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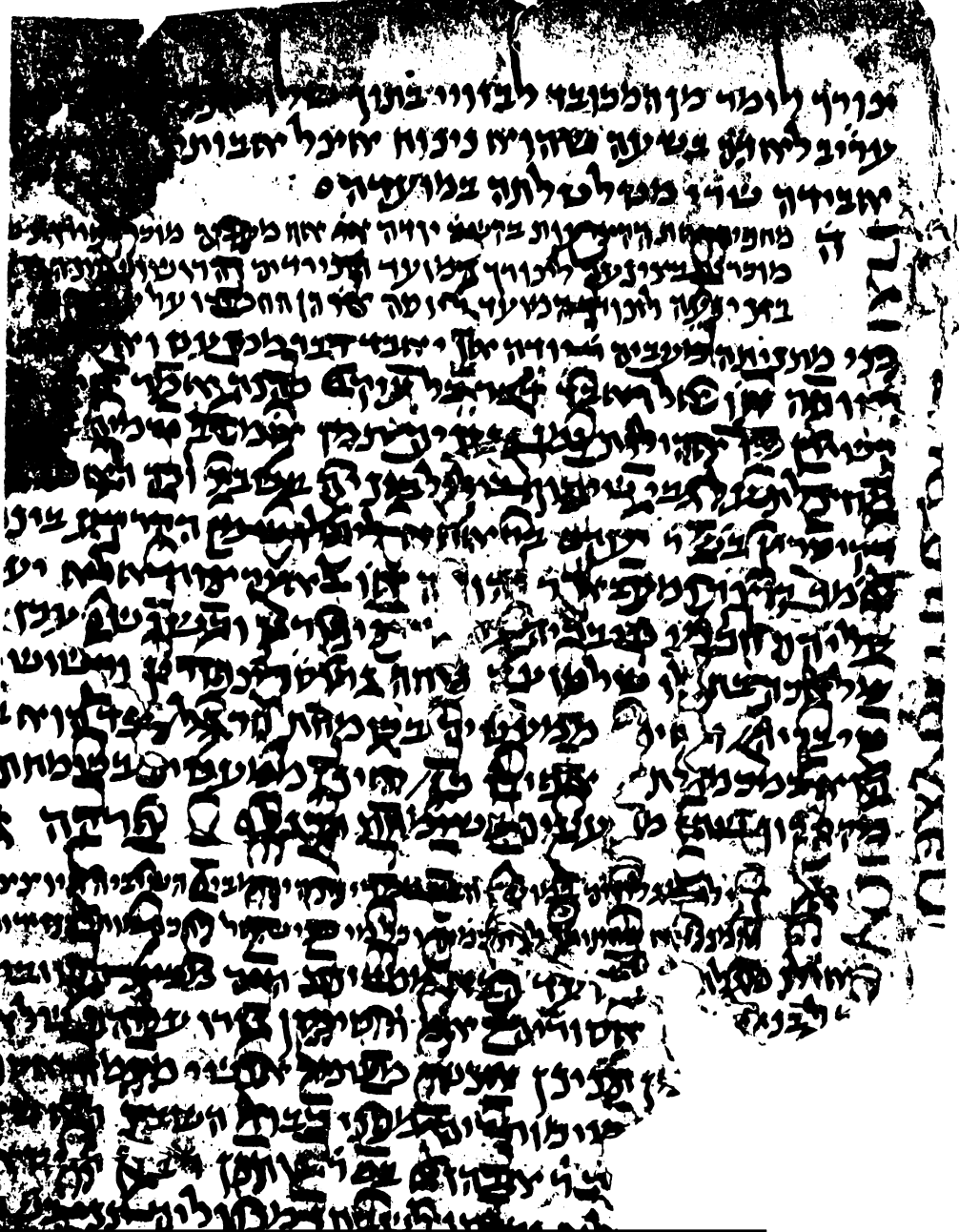
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Sayings of the Jewish fathers

Charles Taylor, Aquila, Cambridge University Press

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DIBRE ABOTH HA-OLAM.

SAYINGS

OF

THE JEWISH FATHERS.

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SAYINGS
OF
THE JEWISH FATHERS

COMPRISING
PIRQE A BOTH
IN HEBREW AND ENGLISH
WITH NOTES AND EXCURSUSES.

EDITED FOR THE SYNDICS OF THE CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

BY
CHARLES TAYLOR D.D.
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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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. KOHUT, art. *On Codex de-Rossi* 184 (Berlin 1897). An old Cairo fragment of Aboth omits the *baba* or verse כִּי בִּאֲשֶׁתּוֹ אָמְרוּ (i. 6). Readings of this fragment are עֲנִיִּים with *pathach* under the *nun* (i. 5, cf. Aboth B. N.), רָחֵק for רָחֵק & הִרְחֵק with *vau* (i. 8), דִּבְרֵי דֶרֶךְ הָאָרֶץ *bis* with art. (iii. 26), הַגִּבּוֹר & הַחֲכָם *bis* בֵּאת וּפּוֹכְרָתוֹ וְהוֹפְכָתוֹ & שְׁעֵפִי *bis* for שְׁעֵפִי with art. (iv. 1, 2). Another fragment in the same hand reads סוֹד (?) with *vau* (ii. 10), שְׁלוֹשָׁה שְׁלוֹשָׁה *bis* (ii. 12, 13), שְׁבַכְלָל דְּבָרֵינוּ מִדְּבָרֵיכֶם *bis* (ii. 11), מִכְרִיעַ הוּא *bis* (ii. 14), יְרוּשָׁה without לֶךְ (ii. 16), מִה שֶׁתִּשֵּׁב אֵת without תוֹרָה (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 ABOTH 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 Ecclus. xli. 12 כִּי הוּא יְלוֹךְ כִּי for that will accompany thee more than thousands of precious treasures. Professor Margoliouth in the *Athenaeum* for July 31, 1897 finds κάραμον transliterated in Ecclus. xl. 16 כַּרְדָּמוֹת and Aboth iv. 9 קָרוֹם לֵאכֹל. In connexion with the chariot (p. 169) and with ὁ πορπηός (p. 192) see *Semitic Studies in mem.* КОМУТ art. *The Testament of Job* by Dr K. Kohler, *Texts and Studies* vol. v. no. 1.

C. TAYLOR.

13th August 1897.

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* 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*.

- Psalm xc. 6. απο δηγμου δεμ[ονιζοντος μεσημβριας]. *recto*
 7. παισειται απο πλαγιου 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 ΠΙΠ' ελπις μου
 υψιστον εθηκας οικητηριον σου.
 10. ου μεταχθησεται προς σε κακια
 και αφη ουκ εγγισει εν σκεπη σου.
 11. οτι αγγελους αυτου εντελιται σε
 του φυλαξαι σε εν πασαις οδοις σου.
 12. επι ταρσων αρουσω σε
 μηποτε προσκοψη εν λιθω [πους σου].
 13. επι λεενα και ασπιδα πατησεις.
- Psalm xci. 4. [εν κι]θαρα. *verso*
 5. [οτι ηυφρανας με ΠΙ]Π' εν κατεργω σου
 [εν ποιημασι] χειρων σου αινεσω.
 6. [ως εμεγαλυνθη] ποιηματα σου ΠΙΠ'
 σφοδρα [εβαθυνθη]σαν λογισμοι σου.
 7. [ανηρ] ασυνετος ου γνωσεται
 και ανητος ου συνησει συν ταυτην.
 8. εν τω βλαστησαι ασεβεις ομοιως χλοη
 και ηνησαν παντες κατεργαζομενοι
 ανωφελεις
 εκτριβηται αυτους εως ετι.
 9. και σοι υψιστος εις αιωνα ΠΙΠ'.
 10. ιδου οι εχθροι σου ΠΙΠ' ‡
 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.

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

‡ The Name is written in archaic Hebrew characters.



VERSO (PS. XCI. 4-10)

INTRODUCTION.

INTRODUCTION.

MASSEKETH ABOTH, best known [with the addition of Perek 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 Gaon¹, "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 Ashkenazic² 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.

¹ Quoted by RASHI in ספר הפרדים סימן ד'. On the various uses, see ZUNZ *Die Ritus des synagogalen Gottesdienstes* p. 85.

² 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

including two complete specimen pages¹, 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.

¹ Notice in the first extract the reading **וְאִכִּילָתָם סִסְתִּים**, which a comparison of the two Gemaras shews to be characteristic of the "Jerushalmi." The reading in the extract from Sanhedrin, omitting **כִּי חֵלֵק כֹּהֵן** and beginning **אֱלֹהֵינוּ**—not **אֱלֹהֵינוּ**, 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.

Ⓐ.	University, Addit.	470
Ⓑ.	St John's College, K.	7
Ⓒ.	University, Addit.	667
Ⓓ.	"	1200
Ⓔ.	"	561
Ⓕ.	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 Ⓕ are in the possession of the Editor.

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

The text of ABOTH is taken from Ⓐ; Perek 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, ע, ק, כ, פ, are transliterated, *tth, th, t, z, e, 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', and Jehoshua' 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 fence¹ to the Thorah.

¹ Impose additional restrictions so as to keep at a safe distance from forbidden ground: "וּשְׁמַרְתֶּם אֶת מִשְׁמֶרֶתִי" (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 ס"י (iii. 20; vi. 6) lies at the root of the Rabbinic system. Its application to holy days gives rise to the principle טוסיפין 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 ס"י, 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. *εἴρη σάββατον*, to exclude work on the *seventh*.]

2. Shime'on ha-Çaddiq² was of the remnants of the Great Synagogue. He used to say, On three things the world is stayed³; on the Thorah⁴, and on the Worship⁵ (Rom. ix. 4), and on the bestowal of Kindnesses⁶.

² 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 Jaddua¹ 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 (א in Menach. xiii. 10). But see Jos. Ant. xiii. 3. 3. Simon has been made contemporary with גאלולא (? 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. So-tah 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. 1. 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-priest-hood was 226—198 B.C. Zunz (*Die Got-*

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

³ 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.]

⁴ 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" (Pirque R. Eli'ezer iii.). See also Nedarim 39 b.

⁵ 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** of⁷ 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 receive⁸ recompense; and let the fear of Heaven be upon you.

that prayer, which is not enjoined in the Pentateuch, תפילה אינן רבך 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.]

⁶ 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 *çedaqah* — 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 *çedaqah*, 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; Sikkah 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).

⁷ The title אַיִשׁ סוֹכּוֹ is said (A; bar S.) to imply that Antigonus was *vir magnus* in his city. Cf. אִישׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל (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.

⁸ 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 וּסוּף הַכְבוֹד לָכֵּא "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) אִיחָל (Job xiii. 15), which

4. Jose ben Jo'ezer of Çeredah and Jose ben Jochanan of Jerusalem⁹ received from them. Jose ben Jo'ezer of Çeredah¹⁰ said, Let thy house be a meeting-house for the wise; and powder thyself in the dust of their feet¹¹; and drink their words with thirstiness.

is illustrated by לא (קרי לי) צר (Is. lxiii. 9).

⁹ The תנאים from § 4 to § 13 are named two and two as *συνεργοι*. 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, 90. 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*.

¹⁰ 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 אִישׁ שֶׁהֵכֵל בוֹ. 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.

¹¹ 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, אָבָק לְשׁוֹן הָרֵץ (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 woman¹² (תף גנאיכי).

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, נשן 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 תנן also sat, whilst an אמורא, or "dragoman" (תרנמן), 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 ישב, *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.

¹² This saying might be applied to a man's wife in particular (as in § 6), or to woman in general, *καὶ ἐθαύμαζον οἱ μετὰ γυναῖκας 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 באקריו בנייהו לבי כנישתא ובאתנוי נבריייהו בי רבנן ונטרן לנבריייהו 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 Ἰουδαίος οὐδὲ Ἕλληγ, οὐκ ἐνὶ δοῦλος οὐδὲ ἐλεύθερος, οὐκ ἐνὶ ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ, πάντες γὰρ ὑμεῖς εἰς ἔστε ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ* (Gal. iii. 28). Women could not in general be witnesses (עדי); 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 Thorah, and in the end he inherits Gehinnom¹⁵.

7. Jehoshua' ben Perachia and Matthai¹⁴ the Arbelite received from them. Jehoshua' ben Perachiah said¹⁵, Make unto thyself a master; and possess thyself of an associate; and judge every man in the scale of merit¹⁶.

8. Matthai the Arbelite said, Withdraw from an evil neighbour; and associate not with the wicked¹⁷; and grow not thoughtless¹⁸ of retribution.

¹³ Cf. *vidv γεέννης* (Matt. xxiii. 15).

¹⁴ 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."

¹⁵ 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 28 a), companionship even with such friends as those of Job (Baba Bathra 16 b). "Two are better than one" (Ecol. iv. 9), in Thorah 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, *חרב אל הברדים ונאלו* (Jer. i. 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 *עם הארץ*, 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*.

¹⁶ 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, *הדן חברו לכף זכות דנין אותו לכף זכו*. 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 *μνηστικόν* to remark that the zodiacal Libra (Bemidbar R. xvi.) corresponds to the month of Judgment, Thishri; as *מלה* (Pirq. R. Eliez. vii.) to *ניסן*.

¹⁷ 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.]

¹⁸ Cf. Prov. xxviii. 14. The word usually means to despair, give up

9. Jehudah ben Tabai and Shime'on ben Shatach¹⁹ received from them. Jehudah ben Tabai said, Make not thyself as them that predispose the judges²⁰; 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."

¹⁹ 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 גדי 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.

²⁰ 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 הדיינים, "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 Abtalion²¹ received from them. Shema'iah said, Love work²²; and hate lordship²³; and make not thyself known to the government²⁴.

litigants to deceive. A slight change of reading would give the meaning, "disposers of suits (שִׁפְטֵי הַדִּינִים)," or special pleaders; but the explanation adopted above gives a more natural sequence. There is another reading (with \aleph for ψ), 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."

²¹ 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 Hyrkan den Herodes lud. Drittens führte Hyrkan, nicht aber die beiden Schulhüpter, 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."

²² Whosoever does not teach his son a business, or "work," teaches him robbery (Qiddushin 29 a). 'Ο κλέπτων μηκέτι κλεπτέτω μᾶλλον δὲ κοπιᾶτω 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. xi. 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 die²⁵, 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).

²³ 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 87 b). R. Jonah connects this clause with the preceding by means of Prov. xii. 9. Dr Michael Cahn aptly recites from Plato, *Repub.* 347 D: *ἔπει κινδυνεύει, πάλαι ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐλ γένοιτο, περιμάχητον αὐ εἶναι τὸ μὴ ἄρχειν ὡσπερ νυλὶ τὸ ἄρχειν*. 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, (והיה ברכות אלהים) ברכות אלהים, 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" (Pirque R. El. xi.).

²⁴ 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.

²⁵ 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. Hillel²⁶ and Shammai received from them. Hillel said, Be of the disciples of Aharon²⁷; 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. Chagigah ii. 1) of the too
free unveiling—reading ורתנלו 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 Thorah are established
only when a man kills himself on their
behalf.” [Shabbath 88 b.]

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

name is in Jud. xii. 13. He studied
Thorah 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 mankind²⁸, and bringing them nigh (Deut. xxx. 14; Eph. ii. 17)²⁹ 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 angesehenen 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.]

²⁷ 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 *gemith 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 מחזיק שלום, ברכה אלא שלום, “no vessel but peace can hold blessing,” a saying found also at the end of the Mishnah in some editions (Surh. vi. 503); but *R* omits the whole paragraph, *Dixit R. J. &c.*

²⁸ Lit. τὰς κτλεις. Cf. Mark xvi. 15, and (?) Rom. viii. 19.

²⁹ See the anecdotes of Hillel in note 33. For an illustration (Bereshith Rabbah xxxviii.; 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 בדרור המבול. הוי יושבי חבל הים נוי כרתים. נוי שהוא ראוי כרת. ובאי זה זכות הן עומדין. בזכות נוי אחד (נ”א גר אחר). בזכות ירא שמים אחד. שהן מעמידין בכל שנה. ר לוי פתר לו לשבח. נוי שכרת ברית. המד”א וכרות עמו הברית: “Said R. Chanin(a), There was done

14. He used to say, A name made great³⁰ is a name destroyed; he who increases not decreases³¹; and he who will

(? said) with respect to the districts of the sea what was not done with respect to the generation of the Flood: Ho! dwellers on the sea-coast, nation of Kerethim (Zeph. ii. 5), nation deserving of excision. And by what merit do they stand? By the merit of one PROSELYTE: by the merit of one fearer of Heaven, whom they raise up in every year. R. Levi explained it in a good sense, of a heathen who has made (cf. Neh. ix. 8) a covenant." The parallel passage in Midrash Chazitha varies in detail from the above, and runs as follows: . . . א"ך חנינא נאמר . . . שלא נאמר . . . גוי שחייב כרת. ובזכות מי ניצל. בזכות ירא שמים אחד שמעמידו בכל שנה ושנה. ר' לוי: פתר ליה כו'. Hence it would appear that there was a custom of making one representative proselyte annually, to typify the salvability of the Gentiles. The final cause of Israel's captivities was that that they might make proselytes (Pesach. 87 b. Cf. Rom. xi. 11); but it does not clearly appear that the scribes were actuated by a missionary spirit, or that they were overhasty in receiving such proselytes as presented themselves (Jebamoth 47 b; Jost, *Gesch.* A. 448). The Jew was bound to attract men to the Thorah by his good example, but not in the ordinary sense of the word to proselytise (Joma 96 a). The universality of the Thorah is expressed by the saying that it was originally given in all the languages of the world. "Every word that went forth from the mouth of the Holy One was divided into seventy tongues," כל דיבור ודיבור שיצא מפי שבת הקב"ה נחלק לשבעים לשונות (Shabbath 88 b. Cf. Berakoth 13 a, Thosaph.

on (בכל לשון)—which seventy tongues had their representatives in the ship that carried Jonah (Pirque R. El. x.). "The whole Thorah was spoken in every tongue" (Sotah 33 a). In like manner the expressions מסיני משעיר. מרה פארן. מרבבת קדש. (Deut. xxxiii. 2) are interpreted in Sifre of a fourfold revelation in Hebrew, Greek, Arabic, and Aramaic. It is added that God revealed himself from the four winds; and "not upon Israel only was He revealed, but upon all the nations. First he went to the sons of Esau and said, Will ye receive the Thorah?" On their refusal it was offered to others, and at last to Israel.

³⁰ Some commentators have assumed from the dialect of this Mishnah (cf. II. 7; v. 33) that it dates from the time when Hillel was in Babel. The word נגד in Aramaic means to draw, or extend. It stands for נטה or משך in Targ. Gen. xxxix. 21; Ps. xxxvi. 11; but cf. the Biblical נגיד the saying is illustrated by Is. ii. 17; Prov. xxix. 23; Matt. xxiii. 5—12. The Holy One exalts him who humbles himself, and humbles him who exalts himself. Greatness flees from him who follows after it, and follows after him who flees from it. A man should not "force the hour," but bide his time ('Erubin 13 b, cf. 54 a; Nedarim 55 a). The saying is otherwise explained, as ps-Rashi remarks, of one who continually draws the NAME of the Holy One into all his occupations; or of one who משך שמה של תורה עליו שלא עסק (ש) בה לשמה.

³¹ He who learns from his teacher and adds not to his words, not having intelligence to go beyond what he has

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 myself³² who is for me? and being for my own self what am I? If not now when?

16. Shammai said³³, Make thy Thorah an ordinance³⁴; 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 Thorah, or of the Holy NAME, by teaching (or studying) for his own profit and glorification. Cf. iv. 9, 19.

³² 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).

³³ 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 Thorah. 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 Thorah 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 Thorah, and the rest is commentary; go, study." Cf. *ὁ μωσῆς μηδὲν ἐκ τῶν ῥημάτων* (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 *νῆχ* under the wings of the Shekinah.

³⁴ Contrast ii. 17. Make thy study

little and do much³⁵; and receive every man with a pleasant expression of countenance (III. 18).

17. Rabban Gamliel³⁵ said, Make to thyself a master, and be quit of doubt; and tithe not much by estimation³⁶.

18. Shime'on³⁷ his son said, All my days I have grown up

of Thorah a *fixtore*: 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.

³⁵ 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, Γαμλιήλ), 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."

³⁶ 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, אומדן (עומדן) 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.

³⁷ 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 silence³⁸; not learning but doing is the groundwork; and whoso multiplies words occasions sin.

19. Rabban Shime'on³⁹ ben Gamliel said, On three things the world stands; on Judgment, and on Truth, and on Peace⁴⁰.

³⁸ 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, סמא דמילתא משתוקא, Silence is the cure of a thing. But both Talmuds have סמא דכולא, 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 תפלה 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 הַיָּם אֶת הַיָּם. Cf. Matt. vi. 7; Eccl. v. 2; Ecclus. vii. 14; Berakoth 61 a. SILENCE is His praise (Ps. lxx. 2).

³⁹ 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 בּוֹ בְּיָוִם (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."

⁴⁰ 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 אַמְצוּת and אֶמְצוּת, which draw them to אֵיהֵא. Peace plays an important part in the New Testament. In connexion with αὐτὸς γὰρ ἔστω 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, *כל יושלם* *כל יושלם*, "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 *τῆ ἀγάπῃ ὁ 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 βραβεύετω*, which may have been

suggested by the expression *כל שש* *כל שש* of Zech. viii. 16, a verse which is cited at the end of this Perek 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; Perek ha-Shalom.]

p. 11. *Moses*] At the beginning of the Mekhilta, with the emendation *כלל לדררות* for *כלל לדררות* 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 *לוגיא* so Aaron was a vessel for *לוגיא*," 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 *מעמרות* (Ta'an. 27 b) or *תורה* (Nedar. 32 a) heaven and earth would not stand.

p. 11. *delivered*] Mekhilta *כי תש* (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 *כא* (15 b), Tanchuma *שכונת* (Buber ii. 6 a), Mas. Soferim i. (Müller pp. ii. & 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 nutum 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 Gottesföhrigkeit bei Juvenal."

CHAPTER II.

1. Rabbi¹ said, Which is the right course that a man should choose for himself? Whatsoever is a pride to him that pursues it², (and) brings him honour (Phil. iv. 8) from men. And

¹ Rabbi, which is equivalent to "my lord," or *διδάκαλε* (Joh. 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, גְּדוֹלַת טַרְבִּינְ שַׁמּוֹ, 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, רַבִּי, 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, *ραββουλι, δ λέγειται διδάκαλε*. This form רַבִּוִּי occurs once in the Mishnah (Tha'anith III. 8) according to the manuscript א, instead of רַבִּוִּי שֶׁל עוֹלָם, "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.

² The interpretation of this somewhat doubtful clause varies according to the reading, and also according to the meaning assigned to עוֹשֶׂה. The rendering given above involves a departure from the text of א, and is adapted to the usual reading וּתְפַאֲרֶת.

be attentive to a light precept as to a grave, for thou knowest not the assigned reward of precepts³; 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 what⁴ 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-Nasi⁵, said,

Jost renders "welcher ihm in seinen eigenen Augen und in denen der Menschen zum Ruhme gereicht." Taking the former תפארת as subjective compare כעשה 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.]

³ 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 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 שכר for them.

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

⁵ 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 Torah study. The expression *derek erez*, or *via terræ*, 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 του Θεου* (Rom. xv. 7), re-

Excellent is Torah study together with worldly business, for the practice of them both puts iniquity out of remembrance; and all Torah without work must fail at length, and occasion iniquity⁶. 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 you⁷ 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 will⁸, 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 will⁹.

5. Hillel said, Separate not thyself from the congregation, and trust not in thyself until the day of thy death¹⁰; 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 ὀφείλημα.

⁶ The usual reading, וְנִוְנֵן, is simplest.

⁷ 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"ב) פְּמִלְיָא מַעֲלָה, the "upper" or celestial "familia" (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 88 b). Cf. Dan. iv. 25, 32; "And THEY shall drive thee from men." The same construction is found in the New Testament. Cf. δώσουσιν εἰς τὸν κόλπον

ὁμῶν (Luke vi. 38).

⁸ Ἐάν τις θέλῃ τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ ποιῆν 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).

⁹ "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).

¹⁰ 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 heard¹¹ 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 boor¹² is a sinfearer; nor is the vulgar¹³ 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, Sadducaic. 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 53a, where the saying about the "skull" (§ 7)—omitting the word סִדָּן (ed. Lemberg)—is attributed to him: "They said of Hillel ha-Zaqen that when he was sharing in the festivity of the הַשְּׂמֵרָה—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."

¹¹ This is well explained by the Machazor Vitry in accordance with the context. If a word of Thorah 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 Thorah, 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 וְשֵׁנָה (שֵׁנָה) in the Mishnah see also Parah vi. 1; vii. 5; Makshirin III. 5—7; Sotah v. 3; 'Erakin VIII. 7; Themurah v. 4.

¹² The word בֹּרָה, 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 בֹּרָה, for Heb. בָּשָׂר.

¹³ 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 teach¹⁴; nor is every one that has much traffic wise. And in a place where there are no men endeavour to be a man¹⁵.

7. Moreover he saw a skull (Matt. xxvii. 33) which floated on the face of the water, and he said to it, Because thou drownedst¹⁶ 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 men-servants, more theft: more women¹⁷, more witchcrafts (Nah. iii.

καὶ αἱ χεῖρες τοῦ λαοῦ τῆς γῆς παραλυθῶσονται. In this Mishnah; and *passim*, it is used as a singular to denote ONE of the ἔχλος. So ןל, the singular of ןל, ἔθνη, is used to denote an individual heathen.

¹⁴ An ἐπίσκοπος should be διδασκλικός, and not ὄργιλος (1 Tim. iii. 2; 2 Tim. ii. 24; Tit. i. 7).

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

¹⁶ 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 ἀπολούνται (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.).

¹⁷ Cf. Ex. xxii. 18. Woman is regarded as a medium of temptation. Man is to woman as לךשׁ to לךר—*as* νοῦς to ὄλη, or ἀσθησις: *as* upper to lower: *as* right to left: *as* the Divine to the human. Philo writes (*de Mundi Opificio*, Vol. i. philo 39, 40, ed. Mangey): τὰς δὲ γοητείας καὶ ἀπάτας αὐτῆς ἢ ἡδονῆ τῷ μὲν ἀνδρὶ οὐ τολμᾷ προσφέρειν, τῇ δὲ γυναικί, καὶ διὰ ταύτης ἐκείνῳ πάνυ προσφύως καὶ εὐθυβδλως. Ἐν ἡμῖν γὰρ ἀνδρὸς μὲν ἔχει λόγον ὁ νοῦς, γυναικὸς δ' ἀσθησις, 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*¹⁸: *more righteousness, more peace*. He who has gotten a good name has gotten it for himself¹⁹. He who has gotten to himself words of Torah, has gotten to himself the life of the world to come.

9. Rabban Jochanan ben Zakai²⁰ received from Hillel and

interpretation (given also in Pirqe R. El. xviii.) of Is. xlvi. 13, אִם יָדִי יִסְדָּה אֶרְץ וְיִמִּינִי מִסְפַּחַת שָׁמַיִם. The man is *εὐκὼν καὶ δόξα θεοῦ· ἢ δὲ γυνή δόξα ἀνδρός ἐστίν* (1 Cor. xi. 7). The congregation of Israel is personified as a *γυνή*, in relation to God.

¹⁸ 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.

¹⁹ *Φρόντισον περὶ ὀνόματος, αὐτὸ γὰρ σοὶ διαμένει ἢ χίλιοι μεγάλοι θησαυροὶ χρυσοῦ* (Eccclus. xli. 12).

²⁰ 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 *Jamnia* 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 נָר (מַטֵּי נָר), that he who perverts the cause of the stranger, is as if he perverted that of Heaven, כָּל הַמַּטֵּה (דִּינוֹ שֶׁל נָר כְּאֵלוֹ מַטֵּה דִּינוֹ שֶׁל מַעֲלָה). 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 (חַטָּאת) 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 Thorah²¹ much, claim not merit to thyself, for thereunto wast thou created (Luke xvii. 10; 1 Cor. ix. 16).

10. Five disciples²² were there to Rabban Jochanan ben Zakai, and these were they: R. Li'ezer²³ ben Hyrqanos, 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."

²¹ The reading of modern editions is: "If thou hast *learned* (note *) much Thorah." The better attested תלמוד may include both acquisition and practice. The MSS. favour the reading: "If thou hast wrought much at תלמוד תורה." 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.

²² 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.

²³ 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. Hyrqanos, as we find in Sukkah, never spoke a word that he had not heard from his Rab" (A*). For the metaphor of the spring, cf. John iv. 14, πηγή ὕδατος ἀλλομένου εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον. [Psalm xxxvi. 10.]

R. Shime'on ben Nathanael, and R. Ele'azar ben 'Arak. He used to recount their praise: Eli'ezer ben Hyrqnos is a plastered cistern, which loseth not a drop; Jehoshua' ben Chananiah—happy is she that bare him; Jose the Priest is pious²⁴; 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 Hyrqnos²⁵ 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 Hyrqnos with them, and Ele'azar ben 'Arak in the other scale, he would outweigh them all.

²⁴ The *chasid* is of greater excellence than the *qaddiq* (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 Ἐσσαῖος, identifies it with חסיד (regardless of the 7). But the Essenes were opposed to sacrifice, and the *chasid* might be a priest.

²⁵ The typical traditionalist Eli'ezer is balanced against the man of genius. In favour of tradition ℄ 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 Sferno, 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. rv. 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 Hyrqnos*.

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 eye²⁶: R. Jehoshua' said, A good friend²⁷: and R. Jose said, A good neighbour: and R. Shime'on said, He that foresees what is to be²⁸: 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, An evil eye²⁹: and R. Jehoshua' said, An evil companion: and R. Jose said, An evil neighbour: and R. Shime'on said, He that borroweth and repayeth not³⁰—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

²⁶ "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. טוב לשרים ולב טוב לבריוח.]

²⁷ 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.

²⁸ 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).

²⁹ "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 עין 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 אֲבוֹתָהּ (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.

³⁰ "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 δίκαιος καὶ ἐν πολλῷ δίκαιός ἐστιν (Luke xvi. 10). Another explanation (bar 8.) 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 words³¹.

14. And they said (each) three things. R. Li'ezer³² said, Let the honour of thy friend be dear unto thee as thine own; and be not easily provoked; and repent³³ 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 fox³⁴, 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).

³¹ 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).

³² The three sayings of R. Li'ezer are variously reckoned. Rambam 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 ἐπῆη, 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 ובכעסו ובכיסו ובכיסו, by his cup, and his purse, and his temper. [This saying is in 'Erubin 65 b.]

³³ 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. lxx. 13).

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

15. R. Jehoshua' said, An evil eye³⁵, and the evil nature³⁶,

³⁵ 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'.

Jehoshua' 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 נוזרין נזירה 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."

³⁶ 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 מנעויו. 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 παλαὸς and καινὸς ἀνθρώπος (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 yods*), He formed man with two יצרים, the one, טוב, and the other, 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 Exoursus 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 רבובתא, "instar muscæ" (Berakoth 61 a); in

and hatred of the creatures put a man out of the world³⁷ (*aión*).

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 thee³⁸; and let all thy actions be to the name of Heaven³⁹.

17. R. Shime'on said, Be careful in reading the **Shema**⁴⁰, and in Prayer; and when thou prayest^a, make not thy prayer

connexion with which compare Geiger's *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel*, &c. p. 53, where **BELZEBUB** 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 בכב sich bildet für: hassen, anfeinden."

³⁷ Cf. *pās ó mysōn tòn ádelphōn autou ... oúk éχει zōhē aiōniou en autō mēnousan* (1 Joh. iii. 15). The term "creatures" (i. 18) was in common use in the sense **MANKIND**.

³⁸ 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.

³⁹ 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.

⁴⁰ 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 Miahnah 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 *επιτολή πρώτη* is said to be, *Ἄκουε, Ἰσραήλ. Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν Κύριος εἰς ἑστίν. καὶ ἀγαπήσεις Κύριον τὸν Θεόν σου, κ.τ.λ.* For him who reads the **אודי** 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 **צלמות** (Berakoth 15 b).

^a 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 **קב**, his prayer is not **תחנוני**, *déismus*" (Berakoth iv. 4). "There is no set time (**קב**) for the evening prayer"

an ordinance, but an entreaty before God⁴², 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 *אורי* 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 i, 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 *התפלה*, and *תפלה*, are referred to Isaac and Jacob (Gen. xxiv. 63; xxviii. 11). See Bereshith Rabbah LXVIII. On the "ten" names of prayer, and on *ד'תפלות*, cf. Deut. Rab. II. On *תפילת*, meaning *φουλακτήρια*, see Buxtorf, s. v. *תפלה*.

⁴² The word *μακωμ*, 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 φ* 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 וישנע*, Gen. xxviii. 11), where it is said that God is so called, *מפני שהוא מקומו של עולם ואין מקומו העולם*, because He is the PLACE of the world, and not the world His place—so *ב*, commenting upon § 12—according to the Scriptures, Ex. xxxiii.

21, *מקום אתי*; Deut. xxxiii. 27; Ps. xc. 1, "Lord, thou hast been our dwellingplace" (*מנוח, 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, *Lex. 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 Χριστω* on the one hand, and *να πληρώση τα πάντα* (Eph. iv. 10) on the other. Since space and its complement are correlatives, the use of *μακωμ, τόπος*, naturally suggests a doctrine of a *πλήρωμα*. Moreover, since *μακωμ* 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. I. p. 630, ed. Mangey): *Τριχῶς δὲ ἐπινοεῖται τόπος· ἅπαξ μὲν χώρα ὑπὸ σώματος ἐκπεπληρωμένη· κατὰ δεύτερον δὲ τρόπον ὁ θεῖος λόγος, ὃν ἐκπεπλήρωκεν ὁλον δι' ὄλων ἀσωμάτους δυνάμειν αὐτὸς ὁ θεός... κατὰ δὲ τρίτον σημαίνον αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς καλεῖται τόπος, τῷ περιέχειν μὲν τὰ ὅλα, περιέχεσθαι δὲ πρὸς μηδένος ἅπλως, καὶ τῷ καταφυγῆν τῶν συμπάντων αὐτὸν εἶναι· καὶ ἐπειδήπερ αὐτὸς ἐστὶ χώρα ἑαυτοῦ, κευρωρικῶς ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἐμπερόμενος μόνῳ ἑαυτῷ. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ εἰμι τόπος, ἀλλ' ἐν τόπῳ, καὶ ἕκαστον*

*longsuffering, and plenteous in grace*⁴³; and be not wicked unto thyself⁴⁴.

18. R. La'zar said, Be diligent to learn *Thorah*, wherewith thou mayest make answer (1 Pet. iii. 15) to Epicurus⁴⁵; and know before whom thou toilest⁴⁶; and who is the Master of thy work.

19. R. Tarphon⁴⁷ 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.

⁴³ The Scripture proof was probably a later addition. It apparently mixes up Joel ii. 13 and Ps. lxxxvi. 15.

⁴⁴ [Of. Eccclus. vii. 16 μὴ προσλογίζου σεαυτὸν ἐν πλῆθει ἀμαρτωλῶν, Qiddushin 4 b & Tosefta, Joma 2 b יבצ"ג יבצ"ג, *by itself*.]

⁴⁵ The Greek name Epicurus is used to denote a heretic or unbeliever, whether Jewish or foreign. On this word, and on יבצ"ג, *heretic*, see Buxtorf, *Lex. Chald.* The latter is supposed by some to be from יבצ"ג, 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 יבצ"ג 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 (ייןייהן), 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.

⁴⁶ 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 'כ"ג יבצ"ג to what precedes.

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

great, and the workmen are sluggish⁴⁸, and the reward is much, and the Master of the house is urgent. He said, It is not for thee to finish the work⁴⁹, nor art thou free to desist therefrom; if thou hast learned much Torah, 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 come⁵⁰.

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

⁴⁸ 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 δὴν 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.

⁴⁹ 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.

⁵⁰ This expression, like *ὁ αἰών ὁ μέλλων*, 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 *נקראת 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 ὧν, ὡσπερ δεξιὰ καὶ ἀριστερά, πρῶτον ἐποίησε τὸν οὐρανὸν εἶτα τὴν γῆν καὶ οὕτως ἐξῆς πάσας τὰς συστυγίας.*

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 *Λάζαρος* 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 *ברך 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* (Ecol. 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' said, Consider three things², 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 reckoning³.

¹ 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 הַמֶּלֶךְ 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, אַחֲרֵי רַבִּים לְהִטּוֹת (Ex. xxiii. 2), which are rendered by Onqelos, בְּתַר סִנְיַי שְׁלָם, 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."

² 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).

³ This Mishnah is cited in T. J. So-tah II. 2; Va-jiqra Rabbah XVIII.; Qoheleth Rabbah, on Eccl. xii. 1. R. 'Aqiba expounded the clause, וּזְכֹר, נָא אֵת בּוֹרְאֶיךָ, so as to include the three things mentioned above, thus: "Remember . בּוֹרֵךְ . בּוֹרֵךְ . 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 *μνηστικόν*, 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 camest: from a fetid drop; and whither thou art going: to worm and maggot⁴ (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 priests⁵, said, Pray for the peace of the kingdom⁶ (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 scornful⁷ (Ps. i. 1); but two that sit together and are occupied in words of Thorah have the Shekinah⁸ among them, for it is said, Then they that feared the Lord⁹ spake often one to another, &c. (Mal. iii. 16).

nulla demonstratio, indicium tamen rei est, &c. (Ps. cix. 19),” אַעֲפִי שְׂאִין רִאִיָּה לְדַבֵּר זָכָר לְדַבֵּר שֵׁנִי וְתַבְאֵי כּוֹ (Shabbath ix. 4). Cf. also Buxtorf, *Lex. Chald.* s.v. אַסְמַכְתָּא. 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 סִימָנִים,” as it is said in ‘Erubin 54 b. (Cf. Shabbath 104 a.)

⁴ Va-jigra Rabbah xviii. (p. כו, Warsaw, 1874) inserts עָפַר (Gen. iii. 19) in citing this Mishnah; but reads lower down, בּוֹרֵךְ זֶו רִימָה וְתוֹלַעָה, 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.

⁵ 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.

⁶ “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).

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

⁸ 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, וַיִּשְׁכֵן שָׁם”; where Onqelos renders וַיִּשְׂרִי שְׂכִינְתָּיה בְּמִשְׁכְּנֵיהָ הַשָּׁם, 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 יָקַר

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 borne¹⁰ it upon him (Lam. iii. 28).*

שכנתיה, *the glory of His Shekinah* (Gen. iii. 24, Targ. Jerus.)—which “glory” manifests itself in flaming fire on Sinai (Ex. xix. 18)—or שׁוֹרֵץ (Ps. lxxviii. 19). We find שׁוֹרֵץ (Ps. lxxviii. 19). We find שׁוֹרֵץ (Ps. lxxviii. 19). We find שׁוֹרֵץ (Ps. lxxviii. 19). 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 שׁוֹרֵץ 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) מצפון תפתח הרעה. The text (cf. § 9) speaks of an invisible Shekinah which may be present anywhere, and it affords an illustration of Matt. xviii. 20, οὐ γὰρ εἰσι δύο ἢ πρεῖς συνηγμένοι εἰς τὸ ἐμὸν δνομα, 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, ונהנים מזיו השכינה (Berakoth 17 a).

SHEKINAH is sometimes practically equivalent to ΜΕΜΒΡΑ, 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 σκηνή 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.

⁹ The MS. א expresses יהוה by “ 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 הײ is identified by Gematria (§ 28) with the longer Name אה, יו, which are thus made to amount to 10+6+4, and 5+1. The saying, “two that sit, &c.” is repeated in § 9.

¹⁰ 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 בְּתוֹבָה, 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 Thorah, are as if they had eaten of sacrifices of (the) dead¹¹, for it is said, For all tables are full of vomit and filthiness without MAQOM¹² (Is. xxviii. 8).

6. But three that have eaten at one table, and have said over it words of Thorah, 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, and¹³ turns aside his heart to idleness, is "guilty of death."

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

(Prov. xxvii. 17). The Thorah is like fire: fire does not burn alone, with nothing to feed it: so words of Thorah, **יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ בְּיַחְדָּם**. 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.

¹¹ 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.

¹² 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· ἀγιάζεται γὰρ διὰ λόγου Θεοῦ καὶ ἐντεύξεως*. Compare *Ἔτε οὖν ἐσθίετε, ἔτε πίνετε, ἔτε τι ποιείτε, πάντα εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ ποιείτε* (1 Cor. x. 31).

¹³ He who is sleepless at night should think on words of Thorah (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...*ἵνα εἴτε γρηγορώμεν, εἴτε καθεύδωμεν, ἅμα σὺν αὐτῷ ζήσωμεν* (1 Thess. v. 10). The Mishnah thus interpreted forms an apposite sequel to §§ 5, 6. According to another reading (הַשֵּׁנִים) 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 **יְיָקִיט**, or evil spirits. This notion might indeed be illustrated from the Talmud, but the first interpretation better suits the context. Thorah 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* i. 14). When he walks by the way he must let nothing interrupt his "mishnah" (§ 11).

him the yoke¹⁴ 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 CONGREGATION¹⁵ of the

¹⁴ Ἄρατε τὸν ζυγὸν μου ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, καὶ μάθετε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ...ὁ γὰρ ζυγὸς μου χρηστός, καὶ τὸ φορτίον μου ἐλαφρόν ἐστιν (Matt. xi. 29, 30). The yoke of *malkuth* 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 עול 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 *malkuth shamayim*, and of *miçvah* (Berakoth 13 a): a yoke of *flesh and blood* (Aboth R. N. xx.): a yoke of הקב"ה.

¹⁵ 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 אגוז as a bundle of three stalks. The number five is not mentioned in the similar passages of Berakoth 6 a; Mekiltha, Jethro xl.; 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 הבחירה, 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 five¹⁶? 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 תורה is דין, 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 דין 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 אנוכיר את שמי, and wish to read תנוכיר, observe that R. Josiah in Jalqut calls the verse מוסורם, and reads in inverse order, In what place soever I come unto thee, there will I cause my NAME to be mentioned.

¹⁶ 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 בְּקִרְבֵּנוֹ 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 His¹⁷; and thus he saith in David¹⁸, 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 study¹⁹ (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. Dosithai²⁰, 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

¹⁷ Cf. Joh. xvii. 9, 10: ἀλλὰ περὶ ᾧ δέδωκάς μοι, ὅτι σοὶ εἶμι. καὶ τὰ ἐμὰ πάντα σὰ ἐστὶ, κ.τ.λ.

¹⁸ Compare the formula of citation "in David" in Heb. iv. 7.

¹⁹ The word שָׁנָה means to change, or to repeat, and hence generally to study or learn. The Aramaic form of the word is ܫܢܗ, on which see the lexicons. The word שִׁנְתוּ is pointed with a horizontal stroke under the ܫ. 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" (ֿ) arose. The citation from the Cambridge University MS. Oo i. 19, fol. 12 b, in the Rabbinic footnote, may

serve as a *μνημόσυρον* of this fact.

²⁰ "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 *δευτέρευσις*. 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" מִצְוַת אוֹנֵסוֹ is compared to the shattered tables of the Law, and it is said, לוחות ושברי לוחות, מונחות בארון, 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 סימן רע לו, an evil sign to a man. The expression דְּבָרִים (Deut. iv. 9) does not mean merely written "words,"

has but grown hard²¹ 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 wisdom²², 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

²¹ Some commentators understand תקף 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 שנוורה 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 Thorah as his money, for it is hardly gotten, as *gold*, and perishes easily, like *glass*, וזוכית (Job xxviii. 17). He who learns Thorah 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.

²² 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 κ on § 15. Aboth R. N., after the first clause of § 13, refers to Pa. 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 Zakai, A wise man and a sinfearer, what is he? He said to them, Lo! he is a workman, with his tools in his hand. A wise man but not a sinfearer, what is he? He said to them, He is a workman who has not his tools in his hand. A sinfearer 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 wisdom²³, 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 pleased²⁴, 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 wine²⁵, and the babbling of youths²⁶, and frequenting

²³ "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.

²⁴ 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 ἀγαπῶν 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 Thorah for its own sake makes peace in the family above and in the family below, for it is said ... יעשה שלום לי שלום יעשה לי. (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).

²⁵ A man must not sleep beyond the time of reading the morning *Shema*: nor drink wine early, and so indispose himself alike for Thorah 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 houses²⁷ of the vulgar, put a man out of the world.

17. R. Li'ezer ha-Moda'i said, He that profanes things sacred²⁸, and contemns the festivals, and annuls the covenant of Abraham our father, and acts barefacedly against the Thorah²⁹, 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, מדה כנגד מדה, measure for measure.

²⁸ 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 נשרים סתירה וסתירת זקנים, בנין בנין, young men's construction is destruction, and old men's destruction is construction.

²⁷ Bar S. confirms the omission of בתי by reference to his "ancient Mishnaioth." The synagogue served for meetings not merely "precum et sacrorum 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 (*alw*). On the other hand, "he that increases Thorah increases life" (ii. 8). Ἐπευ-
vāre tās γράφάς, ὅτι ὑμεῖς δοκεῖτε ἐν
αὐταῖς ζωῆν αἰώνιον ἔχειν (Joh. v. 39).

²⁸ 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 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. נלל 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).

²⁹ In Sifre on Numb. xv. 31, where this Mishnah is quoted, the clause וְהַמְנִלָּה 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, בתורה, and the second by ברית המפר בשר. Then follows this Mishnah, with the ending, אע"פ שיש בידו מצוות, הרבה כרי הוא לרחותו מן העולם, however many precepts he may perform, he merits expulsion from the world.

and yielding to impressment³⁰ (Matt. v. 41), and receive every man with cheerfulness.

³⁰ 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. *בחור, 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 דחד מנהון שחרית*; Nullius asinum unquam *petii*. There is a saying, quoted in the Machazor Vitry and elsewhere, "Attach thyself to an ἀγγαρεὺς, and they will do thee homage," *הדבק 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 בן,

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

לנוח 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 ii. 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 *בפ' עקביה הוי קל ראש. בר דמאי כו*; but another MS. of the 'Aruk, *Additional* 376, reads *קל לראש ראש ... קל לראש* and a third MS., *Additional* 473.2, has the brief reading *קל ראש 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 קל ל is used of an *action* (v. 30), but not usually of a *person*: on the other hand,

19. R. 'Aqibah³¹ said, Merriment, and lightness of disposition³², 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 שחוק 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. חצוף, a word which is used for חזק in the Targum on Prov. vii. 13. If, as is probable, קלות ש"א denotes primarily an ελαφρία (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 ἀγγρία. 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 ἓν, σπαγέ 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 קל towards the Creator, and likewise in the time of thine *age* be לו" (Rashi, as quoted by bar S.). "Be קל to the chief, or first in rank, and נוח to his ἀγγαρεύς" (R. Jonah). On the whole there is a fair amount of authority for the meaning ἀγγρία. This being adopted, the expressions קל ראש ונוח may either be taken both together as describing a man's attitude towards ἀγγρία, or we may read, הוי קל לראש, *Esto velox erga caput*, and take נוח as a separate clause. Levy (*Chald. Wörterbuch* s. v. שחוק) renders: "sei dienstfertig gegen einen Vornehmen und schmiegsam gegen die Regierung (den Regierer)."

³¹ 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.* s. 81 note) by Severus: and was

20. He used to say, Tradition³³ 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 **יְהוָה**, ONE, till he expired, the heavenly voice, BATH QOL, went forth and said: "Happy art thou R.

'Aqiba that thy spirit went forth at **יְהוָה**" (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, **מִמָּתִים יֵדָךְ**, 'מִמָּתִים כִּי'. 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 **וְגַם**, **וְאֵת**, **וְכֵן**, **וְאֵל**, 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), **וְאֵל רִאֵה כִּי**, and afterwards, **וְאֵל לֵאמֹר לְאֲדָם**. 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 wealth³⁴; vows a fence to sanctity³⁵; a fence to wisdom is silence.

form. Amongst the thousands of his hearers were "Meir (eigentlich Measa) Judah b. Ilai, 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.

³² 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 כבוד 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 κατασχώνει την κεφαλήν, 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, פי'נו. 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.

³³ MASORAH, or MASSORETH, is used of tradition in general, and is correlative to Qabbalah (i. 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.

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

³⁵ 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 God³⁶ made He man (Gen. ix. 6).

Gamliel ha-Zaqen died, the glory of the Thorah ceased, and purity and תורה פרישׁו died." For a satirical classification of the various kinds of Pharisees, see T. J. Berakoth ix. 7, and Buxtorf, *Lex. s. r.* פ. 7. Under the same root is found the expression עשׂה המפורשׁ for the name יהוה. [Compare Wisdom xiv. 21 τὸ ἀκουνήτην ὄνομα, the incommunicable name.]

³⁶ 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 καταρώμεθα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοὺς καθ' ὁμοίωσιν Θεοῦ γεγονότας. Compare 1 Joh. iv. 21: καὶ ταύτην τὴν ἐντολὴν ἔχομεν 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 ימים 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 (*θέρμους*) 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 ἀνθρώπος, 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 (Qobeleth 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 אחר 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 ממשכה, 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

God³⁷; 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 created³⁷; greater love

as the light of the sun, and the light of the sun shall be sevenfold, כֹּאֵר שֶׁשֶׁעַת הַיּוֹמִים, as the light of THE SEVEN DAYS" (Is. xxx. 26) of the CREATION WEEK (Bereshith Rabbah III., XI., XII., XIII.; 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., אִוְתָהּ הָאוֹרָה שָׁבָה נִבְרָא הָעוֹלָם). 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 ἀνθρώπων 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."

³⁷ Compare 1 Joh. iii. 1, 2: "Ἴδере ποταπήν ἀγάπην δέδωκεν ἡμῖν ὁ πατήρ, ἵνα τέκνα Θεοῦ κληθῶμεν... ἀγαπῆτοί, νῦν τέκνα Θεοῦ ἐσμεν, καὶ οὕτω ἐφανερῶθη τί ἐσόμεθα· οἴδαμεν 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 יְהוָה: 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, and signifies, כְּמוֹ דְמוּתֵנוּ לֹא כְרֵמוּתֵנוּ, הָאִמְתִּי; 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, כִּי אָדָם בִּיקֵר וְלֹא יבִין כִּי, 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 *νοῦς*, or חֵלֶק שֶׁכִּלִּי, 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 foreseen²⁸; 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 credit²⁹; and the ledger

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

²⁸ This Mishnah touches upon two great controversies, and affirms that the opposites, PREDESTINATION and FREEWILL, MERCY and JUSTICE, are reconcilable. The word יָדָע might indeed mean only that the affairs of the world are known to God, *καὶ οὐκ ἔστι κτίσις ἀφανής 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 χρηστικότητα 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 וְיָדָע, 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.

²⁹ The words שוֹלְחָנִי וְמִנְוִי 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 n. 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 מְכַוֵּן see Levy's *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, s.r. מְכַוֵּן. 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 מְרִישׁ נִקְפֵי (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 BANQUET⁴⁰.

26. R. La'zar ben 'Azariah⁴¹ said, No Thorah, no culture;

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

⁴⁰ The enjoyment of the world to come is figuratively spoken of in Rabbinic writings as THE BANQUET. In the New Testament compare: Μακάριοι οἱ ἐς 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 98 b, 99 a). The ministering angels, who are flaming fire, are fed on the splendour of the Shekinah, מוֹי שְׂכִינָה הֵם נוֹנִין (Be-midbar 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. lxx. 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, לְשֹׁק בּוֹ" ('Abodah Zarah 3 b). Compare Targ. on Ps. civ. 26, where it is said to have been created, לְמַנְחֵךְ בֵּיהַ לְצַדִּיקִיא בְּסֵעוּרַת בֵּיהַ מְדוּרִיהַ. Of. also, πεποιημένον ἐγκαταπαίξασθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγγέλων αὐτοῦ (Job xl. 14; xli. 24), in the LXX. description of *behemoth*. [Lagarde omits בֵּיהַ.]

⁴¹ 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 Thorah, 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 discernment⁴²; no discernment, no knowledge. No meal, no Thorah; no Thorah, no meal⁴³.

27. He used to say, Whosoever wisdom is in excess of his works, to what is he like? ⁴⁴ 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 "Pithché

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 ביום כיום, 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."

⁴² 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 דרך ארץ (Joma 4 b).]

⁴³ 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 *ἀπὸν συντέλειαν καὶ ὑμῶν σοφίας.*]

⁴⁴ The Rabbinic parables, like those of the New Testament, are commonly introduced by some such formula as *Mashal* למה"ך, *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*⁴⁵; canons of astronomy and Gematria⁴⁶ are aftercourses of wisdom⁴⁷.

⁴⁵ The fifth Seder of the Mishnah contains a tract called קנין, or *nests*; and the sixth contains a tract called נרד. 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.

⁴⁶ גמטריא, a Hebraised form of *γωμετρία*, 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 נרד, go down, amounting to 200+4+6. The first Temple was to stand 410 years, for it was said (Lev. xvi. 3): "Thus (את) 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 \ast as being the mark

and representing the number (*v.l.* 616) of the beast. It "is a combination of X'=600, I'=10, and C (the older form of the *Episemon* 5')=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."]

⁴⁷ 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, פירשנות 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 7), *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 Zoma¹ said, Who is wise? He that learns from every man; for it is said, From¹ all my teachers I gat understanding (Ps. cxix. 99).

2. Who is mighty? He that subdues his nature²; for it

¹ 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 14 b; Cant. Rab. i. 4). [Ezek. xxviii. 13.] Three others entered with him: 'Aqiba, ben 'Azai, and Eliah' 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" (Bera-koth 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.

² "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 come³.

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" (Deut. 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 *יצר* was VERY GOOD, *and* so was the evil *יצר*, 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 *robs*, 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. lviii. 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).

³ 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 *אשר יר* and *לך טוב* 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 ἀσπαρκίας*. 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 (*A* reads *ha-minim*) cavilled and said, There is but one world, it was ordered to conclude with *A SECULO IN SECULOM*,

4. Who is honoured? He that honours mankind; for it is said, For them that honour me⁴ I will honour, and they that despise me shall be lightly esteemed (1 Sam. ii. 30).

5. Ben 'Azzai⁵ said, Hasten to a slight precept, and flee from transgression; for precept induces precept, and trans-

⁴ 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 (III. 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 Thorah" (Berakoth 19 b).

⁵ 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 פרייה ורבייה, 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 *chasiduth*" (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 Thorah, and from Thorah 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.

⁶ 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 transgression⁶; for the reward of precept is precept, and the reward of transgression is transgression⁷.

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 NAME⁸.

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 Ex-cursus i. 2 (ix.), cf. Sukkah 52 a, and Sanhedrin 99 b—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."

⁷ 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.

⁸ 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 100 a). 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 הכבוד* (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 *Elo-gim*. For הוה' again, especially in Qabbalistic works, we find the spellings, הוה' and הוה'. 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 ὀμῶσας ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ὀμύει ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ἐν τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ. St Paul again writes, πάντα εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ ποιείτε (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 οὐ εἰστήκει ὁ Θεός.

שם] THE NAME (iv. 7; v. 14) was used as a substitute for הוה', 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 הוה, or יתברך, 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, ל"ץ—or briefly ל"י, *beata memoria ejus*—indicates that the person whose name they follow is dead.) But קב"ה is found alone, without ה"ב, in the Machazor Vitry. Compare Job vi. 10: "for I have not concealed קב"ה, the words of the Holy One." In like manner ὁ ἅγιος is used in the book of Ecclesiasticus, καὶ ὀνομασία τοῦ ἁγίου μὴ συνεθισθῆς (xxiii. 9). On the other hand, ὁ εὐλογητός stands alone as a Name of God in Mark xiv. 61.

The pronunciation of הוה' 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"ה not *blaspheme*, but *pronounce distinctly*. So the LXX., ὀνομάζων δὲ τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου θανάτῳ θανατούσθω. The non-pronunciation of הוה', which was already an established practice when the LXX. version was

teach⁹, 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 them¹⁰ 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 (i. 14). Lo, whosoever makes profit from words of Thorah removes his life from the world.

10. R. Jose said, Whosoever honours the Thorah¹¹ 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 swearing¹²; and he that is arrogant in decision¹³ 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.

⁹ 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 על מנת 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.

¹⁰ Another reading is: "Make rr (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.

¹¹ 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."

¹² 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-choose¹⁴, and not thou.

13. R. Jochanan said, Whosoever fulfils the Thorah in poverty¹⁵, 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 thee¹⁶; and if thou labourest in the Thorah, He¹⁷ hath much reward to give unto thee.

15. R. Li'ezer ben Jacob said, He who performs one precept has gotten to himself one advocate¹⁸; 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."

¹³ "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 הוֹרֵא, 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."

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

¹⁵ "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).

¹⁶ He who is watchful [Jer. i. 12] in the study of Thorah has given to him שְׁקֵרֵינִין כְּנָרִי, and he who idly desists from Thorah study has given to him כְּנָרִי כְּשֵׁרֵינִין—as lions, bears, thieves, and robbers. See Aboth R. N. xxix. [p. 87].

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

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

commits one transgression has gotten to himself one accuser. Repentance and good works¹⁹ 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."

¹⁹ "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 בנירות: 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 בנירות, 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, יציר טוב, delivers the citadel of the body from יצירה 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 duty³⁰ 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 associate³¹; and the honour of

³⁰ Or "of Heaven," according to the usual reading. Aboth R. N. xl. reads הַיָּמִין, and illustrates the saying from the Great *Synagogue*, on the one hand, and the Generation of the *Dispersion* (Gen. xi. 8) on the other.

³¹ 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 perdita sit et patris sui, tum sua præcedit; si sua et magistri ipsius res perdita 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 כֹּסֶף מִשְׁנֵה in 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 sin²².

19. R. Shime'on said, There are three crowns: the crown of Thorah, 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 name²³ mounts above them (Eccl. vii. 1).

20. R. Nehorai said, Betake thyself to a place of Thorah, and say not that it shall come after thee; for²⁴ thine associates

phet, When I went up to the height, I saw there the Lord of all the worlds, הוהו, 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 שמתו] Thorah" (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).

²² 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, כפפ).

²³ 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. rv.] 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.]

²⁴ 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 Thorah. He must go to the Thorah, and not expect the Thorah 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 hand²⁵.

22. R. Matthiah ben Charash said, Be beforehand in saluting²⁶ every man; and be a tail to lions, and not a head to foxes²⁷.

23. R. Jacob said, This world is like a vestibule²⁸ before come and teach thee; for thou thyself must go with them and pursue after Thorah, if thou wouldest 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†.

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

²⁶ 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).

²⁷ "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."

²⁸ 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 hall²⁹.

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 come³⁰; 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 said³¹, 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.

²⁹ This word is sometimes rendered "palace"; but it is really a transliteration of *παλάτιον*.

³⁰ 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."

³¹ 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-Zaqaen. 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-Zaqaen!" He is said to have drawn up the "Heretic Benediction" (Berakoth 28 b) still found in the Jewish ritual. Gamaliel ha-Zaqaen 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 Abiyah²² 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 paper²³.

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 new²⁴.

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.

²² 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 אֲחֵר, 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*.

²³ 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. xxiii.). Learning in youth is also likened to graving upon stone; and learning in old age, to tracing characters upon the sand.

²⁴ 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

creator, and He the discerner³⁷, 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.

³⁷ "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 Ἀριδικος, 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 וותפלה וצדקה.]

p. 63, § 2 יצרו את הכובש את יצרו] Ecclus. xxi. 11 ὁ φυλάσσει 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 מצוה מצוה] Cf. καὶ χάριν ἀπὸ 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 שמים] 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) די שלימין שמיא, that the heavens do rule.

ib. ברוך כבוד] Ezek. iii. 12 מוקום, "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 א כבוד מקום עכשיו במקומו, now the glory of Maqom is in its place.

ib. השם] Cf. T. J. Makkoth iii. 32 b, & Sifra קרשים, 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 Sayings¹ the world was created. And what is learned therefrom? for could it not have been created by one

¹ 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 כֵן (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 (יְהוָה בְּדַבְּרֵי)" the heavens were created (Ps. xxxiii. 6). [Rosh ha-Shanah 32a.] In Pirque 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 וַיְהִי (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 כֵּן, וַיְהִי, and replaces it by iii. 18. In Chagigah 12a, 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 בְּהִבְרֵאם, "on their being created," but (as two words) בְּהִבְרֵאם בְּה' [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 אֶרְפָּא (ver. 22), is introduced as the speaker in Gen. i. 1: "By me, who am אֶרְפָּא, God created, &c."—where the first word is read as two, בְּיִרְפָּא (Jalqut 2). The ideal ISRAEL is also said to be the creative agent: "By the merit of Israel, who are called רֵשִׁית (Jer. ii. 3), God created the heavens and the earth." "R. Berehiah said, By the merit of Moses the world was created, &c." "From each word, דְּבָרֵי, 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 Noach², 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 בְּרֵאשִׁית, and of מַרְכָּבָה, *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 curram cum uno, nisi fuerit sapiens qui sensum intelligit. Quicunque 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 quicunque non attendit ad honorem Creatoris sui, ei melius fuisset quod non intrasset mundum" (Chagigah ii. 1).

In connexion with the subject of esoteric doctrine and mysticism it may be remarked that the name Ἐσσαῖος (cf. ii. 10; v. 16), or Essene, not improbably denotes *secret*, or *mystic*; for (1) the word אֲשַׁח, *secret*, or *silent*, would naturally be transliterated Ἐσσαῖος, in the same way that אֲשַׁח, as Jost remarks (*Gesch.* A. 207, Note), is by Josephus transliterated Ἐσση, 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 σιωπῇ καταφαίνεσθαι, and perhaps this will also explain the Greek equivalent θεωρητικοί, which Suidas gives for Ἐσσαῖοι. The use of the Hebrew word אֲשַׁח 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.

² 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 Abraham³, 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 temptations⁴ was Abraham our father tempted,

³ The ten generations are reckoned (Gen. xi. 10—26), excluding Noah. "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).

⁴ The temptations of Abraham are reckoned in more than one way. A†, referring to "Pirqe R. Eli'ezer ben Hyrkanus," 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 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 *טאמרות* 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 *טאמרות*," 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 sea⁵.

6. *Ten plagues⁶ 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 times⁷, and have not hearkened to my voice (Numb. xiv. 22).

8. Ten miracles were wrought in the Sanctuary⁸. No

⁵ 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' בשלח 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.

⁶ 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.

⁷ 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 where-with 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."

⁸ "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 Sforno).

Of miracles not specified in this place, the miracle of the scarlet thread, לשון של זהורית, 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 meat⁹; and the holy meat never stank; and an uncleanness befel not the highpriest¹⁰ on the day of the Atonement; and a fly¹¹ was not seen in the slaughterhouse; and a defect was not found in the sheaf¹²; nor in the two loaves¹²; nor in the shewbread¹²; 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, albescebat quia dicitur; Si fuerint peccata vestra sicut coccinum, sicut nix albescent.*"

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

¹⁰ 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.

¹¹ 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 טָהוֹרָה (Deut. xxxiii. 2), goes forth from the righteous, and purifies the air around. Cf. pp. 21, 65.

"Said Rab, The evil *yeger* 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 61a). 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.

¹² 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 smoke¹⁴; they stood serried, and bowed down at ease¹⁵; 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 suns¹⁶. 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 Çerefim, and the two loaves from the valley of עֵין סוּכָר," which probably denotes the neighbourhood of Συχαδρ (Joh. iv. 5). [Surh. v. 98.]

¹³ 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*, חֹם בְּיוֹם הַלְקָחוֹ.

¹⁴ 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).

¹⁵ 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.

¹⁶ 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 earth¹⁷; and *the mouth of the well*¹⁸; 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 (*maktheb*); 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.]

¹⁷ "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 'אֱלֹהֵי בְרִיאָה כִּי, 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.

¹⁸ Although the expression, "mouth of the 'אֶרֶץ," 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 'אֶרֶץ. "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 'אֶרֶץ 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 'אֶרֶץ alone, without 'פ, (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 ('אֶרֶץ); 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 rod¹⁹; and the shamir-worm²⁰; and the character; and the writing¹⁶; and the tables. And some say, the spirits²¹

Pesachim 54 a, where the ten things are: "THE WELL; and the manna; and the bow; and the כַּוֶּבֶל; and the כַּוֶּבֶל; 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.]

¹⁹ 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 (Pirqe R. Eli'ezer xl.).

²⁰ 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 כִּשְׁשֹׁן מִי כִּשְׁשֹׁן בְּרִאשִׁית. 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).

²¹ The demons, or דִּמְיוֹן, 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 נֶשְׁמַת חַיִּים (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 tongs²².

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 point²³; 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 truth²⁴. And their opposites are in the clod.

Jochanan ben Zakkai understood the talk of devils (Baba Bathra 134 a). Members of the SANHEDRIN were to be בעלי כישפים, 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.

²² The chain of secondary causes is endless. The instrument לצבת 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."

²³ 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.

²⁴ 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 transgressions²⁵. 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 tumult²⁶ 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).

²⁵ The phrase גופי עבריות, 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.

²⁶ 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 מַחֲוֹסָה" or of that and drought combined, according to the usual reading. The former reading is favoured by Aboth R. N. xxxviii.; which however has תורטין, instead of כעשרין, in this clause. Famine "of מַחֲוֹסָה" 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 tribunal²⁷; 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 land²⁸.

15. At four seasons²⁹ 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).

²⁷ The terrestrial court is not commissioned with respect to precepts whereof the reward is specified. See *Mekiltha* (ת' ע'כ"ב), 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 *συνάγγη*. 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).

²⁸ "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-shemittah*, the release (Deut. xv. 9; xxxi. 10).

²⁹ 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 seventh³⁰, on account of the seventh year fruits; and at the ending of the Feast³¹ in every year, on account of the largesses of the poor.

16. There are four characters³² in men. He that saith,

years immediately following. The *טעש עני* 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-Tracts named after them, in Seder Zera'im.

³⁰ 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).

³¹ 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 *למטה . שכחה . פאה*, 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."

³² *MIDDAN* denotes *measure*, and hence, standard, characteristic, quality, virtue, &c. The title of Aristotle's "Ethics" is rendered *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 loss³²: 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 almsgivers³⁴. He who is

the man acts with a view to recompense: he lends to those from whom he hopes to receive (Luke vi. 34); *ούχι καὶ οὐ τελῶμαι ὀφθως ποιούσω* (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 *chased*, or pious. The selfish, grasping man, who receives and makes no return, is "wicked."

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

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.

[חֲסִיד] The word *chased* 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 *חֲסִיד* 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 *חֲסִידִים*" (Kuenen).

³² A various reading interchanges the words *loss* and *gain*, and thus reverses the estimates of the first and second tempers.

³⁴ 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-goers²⁵. 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-sieve²⁶. 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).

²⁵ 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 דְפִרְקָא דְרַהוּמָא, "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.

²⁶ By פֶּה 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 פֶּה 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 thing³⁷, 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 Thamar³⁸; 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 *יין לבנון* and *תפארת ישראל*. 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 *לב אבות*, 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, *מוציא האדם מודעתו*; 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 סולת, 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*.

³⁷ 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 Heaven³⁹ will not in the end be established.

25. What gainsaying is that which is for the name of Heaven? the gainsaying of Shammai and Hillel⁴⁰. And that

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

³⁸ "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).

³⁹ Compare the distinction in Bereshith 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" (At). For the expression cf. *eis ὄνομα προφήτου... δικαίου... μαθητοῦ* (Matt. x. 41, 42), and see iv. 16. Direct mention of God is avoided by the use of $\text{D}^{\text{D}}\text{E}$, as in iv. 7 and elsewhere.

⁴⁰ 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 many⁴¹ righteous, sin prevails not over him; and whosoever makes the many to sin⁴², 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 him⁴³, for it is said, He executed the justice of the Lord and His judgments, WITH Israel (Deut. xxxiii. 21).

Jerobe'am⁴² 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 eye⁴⁴, 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.

⁴¹ 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.

⁴² This saying, in the form כָּל כִּי שָׁחַט וְהִחְיֶה כִּי, 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.)

⁴³ Moses is reckoned as cooperating with Israel in all their acts of righteousness: "consequently the עוֹלָם of the many depends upon him."

⁴⁴ The evil eye corresponds to הַקַּיִן (iv. 30): the soul, *ψυχή*, is the seat of תַּאוּבָה, 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 Gehinnom⁴⁵, 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 SUBSTANCE⁴⁵; 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 lion⁴⁶, 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).

⁴⁵ "Four *l'owal* have no portion in the world to come...Bile'am, and Doeg, and Achithophel, and Gechazi" (Sanhedrin xi. 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"י) *mons* (Sanhedrin 100 a).

⁴⁶ This saying is quoted, in connexion with 'Aqiba's עשה שבתך חול in Pesachim 112 a; but "Rashi" refers to the Pereg מקום שנהנו (iv. instead of x.), and 33, 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 שבשמים.

31. *He used to say, The bold of face to Gehinnom⁴⁷; and the shamefaced⁴⁸ 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 therein⁴⁹, and thy all is therein: and swerve not therefrom, for thou canst have no greater excellency than this.*

⁴⁷ The saying עוֹרוֹת פְּנִים 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 הוֹי עַן כִּנְסַר כו' in Aboth R. N. xli.: ע 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.

⁴⁸ "Bashfulness is a good sign." It said that a man who has a sense of shame will not readily sin, לֹא בַמַּהֲרָה, הוּא הוֹטֵא: "and he who has not בוֹשֵׁת פְּנִים, of a surety his ancestors stood not on mount Sinai." (Nedarim 20 a; Jalqut i. 301; Mekiltha, בַּחֲרֵשׁ, [Ta'anith 7 b.]

For prayers against עוֹת פְּנִים see Excursus v.

⁴⁹ 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):

דָּרָא בִּיהַ כּוֹלָא בִּיהַ דְּלֵא דָא בִּיהַ מַה בִּיהַ
דָּא קְנִי מַה חֲסַר דָּא לֹא קְנִי מַה קְנִי :

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 וְכוּלָךְ בַּה of this clause in א may be illustrated by such expressions as כָּל הָאָדָם, This is the whole of man (Ecol. xii. 13); "She is thy life (Prov. iv. 13), and (Deut. xxx. 20) the length of thy days." Compare also the obscure verse Ia. xxxviii. 16. The striking reading of the text (cf. "totus in illis")

SOLOON, 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.]

¹ After THIRTEEN YEARS the boy becomes a *bar miçvah* *vîds êrrolhês*, 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.]

² 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, מה קמ"ל דליגמרא אינש והדר, לסיבר (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*.

³ At the age of TWENTY, according to one view, he is *pursued* by "precepts and punishments." So C, 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.

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

thirteen] He is "minorennis" until *fourteen*, or "In Ecclesiasticis" until thirteen (Buxt. 1364 on נער). Cf. Shulchan 'Arukh *Orach Chayim* 199. 10. The י"ג is called איש man, for so was Levi at that age (Gen. xxxiv. 25), and in Is. xliii. 21 "This people have I formed" וזו היא גמטריא חמשה עשר (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 b₃) ed. princeps or XI. 5 ed. Zitomir 1865, Gen. Rab. 58. 1, Zohar II. 98 a. He then "comes of age" for *pursuit* or prosecution מן השמים. Abaranel in *Nachalath Aboth* gives the interpretation that the בן כ' is quick and impulsive שיהא קלי המרון והדס 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 come¹, 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-

¹ 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 not¹ 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 verse², 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,

¹ NAZUF serves as a "not(a)riqon" of נִזְמַן זָהָב בְּאֵף. An example of another species of נוטריקון occurs in Jalqut i. 298 (Mekiltha ד' בַּחֲרֵשׁ), where: "Honour thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long," is said to carry with it the alternative, וְאִם לֹא לִמְעַן יִקְצְרוּן. This latter species is overlooked by Buxtorf *s. v.*, and by his modern editor.

² 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 אַל תִּקְרֵי, "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 ἀναμύθευσος. The אַל תִּקְרֵי 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.

³ 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 salt¹ 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. cxviii. 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

¹ 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 righteousnesses, 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, 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 shouldst 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*⁵ possessions possessed the Holy One, blessed is He,

⁴ 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.

⁵ The text of \mathcal{C} reads *Four* possessions, instead of *five*. Cf. note *n*. Gen. xiv. 19 is not a good proof that Abram was a פֶּןֶן.

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 said¹, 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).

¹ 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 31 a). 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)":

יודים דברי סופרים לדברי תורה וחביבים יותר מד'ת. כי טובים דודך מין.

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" (Eccl. x. 8). In 'Abodah Zarah II. 5 it is discussed whether the reading in Cant. i. 2 is דוֹרֵיךְ or דוֹרֵיךְ, and the decision is given in favour of the former¹. 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*, וְדִאֲוֵרִיתָא, 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

[¹ 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 Hagiographa¹, as below:

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

ובקבלה הוא אומר וקרעו לבבכם ואל בנדיכם.

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 למדנו מדברי קבלה למדנו ביום עשרים וארבעה לעשתי עשר חרש הוא חרש 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 וכנבני' תקפיאני כו'.

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

ועליהם מפורש בקבלה נן נעול אחותי כלה נל נעול מעין חתום.

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

ועליהם מפורש בקבלה הלוך וקראת באוני ירושלם.

(viii) Sifra, מ' דמלוואים (Mal. ii. 5):

ומנין שאהרן רודף שלום בישראל שנאמר ויראו כל העדה כי גוע 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'.

¹ 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 SCRIPTURE¹ 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 באחיק תדבר בן אמך תתן דופי אלה עשית והחרשתי דמית היות אהיה כמוך כסבור אתה שמא כדרכי בשר ודם דרכי המקום אוכיחך ואערכה לעיניך בא ישעיה ופירש בקבלה הוי מושכי העון בחבלי השוא וכעבותות הענלה חטאה תחילתו של חטא הוא דומה לחוט של כוביא אבל סופו (להיות) כעבותות הענלה חטאה ר' אומר העושה מצוה אחת לשמה אל ישמח על אותה מצוה שלסוף נוררת מצות הרבה והעובר עבירה אחת אל ידאג עליה לסוף שנוררת עבירות הרבה שמצוה נוררת מצוה ועבירה נוררת 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. e.)

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

בא שלמה ופירש עליו בקבלה ופורץ גדר ישכנו נחש. הא למדת שכל הפורץ נדרים של חכמים לסוף פורעניות באים עליו. ר"ש בן יוחי אומר הרי הוא נפש שבעה תבוס נופת כו'.

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-

¹ 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, אֱנֹכִי and לֹא יִהְיֶה לָךְ (i.e. the first and second of the Ten Words), we heard הַנְּבוּרָה." 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 Ps. xv. 2—5, from הוֹלֵךְ תַּמִּים to וְיִשְׁחַד כּוֹ. Then Isaiah (xxxiii. 15) rests them on six. Micah (vi. 8) on three. Amos (v. 4) on the one, "seek ye מֵע." But this, says Rab Nachman bar Isaac, may mean, דְּרִשׁוּנִי בְּכֹל הַתּוֹרָה כּוֹלָה; and he prefers to rest them upon a saying in Hab. ii. 4, which assumes great prominence in the New Testament likewise (Rom. i. 17; Gal. iii. 11; Heb. x. 38), וְצַדִּיק בְּאִמּוֹנָתוֹ יֵחִיָּה, 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:

. . . מִקְרָא מִשְׁנָה וְתַלְמוּד וְאִגְרָה וְאִפִּילוּ מָה שֶׁתְּלַמֵּיד וּוְחִיק עֲחִיד לְהוֹרוֹת לְפָנָי רַבּוֹ כְּבֵר נֹאמֵי לְמִשְׁחָ מִסִּינַי.

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 דקרוקי תורה ודקרוקי סופרים ומה שהסופרים עתידין לחדש.

(iii) Berakoth 5 a :

... מאי דכתיב ואתנה לך את לחות האבן והתורה והמצוה אשר כתבתי להורותם לחות אלו עשרת הדברות תורה זה מקרא והמצוה זו משנה אשר כתבתי אלו נביאים וכתובים להורותם זה הגמרא מלמד שכולם נתנו למשה מסיני.

What means the Scripture: "And I will give thee (a) the tables of stone; (b) the Thorah; (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, פה עמנו היום, not עמנו עומד 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 Thorah 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 Thanchuma) :

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

The oral Halakoth 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 (A, fol. 4 a) where it is said (see p. 14) that the PAIRS received from the PROPHETS:

אמ' נחום הלבלר מקובל (פ) מר' מיאשא שקיבל מאבא שקיבל מן הזוונות שקיבלו מן הנביאים הלכה למשה מסיני הזורע את שדהו כו.

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 Gesetzlehre 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 זקנים* in the one passage corresponding to *מאה ועשרים זקנים* 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 *ישוע* 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 משירי כנסת הגדולה הוא היה אומר על ג' דברים העולם עומד על התורה ועל העבודה ועל גמילות חסדים ושלשתן בפקוס אחד ואשים דברי בפ"ך כו'.

תמן תנינן רבן שמעון בן גמליאל אומר על ג' דברים העולם עומד על הדין ועל האמת ועל השלום ושלשתן דבר אחד... אמר רבי מנא ושלשתן בפקוס אחד אמת ומשפט 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, שהחזירו 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 develop, 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, QOHELETH¹ 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 develop and apply its decrees, accommodating them to the varied requirements of the time.

¹ 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 Sadduceeism. The great authority for this view of the case is Aboth de-Rabbi Nathan, Chapter V. :

אנטיגנוס איש סוכו קבל משמעון הצדיק הֵהָא אל תהיו כעבדים המשמשין את הרב עֵמָּ לְקַבֵּל פֶּרֶס אֵלֶּא הָיוּ כְּעַבְדִּים הַמְּשַׁמְשִׁין אֶת הָרֵב שְׂלֵא עֵמָּ לְקַבֵּל פֶּרֶס וְיֵהִי מוֹרָא שְׁמַיִם עֲלֵיכֶם כְּדִי שִׁיְהִיָּה שְׂכַרְכֶּם כְּפֹל לְעַתִּיד לְבָא. אֲנִטְיִגְנוֹס אִישׁ סוֹכּוֹ הָיוּ לוֹ שְׁנֵי תַלְמִידִים שֶׁהָיוּ שׁוֹנִין בְּדַבְּרָיו שׁוֹנִין הָיוּ לְתַלְמִידִים וְתַלְמִידִים לְתַלְמִידֵיהֶם עֲמְדוֹ וְדַקְדְּקוֹ אַחֲרֵיהֶן וְאָמְרוּ מָה רָאוּ אֲבוֹתֵינוּ לֹמַר אֲפֶשֶׁר שִׁיעֶשֶׂה פּוֹעֵל מְלָאכָה כָּל הַיּוֹם וְלֹא יִמּוֹל שְׂכָרוֹ עֲרֵבִית אֵלֶּא אֱלוֹ יוֹדְעִין אֲבוֹתֵינוּ שִׁישׁ הָעוֹלָם הַבָּא וְיֵשׁ תַּחֲיִית הַמֵּתִים לֹא הָיוּ אוֹמְרֵי כֵךְ עֲמְדוֹ וּפְרָשׁוֹ מִן הַתּוֹרָה וּנְפָרְצוּ מֵהֶם שְׁתֵּי פְרֻצוֹת צְדוּקִין וּבֵייתוּסִין. צְדוּקִין עַל שֵׁם צְדוּק בֵּייתוּסִין עַל שֵׁם בֵּייתוֹס שֶׁהָיָה מִשְׁתַּמֵּשׁ בְּכָלִי כֶסֶף וְכָלִי זֶהְבֵּי כָּל יָמָיו לֹא הִיתָה דַעְתּוֹ נֹסֵה עֲלָיו אֵלֶּא צְדוּקִין אוֹמְרֵי מִסּוּרָה בֵּית פְּרוּשִׁין שֶׁהָן מַצְעִרִין עֲצָמָן בְּעוֹלָם הַזֶּה וּבְעוֹלָם הַבָּא אֵין לָהֶן כְּלוּמֵי :

“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

¹ For a transcript of the above from a Bodleian MS. (No. 408, fol. 72) I am indebted to Dr Neubauer. [From שְׁמִיָּה to the end (al. וְיֵהִי כֵךְ) 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 Sadduceeism &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 Sadduceeism could never have been otherwise than reactionary.

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

Geiger's theory¹ 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 צדוק, 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 ZADOK², 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

¹ *Urschrift* pp. 20 &c.

² 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 Pentateuch¹, 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 אומי' 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 נזרות 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 void². 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

¹ For illustrations, see Lightfoot's *Hor. Hebr.* on Matt. xxii. 32; Joh. iv. 25.

² See col. 2 of the commentary on ABOTH in the MS. A†. A omits בהן [In Machsor Vitry 462₁₅ ed. Hurwitz read משה for יהושע.]

³ Νόμον οὐκ ἀκαταργούμενον (= בטל) δὲ 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 QADUQIN, 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 למאוי כספריא כו'

"Ex quo Templum devastatum est¹, 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 innitendum? Patri nostro cœlesti."

b. In Sanhedrin 100 b, the BOOKS OF SADDUCEES, and the BOOK OF BEN SIRA, are placed side by side on the *Index expurgatorius*:

תנא כספרי צדוקים רב יוסף אמר בספר בן סירא נמי אסיר למיכרי :

¹ MISHNAH, Sotah IX. 15 (Surenhusius, Vol. III. p. 308). א reads תלמידי, תלמידי, חזוניה עמא, for דאיתא ע' &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**¹: 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.

¹ The Authorized Version gives an impossible construction, as is at once seen when "**LORD**" is replaced by the יהוה of the original. Read, **YHWH** IS ONE, 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*, פִּרְשָׁת צִיּוֹן, or וַיֹּאמֶר. The order of the three is accounted for in Berakoth II. 2, "Said R. Jehoshua' ben Qorchah, Why does שמע come before אִם שָׁמַע?—why but that one may RECEIVE UPON HIM THE YOKE OF THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN¹ first, and after that receive upon him the yoke of the commandments? And וְהָיָה בַיּוֹם 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 אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְהוָה אֶחָד :

which have been accounted for in various ways². 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 וכֹּרֶקֶק בְּאוֹתוֹתֶיהָ. And what is this *digduq othiyoth*? it is the disti-

¹ 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 שְׁמַיִם שְׁלֵימָה" (Berakoth 15 a).

² 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 Thorah 7 "faces," aspects, or interpretations, &c.

guishing clearly between the lameds in בכל לבבכם, or between *mem* and *mem* in ואבדתם מהרה, &c. (Debarim Rabbah II.).

2. *The DECALOGUE embodied in the SHEMA'.*

שְׁמַרְתָּ הַדְּבָרוֹת הֵן הֵן נוֹפֵא שֶׁל שְׁמַע׃

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 *MINE*.

(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, ויהוה אמת אלהים (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*]:

ברין הוה שיהו קורין עשרת הדברות בכל יום ומפני מה אין קורין אותן מפני טענת המינין שלא יהו אומ' אלו לבר' ניתנו לו למשה בסיני :

"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 12 a :

וקורין עשרת הדברות שמע והיה אם שמוע ויאמר אמת ויציב ועבודה וברכת כהנים אמר רב יהודה אמר שמואל אף בנבולין בקשו לקרות כן אלא שכבר בטלום מפני תרעומת המינין. תניא נמי הכי רבי נתן אומר בנבולין בקשו לקרות כן אלא שכבר בטלום מפני תרעומת המינין רבה בב"ח סבר למקבעינהו בסורא אמר ליה רב חסדא כבר בטלום מפני תרעומת המינין אממר 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

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 אֱלֹהֵינוּ 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 קדמא כד הוה נפיק מן פום קודשא יהי שמה מברך הי כויקין
והי כברקין והי כשלהובין דינור למפד דינור מן ימיניה ולמפד דאישא מן שמאליה
פרח ומיים באויר שמאי וחזר ומתחמי על משירתהון דישאל וחזר ומתחקק על
לוחי קיימא דהון 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 אחרן בר מני :

"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), אֵיכָה יִרְדֵּף אַחַד אֱלֹהִים. And whence is it that ha-Qadosh, blessed is He, is called One? because it is said (Deut. vi. 4), Hear, &c. אַחַד. And whence is it that the Thorah is called One? because it is said (Num. xv. 29), תּוֹרָה אַחַת יְהִיָּה לָכֶם, אֲנֹכִי (is at the) head of all the דברות, and Aleph (is at the) head of all the letters, וְאֵלֶּף רִאשׁ כָּל הַדְּבָרֹת וְאֵלֶּף רִאשׁ כָּל הָאוֹתוֹת :

(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 דְּבָרִים, and will open with thee first."

(5) Mekiltha, מִס' רִבְחָרֵשׁ ח' ; 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 ἕστιν εἷς, καὶ τοῦτον σέβεσθαι μόνον, and the Second Word *commands* μηδενὸς εἰκόνα ζωῶν 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 *elilim*, or idols proper, like "all the gods of the nations" in Psalm xcvi. 5 (p. 120).

[According to the Mekhilta, the Words on the two Tables respectively (Ex. xx. 2—12, 13—17) were or commenced :

אנכי.	לא יהיה.	לא תשא.	זכור.	כבר.
לא תרצח.	לא תנאף.	לא תגנב.	לא תענה.	לא תחמד.

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 לקח 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 שותפין באדם 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 οὐρανοῖς¹] "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 הַמֶּלֶךְ 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. כִּשְׁתֵּן שֵׁם (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 הַשֵּׁם (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 one² Lord, and HIS NAME³ one" (Zech. xiv. 9).

¹ In St Luke *l.c.* Westcott and Hort omit ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, and the petitions γεννηθῆτω κ.τ.λ., ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι κ.τ.λ.

² Or "ΥΗΝΗ shall be ONE."

³ The Qabbalists equate עשׂו to קצץ by Gematria.

“Any benediction which is without MALKUTH (kingdom—mention of God as KING) is no benediction at all” (Berakoth 40 b).

γενεθήτω 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 Zuck. p. 72 גרבר 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 God¹, to make peace in the family above, and in the family below” (Berakoth 16 b—17 a).

τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον²] 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 בייטו יום גרבר, 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 בייטו יום גרבר—which is found again in 2 Kings xxv. 30, Jer. lii. 34, Dan. i. 5—is discussed in Mekiltha כס' ויסע פ"ב (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 HA-MAQOM! 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

¹ יידי רצון מלפניך ה' אלהינו שתשים שלום בפמליא של מעלה ובפמליא של מטה.

² Or...δίδου ἡμῖν τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν (Luke xi. 3).

out to the enclosures and gather, but they were to go out to the *ἐρημοί* and gather.

A certain rate every day: Rabbi Jehoshua' said, *So that a man should gather on the day for the morrow, as on sabbath eve for sabbath.* R. El. ha-Moda'i said, *So that a man should not gather on the day for the morrow, as on sabbath eve for sabbath*, for it is said, *כִּי־בַיּוֹם בִּיּוֹמוֹ*, matter of a day in its day¹. He who created the day created its provision (פִּרְנָתוֹ). 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' 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,

לֹא נִתְּנָה תּוֹרָה לְדַרוֹשׁ אֶלָּא לְאוֹכְלֵי הַמָּן.

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 Thorah 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."

On the meaning of ἐπιούσιος.

The stricter etymological view requires that ἐπιούσιος should be derived from ἐπιέναι, rather than from ἐπιείναι. The much controverted derivation from ἐπιέναι through the medium of ἡ ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ 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 לְסִפְּתָא לְסִפְּתָא, לחמא תדירא, or לחם תמידי, 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, continually² preserve me" (Ps. xl. 12); and, at the same time, to pray that in each day so much

¹ 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 Mekilta, and Rashi, on Ex. xvi. 8, 21.

² Cf. הַיּוֹם וּבְכָל יוֹם 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 [תמיד] 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 ועת ובכל שעה ובכל," 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 unfaillingly," Heb. 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 אמינה of Matt. vi. 11 "And our bread constant of the day give us," comparing Num. iv. 7 התמיד 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 ἀμαρτίαι 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 LOOSED, NOR LOOSE THE BOUND, that I should be shamed for this αἰών, and for the αἰών to come¹ (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 תחנונים 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 אנחנו 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 נסיון לידי...לביאנן...ואל תביאננו.

"Said Rab, Never should a man bring himself into the hands of temptation; for behold David, King of Israel, brought himself into the hands

¹ Καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος δέσσης ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἔσται δεδεμένον ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς (Matt. xvi. 19). Lightfoot illustrates the common Hebrew expressions *bind*, *loose* by "a double deced" 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 ῥύσαι 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 σέσει εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπουράνιον ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.

The word ער, in the Old Testament, is applied to *things* and to *persons*. Compare : "The angel who redeemed me ער טבכל" (Gen. xlviii. 16). "And hath kept his servant ערעה" (1 Sam. xxv. 39). "Depart ערע, and do good" (Ps. xxxiv. 15). "I make peace, and create ערע" (Is. xlv. 7). "Deliver me, O Lord, ערע מאדום" (Ps. cxl. 2). "The adversary and enemy is this הרע הכן" (Esth. vii. 6). If THE EVIL be masculine, it does not at once follow that the allusion is to the 'wicked One²' 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 leaven 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 temptation³, 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).

¹ Note that τὸ πονηρόν, instead of πονηρόν, may stand for ער without the article, as in Ecol. viii. 11, 12 ער ערעו רעו τοῦ ποιῆσαι τὸ πονηρόν.

² Μη ἀντιστήναι τῷ πονηρῷ (Matt. v. 39).

³ 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 מעוי פנים ומעוות פנים מאדם רע ומפגע רע מיצר רע מחבר רע משכן רע ומשטן המשחית מדין קשה ומבעל דין קשה בין שהוא בן ברית ובין שאינו בן ברית.

2.

BERAKOTH 17 a :

ר' אלכסנדרו בתר צלותיה אמר הכי יר"ם ה' אלהינו שתעמידנו בקרן אורה ואל תעמידנו בקרן חשכה ואל ידוה לבנו ואל יחשכו עינינו איכא דאמרי הא רב המנונא מצלי לה ורבי אלכסנדרו בתר דמצלי אמר הכי רבון העולמים נלוי וידוע לפניך שרצוננו לעשות רצונך ומי מעכב שאור שבעיסה ושעבוד מלכויות יר"ם שתצילנו מידם ונשוב לעשות חקי רצונך בלבב שלם :

3.

BERAKOTH 60 b :

ויר"ם יי' אלהי שתרגילני בתורתך ודבקני במצותיך ואל תביאני לא לידי חטא ולא לידי עון ולא לידי נסיון ולא לידי בזיון וכופ את יצרי להשתעבד לך ורחקני מאדם רע ומחבר רע ודבקני ביצ"ם 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 יצרא בישא say, &c." "They shall bear thee up in their hands, lest thou stumble against (ישא בישא, 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 אלה זר 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 *διαλογισμός 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 *ῥύσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ* should include the evil *yecer*, in accordance with St James i. 13—15. The Syriac version *ܡܢ ܒܝܫܐ* *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 *יצר פוניה* or *פוניא*, and *יצר פוניה*.]

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 *ἄφες ἡμῖν τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ*.

...ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰς ἀνομίας ἡμῶν καὶ τὰς ἀδικίας καὶ τὰ παραπτώματα καὶ πλημμελείας. Μὴ λογίσῃ πᾶσαν ἁμαρτίαν δούλων σου καὶ παιδισκῶν, ἀλλὰ καθαρῆς ἡμᾶς τὸν καθαρισμόν τῆς σῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ κατεύθυνον τὰ διαβήματα ἡμῶν ἐν οὐσίᾳ καρδίας πορεύεσθαι καὶ ποιεῖν τὰ καλὰ καὶ εὐάρεστα ἐνώπιόν σου καὶ ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀρχόντων ἡμῶν. Ναί, δέσποτα, ἐπίφανον τὸ πρόσωπόν σου ἐφ' ἡμᾶς εἰς ἀγαθὰ ἐν εἰρήνῃ, εἰς τὸ σκεπασθῆναι ἡμᾶς τῇ χειρὶ σου τῇ κραταιᾷ καὶ ῥυσθῆναι ἀπὸ πάσης ἁμαρτίας τῷ βραχιόνι σου τῷ ὑψηλῷ, καὶ ῥύσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν μισούντων ἡμᾶς ἀδικῶς.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

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1.

p. 11, l. 1 תורה] קבל 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 Josephus *contra Ap.* 8 (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 δὲ, Phil. iv. 3 σύνζυγε) "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 και ὁ Πέτρος Ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ νόμος διὰ Μωϋσέως ἐβδομή-
 κοντα σοφοῖς ἀνδράσι ἀγράφως ἐδόθη παραδίδοσθαι, ἵνα τῇ διαδοχῇ πολι-
 τεύσθαι δύνηται, μετὰ δὲ τὴν Μωϋσείως ἀνάληψιν ἐγράφη ὑπὸ τινός, οὐ μὴν ὑπὸ
 Μωϋσέως· ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ τῷ νόμῳ γέγραπται Καὶ ἀπέθανεν Μωϋσῆς καὶ ἔθαψαν
 αὐτὸν ἕγγυς οἴκου Φογοῦ, καὶ οὐδεὶς οἶδεν τὴν ταφὴν αὐτοῦ ἕως τῆς σήμερον. οἷον
 τε ἦν ἀποθανόντα Μωϋσῆν γράφειν Ἀπέθανεν Μωϋσῆς; ἐπεὶ ἐν τῷ μετὰ Μωσέα
 χρόνῳ (ὡς γε ἔτη που πεντακόσια ἢ καὶ πρὸς) ἐν τῷ καθαρισθέντι ναφ̄ κειμένος
 εὑρίσκεται, καὶ μεθ' ἑτερά που πεντακόσια ἔτη φέρεται καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ναβουχοδονόσορ
 οὕτως ἐνηρησθεὶς ἀπόλλυται. καὶ ὅμως μετὰ Μωϋσῆν γραφεὶς καὶ πολλάκις
 ἀπολωλὼς τὴν τοῦ Μωϋσέως πρόγνωσιν καὶ οὗτος ἀμολόγησεν, ὅτι τὸν ἀφανισμὸν
 αὐτοῦ προειδὼς οὐκ ἔγραψεν· οἱ δὲ γράψαντες, τῷ τὸν ἀφανισμὸν μὴ προεγνω-
 κέναι ἐπ' ἀγνωσίας ἐλεγχθέντες, προφήται 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 י"ד] Syr.  φραγμός (Whish *Clavis Syr.* Matt. xxi.
 33), cf. *Ecclus.* xxviii. 24 περίφραξον, xxxvi. 25 φραγμός, *Eph.* ii. 14, 15 τὸ
 μεσότοιχον 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 וְהָרַחַק מִן הָעֵינֶק, 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 *yezer* (*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 *υἱέ, μὴ γίνου ψεύστης,*
ὁδηγεῖ γὰρ τὸ ψεῦσμα πρὸς τὴν κλοπήν, 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' ἀνασχυντίαν*
ἢ αἰσχρολογία καὶ τέλος ἀμφοῖν ἢ αἰσχρουργία (p. 506, n. 4), *ib.* IV. 21 *ἀποχὴ*
κακῶν is the way to the Gospel and to well-doing (p. 623), *Chullin* 44 b
 הרחק מעליה דרכך כו' הרחק מן הכיעור ומן הרומה לו
 (*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
 הזה בלילה (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 לִשְׁוֹן שְׁלִישִׁי, Midr. Ps. xii. כִּי כָל שִׁפְתַי כִּי, 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 אֵשׁ לִשְׁוֹן lit. *tongue of fire*.

Dr C. H. H. Wright on *Kohemoth* 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 קיים 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 πύλῳνας κ.τ.λ. undique *stantes* 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 Bæhrens *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 Iouio Herculoque principibus totius mundi caelestium rerum similitudinem requirebat, quippe isto numinis uestri numero summa omnia nituntur et gaudent: *elementa quattuor et totidem anni uices et orbis quadrifariam 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 שְׁמוֹנָה עֶשְׂרֵה 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 στύλος ἰδραῖος ἐν μέσφ αὐτῆς καὶ ὡς τείχος ἀδαμάντινον περικυκλοῦν αὐτήν. Worship

(I. 2) includes prayer, which is עבודה בלב (T. J. Berakh. iv. 1 *init.*).

מַדְרַשׁ הַמַּעֲמָד *viri stationis*. In Mishnah Ta'an. iv. (T. B. 26 a) § 64 b omits the words from *Viri stationis quatuor dies in hebdomade jejunabant* bracketed by Surenhuis (II. 379). Herm. Sim. v. 1. 1—2 *στρωμα κ.τ.λ.*, cf. Bingham's *Antiquities*.

On what stands the earth?...upon the wind &c. (p. 86). So MIDRASH 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 צַדִּיק for *the righteous is* יְסוּד עוֹלָם (Prov. x. 25). This means that the world stands not but by the merit of the righteous. Said R. Chiya bar Abba רֵאָה הַקִּב"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. Pa. lxxxix. כִּי אֶסְרֵי עוֹלָם הַסֵּד יִבְנֶה.

4.

p. 15, l. 5—6 [אשה ר. 'Aqiba teaches in Sotah 17a זכו ואישה זכו man and wife if they be deserving have the Shekhinah between them if not fire devours them, for איש and אשה together contain the Name יה, but without yod and hé they reduce to אש אש, fire devouring fire (1 Cor. vii. 9 *πυρῶσθαι*, xi. 11 *ἐν κυρίῳ*). Woman takes fire more quickly and burns more fiercely than man, for the letters of אש fire come together in אשה 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 פרייה ורבייה 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 *sanctificationes* for *sponsalia* (Buxt. 1980 on קדוּשָׁה). In respect of פרייה ורבייה, which is for this world only (p. 60, n. 40) and is a work of the evil *yeḥer* (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 יעקב עקב. Eccl. ix. 9 אשה ראה היים עם אשה 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 *ishshah* means wife or Torah, cf. p. 75, n. 33. With Aboth I. 6 כו' תורה בר' 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 (they are asked) יצר היצר (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, not 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. העבדים וגם על העבדים (Joel iii. 2).

Cf. Ab. R. N. B XLIII. (p. 120) וְגַם לְרִבּוֹת בְּנֵי אָדָם דִּיהָ וְעוֹף (Is. xl., Rom. viii.). On the judgment of "the soul of man on account 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 *Blicks* 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 ודור שינוי* 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 נוי or אשה or בור, having no tradition or Torah for it, but *knowing* כִּי כֵן הָיָה מִנְהֵנוּ כִּי בֵּרַךְ 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. Berakoth IX. 2 (13 b) *Béni soit Dieu de ne pas m'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 בֵּשַׁר (p. 30, n. 12), which stands in parallelism with בְּהֵמוֹת 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 ἦδη πρὸς τῷ τελευταίῳ γενόμενος ὕμνει τὸν αὐτοῦ δαίμονα καὶ τὴν τύχην, ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν ἄνθρωπος,

εἶτα Ἕλληνα, οὐ βάρβαρον οὐδὲ ἄλογον τῇ φύσει θηρίον γένοιτο, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ὅτι τοῖς Σωκράτους χρόνοις ἀπήνησεν ἡ 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) : Ἐρμῆπος 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 ἐνὶ Ἰουδαίῳ οὐδὲ Ἕλληνα· οὐκ ἐνὶ δοῦλῳ οὐδὲ ἐλεύθερον· οὐκ ἐν ἄρσεν καὶ θήλῃ· πάντες γὰρ ὑμεῖς εἰς ἔστε ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ.

Ep. Col. 3 11 : ὅπου οὐκ ἐνὶ Ἕλληνα καὶ Ἰουδαίῳ, περιτομῇ καὶ ἀκροβυστία, βάρβαρον, Σκύθη, δοῦλον, ἐλεύθερον· ἀλλὰ τὰ πάντα καὶ ἐν πᾶσι Χριστοῖς.

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 Callimacheus) 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 δουλεύειν 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 δλωρ φαῦλον.

5.

p. 16, l. 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"ד 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 (Eccl. v. 9). It is by Gematria הרשע ה' פומה' (Magen Elohim).

Psalm xxxvii. 32 "Wicked watcheth the righteous and seeketh to slay him." Here Sukkah 52 b *init.* makes "wicked" (lit. פומה' 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 רשע סמאל Samael ה' פומה'. 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 יצרא 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 אוחו 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 ἵνα μὴ πειράζῃ ὑμᾶς ὁ Σατανᾶς a Rabbinic name of the Tempter would be יצר הרע. See Schoettgen *Hor. Hebr.*, Nork *Rabbinische Quellen und Parallelen zu N. T. Schriftstellen* (Leipzig 1839).

6.

p. 19, l. 12 *drink and die*] Cf. Gen. ii. 17, St John xi. 26 (ed. Westcott), 1 Cor. xv. 31 καθ' ἡμέραν ἀποθνήσκω, 1 Tim. v. 6 ζῶσα τέθηκεν.

Sifrē II. § 32 ובכל נפשך (Deut. vi.), even though he take away thy soul. כי עילך הורגנו כל היום, God accounts the righteous as slain every day.

Tamid 32a on Aboth iv. 3 השמח 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, *את יחיה עצמו* (N.T. *ζωοποιεῖν*). What should a man do that he may be acceptable to the creatures? *ימני מלכו ושלמן* (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 wicked*" (see on Eccl. 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 Evv. 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) *במעייני הנובע*, where the Jalqut adds *לעתיד לבוא*.

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 *οἵτινες οὐκ οἶδασιν διὰ κόπου καὶ ἰδρωτός ἑαυτοῖς πορίζειν τὴν τροφήν, ἀλλὰ ἀρπάξουσιν κ.τ.λ.*

8.

p. 21, n. 28 *τὰς κρίσεις*] *Didaché* 16 *ἡ κρίσις τῶν ἀνθρώπων*, 1 Pet. ii. 13 —18 "Submit yourselves *πάση ἀνθρωπίνῃ κρίσει* 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 κρίσει* is *to every human creature*, sc. in authority, but *κρίσις* 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 לבדן*, be independent of *the creatures* (p. 18, n. 22). Aboth R. N. xxxvii. "There are seven *κρίσεις* one above

another &c." Buxt. 350, Midr. Ps. cii. נברא לעם, "to a people created ברִיאָה חדשה" (N.T. *new creature*).

For the Lord's sake. Shabbath 50 b A man washes his face, hands and feet every day קונו בשביל קונו for his Maker's sake (Rashi to the honour of his Maker...*He created everything* לכבודו).

9.

p. 22, n. 29 into seventy tongues] See Midr. Ps. lxxviii. (Buber p. 317) on א"י רב רב "great was the company of the preachers."

10.

p. 23, l. 15 *who is for me*] The commentary Midrash Shemuel points out that כ"י, which is by Gematria *fifty*, the number of the gates of בינה, is taken by the Zohar for a name of God in Is. xl. 26 מי ברא אלה 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 אלהים is made up of כ"י and אלה. Another Qabbalistic name of God is א"י, cf. Irenaeus I. 14. 1 ed. Mass. *ἀρούσιος* (vol. I. pp. 129, 131 ed. Harvey).

11.

p. 23, n. 33 רעלך סני 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 סנא quotes the saying attributed to Hillel כו' רעלך סני כו', *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 לא תעביר לא לחורני לך (p. 8), Heb. אשר תשנא לנפשך כו' (p. 24).

Philo (Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* VII. 7) gives it in the short oblique form ἢ τις παθεῖν ἐχθαίρει μὴ ποιεῖν αὐτόν.

These forms point to a common original כו' סנא את סנא לך כו' (with pael part. *sanē*) ὃ 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 וואהבת לרעך כמוך, lit. ἀγαπήσεις τῷ κ.τ.λ., by לנפשו כמו לנפשו, a man should love the 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.

ו" ותרחמיה לחברך דמן אנת קגי כך לא תעביר ליה אנא י" (ver. 18), cf. ותרחם ליה כוותרך דמא את קגי כך לא תעביר ליה (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 וואהבת followed by ל to, instead of את as in Deut. vi. 5, xi. 1. Detaching it from its context and explaining ליה by לחברך, we get מא את סאני לחברך כך לא תעביר לחברך (or דאמ קגי), ὁ σὺ μισεῖς σεαυτῶ οὐ ποιῆσεις τῷ πλησίον σου, cf. Ecclus. xv. 11 ἃ 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' ἀναρῆσθαι. This illustrates St Luke xix. 21 αἴρεις ὁ οὐκ ἔθικας (Bernays p. 274). On the unwritten law see also *The Apocalypse of Baruch* LVII. 2.

12.

p. 24, I. 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. 2).

13.

p. 25, I. 18 *silence*] Compare Ignat. *Magnes*. 8 ὁς ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ λόγος ἀπὸ σιγῆς προελθών, Iren. I. 8 (Mass. 14). 1 *Colorbasi* silentii. Dr M. Joel explains *colorbas* as a faulty reading of the words ברית קלא (Aram. for *Bath Qol*, Buxt. 322) in reverse order, with ת pronounced *s*.

14.

p. 27, n. 1 שמו [גדול מרבן שמו] For this saying in the 'Arukh see under אב" (Kohut I. 7 a₂), 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 הצבור מן הצבור [אל תפרוש מן הצבור] Heb. x. 25, Ta'anith 11 a, Isocr. *ad Demonium* 13 τίμα τὸ δαιμόνιον αἰεὶ 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. Pa. xvi. (Buber p. 120) *Sanctus benedictus* does not canonise His saints until they are בארץ in the earth.

p. 30, n. 10 בית השואבה (צ 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 מני מעי ותורתך בתוך מעי *ἐν μέσφ 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 שאינו פוסק and a river והולך שמתנבר והולך, that goes "from strength to strength," cf. Prov. v. 15—16 שחה 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 כו' שומץ פוסק, with reference to the Scripture יפוצו כו' (Prov. *l.c.*), lit. *to establish what is said*.

See also Midr. Ps. i. כו' הפצו כו' דבר אחר כי אם בתורת יי הפצו כו', 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. Eccus. 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, LI. 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 Pa. 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 בשירים *σάρκες* (Prov. xiv. 30). When a man hears glad tidings (בשורה), then מעין ליביה ית רנלוהי *his heart carries his feet*, or מענא רנליא *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 שמשם היו שואבים 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. lvi. 23 'והיה מדי חדש בחדשו 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 Coriolani* § 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 carum. 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 ventri 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 vellet, ipsa una membra totumque corpus ad extremam tabem venisse. inde apparuisse ventris quoque haud segne ministerium esse, nec magis ali quam alere reddentem in omnis corporis partes hunc, quo vivimus vigemusque, divisum 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 ἀνθρωπέῳ σώματι πόλις. σύνθετος γὰρ ἐκ πολλῶν μερῶν ἐστὶν ἐκάτερον, καὶ οὔτε δύναμιν ἔχει ἕκαστον τὴν αὐτὴν τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς μερῶν, οὔτε χρεῖας παρέχεται τὰ ἴσας. εἰ δὴ λάβοι τὰ μέρη τοῦ ἀνθρωπέου σώματος ἰδίαν αἰσθησὶν καθ' αὐτὰ καὶ φωνήν, ἔπειτα στάσις ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐμπέσοι καθ' ἐν γενομένοις τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι πρὸς τὴν γαστέρα μόνην, καὶ λέγοιεν οἱ μὲν πόδες, ὅτι πᾶν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐπικείται τὸ σῶμα· αἱ δὲ χεῖρες, ὅτι τὰς τέχνας ἐργάζονται καὶ τάπιτῆθια ἐκπορίζουσι καὶ μάχονται πολέμοις, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ ὠφέληματα παρέχουσιν εἰς τὸ κοινόν· οἱ δὲ ὄμμοι, ὅτι τὰ ἄχθη πάντα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς κομίζεται: [τὸ δὲ στόμα, ὅτι φθέγγεται] ἢ δὲ κεφαλὴ, ὅτι ὄρα καὶ ἀκούει καὶ τὰς ἄλλας αἰσθήσεις περιλαβούσα πᾶσας ἔχει, δι' ὧν σώζεται τὸ πᾶν· εἶτα φαίεν πρὸς τὴν γαστέρα· Σὺ δέ, ὦ χρηστή, τί τούτων ποιεῖς; ἢ τίς ἐστὶν ἡ σὴ χάρις ἡμῖν καὶ ὠφέλεια; ἀλλὰ σύ γε τοσούτον ἀπέχεις τοῦ πράττειν τι καὶ συγκατορθοῦν ἡμῖν τῶν κοινῶν χρησίμων, ὥστε καὶ ἀντιπράττεις καὶ ἐνοχλεῖς καὶ πρᾶγμα ἀφόρητον ὑπηρετεῖν ἀναγκάσεις καὶ φέρειν ἀπανταχόθεν, εἰς τὴν ἐκπλήρωσιν τῶν σεαυτῆς ἐπιθυμιῶν. φέρε, τί οὐ μεταποιούμεθα τῆς ἐλευθερίας κ.τ.λ.

With this compare *Civitas parva homo est &c.* in St Jerome on Eccl. ix. (p. 150), and the Rabbinic, Scriptural and other parallels.

17.

p. 31, n. 16 *As thou hast done*] Clem. Cor. 13 "most of all remembering the words of the Lord Jesus...*As ye do so shall it be done to you &c.*," Lev. xxiv. 19 *as he hath done so shall it be done to him*, Gen. ix. 6 שׁוֹפֵךְ דָּם כִּי, Rev. xiii. 10. Compare Wisdom xi. 16—17 δι' ὧν τις ἀμαρτάνει διὰ τούτων κολάζεται, xvi. 1 δι' ὁμοίων, Didaché 16 σωθήσονται ἰπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ καταθέματος, Psq. Rabbathi הוּא אֲנִי מְנַחֵמְכֶם מִנְחֵמְכֶם (with the parallels in ed. Friedm. 156 b) "Saith the Holy One... מְנַחֵמְכֶם...בו בְּרַבֵּר שְׁאֵנִי מְכַה אֲנִי מְרַפָּא (Jer. xxx. 17) of and by thy wounds," Zohar on Ex. יְתָרוֹ (f. 83 b₂ Lublin 1882) Torah study saves מְרַפָּא אֲרַרָא רְנִיחָנָם Heb. Auth. P. B. p. 49 n., 1 Pet. iii. 21 σώσει βάπτισμα & 2 Pet. iii. 6 ὕδατι ἀπώλετο. Note that נחש *serpent* is by Gematria משיח *Messiah*.

18.

p. 31, II. 8 *more women*] Or *Qui multiplicat uxores multiplicat veneficas*. So Orelli in *Opuscula Graecorum veterum sententiosa et moralia* II. 455 (1821), cf. Sanh. 100 b, Schechter in *J. Q. R.* III. 691 & *Studies in Judaism* no. 13, Maim. *Moreh Nebukhim* III. 37. The Christian view of woman is implicitly contained in the Old Testament.

מְרַבָּה שְׁלוֹם. Ecclus. i. 18 The fear of the Lord is the crown of wisdom, making peace and perfect health to flourish, Syr. *et multiplicans pacem ac vitam atque sanitatem*, Hebrew perhaps מְרַבָּה שְׁלוֹם וּמְרַפָּא.

19.

p. 33, II. 9 [עשית תורה Josh. xxii. 5 לעשות את המצוה ואת התורה, Neh. ix. 34 לא עשו תורתך. Sifra קרושים Lev. xx. 16 (92 d ed. Weiss 1862) compares trees שעושה את התורה and man שעושים את הפירות, cf. Lev. Rab. 27. 1 הצדיקים עושים פירות. Ecclus. xix. 20 ποιήσεις νόμου, 1 Macc. ii. 67 ποιητὰς τοῦ νόμου. The verb "do" in Hebrew is ordinarily followed by מצוה, דברי תורה, (Rom. ii. 14 τὰ τοῦ νόμου) &c. rather than by תורה. Midr. Ps. xv. (p. 119 ed. Buber) כאלו עשה כל המצות, but Pa. cxix. (p. 492) אדם עשית את התורה כל ימי חייו. Ps. xvii. (p. 132) מצוה is to תורה as a candle to the sun (Prov. vi. 23).

Although עשית התורה (Heb. N.T.) is an obvious rendering of "works of the law," it does not appear that it was a current phrase in Rabbinic. Torah is not exactly νόμος, and "faith" as well as good "works" (III. 17) was required for the fulfilment of the Torah. Compare Ecclus. xxxii. 24 R.V. He that believeth the law giveth heed to the commandment, St Mark i. 15 believe in the gospel, Sanday and Headlam on Rom. iii. 3 ἠπίστωσαν.

For the collective singular מצוה (Rom. ii. 15 τὸ ἔργον τοῦ νόμου) see III.

24 והכל לפי המעשה, Sukkah v. 4 (Surh. II. 277) מעשה ואנשי מעשה, Berak. 7a מעשה אבותיהם, Sanh. 44b מעשה זמרי. A Midrash תורה מעשה 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. (Schechter 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).

Hermas 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. 17 a) 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, Aarou 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 *μηδεις 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 אפסל אבן (Job xxviii. 3) in Gen. Rab. 89. 1 and Jalq. II. 915.

Hermas, so to say, makes the evil *Ἐπιθυμία* an Angel of Death which

delivers *eis 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 *yezer* being "the imagination of the thoughts of the *heart*," as the heart is called uncircumcised so the evil *yezer* is called uncircumcised (p. 130).

Heart and heart. See Ps. xii. 3 ולב ולב ידברו, 1 Chron. xii. 33, 38 not of *heart and heart*...but with a *perfect heart*. This idiom suggests an explanation of Prov. xxi. 8 הַפֶּסֶךְ דֶּרֶךְ אִישׁ וְדֶרֶךְ יֵשׁוּר פִּעְלוֹ 8 "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 ונקי קב has the following note נתן גדר לאיש הפסך, והוא שיש לו לפעמים דרך איש ולפעמים דרך אר, the הפסך 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 γελῶν ἀλλοτριῶν*, they laughed "with alien lips." He is, as we may say, *איש לב ולב*, a man of two hearts or *διψυχος*, 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 *διπλοκαρδῖος* 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) הרע יצר *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 *yezer* and the good *yezer*.

Prof. Margoliouth finds *yezer* and הרע יצר in other verses of Ecclus. (*Inaug. Lect. & Expositor* 1890). Thus, while in Ecclus. xvii. 6 *διαβούλιον* (Syr. *creavit*) 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 *yezer* (Syr. *نفسه*)." The Torah is said to be an antidote or condiment to the

evil *yezer* in Sukkah 52 b, Qiddush. 30 b, Baba B. 16 a, Gen. Rab. 22. 6, Aboth R. N. xvi. Note that כּבֹּשׁ has the sense *condire* (Buxt. 1010). We may assume that 'יצר הרע כּו' was the original of Eccles. xxxvii. 3 ὁ ποιητὴρ ἐπιθυμημα [*imagination...evil* Gen. vi., viii.] πόθεν ἐνεκλιόσθης; Syr. *Inimicus et sceleratus quorsum creati sunt?*, and that Syr. read יצר for error for יצר'. Syr. and Vulg. suggest ἐκτίσθης [om. ἐν after πόθεν] for ἐκλιόσθης. Note that "enemy" is a name of יצר הרע, comparing St Paul's ἔχθρα and ἔσχατος ἐχθρός, 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 ποιητὴς is sometimes interpreted הרע יצר. 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 *yezer* comes to a man at the first as a traveller, then becomes a guest (ארחן ξένος), and at last the man, comm. 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 κρυπτός τῆς καρδίας ἄνθρωπος (1 Pet. iii. 4) correspond to the good *yezer*, whereas in the Talmud the evil *yezer* is called κρυπτός (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 *yezer* 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 *yezer 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 καιρὸς εὐπρόσδεκτος let us pray for pardon for the spirit (יצרא) of transgression. If thou kill him (or that נברא man), the world perisheth (comm. because there would be no increasing and multiplying). For *Variae Lectiones* and parallels see Rabbinovicz ס"ד 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 *yezer* 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...ἐνδύσασ), like the "new man" (Eph. iv. 24), with which it is thus connected. Qiddush. 81 b יצר אלבשה her *yezer* 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, exteriore homine, qui de matris alvo natus est, qui nescit recedere a vitio, 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 laetabuntur in eo, id est, in priore. Hos duos homines et Apostolus contestatur (2 Thesa. 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 contexitur. Cum autem venerit adversus eam rex magnus diabolus, et quaesierit locum per quem possit irrumpere, 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 $\xi\sigma\omega$ $\alpha\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\varsigma$ is the good יֵצֶר , 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_{16} , 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 פְּרִי־הַטָּמֵא *fem.* followed by יֵצֶר *masc.* it is inferred that the evil *yezer* 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 $\text{פְּרִישֵׁי אֲהַבָּה}$, a Pharisee of the highest class. He made the evil *yezer* good, and made a covenant with him. His heart was נֶאֱמָן לְפָנָיו (Neh. ix. 8), whereas David's was לֵב־לֵב within him (Psalm cix. 22). See T. J. Berakh. ix. 7 (14 b).

The two Treasures. In Matt. xii. 35 (Luke vi. 45) δ $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\acute{o}\varsigma$ $\alpha\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\varsigma$ $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\acute{o}\upsilon$ $\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\upsilon\rho\acute{o}\upsilon$ [Deut. xxviii. 12] $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\beta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\epsilon\iota$ $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\acute{\alpha}$, $\kappa\alpha\iota$ δ $\pi\omicron\nu\eta\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ $\alpha\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\varsigma$ $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\pi\omicron\nu\eta\rho\acute{o}\upsilon$ $\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\upsilon\rho\acute{o}\upsilon$ $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\beta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\epsilon\iota$ $\pi\omicron\nu\eta\rho\acute{\alpha}$, the evil יֵצֶר may have been suggested by the evil יֵצֶר , cf. *Test. Aser* 1 δ $\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\upsilon\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\delta\iota\alpha\beta\acute{o}\lambda\omicron\upsilon$, al. $\delta\iota\alpha\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\iota\omicron\nu$ (*yezer*). 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 (יֵצֶר הַטוֹב and יֵצֶר הָרַע)." Comparing the text with Deut. xxxi. 21 For I know יָצְרוּ אֶת , and Ps. ciii. 14 For He knoweth יָצְרָנוּ (Aboth R. N. xvi. *sub fin.*), we may suppose that "Enoch" refers as the note suggests to יֵצֶר and יֵצֶה .

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 (הַמְדַּבְּרִים) over their *yezer*," Midr. Ps. ix. (Buber p. 80) & Aboth iv. 2 n. טוֹב טוֹב includes יֵצֶה , 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 נִנְעַבּוּ , cf. $\kappa\alpha\iota$ δ $\pi\omicron\nu\eta\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ $\omicron\upsilon\chi$ $\acute{\alpha}\pi\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ (1 Joh. v. 18), and see Aboth R. N. ed. Schechter pp. 30, 70, 158 &c.

The Speaker's Commentary on Ecclesiasticus. Eccclus. xv. 14—15 "He himself made man from the beginning, and left him in the hands of his COUNSEL," $\delta\iota\alpha\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\iota\omicron\nu$ for Heb. יָצֵר (Edersheim). Mr Schechter compares MIDRASH HA-GADOL on Gen. iv. 6—7 (col. 107):

ואם לא תיטיב לפתח המאת רבין. הרי את מסור בידו של יצר
הרע שהוא רובץ על הפתח.

Hence and from the Syriac of Ecclus. *l.c.* יצרהוֹן ביד וּאִשְׁלַם אֲנוֹן בִּיד יצרהוֹן 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 בִּידוֹ נִמְסָרִים. 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 *אמת* a rising (Lev. xiv. 56), that is leprosy; and adds that the verse Gen. iv. 7 is one of five of doubtful punctuation, for *אמת* may also be taken with תִּיטִיב.

Supposing it to mean *אמת* פִּנִים in contrast with פִּנִיךְ, a possible construction gives the sense, Sin coucheth [Gen. xlix. 9 *he couched as a lion*] at the door, watching *אם תיטיב* *אמת* *ואם לא* whether thou wilt or wilt not (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 ὀρπύμενος* ... *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. אִלְץ יצרה. Cf. Aboth iv. 2 הַכּוֹבֵשׁ אֶת 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 יצרה. See Eccl. vii. 14, Ecclus. xxxiii. 14—15, Chagigah 15 a, Midrash Temurah in Jellinek *Bet ha-Midrash* i. 108 ובשתוף שבתים וּבְשֵׁתוֹף שָׁבַלְיִן thereto. Baba B. 16 a He created the Evil Impulse and Torah as שָׁבַלְיִן thereto.

On Ecclus. xxi. 27 *When the ungodly curseth Satan* see Note 20.

Ecclus. xxxvii. 3 O WICKED IMAGINATION. Syr. read יצר הרע by mistake for יצר הרע (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* canst thou have a greater enemy than this?

p. 40, n. 45 [מִיָּן] See Levy, Kohut. Benjamin Musafia makes *הַמִּיַּנִּים* an abbreviation of *הַמִּאֲמִינִים* the believers (N.T. πιστεύοντες, πιστοί). This suggests that מִיָּן might be rendered *misbeliever*, cf. *miscreant*.

In Rosh ha-Shan. 17 a the "Minim und Denuncianten" [Buxt. 1234]

are condemned for ever מַפְנֵי שִׁפְשָׁמוּ יְדֵיהֶם בּוֹבּוּל because they stretched forth their hands against the Temple: their judgment is to outlast Gehinnom (Midr. Ps. xlix. לוּ מוֹבּוּל, 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 Irenaeus 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) וְאַתָּה צָרִיךְ לִבְנוֹתָהּ כִּי. 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, 71 c, that the Torah cannot be adequately translated אֱלֵא יוּנִיחַ except into Greek. The Gemara continues בִּידָא אַחַד בּוֹרַנְנֵי אַחַד בִּידָא לְהֵם אַרְמִית מִתּוּךְ יוּנִיחַ 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 (A 105 b, ed. Lowe קִיטָם, Surh. מִיטָוּם). 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 קָבָא פִּלּוֹסֹפָא הוּוּא פִּלּוֹסֹפָא for הוּוּא פִּלּוֹסֹפָא in Shabbath 116a is conjecturally explained by "a certain אֲפִסְקָבָא ἐπίσκοπος" in Mr Lowe's *Fragment of T. B.* p. 68 b.

24.

p. 43, III. 1 [whence...whither] Clem. *Cor.* 38 ἐκ ποίας ἄλλης ἐγενήθημεν κ.τ.λ., Mekhilta *Shir.* נִוְרָא תְהִלּוֹת (Fr. 42 a), הקב"ה צר צורה במים כו', Heracliti Ephes. *Reliq.* 68 (ed. Bywater 1877) ἐξ ὕδατος δὲ ψυχῆ. Sotah 5 a makes בָּסָר (or בִּישָׁר) אַ נֹוֹטְרִיקוֹן of בּוּשָׁה, סְרוּחָה (or שְׂאוּל) רִימָה, (שְׂאוּל) רִימָה, see Buxt. 329 & יִצְחָק פָּחַד. Midr. Ps. xvi. 10 שְׂלָא יִמַם בִּישְׂרוֹ כו' cf. Acts II. 29—31.

25.

p. 44, n. 8 [מצפון] Midr. *Elleh ha-Debarim Zuta* (p. 22 ed. Buber) מֵלֶךְ מְשִׁיחַ שְׁנֵתוֹן בְּצָפוֹן 9. 6 Lev. Rab. Messiah is to come from the north, Lev. Rab. 9. 6

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. Pa. xix. יום ליום (Buber p. 166), Tanchuma לוי תשא לוי (L. 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 מויו השכינה, or he ate bread of Torah and drank water of Torah (Prov. ix. 5, Is. lv. 1). See Buber's Tanchuma לוי תשא 60 a, Buxt. 1861 on ששם.

28.

p. 48, n. 19 *punctuation*] RISH, that is R. Jacob Shimshoni or ben Shimshon, 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] בנין המודר &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 פיסוק 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 פסקי 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 אֵן רִמָּה 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. טַּבְּוֹת וְשֵׁשׁ on Gen. iv. 7 שָׁמַת, Ex. xxv. 33 מִשְׁוֹקְרִים, Ex. xvii. 9 מַחֲרָה, Gen. xlix. 7 אֲרֵרֶךְ, 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 עֹמֵלֵק 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. Shocher Tob (Buber p. 19) & R. D. Qimchi (p. 7 ed. Schiller-Szinessy) on Ps. i. "his leaf shall not wither," even the שִׁירָה 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 ἀκατακάλυπτοί τῆ κεφαλῆ κ.τ.λ. (cf. p. 82)] For parallels and contrasts see J. J. Wetstenii *Nov. Test. Graecum*. 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 *Quaest. Rom.* 14 διὰ τί τοὺς γονεῖς ἐκκομίζουσιν οἱ μὲν υἱοὶ συγκαλυμμένοι αἱ δὲ θυγατέρες γυμναῖς ταῖς κεφαλαῖς καὶ ταῖς κομαῖς λελυμένας; "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 Schechter *The Quotations from Ecclesiasticus in Rabbinic Literature* no. 19 הוֹרֵר אֱלֹהִים בְּנֵי אָדָם וְהוֹרֵר בְּנֵי אָדָם כְּסוּתוֹ *sons of men are God's glory, a son of man's is his raiment*, cf. Ps. xxix. 2 בְּהוֹרֵר קִרְיָהּ.

1 Cor. xi. 10 ἐξουσία. 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 *ὅσους 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, *SEGRI* from Dan. vi. 22 *סגר*. Note that one of the three

names of *רוח פסקוניית* (comm. *which is Gabriel*) in Sanhed. 44 b (cf. Jalq. II. 353 *init.*) is *סינרון* from *סנר* (Kohut *A. C.* vi. 22). Brüll *Jahrbücher für Jüdische Geschichte* I. 158 (1874) art. *Fremdsprachliche Wörter in Talm. u. Midr.* identifies *סינרון* with *Σκίρων* (or *Σκείρων*), and refers on *רוח פסקוניית* 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. *JEHOVAH* 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 *יה*, *י*, *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 *יה*, and thence *י* 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 *חַיִּי*; but ordinarily *ai* has passed into *ē*, and we get the form *חַיִּי*." 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 *ל"ה*, but as the *ה* is merely a vowel letter, I prefer speaking of

them as verbs ל"ו or ל"י, according to circumstances. Verbs ל"ה, strictly so called, are such as נָבִיא, which pertain to a quite different class, *verba tertiæ gutturalis*. A ל"ה verb not strictly so called is שָׁחָה, "Hithpal. הִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה (tertia radicali geminata...) fut. apoc. יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה, in pausa יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה" (Gesen. *Thesaur.*). Accordingly we may say that the root in question is properly not שָׁחָה but שָׁחַו, and that in "fut. apoc. יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה" it becomes itself again, after conversion to a pseudo ל"ה form and expansion therefrom to שְׁתַּחֲוֶה in שְׁתַּחֲוֶה. In any case the quadriliteral שְׁתַּחֲוֶה must have grown out of some more elementary form of the root. Hence the comparison of יהוה and יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה suggests that יהוה 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 Graecam corripitur, ut puta Jaoth [Jaoh], 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 'ΕΓΩ εἰμι τὸ Ἄλφα καὶ τὸ Ὠ, λέγει Κύριος, ὁ θεός, ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος, ὁ ΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ.

The verse cited quotes from Ex. iii. 14 'ΕΓΩ 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 יהוה יהוה יהוה, ἦν ὡν 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 אבות (Rashi ופירושו) (שם בן ד') 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' בחודש, ואמרי לה פעם א' בשבת וא"ל פעם א' בשבוע וא"ל פעם א' בשבוע וא"ל פעם א' בשבוע וא"ל פעם א' בשבוע, 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. Mosheh of Cordovero makes a suggestion which is quoted with approval in *Topsofth Yom Tob* on *Joma* VI. 2 שכתב כמו הרבר כמז שכתב 2 החכם מה"ד משה קרדואר"ו בסוף עבודת יום הכפירים שכל יום היו מזכירין הכהנים אותו בזכות הכהנים בנקוד אל"ף דל"ת דהיינו וכו' וביס זה היה הכהנים בנקוד מול"ס סגול"ל קמ"ץ סגול"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 (Surh. III. 264) on the sacerdotal blessing Num. vi. 24—26 it is said that "In Sanctuario *τετραγράμματος* efferebatur secundum literas: sed in Provinciis *substituēbatur cognomen*"; but it is not said that "incurvabant se et adorabant et in facies decumbabant" 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. Mosheh 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. Mosheh gives for it is YōHĕWĀHĕ, an abbreviation of the complete spelling of the Name. Compare the equation of יה, that is ה"י, 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 שם הוי"ה *nomen essentialis*, signifying that יהוה is יהוה, 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 ד' 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 יהוה 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 דמות תבניתו בצלם בצלמו את האדם בצלמו בנין עדי עד "לו ממנו בנין עדי עד" in which the expression בנין *building* is traditionally interpreted "the female," with reference to Gen. ii. 22 ויבן את הצלע כו' and the rib *built* he into woman, cf. Berakh. 61 אוצר. Compare also Clem. *Hom.* XIX. 23 ἵνα τῷ ἐσομένῳ ἄρρην αἰωνίως ἢ θήλεια τίκτη δικαίους 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 ורש upon והתקין לו כו' 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 οἰκοδομή 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* (Maughey 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. מן סקוים, 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* ויהא ארץ (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 Yeçirah* p. 16 (מקיצו נרדמים Berl. 1885) that God 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 ירחף, Matt. iii. 16 ὡσεὶ περιστερᾶν] over it.

Compare Clem. Alex. *Ex Script. Proph. Ecl.* VII. (Potter p. 990) αὐτίκα δὲ 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 כו' *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. ארום אהלי ארום David saw by the Holy Spirit that Edom תאם 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) כי טראש 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 פטרא *petra* underneath, כן אמי בונה *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 פטרא.

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. εἴτε ἀγαθὸν εἴτε φάυλον (Eccl. xii. 14 כל נעלם כו'). See also Note 32.

36.

p. 60, n. 40 *the banquet*] Ps. xvi. 15 χορτασθήσομαι ἐν τῷ ὀφθῆναι τὴν δόξαν σου, Ecclus. xxiv. 21 οἱ ἐσθιοντές 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*, MISHNAH 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 (נופח תורה), T. J. Ber. I. 3 c₃₀ (*The Decalogue* שבעת של שמע, Buxt. 405, Kohut II. 334.

The Rabbinic expression *fly in the air with nothing to rest upon* might have suggested ἀέρα κενεμβατεύων (*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 φραγμός τοῦ ἀμπελώνος, continues, καὶ ἡ μὲν ὡς ἄρτος ἀναγκαία πρὸς τὸ ζῆν, ἡ κατὰ τὴν πίστιν ἀληθεία· ἡ προπαιδεία δὲ προσοψήματι ἔοικεν καὶ τραγήματι. Δείπνον δὲ λήγοντος γλυκὺ τρωγάλιον, κατὰ τὸν Θηβαῖον Πίνδαρον. On פּרפּראות 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. Teremoth v. 3 (43 c₄₇) 'מטרי' until we learned כמה יהא בעיטה 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. Genebah* VIII. 1 with Maggid Mishnah, Tosafoth Yomtob.

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 חכמת יונית in Sotah 49 b see Dr D. H. 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. Wbch* I. 479 (1876) the word הנרסה for Mathematik and Algebra.

Rashi explains Gematria by נוטריקון (p. 100, n. 1) and קטנין אותיות 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*: אתבש." He then explains אשך as בבל disguised by Athbash.

In Jer. li. 1 קמי לב is identified with כשדים by Athbash. See the ל"ב מרות of י"י ל"י *Mid.* 29.

On אפרא by Athbash for תונת (Prov. x. 1) see Kohut i. 59.

According to Rab in Sanhedrin 22a the words מנא מנא תקל ופרסין (Dan. v. 25) were written בנימטריא (that is in the Athbash cipher) מטבחהמ ארך ימת ארך פונחמט

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 Eccl. ii. 22 לאדם כי מה הוה לאדם."

א"ל ב"ם. In this cipher the letters from א to כ 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 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 ך	י כ ל מ נ	א ב נ ד ה
ם פ ן ם	צ פ ע ם	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 מהרה. 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 בו מפנק מנוער עבדו כי

IHT, according to the *Epistle of Barnabas*, it hints at Jesus and the Cross. See also Mr P. H. Mason's work *SHEMETS DAVAR A Rabbinic Reading-Book* (Camb. 1880), in which interesting examples of Gematria are given and explained.

פרפראות לחכמה. For works so named see Ben Jacob's *Oçar ha-Sefarim* (p. 496, 1880).

In the periodical *Beth Talmud* (ed. Isaac H. Weiss, Wien) vol. II. 169 (1882) art. נתיבות האנרה by מא"ש (Friedmann) reference is made to a commentary on the Torah (abbreviated from that of Nachmanides) by R. Jacob baal ha-Turim (*Oçar* pp. 479, 547) containing המיוון שלפני המיוון, 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) בשימוש כייל כללים הגמטריאות. 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 תורה בלי תורה אלפים שנה בלי תורה (1169). (3) ורוח אלהים מרחפת (1034) is said to amount to ורוח 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 ויה for וו or reading ויה 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) בכ"ד, א"י"ק, &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 Yeçirah*) 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. (Zitmir 1862).

38.

p. 63, n. 1 *Paradise*] The word פֶּרֶדִים (2 Cor. xii. 4 *παράδεισος*) was made an acrostic נוטריקון of the methods of interpretation פֶּרֶדִים, פֶּרֶדִים, פֶּרֶדִים, פֶּרֶדִים.

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 מים (T. J. Chag. II. 1, 77 c s.f.), as if formed from preexistent מים. 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 לכנר 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 *ahp* and there remains אור *light* (Zohar *l.c.*). In *Midr. Shocheh 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, u. 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 נדול יצרו הגדול *the greater a man the greater his yecer*.

A proof of God's might is יצרו שכובש יצרו, see Joma 69 b with comm. and *Variæ Lectiones* (ד"ר 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* (מב 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 *דברי אבות* "blessed is (instead of *be*) He," and is thus distinguished from clearly optative forms of the ascription. Cf. Rom. i. 25 ὅς 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 'הק' 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 BERAKHOTH T. B. 34 a & b, T. J. I. 8 (3 c & d. Schwab p. 21, cf. iv. 1 p. 72), Tosefta ed. Zuckerman p. 1, Tur *Orach Chayim* §§ 113, 121. For the benedictions called אַבּוֹת and הוֹרְאָה or פּוֹרִים (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) כּוֹרֵעַ וּפּוֹסֵעַ כּוֹרֵעַ i.e. he takes three steps backwards with one כּוֹרֵעַ, looks to his right at the words כּוֹרֵעַ and to his left at the words כּוֹרֵעַ כּוֹרֵעַ while still כּוֹרֵעַ, and ends with an obeisance 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^s or adorable mystery of the patriarchs is made fit for pronunciation and expression, when it becometh the name of the Lord's Christ."

^s 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. (Vindobonæ 1891):

δὴ τότε καὶ μεγάλοιο θεοῦ πάϊς ἀνθρώποισιν
ἤξει σαρκόφορος θνητοῖς ὁμοιούμενος ἐν γῆ·
τέσσαρα φωνήεντα φέρει, δὴ ἄφωνα δ' ἐν αὐτῷ
δισσὸν ἐν ἀγγέλλουτ'· ἀριθμὸν δ' ὄλον ἐξονομήσω·
ὀκτὼ 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 (888) 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 Bartolucci *Bibliotheca Magna Rabbinnica*. On the name JESUS and the TETRAGRAMMATON see

Pars IV. pp. 420, 533 &c. The Name יהוה of three different letters with one repeated adumbrates the Trinity and the Incarnation: Psalm xcvi. 12 וכל־אשר־בו יעלו שרי וכל־אשר־בו יהוה יהוה: Shekhinah by an inclusive gematric reckoning, i.e. with one counted in for the whole word, amounts to 386, which is the number of the name ישוע Jesu.

The word בראשית expanded acrostically reveals doctrines of Christianity, and its letters make באתי רש *Ego veni pauper*.

Jewish cabalists have found the Name in Psalm xcvi. 11 and 1 Chron. xvi. 31—32, and have read Gen. i. 9 יקוו הכים כו' as hinting cryptically at יהוה אחר. The opening words ועמוד החכמות ויסוד היסודות of Rambam's *Yad ha-Chazakah* are an acrostic of יהוה.

There are Talmudic allusions to the use of Jesus as a name of power for healing, as in T. J. Abodah Zarah III. 40 *d*₄₂ אתא חד ולחש ליה בשמיה אמתא חר פנדרא רישו בן פנדרא. It has been suggested that Pandera is an Aramaic form for Pantheros, an anagram of the Greek *Parthenos* virgin.

THE INCARNATION *A Study of Philippians* ii. 5—11. See under this title Dr Gifford's thorough discussion of the passage Phil. ii. 5—11 in the *Expositor* (Sept. & Oct. 1896).* With "Christ Jesus...emptied (*ἐκένωσεν*) himself, taking the form of a servant...he humbled himself, becoming obedient *even* unto death, yea, the death of the cross. Wherefore also God highly exalted (*ὑπερέψωσεν*) him," we may compare Isaiah lii. 13, liii. 12 "Behold, my servant...shall be exalted and lifted up, and shall be very high...Therefore will I divide him a portion with the great, and he shall divide the spoil with the strong; because he poured out his soul unto death."

With *ἐαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν...μέχρι θανάτου* compare Is. liii. 12 הערה למות נפשו he emptied out his soul to death. Rashi on Isaiah refers to Gen. xxiv. 20 ונתע' כרה *καὶ ἐξένωσε τῆν ὑδρίαν*, and on ונתע' in the Torah *l. c.* (p. 41 ed. Berliner, Berlin 1866) he writes that this usage is common in the Mishnah, as מכלי אל כלי he who empties from vessel to vessel, and is found in Isaiah *l. c.* and Psalm cxli. 8 אל חש נפשי 8 R.V. marg. *pour thou not out my life*, Field's *Origenis Hexaplorum Quae Supersunt A. ἢ ἐκκενώσῃς, Σ. Θ. μὴ ἀποκενώσῃς*.

With *διὸ καὶ ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸν ὑπερέψωσεν* compare Is. lii. 13 ירום ונשא ונבהל II. 571 מן אתה הר הגדול with Dr E. G. King's notes in *The Yalkut on Zechariah* pp. 17—18 (Camb. 1882), and ISAIAH *LIII. according to the Jewish Interpreters* ed. Neubauer & Driver with Intr. by Pusey (Oxford 1877).

The exaltation of the Son of God is expressed realistically in the *Shepherd of Hermas* by the figure of *ἀνὴρ τις ὑψηλὸς τῷ μεγέθει ὡς τε τὸν πύργον ὑπερέχειν* a man taller than the tower, cf. *Evang. Pet. μέχρι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κ.τ.λ.* On the sons of Anak see Rashi & שפתי חכמים on Num. xiii. 33, Sotah 34 b, Num. Rab. 16. 11, and cf. Midr. Ps. xxii. on ומקרני רמים.

* Enlarged and published separately, 1897.

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 זיווגו של איש אלה 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 ער עכשיו *ἔως ἄπρι* (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 הצייר 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 and אמה 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 הכמה 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 42buchstabige

and נפלאות is naught but rains (Job v. 9—10). Said R. Tanchum bar Chiyah גְּדוּלָה יִרְדַּת נִשְׁמִים מִמֶּתַן 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 וַנְּתַתִּי מִצַּר אֶרְצְכֶם (Deut. xi. 14) it is a blessing which includes all others, for it is said וַיִּתְרוּן אֶרֶץ בְּכָל הָיָא כו' (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 גֵּיאַת in his מֵאָה שְׁעִים II. p. 106 (Fürth 1861).

A meaning of פָּנַע 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 נִפְלַע 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).

48.

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 genannt...Es scheint mir nun dasz dieses Dorf Aschar kein anderes ist als das ehemalige Sechu, und der sogenannte Jakobsbrunnen nicht weit davon die grosze Grube ist, woselbst Saul [1 Sam. xix. 22 בְּשֹׁכוֹ בֹּר הַגְּדוֹל אֲשֶׁר בְּשֹׁכוֹ] 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 אֹכְרוֹת שְׁבַעֲלָ (Gen. xlix. 25), and Mr Schechter supports this conjecture by a reading אֲסָכְרוֹת 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 *Mattanoth Kehunnah* (cf. יִפְהָ תֵּאֵר) on Gen. R. l.c. that some place הַרְרִים בְּנוֹנָה must be meant, and Schwarz remarks in his *Recension über מִלִּין עַד מִלִּין 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 *בבצל* (*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 כושית* in T. J. 'Abodah Zarah v. 4, 44 d₃₁.

It has also been suggested that *Ἰσκαριώτης* may be from *אסכרוית* (*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 Surh. l.c.* p. 83 n.

49.

p. 84, v. 9 *the well*] Omit *פ* 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 9 a* [not fol. 19. 1 as Schoettgen i. 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, *וּמֵן וְעֵץ וְמֵן* 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* *הֲנִי עֹמֵד לְפָנֶיךָ כֹּה*, on which see *Mekhilta* (*Fr. 52 b*) 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 *אין מקרא יוצא מיד פשוטו* *Scriptura non egreditur ex simplicitate sua, id est, simplici & literali sensu* (*Buxt. 1861*), cf. *Shabbath 63 a, Jebamoth 11 b & 24 a, Bacher Babl. Amoräer* p. 113, *Dobschütz Die Einfache Bibleexegese der Tannaim* p. 14 (1893).

50.

p. 92, v. 21 *sponge*] *Dr Swete on the Gospel of Peter* p. 8₃ (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* *ἐξήγησαο ὑμᾶς τοῦ συνάσαι 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. xliii. 27 *καὶ συντέλεια λόγων* *Τὸ πᾶν ἐστὶν αὐτός* [1 Cor. xv. 28 *ἵνα ἢ 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 כשמה, with the sense that she is not manifest to the many who do not seek her for her own sake, cf. Ecclus. xxxv. 5 *χαρὶν 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."

55.

p. 102, vi. 7 *Great is Torah*] Sayings about Wisdom are applied to the Torah here and elsewhere. Bereshith Rabbah begins with Prov. viii. 30 יום וואהיה אצלו אמון ואהיה שעשועים יום יום "Then I was by him, as one brought up *with him* (R.V. as a master workman): and I was daily *his* delight, rejoicing always before him," and it explains אמון by the words רבתא, מוצנע, מכוסה, פרגוג. Torah is here identified with Wisdom, and is also made to say with reference to Prov. *l.c.* "I was *אומנתו* כלי הקב"ה," the instrument [Aboth iii. 23] by which He created the world. "He looked into the Torah and created the world," אמון being read as אומן. The Torah says בראשית ברא by *reshith*, which is Torah, He created.

So in Zohar תרומה פר' (ii. 161 a Lublin) it is said אל תקרי אמון אלא אמן read not *amon* but *omen*, that is *τεχμήτης*. The אורייתא or Torah was not the actual creator but only אמון אצלו. She was "by Him" ages before the creation, for יום יום means 2000 years (Ps. xc. 4). He looked at the word שמים in the Torah and created the heavens, at the word אור and said "Let there be light," and so on. Compare Wisdom vii. 22 R.V. "For she that is the artificer of all things taught me, *even* wisdom," and in the New Testament 1 Cor. i. 24 "Christ...the wisdom of God," Heb. i. 2 "through whom also he made the worlds."

As אמון *παυδαγωγός* (Buxt. 1698) is made to be a meaning of אמון, which is Wisdom, who is the Torah, so St Paul writes "the law was our *παυδαγωγός* to bring us unto Christ" (Gal. iii. 24).

Wisdom is רבתא *great*, like the Torah, and is מכוסה *covered*, and מוצנע, cf. Buxt. 1928 on צנע *Abscondere, Occultare, ut ea quae reponuntur in thesaurum & asservantur quasi abscondita*, and see the commentaries on Gen. Rab. *l.c.* Thus the Midrash makes Wisdom *ἀποκεκρυμμένη...πρὸ ὧν αἰώνας* (1 Cor. ii. 7). If we may regard אמון in the sense of שמים (Zohar אורייתא iii. 65 b, Brody 1873) as an *δνομα* of Wisdom, comparing Ex. xxxiv. 14 כי יהוה קנא שמו, we may say that she "is according to her name...not manifest" (Ecclus. vi. 22).

56.

p. 105 תורה] Meanings of ירה are "*iecit...sortes, sagittas, manum emisit...inde monstravit indicavit*" (Gesenius). Hence Torah was "pointing out what was to be done in some special case," or it was a response obtained by casting lots. See Mr Montefiore's *Hibbert Lectures* p. 68 n. (1892).

The Pentateuch, which contained several *torahs* or νόμοι (Lev. vi.—xv., Num. v. vi. xix.), was called the Torah *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, but Prophets and Hagiographa were often grouped with it under that name, and the study of Torah might include anything in its religious aspect, for "everything is therein."

According to Rish (Heb. ר"י), that is R. Jacob ben Shimshon, the author of the commentary on Aboth in "Machsor Vitry," Moses received

the whole Torah. If Rabbis decide differently, how is one to learn Torah? All the words of the wise were given from one shepherd (Eccl. 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*, *diquqim* 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" (Eccl. 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, Eccl. i. 9. § 2 on טה 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. ר"ה אתמורה, Pesiqta Rabbathi ריש פ"ה (Friedm. 14 a), Tanchuma ג' נח ה', וירא ה' תשא לר' (11 a, 25 a, 127 a Warsaw 1879), Buber Tanch. ח כ' 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).

For Qabalah 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 b₁₆), Mass. Soferim 18. 3. Tosefta Yoma & Niddah (Zuck. pp. 183₂₄, 186₁₇, 645). Gen. Rab. 7. 2, Eccl. Rab. vii. 23, Pesiqta פְּרִיָה (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 אֲרָרִי מוֹת. Rosh ha-Shanah 7 a quotes words of Ezra after Zech. i. 7 (p. 106), but not expressly as Qabalah.

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 "SEPHER 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 ABINU, and "Father" without the pronoun to the Aramaic ABBA, as in Ἰαββὰ ὁ πατήρ in St Mark xiv. 36, Rom. viii. 15 (see Sanday & Headlam's note), Gal. iv. 6. The fact that the pronoun in אֲבִי 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 אֲבִי...אֲבִי My Father,

save me from this hour... My Father, glorify thy name, and in St Luke xi. the Prayer commences (שבשמים) אבינו, *Our Father (which art in heaven)*, the short reading being imperfectly indicated by the use of brackets.

[In all forms of post-Biblical Palestinian Aramaic except Samaritan *ab(b)ā* and *immā* are used for *my father* and *my mother*. Compare *Onk.* Gen xx 12 אבא בת אבא לא בת אבא; *sy. hier.* Lc viii 21 אבא ואבא, John xx 17 ואבא ואבא.]

The only traces in Edessene Syriac of the use of אבא for *my* (or *thy*) *father* are found in the Old Syriac Gospels (*crit.* Mt x 32, Lc ii 49, Joh vi 32; *sin.* Mt vi 4, xv 13). אבא is found now and then even in the Peshitta for *πάτερ* (e.g. Joh xii 28) in place of the more usual אבא, but it never occurs in the Peshitta where the Greek has *μω*. For "Abba, Father" the Old Syriac has the one word *My Father* in the Gospel, and according to S. Ephraim *our Father* in the Epistles. The Peshitta has the two words *Abba, My Father* in the Gospel, and *Abba, our Father* in the Epistles (F. C. B.)]

The Prayer may have been given in Aramaic or Greek or Hebrew, which last seems to have been the ordinary language for set forms of prayer (Hamburger *Real-Encycl.* art. *Gebetsprache*), or in a mixed dialect. Compare the passage cited from T. J. Saunhedrin vi. 3 (5) in the Introduction to *Susanna in the Speaker's Commentary*, where ABBA (Schwab p. 280 *Mon père*) is followed by a sentence in Hebrew, except its last word כמאסקופה. For examples of prayers in Aramaic see Heb. Auth. P. B. p. 151 יקים כו' פרקן כו', *Wünsche Erläuterung der Evangelien* Matt. vi. 13.

In the Hebrew New Testament we might read in St Luke xxiii. 46 יחי אבא, into thine hand I commit [R.V. Ps. xxxi. 5 *commend*] my spirit.

In the Authorised Hebrew Daily Prayer Book see in the Hymn ארון עולם אשר סלך Into thy hand I commend my spirit, when I sleep, and when I wake; And with my spirit, my body also: the Lord is with me, and I will not fear (pp. 3, 297).

See also in the *Evening Service* (p. 101) Blessed be the Lord by day; blessed be the Lord by night; blessed be the Lord when we lie down; blessed be the Lord when we rise up. For in thy hands are the souls of the living and the dead, as it is said, In his hand is the soul of every living thing, and the spirit of all human flesh. Into thy hand I commend my spirit; thou hast redeemed me, O Lord God of truth. Our God who art in heaven, assert the unity of thy name, and establish thy kingdom continually, and reign over us for ever and ever.

The book ends with NIGHT PRAYER FOR YOUNG CHILDREN... 2. Hear, O Israel &c.... 6. Into thy hand I commend my spirit: thou hast redeemed me, O Lord God of truth. 7. For thy salvation I hope, O Lord.

* * * For infants 2, 6, 7.

In St John xix. 30 *Τετέλεσται, 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 ויט את ראשו ויסקר את רחו (Heb. N. T. 1880) connects the saying with Psalm xxxi. 5, but not with Matt. or Luke *l.c.* After the evening אודי a scholar should at least say one *ימי ררמי נפוסו* 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 בשרל on the words נפיה 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* א 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. Eccles. xv. 1—3) and food for soul and spirit and as agreeing to every taste. See Ex. Rab. 21 & 25, Midr. Ps. xxiii. on אֶלֶּם אֶלֶּם, Zohar on הַנְּנִי מִמִּיּוֹר (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 וְיִתֵּן לָנוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֶת הַמָּן וְיִתֵּן לָנוּ אֶת הַמָּן and *Thou quickenest* that God is the יִתֵּן or *sustenance* of the ministering angels. In St Mark xii. 44 *all her living* is lit. כָּל הַחַיּוֹת.

The gathering of the manna was to be as follows according to Ex. xvi. 4—5 (Sept. ed. Swete): εἶπεν δὲ Κύριος πρὸς Μωυσῆν Ἴδου ἐγὼ ὕω ὑμῖν ἄρτους ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ἐξελεύσεται ὁ λαὸς καὶ συλλέξουσιν τὸ τῆς ἡμέρας εἰς ἡμέραν, ὅπως πειράσω αὐτοὺς εἰ πορεύσονται 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 ὃ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ...ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ, St Matt. τοῖς οὐρανοῖς...οὐρανῷ.

τὸ τῆς ἡμέρας εἰς ἡμέραν. Heb. לְכָל יוֹם בְּיוֹמוֹ, Syr. כִּיּוֹמָא כִּיּוֹמָא *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 אֲנַסְנוּ, 1 Cor. x. 2, 12 καὶ πάντες [τὸ αὐτὸ] πνευματικὸν βρῶμα ἔφαγον...πειρασμὸς ὑμᾶς οὐκ ἔλαβεν εἰ μὴ ἀνθρώπων· πιστὸς δὲ ὁ θεός, ὃς οὐκ ἑάσει ὑμᾶς πειρασθῆναι ὑπὲρ ὃ δύνασθε κ.τ.λ.

τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν εἰς ἡμέραν. Heb. יוֹם יוֹם *day day*, Syr. בכְּלִיּוֹם.

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. lxviii. 20 יוֹם יוֹם ה' בְּרוּךְ ה' *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 7th, 14th, 21st 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	לְחֶמְא	לְךָ	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 Evv.* Matt. vi. 11 suggests בְּיוֹמָא יוֹם לֶחֶם *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 יוֹם יוֹם. Or, comparing Is. lxvi. 23 ובשבתו מדי חדש בחדשו ומדי שבת בשבתו (1 Sam. vii. 16, Zech. xiv. 16, 2 Chron. xxiv. 5 בשנה בשנה), we may write יוֹם בְּיוֹמָא *for day by day*.

Delitzsch and others render St Luke's form of the petition in Hebrew by יוֹם יוֹם תְּלַנו חֲקֵנו אֶת-לֶחֶם *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 דיינו *bread sufficient for us*, cf. Prov. xxv. 16 Hast thou found honey? eat *כִּי יִמְלֵךְ* so much as is sufficient and not more than sufficient for thee, lest thou be filled therewith, and vomit it.

For uses of די sufficient in Jewish forms of prayer for food see Berakh. 29 b, Cant. Rab. vii. 2 מה יסו § 2.

A response דינו sat nobis was used in connexion with blessings with reference to Mal. iii. 10 ברכה עד 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 قوة strength [cf. Deut. xxxiii. 25] has been corrected into قوت, is found to read (cap. ix.):

اعطنا قوت يومنا
of-our-day QUT Give-us,

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 סִבְרָתָא cibum for the Peshito (or Peshitta) 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* (Leipz. 1864) *خبزنا كفافنا 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 יומנא, 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 *ἐνωρίζω* 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^cClellan 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 substantium 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 *ίέναι*, 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 *ὀμοούσιος* was chosen rather than *ὀμούσιος* (cf. *ὀμέστιος*) to contrast with *ὀμοιούσιος*. 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 *ἐπιέναι*. Liddell and Scott's *Lexicon* connects *ἐπιούσα* first with *ἐπιέναι* and then with *ἐπιέναι* (p. 518 ed. 7, 1883), quoting Herodotus III. 85 in both cases.

Mr Wratlaw in the *Churchman* for July 1888 replied to Dr Kay "But the real fact is that *ἐπιέναι* does possess a participle *ἐπιών*, well-known to Plato and Demosthenes, though unknown to the controversialists upon *ἐπιούσιος*. PLATO has it twice, in the *Lysis* 217 C οἶον τὸ ἐπὶ, where *ἐπὶ* is a certain correction of Heindorf's for *ἐπι* ὄν: and in the *Parmenides* 132 C ὁ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἐκεῖνο τὸ νόημα ἐπὶ νοεῖ. DEMOSTHENES has it in the *Oration against Meidias* p. 517, line 15 ἐπὶ φόβου τούτου. I think the false analogy between *περιούσιος* and *ἐπιούσιος* may now be dropped, and the claims of *ἐπι* and *είναι* to have originated *ἐπιούσιος* set aside for ever."

Mr Wratlaw 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 Ecclesiastusae of Aristophanes one of the speakers, after describing the time (ver. 20) *καίτοι πρὸς ὄρθρον γ' ἐστὶν 'tis close on day-break*, exclaims (ver. 105) *μὴ 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 γινώσκεις 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 *Δ*' 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, *ἄμα τῇ ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ*. 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 προσεύχασθε*. 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 מָחָר *of-the-day*, the Hebrew מָחָר *day*, Targ. מָחָר being rendered η *ἐπιούσα* in Prov. xxvii. 1 Boast not thyself of to-morrow, *οὐ γὰρ γνώσκεῖς τί τέξεται ἡ ἐπιούσα*.

If מָחָר 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 *λέναι*) with a side glance, under the attraction of a "false analogy," to the imperfectly understood *περιούσιος* (from *εἶναι*).

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 *λέναι* and *εἶναι*" (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-ούσιος* 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 *εἶναι, 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 [*τοῦ ὄντως ὄντος*], 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 *τὸ 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 recessum 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 ἀφίμεν...καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πεπομένων ἀδελφῶν οὐκ αὐτὸς αἰτήσεται ὁ γνωστικός 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 improbably 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 *לחם יומיומי* 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 necessities 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 cœleste alimentum, Dominus seipsum; eundem mysticum sensum ex mannæ manducatione uterque deducit...nec mira nec nova visa est ista de pane cœlesti doctrina. Soli illi quibus hebetiores aures & animi erant, Christi dictis sunt offensi."

Libera nos a Malo.

On the petition ῥύσαι 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 BISHA (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 Eccus.* pp. xx, xxix. See also the various versions of Eccus. vii. 1—2, comparing the Syriac בִּישָׁא מִן אַרְחָק with Aboth i. 8 הרחק משכן רע. "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 רע *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 הרע 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 עייל "ungodly" (Sept. ἀδικόν), which stands in parallelism with the plural רשעים (Sept. ἀσεβείς), thus

יִסְגִּירֵנִי אֶל אֵל עוֹיֵל וְעַל יְדֵי רִשְׁעִים יִרְמָנִי.

Wünsche reads (p. 170) *Er überlieferte mich EINEM VERKEHRTEN GOTTE* [אֵל עוֹיֵל] 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 Frevler 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 ἀμαρτωλός. So in Job xxi. 30 רע (Targ. ריש, Syr. ריש) is rendered ὁ πονηρός, thus ὅτι εἰς ἡμέραν ἀπωλείας κούφίζεται ὁ πονηρός, εἰς ἡμέραν ὀργῆς αὐτοῦ ἀπαχθήσονται. Conversely רע *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. ἀσεβούς), an indefinite or collective singular standing in parallelism with a plural "her judges" thus

ארץ נתנה ביד רשע פני שפטיה יכסה.

TALM. JEBUS. Shabbath II. 6 Zit. (5 b § 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.* והוא המלאך הרע יבא ממקומו ללמד עליו. וקטגוריא 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' הווספה (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 זכורה (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 soleat* (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 *אש"ב ארצ'*, for the Evil Impulse occupies the heart (Note 21) and is the foe of Torah (Note 22), and it is said *ἔρχεται ὁ πονηρός καὶ ἀπάξει τὸ ἐσπαρμένον ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ*. BISHA may have been used sometimes as an abbreviation of *אש"ב ארצ'*, in accordance with the saying that the evil *yezer* has *א"ר bisha* 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 *אש"ר wicked* (2 Sam. iv. 11, Is. liii. 9), but in the great majority of cases for *א"ר evil*. It uses *ὁ πονηρός* as an epithet of Haman (p. 128), but not as a name of the Evil One; nor is *א"ר* 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 א"ר' אש"ר their imagination*.

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, 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 *מֵאש"ר* or *אש"ר*, 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 *ἀφένονται ὑμῖν αἱ ἁμαρτίαι...ἐγνώκατε τὸν πατέρα...νενικήκατε τὸν πονηρόν* may refer to *ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰς ἁμαρτίας...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 St. 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 *χείρον* 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 πονηρὸν... ῥυσθείητε τέκνα ἀπὸ τούτων ἀπάντων, ῥύσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ, τοῦ ῥύσασθαι αὐτὴν ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ* (chaps. 3, 5, 8, 10).

Conclusion.

τὸν ἄρον 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* (Jaa 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., McClellan p. 644), may embody a true tradition of the original of *ἄρον 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 ἐπιούσα* 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.

between the instant and the distant *morrow* (Kohut v. 115 a), in a note on Ex. xiii. 14 מחר בנך ישאלך כִּי וְהָיָה עַתָּה דֵּי עֲרֹתְךָ שֶׁ אֲנִי הָיוֹסְךָ מֵעַתָּה *And it shall be when thy son asketh thee IN TIME TO COME* (Heb. *to-morrow*). Although usually equivalent to ἡ αὔριον in its ordinary sense, ἡ ἐπιούσα may denote the day present reckoned from its commencement.

Supposing ἐπιούσιος to be a derivative of εἶναι and to mean *sufficient* (D. 228, 236), using the liturgical word גִּיּוּנוֹ (p. 181) and borrowing from Gen. xlvii. 15 *Give us bread* and Ex. xvi. 5 *daily*, we may express St Luke's form of the petition in Hebrew thus

הַבְּרֵה-לָנוּ לֶחֶם דְּיִנּוּ יוֹם יוֹם.

Compare St James ii. 16 τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τοῦ σώματος, the Peshito rendering in the Prayer *the bread of our necessity* (D. 239), and Dr Chase's note in *Texts and Studies* l.c. p. 52.

The epithet ἐπιούσιος "is not part of the original form of the petition, and is due to liturgical use" (ib. p. 53). Nor is it quite clear why the new word should have been constructed simply and solely to represent anything that is likely to have stood in the Prayer in its original form. According to the rules of philology it should be derived from ἐπιών or ἐπιούσα, and its connexion with οὐσία "can only be maintained on the hypothesis that its form was determined by false analogies, with a view to exhibiting its component parts more clearly" (D. 225). A false analogy which commended itself to erudite interpreters of the word may have had attractions for those who coined it (p. 182).

Origen (p. 182) gives a choice of derivations for the epithet of the bread, but has no doubt of its being ἄπρος ἀληθινός. Bread was understood mystically before ἐπιούσιος came into existence, and the most curious interpretations of the "strange word" (D. 228) lead only to such results as may be reached *more rabbinico* without it (p. 178). Tertullian makes *panem nostrum* QUOTIDIANUM mean Christ (p. 185).

The petition would doubtless soon have been spiritualised if nothing had been left of it but *Give us bread*. St James says that "wisdom" should be prayed for (i. 5), but does not say this of daily food (ii. 15). With reference to St John vi. 32 sq., notice the remark on Διψῶ (ib. xix. 28) in *The Spirit on the Waters* p. 255 "Nowhere in Christ's doctrine does the fourth Evangelist use *thirst* or kindred words (such as *bread, water, life, flesh, blood*) in any but a spiritual sense."

The American Revisers write on St Matthew vi. 11 "Let the marg. read Gr. *our bread for the coming day, or our needful bread*. So in Luke xi. 3." The one may be a paraphrase, the other a more exact rendering of the original which lies behind the Greek.

ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ] The obvious Biblical rendering of ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ is מֵרָע *a malo* (p. 188), cf. Job i. 1, 8 Vulg. *recedens a malo*, Sept. ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ πράγματος. A possible alternative is מֵרָע *ab impio*. The

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 כו' כי אנשים רשעים הם *ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν ἄνδρες πονηροὶ ἀπέκτειναν ἄνδρα δίκαιον*, Is. liii. 9 ויתן את רשעים קברו *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 ורע רשע *ἁμαρτωλοῦ καὶ πονηροῦ* the wicked and the evil, Ezek. xviii. 20 ורשעת 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 ἀρπάζει τὸ ἐσπαρμένον ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ should be rendered as by Delitzsch כו' הרע *וְבא*. It does not however appear that הרע 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

בא רשע וחמף הזרע הזרוע בלבבו.

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 רשע ימית.

The Syriac versions render ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ by כּן בישא *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 הרע 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 בישא (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 צדיק *righteous* and רשע *wicked* respectively. From this point of view the most natural Aramaic rendering of ὁ πονηρός is not בישא (D. 293) but רשיעא (p. 140).

But the best Hebrew rendering of the ambiguous ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ is כּרע (Aram. כּן בישא). 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 *Variae Lectiones* in Rabinovicz ר"ד 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 חפצי במ: בית המקדש מנין דכתיב מכו 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 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 " קנני ראשית דרכו קדם מפעליו מאז : שמים וארץ מנין דכתיב כה אמר " השמים כסאי והארץ הדם רגלי אי זה בית אשר תבנו לי ואי זה מקום מנוחתי : ואומר מה רבו מעשיך " כלם בחכמה עשית מלאה הארץ קניגיד : אברהם מנין דכתיב ויברכהו ויאמר ברוך אברם לאל עליון

א ז"ל ארבעה כדאיתא בכ"י המסומן Add. 667 ולזה הסכימה גרסת התלמוד (פסחים דף פ"ו ע"ב) כך ישראל שהם בני בחוני בני אברהם יצחק ויעקב אחד מארבעה קנינים שקניתי בעולמי תורה קנין אחד דכתיב " קנני ראשית דרכו שמים וארץ קנין אחד דכתיב קונה שמים וארץ בית המקדש קנין אחד דכתיב הר זה קנתה ימינו ישראל קנין אחד דכתיב עם זו קניתי. וזמכילתא ג"כ בפ' בשלח בפסוק עד יעבור עמך כו' נזכרו ד' קנינים האלו. אבל בפסרי בפ' האזינו בפסוק הלה תגמלו זאת לא מנה רק ג' שנקראו קנין למקום והם תורה וישראל ובית המקדש. ובענין זה כתב בעל הפרוש המיוחס לרשב"ס ואני אומר כשם שהספרי והמכלתא חלוקים שזה אומר ג' חזק אומר ד' כך אפשר שהגדה שלישיית 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 (ז) קרא בספר משלי שמוציא קנינו של אברהם מדכתיב אלה תולדות השמים והארץ בהבראם אל תקרי בהבראם אלא באברהם וזה שאמר הבתוב ברוך אברם וגו' וכן פתרון המקרא ברוך אברם לאל עליון הקונה אותו בדרך שקנה שמים וארץ עכ"ל. אבל ע"ד הפסוק אין ראיה ממקרא זה רק לקנין שמים וארץ ואזכרם איננו מן הקנינים ובאופן זה די להביא ד' הפסוקים הנז' זמסכת פסחים

לצדיקים כלם נתקימו ברבי ובבניו : אמר רבי יוסי 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 זהב 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 בהתהלכך תנחה אתך בשכבך תשמור עליך והקיצות היא תשיחך : בהתהלכך תנחה אתך בעולם הזה בשכבך תשמור עליך בקבר והקיצות היא תשיחך לעולם הבא : ואומר לי הכסף ולי הזהב נאם יי צבאות :

א בנ"א נמנא תניא א"ד יוסי ולא הובא בריתא זו קודם למאמר חמשה קנינים בן גדלעיל אלא לאחרי. ואמר הסכס ר' ינאק יעבן בערוטו ססדי אבות שהיא ראה נספאות חלוקות מהן מביאות ענין הקנינים טקנה הקב"ה ובלתי מביאות ענין ר' יוסי בן קסמא ומהן עושות להפך ומהן מביאות שתייהן ומהן מביאות המאמר כל מה שברא הקב"ה בעולמו כו' בסוף ענין ר' יוסי בן קסמא ומהן מביאות בסוף הפרק מה שאמר ר' סננייה בן עקשיא ומהן אינן מביאות רק פסוק ה' חפץ כו'

ב נ"א זקן אחד

ג בנ"א ססר ושל סופרים

ד ס"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 כו'. ואס"כ הובאו ב' הפסוקים טוב לי כו' לי הכסף כו'

אבות פרק ששי שני 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 לגרגרתך : ואומר תתן לראשך
לוית חן עטרת תפארת תמגנך : ואומר כי בי ירבו ימך
ויוסיפו לך שנות חיים : ואומר ארך ימים בימינה בשמאולה
עשר וכבוד : ואומר כי ארך ימים ושנות חיים ושלוש 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 כחם והדר
זקנים שיבה : ואומר עטרת זקנים בני בנים ותפארת בנים
אבותם : ואומר וחפרה הלבנה ובושה החמה כי מלך יי
צבאות בהר ציון ובירושלים ונגד זקניו כבוד :

ט

רבי שמעון בן מנסיא אומר אלו שבעי מדות שמנו חכמים

א נ"א בן מנסיא

ב קס"א שכבר הוזכרו ס' ולפיכך יש מוסקין א' מהן

לצדיקים כלם נתקומו ברבי ובבניו : אמר רבי יוסי 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 :

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ב כ"א זקן אחד

ג כ"א חסר ושל סופרים

ד כ"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 כו'. ואח"כ הובאו ב' הפסוקים טוב לי כו' לי הכסף כו'

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 לגררתיך : ואומר תתן לראשך
לוית חן עטרת תפארת תמגנך : ואומר כי בי ירבו ימך
ויוסיפו לך שנות חיים : ואומר ארך ימים בימינה בשמאולה
עשר וכבוד : ואומר כי ארך ימים ושנות חיים ושלום וסיפו
לך :

ח

רבי שמעון בן יהודה^א 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 כחם והדר
זקנים שיבה : ואומר עטרת זקנים בני בנים ותפארת בנים
אבותם : ואומר וחפרה הלבנה ובושה החמה כי מלך יי
צבאות בהר ציון ובירושלים ונגד זקניו כבוד :

ט

רבי שמעון בן מנסיא אומר אלו שבע מדות שמנו חכמים

^א כ"א בן מנסיא

^ב קטיף שכבר הוזכרו ס' ולפיכך יש מוסקין ס' מהן

נקנית בארבעים ושמונה דברים* : ואלו הן בתלמוד בשמיעת האזן בעדיכת שפתים בבינת הלב באימה ביראה בענוה בשמחה בטהרה בשמש חכמים בדקדוק חברים בפלפול התלמידים ביישוב במקרא במשנה במעוט סחורה במעוט דרך ארץ במעוט תענוג במעוט שנה במעוט שיחה במעוט שחוק בארך אפים בלב טוב באמנות חכמים בקבלת היסורין המכיר את מקומו והשמח בחלקו והעושה סיג לדבריו ואינו מחזיק 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 והמבון את שמעתו 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"ס הדברים ובסדרון ויש ספרים שנמל' בהם הגרסאות בכונת הלב בשכלות הלב. (וספר' מלת בטהרה). בדבוק חברים. בשיבה. 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 (נכנין הדגוש). והמבין את שמעתו. הא למדת שכל האומר דבר שלא שמע מפי רבו ע"ש רבו גורם לשכינה שתסתלק מישראל והאומר כו'

אבות פרק ששי שנו חכמים

כמה וכמה שצריך לנהג בו כבוד ואין כבוד אלא תורה
שנאמר כבוד חכמים ינחלו וחמימים ינחלו טוב : ואין טוב
אלא תורה שנאמר כי לקח טוב נתתי לכם תורתִי אל
תעזבו :

ד

כך היא דרכה של תורה פת במלח תאכל ומים במשורה
תשתה ועל הארץ תישן וחיי צער תחיה ובתורה אתה 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
עשהי 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

א נ"א אלא לחכמים ויולי זה הנכון. ובכ"י Add. 667 נמנא אלא חכמה
ב נ"א תהא

ג ס"י ואל תחמוד כבוד יותר מלמודך (וספר' מלת עשה) ופי' בספר ד"מ
למפר"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
ספרו 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 נוף שנאמר נום זהב
 באף חזיר אשה יפה וסרת מעם : 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 לנהוג בו כבוד שכן
 מצינו בדוד מלך ישראל שלא למד מאחיתפל אלא שני
 דברים בלבד קראוי רבו אלופו ומידעו שנאמר ואתה אנש
 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

א אמר מר נוף הוא נומריקון של נום ואף

ב כ"א ואם הניס דעתו הקב"ה משפילו שנ' ומבמות הניא

ג כפ"א לא נמנא כחן או פסוק אחד או דבור אחד (אז) אפילו אות אחת

ד כ"א עשאו

ה כפ"א קמר והלא דברים ק"ו כו' עד גלת 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 אהב את המקום אהב את הבריות משמח את
המקום משמח את הבריות ומלבשתו ענוה ויראה ומכשרתו
להיות צדיק חסיד ישר ונאמן ומרחקתו מן החטא ומקרבתי
לידי זכות ונהנין ממנו עצה ותושיה בינה וגבורה שנאמר לי
עצה ותושיה אני בינה לי גבורה ונותנת לו מלכות וממשלה
וחקור דין ומגלין לוי רזי תורה ונעשה כמעין שאינו פוסק
וכנהר שמתגבר והולך והוה צנוע וארדי רוח ומוחל על
עלבונו ומגדלתו ומרוממתו על כל המעשים :

א נ"א ומגלין לו מן השמים

ב נ"א כמעין המתגבר (ע' פ"ב מ"י) שאינו פוסק את מימיו

ג נ"א המתגבר עלי מלת והולך

ד נ"א ושפל. [וי"ג ויהא תסת והוה]

ה 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 לגמרא) בן שמנה עשרה לחפה
בן עשרים לדרוף בן שלשים לכח בן ארבעים לבינה בן
המשים לעצה בן ששים לזקנה בן שבעים לשיבה בן שמונים
לגבורה בן תשעים לשוח (נ"א לשוחה) בן מאה כאלו מת ועבר
ובמל מן העולם :

המאמר הזה אע"פ שנכלל במסכת אבות ונמנא או קודם למאמר בן
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 ג"כ בפירושו. וגם אני הנעיר אעשה כמהו

אבות פרק חמישי בעשרה

ל

ר"א יהודה בן תימא אומר הוי עז כנמר וקל כנשר ורין כצבי וגבור כארי לעשות רצון אביך שבשמים :

לא

הוא היה אומר עז פנים לגהינם ובוש פנים לגן עדן יהי רצון מלפניך יי אלהינו ואלהי אבותינו שתבנה עירך בימינו ותן חלקינו בתורתך :

לב

בן בג בג אומר הפוך בה והפך בה דכולה בה וכולך בהי ומנה לא תזועי שאין לך מידה טובה ממנה :

לג

בן הא הא אומר לפום צערה אנרה :

חסלת אבות פרקים ה :

א נ"א חסר ר

ב נ"א ובושת

ג נ"א שיבנה בית המקדש במהרה. ונקלת הספרים חסר כל המאמר

יהי רצון כו

ד נ"א והפך וי"ג והפוך

ה הכי גרסינן. ע' פרושי בלשון אנגלית

י נ"א תזון

כ"ח

כל שיש בו שלשה דברים* תלמידו של אברהם: ושלשה דבריםי תלמידו של בלעם:

כ"ט

עין טובה ונפש שפלה ורוח נמוכהי תלמידו של אברהם
 עין רעה ונפש רחבהי ורוח גבוהה תלמידו של בלעם ומה
 בין תלמידיו של אברהם לתלמידיו של בלעם תלמידיו של
 בלעם יורדים לנהינם^א שנ' ואתה אלהים תורידם לבאר
 שחת^ב אבל תלמידיו של אברהם יורשין גן עדן. שנ' להנחיל
 אוהבי יש ואוצרותיהם אמלא:

א כ"א כל מי שיש בידו ג' דברים הללו

ב כ"א מתלמידיו כאן ולהלן כמ' כ"ט

ג כ"א אברהם אבינו כאן ולהלן וכמו כן נוסף כנוי הרשע לבלעם

ד כ"א ונ' דברים אחרים

ה כ"א נמוא ענין הרוח קודם לענין הנפש

ו כ"א קצרה

ז הנה אחר שהזכיר עס בלעם פתח במה דסיים וסמך לו לרשע ענין
 קללתם של רשעים ואח"כ חזר וזכר ברכת הנדיקים כיון שאין רנונו לסיים אלא
 בדברים טובים וזו הגרסא הנכונה אע"פ שברוב הספרים נזכר ענין בני
 אברהם ברישא וענין בני בלעם בסיפא

ח כ"א נוסף ויורשין באר שחת ובספרים הרבה כתיב יורשין גיהנם ויורדין
 לבאר שחת

ט ל"ג אנשי דמים ומרמה לא יחצו ימיהם ואני אבטח בך

י כ"א אוכלין בעולם הזה ונוחלין לעוה"ב תסת יורשין גן עדן

אבות פרק חמישי בעשרה

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 מחלוקת שמאי
והלל ושאינה לשם שמים זו מחלקתו של קרחי :

כ"ו

כל המזכה את הרבים אין חטא 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 יי' עשה ומשפטיו עם ישראל :

א כנ"א נוסף זו

ב כ"א מחלוקת הלל ושמאי

ג כ"א קרח וכל עדתו

ד כ"א חטא הרבים תלוי בו ואין

ה חסר ענין ירבעם וזו היא : 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" יתנו אחרים
עינו רעה בשל אחרים שיתנו- אחרים והוא לא יתן עינו רעה
בשלו יתני ויתנו אחרים חסיד אלי יתן ואל" יתנו אחרים
רשע :

כ

ארבע מידותי 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 מכנים בוז
ומציא בוז משמרת שהיא מוציאה את היין וקולטת את
השמרים נפה שהיא מוציאה את הקמח וקולטת את הסלת :

כ"ב

כל אהבהי שהיא תלויה בדבר במל דבר ובטלה אהבה
ושאינה תלויה 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 בהולכים) לבית בו

ו כ"א ביושבים ז כ"א שמוציאה

ח הנה בספר נחלת אבות הנ"ל נהפך סדר המשניות ונוכר ענין המחלוקת
קודם לענין האהבה

ט כ"א עולמית

ט"ז

ארבעה מידות באדם האומר שלי שלי ושליך שליך = מדה
 בינונית ויש אומרי' = מדת סדום שלי שליך ושליך שלי' עם
 הארץ שלי ושליך' חסיד שליך ושלי שלי רשע :

י"ז

ארבעה מדות בדיעות 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 ממהרה 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 :

א נ"א ארבעה

ב נכ"א נוסף זו

ג נכ"א נזכרה מדת עס הארץ בריש כל המדות

ד ר"ל שלי ושליך שליך כו' ואולי זה עיקר כיון סקנור הלסון יורה ליוסן
 הגרסא. אינל בכל הספרים נמצא כאן שלי שליך ושליך שליך וכמו כן להלן נמצ'

שלי שלי שלי תחת שליך ושלי שלי

ה נ"א מחויר כאן ולקמן

ו נ"א זה (ס"א זו) חלק טוב

י"ג

חרב בא לעולם על ענוי הדין ועל עיוות הדין ועל המורים
בתורה שלא כהלכה

י"ד

חיה רעה באה לעולם על שבועת שוא ועל חילול השם
גלות בא לעולם על עבודה זרה ועל גלוי עדיות ועל שפיכות
דמים ועל השמט הארץ :

ט"ו

בארבעה פרקים הדבר מרובהי ברביעית בשביעית במוצאי
שביעית ובמוצאי החג שבכל שנה ברביעית מפני מעשר עני
שבשלישית בשביעית מפני מעשר עניי שבששית ובמוצאי
שבעית מפני פירות שביעית ובמוצאי החג שבכל שנה מפני
גול מתנות עניים :

א נ"א חרב באה בו ועל המורים פנים בו ע' פ"ג מ' י"ז. ועל סכוס
המטניות בדפוס זה ע' הקדמתי בלשון אנגלית
ב נ"א גלות בא לעולם על שפיכות דמים ועל שמיטת הארץ ועל גילוי
ערוות וחסרו התבות על (עובדי) ע"ז ואולי זה הנכון כיון שענין ע"ז כבר נרמז
בכלל חילול השם

ג נ"א דברים

ד נ"א מתרבה

ה נ"א שנה ושנה

ו נ"א שנה ושנה

אבות פרק חמישי בעשרה

לפני מי שגדול^א ממנו בחכמה - 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 ומודה על האמת וחלופיהן בגולם :

י"א

שבעה מיני פרענויות באין על שבעה גופי עבירות^ה מקצתן מעשרין ומקצתן שאינן מעשרין רעב של בצורת בא מקצתן רעבים ומקצתן שבעים גמרו שלא לעשר רעב של מהומה ושל בצורה בא ושלא ליטול חלה רעב של כלייה בא^ה :

י"ב

דבר בא לעולם על מיתות האמורות בתורה שלא נמסרו לבית דין ועל פירות שבעיות^ה :

^א נ"א בפני מי שהוא גדול

^ב בחכמה ובמנין. כך הגרסא ברוב הספרים אבל בקנתן חסרו התבות האלו לגמרי

^ג נ"א שואל כענין ומשיב כהלכה. והנה נספר נחלת אבות לר"י אזרבינאל כתיב שואל ומשיב שומע ומוסיף שואל כענין ומשיב כהלכה

^ד נ"א באין לעולם

^ה נ"א עבירה ^ו נ"א אינן

^ז נ"א בצורת באה (כאן ולעיל) ושלא ליטול את החלה

^ח שבעה מיני פורענות באין על שבעה גופי עבדות מקצתן רעבים ומקצתן שבעים גמרו שלא לעשר רעב של כלייה באה : כך גרסת מסנה זו בכ"י

המסומן Add. 667

^ט נ"ל שבעיות. ע' מ' ט"ו דפרק זה

מריח בשר הקדש ולא הסריח בשר קדש מעולם - ולא אירע קרי לכהן גדול ביום הכפורים ולא נראה זבוב בית המטבחים ולא נמצא פסול בעומר ובשתי הלחם ובלחם הפנים ולא כיבו גשמים את המערכה ולא ניצחה הרוח את עמוד העשן עומדים צפופים ומשתחווים רווחים ולא הזיק נחש ועקרב בירושלם ולא אמר אדם לחבירו צר לי המקום שאלין בירושלם :

ט

עשרה דברים נבראו בין השמשותי פי הארץ ופי הבאר ופי האתון והקשת והמן והמטה והשמיר והכתב והמכתב והלוחות ויש אומרים אף המזיקים וקבודתו של משה ואילו של אברהם אבינו ויש אומרים אף צבת בצבת עשויה :

י

שבעה דברים בגולם ושבעה בחכם החכם אינו מדבר

א נ"א ולא התליע בשר הקדש

ב לפי רוב הספרים זה הוא מקום המאמר הנ"ל ולא נראה זבוב (בבית המטבחים). ויש סנוים אחרים בסדור הנסים

ג יש שבוש בכאן כי הנה צפרק קמא דיומא קתני משנה זו ולא קתני בה ב' הנסים ולא כבו גשמים ולא ניצחה הרוח אבל מוספינן להו מנרייתא ע"ס.

ו יש כאן נ"א אש של עצי (ס"א שעל גבי) המערכה

ד נ"א בירושלם מעולם כר כשעולין לירושלם

ה ברוב הנוסחאות נוסף בערב שבת בין כאן בין להלן אחר מלת השמשות

י כנ"א נוסף (עם חשיכה) ואלו הן

ז נ"א העשויה ה"א 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 ועשרי 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 תת' (ו) עשרה

ג כ"א ועשרה ובקלת הספרים חסר' משנה זו

ד כך גרסו במסכת יומא דף כ"א ע"א אבל ברוב הספרים כתיב נעשו

לאבותינו כדלעיל

ה כ"א במקדש

ו הנה כ"י הנ"ל (המסומן Add. 667) מנחת דברים הללו כהיותן :

לא הפילה כי כבר פרשתיו היטב במסכ' יומא בפר' ראשון עכ"ל. ויש

לשאול למה הפרוש הנרמז כאן

פרק חמישי

א

בעשרה מאמרות נברא העולם ומה תלמוד לומר והלא במאמר אחד היה יכול להבראות אלא להיפרע מן הרשעים שמאברין 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 מבעיסין לפניו עד שהביא עליהם אתי המבול :

ג

עשרה דורות מנח ועד אברהם להודיע כמה ארך אפים לפניו שכל הדורות היו מבעיסין לפניו עד שבא אברהם אבינו וקבלי שכר כולם :

א נ"א חסר היה

ב נ"א ובאין תקת לפניו

ג נ"א (את) מי המבול

ד נ"א וקבל עליו

ל"ב

אל"א יבטיחך יצרך ששאל בית מנוס ב שעל כרחך אתה
נוצר ועל כרחך אתה נולד ועל כרחך אתה חי ועל כרחך
אתה מתי ועל כרחך אתה עתיד ליתן דין וחשבון לפני מלך
מלכי המלכים והמלכה :

א כנ"א נמנא ואל ונכללו משנה זו והקודמת אליה בסוגיא אחת

ב כ"א שיש בשאל בית מנוס לך

ג י"ג בסדר הפוך וע"כ אתה מת וע"כ אתה חי

כ"ט

ד"א 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
לידון לידע ולהודיע ולהודיע ולהודיע שהוא ידוע והוא
הבורא והוא המבין והוא הדיין והוא עדי' והוא בעל דין והוא
עתיד לדין שאין לפניו לא עולה לא שכתא לא משואי
פנים ולא ממה שוחד שהכל שלו ודע שהכל לפי השבון :

א כ"א רבי מאיר. וי"ג להלן מלא יין ישן וישן אפילו בו

ב כ"א לחיות

ג ס"ג לידע ולהודיע ולהודיע

ד כ"א שהוא אל הוא

ה כ"א הוא העד

ו כ"א ליתן דין תסת לדין. וי"ג לדון (ברוך הוא)

ז כ"א משא

ח כ"א חסר שהכל שלו

ט כ"א שהכל בא בחשבון (כ"א לידי חשבון)

כ"ז

שמואל הקטן אומר בנפל אויבך אל תשמח ובהכשלו
אל יגל לבך.:

כ"ז

אלישע בן אביהי אומר הלמדי ילד למה הוא דומה
לדיו כתובה על נייד חדש והלמדי זקן למה הוא דומה לדיו
כתובה על נייד מחוק:

כ"ח

ר' 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:

א ברוב הספרים כתיב פן יראה יי' ורע בעיניו וחשיב מעליו אפו. ויש
דורשין בכאן חרון אפו לא נאמר אלא אפו מלמד שמחלין 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 אבוייה

ג כ"א הלומד תורה

ד כ"א בר וי"ג בר

כ"ב

י מתייהא בן חרש אומר הוי מקדים לשלום כל האדם -
והוי זנב לאריות ולא ראש לשועלים :

כ"ג

י יעקב אומר העולם הזה דומה לפרחודוד לפני העולם
הבא התקין עצמך לפרחודודי כדי שתבגס למרקלין :

כ"ד

הוא היה אומר יפה שעה אחת בתשובה ומעשים טובים
בעולם הזה מכל חיי העולם הבא יפה שעה אחת של קודת
רוח בעולם הבא מכל חיי העולם הזה :

כ"ה

י שמעון בן אלעזר אומר אל תרצה את חביריך בשעת
כעסו ואל תנחמנו בשעה שמתו מוטל לפניו ואל תשאל לו
בשעת נדרו ואל תשתדל לראותו בשעת קלקלתו :

א כ"א ר מתתא

ב כ"א בשלום כל האדם וי"ג שלום לכל א

ג כ"א ואל תהי

ד כ"א נההקן עצמך בפרוסדוד

ה כ"א ויפה

י כן הגרסא גם כן ככ"י הנו' (המסומן 667 Add.)

י"ח

ר' יהודה אומר הוי זהיר בתלמוד ששגגת תלמודא עולה זרון :

י"ט

ר' שמעון אומ' שלשה כתרים הן כתר תורה וכתר כהונה וכתר מלכות וכתר שם טוב עולה על גביהן :

כ

ר' נהוראי = אומר הוי גולה למקום תורה ואל תאמר היא תבוא אחרי שתביריך: יקיימה בידך ואל בינתך אל תשען :

כ"א

ר' ינאי אומרי אין בידינו לא משלות הרשעים ואף לא מיסורי הצדיקים :

א נ"א בלמוד ששגגת למוד

ב נמנא נסנת דק קמ"ז ע"ב: תנא לא ר' נהוראי שמו אלא ר' נחמיה שמו ואמרי ליה ר' אלעזר בן ערך שמו ולמה נקרא שמו ר' נהוראי שמנהיד עיני חכמים בהלכה ע"כ. ועוד נערובין דק י"ג ע"ב: 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 ונ'

ג נ"א שהיא תבא אחריך או (ש)חביריך כו

ד נ"א הוא היה אומר ה נ"א מייסודין של צדיקים

אבות פרק רביעי בן זומא

בטילים הדבה ואם עמלת בתורה יש לוי שכר הדבה
ליתן לד :

ט"ז

ו לעזר בן יעקב אומר העושה מצוה אחת קנהי לו
פרקליט אחד והעובר עבירה אחת קנהי לו קטיגור אחד
תשובה ומעשים טובים כתרס לפני הפורענות :

ט"ז

ו יוחנן הסנדלר אומר כל כניסה שהיא לשם מצוה
סופה להתקיים ושאינה לשם מצוה אין סופה להתקיים :

י"ז

ו לעזרה אומר יהי כבוד תלמידך חביב עליך ככבוד
חבירי וכבוד חבירך כמוראי רבך ומורא רבך כמורא
שמים :

ב כ"א חסר לו
ד כ"א שמים

א כ"א נוסף כנגד
ג כ"א קונה

ה כ"א נוסף בן שמוע

י בא ראה נמות לשון התנא במסנה זו שכל מאמר תלוי בשלפניו ואין הפסק
ביניהם ול"ג ככבוד עצמך (כ"א בשלך) כי לפי זה לא יהיה נרוך ומבור בין
כל מאמר ומאמר
ז כ"א ככבוד

י"א

ר' ישמעאל אומר החושך עצמו מן הדין פורק ממנו איבה וגזל ושבותעט 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 שפל רוח בפני כל אדם ואם ביטלתי מן התורה יש לך

א כ"א ר' שמעון אומר כל החושך. וי"ג ר' ישמעאל בנו כו'

ב כ"א קבלו

ג כ"א (יוצתן)

ד כ"א ממעט בעסק

ה כ"א והוי

י כ"ל בטלת

ח

ו' ישמעאל בנוי אומר הלמד על מנת ללמד מספיקין -
 בידו ללמוד וללמד הלמד על מנת לעשות מספיקין בידו
 ללמוד וללמד: ולעשות:

ט

ז' צדוק אומרי אל תעשם עמרה להתגדל בהן ולא
 קרדום לאכלי מהן וכך היה הלל אומר ודי אשתמש בתגא
 חלף הא כל הנאותי מדברי תורה נטל חייו מן העולם:

י

ח' יוסי אומר כל המכבד את התורה גופו מכובד על
 הבריות וכל המחלל את התורה גופו מחולל על הבריות:

א' בנ"א חסר בנו

ב' הנה מנינו בפרוש המיוסס לרש"י: הכי גרסינן אין מספיקין בידו
 ללמוד וללמד עכ"ל. ואולי זה הנכון כי המעיין אע"פ ללמד לאחרים ואינו
 מבקש לעשות אין חכמתו מתקיימת

ג' בנ"א נוסף כאן לשמור

ד' בנ"א נוסף כאן תלמידי חכמים. וי"ג אל תפרוש מן הצבור כו'

ה' לפי קנת הספרים מדבר בלשון ימיד כאן ולקמן באומרו אל תעשה וג'

ו' כך הוא בלי וי"ו. ובנ"א נמצא לאכול ממנה. וי"ג לחפור בהם)

ז' כ"א הא (למדת) כל הנהנה

ד

אי זה הוא מכובד המכבד את הבריות שנ' כי מכבדי
אכבד ובווי יקלו :

ה

בן עזאי אומר הוי ריץ למצוה קלה ובורח מן העבירה
שמצוה גוררת מצוה ועבירה גוררת עבירה ששכר מצוה
מצוה ושכר עבירה עבירה :

ו

הוא היה אומר אל תהי בן 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 :

א בנ"א נוסף כאן (בבאמורה וע' פ"ג מ"א

ב כ"א וברח

ג בכל הספרים יש כאן שתי משניות ואלו הן : ר' לויטס איש יבנה אומר

מאד מאד (מאד) הוי שפל רוח (בפני כל האדם) שתקות אנוש רמה : ר' יוחנן בן
ברוקה אומר כל המחלל ונ' :

ד כ"א אחד בשונג ואחד במזיד ולא נמנא בחילול השם

שֵׁשׁ הַיַּעַר

א

בן זושא אומר א' זה הא"י רב הים פ"ב א"ה =
שני מכל מלמד השבועה: =

ב

א' זה הוא נוסד הכנסת את י"ד ש' שב א"ך א"ה
מגביר ומשל ב"הו מלמד י"ד:

ג

א' זה הוא עשר השמח בחלקו שני י"ע כפ"ך כי
תאכל אש"ך ושוב לך אש"ך בעולם הזה ושוב לך בעולם"
הבא:

א' כ"א איזהו כלן וכמשניות האסרות ב' כנ"א ספר אדם
ג' ל"ג כי עדותך ונ' ד' כך הוא בלא יוד
ה' כ"א לעולם וכמו כן כתלפו התבות ב' ול' בסדרה מקומות

(ג)

אבות פרק שלישי עקביה

ועוקרתו והופכתו על פניו וכל שמעשיו מרובים מחכמתו
למה הוא דומה לאילן שענפיו מעומים ושרשיו מרובים
אפילו כל הרוחות באות עליו אינן מזיזות אותו ממקומו :

כ"ח

ו לעזר הסמה"י אומר קינים ופתחי נדה הן הן גופי
תורהי הלכות תקופות ונימטרייהי פרפראות"י לחכמה :

א שני והיה כשרי בשבחה ולא יראה כי יבוא טוב ושכן חרדים במרבר
ארץ מלחה ולא תשב: פסוק זה נוסף לראיה בהרבה פסרים

ב כ"א אבל כל

ג כ"א מעמין

ד כ"א שאפילו כל הרוחות שבעולם באות ונושבות בו אין מזיזות (כ"א)
מזיזים) אותו ממקומו שני והיה כעץ שתול על נפלגים מים ועל יובל ישלח
שרשיו ולא יראה כי יבא חם והיה עלהו רענן ובשנת בצרת לא יראג ולא ימיש
מעשות פרי

ה 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 (כ"א בר) חסמא

י כ"א חסמה מלת תורה

י כ"א ונימטריטאות בלשון רבים

י כ"א פרפריות. כן גרסת הערוך. וא"צ פי' בלשון יוני עגולה ששאר
החכמות סובבות החכמה האמתית שהיא כמרכז ונקודה תוך העגולה

והיד כותבת וכל הרוצה ללוות בא ולוה" והגבאין מחזירין תמיד בכל יום ונפרעים מן האדם לדעתוי ושלא לדעתוי ויש להם על מה שיסמכו והדין 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 קמח אין תורה אם אין תורה אין קמח :

כ"ז

הוא היה אומר כל שחכמתו מרובה ממעשיו למה הוא דומה לאילן שענפיו מרובין ושרשיו מעוטמים והרוח באתה"

א כ"א יבא וילוה. וי"ג וכל הרוצה ליטול בא ונוטל. ובס"א ספר המאמר
לגמרי

ב כ"א מחזירין תדיר

ג כ"א מדעתו

ד ס"א שיסמכו

ה כ"א מתוקן

י בס"א נתחלק סדר מאמריה של משנה זו. ובכ"י הנו' (Add. 667)

מנאמי : 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 קמח אם אין קמח אין תורה

י כ"א מועמין

י"ג כ"ל באה

כ"ב

חביבין ישראל שנקראו בנים למקום^א חיבה יתירה
נודעת להם שנקראו בנים למקום^ב שנ' בנים אתם לי^ג
אלהיכם :

כ"ג

חביבין ישראל שניתן להם כליי שבו נברא העולם^ד
חיבה יתירה נודעת להם שניתן להם כלי שבו נברא
העולם^ה שנ' כי לקח טוב נתתי לכם תורת^וי אל תעזבו :

כ"ד

הכל צפוי והרשות נתונה ובטוב העולם נרון והכל
לפי המעשה^ז :

כ"ה

הוא היה אומר הכל נתון בעירבון והמצודה פרושה^ח
על כל החיים החנות פתוחה והחנוני מקיף והפנקס פתוחה^ט

^א כנ"א חסר למקום

^ב כנ"א חסר כאן שנקראו בנים (למקום)

^ג כ"א כלי חמדה כאן ולהלן

^ד כנ"א חסרו כאן התנות שבו נברא העולם

^ה כנ"א חסר כאן המאמר שנתן להם כלי (חמדה) שבו נברא העולם

^ו כ"א לפי רוב המעשה. ובספר אחר מנינו לא הכל לפי רוב המעשה.

^ז וי"ג אבל לא ע"פ המעשה

^ח כ"א פתוח

^ט כ"א ומצודה פרוסה

אבות פרק שלישי עקביה

י"ח

ו' ישמעאל אומר הוי קל ראש ונוח תשחרות" והוי מקבל את כל האדם בשמחה :

י"ט

רבי עקיבה אומר שחוק וקלות ראש מרגילין את האדם לערוהב :

כ

הוא היה אומר מסורותי סייג לתורהי נדרים סייג לפרישות סייג לחכמה שתיקה :

כ"א

הוא היה אומר חביב אדם שנברא בצלם" שנ' כי בצלם אלהים עשה את האדם :

א ככל הספרים מנינו כאן הוי קל לראש ונוח לתשחורת ויש פרושים שונים על משנה זו וז"ע

ב כ"א מרגילין לערוה (פ"א לדבר עבירה)

ג כ"א מסורת בלשון ימיד ועוד כספור התיבות הוא היה אומר

ד חסר כאן מעשרות סייג לעושר

ה כ"א חיבה יתירה נודעת לו (ושנברא בצלם אלהים). וי"א שאין ראיה

מהמקראי שהקב"ה הודיע לשום אדם שנברא בלמו עד שבא נח ונאמר לו שפך

דם האדם באדם דמו ישפך כי בצלם אלהים עשה את האדם ומ"מ לא נודעת

מנה זו לאדם"ר (עיין דרך חיים למהר"ל מפראג)

י"ד

הוא היה אומ' כל שמעשיו מרובים מחכמתו חכמתו
מתקיימת וכל שחכמתו מרובה ממעשיו אין חכמתו
מתקיימת :

ט"ז

הוא היה אומר כל שרוח הבריות נוחה ממנו רוח
המקום נוחה הימנו וכל שאין רוח הבריות נוחה ממנו
א"י רוח המקום נוחה הימנו :

ט"ז

ו דוסא בן הרכינס אומר שינתב שחרית ויין של
צהריים ושיחת הילדים וישיבת בתי כנסיות של עמי הארץ
מוציאין את האדם מן העולם :

י"ז

ו ליעזר המודעי אומר המחלל את הקדשים והמבזה
את המועדות והמפר בריתו של אברהם אבינו והמגלה
פנים בתורה אף על פי שיש בידו מעשים טובים אין לו
חלק לעולם הבא :

א כ"א הימנו. ובס"א חסר המאמר וכל שאין בו

ב כ"א שינה של

ג בס"א נוסף כאן שלא כהלכה ועוד נוסף בין כאן בין לעיל (לפני

המאמר והמפר בו) והמלבין פני חבירו ברבים

ד כ"א תורה ומעשים טובים

אבות פרק שלישי עקביה

ואומר מה נאה אילן זה" מה נאה אילן זה ומה נאה ניר
זה- מעלין עליו- כאילו מתחייב בנפשו :

י"ב

ו' דוסתי בך ינאי אומר משם ו' מאיר אומר תלמיד
חכם שהוא יושב ושונה ושכח דבר אחד ממשנתו מעלין
עליו- כאילו מתחייב בנפשו שני 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 ויסירם מלבו :

י"ג

ו' חנניה בן דוסא אומר כל שיראת הטא קודמת
לחכמתו חכמתו מתקיימת וכל שחכמתו קודמת ליראת
הטא אין חכמתו מתקיימת :

א בנ"א כמנא מה נאה אילן זה ע"ס א' בלבד

ב נ"א ומה נאה נירא זו

ג נ"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 נ"א ושוכח. וי"ג כל השוכח תחת תלמיד וכו'

ו נ"א תלמודו תחת דבר נאחר ממשנתו

כך הוא בחסור מלת בנפשו

ח נ"א עד שישב לו

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אבות פרק שלישי עקביה

ומנין אפילו שלשה שנ' ואגודתו על ארץ יסדה ומנין
אפילו שנים שנ' אז נדברו יראי יו' איש את"י 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 בדודי כי ממך הכל
ומידך נתנו לך :

י"א

ו יעקבי אומר המהלך בדרך ושונה ומפסיק משנתו

א נ"ל אל ע' מלאכי ג' ט"ז ב נ"א חסר בן יהודה

ג נ"א וכן ברוד הוא אומר ד נ"א רבי שמעון

ה נ"א ממשנתו: וא"ת למה נורת הפתח תחת הנון בכ"י שלפנינו וי"ל
שכ"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 אדוניי פי' הא דכתי' אדוני דמשמע
לשון רבים מדלא כתי' אדוני בחירק ואח"כ אמר אל נא תעבור דמשמע לשון
יחיד אלא האמירה היא לאחד וקראם כולם אדוניי לכך קאמר אדוני בלשון רבים.
וא"ת אי לשון רבים הוי למכתב אדני בעת דמשמע לשון רבים וי"ל בקמץ
משמע לשון יחיד וגם לשון רבים וכן מורה הנקודה שהוא קמץ והוא מורכב מן
פתח שהוא לשון רבים ומן חירק שהוא לשון יחיד ולפיכך השם שהוא קדוש
נקוד בקמץ לפי שהקב"ה יחיד ודרך כבוד אומרים לו לשון רבים ומפני שכלן
הוא מדבר לגדול וקראם כולם אדוניים לכן קאמר אדני בקמץ שהוא ליחיד
ומדבר אותו בלשון רבים וזה שכיון רש"י לפרש על ויאמר ה': לגדול שבהם
אמר וקראם כולם אדוניים כדי לתרץ לשון אדני בקמץ

ח

ו' ישמעאל בנוי אומר הלמד על מנת ללמד מספיקין בידו ללמוד וללמד הלמד על מנת לעשות מספיקין בידו ללמוד וללמד ולעשות :

ט

ו' צדוק אומרי אל תעשם עמרה להתגדל בהן ולא קרדום לאבלי מהן וכך היה הלל אומר ודי אשתמש בתנא חלף הא כל הנאותי מדברי תורה נטל חייו מן העולם :

ו' יוסי אומר כל המכבד את התורה גופו מכובד על הבריות וכל המחלל את התורה גופו מחולל על הבריות :

א בנ"א חסר בנו

ב הנה מנינו בפרוש המיוחס לרש"י : הכי גרסינן אין מספיקין בידו ללמוד וללמד עכ"ל. ואולי זה הנכון כי המעין אע"פ ללמד לאקריס ואינו מבקש לעשות אין חכמתו מתקיימת

ג בנ"א נוסף כאן לשמור

ד בנ"א נוסף כאן תלמידי חכמים. וי"ג אל תפרוש מן הצבור כו'

ה לפי קנת הספרים מדבר בלשון יסיד כאן ולקמן באומרו אל תעשה וג'

ו כך הוא בלי וי"ו. ובנ"א נמנא לאכול ממנה. וי"ג לחפור בהם

ז כ"א הא (למדת) כל הנהנה

ד

אי זה הוא מכובד המכבד את הבריות שנ' כי מכבדני
אכבד ובחוי יקלו :

ה

בן עזאי אומר הוי ריץ למצוה קלה ובורח 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 מויד בחילול השם :

א כנ"א נוסף כאן כנבאמורה וע' פ"ב מ"א

ב כ"א וברח

ג בכל הספרים יש כאן שתי משניות ואלו הן : ר' לויטס איש יבנהי אומר
מאד (מאד) הוי שפל רוח (בפני כל האדם) שתקות אנוש רמה : ר' יוחנן בן
ברוקה אומר כל המחלל ונ' :

ד כ"א אחד בשונג ואחד במויד ולא נמנא בחילול השם

פרק רביעי

א

בן זומא אומר אי זה הוא " חנם הלמד מכל אדם -
שנ' מכל מלמדי השכלתי : "

ב

אי זה הוא גיבור הכובש את יצרו שנ' טוב אך 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 :

ב כ"א חסר אדם

י כך הוא בלא יוד

א כ"א איזהו כאן ובמשניות האחרות

י כ"ג כי עדותיך וי'

ה כ"א לעולם וכמו כן נתחלפו התבות ב' ול' בהרבה מקומות

אבות פרק שלישי עקביה

ועוקרתו והופכתו על פניו וכל ששמעשיו מרובים מהכמתו
למה הוא דומה לאילן שענפיו מעוטים ושרשיו מרובים
אפילו כל הרוחות באות עליו אינן מזיזות אותו ממקומו :

כ"ח

ו לעזר הסמה"י אומר קינים ופתחי נדה הן הן גופי
תורה הלכות תקופות וגימטרייהי פרפראות" לחכמה :

א שני והיה כשרש ברבה ולא יראה כי יבוא טוב ושכן חרדים במדבר
ארץ מלחה ולא תשב: פסוק זה כוסף לראיה בהרבה ספרים

ב כ"א אבל כל

ג כ"א מעטין

ד כ"א שאפילו כל הרוחות שבעולם באות ונושבות בו אין מזיזות (כ"א
מזיזים) אותו ממקומו שני והיה כעץ שתול על (פלג) מים ועל יובל ישלח
שרשיו ולא יראה כי יבא חם והיה עלהו רענן ובשנת בצרת לא ידאג ולא ימיש
מעשות פרי

ה ר"ל חסמה וכך הוא במסכת תרומות פ"ג מ"ה ומפורש טעם שם החכם
הזה בויקרא רבה אחרי מות ע' כ"ג ו"ג בן (כ"א בר) חסמה

ו כ"א חסמה מלת תורה

ז כ"א וגימטריאאות כלסון רביס

ח כ"א פרפריות. כן גרסת הערוך. וא"כ פי' כלסון יוני עגולה ששאר
החכמות סובבות הסכמה האמתית שהיא כמרכז ונקודה תוך העגולה

והיד כותבת וכל הרוצה ללוות בא ולוה"ה והגבאין מחזרין תמיד בכל יום ונפרעים מן האדם לדעתו ושלא לדעתו ויש להם על מה שיסמכו והדין דין אמת והכל מותקן למעודה :

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"ה

א כ"א יבא וילוה. וי"ג וכל הרוצה ליטול בא ונוטל. ובס"א חסר המאמר
לגמרי

ב כ"א מחזרין תדיר
ג כ"א מדעתו
ד ס"א שיסמכו
ה כ"א מתוקן

י בס"א נתסלק סדר מאמריה של משנה זו. ובכ"י הנו' (Add. 667) מנאמי : 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

י כ"א מועמין
י"ג כ"ל באה

אבות פרק שלישי עקביה

כ"ב

חביבין ישראל שנקראו בנים למקום^א חיבה יתירה
נודעת להם שנקראו בנים למקום^ב שנ' בנים אתם לי^ג
אלהיכם :

כ"ג

חביבין ישראל שניתן להם כליי שבו נברא העולם^ד
חיבה יתירה נודעת להם שניתן להם כלי שבו נברא
העולם^ה שנ' כי לקח טוב נתתי לכם תורת^וי אל תעזובו :

כ"ד

הכל צפוי והרשות נתונה ובטוב העולם נדון והכל
לפי המעשה^זי :

כ"ה

הוא היה אומר הכל נתון בעירבון והמצודה פרושה^ח
על כל החיים החנות פתוחה והחנוני מקיף והפנקס פתוחה^ט

^א כנ"א חסר למקום

^ב כנ"א חסר כאן שנקראו בנים (למקום)

^ג כ"א כלי חמדה כאן ולהלן

^ד כנ"א חסרו כאן התנות שבו נברא העולם

^ה כנ"א חסר כאן המאמר שנתן להם כלי (חמדה) שבו נברא העולם

^ו כ"א לפי רוב המעשה. וכספר אחר מזינו לא הכל לפי רוב המעשה.

^ז וי"ג אבל לא ע"פ המעשה

^ח כ"א פתוח

^ט כ"א ומצודה פרוסה

אבות פרק שלישי עקביה

י"ח

ו' ישמעאל אומר הוי קל ראש ונוח תשחרותי והוי מקבל את כל האדם בשמחה :

י"ט

רבי עקיבה אומר שחוק וקלות ראש מרגילין את האדם לערוהב :

כ

הוא היה אומר מסורותי סייג לתורהי נדרים סייג לפרישות סייג לחכמה שתיקה :

כ"א

הוא היה אומר חביב אדם שנברא בצלם^ה שני^ה כי בצלם אלהים עשה את האדם :

א ככל הספרים מנינו כאן הוי קל לראש ונוח לתשחורת ויש פרושים שונים על משנה זו ונ"ע

ב נ"א מרגילין לערוה (ס"א לדבר עבירה)

ג נ"א מסורת כלשון ימיד ועוד נמסור 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 בכלמו עד שבא נח ונאמר לו שפך דם האדם באדם דמו ישפך כי בצלם אלהים עשה את האדם ומ"מ לא נודעת מזה זו לאדם"ר (עיין דרך חיים למהר"ל מפראג)

י"ד

הוא היה אומ' כל שמעשיו מרובים מחכמתו חכמתו
מתקיימת וכל שחכמתו מרובה ממעשיו אין חכמתו
מתקיימת :

ט"ז

הוא היה אומר כל שרוח הבריות נוחה ממנו רוח
המקום נוחה הימנו וכל שאין רוח הבריות נוחה ממנו
א"י רוח המקום נוחה הימנו :

ט"ז

י דוסא בן הרכינס אומר שינתב שחרית ויין של
צהריים ושיחת הילדים וישיבת בתי כנסיות של עמי הארץ
מוציאין את האדם מן העולם :

י"ז

י ליעזר המודעי אומר המחלל את הקדשים והמבזה
את המועדות והמפר בריתו של אברהם אבינו והמגלה
פנים בתורה אף על פי שיש בידו מעשים טובים אין לו
חלק לעולם הבא :

א נ"א הימנו. ונס"א חסר המאמר וכל שאין בו

ב נ"א שינה של

ג נס"א נוסף כאן שלא כהלכה ועוד נוסף בין כאן בין לעיל (לפני

המאמר והמפר בו) והמלבין פני חבירו ברבים

ד נ"א תורה ומעשים טובים

אבות פרק שלישי עקביה

ואמר מה נאה אילן זה" מה נאה אילן זה ומה נאה ניר זה - מעלין עליו: כאילו מתחייב בנפשו:

י"ב

ר' דוסתי בר' ינאי אומר: משם ר' מאיר אומר: תלמיד חכם שהוא יושב ושונה ושכח דבר אחד ממשנתו מעלין עליו: כאילו מתחייב בנפשו שני 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" ויסירם מלבו:

י"ג

ר' חנניה בן דוסא אומר: כל שיראת חטאו קודמת לחכמתו חכמתו מתקיימת וכל שחכמתו קודמת ליראת חטאו אין חכמתו מתקיימת:

א כ"א נמנא מה נאה אילן זה פעם א' כלבד

ב כ"א ומה נאה נירא זו

ג כ"א מעלה עליו הכתוב

ד כך הוא כ"א אשר לפנינו וכמו כן כ"א הנ"ל (וגם זה שמור בבית

עקד הספרים אשר למדרש החכמה 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 בחסור מלת בנפשו

ז כ"א עד שישב לו

(77)

אבות פרק שלישי עקביה

ומנין אפילו שלשה שנ' ואגודתו על ארץ יסדה ומנין
אפילו שנים שנ' אז נדברו יראי יו"א איש את" רעהו
ומנין אפילו אחד שנ' בכל המקום אשר אזכיר את שמי
אבוא אליך וברכתך :

ו לעזר בן יהודה איש ברתותה אומר תן לו משלו
שאתה ושלך שלו וכן הוא אומר בדודי כי ממך הכל
ומידך נתנו לך :

י"א

ו יעקבי אומר המהלך בדרך ושונה ומפסיק משנתו

א נ"ל אל ע' מלאכי ג' ט"ז ב ננ"א חסר בן יהודה
ג נ"א וכן ברוד הוא אומר ד נ"א רבי שמעון

ה נ"א ממשנתו: וז"ל למה נורת הפתח תחת הנון ככ"י שלפנינו וי"ל
שכס"י דומה נורת הקמץ לפתח שתחתיה חירק אזל 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 אדוניי פי' הא דכתי' אדוניי דמשמע
לשון רבים מדלא כתי' אדוניי בחירק ואח"כ אמר אל נא תעבור דמשמע לשון
יחיד אלא האמירה היא לאחד וקראם כולם אדוניי לכך קאמר אדוניי בלשון רבים.
וז"ל אי לשון רבים הוי למכתב אדניי בפתח דמשמע לשון רבים וי"ל בקמץ
משמע לשון יחיד וגם לשון רבים וכן מורה הנקודה שהוא קמץ והוא מורכב מן
פתח שהוא לשון רבים ומן חירק שהוא לשון יחיד ולפיכך השם שהוא קדוש
נקוד בקמץ לפי שהקב"ה יחיד ודרך כבוד אומרים לו לשון רבים ומפני שכל
הוא מדבר לגדול וקראם כולם אדוניי לכן קאמר אדניי בקמץ שהוא ליחיד
ומדבר אותו בלשון רבים וזה שכיון רש"י לפרש על ויאמר ה': לגדול שבהם
אמר וקראם כולם אדוניי כדי לתרץ לשון אדניי בקמץ

ו

אבל שלשה שהיו אוכלין על שלחן אחד ואמרו עליו
דברי תורה כאילו אכלו משלחנו 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' חמשהי שנ' בקרב אלהים ישפוט

א ז"ל אלי

ב ז"ל רבי חנינא

ג ז"ל שכינה כדלעיל מ' ג'

ד דע כי בספרים הרבה נתחלק סדר הראיות אשר הביא ר' חלפתא על הג'
והה' כי השלטה נתיחדו שם לענין הדין והמטה לענין האגודה ועיין היטב
תוספות דמסכת סוכה דף י"ג ע"א ד"ה בשלש. ונפ"ק דברכות זכרו
מהמנינים הנ"ל העשרה והשלטה והשנים והאחד ועוד הביאו הראיות אשר
הביא כאן ר' חלפתא אבל לא זכרו מספר המטה

ג

ר' חנניה 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 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 בדרך וידום כי נמל עליו :

ה

ר' שמעון אומר שלשה שהיו אוכלין על שלחן אחד ולא אמרו עליו דברי תורה הריהו כאילו אכלו מזבחי מתים שנ' כי כל שלחנות מלאו קיא צואה בלי מקום :

א נ"א ועוסקין בתורה כאן ולהלן במ' ט' ויש עוד נ"א ויש ביניהם דברי תורה

ב נ"א עמהם ויש עוד נ"א שרויה ביניהם כאן ולהלן במ' ט'

ג נ"א אין לי אלא שנים מנין שאפילו אחד שיושב ועוסק בתורה שהקב"ה קובע לו שכר ועיין ברכות דף ו' ע"א

ד נ"א שאכלו ויש שנויים אחרים כזה במשניות אחרות

ה נ"א חסר הרי

פרק שלישי

א

עקביה בן מהללאל אומר השתכלי בשלשה דברים ואין באתי בא לידי עבירה דע מאין באתה ולאין אתה הולך ולפני מי אתה עתיד ליתן דין וחשבון דעי מאין באתה מטיפה סרוחה ולאין אתה הולך לרמה ותולעהי ולפני מי אתה עתיד ליתן דין וחשבון לפני מלך מלכי המלכים ברוך הוא:

ב

ר' חנניה סגן הכהנים אומר הוי מתפלל בשלומה של מלכות שאילולי מוראה איש את רעהו חיים בלענו:

א נ"א הסתכל
ב כ"א ואי
ג כך הוא בזמנך י"א ט"ו
ד נ"א ולאן
ה כנ"א ספר דע
ו נ"א למקום (עפר) רמה (נ"א רמה) ותולעה
ז נ"א הקב"ה
ח נ"א חנינא כאן ובסאר מקומות
ט נ"א שאלמלא
י נ"א בלעו בלשון נסתר

אבות פרק שני רבי אומר

ברוך הוא שני כי אל רחום וחנון הוא ארך אפים ורב חסד^א
ואל תהי רשע בפני עצמך :

י"ח

ו לעזר אומר הוי שקד ללמוד תורהי מה שתשיב
לאפיקורוס ודע לפני מי אתה עמל ומי הוא בעל מלאכתך :

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 :

א כ"א כי (אל) חנון ורחום הוא ארך אפים ורב חסד ונחם על הרעה

ב כ"א שקוד

ג כנ"א נוסף כאן ודע

ד כ"א ונאמן הוא בעל מלאכתך כדלקמן במשנה י"ט. ועוד ברוב הספרים

תמצא גם כאן התיבות הנכתבות עם שישלם לך שכר פעולתך

ה כ"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 מנחלתן שמא תכווה שנשיכתן נשיכת שועל
 ועקיצתן עקיצת עקרב ולחישתן לחישת שרף וכל דבריהם
 כנחלי אש :

ט"ו

ו' יהושע אומר עין רעה ויצר הרע ושנאת הבריות
 מוציאין את האדם מן העולם :

ט"ז

ו' יוסי אומר יהי ממון חבירך חביב עליך כשלך התקויה
 עצמך ללמוד תורה שאינה ירשה 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 שבס"א קסר והוי מתחמם כנ"א של חכמים. ועוד להלן

ג כ"א בנחלתן שלא תכוה

ד כנ"א קסר חביב

ה כ"א הרע

ו כ"א רחמים ותחנונים

ז כ"א והתקן

אומר משמו אם יהיו כל חכמי ישראל בכף מאזנים
 ואליעזר בן הורקנוס עמהן" ואלעזר בן ערך בכף שניה מכריע
 את כולם :

י"ב

אמר להם צאו וראו אי זו היא דרך טובה^י שידבק
 בה אדם רבי ליעזר אומר עין טובה ו' יהושע אומר חבר
 טוב ו' יוסי אומר שכן טוב ו' שמעון אומר הרואה את
 הנולד ו' 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 ו' ליעזר אומר עין רעה ו' יהושע אומר חבר רע ו'
 יוסי אומר שכן רע ו' שמעון אומר הלווה ואינו משלם אחד
 לווה מן האדם כלווה מן המקום ברוך הואי שנ' לווה רשע
 ולא ישלם וצדיק חונן ונותן ו' לעזר אומר לב רע אמר להם
 רואה אני את דברי אלעזר בן ערך מדבריכם שבכלל דבריו
 דבריכם :

א נ"א אף עמהם

ב נ"א ישרה עיין משנה א' דפרק זה

ג נ"א חסר' מלת מדבריכם כאן ולקמן במשנה י"ג

ד נ"א כאלו לווה מן המקום. וחסר ב' ה' כאן ובסאר מקומות

אבות פרק שני רבי אומר

שלום קנה שם טוב קנה לעצמו קנה לו דברי תורה קנה
לו חיי העולם הבא :

ט

רבן יוחנן בן זכאי קבל מהלל ומשמאי הוא היה אומר
אם עשיתי תורה הרבה אל תחזק טובה לעצמך כי לכך
נוצרתה :

י

חמשה תלמידים היו לו לרבן יוחנן בן זכאי ואילו הן
ו' אליעזר בן הורקנוס וו' יהושע בן חנניה וו' יוסי הכהן
וו' שמעון בן נתנאל וו' אלעזר בן ערך הוא היה מונה
שבחן אליעזר בן הורקנוס בור סיד שאינו מאבד טיפה
יהושע בן חנניה אשרי יולדתו יוסי הכהן חסיד 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 ז"ג כאן למדת עיין מ' י"ט. והרי יש גרסין טובה תחת תורה
ב לפי מיעוט ההפרש בין שם אלעזר לשם אליעזר תמצא זה תחת זה
במקומות הרבה
ג ז"ג כאן ר' קודם שמות ר' אליעזר וסברו כי אפילו אם תאמר שכבר
נסמכו קס"ד שרבן יוחנן קרא לתלמידיו בשם ר'
ד בקנת הספרים חסר כאן שם אביו של ר' יהושע
ה נ"א יוסי במקור כנוי הכהן
ו נ"א כמעין

אבות פרק שני רבי אומר

שתגיע למקומו ואל תאמר דבר שאיפשר לו להשמע
שסופו ואל תאמר כשאפנהי אשנה 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 מחכים 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 מרבה שפחות מרבה זמה מרבה עבדים
מרבה גזל מרבה נשים מרבה כשפים מרבה תורה מרבה
חיים מרבה חכמה מרבה ישיבה מרבה צדקה מרבה

א נ"א שאי אפשר לשמוע. אבל הפי' המיוחס 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 אונך לשמוע עכ"ל

ב ואפשר לקרות וסופו. ומ"מ נריך להוסיף כאן מלת להשמע

ג נ"א לכשאפנה ד כך הוא בכ"י

ה ברוב הספרים מזינו כאן התיבות הנכתבות להלן מרבה נשים
מרבה כשפים

י נ"א מרבה ישיבה מרבה חכמה. עוד מנאתי נוסף מרבה עצה מרבה

תבונה (נ"א תורה)

עם הציבור יהיו עמלים עמקן לשם שמים שזכות אבותם
מסייעתן וצדקתן עומדת לעד ואתם מעלין עליכם שכרי
כאלו עשיתם :

ג

הוא זהירים ברשות שאין מקרבין לאדם אלא לצורך
עצמן ונראין 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 מן הציבור ואל
תאמן בעצמך עד יום מותך ואל תדין את חבירך עד

א נ"א עוסקים וכמו כן לעיל העוסקים תחת העמלים

ב נ"א מעלה אני

ג ל"ג שכר הרבה

ד בנ"א נוספה מלת לו כאן ולהלן במשנה זו לפני מלת לאדם

ה נ"א נראין

ו בנ"א חסר ו אבל בכ"י הנ"ל נמצאת תיבת ו

ז בנ"א חסר עצמך

פרק שני

א

רבי אומר אי זו היא דרך ישרה שיבור לו האדם כל שהיא תפארת לעושה תפארת^א 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 ראיהי 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 לגורדי עון וכל העמלים

^א כ"א ותפארת ^ב כ"א כבחמורה

^י ככ"י אחד אשר ראיתי ספר מה ואולי זה הנכון עיין פרושי כלסון אנגלית ^ד ספר ויו

^ה כתיב כאן עון וכל וכתיב להלן עון וכל וזו סבת ט"ס ככ"י הנ"ל שהתאמר וכל תורה וכו' נשכח טס לגמרי ^י כ"א וגורדת

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 שתיקה^א לאי 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 השלוסי :

א כ"א משתיקה תקת אלא שתיקה

ב כ"א ולא ויש כן כ"א לא מדרש הוא עיקר אלא מעשה

ג כ"א עומד עיין לעיל מ' ב'

ד שנ' אמת ומשפט שלום שפטו בשעריכם. התיבות האלו נוספו לראיה

כרוב הספרים. אבל כפי' המיוחס לרש"י הנדפס עם ספר ד"ק למהר"ל

מפראג בקריקא בשנת שמ"ט לפ"ק מנאתי דברים הללו: ובמשנה טברנית

אין כתיב שם פסוק

אבות פרק ראשון משה קבל

י"ב

אבטליון אומר חכמי' הוהרו 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 שמאי' אבד שמאי' די לא מוסיף
יסוף ודילא יילף קמלא חייב ודי אשתמש בתגאי חלף :

ט"ז

הוא היה אומר אם אין אני לי מי לי וכשאני לעצמי מה
אני אם' לא עכשיו אמתי :

א נ"ח שמה

ב נ"ח ודלא יוסיף יסיף

ג נ"ח ודלא ילף

ד ופעטר לקרות בתגא ל"ד הרמב"ס ז"ל: ונאמר עוד על דרך הסימן

(ס"י השנוס) תלמיד אין גברא אחרינא לא עכ"ל

ה נ"ח ואם

ח

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"ה 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 :

א נ"א כערכי"ה ב נ"א וכשהיו בעלי דינין

ג נ"א כוכאין

ד נ"א כשקבלו ויש עוד נ"א לכשקבלו ה נ"א זריו

י בנ"א מצאתי גם כאן המאמר המיוסס לאבטליון חכמים הזהרו בדבריכם
י ברוב הספרים חסר כאן ואל תתיאש וי' וזה הנכון עיין לעיל מסנה ס'.
וא"ת מ"ט נשנו התיבות הכ"ל וי"ל שאולי טעה המעתיק מפני קרוב המבטא
בין מלת לרשות ומלת לרשע ולפיכך נוסף כאן המאמר הנכתב שם אחר מלת
לרשע

ד

יוסי בן יעזר איש צרדה ויוסי בן יוחנן איש ירושלם
קבלו מהן יוסי בן יעזר איש צרידה אומר יהי ביתך בית
וועד לחכמים והוי מתאבק בעפר רגליהן ושותה בצמאה:
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 שיחה עם האשה גורם
רעה לעצמו ובוטל מדברי תורה וסופו יורשי גיהנם:

ז

יהושע בן פרחיא ומתאיי הארבלי קבלו מהם יהושע בן
פרחיה אומר עשה לך רב וקנה לך חבר והוי דן את כל
האדם לכף זכות:

א בנ"א נקרא כל אחד מצ' התנאים האלה בשם יוסף

ב בנ"א חסר כאן איש צרידה. וי"ג לעיל קבלו ממנו

ג עיין ירמיה ב' כ"ה. ונ"א והוי שותה בצמא

ד נ"א מכאן ה נ"א כל המרבה

ו נ"א יורד ל' ויש עוד נ"א יורש ל'

ז בכל הספרים מזינו כאן ולקמן מלת נתאי במקום מתאי

מסכתא דאבות

פרק ראשון

א

משה קבל תורה מסיני ומסרה ליהושע ויהושע לזקנים
וזקנים לנביאים ונביאים מסרוה לאנשי כנסת הגדולה הן
אמרו שלשה דברים היו מתונים בדין והעמידו תלמידים
הרבה ועשו סייג לתורה :

ב

שמעון הצדיק היה משידי כנסת הגדולה הוא היה אומר
על שלשה דברים העולם עומד על התורה ועל העבודה ועל
גמילות חסדים :

ג

אנטיגנוס 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 אומר

מביא נאולה 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 והנהות ועם פרוש בלשון אנגלית

ופרק רבי מאיר

כפי הנוסחה הנודעה עם פרוש קנר

חברו

כארולום טילור

ראש לחברת יוחנן הקדוש המבשר

הוצאה שניה

קאנטאבריא

בבית הדפוס אשר למדרש החכמה

שנת תרנ"ז לפ"ס

דברי אבות העולם

~~DEC 1 1961~~

DEC 12 '65

JAN 6 '64

FEB 5 '64

~~MAY 23 '64~~

~~MAY 18 '64~~

~~JUN 10 '65~~

~~NOV 15 1965~~

~~OCT 31 '67~~

~~FEB 18 '68 MAR 13 1972~~

~~MAY 20 1972~~

~~NOV 24 1973~~

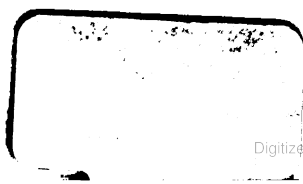
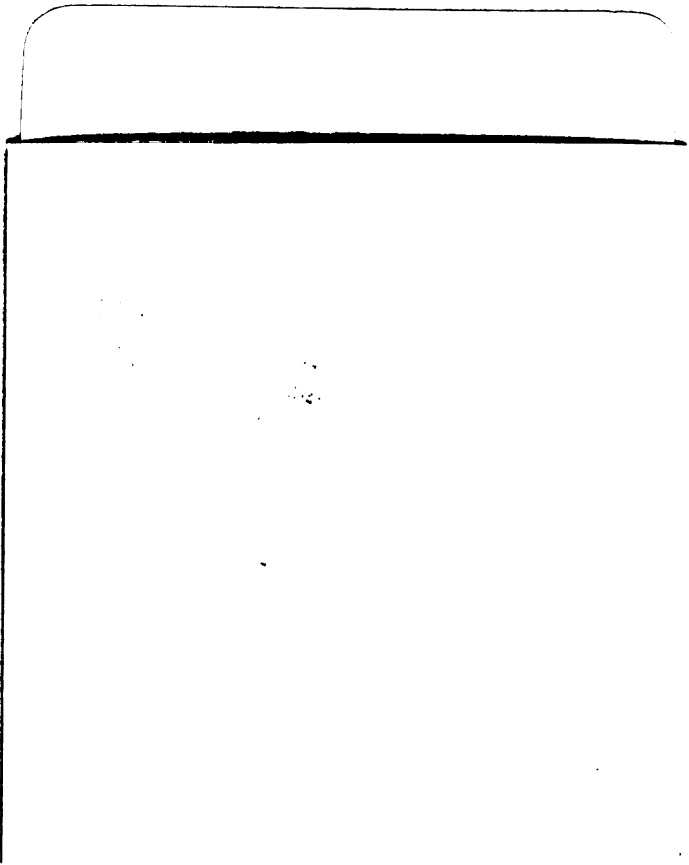
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