

NAOYA KATSUMATA

Seder Avodah
for the Day of Atonement
by Shelomoh Suleiman
Al-Sinjari

*Texts and Studies in
Medieval and Early Modern Judaism*

24

Mohr Siebeck

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Early Modern Judaism

Edited by
Ivan G. Marcus · Peter Schäfer

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ISBN 978-3-16-149732-2 / eISBN 978-3-16-162845-0 unchanged eBook edition 2024

ISSN 0179-7891 (Texts and Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Judaism)

Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliographie; detailed bibliographic data is available on the Internet at <http://dnb.d-nb.de>.

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The book was printed by Gulde-Druck in Tübingen on non-aging paper and bound by Buchbinderei Spinner in Ottersweier.

Printed in Germany.

Preface

Piyyut

This book is the result of an attempt to provide the broader community of English readers across the world (particularly in Israel, Europe, the United States, and also Japan) with the opportunity to become acquainted with the beauty and significance of *piyyut* or Hebrew liturgical poetry of the Middle Ages. The unique language and style of *piyyut* are important for understanding the history of the Hebrew language. The rich contents of *piyyut*, whose parallels are found among rabbinic and other literatures, can contribute toward understanding the transmission of beliefs and ideas in ancient and early medieval Judaism. Moreover, it is important to remember that *piyyut* is poetry, which can be read and enjoyed as belles lettres.

Despite the fact that the study of *piyyut* could be of great help in understanding many other fields within Jewish studies in particular, and in Christian and other religious studies in general, *piyyut* scholarship (particularly the study of early medieval *piyyut* in Palestine and Babylonia, prior to the rise of Andalusian *piyyut*) still remains one of the least international fields in Jewish studies. Almost all of the fundamental and essential studies and editions of *piyyut* have been published in modern Hebrew in Israel.¹ It is unfortunate that non-Israeli readers, who might be interested in the world of *piyyut*, have hardly any means of learning of the existence of *piyyut*. The only thing related to *piyyut* that is available to them is Carmi's best-selling anthology of Hebrew verse.²

However, the internationalization of *piyyut* scholarship has finally begun in recent years. The International Medieval Hebrew Poetry Colloquium has taken place five times so far (Oxford 2000, Granada 2002, Aix-en-Provence 2004, Boston 2006, and Groningen 2008). In addition, publishing procedures have begun to change. A historical survey of Jewish hymnography has been published, in English, by L. J. Weinberger.³ Although his description of the early period of *piyyut* in Palestine and Babylonia is very limited in comparison

¹ It is impossible to provide references to all these important studies and editions in Hebrew. See the entry "piyyut" (written by E. Fleischer) in the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, second edition, Detroit 2006, and the list of additional bibliography there. Most of the works cited are in Hebrew.

² T. Carmi, *The Penguin Book of Hebrew Verse*. New York, 1981.

³ L. J. Weinberger, *Jewish Hymnography: A Literary History*. London, 1998.

to his description of the later periods in different regions, it can undoubtedly contribute toward providing scholars and students outside Israel with a convenient tool with which they can enter the unknown world of piyyut. Moreover, critical editions of piyyut have begun to be published outside Israel. In such editions, the text, apparatus, and commentary are provided in Hebrew, but the introduction appears in English.⁴ Recently, J. Yahalom and M. Swartz published a collection of early poems of *Seder Avodah* in Hebrew together with an English translation.⁵ This publication will no doubt stimulate international interest in *Seder Avodah* in particular, and in early medieval piyyut in general.

The next step in this process of internationalizing piyyut scholarship requires the publication of a critical edition of piyyut (with variant readings and commentary) together with an English translation all in one volume. An English translation is indispensable not only for those readers with no knowledge of Hebrew, but also for those who know it well. The language of piyyut is unique and sometimes strange, and the content is often enigmatic. Even scholars of Jewish studies often face difficulties in understanding piyyut texts. This book, which includes a critical edition and full English translation of two monumental poems of *Seder Avodah* composed by Shelomoh Suleiman, attempts to meet this need. While the Yahalom and Swartz anthology contains the ancient *Seder Avodah* poems from late antiquity, the *Seder Avodah* poems in this book were composed by a poet who apparently lived in the ninth to tenth century in Palestine or a neighboring area. One can also make an interesting comparison of style and content in the *Seder Avodah* genre between the ancient and early medieval periods.

Seder Avodah

Numerous studies published over the past several years have indicated that, even after the destruction of the second temple, a priestly line continued to exist and exert influence down to a certain period during which the rabbinic school finally assumed absolute leadership over the Jewish public. This phenomenon finds expression both in archeological remains – in particular the mosaic floors of ancient synagogues in Palestine⁶ – and in literary texts in which priestly

⁴ See, for example, W. J. van Bakkum, *Hebrew Poetry from Late Antiquity: Liturgical Poems of Yehudah*. Leiden, Boston, and Cologne, 1998; N. Katsumata, *The Liturgical Poetry of Nehemiah ben Shelomoh ben Heiman Ha-Nasi*. Leiden, Boston, and Cologne, 2002.

⁵ M. D. Swartz and J. Yahalom, *Avodah: An Anthology of Ancient Poetry for Yom Kippur*. University Park, Pennsylvania, 2005.

⁶ See, for example, Z. Weiss, *The Sepphoris Synagogue: Deciphering an Ancient Message through Its Archaeological and Socio-Historical Contexts*. Jerusalem, 2005.

motifs play a prominent role, such as the Hekhalot literature,⁷ early piyyut,⁸ and Aramaic translations (*targum*) of the Torah.⁹ Although rabbinic literature attempts to devalue anything related to the priesthood by rendering it subordinate to rabbinical authority, this priestly literature describes the figure of the priest in an overwhelmingly positive light.

The representative genre of the early piyyutic priestly tradition is the *Seder Avodah* for Yom Kippur. The *Seder Avodah* is an early liturgical genre, which was originally recited during the additional prayers (*musaf*).¹⁰ In it, the paytan describes the service of the high priest in the temple on the holiest day of the Jewish year by relying throughout on the description of that service found in the Mishnah Yoma. The paytan prefaces this ritual section with a narrative introduction, namely, an account of the creation of the world and the history of mankind up to the selection of Aaron as the high priest (whose descendants inherit the priesthood). This event marks the transition from the historical to the ritual section of the piyyut.¹¹ The genre itself was consolidated early in the history of the Hebrew piyyut. This is hardly surprising since it is only reasonable to assume that the poets would first deal with the most important rite of the holiest day of the year and only then deal with other prayers and festivals.¹² Almost all the paytanim attempted this solemn genre, down to the last paytan of Muslim Spain – Abraham ibn Ezra. The paytanim’s special affection for this genre can be better understood if we take into account the fact that some of the paytanim – at least, the early Palestinian paytanim – were descendants of the priestly line.¹³

⁷ See, for example, R. Elijior, *The Three Temples: On the Emergence of Jewish Mysticism in Late Antiquity*. London, 2004.

⁸ See, for example, J. Yahalom, *Priestly Palestinian Poetry: A Narrative Liturgy for the Day of Atonement*. Jerusalem, 1996 (in Hebrew); idem, *Poetry and Society in Jewish Galilee of Late Antiquity*. Tel Aviv, 1999, 107–136 (in Hebrew); M. D. Swartz and J. Yahalom, *Avodah: An Anthology of Ancient Poetry for Yom Kippur*. University Park, Pennsylvania, 2005.

⁹ See, for example, E. Katsumata, “Priests and Priesthood in the Aramaic Bible,” *Journal for the Aramaic Bible* 3 (2001), 141–161.

¹⁰ During the later period, the practice of reciting the *Seder Avodah* as part of the morning and afternoon prayers was initiated. See *Yosse Ben Yosse, Poems*, ed. A. Mirsky, second edition. Jerusalem, 1991, 26–27 (in Hebrew).

¹¹ Normally the two parts are joined by the verse: “As he has done this day, so the Lord has commanded to do, to make atonement for you” (Leviticus 8:34).

¹² See E. Fleischer, *Hebrew Liturgical Poetry in the Middle Ages*. Jerusalem, 1975, 67 (in Hebrew).

¹³ See J. Yahalom, *Priestly Palestinian Poetry: A Narrative Liturgy for the Day of Atonement*. Jerusalem, 1996, 56–58 (in Hebrew).

Shelomoh Suleiman

Several scholars in Jerusalem, such as M. Zulay, E. Fleischer, and S. Elizur, have demonstrated a great interest in the paytan called Shelomoh Suleiman Al-Sinjari. In his recent dissertation, E. HaCohen edited the *Qedushta* poems by this paytan.¹⁴ He also intends to edit his *Yotser* type poems.¹⁵

Zulay, Schirmann, and Fleischer have tried to determine the place and time of Shelomoh Suleiman's active work. One can find a detailed survey of the history of research in HaCohen's above-mentioned dissertation.¹⁶ According to Fleischer's latest research, Shelomoh Suleiman might have been active late in the second half of the ninth century in Palestine or in a community that was located close to the boundaries of Palestine and had adopted the Palestinian custom of prayer. HaCohen, as a result of his study on this paytan's *Qedushta* poems, suggests that the careers of Shelomoh Suleiman and Saadya Gaon (882–942) may have somewhat overlapped, and that it is accordingly more appropriate to place the paytan's active period at a later date. According to HaCohen, it may be possible that Shelomoh Suleiman was also active in the first quarter of the tenth century.¹⁷

HaCohen's study is also important for our study of the *Seder Avodah* by Shelomoh Suleiman. Because he signed his name to them, we know for certain that Shelomoh Suleiman composed two poems of the *Seder Avodah* – *E'ezrah Gevurah* and [...] *Ba-Meromim*. We also know that there is another anonymous *Seder Avodah* poem, [...] *Zekhor Millati*, that is attributed to him by some scholars. However, this poem, the structure of which is based upon the usage of biblical openings and endings from the Psalms, is preserved in only one copy (in two manuscript fragments), with no indication of the paytan's name. Z. Malachi was the first scholar to attribute this work to Shelomoh Suleiman based on a comparison of the internal structure of the poems.¹⁸ HaCohen strengthens Malachi's assumption by providing additional pieces of evidence showing that the poem should be attributed to Shelomoh Suleiman, and even suggesting that the *Seder Avodah* [...] *Zekhor Millati* was originally part of the morning prayer (*shaharit*) for Yom Kippur for which Shelomoh Suleiman composed his *Qedushta* – *La-Menatseah Anatsah Be-Nitsuah Havivah*, the structure of which

¹⁴ The *Qedushta* is a series of poems for the embellishment of *qedusha* (a compilation of extracts from Isaiah 6:3, Ezekiel 3:12, and Psalm 146:10) for the morning of Sabbaths and Festivals. See E. HaCohen, "The Qedushta'ot of Rabbi Shelomo Suleiman Al-Sanjari for the Festival," 2 vols., PhD diss., Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2003.

¹⁵ The *Yotser* is series of poems that was inserted into the first benediction (*Yotser Or*) of the morning Shema prayer.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, 222–240.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, 236–237.

¹⁸ See Z. Malachi, "The 'Avoda' for Yom Kippur: Its Characteristics, History, and Development in Hebrew Poetry," 2 vols., PhD diss., Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1974, vol. 1, 54–55, vol. 2, 120–124.

is also based on the usage of biblical openings and endings from the Psalms.¹⁹

HaCohen has recently edited and published another *Qedushta* which opens with *Emet Hotamekha Mi-Kol Hotamot*. This too was composed by Shelomoh Suleiman for the morning prayer on Yom Kippur. HaCohen even ventures to suggest that the *Seder Avodah [...] Ba-Meromim* by Shelomoh Suleiman was part of this *Qedushta* composition, because, in both poems, the paytan uses the technique of *shirshur* (anadiplosis, or concatenation), in which each strophe opens with the final word of the strophe preceding it.²⁰ If all of HaCohen's assumptions are indeed correct, we might be tempted to make the further assumption that the *Seder Avodah E'ezrah Gevurah* was part of a *Qedushta* for the additional prayer (*musaf*) composed by Shelomoh Suleiman for Yom Kippur – *Omen Nissekha Hish*. This, however, cannot be proven at present.

Acknowledgements

It would not have been possible to publish this book without the preceding work of scholars who had studied the *Seder Avodah* of Shelomoh Suleiman. It should be emphasized that the most important contribution is that of Dr. Z. Malachi of Tel Aviv University in the form of his unpublished PhD dissertation. I must also thank Prof. J. Yahalom of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, under whose supervision I edited these poems for my master's thesis ten years ago. The *ma'agarim* of the Academy of the Hebrew Language was also of great help to me. I would also like to thank Prof. E. Hazan of Bar-Ilan University, Ramat-Gan, who accepted my article on the *Seder Avodah E'ezrah Gevurah* for publication in *Pirke Shira*; and Prof. M. Schlüter of Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität, Frankfurt am Main, who accepted my article on the *Seder Avodah [...] Ba-Meromim* for publication in *Frankfurter Judaistische Beiträge*.

Last but not least, I must express my sincere thanks to the late Prof. E. Fleischer from whom I received several important suggestions and uncompromising criticism of my studies on Shelomoh Suleiman. I received the sad news of his death a mere two minutes prior to reading my paper at the EAJIS conference in Moscow in July 2006.

¹⁹ See HaCohen, *ibid.*, vol. 1, 65–67.

²⁰ See E. HaCohen, "Shelomo Suleiman Al-Sanjary's *Qedushta'ot*: A Clarification regarding the Extent of Their Circulation and Reception," *Jerusalem Studies in Hebrew Literature* 21 (2007), 47–89 (in Hebrew).

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Chapter 1

E'ezrah Gevurah

A. Introduction

I. Previous Editions and Publications

Part of this piyyut was previously published by Elbogen approximately one hundred years ago. His edition was based on four manuscripts without vocalization, variant readings, or commentary on the piyyut (J. Elbogen, *Studien zur Geschichte des jüdischen Gottesdienstes*. Berlin, 1907, 176–82). Three strophes of this piyyut were also published by Schirmann as an example in his discussion of the image of Leviathan in piyyut (J. Schirmann, “The Battle between Behemoth and Leviathan according to an Ancient Hebrew Piyyut,” *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities* (Hebrew) 3 (1970), 57). And, although Z. Malachi edited this piyyut almost in its entirety in his unpublished PhD dissertation (Z. Malachi, “The ‘Avoda’ for Yom Kippur: Its Characteristics, History, and Development in Hebrew Poetry,” PhD diss., Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1974, vol. 2, 1–11), he provided neither systematic variant readings for nor a commentary on the piyyut.

Ten years ago, in an unpublished master’s thesis, I prepared a full critical edition of this piyyut with variant readings and a detailed list of biblical, rabbinic, and paytanic sources and parallels (N. Katsumata, “Sidre Avodah for the Day of Atonement from the Generation of Saadya Gaon,” master’s thesis, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1998, 36–89). Utilizing thirteen different copies of the piyyut in twenty manuscript fragments, I adopted an eclectic method in the reconstruction of the urtext. This complete critical edition was later published in an academic journal, at which time, however, I decided to adopt the diplomatic method, i.e., the transcription of a single manuscript with variant readings (N. Katsumata, “Seder Avodah li-Shelomoh Suleiman Al-Sinjari,” *Pirke Shira: From the Hidden Treasures of Jewish Poetry* 3 [2003], 9–66).

In this book, I offer significant improvements to this earlier edition, while continuing to employ the diplomatic method. All of the manuscripts have been reread, variant readings have been confirmed, and an improved commentary on the piyyut has been composed. Together with the new edition, I have translated the entire piyyut into English for the first time.

II. Structure and Content

The *Seder Avodah E'ezrah Gevurah* by Shelomoh Suleiman comprises twenty-two alphabetical units, with each unit being constructed of five four-line strophes. The first three lines are divided into two hemistichs of two to three word units each, while the fourth line quotes a biblical verse. In the SHIN and TAV units there are six, rather than five, strophes, and in these two units the paytan signs his name as he does in the *Seder Avodah [...] Ba-Meromim*: סולימן יזכה לחיי עולם.¹ The contents of the alphabetical units are as follows:

ALEF – *Acts of the First Day*

On the first day, God created the heavens and the earth (line 5) by consulting the Torah, which antedates the creation of the world (lines 10–13). The heavens were created by mixing fire and water (line 14), while the earth was created out of snow (line 15). In this unit, the paytan emphasizes the harmony between the heavens and the earth: “The earth and the heavens like one stood together” (line 19). God also created light out of darkness (lines 17–18).

BET – *Acts of the Second Day*

According to rabbinic sources, God created three things on the second day: the firmament, angels, and hell. All of these are described in this unit, including the separation of the waters into upper and lower waters, the objection of the lower waters to this division, and their comfort in being given precedence in praising God (lines 25–27). An interesting and beautiful parallelism is employed in the description of the creation of hell: “He kindled it (= hell) on the *second* day for those who say ‘there is a *second* god’ (= wicked men). He created the *second* world (= world to come) for those who learn ‘there is no *second* god’ (= righteous men)” (lines 37–38).

GIMEL – *Acts of the Third Day*

The biblical story of the gathering of the water into one place and the uncovering of the land is given a teleological explanation. The purpose of these acts, according to the paytan, was to enable the future people of Israel to gather the produce of the land at the Feast of Ingathering (lines 41–42). One also reads that, “God filled the ravine (= earth) with corn before the creation of those who sow food” (line 54). In addition, the paytan states that God made a stipulation with the sea that it should be divided for Moses and, alternatively, that it should drown the Egyptians (line 50).

¹ The paytan sets his acrostic in the first letter of the third line in each strophe of the SHIN unit and in the first letter of the second and third lines in each strophe of the TAV unit.

DALET – *Acts of the Fourth Day*

When the two lights (the sun and the moon) were created on the third day, they were equal in appearance and size (line 65). The moon, however, denounced its counterpart and requested God make it larger than the sun; instead, God made it smaller (line 69). From then on, the moon would serve the people of Israel for the sake of intercalation (line 70). In this unit, the paytan also mentions the three times in history at which the lights in the heavens were silenced: for Israel on the sea (line 73), for Jacob (line 74), and for Joshua (line 75).

HE – *Acts of the Fifth Day*

In this unit, the paytan states that the bird was created out of marshy ground saturated with water (line 83). *Leviathan* was created on the fifth day so that it might be pulled in with a fishhook on the day of redemption and eaten by the righteous men of Israel (lines 89–91). This unit also mentions that all the fish created on this day were either clean or unclean, according to Jewish *kashrut* (dietary laws) (lines 93–95).

VAV – *Acts of the Sixth Day*

This unit opens with a description of the creation of *Behemoth*, which would eat a thousand hills and drink the water of the Jordan every day (lines 101–4). Then, the paytan describes the final creation, that of man. After God had created everything in the world, he noticed that one thing was lacking: those who would “plow furrows” in the land (line 106). However, soon after the man and his mate had been created, they were expelled from the Garden of Eden because of their sin. Adam would then be separated from Eve for one hundred and thirty years (line 115).

ZAYIN – *The Sabbath*

After God had completed all his acts of creation came the Sabbath day, which the righteous men of Israel should “remember” and “observe” (lines 129–30). This unit concludes with an interesting parallelism sharply contrasting the fate of wicked and righteous men: “Sparks trampled to the depth (= the fire of *gehenna*) shall be cast upon the desecrators of the Sabbath. Concealed merits (= *manna*) shall be gathered for its keepers” (lines 137–38).

HET–TET – *History of Humanity up to Abraham*

In these two units, the paytan makes a quick survey of the history of humanity from Cain and Abel up to Abraham: the birth of Cain and Abel (lines 141–144) and the elder son’s sin of slaughtering his younger brother (lines 145–48); the birth of Seth (line 149); the sin of the generation of Enosh (lines 150–51); a

detailed description of the sin of the generation of the flood (lines 153–64) and the story of Noah – an innocent man among them (line 159); a detailed description of the sin of the generation of the tower of Babel (lines 165–72); and Abraham, a righteous man who came out from amongst these wicked men (lines 173–76). By virtue of the covenant of circumcision that Abraham made with God, the people of Israel would be rescued from the fires of *gehenna* (lines 177–80).

YUD – *Binding (Sacrifice) of Isaac*

Unlike the *Seder Avodah [...] Ba-Meromim*, which depicts the binding of Isaac (in two units, YUD–KAF) in a detailed and even theatrical fashion, here, the paytan presents an abbreviated depiction of the binding. Only a single unit (YUD) is given over to this subject, and here too, the language is spare in the extreme. Nevertheless, the two versions share some motifs in common: both mention of the names of Ishmael and Eliezer as attendants to Abraham and Isaac (line 187, cf. *Seder Avodah [...] Ba-Meromim*, line 126) and both refer to the weeping of the angels at the very moment of the binding (line 191, cf. *Seder Avodah [...] Ba-Meromim*, lines 134–35, 142–43).

KAF – *Jacob and His Twelve Sons*

After the description of the two sons of Isaac – Jacob, who is called “the plain one,” and Esau, who is called “the brazen-faced one” (line 202) – the paytan mentions the names of the twelve sons of Jacob, all in epithets (*kinnui*): “the crown of honor” (Reuben) (line 214); “the second” (Simeon) (line 215); “a cord of three strands” (Levi) (line 216); “a great lion” (Judah) (line 217); “the one who springs” (Dan) (line 217); “a doe” (Naphtali) (line 217); “a raider” (Gad) (line 217); “the one who yearns for delicacies” (Asher) (line 218); “the one who lies down” (Issachar) (line 218); “the one about whom he said, ‘rejoice!’” (Zebulun) (line 218); “the one who is called with blessings” (Joseph) (line 219); and “the one who dwells in large stones” (Benjamin) (line 219).

LAMED – *Exodus*

The opening of this unit emphasizes the disparity between the number of Israelites who descended into Egypt and the number who later departed: “To there they overflowed in seventy and from there they passed through and overflowed *six hundred thousand men on foot, besides children* (Exodus 12:37)” (lines 223–24). It is also said that Moses led the Israelites in chains, as one leads lactating animals (line 230). When Miriam died, the well disappeared (line 233). When Aaron died, the clouds of glory disappeared (line 234). Moses restored all of these (line 235), though when he died, *manna* disappeared, and

it will return only at the time of redemption. At this point, the historical part of the *Seder Avodah* concludes.

MEM – *The Chosen Clan*

Since Aaron, the first high priest in Jewish history, came from the tribe of Levi, so too shall every high priest in each subsequent age (line 241). As in the *Seder Avodah* [...] *Ba-Meromim*, the paytan here mentions those who rebelled against the priesthood: Uzziah (lines 246–47) and Korah (lines 249–50). The paytan also mentions the name of Phinehas as one who was zealous for the priesthood (line 251).

NUN–TAV – *Avodah (Priestly Rite)*

The second part of the *Seder Avodah*, the ritual section, describes the service of the high priest in the temple on the holiest day of the Jewish year, relying throughout on the description found in the Mishnah Yoma. It now becomes clear that the “history of sins” narrated from the creation of the world is, in fact, intended to culminate at this point. All of these sins arose, as it were, in order that they might be atoned for on Yom Kippur.

In the SAMEKH–AYIN units, the paytan describes the eight garments of the high priest and the atoning power of each. As in the *Seder Avodah* [...] *Ba-Meromim*, in this part we also find a strong emphasis on the words spoken by the high priest and other participants in the *Avodah* service. Some examples include: “Compassionate One (God)! May your wrath be allayed. May my prayer be beautified before you, and may my iniquity and sin be forgiven” (lines 337–38); “By this, the evil shall be nullified, and by this, the iniquity shall be forgiven” (line 388); “‘Give us a sign,’ they replied to the messenger of the goat. He said to them, ‘Look at the thread that my sages have arranged. I tied one half, as they had prepared it, to the rock, and the other half between the goat’s horns, as they had understood. *Though your sins are like scarlet, they shall be as white as snow*’ (Isaiah 1:18)” (lines 436–39).

B. Text, Apparatus, and Translation

Symbols Used in This Edition

- [] Square brackets denote restorations.
- () Parentheses denote erasures.
- .. Two-dot ellipses denote a lacuna of less than a single word.
- ... Three-dot ellipses denote a lacuna of a full word.

List of Manuscripts

- Sigla Fragments
- א Cambridge, T-S H6. 30 (lines 1–447)
- ב Cambridge, T-S NS 116. 53 (lines 1–26) (=1ב)
Oxford, Bodleian, 2845(d.59). 32–33 (lines 251–451) (=2ב)
- ג Cambridge, T-S NS 275. 114 (lines 1–20) (=1ג)
New York, Jewish Theological Seminary, ENA 2464. 61 (lines 21–58)
(=2ג)
Cambridge, T-S NS 235. 36 (lines 159–197, 322–362) (=3ג)
- ד Cambridge, T-S NS 276. 48a (lines 21–56)
- ה Cambridge, T-S H6. 53 (lines 32–93, 393–451)
- ו Cambridge, T-S 10H9. 14 (lines 33–78) (=1ו)
Cambridge, T-S NS 315. 76 (lines 229–269) (=2ו)
- ז St. Petersburg, Russian National Library, Antonin 161 (lines 41–451)
- ח Cambridge, T-S 6H7. 3 (lines 56–95, 130–165)
- ט Cambridge, T-S NS 119. 53 (lines 57–196) (=1ט)
Cambridge, T-S NS 328. 8 (lines 197–223, 261–286) (=2ט)
- י Cambridge, Westminster College, Liturgica III 1(1–3) (lines 75–131,
423–451) (=1י)
Cambridge, T-S NS 92. 77 (lines 181–390) (=2י)
- יא Oxford, Bodleian, 2714(d.41). 65–66 (lines 121–200, 326–374)
- יב Cambridge, T-S NS 119. 14 (lines 161–256)
- יג Cambridge, Westminster College, Liturgica III 15(33–34) (lines
375–415) (=1יג)
Oxford, Bodleian, 2849(e.71). 16 (lines 415–451) (=2יג)

Base Manuscripts

Lines 1–40 = א

Lines 41–451 = ז

[The First Day]

[ALEF]

I shall gird myself with might
 In front of the one who is girded with might (= God)
 Girded with the glory
 Of the flames of fire (= angels)
 Terrible and dreadful (= God)
 And upon everything shall be the fear
"Thine, O Lord, is the greatness and the power" (1 Chronicles 29:11)

5 Earth and heavens
 He (= God) was ranging throughout everything upon observation
 Evening and morning
 He was examining without limit
 He weighed and sought out
 Set in order everything for honor
"He performs wonders that cannot be fathomed" (Job 9:10)

For the first time, when the time has come
 To set the world in place
 10 He swiftly consulted the knowledge (= *torah*)
 Counsel and knowledge (= *torah*)
 She (= *torah*) gave advice with knowledge
 To the one who favors man with knowledge (= God)
"A rich store of salvation and wisdom and knowledge" (Isaiah 33:6)

He heard words of recommendation from her (= *torah*)
 And rejoiced with joy
 Fire and water evenly
 He mixed, and spread out the heavens
 15 He seized a piece of snow
 And founded a clod of the earth
"He says to the snow, 'Fall on the earth'" (Job 37:6)

Darkness was destroyed
 And so was *tohu*
 Light rose, and He rejoiced
 By one saying
 The earth and the heavens like one
 Stood together
 20 *"And there was evening, and there was morning, the first day"* (Genesis 1:5)

- [מעשה היום הראשון]
 [א]אָזְרָה גְבוּרָה / לְנֶאֱזֹר בְּגְבוּרָה
 אָזֹר בְּאֲדָרָה / שְׁבִיבֵי נְהוּרָה
 אִיּוֹם וְנוֹרָא / וְעַל כָּל מוֹרָא
 "לךְ יִי הַגְּדוּלָּה [וְהַגְּבוּרָה]" (דברי הימים א כט, יא)
- 5 אָרְק וְגַם תִּיקָר / מְשׁוּטֹט כָּל בְּסָקָר
 אָמֶשׁ וְגַם בּוֹקָר / בּוּחֵן בְּלֵי חָקָר
 אִיזֵן וְחִיקָר / תִּיקֵן כָּל לִיקָר
 "עוֹשֶׂה גְדוּלוֹת [עַד] אֲ[יֵן] חֶ[קָר]" (איוב ט, י)
- 10 [אָז מ]אֹז כְּנֻעַת / עוֹלָם לְטַעַת
 אָץ וְנִמְלֹךְ בְּדַעַת / בְּמוֹעֲצוֹת וְדַעַת
 אוֹמֵר עֲצָה בְּדַעַת / [ל]חֹנֵן הַדַּעַת
 "חֹסֵן יְשׁוּעוֹת חֲכֻמַּת נְדַעַת" (ישעיה לג, ו)
- 15 אִיזֵן מְנָה מְלִיץ / וְדָץ בְּעֶלְץ
 אֶשׁ וּמִים בְּתָרֵץ / פִּיתָף וְטִיפַח עָרֵץ
 אָחוּז שְׁלֵג בְּקָרֵץ / וְסָד גּוֹשׁ אָרֵץ
 "כִּי לְשֵׁלֵג יֹאמֵר הָיוּ אָרֵץ" (איוב לו, ו)
- 20 אוֹפֵל הוֹכְחֵד / וְתוּהוּ הַ[כ]חֵד
 אוֹר זָרַח [וְ]חֵד / בְּמֶאֱמָר אָחֵד
 אָרֵץ וְשָׁמַיִם פְּאָחֵד / עֲמָדוּ יַחֵד
 "וַיְהִי עָרַב וַיְהִי ב[קָר] יוֹם אָחֵד" (בראשית א, ה)

1 [א]אזרה] אב¹. לנאזר] ב¹ נאזר א. 2 באדרה] באדרה ג¹(=נ"פ) ב[...]. ב¹. 4 לך יי הגדולה] והגבורה]]
 ה[...]. א האל[...]. ב¹. 5 ארק] ארק א ארק ב¹ ארק ג¹(=נ"פ). תיקר] א תיקר ג¹(=נ"פ) תקר ב¹. כל] ליתא א בם
 ב¹. 6 חקר] חיקר א. 7 תיקן] ותיקן אב¹. ליקר] ב¹ ליי[...]. א. 9 [אז מ]אזן אב¹. עולם] ב¹ עת א. 11 אומר]
 ב¹ אומר ג¹(=נ"פ) אמר א. עצה] א עצה לו ב¹. [ל]חונן] א חונן ג¹(=נ"פ). 13 איזן מנה] ב¹ אזן מזה א. 15
 אחז] אח א אחז ב¹ אחז ג¹(=נ"פ). וסד] יסד א. 17 הוכחד] הוכחד ג¹(=נ"פ) הוכחד ב¹ ניכחד א. ותהו] ותוהו
 אב¹. ה[כ]חיד] ה[כ]חיד ג¹(=נ"פ) הוכחד א הנכחד ב¹. 18 זרח] פ[...]. א.

*[The Second Day]**[BET]*

When He set the heavens in place
 Out of fire and water
 On the second day, “bear the waters (*sa mayim*)”
 He hinted to the heavens (*shamayim*)
 In the midst of the waters
 He made a firmament of the heavens
 “*And let it divide water from water*” (Genesis 1:6)

25 When He gathered half of the dwellers (= the waters)
 Up to the upper chambers whose beams He had laid (= the heavens)
 Bitter weeping
 [...] Of those who were running down (= the lower waters)
 He separated them from the great ones (= the upper waters)
 In order to give precedence to them in praising God
 “*Mightier than the thunder of the great waters*” (Psalm 93:4)

In the host of His light (= the firmament)
 He brightened His saying
 30 He built its fence
 And the lattices of its chamber
 He created, in order to glorify Himself,
 The angels of His glory
 “*Mighty ones who perform His bidding*” (Psalm 103:20)

Each day and day
 From the second day of creation
 In the light of the day
 They (= the angels) would renew themselves
 35 On the same day
 He created for those who would desecrate the Sabbath
 “*A fire that burns all the day (= hell)*” (Isaiah 65:5)

He kindled it (= hell) on the second day
 For those who say, “There is a second god” (= wicked men)
 He created the second world (= the world to come)
 For those who learn, “there is no second god” (= righteous men)
 When He clarified on the second day
 The works of the second heavens
 40 “*And there was evening, and there was morning, the second day*”
 (Genesis 1:8)

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