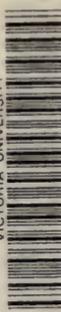


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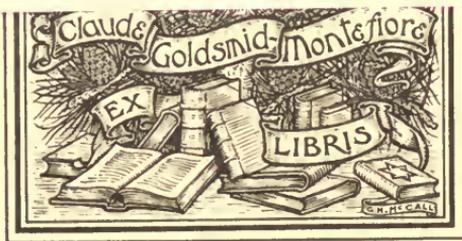


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DIBRE ABOTH HA-OLAM.

SAYINGS

OF

THE JEWISH FATHERS.

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SAYINGS  
OF  
THE JEWISH FATHERS

COMPRISING  
PIRQE ABOOTH  
IN HEBREW AND ENGLISH  
WITH NOTES AND EXCURSUSES.

*EDITED FOR THE SYNDICS OF THE CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS*

BY

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MASTER OF ST JOHN'S COLLEGE CAMBRIDGE.

Second Edition with Additional Notes and a Cairo fragment of  
Aquila's version of the Old Testament.

Cambridge  
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS  
1897

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1876  
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**EMMANUEL**

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## PREFACE.

The Second Edition of *Dibré Aboth ha-Olam* or *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers* may be shortly described as a reprint of the work as published in 1877, with a section of ADDITIONAL NOTES. Interspersed with the reprint are insertions in square brackets, a few things are omitted, and short new notes fill up pages 26, 41, 77, 98. With the two titles of the book compare *Shebach ABOTH OLAM* in the Hebrew of Ecclesiasticus and its Greek rendering Πατέρων ὕμνος.

An Appendix not yet published contains the CATALOGUE of Manuscripts referred to in the *Introduction*, which was announced as undertaken "with especial reference to disputed readings," followed by critical *Notes on the Text of Aboth*\*. It is complete as first planned, but awaits a supplement describing Manuscripts examined or to be examined by Mr Schechter, Reader in Talmudic and Rabbinic in the University of Cambridge, to whose learning and acumen I am indebted for the suggestion of additions and improvements throughout the work.

The collection of Manuscripts lately brought from Egypt by Mr Schechter, with the generous consent of the Grand Rabbi

\* No. 170 in the Catalogue analyses a commentary on Aboth which has been ascribed on slight grounds to R. Meshullam ben Qalonymos. See *Semitic Studies in mem.* Dr A. Κορυτ, art. *On Codex de-Rossi* 184 (Berlin 1897). An old Cairo fragment of Aboth omits the *baba* or verse כו באשתו אמרו (i. 6). Readings of this fragment are ענוים with *pathach* under the *nun* (i. 5, cf. Aboth R. N.), רחק for הרחק & תתיואש with *vau* (i. 8), דרך הארץ *bis* with art. (iii. 26), באת ופוכרתו והופכתו & שענפיו *bis* for שניפיו (iii. 27), הניבור & החכם with art. (iv. 1, 2). Another fragment in the same hand reads סוד (?) with *vau* (ii. 10), שלושה שלושה *bis* (ii. 11), שבכלל דבריו מדבריכם *bis* (ii. 12, 13), לך without ירושה (ii. 14), תורה without מה שתשיב את (ii. 16), דברים (ii. 18). The scribe used irregular scraps of parchment, and had to make some lines shorter than they should have been.

of Cairo\*, includes some fragments of the Old Testament in Greek with the TETRAGRAMMATON written repeatedly in Hebrew characters οὐ τοῖς νῦν ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀρχαιοτάτοις, in accordance with the remark of Origen on Psalm ii. (*Opp.* II. 539) that it so stood ἐν τοῖς ἀκριβεστέροις τῶν ἀντιγράφων, and the confirmatory testimony of St Jerome (*Praef. in Sam. et Malachim*) "Et nomen Domini tetragrammaton in quibusdam Graecis voluminibus usque hodie antiquis expressum litteris invenimus." The Name is so written in the annexed specimen of Aquila's version of the Old Testament (p. viii.).

In the same collection is being found more and more of the long lost original Hebrew of ECCLESIASTICUS (p. 169), a book which furnishes not a few apt illustrations of Aboth†, although the precise degree of its affinity in thought and diction to the New Hebrew is still under discussion.

Of the innumerable works on ABOOTH it must suffice to make mention here of Professor Dr H. L. Strack's concise and thoroughly practical edition *Die Sprüche der Väter*.

\* See the *Times* for Aug. 3, 1897, art. *A Hoard of Hebrew Manuscripts* by Mr Schechter, followed by Mr F. C. Burkitt's notice of a fragment of Aquila's version of 2 Kings. On the supposed inaccuracy of Origen and Jerome's statements above-mentioned see Gesenius *Gesch. d. hebr. Sprache und Schrift* p. 176 (Leipz. 1815), Migne *P. L.* on Jerome *l.c.*

† With Aboth vi. 9 (p. 103) compare Eccus. xli. 12 כִּי הוּא יְלוֹךְ כֹּ' for *that will accompany thee more than thousands of precious treasures*. Professor Margoliouth in the *Athenaeum* for July 31, 1897 finds κάρδαμον transliterated in Eccus. xl. 16 כַּרְדָּמוֹת and Aboth iv. 9 קָרוֹם לְאָבוֹל 9. In connexion with the *chariot* (p. 169) and with ὁ πονηρός (p. 192) see *Semitic Studies in mem.* ΚΟΗΤ art. *The Testament of Job* by Dr K. Kohler, *Texts and Studies* vol. v. no. 1.

C. TAYLOR.

13th August 1897.

## CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Preface . . . . .	v
Fragment of Aquila's version* . . . . .	viii
Introduction . . . . .	3
Pirqe Aboth . . . . .	11
Excursuses	
I. Thorah. Qabbalah. The Decalogue . . . . .	105
II. The Great Synagogue . . . . .	110
III. Antigonus. Zadok. Sadducee . . . . .	112
IV. Qeriyath Shema'. The Decalogue . . . . .	116
V. The Lord's Prayer . . . . .	124
Additional Notes . . . . .	133
Hebrew Text . . . . .	(1)—(51)

\* With plates of *recto* and *verso* to follow and face the transcript.

Fragment of AQUILA'S version of the Old Testament  
transcribed from a Cairo Palimpsest\*.

- Psalms xc. 6. απο δηγγου δεμ[ουζοντος μεσημβριας]. *recto*  
 7. παισειται απο πλαγου σ[ου χιλιας]  
 και μυριας απο δεξι[ων σου]  
 προς σε ου προσεγγ[ισει].  
 8. εκτος εν οφθαλμοις [σου επιβλε]ψεις  
 και αποτισιν † ασεβων οψη.  
 9. οτι σοι יהיה<sup>י</sup> ελπις μου  
 υψιστον εθηκας οικητηριον σου.  
 10. ου μεταχθησεται προς σε κακια  
 και αφη ουκ εγγισει εν σκεπη σου.  
 11. οτι αγγελιοι αυτου εντελειται σε  
 του φυλαξαι σε εν πασαις οδοις σου.  
 12. επι ταρσων αρουσιν σε  
 μηποτε προσκοψη εν λιθω [προς σου].  
 13. επι λεενα και ασπιδα πατησεις.
- Psalms xci. 4. [εν κι]θαρα. *verso*  
 5. [οτι ηυφρανας με יהיה<sup>י</sup> εν κατεργω σου  
 [εν ποιημασι] χειρων σου αινεσω.  
 6. [ως εμεγαλυνθη] ποιηματα σου יהיה<sup>י</sup>  
 σφοδρα [εβαθυνθη]σαν λογισμοι σου.  
 7. [ανηρ] ασυνετος ου γνωσεται  
 και ανοητος ου συνησει συν ταυτην.  
 8. εν τω βλαστησαι ασεβεις ομοιως χλοη  
 και ηνθησαν παντες κατεργαζομενοι  
 ανωφελεις  
 εκτριβηται αυτους εως ετι.  
 9. και σοι υψιστος εις αιωνα יהיה<sup>י</sup>.  
 10. ιδου οι εχθροι σου יהיה<sup>י</sup> ‡  
 ιδου οι εχθροι σου απολουνται  
 [σκορπι]σθησονται παντες κατεργαζο  
 [μενοι ανωφελεις].

\* Above the Greek is part of T. J. Moed Qat. II. 4—III. 1.

† 'Απόσις is extant here only in the Old Testament.

‡ The Name is written in archaic Hebrew characters.





Fragment of an ancient papyrus scroll with dense, handwritten text in a cursive script, likely Greek or Latin. The text is arranged in approximately 25 horizontal lines across the fragment. The papyrus is heavily aged, showing significant discoloration, staining, and physical damage, particularly along the right edge and top. The ink is dark and somewhat faded in places due to the material's degradation.



# INTRODUCTION.



## INTRODUCTION.

MASSEKETH ABOTH, best known [with the addition of Pereq Rabbi Meir] as Pirqe Aboth, or Chapters of the Fathers, is a Mishnah Tract in Seder Neziqin, where it stands between 'Abodah Zarah and Horaioth. It takes its name from the fact that it consists to a great extent of maxims of the Jewish FATHERS whose names are mentioned in its pages, and is chiefly valued as a compendium of practical ethics, although it is not without a mystical element in portions of its Fifth and concluding Chapter. Its simplicity and intrinsic excellence have secured for ABOTH a widespread and lasting popularity, and have led to its being excerpted from the Talmud and used liturgically in the Synagogue, at certain seasons, from an early period. "It was the custom," writes Sar Shalom Gaon<sup>1</sup>, "in the house of our Rabbi in Babel, to recite ABOTH and (the supplementary sixth chapter) QINYAN THORAH, after evening prayer upon the Sabbath;" and the "Six Chapters" are found at the present day in Prayer Books of the Ashkenazic<sup>2</sup> rite.

The Talmudic saying that *Whosoever would be pious must fulfil the dicta of the FATHERS* is quoted by Rabbinic commentators in their introductions to Pirqe Aboth, and the Tract has been described, with reference to this saying, as "Mishnath ha-Chasidim," a course of instruction for the pious.

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by RASHI in ספר הפרדס סימן ד'. On the various uses, see Zunz *Die Ritus des synagogalen Gottesdienstes* p. 85.

<sup>2</sup> German, Polish, &c.

The First Chapter opens with the statement that Moses, having received the Law from Sinai, handed it down to Joshua, and he in turn to the Elders, and the Elders to the men of the Great Synagogue. The Mosaic succession having been thus far established, the men of the Great Synagogue speak their three WORDS, which express the aim and function of the new school of Soferim: "Be deliberate in judgment; and raise up many disciples; and make a hedge to the Law." Next comes Simon Justus, with his saying, that the three pillars of the world are Revelation, Worship, and Humanity; and after him the first teacher of Greek name, Antigonus, whose inculcation of disinterested service is described in a Jewish tradition as the ultimate source of the negative tenets of the Sadducees, or "Sons of Zadok." From this point onward to the end of the Fourth Chapter we have a series of moral sayings, which are put into the mouths of Rabbis who lived within the period from two centuries before to two centuries after CHRIST.

The Fifth Chapter is characterised by something of a more speculative tendency. It touches upon the cosmogony; upon miracles, and their relation to the order of nature; upon the connexion between the moral and the physical; upon the varieties of men, and minds, and motives; upon the antitheses of the good and the evil dispositions. In form it is a series of groups of ten, seven, four, and three things; its sayings, unlike those in preceding chapters, take the form of historical narrative, or of systematic classification; and it makes no mention of the name of any Mishnah Teacher, until we come, at or near the end, to a saying which is ascribed to Jehudah ben Thema: "Be bold as a leopard, and swift as an eagle, and fleet as a hart, and strong as a lion, to do the will of thy FATHER WHICH IS IN HEAVEN."

Of commentaries upon ABOTH, the best known is that of Maimonides, which is found—sometimes in the original Arabic, but more commonly in Hebrew—in separate Manuscripts, or

in his work on the whole Mishnah, or in Jewish Prayer Books of the Italian rite. Another great commentary, which has been ascribed to R. Jacob ben Shimshon, to R. Shemuel ben Meir, a grandson of Rashi, and even to Rashi himself, is found likewise in separate Manuscripts, and in a great number of Prayer Books, especially of the Franco-German rite. In its most complete form<sup>1</sup> it belongs apparently to the beginning of the thirteenth century, but it is based upon traditions of a much earlier date. A third work which is indispensable for the criticism of ABOTH is the Arabic commentary of 'R. Israel' of Toledo, which has hitherto been supposed to have perished, except in so far as it was embodied in the Hebrew commentary of his descendant, Isaac ben R. Shelomoh; but a manuscript of R. Israel's work has been lately purchased for the Bodleian Library [1875], and will be found described and identified in [No. 90 of] the forthcoming Catalogue of MANUSCRIPTS OF THE TEXT OF ABOTH AND OF COMMENTARIES UPON IT.

The printed text of the Five Peraqim<sup>2</sup> is from an important manuscript of the MISHNAH, [which was purchased for the Cambridge University Library in 1869, and has been edited by Mr W. H. Lowe, of Christ's College]. The sixth Perek is taken from a modern Ashkenazic Prayer Book.

The *Comparative Index of the Mishnah* gives the title of each Tract<sup>3</sup> according to the MS., with its positions in the MS. itself and in the well-known edition of Surenhusius respectively. The *Index* is followed by extracts from the Mishnah

<sup>1</sup> That is to say, in the form in which it appears in the so-called MACHAZOR VITRY, which has been cited under that name in the notes. But, as will be shewn in the *Catalogue of MSS. of Aboth*, this title, although given by S. D. Luzzatto, is inaccurate.

<sup>2</sup> Each chapter in the MS. forms a continuous paragraph. But the printed text [of the five chapters in *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*] has been subdivided according to the punctuation of the MS. [except that chap. v. 13—14, from כֹּה הָרַב בָּא הַשֵּׁמֶט הָאֵרִיז, should have formed one verse only, as in No. 98 of the *Catalogue*], and numbers have been added for convenience of reference *within the edition itself*.

<sup>3</sup> Notice especially נזיקין מסכת.

including two complete specimen pages<sup>1</sup>, which, with the exception of the headings, have been transcribed literally and line by line from the MANUSCRIPT. [The *Index* and the extracts above-mentioned are now transferred to the APPENDIX.]

ST JOHN'S COLLEGE,  
April 9th, 1877.

<sup>1</sup> Notice in the first extract the reading *ואכילת פסחים*, which a comparison of the two Gemaras shews to be characteristic of the "Jerushalmi." The reading in the extract from Sanhedrin, omitting *כל ישראל יש להם חלק בו* and beginning *אלו*—not *ואלו*, is confirmed by the Gemara. *ABOTH* itself is one of the Tracts not found in other copies of the "Jerushalmi."

Extracts from page 1 of the First Edition of  
*Sayings of the Jewish Fathers.*

The following Manuscripts are referred to :

British Museum MSS.

A.	Addit.	27201
B.	Orient.	1003
C.	Addit.	27070
D.	"	27072
E.	"	17057
F.	"	27115

Cambridge MSS.

א.	University, Addit.	470
ב.	St John's College, K.	7
ג.	University, Addit.	667
ד.	"	1200
ה.	"	561
פ.	A Machazor.	

A\* denotes the Oxford MS., *Bodl.* 145. It contains the same commentary as A (Machazor Vitry). A† is a third copy of the same commentary. A† and פ are in the possession of the Editor.

BAR S. denotes ISAAC BAR SHELOMOH, the author of the commentary in B, ב.

The text of ABOOTH is taken from א; Pereq VI from an edition of the Ashkenazic Prayer Book.

In citations from the TALMUD the letters T. J. are prefixed to those which are from the Jerushalmi. The rest are from the Babli.

The Hebrew letters, תת, ת, ט, ז, ש, ע, ק, כ, פ, are transliterated, *tth, th, t, z, s, q, k, ch,* except in some cases in which familiar forms are retained.

The following Translation and Commentary with the Excursuses occupied pages 25—145 in the First Edition. To find the corresponding pages in the Second Edition, subtract *fourteen*, or in the case of the last page only *fifteen*. For the *Critical Notes* on the Text which preceded the Translation and Commentary in the First Edition see under *Notes on the Text* in the APPENDIX.

PIRQE ABOTH.

האי מאן דבעי למהוי חסידא

לקיים

מילי דאבות

# PIRQE A BOTH.

## CHAPTER I.

Some passages of doubtful genuineness are printed in italics. Omissions of the manuscript of Chapters I—V are supplied in smaller type. On words in thick type see the Excursuses at the end of Chapter VI.

1. Moses received the **Thorah** from Sinai, and he delivered it to Jehoshua<sup>c</sup>, and Jehoshua<sup>c</sup> to the elders (Josh. xxiv. 31; Jud. ii. 7), and the elders to the prophets, and the prophets delivered it to the men of the **Great Synagogue**. They said three things: Be deliberate in judgment; and raise up many disciples; and make a fence<sup>1</sup> to the Thorah.

<sup>1</sup> Impose additional restrictions so as to keep at a safe distance from forbidden ground: “ושמרתם את משמרתִי” (Lev. xviii. 30), make a *mishmereth* to my *mishmereth*” (Jebamoth 21 a). “To what is the matter like? To a man watching a garden. If he watches it from without, it is all watched; if he watches it from within, the part in front of him is watched; and the part behind him is not watched.” The סייג (III. 20; VI. 6) lies at the root of the Rabbinic system. Its application to holy days gives rise to the principle מוסיפין מחול על קדש (R. ha-Shan. 9a), in connexion with which compare Rashi on Gen. ii. 2, where it is said

that whereas man must sanctify the Sabbath in advance, not knowing the instant of its commencement, the Creator “enters upon it to a hair’s breadth,” and even seems to finish “on the seventh day” itself. For other examples see Aboth de R. Nathan I., II., where it is said *inter alia* that Adam misapplied the principle of the סייג, and gave occasion to the Tempter, by superadding the prohibition, *Neither shall ye touch it*, and representing this to Eve as part of God’s command, which was only, *Thou shalt not eat of it* (Gen. ii. 17; iii. 3). [Gen. ii. 2 Sept. *ἕκτῃ sixth*, to exclude work on the *seventh*.]

2. Shimo'on ha-Çaddiq<sup>2</sup> was of the remnants of the Great Synagogue. He used to say, On three things the world is stayed<sup>3</sup>; on the Thorah<sup>4</sup>, and on the Worship<sup>5</sup> (Rom. ix. 4), and on the bestowal of Kindnesses<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Various traditions have gathered round the name of Simon Justus. "Seine Persönlichkeit tritt im Andenken der spätern Rabbinen ins Dunkel der Fabel zurück" (Jost, *Geschichte des Judenthums und seiner Secten*, A. 110). He is said in Joma 9 a, 39 a, 69 a, to have served as high-priest for forty years, and to have gone out in procession to meet "Alexander of Macedon," as Jaddua' is related (Jos. *Ant.* xi. 8. 5) to have done. Various miracles were wrought during his priesthood. In Menachoth 109 b he predicts his own death; and there follows an account of the building of a temple in "Alexandria of Egypt" (Is. xix. 19) by his son Onias, or נחונין (Ξ in Menach. xiii. 10). But see Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 3. 3. Simon has been made contemporary with נסכלגס (? Gaïus Caligula. Cf. Jost, A. 359), who attempted to set up his statue in the temple at Jerusalem. See Megillath Tha'anith xi. ; T. J. Sothah ix. 13; Babli 33 a; Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 8; and Jos. ben Gorion ii. 6, where this tale likewise is told of Alexander. See also 3 Macc. i. ii. The eulogy in Ecclus. i. has been applied by some to Simon I., son of Onias, called Simon Justus in Jos. *Ant.* xii. 2. 5; and by others to Simon II., also son of Onias. The latter Simon is identified in Bar Hebr. Chronicon Eccles. (col. 22, ed. Abbeloos et Lamy) with the Συμεών of Luke ii. 25, who is characterised as δίκαιος. Herzfeld concludes that the allusion in the text is to Simon II., and that the date of his high-priesthood was 226—198 B.C. Zunz (*Die Got-*

*tesdienstlichen Vorträge d. Juden*, p. 36) gives the date 221—202 B.C.

<sup>3</sup> These three things are regarded as bases or *pillars* of the world. Cf. Ps. lxxv. 4; Prov. ix. 1; and (?) 1 Tim. iii. 15. [Chagigah 12 b.]

<sup>4</sup> See Nedar. 32 a. The world, it is said, was only created for the sake of the Thorah and its learners. The notion of design in creation is brought out in a striking way at the beginning of Bereshith Rabbah. Thorah, or Wisdom (Prov. viii. 1), was God's agent or instrument (cf. Aboth iii. 23), and plan. As a human king does not build a palace of himself without an artificer; nor he of himself without drawings and plans; so God looked into the Thorah and created the world, כן הקב"ה היה מביט בתורה ובורא את העולם. Seven things were created before the world, or existed as concepts in the mind of the Creator; Thorah, Gehenna, the Garden of Eden, the Throne of Glory, the Sanctuary, Repentance, and the Name of Messiah. Thorah counselled God to create the world. "Hence the wise have said, A kingdom without counsellors is no kingdom at all" (Pirqe R. Eli'ezer ii.). See also Nedarim 39 b.

<sup>5</sup> This in the mouth of a high-priest means the service and sacrifices of the temple which was then standing. Cf. Megillah 31 b, Tha'anith 27 b. In Pirq. R. Eliez. xvi. it is proved from Prov. xv. 8, by identifying *prayer* with 'abodah; since what other service (Dan. vi. 16) could there be in Babel? But the primary meaning is more appropriate here; and the fact

3. **Antigonus** of<sup>7</sup> Soko received from Shime'on ha-Çaddiq. He used to say, Be not as slaves that minister to the lord with a view to receive recompense; but be as slaves that minister to the lord without a view to receive<sup>8</sup> recompense; and let the fear of Heaven be upon you.

that *prayer*, which is not enjoined in the Pentateuch, תפילה אינ' דבר תורה, (T. J. Berakoth i. 5), is not mentioned and brought into prominence in the sayings of this Pereq may perhaps be taken as one sign of their superior antiquity. [Aboth R. N. A iv., B v.]

<sup>6</sup> This is connected in Aboth R. N. iv. with עולם חסד יבנה (Ps. lxxxix. 3). It was declared in the beginning more acceptable (Hos. vi. 6) than the sacrifices which Israel were destined to offer (Pirq. R. Eliez. xvi.). It is not to be restricted to the *requital* of benefits, but is as far reaching, and at the same time as undefinable (Peah i. 1), as a man's "duty to his neighbour." While its fruits are enjoyed in this world, the principal remains for the world to come (cf. 1 Tim. iv. 8). With *çedakah* — a treasure laid up not on earth but in heaven, over which the hand (of the spoiler) has no power—it counterpoises all the precepts of the Thorah. But it is greater than *çedakah*, as having to do alike with person and property, rich and poor, dead and living. It includes the duties of sympathy (χαίρειν μετὰ χαίρόντων, κλαίειν μετὰ κλαιόντων, Rom. xii. 15)—of attending the wedding and the funeral. It is more beloved even than the study of Thorah. (T. J. Peah i. 1; Sukkah 49 b.) The Thorah itself begins and ends with it (Sotah 14 a); for God *clothed* Adam and Eve (Gen. iii. 21), and "he *buried* him (Moses) in a valley" (Deut. xxxiv. 6). He who occupies himself in Thorah and *gemiluth chasadim*, and buries his children, is forgiven all his

iniquities (Berakoth 5 b).

<sup>7</sup> The title איש סוכו is said (A; bar S.) to imply that Antigonus was *vir magnus* in his city. Cf. איש ישראל (Jud. vii. 14). For other examples of this usage in the Mishnah, see Aboth i. 4, 5; iii. 9, 10; iv. 7, 28; Challah iv. 10; 'Orlah ii. 5, 12; Gittin vi. 7; 'Edioth vi. 2; Middoth i. 2.

<sup>8</sup> Serve God from pure motives, with a view which is not that of receiving recompense. Serve, however, from a sense of duty, and be not like voluntary workers who sometimes will, and sometimes will not, labour. So bar S. on the last clause, with the suggestion that it did not belong to the original saying, but was added later to prevent future generations from drawing extreme negative inferences like "Çadoq and Baithus." E omits the clause, *but be, &c.*, probably through homœoteleuton; but it is possible that the original saying consisted of one clause only: *Be not, &c.* Antigonus inculcates disinterested service without expressly enunciating any doctrine positive or negative concerning a future state of retribution. He does not add: "in order that your reward may be double in the world to come" (Aboth R. N. v.); with which compare the principle: לִמַּד מֵאַהֲבָה וּסוֹף הַכְּבוֹד לְבָא "Learn out of love, and honour will come eventually" (Nedarim 62 a). The question is raised in Sotah v. 5: "Did Job serve out of love?" and it is worthy of remark that the discussion in the Gemara turns upon the double reading לֹא (קרי לי) אֵיחָל (Job xiii. 15), which

4. Jose ben Jo'ezer of Çeredah and Jose ben Jochanan of Jerusalem<sup>9</sup> received from them. Jose ben Jo'ezer of Çeredah<sup>10</sup> said, Let thy house be a meeting-house for the wise; and powder thyself in the dust of their feet<sup>11</sup>; and drink their words with thirstiness.

is illustrated by לֹא (קרי לוי) צר (Is. lxiii. 9).

<sup>9</sup> The תנאים from § 4 to § 13 are named two and two as *συνζυγοι*. In Peah II. 6 the chain of tradition is given compendiously: the "pairs" received from the prophets, and they from Moses. In Chagigah II. 2 each pair is represented as divided on one and the same question. It is added that the first mentioned in each pair held the office of *nasi*, or president of the Sanhedrin, and the second that of *ab beth din*, or vice-president. Their chronology cannot be precisely determined. Herzfeld (*Gesch.* II. 140) gives their dates B. C. as follows: (a) The two Josephs, 170; (β) Jehoshua' and Matthai, 140—110; (γ) Jehudah, 100; Shime'on, 90; (δ) Shema'iah and Abtalion, 65—35; (e) Hillel, 30. The last date (= 100 years before the destruction of the temple) is given in Shabbath 15 a. Zunz (*Gottesd. Vorträge*, 37, note c), assuming a hiatus after Antigonus (190 B. C.), dates the pairs as follows: (a) 140—130; (β)\*\*; (γ) 90—80; (δ) 60—50; (e) *z. Zeit des Herodes*.

<sup>10</sup> Joseph ben Jo'ezer was a priest of pre-eminent piety (Chagigah II. 7). "From the time when the two Josephs died the clusters (Mic. vii. 1) ceased" (Sotah 47 a). The word *eshkol* is explained in Themurah 15 b, by איש שהכל בו. By some it is identified with *σχολή*. It is said (Them. 15 a) that at the death of J. ben Jo'ezer the *eshkoloth* ceased to learn Torah like Moses. Up to that time, but no longer,

they were free from reproach. The sayings of ben Jo'ezer indicate that he used his best endeavours to revive the respect for traditional teaching, and to establish "schools" of the wise. The sayings attributed to particular teachers are not, according to the pseudo-RASHI, to be regarded as necessarily originating with them. It is only meant that they were common-places in their mouths (Berakoth 17 a). Cf. Aboth iv. 26.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Luke x. 39; Acts xxii. 3. Although entertaining scholars in thy house assume not a position of superiority, but sit at their feet as a learner. Cf. also the metaphorical expression, אבק לישון הרע (Baba Bathra 165 a). That the hearer, especially in the case of a large audience, should be placed at a lower level than the teacher was a matter of obvious convenience; but J. ben Jo'ezer recommends it as a sign of humility. The posture of a teacher and his scholars is discussed from a different point of view in Megillah 21 a: "Whence is it that a Rab must not sit on a couch and teach his disciples on the floor?—but both he and they must sit on the couch, or both stand (Rashi). It is because it is said (Deut. v. 31), Stand thou here WITH ME. From the days of Moses to Rabban Gamliel, they always learned Torah standing. After his death sickness came down to the world, and they learned Torah sitting. It is said that Moses sat (Deut. ix. 9), and also that he stood (Deut. x. 10): in the one case, said

5. Jose ben Jochanan of Jerusalem said, Let thy house be opened wide ; and let the needy be thy household ; and prolong not converse with woman<sup>12</sup> (τῆ γυναικί).

6. (*His own wife, they meant, much less his neighbour's*

Rab, to receive the law, and in the other to announce it. According to R. Chaninah, he neither sat nor stood, but crouched. R. Jochanan says, וּשְׂבַב in the former passage only meant that he stayed...*Easy things are learned standing, and hard things sitting.*" That it was customary in the time of Gamaliel II. for the scholars in the *beth ha-midrash* to sit not on the ground but on *subsellia*, appears from the statement (Berakoth 28 a) that after his deposition 400 or 700 additional ספסלי were required. The תנא also sat, whilst an אמורא, or "dragoman" (תרגמן), who stood before him, repeated his words, with or without comment, for the benefit of those who sat at a distance. In certain cases it might be convenient for teacher or taught to stand (Acts xiii. 16 ; Matt. xiii. 2) ; but the evidence of the New Testament and of the Talmud shews that it was more usual to sit. The word ישיבה, *sessio*, is even used of students (ii. 8). The public reader of the book Esther might either stand or sit (Megillah iv. 1). On the mutual respect of Rab and Thalmid see Aboth iv. 17.

<sup>12</sup> This saying might be applied to a man's wife in particular (as in § 6), or to woman in general, καὶ ἐθαύμαζον ὅτι μετὰ γυναικὸς ἐλάλει (Joh. iv. 27). Cf. Eccl. vii. 28. Man takes precedence of woman in various ways, though "The man is not without the woman, nor the woman without the man, nor both of them without the Shekinah" (Bereshith Rabbah viii. Cf. 1 Cor. xi. 11). The Thorah in its

entirety is for the man ; whereas the woman is exempt from those positive precepts which are to be fulfilled at stated times (Qiddushin i. 7). She is not to learn Thorah—much less to teach (1 Tim. ii. 12)—not being included in such passages as Deut. xi. 19 : "And ye shall teach them your sons." How then shall woman make out her title to salvation? Σωθήσεται...διὰ τῆς τεκνογονίας (1 Tim. ii. 15 ; v. 14). Her work is to send her children to be taught in the synagogue : to attend to domestic concerns, and leave her husband free to study in the schools : to keep house for him till he returns. Cf. Berakoth 17 a, נשים במאי זכין באקריוי בנייהו לבי כנישתא ובאתנוי גבריהו בי רבנן ונטרן לנבריהו עד דאתו מבי רבנן ; Women, slaves and children are mentioned together in Berakoth iii. 3 ; Sheqalim i. 5. Another remarkable grouping is found in the Jews' Morning Prayer, where the men in three consecutive Benedictions bless God "who hath not made me a GENTILE...a SLAVE...a WOMAN." This affords an illustration (the more striking on account of its indirectness) of a characteristic saying of St Paul: οὐκ ἐνὶ Ἰουδαίῳ οὐδὲ Ἕλληνι, οὐκ ἐνὶ δοῦλῳ οὐδὲ ἐλεύθερῳ, οὐκ ἐνὶ ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ, πάντες γὰρ ὑμεῖς εἰς ἔστε ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ (Gal. iii. 28). Women could not in general be witnesses (עדים) ; but they had their rights of property. In the case of inheritance, if the property is small "filiae aluntur, et filii mendicabunt" (Kethuboth xiii. 3 ; Baba Bathra ix. 1). [Chagigah T. B. 3 a & T. J. 75 d.]

wife.) Hence the wise have said, Each time that the man prolongs converse with the woman he causes evil to himself, and desists from words of Torah, and in the end he inherits Gehinnom<sup>13</sup>.

7. Jehoshua' ben Perachia and Matthai<sup>14</sup> the Arbelite received from them. Jehoshua' ben Perachiah said<sup>15</sup>, Make unto thyself a master; and possess thyself of an associate; and judge every man in the scale of merit<sup>16</sup>.

8. Matthai the Arbelite said, Withdraw from an evil neighbour; and associate not with the wicked<sup>17</sup>; and grow not thoughtless<sup>18</sup> of retribution.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. *ὁδὸν γέεννης* (Matt. xxiii. 15).

<sup>14</sup> On the reading, see *Crit. Note*. Little of importance is known of this "pair," except that (Jost, *Gesch.* A. 233) "aus ihren Lehrsätzen, die man von Mund zu Mund weiter überlieferte, ist zu erkennen dass sie dahin strebten dem mündlichen Gesetz gegen die hervorgetretene sadducäische Ansicht mehr Eingang zu verschaffen."

<sup>15</sup> Jehoshua' counsels a man to place himself under the direction of a traditional teacher, and to associate himself with a worthy companion. There was a proverbial saying, "Companionship or death" (Tha'anith 23 a), companionship even with such friends as those of Job (Baba Bathra 16 b). "Two are better than one" (Eccl. iv. 9), in Torah as in other matters, since when two study together their words are "written in the book of remembrances" (Berakoth 6 a). Cf. Prov. xxvii. 17. Nay, more, *לֹא חֵבֵר אֶל הַבְּרִיּוֹת וְנִאֲלוּ* (Jer. l. 36), which is turned: "a sword is against the solitary, and they are stultified" (see p. 44). The word *chaber*, a companion, came to be used especially of men of learning. It is sometimes equivalent to "colleague," in an official sense; or to "fellow," or "associate,"

of a learned society; and it is contrasted with *עַם הָאָרֶץ*, which denotes the vulgar herd (Taharoth vii. 4). An interpretation of pseudo-Rashi is: "Make to thyself a Rab, to learn orally; and buy thyself ספרים," buy books and make them a *chaber*.

<sup>16</sup> Give a suspected person, whoever he may be, the benefit of the doubt. Let the scale in which he is weighed have a bias towards the side of merit or acquittal. He who thus judges others will thus himself be judged, *הַדֵּן חֵבֵר לְכַף זָכוֹת דִּינֵן אוֹתוֹ לְכַף זָכוֹ*. See Shabb. 127 b, where the saying follows upon an enumeration of the things which profit in both worlds. The saying in Shabbath might give rise to the doubt, "who is my *chaber*?" but the words of the text apply to all men. It may serve as a *μνημόστυνον* to remark that the zodiacal Libra (Bemidbar R. xvi.) corresponds to the month of Judgment, Tishri; as *טֹלָה* (Pirq. R. Eliez. vii.) to *ניסן*.

<sup>17</sup> Woe to the wicked! woe to his neighbour! (Nega'im xii. 6). The dry wood sets fire to the green (Sanhedrin 93 a). [See Wetstein's note on St Luke xxiii. 31.]

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Prov. xxviii. 14. The word usually means to despair, give up

9. Jehudah ben Tabai and Shime'on ben Shatach<sup>19</sup> received from them. Jehudah ben Tabai said, Make not thyself as them that predispose the judges<sup>20</sup>; and while the litigants stand before thee, let them be in thine eyes as guilty; and when dismissed from before thee let them be in thine eyes as righteous, because that they have received the doom upon them.

hope of a thing; but the caution is not to presume upon immunity. Even here, however, some commentators endeavour to retain the usual meaning, "despair not of good," if evil come upon thee. א wrongly repeats the clause at the end of § 11. Bar S. aptly quotes Eccl. viii. 11; adding the remark that *pithgam* does not mean *dabar*, but 'onesh, "for Qoheleth did not speak ארמית."

<sup>19</sup> In a narrative which there is reason to suspect of inaccuracy, it is said that in the time of Sh. ben Shatach one תורום איש רומי introduced the practice of eating גדיין מקולסין, or quasi-passovers, at Rome; and that Shime'on wrote to him: "Wert thou not Theodos I would pass judgment of נדי upon thee," &c. (Berakoth 19 a). Bar S. relates that this pair escaped to Alexandria from Jannai the king; and that then arose (?) the sect of the Qaraites, who learned the written Law, the oral Law having been forgotten. At length Jehudah was recalled, and made *nasi*. See T. J. Sanhedrin vi. 9. The Machazor Vitry gives also the alternative view that his colleague was *nasi*, referring to Sanhedrin vi. 4, where, in the course of a discussion whether women who have been stoned should be hanged, Shime'on ben Shatach is said to have hanged eighty women at once in Ashqalon, although even two persons should not be condemned in one day; whereupon the

Gemara (46 b) remarks that, when occasion requires, punishments beyond those in the Torah may be inflicted, as a "fence" to the Torah. Jehudah did not always practise the judicial impartiality which he recommends. Having once (Makkoth 5 b), out of opposition to the Sadducees, put a false witness to death before the condemned had been executed, he appealed to his colleague, who charged him with having shed innocent blood, and added that neither of two false witnesses was to be punished unless they had both been convicted. Thereupon Jehudah vowed never again to pronounce a decision except in the presence of Shime'on.

<sup>20</sup> The attitude of a judge should be one of impartiality. Be not therefore as partisans who plead the cause of one of the litigants, and thus prejudice the case *before it comes into court*. While the suit is being tried the judge should not look upon either party with favour, but should examine both sides thoroughly and suspiciously. When it is over he should regard both as innocent; whether as having been proved to be in the right, or as having paid the penalty of wrong-doing. The difficult phrase עורכי הדינים, "disposers or arrangers of the judges," occurs in Kethuboth 52 b, 86 a (cf. pseudo-Rashi on Aboth), and is explained in the commentary as above; it occurs also in Shabbath 139 a, where it is explained of those who teach the

10. Shime'on ben Shatach said, Make full examination of the witnesses; but be guarded in thy words, perchance from them they may learn to lie.

11. Shema'iah and Abtalion<sup>21</sup> received from them. Shema'iah said, Love work<sup>22</sup>; and hate lordship<sup>23</sup>; and make not thyself known to the government<sup>24</sup>.

litigants to deceive. A slight change of reading would give the meaning, "disposers of suits (דְּרִינֵי) ," or special pleaders; but the explanation adopted above gives a more natural sequence. There is another reading (with א for ל), which gives the sense "as arch-judge, or arch-judges." Jost (*Gesch.* A. 241) renders: "Als Richter sei nicht Sachwalter der Parteien, den andern Richtern gegenüber."

<sup>21</sup> Shema'iah and Abtalion, who were said to be descendants of Sancherib or of Haman (Gittin 57 b; Sanhedrin 96 b), have been identified with the Sameas and Pollio of Josephus, who writes (*Ant.* xv. 1. 1): "But Pollio the Pharisee and Sameas a disciple of his were honoured by (Herod) above all the rest; for when Jerusalem was besieged they advised the citizens to receive Herod; for which advice they were well requited. But this Pollio (or SAMEAS, XIV. 9. 4) at the time when Herod was once upon his trial of life and death foretold in a way of reproach to Hyrcanus and the other judges, how this Herod whom they suffered now to escape would afterwards inflict punishment on them all." In the account of the trial in Sanhedrin 19 a, Jost (*Gesch.* A. 252) would read: "SHEMA'IAH (for *Shime'on ben Shatach*) said to him, Herod (for *King Jannai*), stand on thy feet, &c.;" and he adds the following important remarks on the court of the Sanhedrin, and on the status of the pairs (note 9) in relation to it: "Die Schilderung

dieses Gerichtes ist in mehrfacher Hinsicht merkwürdig. Erstens berufen sich die Ankläger auf das Recht der Juden, dass selbst anerkannte Verbrecher nicht eher gestraft werden dürfen als ein *Synedrion* den Spruch erlassen habe. Ein Beweis dass die Synedrional-Einrichtung allerdings schon wurzelte. Zweitens wird von dem *Synedrion* (also dem bestimmten, offenbar dem einzigen) in Jerusalem gesprochen, vor dessen Schranken Hyrcan den Herodes lud. Drittens führte Hyrcan, nicht aber die beiden Schulhäupter, wie man erwarten sollte, den Vorsitz; wie denn *Sameas* auch nur als *einer der Richter* bezeichnet wird, welcher den Muth hatte den Fürsten und die erschrockenen Mitglieder an ihre Pflicht zu erinnern."

<sup>22</sup> Whosoever does not teach his son a business, or "work," teaches him robbery (Qiddushin 29 a). 'Ο κλέπτων μηκέτι κλεπτέτω μάλλον δὲ κοπιάτω κ.τ.λ. (Eph. iv. 28). R. 'Aqiba said: "Make thy sabbath weekday, and be not dependent upon the creatures" (Shabbath 118 a; Pesachim 112 a, 113 a. Cf. *Ecclus.* xl. 28, 9). A man should hire himself out to 'ABODAH ZARAH, rather than become dependent upon his fellows. Not literal idolatry, it is added, but service which is strange to him. Flay a carcass in the street and receive pay; and say not, I am Cahana (or priest), and a great and learned man (Pesachim 113 a; Baba Bathra 110 a). Cf. Aboth R. N. XI. The Shekinah was not to dwell with Israel till they

12. Abtalion said, Ye wise, be guarded in your words; perchance ye may incur the debt of exile, and be exiled to the place of evil waters; and the disciples that come after you may drink and die<sup>25</sup>, and the Name of Heaven be profaned.

had made a sanctuary (Ex. xxv. 8). "Six days *must* (not *mayest*) thou labour, and do all thy work": labour if poor, but find "work" to do even if rich. A wife is relieved from household work in proportion to the number of maidservants she brings her husband. If she brings him four "she sits in a chair." R. Eli'ezer says, If she brings him a hundred she must still work in wool, since idleness occasions lewdness. R. Sh. ben Gamaliel says, that he who has exempted her by a vow from all work may as well divorce her (Kethuboth v. 5). Great teachers, as Hillel, acted up to the precept, "Hate not laborious work" (Ecclus. vii. 15). St Paul engaged in manual labour (Acts xviii. 3; 1 Cor. iv. 12). Contrast: "The wisdom of a learned man cometh by opportunity of leisure: and he that hath little business shall become wise. How can he get wisdom that holdeth the plough?... they shall not sit on the judges' seat, nor understand the sentence of judgment: they cannot declare justice and judgment; and they shall not be found where parables are spoken. But they will maintain the state of the world, and (all) their desire is in the work of their craft" (Ecclus. xxxviii. 24—34. Cf. xxvi. 29).

<sup>23</sup> By Rabbanuth some understand "das Rabbi-Wesen" (Matt. xxiii. 8). But it should perhaps be understood of social or political dignity. The Machazor Vitry explains it by *malkuth*. Be like Saul who "hid himself among the stuff" (1 Sam. x. 22) to avoid

being made king. Lordship brings to an early grave, so that Joseph dies before all his brethren, and one prophet outlasts several kings (Ex. i. 6; Isaiah i. 1; Pesachim 87b). R. Jonah connects this clause with the preceding by means of Prov. xii. 9. Dr Michael Cahn aptly recites from Plato, *Repub.* 347 D: ἐπεὶ κωδυνεύει, πῶς ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν εἰ γένοιτο, περιμάχῃτων αὐ εἶναι τὸ μὴ ἄρχεω ὥσπερ νυνὶ τὸ ἄρχεω. A man should not crown himself. "Let another man praise thee, and not thine own mouth" (Prov. xxvii. 2). When the first man rose to his feet, וְהָיָה מִתּוֹאֵר בְּרַמּוֹת אֱלֹהִים, the creatures were for worshipping him as their Creator; but Adam said, "Let us go, I and you, and make Him, who created us, king; for the people appoint the king, and no king appoints himself independently of the people" (Pirqe R. El. xi.).

<sup>24</sup> Avoid growing great, and coming under the notice of the "rashuth" (= ἐξουσία, concretely), in such a way as to excite jealousy or suspicion. Or: "ne nimium familiaris fias principibus"—such associations being thought *corrupting* as well as dangerous. Cf. II. 3; III. 8; James ii. 6.

<sup>25</sup> The name Abtalion is sometimes explained Aramaically by "pater adolescentium," in allusion to the "disciples" mentioned below. His sayings are transcendental, with historical reference. Scholars must take heed to their doctrine, lest they pass over into the realm of heresy, and inoculate their disciples with deadly error. The

13. Hillel<sup>26</sup> and Shammai received from them. Hillel said, Be of the disciples of Aharon<sup>27</sup>; loving peace, and pur-

penalty of untruth is untruth, to im-  
bibe which is death. Historically re-  
garded, the Israelite's captivity amongst  
worshippers of strange gods was the  
judgment upon him for irreligiousness.  
Abarbanel here credits Abtalion with  
a prescience that the second Temple  
was to be destroyed. Since it is con-  
templated that the wise themselves  
may be enthralled, the caution is not  
to be thought of as directed merely  
against loose or insufficiently explained  
expressions, nor against the opposite  
extreme (cf. Chagigal II. 1) of the too  
free unveiling—reading ותגלו as pi'el,  
and comparing גלות with גלוי (cf.  
Abarbanel)—of סתרי תורה, which  
Moses delivered by word of mouth  
without comment. As regards the  
figures employed, (1) WATERS may stand  
for doctrine (§ 4), or for peoples (Is.  
xl. 15). Streams while they flow upon  
הארץ (an expression used especially of  
the Holy Land), are good, and blessed,  
and sweet, and of profit to the world;  
but when mingled with the sea they  
become accursed and bitter... So Israel,  
when they swerve to heathen cus-  
toms, become accursed and evil;  
and as the rivers are food for the sea,  
so are they for the fire of hell (Pirque  
R. El. ix.): (2) DEATH is thought of as  
in Rom. vii. 9—11, where there is a  
reference to Gen. ii. 17; iii. 3. Con-  
trast Prov. iii. 18, and cf. Aboth I. 14;  
II. 15; III. 7; IV. 9; Baruch iii. 4—14:  
“hear now the prayers of the DEAD  
Israelites”; Jalqut 762 (on Numb. xix.  
14): “Words of Torah are established  
only when a man kills himself on their  
behalf.” [Shabbath 83 b.]

<sup>26</sup> Hillel was called, *ha-Gadol*, or  
*ha-Zaqen*, or *ha-Babli* (Berakotl 4 b;  
Sukkah 28 a; Pesachim 66 a). The

name is in Jud. xii. 13. He studied  
Torah while yet in Babylon, and at  
length, for its more exclusive study,  
separated from his trading bro-  
ther Shebna; whereupon there came  
forth *Bath Qol* and said, “If a man  
would give all the substance of his  
house for love, &c.” (Cant. viii. 7).  
If a man excuses himself from Thorah-  
study on the ground of poverty, it will  
be said to him, “Wast thou poorer  
than Hillel?” Of his small daily earn-  
ings a moiety went to the gatekeeper  
at the schools. Once he had earned no-  
thing, and was shut out. He climbed  
up and sat at the window to hear the  
words of the living God from Shema'iah  
and Abtalion. It was sabbath eve in  
Tebeth, and the snow covered him  
three cubits deep. Said Shema'iah to  
Abtalion in the morning, Why is the  
house so dark to-day? it must be  
cloudy. They spied Hillel: they  
brought him in: and attended to his  
wants, saying, He is worthy that the  
sabbath should be profaned for him  
(Joma 35 b). The tale of his appoint-  
ment as “nasi” is told in T. J. Pesa-  
chim vi. 1, and more briefly in Babli  
66 a. The principle that Passover sets  
aside Sabbath when they clash had  
escaped the elders, or *sons*, of Beth-  
eira (? Sadducees). Hillel, being inter-  
rogated, said that it followed *a fortiori*  
from the fact that more than 200 minor  
“Passovers” (= sacrifices) in the year  
set aside the Sabbath; and he argued  
his point from every side, but in vain,  
since Thorah without traditional au-  
thority is no Thorah, כל תורה שאין  
לה בית אב אינה תורה. At length  
he said, It occurs to me that thus I  
heard from Shema'iah and Abtalion;  
and they arose and appointed him

suing peace; loving mankind<sup>28</sup>, and bringing them nigh (Deut. xxx. 14; Eph. ii. 17)<sup>29</sup> to the Thorah.

"nasi." He was in fact the head and founder of a school, called after him, "Beth Hillel," the opponents in controversy of "Beth Shammai," to whom however they frequently made concessions. With the appointment of Hillel, "ein ganz neues, bis dahin als untergeordnet betrachtetes Princip der Lehrweise zur Geltung kam, nämlich die beständige Unterstützung der Ueberlieferung durch logisches Verfahren, so oft man sich nicht auf unmittelbare Behauptungen angesehener Lehrer berufen konnte" (Jost, *Gesch.* A. 257). Hillel had 80 disciples, of whom 30 were worthy, as Moses, that the Shekinah should rest upon them: 30, that the sun should stand still for them, as for Joshua: and 20 were of medium capacity. The least was Jochanan ben Zakkai: the greatest, Jonathan ben 'Uzziel, whose fire in the study of Thorah burnt up the birds that flew over him (Sukkah 28 a). Hillel, Shime'on, Gamliel and Shime'on held office in the period 30 B.C.—70 A.D.; and the pair Jose, Jose (§ 4) much earlier (Shabbath 15 a). At the end of Bereshith Rabbah, the age of Moses is divided into three periods of 40 years (Acts vii. 23; Ex. vii. 7); and amongst "six pairs" whose lives were equal are included (besides Moses) HILLEL HA-ZAQEN, R. Jochanan ben Zakkai, and R. 'Aqiba. [Sifré, ed. Fr. 150 a.]

<sup>27</sup> Seek peace at home, and pursue it abroad (Bemidbar Rabbah XIX.). The words of Mal. ii. 5, 6: "My covenant was with him (Levi) of life and peace... and (he) did turn many away from iniquity," came to be applied especially to Aaron [Aboth R. N. XII.]. He was one of seven fathers who made covenants. Of "Phinehas, the son of Elea-

zar, the son of Aaron," it is said: "Behold I give unto him my covenant of peace" (Numb. xxv. 12); and to him also Mal. ii. 5, 6 is applied. Aaron was so beloved that he was bewailed by כל בית ישראל (Numb. xx. 29), men and women; but Moses, by the sons of Israel alone (Deut. xxxiv. 8). Peace-making like *gemiluth chasadim* profits in both worlds (Peah i. 1). The Day of Atonement clears from transgressions against God, but not from those against one's neighbour, till he has been reconciled (Joma, end). For more on peace see Bem. Rabbah, *loc. cit.*, where it is said, אין כלי מחויק, "no vessel but peace can hold blessing," a saying found also at the end of the Mishnah in some editions (Surh. vi. 503); but  $\mathfrak{A}$  omits the whole paragraph, *Dirit R. J. &c.*

<sup>28</sup> Lit. *tàs ktíseis*. Cf. Mark xvi. 15, and (?) Rom. viii. 19.

<sup>29</sup> See the anecdotes of Hillel in note 33. For an illustration (Bereshith Rabbah xxviii.; Chazitha, on Cant. i. 4) which may be found to throw a new light on Matt. xxiii. 15 (*περιάγετε τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ τὴν ξηρὰν ποιῆσαι ἕνα προσήλυτον*), I am indebted to Dr Schiller-Szinessy, who informs me that he called attention to it in a lecture "nearly 30 years ago." I find it also in Jellinek's *Bet-ha-Midrash*, Wien 1873, V. p. XLVI.: א"ר חנין נעשה בכרכי הים מה שלא נעשה ברור המבול. הוי יושבי חבל הים גוי כרתים. גוי שהוא ראוי כרת. ובאי זה זכות הן עומדין. בזכות גוי אחד (נ"א גר אחד). בזכות ירא שמים אחד. שהן מעמידין בכל שנה. ר' לוי פתר לו לשבת. גוי שכת ברית. המד"א וכרות עמו הברית: "Said R. Chanin(a), There was done



not learn (or teach) deserves slaughter; and he who serves himself with the tiara perishes.

15. He used to say, If I am not for myself<sup>32</sup> who is for me? and being for my own self what am I? If not now when?

16. Shammai said<sup>33</sup>, Make thy Torah an ordinance<sup>34</sup>; say

been expressly taught, will *come to an end*, "his mother will bury him"; or will *bring to an end* and lose what he has learned by rote. Cf. Matt. xxv. 29. He who refuses to impart his knowledge (or "who will not learn at all"), commits a deadly sin. So too does he who utilises the crown of the Torah, or of the Holy NAME, by teaching (or studying) for his own profit and glorification. Cf. iv. 9, 19.

<sup>32</sup> A man must be self-reliant; but must not live for himself (Rom. xiv. 7). According to another interpretation: "I must work out my own salvation, yet how weak are my unaided efforts" (Phil. ii. 12, 13). *ἰδὸν νῦν καιρὸς εὐπρόσδεκτος* (2 Cor. vi. 2).

<sup>33</sup> Shammai, or Shamai, the successor of Hillel's colleague Menachem (Chagigah II. 2), generally has the first word in controversy (v. 25); but tradition does not credit him with the same readiness as Hillel to give every man a patient hearing. "A man should be gentle like Hillel, and not irritable like Shamai" (Shabbath 30 b). The Talmud goes on to relate how a man undertook for a wager to exhaust Hillel's patience, but failed. One day a foreigner came to Shamai to be proselytised, on condition of accepting the Written and dispensing with the Oral Torah. Shamai dismissed him with a rebuke. He appealed to Hillel, who on the first day taught him the letters of the alphabet (in the usual order), and on the morrow gave them in reverse order. But, said the would-be-proselyte, did

you not tell me so and so yesterday? If you relied on me for that, retorted Hillel, rely upon me likewise for the Oral Law. Another came to Shamai to be converted provided that he could be taught the whole Torah whilst he stood on one foot. Shamai beat him away, and he went to Hillel, who said: "What is hateful to thyself do not to thy fellow; this is the whole Torah, and the rest is commentary; go, study." Cf. *ὁ μισεῖς μηδενὶ ποιήσης* (Tobit iv. 15), and the converse, Matt. vii. 12. A third overhearing the description of the high-priest's vestments which was being read in a synagogue, came to Shamai to be made a proselyte in order that he might become high-priest. Shamai beat him away. He went to Hillel, who said, Do they appoint as king one who knows not the ordinances of the kingdom? Go, learn them. He read as far as Numb. i. 51: "And the stranger that cometh nigh shall be put to death." He said to him, This scripture, of whom is it spoken? He said to him, Even of David, King of Israel. A fortiori of me, argued the stranger; for if of Israel, God's son and first-born (Ex. iv. 22), such a thing is written, much more of a worthless proselyte who has come with his staff and with his wallet... After a time the three met together. They said, The irritability of Shamai sought to drive us from the world: the gentleness of Hillel brought us *νῆστιν* under the wings of the Shekinah.

<sup>34</sup> Contrast II. 17. Make thy study

little and do much<sup>35</sup>; and receive every man with a pleasant expression of countenance (III. 18).

17. Rabban Gamliel<sup>35</sup> said, Make to thyself a master, and be quit of doubt; and tithe not much by estimation<sup>36</sup>.

18. Shime'on<sup>37</sup> his son said, All my days I have grown up

of Thorah a *fixture*: a thing to be engaged in daily at stated times, and to which secular engagements must give way. 'Obadiah ben Jacob of Sforno takes the words of Shamai as addressed to his predecessor: "Though thou hast gone forth, O Menachem, to the service of the king, it is fitting that thou shouldst fix times for Thorah." Ps-Rashi is not content with stated times, but demands the whole day for Thorah.

<sup>35</sup> Be like Abraham, who only promised a MORSEL OF BREAD, but "fetcht a CALF TENDER AND GOOD" (Gen. xviii. 5, 7).

The next link in the chain of tradition is given in II. 9. In the interval there is a digression to the descendants of Hillel, who himself reappears in II. 5. The first Gamliel (or, in the Greek form, Γαμαλιήλ), son of Shime'on, and grandson of Hillel, is called Rabban; but the title may have been permanently connected with his name only by a later generation, for (1) like Hillel, who was not called Rabban, he is distinguished as HA-ZAQEN; and (2) he is called simply GAMALIEL both in Acts v. 34, xxii. 3 (under circumstances which make it improbable that a customary title of respect should have been omitted), and likewise in Shabbath 15 a: "Hillel, and Shime'on, GAMALIEL, and Shime'on held the office of nasi, while the temple was standing, for 100 years." For his opinion in what cases the Sabbath strictness might be relaxed, see 'Eru-

bin 45 a. Cf. Beçah II. 6. The high esteem in which he was held is shewn by the saying, that "from when R. G. ha-Zaqen died the glory of the Thorah ceased, and purity and פרישות (III. 20) died" (Sotah ix. 15). His death is placed eighteen years before the destruction of the temple. From Acts v. 39 a tradition arose that he died a Christian. He was not the author of the "heretic-benediction."

<sup>36</sup> In the case of a thing whereof the value and dimensions are not precisely laid down it becomes necessary to form a special estimate or *measurement*. Hence the root *amad* gives the sense "conjecture." In Sanhedrin iv. 5, אומד (עומד) is used of "circumstantial" evidence in a capital charge, in parallelism with *hearsay*. Let duties be defined as far as may be by rule: let doubts be resolved by authority: leave as little scope as possible for personal bias and the temptations of self-interest.

<sup>37</sup> For a defence of Simon ben Gamaliel I. against the aspersions of Josephus (*Life* § 38), see Jost, *Gesch.* A. 443. Rabbinic commentators suggest that he is not here called Rabban because his sayings date from the time of his pupilage, when Jochanan ben Zakai (II. 9) was ראש ישיבה. But see note 35, and II. 1. Simon was one of the peace-party in the closing years of the Jewish state, and he suffered "den Märtyrertod...kurz vor oder bei der Einnahme Jerusalems." For his saying on proselytism in Va-jiqra Rabbah II. see Jost, A. 447.

amongst the wise, and have not found aught good for a man but silence<sup>38</sup>; not learning but doing is the groundwork; and whoso multiplies words occasions sin.

19. Rabban Shime'on<sup>39</sup> ben Gamliel said, On three things the world stands; on Judgment, and on Truth, and on Peace<sup>40</sup>.

<sup>38</sup> Qoheleth Rabbah, v. 5, cites as a saying of R. Jehoshua: "Speech for a sheqel—silence for two; (it is) like a precious stone"; and adds (referring to this Mishnah) a saying of Rabbi, **סָמָא רְמִילְתָּא מִשְׁתּוּקָא**, Silence is the cure of a thing. But both Talmuds have **סָמָא דְכוּלָּא**, a panacea (T. J. Berakoth ix. 1; T. B. Megillah 18 a). The caution against undue loquacity is applied to sacred things. RR. Jochanan and Jonathan found a provincial chazan extemporising in his synagogue, and they silenced him, on the ground that *he had no right to add to the Benedictions which were already fixed by authority*. The Babli here refers the **תְּפִלָּה** to the Great Synagogue. He who talks overmuch even in praise of the Holy One is "swallowed up," or rooted out of the world, for it is said (Job xxxvii. 20), **כִּי יִבְלַע . . . הַיִּסְפָּר לּוֹ**. Cf. Matt. vi. 7; Eecl. v. 2; Ecclus. vii. 14; Berakoth 61 a. SILENCE IS HIS PRAISE (Ps. lxxv. 2).

<sup>39</sup> The R. Sh. b. G. here spoken of was the son of Gamaliel II., who was the grandson of Gamaliel I. The second Gamaliel (80—115 A.D.) was a man of liberal views, but self-willed and overbearing. It is related that he justified his conduct in frequenting a bath in 'Akko which contained a statue of Aphrodite on the ground that the statue was made as an ornament for the bath, and not the bath as an ornament for the statue ('Abodah Zarah iii. 4). His treatment of the venerable R. Jehoshua', who ven-

tured to differ from him on more than one occasion (R. ha-Shanah ii. 9; Berakoth 27 b), at length aroused the popular indignation to such an extent that he was deposed from his presidency, and succeeded by the youthful Ele'azar ben 'Azariah, on the memorable day frequently alluded to in the Talmud in the phrase **בּו בַּיּוֹם** (cf. "that same year," in Joh. xi. 49; xviii. 13); but after a time a compromise was effected, and the two presided alternately. His son Shime'on at length succeeded him, and became the teacher of many illustrious men. To this age (remarks Jost) belong the sayings of Meir, Jehudah, Jose, and Simon b. Gamliel in the Mishnah. "Sein Todesjahr ist nicht näher bestimmt, doch fällt es in die Zeit der parthischen Kriege in den ersten Jahren des Marcus Aurelius (um 164). Seine Bestrebungen gediehen zum Abschluss durch seinen berühmten Sohn JEHUDAH."

<sup>40</sup> Justice, truth, and peace (§ 13) are collectively the *σύνδεσμος* of society, a threefold cord which is not quickly broken (Eccl. iv. 12). They are a system of internal forces by which the world is held together, though the pillars of the former *αἰών* (§ 2) have been shaken, and the Temple itself has fallen. So the heavenly bodies are said to be kept in their orbits by the attractions of **חֲמֻדָּה** and **אֱמוּנָה**, which draw them to **אֱהִיָּה**. Peace plays an important part in the New Testament. In connexion with *αὐτὸς γὰρ ἔστιν ἡ εἰρήνη ἡμῶν* (Eph. ii. 14; Mic. v. 4), and *ὁ Θεὸς τῆς*

*ειρήνης* (Rom. xvi. 20), observe that PEACE is a Talmudic Name of God. The etymological affinity in Hebrew, of peace and perfectness, הכל יושלם, בשלום, "everything is PERFECTED BY PEACE," gives a clue to the genesis of some Pauline expressions. Compare *ἐν ἀγάπῃ... ἐν τῷ συνδέσμῳ τῆς εἰρήνης* (Eph. iv. 3), with *τὴν ἀγάπην ὃ ἐστὶν σύνδεσμος τῆς τελειότητος* (Col. iii. 14), which may be explained by supposing ἀγάπη to have replaced *ειρήνη*, peaceableness, in *Εἰρήνη... σύνδεσμος τῆς τελειότητος*. In Col. iii. 15 occurs the paradox, *ἡ εἰρήνη τοῦ Χριστοῦ βραβεύεται*, which may have been

suggested by the expression ומשפט שלום of Zech. viii. 16, a verse which is cited at the end of this Pirqe in many copies. The Qabbalists state the general theorem that all the attributes of God are in unison; and they work out the idea in their own peculiar way by so manipulating the Divine Names as to identify them all by alphabetical permutations. Thus PEACE, LOVE, MIGHT or JUDGMENT, and FEAR are made severally equivalent to the TETRAGRAMMATON, and therefore to one another (Berith Menuchah, ed. Amsterdam, 1648, fol. 3 a). [Jud. vi. 24; Shabbath 10 b; Pirqe ha-Shalom.]

p. 11. *Moses*] At the beginning of the Mekhilta, with the emendation כלול לדרבות for כלי לדרבות proposed by Dr Israel Lewy in *Ein Wort über die Mechilta des R. Simon* (Breslau 1889) and again by Mr Schechter, we read that "As Moses was a vessel for *λόγια* so Aaron was a vessel for *λόγια*," cf. iv. Ezra iv. 11 *quomodo poterit uas tuum capere altissimi uiam?*, Acts ix. 15 *σκεῦος... τοῦ βαστάσαι τὸ ὄνομά μου*, 2 Cor. iv. 7 "We have this treasure in earthen vessels," Nedarim 50 b "Fair Torah in foul vessel."

p. 11. *Thorah*] Without מעמדות (Ta'an. 27 b) or תורה (Nedar. 32 a) heaven and earth would not stand.

p. 11. *delivered*] Mekhilta כִּי תִשָּׂא (Fr. 103 b, 104 a), "The sabbath was delivered to you and ye were not delivered to the sabbath," illustrates St Mark ii. 27.

p. 11, n. 1] Gen. ii. 2 is one of the "ten" passages altered by the LXX for king Ptolemy. See Megillah T. B.

9 a & T. J. i. 9 (71 d), Mekhilta נח (15 b), Tanchuma שמות (Buber ii. 6 a), Mas. Soferim i. (Müller pp. 11. & 14).

p. 15, n. 12] With reference to this note Prof. Mayor, in a paper read to the Cambridge Philological Society (Nov. 8, 1883), writes as follows: "It seems highly probable that St Paul had distinctly in his mind a saying current in the Greek schools, variously ascribed to Thales or Socrates (D. L. i. 33) or Plato (Plut. Marius 46. § 1). Lactantius gives it thus (iii. 19. § 17), *non dissimile Platonis illud est, quod aiebat se gratias agere naturae, primum quod homo natus esset potius quam mutum animal; deinde quod mas potius quam femina; quod Graecus quam barbarus; postremo quod Atheniensis et quod temporibus Socratis.*"

p. 22, n. 29] See M. Joel *Blicke in die Religionsgeschichte* ii. 50, n. 1 (Breslau 1883); Bernays *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* ii. 71 sq. (Berl. 1885) on "Die Gottesfürchtigen bei Juvenal."

## CHAPTER II.

1. Rabbi<sup>1</sup> said, Which is the right course that a man should choose for himself? Whatsoever is a pride to him that pursues it<sup>2</sup>, (and) brings him honour (Phil. iv. 8) from men. And

<sup>1</sup> Rabbi, which is equivalent to "my lord," or *διδάσκαλε* (Job. i. 39), is properly a vocative, but came to be used as a title also, the possessive affix being disregarded. As a title it is superior to Rab (which is applied especially to Babylonian doctors, whereas Rabbi is applied to those of Palestine), but inferior to Rabban (a title given to seven or eight descendants of Hillel and to Jochanan ben Zakai). It is said [Kohut *A. C.* i. 7a] that Rabbi is greater than Rab, and Rabban than Rabbi, yet GREATER THAN RABBAN IS HIS NAME, גדול מרבן שמו, i.e. the greatest glory is to need no title at all, but to be sufficiently distinguished by one's name alone, like Hillel, Ezra, and the prophets. Another form, רבון, occurs in Targum and Gemara as a Divine title, and is also used with the affix "my" in much the same way as Rabbi. Cf. Mark x. 51; Joh. xx. 16, *ῥαββουνί, ὃ λέγεται διδάσκαλε*. This form רבוני occurs once in the Mishnah (Tha'anith III. 8) according to the manuscript א, instead of רבוני של עולם, "Lord of the world," which is found in other copies.

The title of RABBI κατ' ἐξοχήν was given to Jehudah ben Simon III., who

was also called Jehudah ha-Nasi (§ 2), and Rabbenu *ha-Qadosh*, or *the holy*. To him is attributed the compilation of the MISHNAH; but the MISHNAH as we have it is a later recension, as may be inferred from the way in which "Rabbi" himself is introduced (cf. Menachoth VI. 3; VIII. 6, &c.). He is thought to have been born about 140 A.D., shortly after the execution of R. 'Aqiba, and to have died at Sephoris, after 17 years of ill health, at the age of 80, in 219 or 220 A.D. (Jost, *Gesch.* B. 118); but by some he is placed earlier. It is remarked that "from the days of Moses to Rabbi we have not found Torah and greatness in one place" (Gittin 59 a); for there was not his like in Israel for greatness in Torah and wealth. "From when Rabbi died, meekness and the fear of sin ceased" (Sotah ix. 15). Little is known of the details of his literary and administrative work.

<sup>2</sup> The interpretation of this somewhat doubtful clause varies according to the reading, and also according to the meaning assigned to the עושה. The rendering given above involves a departure from the text of א, and is adapted to the usual reading ותפארת.

be attentive to a light precept as to a grave, for thou knowest not the assigned reward of precepts<sup>3</sup>; and reckon the loss for a duty against its gain, and the gain by a transgression against its loss. And consider three things, and thou wilt not fall into the hands of transgression (III. 1): know what<sup>4</sup> is above thee—a seeing eye, and a hearing ear (1 Pet. iii. 12), and all thy deeds written in a book (Dan. vii. 10).

2. Rabban Gamliel, son of R. Jehudah ha-Nasi<sup>5</sup>, said,

Jost renders "welcher ihm in seinen eigenen Augen und in denen der Menschen zum Ruhme gereicht." Taking the former תפארת as subjective compare מעשה ידי להתפאר (Is. lx. 21). The second תפארת is illustrated by Jud. iv. 9: "notwithstanding the JOURNEY that thou takest shall not be for THINE HONOUR." R. 'Obadiah of Sferno—cf. Baba Bathra 16 b—remarks that a man should choose a business to which he can devote himself *con amore*, for, "happy is he whose business is perfumery, and woe to him whose business is tanning." Bar S. objects to the usual interpretation that תפארת cannot be taken subjectively, and that עשה does not apply well to דרך (but cf. Jud. xvii. 8); and he proposes the interpretation: "Whatsoever is done for the honour of a man's Maker (לעושהו) will bring the man honour from his fellows." Cf. Matt. vi. 33; Aboth iv. 10. A third interpretation, which presupposes the usual reading, is: "Whatsoever is to the glory of God, AND also has the approval of men." Cf. Prov. iii. 4 (cited by R. Elijah of Wilna): "So shalt thou find favour and good understanding in the sight of God and man." [Nedarim 22 b; Tamid 28 a.]

<sup>3</sup> Cf. NEDARIM 39 b. It is remarked that a reward (length of days) is specified in the case of two extreme precepts, the gravest of the grave: "Honour thy father and thy mother,"

and the lightest of the light: "Thou shalt not take the dam with the young. But thou shalt in any wise LET THE DAM (האם) GO, and take the young to thee; that it may be well with thee, and that thou mayest prolong thy days." It is inferred in Sifre (Deut. xxii. 7), that if this light precept is singled out for such a reward, a *fortiori* will the fulfilment of other precepts be rewarded.  $\aleph$  remarks that *negative* precepts do not come under consideration here, since there is no שצר for them.

<sup>4</sup> Or, omitting טה: "Know (that) above thee is a seeing eye, &c." This concise reading is found in  $\aleph$ .

<sup>5</sup> R. Jehudah is said (Kethuboth 103 b) to have nominated his (elder) son Gamaliel to succeed him as Nasi. The first part of this Gamaliel's saying relates to individuals as such, and counsels them to combine secular occupation with Thorah study. The expression *derek erez*, or *via terra*, may denote the conduct of worldly business, or an acquaintance with, and conformity to, the usages of society, "good-manners," &c. The phrase occurs not only in Rabbinic, but (with a variation) in the Bible, in senses readily determined by the context. Cf. Gen. xix. 31; Josh. xxiii. 14; 1 Kings ii. 2. The second part of the saying recommends individuals, regarded as members of the congregation of Israel, to act *eis δόξαν τοῦ Θεοῦ* (Rom. xv. 7), re-

Excellent is Thorah study together with worldly business, for the practice of them both puts iniquity out of remembrance; and all Thorah without work must fail at length, and occasion iniquity<sup>6</sup>. And let all who are employed with the congregation act with them in the name of Heaven, for the merit of their fathers sustains them, and their righteousness stands for ever. And ye yourselves shall have reward reckoned unto you<sup>7</sup> as if ye had wrought.

3. Be cautious with (those in) authority, for they let not a man approach them but for their own purposes; and they appear like friends when it is to their advantage, and stand not by a man in the hour of his need.

4. He used to say, Do His will as if it were thy will<sup>8</sup>, that He may do thy will as if it were His will. Annul thy will before His will, that He may annul the will of others before thy will<sup>9</sup>.

5. Hillel said, Separate not thyself from the congregation, and trust not in thyself until the day of thy death<sup>10</sup>; and judge

lying upon the merit of the patriarchs. Cf. ἀγαπητοὶ διὰ τοὺς πατέρας (Rom. xi. 28). With the conclusion of the saying compare Rom. iv. 4, τῷ δὲ ἐργαζομένῳ ὁ μισθὸς οὐ λογίζεται κατὰ χάριν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ ὄφελημα.

<sup>6</sup> The usual reading, וְגוֹרֵר, is simplest.

<sup>7</sup> Literally, according to the text of א (but see *Crit. Note*), "THEY reckon unto you." The indefinite THEY, which occurs so frequently in Rabbinic, is interpreted of the שָׁל (or ב"ד) פְּמִלְיָא (or מְעֵלָה, the "upper" or celestial "family" (or tribunal). Cf. Eph. iii. 15. The Holy One, blessed is He, does nothing without consulting the *familia superna*, for it is said (Dan. iv. 17), "This matter is by the decree of the watchers, and the demand by the word of the holy ones" (Sanhedrin 38 b). Cf. Dan. iv. 25, 32; "And THEY shall drive thee from men." The same construction is found in the New Testament. Cf. δῶσουσιν εἰς τὸν κόλπον

ὁμῶν (Luke vi. 38).

<sup>8</sup> 'Eάν τις θέλῃ τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ ποιεῖν κ.τ.λ. (Joh. vii. 17). Cf. Ps. xl. 9. "It is revealed and known before Thee that our will is to do Thy will. And who hindereth? The leaven in the dough, and servitude to the kingdoms," &c. (Berakoth 17 a).

<sup>9</sup> "At the time when Israel do the will of God their work is done by the hand of others, for it is said, And strangers shall stand and feed your flocks, and the sons of the alien shall be your plowmen and your vinedressers (Is. lxi. 5); and at the time when Israel do not the will of God their work is done by their own hand, for it is said (but cf. the context), And thou shalt gather in thy corn, &c. (Deut. xi. 14). Nay more, the work of others is done by their hand, for it is said (Deut. xxviii. 48), And thou shalt serve thine enemies" (Berakoth 35 b).

<sup>10</sup> BERAKOTH 29 a illustrates this saying by the case of one Jochanan

not thy friend until thou comest into his place; and say not of a word which may be heard<sup>11</sup> that in the end it shall be heard; and say not, When I have leisure I will study; perchance thou mayest not have leisure.

6. He used to say, No boor<sup>12</sup> is a sinfearer; nor is the vulgar<sup>13</sup> pious; nor is the shamefast apt to learn, nor the pas-

who after ministering as high-priest for 80 years became a Çaduqi. Rabbinic writers do not countenance the opinion that the priestly party were to a great extent, or normally, Sadduceic. Cf. Excursus III. The Machazor Vitry (see *Crit. Note*) remarks that the title "R." should not be read, as in א, before the name of HILLEL. He is identified with Hillel ha-Zaqen by comparing Sukkah 53 a, "where the saying about the "skull" (§ 7)—omitting the word סוף (ed. Lemberg)—is attributed to him: "They said of Hillel ha-Zaqen that when he was sharing in the festivity of the שואבה—sc. at the feast of Tabernacles [Kohut *A.C.* II. 85; Delitzsch *Iris*, p. 198, Edinb. 1889]—he said, If I am here, all are here; and if I am not here, who is here? He used to say thus, Whatsoever place I take pleasure in, thither My feet lead me. If thou wilt come to My house, I will come to thy house: if thou wilt not come to My house, I will not come to thy house (Exod. xx. 24). Moreover he saw a skull that floated on the surface of the water, and he said to it, Because thou drownedst they drowned thee, AND they that drowned thee shall be drowned."

<sup>11</sup> This is well explained by the Machazor Vitry in accordance with the context. If a word of Torah MAY BE HEARD—if a man has leisure to attend to the call of duty at once, let him do so, and not make the excuse that it may be attended to at some future

time, that ITS END IS TO BE HEARD; and even if he is pressed with business, let him find time for it, and not say that when he has leisure he will attend to his Torah, for that more convenient season may never come.

According to the more usual *negative* reading and interpretation the saying is a caution against propounding far-fetched, paradoxical, not-to-be-heard-of doctrines, even though they may in the end perhaps be susceptible of a rational interpretation. Speak not words which *prima facie* CANNOT be heard, though ultimately they may be heard: words which require elaborate explanation before they can be accepted; "Alles was du vorträgst musz mit Klarheit...geschehen" (Paulus Ewald). Cf. Maimonides, who is followed by very many of the moderns. The *negative* reading and interpretation, in some form, is usually adopted; but that of the Machazor Vitry has strong claims to acceptance. For the various reading אשטר (א) in the Mishnah see also Parah vi. 1; vii. 5; Makshirin III. 5—7; Sotah v. 3; 'Erakin VIII. 7; Themurah v. 4.

<sup>12</sup> The word בור, of which boor may be employed as a transliteration, is used of "incultus, sylvestris ager." In Prov. xii. 1: "but he that hateth reproof is BRUTISH," the Targum has בורא, for Heb. בער.

<sup>13</sup> The expression 'am ha-areç is used in Rabbinic to denote the vulgar herd, ὁ ὄχλος οὗτος ὁ μὴ γινώσκων τὸν νόμον (Joh. vii. 49). Cf. Ezek. vii. 27...

sionate to teach<sup>14</sup>; nor is every one that has much traffic wise. And in a place where there are no men endeavour to be a man<sup>15</sup>.

7. Moreover he saw a skull (Matt. xxvii. 33) which floated on the face of the water, and he said to it, Because thou drownedst<sup>16</sup> they drowned thee, and *in the end* they that drowned thee shall be drowned.

8. He used to say, More flesh, more worms: more treasures, more care: more maidservants, more lewdness: more menservants, more theft: more women<sup>17</sup>, more witchcrafts (Nah. iii.

καὶ αἱ χεῖρες τοῦ λαοῦ τῆς γῆς παραλυθήσονται. In this Mishnah, and *passim*, it is used as a singular to denote ONE of the ἄχλος. So יג, the singular of 𐤇𐤓, ἔθνη, is used to denote an individual heathen.

<sup>14</sup> An ἐπίσκοπος should be διδακτικός, and not ὀργίλος (1 Tim. iii. 2; 2 Tim. ii. 24; Tit. i. 7).

<sup>15</sup> A man should bear himself manfully when left to his own resources (cf. i. 15). It is added in Berakoth 63a: "In a place where there is a man, there be not a man": refrain from undue self-assertion.

<sup>16</sup> He who has suffered violence must have been a wrong-doer; and they that have done the man violence will themselves come to an untimely end. Cf. πάντες γὰρ οἱ λαβόντες μάχαιραν ἐν μαχαίρῃ ἀπολοῦνται (Matth. xxvi. 52). The above saying of Hillel—which, like some others attributed to him (cf. i. 14), is in Aramaic—is one of the many ways of expressing the great principle of retribution: "as thou hast done, it shall be done unto thee" (Obadiah 15). It is a common saying in the Talmud that "with what measure a man measures, THEY (cf. note 7) measure to him": Samson, who followed after the desire of his eyes, was blinded by the Philistines: Absalom, who prided himself upon his hair, was hanged up by his hair

(Sotah i. 7, 8). The bribed judge will live to grow blind (Peah, end), "for a gift doth blind the eyes of the wise" (Deut. xvi. 19). On the other hand, when the member that sinned has suffered, the curse is removed. Thus, sentence of slavery is pronounced, because "Ham the father of Canaan ...saw...and TOLD" (Gen. ix. 22)—thereby sinning with eyes and teeth: and contrariwise the slave is set at liberty (Ex. xxi. 26, 7) when he has suffered the loss of eye or tooth (Bereshith Rabbah xxxvi.).

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Ex. xxii. 18. Woman is regarded as a medium of temptation. Man is to woman as לְכַשׁ to מִטְרָה—as νοῦς to ὕλη, or αἴσθησις: as upper to lower: as right to left: as the Divine to the human. Philo writes (*de Mundi Opificio*, Vol. i. pp. 39, 40, ed. Mangey): τὰς δὲ γοητείας καὶ ἀπάτας αὐτῆς ἢ ἡδονῇ τῷ μὲν ἀνδρὶ οὐ τολμᾷ προσφέρειν, τῇ δὲ γυναικί, καὶ διὰ ταύτης ἐκείνῳ πάνν προσφυνῶς καὶ εὐθυβόλως. Ἐν ἡμῖν γὰρ ἀνδρὸς μὲν ἔχει λόγον ὁ νοῦς, γυναικὸς δ' αἴσθησις, κ.τ.λ. It is disputed whether σαρκός, in Joh. i. 13, where it is contrasted with ἀνδρός, refers especially to the female. The contrast "right" and "left" (Zohar on Gen. i. 2, col. 14) is explained by the doctrine that the (left) hand of God created earth, and the right hand heaven, according to an

4): more Torah, more life (Prov. iii. 1, 2): *more wisdom, more scholars*<sup>18</sup>: *more righteousness, more peace*. He who has gotten a good name has gotten it for himself<sup>19</sup>. He who has gotten to himself words of Torah, has gotten to himself the life of the world to come.

9. Rabban Jochanan ben Zakai<sup>20</sup> received from Hillel and

interpretation (given also in Pirque R. El. xviii.) of Is. xlvi. 13, אִף יִרִי יִסְדֵּר אֶרֶץ וְיִמִּינֵי טַפְחָה שְׂמִימִים. The man is *εἰκὼν καὶ δόξα θεοῦ· ἡ δὲ γυνὴ δόξα ἀνδρός ἔστιν* (1 Cor. xi. 7). The congregation of Israel is personified as a *γυνή*, in relation to God.

<sup>18</sup> The teacher who increases his wisdom will increase his *consensus* of scholars (R. Jonah). Bar S. cites Maimonides as favouring this reading. The usual reading: *Viel Schule, viel Weisheit* (P. Ewald), may mean either (1) that wisdom increases with *study*, or (2) that it increases with the *consensus* of scholars, who sharpen not only one another (Prov. xxvii. 17), but also their Rab, by their discussions. So C, bar S. &c., citing the well-known saying: "I have learned much from my teachers: more from my associates: but from my disciples most of all." Cf. iv. 1.

<sup>19</sup> Φρόντισον περὶ ὀνόματος, αὐτὸ γὰρ σοὶ διαμένει ἢ χίλιοι μεγάλοι θησαυροὶ χρυσίου (Eccles. xli. 12).

<sup>20</sup> Jochanan ben Zakai, or Zakkai (Ζακχαῖος), was the "least" of the disciples of Hillel (cf. Pereq i. note 26). His learning is described in Baba Bathra 134 a: at his death "splendor sapientiæ" ceased (Sotah ix. 15). "Durch ihn ward Jämnia zum Sitz der gesetzgebenden Versammlungen, zu einem neuen Jerusalem: während er seine Lehrschule an einem kleinen Orte in der Nähe hielt" (Jost, *Gesch.* v. 17). He was distinguished as a scrupulous adherent to the old paths, rather than as a

theoretical reformer. The strictness of his moral code is intimated by the remark attributed to him in Chagig. 5 a (on Mal. iii. 5), that *levia* are reckoned as *gravia*. (It is added, on ומטי גר, that he who perverts the cause of the stranger, is as if he perverted that of Heaven, כל המטה דינו של גר כאלו מטה דינו של מעלה.) In Chagigah l. c. Jochanan remarks further, on the last verse of Ecclesiastes, that sins of inadvertence and of wilfulness are put on a par. In Chagigah 13 a, he urges the futility of speculating, with our finite capacities, upon the secrets of the universe: "What answer gave *bath qol* to that wicked one who said (Is. xiv. 14), I will ascend above the heights of the clouds, I will be like the most High?... The years of man are only seventy, whereas from earth to the firmament is a journey of 500 years, and the thickness of the firmament is a journey of 500 years, and the interval between each firmament and the next is a journey of 500 years." His view of the religious status of the heathen is brought out in Baba Bathra 10 b, where he infers from Prov. xiv. 34, that moral goodness may atone for them, as the sin-offering (זִמְטָא) for Israel. They said of R. Jochanan ben Zakai that he was always beforehand in saluting even a heathen in the street (Berakoth 17 a. Cf. Aboth iv. 22). When he was at the point of death some of his disciples came to visit him. He wept. They said, Why dost thou, the light of Israel...weep? He said

from Shammai. He used to say, If thou hast practised Thorah<sup>21</sup> much, claim not merit to thyself, for thereunto wast thou created (Luke xvii. 10; 1 Cor. ix. 16).

10. Five disciples<sup>22</sup> were there to Rabban Jochanan ben Zakai, and these were they: R. Li'ezer<sup>23</sup> ben Hyrqnos, and R. Jehoshua' ben Chananiah, and R. Jose the Priest, and

(Berakoth 28 b), Were they bringing me before an earthly king, whose wrath is transient: who, should he put me to death, the death would not be eternal: whom, moreover, I might hope to persuade or bribe... even then I should weep; How then can I but weep, when they are bringing me before... Him whose wrath is 'eternal': who, if He puts me to death, the death is 'eternal': and whom I cannot hope to move with words or bribes? They say to him, Bless us; and accordingly he prays paradoxically that *the fear of Heaven may be upon them as the fear of flesh and blood*: the transgressor has a real fear of detection by his fellows: would that he could equally realise the truth that he is seen by God. There was a belief that dying saints were sometimes visited in their last moments by the spirits of the departed. In accordance with this belief, R. Jochanan is represented as directing his assembled disciples to prepare a seat for Hezekiah who was coming. "Es ist sehr zu beklagen, dass weder die Dauer seiner Wirksamkeit *nach* der Zerstörung des Tempels, noch sein Todesjahr, welches vermuthlich in Domitians Regierungszeit fällt, angemerkt worden."

<sup>21</sup> The reading of modern editions is: "If thou hast *learned* (note א) much Thorah." The better attested לָמַד may include both acquisition and practice. The MSS. favour the reading: "If thou hast wrought much at THY THORAH." Bar S. illustrates the

saying as follows: "Why was the book Ezra not called by the name of Nehemiah? Because he insisted upon his merits, as it is said, Remember me, O my God, concerning this, and wipe not out my good deeds" (Neh. xiii. 14). But see Sanhedrin 93 b.

<sup>22</sup> The same five disciples attempt to comfort R. Jochanan on the death of his son (Aboth R.N. xiv.), and Ele'azar again bears off the palm. After the death of his master he withdrew to Emmaus, but failed to draw disciples after him. According to Shabbath 147 b, he yielded to the enervating influences of the place, and his learning deserted him: then they prayed for him and it returned. His case is adduced in illustration of the principle that a man should betake himself to a place of Thorah (iv. 20), and not presume upon his own power to raise up a school for himself in a place where Thorah is not already studied.

<sup>23</sup> La'zar (Λάζαρος), and Li'ezer (cf. *Crit. Note*) are colloquial abbreviations. R. Eli'ezer—who was a preceptor of R. 'Aqiba—is described as a faithful preserver of traditions received: Ele'azar, as a teacher of original power and inexhaustible fertility of invention, "who adds to what he has heard (cf. i. 14), and draws inferences; whereas El. b. Hyrqnos, as we find in Sikkah, never spoke a word that he had not heard from his Rab" (A\*). For the metaphor of the spring, cf. John iv. 14, πηγὴ ὕδατος ἀλλομένου εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον. [Psalms xxxvi. 10.]

R. Shime'on ben Nathanael, and R. Ele'azar ben 'Arak. He used to recount their praise: Eli'ezer ben Hyrkanos is a plastered cistern, which loseth not a drop; Jehoshua' ben Chananiah—happy is she that bare him; Jose the Priest is pious<sup>24</sup>; Shim'eon ben Nathanael is a sinfearer; Ele'azar ben 'Arak is a welling spring.

11. He used to say, If all the wise of Israel were in a scale of the balance, and Eli'ezer ben Hyrkanos<sup>25</sup> in the other scale, he would outweigh them all. Abba Shaul said in his name, If all the wise of Israel were in a scale of the balance, and Eli'ezer ben Hyrkanos with them, and Ele'azar ben 'Arak in the other scale, he would outweigh them all.

<sup>24</sup> The *chasid* is of greater excellence than the *çaddiq* (*δικαιος*). Cf. the gradation: "Three things are said of nail-parings, He who burns them is חסיד; He who buries them is צדיק; He who throws them away is רשע" (Niddah 17 a). The term *chasid* is used in the text in connexion with the designation "the Priest." So Jose ben Jo'ezer (t. 4) is called חסיד שבכהונה (Chagigah II. 7). There is a certain halo of antiquity about the word in the phrase חסידים הראשונים (Berakoth v. 1). One of the conjectures about the name Essene, or Έσσαίος, identifies it with חסיד (regardless of the 7). But the Essenes were opposed to sacrifice, and the *chasid* might be a priest.

<sup>25</sup> The typical traditionalist Eli'ezer is balanced against the man of genius. In favour of tradition C quotes, סיני ועוקר הרים סיני עדיף, when the choice lies between "Sinai" and an "uprooter of mountains," the preference is given to Sinai. See the discussions in Berakoth 64 a and Horaioth 14 a, where R. Joseph is described as סיני, and Rabah as עוקר הרים. Cf. also R. 'Obadiah of Sforno, in the Bologna Machazor, who adds that the "uprooter of mountains" has the ad-

vantage in criticism, as "a pungent grain of pepper is better than a basketful of gourds." [Megillah 7 a; Chagigah 10 a. Cf. Matt. xvii. 20.]

R. Eli'ezer incurred excommunication through his opposition to the opinion of the majority. Cf. iv. 12. Shortly afterwards he retired from Lydda to Cæsarea. On his death-bed he apostrophised his arms: "Alas! my two arms, which are like two books of Thorah rolled up." He added, that he had learned and taught much Thorah, but had not by learning lessened his teachers' store by so much as a dog laps from the sea; nor had his own disciples taken away from him, אלא כמכחול בשפופרת. He had laid down the law (said he) times innumerable, when his decisions had been received without a question (Sanhedrin 68 a); and indeed notwithstanding the ban under which he lay, the Mishnah has preserved more than 330 of his sayings—"mehr als von irgend einem seiner Gefährten" (Jost, *Gesch.* v. 35). His respect for authority is further shewn by his counsel (§ 14) to warm oneself by, and yet keep at a respectful distance from, the fire of the wise. After him is named the work, *Pirqe Rabbi Eli'ezer ben Hyrkanos*.

12. He said to them, Go and see which is the good way that a man should cleave to. Rabbi Li'ezer said, A good eye<sup>26</sup>: R. Jehoshua' said, A good friend<sup>27</sup>: and R. Jose said, A good neighbour: and R. Shime'on said, He that foresees what is to be<sup>28</sup>: R. La'zar said, A good heart. He said to them, I approve the words of Ele'azar ben 'Arak rather than your words, for his words include your words.

13. He said to them, Go and see which is the evil way that a man should shun. R. Li'ezer said,<sup>29</sup> An evil eye<sup>29</sup>: and R. Jehoshua' said, An evil companion: and R. Jose said, An evil neighbour: and R. Shime'on said, He that borroweth and repayeth not<sup>30</sup>—he that borrows from man is the same as if he borrowed from God (blessed is He)—for it is said, The wicked borroweth, and payeth not again, but the righteous is merciful and giveth (Ps. xxxvii. 21): R. La'zar said, An evil heart. He said to them, I approve the words of Ele'azar ben 'Arak

<sup>26</sup> "He that hath a bountiful eye (טוב עין) shall be blessed; for he giveth of his bread to the poor" (Prov. xxii. 9). On טוב לב (Prov. xv. 15) see Sanhedrin 100 b. [Aboth R. N. xiv. לב טוב לשמים ולב טוב לבריות.]

<sup>27</sup> CHABER is a familiar friend, colleague, or *associate*: SHAKEN, simply a neighbour. Cf. i. 7, 8; Luke xv. 6, καλεῖ τοὺς φίλους καὶ τοὺς γείτονας.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. לעם נולד (Ps. xxii. 32). The saying is explained in A\* as denoting a man of insight, who considers the consequences of things beforehand, and thereby regulates his actions, balancing the sacrifice for a duty against its reward (§ 1).

<sup>29</sup> "Eat thou not the bread of him that hath an evil eye (רע עין)...Eat and drink, saith he to thee; but his heart is not with thee" (Prov. xxiii. 6, 7). "He that hasteth to be rich is איש רע עין" (Prov. xxviii. 22). The evil eye denotes especially niggardliness, envy, or jealousy. Cf. Aboth v.

19; Matt. xx. 15. Compare also § 15, where the "evil eye" perhaps corresponds to הקינאה (Aboth iv. 30). R. Jonah brings out the connexion between this saying of R. Shime'on and the former by remarking that the borrower should consider whether he is able to repay, for the day of reckoning will surely come.

<sup>30</sup> "He that hath pity upon the poor lendeth unto the Lord" (Prov. xix. 17). ἐφ' ὅσον ἐποιήσατε ἐνὶ τούτων τῶν ἐλαχίστων, ἐμοὶ ἐποιήσατε (Matt. xxv. 40). The character here condemned is that of a man wanting in insight, who incurs responsibilities which he is not able to meet and who views things from an external standpoint, not seeing the significance of commonplace actions, whereas ὁ ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ ἄδικος καὶ ἐν πολλῷ ἄδικός ἐστιν (Luke xvi. 10). Another explanation (bar S.) is that all wealth belongs to God (Haggai ii. 8), and men are His stewards. Hence the borrower borrows from God.

rather than your words, for your words are included in his words<sup>31</sup>.

14. And they said (each) three things. R. Li'ezer<sup>32</sup> said, Let the honour of thy friend be dear unto thee as thine own; and be not easily provoked; and repent<sup>33</sup> one day before thy death. And warm thyself before the fire of the wise, but beware of their embers, perchance thou mayest be singed, for their bite is the bite of a fox<sup>34</sup>, and their sting the sting of a scorpion, and their hiss the hiss of a fiery-serpent, and all their words are as coals of fire (Jer. v. 14).

<sup>31</sup> Ἐσωθεν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς καρδίας...ὀφθαλμοὺς πονηρὸς κ.τ.λ. (Mark vii. 21, 22). The "heart" has not now quite the same significance as formerly. Cf. "Ephraim also is like a silly dove without HEART" (Hosea vii. 11); and notice the remarkable expression, τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῆς καρδίας (Eph. i. 18; Clem. ad Cor. i. 36, 59).

<sup>32</sup> The three sayings of R. Li'ezer are variously reckoned. Rabbam regards: "And warm thyself, &c." as an extraneous addition, and takes the caution against anger as the second; whereas "Rashbam" and others make it part of the first, since irritability tends to discourtesy. According to the latter reckoning the sayings are, (1) "Let the honour, &c."; (2) "Repent, &c."; (3) "Warm thyself, &c." The connexion between anger and the dishonouring of a man's neighbour might be illustrated by Matt. v. 22, πᾶς ὁ ὀργιζόμενος τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ ἔνοχος ἔσται τῇ κρίσει...ὅς δ' ἂν εἴπη, Μωρέ, ἔνοχος ἔσται εἰς τὴν γέενναν τοῦ πυρός. "Whosoever is angry, punishments of Gehinnom come upon him, for it is said (Eccl. xi. 10), Remove כעס from thy heart, and put away evil from thy flesh. And 'evil' is Gehinnom, for it is said (Prov. xvi. 4),...the wicked for the day of evil" (bar S.) By

three things a man is tested, בכוסו ובכיסו ובכעסו, by his cup, and his purse, and his temper. [This saying is in 'Erubin 65 b.]

<sup>33</sup> R. 'Obadiah establishes a connexion between this clause and the preceding by remarking that if anger has got the better of a man he should repent at once. The saying is quoted in Shabbath 153 a, and explained as meaning that a man should repent *to-day* because he may die *to-morrow*: "Let thy garments be always white" (Eccl. ix. 8). A parable of Jochanan ben Zakkai is added: A king invited his servants to a banquet without specifying the time: the wise (פיקחים) dressed themselves and sat at the gate: the foolish went to their work: suddenly the guests were summoned: the king was pleased with the wise, and angry with the foolish: he said, They that dressed themselves for the banquet shall sit and eat, and they that did not shall stand and look on. The son-in-law of R. Meir said that all shall sit, but the wise shall eat and drink, and the foolish shall be hungry and thirsty (Is. lxv. 13).

<sup>34</sup> Bar S. mentions a reading נח, which perhaps crept in from a commentary in which it was used below to explain שרף.

15. R. Jehoshua<sup>c</sup> said, An evil eye<sup>35</sup>, and the evil nature<sup>36</sup>,

<sup>35</sup> The expression *עין הרע* might be rendered, *oculus mali*, since *עין* is usually feminine; but see *Crit. Note*. It occurs in many other places. Observe that the saying on *ὀφθαλμὸς πορνῆς* in § 13 is attributed to Eli'ezer, not Jehoshua<sup>c</sup>.

Jehoshua<sup>c</sup> frequently appears in controversy with 'Aqiba, Gamliel (p. 25), Eli'ezer, &c. "Wir haben von ihm in der Mischnah gegen 130 Aussprüche...Er war zur Zeit des Tempels schon erwachsen, und Schüler des Jochanan b. Zachai. Als Levit gehörte er zu den Sängern des Tempels, kurz vor dessen Zerstörung er seinem Lehrer ins Lager der Römer folgte" (Jost, *Gesch.* v. 71). When, in sorrow for the destruction of the Temple, many Pharisees refused to eat flesh and drink wine, which were no longer offered on the altar, he shewed them that logically they must abstain likewise from bread, and fruit, and water, and admonished them to desist from excessive demonstrations of grief on the ground that no burden should be put upon the congregation which the majority could not bear (Baba B. 60b), שאין גוזרין גזירה על הצבור אלא, א"כ רוב צבור יכולין לעמוד בה. He had the reputation of being a faithful observer of the Law, but an opponent of extravagant developments. "Die Juden liebten ihn sehr, und sein Wort bewirkte Beruhigung der Gemüther in der Zeit furchtbarer Aufregung unter Trajan's Regierung."

<sup>36</sup> The omission of the article before *יצר* may be abundantly illustrated from Rabbinic. Cf. *חסידים הראשונים* (Berakoth v. 1), &c. The omission is also Biblical (Gen. i. 31).

The word *יצר* denotes (1) formation, or a thing formed (Ps. ciii. 14; Is.

xxix. 16), and (2) *diavola*, especially in connexion with *לב*. Cf. Gen. vi. 5; viii. 21, *יצר לב האדם רע מנעריו*. The *יצר רע* is the evil nature or disposition in or of a man: the *יצר טוב* his good nature or disposition. These—cf. the *παλαιὸς* and *καινὸς ἄνθρωπος* (Eph. iv. 22, 23)—are frequently personified. The dualism of man's nature is evolved from Gen. ii. 7, where it is said, *וייצר כו'* (with *two gods*), He formed man with two *יצרים*, the one, *יצר טוב*, and the other, *יצר רע* (Berakoth 61 a). A curious "parable" is given in connexion with the murder of Abel: A thief effected a robbery in the night, escaping the vigilance of the gatekeeper, who however caught him on the morrow and began to reproach him for his dishonesty. The retort was, I am a thief, and thou art the watchman: I have not neglected my business, but thou hast neglected thine. So Cain said to God, Thou didst create in me *יצר הרע*, and in consequence I slew Abel: why didst Thou, that art the keeper of all, let me slay him? It is Thou that hast slain him, Thou that art called *אנכי* (see Excursus on *Shema*'), for hadst Thou accepted my offering like his, I should not have been jealous of him (Tanchuma on Gen. iv. 9). The Targum and Midr. Rab. on Eccl. ix. 14, 15 make the *little city* the heart of man: the *great king* that comes against it, the *יצר רע*: and the *poor wise man* that delivers the city, the *יצר טוב*. This reminds us of the *ισχυρός*, spoiled by the *ισχυρότερος*, and at the same time of the indwelling *ἀκάθαρτον πνεῦμα* (Luke xi. 21—26).

The evil *יצר* (Eccl. x. 1, Targ.) lies at the door of the heart like a *רבנובא*, "instar muscæ" (Berakoth 61 a); in

and hatred of the creatures put a man out of the world<sup>37</sup> (*איִוֵן*).

16. R. Jose said, Let the property (Luke xvi. 11, 12) of thy friend be precious unto thee as thine own; set thyself to learn Thorah, for it is not an heirloom unto thee<sup>38</sup>; and let all thy actions be to the name of Heaven<sup>39</sup>.

17. R. Shime'on said, Be careful in reading the **Shema**<sup>40</sup>, and in Prayer; and when thou prayest<sup>41</sup>, make not thy prayer

connexion with which compare Geiger's *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel*, &c. p. 53, where BEELZEBUB is explained as meaning ENEMY, not "fly-god": "Die ägyptisch-griechischen Uebersetzer setzen daher für diesen Eigennamen der Philistäer ganz allgemein 'Fremdstammige' (ἀλλόφυλοι). Ihre Nationalgottheit Baal-Sebub (2 Kön. 1, 2. 3. 16) wird daher später mit aramäischer Aussprache als Beelzebub (o.—bul), als feindliche Gottheit überhaupt, als Gegengott, Satanas, Haupt der Dämonen schlechtweg gebraucht (Matth. 10, 25. 12, 24 u. 27, vgl. 9, 34. Marc. 3, 22. Lucas 11, 15 u. 19). Ja dieser Sprachgebrauch ist so geläufig geworden, dass dieses Wort in etwas abweichender aramäischer Form, nämlich als Beel-Debab (בעל דבבא), wie die syr. hexapl. Uebersetzung bereits für Baal-Sebub setzt, in sämtlichen aramäischen Dialekten ganz einfach einen 'Feind' bedeutet, und daraus mit Wegwerfung des Beel ein neuer Stamm דבב sich bildet für: hassen, anfeinden."

<sup>37</sup> Cf. πᾶς ὁ μισῶν τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ ... οὐκ ἔχει ζωὴν αἰώνιον ἐν αὐτῷ μένουσαν (1 Joh. iii. 15). The term "creatures" (i. 13) was in common use in the sense MANKIND.

<sup>38</sup> Contrast Deut. xxxiii. 4. The knowledge of Thorah is not inherited, but must be purchased at the cost of a man's own labour. A\* remarks that the clause is dotted above, to shew

that it should be omitted.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. 1 Cor. x. 31. A\* &c. refer to the blessing of Jael, in illustration of the principle that even evil done from a good motive is better than good done from an evil motive.

<sup>40</sup> The portion of Thorah thus called, from its initial word שמע (Deut. vi. 4), is appointed to be read or recited morning and evening by every Jew.

The first tract of the Mishnah commences with a question about the time for reading the שמע, or "audi," in the evening (Berak. i. 1). It was regarded as including the Decalogue. See Excursus iv.; and cf. Mark xii. 29, where the ἐντολὴ πρώτη is said to be, Ἀκουε, Ἰσραήλ. Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν Κύριος εἰς ἐστὶ. καὶ ἀγαπήσεις Κύριον τὸν Θεόν σου, κ.τ.λ. For him who reads the AUDI with scrupulous precision as regards its several letters "They cool Gehinnom," for it is said (Ps. lxxviii. 15), "When the Almighty scattered kings in it, it was white as snow on Zalmon;" where take פרש in the sense, separate, or make distinct, and read צלמות, shadow of death, for צלמון (Berakoth 15 b).

<sup>41</sup> Prayer is not to be said merely at set times and as a duty, but is to be the expression of a heartfelt desire: "He who makes his prayer קבע, his prayer is not תחנונים, δέησις" (Berakoth iv. 4). "There is no set time (קבע) for the evening prayer"

an ordinance, but an entreaty before God<sup>42</sup>, blessed is He, *for it is said, For God is compassionate and easily-entreated*, (Berakoth 26 a). If it is doubtful whether a man has read the *אודר* he is required to read it, but not so with prayer. R. Jochanan said, Oh! that a man would pray all the day long (Berakoth 21 a; Pesachim 54 b). A man when he prays should not stand in a high place but in a low place, for it is said (Ps. cxxx. 1), Out of the *depths*, &c. (Berakoth, 10 b). Although prayer is not directly commanded in the Pentateuch (Pereq 1, note 5), the duty of praying three times in the day (Ps. lv. 18; Dan. vi. 11) is made to rest upon the authority of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Abraham established the morning prayer (Gen. xix. 27), since *standing* is to be identified with *thefillah* (Ps. cvi. 30). Two other times of prayer, under the names *שיחה*, and *פניעה*, are referred to Isaac and Jacob (Gen. xxiv. 63; xxviii. 11). See Bere-shith Rabbah lxxviii. On the "ten" names of prayer, and on *תהנונים*, cf. Deut. Rab. ii. On *תפילין*, meaning *φυλακτήρια*, see Buxtorf, s.v. *פלל*.

<sup>42</sup> The word *μακομ*, from *qum*, to stand, denotes that in which things exist, i.e. place or space. It is constantly used in Rabbinic writings as a name of God, who is regarded as the *εν φ̄* or *locus* of existence (Acts xvii. 28), and as *filling* all space: "All the earth is full of His glory" (Is. vi. 3). Both of these meanings of the name are mentioned in Jalqut 117 (on *במקום*, Gen. xxviii. 11), where it is said that God is so called, *מפני שהוא מקומו של עולם ואין העולם מקומו*, because He is the PLACE of the world, and not the world His place—so *B*, commenting upon § 12—according to the Scriptures, Ex. xxxiii.

21, *הנה מקום אתי*; Deut. xxxiii. 27; Ps. xc. 1, "Lord, thou hast been our dwellingplace" (*מעון, καταφυγή*). The words *מקום* and *יהוה* are also equated by a species of Gematria (iii. 28), the letters of the former amounting to 186, and the sum of the *squares* of those of the latter ( $10^2 + 5^2 + 6^2 + 5^2$ ) being likewise 186. See Buxtorf, *Le.x. Chald.* col. 2001. Bar S. cites this from R. Israel. In accordance with the above uses, God the Father is spoken of in the New Testament both as containing and as filling all. The like is also said of the Son—cf. the Pauline *εν Χριστῷ* on the one hand, and *ἕνα πληρώση τὰ πάντα* (Eph. iv. 10) on the other. Since space and its complement are correlative, the use of *μακομ, τόπος*, naturally suggests a doctrine of a *πλήρωμα*. Moreover, since *μακομ* is an ordinary Hebrew Name of God, it is not necessary to assume that its correlative *πλήρωμα* was originally a product of Gnosticism. As testimony (1) to the antiquity of this remarkable use of *τόπος*, (2) to the natural affinity of the expression to *πλήρωμα*, and (3) to the applicability of the conception to the *Λόγος*, compare the following from Philo, *De Somniis Lib. I.* (Vol. 1. p. 630, ed. Mangey): *Τριχῶς δὲ ἐπινοεῖται τόπος· ἅπαξ μὲν χώρα ὑπὸ σώματος ἐκπεπληρωμένη· κατὰ δεύτερον δὲ τρόπον ὁ θεῖος λόγος, ὃν ἐκπεπλήρωκεν ὄλον δι' ὄλων ἀσωμάτους δυνάμειν αὐτὸς ὁ θεός... κατὰ δὲ τρίτον σημαίνον αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς καλεῖται τόπος, τῷ περιέχειν μὲν τὰ ὅλα, περιέχεσθαι δὲ πρὸς μηδενὸς ἄπλως, καὶ τῷ καταφυγῆν τῶν συμπάντων αὐτὸν εἶναι· καὶ ἐπειδὴ περ αὐτὸς ἐστὶ χώρα ἑαυτοῦ, κερωρηκῶς ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἐμπερόμενος μόνῳ ἑαυτῷ. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ εἰμὶ τόπος, ἀλλ' ἐν τόπῳ, καὶ ἕκαστον*

*longsuffering, and plenteous in grace*<sup>43</sup>; and be not wicked unto thyself<sup>44</sup>.

18. R. La'zar said, Be diligent to learn *Thorah*, wherewith thou mayest make answer (1 Pet. iii. 15) to Epicurus<sup>45</sup>; and know before whom thou toilest<sup>46</sup>; and who is the Master of thy work.

19. R. Tarphon<sup>47</sup> said, The day is short, and the task is

τῶν ὄντων ὁμοίως· τὸ γὰρ περιεχόμενον διαφέρει τοῦ περιέχοντος, τὸ δὲ θεῖον, ὑπ' οὐδενὸς περιεχόμενον, ἀναγκαίως ἐστὶν αὐτὸ τόπος ἑαυτοῦ.

<sup>43</sup> The Scripture proof was probably a later addition. א apparently mixes up Joel ii. 13 and Ps. lxxxvi. 15.

<sup>44</sup> [Cf. Eccclus. vii. 16 μὴ προσλογίζου σεαυτὸν ἐν πλήθει ἀμαρτωλῶν, Qiddushin 4 b & Tosefta, Joma 2 b עַצְמוֹ בְּפָנָי, *by itself*.]

<sup>45</sup> The Greek name Epicurus is used to denote a heretic or unbeliever, whether Jewish or foreign. On this word, and on יְרִי, *heretic*, see Buxtorf, *Lex. Chald.* The latter is supposed by some to be from מָנְי, Manes, and to denote primarily a Manichee; early Jewish writers used it especially for *Christian*, but in later times, owing to the tendency to expunge antichristianisms, it was frequently crossed out, or replaced by some other word, as Çaduqi or Kuthi; and to such an extent has this been done that wherever there has been a suspicion of an allusion to Christianity the text can seldom be entirely depended upon.

The reading of the text implies that the *Thorah* itself, if diligently studied, will supply the required answer to the "Epicurean," who must therefore be regarded as a Jew-heretic. The reading of bar S. is susceptible of the same interpretation: "Study *Thorah*, that thou mayest know what answer to make to an Epicurus;" or it may mean, if וְרִי be taken disjunctively:

"Study *Thorah*, and also know how to answer Epicurus." The latter is the interpretation of R. Israel, who says that the student should first be well-grounded in *Thorah* and *Talmud*, and then learn *scientias exterorum*, that he may be able to refute those who go astray from the truth; and he remarks upon the saying (Berakoth 28 b), "Be careful of the honour of your associates, and restrain your sons from meditation (וְיִיָּהוּ), and set them between the knees of a scholar; and when ye pray, know before whom ye stand; and so shall ye be counted worthy of the life of the world to come"—that a man is not required to restrain himself from speculation, but only his sons who have not come to maturity. In the same way he understands the injunction not to teach one's son "Greek science" (Sotah 49 b); and he holds that there is no Divine command not to teach one's son *Thorah* in Greek.

<sup>46</sup> R. 'Obadiah writes on this clause that a man should work strenuously for the glory of God. The final clause, especially with the longer readings (note 7), introduces the idea of *re-ward*. Thus the required number of three sayings (§ 14) is made up. This may also be done by dividing the first saying, and joining וְרִי כִי to what precedes.

<sup>47</sup> R. Tarphon, Trypho, or "Tera-phon," a contemporary of the above-mentioned five, was one of those pre-

great, and the workmen are sluggish<sup>48</sup>, and the reward is much, and the Master of the house is urgent. He said, It is not for thee to finish the work<sup>49</sup>, nor art thou free to desist therefrom; if thou hast learned much Thorah, they give thee much reward; and faithful is the Master of thy work, who will pay thee the reward of thy work, and know that the recompence of the reward of the righteous is for the time to come<sup>50</sup>.

sent at the death of R. J. ben Zakkai.

<sup>48</sup> This Mishnah has points of contact with the Parable of the Vineyard in Matt. xx., where the *οικοδεσπότης* says to the labourers whom he finds unemployed, *Τί ὧδε ἐστήκατε ἄλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἀργοί*; Bar S. remarks that since man is a microcosm containing all the affairs of the world in miniature, the affairs of the *αἰών* are here likened to those of the individual.

<sup>49</sup> Although "*ars longa vita brevis*,"

a man must neither despair nor yield to idleness, for he is not called upon to finish the work singlehanded, and yet is bound to contribute to the best of his ability; and in proportion to his work he will be rewarded, if not at once, in the time to come.

<sup>50</sup> This expression, like *ὁ αἰὼν ὁ μέλλον*, has its ambiguity. It may refer, as here, to the future life; or, as in 'Erubin ix. 3, to the future in this life. [Heb. x. 35 *μισθαποδοσία*.]

p. 29, § 4] In 'Abodah Zarah 19 a, in connexion with the saying of Antigonus in Aboth i. 3, there is a discussion of Psalm i. 2, "But his delight is in the law of the Lord; and in his law doth he meditate day and night." At first the law (תורה) is called God's; but afterwards על שמו, it is called by his (the man's own) name. He has made the law of God his law.

p. 31, n. 17] Cf. Clem. *Hom.* ii. 16 *ἐν ἀρχῇ ὁ Θεὸς εἰς ἂν, ὡσπερ δεξιὰ καὶ ἀριστερά, πρῶτον ἐποίησε τὸν οὐρανὸν εἰτα τὴν γῆν καὶ οὕτως ἐξῆς πάσας τὰς συζυγίας.*

p. 33, n. 23] Codex Bezae reads "*Lazar amicus noster mortuus est*" in St John xi. 14. The Old Latin Cod. *a* likewise has the form *Lazar*, as Mr Rendel Harris points out in *A Study of Codex Bezae* p. 183 (Camb. *Texts and*

*Studies* ii. no. 1). The form *Λάζαρ* occurs in chap. 2 of *Acta Pilati* literally retranslated into Greek from an Armenian manuscript by Mr Conybeare (Oxf. *Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica* iv. 61, 85).

p. 35, § 13] To be בדרך רחוקה (T. J. Joma, end) is to be in an evil way, "far from God." The phrase in its literal sense is found in Num. ix. 9 (cf. Sifré i. § 69).

p. 36, n. 31] *The heart has eyes*, as it is said in *Midrash Alpha Betha de-R.* 'Aqiba, לארם יש לו עינים אף ללב (Jellinek *Bet-ha-M.* iii. p. 34). *The heart sees*, for it is said ולבי ראה הרבה (Eecl. Rab. i. 16). Maimonides writes in *Hilkoth Yesode ha-Torah* iv. 7, "Forms without matter are not visible to the eye, but they are known by the eye of the heart."

## CHAPTER III.

1. 'Aqabiah ben Mahalaleel<sup>1</sup> said, Consider three things<sup>2</sup>, and thou wilt not come into the hands of transgression (II. 1). Know whence thou camest; and whither thou art going; and before whom thou art about to give account and reckoning<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> We read in the Mishnah that 'Aqabiah ben Mahalaleel testified concerning four things: they said, Retract, and we will make thee *Ab Beth Din* to Israel: he said, It were better for me to be called fool all my days than to be made wicked before  $\text{חַמְאָוֹס}$  for one hour, so that they may not say that for the sake of office he retracted. He persisted in his views, and was excommunicated. When at the point of death he counselled his son to retract the four things, saying that he himself had received them by tradition from the many, but his son, who received them from him alone, must yield to the majority of his contemporaries ('Edioth v. 6, 7), for the halakah is according to the many as against the one (Berakoth 9 a, 37 a). This principle is "propped," not very securely, upon the words,  $\text{אַחֲרֵי רַבִּים לְהִטּוֹת}$  (Ex. xxiii. 2), which are rendered by Onqelos,  $\text{בְּתַר סְנִיאיִ שְׁלֵם רִינָא}$ , *give judgment according to the majority*. The verse from which they are taken is usually rendered: "Thou shalt not follow a multitude to do evil; neither shalt thou speak in a cause to decline after many to wrest judgment."

<sup>2</sup> The three things to be considered are matters of observation or revelation. Contrast the warning against speculation: "Whosoever considers four things, What is *above, below, before, behind*, it were better for him that he had not come into the world" (Chagigah II. 1).

<sup>3</sup> This Mishnah is cited in T. J. Sotah II. 2; Va-jiqra Rabbah XVIII.; Qoheleth Rabbah, on Eccl. xii. 1. R. 'Aqiba expounded the clause,  $\text{זָכֵר נָא אֶת בּוֹרְאֶיךָ}$ , so as to include the three things mentioned above, thus: "Remember  $\text{בּוֹרֵךְ בְּאֶרֶץ בּוֹרֵךְ}$ , thy source, thy grave, thy Creator." It may be remarked here that Rabbinic citations of Scripture are not intended always as absolute proofs of the doctrines and ideas in connexion with which they are adduced. A citation is often a mere  $\mu\eta\tau\alpha\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota\sigma\iota\varsigma$ , and as such may even be the more effective in proportion to the non-naturalness of its application. That citations cannot have been always intended as proofs may be gathered from an examination of a number of instances. But over and above this we have an express statement in the Mishnah in relation to a certain question: "Quamvis rei

Know whence thou comest: from a fetid drop; and whither thou art going: to worm and maggot<sup>4</sup> (Job xxv. 6); and before whom thou art about to give account and reckoning: before the King of the kings of kings, blessed is He.

2. R. Chananiah, prefect of the priests<sup>5</sup>, said, Pray for the peace of the kingdom<sup>6</sup> (1 Tim. ii. 1, 2), since but for fear thereof we had swallowed up each his neighbour alive.

3. R. Chananiah ben Thradyon said, Two that sit together without words of Thorah are a session of scorners, for it is said, Nor sitteth in the seat of the scornful<sup>7</sup> (Ps. i. 1); but two that sit together and are occupied in words of Thorah have the Shekinah<sup>8</sup> among them, for it is said, Then they that feared the Lord<sup>9</sup> spake often one to another, &c. (Mal. iii. 16).

nulla demonstratio, indicium tamen rei est, &c. (Ps. cix. 19),” אע"פּי שאין ראייה לדבר זכר לדבר שנ' ותבא כו' (Shabbath ix. 4). Cf. also Buxtorf, *Lex. Chald.* s.v. אסמכתא. So long as the traditional teaching was preserved without the aid of writing, it was necessary to assist and cultivate the memory in every available way. “Thorah is only acquired by סמינים” as it is said in ‘Erubin 54 b. (Cf. Shabbath 104 a.)

<sup>4</sup> Va-jiqra Rabbah xviii. (p. כו, Warsaw, 1874) inserts עפר (Gen. iii. 19) in citing this Mishnah; but reads lower down, בורך זו רימה ותולעה, thus supporting the brief reading of א. Commentators remark that man is here described as in the act of “going,” &c. and not merely as about to go.

<sup>5</sup> This title “SAGAN &c.” is found in Targ. Jer. xxix. 26, and elsewhere. The sagan was a kind of suffragan to the highpriest, whom it was (?) his duty to replace if incapacitated from officiating on the day of Atonement. For more on his functions see Buxtorf s.v. This sagan is mentioned several times in the Mishnah, sometimes in connexion with R. ‘Aqiba, who quotes his words in Zebachim xii. 4, cf. ix. 3; ‘Edioth

ii. 1, 2; Sheqalim vi. 1; Menachoth x. 1; Parah iii. 1.

<sup>6</sup> “And seek the peace of the city whither I have caused you to be carried away captives, and pray unto the Lord for it: for in the peace thereof shall ye have peace” (Jer. xxix. 7).

<sup>7</sup> “But his delight is in the law of the Lord, &c.” (Ps. i. 2).

<sup>8</sup> Shekinah is a non-Biblical abstract noun derived from the Biblical *shakan*, to dwell. The Bible speaks of God as dwelling with men: the Targumists prefer to use a periphrasis, and say “habitatio ejus habitat,” or the like, lest they should seem to materialise the conception of the Divine by bringing it into direct contact with the terrestrial. The following are examples of its use. In Gen. ix. 27 it is said, “God shall enlarge Japhet, וישכן באהלי שם”; where Onqelos renders וישרי שכנתיה במישכניה דשם, and He shall cause His Shekinah to rest in the tabernacle of Shem. In Ex. xxv. 8, Onqelos has: “And they shall make a sanctuary before me, and I will cause my Shekinah to rest among them.” Cf. Ex. xvii. 7; xxix. 45, 6, &c. A further development is יקר

4. *One that sits and studies, the Scripture imputes to him as if he fulfilled the whole Thorah, for it is said, He sitteth alone and keepeth silence, because he hath borne<sup>10</sup> it upon him (Lam. iii. 28).*

שְׁכִינָה, *the glory of His Shekinah* (Gen. iii. 24, Targ. Jerus.)—which “glory” manifests itself in flaming fire on Sinai (Ex. xix. 18)—or יְקָרָא שׁ (Ps. lxxviii. 19). We find קוֹדֵשׁ שׁ in Targ. Jonathan on Numb. v. 3, &c. The Shekinah is especially connected with the tabernacle (*mishkan*), and the sanctuary, but it is not to be restricted to a visible and local symbol of the Divine Presence. This is only one of the applications of the word, which is used with much greater latitude. It is said by R. Ishmael and others (Baba Bathra 25 a) that שְׁכִינָה is in every place, although in the course of the discussion other opinions are advanced. The Thosaphoth, in connexion with the view that the Shekinah was especially in the west, remark that its face was eastward, or in the direction in which Israel worshipped, and that hence the points of the compass N. S. E. W. are called *left, right, before, behind*. It may be noticed here (cf. p. 31) that the *left* side is connected with evil. So the *north*, for (Jer. i. 14) מִצְפּוֹן תִּפְתַּח הַרְרֵעָה. The text (cf. § 9) speaks of an invisible Shekinah which may be present anywhere, and it affords an illustration of Matt. xviii. 20, οὐ γάρ εἰσι δύο ἢ τρεῖς συναγόμενοι εἰς τὸ ἔμὸν ὄνομα, ἐκεῖ εἰμι ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν. The Shekinah may even rest upon an individual (pp. 21, 48). The righteous in the world to come sit with crowns on their heads, מְזוּזוֹת הַשְּׂכִינָה (Berakoth 17 a).

SHEKINAH is sometimes practically equivalent to ΜΕΜΡΑ, λόγος (v. 1), but we may distinguish between them by regarding the one as the medium of a

passive, the other of an active, manifestation: the one as creative, the other as “overshadowing” or indwelling. The two are brought together by St John, in whose theology the conceptions assume a new definiteness, and the medium becomes a Mediator: ὁ Λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῶν (Joh. i. 14). The word σκηνή and its derivatives are chosen on account of their assonance with the Hebrew to express the *Shekinah* and its dwelling with men—compare especially Rev. xxi. 3: Ἴδου ἡ σκηνὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ σκηνώσει μετ’ αὐτῶν—and indeed so closely does Shekinah resemble σκηνή, that the former has even been thought of as a transliteration of the latter. The word is rare in the Mishnah, but occurs frequently in Midrash and Gemara.

<sup>9</sup> The MS. א expresses יהוה by יי followed by a vertical stroke or flourish wholly above the line. In some MSS. a ך is inserted in order to make up the numerical value of יהוה, viz. 26. The shorter Name יה is identified by Gematria (§ 28) with the longer Name by writing out the names of its letters, אה, יוד, which are thus made to amount to 10+6+4, and 5+1. The saying, “two that sit, &c.” is repeated in § 9.

<sup>10</sup> The word *natal* is used of “bearing off” a reward. The whole saying is probably an interpolation. There is a saying of an opposite tendency which may be noticed here: “The Thorah is acquired only בַּחֲבוּרָה, by association” (Berakoth 63 b). “A sword is against the solitary, &c.” (p. 16). A man’s wits are sharpened by his friend

5. R. Shime'on said, Three that have eaten at one table, and have not said over it words of Torah, are as if they had eaten of sacrifices of (the) dead<sup>11</sup>, for it is said, For all tables are full of vomit and filthiness without MAQOM<sup>12</sup> (Is. xxviii. 8).

6. But three that have eaten at one table, and have said over it words of Torah, are as if they had eaten of the table of MAQOM, blessed is He, for it is said, And he said unto me, This is the table that is before the Lord (Ezek. xli. 22).

7. Chananyiah ben Chakinai said, He who awakes by night, and he who is walking alone by the way, and<sup>13</sup> turns aside his heart to idleness, is "guilty of death."

8. R. Nechonyiah ben ha-Qanah said, Whoso receives upon

(Prov. xxvii. 17). The Torah is like fire: fire does not burn alone, with nothing to feed it: so words of Torah, **יְהוָה מְתַקֵּימֵן בִּיחִיד**. A great scholar profits from association with the meanest, as "the small wood is used to set on fire the large": a disciple may even be his master's best teacher (Tha'anith 7 a; Makkoth 10 a). See p. 63.

<sup>11</sup> Idols are "dead" (Is. viii. 19), and powerless, in contrast with God THE LIVING ONE; and as "corpses" they also defile by contact. Cf. Ps. cvi. 28.

<sup>12</sup> The expression naturally means, "without place," with no spot clear from defilement; but the use of *ὁ τόπος* as a name of God (p. 39) suggests a secondary meaning: "without mention of the Name of God." The idea of §§ 5, 6 is illustrated by 1 Tim. iv. 4: *ὅτι πᾶν κτίσμα Θεοῦ καλόν, καὶ οὐδὲν ἀπόβλητον, μετὰ εὐχαριστίας λαμβανόμενον ἁγιάζεται γὰρ διὰ λόγου Θεοῦ καὶ ἐντελέξεως*. Compare *Εἶτε οὖν ἐσθίετε, εἶτε πίνετε, εἶτε τι ποιείτε, πάντα εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ ποιείτε* (1 Cor. x. 31).

<sup>13</sup> He who is sleepless at night should think on words of Torah (Ps. lxxiii. 7): if even at such a time he turns his mind to idleness and idle thoughts, he incurs guilt. So with

the solitary traveller. Compare... *ἴνα εἶτε γρηγορῶμεν, εἶτε καθεύδωμεν, ἅμα σὺν αὐτῷ ζήσωμεν* (1 Thess. v. 10). The Mishnah thus interpreted forms an apposite sequel to §§ 5, 6. According to another reading (**וְהַמְפַנֵּה**) and interpretation the meaning is, that (1) he who is wakeful at night, (2) he who frequents solitary places, and (3) *he who indulges in idle thoughts, deserve condemnation*; in explanation of which "Rashbam" is quoted as remarking that at night time, and in desert places, and in unguarded moments, a man is especially liable to assaults of the **מַזְיקִין**, or evil spirits. This notion might indeed be illustrated from the Talmud, but the first interpretation better suits the context. Torah study is incumbent upon a man at all available times... "when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up" (Deut. vi. 7: xi. 19). "At midnight I will rise to give thanks unto Thee..." (Ps. cxix. 62). A man should "increase" his time of study by making inroads upon the night (*Crit. Note* 1. 14). When he walks by the way he must let nothing interrupt his "mishnah" (§ 11).

him the yoke<sup>14</sup> of Thorah, they remove from him the yoke of royalty and the yoke of worldly care; and whoso breaks from him the yoke of Thorah, they lay upon him the yoke of royalty and the yoke of worldly care.

9. R. Chalaftha of Kaphar-Chananiah said, When ten sit and are occupied in words of Thorah the Shekinah is among them, for it is said, God standeth in the CONGREGATION<sup>15</sup> of the

<sup>14</sup> Ἀρατε τὸν ζυγὸν μου ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, καὶ μάθετε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ...ὁ γὰρ ζυγὸς μου χρηστός, καὶ τὸ φορτίον μου εὐλαφρὸν ἐστίν (Matt. xi. 29, 30). The yoke of *mal-kuth* stands for the burdens, as of taxation, put upon a man by the government under which he lives, or the oppression which he may suffer at the hands of the great. The yoke of *derek ereç* is the anxiety which a man suffers in the struggle for existence: the cares of labour, poverty, or discontent with his condition. Every man (writes bar S.) is by nature continually restless and changeable, saying in winter, would that it were summer, and in summer, would that it were winter: he longs for children if he has none, and if his family increases he is impatient of the care of rearing them, &c. From over anxiety on all such matters an absorbing devotion to Thorah frees a man. The Tables of the Law are a charter of freedom (vi. 2). For a paraphrase of this Mishnah see Aboth R. N. xx.

The word עֹל may be used absolutely, as in T. J. Peah i. 1. It likewise enters into several Rabbinic expressions analogous to those in the text. Thus we read of a yoke of *mal-kuth shamayim*, and of *miçrah* (Berakoth 13 a): a yoke of *flesh and blood* (Aboth R. N. xx.): a yoke of הקב"ה.

<sup>15</sup> Ten is the number which constitutes a *congregation* (עדה), since it is said (Numb. xiv. 27), How long shall I bear with this evil *congregation*? From

the twelve spies take away Joshua and Caleb, and there remain *ten*, which is therefore the number of an *'edah*. A "great" city is one that contains ten *batlanim*, or men of leisure, to make a congregation (Megillah i. 3). A place containing less than ten is a *kaphar*. Omitting from the text the words in italics as probably interpolated, we pass on to the number THREE, which is connected with אגורה, *fasciculus*. Compare Baba Meçia i. 8, where an אגורה of documents is explained to mean *three* or more tied together, while the corresponding word תכריך, *involutum*, means three or more rolled together. In like manner A\* connects אגורה with the number three, referring *inter alia* to Ex. xii. 22, where Rashi interprets אגורת אגוב as a bundle of three stalks. The number five is not mentioned in the similar passages of Berakoth 6 a; Mekilta, Jethro xi; Jalqut i. 305, where the series of sayings springs naturally out of a context. From the verse Ex. xx. 24, בכל המקום אשר אזכיר את שמי, כו', the question arises under what circumstances is the Shekinah present with men? "In every place... where I am revealed to thee, בבית, הבהירה, in the chosen house (or Temple). Hence they have said, The incommunicable NAME [III. n. 35] must not be uttered in the provinces. Hillel (cf. p. 30) said, If thou wilt come to My house, I will come to thy house, and if thou wilt not come to My house,

mighty (Ps. lxxxii. 1). *And whence (is it proved of) even five*<sup>16</sup>? *Because it is said, He judgeth among gods.* And whence even three? Because it is said, ...and hath founded his TROOP in the earth (Amos ix. 6). And whence even two? Because it

I will not come to thy house, To the place that my heart loves thither my feet lead me. Hence they have said, Every ten men that are assembled in the synagogue, the Shekinah is with them, for it is said, God standeth in the 'edah, &c. And whence even three that JUDGE, because it is said, He judges among gods, &c." Here an entirely new case, suggested by the second hemistich of the same verse, is brought under consideration. It is granted that the Shekinah is with an ἐκκλησία, a congregation assembled for the discharge of religious duties: but is the Shekinah present likewise at secular functions? Yes! where three are gathered to administer justice, the Shekinah is in the midst. From the public meeting of a *beth din* (= three), we pass next to the private meeting of two friends to study and discuss Thorah,—this transition is most clearly marked in Berakoth—and thence to the case of the individual. Berakoth then takes the numbers in reverse order. If the Shekinah is with one, why make separate mention of two? Because the words of two are written in the book of remembrances: discussion is required to make a lasting impression. But why should three be mentioned? To show that JUDGMENT is THORAH, a sacred and not merely a secular function. Lastly, why mention ten? If רִיב is תורה, what advantage has the 'edah over the *beth din*? It is that the Shekinah comes to the three only when they are seated, but comes beforehand to the place of the 'edah: the "congregation" intend *ab initio* to perform a sacred function, but רִיב is

only *ex post facto* תורה. It may be remarked that Jonathan targumises Ex. xx. 24: "In whatsoever place I cause my Shekinah to rest, and thou worshippes before ME, there I will send upon thee my blessing and will bless thee." As some have found a difficulty in אוֹכִיר אֶת שְׁמִי, and wish to read תּוֹכִיר, observe that R. Josiah in Jalqut calls the verse מִסּוֹרֵם, and reads in inverse order, In what place soever I come unto thee, there will I cause my NAME to be mentioned.

<sup>16</sup> The great mass of MSS. retain the number five, but some connect it with *judgment*—making up the number by adding two litigants to three judges; while others connect it with the *fasciculus*, which is assumed to be that which can be grasped with the five fingers of a hand. The simplest hypothesis (suggested by Ⓢ) is that the parallels from Berakoth, Mekiltha, and Jalqut (see note 15) give the original reading, and that the number five should be expunged. The clause בְּקִרְבֵּי כו' is the second hemistich of the verse already quoted for the 'edah, and would therefore probably be quoted, if at all, in the second place. The mention of *judgment* could then scarcely fail to suggest the number three (see *Crit. Note*). The "mishnah" in question is an adaptation of a series of sayings on Thorah and other matters to the case of *Thorah alone*. Accordingly the scripture proof for the number three is struck out, since it brings in the inappropriate notion of *judgment*, and a new proof for the same number, viz. from the *aguddah*, is inserted.

is said, Then they that feared the Lord spake often one to another (§ 3). And whence even one? Because it is said, In all places where I record my name I will come unto THEE, and I will bless thee (Ex. xx. 24).

10. R. La'zar ben Jehudah of Barthotha said, Give Him of what is His, for thou and thine are His<sup>17</sup>; and thus he saith in David<sup>18</sup>, For all things come of Thee, and of thine own have we given thee (1 Chron. xxix. 14).

11. R. Jacob said, He who is walking by the way and studying, and breaks off his study<sup>19</sup> (Mishnah) and says, How fine is this tree! how fine is that tree! and how fine is this fallow! they account it to him as if he were "guilty of death."

12. R. Dosithai<sup>20</sup>, son of R. Jannai, said in the name of R. Meir, When a scholar of the wise sits and studies, and has forgotten a word of his Mishnah, they account it unto him as if he were "guilty of death," for it is said, Only take heed to thyself, and keep thy soul diligently, lest thou forget the words which thine eyes have seen (Deut. iv. 9). Perhaps his Mishnah

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Joh. xvii. 9, 10: ἀλλὰ περὶ ᾧν δέδωκάς μοι, ὅτι σοὶ εἶσι. καὶ τὰ ἐμὰ πάντα σὰ ἐστί, κ.τ.λ.

<sup>18</sup> Compare the formula of citation "in David" in Heb. iv. 7.

<sup>19</sup> The word שִׁנָּה means to change, or to repeat, and hence generally to study or learn. The Aramaic form of the word is תַּנַּח, on which see the lexicons. The word מִשְׁנַתּוֹ is pointed with a horizontal stroke under the נ. This sign, which is now appropriated to Pathach, served in an older system of punctuation, out of which that now in use was developed, for Qameç also. The latter then came to be distinguished by a dot placed under the "Pathach" (–); and finally the dot was brought into contact with the "Pathach," and the modern "Qameç" (ç) arose. The citation from the Cambridge University MS. *Oo* i. 19, fol. 12 b, in the Rabbinic footnote, may

serve as a *μνημόσυνον* of this fact.

<sup>20</sup> "R. Israel writes that this wise man is mentioned in the Mishnah only here and in 'Erubin' [v. 4] (bar S.).

Forgetfulness is regarded as sinful in so far as it arises from carelessness and neglect of *δευτέρωσις*. A man is not to be blamed for a forgetfulness arising from sickness or any cause beyond his control. In Berakoth 8 b, an old man who has forgotten his "Thalmud" מוֹחַמַת אֹנְסוֹ is compared to the shattered tables of the Law, and it is said, לַחֹת וְשִׁבְרֵי לַחֹת, מוֹנְחֹת בְּאֵרוֹן, the tables and the fragments of the tables were laid up in the Ark. So the broken-down scholar is to be treated with respect. Of prayer it is said in Berakoth v. 5 that to make a mistake in it is סִימָן רַע לֹו, an evil sign to a man. The expression דְּבָרִים (Deut. iv. 9) does not mean merely written "words."

has but grown hard<sup>21</sup> to him? What need then to say, "And lest they depart from thy heart all the days of thy life"? Lo! he is not guilty, till he has sat down and suffered them to depart from his mind.

13. R. Chananiah ben Dosa said, Whosoever fear of sin precedes his wisdom<sup>22</sup>, his wisdom stands; *and whosoever wisdom precedes his fear of sin, his wisdom stands not.*

14. He used to say, Whosoever works are in excess of

<sup>21</sup> Some commentators understand חקק as of wine which has turned sour or lost its flavour; but it is unnecessary to bring in this meaning here. The case under consideration is that of a man who has not absolutely forgotten, but does not remember readily; his Mishnah is not *fluent in his mouth*. Compare Berakoth 34 b: "They said of R. Chanina ben Dosa that he used to pray over the sick, and say, This one lives, and that one dies. They said to him, Whence knowest thou? He said to them, If my prayer is fluent in my mouth, אם שגורה תפלתי בפי, I know that it is accepted, and if not, I know that it is rejected." Bar S., quoting Sifre, writes that a man should be as careful to preserve his Torah as his money, for it is hardly gotten, as *gold*, and perishes easily, like *glass*, זכוכית (Job xxviii. 17). He who learns Torah and does not "repeat" is as one who sows and does not reap. He who learns and forgets is like a mother that bears and buries. Sanh. 99 a.

<sup>22</sup> Different meanings are assigned to the precedence of the fear of sin to "wisdom." The saying is taken to denote either that a man's fear of sin should be instinctive, rather than a result of calculation; or that the fear of sin should be a motive urging him to the acquisition of knowledge as a safeguard against transgressions into which his ignorance might betray him.

The former interpretation is to be preferred: a man should build upon the foundation of religious feeling, rather than of philosophy.

It may be conjectured that the second clauses of §§ 13—15 are later additions. They are not found in Aboth R. N. xxii., and their omission is partly favoured by the reading of the Machazor Vitry in § 14. Compare also note \* on § 15. Aboth R. N., after the first clause of § 13, refers to Ps. cxi. 10: "The fear of the Lord is the *beginning* (?) of wisdom." Then follows the first clause of § 14, with a scripture proof from Ex. xxiv. 7: We will do, and we will hear. "They said before Rabban Jochanan ben Zakkai, A wise man and a sinner, what is he? He said to them, Lo! he is a workman, with his tools in his hand. A wise man but not a sinner, what is he? He said to them, He is a workman who has not his tools in his hand. A sinner but not wise, what is he? He said to them, He is no workman, but has his tools in his hand." A\* quotes this *baraita*, with some remarks upon his reading of it. Another comparison is given, from Joma: A man with wisdom but without the fear of Heaven is like a man with the key of an inner court, but unable to enter because he has not the key of the outer court.

his wisdom<sup>23</sup>, his wisdom stands; and *whosoever wisdom is in excess of his works, his wisdom stands not.*

15. He used to say, With whomsoever the spirit of men is pleased<sup>24</sup>, the Spirit of God is pleased; and *with whomsoever the spirit of men is not pleased, the Spirit of God is not pleased.*

16. R. Dosa ben Horkinas said, Morning sleep, and mid-day wine<sup>25</sup>, and the babbling of youths<sup>26</sup>, and frequenting

<sup>23</sup> "Thalmud" and practice—cf. the controversy on Faith and Works—are frequently set against one another in discussions. Aboth i. 18 decides for the latter. On the other side see the remarks of Sifre upon Deut. xi. 13: "If ye shall hearken diligently unto my commandments," where it is said: And ye shall learn them, and ye shall observe to do them (Deut. v. 1). The scripture shews that doing depends on learning, and not learning on doing, שהמעשה תלוי בתלמוד ואין תלמוד תלוי במעשה.

<sup>24</sup> For the expression compare Baba Bathra viii. 5, where it is said that when a man has left his property to strangers and passed over his sons, what he has done is done, but his act is not approved, "*sapientium spiritus non requiescit in eo.*" The sayings in the text may be compared with 1 Joh. iv. 20: ὁ γὰρ μὴ ἀγαπᾷ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ ὃν ἔώρακε, τὸν Θεὸν ὃν οὐχ ἔώρακε πῶς δύναται ἀγαπᾶν; This Mishnah is taken by bar S. as exemplifying the doctrine that there is a correspondence in all respects between the upper world and the lower: "Whatever exists above, exists also below." Thus there is an archetypal and celestial Adam analogous to the lower Adam, and made literally in the *image of God*. There is also a *familia* above corresponding to the human *familia* below, with respect to which it is said: "May it be thy pleasure, O Lord our God, to make peace in the family above, and in the

family below" (Berakoth 16 b, 17 a). The condition or action of either of these communities must have its analogue in the other. "He who occupies himself in Torah for its own sake makes peace in the family above and in the family below, for it is said ... יעשה שלום לִי יעשה שלום לְיִשְׂרָאֵל (Is. xxvii. 5). Rab said, It is as if he built a palace above and below...More-over he protects the whole world, &c., and brings the redemption nigh" (Sanhedrin 99 b).

<sup>25</sup> A man must not sleep beyond the time of reading the morning *Shema*: nor drink wine early, and so indispose himself alike for Torah and business. In connexion with the drunkenness of Noah, we read in Midrash Tanchuma that there are four stages from sobriety to intoxication. A man before drinking is innocent as a lamb, and like a sheep which is dumb before its shearers: after drinking enough he is strong as a lion, and says that there is no one like him in the world: in the next stage he becomes a hog: when thoroughly drunken he is like an ape, and dances and jests and talks nonsense and knows not what he is doing. If all this happened to righteous Noah, how must it be with ordinary men? Noah cursed his own descendants, saying, Cursed be Canaan, &c. The children of Ham, because he *saw* the nakedness of his father, and *told* his brethren, had their eyes reddened, and their lips deformed, according to the

the meeting houses<sup>27</sup> of the vulgar, put a man out of the world.

17. R. Li'ezer ha-Moda'i said, He that profanes things sacred<sup>28</sup>, and contemns the festivals, and annuls the covenant of Abraham our father, and acts barefacedly against the Thorah<sup>29</sup>, even though he be a doer of good works, has no portion in the world to come.

18. R. Ishma'el said, Be pliant of disposition (*or* to a chief)

divine decree, מרה כננר מרה, measure for measure.

<sup>26</sup> Constant association with young men tends to frivolity, and withholds a man from serious study. Rehoboam took the counsel of young men (1 Kings xii. 8), and caused the disruption of the kingdom. There is a proverb, בנין נערים סתירה וכתירת זקנים, בנין, young men's construction is destruction, and old men's destruction is construction.

<sup>27</sup> Bar S. confirms the omission of בתי by reference to his "ancient Mishnaioth." The synagogue served for meetings not merely "precum et sacerorum causa," but for general educational purposes. It served *inter alia* as a schoolhouse for the young (p. 15), in contrast with *beth ha-midrash*, the college for those of riper years. Here, however, the primary reference is to Thorah. Everything which leads the mind astray from it is to be avoided as destroying a man's soul, and putting him out of the world (*aiōn*). On the other hand, "he that increases Thorah increases life" (ii. 8). Ἐπευρᾶτε τὰς γραφάς, ὅτι ὑμεῖς δοκεῖτε ἐν αὐταῖς ζωὴν αἰώνιον ἔχειν (Joh. v. 39).

<sup>28</sup> The fifth Seder of the Mishnah, called *Qodashim*, treats of holy things, and the second, *Mo'ed*, of festivals.

He who despises sacred things, and repudiates the covenant of circumci-

sion, and acts in defiance of the Thorah, cannot be saved by moral excellence. The sense is impaired by reading: "*Thorah and good works.*" The text gives a more effective contrast. "He who acts impudently against the Thorah," &c., cannot be saved by good works. The expression פנים מנלה פנים is explained in T. J. Peah i. 1 as meaning, "one who says that the Thorah was not given from Heaven." Buxtorf s. v. נלא writes: "*Revelat faciem contra legem, id est, proterve, impudenter agit vel insurgit contra eam.*" The unveiled face may also denote confidence in a good sense (2 Cor. iii. 18).

<sup>29</sup> In Sifre on Numb. xv. 31, where this Mishnah is quoted, the clause והמנלה כו is omitted, but it occurs and is explained in the context. He who hath "*despised the word of the Lord*" is there said to be a Çaduqi; and he who hath "broken (הפר) His commandment," an Epicurus. Another explanation is then given, in which the former expression is rendered, in the words of our text, המנלה פנים, and the second by הכפר ברית בשר. Then follows this Mishnah, with the ending, אע"פ שיש בידו מצוות, הרבה כדי הוא לרחותו מן העולם, however many precepts he may perform, he merits expulsion from the world.

and yielding to impressment<sup>30</sup> (Matt. v. 41), and receive every man with cheerfulness.

<sup>30</sup> The text of א has the peculiar reading, *Be light of head &c.* The usual reading, which is given in the footnote א, is generally taken to mean: Be pliant towards a great man, and easy in thy bearing with the young—*Esto levis sive velox erga caput, et facilis erga juventutem sive juvenem* (Buxtorf, *Lex. Chald.* s. r. שחר, col. 2372); but some of the older commentators assign very different meanings to the expressions used, and especially to the rare word rendered *juventutem*.

[תשחורת] The meaning YOUTH is supported by the analogy of Eccl. xi. 10, *כי הילדות והשחרות הבל*, and is derived either from *dawn*, or *blackness* (of hair), both of which meanings are found under the root שחר. It has also been deduced from שחר, *petere*. Cf. בחר, *electus*. Pseudo-Rashi assigns to it the opposite meaning *SENECTUS*, quoting in favour of this view the same verse Eccl. xi. 10. A third meaning, which is well supported, is FORCED SERVICE or ἀγγαρία ('Aruk; "Rashbam"; &c.). For a corresponding use of the verb cf. Onqelos on Num. xvi. 15: *לא חמרא דהד מנהון שחרית*: Nullius asinum unquam *petii*. There is a saying, quoted in the Machazor Vitry and elsewhere, "Attach thyself to an ἀγγαρεύς, and they will do thee homage," הרבק לשחור וישתחוו לך. The meaning *MELANCHOLY* has also been assigned to the word. Midrash Rabbah on Lam. ii. 11 is ambiguous. We read there of three kinds of tears, "but the tear of merriment (שחוק) is the best of all." It is added that there are three kinds of evil tears, "but that of תשחורת is hardest of all." Then follow tales of a man and of a woman each of whom had תשחורת,

and he died &c. The commentaries on the Midrash are at variance; some give the meaning *juventus*, but the *מהנות כהונה* quotes the interpretation of the 'Aruk with approval.

ל נוח This expression is used in relation (i) to *actions*, (ii) to *persons*. The latter construction is chiefly found in such sayings as, *נוח לו שלא נברא*, It were *better for him* that he had not been born. For examples of the former construction see n. 14; v. 17; and compare Bereshith Rabbah xvii., where it is said that man is *open to persuasion*, נוח להתפתות, and woman is not *open to persuasion*, because man was formed of earth, which a little water easily dissolves, but woman was made of bone, which will not melt. In the passage under discussion, the construction will be unexceptionable if תשחורת—preceded by ל (see *Crit. Note*)—be interpreted ἀγγαρία, but not so if it be taken concretely of a person, *juvenis*.

[קל ראש] [Most] MSS. with the exception of א read לראש, but the passage is quoted as in the text in a MS. of the 'Aruk, Cambridge University *Additional* 471.2, where s. v. קל, we find immediately after קלות ראש the words ב'פ' עקביה הוי קל ראש. בר' דמאי בו; but another MS. of the 'Aruk, *Additional* 376, reads קל לראש ראש... דמאי and a third MS., *Additional* 473.2, has the brief reading קל ראש... דמאי. In this case a confusion has arisen from the immediately following reference to the "beginning of Demai." The reading of א gives the most natural construction, since ל קל is used of an *action* (v. 30), but not usually of a *person*: on the other hand,

19. R. 'Aqibah<sup>31</sup> said, Merriment, and lightness of disposition<sup>32</sup>, accustom a man to lewdness.

it is open to the objection that it recommends levity, which is condemned in § 19 and elsewhere. This however is partly in favour of the reading, which from its paradoxical nature would be in danger of corruption by the copyists. It may have been intended to contrast the "lightness" which is condemned in general terms in § 19 with a "lightness" which is lawful or expedient under certain circumstances. In like manner bashfulness is condemned from a certain point of view in II. 6, but is singled out for the highest praise in v. 31; and שְׁחוּק has both a good sense and a bad sense. Compare, also, the praise of "impudence" and shameless pertinacity: "Impudens et importunus vincit hominem malum, quanto magis Deum, qui bonitas mundi ipsa est" (Jalq. II. 550, on Jonah iii. 8); which illustrates Luke xviii. 4—8, and Matt. xi. 12. Cf. Buxtorf, *Lex.* s. v. חֲפָז, a word which is used for עָז in the Targum on Prov. vii. 13. If, as is probable, קְלוּת denotes primarily an ἐλαφρία (2 Cor. i. 17) which results from want of deliberation (note 32), the reading of the text may be explained as meaning that a man should be *hasty*, and yielding to ἀγγάρια. When such a service is put upon him, he should not pause to deliberate, but should take it upon him at once, and yield himself unreservedly to the exaction, in accordance with the saying: καὶ ὅστις σε ἀγγαρεύσει μίλιον ἔν, ὑπάγε μετ' αὐτοῦ δύο (Matt. v. 41). The Machazor Vitry (quoted in *Crit. Note*) paraphrases the saying as follows: "Lighten thy head and be pliant as a reed which sways hither and thither, and prompt as a man that is quick to oblige the head

of the city and its judges"; thus combining two interpretations.

Other interpretations are as follows: "Be deferential in the presence of a great man, but *sedate* and not too affable towards the young" (Rambam). "When thou art young be קָל towards the Creator, and likewise in the time of thine *age* be לֹו נוּחַ" (Rashi, as quoted by bar S.). "Be קָל to the *chief*, or first in rank, and נוּחַ to his ἀγγαρεύς" (R. Jonah). On the whole there is a fair amount of authority for the meaning ἀγγάρια. This being adopted, the expressions קָל וְנוּחַ may either be taken both together as describing a man's attitude towards ἀγγάρια, or we may read, הוּי קָל לְרֹאשׁ, *Esto velox erga caput*, and take נוּחַ לְתַשְׁחֹרֶת, "yielding to ἀγγάρια," as a separate clause. Levy (*Chald. Wörterbuch* s. v. שָׁחַר) renders: "sei dienstfertig gegen einen Vornehmen und schmiegsam gegen die Regierung (den Regierer)."

<sup>31</sup> R. 'Aqiba(h) ben Joseph, though descended from non-Jewish parents, and until middle age averse from study, became one of the greatest lights of Judaism both before and after the death of Gamaliel II., with whom, as with R. Jehoshua' (see p. 37), he is brought into connexion in Sukkah III. 9 and elsewhere. In his early years he kept the flocks of the wealthy Kalba Shebua' of Jerusalem, whose daughter he at length married. He espoused the cause of bar Kokba, or Koziba (Sanhedrin 97 b), and acknowledged his claim to the Messiahship: was led captive(?) at the destruction of Bethar (135 A.D. See Jost, *Gesch.* v. 81 note) by Severus: and was

20. He used to say, Tradition<sup>33</sup> is a fence to Torah; tithes

put to death, after a long imprisonment, by tortures which he bore with heroic constancy. When the "Greek" [read *wicked*] kingdom had decreed that Israel should not occupy themselves in Torah, Pappus ben Jehudah came and found 'Aqiba holding large public assemblies for Torah-study. He said to him, 'Aqiba, art thou not afraid of the kingdom? 'Aqiba answers by a parable of a fox which was walking by the river side. He sees the fishes clustering from place to place, and asks them from what they are fleeing. They say, From the nets which men are bringing upon us. He asks, Is it your pleasure to come up on to the land, that I and you may dwell together, as my fathers dwelt with your fathers? They said to him, Most foolish of beasts, if we are afraid in the place of our life, how much more in the place of our death! So Israel may be distressed even in their native element of the Torah, which is "thy life and the length of thy days," but to leave it is certain death... When 'Aqiba was being led out to execution, it was the time of reading the *Shema*, and they were combing his flesh with combs of iron, and he was receiving upon him the yoke of the kingdom of Heaven (i.e. reciting the *Shema*). To his disciples who remonstrate: "Thus far, thou hast endured enough"; "all my days (said he) I have been troubled about this verse: Thou shalt love the Lord *...with all thy soul*, even if He should take away thy spirit. When, said I, will it be in my power to fulfil this? Now that I have the opportunity shall I not fulfil it?" As he was protracting the word אהך, ONE, till he expired, the heavenly voice, BATH QOL, went forth and said: "Happy art thou R.

'Aqiba that thy spirit went forth at אהך" (Berakoth 61 b). The ministering angels said before the Holy One, "such is Torah and such (*a death*) is its reward" (cf. Menachoth 29 b), according to Ps. xvii. 14, כמותים ירך, כמותים כו'. BATH QOL went forth and said, Happy art thou R. 'Aqiba, that thou art invited to the life of the world to come. [Midr. Prov. ix.]

'Aqiba learned tradition from Eli'ezer ben Hyrkanos, and acquired the minutiae of scholarship from Nachum of Gimzo, with whom he studied for 22 years, investigating the uses of particles, as אה, אה, אה, אה, wherever they occurred in Scripture (Chagigah 12 a; Pesachim 22 b; Bereshith Rabbah 1.). Once when the chazan summoned him to read Torah to the congregation, he excused himself on the ground that he had not read over the portion twice (or four times), privately, in accordance with the example of the Holy One (Midrash Tanchuma on Ex. xx. 1; Bereshith Rabbah xxiv.), who first thinks His words over and meditates upon them, and then communicates them to men, for it is said (Job xxviii. 27, 28), אה ראה כו', and afterwards, ויאמר לאדם. In like manner it is written in Ex. xx. 1: And God spake all these words saying, &c. i.e. He spake to Himself, and then said to men. It is said in T. J. Sotah ix. 10, 17 that there arose no *eshkol* (see p. 14) before R. 'Aqiba, and that the *springs of wisdom* ceased with him. He was one of the four who "entered Paradise" (iv. 1). As a compiler and systematiser of traditions he was the forerunner of Jehudah ha-Nasi (who was born shortly after his death), but his work has not been preserved in writing in its original

are a fence to wealth<sup>34</sup>; vows a fence to sanctity<sup>35</sup>; a fence to wisdom is silence.

form. Amongst the thousands of his hearers were "Meir (eigentlich Measa) Judah b. Hai, Jose b. Hilpetha, Simon b. Jochai, Eliezer b. Jakob." Together with his contemporary and rival R. Jehoshua', he was enrolled by posterity amongst the PATRES MUNDI.

<sup>32</sup> QALLUTH ROSH, or lightness of head, denotes unbecoming levity. It is indeed explained in the 'Aruk as meaning *lifting up of the head*, the opposite of humility; but it is more likely that its proper meaning is quickness and thoughtlessness, and that its opposite, "gravity of head," means slowness and deliberation, or *mens composita*, as it is well rendered in Berakoth v. 1, ed. Surenhusius: "Non assurgunt ad precandum nisi mente composita, מתוך כובד ראש. Sancti prisci precabantur horam prius morati, ut animum in Deum intenderent." It is said in Berakoth ix. 5: לא יקל את ראשו כנגד שער המזרח, a man should not "lighten his head" before the eastern gate. Since הקל also means *hold in light esteem*, or *dishonour*, and since קלות ראש is especially to be avoided in *prayer*, we may perhaps compare the expression *καταισχύνει τὴν κεφαλὴν*, which is used in relation to *prayer* in the doubtful passage, 1 Cor. xi. 4, 5. A man must not rise to pray, nor must he part from his friend, "from the midst of שחוק, and קלות ראש, and vain words" (Berakoth 31 a). But שחוק is not universally condemned. Cf. Ps. cxxvi. 2: "Then was our mouth filled with *laughter*, and our tongue with joy." A non-natural interpretation is given to the above verse in Berakoth 31 a: "It is forbidden to a man to fill his

mouth with שחוק, for it is said, *Then shall our mouth be &c.*, או ימלא שחוק פינו. When? In the time when the nations shall say, The Lord hath done great things &c." Some commentators remark upon § 19, that such שחוק only as is combined with "lightness of head" is condemned; but others take the expressions separately.

<sup>33</sup> MASORAH, or MASSORETH, is used of tradition in general, and is correlative to Qabbalah (1. 1). The expression, "from their fathers" in Job xv. 18, is expanded by the Targumist into: "from the tradition, מסורתא, of their fathers." This form of expression is also found in the Mishnah. Cf. Sheqalim vi. 1, where it is said that there was a מסורת in the possession of the houses of R. Gamliel and Chananiah, sagan of the priests, with regard to the place in which the Ark was hidden. The allusion in the text is to the oral Tradition by which the written Torah is supplemented or interpreted. Masorah in the modern sense is especially a system of rules for the reading of the text of the Hebrew Scriptures. The view that these rules are referred to here has the support of A†, C, and R. Jonah; but although the beginnings of the textual "Masorah" were of ancient date, there is nothing in the Mishnah to limit the generality of the word מסורת.

<sup>34</sup> The clause omitted by א is illustrated by the proverbial saying, עשר בשביל שתתעשר (Shabbath 119 a).

<sup>35</sup> The meaning of פרישות is "separation" from defilement, and hence *sanctity* of life. It is used in the Mishnah in parallelism with טהרה, *purity*, at the end of Sotah, where it is said that,—“From when Rabban

21. He used to say, Beloved is man that he was created "in imagine"; greater love (was it that it) was made known to him that he was created "in imagine Dei," as it is said, For in the image of God<sup>36</sup> made He man (Gen. ix. 6).

Gamliel ha-Zaen died, the glory of the Torah ceased, and purity and תורת פרישות died." For a satirical classification of the various kinds of Pharisees, see T. J. Berakoth ix. 7, and Buxtorf, *Lex.* s. r. פֶּרִי. Under the same root is found the expression שֵׁשׁ הַמְּפֹרָשׁ for the NAME יהוה. [Compare Wisdom xiv. 21 τὸ ἀκοινώνητον ὄνομα, the incommunicable name.]

<sup>36</sup> Man is beloved by God in whose image (Gen. i. 27; ix. 6), or likeness (Gen. v. 1), he was created; and he should be beloved by his fellow-men as a consequence of this love towards God Himself. This principle is brought out by the verse partly cited in the text: "Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed: for in the image of God made He man," on which R. 'Aqiba remarks (Bereshith Rab. xxxiv.); "Whosoever sheddeth blood, they reckon it to him as if he diminished THE LIKENESS." See also Excursus on *Shema*' (II. 17). "On these two commandments (Love God, Love thy neighbour) hang all the law and the prophets" (Matt. xxii. 40). The second of these is included in the first, according to Bereshith Rabbah, xxiv. (*end*), where, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," is brought into connexion with the saying of Gen. v. 1: "In the likeness of God made He him." Hence the contrast in James iii. 9: ἐν αὐτῇ εὐλογοῦμεν τὸν Κύριον καὶ πατέρα, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ καταράμεθα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοὺς καθ' ὁμοίωσιν Θεοῦ γεγονότας. Compare 1 Joh. iv. 21: καὶ ταύτην τὴν ἐντολήν ἐχόμεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, ἵνα ὁ ἀγαπῶν τὸν Θεὸν ἀγαπᾷ καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ.

The Midrash is full of speculations on the creation of the world and of man, some of which serve to illustrate the language of the New Testament Scriptures, as may be seen from the following examples.

Ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος ἐκ τῆς γῆς, χοϊκός ὁ δεύτερος ἄνθρωπος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ (1 Cor. xv. 47). A conception which pervades the Midrash literature is that there is an "upper" and a "lower" Adam: a celestial man, made strictly in the image of God, and a terrestrial man corresponding in detail to his archetype, of which he is the material adumbration. This twofold conception makes it difficult at times to estimate the precise value of the brief enigmatical sayings of the Rabbis on the Creation and the Fall. The matter is further complicated by their tendency to ignore the distinction between the potential and the actual: between the embryo and its development: between the "idea" and its temporal manifestation. There are two aspects of the statement that man was made in the *selem*, or image, of God, according as we regard the resemblance to God as predicated of the actual man or of his archetype; and as a consequence of this there are also two ways of regarding the Fall, viz. (1) as a loss of the Divine image in which man was actually created, and (2) as a falling away of the terrestrial Adam from his archetype. In the "Book of the generations of Adam" the Divine likeness is described as not wholly lost but perpetuated (cf. James iii. 9): "God created man in the LIKENESS of God...Adam begat a son in his own

## 22. Beloved are Israel that they are called children of

LIKENESS, after his image" (Gen. v. 1, 3); on which Ramban remarks: "It is known that all that are born of living beings are in the likeness and image of their parents; but because Adam was exalted in his likeness and his image, for it is said of him that, In the likeness of God made He him, it says expressly here that his offspring likewise were in that exalted likeness, but it does not say this of Cain and Abel, not wishing to dilate upon them, &c." This agrees with the Targum of Jonathan which introduces the remark that "before this Eve bare Cain who was not like him (Adam), &c." The Midrash dwells with much emphasis on the word *tholedoth*, "generations" or offspring, and regards the human race as comprised in Adam as embryo or *golem*. To this is applied Ps. cxxxix. 16: "Thine eyes did see my *golem*, and in thy book they all were written, ימים יצרו ולא אחד בהם." "He created him *golem*, an unshapen mass: and he was extended from one end of the world to the other." (Bereshith Rabbah xxiv.) "Everything that was created in the six days of *Bereshith* needs 'making' (i.e. preparation or concoction). The mustard for example needs sweetening: lupines (*θέρμοι*) need sweetening: wheat needs to be ground: even man needs תקון, amendment" (B. Rabbah xi.). According to this view the "image" and "likeness" is that to which man approximates, and which is found in greater perfection in the תולדות אדם than in Adam himself.

The saying that the first man was coextensive with the world is found in various places of the Talmud and the Midrash. The old philosophic concep-

tion that the world is a μέγας ἄνθρωπος, and man a microcosm, is adopted by Philo and the Rabbis. The constituents of man were gathered from all parts of the earth (Pirqe R. El. xi.). The faculties of the earth correspond to his (Qoheleth Rabbah, on Eccl. i. 4): "Whatsoever the Holy One, blessed is He, created in man, He created its analogue in the earth. Man has a *head*: the earth has a head (Prov. viii. 26). Man has *eyes* and *ears*, &c., &c.: the earth has eyes and ears, &c., &c. (Ex. x. 15; Is. i. 2)." "Why was man created alone? To teach thee that whosoever destroys one soul of Israel, it is reckoned to him as if he destroyed a whole world; and whosoever preserves one soul of Israel, it is reckoned to him as if he preserved a whole world" (Jalq. i. 15). [Sanh. iv. 5.] Man, who at first stretched from end to end of the world, was diminished by the hand of God, for it is said, "Thou didst form me אהור וקדם, and didst lay thine hand upon me" (Ps. cxxxix. 5). See Chagigah 12 a, where it is also said, that the first man extended from the earth to the firmament, for it is said that he was created על הארץ, upon or above the earth. "Twice didst thou form me (writes the commentator), at first high, then low." The primal man fell short of the Creator's מחשבה, or *idea*, of which the realization will be in the future, when the Son of Man bridges the chasm between heaven and earth (Joh. i. 52). In like manner the φῶς ἀληθινόν which was created in the beginning was withdrawn from the generations that were unworthy of it (Job xxxviii. 15), and remains hidden away for the righteous in the time to come, when "the light of the moon shall be

God<sup>37</sup>; greater love (was it that it) was made known to them that they are called children of God, as it is said, Ye are the children of the LORD your God (Deut. xiv. 1).

23. Beloved are Israel that there was given to them the instrument with which the world was created<sup>37</sup>; greater love

as the light of the sun, and the light of the sun shall be sevenfold, כּאֹר שֶׁבַע הַיָּמִים, as the light of THE SEVEN DAYS" (Is. xxx. 26) of the CREATION WEEK (Bereshith Rabbah III., XI., XII., XLII.; Chagigah 12 a). With this light the first Adam saw from end to end of the world. The world itself was created by it (B. Rabbah XII., אותה האורה שבה נברא העולם). Compare Joh. i. 5—10; καὶ τὸ φῶς ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ φαίνει, καὶ ἡ σκοτία αὐτὸ οὐ κατέλαβεν... ἦν τὸ φῶς τὸ ἀληθινὸν ὃ φωτίζει πάντα ἄνθρωπον ἐρχόμενον εἰς τὸν κόσμον· ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἦν, καὶ ὁ κόσμος δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, καὶ ὁ κόσμος αὐτὸν οὐκ ἔγνω.

A doctrine of progressive creations culminating in the present order is propounded in Beresh. Rabbah III., ix.: "And God saw all that He had made, and behold IT WAS VERY GOOD... R. Tanchuma said, The world was created in its season: the world was not fit to be created before that. Said R. Abuhu, This signifies that the Holy One, blessed is He, was creating worlds and destroying them, and creating worlds and destroying them, till he created these. He said, These are satisfactory to me; those are not satisfactory to me."

<sup>37</sup> Compare 1 Joh. iii. 1, 2: "Ἴδετε ποταπὴν ἀγάπην δέδωκεν ἡμῖν ὁ πατήρ, ἵνα τέκνα Θεοῦ κληθῶμεν... ἀγαπητοί, νῦν τέκνα Θεοῦ ἐσμεν, καὶ οὕτω ἐφανερῶθη τί ἐσόμεθα· οἶδαμεν δὲ ὅτι ἐὰν φανερωθῇ ὅμοιοι αὐτῷ ἐσόμεθα, ὅτι ὁψόμεθα αὐτὸν καθὼς ἐστι. The sonship of Israel implies their possession of the Divine likeness in a higher degree

than Adam, or man in general. There is a progression from § 21 to § 23. The primal man, the embryo of the race, is created an adumbration of Elohim: Israel is singled out for the distinction of sonship to יהוה: and not only do they resemble the Creator passively, but their work is likened to His, for they have in their hands the creative instrument, the Torah, by which the world was made, and by which the Divine image is perpetuated. R. 'Obadiah of Sferno dilates upon man's faculty of acquiring a perfection with which he was not specifically created. He remarks that the expression, "according to (as it were) our likeness" (Gen. i. 26) is approximative,

כּמו רמותנו לֹא כרמותנו, והאמתי; and that "*In imagine &c.*" implies the twofold possibility (1) of rising to perfection by means of wisdom through which the love and fear of God are acquired, and (2) of lapsing into chaos and perishing, according to the words of the Psalmist, אדם ביקר ולא יבין כו' (Ps. xlix. 21), *if he will not understand, he will be like the beasts that perish*; for if man had been wholly spiritual he might have been called actually *Elohim*, a word which is applied not only to God but to intellectual and incorporeal beings, as angels, and also to judges, in respect of the *voûs*, or חלק שכלי, which properly belongs to them; but since he is in part material he is described not as *Elohim*, but, in lower terms, as "*in the image of Elohim.*" In favour of this view is Gen. iii. 5,

(was it that it) was made known to them that there was given to them the instrument with which the world was created, as it is said, For I give you good doctrine, forsake ye not MY LAW (Prov. iv. 2).

24. Everything is foreseen<sup>38</sup>; and freewill is given. And the world is judged by grace; and everything is according to work.

25. He used to say, Everything is given on pledge (*ἀρραβών*); and the net (Eccl. ix. 12) is cast over all the living. The office is open; and the broker gives credit<sup>39</sup>; and the ledger

where, notwithstanding the original creation "*In imagine*," temptation is presented in the form, "Ye shall be as *Elohim*, &c."

<sup>38</sup> This Mishnah touches upon two great controversies, and affirms that the opposites, PREDESTINATION and FREEWILL, MERCY and JUSTICE, are reconcilable. The word *נצפוי* might indeed mean only that the affairs of the world are *known* to God, *καὶ οὐκ ἔστι κρίσις ἀφανῆς ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ* (Heb. iv. 13), but it seems best to take it here as including *foreknowledge*, in accordance with the remarks of R. Jonah, who quotes Ps. cxxxix. 1, 2: "O Lord, thou hast searched me, and *known* me. Thou knowest my down-sitting and mine uprising, thou understandest my thought *afar off*." We have thus a sharply defined contrast between the foreknowledge of God, and the freedom of will which is nevertheless given to man. The reading of the text, which gives a parallel contrast between the *χρηστέτης* of God (Rom. xi. 22) and His just judgment of men according to their works, is to be preferred to the negative reading: "*not according to work*." The insertion of *רוב*, which is strongly supported, gives the meaning, that everything is according to the *preponderance*

of work; that is to say, a man's good deeds are set off against his evil deeds, and he is condemned or acquitted according as the latter or the former are found to be the more weighty or numerous.

<sup>39</sup> The words *הנוני* and *שולחני* are found in Ma'aser Sheni iv. 2. The latter denotes a *numularius*; the former has the more general meaning *tabernarius*, and is also used for *numularius*, which perhaps best suits the reading of the text—but see note *κ*. The world is likened to the office of a merchant, or of a money-broker: the *tabernarius*, or *numularius*, the Lord of the world, gives credit, but records the obligations incurred; in due time the collectors, who are daily going their rounds, exact payment from each debtor: in the case of a defaulter they have the arm of the law to rest upon, and its sentence will be according to truth.

On the meaning of *מוקיף* see Levy's *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, s.r. *נקף*. The word is used in Qiddushin 40a: "They *give no credit* in the case of profanation of the NAME"; they grant the offender no respite, but punish him at once. It is used also in the passage cited in note 35 from the Jerushalmi, in explanation of *פרוש ניקפי* (one of the seven kinds of Pharisees), who

(πίναξ) is open; and the hand writes; and whosoever will borrow comes and borrows; and the bailiffs go round continually every day, and exact from a man whether he wills or not; and they have whereon to lean; and the judgment is a judgment of truth. And everything is prepared for the BANQUET<sup>40</sup>.

26. R. La'zar ben 'Azariah<sup>41</sup> said, No Torah, no culture;

says, אקיה לי ואנא עביר מצוה, "warte (eig. leihe mir Zeit), ich muss zuvor ein gottgefälliges Werk verrichten."

<sup>40</sup> The enjoyment of the world to come is figuratively spoken of in Rabbinic writings as THE BANQUET. In the New Testament compare: Μακάριοι οἱ εἰς τὸ δεῖπνον τοῦ γάμου τοῦ ἀρνίου κεκλημένοι (Rev. xix. 9). The Talmud cites Ex. xxiv. 11: "And upon the nobles of the children of Israel he laid not his hand: also they saw God, and did eat and drink"—in the sense that the vision of God, or of the Shekinah, was meat and drink to them: "It was a commonplace in the mouth of Rab, that in the world to come there is neither eating, nor drinking, nor procreation, nor barter, nor envy, nor hatred, nor strife; but the righteous sit with their crowns on their heads, and enjoy the splendour of the SHEKINAH, for it is said, And they saw God, and did eat and drink" (Berakoth 17 a). The word *akal*, to eat, is frequently used in a secondary sense, as in the saying of R. Hillel: "There is no Messiah for Israel, since they have already eaten him in the days of Hezekiah" (Sanhedrin 98b, 99a). The ministering angels, who are flaming fire, are fed on the splendour of the Shekinah, מזיו שכינה הם נזונין (Bemidbar Rabbah xxi.), for it is said (Prov. xvi. 15), "In the light of the king's countenance is life." Lower down in the same chapter the Holy One is represented as saying to Israel:

"In this world ye offer before me the shewbread and oblations. In the world to come I will spread for you a great table, and the nations of the world shall behold and be confounded, for it is said, Thou wilt prepare a table before me in the presence of mine enemies (Ps. xxiii. 5)...Behold, my servants shall eat, but ye shall be hungry: behold, my servants shall drink, but ye shall be thirsty" (Is. lxxv. 13). The female Leviathan is preserved for the banquet of the righteous in the world to come (Baba Bathra 74 b). "At the fourth hour the Holy One, blessed is He, sits and plays with leviathan, for it is said (Ps. civ. 26), That leviathan whom thou hast made to play with him, לִישָׁחֵק בו, "Abodah Zarah 3 b). Compare Targ. on Ps. civ. 26, where it is said to have been created, למגהך, ביה לצדיקיא בסעורת בית מדוריה. Cf. also, πεποιημένον ἐγκαταπαίξασθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγγέλων αὐτοῦ (Job xl. 14; xli. 24), in the LXX. description of *behemoth*. [Lagarde omits ביה.]

<sup>41</sup> The rich and influential Ele'azar, or (?) Eli'ezer, ben 'Azariah, was chosen, notwithstanding his youth, to succeed the second Gamaliel on his deposition from the presidency; whereupon R. 'Aqiba remarked: "It is not that he excels me as a son of Torah, but as a son of great men" (T. J. Berakoth iv. 1). Ben 'Azariah, who is said to have been but 17 years of age, describes himself as prematurely aged: "Lo, I am as a son of 70 years, but am not a son of

no culture, no Thorah. No wisdom, no fear (of God); no fear (of God), no wisdom. No knowledge, no discernment<sup>42</sup>; no discernment, no knowledge. No meal, no Thorah; no Thorah, no meal<sup>43</sup>.

27. He used to say, Whosoever wisdom is in excess of his works, to what is he like?<sup>44</sup> To a tree whose branches are abundant, and its roots scanty; and the wind comes, and uproots it, and overturns it. And whosoever works are in excess of his wisdom, to what is he like? To a tree whose branches are scanty, and its roots abundant; though all the winds come upon it, they stir it not from its place.

28. R. La'zar Chasmah said, "Qinnim" and "Pith<sub>c</sub>ché

70 years" (T. B. Berakoth 28 a). THAT DAY they removed the doorkeeper and gave free admission to all, whereas Gamaliel had excluded every disciple who was not the same inwardly as outwardly. It is added that when anything is recorded as having happened **בְּיוֹם בְּנֵי אַזַּרְיָה**, the occasion of ben 'Azariah's accession is referred to; and the day is described as one in which all the pending controversies were decided. It should rather be described as the day on which the *principle of decision* in accordance with the opinion of the majority (iv. 12), to which even Gamaliel gave in his adhesion, came at length to be distinctly recognised. On the restoration of Gamaliel they did not depose ben 'Azariah (T. J. *loc. cit.*) [Berak. 7 d], but made him *Ab beth din*. According to the Babli, three sabbaths (or weeks) in the month were assigned to Gamaliel as president, and the fourth to ben 'Azariah. Hence it is said: "Whose Sabbath is it? The Sabbath of R. El. ben 'Azariah."

<sup>42</sup> Prov. ix. 10: "THE FEAR of the Lord is the beginning of WISDOM: and the KNOWLEDGE of the holy is UNDER-

STANDING." [The Torah itself teaches **וְרַךְ אֶת הָאָרֶץ** (Joma 4 b).]

<sup>43</sup> The want of "corn," or, generally, of the means of sustenance, prevents a man from obtaining instruction, and studying Thorah. The converse, taken literally, would imply that Thorah fits a man for the discharge of secular duties, and brings worldly prosperity in its train: "Seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you" (Matt. vi. 33). But "Wisdom," which is sometimes identified with Thorah, provides sustenance also in a spiritual sense: "Come, eat of my bread, and drink of the wine which I have mingled... For by me thy days shall be multiplied, and the years of thy life shall be increased" (Prov. ix. 5, 11). [Ecclus. xv. 1—3 *ἄρτον συνέσεως καὶ ἕδωρον σοφίας.*]

<sup>44</sup> The Rabbinic parables, like those of the New Testament, are commonly introduced by some such formula as *Mashal* "לְמַה" *ר*, *to what is the matter like?* [Cant. Rab. i. 1 § 8 teaches that parables are wanted to draw out the sense of Torah.]

Niddah" are essentials of *Thorah*<sup>45</sup>; canons of astronomy and Gematria<sup>46</sup> are aftercourses of wisdom<sup>47</sup>.

<sup>45</sup> The fifth Seder of the Mishnah contains a tract called קנינים, or *neests*; and the sixth contains a tract called נדרה. QINNIM relates to the young birds which men and women were required to offer in certain cases (Luke ii. 24; Shebi'ith VIII. 8). NIDDAH relates to the uncleannesses of women.

<sup>46</sup> גמטריא, a Hebraised form of *γεωμετρία*, denotes an *arithmetical* method of exegesis, in which the numerical values of the Hebrew letters—which, like the Greek, are used to denote numbers—are taken into account. Thus one word may be substituted for another to which it is numerically equivalent, as in Bereshith Rabbah LXVIII., where Jacob's ladder is identified with mount Sinai, since סלם (60 + 30 + 40) is equal to סיני (60 + 10 + 50 + 10). For other examples of this species of gematria see Buxtorf's *Lex. Chald.* s.v. The Egyptian Bondage was to last 210 years, because it is said in Gen. xlii. 2: "go down thither," the letters of ררו, *go down*, amounting to 200 + 4 + 6. The first Temple was to stand 410 years, for it was said (Lev. xvi. 3): "Thus (בזאת) shall Aaron come into the holy place"; or, by gematria, "(2+7+1+400) years shall he come into it." This example and the preceding are quoted by the so-called Rashbam in illustration of the received interpretation of gematria. The antiquity of the method of GEMATRIA may be gathered from Rev. xiii. 17, 18. [Mr Burkitt (*Camb. Philolog. Soc.* March 5, 1896) suggests that Tyconius (fl. 380 A.D.) in his lost commentary on the Apocalypse had in mind the figure  $\text{X}$  as being the mark

and representing the number (*v.l.* 616) of the beast. It "is a combination of X'=600, I'=10, and  $\text{C}$  (the older form of the *Episemon* S')=6." It would suit Antichrist as being like the Monogram for ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ reversed, "anti enim contra dicitur" (Beatus). This "may have been that explanation of 616 which S. Irenaeus (*Haer.* v 30) does not think fit to explain to his readers. In that case it would afford the earliest trace of the use of the Monogram as a symbol of Christ.]"

<sup>47</sup> The things first mentioned are "corpora legis," essentials of Thorah, as opposed to the refinements of "Gematria," and astronomical calculations. On תקופה, *revolution, orbit*, see Levy's *Chald. Wörterbuch*. According to the usual interpretation, פּרפּראוֹת denotes "Deliciae, Cupediae, Edulium vel obsonium ex rebus minutis et delicatis, quod vel ante cibum sumitur excitandi appetitus causa, vel post cibum, voluptatis causa"; and accordingly Gematria and the like are described either (1) as intellectual delicacies which stimulate the appetite for wisdom, or (2) with greater probability, as small and unimportant matters in comparison with the *pièces de résistance* mentioned above. According to another view (given in note  $\pi$ ), Gematria &c. belong merely to the outer circle of wisdom—they are the *περιφέρεια*, not the centre, of the Thorah. Or they are the *dress* or *adornment* (fr. *πορφύρα*) of wisdom, according to an improbable interpretation which "Rashbam" mentions with approval, referring to "Rab Nathan who compiled the 'Aruk.'"

## CHAPTER IV.

1. Ben Zoma<sup>1</sup> said, Who is wise? He that learns from every man; for it is said, From<sup>1</sup> all my teachers I gat understanding (Ps. cxix. 99).

2. Who is mighty? He that subdues his nature<sup>2</sup>; for it

<sup>1</sup> Shime'on ben Zoma, a younger contemporary of 'Aqiba, belonged to the school of the mystics, and, from being profoundly versed in theosophic speculation, was said to have entered Paradise (Chagigah 14b; Cant. Rab. i. 4). [Ezek. xxviii. 13.] Three others entered with him: 'Aqiba, ben 'Azai, and Elisha' ben Abuyah (iii. 19; iv. 27). "Things which were not revealed to Moses were revealed to R. 'Aqiba and his companions" (Bemidbar Rabbah xix.). Ben Zoma, according to Chagigah, "looked, and became demented," from indulging too freely in the "honey" (Prov. xxv. 16) of metaphysics. "He who sees ben Zoma in a dream may expect wisdom" (Berakoth 57 b). With him the *darshanim* ceased, according to Sotah 49 b.

The verse cited in proof of ben Zoma's first saying is rendered in its original context: "I have MORE understanding THAN all my teachers." R. Israel has some remarks on the love of wisdom for its own sake. It is written, "If thou seekest her as silver, and searchest for her as for hid treasures; Then shalt thou understand the fear of the Lord, and find the knowledge

of God" (Prov. ii. 4, 5). As a man seeks silver wherever it is to be found, and values it all the same whether he obtains it by the help of high, low, rich, or poor, so let him seek wisdom for its own sake, and from any teacher who is able to teach him.

Why is Torah like water? because as a great man is not ashamed to say to an inferior, Give me a drink of water, so a great man is not ashamed to say to an inferior, Teach me one pericope, one word, one verse, or even one letter (Chazitha, on Cant. i. 2). And why is it like ξύλον (Prov. iii. 18)? because, as small wood kindles the great, so little scholars sharpen great ones (Tha'anith 7 a). Then follows the oft quoted saying (cf. Makkoth 10 a): *I have learned much from my masters; and from my associates more than from my masters; and from my disciples more than from them all.* Bar S. observes, that the man who struggles against the evil nature within him has a harder warfare than he who fights against an external foe, since his enemy never leaves him.

<sup>2</sup>"The wicked watcheth the righteous, and seeketh to slay him" (Ps. xxxvii.

is said, He that is slow to anger is better than the mighty; and he that ruleth his spirit than he that taketh a city (Prov. xvi. 32).

3. Who is rich? He that is contented with his lot; for it is said, When thou eatest the labour of thy hands, happy art thou, and it shall be well with thee (Ps. cxxviii. 2). "Happy art thou" in this world; "and it shall be well with thee" in the world to come<sup>3</sup>.

32). The "wicked" is man's evil nature (Sukkah 52 b), which he must subdue, yet not wholly destroy and eradicate, for this would be to ruin the body by the destruction of the psychic force. The evil *yeçer* rules over the animal soul, which a man is commanded to preserve: "Take heed to thyself, and keep thy *soul* diligently" (Dent. iv. 9); and in order to do this, he must to a certain extent follow the promptings of the *yeçer*. Even the evil *yeçer* is good, for it is said: "And God saw everything that he had made, and, behold, it was very good" (Gen. i. 31). The good יֵצֶר was VERY GOOD, and so was the evil יֵצֶר, but for which a man would never build a house, nor marry, nor beget, nor trade (Bereshith Rabbah ix.). The evil nature, and a child, and a woman are things which the left hand should repel, and the right bring near. [Sanhedrin 107 b.]

The evil nature is called "yeçer" absolutely from its existing originally, and for a long time alone, for "the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth" (Gen. viii. 21), whereas *yeçer ha-tob*, which is presided over by *voçs*, is added later, and then only coexists with the evil, which is thirteen years older (Midrash Qoheleth ix. 14; Aboth, *Addenda*). The strong and great man is he in whom the evil nature is strong; "and therefore our wise men, of blessed memory, have said, In the place, where penitents

stand, the faultlessly righteous stand not," for it is said (Is. lvii. 19), Peace, peace to him that is far off, and to him that is near: to the far off first, and afterwards to the near (Berakoth 34 b).

<sup>3</sup> It is a characteristic of Talmudic exegesis, that, as far as possible, every expression of Holy Scripture is regarded as having a separate significance. In such texts as the above the *darshan* allows no mere cumulation of phrases for the sake of symmetry or emphasis, but he sees distinct allusions in אִשְׁרֵיךָ and טוֹב לְךָ to the present and future worlds. Such two-fold allusions are continually being pointed out in the Talmud and Midrash. In the text we may perhaps suppose a play upon the words, *ashreka*, thy happiness, and *'oshreka*, thy wealth. With this saying compare 1 Tim. vi. 6: ἔστι δὲ πορισμὸς μέγας ἢ εὐσέβεια μετὰ αὐταρκείας. The three sayings may be taken as a commentary on Jer. ix. 23: "Let not the WISE man glory in his wisdom, neither let the MIGHTY man glory in his might, let not the RICH man glory in his riches."

It is said in Berakoth ix. 5, that all the benedictions in the Temple used to end simply with A SECULO; but from the time when the Epicureans (א reads *ha-minim*) cavilled and said, There is but one world, it was ordered to conclude with A SECULO IN SECVLUM,

4. Who is honoured? He that honours mankind; for it is said, For them that honour me<sup>4</sup> I will honour, and they that despise me shall be lightly esteemed (1 Sam. ii. 30).

5. Ben 'Azzai<sup>5</sup> said, Hasten to a slight precept, and flee from transgression; for precept induces precept, and trans-

<sup>4</sup> In the original context the speaker is God; but the verse is here applied to establish the principle of reciprocity more generally. One interpretation is, that he who honours men is reckoned as honouring God himself, in whose image they were created (111. 21), in accordance with a well-known Rabbinic principle, which may also be illustrated from the New Testament. Observe that the evil is not attributed to God: it is not said, "I will despise them," but, *they shall be despised*. "If one comes for defilement, they suffer him; if he comes for purification, they help him" (Joma 38 b): the naphtha seller lets his customer measure for himself: the perfumer says, Let me help you with the balsam, that we may both enjoy its fragrance. "The memory of the just is blessed" (Prov. x. 7) by his neighbour: "but the name of the wicked shall rot" of itself.

"Great is כבוד הבריות, which supersedes a negative precept of the Torah" (Berakoth 19 b).

<sup>5</sup> Shime'on ben 'Az(z)ai, prospective son-in-law of R. 'Aqiba, appears to have separated from his wife for more complete devotion to study, although recognising the religious duty, as the Jews regard it, of marriage and פריה ורביה, in accordance with the command, "Be fruitful and multiply," to abstain from which is as murder: "Whosoever (says ben 'Azai, in Bereshith Rabbah xxxiv.) abstains from procreation, the Scripture reckons it unto him as if he shed blood, and

diminished the likeness," for it is forbidden to shed the blood of a man *because* he was created in the image of God (Gen. ix. 6), and in the very next verse it is said, And you, be ye fruitful, and multiply.

Ben 'Azai was one of the four who entered Paradise (note 1). "He looked, and perished": i.e. he died prematurely, worn out by his preternatural activity. With him the *shaqdanim* came to an end (Sotah 49 b). "He who saw ben 'Azai in a dream might hope for *chasideuth*" (Berakoth 57 b).

"Ben 'Azai was sitting and commenting, and the fire was flaming about him. They went and said to R. 'Aqiba, Rabbi, ben 'Azai sits and comments, and the fire flames about him. He went to him, and said to him, I have heard that thou wast commenting, and the fire was flaming about thee. He said to him, Yea, yea! He said to him, Perchance in the recesses of the CHARIOT thou wast employed. He said to him, Nay, I was but sitting and concatenating in Torah, and from Torah onward to the Prophets, and from the Prophets to the Scriptures; and the words were as pleasing as at their proclamation from Sinai, and sweet as when they were originally given" (Chazitha, on Cant. i. 10) out of the midst of the fire.

<sup>6</sup> Habits are formed by the repetition of single acts. When a man discharges or disregards a duty he thereby predisposes himself for a like course of action on a future occasion.

gression induces transgression<sup>6</sup>; for the reward of precept is precept, and the reward of transgression is transgression<sup>7</sup>.

6. He used to say, Despise not any man, and carp not at any thing; for thou wilt find that there is not a man that has not his hour, and not a thing that has not its place.

7. R. Levitas of Jabneh said, Be exceeding lowly of spirit, for the hope of man is the worm. R. Jochanan ben Baroqah said, Whoso profanes the name of Heaven in secret, they punish him openly. The erring is as the presumptuous, in profanation of the NAME<sup>8</sup>.

The passing act of transgression leads up to a settled course of evil. He who first "WALKS in the counsel of the ungodly" (Ps. i. 1), next "STANDS in the way of sinners," and at length "SITS in the seat of the scornful." The passage cited from Sifre in Excursus I. 2 (ix.), cf. Sikkah 52a, and Sanhedrin 99b—interprets Is. v. 18: "Woe unto them that draw iniquity with CORDS OF VANITY, and sin as it were with a cartrope," as meaning that the band of sin is at first slender, like a spider's thread, but afterwards becomes thick and strong as a cartrope. It is added: R. said, He who performs one precept for its own sake, let him not rejoice over that precept (alone), for in due course it will draw after it many others; and he who commits one transgression, let him not deplore that (only), for it will be the cause of many others, For "precept leads on to precept, and transgression to transgression."

<sup>7</sup> Well-doing is the fruit of well-doing, and evil-doing the fruit of evil-doing. This is interpreted by R. Jonah as meaning, not that "virtue is its own reward," and the consciousness of wickedness its sole punishment, but that a man is responsible for his actions, inasmuch as one action is consequent upon another, and he has thus

the power of educating and predisposing himself for good or evil. The performance of duty is rewarded by an increased facility of subsequent performance.

<sup>8</sup> In the case of profanation of the Name of God, no allowance is made for inadvertence, but the man is punished forthwith. Sins of ignorance and those committed deliberately are reckoned as one and the same. "On account of what was Gechazi punished? Because he called his master by his name, for it is said, And Gechazi said, My lord, O king, this is the woman, and this is her son, whom Elisha restored to life" (2 Kings viii. 5; Sanhedrin 100a). A feeling of reverence leads the Jews to avoid, as far as possible, all mention of the Names of God. This feeling is manifested, not only in the case of **שם המפורש** (p. 56), for which *Adonai* or *Elohim* is substituted in the reading of Scripture, but, in their post-canonical literature, even with regard to less sacred, and not incommunicable Divine names. In the Talmud and Midrash, and (with the exception of Prayer Books) in the Rabbinic writings generally, it is the custom to abstain from using the Biblical names of God, *except in citations from the Bible*; and even when *Elohim* is necessarily brought in, it is often

## 8. R. Ishma'el his son said, He that learns in order to

intentionally misspelt, *Elohim*, or *Eloqim*. For יהוה again, especially in Qabbalistic works, we find the spellings, יהוה and יהוה. In the treatise Pirque Aboth, as the reader may easily verify for himself, all direct mention of "God" is avoided, except in Biblical quotations, and in an interpolated liturgical formula (v. 31).

שמים] HEAVEN is one of the usual substitutes for the Name of God. Cf. i. 3, 12; ii. 2, 16; iv. 7, 16 (note), 17; v. 24, 25. It is a well-known characteristic of St Matthew's Gospel that, amongst other Hebraisms, it makes frequent use of the phrase ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν, instead of ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ. Compare also Matt. xxiii. 22: καὶ ὁ ὁμύσας ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ὁμύσει ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ἐν τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ. St Paul again writes, πάντα εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ ποιεῖτε (1 Cor. x. 31), the equivalent of which in the Mishnah language is, "Let all thy deeds be to the name of Heaven" (Aboth ii. 16).

המקום] PLACE, or Space, is another Name of God which was in common use. Cf. ii. 13, 17; iii. 5, 6, 15, 22; v. 7. There is external evidence for its antiquity in Philo's use of ὁ τόπος, on which see note 42, p. 39. This use of ὁ τόπος throws light upon the periphrasis of the LXX. in Ex. xxiv. 10: καὶ εἶδον τὸν τόπον οὗ εἰστήκει ὁ Θεός.

השם] THE NAME (iv. 7; v. 14) was used as a substitute for יהוה, or "God." Traces of this usage are found in ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος ἀτιμασθῆναι (Acts v. 41), and ὑπὲρ γὰρ τοῦ ὀνόματος ἐξῆλθον, μηδὲν λαμβάνοντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνικῶν (3 John 7). Since τὸ ὄνομα was used as a synonym for "God," the actions of God himself appeared to be attributed to the Name of God. Hence the Qabbalistic mode of expres-

sion, according to which a power and efficacy was attributed to the most holy NAME, which was regarded as an instrument in the hand of the initiated.

הקב"ה] THE HOLY ONE, *blessed is He*, is used as a Name of God, either as a supplement to other expressions (iii. 1; iv. 32), or alone (v. 6). The use of a benediction, as ברוך הוּא, or תברך, at the mention of God is thought to be required by Prov. x. 7: "The memory of the just is blessed," the mention of the Holy One should be accompanied with benediction. (The hemistich is also quoted by its initials when reference is made to a "just" man who is no longer living. The use of these initials, ב"ז—or briefly ב"ז, *beata memoria ejus*—indicates that the person whose name they follow is dead.) But ק"ה is found alone, without ב"ה, in the Machazor Vitry. Compare Job vi. 10: "for I have not concealed קרוי אמוני, the words of the Holy One." In like manner ὁ ἅγιος is used in the book of Ecclesiasticus, καὶ ὀνομασία τοῦ ἁγίου μὴ συννεθισθῆς (xxiii. 9). On the other hand, ὁ εὐλογητός stands alone as a Name of God in Mark xiv. 61.

The pronunciation of יהוה was thought to be prohibited by Lev. xxiv. 16: "And he that blasphemeth the name of the Lord, he shall surely be put to death, and all the congregation shall certainly stone him: as well the stranger, as he that is born in the land, when he blasphemeth THE NAME, shall be put to death." The Jews here render קב not blaspheme, but pronounce distinctly. So the LXX., ὀνομάζων δὲ τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου θανάτῳ θανατούσθω. The non-pronunciation of יהוה, which was already an established practice when the LXX. version was

teach<sup>9</sup>, they grant him the faculty to learn and to teach: he that learns in order to practise, they grant him the faculty to learn, and to teach, and to practise.

9. R. Çadoq said, Make them<sup>10</sup> not a crown, to glory in them; nor an ax, to live by them. And thus was Hillel wont to say, And he who serves himself with the tiara perishes (l. 14). Lo, whosoever makes profit from words of Thorah removes his life from the world.

10. R. Jose said, Whosoever honours the Thorah<sup>11</sup> is himself held in honour with men; and whosoever dishonours the Thorah is himself dishonoured with men.

11. R. Ishma'el said, He that refrains himself from judgment, frees himself from enmity, and rapine, and false swearing<sup>12</sup>; and he that is arrogant in decision<sup>13</sup> is foolish, wicked, and puffed up in spirit.

made, may be regarded as the germ of the Qabbalistic theosophy, in which God was removed to an infinite distance from the material world, and the interval was populated with a succession of intermediate creations, or emanations from the Deity.

<sup>9</sup> It is said in Sanhedrin 99 a, that he who learns Thorah and does not teach it, he it is that "hath despised the word of the Lord" (Numb. xv. 31).

The initial letters of the words עמל מנה ללמד form the word עמל. Conversely, by one of the Rabbinic artifices of exegesis, Job v. 7 (as noticed by P. Ewald) is made to mean, not that "man is born to trouble," but that he is born to learn in order to teach. Another example of the method of ראשי תבות or initials, is afforded by the word אמן, Amen, which is Qabbalistically explained as an abbreviation of אל מלך נאמן, *God is a Faithful King*.

<sup>10</sup> Another reading is: "Make it (the Thorah) not a crown, &c." The

reading of the text is explained in two ways, either (1) make not words of Thorah a crown, or (2) make not thy disciples a crown, &c. The latter explanation may be supported by St Paul's use of στέφανος in Phil. iv. 1, and 1 Thess. ii. 19. "On account of what was Abraham our father punished, and his sons subjugated to Egypt for 210 years? Because he impressed scholars into his service" (Gen. xiv. 14; Nedarim 32 a) in his expedition for the rescue of Lot.

<sup>11</sup> Pseudo-Rashi gives the following explanations of, *Whosoever honours the Thorah*; "He who does not leave the book of the Thorah on the floor, or on a bench; and some say, He who inclines his ear to the book of the Thorah, and does not talk while the Chazan is reading it; and some say, He who does not leave it open, and go out."

<sup>12</sup> He who arbitrates between contending parties incurs the enmity of those who are disappointed by his decisions. He also runs the risk of

12. He used to say, Judge not alone, for none may judge alone save One; and say not, Accept ye my opinion, for they are free-to-choose<sup>14</sup>, and not thou.

13. R. Jochanan said, Whosoever fulfils the Thorah in poverty<sup>15</sup>, will at length fulfil it in wealth; and whosoever neglects the Thorah in wealth, will at length neglect it in poverty (Luke vi. 21, 25).

14. R. Meir said, Have little business, and be busied in Thorah; and be lowly in spirit unto every man; and if thou idlest from the Thorah, thou wilt have idlers many against thee<sup>16</sup>; and if thou labourest in the Thorah, He<sup>17</sup> hath much reward to give unto thee.

15. R. Liezer ben Jacob said, He who performs one precept has gotten to himself one advocate<sup>18</sup>; and he who

doing injustice by erroneous judgments, and of giving occasion to falsehood and perjury on the part of the litigants. Compare i. 10, where the judge is admonished to be on his guard whilst examining the witnesses in a suit: "be guarded in thy words, perchance from them they may learn to lie."

<sup>13</sup> "He who puffs up his heart, thinking within himself that he knows how to decide in a cause without fail, behold, he is foolish. He is called foolish because he is wise in his own eyes, than which there is no greater folly, for (Prov. xxvi. 12; xxix. 20) there is more hope of a fool than of him" (R. Jonah). To exemplify the use of the word הוֹרָאָה, cf. Horaioth 3 b: "Whatsoever *decision* has gone forth publicly in the congregation, an individual who practises it is released, because *decision* was only given to distinguish between the erring and the presumptuous."

<sup>14</sup> It rests with thy colleagues to choose whether they will adopt thy opinion: it is not for thee to force it upon them.

<sup>15</sup> "Whosoever 'blackens his visage' for the sake of words of Thorah in this world, the Holy One, blessed is He, will make his splendour to shine in the world to come, for it is said (Cant. v. 15), His countenance is as Lebanon, excellent as the cedars..... Whosoever starves himself for the sake of words of Thorah in this world, the Holy One, blessed is He, will satiate him in the world to come, for it is said (Ps. xxxvi. 8), They shall be abundantly satisfied with the fatness of thy house; and thou shalt make them drink of the river of thy pleasures" (Sanhedrin 100 a).

<sup>16</sup> He who is watchful [Jer. i. 12] in the study of Thorah has given to him כְּנָנְרִי שְׁקֵרָנִי כְּנָנְרִי, and he who idly desists from Thorah study has given to him כְּנָנְרִי בְּטֹלְנִי—as lions, bears, thieves, and robbers. See Aboth R. N. xxix. [p. 87].

<sup>17</sup> Here again the good only, and not the evil, is attributed directly to God. See note 4.

<sup>18</sup> We have here in a Hebrew form the word παράκλητος, or ADVOCATE (1 Joh. ii. 1), one who is called to a

commits one transgression has gotten to himself one accuser. Repentance and good works<sup>19</sup> are as a shield against punishment.

person's aid, which is rendered, perhaps wrongly, COMFORTER in Joh. xiv. 16, 26; xv. 26; xvi. 7. With this Mishnah compare Shemoth Rabbah xxxii.: "If a man performs one precept, the Holy One, blessed is He, gives him one angel to guard him, for it is said (Ps. xxxiv. 7): The angel of the Lord encampeth round about them that fear Him. If he performs two precepts He gives him two angels to guard him, for it is said (Ps. xci. 11): For He shall give His angels charge over thee, to keep thee in all thy ways. If he performs many precepts He gives him the half of His host, for it is said (Ps. xci. 7): A thousand shall alight at thy side, and ten thousand at thy right hand: that is the half of his host, for it is said (Ps. lxxviii. 17): The chariots of God are twenty thousand, even thousands of angels."

<sup>19</sup> "It was a commonplace in the mouth of Raba that, The perfection of wisdom is repentance" (Berakoth 17 a). "When a man has been wholly wicked all his days, and has repented at last, the Holy One, blessed is He, receives him." This follows from Ezek. xxxiii. 19: But if the wicked turn from his wickedness, and do that which is lawful and right, he shall live thereby. Said R. Jochanan, Nay, more. All the transgressions which he has committed are imputed to him as merits, as is proved by Ps. xlv. 9: Myrrh and aloes and cassia are all thy בגירות: all the transgressions which thou hast committed against me are as myrrh and aloes and cassia (T. J. Peah i. 1). A similar play on בגרתי, in Gen. xxvii. 27, which may be pointed so as to mean transgressions or transgressors,

is implied in Bereshith Rabbah lxv. Penitents are set above "just persons which need no repentance" in a saying quoted in note 2.

Repentance was created before the world (Nedarim 39 b. Cf. p. 12): without it the world could not stand: the repentance of one man brings forgiveness to the whole world. On the efficacy of repentance, and of sacrificial Atonement, see the end of Mishnah Joma, and the Gemara upon it. For certain sins, repentance gives a respite, and the day of atonement atones; but he who sins against his neighbour must first be reconciled to him. The unpardonable sin, in the case of which repentance gives not respite, nor does the day of atonement atone, nor have sufferings a purgatorial efficacy, but these together only give respite, till DEATH purges (Is. xxii. 14), is PROFANATION OF THE NAME (Joma 86 a).

The wise man, יצר טוב, delivers the citadel of the body from יצהר by means of repentance and good works (Nedarim 32 b). Said R. Ele'azar b. R. Jose, All the righteousness and piety that Israel perform in this world make great peace and great PARACLETES between Israel and their Father which is in Heaven...Great is righteousness, which brings the redemption nigh... Ten hard things were created in the world. *Rock* is hard, but *iron* cuts it: *fire* fuses iron: *water* quenches fire: *clouds* bear water: *wind* scatters clouds: the *body* bears the wind: *fear* shatters the body: *wine* dispels fear: *sleep* dissipates wine; and death is harder than all of them, but RIGHTEOUSNESS delivers from death (Prov. x. 2; Baba Bathra 10 a).

16. R. Jochanan Sandalarius said, Whatsoever assemblage is in the name of duty<sup>20</sup> will in the end be established; and that which is not in the name of duty will not in the end be established.

17. R. La'zar said, Let the honour of thy disciple be dear unto thee as the honour of thine associate<sup>21</sup>; and the honour of

<sup>20</sup> Or "of Heaven," according to the usual reading. Aboth R. N. xl. reads *מְצוּיָה*, and illustrates the saying from the Great *Synagogue*, on the one hand, and the Generation of the *Dispersion* (Gen. xi. 8) on the other.

<sup>21</sup> The climax is broken by the reading: "Dear unto thee as *thine own*," which may have arisen from assimilation to other passages, as II. 17.

R. Jonah remarks that a man is not enjoined to honour his disciple precisely as he honours his associate, but rather to be equally scrupulous in according to each the honour due to him, "each one according to his honour." Fear includes honour, but honour does not include fear. The two words are brought together in Mal. i. 6: "A son honoureth his father, and a servant his master: if then I be a father, where is mine HONOUR? and if I be a master, where is my FEAR?" With the concluding words of this Mishnah compare St Paul's *τῷ Κυρίῳ* (Eph. vi. 7).

The claims of a man's Father and his Teacher to precedence in certain cases are laid down in Baba Me'ci'a II. 11: "Si res sua perditā sit et patris sui, tum sua præcedit; si sua et magistri ipsius res perditā sit, tum sua præcedit. Si patris et magistri ipsius ...res magistri præcedit, nam pater eum quidem produxit in hunc mundum, sed magister ejus, qui ipsum sapientiam docuit, traduxit ipsum in mundum futurum. Sin autem pater

ipsius fuerit sapiens, res patris præcedit. Si pater et magister ipsius ferant onus, onus magistri prius deponet, et deinde onus patris. Si pater et magister fuerint in captivitate (et non habuerit quo utrumque redimat) prius redimet magistrum ipsius, et deinde patrem. Si pater ipsius fuerit sapiens, redimet prius patrem, et deinde magistrum suum." "A scholar must not rise up before his master except twice in the day, morning and evening, in order that the honour of his master may not exceed that of Heaven" (Qiddushin 33 b), where allusion is made to the practice of saying the *Shema* 'morning and evening. [See *כֶּסֶף מִשְׁנָה* on Maim. *Hilkoth Talmud Torah* VI. 8.]

The scholar who controverts his Rab is as if he controverted the Shekinah (Sanhedrin 110 a): he who engages in strife with his Rab is as if he engaged in strife with the Shekinah: he who speaks, or thinks, evil against his Rab is as if he did it against the Shekinah.

God himself is the great Chief Rabbi, and diligently studies and teaches Thorah. "Then began the Synagogue of Israel to utter praise to the Lord of the world, and thus she spake, That God it is my delight to serve, who is clad by day in a robe white as snow, the Divine glory of whose face flames like fire from greatness of wisdom and thought, who originates new lessons every day, and will announce them to his people in the great day" (Targ. Cant. v. 10). "Said Moses the pro-

thine associate as the fear of thy master; and the fear of thy master as the fear of Heaven.

18. R. Jehudah said, Be careful in Thalmud, for error in Thalmud amounts to sin<sup>22</sup>.

19. R. Shime'on said, There are three crowns: the crown of Torah, and the crown of Priesthood, and the crown of Royalty (Ex. xxv. 10, 11; xxx. 1, 3; xxv. 23, 24); but the crown of a good name<sup>23</sup> mounts above them (Eccl. vii. 1).

20. R. Nehorai said, Betake thyself to a place of Torah, and say not that it shall come after thee; for<sup>24</sup> thine associates

phet, When I went up to the height, I saw there the Lord of all the worlds, יהוה, quartering the day into four parts. Three hours He was employed in THORAH: three in judgment: three in provisioning the world: and three in uniting man and wife (Targ. Jerus. Deut. xxxii.). The fourfold division is given, with a variation, in 'Abodah Zarah 3 b: during the fourth quarter of the day, according to one statement, "He sits and teaches school children [Rashi שִׁמְתוֹ] Torah" (Is. xxviii. 9; Jalqut 302), a work which is of such importance that it must not be stopped even for the building of the sanctuary (Shabbath 119 b).

<sup>22</sup> Forgetfulness, or mistake in study, is here said to be equivalent to a deliberate sin, in order to impress upon the student the duty of constant repetition with a view to ensure accuracy. Compare the expression used above in § 7, where it is said that no distinction is made between unintentional and deliberate profanation of THE NAME. So in Chagigah 5 a, it is said, with reference to the last verse of Ecclesiastes, "He weighs out to him errors as deliberate sins." He who forgets his Thalmud commits a deadly sin (III. 12). "Action depends on Thalmud, and not Thalmud on action" (Sifre, עקב).

<sup>23</sup> A "good name" in general is here called a crown. In like manner the Name of God is compared to a crown, as in Pirqe R. Eli'ezer XLVII., where it is said that at the giving of the Law six hundred thousand angels descended, and crowned each one of the sons of Israel with the crown of *Shem ha-mephorash*. As long as they wore these crowns they were holier than the angels of God, and the angel of death had no power over them. It is said [ib. iv.] that the Holy One sits in heaven with the crown of the ineffable Name upon His head. [Cf. Shab. 88 a, Targ. Jon. Ex. xxxii. 25.]

<sup>24</sup> A man should frequent a place where there are facilities for instruction, and should not trust to himself for the acquisition of the knowledge of Torah. He must go to the Torah, and not expect the Torah to come to him. If he associates himself with scholars he will be well grounded in it by their aid, for the knowledge of it is acquired by association. See pp. 16, 33.

According to another view of the latter part of this Mishnah, a man must *not* trust to his companions for instruction: "Say not that thine associates will establish it in thine hands: depend not upon thine associates, who have themselves gone to learn, to

will confirm it unto thee; and lean not unto thine own understanding (Prov. iii. 5).

21. R. Jannai said, Neither the security of the wicked, nor the afflictions of the righteous, are in our hand<sup>25</sup>.

22. R. Matthiah ben Charash said, Be beforehand in saluting<sup>26</sup> every man; and be a tail to lions, and not a head to foxes<sup>27</sup>.

23. R. Jacob said, This world is like a vestibule<sup>28</sup> before

come and teach thee; for thou thyself must go with them and pursue after Thorah, if thou wouldst know it. But lean not unto thine own understanding: although thou learnest, and be-takest thyself to a place of Thorah, and growest wise, lean not unto thine own understanding. Depend not upon thine opinion, but do all that thou doest by the advice of the wise." So R. Jonah, agreeing with A†.

<sup>25</sup> We are unable to answer the questions: Why do the wicked flourish? Why do the righteous suffer?

<sup>26</sup> Literally, Anticipate the Peace of every man; "Peace" being the usual form of greeting. "Whosoever knows that his friend is accustomed to salute him, let him anticipate his salutation, for it is said, Seek peace, and pursue it (Ps. xxxiv. 15). And if he salutes him, and he does not return it, he is called a spoiler, for it is said (Is. iii. 14), For ye have eaten up the vineyard; the spoil of the poor is in your houses" (Berakoth 6 b). "They said of R. Jochanan ben Zakkai that no man ever anticipated him in salutation, not even a Gentile in the street" (Berakoth 17 a).

<sup>27</sup> "Be a tail to lions, and not a head to foxes." "Thy glory is to make thyself a tail, and to abase thyself, and follow after a scholar of the wise, rather than to be a head unto foxes, to worthless men, who are accounted only as foxes. And I have found a Scripture

proof for it, for it is said (Prov. xiii. 20), He that walketh with wise men shall be wise" (A†). Compare Eccl. vii. 5: "It is better to hear the rebuke of the wise, than for a man to hear the song of fools."

<sup>28</sup> The word rendered vestibule is generally identified with *πρόθυρον*, which however it does not resemble quite so closely as might have been expected. Bar S. (see *Crit. Note*) adopts the view that it should be written with final *Daleth*, for *Resh*. [This reading is to be preferred.]

Sinners who have been companions in this world will be separated in the world to come; he who repents before death will be numbered with the righteous, and he who does not repent, with the wicked. The latter will say, Were we not together in the world? did we not steal and do all manner of evil works together? why then are we separated? is there then respect of persons with God? They will answer, that it is repentance which has made the separation between him and his companion. "Suffer me then," he will say, "to go and repent"; but it will be answered that the time for repentance has gone by, for "this world is like a sabbath, and the world from which thou camest is like the sabbath eve: if a man provides not on the sabbath eve, what shall he eat on the sabbath? The world from which thou camest is like

the world to come; prepare thyself at the vestibule, that thou mayest be admitted into the hall<sup>29</sup>.

24. He used to say, Better is one hour of repentance and good works in this world than all the life of the world to come<sup>30</sup>; better is one hour of refreshment of spirit in the world to come than all the life of this world.

25. R. Shime'on ben Ele'azar said, Conciliate not thy friend in the hour of his passion; and console him not in the hour when his dead is laid out before him; and "interrogate" him not in the hour of his vow; and strive not to see him in the hour of his disgrace.

26. Shemuel ha-Qatan said<sup>31</sup>, Rejoice not when thine dry land, and this world like sea: if a man provides not for himself on the land, what shall he eat on the sea? This world is like a wilderness, and the world from which thou camest is like inhabited land: if a man provides not for himself from the inhabited land, what shall he eat in the wilderness?" See Midrash Qoheleth, i. 15; Midrash Ruth, cap. III.

<sup>29</sup> This word is sometimes rendered "palace"; but it is really a transliteration of *τρικλινιον*.

<sup>30</sup> Repentance and amendment in this life are accounted an equivalent for the life to come; they are the price paid for it, and a means by which it is secured to a man. On the other hand the joys of the world to come are such that "one hour" of them outweighs all the enjoyment of the present world, in the same way that, as the Psalmist says of the sanctuary: "A day in thy courts is better than a thousand."

<sup>31</sup> The saying ascribed to Shemuel consists, according to the best-attested reading, of an extract from the book of Proverbs, without note or comment, which "he was accustomed to repeat." It is found also at the end of Pereq v. in some copies.

SHEMUEL is placed in the same category with Hillel in T. J. Sotah ix. 13: "The elders entered into Beth Gadia in Jericho, and Bath Qol went forth and said to them, There is among you a man worthy of the Holy Spirit, only that the generation is unfit; and they cast their eyes upon Hillel ha-Zaen. And when he died they used to say of him, Alas! meek pious one, disciple of 'Ezra! And again, the elders entered into an upper chamber in Jabneh, and Bath Qol went forth and said to them, There is among you one worthy of the Holy Spirit, only that the generation is unfit; and they cast their eyes on Shemuel ha-Qatan. And why was his name called Qatan? Because he made himself little. But some say, because he was scarcely less than Shemuel ha-Ramathi. And when he died, they used to say of him, Alas, meek pious one, disciple of Hillel ha-Zaen!" He is said to have drawn up the "Heretic Benediction" (Berakoth 28 b) still found in the Jewish ritual. Gamaliel ha-Zaen himself is sometimes alluded to as perhaps the author of the "Benediction"; but what appears from the passage of Berakoth above alluded to is that Gamaliel II., desiring to have a *birkath*

enemy falleth, and let not thine heart be glad when he stumbleth (Prov. xxiv. 17).

27. Elisha' ben Abiyah<sup>32</sup> said, He who learns as a lad, to what is he like? to ink written on fresh paper; and he who learns when old, to what is he like? to ink written on used paper<sup>33</sup>.

28. R. Jose ben Jehudah of Kaphar ha-Babli said, He who learns from the young, to what is he like? to one that eats unripe grapes, and drinks wine from his vat; and he who learns from the old, to what is he like? to one that eats ripened grapes, and drinks old wine.

29. R. said, Regard not the flask, but what is therein; there is a new flask that is full of old (wine), and an old one in which there is not even new<sup>34</sup>.

*ha-minim* added to the Eighteen Benedictions, asked if there was anyone able to draw up such a formula; and, in answer to his appeal, Shemuel supplied the required form of words, as a modification (it is thought) of an older "*Sadducee-Benediction*," to the satisfaction of Gamaliel.

<sup>32</sup> The usual form is Elisha' ben Abuyah, but Abiyah is a Biblical name. [1 Kings xiv. 1 Abijah.]

The tendency of this Elisha's speculations was destructive: when he entered Paradise (note 1), he began to "destroy the plants therein." He ultimately apostatised, and became a derider of Judaism; and accordingly, in the Talmudic account of the entry of the four into Paradise, his name is suppressed, and he is only indirectly alluded to as אחר, a certain "other."

Dr Ad. Neubauer, in a report on "Talmudical and Rabbinical Literature" (Philological Society, 1876), notices a Hebrew rendering of Goethe's *Faust*, in which "The *dramatis personæ* are taken from Jewish history; for instance, the learned and dissatis-

fied *Faust* is represented by the Talmudical Elishah, son of Abuyah, who, searching too deeply for the solution of theosophical problems, was finally driven to apostasy...The translator, the late Dr Letteris, has in our judgment in many respects surpassed the original." The title of the rendering, which was published in Vienna in the year 1865, is *Ben Abuyah, Goethe's Faust, eine Tragoedie in einer hebräischen Umdichtung*.

<sup>33</sup> R. Sh. ben Gamliel further compares one who learns Thorah in his youth to a young man who marries a maiden well suited to him (Aboth R. N. xxxiii.). Learning in youth is also likened to graving upon stone; and learning in old age, to tracing characters upon the sand.

<sup>34</sup> The saying of Rabbi is a corrective of that of Jose ben Jehudah, which immediately precedes. R. Jose describes the learning of the young as crude and immature, like new wine: Rabbi shews by another comparison that this is not always the case. On the contrary, as a new flask may contain old wine, so the mind of the

30. R. Li'ezer ha-Qappar said, Jealousy, and lust, and ambition, put a man out of the world<sup>35</sup>.

31. He used to say, The born are to die; and the dead to revive; and the living to be judged; for to know, and to notify, and that it may be known<sup>36</sup>, that He is the framer, and He the

young may even be more mature than that of his elders; the mind of the aged is not necessarily stored with reflection, but may be like an empty vessel. R. Jonah connects the two Mishnioth in question by means of Job xxxii. 6—9: "And Elihu the son of Barachel the Buzite answered and said, I am young, and ye are very old; wherefore I was afraid, and durst not shew you mine opinion. I said, Days should speak, and multitude of years should teach wisdom. But there is a spirit in man: and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth them understanding. Great men are not always wise: neither do the aged understand judgment." With Rabbi's parable of the קנקן [Othello ii. 3 *canakin*] compare Matt. ix. 17: οὐδὲ βάλλουσιν οἶνον νέον εἰς ἀσκοὺς παλαιούς, κ.τ.λ. [A.V. *bottles*, R.V. *wine-skins*. Read once *leather bottles*, comparing Hen. VI(3). ii. 5 "His cold thin drink out of his leather bottle," and then *bottles*.]

The comparison of Thorah to water, WINE, oil, honey and milk, is dwelt upon in Sifre (בבב), on Deut. xi. 22, and in Midrash Chazitha, on the words, "For thy love is better than WINE" (Cant. i. 2). Thorah is like water, which is grateful to the thirsty, is ubiquitous, gives life to the world, comes down from heaven, purifies, works its way by constant dripping, seeks its level, is kept in earthen vessels...and *drowns those who cannot swim*. But water grows bad if kept long in a vessel. Is this likewise the case with Thorah? Nay, it is like WINE, which improves

as it grows old in the bottle, כל זמן בקנקן. Or is it like water, which does not rejoice the heart of man? Nay, like WINE, which does rejoice the heart of man. Is it then like wine, which is sometimes bad for the head and for the body? Nay rather, like oil, which is good for both, &c. "Thy love is better than WINE," interpreted by Gematria (יח. 28), signifies that Israel is more beloved than the  $\iota + \iota + \nu$  (=70) nations of the world. [In *vino veritas*, for וי" is by Gematria סוד, *secret* ('Erub. 65 a).]

<sup>35</sup> The same is said in ii. 15 of the evil eye [Ecclus. xiv. 10 ὀφθαλμὸς πονηρός], the evil *yecer* [xv. 14 διαβουλίον], and misanthropy. Compare also the three heads under which worldliness is summed up in 1 Joh. ii. 16: ἡ ἐπιθυμία τῆς σαρκός, καὶ ἡ ἐπιθυμία τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, καὶ ἡ ἀλαζονεία τοῦ βίου.

[קנאה] This word, like ζῆλος, is also used in a good sense, as in Baba Bathra 21 a: "The *emulation* of Soferim increases wisdom."

<sup>36</sup> Truths which in this world men are taught and then teach others "will in the world to come be known of themselves without a teacher," according to the prophetic description of the coming age: "And they shall teach no more every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, Know the Lord: for they shall all know me, from the least of them, unto the greatest of them, saith the Lord" (Jer. xxxi. 34). Τότε δὲ ἐπιγνώσομαι, καθὼς καὶ ἐπεγνώσθη (1 Cor. xiii. 12). [Ecclus. xv. 19 ἐπιγνώσεται.]

creator, and He the discerner<sup>37</sup>, and He the judge, and He the witness, and He the “adversary,” and He is about to judge with whom there is no iniquity, nor forgetfulness, nor respect of persons, nor taking of a bribe, for all is His, and know that all is according to plan.

32. Let not thine imagination assure thee that the grave is an asylum; for perforce thou wast framed (Jer. xviii. 6), and perforce thou wast born, and perforce thou livest, and perforce thou diest, and perforce thou art about to give account and reckoning before the King of the kings of kings, the Holy One, blessed is He.

<sup>37</sup> “He *fashioneth* their hearts alike; he *considereth* all their works” (Ps. xxxiii. 15). The world is to be judged by One who, as Judge, and Witness, and Ἀντίδικος, possesses power and knowledge, and will exact strict justice

(Matt. v. 25). Cf. Rom. viii. 33, 34. [Midr. Ps. xvii. (p. 127 ed. Buber) What is the bribe that He takes from the wicked in this world? תשובה ותפלה וצדקה.]

p. 63, § 2 [הכובש את יצרו] Ecclus. xxi. 11 ὁ φυλάσσω νόμον κατακρατεῖ τοῦ ἐννοήματος αὐτοῦ, Midr. Ps. cxix. 11.

p. 64, § 3] To be truly rich one must be αὐτάρκης. Compare 2 Cor. vi. 10, Philippians iv. 11 (ed. Lightfoot), Clem. Paed. ii. 3 πλοῦτος δὲ ἄριστος ἡ τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν πενία.

p. 66, n. 7 [שכר מצוה מצוה] Cf. καὶ χάριν ἀντὶ χάριτος (Joh. i. 16, ed. Westcott), Rom. i. 17, and Mr C. G. Montefiore's *Florilegium Philonis* in the *Jewish Quarterly Review* (vii. 540).

p. 67, n. 8 [שמנים] On *shamayim* as a designation of God see Lightfoot *Hor. Hebr.* on Matt. iii. 2. “Everything is in the hands of *shamayim* except the fear of *shamayim*” (Megillah 25 a), Dan. iv. 23 (26) דִּי שְׁלִיטִין שְׁמֵינָא, *that the heavens do rule.*

*ib.* [מקום] Ezek. iii. 12 ברוך ה' יהוה ממוקמו, “Blessed be the glory

of the Lord from His place.” Cf. in *The History of John the son of Zebedee* in Wright's *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles* (ii. 39, 1871), “And straightway these two angels came and hovered over the water, and were crying *Holy, holy, holy, Father and Son and Spirit of holiness* after him” [Syr. from *His place*]. Joma 38 a עכשיו כבוד מקום במקומו, *now the glory of Maqom is in its place.*

*ib.* [השם] Cf. T. J. Makkoth iii. 32 b<sub>6</sub> & Sifra קדישים, he is not guilty until he writes the name of the Name (Lev. xix. 28). In Lev. xxiv. 11 A.V. “the name” is expanded into “the name of the Lord,” cf. St James v. 14 (ed. Mayor p. 161, 1892). The author of the *Bundle of Myrrh* notes that the law of *Moses* is the law of *God*, משה being an anagram of and equal by Gematria to השם.

## CHAPTER V.

1. By ten Sayings<sup>1</sup> the world was created. And what is learned therefrom? for could it not have been created by one

<sup>1</sup> The world is described as created by SAYINGS, because in Genesis the acts of creation are introduced by וַיֹּאמֶר א', "and God SAID." כִּי הוּא אָמַר וַיְהִי כֹו' (Ps. xxxiii. 9). In the Jalqut, which commences with the paragraph Aboth v. 1, NINE occurrences of וַיֹּאמֶר are reckoned, and the tenth is said to be implied in בְּרֵאשִׁית, "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth," since it is said that "by the word of the Lord (וַיְבַרֵךְ)" the heavens were created (Ps. xxxiii. 6). [Rosh ha-Shanah 32a.] In Pirke R. El. III., TEN *va-yomer's* are reckoned (Gen. i. 3, 6, 9, 11, 14, 20, 24, 26, 29; ii. 18), the last being that which leads up to the creation of woman. In Bereshith Rab- bah xvii., the first "Saying" is taken as implied in בְּרֵאשִׁית: the second in וְרוּחַ (i. 2): then follow eight of those specified above, from Gen. i. 3 to i. 26, ending with the creation of man; but it is added that Menachem bar Jose excludes כֹו' וְרוּחַ, and replaces it by iii. 18. In Chagigah 12 a, it is said in the name of Rab, that by ten "things," or דְּבָרִים, the world was created: some of the ten things specified, as *chochmah, chesed, geburah*, being found also among the ten Sephiroth of the Qabbalists.

The point of view in the text is

that the grandeur of Creation is more impressively portrayed as the outcome of repeated acts of power, than as the immediate result of a single fiat of omnipotence. "God laboured so much in creating the world by ten sayings" in order to emphasize the guilt of the sinners who mar His work, and the merit of the righteous who preserve it. But elsewhere creation is described as requiring the least conceivable effort on the part of God: read not בְּהִבְרָאָם, "on their being created," but (as two words) בְּהִבְרָאָם בְּהִבְרָאָם [Gen. Rab. xx. 2], He created them by the letter H; "by the breath of His mouth."

Various other ways of representing the creative process are found in the Rabbinic writings. THORAH, which is identified with Wisdom (Prov. viii. 1), and with Ἀρχή (ver. 22), is introduced as the speaker in Gen. i. 1: "By me, who am Ἀρχή, God created, &c."—where the first word is read as two, בִּי רֵאשִׁית (Jalqut 2). The ideal ISRAEL is also said to be the creative agent: "By the merit of Israel, who are called RESHITH (Jer. ii. 3), God created the heavens and the earth." "R. Berekiah said, By the merit of Moses the world was created, &c." "From each word, דְּבָרִים, that proceeded from the mouth of the Holy

Saying? But it was that vengeance might be taken on the wicked, who destroy the world that was created by ten Sayings; and to give a goodly reward to the righteous, who maintain the world that was created by ten Sayings.

2. Ten generations were there from Adam to Noach<sup>2</sup>, to shew how great was His longsuffering (1 Pet. iii. 20); for all

One, blessed is He, there was created an angel, for it is said (Ps. xxxiii. 6): By the word of the Lord were the heavens made; and *all the host of them* by the breath of His mouth" (Chagigah 14 a).

The subjects of בראשית, and of מרכבה, *the chariot* (cf. Ezek. i.), were made a nucleus of theosophic speculations, which were only to be communicated with the greatest caution, for it is said: "Honey and milk are under thy tongue (Cant. iv. 11), things which are sweeter than honey should be under thy tongue" (Chagigah 13 a), or should not be revealed. "Non exponunt...opera creationis cum duobus, neque currum cum uno, nisi fuerit sapiens qui sensum intelligit. Quicumque considerat quatuor causas, ei melius fuisset quod nunquam intrasset mundum; nempe id quod supra est, quod infra est, et quod ante est, et quod post est. Et quicumque non attendit ad honorem Creatoris sui, ei melius fuisset quod non intrasset mundum" (Chagigah 11. 1).

In connexion with the subject of esoteric doctrine and mysticism it may be remarked that the name Ἐσσαῖος (cf. 11. 10; v. 16), or Essene, not improbably denotes *secret*, or *mystic*; for (1) the word חשא' *secret*, or *silent*, would naturally be transliterated Ἐσσαῖος, in the same way that חשן, as Jost remarks (*Gesch.* A. 207, Note), is by Josephus transliterated Ἐσσην, and (2) "We may illustrate

this derivation by Josephus' description of the Essenes, *B. J.* ii. 8. 5, τοῖς ἔξωθεν ὡς μυστήριον τι φρικτὸν ἢ τῶν ἔνδον σωπῆ καταφαίνεται, and perhaps this will also explain the Greek equivalent θεωρητικοί, which Suidas gives for Ἐσσαῖοι. The use of the Hebrew word חשא' in Mishna Shekalim v. 6, though we need not assume that the Essenes are there meant, will serve to show how it might be adopted as the name of the sect." See Professor Lightfoot's recent edition of St Paul's Epistle to the Colossians [1875], where a full account of the conflicting theories about the Essenes is given.

<sup>2</sup> Ten generations are reckoned (*Gen.* v. 3—29), including both Adam and Noah. It is said of *dor ha-mabbul* the generation of the deluge, that they have no portion in the world to come (*Sanhedrin* xi. 3). The thought that God, after bearing so long with the wickedness of those evil generations, did at length bring the flood upon the earth, should assure Israel that He will in due time put an end to their captivity, and requite their oppressors according to their works (*R. Jonah*). "What is the meaning of the *seven days* (of respite): For yet seven days, and I will cause it to rain upon the earth, *Gen.* vii. 4, 10? They were the days of mourning for Methuselah, to teach thee that the death of the righteous hinders punishments from coming" (*Sanhedrin*, 108 b).

the generations were provoking Him, till He brought the deluge upon them.

3. Ten generations were there from Noach to Abraham<sup>3</sup>, to shew how great was His longsuffering; for all the generations were provoking Him, till Abraham our father came, and received the reward of them all.

4. With ten temptations<sup>4</sup> was Abraham our father tempted,

<sup>3</sup> The ten generations are reckoned (Gen. xi. 10—26), excluding Noach. "Our Rabbis have said, that when Noah died Abraham our father was 58 years old; yet if thou number the descendants, thou wilt find ten generations between them, for although Noah prolonged his days ten generations, the generations are reckoned to shew how great was His longsuffering, for all the generations were provoking Him, till Abraham our father came. And they have not said here, Till He took vengeance on them, for Abraham our father made up for all their shortcomings, and wrought good which counterpoised all their evil, and delivered them from punishments" (R. Jonah). But the like is not said of Noah, who was only relatively righteous: he was "perfect in his own generations" (Gen. vi. 9), but not in the generations of others (Sanhedrin 108 a).

<sup>4</sup> The temptations of Abraham are reckoned in more than one way. A †, referring to "Pirqe R. Eli'ezer ben Hyrganus," gives the following computation. 1. Nimrod sought to slay him, and he hid himself in the earth thirteen years. 2. Nimrod cast him into the *fiery* furnace, because he would not worship his idols, and the fire had no power over him to burn him (Targ. Jonathan, Gen. xi. 28; Bereshith Rabbah xxxviii.). This, says R. Jonah, is not expressly stated in

the Thorah, but it is elicited from the expression, "*Ur* (=fire) of the Chaldees." 3. "Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred" (Gen. xii. 1). 4. "And there was a famine in the land" (xii. 10). 5. His wife "was taken into Pharaoh's house" (xii. 15). 6. He waged war with Chedorlaomer (xiv. 14). 7. The bondage of his posterity was predicted (xv. 13). 8. At the age of ninety he was circumcised. 9. He is commanded to cast out the bondwoman and her son (xxi. 10). 10. He is commanded to sacrifice Isaac (xxii. 2). For other ways of making up the number of the trials A † refers to *Midrash Thillim*, and to the "Mishnah of R. Nathan" (Aboth R.N. xxxiii.), which reckons them as follows: *Two* in Gen. xii. 1, "Get thee out, &c.;" *Two* with respect to his two sons; *Two* with respect to his two wives; *One* in his war with "the kings"; *One* in **בין הבהרים** (Gen. xv.); *One* in Ur of the Chaldees; *One* in his circumcision. "And why was he tried with ten trials, neither more nor less? It was with reference to the ten **מאמרות** by which the world was created. Abraham, having been tried with ten trials, and being found perfect, was fitted to uphold the world which was created by ten **מאמרות**," and he was rewarded by corresponding decads of miracles which were wrought for his sons in Egypt, and by the Sea.

and he withstood them all; to shew how great was the love of Abraham our father.

5. Ten miracles were wrought for our fathers in Egypt; and ten by the sea<sup>5</sup>.

6. *Ten plagues<sup>6</sup> brought the Holy One, blessed is He, upon the Egyptians in Egypt; and ten by the Sea.*

7. With ten temptations did our fathers tempt God in the wilderness, for it is said, And they have tempted me now these ten times<sup>7</sup>, and have not hearkened to my voice (Numb. xiv. 22).

8. Ten miracles were wrought in the Sanctuary<sup>8</sup>. No

<sup>5</sup> The ten miracles wrought for Israel in Egypt were the ten plagues which fell upon their oppressors. The ten by the Sea are made out in various artificial ways from the account of the passage of the Israelites through the Sea, and the drowning of the Egyptians. Thus it is said in Mekiltha (מס' בישלח ד'), that 1. The sea was cleft; 2. It was divided into twelve parts; 3. It was made dry land, &c. Amongst the miracles are reckoned, that "He gave them fresh water out of the midst of salt," and that "The sea became like glass vessels, for it is said, The depths were congealed in the heart of the sea" (Ex. xv. 8). Compare Midrash Thanchuma *in loc.*; Jalqut 234; Aboth R. N. xxxiii; Pirque R. Eli'ezer xlii; and see the notes in Surenhusius, Vol. iv. p. 466.

<sup>6</sup> On the doubtful genuineness of this saying see *Crit. Note*. The plagues brought upon the Egyptians may be identified with the miracles wrought on behalf of the Israelites.

<sup>7</sup> This verse is cited in 'Erakin III. 5, where the heinousness of slander is dwelt upon, and it is said that "sentence was passed upon our fathers in the wilderness only on account of the evil tongue." If the spies, it is added,

were condemned for slandering trees and stones, how much more is he to be condemned who slanders his neighbour! The ten temptations wherewith the Israelites tempted God are reckoned as follows: "with respect to the sea, *two* (before and after the passage); the waters, *two*; the manna, *two*; the quails, *two*; the calf, *one*; the wilderness of Paran, *one*." Further details are given by the way (fol. 15). In Aboth R. N. xxxiv. God is represented as tempting the Israelites with ten temptations, "In all of which they were found not perfect."

<sup>8</sup> "These miracles were wrought likewise in the second temple, although the state of Israel was not in every respect perfect, and their heart was not firm with Him. But it shews that, for all this, the Divine grace had not desisted from working miracles with them contrary to nature in His Holy city whilst His sanctuary was still in the midst of it" (R. Obadiah ben Jacob of Sferno).

Of miracles not specified in this place, the miracle of the scarlet thread, לֶשֶׁן שֵׁל זְהוּרִית, which changed colour on the day of Atonement, may be mentioned: "Originally they used to bind a scarlet thread upon the door of

woman miscarried from the scent of the holy meat<sup>9</sup>; and the holy meat never stank; and an uncleanness befel not the highpriest<sup>10</sup> on the day of the Atonement; and a fly<sup>11</sup> was not seen in the slaughterhouse; and a defect was not found in the sheaf<sup>12</sup>; nor in the two loaves<sup>12</sup>; nor in the shewbread<sup>13</sup>; and

the porch, without. If it grew white they rejoiced: if it grew not white they were troubled. They arranged to bind it on the door of the porch within: and still they watched, and looked. If it grew white they rejoiced: if not they were troubled. They arranged to bind half of it to the rock, and half of it between the horns of the scapegoat...*Forty years before the temple was destroyed the scarlet thread did not grow white, but remained red*" (Rosh ha-Shanah 31 b). Compare Joma 67 a, &c. The whitening of the thread is connected with Is. i. 18 in Joma vi. 8: "Lingua coccinea alligata erat ad portas templi, et cum hircus ad desertum accessisset, albescibat quia dicitur; *Si fuerint peccata vestra sicut coccinum, sicut nix albescent.*"

<sup>9</sup> "No woman ever miscarried through a vain longing to partake of the flesh offered in sacrifice, or reserved for the priests alone."

<sup>10</sup> Ishmael b. Qimqith, having become disqualified, was replaced by his own brother, so that their mother saw two of her sons high-priests on the same day. The wise asked how she had merited such an honour. She replied, that *the walls of her house had never seen the hair of her head* (Aboth R. N. xxxv.). Her modesty was still further rewarded according to Joma 47 a, by her having not two only but seven sons, all of whom ministered in the high-priesthood.

<sup>11</sup> The ZEBUB was a symbol of impurity. "Behold, now, I perceive that this is an holy man of God" (2 Kings

iv. 8). How did she discover this? From the fact that no FLY crossed the table of Elisha'. A Torah-flame, an אֵשׁ זָרָה (Deut. xxxiii. 2), goes forth from the righteous, and purifies the air around. Cf. pp. 21, 65.

"Said Rab, The evil *yecer* is like a fly, for it is said (Ecl. x. 1), Flies of death cause the ointment of the apothecary to send forth a stinking savour" (Berakoth 61 a). The Targum on the same verse compares the evil nature to a *debuba*, which lies at the doors of the heart (p. 37) and causes death, and corrupts a good name, which is like ointment.

<sup>12</sup> By 'omer is meant either a measure, the tenth part of an ephah (Ex. xvi. 36), or a sheaf. The 'omer was offered at the time of the Passover, and consisted of first fruits of the barley harvest. At Pentecost, fifty days later, "the two loaves," the first fruits of the wheat harvest, were offered: "And ye shall count unto you from the morrow after the sabbath, from the day that ye brought the sheaf of the wave offering; seven sabbaths shall be complete: Even unto the morrow after the seventh sabbath shall ye number fifty days: and ye shall offer a new meat offering unto the Lord. Ye shall bring out of your habitations two wave loaves of two tenth deals: they shall be of fine flour; they shall be baked with leaven; they are the first fruits unto the Lord" (Lev. xxiii. 15—17).

For further details see the Mishnah, Menach. x. [al. vi.] The 'omer was to be

rains quenched not the pile; and the wind prevailed not against the pillar of smoke<sup>14</sup>; they stood serried, and bowed down at ease<sup>15</sup>; and serpent and scorpion harmed not in Jerusalem; and a man said not to his fellow, The place is too strait for me (Is. xlix. 20) to lodge in Jerusalem.

9. Ten things were created between the suns<sup>16</sup>. The

taken from the vicinity of Jerusalem, unless the crops there were not sufficiently ripened at the time appointed for the offering. "A tale is told of its being taken from the gardens of Çerfim, and the two loaves from the valley of עֵין סוּכַר," which probably denotes the neighbourhood of Συχάρι (Joh. iv. 5). [Surh. v. 98.]

<sup>13</sup> The shewbread consisted of "twelve cakes" of fine flour, which were "set in order before the Lord" every sabbath, and remained till they were replaced by others on the following sabbath (Lev. xxiv. 5—9). "A great miracle used to be wrought on the shewbread: its taking away was as its setting in order, for it is said (1 Sam. xxi. 7), To put hot bread in the day when it was taken away" (Joma 21 a), that is to say, that the bread was still hot on the day of its being taken away, חם ביום הלקחו.

<sup>14</sup> At the conclusion of the last day of the feast all watched the smoke of the altar-pile (Joma 21 b; Baba Bathra 147 a). If it inclined toward the NORTH, the poor rejoiced, and the householders were troubled, because it was to be a rainy year, so that the crops would rot if kept: if it inclined to the SOUTH, the poor were troubled, and the householders rejoiced, because it was to be a dry year, &c.: toward the EAST, all rejoiced: toward the WEST, all were troubled.

The straightness of the column of smoke was sometimes regarded as a sign of the acceptance of prayer and

sacrifice: the broken column betrayed hypocrisy (Berith Menuchah 11 b).

<sup>15</sup> On the occasions of the great festivals for which the people at large came up to Jerusalem, although the worshippers were so closely packed in the 'azarah that they had scarcely room to stand upright, nevertheless by a miracle they had ample space to bow down, so that no man incommoded his neighbour; and no one was ever unable at such time to find lodging and maintenance in the city, however great the concourse of people.

The "ten miracles," though wrought in relation to the Temple festivals, did not all take place in the Temple itself, but פתח במקדש וסיים בירושלם, "he begins with the Temple, and ends with JERUSALEM." See Joma 21 a, where it is discussed how the ten (cf. *Crit. Note*) are to be reckoned, and additional marvels are mentioned, such as the miraculous disappearance of the fragments of earthenware, &c.

<sup>16</sup> Ten things were created between the evenings, or at the time of transition from the "six days of creation" to the sabbath. It is felt to be impossible to define their relation to the course of nature, to which, however, everything, not excepting the miraculous, belongs. They are no part of the normal work of the creation period: at the same time they can only be thought of as preordained ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου. "It saith, that these things were created between the suns, for indeed although God, blessed

mouth of the earth<sup>17</sup>; and *the mouth of* the well<sup>18</sup>; and the

be He, wrought great signs and wonders contrary to the nature of things, such as the plagues of Egypt, and the miracles at the Red Sea, &c., at all events He did not create anything after the six days of Bereshith, as it saith, And God ended on the seventh day, and rested; and as it saith, There is nothing new under the sun; and therefore, concerning these ten things, which are not mentioned in the account of the work of Bereshith, he saith that they were created then without doubt; and the explanation of their not being mentioned with the rest of the work of Bereshith, is because it was impossible to tell us the time of their creation, for in fact it was at a transition period, between two days which could not fitly be reckoned with either of them" ('Obadiah Sforno).

R. Israel finds a difficulty in the numbering of the rainbow amongst the ten things, "in all of which were miracles out of the course of nature, and all of which moreover appeared in time of need, whereas the bow may be seen any day."

As in the case of other groups of "ten things," it is disputed how the number is to be made up. According to one reckoning, (1) the writing in the abstract; (2) the writing in the concrete, or the writing-instrument (*makthel*); and (3) the tables themselves, are reckoned separately as three of the ten things; but this distinction is not made in the Targum of Jonathan, as cited in note 18. The ram which Abraham sacrificed instead of Isaac is said in Bemidbar Rabbah xvii. to have been created "between the suns." [Rev. xiii. 18.]

<sup>17</sup> "But if the Lord make a new thing, and the earth open *her mouth*,

and swallow them up, &c." (Numb. xvi. 30). "Said the Holy One, blessed is He, to Moses, What seekest thou? He said before Him, Lord of the world 'אֵם בְּרִיאָה כֹּו', If Thou hast created a mouth to the earth, well: if not, let the Lord now create her a mouth" (Bemidbar Rabbah xviii.). Compare Sanhedrin 110 a; Nedarim 39 b, where the seven things created before the world (p. 12) are specified.

<sup>18</sup> Although the expression, "mouth of the *בְּאֵר*," in connexion with the "mouth of the earth" which *swallowed up* Korah (Numb. xvi. 32), suggests a reference to Ps. lxi. 15: "Neither let the deep swallow me up, and let not the pit shut her mouth upon me," nevertheless the allusion is, doubtless, as it is generally supposed to be, to some other *בְּאֵר*. "THE MOUTH OF THE WELL. According to Rashi's (?) interpretation, it opened its mouth and uttered a song (Numb. xxi. 17). But some understand the rock which Moses smote, i.e. the *בְּאֵר* which went about with Israel in the wilderness" (Bar S.). Compare also Bemidbar Rabbah xix. In either case there is some difficulty in accounting for the expression, "*the mouth of the well.*"

The difficulty may be solved by reading *הַבְּאֵר* alone, without *פִּי*, (1) according to the Targum of Jonathan on Numb. xxii. 28: "Ten things were created after the finishing of the world, at the coming in of the sabbath, between the suns: The manna; and THE WELL (*וּבִירָא*); and the staff of Moses; and the shamir; and the bow; and the clouds of glory; and the MOUTH of the earth; and the writing of the tables of the covenant; and the demons; and the speaking MOUTH of the ass"; and (2) according also to

mouth of the ass; and the bow (Gen. ix. 13); and the manna; and the rod<sup>19</sup>; and the shamir-worm<sup>20</sup>; and the character; and the writing<sup>16</sup>; and the tables. And some say, the spirits<sup>21</sup>

Pesachim 54 a, where the ten things are: "THE WELL; and the manna; and the bow; and the כֶּתֶב; and the מִנְחָה; and the tables; the grave of Moses; and the cave in which Moses and Elijah stood; the opening of the mouth of the ass; and the opening of the mouth of the earth to swallow up the wicked. And some say likewise the rod of Aaron, its almonds, and its buds; and some say likewise the spirits; and some say likewise the vesture of the primal Adam." [Gen. R. xx. 12.]

<sup>19</sup> The ROD which was made "between the suns" was given to Adam, and handed down from generation to generation, till, after the death of Joseph, it passed into the hands of Pharaoh. Moses alone could read the letters upon it—it was inscribed *inter alia* with *Shem ha-mephorash* (p. 56) and he was thus designated as the future deliverer of Israel (Pirque R. Eli'ezer XL.).

<sup>20</sup> The SHAMIR (see Buxtorf, *Lex. Chald.*) was a small worm which split or cut stones upon which it was placed. Moses used it to engrave the stones of the ephod. First he wrote upon them in ink: then he "shewed them" the shamir, or passed it over the lines which he had traced, and the stones were cleft, without loss of substance, as a fig is split by the sun, or as a channel is formed by water. The shamir was created מִשְׁשֵׁת יָמִי בְרֵאשִׁית. Nothing, however hard, can stand against it. Solomon, having got possession of it with the help of Asmodeus, king of the devils, used it to cut the stones for the temple, for it is said (1 Kings vi. 7) that no tool of iron was heard in the house while

it was in building (Gittin 68 a; Sotah 48 b).

<sup>21</sup> The demons, or שְׂרִיִם, are commonly called "*mazziqin*," or *nocentes*. "The Holy One, blessed is He, had created their souls, and was about to create their bodies, when the sabbath set in, and He did not create them" (Bereshith Rabbah vii.). Hence it is that they are invisible to the human eye, being simply נִפְשׁ הִיָּה (Gen. i. 24) "If power were given to the eye to see, no creature could exist because of the spirits...Each of us has a thousand at his left hand, and ten thousand at his right hand (Ps. xci. 7). Said Raba, It is from them that comes the crowding in the assemblage, and weakness of knees, and the wearing out of the clothes of students, and colliding with the feet. He who wishes to know about them must take sifted ashes, and sprinkle them by his bed, and in the morning he will see marks as of cocks' feet. He who wishes to see them must take the caul of a black she-cat, daughter of a black one: a firstborn, the daughter of a firstborn: and burn it in the fire, and pulverise it, and fill his eyes with it, and he will see them. Let him put the rest into an iron tube, and seal it with a signet of iron, that they may not steal it away, and let him seal its mouth that he may not be harmed. Rab Bibi bar Abaye did this. He saw, and was harmed. Our Rabbis prayed for mercy on him, and he was healed" (Berakoth 6 a). The spirits helped Solomon to find the shamir, and to build the temple. They frequent desolate places, and are especially to be feared in the night time.

also; and the sepulchre of Moses (Deut. xxxiv. 6); and the ram of Abraham our father (Gen. xxii. 13). And some say, tongs also, made with tongs<sup>22</sup>.

10. Seven things are in a clod, and seven in a wise man. The wise man speaks not before one who is greater than he in wisdom; and does not interrupt the words of his companion; and is not hasty to reply; he asks according to canon, and answers to the point<sup>23</sup>; and speaks on the first thing first, and on the last last; of what he has not heard he says, I have not heard; and he acknowledges the truth<sup>24</sup>. And their opposites are in the clod.

Jochanan ben Zakkai understood the talk of devils (Baba Bathra 131 a). Members of the SANHEDRIN were to be בעלי כשפים, or skilled in magic (Sanhedrin 17 a; Menachoth 65 a), that they might be in a position to give judgment in cases which came before them.

<sup>22</sup> The chain of secondary causes is endless. The instrument צבת presupposes another, with the help of which it was made, and so on *in infinitum*. Speculation, failing to reach the ultimate, must rest upon the doctrine that God is the Creator: He made the first. Cf. Pesachim 54 a.

The difficulty is presented in another form in Chagigah 12 b: "R. Jose said, Woe to the creatures, that see, and know not what they see: that stand, and know not on what they stand. On what stands the earth? on the pillars (Job ix. 6): and the pillars upon the waters (Ps. cxxxvi. 6): and the waters upon the mountains (Ps. civ. 6): and the mountains upon the wind (Amos iv. 13): and the wind upon the storm (Ps. cxlviii. 8): and the storm depends upon the arm of the Holy One, for it is said (Deut. xxxiii. 27), Underneath are the everlasting arms."

<sup>23</sup> The reading of the text is thus

explained by A†: "If he has occasion to ask a question, he asks *according to the halakah* with which they are occupied; and if any one asks of him, he answers his interrogator according to the matter which he asked him, and does not digress to another matter. And if one has asked him two or three things, he replies in order." The usual reading (see note 1) signifies, that his inquiries have relation to the subject in hand, and his replies are in accordance with the received canons of interpretation.

<sup>24</sup> R. 'Obadiah of Sforno illustrates this Mishnah from the book of Job. 1. The wise man will not speak before his superior in wisdom: so Elihu refrained from speaking when in the presence of his seniors, for "I said, Days should speak, and multitude of years should teach wisdom" (xxxii. 7). 2. He does not interrupt his companion, but is like Elihu, who "waited till Job had spoken" (xxxii. 4); unlike his friends, with whom Job had to expostulate: "Suffer me that I may speak; and after that I have spoken, mock on" (xxi. 3). 3. He is not hasty to answer before he has properly heard his friend's opinion, like Bildad, who said; "Doth God pervert judgment?" (viii. 3), and was rebuked by

11. Seven kinds of punishments come on account of seven main transgressions<sup>25</sup>. When some men tithe, and some do not tithe, dearth from drought comes: some of them are hungry, and some of them are full. When they have not tithed at all, a dearth from tumult<sup>26</sup> and from drought comes. And when they have not offered the dough-cake, a deadly dearth comes.

Job for misapprehending his meaning, for "I know it is so of a truth, &c." (ix. 2). 4. He interrogates to the point, unlike Eliphaz (iv. 7); and answers according to *halakah*, unlike Job's three friends, to whom God said: "Ye have not spoken of me the thing that is right" (xlii. 7). 5. He deals with each point in its proper order, like Elihu (xxxiii. 8, &c.). 6. He does not profess to know what he does not know, like Zophar: "But oh that God would speak, and open his lips against thee. And that he would shew thee the secrets of wisdom, &c." (xi. 5, 16). 7. And he admits the truth, unlike the three friends of Job, against whom Elihu's wrath was kindled, "because they had found no answer, and yet had condemned Job" (xxxii. 3).

<sup>25</sup> The phrase *גופי עברות*, or "bodies of transgressions," denotes (says Bar S.) such as comprise many subdivisions, as the body is divided into many members. On the idiomatic uses of *גוף* see the lexicons. "And it saith, For seven *bodies* of transgressions, to teach that though they are more than seven, nevertheless they are called seven, as being comprised in seven bodies, i.e. *kinds* or *species* (Leb Aboth)."

The seven punishments are, three degrees of famine; the pestilence; the sword; the noisome beast; and exile. The seven main transgressions are committed, according to Sforno, in relation to tithing; judgment; pro-

fanation of the NAME; strange worship; sensuality; bloodshed; and the sabbatical year; but the sins are differently reckoned by other commentators, who endeavour to make them correspond to the seven punishments, each to each. For a series of discussions bearing upon this subject see the Gemara on Shabbath ii. 6; and cf. Lev. xxvi.

<sup>26</sup> The three degrees of famine are apportioned as follows. 1. Partial neglect of tithing is punished by partial famine resulting from *drought* (Jer. xvii. 8). As it is said in Amos iv. 7: "And I caused it to rain upon one city, and caused it not to rain upon another city." 2. The universal neglect of tithing is punished by famine "of *מהומה*" or of that and drought combined, according to the usual reading. The former reading is favoured by Aboth R. N. xxxviii.; which however has *תורמין*, instead of *מעשרין*, in this clause. Famine "of *מהומה*" is either (i) a famine of war and *tumult*, through which the land is untilled (R. Jonah), or the crops are ruined by marauders; or (ii) a famine causing *destruction*: "...and shall destroy them with a mighty *destruction*, until they be destroyed" (Deut. vii. 23). 3. A famine of entire consumption results from neglect of the ordinance: "Ye shall offer up a *cake* of the first of your dough for an heave offering" (Numb. xv. 20). The rains fail utterly: "thy heaven that is over thy head shall be brass, and the earth that is under

12. Pestilence comes into the world for the capital crimes mentioned in the Thorah, which are not brought before the tribunal<sup>27</sup>; and for the seventh year fruits.

13. The sword comes upon the world for suppression of judgment; and for perversion of judgment; and for explaining Thorah not according to canon.

14. Noisome beasts come into the world for vain swearing; and for profanation of the NAME.

Captivity comes upon the world for strange worship; and for incest; and for shedding of blood; and for (not) giving release to the land<sup>28</sup>.

15. At four seasons<sup>29</sup> the pestilence waxes: in the fourth

thee shall be iron" (Deut. xxviii. 23). "I will even appoint over you *terror*" (Lev. xxvi. 16): read not *behalah*, but *bechallah*, on account of the *challah*, or *cake* (Shabbath 32 b). The Divine judgments are "measure for measure" (Is. xxvii. 8).

<sup>27</sup> The terrestrial court is not commissioned with respect to precepts whereof the reward is specified. See Mekiltha (בְּחֵרֵט ה'), on the "Fifth Commandment."

PESTILENCE is sent as a judgment for capital crimes which have not come under the jurisdiction, or cognisance, of the *beth din*, but are reserved for judgment by the hand of God. But deaths which the tribunal is authorised to inflict are, even then, superseded only by analogous deaths; thus he who deserves to be stoned, falls from a housetop, or is trampled on by a beast: he who deserves burning is stung by a serpent: he who deserves beheading is killed by robbers: he who deserves hanging is drowned, or dies of *συνάγχη*. See A†, C.

Pestilence, though resulting naturally from bad water, food, air, and other intelligible causes, is none the less sent by Divine Providence. But know that, for all this, we do not sin

in fleeing because of it to some place where there is no pestilence; for he who flees does not deny the omnipresence of God, but bows his uncircumcised heart and bears the yoke of migration as a punishment for his sins. And let him not embolden himself to stand against his King, when he is angry with him, or designs to tempt him (Leb Aboth).

<sup>28</sup> "But in the seventh year shall be a sabbath of rest unto the land, a sabbath for the Lord: thou shalt neither sow thy field, nor prune thy vineyard. That which groweth of its own accord of thy harvest thou shalt not reap, neither gather the grapes of thy vine undressed: for it is a year of rest unto the land. And the sabbath of the land shall be meat for you; for thee, and for thy servant, &c." (Lev. xxv. 4—6). The seventh year was called, the year of *ha-she-mittah*, the release (Deut. xv. 9; xxxi. 10).

<sup>29</sup> At four seasons of the septennial cycle disease is prevalent owing to the appropriation of what should have been devoted to the poor.

The neglect of the poor's tithe in the third and sixth years of the septennium leads to pestilence in the

(year); in the seventh; at the ending of the seventh; and at the ending of the Feast in every year. In the fourth (year), on account of the poor's tithe in the third; in the seventh, on account of the poor's tithe in the sixth; and at the ending of the seventh<sup>30</sup>, on account of the seventh year fruits; and at the ending of the Feast<sup>31</sup> in every year, on account of the largesses of the poor.

16. There are four characters<sup>32</sup> in men. He that saith,

years immediately following. The *מְעִיֵר עֵינַי* is enjoined in Deut. xiv. 28, 29: "At the end of three years thou shalt bring forth all the tithe of thine increase the same year, and shalt lay it up within thy gates: And the Levite (because he hath no part nor inheritance with thee), and the stranger, and the fatherless, and the widow, which are within thy gates, shall come, and shall eat and be satisfied; that the Lord thy God may bless thee in all the work of thine hand which thou doest." The third year is called "the year of tithing" (Deut. xxvi. 12). In this year, as Rashi remarks, the Levite received his tenth (Numb. xviii. 21), as in other years, but the *Second*, or Festival, *Tithe* (Deut. xiv. 23), was devoted to the poor. On these tithes see the Mishnah-Traacts named after them, in Seder Zera'im.

<sup>30</sup> In the "eighth" year, which is called the "goings out of the seventh" (A†, C), pestilence prevails owing to neglect of the preceding year of release. "And six years thou shalt sow thy land, and shalt gather in the fruits thereof: But the seventh year thou shalt let it rest and lie still; that the poor of thy people may eat: and what they leave the beasts of the field shall eat" (Ex. xxiii. 10, 11).

<sup>31</sup> After "the Feast" of Tabernacles, or of Ingathering, in each year judgment comes for having deprived the

poor of the donations due to them, which were *פאה . שכחה . לקט*, that is, *spicilegium, oblivio, and angulus*. Cf. Levit. xix. 9: "And when ye reap the harvest of your land, thou shalt not wholly reap the corners of thy field, neither shalt thou gather the gleanings of thy harvest;" and Deut. xxiv. 19: "When thou cuttest down thine harvest in thy field, and hast forgot a sheaf in the field, thou shalt not go again to fetch it: it shall be for the stranger, for the fatherless, and for the widow: that the Lord thy God may bless thee in all the work of thine hands."

<sup>32</sup> MIDDAH denotes *measure*, and hence, standard, characteristic, quality, virtue, &c. The title of Aristotle's "Ethics" is rendered *ספר המדות*. The first of the "middoth" here described is that of the man who neither gives nor takes: is neither self-sacrificing, nor yet grasping, or dependent upon his neighbours. This character is said to be neither good nor bad, but *intermediate*. Others, however, regard it as a spirit of haughty independence, and indifference to the welfare of others: "Behold, this was the iniquity of thy sister Sodom, pride, fulness of bread, and abundance of idleness was in her and in her daughters, neither did she strengthen the hand of the poor and needy" (Ezek. xvi. 49). The second standard is worldly and utilitarian:

Mine is mine, and thine is thine, is an indifferent character; but some say, It is the character of Sodom: (he that saith,) Mine is thine, and thine is mine, is 'am ha-areç: Mine and thine are thine, pious: Thine and mine are mine, wicked.

17. There are four characters in dispositions. Easily provoked, and easily pacified, his gain is cancelled by his loss<sup>33</sup>: hard to provoke and hard to pacify, his loss is cancelled by his gain: hard to provoke, and easily pacified, pious: easily provoked, and hard to pacify, wicked.

18. There are four characters in scholars. Quick to hear and quick to forget, his gain is cancelled by his loss: slow to hear and slow to forget, his loss is cancelled by his gain: quick to hear, and slow to forget, is wise: slow to hear, and quick to forget, this is an evil lot.

19. There are four characters in almsgivers<sup>34</sup>. He who is the man acts with a view to recompense: he lends to those from whom he hopes to receive (Luke vi. 34); οὐχὶ καὶ οἱ τελῶναι οὕτως ποιοῦσιν (Matt. v. 46); "He is called 'am ha-areç (here used as a *singular*, see II. 6), because he aims at the establishment of the world, desiring to take and give, for thereby love increases between them; and although it is a good *middah* for the establishment of the world, it does not spring from wisdom, for 'He that hateth gifts shall live' (Prov. xv. 27), and the good *middah* is to give and not to receive" (R. Jonah). He who gives, "hoping for nothing again," is *chasid*, or pious. The selfish, grasping man, who receives and makes no return, is "wicked."

[בְּנוּיָת] It may be remarked on the use of this word, which means *intermediate*, that the "via media," and the "καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἰδέσθαι" of excellence, are regarded as widely divergent. Maimonides, who attempts to reduce the ethics of the Mishnah to the Aristotelian standard, regards the *chasid*

as one who inclines a little to one extreme, and performs works of supererogation which it would be hazardous for ordinary people to attempt. See his *Shemonah Peraqim*, § 4.

[חַסִּיד] The word *chasid* here denotes the opposite of "wicked," and cannot be shewn to carry any allusion to a particular sect, the *Essenes* (p. 34), as some have endeavoured to make out. For a less improbable derivation of Ἐσσαῖος see note 1. "Von חַסִּיד es fortzuleiten wäre sprachlich nicht zu rechtfertigen" (Jost, *Gesch.* A. 207, Note). "For although, in spite of all the attempts which have been made to explain it, the meaning of this name is quite uncertain, it certainly cannot be connected with that of the חַסִּידִים" (Kuenen).

<sup>33</sup> A various reading interchanges the words *loss* and *gain*, and thus reverses the estimates of the first and second tempers.

<sup>34</sup> The first character has an evil or grudging eye with respect to the things of others. He is unwilling that they should share with him the

willing to give, but not that others should give, his eye is evil towards the things of others: that others should give, and he should not give, his eye is evil towards his own: he who would give and let others give, is pious: he who will not give nor let others give, is wicked.

20. There are four characters in college-goers<sup>35</sup>. He that goes and does not practise, the reward of going is in his hand: he that practises and does not go, the reward of practice is in his hand: he that goes and practises is pious: he that goes not and does not practise is wicked.

21. There are four characters in those who sit under the wise; a sponge; a funnel; a strainer; and a bolt-sieve<sup>36</sup>. A

credit of liberality: or he is a misanthrope, who is jealous lest his neighbours' possessions should be blessed by their almsgiving, and lest they should enjoy favour with God and man. The truly liberal, on the contrary, is he who "counsels" liberal things (Is. xxxii. 8): who is not only liberal himself, but moves others to be so (Abarbanel).

<sup>35</sup> The relative values of *Thalmud* and *Practice* come once more under consideration in this Mishnah. The first character is ἀκροατῆς λόγου, the second ποιητής (James i. 23), the third is both, the last neither. A different turn is given to the "reward of going," in *Berakoth* 6 b, where it is said אַנְרָא דְפֶרְקָא רַהֲטָא, "the profit of the lecture is the running:" the unintelligent majority profit more by their zeal in going to hear it, than by the teaching as such.

<sup>36</sup> By נֶפֶחַ is meant a fine sieve "of leather or hair," which was made use of in some way for "dressing" meal, and separating the seconds from the fine flour. Cf. *Shebi'ith* v. 9; *Shabbath* viii. 2; *Menachoth* vi. 7, x. 4; *Kelim* xxvii. 5. Such sieves were used in preparing *soleth* for the *minchah*. Thirteen, of different de-

grees of fineness, were to be used in preparing the 'omer, according to a "halakah to Moses from Sinai:" twelve, for the two loaves: eleven, for the shewbread; or, according to R. Shime'on, the number of siftings was not prescribed, but the *soleth* was re-sifted as many times as was found necessary. See *Menachoth* 76 b. It is said by the commentators upon this Mishnah, that the corn was first partially crushed in a bean mill: the husk and powder were then sifted out: and what remained was ground over again, and became *SOLETH*. The word קֶמַח may denote meal in general (iii. 26); but it is here (?) identified with the "dust" of the *Menachoth* (viii. 2), which was not altogether refuse, but was unfit for *SOLETH*. Compare the following from the *Jalqut* on *Canticles*: "*Song* most be-praised and exalted of *Songs*: Rabbi Ele'azar ben 'Azariah made a comparison of it to a man who brings a measure of wheat to a baker, and says, Produce from it *QEMACH*; and after that produce me from it *SOLETH*; and after that produce me from it a cake. Thus out of all the wisdom of Solomon there is no *SOLETH* to Israel except *Song of Songs*. All the

sponge, which sucks up all; a funnel, which lets in here and lets out there; a strainer, which lets out the wine and keeps back the dregs; a bolt-sieve, which lets out the pollard and keeps back the flour.

22. All love which depends on some thing<sup>37</sup>, when the thing ceases, the love ceases; and such as does not depend on anything, ceases not for ever.

23. What love is that which depends on some thing? the love of Amnon and Thamar<sup>38</sup>; And that which does not depend on anything? this is the love of David and Jonathan.

Songs are holy: Song of Songs is Holy of Holies." The scholar who treasures up only what is most precious is certainly, *qua* learner, of the highest class; and in this Mishnah he is generally thought to be so regarded. There are, however, some commentators who give precedence to the "strainer"; regarding him as a teacher, who gives out a still more refined doctrine than he has received; whilst the SIEVE typifies the perverted mind which "turns light to darkness, and darkness to light, and feeds others with refuse." See the commentaries לֵבָנִן וְתַפְאֶרֶת יִשְׂרָאֵל. The latter urges, in favour of this view, the analogy of the five preceding groups of fours, in all of which the pious, and the wise, are mentioned third in order. But in Aboth R. N. XL. the order here is different.

Another view is adopted in לֵב אֲבוֹת, where the third scholar is taken to be the man who speculates on theosophic mysteries; and the last is the discriminating traditionalist. The comparison is taken, in the one case from wine which drives a man out of his mind, מוֹצֵיָא הָאֵרֶם מִרְעֵתוֹ; in the other from bread which strengthens man's heart; but "the parable of the SIEVE seems to me very difficult; for if it were like that which we use

now, and which LETS THROUGH the סוֹלֶת, it would not be right, &c." It is not easy to render the clause satisfactorily. The word "sieve" alone is inadequate, since it might be used with as much propriety to symbolize the mind which retains the refuse; and indeed it is *prima facie* most natural to think of the fine flour as falling through the sieve, whilst the coarser sort is retained. The commentators quoted at the beginning of this note make SOLETH mean, not precisely "fine flour," but that which after re-grinding becomes fine flour. The technical words *bolter*, *bolting-cloth*, BOLT-SIEVE, do not embody this idea, but they satisfy the requirements of the case indirectly to a certain extent. A bolter which I have seen sifts the ground corn at once into three sorts. The corn in the bolter descends an incline, passing first over a fine cloth, and then over a coarser cloth: the former lets through the fine flour, which is caught in a receptacle attached to the machine: the process is repeated at the second cloth: the third quality, coarse bran, passes out at the end of the bolter.

<sup>37</sup> The love which is to be lasting must be disinterested, and independent of all extrinsic considerations. It may be remarked that *ha-dabar* is

24. Whatsoever gainsaying is for the name of Heaven will in the end be established; and that which is not for the name of Heaven<sup>39</sup> will not in the end be established.

25. What gainsaying is that which is for the name of Heaven? the gainsaying of Shammai and Hillel<sup>40</sup>. And that

sometimes τὸ πρᾶγμα in the idiomatic sense of 1 Thess. iv. 6.

<sup>38</sup> "Then Amnon hated her exceedingly; so that the hatred wherewith he hated her was greater than the love wherewith he had loved her" (2 Sam. xiii. 15).

<sup>39</sup> Compare the distinction in Bere-sith Rabbah iv. between controversy which is for the ordering of the world, and that which is for its disordering. "To the Name of Heaven, means, for the establishment of the truth of a matter, or to convince of transgression; and not to shew superiority, or to gain a reputation" (A†). For the expression cf. *εις ὄνομα προφήτου... δικαίου... μαθητοῦ* (Matt. x. 41, 42), and see iv. 16. Direct mention of God is avoided by the use of **ד'יב'י**, as in iv. 7 and elsewhere.

<sup>40</sup> The controversies of Shammai and Hillel, and of their followers, fill a large space in the Talmud. Shammai is self-asserting, and Hillel yielding (p. 23), but the canon is according to Hillel. "Said R. Abba, Said Shemuel, Three years disputed Beth Shammai and Beth Hillel: these said, The halakah is according to us, and these said, The halakah is according to us. Bath Qol went forth and said, These and those are words of the Living God, and the halakah is according to Beth Hillel. But if these and those were words of the Living God, how did Beth Hillel merit that the halakah should be fixed according to them? Because they were yielding and lowly, and taught their own

words and those of their opponents together. Nay, more, *they placed the words of Beth Shammai before their own words* (see *Crit. Note*)...Two years and a half disputed Beth Shammai and Beth Hillel: these said, Better for a man not to have been created than to have been created; and these said, Better for a man to have been created than not to have been created. They concluded, Better for a man not to have been created than to have been created: now that he has been created, let him look well to his doings" (Erubin 13 b). "From the time when Bath Qol went forth, the halakah is always according to Beth Hillel, and whosoever transgresses the words of Beth Hillel deserves death...And where did Bath Qol go forth? R. Bibi in the name of R. Jochanan said, At Jabneh went forth Bath Qol" (T. J. Sotah iii. 4).

"Beth Shammai said, The heavens were created first, and afterwards the earth was created, for it is said, In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth (Gen. i. 1). And Beth Hillel said, The earth was created first, and afterwards the heavens, for it is said, In the day that the Lord God made the earth and the heavens (Gen. ii. 4)...And 'the wise' have said, This and that were created together, for it is said (Is. xlvi. 13), Mine hand also hath laid the foundation of the earth, and my right hand hath spanned the heavens: when I call unto them, they stand up together" (Chagigah 12 a. See above, pp. 31, 32; and cf.

which is not for the name of Heaven? this is the gainsaying of Qorach (Jude 11).

26. Whosoever makes the many<sup>41</sup> righteous, sin prevails not over him; and whosoever makes the many to sin<sup>42</sup>, they grant him not the faculty to repent.

27. Moses was righteous, and made the many righteous, and the righteousness of the many was laid upon him<sup>43</sup>, for it is said, He executed the justice of the Lord and His judgments, WITH Israel (Deut. xxxiii. 21).

Jerobe'am<sup>42</sup> sinned, and caused the many to sin, (and) the sin of the many was laid upon him, for it is said, Because of the sins of Jerobe'am who sinned, and made Israel to sin (1 Kings xiv. 16, &c.).

28. In whomsoever are three things, he is a disciple of Abraham; and three (other) things, a disciple of Bile'am.

29. A good eye, and a lowly soul, and a humble spirit (belong to) the disciple of Abraham: an evil eye<sup>44</sup>, and a

Bereshith Rabbah, xii.); that is to say the (left) hand created the earth, and the right hand at the same time created the heavens.

The Hillelite theory corresponds to 1 Cor. xv. 46: ἀλλ' οὐ πρῶτον τὸ πνευματικόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ψυχικόν, ἔπειτα τὸ πνευματικόν. The three views propounded above may be taken as texts for three philosophies, of *idealism*, *evolutionism*, and *dualism*. Matter was in some systems regarded as essentially evil; and its creation, according to a prevalent symbolism, is fitly attributed to the *left hand*, as *YAD* is taken to mean.

<sup>41</sup> Sin prevails not over him who leads the many to righteousness, since it would be unseemly that the master should be in Gehinnom whilst his disciples are in Paradise (Joma 87 a). *Ha-rabbim*, οἱ πολλοί (Rom. v. 19), denotes the public, or "the general," and, like *gibbur*, the congregation, is contrasted with *ha-yachid*, ὁ εἷς. "*Reshuth ha-rabbim*" is equivalent to "locus publicus." See Mishnah

Surenhusius, Vol. II. p. 1.

<sup>42</sup> This saying, in the form כָּל מִי שֶׁחָטָא וְהִטִּי' אֶת כּוֹנֵן עוֹלָם, is cited in Sotah 47 a (cf. Sanhedrin 107 b); and it is added that a magnet suspended the Sin [Rashi *calves*] of Jerobe'am between heaven and earth. "Three kings have no portion in the world to come...Jerobe'am, Achab, and Manasseh" (Sanhedrin xi. 2). "After this thing Jeroboam returned not from his evil way. What is, *After?* Said R. Abba, After the Holy One, blessed is He, had taken him by his raiment, and said, Turn thee! and I, and thou, and the son of Jesse will walk in the Garden of 'Eden. He said to Him, Who at the head? The son of Jesse at the head! If so, I had rather not." (Sanhedrin 102 a; 1 Kings xiii. 33.)

<sup>43</sup> Moses is reckoned as cooperating with Israel in all their acts of righteousness: "consequently the זְכוּת of the many depends upon him."

<sup>44</sup> The evil eye corresponds to הַקְּנָאָה (iv. 30): the soul, *ψυχή*, is the seat of תַּאוּה, or "appetite": the

swelling soul, and a haughty spirit, to the disciple of Bile'am. And what difference is between the disciples of Abraham and the disciples of Bile'am? The disciples of Bile'am go down to Gehinnom<sup>45</sup>, for it is said, But thou, O God, shalt bring them down into the pit of destruction (Ps. lv. 24); but the disciples of Abraham inherit the Garden of 'Eden, for it is said, That I may cause those that love me to inherit SUBSTANCE<sup>45</sup>; and I will fill their treasures (Prov. viii. 21).

30. R. Jehudah ben Thema said, Be bold as a leopard, and swift as an eagle, and fleet as a hart, and strong as a lion<sup>46</sup>, to do the will of thy **Father which is in Heaven.**

spirit, the seat of ambition, and of the desire for כבוד. Compare the threefold classifications in 1 Joh. ii. 16; Aboth ii. 15. The three evil qualities in question are ascribed to Bile'am in "Midrash R. Thanchuma" (cited by A†), and in Bemidbar Rabbah xx. He had an evil eye, for it is said: "And Balaam lifted up his eyes, and he saw Israel, &c." (Numb. xxiv. 2). He had a grasping soul, for it is said: "If Balak would give me his house full of silver and gold, &c." (xxii. 18). He had a haughty spirit, for, instead of confessing to the messengers of Balaq that God had altogether forbidden him to go, and to curse the people, he said to them: "Get you into your land: for the Lord refuseth to give me leave to go with you" (xxii. 13). "He said to me, It is not consistent with thy honour to go with these, but with their superiors; for he desired my honour. And Balak sent yet again princes, more, and more honourable than they" (ver. 15).

<sup>45</sup> "Four *idwral* have no portion in the world to come...Bile'am, and Doeg, and Achithophel, and Gechazi" (Sanhedrin xr. 2).

"How many years old was Bile'am? It is not expressly written, but from

what is written, Bloody and deceitful men shall not live out *half* their days (Ps. lv. 24), he must have been 33 or 34 (that is less than the half of 70) years old. Well hast thou replied to my question! Bile'am's escutcheon appeared to me, and there was written on it, Son of thirty and three years was Bile'am the lame, when captain Phinechas slew him" (Sanhedrin 106 b). This estimate of the age of Bile'am controverts a previous statement that he was living at the time of Pharaoh's edict: "Every son that is born, &c." (Ex. i. 22). He is regarded as a "bloody man," because he occasioned the death of twenty-four thousand Israelites by his advice to Balaq (Numb. xxv. 9; Rev. ii. 14). SUBSTANCE is by Gematria 310 (ש"ט) æons (Sanhedrin 100 a).

<sup>46</sup> This saying is quoted, in connexion with 'Aqiba's עשה שבתך חול (in Pesachim 112 a; but "Rashi" refers to the Pereq, מוקום שנהגו (iv. instead of x.), and B, citing "Rashi," refers to Zebachim. For another application of the saying, see Bemidbar Rabbah on the sepulchre of Moses, toward the end of *Seder Balaq*. The Machazor Vitry makes Masseketh אבות end, very appropriately, at the words, אביך שבטמים.

31. *He used to say, The bold of face to Gehinnom<sup>47</sup>; and the shamefaced<sup>48</sup> to the garden of 'Eden. May it be well-pleasing in thy sight, Lord, our God, and the God of our fathers, that thy city may be built in our days; and give us our portion in thy Thorah.*

32. *Ben Bag-bag said, Turn it, and again turn it; for the all is therein<sup>49</sup>, and thy all is therein: and swerve not therefrom, for thou canst have no greater excellency than this.*

<sup>47</sup> The saying 'עו(ות) פנים כו' was probably borrowed in the first instance from Masseketh Kallah, together with other matter from which it was afterwards detached. Although now regarded as part of Aboth, it is not found after 'הוי עו כנמר כו' in Aboth R. N. xli.: C has a double reading which confirms the suspicion of its spuriousness; and in Masseketh Kallah there is no evidence that it is quoted from Aboth.

<sup>48</sup> "Bashfulness is a good sign." It is said that a man who has a sense of shame will not readily sin, **לא במהרה**, **הוא חוטא**: "and he who has not **בושת פנים**, of a surety his ancestors stood not on mount Sinai." (Nedarim 20 a; Jalqut i. 301; Mekiltha, **בהדש** ט). [Ta'anith 7 b.]

For prayers against **עוונות פנים** see Excursus v.

<sup>49</sup> Everything is contained in the Thorah: it was the plan according to which the world itself was created (p. 12). "In it, without doubt, are history and tale: proverb and enigma: correction and wisdom: knowledge and discretion: poetry and word-play: conviction and council: dirge, entreaty, prayer, praise, and every kind of supplication; and all this in a Divine way superior to all the prolix benedictions in human books; to say nothing of its containing in its depths the Names of the Holy One, blessed is He, and secrets of being without end"

(Leb Aboth). Some commentators remark that works on science and philosophy are not needed by the diligent student of Thorah, which contains, not only "all things necessary to salvation," but "all the wisdom of the world." Study Thorah, "and thou wilt not need the books of the philosophers of the nations, and their investigations" (Sforno). Thorah is cheaply purchased by the sacrifice of worldly advantage, "for the whole world and its fulness was created in six days, but the Thorah was only given after forty days" (Shemoth Rabbah xlvii.; Va-jiqra R. xxx.; Chazitha, Cant. viii. 7).

"There is none poor but in knowledge. They say in the West (in Palestine):

**דרא ביה כולא ביה דלא דא ביה מה ביה דא קני מה חסר דא לא קני מה קני :**

*In whom this is, there is all: in whom this is not, what is there? Hath one gotten this, what lacks? hath he not gotten this, what hath he gotten?"* (Nedarim 41 a.)

The ending **וכולך בה** of this clause in א may be illustrated by such expressions as **זה כל האדם**, This is the whole of man (Eccl. xii. 13); "She is thy life (Prov. iv. 13), and (Deut. xxx. 20) the length of thy days." Compare also the obscure verse Is. xxxviii. 16. The striking reading of the text (cf. "totus in illis")

33. *Ben He-he*<sup>50</sup> said, *According to the toil is the reward.*

would account for the occurrence in MSS. of *ובה תהוי* "and be in it." In many good MSS. *והפך* is pointed as *pi'el*. It may accordingly be taken as a frequentative.

<sup>50</sup> The names of *בן בנ בן* and *בן ה' ה'* are identified by Gematria. Their sayings are apparently ascribed to Hillel in *Aboth R. N.* [*A* xii. p. 55], from whom, however, "*Bar H. H.*" is distinguished in *Chagigah* 9 b. According to one explanation, *ב"נ ב"נ* denotes, *Son of proselyte parents* *גר וניורה*. According to a note in the so-called *Machazor Vitry*, *בן ה' ה'* denotes a proselyte, one who has become a *Son of Abraham and Sarah*, whose names were changed by the introduction of the letter *ה'*. It is added, that "They

allude to *Ben Bag-bag* in *Qiddushin* and *Baba Qamma*, and to *Ben He-he* in *הכל הייבין*." [*Qiddush*. 10 b, *Baba Q.* 27 b, *Chagigah* 9 b.]

The saying of *Ben He-he*, like *i. 14*; *ii. 7*, is in Aramaic. Final *ה* is often found for *א*. Cf. *כולה* in § 32. In *Aboth R. N.* xii. [but see *B* xxvii.] the saying, besides being attributed to Hillel (with the addition of *לכולהון*), is immediately afterwards retorted upon Hillel, when he is surprised to find that wheat costs two dinars a measure in one place, and three dinars at a place more remote. It forms an admirable conclusion to the *Masseketh*, but was doubtless a proverbial saying not peculiar to *Αβοθη*. [*1 Cor.* iii. 8 *ἕκαστος—κατὰ τὸν ἴδιον κόπον*.

## ADDENDA.

## THE AGES OF MAN.

He used to say, At five years old, Scripture: at ten years, Mishnah: at thirteen<sup>1</sup>, the Commandments: at fifteen<sup>2</sup>, *Thalmud*: at eighteen, the bridal: at twenty<sup>3</sup>, pursuits: at thirty, strength: at forty, discernment: at fifty, counsel: at sixty, age: at seventy, hoariness: at eighty<sup>4</sup>, power: at ninety, decrepitude: at a hundred, it is as though he were dead, and gone, and had ceased from the world.

A metrical paraphrase of the above is given in the commentary *Leb Aboth*. The *Midrash* on *Qoheleth* i. 2 reckons seven "vanities," corresponding to the seven æons of man. The child of a year is like a KING, adored by all: at two or three he is like a SWINE, dabbling in filth: at ten he bounds like a KID: at twenty he is like a HORSE, neighing and spirited, and desires a wife: when he has married a wife, behold he is like an ASS: when children are born to him, he is shameless as a DOG in procuring the means of sustenance: when he has grown old he is like an APE—if, at least, he is *'am ha-areç*; but a son of *Thorah*, like *David*, is a king though old (*1 Kings* i. 1). [*Joma* 22 b *Saul* when made king was like a *ben shanah* (*1 Sam.* xiii. 1).]

SOLON, and HIPPOCRATES "the physician," in Philo *De Mundi Op.* (Vol. i. 25, 26 ed. Mangey), divided the life of man into *Ten* and *Seven* hebdomads respectively. [See also *Die Lebensalter in der Jüdischen Literatur* by Leopold Löw, Szegedin 1875.]

<sup>1</sup> After THIRTEEN YEARS the boy becomes a *bar miçvah* *ידם ἐντολῆς*, and enters upon the responsibilities of the higher life. Why (asks the Midrash, on Eccl. ix. 14) is the evil *yeçer* personified as a "great" king? Because it is thirteen years older than the good *yeçer*. [See p. 37, Aboth R. N. xvi. p. 62, ib. p. 166, Midr. Ps. ix. (Buber p. 82), Maim. *Moreh Nebukhim* III. 22.]

<sup>2</sup> It is commonly said that GEMARA, in the sense "completion," properly denotes the series of discussions upon the "Mishnah," which, with the Mishnah itself, made up the "Thalmud." But it is probable that the root גמרא should be taken in the sense "learn" by rote, in contrast with סבר *to speculate*: a man should first learn, and afterwards speculate, מאי קמ"ל דליגמר איניש והדר ליסבר (Shabbath 63 a). A† remarks that when he has, in the course of five years, learned the settled Mishnah, which is the גמרא of the Thannaim, he should then proceed to learn סברא, that is "our Thalmud," which we call גמרא. Gemara (cf. Gamra), in the dialect of the Amoraim who arose in Babel, means the unexplained *text of the Mishnah*.

<sup>3</sup> At the age of TWENTY, according to one view, he *is pursued* by "precepts and punishments." So ט, rejecting the interpretation that *he pursues* or labours to obtain the means of sustenance for his family. But since in what follows the man's intrinsic qualities are described, it seems best to interpret the phrase as meaning that this is the time of life at which man is most eager in the pursuit of his ideal: it is the age of activity and enthusiasm, in contradistinction to the later ages of settled strength, wisdom, and influence.

<sup>4</sup> The OCTOGENARIAN *must have possessed* great natural power and vigour, which is now, however, well-nigh exhausted, ואם בגבורת שמונים שנה כו' (Ps. xc. 10). [Or if he lives longer it is *של מקום* ]

*thirteen*] He is "minorennis" until *fourteen*, or "In Ecclesiasticis" until thirteen (Buxt. 1364 on גער). Cf. Shulchan 'Arukh *Orach Chayim* 199. 10. The ג' ב' י"ג is called א"י *man*, for so was Levi at that age (Gen. xxxiv. 25), and in Is. xliiii. 21 "This people have I formed" זו *this* is by Gematria thirteen (Magen Aboth). Cf. Löw *Lebensalter*, Machsor Vitry, Niddah 46 a.

*twenty*] There is a saying that the celestial *beth din* do not punish a man until twenty, see Magen Aboth, Löw *Lebensalter*, Rashi on Num. xvi. 27, Shabbath 89 b, T. J. Bikkur. II. 1 (64 c), T. J. Sanh. XI. 7 (30 b<sub>36</sub>) ed. princes or XI. 5 ed. Zitomir 1865, Gen. Rab. 58. 1, Zohar II. 98 a<sub>1</sub>. He then "comes of age" for *pursuit* or prosecution מן השמים. Abarbanel in *Nachalath Aboth* gives the interpretation that the ג' ב' כ' is quick and impulsive טהם קלי המרון והדם רותק. Another view is that twenty is the age for military service (Machsor Vitry p. 551, Num. i. 3, Deut. xxiv. 5), cf. in Shakespeare's *Seven Ages of Man* *Then a soldier*. Heb. Auth. P. B. ed. Singer p. 204 (cf. Löw p. 24, Strack on Aboth) "at twenty for seeking a livelihood."

## CHAPTER VI.

### PEREQ R. MEIR.

#### ON THE ACQUISITION OF THORAH.

All Israel have a portion in the world to come<sup>1</sup>, for it is said, Thy people also shall be all righteous: they shall inherit the land for ever, the branch of my planting, the work of my hands, that I may be glorified (Sanhedrin xi. 1; Isaiah lx. 21; Rom. xi. 26).

Wise men have taught in the Mishnah tongue; blessed is He that made choice of them and their Mishnah:

1. RABBI MEIR said, Whosoever is busied in Thorah for its own sake merits many things; and not only so, but he is worth the whole world: he is called friend, beloved: loves God, loves mankind: pleases God, pleases mankind. And it clothes him with meekness and fear, and fits him to become righteous, pious, upright and faithful: and removes him from sin, and brings him toward the side of merit. And they enjoy from him counsel, and sound wisdom, understanding, and strength, for it is said, Counsel is mine, and sound wisdom: I am understanding; I have strength (Prov. viii. 14). And it gives him kingdom, and dominion, and faculty of judgment. And they reveal to him the secrets of Thorah; and he is made, as it were, a spring that ceases not, and as a river that flows on increasing. And he becomes modest, and long-suffering, and forgiving of insult. And it magnifies him and exalts him over all things.

2. Said Rabbi Jehoshua' ben Levi, Every day Bath Qol goes forth from Mount Choreb, and makes proclamation and says, Woe to the creatures for contempt of Thorah, for who-

<sup>1</sup> This saying is repeated before each of the six Peraqim.

soever does not occupy himself in Thorah is called "blame-worthy," for it is said, As a jewel of gold in a swine's snout, so is a fair woman which is without discretion (Prov. xi. 22). And it saith, And the tables were the work of God, and the writing was the writing of God, graven upon the tables (Ex. xxxii. 16); read not<sup>2</sup> CHARUTH, graven, but CHERUTH, freedom, for thou wilt find no freeman but him who is occupied in learning of Thorah; and whosoever is occupied in learning of Thorah, behold he exalts himself, for it is said, And from Matthanah to Nachaliel: and from Nachaliel to Bamoth (Numb. xxi. 19).

3. He who learns from his companion one section, or one canon, or one verse<sup>3</sup>, or one word, (or) even one letter, is bound to do him honour; for thus we find with David king of Israel, who learned not from Achithophel but two things only, that he called him his master, his guide, and his acquaintance,

<sup>1</sup> NAZUF serves as a "not(a)riqon" נזם זהב באף. An example of another species of נוטריקון occurs in Jalqut i. 298 (Mekilta ח' בחרש'), where: "Honour thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long," is said to carry with it the alternative, וואם לאו למען יקצרון. This latter species is overlooked by Buxtorf *s. v.*, and by his modern editor.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Joh. viii. 32; James i. 25, ii. 12: and see Aboth III. 8; 'Erubin 54 a; 'Abodah Zarah 5 a; Bemidbar Rabbah xvi.; &c.

The exegetical device אל תקרי, "Read not" so but so, is often used in the Talmud, when it is desired to attach a preconceived idea to a Scriptural expression by way of *μνημόσυνον*. The אל תקרי is not to be taken as evidence that an actual various reading was current. The words to which it is prefixed are confessedly the true reading, with which the darshan makes free for a special purpose.

<sup>3</sup> Some system of reckoning by VERSES was employed by the Jews at a very early period (Qiddushin 30 a); but the present division of the Old Testament into chapters and VERSES was introduced later by the Christians, and adopted from them by the Jews. See the Cambridge University MS. *Additional* 465, of which the "Leaves 245 a—246 a are occupied by a Table of the Christian division of the several books of the Hebrew Bible, drawn up by R. Solomon b. Ishmael...it cannot well be later than the early part of the xvth century, or at least a hundred years before the date of R. Isaac Nathan, whose concordance, begun in 1437, is usually considered the first instance of the Jewish adoption of the Christian chapters for any purpose. The introduction shews that it was here used for the purpose of ready reference in the continually recurring controversies with the Christians" (Schiller-Szinessy's CATALOGUE, Vol. i. p. 17, on MS. No. 13).

for it is said, But it was thou, a man mine equal, my guide, and mine acquaintance (Ps. lv. 14). And is there not an argument from the greater to the less, that as David king of Israel, who learned not from Achithophel but two words only, called him his master, his guide, and his acquaintance, he who learns from his companion one section, or one canon, or one verse, or one word, or even one letter, is so many times the more bound to do him honour? And honour is nothing but *Thorah*, for it is said, The wise shall inherit honour (Prov. iii. 35). And the perfect shall inherit good (Prov. xxviii. 10). And good is nothing but *Thorah*, for it is said, For I give you good doctrine, forsake ye not my *Thorah* (Prov. iv. 2).

4. This is the path of *Thorah*: A morsel with salt<sup>1</sup> shalt thou eat; Thou shalt drink also water by measure (Ezek. iv. 11); and shalt sleep upon the ground, and live a life of painfulness, and in *Thorah* shalt thou labour. If thou doest thus, Happy shalt thou be, and it shall be well with thee (Ps. cxxviii. 2): “happy shalt thou be” in this world; “and it shall be well with thee” in the world to come (IV. 3).

5. Seek not greatness for thyself, and desire not honour. *Practise more than thou learnest*. And lust not for the table of kings, for thy table is greater than their table, and thy crown greater than their crown, and faithful is thy task-master who will pay thee the wage of thy work.

6. Greater is *Thorah* than the priesthood, and than the kingdom; for the kingdom is acquired by thirty degrees, and the priesthood by four and twenty, and the *Thorah* is acquired by forty and eight things. And these are they, by learning, by a listening ear, by ordered speech, by discernment of heart, by dread, by fear, by meekness, by cheerfulness, by pureness, by attendance upon the wise, by discussion with associates, by the argumentation of disciples, by sedateness; by Scripture, by *Mishnah*; by little traffic, by little intercourse, by little luxury, by little sleep, by little converse, by little merriment; by long-suffering, by a good heart, by faith in the wise, by acceptance of chastisements; he that knows his place, and that rejoices in his portion, and that makes a fence to his

<sup>1</sup> This is a Talmudic phrase for a poor man's fare (Berakoth 2 b).

words, and does not claim merit to himself; he is loved, loves God, loves mankind, loves righteousness, loves uprightness, loves reproofs; and retires from honour, and puffs not up his heart with his learning, and is not forward in decision; bears the yoke with his associate, and inclines him to the scale of merit, and grounds him upon the truth, and grounds him upon peace (I. 19); and settles his heart to his study; asks and answers, hears and adds thereto; he that learns in order to teach, and that learns in order to practise; that makes his master wiser, and that considers what he has heard, and that tells a thing in the name of him that said it. Lo, thou hast learned that whosoever tells a thing in the name of him that said it, brings redemption to the world, for it is said, And Esther told it to the king in the name of Mordekai (Esth. ii. 22).

7. Great is Thorah, which gives life to those who practise it in this world and in the world to come, for it is said, For they are life unto those that find them, and health to all their flesh (Prov. iv. 22); and it saith, It shall be health to thy navel, and marrow to thy bones (Prov. iii. 8); and it saith, She is a tree of life to them that lay hold upon her: and happy is every one that retaineth her (Prov. iii. 18); and it saith, For they shall be an ornament of grace unto thy head, and chains about thy neck (Prov. i. 9); and it saith, She shall give to thine head an ornament of grace: a crown of glory shall she deliver to thee (Prov. iv. 9); and it saith, For by me thy days shall be multiplied, and the years of thy life shall be increased (Prov. ix. 11); and it saith, Length of days is in her right hand; and in her left hand riches and honour (Prov. iii. 16): and it saith, For length of days, and years of life, and peace, shall they add to thee (Prov. iii. 2).

8. Rabbi Shime'on ben Jehudah, in the name of Rabbi Shime'on ben Jochai, said, Comeliness, and strength, and wealth, and honour, and wisdom, and age, and hoariness, and sons, are comely to the righteous, and comely to the world, for it is said, The hoary head is a crown of glory; it is found in the way of righteousness (Prov. xvi. 31); and it saith, The glory of young men is their strength: and the

beauty of old men is the grey head (Prov. xx. 29); and it saith, Sons' sons are the crown of old men; and the glory of sons are their fathers (Prov. xvii. 6); and it saith, Then the moon shall be confounded, and the sun ashamed, when the Lord of hosts shall reign in mount Zion, and in Jerusalem, and before his ancients gloriously (Is. xxiv. 23).

Rabbi Shime'on ben Manasia said, These (?) seven qualities which the wise have reckoned to the righteous were all of them confirmed in Rabbi and his sons.

9. Said Rabbi Jose ben Qisma, Once I was walking by the way, and there met me a man, and he gave me "Peace"; and I returned him "Peace." He said to me, Rabbi, from what place art thou? I said to him, From a great city of wise men, and doctors, am I. He said to me<sup>4</sup>, Rabbi, should it be thy pleasure to dwell with us in our place, I will give thee a thousand thousand dinars of gold, and goodly stones, and pearls. I said to him, If thou shouldest give me all the silver, and gold, and goodly stones, and pearls that are in the world, I would not dwell but in a place of Thorah; and thus it is written in the book of Psalms, by the hands of David, king of Israel, The law of thy mouth is better unto me than thousands of gold and silver (Ps. cxix. 72). Moreover in the hour of a man's decease not silver, nor gold, nor goodly stones, and pearls accompany the man, but Thorah and good works alone, for it is said, When thou goest, it shall lead thee; when thou sleepest, it shall keep thee; and when thou awakest, it shall talk with thee (Prov. vi. 22). "When thou goest, it shall lead thee," in this world: "when thou sleepest, it shall keep thee," in the grave: "and when thou awakest, it shall talk with thee," in the world to come. And it saith, The silver is mine, and the gold is mine, saith the Lord of hosts (Hagg. ii. 8).

10. *Five*<sup>5</sup> possessions possessed the Holy One, blessed is He,

<sup>4</sup> Observe the absence of conjunctions: "I said to him...said he to me," &c. The same peculiarity is found in parts of the New Testament. Cf. Joh. iv. xxi., which are quite in

the Talmudic style in this respect.

<sup>5</sup> The text of C reads *Four* possessions, instead of *five*. Cf. note κ. Gen. xiv. 19 is not a good proof that Abram was a פְּנִיָּה.

in his world, and these are they: THORAH, one possession; HEAVEN AND EARTH, one possession; *Abraham, one possession*; ISRAEL, one possession; THE SANCTUARY, one possession. Thorah, whence? because it is written, The Lord possessed me in the beginning of his way, before his works of old (Prov. viii. 22); Heaven and Earth, whence? because it is written, Thus saith the Lord, The heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool: where is the house that ye build unto me? and where is the place of my rest (Is. lxvi. 1)? and it saith, O Lord, how manifold are thy works! in wisdom hast thou made them all: the earth is full of thy possessions (Ps. civ. 24); Abraham, whence? because it is written, And he blessed him, and said, Blessed be Abram of the most high God, possessor of heaven and earth (Gen. xiv. 19); Israel, whence? because it is written, Till thy people pass over, O Lord, till the people pass over, which thou hast possessed (Ex. xv. 16); and it saith, To the saints that are in the earth, and to the excellent, in whom is all my delight (Ps. xvi. 3); The Sanctuary, whence? because it is written, The place, O Lord, which thou hast made for thee to dwell in, the sanctuary, O Lord, which thy hands have established (Ex. xv. 17); and it saith, And he brought them to the border of his sanctuary, even to this mountain, which his right-hand had possessed (Ps. lxxviii. 54).

11. Whatsoever the Holy One, blessed is He, created in his world, he created not but for his glory, for it is said, Every one that is called by my name: for I have created him for my glory, I have formed him; yea, I have made him (Is. xliii. 7); and it saith, The Lord shall reign for ever and ever (Ex. xv. 18).

Rabbi Chanania ben 'Aqashia said<sup>1</sup>, The Holy One, blessed is He, was pleased to give merit to Israel: therefore he multiplied unto them Torah and precepts, for it is said, The Lord is well pleased for his righteousness' sake; he will magnify the law, and make it honourable (Is. xlii. 21).

<sup>1</sup> This saying is repeated at the end of each of the six Peraqim.

## EXCURSUS I.

### Thorah. Qabbalah. The Decalogue. (See I. 1, p. 11.)

1. It is very important to notice some of the uses of the words Thorah and Qabbalah. Those of the latter are especially striking.

“We have two Thoroth (said Shammai in reply to a would-be proselyte), the written Thorah, תורה שבכתב, and the oral Thorah, תורה שבעל פה” (Shabbath 31a). Some things were communicated by mouth, and some things were communicated by writing, and we should not know which of them are the more precious but for what is said: “...for after the tenor of (על פי) these words I have made a covenant with thee and with Israel” (Ex. xxxiv. 27). This shews that those which were BY MOUTH (בפה) are the more precious (T. J. Peah II. 6. Cf. T. J. Megillah iv. 1; T. B. Gittin 60 b). In T. J. Berakoth i. 7 it is said in the course of a discussion, in the name of R. Jochanan: “Words of Soferim are akin to words of Thorah and more beloved than words of Thorah, for (Cant. i. 2), Thy LOVE is better than WINE (sc. of the Thorah)”:

דודים דברי סופרים לדברי תורה וחביבים יותר מד'ת. כי טובים דודין מיין.

It is added that whereas the Thorah contains both *light* and *weighty* precepts, the words of the Soferim are all of the latter class, חמורים. He who transgresses their words deserves death, for “whoso breaketh an HEDGE, a serpent shall bite him” (Ecl. x. 8). In ‘Abodah Zarah ii. 5 it is discussed whether the reading in Cant. i. 2 is דוֹרֵיךְ or דִּרְיִךְ, and the decision is given in favour of the former<sup>1</sup>. That is to say, the congregation of Israel addresses God (not *vice versa*), and says, as it is further explained in the Gemara (35 a): “LORD of the world, the words of Thy love are sweeter unto me than the wine of Thorah.” The authority of the Thorah was final, and its decisions without appeal, as is expressed for example by the saying, *That which is of the Thorah needs not confirmation*, ודאורייתא לא בעי חיזוק (Rosh ha-Shanah 19 a, cf. Jebamoth 85 b), whereas words of Soferim do need חיזוק, *confirmation*. Upon the latter compare Kethuboth 83 b, 84 a, where it is said that, “The wise have confirmed, or given force (עשו חיזוק) to, their words more than—or as much as—to those of Thorah.” In R. ha-Shanah 19 a it is said by ר' אשי, that “words of Qabbalah are like to words of Thorah.” Other sayings tending to the exaltation of *παράδοσις* and scribe-law might be given; but in drawing inferences from them allowance must be made for their rhetorical and

<sup>1</sup> So Agadath Shir Hashirim line 251 (ed. Schechter from Cod. De Rossi 541, Camb. 1896), giving the pointing דוֹרֵיךְ.]

dialectic character. They are commonly put forward as private opinions in debate, rather than as authoritative decisions.

The word **Thorah** has a special application to the Pentateuch, or Law of Moses (Deut. i. 5; Josh. viii. 31; 1 Kings ii. 3; Luke xxiv. 44; Joh. i. 17); but it is also applied to the remaining Scriptures. Thus in Sanhedrin 91 b the verses Josh. viii. 30; Ps. lxxxiv. 5; Is. lii. 8 are cited as Thorah. But the preeminence of Thorah as compared with the remaining Scriptures is brought out by the saying of R. Jochanan in T. J. Megillah i. 7: "The Prophets and the Hagiographa will cease but the five books of Thorah will not cease." Resh Laqish adds that the book Esther likewise and the הלכות of the oral Thorah will never cease, for הליכות עולם לו (Hab. iii. 6).

2. The word **Qabbalah** means *διαδοχή*, and denotes *tradition* (*παράδοσις*), regarded from the point of view of reception. It is applied not only to what is generally understood by **TRADITION**, but even to the Prophetic Scriptures and the Hagiographa<sup>1</sup>, as below:

(i) MISHNAH Tha'anith II. 1 (Joel ii. 13):

ובקבלה הוא אומר וקרעו לבבכם ואל בגדיכם.

and in QABBALAH he saith, And rend your heart, &c.

(ii) T. J. Kilaim IX. 1 (Ezek. xliv. 17):

פירש בקבלה ולא יעלה עליהם צמר בשרתם כו'.

(iii) T. J. Niddah III. 3 (Ps. cxxxix. 16):

ועליו הוא מפורש בקבלה גולמי ראו עיניך כו'.

(iv) Rosh ha-Shanah 7 a (Zech. i. 7):

אמר רבינא דבר זה מתורת משה רבינו לא למרנו מדברי קבלה למרנו ביום עשרים וארבעה לעשתי עשר חדש הוא החדש שבט.

Said Rabina, This matter we have learned not from the Thorah of Mosheh our lord: from words of QABBALAH we have learned it, "Upon the four and twentieth day of the eleventh month, which is the month Sebat..."

(v) Niddah 25 a (Job x. 10):

ועליו מפורש בקבלה הלא כחלב תתיכני וכנבין' תקפיאני כו'.

(vi) Mekiltha, ה' דפסחא (Cant. iv. 12):

ועליהם מפורש בקבלה גן נעול אחותי כלה גל נעול מעין חתום.

(vii) Mekiltha, ד' דפסחא (Jer. ii. 2):

ועליהם מפורש בקבלה הלוך וקראת באוני ירושלם.

(viii) Sifra, מס' דמלואים (Mal. ii. 5):

ומנין שאהרן רודף שלום בישראל שנאמר ויראו כל העדה כי נוע אהרן ויבכו את אהרן שלשים יום כל בית ישראל... וכן הכתוב מפורש על ידי אהרן בקבלה בריתי היתה אתו החיים והשלום שהיה רודף שלום בישראל כו'.

<sup>1</sup> See Excursus III. § 4; Zunz *Gottesdienstl. Vorträge* pp. 44, 353 (1832).

And whence (appears it) that Aaron pursued peace in Israel? Because it is said, "And when all the congregation saw that Aaron was dead, they mourned for Aaron thirty days, even all the house of Israel" (Numb. xx. 29, see p. 21) ... And thus is the SCRIPTURE<sup>1</sup> interpreted of Aaron in QABBALAH: "My covenant was with him of life and peace," because he pursued peace in Israel.

(ix) Sifre on Numb., פסקא קי"ב (Ps. l. 20; Is. v. 18):

עליו מפורש בקבלה תשב באחיך תדבר בבן אמך תתן דופי אלה עשית וההרשתי דמיות היות אהיה כמוך כסבור אתה שמא כדרכי בשר ודם דרכי המקום אויביתך ואערכה לעיניך בא ישעיה ופירש בקבלה הוי מויטכי העון בחבלי השוא וכעבותות העגלה חטאה: תחילתו של חטא הוא דומה לחוט של כוביא אבל סופו (להיות) כעבותות העגלה חטאה: ר' אומר העושה מצוה אחת לטמה אל ישמח על אותה מצוה שלסוף גזרת מצות הרבה והעובר עבירה אחת אל ידאג עליה לסוף שנוררת עבירות הרבה שמצוה גזרת מצוה ועבירה גזרת עבירות:

It is expressly said thereupon in QABBALAH, "Thou sittest and speakest against thy brother, &c." ... Isaiah came and interpreted in QABBALAH, "Woe unto them that draw iniquity with cords of vanity, and sin as it were with a cartrope." (The remainder of the passage illustrates Aboth iv. 5, *q. v.*)

(x) Sifre on Deut., פסקא מ"ח (Ecel. x. 8):

בא שלמה ופירש עליו בקבלה ופורין גדר ישכנו נחש. הא למדת שכל הפורין נדרים של חכמים לסוף פורעניות באים עליו: ר"ש בן יוחי אומר הרי הוא נפש שבעה תבוס נופת בו.

Solomon came and interpreted it in QABBALAH, "and whoso breaketh an hedge, a serpent shall bite him." Lo! thou hast learned that whoso breaketh hedges (cf. i. 1) of the wise, eventually punishments come upon him. R. Sh. ben Jochai said, Behold he is "A full soul that loatheth an honeycomb" (Prov. xxvii. 7).

In the above examples, to which more might be added, we find quoted as QABBALAH, or tradition, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Joel, Zechariah, Malachi, Psalms, Job, Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes. The Pentateuch being called THORAH (iv), or SCRIPTURE (viii), the other Books are expressly described as being, on the contrary, QABBALAH. This mode of speaking may be assumed to be a survival from a remote period at which the Pentateuch alone had been accepted as canonical; for it could scarcely have arisen in comparatively recent times. It must be taken into account in the discussion whether the Sadducees rejected "tradition" only, for a difficulty may arise in defining accurately what was understood by "tra-

<sup>1</sup> Miqra also is used specially of the Pentateuch. See below § 3. iii. b.

dition." Granted that they accepted all the canonical books, what weight would they have allowed, when their distinctive tenets were at stake, to an argument from a Prophet which appeared to contradict the Torah or Pentateuch, to which a marked preeminence was and is assigned by Jews in general? Cf. Excursus III.

3. On the Jewish division of the **Decalogue**, which differs from our division of the so-called "Ten Commandments," see Excursus IV.

The Decalogue is sometimes singled out as the revelation to Moses from Sinai. At other times the conception of revelation is idealised, and it is said that all Scripture, Mishnah, and Gemara were made known to Moses. A connecting link between these extremes is the view that the entire Law is latent in the Decalogue; in accordance with which view special treatises have been written—as by Sa'adiah Gaon (cf. Rashi on Ex. xxiv. 12), and the author of the anonymous treatise in the Cambridge University MS. *Additional* 493—in which each of the 613 commandments is referred to some one of the "Ten Words" of the Decalogue. The number of the commandments is given in Makkoth 23 b: "613 commandments were spoken to Moses—365 *negative*, according to the number of days in the solar-year; and 248 *positive*, corresponding to the members of the human body... תורה by Gematria is equal to the number 611. The other two, אנכי and לא יהיה לך (i.e. the first and second of the Ten Words), we heard הנבורה." The next page gathers up the whole 613 successively into 11, 6, 3, 1, as follows. First comes David who rests them all upon eleven, according to clauses of P's. xv. 2—5, from הולך תמים to ויטהר בו. Then Isaiah (xxxiii. 15) rests them on six. Micah (vi. 8) on three. Amos (v. 4) on the one, "seek ye ME." But this, says Rab Nachman bar Isaac, may mean, בכל התורה כולה, and he prefers to rest them upon a saying in Ilab. ii. 4, which assumes great prominence in the New Testament likewise (Rom. i. 17; Gal. iii. 11; Heb. x. 38), וצדיק באמונתו יחיה, And the just shall live by his "FAITH."

The following are some of the statements which have to be taken into account in estimating the Rabbis' views of revelation. It is evident that some of their dicta were not intended to be taken literally, but are the paradoxes of idealists, which leave us in some doubt as to how much they supposed to have been revealed explicitly to Moses.

(i) T. J. Megillah iv. 1 :

. . . מקרא מיטנה ותלמוד ואגדה ואפילו מה שתלמיד וותיק עתיד להורות לפני רבו כבר נאמרו למשה מסיני.

Scripture, Mishnah, and Talmud, and Agadah, and even that which the diligent scholar was destined to point out before his master, were already spoken to Moses from Sinai.

(ii) T. B. Megillah 19 b :

...מאי דכתיב ועליהם ככל הדברים אשר דבר ה' עמכם בהר' מלמד שהראהו הקב"ה למשה דקדוקי תורה ודקדוקי סופרים ומה שהסופרים עתידין לחדש.

(iii) Berakoth 5 a :

...מאי דכתיב ואתנה לך את לוחות האבן והתורה והמצוה אשר כתבתי להורותם. לוחות אלו עשרת הדברות. תורה זה מקרא' והמצוה זו מישנה' אשר כתבתי אלו נביאים וכתובים. להורותם זה הנמרא' מלמד שכולם נתנו למשה מסיני.

What means the Scripture: "And I will give thee (*a*) the tables of stone; (*b*) the Torah; (*c*) the commandment; (*d*) which I have written; (*e*) that thou mayest teach them" (Ex. xxiv. 12)? The expressions signify, (*a*) the Decalogue; (*b*) Miqra (=Scripture, or Pentateuch); (*c*) Mishnah; (*d*) Prophets and Hagiographa; (*e*) Gemara—all of which are shewn to have been given to Moses from Sinai.

(iv) Shemoth Rabbah xxviii. :

"And God spake ALL these words, saying—" Said R. Isaac, What the prophets were about to prophesy in every generation they received from Mount Sinai, for thus Moses said to Israel (Deut. xxix. 14), ואת אשר איננו ואת אשר איננו, *not עמנו היום*, but simply *עמנו היום*. These are the souls (of those) about to be created, who had no substance, and of whom "standing" could not be predicated. Although they existed not in that hour, each one of them received his own. Cf. Mal. i. 1, "...IN THE HAND OF Malachi" (not IN THE DAYS OF Malachi), because the prophecy was already IN HIS HAND from Mount Sinai, but till that hour authority had not been given him to prophesy. And so Isaiah (xlvi. 16) says, מעת היותה, אני, from the day that the Torah was given on Sinai there I was, and received this prophecy, "and now the Lord God and His Spirit hath sent me." Till then authority had not been given him to prophesy. And not all the prophets only, but also the sages that were to arise in successive generations, each one of them received his own from Sinai, according to the scripture: "These words the LORD spake unto all your assembly...with a great voice, AND HE ADDED NO MORE" (Deut. v. 22). R. Jochanan said, Each voice was divided into seven voices, and they were divided into seventy tongues.

(v) Jalqut i. 285 (cf. Mekiltha and Thanehuma) :

"All the Ten Words were spoken superhumanly with a single utterance (דבור)...It is said that all the דברות in the Torah were spoken with a single דבור."

The oral Halakhoth given to Moses on Sinai are said in T. J. Peah ii. 6 to have been all embodied in the Mishnah: but elsewhere we read that very much of the original tradition is lost.

## EXCURSUS II.

### The Great Synagogue. (See I. 1, p. 11.)

#### 1. *The period of the MEN OF THE GREAT SYNAGOGUE.*

From statements in Aboth about the Great Synagogue it would seem that it was regarded as comprising a *succession* of teachers, for (1) the "Prophets" previously spoken of belonged to successive generations, and (2) Simon Justus himself is said to have been one of the last of the Great Synagogue, which must therefore have covered the interval between the cessation of "prophecy" and the date, or supposed date, of Simon. That the chain was intended to be continuous appears likewise from Peah II. 6 (א, fol. 4 a) where it is said (see p. 14) that the PAIRS received from the PROPHETS:

אמ' נחום הלבלר מקובל (ע) מר' מיאשא שקיבל מאבא שקיבל מן הזוגות שקיבלו מן הנביאים הלכה למשה מסיני הזורע את שדהו בו.

In Aboth R. N. I, the line of succession from Moses is given in the form: *Joshua: Elders: Judges: Prophets: Hag., Zech., Malachi: G.S.*

The **Great Synagogue** (as we may conclude in accordance with a prevalent tradition, which attributes its establishment to Ezra) arose some time after the return from the Captivity, and included "*alle die bis zum Simon an der Spitze der Geset:-lehre in Judäa standen*" (Jost, *Gesch.* A. 42). It was natural however that later generations—led partly by the popular tendency to simplify the more obscure parts of history by the summation of scattered events, and partly by the desire to make the Great Synagogue seem still greater, and its decisions more venerable—should have come to regard the various Traditions relating to it as marking a single epoch. It is accordingly said to have been a college consisting of 120 contemporaries, all of whose names are recorded in the Holy Scriptures. Their number is determined from a comparison of Berakoth 33 a with Megillah 17 b; the expression מאה ועשרים וקנים in the one passage corresponding to ובהם כמה נביאים, "120 elders, including several prophets," in the other. The number of 120 is made up from the 84 (or 83, LXX. and T. J. Chagigah III. 8) signatories mentioned in Neh. x. 2—28: the 33 (or 34) "prophets" supposed to be named in Neh. viii. 4, 7 and ix. 4, 5; and the 3, Chaggai, Zekariah, and MALACHI (whom Targum Jonathan on Mal. i. 1 identifies with EZRA). To account for the number of 85 (for 84) "elders" in T. J. Megillah I. 7 it has been proposed to insert a name before וישע in Neh. x. 10, or to include Ezra. In T. J. Berakoth II. 4 the number 120 is said to include upwards of 80 prophets. Herzfeld, to whose *Geschichte* &c. (I. 381, Excurs. 12) the reader may be referred for additional details, rightly regards the number 120 as fictitious, whether it be assumed to be

the number of the Great Synagogue at any one epoch, or the sum total of its numbers in successive periods. In the pages following he attempts to identify it with the Synhedrin. Its name is not mentioned by Josephus or Philo; but some have imagined a reference to it in 1 Macc. vii. 12; xiv. 28. Little, however, is known about the MEN OF THE GREAT SYNAGOGUE, except that the Mishnah regards them as having received the Tradition from the Prophets, and preserved it down to the age of Simon Justus. The passage of Aboth which gives the lower limit is cited, together with i. 19, in T. J. Megillah III. 7:

תמן תנינן שמעון הצדיק היה מישרי כנסת הגדולה הוא היה אומר על ג' דברים העולם עומד על התורה ועל העבודה ועל גמילות חסדים וישלשתן בפסוק אחר ואשים דברי בפיך כו'.  
 תמן תנינן רבן שמעון בן גמליאל אומר על ג' דברים העולם עומד על הדין ועל האמת ועל השלום וישלשתן דבר אחד... אומר רבי מנא וישלשתן בפסוק אחד אמת ומישבט שלום כו' :

## 2. *The work of the GREAT SYNAGOGUE.*

...וכיון שעמדו אכה"ג החזירו הגדולה ליושנה

And when the men of the Great Synagogue arose, they restored the GREATNESS to its pristine state.

T. J. Berakoth vii. 4; Megillah III. 8.

In a parallel passage of the Babli (Joma 69 b) we find: "Why was their name called the men of the Great Synagogue? Because they restored the crown to its pristine state, *ישהחזירו עטרה ליושנה*, where the crown might refer to THE NAME, or to the Torah (Aboth iv. 19); but, as in the "Jerushalmi," the Scripture-proofs adduced favour the reading גדולה rather than עטרה. Their work, as suggested by their "Three Words" in Aboth i. 1, was to define, to teach, and to develope, the Law. Their first saying, "Be deliberate in judgment," is applied in Aboth R. N. I. to the gradual formation of the Canon. "At first it was said that PROVERBS, SONG OF SONGS, QOHELETH<sup>1</sup> were apocryphal, because they spoke *παραβολάς*, and that they were not of the Kethubim, until the men of the Great Synagogue arose and interpreted them." It is said that they "wrote down (כתבו) EZEKIEL, and the TWELVE (minor prophetic books), DANIEL, and MEGILLATH ESTHER" (Baba Bathra 15 a); and that they composed *inter alia* the "18 Benedictions" of the Jews' Prayer-Book. The Masorah also is attributed to them (Buxt. Tiber. Pt. I., cap. x.). Lastly, besides fixing the Canon it was necessary to "make a fence to the Torah": to surround it with a MARGIN of casuistry: to evolve the principles which underlay its words: to develope and apply its decrees, accommodating them to the varied requirements of the time.

<sup>1</sup> This book was long disputed, "QOHELETH does not defile the hands, according to Beth Shammai: but Beth Hillel say it defiles the hands" ('Edioth v. 3).

## EXCURSUS III.

### Antigonus. Zadok. Sadducee. (See i. 3, p. 13.)

1. According to a Jewish tradition, it was the saying of Antigonus, in Aboth i. 3, which gave rise to Sadduceism. The great authority for this view of the case is Aboth de-Rabbi Nathan, Chapter V. :

אנטיגנוס איש סוכו קבל משמעון הצדיק הֵהָאֵל אל תהיו כעבדים המיטמשין את הרב עֵמָּ לִקְבֵּל פֶּרֶם אֵלֶּא הָיוּ כְּעִבְרִים הַמִּיטְמָשִׁין אֶת הָרֵב שְׁלֵא עֵמָּ לִקְבֵּל פֶּרֶם וַיְהִי מוֹרָא שְׁמַיִם עֲלֵיכֶם כְּדִי שִׁיְהִיָּה שִׁכְרָכֶם כְּפֹל לַעֲתִיד לְבֹא. אֲנִיטִינֹס אִישׁ סוֹכּוֹ הָיוּ לוֹ שְׁנֵי תַלְמִידִים שֶׁהָיוּ שׁוֹנִין בְּדַבְּרָיו שׁוֹנִין הָיוּ לַתַּלְמִידִים וְתַלְמִידִים לַתַּלְמִידֵיהֶם עִמְדוּ וְדַקְדְּקוּ אַהֲרִיחֵן וְאָמְרוּ מַה רָאוּ אֲבוֹתֵינוּ לֹמַר אֲפֶשֶׁר שִׁיעֶשֶׂה פּוֹעֵל מְלֹאכָה כָּל הַיּוֹם וְלֹא יִטּוֹל שִׁכְרוֹ עֲרִבִית אֵלֶּא אֵלּוֹ יוֹדֵעִין אֲבוֹתֵינוּ שִׁישׁ הָעוֹלָם הֵבֵא וַיִּישׁ תַּחֲיִית הַמֵּתִים לֹא הָיוּ אוֹמְרֵי כֵךְ עִמְדוּ וּפְרִשׁוּ מִן הַתּוֹרָה וּנְפָרְצוּ מֵהֶם שְׁתֵּי פְרֻצוֹת צְדוֹקִין וּבֵייתוֹסִין. צְדוֹקִין עַל שֵׁם צְדוֹק בֵּייתוֹסִין עַל שֵׁם בֵּייתוֹס שֶׁהָיָה מִשְׁתַּמֵּיט בְּכָלִי בְּסָף וְכָלִי זָהָב בַּל יָמִיו לֹא הִיתָה דַעְתּוֹ גִּסָּה עֲלָיו אֵלֶּא צְדוֹקִין אוֹמְרֵי מַסּוּרָה בֵּית פְּרוּשִׁין שֶׁהָן מַצְעֲרִין עֲצָמָן בְּעוֹלָם הַזֶּה וּבְעוֹלָם הַבָּא אֵין לָהֶן כְּלוּם :

“Antigonus of Soko received from Shime'on ha-Çaddiq. He used to say, Be not as slaves that serve the Rab on the terms of receiving recompense; but be as slaves that serve the Rab not on the terms of receiving recompense; and let the fear of Heaven be upon you; that your reward may be doubled for the time to come.

Antigonus of Soko had two disciples, who repeated his words: and they repeated them to (their) disciples, and their disciples to their disciples. THEY AROSE, and refined after them, and said, What did our fathers imagine, in saying that a labourer might do work all the day and not receive his reward at evening? Nay, but if our fathers knew that there was the world to come, and that there was a revival of the dead, they would not have spoken thus. THEY AROSE and separated from the Thorah; and two sects were formed from them, Çaduqin and Baithusin; Çaduqin, after the name of Çadoq: Baithusin, after the name of Baithos, who was served in vessels of silver and vessels of gold all his days: his mind was not puffed up (or

<sup>1</sup> For a transcript of the above from a Bodleian MS. (No. 408, fol. 72) I am indebted to Dr Neubauer. [From שהיה to the end (al. ויהי כר) is a *tosefeth*, cf. Ab. R. N. p. 26 ed. Schechter. On *Das Trihüresion* see Graetz *Gesch. d. Juden* III. n. 10 (1878).]

were served all *their* days : *their* mind &c.) : but the Çaduqin said, The Pharisees have a tradition that they must worry themselves in this world ; and in the world to come there is naught for them."

The above, which is also cited in the 'Aruk, seems to represent Sadduceism &c. as having arisen from the perversion and misunderstanding of the saying of Antigonus, not immediately, but after the lapse of a considerable period. If, however, Çadoq and Baithus, or Boethus, were not the actual originators of the heresies in question, why were those heresies named after them? But Maimonides on Aboth i. 3, and 'Obadiah of Bertinoro on Jadaim iv. 6, describe Çadoq and Baithus as the actual heresiarchs. It is an open question whether Aboth R. N. v. embodies an authentic tradition, or a mere theory based upon an assumption that Judaism had been in the same phase of development from time immemorial, and that Sadduceism could never have been otherwise than reactionary.

## 2. *The Sadducees* "SONS OF ZADOK."

Geiger's theory<sup>1</sup> was that the Çadoqites were a sacerdotal conservative party, named after the Çadoq who anointed Solomon (1 Kings i. 39). Ezekiel several times speaks of the SONS OF ÇADOQ, בני צדק, and he expressly describes them as the priestly family κατ' ἐξοχήν, to the exclusion of other Levites : "And the Levites that are gone away far from me, when Israel went astray, which went astray away from me after their idols ; they shall even bear their iniquity...they shall not come near unto me, to do the office of a priest unto me...But I will make them keepers of the charge of the house, for all the service thereof, and for all that shall be done therein. But THE PRIESTS the Levites, THE SONS OF ZADOK<sup>2</sup>, that kept the charge of my sanctuary when the children of Israel went astray from me, they shall come near to me to minister unto me, and they shall stand before me to offer unto me the fat and the blood, saith the Lord God" (Ezek. xlv. 10—15). Passing on to the New Testament, we find the Sadducees mentioned in the Synoptic Gospels as opponents of the Pharisees : in St John's Gospel they are not mentioned at all, but the combination CHIEF PRIESTS and Pharisees (vii. 32, 45 ; xi. 47, 57 ; xviii. 3) occurs instead of Pharisees and SADDUCEES (Matt. iii. 7 ; xvi. 1—12 ; Acts xxiii. 7) ; and the identification of the Sadducees with the sacerdotal party seems to be completed by Acts v. 17, ἀναστὰς δὲ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ πάντες οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ, ἡ οὐσα αἵρεσις τῶν Σαδδουκαίων, κ.τ.λ. We see then that Çadoq was a venerable priestly name of the age of Solomon : that the sons of Çadoq were singled out as THE priestly line from the captivity and thenceforward ; and that the Çadoqites were still the priestly party in Apostolic times. Hence it may be granted

<sup>1</sup> *Urschrift* pp. 20 &c.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 2 Chron. xxxi. 9, 10 : "Then Hezekiah questioned with the priests and the Levites concerning the heaps. And Azariah THE CHIEF PRIEST OF THE HOUSE OF ZADOK answered him..."

that Geiger's theory is not devoid of probability, although on the other side it is urged, "that not a single trace of this supposed designation of **SONS OF ZADOK** occurs in the Jewish post-exile literature—which would be altogether inexplicable, had that name been in general use."

3. According to the last mentioned theory, Sadduceeism was of ancient growth: according to Aboth R. N. v. it was a comparatively modern phase of opinion. The two theories have been combined by supposing that the "Sadducees" belonged to the ancient Zadoq-party, but that their views were coloured at a later period by an infusion of GREEK thought.

#### 4. *The tenets of the SADDUCEES.*

The Sadducees said, *μη εἶναι ἀνάστασιν* (Matt. xxii. 23), and our Lord answers by an indirect argument from the Pentateuch<sup>1</sup>, instead of bringing proofs of a more obvious and direct kind from other parts of Holy Scripture. Hence it has been inferred that they accepted the Pentateuch only, and rejected the Nebiim and Kethubim. On the other side it is asserted that this inference is wholly inaccurate: that they accepted the three divisions of the Old Testament, and rejected only the extra-Scriptural "Tradition," and scribe-law. The truth, perhaps, lies *in medio*. The Jews in general esteemed, and still esteem, the Pentateuch more highly than the Prophets and the Hagiographa:

ולכך אני אומ' שנקראו נביאים וכתובים דברי קבלה שהיו מקובלין [בהן]  
ובאין מימות משה ומכל מקום אינן שוין לחמשה ספרים שכולן מצות וחוקים כו':

"And therefore I say that the **PROPHETS** and **HAGIOGRAPHA** are called words of **QABBALAH**, because they were received by *διαδοχή*, and they came from the days of Moses; and by no means are they equal to the **FIVE BOOKS**, which are all precepts and ordinances, &c."

If the Sadducees were of the number of those who insisted most strongly upon the superior authority of the Pentateuch, it might in certain cases be nearer to the truth to say that they rejected the Prophets and Hagiographa than to say that they accepted them. If a Prophet were quoted in opposition to Moses, they would have questioned the authority of the Prophet. For an example of such contrariety see Makkoth 24 a:

א"ר יוסי בר חנינא ארבעה גזרות נזר משה רבינו על ישראל באו ארבעה  
נביאים וביטלום כו':

"Said R. Jose bar Chanina, Four **נזרות** pronounced Moses our Lord upon Israel: four prophets came and made them void<sup>3</sup>. Moses said (Deut. xxxiii. 28), Israel then shall dwell in safety...Amos (vii. 5), Cease, I beseech Thee, &c. Moses said (Deut. xxviii. 65), And among these nations

<sup>1</sup> For illustrations, see Lightfoot's *Hor. Hebr.* on Matt. xxii. 32; Joh. iv. 25.

<sup>2</sup> See col. 2 of the commentary on **ABOTH** in the MS. A†. A omits בהן [In Machsor Vitry 462<sub>15</sub> ed. Hurwitz read משה for ירושע.]

<sup>3</sup> *Νόμον οὖν καταργοῦμεν* (= בטל) *διὰ τῆς πίστεως*; (Rom. iii. 31).

thou shalt find no rest : Jeremiah (xxxi. 2), Israel, when I went to cause him to rest. Moses said (Exod. xx. 5), *Visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children* : Ezekiel (xviii. 20), *The soul that sinneth, it shall die*. Moses said (Lev. xxvi. 38), And ye shall perish among the heathen : Isaiah (xxvii. 13), And it shall come to pass in that day, that the great trumpet shall be blown..."

It would follow that a party answering more or less closely to the description of the Sadducees must have existed, under some name or other, before the times of Antigonus, if we might assume that there was a time at which the Pentateuch was the whole BIBLE, and the other books had not as yet been fully recognised as canonical ; but their comparative depreciation of the other books would have a tendency to diminish in course of time, when these had once been generally received into the Canon. "The Sadducees," writes Josephus (*Ant.* XIII. 10. 6), "are able to persuade none but the rich, and have not the populace obsequious to them." Their influence was on the wane, and it received a fatal blow in the destruction of Jerusalem. Their power as a sacerdotal oligarchy then vanished, and in after times the name Sadducee was freely used (p. 40) as a synonym for a heretic, regarded as one who *receded* from an acknowledged standard of orthodoxy.

#### 5. *The Books of the Sadducees.*

a. We have no authentic remains of Sadducee literature ; but it has been suggested, with a certain plausibility, that the book ECCLESIASTICUS approximates to the standpoint of the primitive Çaduqin, as regards its theology, its sacerdotalism, and its want of sympathy with the *modern* Soferim. The name of EZRA is significantly omitted from its catalogue of worthies : "It remains singular," remarks Kuenen, "that the man whom a later generation compared, nay made almost equal, to Moses, is passed over in silence...Is it not really most natural that a Jesus ben Sirach did not feel sympathy enough for the first of the Scribes, to give him a place of honour in the series of Israel's great men?" The modern SCRIBE was to Ben Sirach an unworthy descendant of the primitive WISE, in accordance with Eli'ezer ha-Gadol's lament over the degeneracy of a later age :

מיום שחרב בית המקדש שרו חכימא למהוי כספריא כו' :

"Ex quo Templum devastatum est<sup>1</sup>, cœpere SAPIENTES similes esse SCRIBIS ; Scribæ ædituis ; Æditui, vulgo hominum ; Vulgus vero hominum in pejus indies ruit, nec quis rogans, aut quærens, superest. Cui ergo imitendum ? Patri nostro cœlesti."

b. In Sanhedrin 100 b, the BOOKS OF SADDUCEES, and the BOOK OF BEN SIRACH, are placed side by side on the *Index expurgatorius* :

תנא בספרי צדוקים רב יוסף אמר בכפר בן סורא נמי אסיר למיקרי :

<sup>1</sup> MISHNAH, Sotah IX. 15 (Surenhusius, Vol. III. p. 308). א reads תלמידא, for תלמידיא, עניא, for דאיעא, &c. See fol. 100 b.

## EXCURSUS IV.

### Qeriyath Shema'. The Decalogue. (See II. 17, p. 38.)

1. The **Shema'**, or **Audi**, is a portion of Scripture which commences: "**Hear**, O Israel, &c."; and is commonly understood to comprise the following passages :

DEUTERONOMY vi. 4—9 :

Hear, O Israel: The LORD our God *is* one LORD<sup>1</sup>: And thou shalt love the LORD thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might. And these words, which I command thee this day, shall be in thine heart: And thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children, and shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up. And thou shalt bind them for a sign upon thine hand, and they shall be as frontlets between thine eyes. And thou shalt write them upon the posts of thy house, and on thy gates.

DEUTERONOMY xi. 13—21 :

And it shall come to pass, if ye shall hearken diligently unto my commandments which I command you this day, to love the LORD your God, and to serve him with all your heart and with all your soul, That I will give *you* the rain of your land in his due season, the first rain and the latter rain, that thou mayest gather in thy corn, and thy wine, and thine oil. And I will send grass in thy fields for thy cattle, that thou mayest eat and be full. Take heed to yourselves, that your heart be not deceived, and ye turn aside, and serve other gods, and worship them; And *then* the LORD's wrath be kindled against you, and he shut up the heaven, that there be no rain, and that the land yield not her fruit; and *lest* ye perish quickly from off the good land which the LORD giveth you. Therefore shall ye lay up these my words in your heart and in your soul, and bind them for a sign upon your hand, that they may be as frontlets between your eyes. And ye shall teach them your children, speaking of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, when thou liest down, and when thou risest up. And thou shalt write them upon the door-posts of thine house, and upon thy gates: That your days may be multiplied, and the days of your children, in the land which the LORD sware unto your fathers to give them, as the days of heaven upon the earth.

<sup>1</sup> The Authorized Version gives an impossible construction, as is at once seen when "LORD" is replaced by the יהוה of the original. Read,  $\Upsilon\eta\upsilon\eta$  is  $\sigma\alpha\epsilon$ , or sole, comparing Zech. xiv. 9.

NUMBERS xv. 37—41 :

And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto the children of Israel, and bid them that they make them fringes in the borders of their garments throughout their generations, and that they put upon the fringe of the borders a ribband of blue : And it shall be unto you for a fringe, that ye may look upon it, and remember all the commandments of the LORD, and do them ; and that ye seek not after your own heart and your own eyes, after which ye use to go a whoring : That ye may remember, and do all my commandments, and be holy unto your God. I *am* the LORD your God, which brought you out of the land of Egypt, to be your God : I *am* the LORD your God.

But the *first* of the above passages is the שמע proper : the *second* is called, from its commencement, וְהָיָה אִם שָׁמַע, and the *third*, פְּרִשְׁתָּ צִיצִית, or וַיֹּאמֶר. The order of the three is accounted for in Berakoth II. 2, “Said R. Jehoshua‘ ben Qorehah, Why does שמע come before וְהָיָה אִם שָׁמַע?—why but that one may RECEIVE UPON HIM THE YOKE OF THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN<sup>1</sup> first, and after that receive upon him the yoke of the commandments? And וְהָיָה אִם שָׁמַע before וַיֹּאמֶר because the former is employed day and night, and the latter only in the daytime.”

The opening words of the Audi are written with two *literæ majusculæ*,

שָׁמַע יִשְׂרָאֵל יְהוָה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְהוָה אֶחָד :

which have been accounted for in various ways<sup>2</sup>. But it was obviously intended that the syllables which they conclude should be pronounced with the utmost clearness and emphasis ; and that the copyist should be guarded against all possibility of error, especially as regards the Daleth, since, as it is said at the beginning of Midrash Thanchuma, “If thou make Daleth into Resh thou destroyest the whole world, for it is said (Ex. xxxiv. 14), בִּי לֹא תִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה לֵאלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים, For thou shalt worship no *other* God.”

They cool the flames of hell (p. 38) for him who reads the AUDI ומדקדק באותיותיה. And what is this *diqduq othiyoth*? it is the distin-

<sup>1</sup> The above is a common expression (cf. p. 54) for reciting the AUDI, which contains an acknowledgement of the sole kingship of YHVH. Let a man, when he has cleansed himself, lay his Tefillin, and recite the Audi, and pray. This is the “*complete kingdom of Heaven*,” מַלְכוּת שָׁמַיִם שְׁלִימָה, (Berakoth 15 a).

<sup>2</sup> For other meanings which have been assigned to the two large letters in the Shema‘, see BA‘AL HA-TURIM *in loc.*, and Buxt. TIBERIAS, Pt. 1, Chap. xiv. The two together make the word ‘ED, *witness*, and indicate that, if Israel are not God’s witnesses (Is. xliii. 10 ; xlv. 8), He will be a quick witness against them (Mic. i. 2 ; Mal. iii. 5, &c.). Taken separately they indicate that יְהוָה is the One God in the 7 quarters of the earth, and over its 7 (=70) nations, all of whom are summoned to hear (Is. xxxiv. 1): that Israel has 7 names: the Torah 7 “*faces*,” aspects, or interpretations, &c.

guishing clearly between the lameds in בכל לבבכם, or between *mem* and *mem* in ואברתם מהרה, &c. (Debarim Rabbah II.).

2. *The DECALOGUE embodied in the SHEMA'.*

שעשרת הדברות הן הן נופה של שמע:

T. J. Berakoth I. 8 [al. 5].

In St Mark's Gospel (xii. 29) the opening words of the AUDI are said to constitute the πρώτη ἐντολή, which, according to note 36, p. 56, comprises all the precepts of the Thorah. In the Jerusalem Talmud, *loc. cit.*, the several Λόγοι or Ῥήματα of the Decalogue are discovered in the Shema' :

"Why do they read these two (?) sections every day? R. Simon said, Because there is written in them, 'lying down,' and 'rising up.' R. Levi said, Because the Ten Words are contained in them:

(i) *I, YHVH, am thy God.*

*Hear, O Israel, YHVH is our God*  
(Deut. vi. 4).

(ii) *Thou shalt have no other gods but ME.*

*YHVH is One* (Deut. vi. 4).

(iii) *Thou shalt not take the Name of YHVH thy God in vain.*

*And thou shalt love YHVH thy God* (Deut. vi. 5): he who loves the King will not swear by his Name, and lie.

(iv) *Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy.*

*That ye may remember, &c.* (Num. xv. 40): R. says, This is the Sabbath precept, which counterpoises all the precepts of the Thorah, for it is written (Neh. ix. 14), And madest known unto them thy holy Sabbath, and commandedst them precepts, and statutes, and Thorah—shewing that it counterpoises all the precepts of the Thorah.

(v) *Honour thy father and thy mother.*

*That your days may be multiplied, and the days of your children* (Deut. xi. 21).

(vi) *Thou shalt do no murder.*

*And lest ye perish quickly* (Deut. xi. 17): he that slays is slain.

(vii) *Thou shalt not commit adultery.*

*And that ye seek not after your own heart and your own eyes* (Num. xv. 39): Said R. Levi, The heart and the eye are two negotiators of sin. It is written (Prov. xxiii. 26), My son, give me thine heart, and let thine eyes observe my ways: the Holy One, blessed is He, saith, If thou hast given me thy heart and thine eye, I know that thou art MIXE.

(viii) *Thou shalt not steal.*

*That thou mayest gather in thy corn* (Deut. xi. 14): thy corn, and not thy neighbour's corn.

(ix) *Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.*

*I, יהוה, am your God* (Num. xv. 41). And it is written, *יהוה אמת* (Jer. x. 10). What means *אמת* (*Truth*)? R. Abuhu said, That He is a living God, and King of the world. R. Levi said, The Holy One, Blessed is He, saith, If thou hast witnessed false witness against thy neighbour, I impute it unto thee as if thou hadst witnessed against Me, that I created not heaven and earth.

(x) *Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house.*

*And thou shalt write them upon the door posts of thine house* (Deut. xi. 20): thine house, and not thy neighbour's house."

### 3. *The public daily reading of the DECALOGUE discontinued.*

It may interest the Liturgiologist to notice that the daily recital of the Decalogue is said, in both Talmuds, to have been at one time customary, and to have been discontinued later for anti-christian reasons.

T. J. BERAKOTH I. 8 [*al.* 5]:

בדין הוה שיהו קורין עשרת הדברות בכל יום ומפני מה אין קורין אותן מפני טענת המינין שלא יהו אומ' אלו לבד' ניתנו לו למשה בסנין :

"Of right they should read the Ten Words every day. And on account of what do they not read them? on account of the cavilling of the heretics, so that they might not say, These only were given to Moses on Sinai."

T. B. BERAKOTH 12a :

וקורין עשרת הדברות שמע והיה אם שמוע ויאמר אמת ויציב ועבודה וברכת כהנים אמר רב יהודה אמר שמואל אף בגבולין בקישו לקרות כן אלא שכבר בטלום מפני תרעומת המינין תניא נמי הכי רבי נתן אומר בגבולין בקשו לקרות כן אלא שכבר בטלום מפני תרעומת המינין רבה בב"ה סבר למקבעינהו בכורא אמר ליה רב חסדא כבר בטלום מפני תרעומת המינין אמר סבר למקבעינהו בנהרדעא א"ל רב אשי כבר בטלום מפני תרעומת המינין :

"And they read the Ten Words, and Shema', &c. Said Rab Jehudah, Said Shemuel, In the provinces also they sought to read them, only that

they had already stopped them on account of the murmuring of the heretics..."

#### 4. *The division of the so-called TEN COMMANDMENTS.*

The choice is generally supposed to lie between the present Anglican, and the Roman, mode of dividing the Decalogue; but "An arrangement, probably of very early date, unlike either of these, is found in the common text of the Targum of Palestine, and has been adopted by Maimonides, Aben-Ezra, and other Jewish authorities down to the present day. The First *Word* is identified with, *I am the LORD thy God which brought thee out of the land of Egypt* (which cannot of course be properly called a *Commandment*), and the second *Word* is made...to include what is divided in our Prayer Book into the First and Second Commandments. The subject-matter itself seems to suggest grave and obvious objections to (this arrangement). There is a clear distinction between polytheism and idolatry which entitles each to a distinct commandment." (*Speaker's Commentary*, Ex. xx. 21.)

But (a) the latter objection to the Hebrew division—however true the remark may be in itself—is not confirmed by the language of the Pentateuch<sup>1</sup>; and (b) the former likewise, which is based upon the use of the word 'Commandment,' is seen to be of little force when it is noticed that the original רַבֵּר is not adequately represented by *Commandment* or ἐπιτολή. The latter is the rendering of מִצְוָה, a term which is not specially<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The second *Word*, taken as above, runs thus: "There shall not be to thee אלהים אחרים beside Me—(thou shalt not make unto thee a graven image, &c.)—thou shalt not BOW DOWN TO THEM, nor serve them; for I, יהוה, thy God, am a JEALOUS GOD, &c." It is unnatural to cut off the statement, "For I...am a jealous God," from its relation to the "other Elohim," to whom it is forbidden in express terms to "bow down." Compare Ex. xxxiv. 14, which illustrates this view in the most striking way: *בי לא תשתחווה לאל אחר כי יהוה קנא שמו אל קנא הוא*. In like manner Deut. vi. 14, 15 forbids to "go after OTHER GODS"... "for the Lord thy God is a JEALOUS GOD." The assumed distinction between the Elohim and the images which are forbidden in the second *Word*, is overthrown by their identification in ver. 23 of the very same chapter of Exodus which contains the Decalogue: "Ye shall not make with me GODS OF SILVER, neither shall ye make unto you GODS OF GOLD." Compare: "Up, make us gods...These be thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt...And MOSES returned unto the Lord and said, Oh, this people have sinned a great sin, and have made them GODS OF GOLD" (Ex. xxxii. 1, 4, 8, 23, 31). "Thou shalt make thee no molten gods" (Ex. xxxiv. 17). The value of Philo's testimony—which is adduced (see Suicer *Thesaurus s. v. Δεκάλογος*) in favour of the distinction between the Elohim and the images—must be allowed to be somewhat reduced by his known predilection for refinements.

<sup>2</sup> But amongst the 613 Commandments, the First, Second, &c. "Words" are reckoned. See Excursus I. § 3. The root ירה is also used in the Bible in relation to the Ten Words, but not directly of them.

applied to the DECALOGUE. The Jews do not speak of "The Ten Commandments," but of "The ten דברים" (Ex. xxxiv. 28, &c.) or עשרת הדברות; and they regard אנכי not merely as a separate one of THE TEN WORDS, or Divine utterances, but as the greatest of them all.

In favour of the Hebrew division may be cited :

(1) T. J. Berakoth i. 8. See above, § 2.

(2) Targum 'Jonathan,' Ex. xx. 2, 3. [Notice the readings in "Machsor Vitry" ed. Hurwitz p. 337.]

דבירא קרמאה כד הוה נפיק מן פום קודשא יהי שמיה מברך הי כזיקין והי כברקין והי כשלחובין דינור למפד דינור מן ימיניה ולמפד דאישא מן שמאליה פרה וטייס באויר שמיא וחזר ומתחמי על משירתהון דישראל וחזר ומתחקק על לוחי קיימא דהוון יהיבין בכף ידוי דמשה ומתהפיך בהון מן סטר לסטר ובכין צווח ואמר עמי בני ישראל אנא הוא אלהכון די פרקית ואפיקית יתכון פריקין מן ארעא דמצראי מן בית שעבוד עבדיא :

דבירא תניינא כד הוה נפיק כו' הוה צווח ואמר עמי בית ישראל לא יהוי לך אלהא אוחרן בר מיני :

"The First Word, when it had gone forth from the mouth of the Holy One, blessed be his Name, was like sparks, and lightnings, and flames of fire; a torch of fire was on its right hand, and a torch of flame on its left hand: it flew and hovered in the air of the heavens, and returned and was seen over the encampments of Israel; and returned and graved itself upon the tables of the covenant which were given into the hands of Moses; and turned itself upon them from side to side, and cried out thus, and said, My people, sons of Israel, I am your God, who freed you, and brought you out freed from the land of the Egyptians, from the bondage-house of slaves."

"The Second Word, when it had gone forth...cried and said, My people, house of Israel, there shall not be to thee another God, beside Me."

(3) Jalqut i. 2. [Othioth de R. 'Aqiba, p. 55 b, Warsaw 1885.]

"And whence is it that Aleph is called One? because it is said (Deut. xxxii. 30), איכה ירדה אחד אלף. And whence is it that ha-Qadosh, blessed is He, is called One? because it is said (Deut. vi. 4), Hear, &c. יהוה אחד. And whence is it that the Thorah is called One? because it is said (Num. xv. 29), תורה אחת יהיה לכם. אנכי (is at the) head of all the דברות, and Aleph (is at the) head of all the letters, ואלף ראש כל הדברות ואלף ראש כל האותיות:"

(4) Midrash Chazitha (Cant. v. 11).

"For twenty-six generations was the letter Aleph making complaint before the Holy One, blessed is He: LORD of the world, Thou hast set me

at the head of the letters, and didst not create the world by me, but by Beth, for it is said, בְּרֵאשִׁית God created the heaven and the earth. The Holy One, blessed is He, said to it, My world and its fulness were not created but by the merit of Thorah (Prov. iii. 19). To-morrow I shall be revealed, and shall give the Thorah to Israel, and I will set thee at the beginning of all the דְּבָרוֹת, and will open with thee first."

(5) Mekiltha, מִס' דְּבָהֲרֵשׁ ה'; Jalqut i. 299.

"How were the TEN WORDS given? five on this Table, and five on that. (i) There was written, *I, YHVH, am thy God*; and opposite to it, *Thou shalt do no murder*. The Scripture shews that, whosoever sheds blood, the Scripture imputes to him as if he diminished THE LIKENESS of the King. A parable of a king of flesh and blood, who entered into a province, and they set up effigies, and made images, and sunk dies to him. After a time, they overturned his effigies, shattered his images, and effaced his dies, and they 'diminished the likeness' of the king. So, whosoever sheds blood, the Scripture imputes to him as if he diminished THE LIKENESS of the King, for it is said (Gen. ix. 6), Whoso sheddeth man's blood, &c. (ii) It was written, *Thou shalt have no other, &c.*; and it was written opposite to it, *Thou shalt not commit adultery*. The Scripture shews that, whosoever practises strange worship, the Scripture imputes to him as if he committed adultery from God, for it is said (Ezek. xvi. 32), As a wife that committeth adultery, which taketh strangers instead of her husband. And it is written (Hos. iii. 1), Then said the Lord unto me, Go yet, love a woman beloved of her friend, and an adulteress, &c. (iii) It was written, *Thou shalt not take the Name of the Lord thy God in vain*; and opposite to it was written, *Thou shalt not steal*. It shews that whosoever steals will at last come to false swearing, for it is said (Jer. vii. 9), Will ye steal, murder, and commit adultery, and swear falsely? And it is written (Hos. iv. 2), By swearing, and lying, and killing, and stealing, and committing adultery. (iv) It was written, *Remember that thou keep holy the sabbath day*; and opposite to it was written, *Thou shalt not bear false witness*. The Scripture shews that whosoever profanes the sabbath witnesses before Him who spake, and the world was, that He did not create his world in six days, and did not rest on the seventh; and whosoever keeps the sabbath witnesses before Him who spake, and the world was, that He created his world in six days, and rested on the seventh, for it is said (Is. xliii. 10), Ye are my witnesses, saith the Lord. (v) It is written, *Honour thy father and thy mother*; and opposite to it is written, *Thou shalt not covet*. The Scripture shews that whosoever 'covets,' at last begets a son that curses his father and his mother, and honours one who is not his father. Therefore were the TEN WORDS given, five on this Table, and five on that. So says R. Chanina ben Gamliel. And the wise say, Ten on this Table, and ten on that Table, for it is said (Deut. v. 22), These words the Lord spake, &c. and He wrote them in two Tables of stone."

The above examples will suffice to shew that the present Hebrew division of the Decalogue is not without "adequate authority." According to Josephus (Suicer i. 831) the First Word *teaches* ὅτι θεός ἐστὶν εἷς, καὶ τοῦτον σέβεισθαι μόνον, and the Second Word *commands* μηδενὸς εἰκόνα ζώου ποιήσαντας προσκυνεῖν. This arrangement, as regards the Second Word, is preferred by many Christians on the ground that it more distinctly forbids image-worship. But it is open to the objection that it seems to admit the existence of real "other gods," who are not to be classed with elflm, or idols proper, like "all the gods of the nations" in Psalm xvi. 5 (p. 120).

[According to the Mekhilta, the Words on the two Tables respectively (Ex. xx. 2—12, 13—17) were or commenced :

כבד.	זכור.	לא תשא.	לא יהיה.	אנכי.
לא תחמר.	לא תענה.	לא תנבב.	לא תנאף.	לא תרצה.

Thus each of the five Words on the first Table and none on the second mentions יהוה אלהיך "the LORD thy God." In the Midrash לקה טוב or "Pesikta Sutarta" of R. Tobiah ben Eliezer (II. p. 139 ed. Buber, Wilna 1880) there is a plan of the two Tables with the Ten Words written briefly as above, five on each.

Philo (*De Decalogo & Quis r. d. Haeres?*), Josephus (*Ant.* III. 6), and Irenaeus (II. 36 ed. Harvey) likewise divide the Ten Words into two Fives, the former of which, according to Philo, is the ἀμείνων πεντάς. This, he says, begins *a Deo patre* and *desinit in parentes qui ad illius imitationem gignunt particulariter* (Suicer 832). In Qiddushin 30 b the honour of parents is likened to that of God, and it is said, as also in Niddah 31 a, that *three are* יותפין בארם *partners in the making of a man*, the Holy One (who contributes the breath of life) and the father and the mother.

On the Ten Words see also Friedmann's edition of the "Pesikta Rabbati," 98 b—125 b (Wien 1880), noticing the comparison of them to the Ten Sayings by which the world was created (108 a).]

## EXCURSUS V.

### The Lord's Prayer. (See v. 30, p. 95.)

The expressions and ideas of the Lord's Prayer (Matt. vi. 9—13, cf. Luke xi. 2—4) may be illustrated from the Rabbinic writings, and for the most part they rest ultimately on the Old Testament itself.

Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς<sup>1</sup>] "Is not he thy Father?" (Deut. xxxii. 6). "Doubtless thou art our Father...thy Name is from everlasting" (Is. lxiii. 16; lxiv. 8). Both אבינו alone and אבינו שבשמים are found in Jewish forms of Prayer. [See *The Authorised Daily Prayer Book of the United Hebrew Congregations of the British Empire* edited by Mr Singer.]

"R. Ele'azar ben 'Azariah expounded, That ye may be clean from all your *sins* before the Lord (Lev. xvi. 30); transgressions between a man and הַא־מַצּוֹמ the day of expiation expiates: transgressions between a man and his fellow the day of expiation expiates not, until he reconcile his fellow. Said R. 'Aqiba, Happy are ye, Israel; before whom do ye purify yourselves? Who purifies you? YOUR FATHER WHICH IS IN HEAVEN" (Joma VIII. 9).

"On whom have we to lean? on OUR FATHER WHICH IS IN HEAVEN" (Sotah IX. 15).

... to do the will of thy Father which is in Heaven (Aboth v. 30).

ἀγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου] The NAME of God is an especially Hebraic expression (p. 67), and it is often used to avoid express mention of God. Cf. מִשְׁכַּן שְׁמֶךָ (Ps. lxxiv. 7). 'Holiness' is an attribute of God's Name in the Bible *passim*. "Neither shall ye profane my holy Name; but I will be hallowed among the children of Israel: I am the Lord which hallow you" (Lev. xxii. 32). "They shall SANCTIFY MY NAME, and sanctify the Holy One of Jacob, and shall fear the God of Israel" (Is. xxix. 23). "And I will sanctify my great Name, which was profaned among the heathen" (Ezek. xxxvi. 23).

"Any benediction which is without mention of הַא־שֵׁימ (i.e. יהוה) is no benediction at all" (Berakoth 40 b).

ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου] The coming of the KINGDOM, and the sanctifying of the NAME, are brought together in some passages of the Old Testament, thus: "And the Lord shall be king over all the earth: in that day shall there be one<sup>2</sup> Lord, and HIS NAME<sup>3</sup> one" (Zech. xiv. 9).

<sup>1</sup> In St Luke *l.c.* Westcott and Hort omit ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, and the petitions γενηθήτω κ.τ.λ., ἀλλὰ ῥῆσαι κ.τ.λ.

<sup>2</sup> Or "ΥΗΥΗ shall be ONE."

<sup>3</sup> The Qabbalists equate שְׁמֵי to רַצְיָן by Gematria.

“Any benediction which is without MALKUTH (kingdom—mention of God as KING) is no benediction at all” (Berakoth 40 b).

γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημα σου, ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς] “Whatsoever the Lord pleased, that did he in heaven, and in earth” (Ps. cxxxv. 6).

“And what is this ‘oratio brevis’? R. El. said, Do thy will in heaven above, and give rest of spirit to them that fear Thee *beneath* [Tosefta Zuek. p. 72 בִּרְאֵרָא on earth]; and do what is good in thine eyes. Blessed art Thou, O Lord, that hearest prayer” (Berakoth 29 b).

On the correspondence between the heavenly and the earthly, see p. 50. Cf. Matt. xvi. 19; xviii. 10, 18; Luke xv. 10. “May it be thy will, O Lord, our God<sup>1</sup>, to make peace in the family above, and in the family below” (Berakoth 16 b—17 a).

τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον<sup>2</sup>] This petition, addressed to Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, corresponds to Ex. xvi. 4: “Behold, I will rain BREAD FROM HEAVEN for you; and the people shall go out and gather **יוֹם בְּיוֹם** רֶבֶר יוֹם, τὸ τῆς ἡμέρας εἰς ἡμέραν, A CERTAIN RATE EVERY DAY.” The occurrence of several allusions (Ps. lxxviii. 24; cv. 40; Nehem. ix. 15; Sap. Sol. xvi. 20; &c.) to the corn, or bread, of heaven makes it sufficiently probable *a priori* that the Lord’s Prayer also should have some reference to the giving of the manna. Compare Joh. vi. 32: “Verily, verily, I say unto you, Moses gave you not that bread from heaven; but MY FATHER GIVETH YOU the true BREAD FROM HEAVEN”; and notice that in Sap. Sol. xvi. 27—28 the gathering of the manna is associated with prayer and thanksgiving, “For that which was not destroyed of the fire, being warmed with a little sunbeam, soon melted away (Ex. xvi. 21): That it might be known, that we must prevent the sun to give thee thanks, and at the day-spring **pray unto Thee.**”

The expression **יוֹם בְּיוֹם** רֶבֶר—which is found again in 2 Kings xxv. 30, Jer. lii. 34, Dan. i. 5—is discussed in Mekilta פ' ויסע פ"ב מ"ס (Jalqut i. 258) on Ex. xvi. 4:

“From heaven: from the good treasure of heaven, for it is said (Deut. xxviii. 12), The Lord shall open unto thee his good treasure, the heaven. Rabban Shime'on ben Gamliel said, Come and see how beloved were Israel before ΠΑ-ΜΑΘΩΜ! and because they were beloved before him he changed on their account the order of nature: he made for them the lower upper, and the upper lower. Hitherto the bread had come up from the earth, and the dew down from heaven, for it is said (Deut. xxxiii. 28), A land of corn and wine; also his heavens shall drop down dew. But now the things are changed: the bread comes down from heaven, and the dew ascends from the earth, for it is written, *I will rain bread from heaven for you*, and it is written (ver. 14) ותעל שכבת הטל.

And the people shall go out and gather:—not that they were to go

<sup>1</sup> יהי רצון מלפניך ה' אלהינו שתשים שלום בפמליא של מעלה ובפמליא של מטה.

<sup>2</sup> Or...δίδου ἡμῖν τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν (Luke xi. 3).

out to the enclosures and gather, but they were to go out to the *ερημοι* and gather.

**A certain rate every day:** Rabbi Jehoshua<sup>a</sup> said, *So that a man should gather on the day for the morrow, as on sabbath ere for sabbath.* R. El. ha-Moda'i said, *So that a man should not gather on the day for the morrow, as on sabbath ere for sabbath,* for it is said, *דבר יום ביומו*, matter of a day in its day<sup>1</sup>. He who created the day created its provision (*פרנסתו*). Hence R. El. ha-Moda'i said, *Whosoever has what to eat to-day, and says, What shall I eat to-morrow? lo! such an one is wanting in faith, for it is said, That I may prove him, whether he will walk in my law, or not.* Rabbi Jehoshua<sup>a</sup> said, *If a man studies two canons at morning, and two at evening, and attends to his business all the day, they reckon to him as if he fulfilled the whole Torah altogether.* Hence Rabbi Shime'on ben Jochai used to say,

לא נתנה תורה לדרוש אלא לאוכלי המן

*Thorah was not given to search into, except to the eaters of the manna.*

How? Can a man sit and search, and not know whence he is to eat and to drink, and whence to be clad and covered (Matt. vi. 31)? The Torah was not given to search into, except to the eaters of the manna; and second to them are (the priests,) the eaters of the Therumah.<sup>2</sup>

*On the meaning of ἐπιούσιος.*

The stricter etymological view requires that ἐπιούσιος should be derived from ἐπιέναι, rather than from ἐπείναι. The much controverted derivation from ἐπιέναι through the medium of ἡ ἐπιούσα ἡμέρα may be said to be *prima facie* less simple than one which refers the word more directly to its assumed root. But it is proposed here merely to illustrate the more direct interpretation of ἐπιούσιος from a Hebrew standpoint.

L. DE DIEU, according to *Poli Synopsis*, gives the explanation:

“Panis ἐπιούσιος est panis *succedaneus*, hoc est, qui pani jam absumpto succedit, et ut succedat, natura corporis postulat.”

According to this view, ἄρτος ἐπιούσιος is לחמא לחמא לחמא לחמא, תדירא, or לחם תמיד, bread which is successive or continual. It is natural to pray πάντοτε [תמיד] δὸς ἡμῖν τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον (Joh. vi. 34): “Let thy lovingkindness and thy truth יצרוני תמיד, continually<sup>2</sup> preserve me” (Ps. xl. 12); and, at the same time, to pray that in each day so much

<sup>1</sup> The manna was gathered in the morning to supply the needs of the on-coming day. It was given “with a bright countenance,” in the light, because it was prayed for rightly; whereas the quails were given “with a dark countenance,” and in the darkness, because they were not prayed for rightly. See Mekiltha, and Rashi, on Ex. xvi. 8, 21.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *היום ובכל יום* in the prayer cited below from Berakoth 60 b (p. 129).

only may be given as is needed for that day. Compare: "And he did eat bread continually [תמיר] before him all the days of his life. And his allowance was a continual allowance given him of the king, a daily rate for every day, all the days of his life" (2 Kings xxv. 29—30, Jer. lii. 34), Ex. xxix. 38, Numb. xxviii. 3, Is. lii. 5. [Aboth III. 25 "continually every day."]

[Notice in the *Birkath ha-Mazon* "And by His great goodness *continually* hath food not failed us, and may it not fail us for ever and ever for His great name's sake...We thank Thee...for the food wherewith Thou dost feed and sustain us *continually every day* ועבכל עת ובכל יום," and compare Auth. P. B. p. 37 "Who...in Thy goodness renewest the creation *every day continually*," ib. 232 "and to such as are hungry and thirsty give bread and water unfailingly," Heb. לתת לחמם ומים נאמנים," give their bread and water sure (Is. xxxiii. 16). Cureton (*Remains of a very antient recension of the Four Gospels in Syriac*, 1858) renders the Old Syriac ...ולחמן נאמניא of Matt. vi. 11 "And our bread constant of the day give us," comparing Num. iv. 7 התמיר Syr. *aminoith*. See also Dict. of Bible art. *Syr. Versions* by S. P. T. (1863).]

καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλήματα ἡμῶν, ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφήκαμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν] The principle, "As thou hast done, it shall be done unto thee" (Obadiah 15), is fully accepted by the Rabbis, and pervades their literature. See p. 31. Ἄφες ἀδικημα τῷ πλησίον σου, καὶ τότε δεηθέντος σου αἰ ἁμαρτίαι σου λυθήσονται (Ecclus. xxviii. 1—5).

"May it be Thy will, O Lord, my God, and God of my fathers, that I may not be harsh with my companions, nor my companions be harsh with me. That we may not make defiled the pure, nor make pure the defiled. That we may not BIND THE LOOSE, NOR LOOSE THE BOUND, that I should be shamed for this *aiōn*, and for the *aiōn* to come<sup>1</sup> (T. J. Berakoth iv. 2).

"May it be Thy will... that hatred of us may not come into the heart of man, nor hatred of man come into our heart; and that envy of us may not come into the heart of man, nor envy of man come into our heart: and may Thy Thorah be our work all the days of our life, and may our words be תהננים before Thee" (T. J. *loc. cit.*).

καὶ μὴ εἰσενεγκῆς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν] The word *πειρασμός* is used in the New Testament to denote outward and physical, no less than inward and spiritual, trials. The words למען אנסנו in Ex. xvi. 4 are an additional connecting link between that verse and the Lord's Prayer. The Jews' Morning Prayer (cf. Berakoth 60 b) has the petition ואל תביאנו...לידי נסיון.

"Said Rab, Never should a man bring himself into the hands of temptation; for behold David, King of Israel, brought himself into the hands

<sup>1</sup> Καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος δὲ ἰσχυρῶς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἔσται δεδεμένος ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς (Matt. xvi. 19). Lightfoot illustrates the common Hebrew expressions *bind*, *loose* by "a double dead" of examples. The example in the text is noteworthy on account of its allusion to the two worlds.

of temptation, and stumbled : he said...(Ps. xxvi. 2) Examine me, O Lord, and PROVE ME" (Sanhedrin 107 a).

ἀλλὰ ρύσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ] *But deliver us from the evil.* It is disputed whether THE EVIL is ὁ πονηρός (1 Joh. v. 18, &c.), or τὸ πονηρόν. Compare 2 Thess. iii. 3 ; 2 Tim. iv. 18 *ῥύσεται με ὁ Κύριος ἀπὸ παντὸς ἔργου πονηροῦ, καὶ σώσει εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπουράνιον· ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.* ἁμήν.

The word רע, in the Old Testament, is applied to *things* and to *persons*. Compare : "The angel who redeemed me מכל רע" (Gen. xlviii. 16). "And hath kept his servant כרעה" (1 Sam. xxv. 39). "Depart מרע, and do good" (Ps. xxxiv. 15). "I make peace, and create רע" (Is. xlv. 7). "Deliver me, O Lord, מנאדם" (Ps. cxl. 2). "The adversary and enemy is this הרע הנמן" (Esth. vii. 6). If THE EVIL be masculine, it does not at once follow that the allusion is to the 'wicked One<sup>2</sup>' alone.

Compare the following Talmudic prayers, especially No. 3.

## 1.

"May it be thy will, O Lord, our God, and the God of our fathers, to deliver us from the shameless, and from shamelessness : from EVIL man, and from EVIL hap, from EVIL yeçer, from EVIL companion, from EVIL neighbour, and from Satan the destroyer : from hard judgment, and from a hard 'adversary;' whether he be a son of the covenant, or not a son of the covenant" (Berakoth 16 b).

## 2.

"It is revealed and known before Thee, that our will (Aboth II. 4) is to do Thy will. And who hinders? The heaven that is in the dough, and servitude to the kingdoms. May it be Thy will to deliver us from their hand" (Berakoth 17 a).

## 3.

"And cause me to cleave to Thy commandments. *And bring me not into the hands of sin, nor into the hands of iniquity, nor into the hands of temptation<sup>3</sup>, nor into the hands of disgrace.* And bow my yeçer to be subservient to Thee. And remove me from EVIL man, and from EVIL companion. And cause me to cleave to the good yeçer, and to a good companion (Aboth II. 12, 13), in Thy world. And give me, THIS DAY AND EVERY DAY, to grace, and to favour, and to lovingkindness, in Thine eyes and in the eyes of all that behold me" (Berakoth 60 b).

<sup>1</sup> Note that τὸ πονηρόν, instead of πονηρός, may stand for רע without the article, as in Eccl. viii. 11, 12 לעשות רע τοῦ ποιῆσαι τὸ πονηρόν.

<sup>2</sup> Μὴ ἀντιστῆναι τῷ πονηρῷ (Matt. v. 39).

<sup>3</sup> This, which illustrates the Lord's Prayer in several particulars, is found also, in a slightly varied form, in the Jews' Morning Prayer : "...and bring us not into the hands of sin, nor into the hands of *transgression*, and iniquity, nor into the hands of temptation, nor into the hands of contempt. And let not the evil yeçer *have dominion* over us, and remove us from evil man, &c."

## 4.

“And remove us from all that Thou hatest; and bring us nigh unto all that Thou lovest” (T. J. Berakoth iv. 2).

## 1.

BERAKOTH 16 b :

רבי בתר צלותיה אמר הכי יהי רצון מלפניך ה' אלהינו ואלהי אבותינו שתצילנו מעושי פנים ומעוות פנים מאדם רע ומפגע רע מיצר רע מחבר רע משכן רע ומיטטן המשחית מדין קשה ומבעל דין קשה בין שהוא בן ברית ובין שאינו בן ברית.

## 2.

BERAKOTH 17 a :

ר' אלכסנדר בתר צלותיה אמר הכי יר"מ ה' אלהינו שתעמידנו בקרן אורה ואל תעמידנו בקרן חשכה ואל ידוה לבנו ואל יחשבו עינינו איכא דאמרי הא רב המגנא מצלי לה ורבי אלכסנדר בתר דמצלי אמר הכי רבון העולמים גלוי וידוע לפניך שרצוננו לעשות רצונך ומי מעכב שאור שבעיםה ושעבוד מלכויות יר"מ שתצילנו מידם ונשוב לעשות חקי רצונך בלבב שלם :

## 3.

BERAKOTH 60 b :

ויר"מ יי' אלהי שתרגילני בתורתך ודבקני במצותיך ואל תביאני לא לידי הטא ולא לידי עון ולא לידי נסיון ולא לידי בזיון וכוף את יצרי להשתעבד לך ורחקני מאדם רע ומחבר רע ודבקני ביצ"ט ובחבר טוב בעולמך ותנני היום ובכל יום לחן ולחסד ולרחמים בעיניך ובעיני כל רואי :

## 4.

T. J. BERAKOTH IV. 2 :

רבי חייא בר אבא מוסיף ותייחד לבבינו ליראה את שמך ותרחקנו מכל מה ששנאת ותקרבינו לכל מה שאהבת ותעשה עמנו צדקה למען שמך :

The two factors of man's nature are יצר הרע or יצרא בישא (pp. 37, 64) and יצר הטוב or יצרא טבא. The evil *yecer* is sometimes called *yecer* simply. Although this is primarily the man's own evil nature, 'the imagination of his heart,' it is personified as an external energy that attacks his

heart (p. 64), and all manner of evil is spoken of as brought about by its machination. "Lest mine enemy say, I have prevailed against him" (Ps. xiii. 5), becomes in the Targum, "Lest יצרה ביטא say, &c." "They shall bear thee up in their hands, lest thou stumble against (יצרה ביטא, which is like) a stone" (Ps. xci. 12). "There shall no *strange god* be in thee, neither shalt thou worship any strange god (Ps. lxxxi. 10). What is the אלהים that is in a man's body (*or* self)? He used to say, It is יצר הרע" (Shabbath 105 b). In Sukkah 52 a, the evil *yecer* is first taken in the sense of *διαλογισμὸς πονηρός* (cf. Matt. xv. 19), and it is added, that "in the time to come, the Holy One, blessed is He, will bring the evil *yecer*, and slay him in the presence of the righteous and the wicked...Seven names has יצר הרע. The Holy One, blessed is He, called it EVIL, for it is said (Gen. viii. 21), For the *yecer* of man's heart is evil from his youth. Moses called it UNCIRCUMCISED (Deut. x. 16). David called it, by implication, UNCLEAN (Ps. li. 12). Solomon called it ENEMY (Prov. xxv. 21). Isaiah called it STUMBLINGBLOCK (Is. lvii. 14). Ezekiel called it STONE (Ezek. xxxvi. 26). Joel called it צפוני (Joel ii. 20), that is יצר רע, which is HIDDEN, and stands, in the heart of man...The greater the man, the greater his יצר... Said R. Jonathan, The evil *yecer* seduces a man in this world, and will testify against him in the world to come...With four things the Holy One, blessed is He, was vexed that He had created them; and these are they, Captivity, Kasdim, Ishmaelites, and יצר הרע" (Sukkah 52 a—b). The evil יצר is identified *inter alia* with Satan, and with the Angel of death. (Baba Bathra 16 a, Job ii. 7.) [Maim. Moreh Nebukhim III. 22.]

[“The evil” deprecated in the petition *ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ* should include the evil *yecer*, in accordance with St James i. 13—15. The Syriac version *ܡܢ ܒܝܫܬܐ* *men bisha* may also have been the original of *ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ*, if “The Prayer” was given in Aramaic. If it was originally in Hebrew, we must make choice apparently between *רע πονηρός* or *πλημμελής*, and *רשע πονηρός*.]

The following words of ST CLEMENT OF ROME (*Ad Corinth.* i. 60, pp. 106, 107 ed. Bryennius, Constant. 1875) serve as a very ancient paraphrase of the words of the Prayer from *ῥῦσαι ἡμῖν τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ*.

...ῥῦσαι ἡμῖν τὰς ἀνομίας ἡμῶν καὶ τὰς ἀδικίας καὶ τὰ παραπτώματα καὶ πλημμελείας. Μὴ λογίσῃς πᾶσαν ἀμαρτίαν δαύλων σου καὶ παιδισκῶν, ἀλλὰ καθαρῆς ἡμᾶς τὸν καθαρισμὸν τῆς σῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ κατεύθυνον τὰ διαβήματα ἡμῶν ἐν ὁσιότητι καρδίας πορεύεσθαι καὶ ποιεῖν τὰ καλὰ καὶ εὐάρεστα ἐνώπιόν σου καὶ ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀρχόντων ἡμῶν. Ναὶ, δέσποτα, ἐπίφανον τὸ πρόσωπόν σου ἐφ' ἡμᾶς εἰς ἀγαθὰ ἐν εἰρήνῃ, εἰς τὸ σκεπασθῆναι ἡμᾶς τῇ χειρὶ σου τῇ κραταιᾷ καὶ ῥυσθῆναι ἀπὸ πάσης ἀμαρτίας τῷ βραχίονί σου τῷ ὑψηλῷ, καὶ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν μισούντων ἡμᾶς ἀδίκως.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.



## ADDITIONAL NOTES.

### 1.

p. 11, l. 1 תורה [קבל תורה] תורה in Rabbinic may stand for התורה (*Crit. Note*). On νόμος and ὁ νόμος see Romans ed. Gifford *App. to Introduction*, Thayer *N. T. Lex.* s.v. νόμος. Notice the saying תורה ומאחר בתורה (Pesach. 6 b). Josephus *contra Ap.* 8 (*Ryle Can. of O.T.*) writes of the books of Scripture, "We have but two and twenty...And of these, five are the books of Moses... From the death of Moses to the (death) of Artaxerxes, king of Persia, the successor of Xerxes, the prophets who succeeded Moses wrote the history of the events that occurred in their own time, in thirteen books. The remaining four documents comprise hymns to God and practical precepts to men. From the days of Artaxerxes to our own time every event has indeed been recorded. But these recent records have not been deemed worthy of equal credit on account of the failure of the exact succession of the prophets." It is sometimes said briefly that the זוגות (cf. Luke x. 1 ἀπὸ δύο, Phil. iv. 3 σὺνζυγε) "received" from the prophets, and they from Moses (p. 110 & *Crit. Note*); or that a man received from his teacher, ורבו מרבו, up to Moses ('Ed. viii. 7, Yad. iv. 3, Chag. 3 b).

If Moses actually received all that he is said by Rabbis of old time to have received, his Torah included the fence which the men of the Great Synagogue instructed their disciples to make to it.

"Moses received Torah" rather means that he received כללות *generalia* (Sotah 37 b), which in a sense comprised particulars deducible therefrom, as the progenitor, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, contains the race (Heb. vii. 9—10). Artificial rules of exegesis were a means of making it appear that literally *kulla bah* (v. 32) everything was in the Torah. "In the Bible absolutely everything is to be found in outline" are words of a Christian preacher. Church Fathers, as Justin and Clement of Alexandria (Kaye chap. iv.), found the substance and the source of Greek philosophy in the Hebrew Scriptures.

It is said in the passage cited below that Moses delivered the Law orally and for oral transmission to seventy wise men. After the Assumption of Moses, however, it was written down by someone who did not foresee what would happen to it, and was repeatedly lost or destroyed:

Clem. *Hom.* III. 47 καὶ ὁ Πέτρος Ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ νόμος διὰ Μωϋσέως ἐβδομή-  
κοντα σοφοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἀγράφως ἐδόθη παραδίδοσθαι, ἵνα τῇ διαδοχῇ πολι-  
τεύσασθαι δύνηται, μετὰ δὲ τὴν Μωϋσέως ἀνάληψιν ἐγράφη ὑπὸ τινός, οὐ μὴν ὑπὸ  
Μωϋσέως· ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ τῷ νόμῳ γέγραπται Καὶ ἀπέθανεν Μωϋσῆς καὶ ἔθαψαν  
αὐτὸν ἐγγὺς οἴκου Φωγόρ, καὶ οὐδεὶς οἶδεν τὴν ταφήν αὐτοῦ ἕως τῆς σήμερον. οἷόν  
τε ἦν ἀποθανόντα Μωϋσῆν γράφειν Ἀπέθανεν Μωϋσῆς; ἐπεὶ ἐν τῷ μετὰ Μωσέα  
χρόνῳ (ὡς γε ἔτη που πεντακόσια ἦ καὶ πρὸς) ἐν τῷ καθαρισθέντι ναῷ κειμένος  
εὐρίσκειται, καὶ μεθ' ἑτέρά που πεντακόσια ἔτη φέρεται καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ναβουχοδονόσορ  
οὕτως ἐνπρησθεῖς ἀπόλλυται. καὶ ὅμως μετὰ Μωϋσῆν γραφεῖς καὶ πολλάκις  
ἀπολωλὼς τὴν τοῦ Μωϋσέως πρόγνωσιν καὶ οὗτος ὠμολόγησεν, ὅτι τὸν ἀφανισμὸν  
αὐτοῦ προειδὼς οὐκ ἔγραψεν· οἱ δὲ γράψαντες, τῷ τὸν ἀφανισμὸν μὴ προεγνω-  
κέναι ἐπ' ἀγνωσίας ἐλεγχθέντες, προφήτῃ οὐκ ἦσαν.

Much of what was received as the Law was impugned on the authority  
of Christ, who (ib. III. 51) τὰ πρὸ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς παρερχόμενα ἐσήμανεν  
μὴ ὄντα τοῦ ὄντως νόμου. See Paul de Lagarde *Clementina* 1865.

## 2.

p. 11, n. 1 יי] Syr.  φραγμός (Whish *Clavis Syr.* Matt. xxi.  
33), cf. *Ecclus.* xxviii. 24 περίφραξον, xxxvi. 25 φραγμός, *Eph.* ii. 14, 15 τὸ  
μυστότοιχον τοῦ φραγμοῦ...τὸν νόμον τῶν ἐντολῶν ἐν δόγμασιν, *Midr. Ps.* ii.  
(Buber p. 32) wall...fence &c. Another word for *s'yag* is *gader* (*Excurs.*  
I. 2. x.).

An excessive fence of tradition (III. 20) may make the  
commandment “of none effect”: a man must therefore not make the  
*gader* העיקר מן היתר, lest it fall and destroy the plants (Aboth R. N. B I,  
p. 3).

Solomon's wisdom was “as the sand” (1 Kings iv. 29),  
which is a fence against the sea: so a man's wisdom is a fence or wall to  
his *yecer* (Prov. xxv. 28, *Pesiqta Rabbathi* פרה f. 59 ed. Friedmann).

Clem. *Strom.* I. 20 (Potter p. 377) makes Greek philosophy a φραγμός  
to the truth, and quotes as Scripture the saying *νιέ, μὴ γίνου ψεύστης*,  
*ὁδηγεῖ γὰρ τὸ ψεῦσμα πρὸς τὴν κλοπὴν*, which belongs, as Bryennius pointed  
out, to the section of the *Didaché* beginning “My child, flee from all evil  
and from all that is like to it.” Cf. *Strom.* II. 23 *ὁδὸς δὲ ἐπ' ἀναισχυντίαν*  
*ἢ αἰσχρολογία καὶ τέλος ἀμφοῖν ἢ αἰσχροουργία* (p. 506, n. 4), *ib.* IV. 21 *ἀποχὴ*  
*κακῶν* is the way to the Gospel and to well-doing (p. 623), *Chullin* 44 b  
*לו הרהק מעליה דרבך ב' הרהק מן הכיעור ומן הדומה לו*, *ib.* *Tosefta* (Zuck. p. 503) *הרהק מעליה דרבך ב'*  
(Prov. v. 8), *Aboth R. N.* II. A & B. Note that *הכיעור* is τὸ *αἰσχρόν*,  
the ungraceful and disgraceful, comparing Gen. xli. 3, 4, 19, 20. In theory  
and practice the law required a fence, as a written Torah needs a margin  
to safeguard the edges of the text.

A fence to an ordinance may take the form of a margin of time added  
to keep men at a safe distance from transgression, as we have seen in the  
case of the Sabbath. For another example see *Mekhilta* on Ex. xii. 12  
*הזוה בלילה הזה* (fol. 6 ed. Friedmann), where it is said with reference to ver. 10  
*until the morning*, “And why have they said *until midnight*? To keep a

man far from transgression and to make a fence to the law"; and see the first *mishnah* or *baba* or verse of the Mishnah and the Gemara upon it (T. B. Berakh. 4 b).

The Gemara l.c. gives as *baraita* "The wise have made a fence to their words." Aboth R. N. (p. 3 ed. Schechter) says "Make a fence to thy words," as did the Holy One, and likewise Adam, Torah, Moses, Job, Prophets, Kethubim, and (the) wise. Ben Sira may have known the saying and worked it up with others in Ecclus. xxviii., where he writes "Look that thou *hedge* thy possession about with thorns; bind up thy silver and thy gold; And make a balance and a weight for *thy words*; and make a door and a bar for thy mouth" (ver. 24—25). Notice in verses 14 & 15 "A *third* person's *tongue* &c.," cf. Buxt. 1160 לִשׁוֹן שְׁלִישִׁי, Midr. Ps. xii. כֹּל שִׁפְתֵי כו', Edersheim on Ecclus. in the Speaker's Commentary. On the tongue see also St James iii. ἡ γλῶσσα πῦρ κ.τ.λ. (p. 105 ed. Mayor 1892) comparing Is. v. 24 לִשׁוֹן אֵשׁ lit. *tongue of fire*.

Dr C. H. H. Wright on *Koheleth* quotes the opinion of Bloch "that the sense of making a fence to the Law was to separate the books which were of Divine origin from those which had merely a human source," the Torah or Law being taken to mean the Hebrew Scriptures generally, see under "Fence round the law" Index p. 509 (1883), and cf. Aboth III. 20.

## 3.

p. 12, n. 3 (cf. p. 26) *pillars of the world*] See Midr. Rab. Ex. 47. 4, Lev. 25. 8, Num. 10. 1, Cant. v. 15. Deut. Rab. 5. 1, reading עֹמֵד for קַיִם in i. 19, speaks of the three *feet* of the world.

Sayings on Wisdom (Prov. viii., ix.) and the Torah combined with speculations on the *tetrad* may have led up to the sayings on the Gospel and the Four Gospels in Iren. III. 11. 11—12 (ed. Harvey), cf. *The Witness of Hermas to the Four Gospels* (1892), *The Four Gospels and the Four Elements* (Journ. of Philol. XXI. 69).

Irenaeus, who describes his four pillars as πνέοντας κ.τ.λ. *undique flantes incorruptibilitatem*, may have had in mind *The Book of Enoch* XVIII. 1—3 (p. 88 ed. Charles 1893), "And I saw the chambers of all the winds, and I saw how He had furnished with them the whole creation and the firm foundations of the earth. And I saw the cornerstone of the earth, I saw the four winds which bear the earth and the firmament of the heaven. And I saw how the winds stretch out the vaults of heaven and have their station between heaven and earth: these are the pillars of the heaven."

Predecessors of Irenaeus acquainted with the cosmogony of "Enoch" may have compared the Four Gospels to "the four winds which bear the earth and the firmament of heaven"; and this may have been done at any time after or even in anticipation of the express recognition by the Church of four and four only.

Prof. Mayor compares Baehrens *XII Panegyrici Latini* (1874), Pan. v. 4 (Constantio Caesari), where it is proved after the manner of Irenaeus

that there must needs be four rulers: "Et sane praeter usum curamque rei publicae etiam illa Iouis et Herculis cognata maiestas in Ionio Herculoquoque principibus totius mundi caelestiumque rerum similitudinem requirebat, quippe isto numinis uestri numero summa omnia nituntur et gaudent: *elementa quattuor et totidem anni uices et orbis quadrifuriam duplici discretus oceano et emenso quater caelo lustra redeuntia et quadrigae solis et duobus caeli luminibus adiuncti Vesper et Lucifer.*"

The following reasons assigned for the observance of the four Ember weeks are quoted in Hook's *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, vol. I. ch. 5 (p. 186 ed. 1), "Because the world consists of four quarters, east, west, south, and north; and man is compounded of four elements, fire, air, water, and earth; and the mind is governed by four virtues, prudence, temperance, fortitude, and justice; and the four rivers of Paradise, as types of the four Gospels, water the whole earth; and the year turns on the four seasons, spring, summer, autumn, and winter; and this number, four, is on all hands acknowledged to be the number of perfection; therefore the old fathers instituted the four Ember weeks, according to God's law; as also holy men and apostolical doctors have done under the New Testament."

The commentator Bachja writes on Aboth I. 19 that prayer is the עמידה and עמוד of the world, cf. Buxt. 1622. The term *amidah* (pl. *-oth*) is used for certain forms of prayer to be said standing (Heb. Auth. P. B. pp. 44, 115, &c.), especially the SHEMONAH ESREH or *eighteen* benedictions.

See in *The Apocalypse of Baruch* II. 2 (ed. Charles 1896) "Because your works are to this city as a firm pillar and your prayers as a strong wall," with the note that the verse is reproduced in The Rest of the Words of Baruch i. 2 in the form αἱ γὰρ προσευχαὶ ὑμῶν ὡς στῦλος ἑδραῖος ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῆς καὶ ὡς τεῖχος ἀδαμάντινον περικυκλοῦν αὐτήν.

Worship (I. 2) includes prayer, which is עבודה בלב (T. J. Berakh. iv. 1 *init.*).

אנשי המעמד *viri stationis*. In Mishnah Ta'an. iv. (T. B. 26 a) א 64 b omits the words from *Viri stationis quatuor dies in hebdomade jejunabant* bracketed by Surenhuis (II. 379). Herm. *Sim.* v. 1. 1—2 *στατίωνα κ.τ.λ.*, cf. Bingham's *Antiquities*.

*On what stands the earth?...upon the wind &c.* (p. 86). So MIDRASHI HA-GADOL (col. 3 in the forthcoming edition by Mr Schechter) with the addition that some say the world stands upon twelve pillars according to the number of the children of Israel (Deut. xxxii. 8), some say on seven (Prov. ix. 1), some on one whose name is צדיק for the righteous is יסוד עולם (Prov. x. 25). This means that the world stands not but by the merit of the righteous. Said R. Chiya bar Abba ראה הקב"ה כו' the Holy One saw that the righteous were few and He arose and planted them in every generation, for they are the pillar of the world.

On the *four feet* of the throne of God, which is established by mercy (Is. xvi. 5), see the parable in Midr. Ps. lxxxix. כי אמרתי עולם חסד יבנה.

## 4.

p. 15, i. 5—6 [אשה] R. 'Aqiba teaches in Sotah 17a זכו ואישה זכו איש ואישה *man and wife if they be deserving have the Shekhinah between them if not fire devours them*, for איש and אישה together contain the Name יה, but without *yod* and *hê* they reduce to איש איש, fire devouring fire (1 Cor. vii. 9 *πυρὸσθαι*, xi. 11 *ἐν κυρίῳ*). Woman takes fire more quickly and burns more fiercely than man, for the letters of איש *fire* come together in אישה *woman* but are separated by the *yod* of the Shekhinah in איש *man*. See Buxt. 76, Kohut i. 307, Pirqé R. El. xii. with Loria's commentary, Ecclus. ix. 9 Syr. in *Crit. Note*.

*The Rabbinic view of Marriage.* It is deduced from Gen. i. 28 that פריה ורביה is a duty, cf. Pesach. 113 b, Qiddush. 29 b, Jebam. 63 a "a man without a wife is not a man"—the reading *Jew* is due to the censors of the press, see *Lectures on Teaching of 12 Apost.* pp. 84 sq. It does not follow that marriage was regarded as of "superior sanctity" (Lightfoot *Coloss.* p. 139, 1875) to celibacy, notwithstanding the use of a word meaning *sanctifications* for *sponsalia* (Buxt. 1980 on קדוּשָׁה). In respect of פריה ורביה, which is for this world only (p. 60, n. 40) and is a work of the evil *yecer* (p. 64, n. 2), man is akin to the lower creatures and not to the angels (Ab. R. N. xxxvii. p. 109). The Holy One (Midr. Ps. viii.) explains to the angels that the Torah was not given to them because they could not keep it, "for with you there is no increasing and multiplying, and no uncleanness, and no death and sickness" (p. 74 ed. Buber). The mystic, like ben Azzai (Jebam. 63 b), could allegorize the duty of marriage by making אשה mean תורה, cf. Sifré II. § 345 on מורשה קהלת יעקב. Eccl. ix. 9 ראה חיים עם אשה is made to mean that a man should combine a business or אומנות with Torah study (Rashi), in accordance with Aboth II. 2. Qiddush. 30 b proves by Eccl. *l.c.* that a man is bound to teach his son a craft, whether *issah* means wife or Torah, cf. p. 75, n. 33. With Aboth I. 6 כו' תורה בר' מדרבי תורה compare 1 Cor. vii. 32 sq. *τὰ τοῦ κυρίου κ.τ.λ.*

It may be said in one sense that the evil יצר does and in another that it does not exist בבהמה in the beast, see Aboth R. N. xvi. (Schechter p. 64), Berakh. 61 a מתקף לה ר'נ' בר יצחק כו' The Torah was not given to the angels for (they are asked) יצר בניכם יצר הרע (Shabb. 89 a), a question to be answered in the negative.

*Gentile...slave...woman.* See p. 26 and *Class. Review* x. 191, Heb. Auth. P. B. pp. 5—6, Maim. *Hilk. Tefillah* vii. 6, Tur *Orach Chayim* 46, Tosefta Berak. 7 (Zuck. p. 16), Chagigah I. 1 (Streane pp. 1—15), Menachoth 43 b where it is taught that a man should bless God daily that He made him an Israelite, not a woman, כור (Ab. II. 6). After discussion *slave* replaces *boor*. Gentiles, slaves and women are classed together as of lower religious status than the תורה בן, women and slaves being exempt from positive precepts for which there are set times (Streane p. 12).

St Paul declares them all equal "in Christ Jesus," apparently presupposing the Rabbinic grouping of them as not "one" in respect of Torah.

The like grouping is implied in St Peter's quotation from Joel in Acts ii. 17—18, "I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh...your daughters shall prophesy...Yea and on my servants...I will pour out in those days of my Spirit," Heb. על העבדים וגם the not my slaves (Joel iii. 2).

Cf. Ab. R. N. B XLIII. (p. 120) וגם לרבנות בני אדם חיה ועוף *all flesh* (not man only) is to see the salvation of God (Is. xl., Rom. viii.). On the judgment of "the soul of man on account of the souls of the souls of beasts in the world to come" see *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch* ch. 58 (p. 73 ed. Charles, 1896), and on the covenant (Hos. ii. 18) to be made with the animals in the Messianic times see Ex. Rab. 15. 21 (Wünsche p. 119).

Since writing the above I have noticed the passage in Joel *Blicke* i. 119, "Die Stelle die dem Plato nachsagt er habe täglich Gott gedankt dass er ihn zum Hellenen, nicht zum Barbaren, zum Freien, nicht zum Sklaven, zum Manne und nicht zum Weibe geschaffen, kann ich augenblicklich nicht finden. Thatsächlich entspricht das aber drei talmudisch für die Liturgie vorgeschriebenen Segenssprüchen. Die Meinung über die Frau die in diesen Segenssprüchen sich ausspricht, ist daher nicht jüdisch (orientalisch), sondern griechisch, und geht auf Platon's Aeusserungen im Timäus zurück, der das Eingehen in eines Weibes Natur für eine Art von Strafe bezeichnet."

Weiss in like manner, in his Hebrew work *דור דור ודורשיו* on the History of Jewish Tradition (Part II. chap. xv. p. 147), makes R. Meir say in Menachoth 43 b that a man should give thanks daily that he was not made גוי or אשה or בור, having no tradition or Torah for it, but *knowing* 'היה מנהגו כן כי כן היה מנהגו כן that so it was the practice of Socrates the Greek to bless daily. These benedictions in Menachoth are properly ascribed to R. Jehudah and not to R. Meir. See Bacher's *Die Agada der Tannaiten* II. 202 (1890).

R. Judah's benedictions are given also in T. J. Berakthoth ix. 2 (13 b) *Béni soit Dieu de ne pas n'avoir créé païen, ni stupide, ni femme...de n'être pas une femme parce qu'elles ne remplissent pas tous les préceptes religieux* (Schwab p. 158, 1871).

The word בור *stupid* has the sense of בער (p. 30, n. 12), which stands in parallelism with בהמות in Ps. lxxiii. 22 *So BRUTISH was I, and ignorant; I was as a BEAST before thee.* Was בור, which has given place to "slave," a substitute for ἀλογον τῆ φύσει θηρίον (*Class. Review* l.c.)?

Women ranked with slaves in respect of certain "préceptes religieux." How numberless are the times that that occurs in the Talmudic pandect...נשים ועבדים *Women, servants and children are not bound to these things* (Lightfoot *Hor. Hebr.* Matt. iii. 7).

Professor Mayor (cf. p. 26) cites the following five passages in the *Classical Review* x. 191 (May 1896):

Plutarch life of Marius 46 § 1: Πλάτων μὲν οὖν ἤδη πρὸς τῷ τελευτᾷ γενόμενος ὕμνει τὸν αὐτοῦ δαίμονα καὶ τὴν τύχην, ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν ἄνθρωπος,

εἶτα Ἕλληνα, οὐ βάρβαρον οὐδὲ ἄλογον τῇ φύσει θηρίον γένοιτο, πρὸς δὲ τοῦτοις ὅτι τοῖς Σωκράτους χρόνοις ἀπήνησεν ἢ γένεσις αὐτοῦ.

Lact. iii 19 § 17 : non dissimile Platonis illud est, quod aiebat se gratias agere naturae : primum quod homo natus esset potius quam mutum animal, deinde quod mas potius quam femina, quod Graecus quam barbarus, postremo quod Atheniensis et quod temporibus Socratis.

Diogenes Laertius i § 33 (under Thales) : Ἐρμῖππος δ' ἐν τοῖς βίοις εἰς τοῦτον ἀναφέρει τὸ λεγόμενον ὑπὸ τινων περὶ Σωκράτους. ἔφασκε γάρ, φησί, τριῶν τούτων ἕνεκα χάριν ἔχειν τῇ τύχῃ· πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι ἄνθρωπος ἐγενόμην καὶ οὐ θηρίον· εἶτα ὅτι ἀνὴρ καὶ οὐ γυνή· τρίτον ὅτι Ἕλληνα καὶ οὐ βάρβαρον.

Ep. Gal. 3 28 : οὐκ ἔνι Ἰουδαίος οὐδὲ Ἕλληνα· οὐκ ἔνι δοῦλος οὐδὲ ἐλεύθερος· οὐκ ἔνι ἄρσεν καὶ θήλυ· πάντες γὰρ ὑμεῖς εἰς ἔστε ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ.

Ep. Col. 3 11 : ὅπου οὐκ ἔνι Ἕλληνα καὶ Ἰουδαίος, περιτομῆ καὶ ἀκροβυστία, βάρβαρος, Σκύθης, δοῦλος, ἐλεύθερος· ἀλλὰ τὰ πάντα καὶ ἐν πᾶσι Χριστοῦ.

Plato according to Plutarch, who was a younger contemporary of St Paul, lauds his own daemon and Fortune for that he was a civilised human being and had been a contemporary of Socrates, and says nothing about women or slaves.

The tradition from Hermippus in Diogenes Laertius makes Thales or Socrates give thanks that he was *a man and not a woman &c.*

Lactantius, who brings together sayings as on the *Two Ways* (Journ. of Philol. xxi. 247) from various sources, had in mind perhaps *inter alia* Gal. iii. 28 *non est MASCULUS neque femina*. Bünemann on Lactantius *l.c.* refers to Plutarch, Diogenes Laertius, and the Jews' Morning Prayer.

From "undesigned coincidences" between the New Testament and Rabbinic writings we may sometimes infer the antiquity of sayings in the latter. In quoting Gal. iii. 28 (1877) I meant to suggest that it testified to an existent Jewish grouping of women \* with slaves and Gentiles in respect of Torah. At a still earlier date Greek thought may have influenced Rabbinism in this as in other matters.

For the remainder of this note I am indebted to Professor Bywater :

Dio Chrysostom (i.e. the pseudo Dio Chrysostom if the editors are right in their view of this oration, which is certainly ancient and cannot be separated from the genuine writings of Dio by any great number of years) writes in *Or.* LXIV. p. 597 M., Σωκράτης γοῦν ἐπὶ πολλοῖς αὐτὸν ἐμακάριζε, καὶ ὅτι ζῶν λογικὸν καὶ ὅτι Ἀθηναῖος.

The interest in the statement in Dio is not in what he actually says (for he is obviously abridging a fuller statement) but in the fact that he tells the story of Socrates, of whom according to Hermippus it was sometimes told. The saying in some form was certainly current in connexion with Thales, Socrates, and probably Plato in the 3rd century B.C. Hermippus (surnamed Callimachus) mentions the death of Chrysippus which occurred in B.C. 207, and may be presumed to have written not later than B.C. 200. The fragments of his book are edited by Müller (1849) in the Didot series.

\* Philo *Hypothetika* (Mangey II. 629) γυναῖκας ἀνδράσι δουλεῖν κ.τ.λ.

Greek literature is full of attacks on women, cf. Stobaeus *Flor.* 73. Aristotle describes woman and the slave in *Poetics* 15 as τὸ μὲν χεῖρον τὸ δὲ ὄλως φαῦλον.

## 5.

p. 16, i. 8 *the wicked*] Aboth R. N. B xvi. ברה flee from an evil neighbour and be not companion to *the wicked* (sing.), that is (p. 36) יצה"ר the Evil Impulse, which sits *at the door* (Gen. iv. 7) of the heart. When a man is bent upon transgression it sways all his members, for it is king over them (Ecl. v. 9). It is by Gematria הרשע ה' פונקרוס (Magen Elohim).

Psalm xxxvii. 32 "Wicked watcheth the righteous and seeketh to slay him." Here Sukkah 52 b *init.* makes "wicked" (lit. פונקרוס without the article) the Evil Impulse, Deut. Rab. 11. 11 (Wünsche p. 114) makes "the righteous" mean Moses, and "wicked" the most wicked of all the Satans הרשע סמאל סמאל Samael ה' פונקרוס. Compare Wisdom ii. 12, 20.

In Job ix. 24, "Earth is given into hand of *wicked*: he covereth the faces of the judges thereof," Baba Bathra 16 a interprets *wicked* (sing.) by Satan; and Ex. Rab. 21. 7 (Wünsche p. 170) interprets עויל "ungodly" in the same way in Job xvi. 11 "God delivereth me to *ungodly* (sing.), and casteth me into hands of *wicked* (pl.)."

These are of course mere homiletical applications. When in Targum, Talmud or Midrash a word meaning *wicked* and with or without the article is said to denote בישא בישא or Satan or Samael the Wicked One, it no more follows that this is its primary sense than that צדיק "just" means (as it is made to mean) God in Prov. x. 7, where it is said that the memory of the deceased just person is blessed.

Typical human enemies of Israel, as well as the Evil Impulse and Satan, were called THE WICKED and THAT WICKED ONE in the Rabbinic writings. Buxtorf writes רשיעא...*Hoc titulo hostes quidam Israëlitarum in Targum insigniuntur*, and gives examples. Compare Midr. Ps. xxii. (Buber p. 192) we learn them from *the parashah of רשע ארתו* i.e. the Pentateuch Lesson about Shechem, Aboth R. N. A xvi. *that wicked one* (fem.).

On the book of Job and on the good and the evil inclinations see Maimonides *Moreh Nebukhim* III. 22—23 (pp. 93—111 ed. Friedländer, 1885).

In 1 Cor. vii. 5 *iva μη πειράζη ύμās ο Saravās* a Rabbinic name of the Tempter would be יצר הרע. See Schoettgen *Ilor. Hebr.*, Nork *Rabbinische Quellen und Parallelen zu N. T. Schriftstellen* (Leipzig 1839).

## 6.

p. 19, i. 12 *drink and die*] Cf. Gen. ii. 17, St John xi. 26 (ed. Westcott), 1 Cor. xv. 31 καθ' ήμέραν αποθνήσκω, 1 Tim. v. 6 ζώσα τέθηκεν.

Sifrē II. § 32 ובכל נפשך (Deut. vi.), even though he take away thy soul.

בי עלך הורגנו כל היום, God accounts the righteous as slain every day.

Tamid 32 a on Aboth iv. 3 היטמח בחלקו, What should a man do that he

may live? He should slay himself (N.T. *θανатоῦτε, νεκρώσατε*). What should a man do that he may die? He should quicken himself, *יהיה את עצמו* (N.T. *ζωοποιεῖν*). What should a man do that he may be acceptable to the creatures? *יסני מלכו ושלטן* (Ab. I. 11). See Mr Montefiore's Hibbert Lectures p. 568.

T. J. Berak. II. 3 (4d) "*For the living know that they shall die*, these are the righteous who even in their death are called living: but the dead know *not anything*, these are the wicked who though living are called dead, for it is said *For I have no pleasure in the death of the הַמֵּת*" (see on Ecl. ix. 5 in Schiffer *Kohel. nach Talm. u. Midr.*), cf. Buber's *Tanchuma*, end.

*But whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him shall never thirst* (Joh. iv. 14). Compare Aboth I. 4 And drink their words with thirstiness, Chagigah 3a (Streane p. 8) We are thy disciples and of thy waters we drink, Schoettgen, Nork, Wünsche *Erläuterung der Eccl. aus Talm. u. Midr.* on St John *l.c.*, King *Yalkut on Zech.* p. 121 With joy shall ye receive a New Law &c. (Targ. Is. xii.). *ib.* *but the water that I shall give him shall be in him a well of water springing up into everlasting life.* Compare Midr. Ps. civ. 1 (Buber p. 440) *לְעֵינַי הַנוֹבֵעַ*, where the *Jalqut* adds *לְבוֹא לְעֵתִיד*.

## 7.

p. 19, n. 22 *manual labour*] On this subject see S. Meyer *Arbeit und Handwerk: im Talmud* (Berlin 1878), Delitzsch *Handwerkleben zur Zeit Jesu* (Erlangen 1868), *Jewish Artisan Life &c.* translated from the German of Delitzsch by Mrs Philip Monkhouse, *The Dignity of Labour as taught in the Talmud* by Rabbi H. Gollancz in the *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review* (July 1891).

Creatures which do not work for their living are classed with thieves and robbers, cf. chap. IV. n. 16, *Epist. Barn.* 10. 4 *οἷτινες οὐκ οἶδασιν διὰ κόπου καὶ ἰδρώτος ἑαυτοῖς πορίζειν τὴν τροφήν, ἀλλὰ ἀρπάξουσιν κ.τ.λ.*

## 8.

p. 21, n. 28 *τὰς κτίσεις*] *Didaché* 16 ἡ κτίσις τῶν ἀνθρώπων, 1 Pet. ii. 13 —18 "Submit yourselves *πάση ἀνθρωπίνῃ κτίσει* for the Lord's sake: whether it be to the king, as supreme; Or unto governors...Honour all *men*...Servants, be subject to your masters...iii. Likewise, ye wives &c.", cf. Eph. v. 21 *ὑποτασσόμενοι ἀλλήλοις ἐν φόβῳ Χριστοῦ*. The natural rendering of *πάση ἀνθρωπίνῃ κτίσει* is *to every human creature*, sc. in authority, but *κτίσις* here is usually assumed to mean "ordinance," cf. Huther in Meyer's *N.T. Kommentar*. "When students sit and are subject (*נכבשין*) one to another, God attends to their words" (Midr. Ps. xxx., Buber p. 236). The honour to be rendered to all men is "the honour of *the creatures*" (p. 65, n. 4). R. 'Aqiba said *לבריות לבטחך*, and *ואל תצטרך לבריות* (p. 18, n. 22). Aboth R. N. xxxvii. "There are seven *κτίσεις* one above

another &c." Buxt. 350, Midr. Ps. cii. לָעָם נִבְרָא, "to a people created (N.T. *new creature*)." בְּרִיאָה חֲדָשָׁה (N.T. *new creature*).

*For the Lord's sake.* Shabbath 50 b A man washes his face, hands and feet every day בְּשִׁבְלֵי קוֹנוֹ for his Maker's sake (Rashi *to the honour of his Maker...He created everything* לְכַבּוֹדוֹ).

## 9.

p. 22, n. 29 *into seventy tongues*] See Midr. Ps. lxxviii. (Buber p. 317) on רַב רַב הָמַבְשֵׁרוֹת צַנָּה רַב "great was the company of the preachers."

## 10.

p. 23, i. 15 *who is for me?*] The commentary Midrash Shemuel points out that כִּי, which is by Gematria *fifty*, the number of the gates of בֵּינָה, is taken by the Zohar for a name of God in Is. xl. 26 מִי בְרָא אֱלֹהִים Who *created these things*. Such was His name before the creation. After it He was immanent in and revealed as Elohim by "these things," for the word אֱלֹהִים is made up of מִי and אֱלֹהִים. Another Qabbalistic name of God is אֵין, cf. Irenaeus I. 14. 1 ed. Mass. ἀνούσιος (vol. I. pp. 129, 131 ed. Harvey).

## 11.

p. 23, n. 33 [דַּעֲלֵךְ כִּנֵּי כו'] On Jewish and other forms of the so-called Golden Rule (Gibbon *Decline and Fall* ch. 54, n.) see Selden *De Jure Naturali et Gentium* VII. 12, Wetstein on Matt. vii. 12, Bernays (*Gesam. Abhandl.* I. 262—282) on Philo's *Hypothetika*, Lazarus *Zur Charakt. der Talmud. Ethik* p. 10, n. (Breslau 1877), Neubauer's *Chaldee Tobit* (Oxf. 1878), Güdemann *Nächstenliebe*, Delitzsch *Jesus u. Hillel*, Edersheim *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, and the *Didaché* ed. Harnack, Harris, Funk and others.

Buxtorf under כִּנָּה quotes the saying attributed to Hillel כו' דַּעֲלֵךְ, *Quod odiosum est tibi proximo tuo ne feceris. Haec est Lex tota: caetera nil sunt nisi ejus explicatio*, and Matt. vii. 12. The Aramaic

form of the rule in Neubauer's *Tobit* is דַּסְאֲנִי לָךְ לְחֹרְנִי לֹא תַעֲבִיר (p. 8), Heb. אִשֶׁר תִּשְׁנֵא לְנַפְשְׁךָ כו' (p. 24). Philo (Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* VIII. 7) gives it in the short oblique form ἄ τις παθεῖν ἐχθαίρει μὴ ποιεῖν αὐτόν.

These forms point to a common original כו' מֵאֵת סְאֲנִי לָךְ (with pael part. *sanē*) ὁ σὺ ἐχθαίρεις σεαυτῷ κ.τ.λ. In ὅσα μὴ θέλετε ἑαυτοῖς γίνεσθαι (*Did.* 1) a "would not" takes the place of "hate." It remains to derive the saying, which is "Lex tota," from the Torah\*. A. ben Ezra (and similarly Ramban) explains Lev. xix. 18 וְאָהַבְתָּ לְרֵעֶךָ כְּמוֹךָ, lit. ἀγαπήσεις τῷ κ.τ.λ., by שִׂיאֵהֶם הַטּוֹב לְחַבְּרוֹ כְּמוֹ לְנַפְשׁוֹ, a man should *love* τὸ ἀγαθόν *for his fellow* as for himself. So Targ. pseudo-Jonathan (ed. Netter 1859)

\* With *on one foot* (p. 23) cf. Horace *Sat.* I. 4. 10 stans pede in uno.

וּתְרַחֲמֶיָהּ לְחִבְרָךְ רַמְנָן אַנְתָּ סְגִי לָךְ לֹא תַעֲבִיד לֵיהּ אַנְא יִי (ver. 18), cf. וּתְרַחֲם לֵיהּ כּוּוֹתָךְ דְּמֵא אַתָּ סְגִי לָךְ לֹא תַעֲבִיד לֵיהּ (ver. 34), a man should shew love *to* his fellow by not doing *to* him what he dislikes when done *to* himself. Thus the saying in question is accounted for as an explanation of תַּחֲבֵב וְאֶהֱבֵת followed by ל *to*, instead of אַתָּ as in Deut. vi. 5, xi. 1. Detaching it from its context and explaining לֵיהּ by לְחִבְרָךְ, we get מֵא אַתָּ סְאֲנִי לָךְ לֹא תַעֲבִיד לְחִבְרָךְ (or רֵאתָ סְגִי לָךְ), ὁ σὺ μισεῖς σεαυτῷ οὐ ποιήσεις τῷ πλησίον σου, cf. Ecclus. xv. 11 ἂ γὰρ ἐμίσησεν κ.τ.λ. The saying may have been known to Ben Sira. The principle of it is in Ecclus. viii. 5—7 ...Remember that we all...For some of us also &c., xxxi. 15 R.V. Consider thy neighbour's *liking* by thine own.

Philo (Mangey II. 629) introduces it thus, Μύρια δὲ ἄλλα ἐπὶ τούτοις, ὅσα καὶ ἐπὶ ἀγράφων ἐθῶν καὶ νομίμων. κὰν τοῖς νομίμοις [Viger νόμοις] αὐτοῖς. Ἄ τις παθεῖν ἐχθαίρει μὴ ποιεῖν αὐτόν. Ἄ μὴ κατέθηκεν μὴδ' ἀναρεῖσθαι. This illustrates St Luke xix. 21 αἴρεις ὁ οὐκ ἔθηκας (Bernays p. 274). On the unwritten law see also *The Apocalypse of Baruch* LVII. 2.

## 12.

p. 24, l. 16 *countenance*] “And the Lord spake unto Moses face to face.” The word *panim* is plural, and is used twice. Hence there were four “faces,” a stern, a neutral, a pleasant and a laughing *face*, pointing to Miqra, Mishnah, Talmud, Agadah (Mass. Sof. XVI. 6).

## 13.

p. 25, l. 18 *silence*] Compare Ignat. *Magnes*. 8 ὅς ἐστιν αὐτοῦ λόγος ἀπὸ σιγῆς προελθών, Iren. I. 8 (Mass. 14). I *Colorbasi silentii*. Dr M. Joel explains *colorbas* as a faulty reading of the words בְּרַת קְלָא (Aram. for *Bath Qol*, Buxt. 322) in reverse order, with ח pronounced *s*.

## 14.

p. 27, n. 1 *מרבן שמו*] For this saying in the ‘Arukh see under אב”ב (Kohut I. 7 a<sub>6</sub>), where it is taken from a letter of R. Sherira Gaon. See also Neubauer *Mediaeval Jewish Chronicles*, pref. p. xii (1887).

## 15.

p. 29, II. 5 *הציבור מן תפריש מן*] Heb. x. 25, Ta’anith 11 a, Isocr. *ad Dæmonium* 13 τίμα τὸ δαιμόνιον ἀεὶ μὲν, μάλιστα δὲ μετὰ τῆς πόλεως, cf. Ecclus. iv. 7 Get thyself the love of the congregation, vii. 7 Sin not against the multitude of the city. *ib.* until the day of thy death. See Ecclus. xi. 28, Dict. of Bible art. *Ecclesiastes* I. 834 a (ed. Smith & Fuller, 1893), Midr. Ps. xvi. (Buber p. 120) *Sanctus benedictus* does not canonise His saints until they are בארץ in the earth.

## 16.

p. 30, n. 10 בית השואבה (א 58 a שואבה without *vau*)] Kohut II. 85 *Fackelhaus*. It is also explained as *domus hauriendi*, "because therefrom they draw the Holy Spirit" (Is. xii. 3, T. J. Sukkah v. 55 a, Buxt. 2299). See Lightfoot *Hor. Heb.* on St John vii. 38—39 "as the scripture hath said, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water. But this spake he of the Spirit, which they that believe on him should receive," comparing Ps. xl. 9 מעי בתוך כותך *ἐν μέσῳ τῆς καρδίας* (al. *κοιλίας*) μου. It is a question what "scripture" is referred to.

Aboth VI. 1 likens the recipient of Torah to a spring פוסק שׂאינו and a river והולך שמתנבר, that goes "from strength to strength," cf. Prov. v. 15—16 "שתה מים מבורך כו" 'Abodah Z. 19 a, "Machsor Vitry" ed. Hurwitz p. 555. At first he drinks from a "cistern," then from an unfailing "well." Finally his Torah becomes "rivers of waters in the streets," a great נהר which flows out from him. "The reception of the blessing leads at once to the distribution of it in fuller measure" (Westcott on St John *l.c.*). So in Aboth R. N. xiv. R. Jochanan calls El'azar ben 'Arakh שוטף כו' with reference to the Scripture 'פוצו כו' (Prov. *l.c.*), lit. to *establish what is said*.

See also Midr. Ps. i. כו' הפצו כו' הפצו כו' רבר אחר כי אם בתורת "הפצו כו' הפצו כו' רבר אחר כי אם בתורת" כו' הפצו כו' רבר אחר כי אם בתורת, as waters fall drop by drop and become נחלים, so words of Torah: a man learns one halakhah to-day and another to-morrow, till he abounds like a spring. Ecclus. xxi. 13 "The knowledge of a wise man shall be made to abound as a flood; and his counsel as a fountain of life," xxiv. 30—31 "And, lo, my stream became a river." *The Book of Enoch* XLIX. 1 For wisdom is poured out like water, II. 3 and all the secrets of wisdom will stream forth from the counsels of his mouth (pp. 136, 140 ed. Charles).

JACOB'S WELL. Gen. xxix. 1—3 Then Jacob lifted up his feet, and came to the land of the children of the east. And he looked, and behold a well in the field, and, lo, three flocks of sheep lying there by it; for out of that well they watered the flocks: and the stone upon the well's mouth was great. And thither were all the flocks gathered: and they rolled the stone from the well's mouth, and watered the sheep, and put the stone again upon the well's mouth in its place. See Gen. Rab. 70. 8, Jalqut I. 123 on Gen. *l.c.*, II. 741 on Ps. xlii., Pesiqta Rabbathi psq. 1, St John iv. 6, Wünsche *Erläuterung der Evv.* p. 512 (1878).

*Lifted up his feet.* A sound heart is the life of the בשרים *σάρκες* (Prov. xiv. 30). When a man hears glad tidings (בשורה), then טעין ליביה ית רגלוהי *his heart carries his feet*, or הכריסא טענא רגליה *the belly carries the feet*, as "the creatures say in their parables" (Matt. Kehunnah). In Menenius Agrippa's fable of the Belly and the Members the former holds the position of dignity, and (as in St John vii.) it is the source of supply.

*A well in the field.* That is "The Well," namely *that which went with Israel in the wilderness* (Matt. Kehunnah). The mention of this well's MOUTH helps to account for פי הבאר in Aboth v. 9.

The Midrash gives several interpretations of the passage cited, and (like T. J. Sukkah *l.c.*) explains בית השואבה by רוח הקודש because therefrom they drew the Holy Spirit. In one of these the well is the synagogue and the *great stone* the Evil Impulse, which is rolled away as the congregation enter to hear Torah and returns to its place when they go out. In another the well is Sinai from which they heard עשרת הדברות the decalogue, and the great stone is the Shekhinah. Psq. Rabbathi *l.c.* and Jalq. Ps. xlii. refer to Is. lxvi. 23 'כִּי בָחֲרֵנוּ כו' speak of the pilgrims' appearing and seeing the face of the Shekhinah at the great feasts, and derive שואבה as above from שאב.

Menenius Agrippa's famous comparison of the human body and the body politic is given by Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus as below, and briefly in Plutarch's *Vita Corioliuni* § 6.

Livy II. 32...nullam profecto nisi in concordia civium spem reliquam ducere : eam per aequa per iniqua reconciliandam civitati esse. sic placuit igitur oratorem ad plebem mitti Menenium Agrippam, facundum virum et, quod inde oriundus erat, plebi earum. is intromissus in castra prisco illo dicendi et horrido modo nihil aliud quam hoc narrasse fertur : *Tempore quo in homine, non ut nunc omnia in unum consentiebant, sed singulis membris suum cuique consilium, suus sermo fuerat, indignatas reliquas partes sua cura suo labore ac ministerio centri omnia quaeri, ventrem in medio quietum nihil aliud quam datis voluptatibus frui. conspirasse inde, ne manus ad os cibum ferrent, nec os acciperet datum, nec dentes quae conficerent. hac ira dum ventrem fame domare vellent, ipsa una membra totumque corpus ad extremam tabem venisse. inde apparuisse centri quoque haud segne ministerium esse, nec magis ali quam alere reddentem in omnis corporis partes hunc, quo vicinus vigemusque, dirisum pariter in venas maturum confecto cibo sanguinem.* comparando hinc, quam intestina corporis seditio similis esset irae plebis in patres, flexisse mentes hominum.

Dionys. Hal. *Antiq. Roman.* vi. 86 ἔοικέ πως ἀνθρωπεῖω σώματι πόλις. σύνθετον γὰρ ἐκ πολλῶν μερῶν ἐστὶν ἐκάτερον, καὶ οὕτε δύναμιν ἔχει ἕκαστον τὴν αὐτὴν τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς μερῶν, οὕτε χρείας παρέχεται τὰς ἴσας. εἰ δὴ λάβοι τὰ μέρη τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου σώματος ἰδίαν αἴσθησιν καθ' αὐτὰ καὶ φωνήν, ἔπειτα στάσις ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐμπέσοι καθ' ἓν γενομένοις τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι πρὸς τὴν γαστέρα μόνην, καὶ λέγοιεν οἱ μὲν πόδες, ὅτι πᾶν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐπίκειται τὸ σῶμα· αἱ δὲ χεῖρες, ὅτι τὰς τέχνας ἐργάζονται καὶ τὰπιτήδεια ἐκπορίζουσι καὶ μάχονται πολεμίοις, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ ὠφελήματα παρέχουσιν εἰς τὸ κοινόν· οἱ δὲ ὄμμοι, ὅτι τὰ ἄχθη πάντα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς κομίζεται. [τὸ δὲ στόμα, ὅτι φθέγγεται·] ἢ δὲ κεφαλὴ, ὅτι ὄρᾳ καὶ ἀκούει καὶ τὰς ἄλλας αἰσθήσεις περιλαβοῦσα πᾶσας ἔχει, δι' ὧν σώζεται τὸ πᾶν· εἶτα φαῖεν πρὸς τὴν γαστέρα· Σὺ δέ, ὦ χρηστή, τί τούτων ποιεῖς ; ἢ τίς ἐστὶν ἡ σὴ χάρις ἡμῖν καὶ ὠφέλεια ; ἀλλὰ σύ γε τοσοῦτον ἀπέχεις τοῦ πράττειν τι καὶ συγκατορθοῦν ἡμῖν τῶν κοινῇ χρησίμων, ὥστε καὶ ἀντιπράττεις καὶ ἐνοχλεῖς καὶ πρᾶγμα ἀφόρητον ὑπηρετεῖν ἀναγκάζεις καὶ φέρειν ἀπανταχόθεν, εἰς τὴν ἐκπλήρωσιν τῶν σεαυτῆς ἐπιθυμιῶν. φέρε, τί οὐ μεταποιοῦμεθα τῆς ἐλευθερίας κ.τ.λ.



24 והכל לפי המעשה, Sukkah v. 4 (Surh. ii. 277) מעשה, Berak. 7a מעשה אבותיהם, Sanh. 44b מעשה זמרי. A Midrash מעשה תורה is printed in *Kol Bo* § 118 (Venice 1547), and in Jellinek's *Bet ha-Midrash*.

For מעשה in the sense *historia rei gestae* see Buxt. 1678, Menach. x. 2 (p. 83, n. 12), cf. מעשי תורה in Ben Jacob's *Oḡar ha-Sefarim* p. 358, no. 1929 (Wilna 1880).

## 20.

p. 35, ii. 12—13 *good way...evil way*] See *The Two Ways in Hermas and Xenophon* (Journ. of Philol. xxi. 243—258). The Torah is likened (p. 257) in T. J. Chagigah ii. 1 to two paths, the one of אור *fire* the other of שלג *snow*, cf. Aboth R. N. xxviii. (Schlechter p. 86) To what is the matter like? to an army marching between ways of fire and snow &c., Ecclus. xv. 16 He hath set fire and water before thee: thou shalt stretch forth thy hand unto whichsoever thou wilt. See also *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch* p. xxi. and chap. xxx. 15 ed. Charles (1896).

Herma's harps upon the same theme with variations when he speaks of the two Angels that accompany a man, and of his personified good Ἐπιθυμία and evil Ἐπιθυμία. Compare in Maim. *Moreh Nebukhim* iii. 22 (Friedländer p. 100) "According to our Sages the evil inclination, the adversary (*satan*), and the angel [of death] are undoubtedly identical, and the adversary being called "angel" because he is among the sons of God, and the good inclination being in reality an angel, it is to the good and the evil inclinations that they refer in their well-known words, *Every person is accompanied by two angels, one being on his right side, one on his left,*" and see the passage of Baba Bathra cited near the end of Excursus V.

On the next folio (Baba B. 17a) it is said that *the angel of death had no power over certain persons*. "But," remarks Dr Friedländer in a note on *Moreh Nebukhim* iii. 51 (p. 293), "Maimonides holds that *angel of death* and *evil inclination* are identical, and accordingly in the passage referred to the Patriarchs and Moses, Aaron and Miriam are said to have been free from evil inclination."

Such a result shews that the expressions said to be synonymous are not merely different names for the same thing.

On the other hand compare St James i. 13—14 μηδὲς πειραζόμενος κ.τ.λ. with Ecclus. xxi. 27 *When the ungodly curseth Satan he curseth his own soul*, on which Dr Edersheim writes in the *Speaker's Commentary*, "This certainly accords with an exceptional Rabbinic view, which identifies Satan with the *Yetser ha-Ra*, the evil inclination." Cf. Ecclus. xv. 11—12.

As the evil יצר is in the end to be slain by the Holy One (p. 130), so ἔσχατος ἐχθρὸς καταργεῖται ὁ θάνατος (1 Cor. xv. 26). As Satan is called σκάνδαλον (Matt. xvi. 23), so the evil יצר (p. 130), which is also connected with אבן אפל (Job xxviii. 3) in Gen. Rab. S9. 1 and Jalq. ii. 915.

Herma's, so to say, makes the evil Ἐπιθυμία an Angel of Death which

delivers *εις θάνατον*, calls it *τοῦ διαβόλου θυγάτηρ*, says that if resisted *φεύξεται ἀπὸ σοῦ μακράν*, and says the like of the Devil. See *Mand.* xii. 1, 2, 5, St James iv. 7.

## 21.

p. 36, n. 31 (cf. p. 41) *heart*] St Mark xii. 30 quotes Deut. vi. 5 "with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might" with the explanatory addition of *διανοίας κ.τ.λ.*, and St Matt. xxii. 37 keeps "mind" and omits "might." Sifré II. § 32 (Fr. 73 a) explains *בשני יצריך בכל לבבך* with thy two natures or impulses, the evil and the good, cf. Midr. Ps. ix. 2. On the heart see also Midr. Eccl. i. 7 "all the rivers run into the sea."

On *Cor malignum* in iv. Ezra iii. 21 see Sanday and Headlam on Romans v. 12—14 (p. 137, 1895). The *yecer* being "the imagination of the thoughts of the heart," as the heart is called uncircumcised so the evil *yecer* is called uncircumcised (p. 130).

*Heart and heart.* See Ps. xii. 3 *בלב ולב ירברו*, 1 Chron. xii. 33, 38 not of *heart and heart*...but with a *perfect heart*. This idiom suggests an explanation of Prov. xxi. 8 *ישר פעלו וזך וזך ישר איש וזך ישר הפכפך ררך איש וזך וזך ישר פעלו*, A.V. "The way of man is froward and strange: but as for the pure, his work is right," R.V. "The way of him that is laden with guilt [Arab. *wzr*] is exceeding crooked: but as for the pure, his work is right (marg. *straight*)." On this difficult verse the commentary *קב ונקי* has the following note *נתן 777* *הפכפך* *ל'איש הפכפך והוא שיש לו לפעמים דרך איש ולפעמים דרך זר* is a person whose way is sometimes one man's and sometimes another's, at times his own at times a stranger's. Compare the Homeric *γαθμοῖσι γελόειν ἀλλοτρῖοισιν*, they laughed "with alien lips." He is, as we may say, *איש לב ולב*, a man of two hearts or *δίψυχος*, in contrast with *ןך* the *pure*. St James, possibly referring to the verse, writes "a doubleminded man, unstable in all his ways...and purify your hearts, ye doubleminded" (i. 8, iv. 8). There is apparently no adjective *διπλοκάρδιος* corresponding to *διπλοκαρδία*, which is found in chap. 6 of the Didaché.

## 22.

p. 37, II. 15 (cf. pp. 63, 70, 77, 82, 98, 130) *יצר הרע* in *Ecclesiasticus and the New Testament*] *Test. 12 Patr.* Aser 1, 5 (pp. 183, 185 ed. Sinker 1869) suggests that Ecclus. xxxiii. 15 *πάντα...δύο δύο ἐν κατέναντι τοῦ ἐνός* includes the *δύο διαβούλια*, the evil *yecer* and the good *yecer*.

Prof. Margoliouth finds *yecer* and *יצר הרע* in other verses of Ecclus. (*Inaug. Lect. & Expositor* 1890). Thus, while in Ecclus. xvii. 6 *διαβούλιον* (Syr. *crearit*) seems to be a rendering of the verb *יצר* mistaken for the noun *יצר*, this was apparently the original of *ἐννόημα* (p. 77) in Ecclus. xxi. 11 "He that keepeth the law becometh master of his *yecer*" (Syr. *ܘܢܘܣܐ*). The Torah is said to be an antidote or condiment to the

evil *yecer* in Sukkah 52 b, Qiddush. 30 b, Baba B. 16 a, Gen. Rab. 22. 6, Aboth R. N. xvi. Note that כבש has the sense *condire* (Buxt. 1010).

We may assume that יצר הרע כו' was the original of Ecclus. xxxvii. 3 ὁ ποιηρὸν ἐνθύμημα [*imagination...evil* Gen. vi., viii.] πόθεν ἐνεκλίσθης; Syr. *Inimicus et sceleratus quorsum creati sunt?*, and that Syr. read יצר by error for יצר. Syr. and Vulg. suggest ἐκτίσθης [om. ἐν after πόθεν] for ἐκκλίσθης. Note that "enemy" is a name of יצר הרע, comparing St Paul's ἔχθρα and ἔσχατος ἔχθρός, and that God repented that He had created it (p. 130, Gen. vi. 5—6).

While the New Testament psychology rests more or less upon the Torah (Eph. iv. 24 ed. Ellicott), it may contain Rabbinic elements. If יצר הרע was known to Ben Sira, we shall perhaps find some of its many names (p. 130) in the earliest Christian writings.

*The two Men in Man.* We have seen that the ποιηρὸς is sometimes interpreted יצר הרע. Sukkah 52 b deduces from 2 Sam. xii. 4, "And there came a traveller unto the rich man, and he spared to take of his own flock and of his own herd, to dress for the wayfaring man that was come unto him; but took the poor man's lamb, and dressed it for the man that was come to him," that the evil *yecer* comes to a man at the first as a traveller, then becomes a guest (ארח ξένος), and at last the man, comm. בעל הבית *oikodespotēs*, or we may say that it becomes the man himself, for the "nature" which the strong man overcomes is "self," cf. Gen. Rab. 22. 6 (Wünsche p. 101). The evil and the good יצר together make two ἄνθρωποι in man. Compare St Jerome's application of Levit. xvii. ἄνθρωπος ἄνθρωπος quoted below, and St Paul's ἔσω and ἔξω, and his "old" and "new" ἄνθρωπος. The ἔσω [Plato ἐντὸς] ἄνθρωπος and the κρυπτὸς τῆς καρδίας ἄνθρωπος (1 Pet. iii. 4) correspond to the good *yecer*, whereas in the Talmud the evil *yecer* is called κρυπτὸς (p. 130), in accordance with St Mark vii. 21 ἔσωθεν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς καρδίας κ.τ.λ. (Gen. vi. 5).

Aboth R. N. xvi. (Schechter p. 64) has a parable, "Whereunto is the matter like? The evil *yecer* is like two men who went into an inn." One was arrested for brigandage and asked who was with him. Unwilling to die alone, he informed against his companion. So too says *yecer ha-ra'*, "Seeing that I am to perish in the world to come [p. 130], I will destroy the whole body."

Joma 69 b quotes Zech. v., where a woman represents wickedness. They say, Since it is *καρὸς ἐνπρόσδεκτος* let us pray for pardon for the spirit (יצר) of transgression. If thou kill him (or that נברא man), the world perisheth (*comm.* because there would be no increasing and multiplying). For *Variæ Lectiones* and parallels see Rabbinoicz ר"מ iv. 201 (1871). Whether expressly called נברא or not, the Evil Impulse is here depicted anthropomorphically.

*The two Minds in Man.* St Paul's word φρόνημα, synonyms of which are used to render יצר, may itself have been suggested by it. On φρόνημα σαρκός see Art. IX. *De Peccato Originali*, comparing Buxt. 973 יצר הרע יצר *Concupiscentia mala...qua homo naturaliter ad malum propendit & in*

*malum inclinat.*

Tertullian writes in *De Anima* 41 that "naturae corruptio *alia natura* est, habens suum deum et patrem, ipsum scilicet corruptionis auctorem." According to Shabbath 105 b the evil *yefzer* is a "strange god" within a man (Phil. iii. 19), and "idolatry" is among its works (Gal. v. 20).

Another word for יצר is ἐπιθυμία, *desire*. The two Desires are personified in Herm. *Mand.* xii. The good one is to be *put on* (ἐνδεδυμένος...ἐνδύσαι), like the "new man" (Eph. iv. 24), with which it is thus connected. Qiddush. 81 b יצר אלבשה her *yefzer* clothed her.

See also Note 20, and Rom. ii. 15 τῶν λογισμῶν κατηγορούντων κ.τ.λ. with Schoettgen's note.

*St Jerome on Ecclesiastes* (cf. *The Jews in the Works of the Church Fathers* by Dr S. Krauss in *J. Q. R.* vi.):

Eccl. iv. *Melior est puer pauper et sapiens quam rex senex et stultus qui nescit providere in posterum. Quoniam de domo vincitorum &c....* Hebraeus meus, cujus saepe facio mentionem, cum Ecclesiasten mecum legeret, haec Baracibam [Rab. Aqiba], quem unum vel maxime admirantur, super praesenti loco tradidisse testatus est. Melior est interior homo, qui post quartum decimum [p. 98] pubertatis annum in nobis exoritur, exteriori homine, qui de matris alvo natus est, qui nescit recedere a vicio, et qui de domo vincitorum, de utero videlicet materno, ad hoc exivit ut regnaret (*al. regnet*) in vitiis. Qui etiam in potestate sua pauper effectus est, mala omnia perpetrando. Vidi eos qui in priore homine vixerunt, et cum secundo homine postea versati sunt, eo videlicet qui pro priore decessore generatus est: intellexique omnes in homine priore peccasse antequam, secundo nascente, duo homines fierent. Quia vero ad meliora conversi, et post Y litteram philosophorum, sinistro tramite derelicto, ad dextrum apicem contenderunt, et secundum, id est, novissimum hominem sunt secuti, non lactabuntur in eo, id est, in priore. Hos duos homines et Apostolus contestatur (2 Thess. ii.) et Leviticus non tacet: *Homo, homo* [Sept. ἄνθρωπος ἄνθρωπος] *si voluerit* illud vel illud (Levit. xvii.).

Eccl. ix. *Civitas parva et viri in ea pauci &c....* Aliter Hebraeus ita hunc locum interpretatus est: Civitas parva homo est, qui etiam apud philosophos minor mundus vocatur. Et viri in ea pauci, membra de quibus homo ipse contextitur. Cum autem venerit adversus eam rex magnus diabolus, et quaesierit locum per quem possit irrumperere, invenitur in ea humilis et sapiens, et quieta *cogitatio interioris hominis*, et servat urbem quae obsessa ab hostibus cingebatur.

Midr. Tillim on Ps. ix. explains "with my whole heart" as meaning with יצר טוב and יצר רע, and finds these in Eccl. iv. 13, where (it says) the one is called *puer pauper et sapiens* because it is joined to a man only from and after his thirteenth year, is not obeyed, and sets men in good ways, and the other is called *rex senex et stultus* because all the members of the body obey it, it is with a man from birth to old age, and it sets men in evil ways (cf. Targ. & Midr. Eccl., Nedar. 32 b, Ab. R. N.

xvi.). St Jerome's *cogitatio* (al. *sensus*) of the ἔσω ἄνθρωπος is the good יצר, cf. Gen. viii. 21 Vulg. *Sensus enim et cogitatio humani cordis in malum prona sunt ab adolescentia sua*, that is "de matris alvo" according to T. J. Berak. iii. 6 d<sub>16</sub>, cf. Gen. R. 34. 10 (Wünsche p. 152).

In Rom. vi. 12—14, "Let not sin therefore reign in your mortal body... Neither yield ye your members as instruments of unrighteousness unto sin... For sin shall not have dominion over you," there may be an allusion to the "rex senex" who reigns over the members, as well as to Gen. iv. 7, which is also possibly referred to in other passages of the New Testament, as Luke xxii. 31, 1 Pet. v. 8. From fem. הַטָּמֵה followed by masc. רֹבֵץ it is inferred that the evil *yecer* is first weak then strong (Gen. R. 22. 6, Wünsche p. 101). In Nedar. 32 b it is made out by Gematria that the Holy One made Abram king at first over 243 members and afterwards, when he was called Abraham, over all the 248 members of the body.

Abraham was פְּרוּט אַהֲבָה, a Pharisee of the highest class. He made the evil *yecer* good, and made a covenant with him. His heart was נֶאֱמָן לַפְּנֵיךְ (Neh. ix. 8), whereas David's was לֵל הַלֵּל within him (Psalm cix. 22). See T. J. Berakh. ix. 7 (14b).

*The two Treasures.* In Matt. xii. 35 (Luke vi. 45) ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐκ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ θησαυροῦ [Deut. xxviii. 12] ἐκβάλλει ἀγαθά, καὶ ὁ πονηρὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ θησαυροῦ ἐκβάλλει πονηρά, the evil יצר may have been suggested by the evil יצר, cf. *Test. Aser* 1 ὁ θησαυρὸς τοῦ διαβόλου, al. διαβουλίου (*yecer*). Cf. Zech. xi. 13 "to the potter," with Mr W. H. Lowe's note on the reading.

*The Book of the Secrets of Enoch.* On ch. xxx. 16, "I knew his nature, he did not know his nature. Therefore his ignorance is a woe to him that he should sin, and I appointed death on account of his sin," Mr Charles in a note remarks that this ignorance "is not first and directly an ignorance of moral distinctions, but of his nature with its good and evil impulses (יצר הרע and יצר הטוב)." Comparing the text with Deut. xxxi. 21 For I know יצרו, and Ps. ciii. 14 For He knoweth יצרנו (Aboth R. N. xvi. *sub fin.*), we may suppose that "Enoch" refers as the note suggests to יצה"ר and יצה"ט.

On the Evil Impulse see also Baba B. 78 b "Wherefore they that SPEAK IN PROVERBS say &c. (Num. xxi. 27). These are they that RULE (המויטלים) over their *yecer*," Midr. Ps. ix. (Buber p. 80) & Aboth iv. 2 n. טוב מאר includes יצה"ר, Ps. xxxiv. (p. 246) & Gen. Rab. 54. 1 If thine enemy the Evil Impulse hunger feed him with bread of Torah &c., Ps. cxix. (p. 492) It has no power over one who has the Torah in his heart וְלֹא נוֹנֵעַ בּוֹ, cf. καὶ ὁ πονηρὸς οὐχ ἄπτεται αὐτοῦ (1 Joh. v. 18), and see Aboth R. N. ed. Schechter pp. 30, 70, 158 &c.

*The Speaker's Commentary on Ecclesiasticus.* Eccles. xv. 14—15 "He himself made man from the beginning, and left him in the hands of his COUNSEL," διαβουλίου for Heb. יצר (Edersheim). Mr Schechter compares MIDRASH HA-GADOL on Gen. iv. 6—7 (col. 107):

ואם לא תיטיב לפתח הטאת רבין. הרי את מסור בידו של יצר הרע שהוא רובין על הפתח.

Hence and from the Syriac of Ecclus. *l.c.* ויאשלם אנון ביד יצרהון it appears that Ben Sira probably wrote that the Creator מסר delivered man into the hand of his יצר with its tendency to evil, cf. Qiddush. 30 b and if ye be not occupied in Torah ye are נמכרים בידו. With this agrees Rom. i. 24, 26, 28 παρέδωκεν [מסר] αὐτοὺς ὁ θεός, cf. 1 Cor. v. 5. Notice the saying *Apoc. Baruch* LIV. 19 each one of us has been the Adam of his own soul.

Midrash ha-Gadol continues *If thou doest not well*, the consequence will be *נאח* a rising (Lev. xiv. 56), that is leprosy; and adds that the verse Gen. iv. 7 is one of five of doubtful punctuation, for *נאח* may also be taken with *תיטיב*. Supposing it to mean *נאח פנים* in contrast with *נפלו פניך*, a possible construction gives the sense, Sin coucheth [Gen. xlix. 9 *he couched as a lion*] at the door, watching לא ואם תיטיב לא אם תיטיב שאת ואם לא (cf. Eccl. xii. end) recover from thy passion. Ecclus. xxvii. 10 *As the lion lieth in wait...so sin &c. serves as a link between Gen. iv. 7 sin coucheth and 1 Pet. v. 8—9 ὡς λέων ἀρπόμενος... ὃ ἀντίστητε κ.τ.λ.* Compare St James iv. 7.

Ecclus. xvii. 6 *Counsel &c.* "In omitting the word the Syriac is probably faithful to the original" (Edersheim). Say rather with Prof. Margoliouth that it rightly renders יצר as a verb, cf. Ps. xciv. 9 יצר עין *He that formed the eye.*

Ecclus. xxi. 11 He that keepeth the law *getteth the mastery* [rule] over his INCLINATION (Edersheim), Syr. אלן יצרה. Cf. Aboth iv. 2 הכובש את יצרו. Mastery of inclination by means of Torah is a favourite theme of the Rabbis. All things were created in syzygies and Torah is an opposite of יצה"ו. See Eccl. vii. 14, Ecclus. xxxiii. 14—15, Chagigah 15 a, Midrash Temurah in Jellinek *Bet ha-Midrash* I. 108 ובשתוף ובשלין thereto. Baba B. 16 a He created the Evil Impulse and Torah as

On Ecclus. xxi. 27 *When the ungodly curseth Satan* see Note 20.

Ecclus. xxxvii. 3 O WICKED IMAGINATION. Syr. read צר ורע by mistake for הרע יצר (Margoliouth). The context is about friends who are false or have turned to foes. Such mischief (Midr. Ps. xxxiv.) is wrought by the Evil Impulse, himself the most inveterate of enemies, who after associating with a man all his life will trip him up at forty, fifty, sixty if he can. היש לך שונא גדול מזה?

p. 40, n. 45 [מין] See Levy, Kohut. Benjamin Musafia makes המינים an abbreviation of המאמינים *the believers* (N.T. πιστεύοντες, πιστοί). This suggests that מין might be rendered *misbeliever*, cf. *miscreant*.

In Rosh ha-Shan. 17 a the "Minim und Denuncianten" [Buxt. 1234]

are condemned for ever **בזבול ידיהם שפיטו** because they stretched forth their hands against the Temple: their judgment is to outlast Gehinnom (Midr. Ps. xlix. **לזבול**, Buber p. 278).

In explanation of this Dr M. Joel (cf. Graetz *Gesch. d. Juden*) quotes Gen. Rab. 64. 10 (Wünsche p. 308), where it is said that, when the wicked kingdom in the days of Jehoshua ben Chananiah (II. 10)—that is Rome under Hadrian—had decreed the rebuilding of the Temple, the Kuthim, in the words of their predecessors (Ezra iv. 13), opposed it.

The Ebionites (Joel *Blicke* i. 26) according to Irenæus i. 22 (Mass. 26) adored Jerusalem *quasi domus sit Dei*. In *Epist. Barn.* 16 (Lightft.-Harmer p. 284, 1891) we read “Moreover I will tell you likewise concerning the temple, how these wretched men being led astray set their hope on the building...as being a house of God...Behold they that pulled down this temple themselves shall build it [Is. xlix. 17]...Now also the very servants of their enemies shall build it up.” Cf. Psq. Rabbathi (Friedmann 149 b) **וואתה צריך לבנותה כו**. Those who felt with Barnabas would have looked with disfavour upon the rebuilding of the Temple at Jerusalem.

It is said in T. J. Megillah i. 11, 71c, that the Torah cannot be adequately translated **אלא יוונית** except into Greek. The Gemara continues **בירגני אחר בידא להם ארמית מתוך יוונית** he made an Aramaic Targum from the Greek. It has been thought that Targ. “Onkelos” was so named as being based upon Aquila’s Greek rendering of the Torah. See Graetz *History of the Jews* II. 589 (trans. by B. Löwy 1891).

The injunction not to teach one’s son Greek (Sotah ix. 14, Surh. III. 304) dates from the war of Quietus (**א** 105 b, ed. Lowe **קיטום**, Surh. **טיטום**). For examples of Hebrew words in the Bible read Rabbinically as Greek see Dr M. Sachs *Beiträge* i. 19 (Joel *Blicke* i. 51).

The Munich MS. reading **קבא פלנספא ההוא פילוספא** for **ההוא פילוספא** in Shabbath 116 a is conjecturally explained by “a certain **אפסקבא** *ἐπίσκοπος*” in Mr Lowe’s *Fragment of T. B.* p. 68 b.

## 24.

p. 43, III. 1 [whence...whither] Clem. *Cor.* 38 *ἐκ ποίας ἄλης ἐγενήθημεν* κ.τ.λ., Mekhilta *Shir*. **נורא תהלות** (Fr. 42 a), **הקב"ה צר צורה במים כו**, Heracliti Ephes. *Reliq.* 68 (ed. Bywater 1877) *ἐξ ὕδατος δὲ ψυχῆ*.

Sotah 5 a makes **בסר** (or **בישר**) a נוטריקון of בוששה, סרוחה (or שאול), רימנה, see Buxt. 329 & **יצחק**. Midr. Ps. xvi. 10 **שלא ימום בשרו כו**, cf. Acts ii. 29—31.

## 25.

p. 44, n. 8 [מצפון] Midr. *Elleh hu-Debarim Zuta* (p. 22 ed. Buber) Messiah is to come from the north, Lev. Rab. 9. 6 **בצפון**

## 26.

p. 44, n. 8 SHEKINAH] Compare Ecclus. xxiv. 8 "Then the Creator of all things gave me *Wisdom* a commandment; and he that created me made my tabernacle to rest, and said, Let thy tabernacle be in Jacob, and thine inheritance in Israel."

## 27.

p. 45, III. 7 *by night*] How did Moses on the mount know when it was day and when night? Because he was taught Scripture by day and Mishnah or Oral Law by night. See Midr. P's. xix. יום ליום (Buber p. 166), Tanchuma ל"ו כי תשא ל"ו (i. 127 b Warsaw 1879), Pirqe R. El. 46, Magen Aboth on the Ages of Man. Or he learned Torah in the daytime and repeated it by himself at night, to teach Israel that they should be working at Torah day and night. During the forty days he was fed מִזֵּי הַשֶּׁבִינָה, or he ate bread of Torah and drank water of Torah (Prov. ix. 5, Is. lv. 1). See Buber's Tanchuma כי תשא 60 a, Buxt. 1861 on פִּשְׁטָה.

## 28.

p. 48, n. 19 *punctuation*] RISH, that is R. Jacob Shimshoni or ben Shmshon, in the so-called Machsor Vitry (Hurwitz p. 462) writes of things revealed to Moses "And not these only were said to Moses from Sinai by word of mouth according to what we learn in the *pereq* [of the Mishnah commencing] בֵּין הַמְּוֹדֵר &c." On this "famous passage in Nedarim 37 b *sq.*" see Mr I. Harris on *The Rise and Development of the Massorah* in the *Jewish Quarterly Review* (i. 138, 1889)\*. On the authority of Rab the verse Nehemiah viii. 8 is made in Nedar. *l.c.* to allude to הפסוקים the "versual divisions," and פיסוקי טעמים the "pausal divisions" or punctuation of verses by accents, or as some think the מסורות. "Obviously the Talmud is not referring to written signs of any kind, for Nehemiah viii. 8 is describing a public recital of the Law. The divisions spoken of must therefore be of the nature of elocutionary pauses." RISH *l.c.* says that points are not Mosaic but were invented by the scribes, which accounts for the existence of three systems of ניקוד *pointing* in his time. Compare Dr M. Friedländer's notice of *A Third System of Symbols for the Hebrew Vowels and Accents* in the *Jewish Quarterly Review* VII. 564 *sq.* (1895).

Rab's interpretation of Neh. viii. 8 is found also in Megillah 3 a, and Bachja on the Pentateuch gives it s.v. ארני (Gen. xviii. 3) with ניקוד in place of פסוקי טעמים. "They forgot these מסורות and restored them again" (Megil. *l.c.*).

\* See also Prof. W. Bacher's *Contribution to the History of the term "Massorah"* at the end of *J. Q. R.* vol. III. (1891), and the same writer's article on *The Origin of the word Haggadah (Agada)* in *J. Q. R.* IV. 406—429.

R. Tobiah ben Eliezer (cent. x.) in his commentary *Leqach Tob* on Canticles interprets Job xxviii. 27 אִזְרָאָה כִּי (doubtless on the authority of some Midrash) as referring to *Miqra, Targum, Accentuation, Pointing*. See the Cambridge University MS. Additional 378, fol. 25 a.

On cases of punctuation by accents see also p. 152, *Crit. Note* III. 21, Joma 52 a & 31 b Tos. וְרָחֵם וּפִיטָם on Gen. iv. 7 שֵׁשׁ, Ex. xxv. 33 מִשְׁוֹקְרִים, Ex. xvii. 9 מִדֶּהר, Gen. xlix. 7 אֶרְוֶר, Deut. xxxi. 16 וְקָם. In T. J. Abodah Z. II. 7, 41 c & d these five references are given in their Biblical order and R. Tanchuma adds Gen. xxxiv. 7. Cf. Sanhedrin 90 b, Mekhilta עֲמֻלָּק par. 1 (Fr. 54 a), Gen. Rab. 80. 6 (Wünsche p. 393), Cant. Rab. i. 2 כִּי טוֹבִים כִּי.

## 29.

p. 50, III. 16] Targ. Eccl. x. 16 *Woe to thee O land of Israel when the wicked Jeroboam shall reign over thee...and thy magnates eat bread before they offer the morning sacrifice.*

Midr. Shocheh Tob (Buber p. 19) & R. D. Qimchi (p. 7 ed. Schiller-Szinessy) on Ps. i. "his leaf shall not wither," even the שִׁיהָ of the wise is instructive, cf. *Epist. Barn.* 11. 8 "Folia...hoc est quia omnis sermo &c.," and see Schechter on A Jewish Boswell in *Studies in Judaism*.

## 30.

p. 55, n. 32 1 Cor. xi. 4—5 ἀκατακάλυπτος τῇ κεφαλῇ κ.τ.λ. (cf. p. 82)] For parallels and contrasts see J. J. Wetstenii *Nov. Test. Græcum*. Compare Juvenal *Sat.* vi. 390 *Pro cithara velare caput* i.e. sacra facere capite velato. See also Brüll *Jahrbücher für jüd. Gesch. u. Litteratur* VIII. 51 art. *Die Haarbedeckung der jüd. Frauen*, Abrahams *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages* p. 278.

Plutarch *Quæst. Rom.* 14 διὰ τί τοὺς γονεῖς ἐκκομίζουσιν οἱ μὲν υἱοὶ συγκαλυμμένοι αἱ δὲ θυγατέρες γυμναῖς ταῖς κεφαλαῖς καὶ ταῖς κομαῖς λελυμέναις;

"The custom still obtains in West Cumberland for the male mourners to wear their hats in Church at a Funeral. Within the last 20 years the men observed the same practice in Church on the Sunday but one after the Funeral, but I have not seen them do it lately. All the mourners however remain seated during the whole service on both days" (Signed J. T. POLLOCK *Vicar of Brigham, Cumberland.* 16 Nov. 1896).

1 Cor. xi. 7 ἀνὴρ...δόξα θεοῦ ὑπάρχων (cf. Heb. i. 3). See *J. Q. R.* III. 695 art. by Mr Schochter *The Quotations from Ecclesiasticus in Rabbinic Literature* no. 19 הָרַר אֱלֹהִים בְּנֵי אָדָם וְהָרַר בְּנֵי אָדָם כְּסוּתוֹ *sons of men are God's glory, a son of man's is his raiment*, cf. Ps. xxix. 2 בְּהַרְרַת קִרְיָת.

1 Cor. xi. 10 ἐξουσίαν. A crown or cap ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς may signify possession of or subjection to authority. H. A. W. Meyer *Kommentar über das N. T.* "Hitzig aber in d. theol. Jahrb. 1854 p. 129 ff. das Wort für ein *judengriechisches* ausgiebt, und zwar aus ἐξ ἴσου entstanden, da der

Schleier zwei vorne und hinten im Gleichgewichte überhangende Hälften gehabt habe."

1 Cor. xi. 10 *διὰ τοὺς ἀγγέλους*. Granted that it was comely for a woman to have her head veiled in the presence of men, why should she when praying (ver. 5) even in private have it veiled *διὰ τοὺς ἀγγέλους*? St Paul, himself conscious of being a spectacle both to angels and men (1 Cor. iv. 9), would have others no less awake to the presence of the unseen witnesses, cf. Heb. xii. 1 *νέφος μαρτύρων κ.τ.λ.* Everyone, it was said, was accompanied by two angels (Note 20). When a man desired absolute privacy, he begged his angels to leave him for a season (Berak. 60 b *init.*). A woman praying or prophesying was to think of her angels as close at hand, and to veil herself before them as if they were men.

Gen. Rab. 21. 9 (Wünsche p. 98) on Gen. iii. 24 *המתהפכת* teaches that angels change their shapes and appear at different times as men, women [Zech. v. 9], winds or spirits, angels.

For THEGRI (al. *Hegrin*) as the name of the angel in Herm. *Vis.* iv. 2. 4 Dr J. Rendel Harris has proposed to read, and Dr Harmer accordingly reads, SEGRU from Dan. vi. 22 סגר. Note that one of the three names of רוח פסקונית (comm. *which is Gabriel*) in Sanhed. 44 b (cf. Jalq. II. 353 *init.*) is סיגרון from סגר (Kohut *A. C.* vi. 22). Brüll *Jahrbücher für Jüdische Geschichte* I. 158 (1874) art. *Fremdsprachliche Wörter in Talm. u. Midr.* identifies סיגרון with Σκίρων (or Σκείρων), and refers on רוח פסקונית to *Tanchuma Wesot-habracha* § 6 (125 b, Warsaw 1879).

## 31.

p. 56, n. 35 *the incommunicable name*] On the Tetragrammaton or Name of Four Letters יהוה see *Dict. of Bible* art. JEHOWAH by Mr Aldis Wright (1863), Kuenen *The Religion of Israel* and *Hibbert Lectures* n. 4, *Studia Biblica* I. art. 1 by Prof. Driver (1885), Leopold Löw *Gesammelte Schriften* I. (Szegedin 1889) art. 7 *Die Aussprache des vierbuchstabigen Gottesnamens* 1867, Maim. *Moreh Nebukhim* I. 62.

The Tetragrammaton יהוה may be older than יהו, יו, יה, and יהו may have been derived from it by apocopation. As the verb-form יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה with ו conversive reduces to יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה, so from יהוה (it is said) may have come יהו, and thence יו and יה. "There are no grammatical objections to this."

But in proper names are found some of the archaisms which are classed as exceptions to modern rules. For example, "Similar to the Aramaic is the Hebrew form, which appears in its integrity in the proper name חֲוִי; but ordinarily *ai* has passed into *ē*, and we get the form חֲוֶה." See the late Prof. W. Wright's *Lectures on the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages* p. 269 (Camb. 1890), and ib. p. 255 "We now proceed to the large and important class of verbs in which the weak letter occupies the third place in the root. In our Hebrew Grammars these are generally called verbs חֲוֶה, but as the ה is merely a vowel letter, I prefer speaking of

them as verbs ל"י or ל"י, according to circumstances. Verbs ל"ה, strictly so called, are such as ג"בה, which pertain to a quite different class, *verba tertiæ gutturalis*." A ל"ה verb not strictly so called is ש"חה, "Hithpal. ה"ש"תח"ה (tertia radicali geminata...) fut. apoc. י"ש"תחו, in pausa י"ש"תחו" (Gesen. *Thesaur.*). Accordingly we may say that the root in question is properly not ש"חה but ש"חו, and that in "fut. apoc. י"ש"תחו" it becomes itself again, after conversion to a pseudo ל"ה form and expansion therefrom to ש"ח"ה in י"ש"תחוה. In any case the quadriliteral ש"ח"ה must have grown out of some more elementary form of the root. Hence the comparison of יהוה, י"ש"תחוה and יהו י"ש"תחו suggests that יהו is perhaps not merely an apocopated form of יהוה. Something still remains to be said in support of the view that the longer is not the older form of the Name.

For ways of reading יהוה see also Bp Pearson on the words *Our Lord* in the Creed, *Heb. Words and Synonyms* by Dr E. G. King (1884), *The Gnostics and their Remains* by C. W. King (ed. 2 1887), Irenæus ed. Harvey II. 58. 1 (vol. I. p. 386) "Eodem modo et Jaoth [Jaoh], extensa cum aspiratione novissima syllaba, mensuram præfinitam manifestat; cum autem per o Græcæ corripitur, ut puta Jaoth [Jao], eum qui dat fugam malorum significat," cf. in Walton's Polyglot "Jaoth, vel potius Jaoh." The emendation is confirmed by a reading *Jacob*, with *cob* for *oh*.

In a note on Iren. I. 1. 7 Harvey suggests that the name ΙΑΩ, which he hesitates (p. 34, but see p. 230) to identify with יהוה, is "indicated in the Α and Ω of the Apocalypse," see Rev. i. 8 Ἐγὼ εἰμι τὸ Ἄλφα καὶ τὸ Ὠ, λέγει Κύριος, ὁ θεός, ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος, ὁ πάντοκράτωρ.

The verse cited quotes from Ex. iii. 14 Ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ ὢν and adds καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος, cf. Heb. xiii. 8 Jesus Christ is "the same yesterday, and to day, and for ever." If at the time of the writing of the Apocalypse the word יהוה was regarded as comprising יה"ה ה"ה ה"ה, ἦν ὢν ἔσται, this would have been expressed as nearly as might be in Greek by the use of Α and Ω, taken from the name ΙΑΩ, as symbols of past and future eternity. We have only to conjecture that this name, however much it may have differed therefrom, was understood to be the Greek for יהוה.

Qiddushin 71 a relates in the name of R. Jochanan that the secret of the אותיות ש"ם בן ד' (Rashi ופירושו) used to be communicated to disciples once, or some say twice, in a *septennium*. The word שבוע, which has been inappropriately rendered *week*, is now understood to have the same meaning here as in Chullin 91 b. The ministering angels say a song only once in a day, בחודש א' בשבת וא"ל פעם א' בהודש, ואמרי לה פעם א' בשבת וא"ל פעם א' בשבוע וא"ל פעם א' בעולם or once in a *week*, month, year, *septennium*, jubilee or aeon.

Mr Schechter writes in the *Jewish Quarterly Review* VI. 427 (referring to *Tosephta Berachoth* ix. ed. Schwartz, and Graetz *Gesch. d. Juden*), that "At a certain period in history, when the heresy of the new sects was threatening to affect larger classes, the Rabbis even enforced the utterance

of the Tetragrammaton in every benediction," that there might be no doubt Who was addressed.

R. Moshel of Cordovero makes a suggestion which is quoted with approval in Tosafoth Yom Tob on Joma vi. 2 ואולי טעם הדבר כמו שכתב החכם מה"ר משה קרוואד"ץ בסוף עבודת יום הכפורים שגבל יום היו מזכירין הכהנים אותו בברכת הכהנים בנקוד אל"ף דל"ת דהיינו וכו' וזיוס זה היה בנקוד חול"ס סגו"ל קמ"ץ סגו"ל (Berl. 1861) i.e. that the priests in their daily blessing pronounced the TETRAGRAMMATON with the pointing of ADONAI, "that is &c.," but the high priest on the Day of Atonement pronounced it with the pointing *cholem, segol, gamez, segol*.

In MISHNAH Sotah VII. 6 (Surb. III. 264) on the sacerdotal blessing Num. vi. 24—26 it is said that "In Sanctuario *τετραγράμματος* efferebatur secundum literas: sed in Provinciis *substituatur* cognomen"; but it is not said that "incurvabant se et adorabant et in facies decumbent" at the utterance of the *Name*, except when they heard it "ex ore Sacerdotis magni" on the Day of Atonement (Joma *l.c.* Note 41). It is in order to account for this that R. Moshel of Cordovero makes his suggestion that יהוה was not fully pronounced except by the high priest on the Day of Atonement. The pronunciation which R. Moshel gives for it is YōHĕWĀHĕ, an abbreviation of the complete spelling of the Name. Compare the equation of יה, that is ה"ד ה"א, by Gematria to יהוה (26).

The question of the pronunciation of the TETRAGRAMMATON is twofold. What is the correct, grammatical vocalisation of יהוה? and how was it pronounced by the high priest on the Day of Atonement? Doubtless he pronounced it not in a plain colloquial way, but with a musical intonation as in a chant or song, Heb. נעימה (Kohut *A. C.* v. 358 *a*). If it was rendered with a number of notes in excess of its proper grammatical complement of vowels, this would account for the traditional view which makes it a comprehensive הויה שם *nomen essentialis*, signifying that יהוה is הויה יקנה, ever existent and the cause of existence. See Ex. iii. 14 with Targ. & comm., Pirqe R. El. 40 end, Tur *Orach Chayim* § 5, Judah ben Barzilai on יצירה ט' pp. 112, 116 (1885), Heb. Auth. P. B. p. 3.

The words of Irenaeus *l.c.* "extensa cum aspiratione novissima syllaba" evidently convey, as far as they go, a true tradition. The end of the word for ONE in the "Hear O Israel" was to be emphasised and dwelt upon (pp. 54, 117), and in the words of lamentation in Jeremiah xxii. 18 הוי ארזן הוי הרה it may have been intended that the aspirated last syllable should be prolonged in like manner.

## 32.

p. 56, III. 21 *in imagine*] There is a benediction in Kethuboth 8a and in the Hebrew Marriage Service (Auth. P. B. p. 299) "Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe, *who hast made man in thine image, after thy likeness, and hast prepared unto him, out of his very self, a*

*perpetual fabric*, והתקין תבניתו בצלם בצלמו רמות תבניתו והתקין אשר יצר את האדם בצלמו בצלם רמות תבניתו והתקין, "לו ממנו בנין עדי עד ויבן את הצלע בו" Gen. ii. 22 and the rib *builded* he into woman, cf. Berakh. 61 אוצר. Compare also Clem. *Hom.* XIX. 23 ἵνα τῷ ἔσομένῳ ἄρρειν αἰωνίως ἢ θήλεια τίκτη δίκαιούς αἰωνίους υἱούς.

St Paul writes (2 Cor. v. 1) "For we know that if the earthly house of our tabernacle be dissolved, we have a building from God, a house not made with hands, eternal, in the heavens." This is not unlike a רש"י upon והתקין לו בו in the benediction, which might be rendered "and didst prepare for him *therefrom* [with especial reference to תבניתו from בנה *build*] a perpetual building." Thus the בנין עדי עד would be οἰκοδομὴ ἐκ θεοῦ...αἰώνιος, the image of God in man implying eternity. Cf. Wisdom ii. 23 ἔκτισε τὸν ἄνθρωπον...εἰκόνα τῆς ἰδίας αἰδιότητος (v.l. ἰδιότητος), with the critical note in Sanday and Headlam *Ep. to Romans* p. 51 (1895). It is also possible that St Paul in 2 Cor. *l.c.* was allegorizing Eccl. xii. 3—5 "the keepers of the house shall tremble...because the man goeth to his eternal house."

Philo on the *Cherubim* (Mangey i. 148) compares God to a "house." From Jer. iii. 4 οὐχ ὡς οἶκόν με ἐκαλέσας καὶ πατέρα καὶ ἄνδρα τῆς παρθενίας σου; he deduces ὅτι ὁ θεὸς καὶ οἶκός ἐστιν, ἀσωμάτων ἰδεῶν ἀσώματος χώρα (cf. מְקוּם תּוֹפּוֹס, p. 67).

## 33.

p. 56, n. 36 *creation*] Whence was the world created? From snow that was beneath the throne of glory, for *to the snow he saith* הוּא אָרֶץ (Job xxxvii. 6), and the earth is his footstool. See Pirqé R. El. 3 with Loria's commentary, and for Rambam's criticism of the statement see *Moreh Nebukhim* II. 26 (vol. II. 121 ed. Friedländer 1885), Schechter *Studies in Judaism* p. 83 (1896). Jehudah b. Barzilai writes in his commentary on *Sefer Yeḥerah* p. 16 מְקִיצי נְרַמְטִים Berl. 1885) that ברא תחלה לכל הבריות רוח הקדש להיות אות על אלהותו.

In Gen. i. 2 water is the material element, and is distinct from the Spirit which "moved" [Deut. xxxii. 11 רָהַף, Matt. iii. 16 ὡσεὶ περιστερᾶν] over it.

Compare Clem. Alex. *Ex Script. Proph. Ecl.* VII. (Potter p. 990) αὐτίκα δι' ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος ἢ ἀναγέννησις καθάπερ καὶ ἡ πᾶσα γένεσις, Clem. *Hom.* XI. 24 τὰ πάντα τὸ ὕδωρ ποιεῖ τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ ὑπὸ πνεύματος κινήσεως τὴν γένεσιν λαμβάνει...πρωτογόνῳ ἀναγεννηθεὶς ὕδατι κ.τ.λ.

To be born ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος (Joh. iii. 5) should accordingly mean, not of the one only but also of the other. In the new birth however the material element is merged in and becomes a symbol of the spiritual.

Ex. Rab. 15. 22 Three בריות or κτίσεις preceded the world, the water and the wind or spirit and the fire, and they conceived and bare

respectively darkness, wisdom, and light. See Freudenthal *Hellenistische Studien* Heft I. p. 71 (Breslau 1875).

## 34.

p. 59, III. 24 *everything is foreseen*] *Everything* past, present and future is צפוי *seen* by God, as a watchman on his tower sees things in the distance coming and going as well as things close at hand. This is also expressed by ראה, cf. Gen. i. 31 וירא בו' And God saw every thing that he had made, Gen. Rab. 8. 4 When He was going to create the first man He saw righteous and wicked issuing from him (Wünsche p. 31). The point in the text is that God foresees, as it is said in *Apoc. Baruch* XXI. 5 (p. 37 ed. Charles) Thou... hast seen those things which are to be as those things which Thou art doing.

For illustrative uses of צפה see Gen. Rab. 4. 6 (Wünsche p. 17) At the beginning of the creation God saw Moses called good (Ex. ii. 2) &c., Aboth R. N. B VIII. (Schechter p. 23) It was צפוי *seen* before הקב"ה that the first man was going to make himself a βῆμα of wood to sit and judge upon it, Midr. Ps. lxxxiii. אהלי ארום David saw by the Holy Spirit that Edom THE WICKED was going to destroy the sanctuary (Buber p. 369), and see the passage cited below from the Jalqut.

And I also say unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church (Matt. xvi. 18). Compare in Jalqut I. 766 (with ref. to ילמדנו אראנו צורים כי מראש צורים אראנו) (Num. xxiii. 9), to let thee know the hatred of otho rasha' that wicked one... *Aliter*. I see that they preceded the beginning of the creation of the world. Parable of a king who wanted to build, and was digging down and trying to lay a foundation, but found only swamp. When at length in one place he found פטרה *petra* underneath, הנה בני בני אביר *he said here I build*, and he laid a foundation and built. So when the Holy One wanted to create the world, He passed over the generations of Enoch and of the flood as unsound; but when He saw (צפה) Abraham who was going to arise He said, Lo, I have discovered a *petra* to build and to found the world upon. Therefore He called Abraham צור *rock*, as it is said (Is. li. 1) *Look unto the rock whence ye were hewn*. And He called Israel rocks. And it is said (Ps. lxxiv. 2) *Remember thy congregation, which thou hast purchased of old*. The idea of Israel is older than anything. See in Ex. Rab. 15. 7 (Wünsche p. 107) a presumably later form of this with צור for פטרה.

ib. *judged &c.*] Cf. Ecclus. xvi. 12 As his mercy is great &c.

## 35.

p. 59, III. 25 *net* (Eccl. ix. 12)] For parallels to Ecclesiastes in the New Testament see Rom. viii. 20 τῆ γὰρ ματαιότητι κ.τ.λ. (Eccl. i. 2 &c.), Rom. ii. 16 τὰ κρυπτά κ.τ.λ. & 2 Cor. v. 10 φανερωθῆναι κ.τ.λ. εἶτε ἀγαθὸν εἶτε φανῶν (Eccl. xii. 14 כל נעלם בו' (במושפט על כל נעלם בו'). See also Note 32.

## 36.

p. 60, n. 40 *the banquet*] Ps. xvi. 15 χορτασθήσομαι ἐν τῷ ὄφθῆναι τὴν δόξαν σου, Ecclus. xxiv. 21 οἱ ἐσθλιότες με...οἱ πίνοντές με (Joh. vi. 35), St Luke xiv. 15.

## 37.

p. 62, III. 28 *essentials*] See Chag. I. 8 (א 11) in *Crit. Note*, MISHPAH Surh. II. 416, *Chagigah* Streane p. 47 (1891) "Rules for dissolving vows fly in the air and have nothing to rest upon. Halakhoth for sabbath, festival-offerings, and trespasses are as mountains that hang by a hair, the Scripture little and the halakhoth multitudinous." With these are contrasted things which are *corpora legis*. Compare Col. ii. 16 "Let no man therefore judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of a feast or a new moon or a sabbath [σάββατα שבתות]: which are a shadow of the things to come; τὸ δὲ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ," noting that νόμος is a patristic name of Christ (Justin *Dial.* 11, p. 42 ed. Otto). Cf. Berak. 63a and Lev. R. 24. 5 (נופי תורה), T. J. Ber. I. 3 c<sub>30</sub> (*The Decalogue* של שבע, Buxt. 405, Kohut II. 334.

The Rabbinic expression *fly in the air with nothing to rest upon* might have suggested ἀέρα κεμεβατεύων (*A Conjectural Emendation of Col. ii. 18*, Journ. of Philology VII. 130) to St Paul.

ib. *Aftercourses*. Clem. *Strom.* I. 20 (*l.c.* Note 2), having described Greek philosophy as φραγμὸς τοῦ ἀμπελώνος, continues, καὶ ἡ μὲν ὡς ἄρτος ἀναγκαία πρὸς τὸ ζῆν, ἡ κατὰ τὴν πίστιν ἀληθεία· ἡ προπαιδεία δὲ προσοψήματι ἔσκειν καὶ τραγήματι. Δείπνον δὲ λήγοντος γλυκὺ τρωγάλιον, κατὰ τὸν Θηβαῖον Πύδαρον. On תפוארות see also p. 164.

*Gematria* in this verse or *baba* should be taken, not in its usual exegetical sense as in the footnote (p. 62, n. 46), but in its "ursprüngliche Bedeutung Geometrie und Arithmetik," as in T. J. Terumoth v. 3 (43 c<sub>47</sub>) עד שלמרנוה מחשבון נימטרין until we learned יהא בעיסה כמה by *gematric calculation* (Zunz *G.V.* p. 326 n., 1832), which was wanted also for *tequfoth*. See Geiger on Aboth I.—III., Strack on Aboth, Kohut *A.C.*, Levy *Neuhebr. u. Chald. Wörterbuch*, Maim. *Hilk. Genēbah* VIII. 1 with Maggid Mishnah, Tosafoth Yomtoth.

Thus Greek Science—or say with St Clement Philosophy—is ranked below המקובלות האלוהות. It may be a contradiction in terms to make *προπαιδεία* an aftercourse, but this best marks it as secondary to the one thing needful. On the meaning

of הכמה יוניה in Sotah 49 b see Dr D. II. Joel's *Religionsphilosophie des Sohar* p. 338 (1849).

It has been thought that *Gematria* in Aboth includes a rudimentary form of what was afterwards called by the Arabic name Algebra. On Greek Algebra see Dr Heath's *Diophantos of Alexandria* (Camb. 1885). Notice in Levy *Nheb. W'buch* I. 479 (1876) the word הנרסה for Mathematik und Algebra.

Rashi explains Gematria by נֹטְרִיקוֹן (p. 100, n. 1) and חֶסְדוֹן אֹתוֹת letter-reckoning. Sachs (quoted by Levy) identifies the word with *γραμματεία* instead of *γεωμετρία*, and so Bacher (*Babl. Amoräer*). *Athbash*, described below with some other cipher alphabets, is called Gematria by Rab in Sanhedrin.

א"ת ב"ש. In this permutation the letters from א to ת are interchanged with the letters in reverse order from ת to א respectively. St Jerome writes on Jer. xxv. 26 "Sicut apud nos Graecum alphabetum usque ad novissimam litteram per ordinem legitur, hoc est *Alpha, Betha...* rursumque propter memoriam parvulorum solemus lectionis ordinem invertere et primis extrema miscere, ut dicamus *Alpha, O, Betha, Psi*: sic et apud Hebraeos. Legimus itaque *Aleph, Thau, Beth, Sin*, אֶתְבַּשׁ." He then explains ששך בבבל as ל"ב disguised by Athbash. In Jer. li. 1 ר' י' ל"ב מדות is identified with כשדים by Athbash. See the הל' of ר' י' ל"ב מדות *Mid.* 29. On אפרא by Athbash for תונת (Prov. x. 1) see Kohut I. 59.

According to Rab in Sanhedrin 22a the words מנא תקל ופרסין (Dan. v. 25) were written בנימטריא (that is in the Athbash cipher) מנא מנא תקל ופרסין, cf. Journ. of Philol. vii. 138.

Dr E. G. King in *Hebrew Words and Synonyms* p. 25 (1884) quotes Rashbam as writing on Exodus iii. in Athbash "He calls Himself אהיה and we call Him יהיה with *Vau* for *Yod* as in Eecl. ii. 22 לאדם."

א"ל ב"ח. In this cipher the letters from א to ב are interchanged with those from ל to ת respectively. Thus רמלא, for רמליה, becomes טבאל (Is. vii. 6) by Albam. See Num. Rab. 18. 21 (Wünsche p. 454, 1885).

Notice in Num. R. *l.c.* the identification of *fear* with *Torah* by Gematria, thus ותורה ויראה ותורה תרי"א ויראה ותורה תרי"ג. That is to say, יראה and תורה are each numerically 611: add יראה and תורה, *counting each word as one*, and we get 613 the number of the commandments in the Torah. Wünsche inadvertently omits ותורה and writes "Und *יראה* zusammen giebt sechshundertunddreizehn" (p. 452) without note or comment.

א"ט ב"ח. *Atbach* is applied to the word מנון (Prov. xxix. 21) in Sukkah 52b and is thus explained, cf. Ex. Rab. 15. 7 (Wünsche p. 108, 1882). Arrange the twenty-seven letters, including the five *finals*, as far as possible in pairs, as א"ט, י"צ, ק"ץ, whereof each amounts numerically to ten, or a hundred, or a thousand, thus

ק ר ש ת ד	י ב ל מ נ	א ב ג ד ה
ם פ ק צ	ע פ ע ס	ט ח ז ו

Using the tens and the hundreds only and putting the two isolated letters together, by the interchanges ג"ה, ו"ד, ג"ה, מ"ם we turn מנון into סהרה. Hence the evil יצר will *witness* in the world to come against those whom he has led astray in this world, for it is said כו' מפנק מנוער עברו כו'

(Prov. *l.c.*). The evil *yeger* is with a man מנעוריו "from a child," and is his "servant," for it is said that he may rule over it (Gen. iv. 7).

As the letters ה"ן stand alone in Atbach, so (Ex. R. *l.c.*) Israel are הן עם לברר ישכון כו' and separate from the nations, for it is said כו' הן עם לברר ישכון כו' (Num. xxiii. 9). This ה"ן is also explained as εῦ (Wünsche p. 108 n.).

When the days of the week in their order are arranged in pairs, the last day is left without a *ben zug*. Accordingly Israel becomes its σὺζυγος\*, and the Sabbath is called the Bride (Heb. Auth. P. B. p. 111).

On the alphabet אה"ם בט"ע see Shabbath 104 a, Kohut, Levy, Zunz *l.c.* The letters from א to ש arranged in three parallel columns would give seven triads of letters ומ"ר, הל"ק, רכ"ץ, גי"ף, אה"ם, and זנ"ש, but these last and the remaining letter are written in pairs ש"ת, ז"ן in order that ת may not be without a "yoke-fellow."

In Midr. Ps. xc. it is said on יהיו שנה זרמתם שנה יהיו, These are the nine hundred and seventy four generations that were before the creation of the world. Said R. Jochanan, Why has *Bereshith* a large *beth*? In order that it may count as if made up of two: *aleph* changes to *lamed* by Albam, and *yod* to *mem* by Athbash: thus finally בראשית becomes בברלשמט, that is 974. Afterwards "God created the heavens and the earth" (p. 392 ed. Buber).

At the beginning of his book the רוקח (Ben Jacob's *Ozar* p. 551) R. El'azar b. Jehudah b. Qalonymus of Worms writes that רק"ח is by Gematria his name אלעזר, and שמ"ן is יהודה בן יהודה. He adds that every man ought to stamp his name in his book, and gives as examples ת"א ת"הו ויג"ר את האדם, which begins תד"ש, Midrash תד"ש which denotes ויהי"ה שעשועים, *Bereshith Rabbah* where זה רב"י פינחס בן יא"ר near the beginning amounts to זה רב"י הו"שעיה רב"א, *Seder 'Olam* in which עם הכולל] מאד"ם or with *one* for the whole word added to *eighty-five*, as תורה and יראה together count for *two* in Num. R. *l.c.*] is equivalent to יוס"י. The writer does not explain this: nor does Buxtorf s.v. נמט explain "לשון הקדש 794. *Totidem* שפה אחת."

The evil *yeger* is by Gematria הרשע δ ποιηρός (Note 5); and Rabbenu Shimshon in his שפתי הכהן on the Pentateuch equates הוצר הרע (sc. *im ha-kolel*) to ורק רע (p. 24 Warsaw 1883). Satan has no power on the day of Atonement for השטן is only 364 (Nedar. 32 b Tos. & Num. R. *l.c.*). Elohim is הטבע *nature* (Joel *Sohar* p. 232 n.). The ציצית with 8 threads and 5 knots gives 613, the number of the commandments. See Num. R. *l.c.* and cf. St James ii. 10 (p. 86 Mayor ed. 1). The number 318 in Gen. xiv. 14 is the number of אליעזר of Damascus, and in its Greek form

\* For the form σὺζυγος (p. 14 n.) see Thayer *N. T. Lex.*

IHT, according to the *Epistle of Barnabas*, it hints at Jesus and the Cross. See also Mr P. H. Mason's work *SIEMETS DAVAR A Rabbinic Reading-Book* (Camb. 1880), in which interesting examples of Gematria are given and explained.

פרפראות להכמה. For works so named see Ben Jacob's *Oḡar ha-Sefarim* (p. 496, 1880).

In the periodical *Beth Talmud* (ed. Isaac H. Weiss, Wien) vol. II. 169 (1882) art. נתיבות האגדה by מא"ט (Friedmann) reference is made to a commentary on the Torah (abbreviated from that of Nachmanides) by R. Jacob baal ha-Turim (*Oḡar* pp. 479, 547) containing פרפראות שלפני המזון, of which forty species are reckoned.

One of these (no. 27, *Beth Talm.* p. 208) is Gematria, under which head examples are given of the inclusive reckoning 'im ha-kolel above mentioned. The author of *Ittur Bikkurim* (it is said in a note) ביייל כללים בשימוש הנמטריאות. His gematric license allows the insertion or omission of *matres lectionis*, the omission of epenthetic and servile letters, and the counting in of letters, words and sentences as units. Thus (1) בראשית with *one* added for the word is equated to שש סדרים (2) והארץ היתה תהו ובהו (1152) with the addition of *one* for the whole sentence and *sixteen* for the number of its letters makes up אלפים שנה בלי תורה (1169). (3) ורוח אלהים מרחפת (1034) is said to amount to רווח של מלך המשיח (1032) when the *letters* on both sides are counted in as units. The alleged equality may be made out by counting in the *words* instead of the letters of the two expressions, and adding *one* for the former or writing זה for זו or reading זו היא as one word. In the example (1) we may suppose שש to stand for שש, that is ששה.

Under no. 37 on letter-changes (p. 210 n.) notice the reversed alphabet תשר"ק, and the alphabet of twenty-seven letters (ending with the five finals) א"י"ק, ב"כ"ר, &c., which in effect allows tens or hundreds to count as units.

Under no. 18 on the counting of letters (p. 206, cf. Midr. Rab., Jud. b. Barzilai on *Sefer Yeḡirah*) it is said that the Decalogue has 620 letters, pointing to the 613 commandments to Moses [p. 108] and the 7 to the sons of Noah, and its σημεῖον is בתר תורה.

On the various kinds of צירוף האותיות (Buxt. 1945) see also the א"ב of R. 'Aqiba in Jellinek *Bet ha-Midrash* III. 50 sq., and אור זרוע pages 5 sq. (Zitomir 1862).

## 38.

p. 63, n. 1 *Paradise*] The word פּרדס (2 Cor. xii. 4 παράδεισος) was made an acrostic נוטריקון of the methods of interpretation סוד, דרש, רמז, פישט.

In Chagigah 14 b R. 'Aqiba says to the three who went with him into the *pardes*, When ye come nigh to stones of clear marble, say not *Water, water* (Gen. i. 7). It was not to be said that in the beginning the world was במים (T. J. Chag. II. 1, 77 c s.f.), as if formed from preexistent ἕλη. See Levy s.v. מים, Joel *Sohar* p. 322 (Leipz. 1849), Joel *Blicke* I. 166.

From Ps. civ. 2 it is deduced in Gen. Rab. 3. 1, Ex. R. 15. 22 that "there was light" already before the world was made. So the Zohar on Genesis (I. 16 b, Brody 1873) 'אור נכנר הוה כו'. This illustrates the exegetical rule that there is no regular *succession* in the Torah (Note 1).

Creation began from נקודה a *dot* or *point*; take the *yod* representing this from אור אורי אֵשׁ and there remains אור *light* (Zohar *l.c.*). In *Midr. Shocher Tob* on Ps. civ. (Buber p. 440) it is asked, How did the Holy One create the light? He put on a white טלית and made the world resplendent with its אור.

On the *foundation stone* of the world see Buxt. 2541 s.v. שתייה, cf. Note 3 *cornerstone*.

With the transparent stones like water in Chagigah *l.c.* compare Rev. iv. 6 ὡς θάλασσα ὑαλίνη ὁμοία κρυστάλλῳ, cf. xv. 2 "mingled with fire" (Ezek. i. 4 *amber*), xxi. 1 "and the sea is no more", and see Mr Streane's *Chagigah* p. 83, n. 6.

## 39.

p. 64, n. 2 *in whom the evil nature is strong*] Ecclus. xxviii. 10 As is the fuel of the fire, so will it burn...as is the strength of the man, so will be his wrath, Sukkah 52 a end היכנו יצרו גדול היכנו יצרו גדול כל the greater a man the greater his *yezer*. A proof of God's might is שכובש יצרו, see Joma 69 b with comm. and *Variae Lectiones* (ר"ם iv. 202).

## 40.

p. 66, iv. 7 [מאד מאד כו'] Ecclus. vii. 17 Humble thy soul greatly; for the punishment of the ungodly man is fire and the worm, Syr. *Summopere* (טב טב) *deprime teipsum quia finis omnium hominum ad vermem est futurus*. In Ecclus. xxxix. 16 All the works of the Lord are κατὰ σφόδρα, the Hebrew (p. 169 n.) has כלם טובים without מאד *very* (Gen. i. 31).

## 41.

p. 67 n. הקב"ה the *Holy One blessed He*, Surh. iv. 465 *sanctus deus benedictus*] As ברוך אתה is naturally rendered "blessed art Thou" (Heb. Auth. P. B.), so ברוך הוא is most simply rendered as in דברי אבות "blessed is (instead of *be*) He," and is thus distinguished from clearly optative forms of the ascription. Cf. Rom. i. 25 ὁ θεὸς ἐστιν εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, 2 Cor. xi. 31 ὁ ὢν εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, and see Rom. ix. 5 R.V. marg. *be (is) blessed for ever* with Sanday and Headlam's note.

On the requirement to say (not write) a blessing at the mention of the Name of God see Gen. Rab. 49. 1, Jalqut II. 946 on Prov. x. 7 זכר צדיק לברכה. With the omission of ב"ה after ה'ק in some of the older Hebrew manuscripts compare in the New Testament the omission, that is to say in writing, of the Doxology to the Lord's Prayer, on which see *Lectures on Teaching of 12 Apost.* pp. 65—68. See also *The Jewish Quarterly Review* art. AMEN by Mr H. W. Hogg, vol. ix. 1—23 (Oct. 1896).

The practice of bowing "at [R.V. *in*] the name of Jesus" is perhaps an adaptation of the customary Jewish benediction of "the Name." On this point Dr Gifford refers me to the works of Jeremy Taylor. See *Holy Dying* Chap. IV. sect. VIII. *The Special Precepts of the Gospel* no. 69 "To worship the holy Jesus at the mention of His holy name; as of old God was at the mention of Jehovah" (Phil. ii. 10). Compare MISHNAH

Joma vi. 2 (Surh. II. 240) And the priests and the people when they heard the "nomen explicatum" uttered by the high priest were bowing and worshipping and falling upon their faces and saying *Benedictum nomen &c.*, T. J. Joma III. 7 (40 d) Those close by fell upon their faces, those at a distance said *Benedictum nomen &c.*, Eccl. Rab. iii. 11 end.

On the practice of bowing at the beginning or end of certain of the Eighteen Benedictions see BERAKIOTH T. B. 34 a & b, T. J. I. 8 (3 c & d. Schwab p. 21, cf. IV. 1 p. 72), Tosefta cd. Zuckerman p. 1, Tur *Orach Chayim* §§ 113, 121. For the benedictions called אבות and הודאה or מודים (cf. Schoettgen on Phil. ii.) see Heb. Auth. P. B. pages 44, 51.

According to Shulkan 'Arukh *Orach Chayim* § 123 at the words *He who maketh peace &c.* (Heb. Auth. P. B. p. 54) כורע ופוע כו' i.e. he takes three steps backwards with one כריעה, looks to his right at the words כו' עישה כו' and to his left at the words כו' הוה יעשה כו' while still כורע, and ends with an obcissance like a slave leaving the presence of his master.

JEREMY TAYLOR *The Life of our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ* Part I. *Ad* sect. v. 8 (*Works* ed. Heber vol. II. 72, 1822) "He hath changed the ineffable name into a name utterable by man, and desirable by all the world; the majesty is all arrayed in robes of mercy, the tetragrammaton\* or adorable mystery of the patriarchs is made fit for pronounciation and expression, when it becometh the name of the Lord's Christ."

\* Nomen enim Jesu Hebraicè prolatum nihil aliud est nisi Τετραγράμματος vocatum per Schin. Videat, cui animus est, multa de mysterio hujus nominis apud Galatinum. Ad eundem sensum fuit vaticinium Sibyllæ.

The oracle quoted runs thus in Rzach *Oracula Sibyllina* I. 324 sq. (Vindobonac 1891):

δὴ τότε καὶ μέγαλοιο θεοῦ πάις ἀνθρώποισιν  
ἦξει σαρκόφορος θνητοῖς ὁμοιούμενος ἐν γῆ·  
τέσσαρα φωνήεντα φέρει, δὴ ἄφωνα δ' ἐν αὐτῷ  
δισσὸν ἐν ἀγγέλλοντ'· ἀριθμὸν δ' ὅλον ἐξονομήνη·  
ὀκτώ γὰρ μονάδας κ.τ.λ.

Thus the name Ἰησοῦς is described as a Tetragrammaton of vowels, attention is called to the duplication of its consonant *sigma*, and the number of the name (SSS) is given, as also by Irenæus.

apud Galatinum. See lib. II. cap. 10 of Peter Galatin's *Opus de Arcanis Catholicæ Veritatis &c.*

For cabalistic evidences of Christianity see Bartolocci *Bibliotheca Magna Rabbinica*. On the name JESUS and the TETRAGRAMMATON see



## 42.

p. 72, n. 21 *uniting man and wife*] Gen. Rab. 68. 3—4 (Wünsche p. 327) We find in Torah, Prophets and Kethubim that אין זיוונו של איש אלנה מן הקב"ה "marriages are made in heaven." *In six days the Lord made the heavens and the earth* (Ex. xx. 11). What is His occupation עד עכשיו ζως ἄπει (Joh. v. 17)? He sits and couples couples, a work harder to Him than the rending of the Red Sea, cf. Lev. Rab. 8. 1, Sotah 2 a, Sanhedrin 22 a.

Ex. Rab. 30. 9 (Wünsche p. 219) God does not break the Sabbath by His work in nature, that is to say by the continued movement of things, as of the rain from heaven to earth, for this is done בתוך הצירו within His own precincts, the whole world being His (Joel *Blicke* II. 173).

Mishnah Berakh. VIII. 5 (Surh. I. 30) Beth Shammai say *Qui creavit facem ignis*, but Beth Hillel, regarding creation as still continuing, say *Qui creas faces ignis*, cf. Joel *Sohar* p. 187 (Leipz. 1849).

The Holy One created His world by the letters *Jod* and *He* of יה, which represent אבא ואמא the father and the mother respectively (Joel *Sohar* p. 237). Generally, in the mystic sense, *συνουσία* is γενέσεως ἀρχή (Clem. *Strom.* III. 3, Potter p. 519). Rab says in Baba Bathra 74 b that God created everything in His world male and female, including Leviathan and Behemoth (Bacher *Babl. Amoräer* p. 21).

On the formation of the woman from one of the two SIDES (Ex. xxvi. 26) of Adam see Gen. Rab. 17. 6 (Wünsche p. 76), and compare Clem. R. II. 12 (*Apost. Fathers* by Lightfoot & Harmer p. 90, 1891) "For the Lord Himself, being asked by a certain person when His kingdom would come, said, *When the two shall be one, and the outside as the inside, and the male with the female, neither male nor female.*"

## 43.

p. 74, IV. 25 *interrogate*] שאלת נדרים is the questioning of a person who has vowed a vow, especially by a Rabbi, in order to find a "door of repentance." See Lowe *Fragm. of T. B.* p. 62 note G, Schechter in Montefiore's *Hibbert Lectures* p. 560.

## 44.

p. 78, n. 1 *by ten things the world was created*] The ten things, for which Scripture proofs are given (Streane *Chagigah* p. 60), are חכמה תבונה דעת כח נבורה גערה צדק משפט חסד רחמים Qiddushin 71 a mentions names of God of twelve and forty-two letters respectively, and Rashi writes that "they have not explained to us" what they are. See also Maimonides *Moreh Nebukhim* I. 62 (vol. I. 273—279, Munk 1856). Bacher conjectures in *Die Agada der Babylonischen Amoräer* (Budapest 1878) that the name of *forty-two* letters is made up of the Tetragrammaton יהוה and the thirty-eight letters of the above "ten things," "Der 42buchstabile

Name Gottes ist also nichts anderes als der Ausdruck für das Wesen Gottes und seine Attribute" (p. 18); and that the name of *twelve* letters is רעת הכמה תכונה (p. 19).

## 45.

p. 79, n. 1 *the chariot*] Ecclus. xlix. 8 ὄρασον δόξης ἣν ὑπέδειξεν αὐτῷ ἐπὶ ἄρματος Χερουβίμ. A Talmudic interpretation of Cherub is *sicut puer* (Buxt. 1084).

Chagigah 13 a quotes from Ben Sira בנסתרות עסק לך עסק Thou hast no business with the secret things (Deut. xxix. 29). The *Fragment of Ecclus.\** in Hebrew lately identified and described by Mr Schechter (*Expositor* iv. 1—15, 1896) contains the Neo-Hebrew word עסק, for which the Greek of Ecclus. xl. 1 has ἀσχολία, partly perhaps because of the assonance. In Acts vi. 3 עסק might be used to render χρεία (Ecclus. iii. 22).

Rashi on Prov. xxv. 27, with reference to the matters of *bereshith* and *the chariot*, explains כבוד כבודם כבודם וחקר כבודם as meaning that one may however speculate כבוד כבודם אסר כבודם on words of the wise *whose glory is glory*.

For the idiom כבוד כבודם, which is not uncommon, compare Prov. xiv. 24 the folly of fools is folly, Berak. 23 a his prayer is a prayer, Pesach. 113 b their life is not life, Rom. xi. 6 χάρις οὐκ ἐστὶ χάρις, St James v. 12 &c.

The verse in question might be rendered to the effect that, as to eat honey much is not good, so to pry into the inscrutable things "whose glory is glory" is *not good*.

Midrash Mishlé applies Prov. xxv. 16 רבש מצאת וכו' to Ben 'Azzai and Ben Zoma, who entered the *pardes* (p. 63).

## 46.

p. 80, v. 4 (cf. iv. 4) *was Abraham tempted*] Not "God did tempt Abraham" (Gen. xxii. 1). Compare Heb. xi. 17 πειραζόμενος, St James i. 13 μηδεὶς πειραζόμενος κ.τ.λ. ib. ver. 14 ὑπὸ τῆς ἰδίας ἐπιθυμίας κ.τ.λ., cf. Sukkah 52 b the evil *yecer* מסיית [1 Chron. xxi. 1] seduces a man in this world &c., Aboth iv. 32 let not thy *yecer* give thee false assurance.

## 47.

p. 83, v. 8 *rains...Jerusalem*] Of rain it is said in Ta'anith 7 a המתים הגדול יום הגשמים מתחיית המתים the day of the rains is greater than that of the quickening of the dead, the one being for righteous and wicked alike (Matt. v. 45) and the other for the righteous only. Or it is as (or greater than) the day on which the Torah was given, see Midr. Ps. cxvii. 1 הללו את ה' כל גוים *For thou art great and doest wondrous things* (Ps. lxxxvi. 10)

\* The recently published work *The Original Hebrew of Ecclus. XXXIX. 15 to XLIX. 11* (ed. Cowley & Neubauer, Oxford 1897) contains the folio described by Mr Schechter and others following it which were afterwards discovered.

and נפלאות is naught but rains (Job v. 9—10). Said R. Tanchum bar Chiyah גְּדוּלָה יְרִידַת נִשְׁמִים מִמֶּתֶן תּוֹרָה, for the giving of the Torah was a joy to Israel, but the fall of the rains is a joy to the whole world. Sifré II. § 42 וְנִתְּנִי מִטֵּר אֲרֻצְכֶם (Deut. xi. 14) it is a blessing which includes all others, for it is said וַיִּתְּרוֹן אֲרֶזְן בְּכָל הַיָּא כּו' (Eccl. v. 8, Schiffer p. 29). On drought see v. 11, Ta'anith 7 b. The Resurrection is placed in the month Nisan by R. Isaac ibn גֵּיִיָּא in his מֵאָה שְׁעִים II. p. 106 (Fürth 1861).

A meaning of פְּנֵעַ רַע *mishap* is possession by an evil spirit (Buxt. 1696, Kohut vi. 294). It is said in Aboth R. N. *A & B* (Schechter pp. 103—105) that no one was ever נִפְנַע in Jerusalem, *A* adding that if any one so afflicted looked upon the walls of Jerusalem he was healed.

"The Evangelists mention no instance of possession at Jerusalem" (Westcott *Gosp. Miracles* p. 78, 1859). Sifré II. § 193 on Deut. xx. 4 "For the Lord your God is he that goeth with you...to fight for you against your enemies, to save you from serpents and scorpions and evil spirits." All these are מְזִיקִין *nocentes*, and they belong to "the power of the enemy" (Mark xvi. 17—18, Luke x. 19). Midr. Ps. xci. 13—14 (Buber p. 400) Noah trod on serpents and scorpions וְלֹא הָיוּ מְזִיקִים אוֹתוֹ. How is it that Israel pray and are not heard in this world? It is because they have not the knowledge of *Shem ha-mephorash*, which they will have in the time to come (Is. lii. 6).

## 46.

p. 83, n. 12 *Sychar*] In Rab. Joseph Schwarz's *Das heilige Land* [Jerus. 1846] *Deutsch bearbeitet von Dr Israel Schwarz* (Fr. a. M. 1852) it is said that south-east from Sichem is a village Aschar, and not far from it on the Jerusalem road "ein groszer 100 Fusz tiefer Brunnen Jakobsbrunnen genant...Es scheint mir nun dasz dieses Dorf Aschar kein anderes ist als das chemalige Sechu, und der sogenannte Jakobsbrunnen nicht weit davon die grosze Grube ist, woselbst Saul [1 Sam. xix. 22 בשכו וַיִּבֵּא עַד בּוֹר הַגְּדוֹל אֲשֶׁר בְּשֶׁכוֹ bei seiner Reise nach Ramah nach dem Aufenthalte von David und Samuel sich erkundigte" (pp. 124, 125). In his *Karme Schomron* Schwarz had suggested that Aschar was Sychar. See also Neubauer *La Géographie du Talmud* p. 171.

Schwarz supposes Aschar to be referred to in Gen. Rab. 98. 20 מַעַל זֹ אֲזַכְּרוֹת שֶׁבְּבַעַל (Gen. xlix. 25), and Mr Schechter supports this conjecture by a reading אֲזַכְּרוֹת בְּבַעַל in the *Midrash ha-Gadol*, of which he is preparing an edition. The name in this form would be like Gur-baal (2 Chron. xxvi. 7), and would mean "Ascharoth im Thal" (*Das heil. Land* p. 128). It is said in *Mattanoh Kehunnah* (cf. יִפְהָ הָאֵר) on Gen. R. *l.c.* that some place בְּגוֹנֵה הַהָרִים must be meant, and Schwarz remarks in his *Recension über מילין ערך des S. Rapoport* p. 5 (Wien 1853) that "die Gegend Salim und Askar ziemlich hoch liegt" in contrast with Beth Shean "that coucheth beneath" (Gen. Rab. *l.c.*). He wonders why Rapoport did

not mention his *Heilige Land* "da er doch schon im Besitz meines Werkes war" (*Recension* l.c.). On *בבועל* (*בית הבעל*) see Buxt. 333, Bacher *Babl. Amoräer* p. 48, Prof. W. R. Smith *The Religion of the Semites* Lect. 3. Schwarz thinks that *עין סוכר* (*Menach. 64 b*) may be referred to in the name *עין כושיית* in T. J. 'Abodah Zarah v. 4, 44 *d*<sub>31</sub>.

It has also been suggested that *Ἰσκαριώτης* may be from *אסכרות* (*Rap. 'Erekh Millin* p. 28). There is a form *Iskar* for *Askar* (*Westcott* on *St John* iv. 5). The Sadducees disagreed with the Pharisees about the *'omer*. See *Obad. Bert.* in *Surlh. l.c.* p. 83 n.

## 49.

p. 84, v. 9 *the well*] Omit *פי* before *הבאר*. In the New Testament see *St John* vi. 51 "I am the living bread which came down from heaven," *1 Cor.* x. 4 "that spiritual Rock that followed them...was Christ." *Rashi* on *Ta'anith* 9a [not fol. 19. 1 as *Schoettgen* l. 623, 1733] writes "*The well of Miriam*, a rock with waters flowing from it, and it rolled and went along with Israel. And it was the rock that Moses struck, which would not let its waters flow for him because *Miriam* had died." Through *Moses*, *Aaron*, and *Miriam* three "good gifts" were given to Israel, *באר וענן ומן*, the well, and the cloud, and the manna (*Ta'an. l.c.*). The same three things are brought together in *1 Cor.* x. 2—4 "And were all baptized unto *Moses* in the cloud and in the sea; And did all eat the same spiritual meat; And did all drink the same spiritual drink." At the beginning of *Aboth* R. N. it is said that *Moses* was sanctified in the cloud. *St Paul* prefers "rock" to "well" as a symbol of Christ. That the rock or well was to continue with Israel in the wilderness is deduced from *Ex.* xvii. 6 *ב'ו הנני עומד לפניך ב'ו*, on which see *Mekhilta* (*Fr.* 52b) and *Targ. Jonathan*.

*St Paul* seems to testify to the prevalence of *Midrashic* interpretation in his day by adopting the method and using it in an anti-Jewish sense (*Gal.* iv., *Clem. Hom.* ii. 22). But it is not said that the things allegorized "are an allegory," for *פשוטו אין מקרא יוצא מידי פשוטו* *Scriptura non egreditur ex simplicitate sua, id est, simplici & literali sensu* (*Buxt.* 1861), cf. *Shabbath* 63a, *Jebamoth* 11b & 24a, *Bacher Babl. Amoräer* p. 113, *Dobschütz Die Einfache Bibelexege der Tannaim* p. 14 (1893).

## 50.

p. 92, v. 21 *sponge*] *Dr Swete* on the Gospel of *Peter* p. 8<sub>3</sub> (1893) writes "*Origen Matt.* 137 may have had this in view when he compares the sponge to the writings of unbelievers filled *non de uerbo potabili...sed de aliquo contrario et nociuo et non potabili aceto intelligibili.*"

ib. n. 36 *sieve*. Cf. *Ecclus.* xxvii. 4 In the shaking of a sieve, the refuse remaineth; so the filth of man in his reasoning, *St Luke* xxii. 31 *ἐξηρήσατο ὑμᾶς τοῦ συνιῶσαι κ.τ.λ.*

## 51.

p. 96, v. 32] Heb. Auth. P. B. p. 204 (cf. *Crit. Note*) Turn it (the Torah) and turn it over again, for everything is in it, and contemplate it, *and wax grey and old over it, and stir not from it*, for thou canst have no better rule than this. Mr Schechter compares Ecclus. xi. 20 Be stedfast in thy covenant, and be conversant therein, and wax old in thy work.

With Eccl. xii. 13 (p. 96 n.) compare Ecclus. xliiii. 27 *καὶ συντέλεια λόγων* *Τὸ πᾶν ἐστὶν αὐτός* [1 Cor. xv. 28 *ἵνα ἡ ὁ θεὸς πάντα ἐν πᾶσι*], on which it is remarked in the *Speaker's Commentary* "This clause is evidently a spurious Hellenistic addition by the younger Siracide."

The verse runs thus in the *Original Hebrew of Ecclus.* (p. 18 ed. Cowley & Neubauer):

עוד כאלה לא נוסף וקץ דבר הוא הכל :

## 52.

p. 99, vi. 1 *Thorah for its own sake...they reveal to him secrets of Thorah*, cf. Ecclus. xiv. 21] Mr Schechter suggests in explanation of Ecclus. vi. 22 "For wisdom is *according to her name*; and she is not manifest unto many" that *κατὰ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῆς* may be a rendering of *לשמה* read *בשמה*, with the sense that she is not manifest to the many who do not seek her for her own sake, cf. Ecclus. xxxv. 5 *χάρις ἐντολῆς* which may be *לשם מצוה*, St Matt. x. 41 *εἰς ὄνομα προφήτου...δικαίου*. For another suggestion see Note 55.

ib. *וכנהר*. See Note 16, and cf. Ecclus. xlvii. 14 "How wast thou wise in thy youth! and didst make instruction to overflow (*or didst overflow with instruction*) like the Nile" (Cowley & Neub. *Original Heb. of Ecclus.* p. 35).

ib. *and exalts him*. Compare Ecclus. iv. 11, xv. 5.

## 53.

p. 100, vi. 2 *read not*] "Die Litteratur über diese Formel ist angegeben in meinen Prolegomena critica in V. T. Hebraicum, Leipzig 1873, S. 68. 69. 122" (Strack *Die Sprüche der Väter*). "The formula *אל תקרי* is called by Jerome *Non debemus legere* or *Legi potest*" (Krauss in *J. Q. R.* vi. 252).

## 54.

p. 102, vi. 6 *in the name of him that said it*] "In *Pesiqta* [or *Pesiqatha* pl.] and other *Agadoth*" (Machsor Vitry) Moses is said to have found the Holy One studying the tract *Red Heifer* and quoting decisions of Rabbis in their names, as "R. Eliezer says *A calf of the second year*." See *Mishnah Parah* i. 1, *Pesiqta* פרה (Buber 40 a), *Jalqut* יתרו i. 268 in the name of פסיקתא. A scholar should "verify his citations."



the whole Torah. If Rabbis decide differently, how is one to learn Torah? All the words of the wise *were given from one shepherd* (Ecl. xii. 11). One pastor Moses spake them from the mouth of the Lord of all. "These and those are words of the living God." See Chagigah 3 b (Streane p. 9), 'Erubin 13 b, Gittin 6 b. Says R. 'Aqiba in Sifra (Weiss 112 c, cf. 105 a) The Torah was given with its *halakhoth, diqduqim* and *perushim* by the hand of Moses from Sinai. See also Note 1.

It is written "the two tables of stone...and on them *according to all the words*" (Deut. ix. 10). Why not briefly "on them *all words*"? The three added letters ו, כ, ה cannot be superfluous, but must hint at something more than the Scripture. They teach that together with it *Mishnah, Talmud, Agadah* and the future discoveries of scholars were spoken to Moses on Sinai. "Is there a thing whereof men say, See, this is new? it hath been already, in the ages that were before us" (Ecl. i. 10). See T. J. Peah ii. 6, Megillah iv. 1, Chagigah i. 8 (17 a, 74 d, 76 d). Midr. Rab. Ex. 47. 1, Lev. 22. 1, Ecl. i. 9. § 2 on *מה שהיה*, v. 8. § 2 on *ויתרון ארץ*.

Sundry sayings about the writing of Torah are hung upon Hosea viii. 12 "Though I wrote for him the great things of my Torah, they have (or would have) been accounted as a strange thing," and Ex. xxxiv. 27 (p. 105). See the passages last cited, Gittin 60 b with Rashi and Tos. *ד"ה אתמורה* (Pesiqta Rabbathi רי"ט פ"ה (Friedm. 14 a), Tanchuma ג' נח ה', וירא ה' תשא ל' (11 a, 25 a, 127 a Warsaw 1879), Buber Tanch. *כי תשא* ii. 58 b, Jalqut i. 405.

Was the greater part (רוב) of the Torah in writing? No, but Scripture with the deductions from it by the thirteen *middoth* of R. Ishmael (Sifra *init.*) comes to more than the oral Torah. Or things proved by Scripture are of greater worth than mere traditions. If everything had been written, Israel would have had no advantage over a "strange" people, as the Christians (Frankel), who like themselves could produce their books and parchments. The oral Law was not written, lest the Gentiles should borrow it with the written Law and call themselves Israel. Or "should I write" the Mishnah, which is greater than the Miqra (Deut. Rab. 14. 10), to become "as a strange thing" by translation into the language of strangers?

Moses wanted the Mishnah to be in writing, but God kept it as His unwritten *μυστήριον* for Israel, to distinguish them from the nations of the world. What was oral was to be said, and what was written was to be read. The sayer of Targum in the Synagogue might not look at the roll of the Torah, and the reader of Torah might not take his eyes off from it.

But when the oral Law was in danger of being forgotten, the writing of it was justified by Psalm cxix. 126. "It was a time to do something for God, even if by such doings His law was apparently destroyed" (*Encycl. Brit.* art. MISHNAH, Berak. 63 a, Rish). Shemuel said that 3000 halakhoth were forgotten in the days of the mourning for Moses (Temurah 15 a). Rab Papa said that there were 600 Sedarim of the Mishnah and our Rabbis that there were 700 (Chagig. 14 a), in their days (Rashi).

## 57.

p. 114. § 4 (cf. p. 106) *words of Qabbalah*] Elias Levita near the end of Massoreth ha-Massoreth (p. 261 ed. Ginsburg, 1867) says that the Mas-sorites call the Former Prophets קרמיתא אשלתא and the Latter Prophets אשלתא תנינא, he knows not why. Rapoport in a letter to Luzzatto (אגרות ש"ר p. 94 ed. Gräber, 1885) explains אשלתא by Qabbalah, comparing Syr. משלמותא *tradition* in St Matt. xv. and at the end of Genesis in נוסחת אושעריים\*. See also Prof. Dr Ludwig Blau *Zur Einleitung in Die Heilige Schrift* pp. 24—26 (Budapest 1894), and in the same work notice *inter alia* p. 16 Eine vierte Bezeichnung für die ganze II. Schr. ist תורה &c.

Rapoport objects to the statement in Zunz *G. V.* p. 44 n. (cf. p. 353) that "Sämmtliche nichtmosaische Biblische Bücher heissen קבלה," apparently meaning to say that Qabbalah is used in Mishnah and Gemara for Nebiim only and not for Kethubim. But Job is quoted as Qabbalah in Niddah 25 a, Psalm lxix. in Sotah 37 a כ"ב באו מים [p. 67 *init.*] ועליו מפרש בקבלה הושיעני אלקים ע"ד נפש ב' Psalm cxxxix. in T. J. Niddah III. 50 *d*<sub>31</sub> (p. 106), and on Baba Qamma 2 b לא ילפינן ב' ר"ה וכי תימא דברי תורה מד"ק לא ילפינן ב' ר"ה Rashi explains "words of Qabbalah" by נביאים וכתובים.

So in the Mattanoh Kehunnah on Num. Rab. 9. 7 "Thus far from Qabbalah (1 Chron. vii. 40), what is the proof from Torah?" we read *And all Scripture is called Qabbalah except the Torah of Moses.*

Qabbalah as a designation of books of Scripture has been taken to mean something received by direct inspiration from God.

Thus on Chullin 137 a it is said that the Torah of Moses is called Torah because it was given for all generations, and that of the prophets only Qabbalah because they received their prophecies from the Holy Spirit from time to time as they were wanted.

Again, whereas the Mishnah cites Jonah iii. 10 without calling it Qabbalah and then Joel ii. 13 as Qabbalah (p. 106), "Rashi" (Zunz *l.c.*) gives as the explanation of some Tosafist that Qabbalah is used of a prophet's message from above and not of mere narrative (Surh. II. 362). But books of the Former Prophets, which are רק סיפורים (Rapoport), are called אשלתא Qabbalah.

The interpretation of Qabbalah in Excursus III. 4 (p. 114) as a tradition from Sinai agrees with the statements in Gemara and Midrash to the effect that the Torah of Moses comprised everything that was to be revealed. See Note 28, Tos. Bekhoroth 58 a ר"ה מפי ר"ה, Sifra (end) "A prophet is not allowed henceforth לחדש דבר to innovate a word," Buxt. 2290 on רש"י, Weber *System der Altsyn. Palästinischen Theologie* p. 79 (Leipz. 1880).

\* Rapoport's quotation from Ussherius comes from Walton's *Polyglot vol. VI. Variæ Lectiones Syriacæ* p. 5 b, where the colophon to Genesis with משלמותא is given (F. C. B.).

For Qabbalah used of Scripture see also Chagigah 10 b (Streane p. 51), Rosh ha-Shanah 19 a, Ta'anith 17 b, Niddah 23 a, T. J. Challah i. 1 (57 b<sub>16</sub>), Mass. Soferim 18. 3. Tosefta Yoma & Niddah (Zuck. pp. 183<sub>24</sub>, 186<sub>17</sub>, 645<sub>1</sub>). Gen. Rab. 7. 2, Eccl. Rab. vii. 23, Pesiqta פְּרָה (Buber 36 a), Midr. Ps. lxxviii. (Buber p. 318). Some references already given are included in Friedmann Mekhilta 5 a, 15 b, 27 a, 28 b (*bis*), 30 a, 44 b, 65 a, 72 a & Sifré 33 a (*bis*), 52 a, 83 b. See also Weiss Sifra 86 b, that is col. 2 of the last folio of סוּרַי פִּנּוּת. Rosh ha-Shanah 7 a quotes words of Ezra after Zech. i. 7 (p. 106), but not expressly as Qabbalah.

On the History of Jewish Tradition see Mr Schechter's *Studies in Judaism*.

ib. *they would have questioned the authority of the Prophet*. See in this connexion the comparison in T. J. Berakh. i. 7 (3 b) to two envoys of a king one of whom is and the other is not to be believed without credentials, with allusion doubtless to Christianity.

## 58.

p. 117 *thou destroyest the whole world*] See p. xxviii. of סֵפֶר תְּנִין "SEPIER TAGHIN *Liber Coronularum*" ed. J. J. L. Bargès (Paris 1866).

## 59.

p. 120 § 4 *The division of the Decalogue*] See the essay *Ueber die ursprüngliche und richtige Eintheilung des Dekalogs* von Dr L. Heilbut (Berlin 1874), which includes an interesting account of modern discussions of the question.

## 60.

p. 124 THE LORD'S PRAYER] *Our Father which art in heaven*. The short reading Πάτερ ἡμῶν κ.τ.λ. in St Luke xi. 2 raises the question of the original language of "The Prayer," as the Lord's Prayer was called in early Church writings. "Our Father" corresponds to the Hebrew אָבִינוּ, and "Father" without the pronoun to the Aramaic אַבְבָּא, as in Ἰββᾶ ὁ πατήρ in St Mark xiv. 36, Rom. viii. 15 (see Sanday & Headlam's note), Gal. iv. 6. The fact that the pronoun in אָבִינוּ originally implied limitation to Israel is (so far as it goes) an indication of the priority of Πάτερ ἡμῶν to Πάτερ without ἡμῶν.

The Midrash on Ps. xiv. illustrates *The fool hath said in his heart* by the case of Esau. His plan is, not that I should slay *Abba* the father, but that Ishmael should do this; and when he has slain *Abi* my father, and I my brother, then I will slay him and have the world to myself. Here the Aramaic *Abba* "the father" is followed in the next line but one (Buber p. 112) by the Hebrew *Abi* "my father." So Πάτερ and Πάτερ ἡμῶν may be thought to point to Aramaic and Hebrew originals respectively.

In the Hebrew of Delitzsch St John xii. 27—28 "Father, save me from this hour...Father, glorify thy name" becomes אָבִי...אָבִי...אָבִי My Father,



In St John xix. 30 *Τετέλεισται, καὶ κλίνας τὴν κεφαλὴν παρέδωκεν τὸ πνεῦμα* Dr Abbott in *The Spirit on the Waters* (p. 256, 1897) takes the rare phrase “unfortunately translated” *bowed his head* to mean *laid his head down* i.e. to rest (Matt. viii. 20, Luke ix. 58). The rendering of Delitzsch *וית את ראשו ויפקד את רוחו* (Heb. N. T. 1880) connects the saying with Psalm xxxi. 5, but not with Matt. or Luke *l.c.* After the evening *AUDI* a scholar should at least say one *פסוקא דרחמי* such as the verse *En tes mains je recommande mon âme &c.* (Berak. 5 a *init.*, Schwab p. 234). See also Num. Rab. 20. 20 (Wünsche p. 500), Mekhilta בשלח on the words *נטיית ימינך* (Fr. 42 a).

### The Manna.

Wisdom xvi. 8—28 Yea, and in this thou didst persuade our enemies, that thou art he that delivereth out of every evil...thou gavest thy people angels' food to eat, and bread ready for their use didst thou provide for them from heaven without their toil, bread having the virtue of every pleasant savour, and agreeing to every taste; For thy nature manifested thy sweetness toward thy children; while that bread, ministering to the desire of the eater, tempered itself according to every man's choice... For the creation, ministering to thee its maker,...converting itself into all forms, it ministered to thine all-nourishing bounty, according to the desire of them that made supplication; That thy sons, whom thou lovedst, O Lord, might learn that it is not the growth of the earth's fruits that nourisheth a man, but that thy word preserveth them that trust thee. For that which was not marred by fire, when it was simply warmed by a faint sunbeam melted away; That it might be known that we must rise before the sun to give thee thanks, and must plead with thee at the dawning of the light.

Thus God is represented as the Father in heaven, who gives bread to His children and delivers them from evil (*ἐκ παντὸς κακοῦ*).

By a curious *תקרי אל* or exegetic various reading the Psalmist's “angels' food” here referred to is made to mean not *bread of* *ABBIRIM* but *bread of* *EBARIM*, bread which preternaturally permeated and was wholly consumed by the *members*. See Midr. Ps. lxxviii. (Buber p. 345), Joma 75 b, Mekhilta & Sifré (Fr. 59 b, 24 a), Bacher *Die Agada der Tannaiten* I 254 (1884).

So St Cyril of Jerusalem writes of the Bread in the Prayer in his last *Catechetical Lecture*: “Give us this day our substantial bread. This common bread is not substantial bread, but this Holy Bread is substantial, that is, appointed for the substance of the soul. For this Bread goeth not into the belly and is cast out into the draught, but is distributed into thy whole system for the benefit of body and soul. But by this day, he means, ‘each day,’ as also Paul said, *While it is called to-day.*” See Dr Gifford's translation and notes in *Nicene and post-Nicene Fathers* ed. Wace and Schaff (Lect. xxiii. § 15 p. 155, 1894).

The manna is described in Rabbinic writings as bread of Wisdom (Prov. ix. 5, cf. Eccus. xv. 1—3) and food for soul and spirit and as agreeing to every taste. See Ex. Rab. 21 & 25, Midr. Ps. xxiii. on לֶחֶם חָכְמָה, Zohar on הַנְּחִי מִמֵּי הַיָּם (ii. f. 61, Brody 1873), Wetstein on St John vi. 32, Gfrörer *Philo und die alexandrinische Theosophie* i. cap. 8, Deane on Wisdom *l.c.*

Pesiqta psq. 6 *init.* (Buber 57 a) deduces from Neh. ix. 6 וְאַתָּה מְחַיֵּה הַמֵּתִים and *Thou quickenest* that God is the מְחַיֵּה or *sustenance* of the ministering angels. In St Mark xii. 44 *all her living* is lit. כָּל מְחַיֵּהָ.

The gathering of the manna was to be as follows according to Ex. xvi. 4—5 (Sept. ed. Swete): εἶπεν δὲ Κύριος πρὸς Μωσῆν Ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ὕω ὑμῖν ἄρτους ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ἐξελεύσεται ὁ λαὸς καὶ συλλέξουσιν τὸ τῆς ἡμέρας εἰς ἡμέραν, ὅπως πειράσω αὐτοὺς εἰ πορεύονται τῷ νόμῳ μου ἢ οὐ· καὶ ἔσται τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἕκτῃ καὶ ἐτοιμάσουσιν ὃ ἐὰν εἰσενέγκωσιν, καὶ ἔσται διπλοῦν ὃ ἐὰν συναγάγωσιν τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν εἰς ἡμέραν.

ἄρτους ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. St John vi. 31, 34 Ἄρτον ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἔδωκεν ἀγίοις φαγεῖν... Κύριε, πάντοτε δὸς ἡμῖν τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον, cf. Ex. xvi. 15 Οὗτος ὁ ἄρτος ὃν ἔδωκεν Κύριος ὑμῖν φαγεῖν. Westcott and Hort *N.T.* under *Quotations from the Old Testament* "ST JOHN vi 31; Ex xvi 4, 15; Ps lxxviii (lxxvii) 24." The Didaché in the Prayer has Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ...ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ, St Matt. τοῖς οὐρανοῖς...οὐρανῷ.

τὸ τῆς ἡμέρας εἰς ἡμέραν. Heb. דְּבַר יוֹם בְּיוֹמוֹ, Syr. מֵאֲכֹלֶתָּ דְּיוֹמָא בְּיוֹמָא, *the βρῶμα of the day in the day*, A.V. *a certain rate every day* marg. *the portion of a day in his day*, R.V. *a day's portion every day*. Notice that Syr. and R.V. give no literal rendering of בְּיוֹמוֹ *in its day*.

ὅπως πειράσω αὐτούς, Heb. לְמַעַן אֲנַסְנֶנּוּ, 1 Cor. x. 2, 12 καὶ πάντες [τὸ αὐτὸ] πνευματικὸν βρῶμα ἔφαγον...πειρασμὸς ὑμᾶς οὐκ εἴληφεν εἰ μὴ ἀνθρώπινος· πιστὸς δὲ ὁ θεός, ὃς οὐκ ἔασει ὑμᾶς πειρασθῆναι ὑπὲρ ὃ δύνασθε κ.τ.λ.

τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν εἰς ἡμέραν. Heb. יוֹם יוֹם *day day*, Syr. בכלִּיּוֹם.

*Shammai and Hillel.* Beza 16 a records that Shammai used to eat "to the honour of sabbath" and provide choice food in advance for that day: Hillel did all things "to the name of heaven" and lived by the rule Ps. lxxviii. 20 יוֹם יוֹם ה' בְּרוּךְ *Benedictus Dominus die quotidie*.

The Prayer is fully discussed by Dr F. Chase on *The Lord's Prayer in the Early Church* (Camb. *Texts and Studies* vol. i. no. 3, 1891); and the work of the late Bishop of Durham (Dr Jos. B. Lightfoot) *On a Fresh Revision of the English New Testament* contains in its latest form (1891) Appendix I. *On the Words ἐπιούσιος, περιούσιος*, Appendix II. *The Last Petition of the Lord's Prayer* reprinted from the *Guardian* of Sept 7<sup>th</sup>, 14<sup>th</sup>, 21<sup>st</sup> 1881. This work is hereinafter quoted by page with the letter D prefixed.

The late Canon F. C. Cook of Exeter (D. 270) published two letters dated May 21 and Nov. 26, 1881 respectively to the Bishop of London on *Deliver us from Evil*, and after them a work on *The Revised Version of the First Three Gospels* (1882). The *Second Letter* was written "in answer to three letters of the Lord Bishop of Durham."

## Our daily Bread.

The whole Prayer in St Luke xi. in the Revised Version is as follows :

*...Father...Hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come...Give us day by day our daily bread. And forgive us our sins; for we ourselves also forgive every one that is indebted to us. And bring us not into temptation...*

The dots indicate omissions from the text (but not from the margin) of the words given in the text of the A. V. "Our, which art in heaven, Thy will be done as in heaven so in earth, but deliver us from evil." The R. V. gives *day by day* without alternative, omitting the A.V. marg. Or *for the day*.

This last omission is noteworthy in connexion with the objection made (sometimes without due discrimination) to prayer for the morrow in the interminable discussion of the Greek word rendered *daily*. Omit this altogether, and what remains of St Luke xi. 3 *Our bread give us day by day* is a prayer for a succession of morrows. The objection is of force as against John Lightfoot *Hor. Hebr. Matt. vi. 11* "*Our daily bread. That is provide to-morrow's bread, and give it to us to-day, that we be not solicitous for to-morrow,*" rather than against prayer for the food of to-morrow to be gathered "in his day" (A.V. marg.).

The word *ἐπιούσιος* occurs in the petition for the Bread, and is not extant in any earlier writing. St Luke's form of the petition is *τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δίδου ἡμῖν τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν*, and St Matthew's *τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον* (Origen *De Orat. Libell. 27* end, Lommatzsch tom. xxvii.). St Cyril of Jerusalem (*l.c.* p. 178) judiciously identifies St Matthew's form with St Luke's\*. There are different ways of approaching the question how the petition was or may be expressed in Hebrew or Jewish Aramaic. If it refers to Ex. xvi. 4, we may conjecture that there was an early Aramaic form of it like

בְּיוֹמָא	דְּיוֹמָא	לְחֵמָא	לָן	הַב
<i>in-the-day</i>	<i>of-the-day</i>	<i>the-bread</i>	<i>to-us</i>	<i>Give.</i>

As a rendering of *τὸν ἄρτον τὸν ἐπιούσιον* into Hebrew, Wünsche in *Erläut. der Ecc. Matt. vi. 11* suggests *לחם יום ביומו* *bread of a day in its day*. St Luke's *τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν*, which may have come from Ex. xvi. 5 Sept., may be expressed in Hebrew by *יום יום*. Or, comparing Is. lxvi. 23 *בשבתו ומדי חרש בהדרשו ומדי שבת בשבתו* (1 Sam. vii. 16, Zech. xiv. 16, 2 Chron. xxiv. 5 *בשנה בשנה*), we may write *יום ביומו* *יום מדי* for *day by day*.

Delitzsch and others render St Luke's form of the petition in Hebrew by *יום יום את-לחנו* *the bread of our portion give us day by day*,

\* Learned Latin writers have inferred from the Vulgate that St Matthew's word *ἐπιούσιον* was not used by St Luke (D. 250). Mangey on the Lord's Prayer (ed. 3, 1721), connecting *quotidianum* with *τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν*, argues that "The true and antient reading may probably have been that of St Luke, where from the vulgar Latin the word *ἐπιούσιος* appears to have been wanting."

with reference to Prov. xxx. 8 (R.V. marg. *the bread of my portion*). The same sense of τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον might be expressed by לחם ריינו *bread sufficient for us*, cf. Prov. xxv. 16 Hast thou found honey? eat *כַּיֶּהָרֵק* so much as is sufficient and not more than sufficient for thee, lest thou be filled therewith, and vomit it.

For uses of רי *sufficient* in Jewish forms of prayer for food see Berakh. 29 b, Cant. Rab. vii. 2 מה יפר § 2.

A response ריינו *sat nobis* was used in connexion with blessings with reference to Mal. iii. 10 ברכה ער בלי די, cf. Shabbath 32 b, Makkoth 23 b, T. J. Berak. 14 c (last folio) & Ta'an. III. 9 (66 d), Lev. Rab. 35 *sub fin.*, Friedmann סדר והגדה של לילי פסח (Wien 1895) where it is suggested (p. 107) that it was used in the Temple.

Dr Chase's working hypothesis (p. 45) is that the original form of the petition might be represented by four Syriac words meaning *Our-bread of-the-day give to-us*, and Ciasca's Arabic *Diatessaron* (Romae 1888) is quoted as rendering it in three words

*Give-us the-bread of-our-day,*

and shewing no trace of ἐπιούσιος. But this *Diatessaron*, when قوۃ *strength* [cf. Deut. xxxiii. 25] has been corrected into قوت, is found to read (cap. ix.):

اعطنا	قوت	يومنا
<i>Give-us,</i>	QUT	<i>of-our-day</i>

and it uses QUT in cap. XXI. to render St John iv. 8 τροφάς.

Hence and from the versions of St James ii. 15 λειπόμενοι τῆς ἐφημέρου τροφῆς I was led to think that the Arabic translator might have had before him a short Syriac form of the petition, with סיברתא *cibum* for the Peshito (or Peshîṭā) לחמא דסונקנא. But on reflexion I see no reason to doubt that he was translating as from the Peshito, and wrote قوت for לחמא דסונקנא *panem quo opus est*. On قوت, which implies *sufficiency*, see Lane's *Arabic-English Lexicon* I. 2572, and in Payne Smith's *Thesaurus Syriacus* col. 2680 see ܩܘܬܐ explained in terms of قوت. The Arabic word for *bread* in the Prayer is *hubz*, as in Lagarde's *Die vier Evv. Arabisch* (Leipzig. 1864) خبزنا *give us in the day* (Matt. & Luke).

Ciasca's Arabic and the Peshito have the same order of words, both beginning with a verb meaning *Give*, and both ending with ويومنا, which (with suitable pointings) means in Syriac *σήμερον* and in Arabic *our-day*.

*The explanations of ἐπιούσιος.* The epithet of the Bread has been derived from εἶναι and from ἰέναι, and explained in a great variety of ways. See Mr J. B. McClellan's "The New Testament in Two Volumes," of which only vol. I. *The Four Gospels* (1875) has been published.

Origen tells us in *De Orat.* 27, I. p. 245 Delarue (D. 217) that the word ἐπιούσιος does not once occur in Greek literature and is not current in the

colloquial language: "It seems to have been coined by the Evangelists. Matthew and Luke agree in using it without any difference. The same course has been taken in other cases also by persons translating from the Hebrew. For what Greek ever used either of the expressions ἐνωρίζου or ἀκουρίσθητι?... A similar expression to ἐπιούσιον occurs in Moses, being uttered by God, *But ye shall be to me a people περιούσιος*. And it seems to me that both words are formed from οὐσία." He continues "... *We pray therefore to be nourished with the Incarnate Word*. But some man will say that ἐπιούσιον is framed from ἐπιέναι to come next after, so that we are bidden to ask for the bread which is PROPER TO THE FUTURE WORLD... *to-day* being taken, as in many passages of Scripture, to signify the present world, *to-morrow* the future world" (M<sup>c</sup>Clellan pp. 636—7, D. 230).

When St Jerome (about A.D. 383) revised the Latin of the New Testament, he substituted *supersubstantialem* for *quotidianum* in the first Gospel only, thus leading the learned Abelard and others to surmise that ἐπιούσιον was not to be found in the third (D. 251). In his commentaries on the Epistle to Titus and on St Matthew's Gospel he is "apparently consistent with himself in connecting the word with οὐσία," but in later works he shews indecision and writes *Panem nostrum substanticum sive supercenturum...quotidianum sive super omnes substantias*. "In one point only is he consistent throughout. He insists on a spiritual as opposed to a literal interpretation of the bread" (D. 250).

Correct principles of philology point to one of the derivations of ἐπιούσιος from ἰέναι, and its derivation from οὐσία "if not impossible, is at least more difficult" (D. 223). But if the most learned of Patristic writers, as Origen and St Jerome, could liken it in structure to περιούσιος, this may have been done also by the earlier generation which made and gave currency to the new compound; and the form ἐπιούσιος may have been preferred to the more correct ἐπούσιος, to set over against περιούσιος, as ὁμοούσιος was chosen rather than ὁμούσιος (cf. ὁμέστιος) to contrast with ὁμοιούσιος. The more difficult derivation seemed possible to Beza (D. 257).

Dr W. Kay defends it in the *Journal of Philology* (vol. v. 48—51, 1874), contending that the participle ἐπιών belongs to ἐπέιναι. Liddell and Scott's *Lexicon* connects ἐπιούσια first with ἐπέιναι and then with ἐπιέναι (p. 518 ed. 7, 1883), quoting Herodotus III. 85 in both cases.

Mr Wratismaw in the *Churchman* for July 1888 replied to Dr Kay "But the real fact is that ἐπέιναι does possess a participle ἐπόν, well-known to Plato and Demosthenes, though unknown to the controversialists upon ἐπιούσιος. PLATO has it twice, in the *Lysis* 217 c οἶον τὸ ἐπόν, where ἐπόν is a certain correction of Heindorf's for ἔτι ὄν; and in the *Parmenides* 132 c ὁ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἐκείνο τὸ νόημα ἐπόν νοεῖ. DEMOSTHENES has it in the *Oration against Meidias* p. 517, line 15 ἐπόντος τοῦ φόβου τούτου. I think the false analogy between περιούσιος and ἐπιούσιος may now be dropped, and the claims of ἐπὶ and εἶναι to have originated ἐπιούσιος set aside for ever."

Mr Wratismaw then undertakes to prove as below by

examples, including "the evidence which Dr Lightfoot has been the first to bring forward," that ἡ ἐπιούσα does not necessarily mean ἡ αὔριον.

1. "In the Ecclesiastus of Aristophanes one of the speakers, after describing the time (ver. 20) *καίτοι πρὸς ὄρθρον γ' ἐστίν 'tis close on day-break*, exclaims (ver. 105) *νῆ τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν*, where *τὴν αὔριον* would be quite out of place" (D. 226).

2. PLATO *Crito* p. 44 A. Very early in the morning (*ὄρθρος βαθύς*) Crito informs Socrates that the fatal ship has arrived at Sunium, and that on the morrow Socrates must end his life. Socrates thinks that it will not arrive *τῆμερον to-day*... not *τῆς ἐπιούσης on the on-coming day*, but *τῆς ἐτέρας*, for in a vision "Methought a lady...called to me and said, Socrates on the *third* day thou wilt come to fertile Phthia." Of the three days here mentioned "The first is termed both *τῆμερον* and *τῆς ἐπιούσης*, the second *τῆς ἐτέρας*, and the third *τῆ ὑστεραία* [*τῆς ἐτέρας*]. Hence it is clear that in the early morning the day of which the major part is yet to come is represented by ἡ ἐπιούσα. This makes it manifest that ἡ ἐπιούσα is not in itself equivalent to ἡ αὔριον, although very often the context allows it to be so used."

3. It is argued that ἡ ἐπιούσα may possibly have the same meaning in Acts xx. 15 *τῇ ἐπιούσῃ κατηντήσαμεν ἀντικρὺ Χίου κ.τ.λ.*, although the Revised Version reads "And sailing from thence, we came the *following* day over against Chios, and the next day we touched at Samos, and the day after we came to Miletus."

4. Prov. xxvii. 1 *μὴ καυχῶ τὰ εἰς αὔριον, οὐ γὰρ γνώσκεις τί τέξεται ἡ ἐπιούσα* (D. 222). The Greek of the LXX. is "an extremely vivid and correct gloss upon and paraphrase of the original Hebrew," ἡ ἐπιούσα standing for *דוֹן* A DAY, and the sense being, Thou knowest not what the space of a day, "between now and to-morrow," may bring forth. This is a doubtful interpretation, but *αὔριον* sometimes connotes a more distant future than ἡ ἐπιούσα.

5. XENOPHON *Anabasis* I. 7. 1—2. Here "the two senses of ἐπιούσα appear to exhibit themselves in very close proximity." Cyrus holds a review at midnight, expecting the king to arrive *εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἑω*. After the review come deserters from the king's army, *ἀμα τῇ ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρα*. The same day is called ἡ ἐπιούσα before and at its commencement.

It is inferred that St Matthew's *τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον* "is the proper formula for a *morning* prayer, or a prayer said at the beginning of or early in the day," while in using St Luke's form *τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν κ.τ.λ.* "we must be supposed to ask at any time for the bread of the on-coming space of a day, reckoning from the moment of using the prayer."

The Didaché however, which reads *τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον*, adds at the end of the Prayer *τρίς τῆς ἡμέρας οὕτω προσεύχεσθε*. The days of *bereshith* begin in the evening.

"It is at least possible," as Dr Chase well remarks, "that the apparent analogy of *περιούσιος*, occurring in a group of passages (Ex. xix. 5, Deut. vii. 6, xiv. 2, xxvi. 18) which we know to have occupied an important place

in Apostolic teaching (Tit. ii. 14, 1 Pet. ii. 9; comp. Acts xx. 28, Eph. i. 14), may have suggested or facilitated this representation of the original Aramaic word." It is assumed that this may have been  $\text{נְדוּיָךְ}$  *of-the-day*, the Hebrew  $\text{דוּי}$  *day*, Targ.  $\text{נְדוּי}$  being rendered  $\eta$  *ἐπιούσα* in Prov. xxvii. 1 Boast not thyself of to-morrow,  $\sigma\upsilon$  γὰρ γινώσκεις τί τέξεται  $\eta$  *ἐπιούσα*.

If  $\text{נְדוּיָךְ}$  stood in a primitive form of the petition and was first rendered  $\tau\eta\varsigma$  *ἐπιούσης*, this might have led (1) to the MAHAR *quod dicitur crastinum* of the Gospel according to the Hebrews (D. 237), and (2) to the coining of *ἐπιούσιος* (from *ίέναι*) with a side glance, under the attraction of a "false analogy," to the imperfectly understood *περιούσιος* (from *είναι*).

With this comprehensive derivation would agree the expositions of homilists as St Chrysostom, who "seems throughout to be wavering between the meanings *daily* and *necessary*, i.e. between the derivations from *ίέναι* and *είναι*" (D. 236). If a word could be analysed in a variety of ways, the homilist, caring little for philology as such, was content to combine the religious lessons deducible from them all. He was like the Jewish Rabbi who would have said, read not *ἐπι-ιούσιος* but *ἐπι-ούσιος*, with intent to put new meanings into the word by a fresh derivation of it.

Origen may have "himself first started the derivation from *είναι, οὐσία*," with reference (after his manner) to *absolute being*, or "may have got it from one of his predecessors, Pantaenus or Clement" (D. 231). Mr McClellan on the New Testament (p. 636) quotes from St Clement of Alexandria *Paed.* I. 12 "The Divine Teacher prepares us for contentment and simplicity of life &c., for He saith *Be not careful for the morrow* [Matt. vi. 34], meaning that the Christian ought to enter upon a life of contentment and self-ministration, and only for the single day (*ἐφήμερον*)," as a passage "which, although perhaps not a direct interpretation, is of considerable importance as testifying to Clement's recognition of the Old Latin *quotidianus* [Matt. vi. 11], and consequently to the originality of his illustrious successor's theory of the derivation from *οὐσία*."

Various passages however in the works of Clement seem to me to shew that he may have taken the same view of the petition as Origen after him. He defines prayer as *ὁμιλία converse* with God. He writes in *Paed.* II. 1, according to Bishop Kaye's rendering, "It should be our aim to raise our eyes to the truth, firmly to lay hold of the Divine food from above, and to be filled with the inexhaustible contemplation of Him who really exists [ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\delta\omicron\tau\omega\varsigma$   $\delta\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma$ ], tasting the unchangeable, enduring, pure pleasure. For the food of Christ signifies that we ought to look for this agape." In the same chapter, with a play upon the two senses of *ἄριστον*, he disparages the *ephemeral* meat and drink in comparison with the spiritual, and teaches that by partaking of the repast of "righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost" we become possessed of  $\tau\omicron$  *ἄριστον τῶν ὄντων*, the choicest of the things that are.

Judging from such words we may think that Clement would have said *Pray not* (very much as the Gospel says *Labour not*) *for the meat which perisheth*, or like St Jerome on the Epistle to

Titus, *Absit quippe ut nos, qui in crastinum cogitare prohibemur, de pane isto qui post paululum concoquendus et abjiciendus est in secessum in prece dominica rogare jubeamur* (D. 249).

He uses the expression Spiritual Food in *Paed. l.c.* (Potter p. 169, cf. p. 971) ἀλλ' οὐκ εὐλογον τραπέζης δαιμονίων μεταλαμβάνειν τοὺς θείας μετέχειν καὶ ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΙΚΗΣ κατηξιωμένους ΤΡΟΦΗΣ, thinking perhaps of the Didaché, with which its expounders shew that he was acquainted. In its Eucharistic section and after the Lord's Prayer we read, "Thou, O Almighty Sovereign, didst create all things for Thy name's sake, and gavest men food and drink to enjoy, that they might give thanks unto Thee; but to us Thou didst graciously give SPIRITUAL FOOD and drink and life eternal." The idea of spiritual food runs through the Bible, but the nearest approach in it to the expression is in St Paul's use of the terms spiritual meat and drink with reference to Manna and what is rabbinically called the Well.

Philo identifies the λόγος with the "bread from heaven" (Ex. xvi. 4, Deut. viii. 3), cf. Gfrörer *l.c.* p. 179, Jowett on Philo and St Paul (*Epp. of St Paul* I. p. 484, 1859).

In Clem. *Strom.* vii. 13 (Potter p. 881) it is said of the gnostic διὸ καὶ δικαίως εὐχεται, "Ἄφες ἡμῖν λέγων· καὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἀφίεμεν...καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πενομένων ἀδελφῶν οὐκ αὐτὸς αἰτήσεται ὁ γνωστικὸς οὐ χρημάτων περιουσίαν εἰς μετάδοσιν κ.τ.λ., will not the gnostic not ask for superabundance to give away, but pray that others may have what they want? Canon Cook on *The Revised Version of the First Three Gospels* infers that Clement regarded ἐπιούσιος "as the proper antithesis to περιούσιος."

*The Epistle of Barnabas.* The writer quotes in chap. x. of his *Epistle* (pp. 101—103 ed. Cunningham 1877) the Mosaic prohibition of unclean meats "Ye shall not eat swine, nor eagle, nor falcon, nor raven, nor any fish that hath not scales upon him," and concludes that *there is no commandment of God to abstain from eating, but Moses spake in the spirit... but they after the desire of the flesh received his words as though they concerned meats.* An allegorist who explains away the obvious literal sense of the Levitical ordinance "Thou shalt not eat &c." would not probably have spiritualised the "bread" in the Lord's Prayer.

*Tertullian.* In Tertull. *De Orat.* 6 Quamquam PANEM NOSTRUM QUOTIDIANUM DA NOBIS HODIE spiritaliter potius intelligamus, Christus enim panis noster est &c., the spiritual interpretation of the bread is independent of the epithet ἐπιούσιος.

*Jacob of Serug* (D. 241). Mr Burkitt gives me some extracts from the *Homilies* of Jacob of Serug, "who flourished in the 5th century, and wrote *inter alia* the accepted exposition of the Lord's Prayer in Syriac corresponding to S. Cyprian's in Latin, or to that of Evagrius in Egypt, using for his text the *Diatessaron*. He explains at great length (without hinting at any spiritualised interpretation of the clause) that לחמא אמינא דיומא means DAILY PROVISION, not gold, or silver or jewels; adding that the poor man prays for daily bread, that he may be contented with what he hath:

the rich man also prays for daily bread, that he may be ashamed that he hath ten thousand loaves, and that he may know that the superfluity which he has belongs not to him but to the poor outside."

Mangey on the Lord's Prayer (ed. 3, 1721) writes on ἐπιούσιον κ.τ.λ. "The African Fathers have chose the mystical sense, and have explain'd this daily Bread of Christ's Body. They observe, that *as he was the living Bread that came down from Heaven*, so this living Bread is here pray'd for; and therefore suppos'd, that the spiritual food and nourishment, receiv'd in the holy Sacrament, were the subject of this petition. This interpretation seems partly owing to the primitive custom of receiving the Communion daily, which might give the name of *daily Bread* to the sacred Elements; and partly to the pious mistake, that nothing temporal could be ask'd for in this Divine form. But most certainly this is neither a true nor an useful sense of the words. This mystical explication of Bread is the product of warm imaginations; and is neither agreeable to our Saviour's design, nor to the notions of his hearers. He cannot be thought to teach them to pray for that heavenly Bread, of which probably they had never yet heard.

The literal interpretation of the words then is more probable, and *daily Bread* means no other than the necessaries of this life (pp. 126 sq.)."

But see on *De Profugis* in Mangey's Philo I. p. 566 (1742) the note "οὐράνιος τροφή. Eadem fere scribuntur Joh. vi. 32—51. Philo λόγον esse docet celeste alimentum, Dominus seipsum; eundem mysticum sensum ex mannae manducatione uterque deducit...nec mira nec nova visa est ista de pane caelesti doctrina. Soli illi quibus hebetiores aures & animi erant, Christi dictis sunt offensi."

### Libera nos a Malo.

On the petition ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ, lit. *deliver us from the evil* (Matt. vi. 13), see Canon Cook's *Second Letter* above mentioned (p. 179).

In Appendix II. (D. 319) Bp Lightfoot sums up thus, "*the earliest Latin Father and the earliest Greek Father, of whose opinions we have any knowledge, both take τοῦ πονηροῦ masculine. The masculine rendering seems to have been adopted universally by the Greek Fathers. At least no authority, even of a late date, has been produced for the neuter. In the Latin Church the earliest distinct testimony for the neuter is S. Augustine at the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century. From that time forward the neuter gained ground in the Western Church till it altogether supplanted the masculine.*" No reference however is made to St Clement of Rome, who perhaps alludes to the Prayer in the passage cited (1877) from the lost and found ending of his Epistle to the Corinthians at the end of Excursus V. (p. 130).

Jacob of Serug gives *Deliver me from Satan who contendeth against me* as a paraphrase of the petition *Deliver us from* BISHA.

On the hypothesis that the Prayer was given in ARAMAIC it has been said\*, "The Aramaic original of ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ seems to have been *men bisho*...which can be translated *from evil*, and *from the evil*, but not *from the Evil One*"; and to this it is objected that, according to Dr Payne Smith's *Thesaurus*, the Syriac בִּישָׁא (or *bisho*) "Imprimis usurpatur de diabolo" (D. 293).

But Dr Payne Smith's words do not apply to the Jewish Aramaic בִּישָׁא. On this see Buxtorf, Kohut and Levy's Lexicons; and for the saying attributed to Ben Sira *Do not good to the evil* (בִּישָׁא) and *evil* (בִּישָׁא or בִּישָׁא) shall not befall thee see also Schechter in *J. Q. R.* III. 694, and Cowley and Neubauer's *Original Heb. of Ecclus.* pp. xx, xxix. See also the various versions of Ecclus. vii. 1—2, comparing the Syriac אֲרַחֵק מִן בִּישָׁא with Aboth I. 8 רַע מִשְׁכֵּן רַע. "The

feminine in Syriac is the proper equivalent for the neuter in Greek, as any common Syriac grammar will show. The masculine however may be so used. Thus, in this particular word the masculine *bisho* properly represents ὁ πονηρός, but may represent τὸ πονηρόν, though the proper representative of the latter is the feminine *bishtho*" (D. 291). But the Targumic Jewish Aramaic sometimes has *bish* or *bisho* where the Syriac has *bishtho*, as for רַע *evil* in Gen. ii. 9, Ps. vii. 10, Job i. 1, 8, ii. 3.

"So familiar was the word *bisho*, 'the Evil One,' as a synonym for Satan to the ear of a Syrian, that in the Curetonian [and *sin.*] Syriac it appears in Matt. xiii. 39, where the original has ὁ διάβολος, and in the Peshito Syriac in Acts x. 38, where the original has τοῦ διαβόλου" (D. 292).

It was the New Testament itself which gave currency to the use of בִּישָׁא for ὁ πονηρός "the Evil One" in Christian Syriac literature, and from this later usage we cannot safely infer that the Jewish Aramaic בִּישָׁא had exactly the same sense and application. Compare the use of הָרַע as a rendering of ὁ πονηρός in the Parable of the Sower (p. 192).

"But the objection from the absence of this designation in the Talmudical and early Rabbinical writings still remains to be dealt with. What shall we say to this?" (D. 284). Then follow the passages from Ex. Rab., Deut. Rab., and Baba Bathra cited above in Note 5:

Ex. Rab. 21. 7 (Job xvi. 11) "it is also written *God hath delivered me over to the wicked one* i.e. He hath put me into the hand of Satan" (D. 286). Here however we have merely a casual application to Satan of an indefinite singular עוֹיִל "ungodly" (Sept. ἀδίκου), which stands in parallelism with the plural רַשָׁעִים (Sept. ἀσεβείς), thus

יִסְגִּירֵנִי אֵל אֵל עוֹיִל וְעַל יְדֵי רַשָׁעִים יִרְטֵנִי.

Wünsche reads (p. 170) *Er überlieferte mich EINEM VERKEHRTEM GOTTE* [אֵל אֵל עוֹיִל] d. i. er gab mich in die Gewalt des Satans, damit die Israeliten, wenn Gericht über sie gehalten wird, nicht als Frevler hervorgehen.

\* See Dr Neubauer's letter of the 18th June 1881 in the *Academy* (p. 455).

Darum stürzte er mich in seine Gewalt. Das wollen die Worte sagen Hi. 16. 11 *In die Hand der Freier übergiebt er mich.*

Deut. Rab. 11. 11 (Ps. xxxvii. 32) "*The wicked one watcheth for the righteous one, and seeketh to slay him*\*. [Now] there is none so wicked among all the Satanim altogether as Samael... Thus also did Samael the Wicked One watch for the soul of Moses and say &c." (D. 286). Here רשע *wicked* is taken to mean Samael *the wicked*, and the epithet הרשע is applied to him in conjunction with his name, as it might be to Titus or Nebuchadnezzar. Notice that for רשע without the article the Septuagint has ὁ ἁμαρτωλός. So in Job xxi. 30 רע (Targ. ביש, Syr. בישא) is rendered ὁ πονηρός, thus ὅτι εἰς ἡμέραν ἀπωλείας κούφίζεται ὁ πονηρός, εἰς ἡμέραν ὀργῆς αὐτοῦ ἀπαχθήσονται. Conversely מרע *a malo* without the article (p. 128 n.) is a possible form of the original of ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ.

Baba Bathra 16 a (Job ix. 24) "*The earth is given into the hands of the wicked one...* Job meant in this phrase [the wicked one] none but Satan" (D. 286). Here again there is merely an application to Satan of רשע (Sept. ἀσεβοῦς), an indefinite or collective singular standing in parallelism with a plural "her judges" thus

ארץ נתנה ביד רשע פני שפטיה ינסה.

TALM. JERUS. Shabbath II. 6 Zit. (5b § 3 ed. princ.) quotes Ps. cix. 7 רשע בהשפטו יצא (Sept. ἐν τῷ κρίνεσθαι αὐτὸν ἐξέλθοι καταδικασμένος) in proof that Satan accuses only in time of danger. When a man is on his trial רשע will come forth, *comm.* יהוא המלאך הרע ינא ממקומו ללמד עליו והוא קטגוריא i.e. the Evil Angel (Ps. lxxviii. 49 ἀγγέλων πονηρῶν) will emerge from his place to suggest a case against him.

In ABOTH R. N. ed. Schechter A I. & ב' (pp. 4, 151) the wicked serpent touches the tree with hands and feet, and shakes off its fruits to the ground. Or (some say) he did not touch it at all; but when the tree saw him it cried out Wicked One, Wicked One, touch me not, for it is said (Ps. xxxvi. 11) Let not the foot of pride come against me, and let not the hand of the wicked remove me.

This story is told of Samael the Wicked in *Sefer ha-Bahir* (Zohar בראשית 28 b ed. Cremona), quoted by Gill on St Matt. xiii. 19. Samael the Wicked is mentioned in Jellinek's *Bet ha-Midrash* Midr. אלה אוכרה (II. 66) and היכלות רבתי (III. 87).

*Origin of the term the Evil One.* The New Testament is the earliest known authority for the expression THE EVIL ONE, and Canon Cook suggests that the general use of the term ὁ πονηρός in that sense "may

\* Ungodly men say let us lie in wait for the righteous man... Let us condemn him to a shameful death (Wisdom ii. 12, 20). There is a tract of Philo *De eo quod deterius potiori insidiari solet* (Mangey i. 191). The title ὁ δίκαιος (Acts iii. 14, vii. 52, xxii. 14) "first appears in Enoch as a Messianic designation" (*Enoch* pp. 51, 112 ed. Charles). The New Testament expression the Evil One (Matt. xiii. 19, Eph. vi. 16, 1 Joh. ii. 13—14) may have been used in earlier writings now lost.

probably have originated in our Lord's exposition of the Parable of the Sower." The Greek *ὁ πονηρός* in St Matt. xiii. 19 and elsewhere may be thought to stand for some Hebrew or Aramaic expression having *ὁ Σατανᾶς* (Mark iv. 15) and *ὁ διάβολος* (Luke viii. 12) for synonyms (Note 20). Perhaps a Targumist in retranslating the Parable of the Sower would have rendered *ὁ πονηρός* by *בִּישָׁן*, for the Evil Impulse occupies the heart (Note 21) and is the foe of Torah (Note 22), and it is said *ἔρχεται ὁ πονηρὸς καὶ ἀρπάξει τὸ ἐσπαρμένον ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ*. *בישא* may have been used sometimes as an abbreviation of *בִּישָׁן*, in accordance with the saying that the evil *yezer* has *עַר* *bish* for one of its names. With *Aboth* iv. 2 compare *ὅτι ἰσχυροὶ ἐστε...καὶ νενικήκατε τὸν πονηρόν* (1 Joh. ii. 14).

The Septuagint uses *πονηρός* occasionally for *עָרָב* *wicked* (2 Sam. iv. 11, Is. liii. 9), but in the great majority of cases for *עָרָב* *evil*. It uses *ὁ πονηρός* as an epithet of *Πααν* (p. 128), but not as a name of the Evil One; nor is *עָרָב* so used except in Hebrew New Testaments. Such expressions as Ben Sira's *πονηρόν ἐνθύμημα* (pp. 149, 152) may have led up to the use of *ὁ πονηρός* by itself as a name of Satan, cf. *Tobit* iii. 8, 17 Chald. & Heb. *Asmodai the king of the demons*, Sept. & Syr. *the evil demon*. Notice the LXX. rendering *ἐγὼ γὰρ οἶδα τὴν ΠΟΝΗΡΙΑΝ αὐτῶν* of Deut. xxxi. 21 for *I know* *עָרָב* *בִּישָׁן* *their imagination*.

2 TIM. iv. 18 *ρύσεται με ὁ κύριος ἀπὸ παντὸς ἔργου πονηροῦ καὶ σώσει εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπουράνιον· ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰῶνων, ἀμήν*. This is not improbably an application of words of the Lord's Prayer. The expression *from every evil work*, "from the sphere of evil in every form" (Ellicott), may be a paraphrase of *men bisha* or *עָרָב*, which in places of the Old Testament is freely rendered *ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ, ἀπὸ κακῶν, ἀπὸ ὁδοῦ κακῆς, ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ πράγματος* (*Prov.* iii. 7, iv. 27, *Job* i. 1, 8, ii. 3, xxviii. 28).

1 ST JOHN ii. 12—14 *ἀφείωνται ὑμῖν αἱ ἀμαρτίαι...ἐγνώκατε τὸν πατέρα...νενικήκατε τὸν πονηρόν* may refer to *ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰς ἀμαρτίας...πάτερ...ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ* in the Prayer. The writer's preference for the masculine *ὁ πονηρός* would not necessarily exclude a neuter rendering of *ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ*. In favour of the masculine interpretation of *ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ* in St John xvii. 15 it is said that "whereas *τὸ πονηρόν*, 'the evil thing,' is never found in S. John's writings, *ὁ πονηρός*, 'the Evil One,' occurs many times" (D. 280). This suggests more than it was intended to prove.

The neuter *MALUM* is made to mean the Evil One in an interpretation of *a malo* quoted by Bp Lightfoot, "*Hoc est a diabolo, qui totius mali et auctor est et origo. Diabolus natura caelestis fuit, nunc est nequitia spiritalis; aetate major saeculo, nocendi usu tritus, laedendi arte peritissimus, unde non jam malus, sed malum dicitur, a quo est omne quod malum est*" (D. 305). Compare the neuter *χεῖρον* in the title of Philo's *De eo quod deterius &c.* (p. 188 n.).

*The Liturgies.* The Liturgies contain petitions for deliverance from the crafts and assaults of the devil, "but all such prayers are, I believe, invariably connected with petitions to be delivered from evil, from all evil

and mischief, and specially from sin and wickedness, and, in comparison with such petitions, occupy a secondary place" (Canon Cook in D. 306). Thus the Book of Common Prayer reads in the *Litany* "FROM ALL EVIL and mischief; from sin, from the crafts and assaults of the devil &c. *Good Lord, deliver us,*" and in the exposition of the Prayer in the *Catechism* "and that it will please him to save and defend us in all dangers ghostly and bodily; and that he will keep us from all sin and wickedness, and from our ghostly enemy, and from everlasting death." In the Eastern *Liturgies* (Brightman, Oxford 1896) "The general result seems to be that prominence is given to ὁ πονηρός, but combined with the larger reference to all evil" (E. H. G.). On the *Apostolic Constitutions* see Canon Cook's *Second Letter*, and in the *Didaché* (ed. Bryennius 1883) compare φεύγε ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ καὶ ἀπὸ παντὸς ὁμοίου αὐτοῦ, εἰς τὸ πονηρόν... ῥύσθειτε τέκνα ἀπὸ τούτων ἀπάντων, ῥύσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ, τοῦ ῥύσασθαι αὐτὴν ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ (chaps. 3, 5, 8, 10).

### Conclusion.

τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον] On the differences between the two Greek forms of the Prayer see Mr T. E. Page's *Critical Notes on the Lord's Prayer* in the *Expositor* 3rd series vol. VII. (1888), and see Thayer *N. T. Lex.* on ἐπιούσιος. While it is scarcely credible that the perplexing new compound belonged to the Prayer as first taught, it must have been current in versions of it before the Greek Gospels were written. The word itself is an indication that the original language of the Prayer was not Greek. Nor is it likely that ἐπιούσιος was even the first Greek rendering of its presumably simple Semitic archetype.

Supposing the petition for the bread to mean *Give us this day* (or *day by day*) *our daily bread*, its two forms may have been derived from a Semitic original meaning *Give us the bread of the day* IN THE DAY (p. 180), as conversely in Lagarde's Arabic both *σήμερον* and τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν are rendered in *the day* (p. 181).

Before ἐπιούσιος was thought of simple Greek words meaning *daily* or *of the day* may have been in use in the Prayer, cf. ἐφημέρου τροφῆς (Jas. ii. 15), τὴν τῆς ἡμέρας τροφήν (D. 235).

The Old Latin\* *panem quotidianum*, which has been thought to represent τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν (p. 180 n., M<sup>c</sup>Clellan p. 644), may embody a true tradition of the original of ἄρτον ἐπιούσιον. Cureton remarks that the Old Syriac "constant of the day" is an equivalent of *quotidianum*.

Some think that the original of "daily" bread was bread *of* מחר *tomorrow* (p. 184): others that *of the day* may have been rendered ἐπιούσιον because ἡ ἐπιούσια stands for "a day" in Prov. xxvii. 1. Possibly there was a previous rendering τῆς ἐπιούσης. A Rabbinic saying distinguishes

\* Mr Burkitt in *Texts and Studies* vol. iv. no. 3 *The Old Latin and the Itala* shews reason to think that *Itala* meant the Vulgate.



word רשע (it is said) occurs about 300 times and "the LXX. render it by *κακός, ἀσεβής, ἄδικος, ἁμαρτωλός, παράνομος, &c.*, but never by *πονηρός*." Exceptions to this are 2 Sam. iv. 11 'כִּי אֲנִישִׁים רָשָׁעִים כִּי' *ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν ἄνδρες πονηροὶ ἀπέκτειναν ἄνδρα δίκαιον*, Is. liii. 9 וַיִּתֵּן אֵת רָשָׁעִים קִבְרוֹ *καὶ δώσω τοὺς πονηροὺς ἀντὶ τῆς ταφῆς αὐτοῦ*, but as a rule *πονηρός* corresponds to רע *evil* and not to רשע *wicked*. Compare Ps. vii. 9 Oh let רשעים רע *πονηρία ἁμαρτωλῶν* the evil of the wicked come to an end, Ps. x. 15 Break thou the arm of רשע ורע *ἁμαρτωλοῦ καὶ πονηροῦ* the wicked and the evil, Ezek. xviii. 20 רשעת רשע and the wickedness of the wicked *impietas impii ἀνομία ἀνόμω*.

The Hebrew for *πονηρός* being as a rule רע *evil*, it may be thought that St Matt. xiii. 19 *ἔρχεται ὁ ΠΟΝΗΡΟΣ* (R.V. *the evil one*, A.V. *the wicked one*) *καὶ ἀρπάξει τὸ ἐσπαρμένον ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ* should be rendered as by Delitzsch כִּי הָרַע וּבֵא הָרַע. It does not however appear that הָרַע was ever used quite in this way for the Evil One until the Greek Testament was translated into Hebrew. On the other hand actual Rabbinic usage as far as it goes favours the use of רשע in the required sense (p. 188), thus

בֵּא רָשָׁע וְחַטָּף הַזֶּרַע הַזֶּרוּעַ בְּלִבְבוֹ.

A like expression would serve to render ὁ ἄνομος (cf. Ezek. *l.c.*) in 2 Thess. ii. 8, which Westcott and Hort connect with Is. xi. 4 רשעת רשע.

The Syriac versions render ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ by *בִּישָׂא מִן מִן* *from the evil*. This is also the most obvious expression for ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ in Jewish Aramaic, which may have been the original language of the Prayer; but it does not follow that in the earlier dialect it must have meant precisely the same as afterwards in Christian Syriac. By literal translation from the New Testament הָרַע is made to have a meaning which, so far as we know, it had not in genuine Hebrew, and the like may have happened to its Syriac synonym *בִּישָׂא* (p. 187).

If the titles the Righteous One (p. 188 n.) and the Evil One are to be regarded as correlative, they are best accounted for as specialisations of the Biblical צַדִּיק *righteous* and רשע *wicked* respectively. From this point of view the most natural Aramaic rendering of ὁ πονηρός is not *בִּישָׂא* (D. 293) but *רִשְׁעִיא* (p. 140).

But the best Hebrew rendering of the ambiguous ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ is *מָרַע* (Aram. *בִּישָׂא* (כִּין *בִּישָׂא*). This is found several times in the Bible in the phrase "depart *from evil*," רע may denote an evil person or spirit, it is a name of "the *imagination* of man's heart," which is also *πονηρία* and ὁ πονηρός (pp. 147, 189), and it describes the evil way to be shunned according to sayings of the Jewish Fathers (p. 35) and the things deprecated as evil in Jewish Prayers\*.

\* See p. 129. 1—3 with the *Variæ Lectiones* in Rabbinovicz ר"ס vol. i., and Heb. Auth. P. B. p. 7.

HEBREW TEXT

OF THE

SIX PERAQIM.

קונה שמים וארץ : ישראל מנין דכתיב עד יעבר עמך יי עד  
יעבר עם זו קנית : ואומר לקדושים אשר בארץ המה ואדירי  
כל הפצי בם : בית המקדש מנין דכתיב מכון לשבתך פעלת  
יי מקדש אדני כוננו ידיך : ואומר ויביאם אל גבול קדשו  
הר זה קנתה ימינו :

י"א

כל מה שברא הקדוש ברוך הוא בעולמו לא בראו אלא  
לכבודו שנאמר כל הנקרא בשמי ולכבודי בראתיו יצרתיו  
אף עשיתיו : ואומר יי ימלך לעולם ועד : רבי חנניא בן  
עקשיא אומר רצה הקדוש ברוך הוא לזכות את ישראל  
לפיכך הרבה להם תורה ומצוות שנאמר יי חפץ למען צדקו  
יגדיל תורה ויאדיר :

א כ"א וכולם לא בראם הקב"ה אלא לכבודו

סליק פרקא  
דרבי מאיר

חמשה<sup>א</sup> קנינים קנה הקדוש ברוך הוא בעולמו ואלו הן תורה קנין אחד שמים וארץ קנין אחד אברהם קנין אחד ישראל קנין אחד בית המקדש קנין אחד : תורה מנין דכתיב יי' קנני ראשית דרכו קדם מפעליו מאז : שמים וארץ מנין דכתיב כה אמר יי' השמים כסאי והארץ הדם רגלי אי זה בית אשר תבנו לי ואי זה מקום מנוחתי : ואומר מה רבו מעשיך יי' כלם בחכמה עשית מלאה הארץ קניניך : אברהם מנין דכתיב ויברכהו ויאמר ברוך אברם לאל עליון

<sup>א</sup> ז"ל ארבעה כדאיתא בכ"י המסומן Add. 667 ולזה הסכימה גרסת התלמוד (פסחים דף פ"ז ע"ב) כך ישראל שהם בני בני בחוני בני אברהם יצחק ויעקב אחד מארבעה קנינים שקניתי בעולמי תורה קנין אחד דכתיב יי' קנני ראשית דרכו שמים וארץ קנין אחד דכתיב שמים וארץ בית המקדש קנין אחד דכתיב הר זה קנתה ימינו ישראל קנין אחד דכתיב עם זו קנית. וזמכילתא ג"כ בפ' בשלח בפסוק עד יעבור עמך כו' נזכרו ד' קנינים האלו. אבל בספרי בפ' האזינו בפסוק הלה תגמלו זאת לא מנה רק ג' סנקראו קנין למקום והס תורה וישראל ובית המקדש. ובענין זה כתב בעל הפרוש המיוחס לרשב"ס ואני אומר כשם שהספרי והמכלתא חלוקים שזה אומר ג' וזה אומר ד' כך אפשר שהנדה שלישית חולקת לומר חמשה. ואמר ג"כ חמשה קנינים במחזורים וכן מצאתי בתנא דבי אליהו אברהם שהוא מחמש קנינים שקנה הקב"ה וראיתי במדרש של ר' שמעון (ב) קרא בספר משלי שמוציא קנינו של אברהם מדכתיב אלה תולדות השמים והארץ בהבראם אל תקרי **בהבראם** אלא **באברהם** זהו שאמר הכתוב ברוך אברם וגי' וכן פתרון המקרא ברוך אברם לאל עליון הקונה אותו כדרך שקנה שמים וארץ עכ"ל. אבל ע"ד הפשט אין ראיה ממקרא זה רק לקנין שמים וארץ ואזכרם איננו מן הקנינים וצאופן זה די להביא ד' הפסוקים הנז' במסכת פסחים

לצדיקים כלם נתקומו ברבי ובבניו : אמר רבי יוסי<sup>א</sup> בן קסמא פעם אחת הייתי מהלך בדרך ופגע בי אדם אחד ונתן לי שלום והחזרתי לו שלום אמר לי רבי מאיזה מקום אתה אמרתי לו מעיר גדולה של חכמים ושל סופרים אני אמר לי רבי רצונך שתדור עמנו במקומנו ואני אתן לך אלף אלפים דינרי זהבי ואבנים טובות ומרגליות אמרתי לו אם אתה נותן לי כל כסף וזהב ואבנים טובות ומרגליות שבעולם איני דר אלא במקום תורה וכן כתוב בספר תהלים על ידי דוד מלך ישראל טוב לי תורת פיך מאלפי זהב וכסף : ולא עוד שבשעת פטירתו של אדם אין מלוין לו לאדם לא כסף ולא זהב ולא אבנים טובות ומרגליות אלא תורה ומעשים טובים בלבד שנאמר בהתהלךך תנחה אתך בשכבך תשמור עליך והקיצות היא תשיחך : בהתהלךך תנחה אתך בעולם הזה בשכבך תשמור עליך בקבר והקיצות היא תשיחך לעולם הבא : ואומר לי הכסף ולי הזהב נאם יי צבאות :

<sup>א</sup> בנ"א נמא תניא א"ר יוסי ולא הוצא בריתא זו קודם לנאמר חמשה קנינים בו כדלעיל אלא לאחריו. ואמר החכם ר' ינאק יעבן בפרושו חסדי אבות שהוא ראה נסחאות חלוקות מהן מציאות ענין הקנינים שקנה הקב"ה ובלתי מציאות ענין ר' יוסי בן קסמא ומהן עושות להפך ומהן מציאות שתיבהן ומהן מציאות המאמר כל מה שברא הקב"ה בעולמו בו בסוף ענין ר' יוסי בן קסמא ומהן מציאות בסוף הפרק מה שאמר ר' חנניה בן עקשיא ומהן אינן מציאות רק פסוק ה' הפץ בו

<sup>ב</sup> בנ"א זקן אחד

<sup>ג</sup> בנ"א חסר ושל סופרים

<sup>ד</sup> בנ"א ואני אתן לך כמה כסף וכמה זהב א"ל אם אתה נותן לי כל כסף וכל זהב שבעולם איני דר אלא במקום תורה לפי שבשעת פטירתו בו. ואמ"כ הוצאו ב' הפסוקים טוב לי בו' לי הכסף בו'

## אבות פרק ששי שנו חכמים

ובעולם הבא שנאמר כי חיים הם למצאיהם ולכל בשרו  
מרפא : ואומר רפאות תהי לשרך ושקוי לעצמותיך : ואומר  
עין חיים היא למחזיקים בה ותמכיה מאשר : ואומר כי  
לוית חן הם לראשך וענקים לגרגרתיך : ואומר תתן לראשך  
לוית חן עטרת תפארת תמגנך : ואומר כי בי ירבו ימיך  
ויוסיפו לך שנות חיים : ואומר ארך ימים בימינה בשמאולה  
עשר וכבוד : ואומר כי ארך ימים ושנות חיים ושלום יוסיפו  
לך :

### ה

רבי שמעון בן יהודה משום רבי שמעון בן יוחאי אומר  
הנוי והכח והעושר והכבוד והחכמה הזקנה והשיבה והבנים  
נאה לצדיקים ונאה לעולם שנאמר עטרת תפארת שיבה  
בדרך צדקה תמצא : ואומר תפארת בחורים כהם והדר  
זקנים שיבה : ואומר עטרת זקנים בני בנים ותפארת בנים  
אבותם : ואומר והפרה הלבנה ובושה החמה כי מלך יי'  
צבאות בהר ציון ובירושלים ונגד זקניו כבוד :

### ט

רבי שמעון בן מנסיא אומר אלו שבע מדות שמנו חכמים

<sup>א</sup> כ"א בן מנסיא

<sup>ב</sup> קשיא שכבר הוזכרו ס' ולפיכך יש מוסקין א' מהן

נקנית בארבעים ושמונה דברים\* : ואלו הן בתלמוד בשמיעת האזן בעריכת שפתים בבינת הלב באימה ביראה בענוה בשמחה בטהרה בשמוש חכמים בדקדוק חברים בפלפול התלמידים בישוב במקרא במשנה במעוט סהורה במעוט דרך ארץ במעוט תענוג במעוט שנה במעוט שיחה במעוט שהוק בארך אפים בלב טוב באמונת חכמים בקבלת היסורין המכיר את מקומו והשמה בחלקו והעושה סיג לדבריו ואינו מהזיק טובה לעצמו אהוב אהב את המקום אהב את הבריות אהב את הצדקות אהב את המישרים אהב את התוכחות ומתרחק מן הכבוד ולא מגים לבו בתלמודו ואינו שמח בהוראה נושא בעול עם חברו ומכריעו לכף זכות ומעמידו על האמת ומעמידו על השלום ומתישב לבו בתלמודו שואל ומשיב שומע ומוסיף הלומד על מנת ללמד והלומד על מנת לעשות המחכים את רבו והמכון את שמועתו והאומר דבר בשם אומרו הא למדת כל האומר דבר בשם אומרו מביא גאלה לעולם שנאמר ותאמר אסתר למלך בשם מרדכי :

ז

גדולה תורה שהיא נותנת חיים לעושיה בעולם הזה

\* יש חלופים שונים בגרסת אלו מ"ח הדברים ובסדורן ויש ספרים שנומ' בהם הגרסאות בכונת הלב בשכלות הלב. (ומסר' מלת בטהרה). ברבוק חברים. בישיבה. בדרך ארץ. אהוב אהב משמח את המקום משמח את הבריות. ואינו רודף אחר הכבוד. ולא מגים לבו בהוראה. ומתישב בתלמודו. שואל כענין ומשיב כהלכה. והלומד ע"מ לעסוק. המחכם (צננין הדגוש). והמבין את שמועתו. הא למדת שכל האומר דבר שלא שמע מפי רבו ע"ש רבו גורם לשכינה שתסתלק מישראל והאומר כו'

כמה וכמה שצריך לנהג בו כבוד ואין כבוד אלא תורה<sup>א</sup>  
 שנאמר כבוד חכמים ינחלו ותמימים ינחלו טוב : ואין טוב  
 אלא תורה שנאמר כי לקח טוב נתתי לכם תורתִי אלא  
 תעזבו :

ד

כך היא דרכה של תורה פת במלח תאכל ומים במשורה  
 תשתה ועל הארץ תישן וחיי צער תחיה ובתורה אתה<sup>ב</sup> עמל  
 אם אתה עשה כן אשריך וטוב לך אשריך בעולם הזה וטוב  
 לך לעולם הבא :

ה

אל תבקש גדלה לעצמך ואל תחמוד כבוד יותר מלמודך  
 עשה<sup>ג</sup> ואל תתאוה לשלחנם של מלכים ששלחנך גדול  
 משלחנם וכתרך גדול מכתרם ונאמן הוא בעל מלאכתך  
 שישלם לך שכר פעלתך

ו

גדולה תורה יותר מן הכהנה ומן המלכות : שהמלכות  
 נקנית בשלשים מעלות והכהנה בעשרים וארבע והתורה

<sup>א</sup> נ"א אלא לחכמים וזולי זה הנכון. ובכ"י Add. 667 נמנא אלא חכמה

<sup>ב</sup> נ"א תהא

<sup>ג</sup> ס"י ואל תחמוד כבוד יותר מלמודך (ומסר' מלת עשה) ופי' בספר ד"ס  
 למסר"ל מפראג ואל תחמוד שום כבוד יותר כי בלמוד שלך יש לך כבוד די  
 שהוא עקר הכבוד כמו שאמר למעלה כבוד חכמים ינחלו. ובכ"י Add. 667  
 חסרו ג' המלות יותר מלמודך עשה

ב

אמר רבי יהושע בן לוי בכל יום ויום בת קול יוצאת מהר חורב ומכרות ואומרת אוי להם לבריות מעלבונה של תורה שכל מי שאינו עוסק בתורה נקרא נוֹף שנאמר נזם זהב באף\* חזיר אשה יפה וסרת טעם: ואומר והלחת מעשה אלהים המה והמכתב מכתב אלהים הוא חרות על הלחת אל תקרא חרות אלא חרות שאין לך בן חורין אלא מי שעוסק בתלמוד תורה וכל מי שעוסק בתלמוד תורה הרי זה מתעלה שנאמר וממתנה נחליאל ומנחליאל במות = :

ג

הלומד מחברו פרק אחד או הלכה אחת או פסוק אחד או דבור אחד אפילו אות אחת צריך לנהג בו כבוד שכן מצינו ברוד מלך ישראל שלא למד מאחיתפל אלא שני דברים בלבד קראוי רבו אלופו ומידעו שנאמר ואתה אנוש כערכי אלופי ומידעי: והלא דברים קל וחמר ומה דוד מלך ישראל שלא למד מאחיתפל אלא שני דברים בלבד קראוי רבו אלופו ומידעו הלומד מחברו פרק אחד או הלכה אחת או פסוק אחד או דבור אחד או אפילו אות אחת על אחת

\* אמר מר נוֹף הוא נוטריקון של נזם ואף

ב כ"א ואם הגים דעתו הקב"ה משפילו שני ומבמות הגיא

ג בס"א לא כמנא כאן או פסוק אחד או דבור אחד (או) אפילו אות אחת

ד כ"א עשאו

ה בס"א חסר והלא דברים ק"ו כו' עד מלת ומידעו

## פרק ששי

הוא פרק קנין התורה

כל ישראל וכו'

א

שנו חכמים בלשון המשנה ברוך שבהר בהם ובמשנתם :  
רבי מאיר אומר כל העוסק בתורה לשמה זוכה לדברים  
הרבה ולא עוד אלא שכל העולם כלו כדי הוא לו נקרא  
רע אהוב אוהב את המקום אוהב את הבריות משמח את  
המקום משמח את הבריות ומלבשתו ענוה ויראה ומכשרתו  
להיות צדיק חסיד ישר ונאמן ומרחקתו מן החטא ומקרבתו  
לידי זכות ונהנין ממנו עצה ותושיה בינה וגבורה שנאמר לי  
עצה ותושיה אני בינה לי גבורה ונותנת לו מלכות וממשלה  
וחקור דין ומגלין לו<sup>א</sup> רזי תורה ונעשה כמעין שאינו פוסק<sup>ב</sup>  
וכנהר שמתגבר והולך<sup>ג</sup> והוה צנוע וארך<sup>ד</sup> רוח ומוחל על  
עלבונו ומגדלתו ומרוממתו על כל המעשים<sup>ה</sup> :

<sup>א</sup> נ"א ומגלין לו מן השמים

<sup>ב</sup> נ"א כמעין המתגבר (ע' פ"ב מ"י) שאינו פוסק את מימיו

<sup>ג</sup> נ"א המתגבר בלי מלת והולך

<sup>ד</sup> נ"א ושפל. [וי"ג ויקא תחת והוה]

<sup>ה</sup> נ"א המעשים כולם

## תוספת

הוא (נ"א שמואל הקטן) היה אומר בן חמש שנים למקרא  
בן עשר שנים למשנה בן שלש עשרה למצות (נ"א למצוה)  
בן חמש עשרה לתלמוד (נ"א לנמרא) בן שמנה עשרה לחפה  
בן עשרים לרדוף בן שלשים לכח בן ארבעים לבינה בן  
חמשים לעצה בן ששים לזקנה בן שבעים לשיבה בן שמונים  
לגבורה בן תשעים לשוח (נ"א לשוחה) בן מאה כאלו מת ועבר  
ובטל מן העולם :

המאמר הזה אע"פ שנכלל במסכת אבות ונמנא או קודם למאמר בן בג  
בג או כאן ברוב הספרים איננו באמת מן המשנה. ובענין זה אמר אברבנאל  
כפי מה שנמצא במשניות הישנות הספרדיות במאמרים האלה נשלמה (מסכתא)  
ר"ל מאמר בן בג בג ומאמר בן הא הא לפום צערא אנרא אבל במשניות אשר  
אתנו פה היום נמצא עוד מאמר בן חמש למקרא וכו' ע"כ. ואס"כ אמר הסכס  
הזה שפרק ו' אינו הוא ממסכת אבות אבל מפני שנתפשט המנהג לקוראו  
וגם לשלימות המלאכה התעסקתי נ"כ בפירושו. וגם אני הנעיר אעשה כמהו

ל

ד"א יהודה בן תימא אומר הוי עז כנמר וקל כנשר וריץ כצבי וגבור כארי לעשות רצון אביך שבשמים :

ל"א

הוא היה אומר עז פנים לגהינם ובוש-פנים לגן עדן יהי רצון מלפניך יי"א אלהינו ואלהי אבותינו שתבנה עירך בימינו ותן חלקינו בתורתך :

ל"ב

בן בג בג אומר הפוך בה והפך בה רכולה בה וכולך בה ומנה לא תזועי שאין לך מידה טובה ממנה :

ל"ג

בן הא הא אומר לפום צערה אגרה :

חסלת אבות פרקים ה :

א כנ"א חסר ה'

ב כ"א ובושת

ג כ"א ישיבנה בית המקדש במהרה. ובקלת הספרים חסר כל המאמר

יהי רצון כו'

ד כ"א והפוך וי"ג והפוך

ה הכי גרסינן. ע' פרושי בלסון אנגלית

י כ"א תזוז

כ"ה

כל שיש בו שלשה דברים<sup>א</sup> תלמידו<sup>ב</sup> של אברהם<sup>ג</sup> ושלשה דברים<sup>ד</sup> תלמידו של בלעם :

כ"ט

עין טובה ונפש שפלה ורוח נמוכה<sup>ה</sup> תלמידו של אברהם עין רעה ונפש רחבה ורוח גבוהה תלמידו של בלעם ומה בין תלמידיו של אברהם לתלמידיו של בלעם תלמידיו של בלעם יורדים לגהינם<sup>ו</sup> שני<sup>ז</sup> ואתה אלהים תורידם לבאר שחת<sup>ח</sup> אבל תלמידיו של אברהם יורשין גן עדן<sup>ט</sup> שני<sup>י</sup> להנחיל אוהבי יש ואוצרותיהם אמלא :

<sup>א</sup> כ"א כל מי שיש בידו ג' דברים הללו

<sup>ב</sup> כ"א מתלמידיו כאן ולהלן כ"ט

<sup>ג</sup> כ"א אברהם אבינו כאן ולהלן וכמו כן נוסף כנוי הרשע לבלעם

<sup>ד</sup> כ"א וג' דברים אחרים

<sup>ה</sup> כ"א נמוא ענין הרוח קודם לענין הנפש

<sup>ו</sup> כ"א קצרה

<sup>ז</sup> הנה אחר שהזכיר שם בלעם פתח במה דסיים וסמך לו לרשע ענין קבלתם של רשעים ואח"כ חזר וזכר ברכת הנדיקים כיון שאין רזונו לסיים אלא בדברים טובים וזו הגרסא הנכונה אע"פי שברוב הספרים נזכר ענין בני אברהם ברישא וענין בני בלעם בסופא

<sup>ח</sup> כ"א נוסף ויורשין באר שחת ובספרים הרבה כתיב יורשין גיהנם ויורדין לבאר שחת

<sup>ט</sup> ל"ג אנשי דמים ומרמה לא יחצו ימיהם ואני אבטח בך

<sup>י</sup> כ"א אוכלין בעולם הזה ונוחלין לעוה"ב תחת יורשין גן עדן

כ"ג

אי זו היא אהבה שהיא תלויה בדבר זו אהבת אמנון  
ותמר ושאינה תלויה בדבר זו אהבת דוד ויהונתן :

כ"ד

כל מחלוקת שהיא לשם שמים סופה להתקיים ושאינה  
לשם שמים אין סופה להתקיים :

כ"ה

אי זו היא מחלוקת שהיא לשם שמים<sup>א</sup> מחלוקת שמאי  
והלל ושאינה לשם שמים זו מחלוקתו של קרחי :

כ"ו

כל המזכה את הרבים אין הטא בא על ידו וכל המחטיא  
את הרבים אין מספיקין בידו לעשות תשובה :

כ"ז

משה זכה וזיכה את הרבים וזכות הרבים תלויה בו שנ'  
צדקת י"א עשה ומשפטיו עם ישראל<sup>ה</sup> :

<sup>א</sup> כ"א נוסף זו

<sup>ב</sup> כ"א מחלוקת הלל ושמאי

<sup>ג</sup> כ"א קרח וכל עדתו

<sup>ד</sup> כ"א הטא הרבים תלוי בו ואין

<sup>ה</sup> חסר ענין ירבעם וזה הוא : ירבעם חטא והחטיא את הרבים חטא הרבים

תלוי בו שנ' על חטאת ירבעם בן נבט אשר חטא ואשר החטיא את ישראל :

י"ט

ארבע מידות בנותני צדקה רוצה שיתן ואל"א יתנו אחרים  
 עינו רעה בשל אחרים שיתנו - אחרים והוא לא יתן עינו רעה  
 בשלו יתן ויתנו אחרים חסיד אל"א יתן ואל"א יתנו אחרים  
 רשע :

כ

ארבע מידות<sup>ה</sup> בהולכי בית המדרש הולך ואינו עושה  
 שכר הליכה בידו הולך ועושה חסיד לא הולך ולא עושה  
 רשע :

כ"א

ארבע מידות ביושבי לפני חכמים ספוג ומשפך משמרת  
 ונפה ספוג שהוא ספוג את הכל משפך שהוא מכניס בזו  
 ומוציא בזו משמרת שהיא מוציאה את היין וקולטת את  
 השמרים נפה שהיא מוציאה את הקמה וקולטת את הסלת :

כ"ב

כל אהבה<sup>ה</sup> שהיא תלוייה בדבר בטל דבר ובטלה אהבה  
 ושאינה תלוייה בדבר אינה בטלה לעולם :

א כ"א ולא ב כ"א יתנו

ג כ"א שיתן ד כ"א לא

ה חסרה מדה אחת מן הד' וזו היא : עושה ואינו הולך שכר מעשה (כ"א)

עשייה) בידו. וי"ג בהולכי(ם) לבית כו'

י כ"א ביושבים י' כ"א שמוציאה

ה הנה בספר נחלת אבות ה"ל נהפך סדר המשניות ונזכר ענין המחלוקת

קודם לענין האהבה

ט כ"א עולמית

ט"ז

ארבע<sup>א</sup> מידות באדם האומר שלי שלי ושליך שלך = מדה  
 בינונית ויש אומרי<sup>ב</sup> = מדת סדום שלי שליך ושליך שלי עם  
 הארץ שלי ושליך<sup>ג</sup> חסיד שליך ושלי שלי רשע :

י"ז

ארבע<sup>א</sup> מדות בדויעות נוח לכעוס ונוח לרצות יצא שכרו  
 בהפסדו קשה לכעוס וקשה לרצות יצא הפסדו בשכרו קשה  
 לכעוס ונוח לרצות חסיד נוח לכעוס וקשה לרצות רשע :

י"ח

ארבע מידות בתלמידים ממהר<sup>א</sup> לשמוע וממהר לאבד  
 יצא שכרו בהפסדו קשה לשמוע וקשה לאבד יצא הפסדו  
 בשכרו ממהר לשמוע וקשה לאבד חכמי קשה לשמוע וממהר  
 לאבד זה חלק רע :

<sup>א</sup> כ"א ארבעה

<sup>ב</sup> כנ"א נוסף זו

<sup>ג</sup> כנ"א נזכרה מדת עם הארץ בריש כל המדות

<sup>ד</sup> ר"ל שלי ושליך שלך כו' ואולי זה עיקר כיון שקנור הלסון יורה ליוסן  
 הגרסא. אבל בכל הספרים נמנא כאן שלי שליך ושליך שלך וכמו כן להלן נמנ'  
 שליך שלי ושלי שלי תחת שליך ושלי שלי

<sup>ה</sup> כ"א מהניא כאן ולקמן

<sup>ו</sup> כ"א זה (כ"א זו) חלק טוב

י"ג

חרב בא לעולם על ענוי הדין ועל עיוות הדין ועל המורים<sup>א</sup>  
בתורה שלא כהלכה

י"ד

היה רעה באה לעולם על שבועת שוא ועל חילול השם  
גלות בא לעולם על עבודה זרה ועל גלוי עריות ועל שפיכות  
דמים ועל השמט הארץ<sup>ב</sup> :

ט"ו

בארבעה פרקים<sup>ג</sup> הדבר מרובה<sup>ד</sup> ברביעית בשביעית במוצאי  
שביעית ובמוצאי ההג<sup>ה</sup> שבכל שנה<sup>ה</sup> ברביעית מפני מעשר עני  
שבשלישית בשביעית מפני מעשר עניי שבששית ובמוצאי  
שבועית מפני פירות שביעית ובמוצאי ההג<sup>ה</sup> שבכל שנה<sup>ה</sup> מפני  
גזל מתנות עניים :

<sup>א</sup> נ"א חרב באה בו' ועל המורים פנים בו' ע' פ"ג מ' י"ז. ועל סכום  
המשניות בדפוס זה ע' הקדמתי בלסון אנגלית

<sup>ב</sup> נ"א גלות בא לעולם על שפיכות דמים ועל שמיטת הארץ ועל גילוי  
עריות ומסרו התבות על (עובדי) ע"ז ואולי זה הכוון כיון שענין ע"ז כבר נרמז  
בכלל חילול השם

<sup>ג</sup> נ"א דברים

<sup>ד</sup> נ"א מתרבה

<sup>ה</sup> נ"א שנה ושנה

<sup>ו</sup> נ"א שני

לפני מי שגדול<sup>א</sup> ממנו בחכמה<sup>ב</sup> ואינו נכנס לתוך דברי חברו ואינו נבהל להשיב שואל כהלכה ומשיב כענייני ואומר על ראשון ראשון ועל אחרון אחרון על מה שלא שמע אומר לא שמעתי ומורה על האמת וחלופיהן בגולם :

י"א

שבעה מיני פרעניות באין על שבעה גופי עבירות<sup>ה</sup> מקצתן מעשרין ומקצתן שאינן מעשרין רעב של בצורת בא מקצתן רעיבים ומקצתן שבעים גמרו שלא לעשר רעב של מהומה ושל בצורה בא ושלא ליטול חלה<sup>ו</sup> רעב של כלייה בא<sup>ה</sup> :

י"ב

דבר בא לעולם על מיתות האמורות בתורה שלא נמסרו לבית דין ועל פירות שבעיות<sup>ט</sup> :

<sup>א</sup> כ"א בפני מי שהוא גדול

<sup>ב</sup> בחכמה ובמנין. כך הגרסא ברוב הספרים אבל בקצתן חסרו התבות האלו לגמרי

<sup>ג</sup> כ"א שואל כענין ומשיב כהלכה. והנה בספר נחלת אבות לר"י אברבנאל כתב שואל ומשיב שומע ומוסיף שואל כענין ומשיב כהלכה

<sup>ד</sup> כ"א באין לעולם

<sup>ה</sup> כ"א עבירה <sup>ו</sup> כ"א אינן

<sup>ז</sup> כ"א בצורת באה (כאן ולעיל) ושלא ליטול את החלה

<sup>ח</sup> שבעה מיני פורענות באין על שבעה גופי עבירו<sup>ה</sup> מקצתן רעבים ומקצתן שבעים גמרו שלא לעשר רעב של כלייה באה : כך גרסת משנה זו בכ"י

המסומן Add. 667

<sup>ט</sup> כ"ל שבעיות. ע' מ' ט"ו דפרק זה

מריח בשר הקדש ולא הסריח בשר קדש<sup>א</sup> מעולם<sup>ב</sup> ולא אירע קרי לכהן גדול ביום הכפורים ולא נראה זבוב בית המטבחיים ולא נמצא פסול בעומר ובשתי הלחם ובלחם הפנים ולא כיבו גשמים את המערכה<sup>ג</sup> ולא ניצחה הרוח את עמוד העשן עומדים צפופים ומשתחווים רווחים ולא הזיק נחש ועקרב בירושלם<sup>ד</sup> ולא אמר אדם לחבירו צר לי המקום שאלין בירושלם :

ט

עשרה דברים נבראו<sup>ה</sup> בין השמשותי פי הארץ ופי הבאר ופי האתון והקשת והמן והמטה והשמיר והכתב והמכתב והלוחות ויש אומרים אף המזיקים וקבורתו של משה ואילו של אברהם אבינו ויש אומרים אף צבת בצבת עשויה<sup>ו</sup> :

,

שבעה דברים בגולם<sup>ז</sup> ושבעה בחכם החכם אינו מדבר

<sup>א</sup> נ"א ולא התליע בשר הקדש

<sup>ב</sup> לפי רוב הספרים זה הוא מקום המאמר הנ"ל ולא נראה זבוב (ב)בית המטבחיים. ויש שנוים אחרים בסדור הנסים

<sup>ג</sup> יש שנוס בכאן כי הנה צפרק קמא דיומא קתני משנה זו ולא קתני בה' הנסים ולא כבו גשמים ולא ניצחה הרוח אצל מוספינן להו מצרייתא ע"ס.

ויש כאן נ"א אש של עצי (ס"א שעל גבי) המערכה

<sup>ד</sup> נ"א בירושלם מעולם כו' כשעולין לירושלם

<sup>ה</sup> ברוב הנוסחאות נוסף בערב שבת בין כאן בין להלן אחר מלת השמשות

<sup>ו</sup> כנ"א נוסף (עם חשיכה) ואלו הן

<sup>ז</sup> נ"א העשויה <sup>ח</sup> נ"א נאמרו בגולם

ד

עשרה נסיונות נתנסה אברהם אבינו ועמד בכולם להודיע  
כמה היא חיבתו של אברהם אבינו :

ה

עשרה נסים נעשו לאבותינו במצרים ועשרה על הים :

ו

עשר מכות הביא הקב"ה על המצרים במצרים ועשר על  
הים :

ז

עשרה נסיונות ניסו אבותינו את המקום במדבר שנ' וינסו  
אותי זה עשר פעמים ולא שמעו בקולי :

ח

עשרה נסים נעשו בבית המקדש לא הפילה אשה

א כ"א חסר היא ב כ"א (ו) עשר תח' (ו) עשרה

ב כ"א ועשרה ובקנת הספרים חסר' משנה זו

ד כך גרסו במסכת יומא דף כ"א ע"א אבל ברוב הספרים כתיב נעשו

לאבותינו כללע"ל

ה כ"א במקדש

י הנה כ"י הנ"ל (המסומן Add. 667) מלאתי דברים הללו כהיותן :

לא הפילה כ' כבר פרשתיו היטב במסכ' יומא בפר' ראשון עכ"ל. ויש  
לשאול למי הפרוש הנרמז כאן

## פרק חמישי

### א

בעשרה מאמרות נברא העולם ומה תלמוד לומר והלא  
במאמר אחד היה<sup>א</sup> יכול להבראות אלא להיפרע מן הרשעים  
שמאבדין את העולם שנברא בעשרה מאמרות וליתן שכר טוב  
לצדיקים שמקיימים את העולם שנברא בעשרה מאמרות :

### ב

עשרה דורות מאדם ועד נח להודיע כמה ארך אפים  
לפניו שכל הדורות היו מכעיסין לפניו<sup>ב</sup> עד שהביא עליהם  
אתי המבול :

### ג

עשרה דורות מנח ועד אברהם להודיע כמה ארך אפים  
לפניו שכל הדורות היו מכעיסין לפניו<sup>ב</sup> עד שבא אברהם  
אבינו וקבל<sup>ד</sup> שכר כולם :

<sup>א</sup> כנ"א חסר היה

<sup>ב</sup> כ"א ובאין תחת לפניו

<sup>ג</sup> כ"א (את) מי המבול

<sup>ד</sup> כ"א וקבל עליו

ל"ב

אלא יבטיחך יצרך ששואל בית מנוס<sup>ב</sup> שעל כרחך אתה  
נוצר ועל כרחך אתה נולד ועל כרחך אתה חי ועל כרחך  
אתה מת<sup>י</sup> ועל כרחך אתה עתיד ליתן דין וחשבון לפני מלך  
מלכי המלכים ה'קנ"ה :

<sup>א</sup> בנ"א נמנא ואל ונכללו מסנה זו והקודמת אליה בסוגיא אחת

<sup>ב</sup> נ"א שיש בשואל בית מנוס לך

<sup>י</sup> י"ג בסדר הפוך וע"כ אתה מת וע"כ אתה חי

כ"ט

ד' אומר אל תסתכל בקנקן אלא במה שיש בו יש קנקן  
חדש מלא ישן וישן שאפי' חדש אין בו :

ל

ו' ליעזר הקפר אומר הקנאה והתאוה והכבוד מוציאין  
את האדם מן העולם :

ל"א

הוא היה אומר הילודים למות והמתים להחיות= והחיים  
לירון לידע להודיע ולהודיע ולהודע= שהואי היוצר והוא  
הבורא והוא המבין והוא הדיין והוא עדי' והוא בעל דין והוא  
עתיד לדין שאין לפניו לא עולה לא שכחא לא משואי  
פנים ולא מכה שוהר שהכל שלוה ודע שהכל לפי חשבון ט' :

א נ"א רבי מאיר. וי"ג להלן מלא יין ישן וישן אפילו כו'

ב נ"א לחיות

ב ה"ג לידע ולהודיע ולהוודע

ד נ"א שהוא אל הוא

ה נ"א הוא העד

ו נ"א ליתן דין תסת לדין. וי"ג לרון (ברוך הוא)

ז נ"א משא

ח נס"א מסר שהכל שלו

ט נ"א שהכל בא בחשבון (נ"א לידי חשבון)

כ"ז

שמואל הקטן אומר בנפל אויבך אל תשמח ובהכשלו  
אל יגל לבך\* :

כ"ז

אלישע בן אביהב אומר הלמדי ילד למה הוא דומה  
לדיו כתובה על נייר חדש והלמדי זקן למה הוא דומה לדיו  
כתובה על נייר מחוק :

כ"ח

ד יוסי בן יהודה איש כפר הבבלי אומר הלמד מן  
הקטנים למה הוא דומה לאוכל ענבים קהות ושותה יין מגתו  
והלמד מן הזקנים למה הוא דומה לאוכל ענבים בשולות  
ושותה יין ישן :

\* ברוב הספרים כתיב פן יראה יי' ורע בעיניו והשיב מעליו אפו. ויש  
דורשין בכאן חרון אפו לא נאמר אלא אפו מלמד שמוחלין לו כל עונותיו אבל  
בספרי המשנה המדוייקים לא תמצא דבר מזה כי אם הפסוק כמו שהוא מבלי  
דרשה כלל (ע' נחלת אבות לדון ינחק אברבנאל)

ב כ"א אבוי

ג כ"א הלומד תורה

ד כ"א בר וי"ג בר

כ"ב

ו' מתיא בן הרש אומר הוי מקדים לשלום כל האדם =  
והוי זנב לאריות ולא ראש לשועלים :

כ"ג

ו' יעקב אומר העולם הזה דומה לפרוזודור לפני העולם  
הבא התקין עצמך לפרוזודורי כרי שתבנם לטרקלין :

כ"ד

הוא היה אומר יפה שעה אחת בתשובה ומעשים טובים  
בעולם הזה מכל חיי העולם הבא יפה שעה אחת של קורת  
רוח בעולם הבא מכל חיי העולם הזה :

כ"ה

ו' שמעון בן אלעזר אומר אל תרצה את חבריך בשעת  
כעסו ואל תנחמנו בשעה שמתו מוטל לפניו ואל תשאל לו  
בשעת נדרו ואל תשתדל לראותו בשעת קלקלתו :

א כ"א ר' מתתיה

ב כ"א בשלום כל האדם וי"ג שלום לכל א'

ג כ"א ואל תהי

ד כ"א (ו)התקן עצמך בפרוסודור

ה כ"א ויפה

ו כך הגרסא גס כן ככ"י הנו' (המסומן 667 Add.)

י"ח

ד יהודה אומר הוי זהיר בתלמוד ששגגת תלמוד<sup>א</sup> עולה זרון :

י"ט

ד שמעון אומ' שלשה כתרים הן כתר תורה וכתר כהונה וכתר מלכות וכתר שם טוב עולה על גביהן :

כ

ד נהראי<sup>ב</sup> אומר הוי גולה למקום תורה ואל תאמר היא תבוא אחרי שתביריך<sup>ג</sup> יקיימה בידך ואל בינתך אל תשען :

כ"א

ד ינאי אומרי אין בדינו לא משלֹות הרשעים ואף לא מיסורי הצדיקים<sup>ה</sup> :

<sup>א</sup> כ"א בלמוד ששגגת למוד

<sup>ב</sup> נמנא בשבת דף קמ"ז ע"ג : תנא לא ר' נהוראי שמו אלא ר' נחמיה שמו ואמרי ליה ר' אלעזר בן ערך שמו ולמה נקרא שמו ר' נהוראי שמנהיר עיני חכמים בהלכה ע"כ. ועוד בערוכין דף י"ג ע"ג : תנא לא ר' מאיר שמו אלא ר' נהוראי שמו ולמה נקרא שמו ר"מ שהוא מאיר עיני חכמים בהלכה ולא נהוראי שמו אלא ר' נחמיה שמו וג'

<sup>ג</sup> כ"א שהיא תבא אחריך או (ש)חביריך כו'

<sup>ד</sup> כ"א הוא היה אומר <sup>ה</sup> כ"א מייסורין של צדיקים

בטילים הרבה ואם עמלת בתורה יש לוי שכר הרבה  
ליתן לד :

ט"ז

ר' ליעזר בן יעקב אומר העושה מצוה אחת קנהי לו  
פרקליט אחד והעובר עבירה אחת קנהי לו קטיגור אחד  
תשובה ומעשים טובים כתרים לפני הפורענות :

ט"ח

ר' יוחנן הסנדלר אומר כל כניסה שהיא לשם מצוה  
סופה להתקיים ושאינה לשם מצוה אין סופה להתקיים :

י"ז

ר' לעזריה אומר יהי כבוד תלמידך חביב עליך ככבוד  
חבירי וכבוד חבירך כמוראי רבך ומורא רבך כמורא  
שמים :

ב בנ"א חסר לו

ד כ"א שמים

א בנ"א נוסף כנגדך

ב כ"א קונה

ה בנ"א נוסף בן שמוע

י בא ראה נחות לשון התנא במשנה זו שכל מאמר תלוי בסלפכיו ואין הפסק  
ביניהם ול"ג ככבוד עצמך (כ"א בשלך) כי לפי זה לא יהיה נרוך וסבור בין  
כל מאמר ומאמר  
ז כ"א ככבוד

י"א

ר' ישמעאל אומר החושך<sup>א</sup> עצמו מן הדין פורק ממנו  
איבה וגול ושבועת שוא והגם לבו בהוראה שומה רשע  
וגם רוח :

י"ב

הוא היה אומר אל תהי דן יחירי שאין דן יחירי אלא  
אחד ואל תאמר קיבלוי דעתי שהן רשאין ולא אתה :

י"ג

ר' יוחנני אומר כל המקיים את התורה מעוני סופו  
לקיימה מעושר וכל המבטל את התורה מעושר סופו  
לבטלה מעוני :

י"ד

ר' מאיר אומר הוי מעט עסקי ועסוק בתורה ותהיה<sup>ה</sup>  
שפל רוח בפני כל אדם ואם ביטלתי מן התורה יש לך

<sup>א</sup> נ"א ר' שמעון אומר כל החושך. וי"ג ר' ישמעאל בנו כו'

<sup>ב</sup> נ"א קבלו

<sup>ג</sup> נ"א (יונתן)

<sup>ד</sup> נ"א ממעט בעסק

<sup>ה</sup> נ"ל בטלת

<sup>ה</sup> נ"א והוי

ה

ד ישמעאל בנו<sup>א</sup> אומר הלמד על מנת ללמד מספיקין =  
 בידו ללמוד וללמד הלמד על מנת לעשות מספיקין בידו  
 ללמוד וללמד: ולעשות:

ט

ד צדוק אומר<sup>א</sup> אל תעשה<sup>ה</sup> עטרה להתגדל בהן ולא  
 קרדום לאכלי מהן וכך היה הלל אומר ודי אשתמש בתנא  
 חלף הא כל הנאותי מדברי תורה נטל הייו מן העולם:

ד יוסי אומר כל המכבד את התורה גופו מכובד על  
 הבריות וכל המחלל את התורה גופו מחולל על הבריות:

<sup>א</sup> בנ"א חסר בנו

<sup>ב</sup> הנה מנינו בפרוש המיוחס לרש"י: הכי גרסינן אין מספיקין בידו  
 ללמוד וללמד עכ"ל. ואולי זה הככון כי המעיין אע"פ ללמד לאחרים ואינו  
 מנבט לעשות אין חכמתו מתקיימת

<sup>ג</sup> בנ"א נוסף כאן לשמור

<sup>ד</sup> בנ"א נוסף כאן תלמידי חכמים. וי"ג אל תפרוש מן הצבור כו'

<sup>ה</sup> לפי קנת הספרים מדבר בלשון ימיד כאן ולקמן באומרו אל תעשה ונ

<sup>ו</sup> כך הוא בלי וי"ו. ובנ"א נמצא לאכול ממנה. וי"ג לחפור בהם)

<sup>ז</sup> כ"א הא (למדת) כל הנהנה

ד

אי זה הוא מכובד המכבד את הבריות שנ' כי מכבדי  
אכבד ובוזי יקלו :

ה

בן עזאי אומר הוי ריץ למצוה קלה<sup>א</sup> ובורח<sup>ב</sup> מן העבירה  
שמצוה גוררת מצוה ועבירה גוררת עבירה ששכר מצוה  
מצוה ושכר עבירה עבירה :

ו

הוא היה אומר אל תהי בו לכל אדם ואל תהי מפליג  
לכל דבר שאין לך אדם שאין לו שעה ואין לך דבר שאין  
לו מקום :

ז

ר' לויטס איש יבנהי אומר כל המחלל שם שמים בסתר  
נפרעין ממנו בגלוי אחד שונג ואחד מזיד בחילול השם :

<sup>א</sup> בנ"א נוסף כאן (ב)חמורה וע' פ"ג מ"א

<sup>ב</sup> נ"א וברח

<sup>ג</sup> בכל הספרים יש כאן שתי מסניות ואלו הן : ר' לויטס איש יבנה אומר  
מאד (מאד) הוי שפל רוח (בפני כל האדם) שתקות אנוש רמה : ר' יוחנן בן  
ברוקה אומר כל המחלל ונ' :

<sup>ד</sup> נ"א אחד בשונג ואחד במזיד ולא נמנא בחילול השם

## פרק רביעי

א

בן זומא אומר אי זה הוא א חכם הלמד מכל אדם ב  
שנ' מכל מלמדי השכלתי: :

ב

אי זה הוא גיבור הכובש את יצרו שנ' טוב ארך אפים  
מגבור ומושל ברוחו מלוכד עיר: :

ג

אי זה הוא עשיר השמח בחלקו שנ' יגיע כפיך כי  
תאכל אשריך וטוב לך אשריך בעולם הזה וטוב לך בעולם ה  
הבא: :

א כ"א איזהו כאן ובמשניות האחרות

ב כ"א חסר אדם

ג כ"ג כי עדותיך וג'

ד כ"ד הוא בלא יוד

ה כ"א לעולם וכמו כן נתחלפו התבות ב' ול' בהרבה מקומות

ועוקרתו והופכתו על פניו<sup>א</sup> וכל<sup>ב</sup> שמעשיו מרובים מהכמתו  
 למה הוא דומה לאילן שענפיו מעוטים<sup>י</sup> ושרשיו מרובים  
 אפילו כל הרוחות באות עליו אינן מזיזות אותו ממקומו :

כ"ח

ו לעזר הסמה<sup>ה</sup> אומר קינים ופתחי נדה הן הן גופי  
 תורה הלכות תקופות וגימטרייהי פרפראות<sup>ה</sup> לחכמה :

<sup>א</sup> שני' והיה כערער בערבה ולא יראה כי יבוא טוב ושכן חררים במדבר  
 ארץ מלחה ולא תשב: פסוק זה נוסף לראיה בהרבה ספרים

<sup>ב</sup> נ"א אבל כל

<sup>י</sup> נ"א מועטין

<sup>ד</sup> נ"א שאפילו כל הרוחות שבעולם באות ונושבות בו אין מזיזות (נ"א  
 מזיזים) אותו ממקומו שני' והיה בעין שתול על (פלני) מים ועל יובל ישלח  
 שרשיו ולא יראה כי יבא חם והיה עלהו רענן ובשנת בצרת לא ידאג ולא ימיש  
 מעשות פרי

<sup>ה</sup> ר"ל חסמה וכך הוא במסכת תרומות פ"ג מ"ה ומפורש טעם שם החכם  
 הזה בויקרא רבה אחרי מות פ' כ"ג. ול"ג בן (נ"א בר) חסמא

<sup>י</sup> נ"א חסמה מלת תורה

<sup>י</sup> נ"א וגימטריאאות בלשון רביס

<sup>ח</sup> נ"א פרפריות. כן גרסת הערוך. וא"צ פי' בלשון יוני עגולה ששאר  
 החכמות סובבות החכמה האמתית שהיא כמרכז ונקודה תוך העגולה

והיר כותבת וכל הרוצה ללוות בא ולוה"א והגבאין מחזרין  
 תמיד בכל יום ונפרעים מן האדם לדעתוי ושלא לדעתוי  
 ויש להם על מה שיסמכו והרין דין אמת והכל מותקן  
 לסעודה :

כ"ז

ו לעזר בן עזריה אומר אם אין תורה אין דרך ארץ  
 אם אין דרך ארץ אין תורה אם אין חכמה אין  
 יראה אם אין יראה אין חכמה אם אין דעת אין בינה  
 אם אין בינה אין דעת אם אין קמה אין תורה אם אין  
 תורה אין קמה :

כ"ז

הוא היה אומר כל שחכמתו מרובה ממעשיו למה הוא  
 דומה לאילן שענפיו מרובין ושרשיו מעוטים והרוח באתה"

א נ"א יבא וילוה. וי"ג וכל הרוצה ליטול בא ונוטל. ובס"א חסר המאמר  
 לגמרי

ב נ"א מחזירין תדיר  
 ג נ"א מדעתו  
 ד ס"א שיסמכו  
 ה נ"א מתוקן

ו בס"א נתחלק סדר מאמריה של משנה זו. ובכ"י הנו' (Add. 667)  
 מנאפי : אם אין דרך ארץ אין תורה אם אין תורה אין חכמה אם אין חכמה  
 אין יראה אם אין יראה אין בינה אם אין בינה אין דעת אם אין דעת אין  
 קמה אם אין קמה אין תורה

ז נ"א מועטין  
 ח נ"ל באה

כ"ב

חביבין ישראל שנקראו בנים למקום<sup>א</sup> חיבה יתירה נודעת להם שנקראו בנים למקום<sup>ב</sup> שנ' בנים אין אליהם :

כ"ג

חביבין ישראל שניתן להם כלי שבו נברא העולם<sup>ד</sup> חיבה יתירה נודעת להם שניתן להם כלי שבו נברא העולם<sup>ה</sup> שנ' כי לקח טוב נתתי לכם תורת אל תעזובו :

כ"ד

הכל צפוי והרשות נתונה ובטוב העולם נדון והכל לפי המעשה<sup>ו</sup> :

כ"ה

הוא היה אומר הכל נתון בעירבון והמצודה פרושה<sup>ז</sup> על כל החיים החנות פתוחה והחנוני מקיף והפנקס פתוח<sup>ח</sup>

<sup>א</sup> כנ"א חסר למקום

<sup>ב</sup> כנ"א חסר כאן שנקראו בנים (למקום)

<sup>ג</sup> כנ"א כלי חמדה כאן ולהלן

<sup>ד</sup> כנ"א חסרו כאן התבות שבו נברא העולם

<sup>ה</sup> כנ"א חסר כאן המאמר שנתן להם כלי (חמדה) שבו נברא העולם

<sup>ו</sup> כנ"א לפי רוב המעשה. וכספר אחר מנינו לא הכל לפי רוב המעשה.

<sup>ז</sup> וי"ג אבל לא ע"פ המעשה

<sup>ח</sup> כנ"א פתוח

<sup>י</sup> כנ"א ומצודה פרוסה

אבות פרק שלישי עקביה

י"ה

ו' ישמעאל אומר הוי קל ראש ונוח תשחרות\* והוי מקבל את כל האדם בשמחה :

י"ט

רבי עקיבה אומר שהוק וקלות ראש מרגילין את האדם לערוה = :

כ

הוא היה אומר מסורותי סייג לתורהי נדרים סייג לפרישות סייג לחכמה שתיקה :

כ"א

הוא היה אומר חביב אדם שנברא בצלם<sup>ה</sup> שנ' כי בצלם אלהים עשה את האדם :

\* ככל הספרים מנינו כאן הוי קל לראש ונוח לתשחרות ויש פרושים שונים על משנה זו ול"ע

ב נ"א מרגילין לערוה (ס"א לדבר עבירה)

ג נ"א מסורת כלסון יסיד ועוד במסור התיבות הוא היה אומר

ד מסר כאן מעשרות סייג לעושר

ה נ"א חיבה יתירה נודעת לו (שנברא בצלם אלהים). וי"א שאין ראיה מהמקרא שהקב"ה הודיע לשום אדם שנברא בנלמו עד שבא נח ונאמר לו שפך דם האדם באדם דמו יישפך כי בצלם אלהים עשה את האדם ומ"מ לא נודעת מזה זו לאדה"ר (ע"ין דרך חיים למהר"ל מפראג)

י"ד

הוא היה אומ' כל שמעשיו מרובים מהכמתו חכמתו  
מתקיימת וכל שהכמתו מרובה ממעשיו אין חכמתו  
מתקיימת :

ט"ז

הוא היה אומר כל שרוח הבריות נוחה ממנו<sup>א</sup> רוח  
המקום נוחה הימנו וכל שאין רוח הבריות נוחה ממנו<sup>א</sup>  
א"י רוח המקום נוחה הימנו :

ט"ז

ד' דוסא בן הרכינס אומר שינתב שחרית ויין של  
צהריים ושיחת הילדים ושיבת בתי כנסיות של עמי הארץ  
מוציאין את האדם מן העולם :

י"ז

ד' ליעזר המודעי אומר המחלל את הקדשים והמבזה  
את המועדות והמפר בריתו של אברהם אבינו והמגלה  
פנים בתורה<sup>ה</sup> אף על פי שיש בידו מעשים טובים אין לו  
חלק לעולם הבא :

<sup>א</sup> כ"א הימנו. וכס"א חסר המאמר וכל שאין בו

<sup>ב</sup> כ"א שינה של

<sup>ג</sup> כס"א נוסף כאן שלא כהלכה ועוד נוסף בין כאן בין לעיל (לפני

המאמר והמפר בו) והמלבין פני חבירו ברבים

<sup>ד</sup> כ"א תורה ומעשים טובים

ואומר מה נאה אילן זה<sup>א</sup> מה נאה אילן זה ומה נאה ניר  
זה<sup>ב</sup> מעלין עליו<sup>ג</sup> כאילו מתחייב בנפשו :

י"ב

ר' רוסתין בר' ינאי אומר משם ר' מאיר אומר תלמיד  
הכם שהוא יושב ושונה ושכח דבר אחד ממשנתו מעלין  
עליו<sup>א</sup> כאילו מתחייב בנפשו שנ' רק השמר לך ושמר  
נפשך מאד פן תשכח את הדברים אשר ראו עיניך יכול  
אפילו תקפה עליו משנתו תל' ופן יסורו מלבבך כל ימי  
חיך הא אינו מתחייב עד שישב<sup>ב</sup> ויסירם מלבו :

י"ג

ר' חנניה בן רוסא אומר כל שיראת חטאו קודמת  
לחכמתו חכמתו מתקיימת וכל שחכמתו קודמת ליראת  
הטאו אין חכמתו מתקיימת :

א כ"א נמנא מה נאה אילן זה פעם א' בלכד

ב כ"א ומה נאה נירא זו

ג כ"א מעלה עליו הכתוב

ד כך הוא בכ"י אשר לפנינו וכמו כן בכ"י הנ"ל (וגם זה שמור בבית

עקד הספרים אשר למדרש הסכמה של קאמברידג' וסימנו Add. 667) ויש

לתמוה על ההתייחסות אשר ביניהם

ה כ"א ושוכח. וי"ג כל השוכח תסת תלמיד וכו'

ו כ"א תלמודו תסת דבר (אחד) ממשנתו

כך הוא במקור מלת בנפשו

ז כ"א עד שישב לו

אבות פרק שלישי עקביה

ומנין אפילו שלשה שנ' ואגודתו על ארץ יסדה ומנין אפילו שנים שנ' אז נדברו יראי י"א איש את" רעהו ומנין אפילו אחד שנ' בכל המקום אשר אזכיר את שמי אבוא אליך וברכתיך :

ו לעזר בן יהודה = איש ברתותה אומר תן לו משלו שאתה ושלך שלו וכן הוא אומר ברודי כי ממך הכל ומידך נתנו לך :

י"א

ו יעקבי אומר המהלך בדרך ושונה ומפסיק משנתו

א ז"ל אל ע' מלאכי ג' ט"ו ב זכ"א חסר בן יהודה

ג זכ"א וכן ברוד הוא אומר ד זכ"א רבי שמעון

ה זכ"א ממשנתו: וא"ת למה נורת הפתח תחת הנון בזכ"י שלפנינו וי"ל שזכ"י דומה נורת הקמץ לפתח שתחתיה חירק אבל לפעמים הפתח בלבד עומד במקום הקמץ לגמרי. והרי דבר נפלא שראיתי בספר גור אריה (וזה פרוש לפרוש רש"י על התורה להגאון מהר"ל מפראג) על הפסוק בראשית י"ח ג' וז"ל: לגדול שבהם אמר וקראם כלם אדוני פי' הא דכתי' אדוני דמשמע לשון רביס מדלא כתי' אדוני בחירק ואח"כ אמר אל נא תעבור דמשמע לשון יסיד אלף האמירה היא לאחד וקראם כולם אדוני לכך קאמר אדוני בלשון רביס. וא"ת אי לשון רביס הוי למכתב אדני בפתח דמשמע לשון רביס וי"ל בקמץ משמע לשון יסיד וגם לשון רביס וכן מורה הנקודה שהוא קמץ והוא מורכב מן פתח שהוא לשון רביס ומן חירק שהוא לשון יסיד ולפיכך השם שהוא קדוש נקוד בקמץ לפי שהקב"ה יסיד ודרך כבוד אומרים לו לשון רביס ומפני שכלן הוא מדבר לגדול וקראם כולם אדונים לכן קאמר אדני בקמץ שהו' ליסיד ומדבר אותו בלשון רביס וזה שכיון רש"י לפרש על ויאמר ה': לגדול שבהם אמר וקראם כולם אדונים כדי לתרץ לשון אדני בקמץ

ו

אבל שלשה שהיו אוכלין על שלחן אחד ואמרו עליו דברי תורה כאילו אכלו משלהנו של מקום ברוך הוא שנ' וידבר אליו זה השלחן אשר לפני י"א :

ז

חננייה בן חכינאי אומר הניעור בלילה והמהלך בדרך יחידי ומפנה לבו לבטלה הרי זה מתחייב בנפשו :

ח

י נחונייה בן הקנה אומר כל המקבל עליו עול תורה מעבירין ממנו עול מלכות ועול דרך ארץ וכל הפורק ממנו עול תורה נותנין עליו עול מלכות ועול דרך ארץ :

ט

י חלפתא איש כפר חנניה אומר עשרה שהיו יושבין ועוסקין בדברי תורה השכינה ביניהם שנ' אלהים נצב בעדת אל ומנין אפי' חמשה י שנ' בקרב אלהים ישפוט

א נ"ל אלי

ב נ"א שכינה כדלעיל מ' ג'

ב נ"א רבי חנינא

ד דע כי בספרים הרבה נתחלק סדר הראיות אשר הביא ר' חלפתא על הג' והה' כי השלשה נתיחדו סס לענין הדין והחמשה לענין האגודה ועיין היטב תוספות דמסכת סוכה דף י"ג ע"א ד"ה בשלש. ובפ"ק דברכות זכרו מהמנינים הנ"ל העשרה והשלשה והשנים והאחד ועוד הביאו הראיות אשר הביא כאן ר' חלפתא אבל לא זכרו מספר החמשה

ג

ו' הנניה בן תרדיון אומר שנים שהיו יושבין ואין ביניהם דברי תורה הרי זה מושב לצים שנ' ובמושב לצים לא ישב אבל שנים שהיו יושבין ועוסקין בדברי תורה<sup>א</sup> שכינה ביניהם שנ' אז נדברו יראי יי' איש אל רעהו וגו' :

ד

אחד שיושב ושונה מעלה עליו הכתוב כאילו קיים את כל התורה כולה: שנ' ישב בדד וידום כי נטל עליו :

ה

ו' שמעון אומר שלשה שהיו אוכלין על שלחן אחד ולא אמרו עליו דברי תורה הריה כאילו אכלו מזבחי מתים שנ' כי כל שלחנות מלאו קיא צואה בלי מקום :

<sup>א</sup> נ"א ועוסקין בתורה כאן ולהלן במ' ט' ויש עוד נ"א ויש ביניהם דברי תורה

<sup>ב</sup> נ"א עמהם ויש עוד נ"א שרויה ביניהם כאן ולהלן במ' ט'

<sup>ג</sup> נ"א אין לי אלא שנים מנין שאפילו אחד שיושב ועוסק בתורה שהקב"ה

קובע לו שכר ועיין ברכות דף ו' ע"א

<sup>ד</sup> נ"א שאכלו ויש שנויים אחרים כזה בנמשניות אחרות

<sup>ה</sup> נ"א חסר הרי

## פרק שלישי

### א

עקביה בן מהללאל אומר השתכל<sup>א</sup> בשלשה דברים ואין ב-  
אתי בא לידי עבירה דע מאין באתה ולאין אתה הולך  
ולפני מי אתה עתיד ליתן דין וחשבון דע<sup>ב</sup> מאין באתה  
מטיפה סרוחה ולאין אתה הולך לרמה ותולעהי ולפני מי  
אתה עתיד ליתן דין וחשבון לפני מלך מלכי המלכים  
ברוך הוא<sup>ג</sup> :

### ב

ד חנניה<sup>ה</sup> סגן הכהנים אומר הוי מתפלל בשלומה של  
מלכות שאילולי<sup>ו</sup> מוראה איש את רעהו היים בלענוי :

- א נ"א הסתכל  
ב כך הוא בנמדבר י"א ט"ו  
ג כ"א וואי  
ד כ"א ולאן  
ה כנ"א חסר דע  
ו כ"א למקום (עפר) רמה (כ"א ורמה) ותולעה  
ז כ"א הקב"ה  
ח כ"א חנינא כאן ובסאר מקומות  
ט כ"א ישאלמלא  
י כ"א בלעו בלשון נסתר

אבות פרק שני רבי אומר

ברוך הוא שני כי אל רחום וחנון הוא ארך אפים ורב חסד<sup>א</sup>  
ואל תהי רשע בפני עצמך :

י"ח

ו לעזר אומר הוי שקדב ללמוד תורה: מה שתשיב  
לאפיקורוס ודע לפני מי אתה עמל ומי הוא בעל מלאכתך<sup>ד</sup> :

י"ט

ו טרפון אומר היום קצר והמלאכה מרובה והפועלים  
עצלים והשכר הרבה ובעל הבית דוחק הוא היה אומר לא  
עליך המלאכה לגמור ולא אתה בן חורים לבטלה אם  
למדתה תורה הרבה נותנין לך שכר הרבה ונאמן הוא בעל  
מלאכתך שישלם לך שכר פעולתך ודע מתן שכרן של  
צדיקים לעתיד לבוא :

<sup>א</sup> נ"א כי (אל) חנון ורחום הוא ארך אפים ורב חסד ונחם על הרעה

<sup>ב</sup> נ"א שקוד

<sup>ג</sup> נ"א נוסף כאן ודע

<sup>ד</sup> נ"א ונאמן הוא בעל מלאכתך כדלקמן במשנה י"ט. ועוד ברוז הספרים

תמוז גס כאן התיבות הנכתבות שס שישלם לך שכר פעולתך

<sup>ה</sup> נ"א להבטל ממנה

י"ד

והן אמרו שלשה דברים ו' ליעזר אומר יהי כבוד חבירך חביב עליך כשלך ואל תהי נוח לבעוס ושוב יום אחד לפני מיתתך והוי מתחמם כנגד אורן של חכמים והוי זהיר מגחלתן שמא תכווה שנשיכתן נשיכת שועל ועקיצתן עקיצת עקרב ולחישתן לחישת שרף וכל דבריהם כגחלי אש :

ט"ז

ו' יהושע אומר עין רעהי ויצר הרע ושנאת הבריות מוציאין את האדם מן העולם :

ט"ז

ו' יוסי אומר יהי ממון חבירך חביבי עליך כשלך התקין עצמך ללמוד תורה שאינה ירושה לך וכל מעשיך יהיו לשם שמים :

י"ז

ו' שמעון אומר הוי זהיר בקרית שמע ובתפלה וכשאתה מתפלל אל תעש תפלתך קבע אלא תחנונים לפני המקום

א כ"א הן

ב כנ"ל אע"פ שנס"א ססר והוי מתחמם כנ"א של חכמים. ועוד להלן

ג כ"א בגחלתן שלא תכוה

ד כנ"א ססר חביב

ה כ"א הרע

ו כ"א רחמים ותחנונים

ז כ"א והתקן

אומר משמו אם יהיו כל חכמי ישראל בכף בכף מאזנים  
ואליעזר בן הורקנוס עמהן<sup>א</sup> ואלעזר בן ערך בכף שניה מכריע  
את כולם :

י"ב

אמר להם צאו וראו אי זו היא דרך טובה= שידבק  
בה אדם רבי ליעזר אומר עין טובה ר' יהושע אומר חבר  
טוב ור' יוסי אומר שכן טוב ור' שמעון אומר הרואה את  
הגולד ר' לעזר אומר לב טוב אמר להם רואה אני את  
דברי אלעזר בן ערך מדבריכם: שבכלל דבריו דבריכם :

י"ג

אמר להם צאו וראו אי זו היא דרך רעה שיתרחק ממנה  
אדם ר' ליעזר אומר עין רעה ור' יהושע אומר חבר רע ור'  
יוסי אומר שכן רע ור' שמעון אומר הלווה ואינו משלם אחד  
לווה מן האדם כלווה מן המקום ברוך הואי שנ' לווה רשע  
ולא ישלם וצדיק הונן ונתן ר' לעזר אומר לב רע אמר להם  
רואה אני את דברי אלעזר בן ערך מדבריכם שבכלל דבריו  
דבריכם :

<sup>א</sup> כ"א אף עמהם

<sup>ב</sup> כ"א ישרה עיין משנה א' דפרק זה

<sup>ג</sup> כנ"א חסר' מלת מדבריכם כאן ולקמן במשנה י"ג

<sup>ד</sup> כ"א כאלו לווה מן המקום. וחסר ב' ה' כאן ובשאר מקומות

אבות פרק שני רבי אומר

שלום קנה שם טוב קנה לעצמו קנה לו דברי תורה קנה  
לו היי העולם הבא :

ט

רבן יוחנן בן זכאי קבל מהלל ומשמאי הוא היה אומר  
אם עשית<sup>א</sup> תורה הרבה אל תחזק טובה לעצמך כי לכך  
נוצרתה :

י

המשה תלמידים היו לו לרבן יוחנן בן זכאי ואילו הן  
ר' אליעזר = בן הורקנוס ור' יהושע בן חנניה ור' יוסי הכהן  
ור' שמעון בן נתנאל ור' אלעזר בן ערך הוא היה מונה  
שבחן אליעזרי בן הורקנוס בור סיד שאינו מאבד טיפה  
יהושע בן חנניה אשרי יולדתו יוסי הכהן הסיד שמעון  
בן נתנאל ירא חטא אלעזר בן ערך מעיני המתגבר :

י"א

הוא היה אומר אם יהיו כל חכמי ישראל בכף מאזנים  
ואליעזר בן הורקנוס בכף שניה מכריע את כלן אבא שאול

- א ל"ג כאן למדת עיין מ' י"ט. והרי יש גרסין טובה תסת תורה  
ב לפי מיעוט ההפרש בין שם אלעזר לשם אליעזר תמצא זה תסת זה  
במקומות הרבה  
ג ל"ג כאן ר' קודס שמות ר' אליעזר ומבריו כי אפילו אם תאמר שכבר  
נסמכו קס"ד שרצן יוחנן קרא לתלמידיו בשם ר'  
ד בקנת הספרים חסר כאן שם אביו של ר' יהושע  
ה כ"א יוסי במסור כנוי הכהן  
ו כ"א כמעין

שתגיע למקומו ואל תאמר דבר שאיפשר לו להשמע<sup>א</sup>  
שסופו = ואל תאמר כשאפנה<sup>י</sup> אישנה שמא לא תפנה :

ו

הוא היה אומר אין בור ירא חטא ולא עם הארץ  
חסיד ולא הבישן למד ולא הקפדן מלמד ולא כל המרבה  
בסחורה מהכים ובמקום שאין אנשים השתדל להיות איש :

ז

אף הוא ראה גולגולת אחת שצפה על פני המים ואמר  
לה אלי דאטיפת אטיפוך וסוף מטיפיך יטופון :

ח

הוא היה אומר מרבה בשר מרבה רמה מרבה נכסים  
מרבה דאגה<sup>ה</sup> מרבה שפחות מרבה זמה מרבה עבדים  
מרבה גזל מרבה נשים מרבה כשפים מרבה תורה מרבה  
חיים מרבה חכמה מרבה ישיבה<sup>ה</sup> מרבה צדקה מרבה

<sup>א</sup> כ"א שאי אפשר לשמוע. אבל הפי' המיוחד לרש"י הנ"ל מסייע לגרסא  
שלפנינו וז"ל: כלומר אל תאמר על דבר של תורה שאתה יכול לשמוע עכשיו  
שתשמע לבסוף אלא לאלתר הט אזיך לשמוע עכ"ל

<sup>ב</sup> ואפשר לקרות וסופו. ומ"מ זריך להוסיף כאן מלת להשמע

<sup>ג</sup> כ"א לכשאפנה <sup>ד</sup> כך הוא בכ"י

<sup>ה</sup> ברוב הספרים מנינו כאן התיבות הנכתבות להלן מרבה נשים  
מרבה כשפים

<sup>ו</sup> כ"א מרבה ישיבה מרבה חכמה. עוד מנאתי כוסף מרבה עצה מרבה  
תבונה (כ"א תורה)

עם הציבור יהיו עמלים<sup>א</sup> עמהן לשם שמים שזכות אבותם  
מסייעתן וצדקתן עומדת לעד ואתם מעלין<sup>ב</sup> עליכם שכר<sup>ג</sup>  
כאילו עשיתם :

ג

הוּו זהירים ברשות שאין מקרבין<sup>ד</sup> לאדם אלא לצורך  
עצמן ונראין<sup>ה</sup> כאוהבין בשעת הנאתן ואין עומדין לאדם  
בשעת דחקו :

ד

הוא היה אומר עשה רצונו כרצונך כדי שיעשה רצונך  
כרצונו בטל רצונך מפני רצונו כדי שיבטל רצון אחרים  
מפני רצונך :

ה

וי הלל אומר אל תפרוש עצמך<sup>ו</sup> מן הציבור ואל  
תאמן בעצמך עד יום מותך ואל תדין את הבירך עד

<sup>א</sup> כ"א עוסקים וכינו כן לעיל העוסקים תחת העמלים

<sup>ב</sup> כ"א מעלה אני

<sup>ג</sup> ל"ג שכר הרבה

<sup>ד</sup> כ"א נוספה מלת לו כאן ולהלן במסנה זו לפני מלת לאדם

<sup>ה</sup> כ"א נראין

<sup>ו</sup> כ"א חסר ו אבל כ"י הנ"ל נמצאת תיבת ו

<sup>ז</sup> כ"א חסר עצמך

## פרק שני

### א

רבי אומר אי זו היא דרך ישרה שיבור לו האדם כל שהיא תפארת לעושה תפארת<sup>א</sup> לו מן האדם והוי זהיר במצוה קלה כחמורה שאין אתה יודע מתן שכרן של מצות והוי מחשב הפסד מצוה כנגד שכרה ושכר עבירה כנגד הפסדה והסתכל בשלשה דברים ואין אתה בא לידי עבירה דע מהי למעלה ממך עין ראהי ואוזן שומעת וכל מעשיך בספר נכתבים :

### ב

רבן גמליאל בנו של ר' יהודה הנשיא אומר יפה תלמוד תורה עם דרך ארץ שיגיעת שניהם משכחת עון וכלה תורה שאין עמה מלאכה סופה בטלה לגוררי עון וכל העמלים

<sup>א</sup> נ"א ותפארת

<sup>ב</sup> נ"א כבחמורה

<sup>ג</sup> ככ"י אחד אשר ראיתי חסר מה ואולי זה הנכון ע"ן פרושי בלשון

<sup>ד</sup> חסר ויו

אנגלית

<sup>ה</sup> כתיב כאן עון וכל וכתיב להלן עון וכל וזו סבת ט"ס ככ"י הנ"ל

שהמאמר וכל תורה וכו' נשכח טס לגמרי <sup>ו</sup> נ"א וגוררת

ט"ז

שמאי אומר עשה תורתך קבע אמור מעט ועשה הרבה  
והוי מקבל את כל האדם בסבר פנים יפות :

י"ז

רבן גמליאל אומר עשה לך רב והסתלק מן הספק ואל  
תרבה לעשר אומדות :

י"ח

שמעון בנו אומר כל ימי גדלתי בין החכמים ולא מצאתי  
לגוף טוב אלא שתוקה<sup>א</sup> לא<sup>ב</sup> המדרש הוא העיקר אלא  
המעשה וכל המרבה דברים מביא חטא :

י"ט

רבן שמעון בן גמליאל אומר על שלשה דברים העולם  
קיים: על הדין ועל האמת ועל השלום<sup>ד</sup> :

<sup>א</sup> כ"א משתיקה תסת אלא שתיקה

<sup>ב</sup> כ"א ולא ויש כן כ"א לא מדרש הוא עיקר אלא מעשה

<sup>ג</sup> כ"א עומד עיין לעיל מ' ז'

<sup>ד</sup> שני אמת ומשפט שלום שפטו בשעריכם. התיבות האלו נוספו לראיה  
ברוב הספרים. אבל צפי' המיוחס לרש"י הנדפס עם ספר ד"מ למהר"ל  
מפראג בקראקא בשנת שמ"ט לפ"ק מנאתי דברים הללו: ובמשנה טברנית  
אין כתיב שם פסוק

י"ב

אבטליון אומר הכמ"י הזהרו בדבריכם שמא תחובו חובת גלות ותגלו למקום המים הרעים וישתו התלמידים הבאים אחריכם וימותו ונמצא שם שמים מתחלל :

י"ג

הלל ושמאי קיבלו מהן הלל אומר הוי מתלמידיו של אהרן אוהב שלום ורודף שלום אוהב את הבריות ומקרבן לתורה :

י"ד

הוא היה אומר נגד שמא"א אבד שמא"א די לא מוסיף יסף ודילא יילף: קטלא חייב ודי אשתמש בתנאי הלף :

ט"ו

הוא היה אומר אם אין אני לי מי לי וכשאני לעצמי מה אני אם"ה לא עכשיו אמתי :

א נ"א שמיה

ב נ"א ודלא יוסיף יסף

ג נ"א ודלא יילף

ד ואפשר לקרות בתאנא ל"ד הרמב"ס ז"ל: ונאמר עוד על דרך הסימן

(ס"י הסנוש) תלמיד אין גברא אחרינא לא עכ"ל

ה נ"א ואם

ה

מתאי הארבלי אומר הרחק משכן רע ואל תתחבר לרשע ואל תתיאש מן הפורענות :

ט

יהודה בן טבאי ושמעון בן שטח קבלו מהם יהודה בן טבאי אומר אל תעש עצמך כערכי<sup>א</sup> הדיינים וכשהיו בעלי הדין = עומדין לפניך יהיו בעיניך כרשעים וכשנפטרין מלפניך יהיו בעיניך כצדיקים שקיבלו עליהן את הדין :

י

שמעון בן שטח אומר הוי מרבה לחקור את העדים והוי זהיר בדבריך שמא מתוכן ילמדו לשקר :

יא

שמעיה ואבטליון קבלו מהן שמעיה אומרי אהוב את המלאכה ושנא את הרבנות ואל תתודע לרשותי ואל תתיאש מן הפורענות :

<sup>א</sup> כ"א בעורכי <sup>ב</sup> כ"א וכשהיו בעלי דינין

<sup>ב</sup> כ"א בזכאין

<sup>ד</sup> כ"א בשקבלו ויש עוד כ"א לכשקבלו <sup>ה</sup> כ"א זרין

<sup>י</sup> כנ"א מלאתי גם כאן המאמר המיוחס לאבטליון חכמים הוהרו בדבריכם  
<sup>י</sup> ברוב הספרים חסר כאן ואל תתיאש וגי' וזה הנכון עיין לעיל מסנה ס'.  
וא"ת מ"ט נסנו התיבות הנ"ל וי"ל שאולי טעה המעתיק מפני קרוב המצטא  
בין מלת לרשות ומלת לרשע ולפיכך נוסף כאן המאמר הנכתב שם אחר מלת  
לרשע

ד

יוסי בן יועזר איש צרדה ויוסי<sup>א</sup> בן יוחנן איש ירושלם  
קבלו מהן יוסי בן יועזר איש צרדה<sup>ב</sup> אומר יהי ביתך בית  
וועד לחכמים והוי מתאבק בעפר רגליהן ושותה בצמאה<sup>ג</sup>  
את דבריהם :

ה

יוסי בן יוחנן איש ירושלם אומר יהי ביתך פתוח לרוחה  
ויהיו עניים בני ביתך ואל תרבה שיחה עם האשה :

ו

באשתו אמרו קל וחומר באשת חבירו מיכני אמרו  
החכמים כל זמן שהאדם מרבה<sup>ה</sup> שיחה עם האשה גורם  
רעה לעצמו ובוטל מדברי תורה וסופו יורשי גיהנם :

ז

יהושע בן פרחיא ומתאי<sup>ו</sup> הארבלי קבלו מהם יהושע בן  
פרחיה אומר עשה לך רב וקנה לך חבר והוי הן את כל  
האדם לכף זכות :

<sup>א</sup> כ"א נקרא כל אחד מב' התנאים האלה בשם יוסף  
<sup>ב</sup> כ"א חסר כאן איש צרדה. וי"ג לעיל קבלו ממנו  
<sup>ג</sup> עיין ירמיה ב' כ"ה. ונ"א והוי שותה בצמא  
<sup>ד</sup> כ"א מכאן ה' כ"א כל המרבה  
<sup>ה</sup> כ"א יורד ל' ויש עוד כ"א יורש ל'  
<sup>ו</sup> בכל הספרים מנינו כאן ולקמן מלת נתאי במקום מתאי

## מסכתא דאבות

### פרק ראשון

א

משה קבל תורה מסיני ומסרה ליהושע ויהושע לוקנים  
וזקנים לנביאים ונביאים מסרוה לאנשי כנסת הגדולה הן  
אמרו שלשה דברים היו מתונים בדן והעמידו תלמידים  
הרבה ועשו סייג לתורה :

ב

שמעון הצדיק היה משירי כנסת הגדולה הוא היה אומר  
על שלשה דברים העולם עומד על התורה ועל העבודה ועל  
גמילות חסדים :

ג

אנטיגנס איש סוכו קיבל משמעון הצדיק הוא היה אומר  
אל תהיו כעבדים המשמשים את הרב על מנת לקבל פרס  
אלא היו כעבדים המשמשים את הרב על מנת שלא לקבל  
פרס ויהי מורא שמים עליכם :

א כ"א שלא על מנת

האומר דבר בשם אומרו

מביא גאולה לעולם

ספר

# דברי אבות העולם

ובו

מסכת אבות

מכ"י אחד ואין שני הכולל כל המשנה כולה כפי נוסחת התלמוד שלבני ארץ ישראל

עם חלופי גרסאות והגהות ועם פרוש בלשון אנגלית

ופרק רבי מאיר

כפי הנוסחה הנודעה עם פרוש קנר

חברו

כארולום טילור

ראש לחברת יוחנן הקדוש המבשר

הוצאה שניה

קאנטאבריגיא

בבית הדפוס אשר למדרש החכמה

שנת תרנ"ז לפ"ק



# דברי אבות העולם





EMMANOËL

