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DIBRE ABOTH HA-OLAM.

SAYINGS

OF

THE JEWISH FATHERS.

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SAYINGS
OF
THE JEWISH FATHERS

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

EDITED FOR THE SYNDICS OF THE CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

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

Cambridge
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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 באשתו אמרו כו' (I. 6). Readings of this fragment are ענוים with *pathach* under the *nun* (I. 5, cf. Aboth R. N.), רחק for הרחק & תתיואש with *vau* (I. 8), דרך הארץ *bis* with art. (III. 26), הגיבור & החכם (III. 27), באת ופוכרתו והופכתו & שענפיו *bis* for שניפיו with art. (IV. 1, 2). Another fragment in the same hand reads סוד (?) with *vau* (II. 10), שלושה שלושה *bis* (II. 11), שבכלל דבריו מדבריכם *bis* (II. 12, 13), תורה מה שתשיב את לך without ירושה (II. 14), דברים (II. 16), 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 בְּךָ for *that will accompany thee more than thousands of precious treasures*. Professor Margoliouth in the *Athenaeum* for July 31, 1897 finds κάρδαμον transliterated in Ecclus. xl. 16 בְּקַרְדָּמוֹת and Aboth iv. 9 קִרְדָּוִם לֵאכֹל. In connexion with the *chariot* (p. 169) and with ὁ πορπηός (p. 192) see *Semitic Studies in mem.* КОНУТ 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. παισεται 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 η̅η̅' ελπις μου
 υψιστον εθηκας οικητηριον σου.
 10. ου μεταχθησεται προς σε κακια
 και αφη ουκ εγγισει εν σκεπη σου.
 11. οτι αγγελοις αυτου εντελится σε
 του φυλαξαι σε εν πασαις οδοις σου.
 12. επι ταρσων αρουσιν σε
 μηποτε προσκοψη εν λιθω [πους σου].
 13. επι λεενα και ασπιδα πατησεις.
- Psalm xci. 4. [εν κι]θαρα. verso
 5. [οτι ηυφρανas με η̅η̅'] εν κατεργω σου
 [εν ποιημασι] χειρων σου αινεσω.
 6. [ως εμεγαλυνθη] ποιηματα σου η̅η̅'
 σφοδρα [εβαθυνθ]ησαν λογισμοι σου.
 7. [ανηρ] ασυνετος ου γνωσεται
 και ανοητος ου συνησει συν ταυτην.
 8. εν τω βλαστησαι ασεβεις ομοιως χλοη
 και ηνθησαν παντες κατεργαζομενοι
 ανωφελες
 εκτριβηναι αυτους εως ετι.
 9. και σοι υψιστος εις αιωνα η̅η̅'.
 10. ιδου οι εχθροι σου η̅η̅' ‡
 ιδου οι εχθροι σου απολουνται
 [σκορπι]σθησονται παντες κατεργαζο
 [μενοι ανωφελες].

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

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

‡ The Name is written in archaic Hebrew characters.

וְכִנְיָהּ לְיִשְׂרָאֵל מִן הַמִּצְוָה לְבָנוֹת שֶׁלֹּא יִהְיֶה לָהֶן כְּנִיָּה
עֲדָיָה לְיִשְׂרָאֵל בְּשָׁעָה שֶׁהָיָה נִכְרָא אֶת לְיִשְׂרָאֵל וְהָיָה
אֶת צִדְקָה שֶׁהָיָה מִשְׁלֵשׁ בְּמִוְעָדָהּ

מחפזות הדיןנות בהשג יורה זה אחר מלפני מופת חורגת
מופת בדיןנות לכוון מועד ותיירי זה דורשנות חורגת
בדיןנות לכוון מועד יחוסה זה הן חכמים על ישיבה

וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת הַקּוֹל
 וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת הַקּוֹל
 וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת הַקּוֹל

וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת הַקּוֹל
וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת הַקּוֹל
וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת הַקּוֹל
וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת הַקּוֹל

אמר קרית מנצח ה' יי אלהינו
עליון חסדו עבדותו ויהי שם
עמו

על אלהים שנתן לנו חיים ושלום ופירות הארץ
 שנתן לנו חיים ושלום ופירות הארץ
 שנתן לנו חיים ושלום ופירות הארץ
 שנתן לנו חיים ושלום ופירות הארץ

היה קיון שנה של עשרים ושש חודשים
וזהו המעשה הזה

[Faint, mostly illegible handwritten text from a manuscript page.]

אשר יבין כי ה' אלהיו
אשר יבין כי ה' אלהיו
אשר יבין כי ה' אלהיו
אשר יבין כי ה' אלהיו
אשר יבין כי ה' אלהיו

וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת-קוֹל יְהוֹנָדָה
 וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת-קוֹל יְהוֹנָדָה

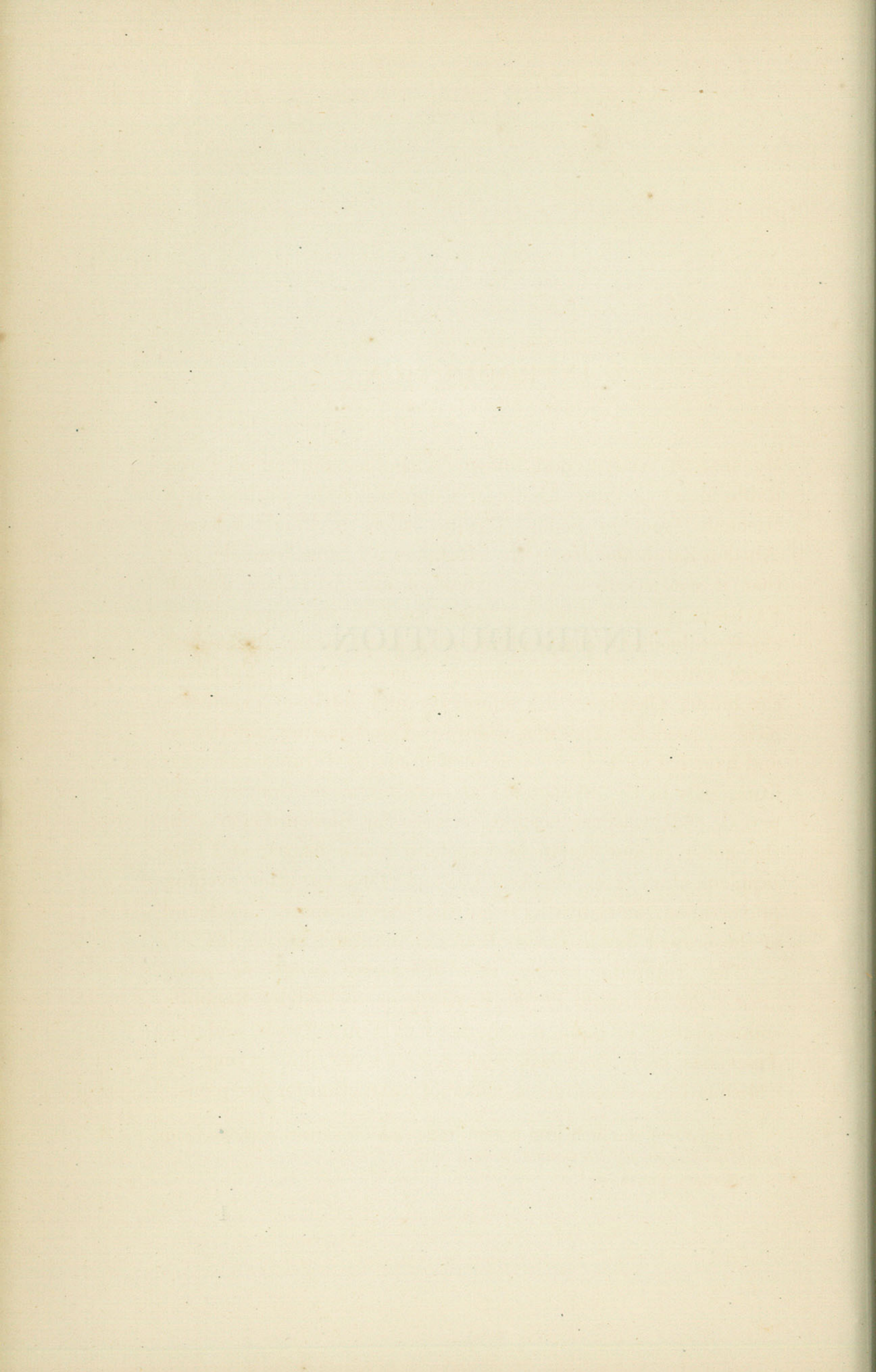
הענין הזה ויבין כי זהו
הענין הזה ויבין כי זהו
הענין הזה ויבין כי זהו

חזקתה חס לה כהן אהרן
חזקתה חס לה כהן אהרן

19

This image shows a fragment of an ancient papyrus scroll, featuring two columns of handwritten text in a cursive script, characteristic of the Nag Hammadi library. The papyrus is heavily aged, with a yellowish-brown hue and significant physical damage, including numerous holes, tears, and irregular edges. The text is written in dark ink, and while some characters are legible, many are obscured by the physical degradation of the material. The script appears to be a form of Coptic or a related early Christian dialect. The fragment is irregular in shape, with the top and right edges being particularly jagged and broken. The background is a plain, light-colored surface, which contrasts with the textured and stained papyrus.

INTRODUCTION.



INTRODUCTION.

MASSEKETH ABOTH, best known [with the addition of Pereq Rabbi Meir] as Pirqe Aboth, or Chapters of the Fathers, is a Mishnah Tract in Seder Neziqin, where it stands between 'Abodah Zarah and Horaioth. It takes its name from the fact that it consists to a great extent of maxims of the Jewish FATHERS whose names are mentioned in its pages, and is chiefly valued as a compendium of practical ethics, although it is not without a mystical element in portions of its Fifth and concluding Chapter. Its simplicity and intrinsic excellence have secured for ABOTH a widespread and lasting popularity, and have led to its being excerpted from the Talmud and used liturgically in the Synagogue, at certain seasons, from an early period. "It was the custom," writes Sar Shalom 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 הפרדס 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, Antigonos, whose inculcation of disinterested service is described in a Jewish tradition as the ultimate source of the negative tenets of the Sadducees, or "Sons of Zadok." From this point onward to the end of the Fourth Chapter we have a series of moral sayings, which are put into the mouths of Rabbis who lived within the period from two centuries before to two centuries after CHRIST.

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

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

in his work on the whole Mishnah, or in Jewish Prayer Books of the Italian rite. Another great commentary, which has been ascribed to R. Jacob ben Shimshon, to R. Shemuel ben Meir, a grandson of Rashi, and even to Rashi himself, is found likewise in separate Manuscripts, and in a great number of Prayer Books, especially of the Franco-German rite. In its most complete form¹ it belongs apparently to the beginning of the thirteenth century, but it is based upon traditions of a much earlier date. A third work which is indispensable for the criticism of ABOTH is the Arabic commentary of 'R. Israel' of Toledo, which has hitherto been supposed to have perished, except in so far as it was embodied in the Hebrew commentary of his descendant, Isaac ben R. Shelomoh; but a manuscript of R. Israel's work has been lately purchased for the Bodleian Library [1875], and will be found described and identified in [No. 90 of] the forthcoming Catalogue of MANUSCRIPTS OF THE TEXT OF ABOTH AND OF COMMENTARIES UPON IT.

The printed text of the Five Peraqim² is from an important manuscript of the MISHNAH, [which was purchased for the Cambridge University Library in 1869, and has been edited by Mr W. H. Lowe, of Christ's College]. The sixth Pereq is taken from a modern Ashkenazic Prayer Book.

The *Comparative Index of the Mishnah* gives the title of each Tract³ according to the MS., with its positions in the MS. itself and in the well-known edition of Surenhusius respectively. The *Index* is followed by extracts from the Mishnah

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

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

³ Notice especially **מסכת נזיקין**.

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

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

The following Manuscripts are referred to :

British Museum MSS.

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

Cambridge MSS.

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

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

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

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

The Hebrew letters, תת, ת, ט, צ, ע, ק, כ, ח,
are transliterated, tth, th, t, ç, ' , 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 ABOTH.

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: "ושמרתם את משמרתִי" (Lev. xviii. 30), make a *mishmereth* to my *mishmereth*" (Jebamoth 21 a). "To what is the matter like? To a man watching a garden. If he watches it from without, it is all watched; if he watches it from within, the part in front of him is watched; and the part behind him is not watched." The ס"י (iii. 20; vi. 6) lies at the root of the Rabbinic system. Its application to holy days gives rise to the principle מוסיפין מחול על קדש (R. ha-Shan. 9a), in connexion with which compare Rashi on Gen. ii. 2, where it is said

that whereas man must sanctify the Sabbath in advance, not knowing the instant of its commencement, the Creator "enters upon it to a hair's breadth," and even seems to finish "on the seventh day" itself. For other examples see Aboth de R. Nathan i., ii., where it is said *inter alia* that Adam misapplied the principle of the 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. ἕκτῃ sixth, 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 Torah⁴, 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 Jaddua' is related (Jos. *Ant.* xi. 8. 5) to have done. Various miracles were wrought during his priesthood. In Menachoth 109 b he predicts his own death; and there follows an account of the building of a temple in "Alexandria of Egypt" (Is. xix. 19) by his son Onias, or נחונין (A in Menach. xiii. 10). But see Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 3. 3. Simon has been made contemporary with גסכלגם (? Gaius Caligula. Cf. Jost, A. 359), who attempted to set up his statue in the temple at Jerusalem. See Megillath Tha'anith xi.; T. J. Sotah ix. 13; Babli 33 a; Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 8; and Jos. ben Gorion ii. 6, where this tale likewise is told of Alexander. See also 3 Macc. i. ii. The eulogy in Ecclus. i. has been applied by some to Simon I., son of Onias, called Simon Justus in Jos. *Ant.* xii. 2. 5; and by others to Simon II., also son of Onias. The latter Simon is identified in Bar Hebr. Chronicon Eccles. (col. 22, ed. Abbeloos et Lamy) with the Συμεών of Luke ii. 25, who is characterised as δίκαιος. Herzfeld concludes that the allusion in the text is to Simon II., and that the date of his high-priesthood was 226—198 B.C. Zunz (*Die Got-*

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

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 Torah and its learners. The notion of design in creation is brought out in a striking way at the beginning of Bereshith Rabbah. Torah, 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 Torah 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. Torah counselled God to create the world. "Hence the wise have said, A kingdom without counsellors is no kingdom at all" (Pirke 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 אינ' דבר תורה (T. J. Berakoth i. 5), is not mentioned and brought into prominence in the sayings of this Pereq may perhaps be taken as one sign of their superior antiquity. [Aboth R. N. A iv., B v.]

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 *çedakah* — a treasure laid up not on earth but in heaven, over which the hand (of the spoiler) has no power—it counterpoises all the precepts of the Torah. But it is greater than *çedakah*, as having to do alike with person and property, rich and poor, dead and living. It includes the duties of sympathy (χαίρειν μετὰ χαίρόντων, κλαίειν μετὰ κλαιόντων, Rom. xii. 15)—of attending the wedding and the funeral. It is more beloved even than the study of Torah. (T. J. Peah i. 1; Sukkah 49 b.) The Torah 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 Torah and *gemiluth chasadim*, and buries his children, is forgiven all his

iniquities (Berakoth 5 b).

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

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: למד מאהבה וסוף הכבוד לבא "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 לא (קרי לו) איחל (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 לֹא (קרי לי) צַר (Is. lxiii. 9).

⁹ The תנאים from § 4 to § 13 are named two and two as *σύνζυγοι*. 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: (α) The two Josephs, 170; (β) Jehoshua' and Matthai, 140—110; (γ) Jehudah, 100; Shime'on, 90; (δ) Shema'iah and Abtalion, 65—35; (ε) Hillel, 30. The last date (=100 years before the destruction of the temple) is given in Shabbath 15 a. Zunz (*Gottesd. Vorträge*, 37, note c), assuming a hiatus after Antigonus (190 B.C.), dates the pairs as follows: (α) 140—130; (β)**; (γ) 90—80; (δ) 60—50; (ε) *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 שֶׁהָכִיל בּוֹ. 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 הָרֶעַ (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 (τῇ γυναικί).

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

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

¹² This saying might be applied to a man's wife in particular (as in § 6), or to woman in general, καὶ ἐθαύμαζον ὅτι μετὰ γυναικὸς ἐλάλει (Joh. iv. 27). Cf. Eccl. vii. 28. Man takes precedence of woman in various ways, though "The man is not without the woman, nor the woman without the man, nor both of them without the Shekinah" (Bereshith Rabbah viii. Cf. 1 Cor. xi. 11). The Torah 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 Torah—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 באקרוי בנייהו לבי כנישתא ובאתנוי גברייהו בי רבנן ונטרן לגברייהו 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 ἐνι Ἰουδαῖος οὐδὲ Ἕλληγν, οὐκ ἐνι δοῦλος οὐδὲ ἐλεύθερος, οὐκ ἐνι ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ, πάντες γὰρ ὑμεῖς εἰς ἑστε ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ (Gal. iii. 28). Women could not in general be witnesses (עדים); but they had their rights of property. In the case of inheritance, if the property is small "filiae aluntur, et filii mendicabunt" (Kethuboth xiii. 3; Baba Bathra ix. 1). [Chagigah T. B. 3 a & T. J. 75 d.]

wife.) Hence the wise have said, Each time that the man prolongs converse with the woman he causes evil to himself, and desists from words of Torah, and in the end he inherits Gehinnom¹³.

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. *viden 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 23 a), companionship even with such friends as those of Job (Baba Bathra 16 b). "Two are better than one" (Eccl. iv. 9), in Torah as in other matters, since when two study together their words are "written in the book of remembrances" (Berakoth 6 a). Cf. Prov. xxvii. 17. Nay, more, *חרב אל הברים ונאלו* (Jer. l. 36), which is turned: "a sword is against the solitary, and they are stultified" (see p. 44). The word *chaber*, a companion, came to be used especially of men of learning. It is sometimes equivalent to "colleague," in an official sense; or to "fellow," or "associate,"

of a learned society; and it is contrasted with *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, *הרן 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 *μνημόσυλον* 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 תודוס איש רומי introduced the practice of eating נדיין מקולסין, or quasi-passovers, at Rome; and that Shime'on wrote to him: "Wert thou not Theodos I would pass judgment of נדיין 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 הדיונים, "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 נ for ש), 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 Synedrial-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 Schulhäupter, wie man erwarten sollte, den Vorsitz; wie denn Sameas auch nur als einer der Richter bezeichnet wird, welcher den Muth hatte den Fürsten und die erschrockenen Mitglieder an ihre Pflicht zu erinnern."

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

12. Abtalion said, Ye wise, be guarded in your words; perchance ye may incur the debt of exile, and be exiled to the place of evil waters; and the disciples that come after you may drink and 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 *malluth*. 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: ἐπεὶ κινδυνεύει, πόλις ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν εἰ γένοιτο, περιμάχητον αὖ εἶναι τὸ μὴ ἄρχειν ὥσπερ νυνὶ 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, וְהָיָה מַתּוֹאֵר בְּרַמּוֹת אֱלֹהִים, the creatures were for worshipping him as their Creator; but Adam said, "Let us go, I and you, and make Him, who created us, king; for the people appoint the king, and no king appoints himself independently of the people" (Pirke 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 imbibe which is death. Historically regarded, 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 contemplated 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 *ותגלו* as *pi'el*, and comparing *גלות* with *גלוי* (cf. Abarbanel)—of *סתרי תורה*, which Moses delivered by word of mouth without comment. As regards the figures employed, (1) WATERS may stand for doctrine (§ 4), or for peoples (Is. xl. 15). Streams while they flow upon *הארץ* (an expression used especially of the Holy Land), are good, and blessed, and sweet, and of profit to the world; but when mingled with the sea they become accursed and bitter... So Israel, when they swerve to heathen customs, become accursed and evil; and as the rivers are food for the sea, so are they for the fire of hell (Pirke 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. Contrast Prov. iii. 18, and cf. Aboth I. 14; II. 15; III. 7; IV. 9; Baruch iii. 4—14: “hear now the prayers of the DEAD Israelites”; Jalqut 762 (on Numb. xix. 14): “Words of Torah are established only when a man kills himself on their behalf.” [Shabbath 83 b.]

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 Torah while yet in Babylon, and at length, for its more exclusive study, separated from his trading brother 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 Torah-study on the ground of poverty, it will be said to him, “Wast thou poorer than Hillel?” Of his small daily earnings a moiety went to the gatekeeper at the schools. Once he had earned nothing, 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 appointment as “nasi” is told in T. J. Pesachim 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 interrogated, 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 Torah without traditional authority is no Torah, *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

suining peace; loving mankind²⁸, and bringing them nigh (Deut. xxx. 14; Eph. ii. 17)²⁹ to the Torah.

“nasi.” He was in fact the head and founder of a school, called after him, “Beth Hillel,” the opponents in controversy of “Beth Shammai,” to whom however they frequently made concessions. With the appointment of Hillel, “ein ganz neues, bis dahin als untergeordnet betrachtetes Princip der Lehrweise zur Geltung kam, nämlich die beständige Unterstützung der Ueberlieferung durch logisches Verfahren, so oft man sich nicht auf unmittelbare Behauptungen angesehener Lehrer berufen konnte” (Jost, *Gesch.* A. 257). Hillel had 80 disciples, of whom 30 were worthy, as Moses, that the Shekinah should rest upon them: 30, that the sun should stand still for them, as for Joshua: and 20 were of medium capacity. The least was Jochanan ben Zakkai: the greatest, Jonathan ben ‘Uzzel, whose fire in the study of Torah 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 *gemiluth chasadim* profits in both worlds (Peah i. 1). The Day of Atonement clears from transgressions against God, but not from those against one’s neighbour, till he has been reconciled (Joma, end). For more on peace see Bem. Rabbah, *loc. cit.*, where it is said, אין כלי מחזיק 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 A omits the whole paragraph, *Dixit R. J. &c.*

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

²⁹ See the anecdotes of Hillel in note 33. For an illustration (Bereshith Rabbah xxviii.; Chazitha, on Cant. i. 4) which may be found to throw a new light on Matt. xxiii. 15 (περιάγετε τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ τὴν ξηρὰν ποιῆσαι ἓνα 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 בדור המבול. הוי יושבי חבל הים גוי כרתים. גוי שהוא ראוי כרת. ובאי זה זכות הן עומדין. בזכות גוי אחד (נ”א גר אחד). בזכות ירא שמים אחד. שהן מעמידין בכל שנה. ר’ לוי פתר לו לשבח. גוי שכרת ברית. המד”א וכוות 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"ר 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 Torah by his good example, but not in the ordinary sense of the word to proselytise (Joma 96 a). The universality of the Torah 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 כל דיבור ודיבור שיצא מפי כל דיבור ודיבור (Shabbath 88 b. Cf. Berakoth 13 a, Thosaph.

on בכל לשון)—which seventy tongues had their representatives in the ship that carried Jonah (Pirke R. El. x.). "The whole Torah was spoken in every tongue" (Sotah 33 a). In like manner the expressions מסיני. משעיר. מהר 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 Torah?" 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 מושך 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 מושך שמה של תורה עליו שלא עסק בה לשמה (ע).

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 Torah 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 Torah, 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). *ἰδοὺ 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 Torah. Shamai dismissed him with a rebuke. He appealed to Hillel, who on the first day taught him the letters of the alphabet (in the usual order), and on the morrow gave them in reverse order. But, said the would-be-proselyte, did

you not tell me so and so yesterday? If you relied on me for that, retorted Hillel, rely upon me likewise for the Oral Law. Another came to Shamai to be converted provided that he could be taught the whole Torah whilst he stood on one foot. Shamai beat him away, and he went to Hillel, who said: "What is hateful to thyself do not to thy fellow; this is the whole Torah, and the rest is commentary; go, study." Cf. *δ μισεῖς μηδενὶ ποιήσης* (Tobit iv. 15), and the converse, Matt. vii. 12. A third over-hearing 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 NIGH 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 Torah a *fixtured*: 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 shouldest fix times for Torah." Ps-Rashi is not content with stated times, but demands the whole day for Torah.

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

bin 45 a. Cf. Beçah II. 6. The high esteem in which he was held is shewn by the saying, that "from when R. G. ha-Zaqen died the glory of the Torah 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, **שְׁמָה דְּמִילְתָּא מִשְׁתּוּקָא**, Silence is the cure of a thing. But both Talmuds have **שְׁמָה דְּכּוּלָּא**, a panacea (T. J. Berakoth ix. 1; T. B. Megillah 18 a). The caution against undue loquacity is applied to sacred things. R. R. Jochanan and Jonathan found a provincial chazan extemporising in his synagogue, and they silenced him, on the ground that *he had no right to add to the Benedictions which were already fixed by authority*. The Babli here refers the **תְּפִלָּה** to the Great Synagogue. He who talks overmuch even in praise of the Holy One is "swallowed up," or rooted out of the world, for it is said (Job xxxvii. 20), **הִסְפִּיר לוֹ . . . כִּי יִבְלַע**. Cf. Matt. vi. 7; Eccl. v. 2; Ecclus. vii. 14; Berakoth 61 a. SILENCE is His praise (Ps. lxxv. 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 בִּיּוֹם** (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 **חֲמִרָה** and **אֱמוּנָה**, which draw them to **אֱהִיָּה**. Peace plays an important part in the New Testament. In connexion with *αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ εἰρήνη ἡμῶν* (Eph. ii. 14; Mic. v. 4), and *ὁ Θεὸς τῆς*

εἰρήνης (Rom. xvi. 20), observe that PEACE is a Talmudic Name of God. The etymological affinity in Hebrew, of peace and perfectness, הכל יושלם בשלום, "everything is PERFECTED BY PEACE," gives a clue to the genesis of some Pauline expressions. Compare ἐν ἀγαπῇ...ἐν τῷ συνδέσμῳ τῆς εἰρήνης (Eph. iv. 3), with τὴν ἀγάπην ὃ ἐστὶν σύνδεσμος τῆς τελειότητος (Col. iii. 14), which may be explained by supposing ἀγάπη to have replaced εἰρήνη, 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 ומשפט שלום of Zech. viii. 16, a verse which is cited at the end of this Pereq 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; Pereq ha-Shalom.]

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

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

p. 11. delivered] Mekhilta כי תשא (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 כח (15 b), Tanchuma שמות (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 mutum animal; deinde quod mas potius quam femina; quod Graecus quam barbarus; postremo quod Atheniensis et quod temporibus Socratis.*"

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

CHAPTER II.

1. 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 διδάσκαλε (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, גדול מרבן שמו, i.e. the greatest glory is to need no title at all, but to be sufficiently distinguished by one's name alone, like Hillel, Ezra, and the prophets. Another form, רבון, occurs in Targum and Gemara as a Divine title, and is also used with the affix "my" in much the same way as Rabbi. Cf. Mark x. 51; Joh. xx. 16, ῥαββουνί, δ λέγεται διδάσκαλε. This form רבוני occurs once in the Mishnah (Tha'anith iii. 8) according to the manuscript A, instead of רבנו של עולם, "Lord of the world," which is found in other copies.

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

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

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

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

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 such a reward, *a fortiori* will the fulfilment of other precepts be rewarded. \mathfrak{B} remarks that *negative* precepts do not come under consideration here, since there is no שכר for them.

⁴ Or, omitting מה: “Know (that) above thee is a seeing eye, &c.” This concise reading is found in \mathfrak{C} .

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 erec*, 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 dôξαν τοῦ Θεοῦ* (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, וְגִוְרָרָה, 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"ד) פְּמִלְיָא מַעְלָה, 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 38 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

ὑμῶν (Luke vi. 38).

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

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 A, before the name of HILLEL. He is identified with Hillel ha-Zaqen by comparing Sukkah 53 a, where the saying about the "skull" (§ 7)—omitting the word סוף (ed. Lemberg)—is attributed to him: "They said of Hillel ha-Zaqen that when he was sharing in the festivity of the שואבה—sc. at the feast of Tabernacles [Kohut *A.C.* II. 85; Delitzsch *Iris*, p. 198, Edinb. 1889]—he said, If I am here, all are here; and if I am not here, who is here? He used to say thus, Whatsoever place I take pleasure in, thither My feet lead me. If thou wilt come to My house, I will come to thy house: if thou wilt not come to My house, I will not come to thy house (Exod. xx. 24). Moreover he saw a skull that floated on the surface of the water, and he said to it, Because thou drownedst they drowned thee, AND they that drowned thee shall be drowned."

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

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

According to the more usual *negative* reading and interpretation the saying is a caution against propounding far-fetched, paradoxical, not-to-be-heard-of doctrines, even though they may in the end perhaps be susceptible of a rational interpretation. Speak not words which *prima facie* CANNOT be heard, though ultimately they may be heard: words which require elaborate explanation before they can be accepted; "Alles was du vorträgst musz mit Klarheit...geschehen" (Paulus Ewald). Cf. Maimonides, who is followed by very many of the moderns. The *negative* reading and interpretation, in some form, is usually adopted; but that of the Machazor Vitry has strong claims to acceptance. For the various reading אפשר (א') 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 בור, of which BOOR may be employed as a transliteration, is used of "incultus, sylvestris ager." In Prov. xii. 1: "but he that hateth reproof is BRUTISH," the Targum has בורא, for Heb. בער.

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 παρα-
λυθήσονται. In this Mishnah, and *pas-*
sim, it is used as a singular to denote
ONE of the ὄχλος. So ייג, the singular
of ייג, ἔθνη, is used to denote an in-
dividual heathen.

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

¹⁵ A man should bear himself man-
fully 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 μά-
χαιραν ἐν μαχαίρῃ ἀπολοῦνται (Matth.
xxvi. 52). The above saying of Hillel
—which, like some others attributed
to him (cf. i. 14), is in Aramaic—is
one of the many ways of expressing
the great principle of retribution: "as
thou hast done, it shall be done unto
thee" (Obadiah 15). It is a common
saying in the Talmud that "with
what measure a man measures, THEY
(cf. note 7) measure to him": Samson,
who followed after the desire of his
eyes, was blinded by the Philistines:
Absalom, who prided himself upon
his hair, was hanged up by his hair

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

¹⁷ Cf. Ex. xxii. 18. Woman is
regarded as a medium of temptation.
Man is to woman as שכל to חמר—as
νοῦς to ὕλη, or αἴσθησις: as upper to
lower: as right to left: as the Divine
to the human. Philo writes (*de Mundi*
Opificio, Vol. i. pp. 39, 40, ed. Man-
gey): τὰς δὲ γοητείας καὶ ἀπάτας αὐτῆς
ἢ ἡδονὴ τῷ μὲν ἀνδρὶ οὐ τολμᾷ προσ-
φέρειν, τῇ δὲ γυναικί, καὶ διὰ ταύτης
ἐκείνῳ· πάντῃ προσφυῶς καὶ εὐθυβόλως.
Ἐν ἡμῖν γὰρ ἀνδρὸς μὲν ἔχει λόγον ὁ
νοῦς, γυναικὸς δ' αἴσθησις, κ.τ.λ.
It is disputed whether σαρκός, in
Joh. i. 13, where it is contrasted with
ἀνδρός, refers especially to the female.
The contrast "right" and "left"
(Zohar on Gen. i. 2, col. 14) is ex-
plained 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. xlviii. 13, אִף יְדֵי יִסְדָּה אֶרֶץ וַיִּמְנִי טַפְחָה שְׂמִים. The man is εἰκὼν καὶ δόξα θεοῦ· ἡ δὲ γυνὴ 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 γάρ σοι διαμένει ἢ χίλιοι μεγάλοι θησαυροὶ χρυσίου (Ecclus. 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.* B. 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 וּמַטִּי גַר, that he who perverts the cause of the stranger, is as if he perverted that of Heaven, כָּל הַמָּטָה דִּינוֹ שֶׁל גַּר כְּאֵלוֹ מָטָה 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 (Bera-koth 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 Torah²¹ 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 8) much Torah." The better attested תלמוד may include both acquisition and practice. The MSS. favour the reading: "If thou hast wrought much at THY THORAH." Bar S. illustrates the

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

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 Torah (iv. 20), and not presume upon his own power to raise up a school for himself in a place where Torah 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, πηγὴ 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 Hyrkanos 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 Hyrkanos²⁵ in the other scale, he would outweigh them all. Abba Shaul said in his name, If all the wise of Israel were in a scale of the balance, and Eli'ezer ben Hyrkanos with them, and Ele'azar ben 'Arak in the other scale, he would outweigh them all.

²⁴ The *chasid* is of greater excellence than the *gaddiq* (*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 (i. 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 כ). 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 Sforno, in the Bologna Machazor, who adds that the "uprooter of mountains" has the ad-

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

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

12. He said to them, Go and see which is the good way that a man should cleave to. Rabbi Li'ezer said, A good 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. לב טוב לשמים ולב טוב לבריות.]

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 איש רע עין" (Prov. xxviii. 22). The evil eye denotes especially niggardliness, envy, or jealousy. Cf. Aboth v.

19; Matt. xx. 15. Compare also § 15, where the "evil eye" perhaps corresponds to הקנאה (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 ἄδικος καὶ ἐν πολλῷ ἄδικός ἐστιν (Luke xvi. 10). Another explanation (bar S.) is that all wealth belongs to God (Haggai ii. 8), and men are His stewards. Hence the borrower borrows from God.

rather than your words, for your words are included in his 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...ὃς δ' ἂν εἴπῃ, 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 כַּעַס 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, בְּכֹסוֹ, בְּכִיסוֹ, and בְּכַעְסוֹ, 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 (פִּיקְחִין) dressed themselves and sat at the gate: the foolish went to their work: suddenly the guests were summoned: the king was pleased with the wise, and angry with the foolish: he said, They that dressed themselves for the banquet shall sit and eat, and they that did not shall stand and look on. The son-in-law of R. Meir said that all shall sit, but the wise shall eat and drink, and the foolish shall be hungry and thirsty (Is. lxv. 13).

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

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.* B. 71). When, in sorrow for the destruction of the Temple, many Pharisees refused to eat flesh and drink wine, which were no longer offered on the altar, he shewed them that logically they must abstain likewise from bread, and fruit, and water, and admonished them to desist from excessive demonstrations of grief on the ground that no burden should be put upon the congregation which the majority could not bear (Baba B. 60b), שאין גוזרין גזירה על הצבור אלא, א"כ רוב צבור יכולין לעמוד בה. He had the reputation of being a faithful observer of the Law, but an opponent of extravagant developments. "Die Juden liebten ihn sehr, und sein Wort bewirkte Beruhigung der Gemüther in der Zeit furchtbarer Aufregung unter *Trajan's* Regierung."

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

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

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

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 Torah, 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 prayest⁴¹, make not thy prayer

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

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

³⁸ Contrast Deut. xxxiii. 4. The knowledge of Torah 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 Torah thus called, from its initial word **שמע** (Deut. vi. 4), is appointed to be read or recited morning and evening by every Jew.

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

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

an ordinance, but an entreaty before 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 AUDI 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 *the fillah* (Ps. cvi. 30). Two other times of prayer, under the names שִׁיחָה, and פְּנִיעָה, are referred to Isaac and Jacob (Gen. xxiv. 63; xxviii. 11). See Bereshith Rabbah LXVIII. On the "ten" names of prayer, and on תְּהִנוּנִים, cf. Deut. Rab. II. On תְּפִלִּין, meaning φυλακτήρια, see Buxtorf, s.v. פֶּלֶל.

⁴² The word MAQOM, 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 ἐν ᾧ 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 וַיִּפְנֶעַ בַּמָּקוֹם, Gen. xxviii. 11), where it is said that God is so called, מִפְּנֵי שֶׁהוּא מָקוֹמוֹ שֶׁל עוֹלָם וְאֵין מָקוֹמוֹ הָעוֹלָם מָקוֹמוֹ, because He is the PLACE of the world, and not the world His place—so B, commenting upon § 12—according to the Scriptures, Ex. xxxiii.

21, הִנֵּה מָקוֹם אֲתִי; Deut. xxxiii. 27; Ps. xc. 1, "Lord, thou hast been our dwellingplace" (מֵעוֹן, καταφυγή). The words מָקוֹם and יְהוָה 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 ἐν Χριστῷ on the one hand, and ἵνα πληρώσῃ τὰ πάντα (Eph. iv. 10) on the other. Since space and its complement are correlatives, the use of MAQOM, τόπος, naturally suggests a doctrine of a πλήρωμα. Moreover, since MAQOM 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 ὅλον δι' ὅλων ἀσωμάτοις δυνάμεσιν αὐτὸς ὁ θεός...κατὰ δὲ τρίτον σημαινόμενον αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς καλεῖται τόπος, τῷ περιέχειν μὲν τὰ ὅλα, περιέχεσθαι δὲ πρὸς μηδενὸς ἁπλως, καὶ τῷ καταφυγὴν τῶν συμπάντων αὐτὸν εἶναι· καὶ ἐπειδήπερ αὐτὸς ἐστὶ χώρα ἑαυτοῦ, κεχωρηκῶς ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἐμφορόμενος μόνῳ ἑαυτῷ. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ εἰμὶ 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. A apparently mixes up Joel ii. 13 and Ps. lxxxvi. 15.

⁴⁴ [Cf. Eccclus. vii. 16 μὴ προσλογίζου σεαυτὸν ἐν πλήθει ἁμαρτωλῶν, Qiddushin 4 b & Tosefta, Joma 2 b בפני עצמו, by itself.]

⁴⁵ The Greek name Epicurus is used to denote a heretic or unbeliever, whether Jewish or foreign. On this word, and on מ'י, heretic, see Buxtorf, *Lex. Chald.* The latter is supposed by some to be from מ'ני, 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 Qaduqi 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 ע'י 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 (ה'הגיון), 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 *reward*. Thus the required number of three sayings (§ 14) is made up. This may also be done by dividing the first saying, and joining ו'מי כו' 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 ὅλην 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 αἰὼν 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, ὥσπερ δεξιὰ καὶ ἀριστερά, πρῶτον ἐποίησε τὸν οὐρανὸν εἶτα τὴν γῆν καὶ οὕτως ἐξῆς πάσας τὰς συζυγίας*.

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

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

p. 35, § 13] To be *ברוך 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*, *לאדם יש לו עינים אף ללב* (Jellinek *Bet-ha-M.* iii. p. 34). *The heart sees*, for it is said *ולבי ראה הרבה* (Eccl. Rab. i. 16). Maimonides writes in *Hilkoth Yesodé 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 Mahalaleel¹ 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 HAMAQOM 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, **אחרי רבים להטות** (Ex. xxiii. 2), which are rendered by Onqelos, **בתר סניאי שלם**, *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. Sotah II. 2; Va-jiqra Rabbah XVIII.; Qoheleth Rabbah, on Eccl. xii. 1. R. 'Aqiba expounded the clause, **וזכר** **נא את בוראיך**, so as to include the three things mentioned above, thus: "Remember **בראך . בורך . בארך**, 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 *μνημόστυνον*, 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 Torah 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 Torah 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 שֶׁאֵין רֵאִיָּה לְדַבֵּר זָכָר לְדַבֵּר שֶׁנִּי וְחָבָא 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. “Torah is only acquired by סִימָנִים,” as it is said in ‘Erubin 54 b. (Cf. Shabbath 104 a.)

⁴ Va-jiqra Rabbah xviii. (p. כו, Warsaw, 1874) inserts עָפָר (Gen. iii. 19) in citing this Mishnah; but reads lower down, בּוֹרֵךְ זֶה רֵימָה וְתוֹלָעָה, 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, וַיִּשְׁכֵּן בְּאַהֲלֵי שָׁם וַיֵּשְׁבֵי שְׁכִינָתוֹ בְּמִשְׁכְּנֵיהֶם דָּשָׁם, 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 יָקָר

4. *One that sits and studies, the Scripture imputes to him as if he fulfilled the whole Torah, for it is said, He sitteth alone and keepeth silence, because he hath borne¹⁰ it upon him (Lam. iii. 28).*

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

SHEKINAH is sometimes practically equivalent to MEMRA, 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 ἡμῖν (Joh. i. 14). The word σκηνή and its derivatives are chosen on account of their assonance with the Hebrew to express the *Shekinah* and its dwelling with men—compare especially Rev. xxi. 3: Ἴδου ἡ σκηνὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ σκηνώσει μετ’ αὐτῶν—and indeed so closely does Shekinah resemble σκηνή, that the former has even been thought of as a transliteration of the latter. The word is rare in the Mishnah, but occurs frequently in Midrash and Gemara.

⁹ The MS. A expresses יהוה by יי followed by a vertical stroke or flourish wholly above the line. In some MSS. a י is inserted in order to make up the numerical value of יהוה, viz. 26. The shorter Name יה is identified by Gematria (§ 28) with the longer Name by writing out the names of its letters, הַא, יוֹר, 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 Torah is acquired only בַּחֲבוּרָה, by association” (Berakoth 63 b). “A sword is against the solitary, &c.” (p. 16). A man’s wits are sharpened by his friend

5. R. Shime'on said, Three that have eaten at one table, and have not said over it words of Torah, are as if they had eaten of sacrifices of (the) 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 Torah, are as if they had eaten of the table of MAQOM, blessed is He, for it is said, And he said unto me, This is the table that is before the Lord (Ezek. xli. 22).

7. Chananyiah ben Chakinai said, He who awakes by night, and he who is walking alone by the way, 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 Torah is like fire: fire does not burn alone, with nothing to feed it: so words of Torah, **אין מתקיימין ביחיד**. 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· ἁγιάζεται γὰρ διὰ λόγου Θεοῦ καὶ ἐντεύξεως*. Compare *Εἴτε οὖν ἐσθίετε, εἴτε πίνετε, εἴτε τι ποιείτε, πάντα εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ ποιείτε* (1 Cor. x. 31).

¹³ He who is sleepless at night should think on words of Torah (Ps. lxiii. 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... *ἢνα 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 (**והמפנה**) 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 **מזיקין**, or evil spirits. This notion might indeed be illustrated from the Talmud, but the first interpretation better suits the context. Torah study is incumbent upon a man at all available times... "when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up" (Deut. vi. 7: xi. 19). "At midnight I will rise to give thanks unto Thee..." (Ps. cxix. 62). A man should "increase" his time of study by making inroads upon the night (*Crit. Note* 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 Ἀρατε τὸν ζυγὸν μου ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, καὶ μάθετε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ...ὁ γὰρ ζυγός 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 erec* 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 *micvah* (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 אגודה, *fasciculus*. Compare Baba Meçi'a i. 8, where an אגודה 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 אגודה with the number three, referring *inter alia* to Ex. xii. 22, where Rashi interprets אגודת אגוב as a bundle of three stalks. The number five is not mentioned in the similar passages of Berakoth 6 a; Mekiltha, Jethro xi.; Jalqut i. 305, where the series of sayings springs naturally out of a context. From the verse Ex. xx. 24, בכל המקום אשר אזכיר את שמי כו', the question arises under what circumstances is the Shekinah present with men? "In every place... where I am revealed to thee, בבית 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 five*¹⁶? *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 דִּין is תּוֹרָה, 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 דִּין is

only *ex post facto* תּוֹרָה. It may be remarked that Jonathan targumises Ex. xx. 24: "In whatsoever place I cause my Shekinah to rest, and thou worshippest before ME, there I will send upon thee my blessing and will bless thee." As some have found a difficulty in אֲזַכִּיר אֶת שְׁמִי, and wish to read תּוֹזְכִיר, observe that R. Josiah in Jalqut calls the verse מְסוֹרֵם, 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 C) 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 'בִּקְרֹב כּו' 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 ὧν δέδωκάς μοι, ὅτι σοί εἰσι. καὶ τὰ ἐμὰ πάντα σά ἐστι, 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 תְּנָה, on which see the lexicons. The word מִשְׁנֵתוֹ is pointed with a horizontal stroke under the נ. This sign, which is now appropriated to Pathach, served in an older system of punctuation, out of which that now in use was developed, for Qameç also. The latter then came to be distinguished by a dot placed under the "Pathach" (ֿ); and finally the dot was brought into contact with the "Pathach," and the modern "Qameç" (ֿ) arose. The citation from the Cambridge University MS. Oo i. 19, fol. 12 b, in the Rabbinic footnote, may

serve as a μνημόσυνον of this fact.

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 δευτέρωσις. A man is not to be blamed for a forgetfulness arising from sickness or any cause beyond his control. In Berakoth 8 b, an old man who has forgotten his "Thalmud" מחמת אונסו 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 דברים (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 תקה as of wine which has turned sour or lost its flavour; but it is unnecessary to bring in this meaning here. The case under consideration is that of a man who has not absolutely forgotten, but does not remember readily; his Mishnah is not *fluent in his mouth*. Compare Berakoth 34 b: "They said of R. Chanina ben Dosa that he used to pray over the sick, and say, This one lives, and that one dies. They said to him, Whence knowest thou? He said to them, If my prayer is fluent in my mouth, אם שגורה תפלתי בפי, I know that it is accepted, and if not, I know that it is rejected." Bar S., quoting Sifre, writes that a man should be as careful to preserve his Torah as his money, for it is hardly gotten, as *gold*, and perishes easily, like *glass*, זכויות (Job xxviii. 17). He who learns Torah and does not "repeat" is as one who sows and does not reap. He who learns and forgets is like a mother that bears and buries. Sanh. 99 a.

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 x on § 15. Aboth R. N., after the first clause of § 13, refers to Ps. cxi. 10: "The fear of the Lord is the *beginning* (?) of wisdom." Then follows the first clause of § 14, with a scripture proof from Ex. xxiv. 7: We will do, and we will HEAR. "They said before Rabban Jochanan ben 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 ἐώρακε, τὸν Θεὸν ὃν οὐχ ἐώρακε πῶς δύναται ἀγαπᾶν*; This Mishnah is taken by bar S. as exemplifying the doctrine that there is a correspondence in all respects between the upper world and the lower: "Whatever exists above, exists also below." Thus there is an archetypal and celestial Adam analogous to the lower Adam, and made literally in the *image of God*. There is also a *familia* above corresponding to the human *familia* below, with respect to which it is said: "May it be thy pleasure, O Lord our God, to make peace in the family above, and in the

family below" (Berakoth 16 b, 17 a). The condition or action of either of these communities must have its analogue in the other. "He who occupies himself in Torah for its own sake makes peace in the family above and in the family below, for it is said *...יעשה שלום לי שלום יעשה לי* (Is. xxvii. 5). Rab said, It is as if he built a palace above and below...Moreover 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 Torah and business. In connexion with the drunkenness of Noah, we read in Midrash Tanchuma that there are four stages from sobriety to intoxication. A man before drinking is innocent as a lamb, and like a sheep which is dumb before its shearers: after drinking enough he is strong as a lion, and says that there is no one like him in the world: in the next stage he becomes a hog: when thoroughly drunken he is like an ape, and dances and jests and talks nonsense and knows not what he is doing. If all this happened to righteous Noah, how must it be with ordinary men? Noah cursed his own descendants, saying, Cursed be Canaan, &c. The children of Ham, because he *saw* the nakedness of his father, and *told* his brethren, had their eyes reddened, and their lips deformed, according to the

the meeting 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 Torah²⁹, 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.

²⁶ Constant association with young men tends to frivolity, and withholds a man from serious study. Rehoboam took the counsel of young men (1 Kings xii. 8), and caused the disruption of the kingdom. There is a proverb, בנין נערים סתירה וסתירת זקנים, 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 Torah. 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 (*alôn*). On the other hand, "he that increases Torah increases life" (ii. 8). Ἐρευνάτε τὰς γραφάς, ὅτι ὑμεῖς δοκέετε ἐν αὐταῖς ζωὴν 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 Torah, 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 Torah," &c., cannot be saved by good works. The expression מגלה פנים is explained in T. J. Peah i. 1 as meaning, "one who says that the Torah was not given from Heaven." Buxtorf s. v. גלא 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 והמגלה 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, המגלה פנים המפר ברית בתורה, and the second by אע"פ שיש בידו מצוות הרבה כד' 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 A has the peculiar reading, *Be light of head &c.* The usual reading, which is given in the footnote א, is generally taken to mean: Be pliant towards a great man, and easy in thy bearing with the young—*Esto levis sive velox erga caput, et facilis erga juventutem sive juvenem* (Buxtorf, *Lex. Chald. s. r.* שחר, col. 2372); but some of the older commentators assign very different meanings to the expressions used, and especially to the rare word rendered *juventutem*.

[תשחורת] The meaning YOUTH is supported by the analogy of Eccl. xi. 10, כי הילדות והשחרות הבל, and is derived either from *dawn*, or *blackness* (of hair), both of which meanings are found under the root שחר. It has also been deduced from שחר, *petere*. Cf. בחר, *electus*. Pseudo-Rashi assigns to it the opposite meaning SENECTUS, quoting in favour of this view the same verse Eccl. xi. 10. A third meaning, which is well supported, is FORCED SERVICE or ἀγγαρία ('Aruk; "Rashbam"; &c.). For a corresponding use of the verb cf. Ongelos on Num. xvi. 15: לא חמרא רחר מנהון שחרית, Nullius asinum unquam petii. There is a saying, quoted in the Machazor Vitry and elsewhere, "Attach thyself to an ἀγγαρεύς, and they will do thee homage," 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,

and he died &c. The commentaries on the Midrash are at variance; some give the meaning *juventus*, but the מנהגות 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 A read לראש, but the passage is quoted as in the text in a MS. of the 'Aruk, Cambridge University *Additional* 471.2, where s. v. קל, we find immediately after קלות ראש the words ב' עקביה הוי קל ראש. בר' דמאי כו; but another MS. of the 'Aruk, *Additional* 376, reads קל לראש ראש... דמאי and a third MS., *Additional* 473.2, has the brief reading הוי קל ראש דמאי. In this case a confusion has arisen from the immediately following reference to the "beginning of Demai." The reading of A 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. חצף, a word which is used for עץ in the Targum on Prov. vii. 13. If, as is probable, קלות ראש denotes primarily an ἐλαφρία (2 Cor. i. 17) which results from want of deliberation (note 32), the reading of the text may be explained as meaning that a man should be *hasty*, and yielding to ἀγγασία. 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 ἕν, ὑπάγε μετ' αὐτοῦ δύο (Matt. v. 41). The Machazor Vitry (quoted in *Crit. Note*) paraphrases the saying as follows: "*Lighten thy head and be pliant as a reed which sways hither and thither, and prompt as a man that is quick to oblige the head*

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

Other interpretations are as follows: "Be deferential in the presence of a great man, but *sedate* and not too affable towards the young" (Rambam). "When thou art young be קל towards the Creator, and likewise in the time of thine *age* be נוה לו" (Rashi, as quoted by bar S.). "Be קל to the chief, or first in rank, and נוה to his ἀγγαρεύς" (R. Jonah). On the whole there is a fair amount of authority for the meaning ἀγγασία. This being adopted, the expressions קל ראש ונוה may either be taken both together as describing a man's attitude towards ἀγγασία, or we may read, הוי קל לראש, *Esto velox erga caput*, and take נוה לתשחורת, "yielding to ἀγγασία," as a separate clause. Levy (*Chald. Wörterbuch* s. v. שחר) 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.* B. 81 note) by Severus: and was