BRILL

New Data on Aramaic in Classical *Piyyut*—תשמיע ניחומים ללישה, a *Silluq* for Shabbat *Shimʿu* by Yoḥanan ha-Kohen

*Michael Rand**
University of Cambridge

Abstract

The present article briefly reviews the research that has been conducted to-date on the use of Aramaic in Classical *piyyut*, and provides new material in this field: the *silluq* תשמיע ניחומים ללישה from a *qedushta* for Shabbat *Shimʿu* by Yoḥanan ha-Kohen, which includes an Aramaic passage. One of the manuscript sources for this composition, ms. ENA 3443/2, is also analyzed, and its copyist is identified as Eli ben Yehoshua he-Ḥaver (11th century). The article is provided with an appendix, in which Sahlan ben Avraham's Targum poem איתחברו ירחי שתא, a dispute between the months, is re-edited on the basis of newly-discovered material.

Keywords

1   Introduction

Over the course of approximately the past decade the subject of Aramaic in *piyyut* has received a certain amount of scholarly attention. By way of introduction to the text that is edited below, I would like to provide some essential

---

background, and then to speculate with regard to a number of potential interim results.

First, let us consider *piyyut*,[1] which is a kind of poetic literature whose existence is intimately tied to the rabbinic Jewish liturgy that emerged in Roman and Late Antiquity and continues in use to this day in various geographically-defined rites.[2] For the present purposes, the fundamental tectonic principle of Jewish liturgy may be described as the stringing together of various liturgical benedictions (*berakhot*, sing. *berakha*), such that a specific sequence of benedictions represents a given prayer. I will focus here on the Prayer *par excellence*, known as the *amida* (pl. *amidot*) which essentially defines a statutory liturgical occasion—i.e., the Jewish liturgical day may be meaningfully described in terms of the *amidot* that are recited over its course.[3]

The benediction, which is the fundamental building block of the *amida*, has an internal articulation of its own. In a string of benedictions, the first opens with a formula whose most standard form is: ברוך אתה יי אלהינו מלך העולם אשר ... 'Blessed are you O Lord, our God, King of the Universe, who ...' This formulaic opening is followed by the body of the benediction, which is introduced in the form of a relative clause dependent on אשר. The body is composed in prose that provides its specific content, i.e., various forms of praise and supplication addressed to God. The prose body is followed in turn by an abbreviated concluding formula, which summarizes its theme: ברוך אתה יי ... 'Blessed are You, O Lord ...'[4] Thereupon follow all subsequent benedictions in the chain, with the exception that, unlike the first benediction, they dispense with the opening formula, beginning directly with the body. According to the

---

1   For a comprehensive treatment of *piyyut* and the history of its development see E. Fleischer, שירת-הקודש העברית בימי-הביניים (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 2nd ed., 2007). A useful English-language introduction may be found in M. Rand, 'Fundamentals of the Study of Piyyut', in C. Leonhard and H. Löhr (eds.), *Literature or Liturgy?—Early Christian Hymns and Prayers in their Literary and Liturgical Context in Antiquity* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014) pp. 107–125.

2   For the early history of Jewish prayer, see J. Heinemann, *Prayer in the Talmud* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1977). The most accessible and comprehensive English-language handbook on the subject is I. Elbogen, *Jewish Liturgy: A Comprehensive History* (trans. R.P. Scheindlin, Philadelphia: JPS, New York and Jerusalem: JTSA, 1993).

3   The other core Jewish prayer, which I will not discuss here, is the *shema*, which is centred on the recitation of the verse 'Hear, O Israel ...' (Deut. 6.4). See Elbogen, *Liturgy*, pp. 16–24.

4   Cf., for example, the concluding formula of the first benediction of the *amida*, which praises God as the God of the Patriarchs and the Redeemer of Israel: ברוך אתה יי מגן אברהם, 'Blessed are You, O Lord, Shield of Abraham'. For an in-depth study of the development of the liturgical benediction see Heinemann, *Prayer*, pp. 77–103.

ancient rite of Palestine, in the context of which *piyyut* arose and developed in its initial phases, the weekday *amida* contains 18 benedictions. However, in all of the rites currently in use, which are ultimately rooted in the rite of Babylon, the number has gone up to 19. In all rites, the *amida* for Sabbaths and Festivals contains only seven benedictions.

The Jewish liturgical calendar is founded on the simultaneous operation of two cycles: the cycle of the Sabbaths, at the basis of which lies the sequential weekly reading of Pentateuchal lections, each of which is associated with a fixed Prophetic lection (*haftara*); and the cycle of Festivals and special Sabbaths. The periodicity of the first cycle depends on the number of lections into which the Pentateuch is divided. Thus, in the Palestinian rite, the entire Pentateuch was read over the course of approximately three and a half years, while the Babylonian rite the reading was completed in one year. The festival cycle is annual and begins with Passover.

Returning now to the structure of the *amida*, it is evident that the string of benediction formulas constitutes the skeletal structure of the prayer, with specific content being supplied by the body of each benediction. Strictly speaking, from the point of view of Jewish law, only the sequence of fixed benediction formulas is obligatory, while the specific content of each benediction may be freely composed. This is where *piyyut* comes in. In essence, *piyyut* composition functions by replacing the prose, statutory body of the benediction by a poetic formulation. However, since only the body of the benediction is replaced whereas the string of benediction formulas remains in place, the poetic *amida*—i.e., one in which the bodies of the sequenced benedictions have been systematically replaced with units of poetry—is a string of poetic units that is rigidly organized by means of the skeletal structure of the benediction formulas to which they are attached, in principle on a one-to-one basis. *Piyyut* is therefore, in the strict sense, poetic prayer, and it is firmly anchored, structurally as well as notionally, in public, statutory Jewish liturgy. The fundamental compositional principle of *piyyut* may in turn be expressed as the one-to-one relationship between units of poetry and liturgical fixed-points.[5]

In practice, the emergence of *piyyut* as an integral part of public Jewish prayer was facilitated by the fact that in the majority of cases the *amida* is recited silently by each member of the congregation and then publically repeated out-loud by the precentor (*ḥazzan*). The precentor's repetition may take

---

5   The most common type of liturgical fixed-point is the benediction formula, which is mentioned above. However, other elements in the text of the statutory liturgy may serve the same function.

the form of the text that has been recited silently by each individual, with additions as ritually appropriate to a public—rather than a private—prayer. However, instead of duplicating the statutory text, the precentor's repetition may retain only its skeletal structure of benediction formulas, around which is organized an alternative, poetic composition. The genre-term for a *piyyut* composition that accompanies the precentor's recitation of the *amida* is *qerova*. The *qerova* genre is further divided into sub-types in accordance with the different possible sorts of *amida*-configurations, each one being a function of the specific liturgical occasion—e.g., an *amida* of 18 benedictions on weekdays versus an *amida* of seven benedictions on Sabbaths and festivals.

The structural principles that are adumbrated here are mostly relevant to the Classical period of *piyyut* literature.[6] It is impossible to be precise in delimiting this period, but one may say with confidence that Classical *piyyut* is to be placed in Palestine in Late Antique and early Muslim times. The Classical period is characterized especially by the use of rhyme and the concomitant predominance of strophic patterning, as well as the use of acrostic signatures in which the poets (*payyetanim*, sing. *payyetan*) indicate their names, and occasionally other bits of biographical information. The most prominent genre of the Classical period is the *qedushta*, which is a sub-type of *qerova* (see also below).

In addition to statutory prayer, the synagogue liturgy of Sabbaths and Festivals includes a second basic component—the Scriptural lection. As mentioned above, the cycle of Pentateuchal and Prophetic lections is one of the two fundamental parameters of the Jewish liturgical cycle.[7] During the period in question, two additional aspects of the synagogue liturgy were organized around the reading of Scripture: the Targum, i.e., the translation of the biblical text into Aramaic, which served as the vernacular of Palestinian Jews before its replacement by Arabic; and the sermon. Both of these served one way or another as expositions of the Scriptural reading. Finally, Jewish liturgy in the broad sense includes prayers recited outside of the synagogue, such as the Grace after Meals (*Birkat ha-mazon*) or various funerary texts.

Given the above sketch, it is not difficult to see how *piyyut*, which we may define for the moment as Hebrew liturgical poetry (but see below), fits into the liturgical scheme of the synagogue—it is attached directly to the skeletal

---

6   The periodization of *piyyut* literature is treated extensively in Fleischer, שירת-הקודש.

7   In the Classical Period, at least two full cycles of *qedushtot* were composed to accompany the weekly Scriptural readings of the Palestinian triennial lectionary cycle, by the *payyetanim* Yannai and Shimʿon bar Megas.

structure of the fundamental prayers, and serves as a replacement for their statutory (prose) contents. However, together with Hebrew, Jewish poetic production during the period in question proceeded along a parallel, Aramaic track. This fact is entirely consonant with the general trajectory of Jewish literary activity in Hellenistic/Roman Palestine, which indicates essentially that Jews have been composing poetry in Aramaic for as long as they have been composing literature in that language. Thus, poetry is attested already in the Biblical Aramaic corpus, as well as among the Aramaic documents of the Dead Sea Scrolls.[8] In the Late Antique period, Jewish Aramaic poetry, which in terms of quantity as well as quality is undeniably the poor cousin of Hebrew, is divisible into three categories, each of which is associated with a certain liturgical locus. Each locus, in turn, may be defined in terms of the broad structure of Jewish liturgy as outlined above.[9] The first category is Targum poetry, which is a diffuse corpus of poetic material that is associated in various ways with the Aramaic translation of the Scriptural lections.[10] The second category

---

8 Relatively short stretches of poetic text appear in the Book of Daniel (as recognized by the editors of BHS)—see for example Dan. 2.21–22; 3.33; 7.9–20, and so forth. Aramaic poems are also attested in the Dead Sea Scrolls. See for example the Ode to Sarai in the Genesis Apocryphon (1QapGen col. 20.1–8) published in J.A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1 (1Q20)* (Rome: Editrice Pontifico Istituto Biblico, 3rd ed., 2004), p. 100; and the poem contained in the Aramaic Testament of Levi (4QLeviᵃ ar frg. 1 col. i 5–21, col. ii 1) published in J.C. Greenfield, M.E. Stone and E. Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document* (Studia in Veteris Testamenti Peseudepigrapha, 19, Leiden: Brill, 2004), pp. 102–109; M.E. Stone and J.C. Greenfield, 'Aramaic Levi Document', in G. Brooke et al. (eds.), *Qumran Cave 4 XVII—Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* (DJD XXII, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996) pp. 9–15. Jewish liturgical poetry in general, both Hebrew as well as Aramaic, is part of a wider literary phenomenon observable in the Roman and Late Antique Near East, which is manifested also in the Samaritan and Syriac (along with the Greek-Byzantine) liturgical-poetic traditions. For the three Aramaic traditions, see A.S. Rodrigues Pereira, *Studies in Aramaic Poetry (c. 100 B.C.E. – c. 600 B.C.E.)* (Studia Semitica Neerlandica, 34, Assen: Van Gorcum, 1997), which contains ample and fully-analyzed text samples together with a generous bibliography. For the Ode to Sarai, see pp. 11–26. For a theoretical overview of this subject, see O. Münz-Manor, 'Liturgical Poetry in the Late Antique Near East—A Comparative Approach', *Journal of Ancient Judaism* 1 (2010), pp. 336–361.

9 A similar observation is made by S. Elizur, ׳לדרכי שילובם של יסודות ארמיים בפיוטי ארץ ישראל הקדומים׳, *Leshonenu* 70 (2008), pp. 331–348 (332–333, note 4).

10 The largest edited collection of Targum poems is M. Sokoloff and J. Yahalom, שירת בני מערבא (Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1999). See also the important review by M. Kister, ׳שירת בני מערבא—היבטים בעולמה של שירה עלומה׳, *Tarbiz* 76 (2006), pp. 105–184. A number of Targumic poems are studied in Rodrigues Pereira, *Aramaic Poetry*, pp. 58–109. For additional, relatively late Eastern examples, see

consists of poems that are intended for incorporation into the actual prayer component of the liturgy. In principle, Aramaic *piyyutim* belonging to this category are directly equivalent to their Hebrew counterparts. In reality, however, no such parity exists, since—as far as can be ascertained on the basis of our present knowledge—this category is restricted to one, relatively minor genre: *qinot* for the Ninth of Av, i.e., dirges mourning the destruction of the Temple.[11] The third category of Aramaic poems consists of those that are intended for para-liturgical occasions: wedding poems and funeral dirges.[12] Poems in this category partially overlap in terms of function with their Hebrew counterparts (see below, end of Section 2).

Together with these three basic types of Jewish Aramaic liturgical poetry, there exists Aramaic material incorporated into *piyyut* proper. This is the material that is of interest at present, and to it I now turn. The *piyyut* literature is composed in a specialized Hebrew idiom whose hallmarks are well known and have been investigated in a number of studies.[13] This idiom comprises

---

the Targum poems by Shemuel Ha-Shelishi (10th–11th centuries), edited in J. Yahalom and N. Katsumata, יוצרות רבי שמואל השלישי (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zevi, 2014), pp. 939–956 (note especially the editors' remarks on p. 939); and two poems by Sahlan ben Avraham (11th century): אלהא אדירא שמיה, edited in E. Fleischer, "ראש ראשי חדשים", in E. Fleischer, תפילות הקבע בישראל בהתהוותן ובהתגבשותן (S. Elizur and T. Beeri [eds.], Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 2012), pp. 871–888 (875–876); and איתחברו ראשי שתא, edited in M. Rand, 'An Aramaic Dispute between the Months by Sahlan Ben Avraham', *Melilah: Manchester Journal of Jewish Studies* 9 (2012), pp. 101–113 (108–109; for additions and corrections to this article, including an augmented edition of the *piyyut*, see the Appendix below). The two poems by Sahlan are copied in ms. T-S NS 236.5.

11 See M. Rand, 'Observations on the Relationship between JPA Poetry and the Hebrew Piyyut Tradition—The Case of the *Kinot*', in A. Gerhards and C. Leonhard (eds.), *Jewish and Christian Liturgy and Worship: New Insights into its History and Interaction* (Leiden: Brill, 2007) pp. 127–144. It is important to note in this context that the *qina* genre is quintessentially Palestinian. The *qinot* do not partake of the structural principle outlined above, whereby a *piyyut* composition is built up out of units of poetry all of which are anchored in strict sequence to liturgical fixed-points such as the concluding benediction formulas. In this sense, a *qina* is an independent *piyyut*, not a *piyyut* composition. On the other hand, just as *piyyutim* are strung together within a single *piyyut* composition, so *qinot* are also strung together, the string being inserted at the appropriate point in the liturgy of the Ninth of Av.

12 A number of such poems are published in Sokoloff and Yahalom, שירת בני מערבא, pp. 258–329.

13 The most convenient English-language introduction to the language of *piyyut* is M. Rand, 'Paytanic Hebrew', in G. Khan et al. (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics* (Leiden: Brill, 2013) pp. 355–360.

certain distinctive features—morphological, syntactic, lexical and semantic—which remain reasonably stable throughout the history of *piyyut* composition in the East as well as in Europe. As indicated, the *piyyut* idiom is a form of Hebrew. For analytical purposes, it can be resolved into three components: Biblical Hebrew—i.e., linguistic material drawn from the Hebrew Bible; Rabbinic Hebrew—i.e., linguistic material drawn from Tannaitic and Amoraic writings; and *piyyut* Hebrew—i.e, the remainder, that which cannot be traced back to either of the two preceding categories and is therefore taken to constitute *piyyut*-language *par excellence*. On occasion, the idiom in which *piyyut* is composed incorporates Aramaic elements. However, until recently, this phenomenon has not been accorded much attention. The first study to treat the subject in a sustained manner is an article published in 2009 by Shulamit Elizur: ׳לדרכי שילובם של יסודות ארמיים בפיוטי ארץ ישראל הקדומים׳ (The Incorporation of Aramaic Elements in Ancient Palestinian *Piyyutim*; see above, note 9). As is apparent from the title, Elizur's analysis operates on the notion of a foreign, Aramaic element being incorporated into a Hebrew matrix. Such a notion is, in fact, reasonable, given what has been said above regarding the *piyyut* idiom. In accordance with it, Aramaic elements drawn either from the Aramaic portions of Scripture (Biblical Aramaic [BA]) or from the Aramaic vernacular of Byzantine-era Palestine, i.e., the language of Palestinian Targum and midrash (JPA), are incorporated into a *piyyut* text, either directly in their original form or in various Hebraized forms—calques, Hebrew conjugations of Aramaic roots, etc. In the wake of Elizur, I published my own contribution to the subject: ׳״אגג אמר הצדה״—קדושתא לפרשת זכור בלשון מעורבת עברית-ארמית׳ [*Agag 'amar hatsda—A Qedushta* for Parashat *Zakhor* in a Mixed Hebrew-Aramaic Idiom].[14] This article contains a critical edition of a *piyyut* composition that is composed in an idiom in which Hebrew and Aramaic are at times so tightly intertwined that it is no longer accurate to speak of the incorporation of Aramaic into a Hebrew matrix, but one must rather see the text as integrating the two into a new, mixed linguistic entity. On the basis of this observation, I suggested there that the concept/definition of the *piyyut* idiom be expanded somewhat to encompass two components, a Hebrew and an Aramaic, the former predominating massively from the quantitative point of view. In my article, I also reviewed the evidence for the use of Aramaic in previously published Classical *piyyut* material, noting that it is attested in the corpora of the two most

---

14   M. Rand, ׳״אגג אמר הצדה״—קדושתא לפרשת זכור בלשון מעורבת עברית-ארמית״, in M. Bar Asher and I. Meir (eds.), נִטְעֵי אִילָן—מחקרים בלשון העברית ובאחיותיה מוגשים לאילן אלדר (Jerusalem: Carmel, 2014) pp. 321–353.

famous Classical *payyetanim*, Yannai (ca. 6th century) and Eleazar be-rabbi Qillir (ca. 7th century), along with a *payyetan* whose acrostic signature is לעזר החזן.[15] The material that I investigated differs from the material treated by Elizur in that it consists of cases of sustained presence of Aramaic, either over the course of a large portion (perhaps even the majority) of an entire composition, as in the case of the *qedushta* for Parashat *Zakhor* that I published, or within a limited stretch of text that is incorporated into the Hebrew framework of the *piyyut* composition in which it appears, as in the other cases that I studied. Elizur, on the other hand, examined cases of local incorporation of individual Aramaic elements (words, phrases, sentences) into the Hebrew context. In view of this distinction in the data, the slight difference in our conclusions is not surprising.

2   Aramaic Texts in *Piyyutim*

On the basis of an analysis of the corpus that I assembled, I was able to make two generalizations about the use/status of Aramaic in the *piyyut* idiom. First, the integration of Aramaic and Hebrew within a *piyyut* idiom that can truly be considered mixed is (so far) unique to the *qedushta* אגג אמר הצדה. In the other cases, the linguistic borders between Hebrew and Aramaic areas of a given *piyyut* text are easily discerned. Second, in the majority of cases, the Aramaic that is employed in *piyyut* is of the BA type, the use of JPA being less common. Different degrees of mixture of the two dialects within a given

---

15   See Rand, קדושתא לפרשת זכור, pp. 335–338. In Yannai's *qedushta* איום [...] ונורא מוראך for the Seder וישלח יעקב מלאכים (Gen. 32.4), the second and third *rahitim*, [...] אדום אשר תקיפה ועתיק יומיה and ומן בית יעקב אש, as well as the *silluq* אימתני are composed overwhelmingly in Aramaic—see Z.M. Rabinovitz, כרך—ולמועדים לתורה יניי רבי פיוטי מחזור א (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1985) pp. 199–200. Qillir includes an Aramaic section in his *silluq* כי מי ידע דינך for Yom Kippur. The *silluq* is yet unpublished, but the Aramaic section has appeared twice: E. Fleischer, ליוסי המיוחסת כיפור ליום קדושתא מתוך פיוט מחזורי׳ בן יוסי׳, *Kobez al Yad* 7 (17) (1968), pp. 1–79 (79); Sokoloff and Yahalom, מערבא בני שירת, pp. 338–345. Leʿazar he-ḥazan includes an Aramaic section, beginning with ומקדונייה יוון סלקן כענניה, in the *silluq* of his *qedushta* for 18 benedictions משבית אימות צרים ושוסים for the New Moon of Kislev—see E. Fleischer, מאת ולחנוכה חדשים לראשי ח״י קדושתאות׳ לעזר החזן׳, *Kobez al Yad* 9 (19) (1979), pp. 25–127 (86). For two additional, unpublished cases of Aramaic composition in Classical *piyyut*, see the Aramaic *piyyut* חז חמודות איש for Purim (main witness ms. T-S H 12.9) and the Hebrew-Aramaic *rahit* באידרעיה תלה עלמה for Yom Kippur (ms. ENA 2672/52).

Aramaic *piyyut* text are, moreover, attested: predominantly ᴮᴬ, mixed ᴮᴬ/ᴶᴾᴬ, and predominantly ᴶᴾᴬ.

I have now identified an additional instance of the use of Aramaic in Classical *piyyut*. In view of the relative rarity of Aramaic within the Classical *piyyut* corpus, this example is worthy of attention, and an edition of the *piyyut* in which it is found is provided below. The Aramaic text in question, lines 26–35 in the edition, confirms the findings summarized above. It is embedded within a Hebrew *piyyut*, and its beginning and end are clearly delimited. In one instance, Hebrew and Aramaic are mixed in a single sentence: וְיִצְמִית קֶרֶן רַבְרְבִין מַרְגְּשָׁא 'And He will exterminate the horn that is eager [to speak] arrogantly' (line 34). The verb ויצמית is Hebrew, both lexically as well as morphologically, whereas the rest of the sentence is Aramaic. In an apparent second case: וְתַצְמִיחַ קֶרֶן זְעֵירָה וּבִישָׁה 'Now [the fourth beast] will sprout a small, evil horn' (l. 26), the spelling with *yod* characterizes the verb ותצמיח as Hebrew *Hifil* rather than Aramaic *Afel*.[16] However the reading ותצמח appears to be attested in a parallel source (see the apparatus of variants, ad loc.), so that the Hebrew form may be the product of a scribal slip. In the majority of cases, the Aramaic employed in the text is ᴮᴬ. However, a number of instances of the use of ᴶᴾᴬ are also attested. The following is an outright lexical ᴶᴾᴬ usage: מתכתשא 'struggling' (l. 29).[17] A number of cases are also found in which a given root is attested in ᴮᴬ, but the form that is found in our text is lacking there, whereas it is attested in ᴶᴾᴬ: יתגלה 'He will be revealed' (l. 32),[18] קודשא 'holiness' (l. 33).[19] The same is apparently the case with לְמַבְאָשָׁה 'to do evil' (line 30), where the *Afel* infinitive takes the ᴶᴾᴬ form.[20] However, the variant reading לאבאשא is attested (see the apparatus of variants, ad loc.), in which the corresponding ᴮᴬ form of the infinitive, with prefixed *he*, is employed. Finally, our text employs a collocation, a prepositional phrase, that is lacking in ᴮᴬ but attested in ᴶᴾᴬ: מִן רֵאשׁ 'from the beginning,

---

16   The root צמח is not attested in ᴮᴬ. It is, however, found in ᴶᴾᴬ, including the *Afel* verb—see M. Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period* (Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2nd ed., 2002), p. 466.

17   See Sokoloff, *JPA*, p. 273.

18   See Sokoloff, *JPA*, pp. 129–130. In ᴮᴬ, the verb גלי 'to reveal' is attested in the *Peal* and *Peil* stems.

19   See Sokoloff, *JPA*, pp. 476–477. In ᴮᴬ, the root is attested exclusively in the adjectival form קַדִּישׁ.

20   Such a *mem*-prefixed form is listed in Sokoloff, *JPA*, p. 83. For the *Afel* infinitive in ᴶᴾᴬ see S.E. Fassberg, *A Grammar of the Palestinian Targum Fragments from the Cairo Genizah* (Harvard Semitic Studies 38, Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990) p. 177 (§133e).

of old' (l. 35).[21] The result, therefore, comports well with the general picture referred to above—the Aramaic employed in Classical *piyyut* is predominantly of the ʙᴀ type, with the possibility of some ᴊᴘᴀ admixtures.

In light of the data reviewed here, I may venture a number of tentative observations. The *piyyut* that is published below was composed by Yoḥanan ha-Kohen, a Classical *payyetan* in whom we may roughly see the contemporary of Eleazar be-rabbi Qillir (see above). It is therefore evident that an Aramaic component is attested in the corpora a number of prominent Classical *payyetanim*: Yannai, Qillir, and Yoḥanan. To these may be added the Hebrew-Aramaic *qedushta* אגג אמר הצדה, which also falls squarely within the Classical *piyyut* tradition. Finally, an Aramaic component is attested in the work of Leʿazar he-ḥazan. Leʿazar's dates are even more obscure than those of the three *payyetanim* named above, but his compositions are based on norms that are appropriate to Classical *piyyut*, and he is perhaps to be seen as a relatively late exponent of this period. Taking this information together with the three categories of Aramaic poetry proper that were outlined above, we may surmise that beginning with the period represented by the book of Daniel, poetic expression among Jews proceeded in Hebrew and Aramaic. The Hebrew variety was dominant, owing to the depth and richness of the Hebrew literary tradition, but in terms of basic poetic form, the two are substantially equivalent—late biblical poetry as well as poetry in the Dead Sea Scrolls in both Hebrew and Aramaic exhibits to one degree or another the forms of *parallelismus membrorum*. This basic formal parity continues to characterize the relationship between Hebrew and Aramaic poetry in Late Antiquity—in both the biblical *parallelismus membrorum* is replaced by new forms of organization: acrostic, rhyme, strophic patterning, and other structural devices. The Hebrew branch of this development came to be known as *piyyut*, and from its inception was intimately connected to the actual texts of Jewish prayer. With the benefit of hindsight, this association seems entirely natural, as the language of statutory Jewish prayer is Hebrew.[22] However, according to the evidence of the Armaic

---

21   See Sokoloff, *JPA*, p. 510.

22   Aramaic is not employed in the statutory liturgy. However, it is well attested in a liturgical category that Heinemann defines as 'prayers of Bet Midrash origin', i.e., one that 'came into being in conjunction with the public reading, study and exposition of the *Tôrāh*'—see Heinemann, *Prayer*, pp. 251–275 (the quote is from p. 251). Heinemann writes (pp. 265–266): 'The comparative frequency of Aramaic in these prayers is not really surprising since, in part, they came into being in the wake of the Aramaic translation which was somewhat in the nature of a midrashic exposition; also the sermon itself was mostly delivered in the

qinot (see above, note 11), tentative efforts were apparently also made to attach Aramaic poetry to statutory prayer. However, these seem to have proved largely unsuccessful—Hebrew *piyyut* was too well entrenched in this locus. In any case, the result of these efforts seems to have been the incorporation of Aramaic into Hebrew *piyyut*. As we have seen, according to the evidence at our disposal, in the Classical period (i.e., the apogee of *piyyut* composition in the East) such incorporation took a number of forms: the inclusion of individual Aramaic elements within a Hebrew matrix, the inclusion of relatively short Aramaic texts within longer Hebrew *piyyut* compositions, or outright composition of *piyyut* in a mixed Hebrew-Aramaic idiom. The latter option, to date attested in the unique case of the *qedushta* אגג אמר הצדה, in fact seems to represent a kind of distant echo of the initial impulse to compose in Aramaic *piyyut* that would be a direct analogue of the Hebrew variety.

The fact that Hebrew *piyyut* came to overwhelmingly predominate within the field of statutory prayer to the detriment of Aramaic composition, in addition to being reflected in the incorporation of the latter within the former, also had the effect of stimulating the development of Aramaic poetry within a specialized niche—that of the Targum (cf. also above, note 22). In other words, the more vigorous Hebrew forced Aramaic to seek refuge in this less central, though by no means marginal, liturgical locus. Again, in hindsight, the association of Aramaic poetry with Aramaic Targum seems as natural as that of the Hebrew *piyyut* with the Hebrew statutory liturgy. In any case, Targum proved a sure refuge for Aramaic poetry, in the context of which it was able to thrive well beyond the temporal and spatial confines of Classical *piyyut*.[23]

Finally, I have also mentioned that Hebrew and Aramaic poems are associated with various para-liturgical occasions. With the exception of the Grace after Meals, however, which is governed by the same sort of strict legal regulations that govern the statutory prayers of the synagogue, these are marginal areas of the liturgy in which Hebrew and Aramaic were allowed to subsist together. The poetic Grace after Meals, on the other hand, has evolved as an inseparable part of Hebrew *piyyut*, and is fully subject to its main compositional

---

Aramaic vernacular. Moreover, the preachers presumably preferred to bless the congregation in the language easily intelligible to them'. See also below.

23   For examples of post-Classical Targum poetry in the East, see note 10. Aramaic poems also accompany the reading of Scripture on the Seventh Day of Passover and Shavuot in the Ashkenazic rite: see the materials published in Y. Frenkel, מחזור פסח (Jerusalem: Koren, 1993), pp. 608–658; idem, מחזור שבועות (Jerusalem: Koren, 2000), pp. 385–593. The most famous of these is the poem אקדמות מילין by Meir bar Yiṣḥaq, recited after Exod. 19.1, the first verse of the Pentateuchal lection for Shavuot (idem, שבועות, pp. 385–395).

principle, which specifies the relationship between units of poetry and liturgical fixed-points.

3   The *Qedushta* איזון שמע מדובר for Shabbat *Shim'u* by Yoḥanan ha-Kohen

The Aramaic fragment under examination here is part of a liturgical composition called a *qedushta*.[24] The *qedushta* is composed of component *piyyutim*, the last of which is called the *silluq*. Within the liturgical framework, the *silluq* is immediately followed by the recitation of the first verse of the *qedusha* (i.e, the liturgical *trisagion*): ... קדוש קדוש קדוש 'Holy, holy, holy ...' (Isa. 3.3).[25] Our fragment appears in the *silluq*. The *qedushta* in question, איזון שמע מדובר, was composed by the Classical *payyetan* Yoḥanan ha-Kohen, who seems to have lived in Palestine or its environs around the time of the change in hegemony over the region between the Byzantine and the Arab-Muslim empires.[26] The *qedushta* was composed for recitation on Shabbat *Shim'u*, one of the three Sabbaths of Rebuke that precede the fast of the Ninth of Av, the day on which the destruction of the Temple is commemorated.[27] The seven Sabbaths that follow the fast day are in turn known as the Sabbaths of Consolation. Liturgically, these special Sabbaths are all characterized by the reading of special Prophetic lections that focus on the themes of rebuke and consolation, respectively. The custom of reading special Prophetic lections on these Sabbaths is originally Palestinian, but it was eventually adopted into the Babylonian liturgical rite

---

24   The structure of the Classical *qedushta* for Sabbaths is described extensively in Fleischer, שירת-הקודש, pp. 138–164. No full English-language treatment exists, but one may profitably consult L. Lieber, *Yannai on Genesis—An Invitation to Piyyut* (Cincinnati, OH: Hebrew Union College Press, 2010), pp. 36–64.

25   In some *qedushtaot* the *silluq* may be followed by another series of *piyyutim*, which are interspersed between the verses of the *qedusha*. These are not attested consistently, however.

26   As mentioned above, Yoḥanan and Qillir are roughly contemporaries. The *piyyutim* of Yoḥanan ha-Kohen have been edited by N. Weissenstern, פיוטי יוחנן הכהן בירבי יהושע (PhD thesis, The Hebrew University, 1983). Our *qedushta* is found on pp. 66–78. For the time and place of the *payyetan*, see pp. שכ-שיג, together with J. Yahalom, פיוט ומציאות בשלהי הזמן העתיקה (Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuchad, 1999) pp. 84–87.

27   For an English-language overview of the Sabbaths of Rebuke, with special regard for Shabbat *Shim'u* as reflected in *piyyut*, see W. van Bekkum and N. Katsumata, 'Shabbat Shim'u (Jer. 2,4): A Kaleidoscopic View of a Liturgical-Poetic Theme', *Frankfurter Judaistische Beiträge* 37 (2011/12), pp. 75–107.

as well, whence it has spread to all Jewish rites.[28] The liturgical importance of the Sabbaths of Rebuke during the Classical period may be gauged by the fact that they were adorned by at least two cycles of *qedushtot*, composed by the *payyetanim* Yannai and Yehudah.[29]

The Prophetic lection for Shabbat *Shimʿu*, from which it derives its name, begins with שמעו דבר יי בית יעקב 'Hear the word of the Lord, House of Israel' (Jer. 2.4). Hence, the theme of hearing, and with it the root שמע as well as other roots belonging to this semantic field, is prominent in the *piyyutim* for this occasion, mostly in the sense of Israel's not hearkening to God's commandments and His rebukes. In accordance with an ancient liturgical custom, the *qedushta* for Shabbat *Shimʿu* treats not only the theme of rebuke, but also, towards its end, the opposite theme of consolation, i.e., the restoration of Israel to their land and the destruction of their enemies at the end of days. It is the latter theme that is treated in the *silluq* תשמיע ניחומים ללישה, within which our Aramaic fragment is found.[30] The *silluq* was published previously in ed. Weissenstern (see note 26). However, the text given there is truncated, and more than half of the *silluq*, including the Aramaic portion, is missing.[31] The present edition is based on four manuscript sources, including the single source employed by

---

28 See Fleischer, שירת-הקודש, p. 37.

29 Yannai: Z.M. Rabinovitz, מחזור פיוטי רבי ינאי לתורה ולמועדים—כרך ב (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1987) pp. 300–325; Yehuda: W.J. van Bekkum, *The Qedushtaʾot of Yehudah accord-ing to Genizah Manuscripts* (PhD thesis, Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, 1988), pp. 535–561. For additional material from the *silluq* of Yehuda's *qedushta* for Shabbat *Shimʿu*, see the article cited in the following note. In the *oeuvre* of Yoḥanan only the *qedushta* for Shabbat *Shimʿu* is presently attested. The Qillir corpus contains parts of a monumental *qedushta* for Shabbat *Eicha*, the third of the Sabbaths of Rebuke—see E. Fleischer, לוח מועדי השנה' בפיוט לר אלעזר בירבי קיליר' in E. Fleischer, תפילות הקבע, pp. 357–406; E. Fleischer, תשלום' לפתרון' in E. Fleischer, תפילות הקבע, pp. 407–415; E. Fleischer, לקרובת הקילירי לשבת איכה' שאלת זמנו ומקום פעילותו של ר׳ אלעזר בירבי קיליר', *Tarbiz* 54 (1985), pp. 383–427.

30 The same is true of the *silluq* שימע תשועה תשמיע from the *qedushta* אחודה ללמודי חידה for Shabbat *Shimʿu* by Yehuda—see M. Rand, קודקס הגניזה: האם מחזור ארץ ישראל' אכן שימש בארץ ישראל? קטעים חדשים של הקודקס ותרומתם להבנת טיב מנהגו', *Tarbiz* 82 (2014), pp. 529–547 (542–545). For relatively rare midrashic material shared by the two *silluqim*, see the commentary to lines 38–42 in the edition below.

31 The text given ed. Weissenstern comprises lines 1–22 of the present edition—i.e., the lines containing the alphabetic acrostic—followed by a four-line segment that serves as a thematic transition to the recitation of the *qedusha*. This segment is most likely not original, its purpose being to bridge the thematic discontinuity between the *piyyut* and the *qedusha* created as a result of the truncation of the former. It is printed in small font in the Hebrew critical edition below.

Weissenstern. The three additional sources employed here contain a fuller form of the *silluq*, though it is possible that the original, complete text has yet to be established (see below, note 38). The first 22 lines of the *silluq* are subject to a straight alphabetic acrostic, which does not affect the overall structuring of the *piyyut* into rhyme-units: the rhyme unit ‎-שה, with which the *silluq* opens and within which the acrostic appears, continues past the end of the acrostic, terminating only at line 39. In other words, the acrostic structure is not coterminous with the rhyme structure.

One of the manuscript sources for our text, ms. ENA 3443/2 (‎ב), is of particular codicological interest with regard to its copyist. This single leaf is presently catalogued adjacent to another leaf belonging to the same copy: ENA 3443/1. These two leaves, which most likely originally belong to a single bi-folio, are not consecutive. They contain the text of a *qedushta* for Shabbat *Shimʿu* that comprises *piyyutim* by various *payyetanim*. Our *silluq* is copied on the verso of the second leaf, up to line 46, which is followed by three additional lines unattested elsewhere (see below), at which point the text breaks off. The bi-folio was produced by a prolific copyist employing a highly characteristic, and therefore easily-recognizable, hand. Dozens of leaves produced by this copyist have survived in the Genizah, bearing witness to an attempt to produce a poetic-liturgical program encompassing what may well have been the entire liturgical year.[32] The copyist employs a wide range of *piyyutim* composed by various *payyetanim* from the Classical period and beyond. Among the *piyyut* compositions preserved in the materials produced by the copyist in question, one finds compositions in which three names, signed in the acrostic, appear to cluster: ‎דוסא, עלי (sometimes found together in a single acrostic: ‎דוסא עלי) and ‎יהושע (variants: ‎יהושע אלאדקי, ‎יהושע (ה)חזן, יהושע חבר יהושע). In one case, a relationship is indicated between the named individuals: ‎דושא החזן בן יהושע. The frequency and clustering of these names led Fleischer to surmise that they represent members of a single group or family, one of whom is also our copyist.[33]

---

32 I am currently in the early stages of a research project whose aim is to gather, reconstruct and analyze those materials produced by the copyist in question that have been preserved in the Genizah. It is already clear on the basis of my work that these materials represent more than a single codex.

33 See E. Fleischer, ‎היוצרות בהתהוותם והתפתחותם (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1984), pp. 454–456. In his discussion, Fleischer concentrates specifically on the name Dosa, since this is the name that is numerically predominant in the material, but given what he writes about the impossibility of determining the exact nature of the relationship between the individuals behind the names, this point is immaterial for his argument. Fleischer also discusses

Furthermore, on the basis of the identification of יהושע אלאדקי אלאדקי (i.e., אל לאדקי, from Latakia in Syria) with יהושע אלחזאן בן אלאדקי, who is known to have had a poetic exchange with a certain עלון בן אברהם, resident in Syria around the year 1015, Fleischer determined that the poets represented by the names are to be placed in Syria-Palestine at around the end of the 10th or the beginning of the 11th centuries.[34] He also mentioned in passing that a family whose members bear the names in question is attested in the documentary Genizah.[35]

Our *silluq*, in addition to being copied in four sources, is mentioned in a fifth: ms. Frankfurt 152 (Schocken Institute photostat).[36] This manuscript, which was likely produced by a synagogue precentor for his own use, contains *piyyutim* that constitute part of a liturgical program for Shabbat *Shim'u*. Among these, we find our *silluq*, which (as opposed the other *piyyutim*) is not copied in full, but rather simply mentioned by name, a complete copy apparently being easily available to the copyist: סלוק. תשמיע ניחומים לליש[ה]. והו מצחח פי נסכה עלי בן יהושע החבר *Silluq*: תשמיע ניחומים ללישה. It[s text] is properly established in the version of Eli ben Yehoshua he-Ḥaver'. The names mentioned in this source tally with the names that are attested in the leaves under consideration here, together with the title *ḥaver* of Yehoshua.[37] Furthermore, the writer of the note in ms. Frankfurt indicates that Eli ben Yehoshua he-Ḥaver had produced a manuscript containing *piyyutim*, of unknown extent, our *silluq* among them. This tallies with the suggestion already made by Fleischer that Dosa, Eli and/or Yehoshua are connected to the production of the manuscript material that contains the *piyyutim* bearing their names.

One may perhaps point to a further piece of evidence strengthening the identification of Eli ben Yehoshua he-Ḥaver with the copyist of source ב (together with the other material produced by him). Sources א and ג provide the full text of the *silluq* as given in the present edition: lines 1–65. Source ב is

---

the matter in a later publication: idem, 'חדותה(!)', *Italia* 13–15 (2001), pp. 9–30 (13–14). Here, he suggests that the copyist may have been Dosa's secretary.

34   Fleischer, היוצרות, p. 456. Fragments of the poems exchanged between the two are published in J. Schirmann, שירים חדשים מן הגניזה (Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1965), p. 56. Biographical data on עלון בן אברהם are given there on p. 54. The identification is not specifically repeated in Fleischer, 'חדותה(!)', but there is no reason to think that he had in the meantime rejected it.

35   Fleischer, היוצרות, p. 456 note 13; idem, 'חדותה(!)', pp. 13–14 notes 22–23.

36   For the Frankfurt Genizah fragments, see B. Richler, *Guide to Hebrew Manuscript Collections* (Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 2014), p. 72.

37   The title indicates that Yehoshua was an official member (*ḥaver*) of the Palestinian Yeshiva. Previous to having acquired this title, he had been known as a precentor (*ḥazzan*).

truncated before the end of the *silluq*: it contains lines 1–46. Line 46 is the last line of the rhyme-unit -שה. In א and ג it is followed by line 47, which opens a new rhyme-unit: -רה. In ב, on the other hand, line 46 is followed by three lines (unnumbered in the present edition) that constitute an additional rhyme-unit, -עות. This rhyme-unit is unattested in א and ג. It may be therefore that the comment made in ms. Frankfurt to the effect that the text of the *silluq* is 'properly established in the version of Eli ben Yehoshua he-Ḥaver' refers to the presence of the rhyme-unit -עות in the pristine manuscript now represented by source ב.[38]

The evidence provided by ms. Frankfut seems to indicate that the hand that copied source ב along with all the other leaves bearing the same handwriting that are scattered in the Genizah is that of Eli ben Yehoshua he-Ḥaver. This is presumably the same Eli whose name appears in the acrostic signatures of numerous *piyyutim* that are copied in these materials. The father of this Eli was Yehoshua he-Ḥaver, whose name is also attested in the acrostic signatures of poems copied therein. Before becoming a *ḥaver*, this Yehoshua, (whose family was) originally from Latakia, had been a *ḥazzan*. As we have seen, the acrostics in question also explicitly indicate the existence of a familial relationship between two of the three names: דושא החזן בן יהושע.[39] According to this signature, Dosa was also a *ḥazzan*, as his father had been. We have also seen that in some cases, Dosa appears together with Eli in the same acrostic: דוסא עלי.[40] Taken together, these data seem to indicate that the two were brothers.

The above surmises can now be confirmed with a reasonable degree of certainty from the documentary Genizah. The most important relevant document is preserved in ms. T-S 13J 23.5, a letter written around the middle of the 11th century to Dosa ben Yehoshua he-Ḥaver al-Ladhiqi in Fustat by his mother in Raqqa in Syria.[41] From another letter, preserved in ms. T-S 24.59, and also appar-

---

38   If this argument is accepted, we have before us a medieval witness to the fact that the rhyme-unit -עות, currently represented by these three lines in source ב, is original to the *silluq*, making it quite likely that the complete text of this *piyyut* has yet to be restored.

39   Thus in the *qerova* אגילה ואשמחה בהדרת זקנים, copied in ms. Mosseri v.80. The text is published in S. Abramson, 'קרובות לחתן', *Tarbiz* 15 (1943), pp. 50–62 (57–59).

40   Thus, for example, in the *pizmon* דיברתה לקהלתם from the *qedushta* for Parashat בהעלותך (Num. 8.1), copied in ms. Kaufmann 71 (= cat. Widder 29).

41   See M. Gil, במלכות ישמעאל בתקופת הגאונים (Publications of the Diaspora Research Institute, 117, Tel-Aviv: Tel Aviv University, Jerusalem: Bialik Institute and Ministry of Defense, 1997) vol. 1, pp. 1.512–513. Gil writes there that 'the al-Ladhiqi family is settled in Raqqa … The males in the family all emigrated to Egypt' (translations from this source mine). The text of the letter is edited in vol. 2, pp. 236–240.

ently written in the middle of the 11th century, we read of Eli Ben Yehoshua, a permanent *ḥazzan* and communal official in Raqqa (l. 26: פי חזאן והו פקבעוה אלבלד מקדם אלרקה).[42] Eli's position as *ḥazzan* obviously tallies with his activities as a copyist of liturgical material.

In view of the evidence adduced here, it now seems that the materials in question, including ms. ENA 3443/2, were copied around the middle of the 11th century by one Eli ben Yehoshua. This Eli was settled in Raqqa, whereas his brother Dosa was resident in Fustat. All three individuals belonged to the al-Ladhiqi family, and all were called *ḥazzan*. The father Yehoshua also held the title of *ḥaver* from the Palestinian Yeshiva.

4   Edition of the *Silluq* תשמיע ניחומים לליׁשה

Editorial Sigla: אָ = doubtful reading; [א] = lacuna or editor's emendation; [..] = lacuna of less than one word; [...] = lacuna of one word or more (repeated as necessary to fill out a line); ⟨א⟩ = scribal abbreviation; ⟪א⟫ = scribal omission

<div dir="rtl">

ובכן ולך תעלה קדושה כי אתה אלוהנו

תַּשְׁמִיעַ ניחומים לְלִיׁשָׁה
שָׁמוּעַ בְּרִית חֲדָשָׁ[ה]
רִפּוּי מַכָּה הָאֱנוּׁשָׁה
קְרוּאָה הַר פְּעָמִים שְׁלוֹׁשָ[ה]
צִיּוֹן כְּשָׂדֶה חֲרוּשָׁה   5
פְּזוּרָה וְעַל הֶהָרִים נָ[ט]וּׁשָׁה
עוֹז וְתִפְאֶרֶת לָהּ לְהַלְבִּיׁשָׁה
סוֹלּוּ סוֹלּוּ לְעַמָּהּ לִפְרוׁשָׁה
נְפוֹצֶיהָ לְהָבִיא בְּרִגְׁשָׁה
מֵאַדְמָתָהּ לְבַל תְּהִי נְתוּׁשָׁה   10
לְשַׁאֲנַנָּהּ בְּמַרְגּוֹעַ נְפִיׁשָׁה

</div>

42   Gil, מלכות ישמעאל, vol. 1, p. 513. Gil surmises that the Eli mentioned here was 'perhaps the brother of the abovementioned Dosa' (i.e., the Dosa mentioned in ms. T-S 13J 23.5). In light of the evidence adduced here, this conclusion seems nearly certain. The letter in which Eli is mentioned, ms. T-S 24.59, is published in idem, ארץ-ישראל בתקופה המוסלמית הראשונה (634–1099) (Publications of the Diaspora Research Institute, 57, Tel-Aviv: Tel Aviv University, Jerusalem: Bialik Institute and Ministry of Defense, 1983) vol. 2, pp. 356–359. For other references to Dosa, see the index, vol. 3, p. 666 (s.v., דוסא השר הנכבד בן יהושע החבר אללאד'קי).

כִּי טְרִיָתָה נֶחְבְּשָׁה

יְמִין זְרוֹעֲךָ הַקְּדוֹשָׁה

טִירָתְךָ תְּכוֹנֵן בִּקְדוֹשָׁה

15   חֶפְצִיבָה תִּיקָרֵא דְרוּשָׁה

זְבוּל הַמְכוּוָן לִישִׁיבָה הַקְּדוֹשָׁה

וְהוֹצִיא אֶת הָאֶבֶן הָרֹאשָׁה

הַר שֵׂעִיר וֶאֱדוֹם שִׂים יְרֵישָׁה

דְּבַר לְאַשּׁוּר יְמַהֵר וְיָחִישָׁה

20   גּוֹי חָנֵף בְּמַטֶּה זַעֲמְךָ לְדוּשָׁה

בְּכֵן יִשְׁמַע חֲזוּת קָשָׁה

אַף הוּא יַגּ[יעַ] בַּחֲלִישָׁה

כִּי עֵצָה הֶעֱמִיק וְהִקְשָׁה

גַּבְהוּת לְעַצְמוֹ לְדָרְשָׁה

25   מַלְכוּת עוֹלָם עֲבוּר לִירָשָׁה

(עמודה שמאלית)	(עמודה ימנית)
וְתַצְמִיחַ קֶרֶן קְטַנָּה וְרָעָה	וְתַצְמִיחַ קֶרֶן זְעֵירָה וּבִישָׁה
כָּל הָאָרֶץ רוֹמֶסֶת וְדָשָׁה	כָּל אַרְעָא רָפְסָה וְדָיְשָׁה
לָהּ עֵינַיִם כְּעֵינֵי אֱנוֹשׁ	לָהּ עַיְנִין כְּעַיְנֵי אֲנָשָׁא
עִם קְדוֹשִׁים נֶאְבֶּקֶת	עִם קַדִּישִׁין מִתְכַּתְּשָׁא
30 וְיָכְלָה לָהֶם לְהָרֵעַ	וְיָכְלָה לְהוֹן לְמַבְאָשָׁה
וְתִנָּתֵן לִשְׂרֵיפַת אֵשׁ	וְתִתְיְהִב לִיקֵידַת אֶשָׁה
בְּכֵן יִתְגַּלֶּה עִיר וְקַדִּישׁ	בְּכֵן יִתְגְּלֵה עִירָה וְקַדִּישָׁא
עִמּוֹ כָּל עַם הַקֹּדֶשׁ	[עִמֵּהּ] כָּל עַם קוּדְשָׁא
וִיצִמֵּית קֶרֶן מַבְהֶלֶת [אֶת פִּיהָ לוֹמַר] גְּדֻלוֹת	‹‹וְיַצְמִית קֶרֶן רַבְרְבִין מְרַגְשָׁא››
35 לְדָוִד מַרֵאשׁ מְפֹרֶשֶׁת	לְדָוִד מִן רֵאשׁ מְפָרְשָׁא

הַנְּקוּבָה שֵׁימוֹת שְׁלוֹשָׁה

וּרְשׁוּמָה אוֹתוֹת שְׁלוֹשָׁה

בְּכֵן תַּשְׁמִיעַ קוֹלוֹת שְׁלוֹשָׁה

בְּשַׁאַג שׁוֹפָרוֹת שְׁלוֹשָׁה

40   לְעוֹרֵר מֵתִים בְּאֶחָד

לֶאֱסוֹף נְדוּחִים בְּאֶחָד

לְהַרְעִישׁ דּוֹק וָחֶלֶד בְּאֶחָד

לְהָבִיא רוֹעֶה אֶחָד

לְהַשְׁמִיעַ יְשׁוּעָה לְגוֹי אֶחָד

45   לְגַלּוֹת שִׁמְךָ הַמְיוּחָד

לְאוֹמְרֵי יְיָ אֶחָד

כ״י ב:

וּבְהַשְׁמִיעֲךָ שְׁמוּעוֹת

אֶשָּׂא כוֹס יְשׁוּעוֹת

אֵלִי לְהַשָּׁעוֹת

....

וְתִלְבַּשׁ מַלְבּוּשִׁים עֲשָׂרָה
לַעֲשׂוֹת נְקָמָה בֶּאֱדוֹם הַגְּבִירָה
לְהָמְמָהּ בְּיוֹם זַעַם וְעֶבְרָה
הַגָּדוֹל וְהַנּוֹרָא   50
וְתוֹדִיעַ לְעַם נִיבְרָא
כִּי לְךָ נֵזֶר וּגְבוּרָה וְתִפְאָרָה
וִיחַדְּשׁוּ לְךָ שִׁירָה
לְךָ זְרוֹעַ עִם גְּבוּרָה
וְנָאֶה לְךָ זֵר וַעֲטָרָה   55
לְהַנְחִיל שִׁבְטֵי שְׁחוֹרָה
מַלְכוּת לְעַד שְׁמוּרָה
וְקוֹל לָעִיר יְקָרָא
קוּמִי רֹנִּי עֲקָרָה
אֲנַחְתֵךְ כְּבָר עָבְרָה   60
וְצָמְחָה אוֹרָה
הִנֵּה יְסַדְתִּיךְ בְּטָהֳרָה
בַּסַּפִּיר וּבְאֶבֶן יְקָרָה
וְנַקְדִּישֵׁךְ נוֹרָא
כָּזֶה אֶל זֶה קָרָא   65

ככ〈תוב וקרא זה אל זה ואמר קדוש קדוש קדוש יי צבאות מלא כל הארץ
כבודו〉 (יש׳ ו, ג)

סיום נוסח ב (כ״י ד, אחרי טור 22):
וְנַעֲרִיץ וְנַקְדִּישָׁה
כְּאֵילֵי קוֹדֶשׁ לְשַׁלְּשָׁה
הַמְשַׁלְּשִׁים קְדוּשָׁה
לְאֵל הַנַּעֲרָץ בִּקְדוּשָׁה
כזה מזה מקב〈לים〉

Translation

And so: A qedusha *will ascend to You for You are our God*

You will proclaim consolation to Laish, / a proclamation of a new covenant, / a
healing of the sore wound; / the one thrice called 'mountain', / [5] Zion, ploughed
like a field, / scattered and abandoned on the mountains—/ clothing her in
strength and splendor, / announcing 'Cast up, Cast up [a highway]!' to her

people, / bringing her scattered in a throng, / ¹⁰ that she not be uprooted from her land, / to give her ease in quiet rest. / For her raw [wound] has been bound—/ Your holy right hand / will establish Your Tower in holiness. / ¹⁵ She will be called I-delight-in-her, Sought One, / the Lofty Habitation, destined for [God's] holy abode, / 'And He will produce the capstone'. / Make Mt. Seir and Edom a possession. / May [Your] word hasten quickly to Asshur, / ²⁰ threshing the godless nation with the rod of Your anger. / And so He will announce a harsh vision, / indeed will arrive to overwhelm. / For His counsel is profound and firm—/ seeking elevation for Himself, / ²⁵ so as to inherit eternal kingship. / Now [the fourth beast] will sprout a small, evil horn, / stamping and treading down the whole earth. / It has eyes like the eyes of man, / strives with the saints. / ³⁰ It will overpower them with evil-doing, / but will be cast in a flaming fire. / Then the Watchful and Holy One will be revealed, / all the holy people with Him. / And He will exterminate the horn that is eager [to speak] arrogantly, / ³⁵ made plain to David of old, / called by three names, / inscribed with three ciphers. / Then You will bring forth three sounds, / with the roaring of three horns—

⁴⁰ One waking the dead, / one gathering the scattered, / one shaking heaven and earth—/ to bring the One Shepherd, / proclaim salvation to the One Nation, / ⁴⁵ reveal Your unique Name / to those who say 'The Lord is One'.

> Ms. ב only:
> And when You proclaim tidings / I will raise the cup of salvation / that You look to me / […]

And You will don ten garments / to wreak vengeance on Lady Edom, / ⁴⁹⁻⁵⁰ discomfit her on the great and terrible day of furious anger. / And You will make known to the Created People / that crown, glory and splendor are Yours, / And they will sing You a new song. / Yours are might and glory, / ⁵⁵ chaplet and crown befit You—/ to bequeath the tribes of the Black Woman / a kingdom preserved forever. / And a voice will cry out to the City, / 'Arise, shout, Barren One!' / ⁶⁰ Your groaning has now passed, / and the light has flourished. / Behold, I Have laid your foundation in purity, / in sapphire and precious stone. / And we will sanctify You, Awesome [God] / ⁶⁵ like the [angels] calling out to one another.

As it is written: And one called to the other, 'Holy, holy, holy! The Lord of Hosts! His glory fills all the earth!'

Commentary

תשמיע ניחומים לליש 1 *You will proclaim consolation to Laish*: Cf. הקשיבי ליש (Isa. 10.30). The place name is a metonym of Zion/Israel. **2 ברית חדשה** *new covenant*: Jer. 31.30. **3 רפוי מכה האנושה** *a healing of the sore wound*: The collocation is based on קרואה ... שלושה **4** (Jer. 15.18). ומכתי אנושה מאנה הרפא *the one thrice called 'mountain'*: The poet is apparently hinting at a midrash that enumerates three cases in Scripture of the use of the word הר as a reference to Jerusalem, but I have been unable to locate such a one in the sources. For a midrash that enumerates more than three instances, see ההר הטוב הזה והלבנון [דב׳ כ, כה],] הכל קראו אותו הר, אברהם קראו הר שנאמר אשר יאמר היום בהר ה׳ יראה [בר׳ כב, יד], משה קראו הר שנאמר ההר הטוב הזה [דב׳ כ, כה], דוד קראו הר שנאמר מי יעלה בהר ה׳ [תה׳ כד, ג], ישעיה קראו הר שנאמר והיה באחרית הימים נכון יהיה הר בית ה׳ [יש׳ ב, ב], גוים קראו אותו הר שנאמר והלכו עמים רבים ואמרו לכו ונעלה אל הר ה׳ [שם, ג] (Sifre Deut. 28 [pp. 44–45]). **5 ציון כשדה חרושה** *Zion, ploughed like a field*: Based on שה פזורה (Jer. 26.18; Mic. 3.12). **6 פזורה** *scattered*: Cf. ציון שדה תחרש ישראל (Jer. 50.17). **ועל ההרים נטושה** *and abandoned on the mountains*: Cf. ראיתי את ישראל נפצים אל ההרים כצאן אשר אין להם רעה (1 Kgs. 22.17 [and the parallel in 2 Chron. 18.16]); והנה נטשים על פני כל הארץ (1 Sam. 30.16). **נטושה** *abandoned*: Ms. ד reads רטושה. The root רטש is employed in the Targums as a translation of biblical נטש, and it is attested in this sense also in Rabbinic Hebrew—see Moreshet, *Lexicon*, p. 345 (s.v. רטש). **7 עוז ... להלבישה** *clothing her in strength and splendor*: Based on לבשי בגדי תפארתך (Isa. 52.1). **עוז ותפארת** *strength and splendor*: Ps. 96.6. For the lexical pair cf. also מטה עז מקל תפארה (Jer. 48.17) and תפארת עזמו (Ps. 89.18). **8 סולו סולו** *Cast up, Cast up [a highway]*: Isa. 57.14. **9 נפוציה לפרושה** *announcing*: The word indicates clear speech—cf. Lev. 24.12. *her scattered*: See the verse cited in the comment to line 6. **ברגישה** *in a throng*: Similar to ברגש; cf. Ps. 55.15. **10 נתושה ... מאדמתה** *uprooted from her land*: the locution is based on Deut. 29.27, etc. **11 במרגוע נפישה** *in quiet rest*: The lexical pair is based on מרגוע לנפשכם (Jer. 6.16). **12 טריתה** *her raw [wound]*: Based on ומכה טריה (Isa. 1.6). **13 ימין זרועך הקדושה** *Your holy right hand*: The collocation is based on ימינו וזרוע קדשו (Ps. 98.1). **14 טירתך** *Your Tower*: An epithet for the Temple. **15 חפציבה תיקרא דרושה** *She will be called I-delight-in-her, Sought One*: Based on ולך יקרא דרושה (Isa. 62.4) and כי לך יקרא חפצי-בה (Isa. 64.12). **16 זבול** *Lofty Habitation*: An epithet for the Temple, based on 1 Kgs. 8.13 (= 2 Chron. 6.2). **המכוון לישיבה הקדושה** *destined for [God's] holy abode*: Based on the end of the same verse—מכון לשבתך עולמים. **17 והוציא ... הראשה** *And He will produce the capstone*: Zech. 4.7. **18 הר ... ירישה** *Make Mt. Seir and Edom a possession*: Based on והיה אדום ירשה והיה ירשה שעיר איביו (Num. 24.18). The addition of the word הר, which supplies the acrostic letter, is apparently influenced also by the first part of the verse cited in the preceding line—מי אתה הר הגדול לפני זְרֻבָּבֶל

למישור (Zech. 4.7). **19 דבר ... ויחישה** *May [Your] word hasten quickly to Asshur*: May it be Your will that the word of retribution that has been spoken against Asshur (a metonym for all of Israel's enemies) come quickly. The reference is to the Isaianic prophesy that is referred to in the first line of the *silluq*—Isa. 10.24 foll. **ימהר ויחישה** *hasten quickly*: The lexical pair is based on ימהר יחישה (Isa. 5.19). **20 גוי ... לדושה** *threshing the godless nation with the rod of Your anger*: Cf. באף תדוש גוים (Hab. 3.12). **גוי חנף** *godless nation*: For the collocation see Isa. 10.6; the enemies of Israel are meant. **במטה זעמך** *with the rod of Your anger*: The collocation is based on ומטה הוא בידם זעמי (Isa. 10.5). **21 בכן ... קשה** *And so He will announce a harsh vision*: Ms. **ד** reads differently: במלכות פרא לדושה. This reading contains a reference to Arab-Muslim rule (פרא, based on Gen. 16.12). However, it does not seem to be original; the reading of the base text is attested in mss. **א ב ג**. חזות קשה *harsh vision*: Isa. 21.2. **22 בחלישה** *to overwhelm*: I.e., with retribution and vengeance exacted upon His enemies. The usage is based on ויחלש יהושע את עמלק (Exod. 17.13). **23 עצה העמיק** *His counsel is profound*: The collocation is based on **גבהות לעצמו לדרשה** (Isa. 29.15). **24** המעמיקים מיי לסתיר עצה *seeking elevation for Himself*: Cf. עיני גבהות אדם שפל ... ונשגב יי לבדו (Isa. 2.11) and also verse 17. **25 מלכות עולם** *eternal kingship*: Cf. מלכותך מלכות כל עלמים (Ps. 145.13). **26 ותצמיח ... בישה** *Now [the fourth beast] will sprout a small, evil horn*: Based on ואלו קרן אחרי זעירא סלקת ... ואלו עינין כעיני אנשא בקרנא דא (Dan. 7.8 [and cf. also 7.20]). **27 כל ... ודישה** *stamping and treading down the whole earth*: Based on ושארא ברגלה רפסה (Dan. 7.23) and ותאכל כל ארעא ותדושנה (Dan. 7.7, 19). **28 עינין כעייני אנשא** *eyes like the eyes of man*: See the comment to line 26. **29–30 עם ... להון** *strives with the saints. It will overpower them*: Based on וקרנא דכן עבדא קרב עם קדישין ויכלה להן (Dan. 7.21). **29 מתכתשא** *strives*: The verb is attested in JPA—see Sokoloff, *JPA*, p. 273. **30 למבאשה** *evil-doing*: This is the JPA form of the infinitive; in ms. **ב** the corresponding BA form is attested: לאבאשא. **31 ותתיהב ליקידת אשה** *but will be cast in a flaming fire*: Based on ויהיבת ליקדת אשא (Dan. 7.11). **32 עירה וקדישא** *the Watchful and Holy One*: Based on עיר וקדיש (Dan. 4.10, 20). In Daniel, the reference is to some sort of angelic being, whereas a plain-sense reading of the present context seems to indicate that the reference here is to God Himself. However, it is possible that the *payyetan* had in mind an angel sent to redeem Israel. **34 רברבין מרגשא** *eager [to speak] arrogantly*: Based on ופֻם ממלל רברבן (Dan. 7.8, 20). In BA הרגש means 'to come thronging'. **35 לדוד ... מפרשה** *Made plain to David of old*: Referring to the (typological) 'wicked kingdom' that oppresses Israel, foreseen by David—see דוד רואה אותם ארבעתם היאך הם באות בכח ומשתעבדות בישראל, התחיל תמיה עליהם ואומר אשר הראיתני צרות רבות ורעות [תה׳ עא, כ], רבות שתים מלכות מדי ומלכות אדום, תשוב תחייני ומתהומות הארץ תשוב תעליני [שם] אמר תחייני מן הראשונה משיעבודה של מלכות בבל, תשוב תחייני מן השנייה משיעבודה של מדי, תעליני מן השלישית משיעבודה של יון, מתהומות הארץ

מן ראש *of old*: The phrase in תשוב תעליני זו אדום הרשע (Pes. R. 33 [fol. 152b]). מפרשא *made plain*: For this usage is attested in JPA—see Sokoloff, *JPA*, p. 510. 36 הנקובה שימות שלושה *called by three names*: The allusion is to the Christian kingdom, which is known by the names עשׂו, אדום and שעיר; see line 18. 37 ורשומה אותות שלושה *inscribed with three ciphers*: The reference is apparently to עשׂו. 38–42 בכן ... באחד *Then You will bring forth three sounds ... One shaking heaven and earth*: The *payyetan* enumerates the three *shofarot* that will be sounded in the future. Cf. דשלשה שופרות הן לעתיד [יש׳ כז, יג] יתקע בשופר גדול לבא. אחד להחיות מתים ... ואחד לכינוס גליות ... ואחד להפיל שערותיהם של אומות העולם (*Maḥzor Vitry*, par. שלג [p. 371]; and with minor variations in *Arugat ha-Bosem 3*, pp. 472–473). See also Stahl, *Three Shofar Blasts*. This midrash is attested also in the *silluq* of the *qedushta* אחודה ללמודי חידה for Shabbat *Shim'u* by Yehuda: בְהַשְמִיעֲךָ שָׁלֹש תְּקִיעוֹת / אַחַת לְרוֹמֵם הַשְּבִיעוֹת / וְאַחַת לְהַחֲזִיר נִשְמוֹת הַבְּלוּעוֹת / וְאַחַת לְנַעֵר מִקּוֹדֶש רְשָעוֹת (lines 27–30; Rand, *MEY*, p. 544). See also Elizur and Rand, *Qillir RH*, pp. 152–154. 43 רועה אחד *One Shepherd*: And epithet for the Messiah son of David, based on והקמתי עליהם רעה אחד ורעה אתהן את עבדי דויד (Ezek. 34.23, and see also 37.24). 44 לגוי אחד *to the One Nation*: An epithet for Israel, based on ועשיתי (2 Sam. 7.23 [= 1 Chron. 17.21]) and ומי כעמך כישראל גוי אחד בארץ 46 לאומרי יייי אחד *to those who say 'The Lord is One'*: To Israel, who say 'Hear, O Israel ...' (Deut. 6.4). [Text from ms. ב: אשא כוס ישועות *I will raise the cup of salvation*: Based on כוס ישועות אשא (Ps. 116.13).] 47–48 ותלבש ... הגבירה *And You will don ten garments to wreak vengeance on Lady Edom*: A reference to God's ten garments: ... בעשרה מקומות נקראו ישר׳ כלה וכנגדן לבש הקב״ה עשרה לבושין ... הלבוש התשיעי שעתיד הקב״ה ללבוש ליפרע ממלכות אדום אדום הוא שנ׳ מדוע אדם ללבושיך [יש׳ סג, ב] (Pes. K. 22.5 [pp. 329–330]). In the present case, however, God will wear all ten garments at the time of His vengeance on Edom. 49 להמכה *discomfit her*: In the parallel BH form the *mem* is doubled by means of a *dagesh*: לְהֻמָּם (Deut. 2.15; Est. 9.24). 49–50 ביום ... הגדול *on the great and terrible day of furious anger*: Based on יום יי הגדול והנורא (Joel 3.4; Mal. 3.23). 49 זעם ועברה *furious anger*: For the lexical pair cf. עברה וזעם (Ps. 78.49). 51 לעם ניברא *to the Created People*: An epithet for Israel, based on Ps. 102.19. 54 לך ... גבורה *Yours are might and glory*: Ps. 89.14. 56 שחורה *the Black Woman*: An epithet for Israel, based on שחורה אני ונאוה (Song 1.5). 58 וקול *And a voice will cry out to the City*: Based on קול יי לעיר יקרא (Mic. 6.9). 59 קומי רני עקרה *Arise, shout, Barren One!*: Based on קומי רני (Lam. 2.19) and רני עקרה (Isa. 54.1). 62–63 הנה ... יקרה *Behold, I Have laid your foundation in purity, in sapphire and precious stone*: Based on הנה אנכי מרביץ בפוך אבניך ויסדתיך בספירים ... וכל גבולך לאבני חפץ (Isa. 54.11–12).

Sources

ENA 351/10–11 (= base text; lines 1–65; **א**); ENA 3443/2 (lines 1–46 + the three unnumbered lines after line 46; **ב**); T-S NS 208.18 (lines 2 רית[ב[-65; **ג**); Ox. Heb. f. 36, fol. 6–7 (= part of cat. Neubauer 2738/1; lines 1–22 + end version **ב**; **ד**)

The text is also mentioned in ms. Frankfurt 152 (Schocken Institute photostat): סלוק. תשמיע ניחומים לליש[ה[. והו מצחח פי נסכה עלי בן יהושע החבר.

Previous Edition

Weissenstern, *Yoḥanan*, pp. 78 (text), 238–239 (commentary). Solely on the basis of ms. **ד**.

Variant Readings

כותרת: סלוק שמעו ב סלוקה דשמעו ד 2 שמעו] שימוע ב 4 שלושה] שלושה ב 6 נטושה]
ההגהה על פי ונטושה ב רטושה ד נפושה ג 7 עוז] עז ב / ותפארת] ותפארה ג ד / לה]
חסר ב 8 לעמה] אורח לעמה ב / לפרושה] לפרשה ד להחיש ה ב להחישה ד 9 נפוציה ב נפציה ד נפוצה
ב 10 לבל] בל ב / נתושה] נטושה ד 11 במרגוע] במרגיע ג 12 טריתה] טרייתה ב ג ד 13
הקדושה] ח]שו[ן̇ן לקדשה ד 14 בקדושה] ולחדשה ד 15 תיקרא] תקרא ב ג ד 16 הקדושה]
קדושה ג הקד̇שה ד 17 את] חסר ג 18 יריש ה] ירשה ב 19 ימהר] וימהר ג 20 זעמך לדושה]
עוזך לחרושה ד 21 במקומו נוסח אחר במלכות פרא לדושה ד / ישמע] ישמיע ב 22 הוא]
חסר ד / יגיע] ההגהה על פי ב ד יגע] יגוע א / בחלישה] בלחישה ב 24 לעצמו] לעצמן ב 25
לירשה] לבשה ב 26 ותצמיח] ותצמ̇ת כנראה מתוקן מן ותצמח ב / זעירה] זעי[רא ב /
ובישה] ויבישה ב 27 רפסה] רפסא ב 28 לה] ולה ב / עינן] עינין ב / עיינן ג / כעיני] כעייני ב ד / אנשא]
אינשא ג 29 מתכתשא] מתכנשא ב 30 למבאשה] לאבאשא ב 31 ותתיהב] ותתיהב ב /
אשה] אשא ב 32 בכן יתגלה עירה] ותגלי עיר ב / וקדישא] וקדישא ד / [וק]דישה ג 33 עמיה] ההגהה
על פי ב עימה ג / לעלמה א / קודשא] קודשה ב קדושא ג קדושא ב 34 ההשלמה על פי ב חסר א
35 לדוד] לדויד ב / ראש] ריש ב / מפרשא] מפרשה ב / מפרשה ג 36 שימות שלושה] שמ[ות] שלשה
ב 37 הטור חסר ב 38 בכן תשמיע] בהן מ̇שמיע ב / שלושה] שלשה ב 39 בשאג] כמאז
ב / שלושה] שלש̇ה ב 40 מתים] מתם ב 46 אחד] מיתים ג 46 אלהינו יי אחד] אלהינו אחד ב 52 נזר וגבורה] נצח ג
58 יקרא] תקרא ג 60 אנחתך כבר] כב[ר ..]ך ג 61 אורה] ..[ך ג 63 ובאבן] ובאן
ג

Abbreviations (Including Those Used in the Appendix)

Arugat ha-Bosem 3	E.E. Urbach (ed.), *Sefer Arugat Habosem—III* (Jerusalem: Mekize Nirdamim, 1964).
Elizur and Rand, *Qillir RH*	S. Elizur and M. Rand, רבי אלעזר בירבי קליר: פיוטים לראש השנה (Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, The David and Amalia Rosen Foundation, 2014).
Lam. R.	S. Buber (ed.), מדרש איכה רבה (Vilna: Romm, 1899).
Maḥzor Vitry	S. Hurvitz (ed.), *Machsor Vitry* (Nuremberg: J. Bulka, 2nd ed., 1923).

Meg. Taʿan.	V. Noam (ed.), מגילת תענית (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2003).
Midrash Abba Gorion	S. Buber (ed.), ספרי דאגדתא על מגלת אסתר (Vilna: Romm, 1886), pp. 4–42.
Moreshet, *Lexicon*	M. Moreshet, לקסיקון הפועל שנתחדש בלשון התנאים (Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1980).
Pes. ĸ.	B. Mandelbaum (ed.), *Pesikta de Rav Kahana* (New York: JTSA, 1987).
Pes. ʀ.	M. Friedman (Ish-Shalom) (ed.), *Pesikta Rabbati* (Vienna: Selbstverlag des Herausgebers, 1880).
Rand, MEY	see note 30 in the article.
Stahl, *Three Shofar Blasts*	Y.Y. Stahl, ʹשלושת התקיעות שבאחרית הימים, in idem, סגולה: עיונים ובירורים במנהג והלכה, פיוט, מדרש ואגדה, א (Jerusalem: 2012).
Sifre Deut.	L. Finkelstein (ed.), *Sifre on Deuteronomy* (New York: JTSA, 2001).
Sokoloff, JPA	see note 16 in the article.
Sokoloff, JBA	M. Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic* (Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002).
Weissenstern, *Yoḥanan*	see note 26 in the article.
Yahalom and Katsumata, *Shemuel Ha-Shelishi*	see note 10 in the article.
איתכנשו	the *piyyut* איתכנשו כל ירחיא, published in M. Klein, *Genizah Manuscripts of Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1986) pp. 1.186–189.
... ובי סלק	the *piyyut* ... ובי סלק משה, published in Sokoloff and Yahalom, שירת בני מערבא, pp. 238–239.

5   Appendix

In my article 'An Aramaic Dispute between the Months by Sahlan ben Avraham' (see above, note 10), I provided a codicological reconstruction of a liturgical document known as the First Order of Fustat, together with a critical edition of an Aramaic Targum poem that is copied therein: איתחברו ראשי שתא. It is now possible to augment the reconstruction, thanks to my discovery of an oversight on my part, as well as the recent identification by Vered Raziel-Kretzmer of a new fragment belonging to this document. The new identification furthermore augments the text of the *piyyut* as it appeared in my earlier

publication. I therefore take this opportunity to offer a revised edition of the text.

On pp. 105–107 of the abovementioned publication I reconstructed two quires of the First Order of Fustat on the basis of five manuscripts: Quire 1: T-S H 12.11, T-S NS 125.96; Quire 2: T-S 13 H 3.11 + T-S NS 325.69, Mosseri VIII 394. According to the reconstruction offered there, the first quire is represented by three adjacent bi-folia, with material missing between the first three and the last three leaves (T-S H 12.11), the last of whose leaves is followed directly by a single leaf, which is known to be the last leaf in the quire (T-S NS 125.96). Given these data, I pointed out that the first leaf of the quire in question, i.e., first leaf of the original bi-folium whose second leaf is T-S NS 125.96, is missing. I furthermore surmised, on the assumption of an original quire consisting of five bi-folia, that this quire is missing an inner bi-folium. It escaped my notice, however, that two more leaves of the 'The First Order of Fustat' have been referred to in the literature: ENA 2501/5–6.[43] These two leaves belong to the same bi-folium. The first (ENA 2501/5) contains material for Hanukkah and is a direct continuation of the first group of three leaves in T-S H 12.11. The second contains material for Shabbat *Zakhor* and Purim and directly precedes the second group of three leaves in T-S H 12.11. These two leaves themselves are not continuous—i.e., my original assumption of a quire of five bi-folia is incorrect, and the original quire seems to have been composed of six bi-folia.

The second quire is reconstructed in the previous publication on the basis of three manuscripts. These represent the outer bi-folium of the quire (T-S 13 H 3.11 + T-S NS 325.69 [the latter constitutes the upper portion of the first leaf of the bi-folium]) whose first leaf is followed by another (Mosseri VIII 394). The new fragment identified by Raziel-Kretzmer is T-S NS 139.88. This fragment represents the upper portion of the outer bi-folium, which is now reconstructed in full. Summing up, therefore, the first leaf of the quire is now represented by three separate fragments: T-S 13 H 3.11 + T-S NS 325.69 + T-S NS 139.88, while the last leaf is represented by two fragments: T-S 13 H 3.11 + T-S NS 139.88.

Below is a re-edition of Sahlan's *piyyut* on the basis of the fully reconstructed first leaf of the second quire. I have read the manuscript anew and have made some corrections to the text, including a minor adjustment of the line number-ing. The commentary is a translation of that which is found in the original edi-

---

43   See E. Fleischer, ׳שרידים נוספים מקובצי תפילה ארץ-ישראליים מן הגניזה׳ in E. Fleischer,
      תפילות הקבע, pp. 703–739 (711, note 42). For additional references to this manuscript see
      the index in the collected articles.

tion, with new material and insights added as necessary. In my original publication (p. 104), I pointed out a number of verbal parallels between Sahlan's poem and two Late Antique JPA Targum poems that describe the dispute between the months: איתכנשו כל ירחיא (see in the commentary to lines 8, 27, 54) and ובי ... סלק משה (see in the commentary to lines 13–14, 19, 28, 29, 33, 36, 39, 49). To this list may now be added another parallel to the second poem in line 56 (see the commentary, ad loc.).

אחר

התחברו ירחי השנה	אִתְחַבַּרוּ יַרְחֵי שַׁתָּא
באורך הזמן כאשר הייתה העת	בְּאוֹרֶךְ זִימְנָא כַּד הֲוָה עִיתָא
בהשיבם מלה מלה	בַּאֲתָבוּתְהוֹן מִלְתָא מִלְתָא
כל אחד אמר לי יאה גדולה	כָּל חַד אֲמַר כִּי לִי יָאֲתָה רְבוּתָא

פז(מון) 5

גילה אייר טעם מילולו	גַּלֵּי אִיָּיר טַעַם מְלוּלֵיה
וענה וחבריו למולו	וַעֲנָה וְחַבְרוֹהִי לְקָבְלֵיה
נהג בי הרחמן עמו עמוסו	דְּבַר בִּי רַחֲמָנָה עַמֵּה מְנַטְּלֵיה
והוריד לו המן ואוכלו	וְאַחֵית לֵיה מָנָא וְאוֹכְלֵיה

פז(מון) 10

הלא סיון להם ענה	הֲלָא סִיוָן לְהוֹן עֲנָה
כראוי המעשה, היאה נחשב לפני הרם	כַּד חֲזֵי עוֹבָד יָאֵָא הוּא חֲשִׁיבָה קַמֵּי רָמָא
ובי עלה משה למרום	וּבִי סְלֵק [מ]שֶׁה לְמָרוֹ[מָא]
והוריד שני לוחות הברית	וְאַחֵית תְּרֵין לוּחֵי קְיָאמָא

[פזמון] 15

[... ... ...]	[ז... ... .]
[... ... ...]	[... ... ...]
[... ... ...]	[ח.. ... .]
[... ...] לאסוף התבואה	עֲלַלְתָּא לְכַנָּשָׁא [... ...]

פז(מון) בַּאֲתָבוּתְהוֹן 20

אשרי אמר אב מכל ירח	טוּבַאי אֲמַר אָב מִכָּל יַרְחָא
והתנשא עליהם להשתבח	וְאִתְיַקַּר עֲלֵיהוֹן לְאִישְׁתַּבְּחָא
ישמחו בי העם המשובח	יַחְדּוֹן בִּי עַמָּא מְשַׁבְּחָא
שבי יתנחמו אבלים ובי יוולד המשיח	דְּבִי יִתְנַחֲמוּן אֲבֵלַיָּא וּבִי יִתְיְלִיד מְשִׁיחָא

25 ⟨פז(מון⟩

כאשר שמע אלול אלה מילה זו	כַּד שְׁמַע אֱלוּל דָּא מִילָה
והוא עודֶה כליל	וְהוּא עֲדֵי כְּלִילָא
לב של אבן בי יעבור מהקהל	לִיבָּא דְּאַבְנָא בִּי יֶעְדֵי מִקְהֲלָה
ותיבנה הקריה היקרה להשתכלל	וְתִתְבְּנֵי קְרִיתָא יַקִּירְתָא לְאִישְׁתַּכְלְלָא

30 ⟨[פ]ז(מון⟩

מי כמוני בכולכם אמר תשרי	מַן דִּכְוָתִי בְּכוּלְכוֹן אֲמַר תִּשְׁרֵי
שבי רוצה רבוני ומרי	דְּבִי צָבֵי רִבּוֹנִי וּמָרִי
מזהירים בי עמו בצאת סהרי	נְהִירִין בִּי עַמֵּיהּ בְּמִפַּק סֵהֲרֵי
ויתגוון בי החג ויתוסף שפרי	וְיִתְגַּוְּון חַגָּא בִּי וְיִתּוֹסַף שׁפְרֵי

35 ⟨פז(מון⟩

רוב מילים הרבה מרחשון	סַגְיוּת מִלִּין אַסְגֵּיא מַרְחֶשְׁוָן
ואמר להם אני זה שעשיתי לבושים	וַאֲמַר לְהוֹן אֲנָא הוּא דְּעַבְדֵית אַצְטְלָוָן
עשה האדון לעמו בי ניסים	עֲבַד מָרְיָא לְעַמֵּיהּ בִּי [פְרִי]שָׁן
וניצחו בני חשמונאי על מלכי יון	וּנְצַחוּ בְּנֵי חַשְׁמוֹנַי עַל מַלְכֵי יָוָן

40 ⟨פז(מון⟩

פיו פתח כסליו ואמר	פּוּמֵיהּ פְּתַח כִּסְלֵיו [וַאֲ]מַר
ולחבריו דיבורו לימד	וּלְחַבְרוֹהִי טַעֲמֵיהּ אַגְמַר
תפילתם של העם בי נשמעה לאמור	צְלוֹתְהוֹן דְּעַמָּא בִּי אִשְׁתַּמְעַת [לְ]מֵימַר
ומציקים נשבר ונעלם	וּמְעַיְּיקֵהוֹן אִיתְּבַר וְאִיטְמַר

45 ⟨פז(מון⟩

קם טבת ואמר מילה	קָם טֵבֵת וַאֲמַר מִי[ל]תָא
ואני בי הציל הרחמן האומה	וַאֲנָא בִּי שֵׁזִיב רַחְמָנָ[א א]מְתָא
גדלה בי אסתר המלכה	רְבַת בִּי אֶסְתֵּר מַלְכְּתָא
וביטלתי גזרה של המן בן המדתא	וּבַטֵּילִית גְּזֵירְתָא דְּהָמָן בֶּן [הַמְּדָ]תָא

⟨פז(מון)⟩ 50

שְׁבַט אַף הוּא כְּדַחֲזֵא [ע]וֹבְדָא   שבט אף הוא מעשה כראוי
וְעַל כֵּוּלָן אִיתְיַקַּר [כַּחֲ]דָא   ועל כולם התנשא יחדיו
שְׁבָחָא סַגִּיא לִי הוּא וְעָ[י]דָה   השבח הגדול לי הוא נועד
דְּבִי פֵּרֵשׁ מֹשֶׁה [אַ]וּלְפַן אוֹרַיְתָא הָדָא   שבי ביאר משה לימוד התורה הזאת

⟨פז(מון)⟩ 55

תַּנִּי אֲדָר מַמְלַל פּוּמֵּיה   תינה אדר דיבור פיו
וַעֲנָא וְחַבְרוֹהִי קֳדָמֵיה   וענה וחבריו לפניו
תָּגָא לִי הוּא מָרִי חַתְמֵיה   עטרה לי היא מרי חֶתְמָה (=קבעה)
דְּבִי אִיתְיְלִיד עָנְוְתָן דְּדַבַּר עִימֵּיה   שבי נולד ענו שדיבר עמו

⟨פז(מון)⟩ 60

סִיּחַ דְּנִיסָן אֲנָא הוּא מַלְכָּא בְּהֶרְמוֹן עִילָּאָה   שיח של ניסן: אני הוא המלך ברשות עליון
הֲלָא אֲנָא רֵישָׁא וְכָל יְרַח בַּתְרָאָה   הלא אני ראש וכל ירח אחרון
לִי ⟨⟨יְ⟩⟩אֶתָא רְבוּתָא וּמַלְכוּתָא וַאֲנָא נְשִׂיאָה   לי יאה גדולה ומלכות ואני נשיא
נְהוֹרִי נְהוֹר סַגִּיא וַאֲנָא יַרְחָא קַדְמָאָה   אורי אור גדול ואני הירח הראשון

שלם קיצא דבני יתיב חברון / על יד משה ואהרֹ[ן]

Translation

Another [*Piyyut*]

The months of the year joined together
In the length of time, when the moment arrived.
In bandying about words
Each one said, 'Preeminence is my due'.
5   *Refrain*
Iyyar lay bare the meaning of his talk
And spoke, his fellows before him.
'In me the Merciful One led out the people borne by Him,
And brought down for them manna and their food'.
10   *Refrain*
Indeed Sivan answered them,
'As is a seemly deed, the worthy one is reckoned before the High One.

And in me Moses ascended on high
And brought down the two Tablets of the Covenant'.

15   [*Refrain*]

[… … … … … … … … … … … … … …]
[… … … … … … … … … … … … … …]
[… … … … … … … … … … … … … …]
[… … … … … … … …] to gather the harvest.

20   *Refrain*: In bandying about
'Blessed am I', said Av, 'among all the months'.
And he esteemed himself above them, giving himself praise.
'In me the praised nation will rejoice
For in me mourners will be consoled and in me the Messiah will be
        born'.

25   *Refrain*
When Elul heard these words,
He wearing the crown,
[He said,] 'In me the heart of stone will pass from the congregation
And the precious city will be rebuilt to perfection'.

30   *Refrain*
'Who is like unto me amongst you all', said Tishrei,
'For it is in me that my Lord and Master takes pleasure.
His people are radiant in me, when my crescent rises.
There are a great many feast[s] in me, and my splendor waxes'.

35   *Refrain*
Marḥeshvan multiplied a plethora of words
And said to them, 'I am he who made garments.
The Lord performed miracles for his people in me
And the sons of Ḥashmonay were victorious over the kings of Greece'.

40   *Refrain*
Kislev opened his mouth and said,
Instructing his fellows in his meaning.
'The people's uttered prayer was heard in me
And their oppressor was smashed and disappeared'.

45   *Refrain*
Ṭevet arose and spoke a word:
'And as for me, in me the Merciful One saved the nation.
In me Queen Esther was magnified,
And I abrogated the decree of Haman the son of Hamdata'.

50   *Refrain*
Shevaṭ also is a seemly thing,

And he esteemed himself above them all together.
'Great praise is appointed for me
For in me Moses expounded the teaching of this Torah'.

55   *Refrain*

Adar recounted the speech of his mouth
And spoke, his fellows before him.
'Mine is the crown, my Master has sealed it,
For in me the humble one was born, with whom He spoke'.

60   *Refrain*

Discourse of Nisan: 'I am king by authority of the Most High.
Am I not the head and every [other] month last?
Preeminence and kingship are my due, and I am the prince.
My light is a great light, and I am the first month'.

*Completed is the time of the sons of the one who dwelt in Hebron / by the
    hand of Moses and Aaron*

Commentary

For the *piyyut* in general, compare the midrash on the months, on Est. 3.7: בא לו
[המן] לחדשים ... ועלה לניסן זכות הפסח, לאייר זכות המן, לסיון זכות מתן תורה, לתמוז
זכות הארץ, לאב והפכתי אבלם לששון [יר׳ לא, יג], לאלול זכות החומה דכתיב ותשלם
החומה בעשרים וחמשה לאלול [נח׳ ו, טו], לתשרי זכות הרגלים, לחשוון זכות שרה, לכסליו
זכות חנוכה, לשבט זכות אנשי כנסת הגדולה, באדר שמח (Midrash Abba Gorion 3
[p. 25]); and see also the parallel in Est. R. 7.11.

8 **דבר בי רחמנה עמה מנטליה** *In me the Merciful One led out the people borne by
Him*: Cf. בי יתפרק עמא מנטלא (איתכנשו, recto, line 4). 9 **ואחית ליה וכו׳** *And brought
down for them manna and food*: See Exod. 16.1 foll. **ואוכליה** *and their food*: In the
manuscript: וא׳כליה. 12 **כד חזה עובד** *As is a seemly deed*: The phrase is repeated
almost verbatim in line 51. **יאיא** *the worthy one*: Sivan is referring to himself.
13–14 ובי סלק וכו׳ *And in me Moses ascended, etc.*: The lines are parallel to ...
ובי סלק, lines 3–4. 13 **ובי סלק וכו׳** *And in me Moses ascended on high*: See Exod.
19.1 foll. **משה** *Moses*: Restored on the basis of the parallel. 19 עללתא לכנשא *to
gather the harvest*: Cf. ובי סלק) דיכלון וישבעון מן פירי עללתא ..., line 8). 21 **מכל ירחא**
among all the months: Instead of מכל ירח, cf. line 62. 24 **דבי יתנחמון וכו׳** *For in
me mourners will be consoled, etc.*: Cf. געת רדי. עובדא הוה בחד יהודאי דהוה קאים רדי
תורתיה קומוי. עבר חד ערביי ושמע קלה. אמ׳ ליה בר יודאי בר יודאי שרי תורתך ושרי
קנקנך דהא חריב בית מוקדשא. געת זמן תניינות. אמ׳ ליה בר יודאי בר יודאי קטור תוריך
וקטור קנקניך דהא יליד מלכא משיחא (y. Ber. 2.3 [5a]; see also Lam. R. 1.16 [p. 89]).
27 **והוא עדי כלילא** *He wearing the crown*: Cf. אנא הוא דנסיב כלילא (איתכנשו, recto,

line 6). עדי *wearing*: A Hebrasim, as in ועדית עדי (Ezek. 23.40). This usage makes possible a paronomasia with יעדי in the following line. 28 ליבא דאבנא *the heart of stone*: Elul is the month of repentance. Cf. ... וביניהון ועיניהון עתיד למחדשא (ובי ... סלק, line 15). 29 ותתבני קריתא וכו׳ *And the precious city will be rebuilt to perfection*: See the midrash on the months quoted above. And cf. also ובי עתיד למתבניא וכו׳ קדישא (ובי סלק ..., line 16). The locution is based on Ezra 4.13, 16. 33 נהירין בי עמיה *His people are radiant in me*: Cf. נהוריה דישראל אנא שרויה (...) (ובי סלק, line 19). 34 ויתגוין חגא בי *There are a great many feast[s] in me*: See the midrash on the months quoted above. ויתגוין *a great many*: Denominative from גוון 'color, manner'. Such a denominative is not attested elsewhere in Jewish Aramaic. ויתסף *waxes*: In the manuscript: וִיתַסֵף. 36 סגיות מלין וכו׳ *Marḥeshvan multiplied a plethora of words*: Cf. סגין דבר ירחא מרחשון (ובי סלק ..., line 12). 37 אנא הוא דעבדית אצטלון *I am he who made garments*: See Fleischer's comment, ad loc.: כנראה: שעשיתי לבושים (של מלכות). And cf. also והוא עדי כלילא (line 27). 39 ונצחו בני חשמוני וכו׳ *And the sons of Ḥashmonay were victorious, etc.*: Cf. עבדון קרב ואצלחון בנוי דחשמונאי (ובי סלק ..., line 23). In his comment, ad loc., Fleischer refers to Megillat Taʿanit: בעשרים ותלתא למרחשון סתור סורגיא מן עזרתא, along with the scholion (ms. Parma): מפני שבנו שם גוים מקום והעמידו עליו את הזונות, וכשתקפה יד בית חשמונאי נטלוהו מהן וסתרוהו (Meg. Taʿan., p. 239). It should also be noted that in the midrash on the months quoted above Hanukkah is assigned to two months. 44 וממייקהון וכו׳ *And their oppressor, etc.*: Referring again to the Hasmonean victory over the Greeks. 48 רבת בי וכו׳ *In me Queen Esther was magnified*: Cf. ותלקח אסתר אל המלך אחשורוש ... בחדש העשירי הוא חדש טבת (Est. 2.16). 49 ובטילית גזירתא *And I abrogated the decree*: For the locution, cf. ובטלת גזירה (ובי סלק ..., line 11). 51 עובדא *thing*: For the restoration see line 12. 52 כולן *them all*: A Hebrasim. 54 דבי פירש וכו׳ *For in me Moses expounded, etc.*: Based on Deut. 1.3–5, and see TgOnq to verse 5: שרי משה פריש ית אולפן אורייתא הדא. Cf. also איתכנשנו, ויפרש להון אולפן אורייתא (verso, lines 3–4). פירש *expounded*: A Hebrew *Piel*, instead of Aramaic פְּרֵש. 56 ממלל פומיה *the speech of his mouth*: Cf. מלל תשרי ממלל פומיה (ובי סלק ..., line 17). 57 וענא וכו׳ *And spoke, etc.*: Cf. line 7. 59 דבי איתיליד וכו׳ *For in me the humble one was born, etc.*: The reference is to the birthday of Moses, on the 7th of Adar. ענותן *the humble one*: The epithet is based on Num. 12.3 and the Targum, ad loc. דדבר עימיה *with whom [God] spoke*: In the manuscript: דְּדַבַר; the verb is an Aramaized form of Hebrew דִּבֶּר. The notion was apparently suggested by the epithet for Moses—see Num. 12.2. Cf., however, דְּבַר ... עִמֵּהּ (line 8). 61 סיח *Discourse*: The word appears at the end of the line in the manuscript, and the reading of the *ḥet* is obscured by a flourish at the top left corner of the letter. For a similar flourish at the end of the word, see משבחא (line 23), also copied at the end of the line in the manuscript (T-S NS 125.96). The word seems to be a Hebraism; cf. אשיחה במר נפשי (Job 7.11)

translated in the Targum as אשיח במריר נפשי. No other clear instances of this root are attested in Jewish Aramaic. בהרמון *by authority*: The word is attested in JBA in the form הַרְמָנָא (see Sokoloff, *JBA*, p. 390). Cf. the opening line of a Targum poem that is uncertainly attributed to Shemuel Ha-Shelishi (see above, note 10): אקבל הרמנא דמלכא רמא ושליטא (Yahalom and Katsumata, *Shemuel Ha-Shelishi*, p. 955). **63 לי יאתא רבותא** *Preeminence … [is] my due*: Cf. line 4. The *yod* in יאתא has fallen out in the manuscript either by haplography or through an (unconscious?) regularization of the position of the *alef* within the acrostic signature **64 נהורי**: סַיח (line 61), הַלָא (l. 62), לַי⟨⟨י⟩⟩אַתא (l. 63), נהורי (l. 64). **נהור סגיא** *My light is a great light*: It seems that there is a reference here to the Messiah, i.e., to the future redemption that will take place in Nisan; see נהירא שמו [של משיח] שנאמר ונהורא עמה שרא [דנ׳ ב, כב], נהירא כתיב (Lam. R. 1.16 [p. 90]). **ואנא ירחא קדמאה** *and I am the first month*: Referring to קדמאי הוא לכון לירחי שתא (TgOnq to Exod. 12.2).

Base Text

T-S NS 236.5 (lines 1–15).

T-S NS 125.96 (lines 19–33 עמיה), T-S 13 H 3.11 + T-S NS 325.69 + T-S NS 139.88 (lines 33 במפק-64).

Previous Editions

Fleischer, ראש ראשי חדשים, p. 878 (fragments of lines 62–64 on the basis of T-S 13 H 3.11).

Fleischer, ״עוד לעניין ״ראש ראשי חודשים״, in E. Fleischer, תפילות הקבע, pp. 911–927 (914–917).

Rand, Aramaic Dispute, pp. 108–109.