration to the verses 'Open the gates of justice for me that I may enter and praise the LORD. This is the gateway to the LORD – the righteous shall enter through it' (Ps 118:19–20), the depiction of three bird-headed persons turning into the gate of a two-storey building. At the gate stands the figure of an angel and in each of the two inner spaces of the roofed and castellated structure stands another angel. Above them, we see depictions of the sun and the moon and the inscription *זה הגן עדן* ('This is the paradise'). It is quite clear that anyone who attempting to explain the situation dramatized in the lyrical poem from southern Italy or the illustration in the Ashkenazi manuscript was faced with a basically similar story of passing by gates, angels, spaces and voices on the way to paradise.⁷²

Thus a study of the Italian roots of *Ha-Şur Tamim Be-Khol Po'al* may on the one hand promote our understanding of the text as part of a composite *agenda mortuorum* and of its function as part of a public ceremony while on the other hand emphasizing the choices made in the Ashkenazi tradition according to halakhic concepts and depending on how it was followed by individuals.

salem, 1997) and Bar-Levav, 'Ritualisation of Jewish Life and Death in the Early Modern Period', *Yearbook of the Leo Baeck Institute*, 47 (2002), pp. 69–82.

72 This narrative stands within an interesting dialogue between motifs connected to the ascent before the chariot in the Hekhalot literature and Byzantine monumental art; see eg the depiction in a ninth-century Byzantine mosaic of the archangel Gabriel, St. Peter and St. Paul at the Gates of Paradise on the triumphal arch in Santa Prassede, Rome. This may demonstrates just how much we need, for our understanding of the Jewish Middle Ages, studies like that of Peter Dronke, *Fabula: Explorations into the Uses of Myth in Medieval Platonism*, *Mittelaltliche Studien und Texte*, 9 (Leiden: Brill, 1974) that combine analyses of thought, art and literature.