

## DOES THE KIDDUSH PRECEDE CHRISTIANITY?

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Possibly one of the oldest prayers of the Jewish Liturgy is the Sabbath Kiddush. According to the Babylonian Talmud, the scholars of the schools of Shammai and Hillel (*ca.* 35 B.C.)<sup>1</sup> discussed this prayer and witnessed to its age by assigning its origin to the men of the Great Synagogue.<sup>2</sup> The translation of the prayer as found in Singer's edition of the prayer book reads:

Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe, who createst the fruit of the vine.

Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe, who hast sanctified us by thy commandments and hast taken pleasure in us, and in love and favor hast given us thy holy Sabbath as an inheritance, a memorial of the creation—that day being also the first of the holy convocations, in remembrance of the departure from Egypt. For thou hast chosen us and sanctified us above all nations, and in love and favor hast given us thy holy Sabbath as an inheritance. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who hallowest the Sabbath. Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe, who bringest forth bread from the earth.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Walter Ducat, "Hillel I," *The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, V (New York, 1941), 362.

<sup>2</sup> "R. Shaman b. Abba said to R. Johanan [a contemporary and disciple of Hillel (*ca.* 35 B.C.)]: Let us see: It was the Men of the Great Synagogue who instituted for Israel blessings and prayers, sanctifications [Kiddush] and *habdalahs*," *Babylonian Talmud, Berakoth* 33a (Soncino ed., p. 205; references from the *Talmud* herein will be from the Soncino ed. unless otherwise indicated). Cf. Lewis N. Dembitz, "Kiddush," *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, VII (New York, 1904), 483. What, perhaps, should be implied is that these prayers predate the sources with which the schools of Shammai and Hillel were acquainted. Cf. William O. E. Oesterley, *The Jewish Background of the Christian Liturgy* (Oxford, 1925), pp. 79f.

<sup>3</sup> S[imeon] Singer, ed., *The Standard Prayer Book: Authorized English Translation* (New York, 1924), p. 181. Cf. Philip Birnbaum, ed., *The Daily Prayer Book: Ha-Siddur Ha-Shalem* (New York, 1949), p. 278; David de Sola Pool, ed., *The Traditional Prayer Book for Sabbath and Festivals* (New York, 1960), pp. 83-86; Joseph H. Hertz, ed., *The Authorized Daily Prayer Book* (rev. ed.; New York, 1957), p. 409.

According to Mihaly, a textual criticism of Kiddush has never been published.<sup>4</sup>

## I

If Kiddush is as old as or older than the birth of Christianity, it may have significantly influenced both Christian theology and worship. It should be remembered that it was the custom of Christ to worship in the synagogue; and after His death, His followers continued to be found worshipping in the synagogue.<sup>5</sup> The Jewish customs and prayers which were familiar to the "many thousands of Jews . . . all zealous of the law"<sup>6</sup> who believed in Jesus, continued to live on in the daily lives of the people and therefore could be expected to influence to a great degree the embryonic development of Christianity. Even though Paul was accused of teaching Jews not to "walk after the customs,"<sup>7</sup> he denied the charge completely: "Men and brethren, though I have committed nothing against the people, or customs of our fathers, yet was I delivered prisoner from Jerusalem into the hands of the Romans."<sup>8</sup>

As is the case with all the major prayers of the Jewish liturgy found in the Talmud, the complete text of Kiddush is not preserved in full.<sup>9</sup> In Talmudic times there was an injunction against writing down the text of prayers.<sup>10</sup> However, there is no confusion in the minds of the Talmudists as to what the text of the prayer was, for we read:

R. Zera said: [The formula] in *kiddush* is "who did sanctify us with His commandments and did command us"; that of prayer is

<sup>4</sup> Eugene Mihaly, personal letter received March 5, 1967, from Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio.

<sup>5</sup> Lk 4:16; Jas 2:2.

<sup>6</sup> Acts 21:20.

<sup>7</sup> Acts 21:21.

<sup>8</sup> Acts 28:17.

<sup>9</sup> Louis Ginzberg, "Saadia's Siddur," *JQR*, XXXIII (1942-1943), 315. Cf. David Hedegård, *Seder R. Amram Gaon*, Part I: *Hebrew Text with Critical Apparatus* (Lund, 1951), p. xvi.

<sup>10</sup> *Shabbath* II, 115b, p. 565; cf. Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, p. 318.

"sanctify us with Thy commandments." . . . R. Aḥa b. Jacob said: And he must refer to the Egyptian exodus in the *kiddush* of the day. [For] here it is written, *that thou mayest remember the day [when thou camest forth out of the land of Egypt]*, while there it is written, *Remember the Sabbath day, to hallow it [by reciting kiddush]*.<sup>11</sup>

The main concepts of the Kiddush are based on Scripture.<sup>12</sup> Lev 23:2, 3 lists the Sabbath first among the "feasts of the Lord, which ye shall proclaim to be holy convocations." The connection of the Sabbath with the deliverance is based on Dt 5:15: "And remember that thou wast a servant in the land of Egypt, and that the Lord thy God brought thee out thence through a mighty hand and by a stretched out arm: therefore the Lord thy God commanded thee to keep the sabbath day."

An indication of the antiquity of the Sabbath Kiddush is the stability of the text in the various ancient liturgies. According to Elbogen, "The text of Kiddûsh is, but for minor details, identical in all the copies, a proof that it rests on sound tradition."<sup>13</sup>

The oldest known Jewish prayer book was written by Rab Amram ben Sheshna (died *ca.* A.D. 875),<sup>14</sup> Gaon (or principal) of the academy at Sura in Babylon.<sup>15</sup> It is called *Seder Rab Amram*. Four complete MSS of this work are known, and are described by Marx in German and Hedegård in English.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>11</sup> *Pesahim* 117b, p. 603.

<sup>12</sup> Israel Abrahams, *A Companion to the Authorized Daily Prayer Book* (rev. ed.; London, 1922), p. cxl; cf. G[eorge] H. Box, "The Jewish Prayerbook: A Study in the Worship of the Synagogue," *ET*, XV (1904), 364; and Hedegård, *op. cit.*, pp. xxxii f.

<sup>13</sup> Ismar Elbogen, *Der jüdische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (Leipzig, 1913), p. 112 (cited by Oesterley, *op. cit.*, p. 80).

<sup>14</sup> Judah D. Eisenstein, "Prayer-Books," *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, X (New York, 1905), 171; cf. Hedegård, *op. cit.*, p. xx.

<sup>15</sup> Joseph Marcus, "Amram ben Sheshna," *The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, I (New York, 1939), 282.

<sup>16</sup> Alexander Marx, *Untersuchungen zum Siddur des Gaon R. Amram: Die handschriftliche Ueberlieferung* (Berlin, 1908), pp. 15 ff.; Hedegård, *op. cit.*, pp. xxi ff. The MSS are the *Codex British Museum* 613 (*ca.*

The oldest of these MSS probably dates from the 14th-15th century.<sup>17</sup> The text of Kiddush is nearly identical in the editions of Frumkin<sup>18</sup> and Coronel<sup>19</sup> to that of our text in Singer: Frumkin and Coronel give שַׁבַּת where Singer gives שַׁבָּת.

The best MS is the Sulzberger Manuscript of *Seder Amram Gaon* of the Jewish Theological Seminary.<sup>20</sup> The text of Kiddush from this MS is given below with an addition to our present text underlined.

בורא פרי הגפן . . . באי אתלָה אֶקֶב ורצה בנו ושבת קדשו באהבה הנחילנו  
 זכרך למעשה בראשית כי יום זה תחלה מקראי קדש זכר ליציאת מצרים  
 כי בנו בחרת ואותנו קדשת מכל העמים ושבת קדשך באהבה וברצון הנחלתני  
 באי מקדש השבת

In the translation of this text, given below, abbreviations of words and phrases are written in full and put in parenthesis, omitted words are in brackets and the added word is underlined.

Who creates the fruit of the vine. . . .

Blessed (art thou, O Lord our God, [King] of the universe, who hast sanctified us by thy commandments) and hast taken pleasure in us, and in love [and favor] hast given us thy holy Sabbath as an inheritance, a memorial of [the] creation, because this day is first of the holy convocations, in remembrance of the departure from

14-15th century) discussed by George Margoliouth, *Catalogue of Hebrew and Samaritan Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1905), II, 206; the *Codex 1095* of the Bodleian Library, Oxford (1426), discussed by A[dolf] Neubauer, *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*. . . (Oxford, 1886), I, 299; the *Codex Sulzberger* of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America (1506) discussed by Marx who (in his work cited above) collected and discussed the variants of this MS from the Bodleian MS; and the *Codex British Museum 614* which is a copy of the *Codex 1095* of the Bodleian Library.

<sup>17</sup> Hedegård, *op. cit.*, p. xxi.

<sup>18</sup> A[ryeh] L. Frumkin, ed., *Siddur Tefilla Keminhag Ashkenaz in Seder Rab Amram ha-shalem*. . . (Jerusalem, 1912), II, 41 f. This edition is, according to Hedegård (*op. cit.*, p. xxi), based on the *Codex 1095* of the Bodleian Library.

<sup>19</sup> N[ahman] N. Coronel, *Seder Rab Amram Gaon* (Warszawa, 1865), II, 41 f. This edition is based on the *Codex British Museum 613*. Cf. Hedegård, *op. cit.*, p. xxi.

<sup>20</sup> Hedegård, *op. cit.*, p. xxi.

Egypt. For thou hast chosen us and sanctified us above all nations, and in love and favor hast given us thy holy Sabbath as an inheritance. (Blessed art thou, O Lord,) who hallowest the Sabbath.

*Seder Rab Amram* was written at the request of Spanish Jews who had asked for the prayers "which they have taught from heaven,"<sup>21</sup> implying a belief that they were of divine origin. Amram is recorded to have declared: "We must not deviate in anything from what the sages had said in the Talmud [about either holiday or Sabbath prayers]. . . . When we come to a place where the reader recites a prayer at variance with the mold formed by the sages, we depose him."<sup>22</sup> The introduction to his Seder says the work was "in accordance with the tradition which is in our possession, in conformity with the institution of the Tannaim and the Amoraim."<sup>23</sup> It is therefore clear that the prayers Amram sent were quite old, going back to the Talmud. We have already noted that the Talmud traces the prayers back to the men of the Great Synagogue.<sup>24</sup>

The text of Kiddush given in *Seder Amram Gaon* cannot be proved to be original, as the book suffered from many additions and omissions. Ginzberg has remarked, "We shall probably never know its—referring to the Siddur—true original form; it was used until it was used up."<sup>25</sup> "There is in the Siddur very little liturgical. . . material which could be described with certainty as having reached us in the form given it by R. Amram. . . . [however] there is still enough of the original material in it which clearly shows that the Gaon sent to the Spanish congregations a complete order of prayers."<sup>26</sup>

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xxviii.

<sup>22</sup> Amram's response cited by Salo W. Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, Vol. VII: *Hebrew Language and Letters* (2d ed.; New York, 1958), p. 65.

<sup>23</sup> *Seder Rab Amram* cited in *ibid.*, p. 70; cf. Hedegård, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

<sup>24</sup> See above, n. 2.

<sup>25</sup> Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, p. 320.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 320 f.

The next oldest prayer book is by Saadia B. Joseph (born A.D. 882, died 942) who became Gaon at Sura in 928.<sup>27</sup> Elbogen considers this work the oldest prayer book, arguing that all of the prayers in Amram were later additions.<sup>28</sup> Ginzberg and Hedegård reject Elbogen's position.<sup>29</sup> Ginzberg argues that Saadia's Siddur has suffered less in transmission and that "one is safe in stating that on the whole the Siddur reached us in a fairly good state."<sup>30</sup> Only one nearly complete MS is known and was edited in 1941.<sup>31</sup> This MS is described by Steinschneider, and according to Ginzberg has "high antiquity."<sup>32</sup> In the text of Kiddush below, omissions are starred and additions are underlined:

ב אתה יי אלהינו מלך העולם אשר קדשנו \* ורצה בנו \* שבת קדשו באהבה \*  
 הנחילנו זכרון למעשה בראשית \* היא \* תחלת \* באהבה \* מקרא \* קדש זכר  
 ליציאת מצרים כי בנו בחרת \* אותנו קדשת מכל העמים \* שבתות קדשך  
 באהבה ו\*רצון הנחלתנו ב אתה יי מקדש השבת.<sup>33</sup>

The changes are minor and the basic concept of the text is retained. We read, for instance, "It is first in love of holy convocations which recall the exodus from Egypt." The expression **באהבה** (in love), is the only addition compared to Singer. The omissions include all internal punctuation, **בְּמִצְוֹתָי** (with Thy commandments), **וּבְרָצוֹן** (and favor), the preposition **ל** and final **י** from **לְמִקְרָאֵי**, the conjunction **ו** from

<sup>27</sup> Wilhelm Bacher, "Saadia B. Joseph (Sa'ïd al-Fayyumi)," *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, X (New York, 1905), 579; Robert Gordis, "Saadia ben Joseph," *The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, IX (New York, 1943), 289; Jacob Mann, "A Fihrist of Sa'adya's Works," *JQR*, XI (1920-1921), 423 f.

<sup>28</sup> Elbogen, *Der jüdische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (2d ed.; Frankfurt a.M., 1931), p. 265.

<sup>29</sup> Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 321, 328; Hedegård, *op. cit.*, p. xxvi.

<sup>30</sup> Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, p. 328.

<sup>31</sup> Hedegård, *op. cit.*, p. xxvii, n. 9.

<sup>32</sup> Moritz Steinschneider, *Catalogus librorum Hebraeorum in Bibliotheca Bodleiana, jussu curatorum digessit et notis instruxit* (Leipzig, 1894), cols. 2203-2211; Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, p. 328.

<sup>33</sup> I[srael] Davidson, S[imcha] Assaf, and B. I. Joel, eds., *Siddur R. Saadja Gaon* (Jerusalem, 1941), pp. 114 f.

וּבְרָצוֹן and וְאֹתוֹי (comp. Amram above), and ב from וְבְרָצוֹן (at the end).

The Yemen rite from Southern Arabia omits כִּי הוּא יוֹם but otherwise is the same as Singer's text.<sup>34</sup> This rite was influenced by Saadia Gaon and Maimonides and approaches closely the Spanish rite although it borrows also from the German rite.<sup>35</sup> According to Neubauer, the copies of the Yemen prayer book are from about the 15th century A.D.<sup>36</sup>

The Chinese liturgy from Kai-fung-fu has been studied by Williams, who gives the variations.<sup>37</sup> The blessing over wine is substituted for that of bread. The White-Williams translation reads:

Blessed be thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe, who hast sanctified us by thy commandments, and hast taken pleasure in us, and in love and favour hast given us thy holy Sabbath as an inheritance, even the Sabbath of the remembrance of good; a memorial of the creation, the first of the holy convocations, in remembrance of the Exodus from Egypt, to make known that it is us whom thou hast chosen (BWRT!) and us thou hast sanctified above all the peoples; and thy holy Sabbaths hast thou given us as an inheritance in love and favour. [Blessed be thou, O L]ord, from the midst of (*sic! rd.* who hallowest) the Sabbath. "Who giveth food to all flesh, [for] his mercy endureth for ever." (Psalm 136:25). Blessed be thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe, who bringeth forth bread from the earth. Amen.<sup>38</sup>

סידור כולל כל תפלות השנה עם כל הברכות אשר יסדו אנשי כנה"ג הנקרא בל' קדמתיו תכלאל כמנהג כל קהלות הקדש תימן. עם ספר עץ חיים . . . . אשר פעל ועשה (Jerusalem, 1894-1898), II, 112. Cf. "Liturgies. - Yemen. - Daily Prayers [1894-1898]," *Hebrew Union College, Dictionary Catalog of the Klau Library* (Boston, 1964), XVI, 261.

<sup>34</sup> Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 120 and p. 278, n. 77; A[dolf] Neubauer, "The Literature of the Jews of Yemen," *JQR*, III (1891), 617.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>36</sup> Ronald J. Williams, "Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Codex," *Chinese Jews*, ed. William White (2d. ed.; New York, 1966), Part III, p. 83.

<sup>37</sup> William C. White, and Ronald J. Williams, trans., "Codex in Hebrew and Chinese from the K'ai-fêng Synagogue," *Chinese Jews*, Part III, p. 29.

The MS containing the Chinese liturgy was written *ca.* A.D. 1642.<sup>39</sup> According to E. N. Adler, the Chinese liturgy is based on the Siddur of Saadia Gaon.<sup>40</sup> Neubauer says,

The Persian which is found in their Prayer-book is not the old language, but that spoken now and since Firdusi. If they had emigrated in the third century we ought to find a trace of the old Persian language. . . . There is no quotation in their book from the Gemara, but parts of the Mishnah are to be found in their Prayer-book. Of course, if they had emigrated to China in the eighth century, they could scarcely have had the Gemara with them.<sup>41</sup>

The Jews of China believed their colony dates from the Han Dynasty (202 B.C. to A.D. 220),<sup>42</sup> and Baron accepts this as possibly true.<sup>43</sup> The earliest date Baron cites with certainty is the ninth century, when Ibn Zaid al Ḥasan reported Jews massacred during riots at Khanfu.<sup>44</sup> Thus the Chinese version of Kiddush may be as old as Saadia.

Rashi (Rabbi Solomon bar Isaac, born A.D. 1040, died 1105) of Troyes, France, in commenting on Kiddush gives only a part of our text:<sup>45</sup> **כִּי הוּא יוֹם תַּחֲלָה לַמִּקְרָאִי קֹדֶשׁ**

The *Mahzor Vitry*, written about A.D. 1100 by Simha b. Samuel of Vitry, France, a disciple of Rashi, contains the complete text of Kiddush except for one variation from our present text, *i.e.*, the omission of the conjunction ו from **וְשַׁבָּת**.<sup>46</sup>

The texts of Kiddush found in the following rites are identical, except for differences in phrasing and pronunciation, to the text as found in Singer: the German (Ashkenazic) rite,<sup>47</sup>

<sup>39</sup> White, "A Chinese-Hebrew Manuscript," *Chinese Jews*, Part III, p. 2.

<sup>40</sup> E[li]kan] N. Adler, "The Persian Jews: II. Their Ritual," *JQR*, X (1898), 601.

<sup>41</sup> A[dolf] Neubauer, "Jews in China," *JQR*, VIII (1896), 129.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 126, 128.

<sup>43</sup> Baron, *op. cit.*, Vol. III: *Heirs of Rome and Persia*, p. 115.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 285 f., n. 51.

<sup>45</sup> Rashi, Tractate *Berachoth* 46a, *Babylonian Talmud* (Jerusalem, 1962), p. 91.

<sup>46</sup> S. Hurwitz, ed., *Mahzor Vitry* (Berlin, 1890), p. 146.

<sup>47</sup> Seligman Baer, ed., *Seder 'Abhodath Yisrael . . .* (Rödelheim, 1868), p. 198.



the Spanish and Portuguese (Sephardic) rite,<sup>48</sup> and the rite of Southern France.<sup>49</sup> The differences in phrasing are discussed by Mishcon.<sup>50</sup>

Our study tends to support Elbogen's position who, after having studied the text of Kiddush in the European rituals as well as the older liturgies outside of Europe, said: "Der Text des Kiddusch ist in allen Vorlagen bis auf geringfügige Abweichungen gleich, ein Beweis, dass er auf guter alter Überlieferung beruht."<sup>51</sup>

This brief survey through time and from China to Europe reveals a basic stability of the text.

## II

Another line of evidence as to the high antiquity of our prayer is its relationship to Justin Martyr's *Dialogue with Trypho* xli (ca. A.D. 135), which reads:

And the offering of fine flour . . . was a type of the bread of the Eucharist, the celebration of which our Lord Jesus Christ prescribed, in remembrance of the suffering which He endured on behalf of those who are purified in soul from all iniquity, in order that we may at the same time thank God for having created the world, with all things therein, for the sake of man, and for delivering us from the evil in which we were. . . .<sup>52</sup>

Justin connects this giving of thanks with the "bread of the Eucharist."<sup>53</sup> Oesterley, who pointed out this relationship, said:

This conjunction of the two thoughts of Creation and Redemption are just those which figure prominently in *Kiddûsh*. And if . . .

<sup>48</sup> David de Sola Pool, ed., *Book of Prayer According to the Custom of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews* (New York, 1936), p. 155.

<sup>49</sup> Michaël Milhaud, ed., *Rituel des prières en Hébreu à l'usage des Israélites de l'ancien comtat . . . contenant . . . les prières des jours ouvrables . . . des jours de Sabbat . . . des jours de fêtes* (n. p., 1855), pp. 16, 17.

<sup>50</sup> A. Mishcon, "Disputed Phrasings in the Siddur," *JQR*, VII (1916-1917), 536.

<sup>51</sup> Elbogen, *Der jüdische Gottesdienst*, p. 112.

<sup>52</sup> *ANF*, I, 215.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*

*Kiddush* formed the background, as far as the form was concerned, of the words of consecration, it would explain where Justin got the idea that it was Christ's desire that thanksgiving for the Creation should be uttered during the eucharistic prayer. Thanksgiving for redemption from sin would naturally enough correspond to that for deliverance from the Egyptian bondage which occurs in *Kiddush*.<sup>54</sup>

This eucharistic prayer indicates that a prayer dealing with creation and redemption was an accepted prayer during Justin's time, and such early acceptance may indicate that the prayer had been known for some time. Another eucharistic prayer is found in *Didache* 9:2-4. Although it seems completely different from Justin's, both may have common roots, for this prayer is recited over wine and bread in the same order as Kiddush, and has, as Box has pointed out, many similarities with Kiddush.<sup>55</sup> The Goodspeed translation for it is:

First about the cup, "We thank you, our Father, for the holy vine of your servant David, which you have made known to us through your servant Jesus. Glory to you forever." And about the piece of bread, "We thank you, our Father, for the life and knowledge you have made known to us through Jesus your servant. Glory be yours forever. Just as this piece of bread was scattered over the mountains, and then was gathered together and became one, so let your church be gathered together from the ends of the earth into your kingdom. For the glory and the power are yours through Jesus Christ forever."<sup>56</sup>

This prayer can hardly be more than an expansion of the blessing of wine and bread in Kiddush. Both have similar introductions, both speak of the vine and bread from the earth, although *Didache* elaborates the expression "who bringest forth bread from the earth" into a symbol of the church gathered from the ends of the earth.

<sup>54</sup> Oesterley, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

<sup>55</sup> Box, "The Jewish Antecedents of the Eucharist," *JTS*, III (1902), 363.

<sup>56</sup> Edgar J. Goodspeed, trans., *The Apostolic Fathers: An American Translation* (London, 1950), p. 15.

If we combine the eucharistic prayers of Justin Martyr and the *Didache* we have a prayer blessing the vine, a prayer dealing with creation and redemption, and a prayer blessing bread only slightly modifying the thought of "from the earth" into a symbolic expression. Both Justin's prayer of thanksgiving and the *Didache* prayer (which the text says is "in regard to the eucharist"<sup>57</sup>) are blessings for bread and therefore have similar or even identical functions. The similarity of these blessings over bread with Kiddush, the intimate union of the ideas of creation and redemption in Justin's prayer in the same style as Kiddush, and the whole similarity in thought can most easily be explained by the continuation of usage of Jewish prayers in the early Christian community and can least likely be due to random chance. Therefore we may safely conclude that in the early Christian community a prayer closely identical to or at least based on the Kiddush prayer was known and used. This prayer can be reconstructed to contain three parts: a blessing over (the fruit of) the vine, a prayer dealing with creation and redemption, and a blessing over bread which the Lord brought from the earth.

We can conclude from the similarity of this reconstructed eucharistic prayer and Kiddush that Kiddush was well known, well accepted, and therefore old at the time Christianity was born. We can also conclude that at first either the two prayers were identical (that is, Kiddush was in fact the early eucharistic prayer) or Kiddush was the model from which a slightly altered eucharistic prayer was fashioned. Our evidence also indicates that Jewish customs and prayers were not rejected by the early Jewish Christian community, but were retained, and influenced the development of Christian prayers and worship as well as thought and theology.

<sup>57</sup> *Early Christian Prayers*, ed. by G. A. Hamman, and trans. by Walter Mitchell (Chicago, 1961), p. 91; cf. *The Apostolic Fathers*, ed. by J. B. Lightfoot, and completed by J. R. Harmer (London, 1891), p. 126.

## III

We may now summarize: The Talmud assigns the origin of the Kiddush to the men of the Great Synagogue. Although only fragments of the text occur or are alluded to in the Talmud, there is enough to establish that the prayer in its present form is essentially the original text. Kiddush, as found in the earliest books of prayer, is nearly identical to our present text; and, although Jewish communities were widely scattered from China to Europe, our present text has been retained throughout the world and shows very little variation, thus indicating its wide acceptance at a very early date. Evidence as to the age of our text is found also in the fact that it is possible to reconstruct from the early Christian eucharistic prayer(s) a prayer nearly identical both in style and content to our present text of Kiddush. All of these lines of evidence come together to indicate that our present text of Kiddush is essentially the original text.

## CORRECTION

The editors sincerely regret that in the last stage of composition, after the page proofs had been read, a serious error came into the article "Albigenses and Waldenses" by Daniel Walther in the July, 1968, number of *AUSS* (Vol. VI, No. 2), p. 180. Please note that lines 1-3 under heading "I" should precede lines 1-3 at the top of the page, in reverse order: 3, 2, 1.