

the Holy One, blessed be He, brought upon Pharaoh and upon his house great plagues,¹ to make known² that thus in the future would He smite the people of his land,³ as it is said, "And the Lord plagued Pharaoh and his house with great *plagues*" (*ibid.* 17). Concerning the Egyptians it is written, "Yet one *plague* more will I bring upon Pharaoh, and upon Egypt" (Ex. xi. 1). Was this a plague? Was it not (the slaying of) the first-born of the Egyptians? But the slaying is compared with the plagues, therefore it is said, "And the Lord *plagued* || Pharaoh" (Gen. xii. 17).⁴

Rabbi Joshua ben Korchah said: Because of his love for her, (Pharaoh)⁵ wrote in her marriage document (giving her) all his wealth,⁶ whether in silver, or in gold, or in manservants, or land,⁷ and he wrote (giving) her the land of Goshen for a possession. Therefore the children of Israel dwelt in the land of Goshen, in the land of their mother Sarah.⁸ He (also) wrote (giving) her Hagar, his daughter⁹ from a concubine, as her handmaid. And whence do we know that Hagar was the daughter of Pharaoh?¹⁰ Because it is said, "Now Sarai Abram's wife bare him no children; and she had an handmaid, an Egyptian, whose name was Hagar" (*ibid.* xvi. 1). Pharaoh rose up early in the morning confused¹¹ because he had not approached her,¹² and he sent and called Abraham, and said to him: Behold, Sarai thy wife is before thee, and all the deeds of her marriage contract are with her, take (her)

¹ Cf. *Jalkuṭ*, Gen. § 68.

² The Venice edition reads: "to make known to him."

³ The first editions read: "the Egyptians with great plagues."

⁴ This entire section from "Concerning" is omitted in the printed texts. On the subject-matter see *Midrash Agadah* (Gen.), p. 47.

⁵ "Pharaoh" is missing in the MS.; it occurs in the first editions.

⁶ Lit. "his Mammon." On this term see *Jewish Sources of the Sermon on the Mount*, p. 169.

⁷ *Jalkuṭ*, *loc. cit.*, adds: "maid-servants."

⁸ The first editions read: "which belonged to our mother Sarah." Have we an apology on behalf of Jews, who in the days of our author were living in Egypt, claiming to be in their *own* land?

⁹ See *Pal. Targum*, Gen. xvi. 1, and *Gen. Rab.* xlv. 1., and the *Book of the Bee*, p. 42.

¹⁰ The first editions read: "Hagar the Egyptian was an handmaid?" See *Midrash Haggadol*, Gen. c. 208, and c. 241.

¹¹ The first editions add: "and agitated."

¹² The first editions read: "Sarah." The various incidents are based on the story of Abimelech's conduct in a similar instance.

and go, do not tarry in this land, as it is said, "Now therefore behold thy wife, take her, and go" (*ibid.* xii. 19).¹ "And Pharaoh gave men charge concerning him,² and they sent him forth" (*ibid.* 20). And he had Abraham led so as to come³ to the land of Canaan. He sojourned in the land of the Philistines⁴ in order to be refreshed there. And he went away. And everything is foreseen by the Holy One, blessed be He, and Abimelech⁵ sent and took Sarah, thinking to raise up children from her, as it is said, "And Abimelech . . . sent, and took Sarah" (*ibid.* xx. 2).

And Abimelech became impotent, and all the women of his house became barren,⁶ even || to the smallest insect (which also became) barren, as it is said, "For the Lord had fast closed up all the wombs of the house of Abimelech" (*ibid.* 18). And the angel Michael descended and drew his sword against him.⁷ Abimelech said to him: Is this a true judgment and a true sentence to slay me as long as I had no knowledge?⁸ "Wilt thou slay even a righteous nation?" (*ibid.* 4).⁹ He said unto him:¹⁰ "Restore the

¹ The first editions add: "And it is written after this (text)."

² The quotation ends here. See Pal. Targum, *in loc.* The first editions add: "Whatever he gave to Sarah, Abimelech gave to Abram, as it is said, 'And Abimelech took sheep and oxen, and menservants and womenservants'" (Gen. xx. 14).

³ The first editions read: "And he had Abram led (so as) to come in the land of Canaan as far as the land of the Philistines."

⁴ Luria thinks that the reading of our text was originally thus: "Let us pass over the narrative of Abraham, from his entrance into Egypt till he came to the land of the Philistines; all this story will be narrated farther on in this book." Our MS. preserves apparently a better reading.

⁵ Luria holds that the text should read: "As far as the land of the Philistines, and (here) Abimelech sent and took Sarah, thinking that he would be enabled to acquire children from her; but everything is revealed before the Holy One, blessed be He, Michael descended," etc. Our MS. seems to have preserved the true text.

⁶ See T.B. Baba Ḳamma, 92a. The MS. adds: "and even Michael (came before) Abimelech." The words are out of place, and are wanting in the Oxford MS.

⁷ The first editions add: "to slay him." For the narrative see *Pesiḳta Rabbathi*, p. 176b; and cf. *Liturgy for the Second Day of the New Year* (ed. Heidenheim), p. 33a, where the ten trials are enumerated; and cf. T.B. Baba Ḳamma, *loc. cit.*, and *R.É.J.*, lxviii. p. 147.

⁸ The first editions read: "to slay me for a matter which I did not know, as it is said."

⁹ The first editions add: "Verily he said unto me: 'She is my sister'" (Gen. xx. 2).

¹⁰ Abimelech.

man's wife, for he is a prophet" (*ibid.* 7).¹ "And he shall pray for thee, and thou shalt live" (*ibid.*).

Rabbi Joshua, son of Korchah, (rehearsed) before Rabbi Tarphon (saying): Whatever Pharaoh gave, he gave to Sarah; whatever Abimelech gave, he gave to Abraham; as it is said, "And Abimelech took sheep and oxen" (*ibid.* 14).² Abraham arose and prayed before the Holy One, blessed be He, and said before Him: Sovereign of all the worlds! Thou hast created the whole world to increase and multiply, and let Abimelech and all the females of his household increase and multiply. The Holy One, blessed be He, was entreated of him, as it is said, "And Abraham prayed³ unto God: and God healed Abimelech, and his wife, and his maidservants;⁴ and they bare children" (*ibid.* 17).

¹ The first editions add here: "From thee one may learn, if a man come to a town, let people ask him concerning his requirements of food, but let them not inquire after his wife." See T.B. Maccoth, 9b, and T.B. Baba Kamma, 92b.

² The text continues: "and gave them unto Abraham." The entire sentence is wanting in the first editions. The section seems out of place here.

³ The quotation ends here in the MS.; it is continued in the first editions.

⁴ The first editions read: "his household." The legend of Abram in the furnace was known to Augustine, *de Civ. Dei*, xvi. 15. The incident with Sarah and Abimelech is discussed by Chrysostomus, *To Olympias*, iii. 3; Theodoret, *On Divine Providence*, x. Augustine, *de Civ. Dei*, xvi. 19, defends Abraham's conduct and praises him in this connection.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE TRIALS OF ABRAHAM (*continued*) [32A. i.]

THE sixth trial¹ was (when) all the kings² came against him³ to slay him.⁴ They said: Let us first begin with the house⁵ of his brother, and afterwards let us begin with him.⁶ On account of Lot they took all (the wealth of)⁷ Sodom and Gomorrah,⁸ as it is said, "And they took all the goods of Sodom and Gomorrah" || (Gen. xiv. 11). Afterwards they took Lot captive, and all his wealth, as it is said, "And they took Lot . . . and⁹ his goods" (*ibid.* 12).

Michael came and told Abraham, as it is said, "And there came *one who had escaped*, and told Abram¹⁰ the Hebrew" (*ibid.* 13). He¹¹ is the prince of the world, he was the one who told, as it is said, "Curse not the king, no, not in thy thought; . . . *he who hath wings* shall tell the matter" (Eccles. x. 20). Why was his name called "Paliṭ" ("One who had escaped")? Because in the hour when the Holy One, blessed be He, caused Sammael and

¹ According to Midrash Agadah, Gen. p. 26, this incident is not enumerated among the ten trials of Abraham. A good deal of the material of this chapter is preserved in Midrash Haggadol, Gen. c. 214 ff.; especially cols. 217 and 218.

² Amraphel and his allies mentioned in Gen. xiv. 1. Amraphel is identified with Nimrod in T.B. 'Erubin, 53a. See Gen. Rab. xlii. 4.

³ See Jalkuṭ, Gen. § 68, which has used *P.R.E.*

⁴ See T.B. Synhedrin, 95b.

⁵ The first editions read: "with the son of his brother." The reference is to Lot.

⁶ See Lekach Tob and Agadath Bereshith on Gen. xiv. 11.

⁷ Our MS. omits "the wealth of"; it occurs in the first editions; see also for similar text, Midrash Haggadol, Gen. c. 216.

⁸ See Gen. Rab. xlii. 7.

⁹ The MS. reads: "and all his goods"; the word "all" is not in the actual quotation.

¹⁰ See *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, p. 182.

¹¹ *i.e.* Michael. See Midrash Haggadol, Gen., *loc. cit.*, which has a better text: "for he discloses all the secrets of the world,"

his band to descend from heaven from their holy place,¹ he caught hold of *the wings* of Michael to make him fall² with himself, and the Holy One, blessed be He, saved³ him from his power; ⁴ therefore was his name called "The one who had escaped."⁵ Concerning him Ezekiel said, "One who had escaped⁶ out of Jerusalem came to me, saying, The city is smitten" (Ezek. xxxiii. 21).

Abraham rose up early in the morning, and he took his three disciples, Aner, Eshcol, and Mamre, with him, and Eliezer⁷ his servant with him (also), and he pursued after them as far as Dan, which is Pameas,⁸ as it is said, "And he pursued as far as Dan" (Gen. xiv. 14). And there the righteous man⁹ was hindered, for there it was told him: Abraham, know thou that in the future¹⁰ thy children's children will serve idols in this place; therefore was he hindered there. Whence do we know that Israel served idols there? Because it is said, "And he made two calves of gold . . . and he set the || one¹¹ in Bethel, and the other put he in Dan" (1 Kings xii. 28, 29). There he left his three disciples,¹² and he took his servant Eliezer. The numerical value of the letters of his name equals 318.¹³ He pursued

¹ See *supra*, pp. 46, 92, 99.

² "With him" is added by the 'Arukh, ed. Kohut, vi. p. 34ob.

³ פלט, hence פליט (Palit).

⁴ Lit. "hand." See Assumption of Moses x. 1, 2 for the final conflict between Michael and Satan. Cf. Jude 9.

⁵ Palit. The title of Michael as PALIT (פליט) may possibly be due to an abbreviated form of his other title of PRAKLIT (פרקליט); see *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, p. 74.

⁶ See Pal. Targum, Gen. xiv. 13.

⁷ The first editions read: "three disciples and Eliezer his servant."

⁸ See T.B. Megillah, 6a, Bechoroth, 55a, and 'Arukh, ed. Kohut, vi. p. 369b; and cf. Targum to Cant. v. 4.

⁹ Abraham.

¹⁰ See T.B. Synhedrin, 96a; and Pal. Targum, Gen. xiv. 14.

¹¹ The calf of gold.

¹² See T.B. Nedarim, 32a; Gen. Rab. xliii. 2; Agadath Bereshith, 13; and cf. Tanchuma, Lekh Lekha, § ix. The first editions add: "and their wives with them."

¹³ This Haggadah was known to Clement of Alexandria, whose book *The Miscellanies*, vi. 11, states: "As then in astronomy we have Abraham as an instance, so also in arithmetic we have the same Abraham. For, hearing that Lot was taken captive, and having numbered his own servants born in his house, 318, he defeats a very great number of the enemy." See also the Epistle of Barnabas ix., where the "318" is interpreted as a Christian Midrash. See Siegfried, *Philo von Alexandria*, p. 330, and Gudemann, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien*, pp. 119-121. Other Rabbinic parallels are Pal. Targum, Gen., *loc. cit.*, and Pesikta Rabbathi, § xviii. p. 91b. The first editions add

them as far as the left of Damascus,¹ as it is said, "And he pursued them unto Hobah" (Gen. xiv. 15).

Samuel the Younger said: There the night was divided for him; (the night) when the children of Israel went forth out of Egypt,² that was the night in which Abraham smote the kings and their camps with them, as it is said, "And he divided himself against them by night, he and his servants" (*ibid.*).³

Hillel the Elder said: Abraham took all the wealth of Sodom and Gomorrah and all the wealth of Lot, the son of his brother, and he returned in peace,⁴ and not even one of his men failed⁵ him, as it is said, "And he brought back all⁶ the goods, and also his brother Lot" (*ibid.* 16).⁷

Rabbi Joshua⁸ said: Abraham was the first to begin to give a tithe. He took all the tithe of the kings and all the tithe of the wealth of Lot, the son of his brother, and gave (it) to Shem,⁹ the son of Noah, as it is said, "And he gave him a tenth of all" (*ibid.* 20).

after 318: "He led forth his trained men, born in his house" (Gen. xiv. 14). There are also variations in the next quotation, according to our MS. and the first editions respectively.

¹ See Gen. xiv. 15.

² The first editions read: "That is the night which was from of old, that is the night in which He smote the first-born of the Egyptians." This night was destined from the beginning, prepared for the victories of Abraham and his seed, see Mekhilta, p. 13a; Gen. Rab. xliii. 3; and cf. *infra*, pp. 201, 402. The night itself was divided, one-half being spent in the days of Abraham in gaining victory, and the other half of the night was destined to be reserved for the victory of God over Egypt at the Exodus. See Wisdom xviii. 6.

³ The first editions add: "And concerning this (night) it is said: 'And it came to pass at midnight'" (Ex. xii. 29). See Pal. Targum, Gen. xiv. 15.

⁴ This is based on the Haggadic interpretation of Isa. xli. 3. See Pal. Targum, Gen. xiv. 16, and cf. T.B. Synhedrin, 108b; Zohar, Gen. 26a, and Gen. Rab., *loc. cit.*

⁵ For the word in the text see 2 Sam. xvii. 22. Luria interprets: "nothing of the wealth was missing."

⁶ Our MS. omits "all."

⁷ The first editions add here: "Abraham was afraid, and said: Perchance I have slain all these troops (or, multitude), and no righteous person can be found among them. The Holy One, blessed be He, said to him: 'Fear not, Abram' (Gen. xv. 1). With reference to this it is said: 'He pursueth them and passeth on safely, even by a way that he had not gone with his feet' (Isa. xli. 3). It has not come on thy foot to soil thee in this matter." See Shocheh Tob, p. 233b.

⁸ The first editions add: "son of Korchah."

⁹ He was the chief priest then; see *supra*, pp. 53 f., and cf. *J.E.* xi. 261 f. As we have seen, *P.R.E.* identifies Shem with Melchizedek; see Jubilees xiii. 25, especially Charles' note on pp. 100 f.

Shem, the son of Noah, came forth to meet him,¹ and when he saw all the deeds which he had done and all the wealth which he had brought back, || he wondered in his heart. He began to praise, to glorify, and to laud the name of the Most High, saying: "And blessed be God the Most High, who hath delivered thine enemies into thy hand" (*ibid.*). Abraham arose and prayed before the Holy One, blessed be He, saying: Sovereign of all worlds! Not by the power of my hand, nor by the power of my right hand have I done all these things, but by the power of Thy right hand with which Thou dost shield me in this world and in the world to come, as it is said, "But thou, O Lord, art a shield about me" (Ps. iii. 3) in this world; "my glory, and the lifter up of mine head" (*ibid.*)² in the world to come.³ The angels answered and said: Blessed art Thou, O Lord, the shield of Abraham.⁴

¹ With bread and wine; see Gen. xiv. 18.

² The first editions read: "'But thou, O Lord, art a shield about me; my glory, and the lifter up of mine head' (Ps. iii. 3) in the world to come."

³ See next chapter. According to the Midrash, Ps. cx. refers to Abraham; see *Shocheh Tob*, pp. 233a, b.

⁴ See Singer, p. 44. These angelic words form the end of the first benediction of the Shemoneh 'Esreh. Other chapters of *P.R.E.* terminate with the last words of other benedictions of this Prayer. This fact is not mentioned in the annotated edition of Singer's Prayer Book. From this aspect our book forms a Midrash on the Shemoneh 'Esreh. See Rokeach, 322, and Gen. Rab. xlv. 4. See also Sirach (li. x.*) in *A. and P.* i. p. 515. The last chapter of our book probably ended with the words printed in the "contents of the chapters" in the Venice edition (1544) and in later editions thus: "Blessed art Thou, O Lord, who healest the sick of Thy people Israel." This is the eighth benediction of the Shemoneh 'Esreh. See Singer, p. 47.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE TRIALS OF ABRAHAM (*continued*)

The Vision between the Pieces [32B. ii.]

THE seventh trial (was as follows): "After these things the word of the Lord came unto Abram in a vision, saying" (Gen. xv. 1). To all the prophets He was revealed in a vision,¹ but to Abraham He was revealed² in a revelation and in a vision. Whence do we know of the revelation? Because it is said, "And the Lord *appeared* unto him by the oaks of Mamre" (*ibid.* xviii. 1). Whence do we know of the vision? Because it is said, "After these things the word of the Lord came unto Abram in a *vision*" (*ibid.* xv. 1). He said to him: Abraham! Do not fear, for My right hand is shielding thee in every place where thou goest;³ it is like a shield⁴ against misfortunes, and it gives thee a good reward, (even) to thee and to thy children, || in this world and in the world to come, as it is said, "Thy *exceeding great* reward" (*ibid.*).⁵

¹ The first editions add: "he appeared in a vision of the night." Instead of reading "of the night," Luria holds that the reading should be, "or in a revelation." This passage was possibly the authority used by Maimonides in dealing with the subject of prophecy; see his *Hilkhoth Jesodê Ha-Torah* vi. 2 and 6. For Luria's suggested reading see *Lev. Rab.* i. 4. On "vision and revelation" see *Gen. Rab.* xlv. 6.

² The first editions read: "but to Abraham in a vision and in a revelation. Whence do we know of the vision? Because it is said: 'In a vision saying, Fear not, Abram, I am thy shield' (Gen. xv. 1) in this world; 'thy exceeding great reward' (*ibid.*) in the world to come." See *Pal. Targum, in loc.*, and *Gen. Rab., loc. cit.*

³ Cf. *Isa.* xli. 10, 13.

⁴ Cf. *Aboth* iv. 15.

⁵ The Midrashim and *Pal. Targum* (Gen. xv. 1) interpret the fear of Abraham as implying that his victory was his entire recompense for his life's devotion to the cause of God. This would be covered by the word of the text, "Thy reward"; "exceeding great" would imply the reward in the future life.

Rabbi¹ said: The Holy One, blessed be He, brought Abraham outside (his house) on the night of Passover,² and He said to him: Abraham! Hast thou the ability to count all the host of heaven? He said before Him: Sovereign of all worlds! Is there then a limit to Thy troops³ (of angels)? He said to him: Likewise thy seed shall not be counted owing to their great number, as it is said, "And he said unto him, So shall thy seed be" (*ibid.* 5).⁴

Rabbi Eliezer⁵ said: The Holy One, blessed be He, showed to our father Abraham (at the covenant) between the pieces⁶ the four kingdoms, their dominion and their downfall, as it is said, "And he said unto him, Take me an heifer of three years old, and a she-goat of three years old" (*ibid.* 9). "An heifer of three years old" (*ibid.*) refers to the kingdom of Edom,⁷ which is like the heifer of a sheep. "And a she-goat of three years old" (*ibid.*) refers to the kingdom of Greece,⁸ as it is said, "And the he-goat magnified himself exceedingly" (Dan. viii. 8). "And a ram of three years old" (Gen. xv. 9); this is the kingdom of Media and Persia, as it is said, "And the ram which thou sawest that had the two horns, they are the kings of Media and Persia" (Dan. viii. 20). "And a turtle-dove"

¹ *i.e.* Jehudah the Prince. The first editions read: "Rabbi Jehudah."

² The attack of Amraphel was also on the Passover night; see Pal. Targum, Gen. xiv. 13, and cf. Passover Haggadah *Oz Rob Nissim* and the poem *Omez Geburathekha*. The chief references for these traditions are: Mekhilta, Bo, p. 5a; Pal. Targum on Ex. xii. 42, translated in *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, pp. 164 f. See also Seder 'Olam Rab. v. 1, p. 11b. Is there perhaps a reference here to the triennial reading of the Law, this section in Genesis being read on Passover?

³ This is based on Job xxv. 3; see T.B. Chagigah, 13b, and Siphre, Numb. § 42.

⁴ The rest of this chapter is missing in Luria's edition. It is to be found in the old editions, *e.g.* Venice, Prague, Amsterdam. There is no reason to dispute its authenticity. The Censor is probably responsible for Luria's omission. His book was printed in Warsaw.

⁵ The first editions read "Akiba."

⁶ See Gen. xv. 9 ff. For a Christian Midrash on this theme see Methodius, *Banquet of the Ten Virgins*, v. 2.

⁷ The Roman Empire is referred to under this designation. Some of the old editions read, "Seir." "Edom" is the usual term for the Roman Empire. MS. Gaster adds: "This is the fourth Kingdom."

⁸ On the kingdoms, Greece and Rome, see 4 Ezra v. 3; Rev. xvii.; Lactantius, *Divine Institutes*, vii. 15. "In the Johannine Apocalypse," says Bousset, *Antichrist*, E.T., p. 126, "the Roman Empire is plainly enough indicated as the last anti-Christian power."

(Gen. xv. 9); this refers to the sons of Ishmael.¹ This expression is not to be understood in the literal meaning of Tôr (turtle-dove), but in the Aramaic language, in which Tôr means *Ox*, for when the male ox is harnessed to the female, they will open and break all the valleys,² even as it says (about) "the fourth beast" (Dan. vii. 19).³ "And a young pigeon" (Gen. xv. 9); this refers to the Israelites, who are compared || to a young pigeon, as it is said, "O my dove, thou art in the clefts of the rock" (Cant. ii. 14). For thy voice is pleasant in prayer, and thy appearance is beautiful in good deeds. "And a young pigeon" (Gen. xv. 9); this refers to the Israelites, who are compared to a young pigeon: "My dove, my perfect (one), is (but) one" (Cant. vi. 9).⁴

Rabbi Acha ben Jacob said: This expression, "three years old" (Gen. xv. 9), is said only with reference to the mighty in power, as it is said, "And a threefold cord is not quickly broken" (Eccles. iv. 12).⁵

Rabbi Mesharshyah⁶ said: (Three years old) refers to a threefold (dominion) which they would exercise three times in the future in the land of Israel. At the first time each one would rule by himself; at the second time two together (would rule); on the third occasion (all) altogether to fight against the house of David,⁷ as it is said, "The

¹ The Mohammedan Empire. Is this an indication of the date of our book? It fixes a limit, in the sense that it must have been written after the rise of the Mohammedan Empire. We shall have ground for asserting that the beginning of the ninth century is probably the earliest date of the final redaction of our book.

² See Gen. Rab. lxxvi. 6. The first editions read: "they will open and break the (clods of) all the valleys. For phraseology cf. Isa. xxviii. 24: "to open and break the clods" of the ground. The next words about the fourth beast are not in the printed editions.

³ The entire passage in the first editions reads thus: "This (expression) Tôr (turtle dove) is not said here in the language of the Torah (*i.e.* Hebrew), but in the Aramaic language. Tôr is the ox, and when the male ox is harnessed to the female they will open and break (the ground of) all the valleys."

⁴ The Oxford MS. (O.A. 167) reads: "Another explanation. 'A young pigeon' refers to Israel, as it is said, 'My *dove*, my perfect (one), is (but) one'" (Cant. vi. 9).

⁵ The Oxford MS. (O.A. 167) reads: "Rabbi Acha ben Jacob said: What is the meaning of this expression, 'three years old'? It refers to the mighty in power, (who are) like a threefold cord, as it is said," etc. On R. Acha ben Jacob, see *J.E.* i. p. 278.

⁶ There were several teachers so named; *J.E.* viii. 502b gives one only.

⁷ Messianic wars are referred to here. The first editions read: "to fight against the Son of David."

kings of the earth set themselves,¹ and the rulers take counsel together, against the Lord, and against his *anointed*” (Ps. ii. 2).

Rabbi Joshua said : Abraham took his sword and divided them, each one into two parts, as it is said, “ And he took him all these, and he divided them in the midst ” (Gen. xv. 10). Were it not for the fact that he divided them, the world would not have been able to exist, but because he divided them, he weakened their strength, and he brought each part against its corresponding part, as it is said, “ And he laid each half over against the other ” (*ibid.*). And the young pigeon he left alive, as it is said, “ But the bird he divided not ” (*ibid.*). Hence thou mayest learn that there was not any other bird there except a young pigeon.² The bird of prey came down upon them || to scatter them and to destroy them.³ “ The bird of prey ” is nought else but David, the son of Jesse,⁴ who is compared to a “ speckled bird of prey,” as it is said, “ *Is mine heritage* unto me as a speckled *bird of prey* ? ” (Jer. xii. 9).

When the sun was about to rise in the east, Abraham sat down and waved his scarf over them, so that the bird of prey should not prevail over them until the raven came.⁵

Rabbi Elazar ben ‘Azariah said : From this incident thou mayest learn that the rule of these four kingdoms will only last one day⁶ according to the day of the Holy One, blessed be He. Rabbi Elazar ben ‘Arakh said unto him : Verily it is so, according to thy word, as it is said, “ He hath made me desolate and faint *all the day* ” (Lam. i. 13), except for

¹ The quotation ends here in the MS.

² The first editions read : “ Hence thou mayest learn that the word Zippôr in the Torah means only a young pigeon.”

³ Pal. Targ. Gen. xv. 11 reads : “ And there came down people who were like unto an unclean bird, to steal away the sacrifices of Israel ; but the merit of Abram was a shield over them.”

⁴ The first editions read : “ is nought else but the Son of David.” See Hastings’ *D.B.* iv. p. 610a, on “ the speckled bird.” This passage, in its Messianic interpretation, has escaped the notice of Schöttgen.

⁵ The first editions read : “ until evening set in.” This seems a better reading. Cf. Jubilees xi. 11.

⁶ The one day of God is 1000 years, see *supra*, p. 128. Do the four kingdoms referred to by Daniel begin with the Greek persecutions under Antiochus Epiphanes, 168 B.C.E., so that the end of these hostile kingdoms was to be expected about 1000 years later, *i.e.* about 832 C.E. ? If so, this is another indication as to the date of our book. It would not be later than this date (832 C.E.). Accordingly, we may fix the date of its final redaction in the early years of the ninth century.

two-thirds of an hour (of God). Know that it is so. Come and see, for when the sun turns to set in the west, (during) two hours¹ its power is weakened,² and it has no light, likewise whilst the evening has not yet come, the light of Israel shall arise,³ as it is said, "And it shall come to pass, that at *evening time* there shall be *light*" (Zech. xiv. 7).

Abraham arose and prayed before the Holy One, blessed be He, that his children should not be enslaved by these four kingdoms. A deep sleep fell upon him, and he slept, as it is said, "A deep sleep fell upon Abram" (Gen. xv. 12). Does then a man lie down and sleep, and yet be able to pray? But this teaches thee that Abraham was lying down and sleeping because of the intensity of his prayer that his children might enslave || these four kingdoms,⁴ as it is said, "And, lo, an horror of great darkness fell upon him" (*ibid.*).⁵ "Horror" refers to the kingdom of Edom, as it is written, "And behold a fourth beast, *terrible* and powerful, and strong exceedingly" (Dan. vii. 7). "Darkness" is the kingdom⁶ of those who *darken* the eyes of Israel (by preventing the observance of) all the precepts which are in the Torah. "Great" (Gen. xv. 12) refers to the kingdom of Media and Persia, which was *great* (enough to be able to afford) to sell Israel for nought.⁷ "Fell" (*ibid.*) refers to the kingdom of Babylon, because in their hand *fell* the crown⁸ of Israel, as it is said, "Babylon is fallen, is fallen" (Isa. xxi. 9). "*Upon him*" (Gen. xv. 12) refers to the

¹ The first editions read: "two-thirds of an hour."

² The 1st ed. reads: "remain over." The Venice edition omits this and reads instead: "it is dark and it has no light." The words "it is dark" is an error, and should be "its strength fails."

³ The first editions read: "the Son of David will cause the light of Israel to arise." Cf. the use of "Zemach" (Dayspring) as a Messianic title in *Hellenism and Christianity*, pp. 119 f.

⁴ The first editions read here: "that his children might escape these four kingdoms." In the preceding words the first editions read: "and sleeping and he prayed" that his children, etc.

⁵ Cf. Pal. Targ., *in loc.*, for a different reading; see also Gen. Rab. xliv. 18; Ex. Rab. li. 7; Pesikta de R. Kahana, 42b.

⁶ The first editions read: "the kingdom of Greece." See also Shocheh Tob, Ps. lii. 8, pp. 143bf.; and Lev. Rab. xiii. 5. The idea in our context has a parallel in Wisdom xviii. 4.

⁷ See Esth. iii. 11: "And the king said to Haman: The silver is given to thee, the people also, to do with them as it seemeth good to thee."

⁸ *i.e.* the Temple of God at Jerusalem. In the printed editions the quotation from Isa. xxi. 9 is missing.

Ishmaelites, *upon whom* the Son of David will flourish,¹ as it is said, "His enemies will I clothe with shame:² but *upon him* shall his crown flourish" (Ps. cxxxii. 18).

Rabbi Ze'era³ said: These kingdoms were created only as fuel for Gehinnom, as it is said, "Behold, a smoking furnace,⁴ and a flaming torch that passed" (Gen. xv. 17). Here the word "furnace"⁵ signifies only Gehinnom, which is compared to a furnace, as it is said, "Saith the Lord, whose *fire* is in Zion, and his *furnace* in Jerusalem" (Isa. xxxi. 9).

¹ Or it might mean "arise"; cf. *supra*, p. 201, note 3.

² In the MS. the quotation ends here, "etc." being added; in the first editions the verse is continued.

³ The printed editions read "Azariah."

⁴ Pal. Targ., *in loc.*, renders: "And lo, Abram saw Gehinnom bringing up flaming coals and burning flakes of fire, wherein the wicked are to be judged." See Jer. Targum, *in loc.*, and cf. also Gen. Rab. xlv. 21; Apoc. Baruch iv. 4; and 4 Ezra iii. 14 (ed. Box), p. 12, note a.

⁵ The first editions read: "'Furnace' and 'torch' refer only to Gehinnom, as it is said," etc. The readings preserved in the Jalkuṭ, Gen. § 77, and the Midrash Haggadol, c. 234, should be compared with our text. Beer's *Leben Abraham's* should also be consulted for further references to the Midrashic sources.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE TRIALS OF ABRAHAM (*continued*)

The Covenant of Circumcision [33B. ii.]

THE eighth trial (was as follows): "And when Abram was ninety-nine years old" (Gen. xvii. 1),¹ the Holy One, blessed be He, said to him: Until now thou hast not been perfect before Me; but circumcise the flesh of thy foreskin, and "walk before me, and be thou perfect"² (*ibid.*). Moreover, the foreskin is a reproach, as it is said, "For that is a reproach unto us" (*ibid.* xxxiv. 14), because the foreskin is more unclean than all unclean things, as it is said, "For henceforth there shall no more || come into thee the uncircumcised and the unclean" (Isa. lii. 1). For the foreskin is a blemish above all blemishes. Circumcise the flesh of thy foreskin and be perfect.

Rabban Gamaliel said: Abraham sent and called for Shem,³ the son of Noah, and he circumcised the flesh of the foreskin of our father Abraham,⁴ and the flesh of the foreskin of Ishmael his son, as it is said, "In the selfsame day was Abraham circumcised, and Ishmael his son"⁵ (Gen. xvii. 26). "In the selfsame day" (means) in the might of the sun at midday.⁶ Not only that, but (it indicates) the

¹ The first editions add: "the Holy One, blessed be He, said to him, 'Walk before me, and be thou perfect'" (Gen. xvii. 1).

² See Midrash Agadah, Gen. xvii. 21, p. 36.

³ On Abraham's circumcision see Gen. Rab. xlvi. 4 and xvii. 8. Shem was born circumcised; see Jalḳuṭ, Gen. § 80; *J.E.* xi. 261; Hippolytus (ed. Achelis), p. 91; and Jerome, Ep. cxxvi. quoted by Rahmer, *op. cit.* p. 72.

⁴ See Agadath Bereshith, p. 35, and Tanchuma Vayêra, § ii.

⁵ Luria thinks that the rest of the verse, "And also all those born in his house," etc., is missing in our text.

⁶ And then it is at its zenith. See Gen. Rab. xvii. 9; Rashi on Gen., *in loc.*; and Leḳach Ṭob, *in loc.*

tenth day of the month,¹ the Day of Atonement. It is written in connection with the Day of Atonement, "Ye shall do no manner of work on that *selfsame day*, for it is a day of atonement" (Lev. xxiii. 28); and in the present instance the text says, "In the *selfsame day* was Abraham circumcised" (Gen. xvii. 26). Know then that on the Day of Atonement Abraham our father was circumcised.² Every year the Holy One, blessed be He, sees the blood of our father Abraham's circumcision, and He forgives all the sins of Israel, as it is said, "For on this day³ shall atonement be made for you, to cleanse you" (Lev. xvi. 30). In that place where Abraham was circumcised and his blood remained, there the altar was built,⁴ and therefore, "And all the blood thereof shall he pour out at the base of the altar" (*ibid.* iv. 30). (It says also),⁵ "I said unto thee, In thy blood, live; ⁶ yea, I said unto thee, In thy blood, live" (Ezek. xvi. 6).

Rabbi Chanina ben Dosa said: All who are circumcised have (excessive) pain on the third day, as it is said, "And it came to pass on the third day, when they were sore" (Gen. xxxiv. 25).⁷ They may wash || the child on the third day,⁸ when it happens to fall on the Sabbath, and all things necessary for a circumcision⁹ are permitted to be done on the Sabbath.¹⁰

¹ Tishri, the 7th month.

² This is mentioned by Tosaphoth to T.B. Rosh Ha-Shanah, 111a, catchword "But." The story is given by R. Bechai, Comm. on Gen., *in loc.*, with a different reading; see also Midrash Agadah, Gen. xvii. 21. According to T.B. Baba Mezi'a, 86b, the circumcision of Abraham took place on Passover. Jubilees xxxiv. 18 speaks of the institution of the Day of Atonement in connection with Joseph. Our author, in his opposition to Jubilees, connects the Day of Atonement with the life of Abraham. Such variant traditions are common to all histories; cf. Usener, "Weihnachtsfest," for the different dates observed by the Church to celebrate the birthday of the Founder of the Christian faith.

³ *i.e.* the event that marked this day, namely, the circumcision of the Founder of the Hebrew religion. The circumcision of the Founder of the Christian Church is now observed annually on 1st January.

⁴ Mount Moriah. Cf. the legends of Golgotha and Akeldama, see Jerome, Com. in Eph. v. 14.

⁵ The last two sentences of this paragraph are wanting in the Oxford MS.

⁶ The MS. omits here the second half of the verse; it occurs in the first editions.

⁷ The first editions add: "Accordingly the sages have taught."

⁸ After birth. This is a Mishnah in T.B. Sabbath xix. 3. 134b, and cf. Jalkuṭ, Gen. § 135.

⁹ See T.B. Sabbath, 132a.

¹⁰ See T.B. Sabbath, 128b and 133a.

Every uncircumcised (man) shall not eat (of the Paschal offering), and shall not touch the sanctuary. He who separates himself from circumcision is like one separated from the Holy One, blessed be He.

Rabban Gamaliel,¹ the son of Rabbi Jehudah the Prince, said: When our father Abraham was circumcised, on the third day he was very sore,² in order to test him.³ What did the Holy One, blessed be He, do? He pierced one hole in the midst of Gehinnom, and He made the day hot, like the day of the wicked.⁴ He⁵ went forth, and sat down at the entrance of the tent in the cool of the day, as it is said, "And he sat at the tent door (in the heat of the day)" (*ibid.* xviii. 1). The Holy One, blessed be He, said to the ministering angels: Come ye, let us descend and visit the sick, for the virtue of visiting the sick is great before Me.⁶ The Holy One, blessed be He, and the angels descended to visit our father Abraham, as it is said, "And the Lord appeared unto him" (*ibid.*). The Holy One, blessed be He, said to the ministering angels: Come ye and see ye⁷ the power of circumcision.⁸ Before Abraham was circumcised he fell⁹ on his face (before Me), and afterwards I spake with him, as it is said, "And Abraham fell upon his face" (*ibid.* xvii. 17). Now that he is circumcised he sits and I stand. Whence do we know that the Holy One, blessed be He, was standing? Because it is said, "And he looked, and, lo, three men stood over against him" (*ibid.* xviii. 2).

¹ This is Gamaliel II., to be distinguished from his grandfather Gamaliel I. mentioned previously.

² The pain on the third day was made exceptionally severe in order to test Abraham. This was the eighth trial according to our Book.

³ See Agadath Bereshith, pp. 37 ff., and Jalkut, Gen. § 82, which reads: "What did He do to try him? He pierced an aperture in Gehinnom."

⁴ See T.B. Baba Mezi'a, 86b, and see *infra*, p. 416, and cf. 'Arukh, ed. Kohut, v. 390, s.v. קח, and *ibid.* p. 20, s.v. להט. There is no eternal Gehenna in the future life, only a day of heat; see T.B. Nedarim, 8b.

⁵ *i.e.* Abraham.

⁶ Cf. *supra*, pp. 89, 107.

⁷ This expression is a characteristic of our author.

⁸ On Circumcision see *J.E.* iv. 92 ff., and on "Orlah" see *ibid.* ix.

435.

⁹ Pal. Targum, Gen. xvii. 17, reads: "And because Abraham was not circumcised he was not able to stand, but he bowed himself upon his face." Balaam also fell down when receiving the Divine oracles.

Rabbi Ze'era || said : There are five ¹ kinds of 'Orlah (things uncircumcised) in the world : four with reference to man, and one concerning trees. Whence do we know this concerning the four (terms) applying to man ? (Namely,) the uncircumcision of the ear, the uncircumcision of the lips, the uncircumcision of the heart, and the uncircumcision of the flesh. Whence do we know of the uncircumcision of the ear ? Because it is said, " Behold, their ear is uncircumcised " (Jer. vi. 10). Whence do we know of the uncircumcision of the lips ? Because it is said, " For I am of uncircumcised lips " (Ex. vi. 12). Whence do we know of the uncircumcision of the heart ? Because it is said, " Circumcise the foreskin of your heart " (Deut. x. 16); and (the text) says, " For all the nations are uncircumcised, and all the house of Israel are uncircumcised in heart " (Jer. ix. 26). Whence do we know of the uncircumcision of the flesh ? Because it is said, " And the uncircumcised male who is not circumcised in the flesh of his foreskin " (Gen. xvii. 14). And " all the nations are uncircumcised " in all the four cases, and " all the house of Israel are uncircumcised in heart." The uncircumcision of the heart does not suffer Israel to do the will of their Creator. And in the future the Holy One, blessed be He, will take away from Israel the uncircumcision of the heart, and they will not harden their stubborn (heart) any more before their Creator, as it is said, " And I will take away the stony heart ² out of your flesh, and I will give you an heart of flesh " (Ezek. xxxvi. 26); and it is said, " And ye shall be circumcised in the flesh of your foreskin " ³ (Gen. xvii. 11). Whence do we know concerning the one ('Orlah) for trees ? ⁴ Because it is said, " And when ye shall come into the land, and shall have planted all manner of trees for food, then ye shall

¹ See Gen. Rab. xlvi. 5. The tractate of 'Orlah in the Mishnah, Tosephta, and Jerushalmi deals with the " uncircumcision " of trees based on Lev. xix. 23-25.

² In the MS. the quotation ends here; in the first editions it is continued as in our version. The MS. adds " etc."

³ The first editions read : " And ye shall circumcise the foreskin of your flesh," which is not an actual quotation, but a combination of Gen. xvii. 11 and Deut. x. 16. The MS. originally read : " the foreskin of your heart," which has been deleted.

⁴ In addition to the Mishnah and Tosephta on "'Orlah" see Maimonides, Ma'akhaloth 'Asuroth, x. 9 ff. According to T.B. Kiddushin, 37a, the law of 'Orlah is limited to Palestine.

count the fruit thereof as their uncircumcision :¹ three years shall they be as uncircumcised unto you ” (Lev. xix. 23).

Rabbi Ze'era² taught : The tree || which is mentioned here is none other than the vine tree.³ If they do not cut off from the tree the fruit of the first three years, all the fruit which it yields will be gleanings fit to be plucked off, and not good ; and its wine will be disqualified for the altar ; but if they cut off from the tree the fruit of the first three years, all the fruit which it yields will be good for the sight, and their wine will be selected to be brought upon the altar. So with our father Abraham ; before he was circumcised, the fruit which he produced was not good [in its effects,⁴ and was disqualified from the altar ; but when he had been circumcised, the fruit which he produced was good in its effects,⁵ and his wine]⁶ was chosen to be put upon the altar like wine for a libation, as it is said, “ And wine for the drink offering ” (Num. xv. 5).

Rabbi⁷ said : Abraham did not delay aught⁸ with reference to all (things) which He commanded him, as it is said, “ And he that is eight days old shall be circumcised ” (Gen. xvii. 12) ; and when Isaac was born, (and when) he was eight days old (Abraham) brought him to be circumcised, as it is said, “ And Abraham circumcised his son Isaac when he was eight days old ” (*ibid.* xxi. 4). Hence thou mayest learn that everyone who brings his son for circumcision is as though (he were) a high priest bringing his meal offering and his drink offering upon the top of the altar.⁹ Hence

¹ In the MS. the quotation ends here.

² The first editions read “ Zeriqa.” On “ Ze'era ” see *J.E.* xii. 651 f., and on “ Zeriqa ” see *ibid.* 662.

³ See *Joreh D'ah*, 294. For a similar law see *Jubilees* vii. 1 and 35-38. All trees bearing fruit fit to be eaten were subject to this law ; cf. *Ezek.* xvii. 5 ff. It is very remarkable that our author restricts the law of 'Orlah to the vine, which the Rabbis included among the fruit-bearing trees ; see *Siphra*, 90a.

⁴ With reference to Ishmael. See *Jalkuṭ*, Gen. § 81.

⁵ With reference to Isaac.

⁶ This portion in square brackets is missing in the MS., but undoubtedly it must be supplied ; it occurs in the first editions.

⁷ The first editions read : “ Rabbi Ishmael.” This section occurs in a later part of the chapter in the printed texts.

⁸ See *T.B. Pesachim*, 4a.

⁹ This sentence is not in the printed texts. The first editions read : “ And he brought him (as) a meal offering upon the top of the altar, and he made festivities and a banquet.” See *Shocheh Tob*, Ps. cxii. p. 234b. This Midrash has used our book. Some of the printed texts

the sages said : A man is bound to make festivities and a banquet on that day when he has the merit of having his son¹ circumcised, like Abraham our father, who circumcised his son, as it is said, "And Abraham circumcised || his son Isaac" ² (*ibid.*).

Rabbi Jochanan said : All heathens who come to Israel are circumcised by their own freewill and with their consent, and in the fear of Heaven are they circumcised. We do not believe a proselyte until seven generations (have passed), so that the waters should not return to their source.³ But slaves are circumcised both by their freewill and with their consent as well as without their consent, and no confidence is placed in slaves. Likewise with all the slaves who were circumcised with our father Abraham, they did not remain true (converts) in Israel, neither they nor their seed, because it is said, "All the men of his house, those born in the house,⁴ and those bought with money of the stranger, were circumcised with him" (*ibid.* xvii. 27). Why did he circumcise them ? Because of purity, so that they should not defile their masters with their food and with their drink, for whosoever eateth with an uncircumcised person is as though he were eating flesh of abomination.⁵ All who bathe with the uncircumcised are as though they bathed with carrion,⁶ and all who touch an uncircumcised person are as though they touched the dead, for in their lifetime they are like (the) dead;⁷ and in their death they

read : "he presented him like an offering" (by circumcision). See Jalkut, Gen., *loc. cit.*, and Tania Rabbathi, 96 (ed. Warsaw), p. 101b.

¹ See Tosaphoth on Sabbath, 130a ; Joreh D'iah, 265.

² The first editions do not use this quotation, but "And Abraham made a great feast on the day that Isaac was weaned" (Gen. xxi. 8). This was not the day of circumcision. But just as Abraham made a feast at the weaning of his son, it was inferred that he had also made a feast at the circumcision.

³ To test whether they might revert to their former idolatry. Cf. T.B. Synhedrin, 94a, and Midrash Haggadol, c. 257.

⁴ The quotation ends here in the MS.

⁵ The first editions read : "as though he were eating with a dog. Just as the dog is not circumcised so the uncircumcised person is not circumcised." For parallel N.T. teaching see Phil. iii. 2 and Eph. ii. 11.

⁶ The first editions read : "a leper." See Maimonides, *On Idolatry*, vii. 18.

⁷ Cf. Matt. viii. 22, where the Jews are referred to as "the dead." The heathens or Gentiles were, according to the N.T., believed to be under the control of Satan (see 2 Cor. vi. 15-18 ; and cf. 1 Cor. x. 19 and xii. 2) and therefore children of death (see Heb. ii. 14 f.), whereas the

are like the carrion of the beast,¹ and their prayer does not come before the Holy One, blessed be He, as it is said, "The dead praise not the Lord" (Ps. cxv. 17). But Israel who are circumcised, their prayer comes before the Holy One, blessed be He, || like a sweet savour, as it is said, "But *we will bless* the Lord² from this time forth and for evermore. Praise ye the Lord" (*ibid.* 18).

Rabbi said: Isaac circumcised Jacob, and Esau;³ and Esau despised the covenant of circumcision just as he despised the birthright, as it is said, "So Esau despised his birthright" (Gen. xxv. 34). Jacob clung to the covenant of circumcision, and circumcised his sons and his grandsons. Whence (do we know) that the sons of Jacob were circumcised? Because it is said, "Only on this condition will the men consent unto us to dwell⁴ with us . . . if every male among us be circumcised, as they are circumcised." (*ibid.* xxxiv. 22). Another text says, "Only on this condition will we consent unto you: if ye will be as we be" (*ibid.* 15).⁵ Hence thou canst learn that the sons of Jacob were circumcised. The sons of Jacob circumcised their sons and their grandsons. They gave it to them as an inheritance for an everlasting statute, until Pharaoh the Wicked arose⁶ and decreed harsh laws concerning them,

believers or Christians are the only ones who really live (cf. Rom. v. 12-21, *ibid.* i. 16-32, *ibid.* vi. 13, and *ibid.* viii. 6-10). The Ephesians, formerly "Gentiles in the flesh who are called Uncircumcision" (Eph. ii. 11), are addressed thus: "You who were *dead* in trespass and sins" (*ibid.* 1).

¹ The first editions read: "of the field." A parallel to the teaching of this section is to be found in the doctrine so strongly emphasized by Paul that the Christians should not partake of "the things which the Gentiles sacrifice" (1 Cor. x. 20). Jesus also said, "Give not that which is holy unto the *dogs*, neither cast your pearls before the swine, lest haply they trample them under their feet, and turn and rend you" (Matt. vii. 6). On "Dog" as applied to non-Christians in the New Testament and Christian literature, see *Jewish Sources of the Sermon on the Mount*, pp. 219 ff. See also Jubilees xv. 26. The Church Councils prohibited Christians eating with the Jews, see *Apostolic Constitutions*, ii. 62 and viii. 47.

² The quotation ends here in the MS., it is continued in the first editions.

³ Jubilees xv. 30 says of Esau: "the Lord did not cause him to approach him." See *Jalkuṭ*, Gen. § 116.

⁴ In the MS the quotation ends here.

⁵ This quotation is not in the printed texts. The verse continues: "that every male of you be circumcised."

⁶ See Eccles. Rab. on Eccles. ix. 12; Ruth Rab. Proem. 6. According to Num. Rab. xv. 12, only the tribe of Levi kept the rite of circum-

and withheld from them the covenant of circumcision. And on the day when the children of Israel went forth from Egypt all the people were circumcised, both young and old, as it is said, "For all the people that came out were circumcised" (Josh. v. 5).

The Israelites took the blood of the covenant of circumcision,¹ and they put (it)² upon the lintel of their houses, and when the Holy One, blessed be He, passed over to plague the Egyptians, He saw the blood of the covenant of circumcision upon the lintel of their houses and the blood of the Paschal lamb, He was filled || with compassion³ on Israel, as it is said, "And when I passed by thee, and saw thee weltering in thy (twofold) blood,⁴ I said unto thee, In thy (twofold) blood, live; yea, I said unto thee, In thy (twofold) blood, live" (Ezek. xvi. 6). "In thy blood" is not written here, but in "thy (twofold) blood," with twofold blood, the blood of the covenant of circumcision and the blood of the Paschal lamb; therefore it is said, "I said unto thee, In thy (twofold) blood, live; yea, I said unto thee, In thy (twofold) blood, live" (*ibid.*).

Rabbi Eliezer said: Why⁵ did the text say twice, "I said unto thee, In thy blood, live; yea, I said unto thee, In thy blood, live"? But the Holy One, blessed be He, said: By the merit of the blood of the covenant of circumcision and the blood of the Paschal lamb ye shall be redeemed from Egypt, and by the merit of the covenant of circumcision and by the merit of the covenant of the Passover in the future ye shall be redeemed at the end of the fourth kingdom;⁶ therefore it is said, "I said unto thee, In

cision in Egypt; the other tribes refused to obey in this matter. See Ex. Rab. i. 20, and xix. 5; Tanna de bê Elijahu Rab. xxiii. p. 123; and Siphre, Num. § 67.

¹ The first editions add: "and the blood of the Paschal lamb." See Pal. Targum on Ex. xii. 13, which reads, "And the blood of the Paschal offering and the rite of circumcision shall be a guarantee to you, to become a sign upon the houses where ye dwell"; see also Mekhilta (on Ex. xii. 6) p. 5a, Zohar, Lev. 95a, and Num. Rab. xiv. 12.

² The first editions read "them," *i.e.* the blood of the circumcision as well as the blood of the Paschal lamb.

³ The root "Pasach" (פסח) means to spare, hence to be compassionate.

⁴ The quotation ends here in the MS.; in the first editions it is continued.

⁵ Lit. "For what purpose did the text see to say."

⁶ At the Messianic redemption.

thy blood, live ; yea, I said unto thee, In thy blood, live ” (*ibid.*).¹

There are three afflictions,² (namely,) the affliction of the fast, the affliction of the prison, and the affliction of the road.³ Whence do we know of the affliction of the fast ? (Because it is said,) ⁴ “ I *afflicted* my soul with *fasting* ” (Ps. xxxv. 13). Whence do we know of the affliction of the prison ? (Because it is said,) ⁴ “ They *hurt* his feet with *fetters* ” (*ibid.* cv. 18). Whence do we know of the affliction of the road ? (Because it is said,) ⁴ “ He weakened my strength *in the way* ” (*ibid.* cii. 23). On account of the affliction of the road, (the children of Israel) ⁴ did not circumcise, and when they went forth from Egypt all the people were circumcised, both young and old, as it is said, “ For all the people that came out were circumcised ” || (Josh. v. 5).⁵

Rabbi Ishmael said : Did the uncircumcised ⁶ hear the voice of the Holy One, blessed be He, on Mount Sinai, saying, “ I am the Lord thy God ” (Ex. xx. 2) ? ⁷ They were circumcised, but not according to its regulation.⁸ They had cut off the foreskin, but they had not uncovered the corona. Everyone who has been circumcised, but has not had the corona uncovered, is as though he had not been circumcised, therefore the text says, “ Israel was not circumcised of old.” ⁹

When they came to the land (of Canaan),¹⁰ the Holy One, blessed be He, said to Joshua : Joshua ! Dost thou not know that the Israelites are not circumcised according to the proper regulation ? He again circumcised them a second time, as

¹ See Targum on Ezek. xvi. 6 ; and cf. *infra*, pp. 383 ff.

² See T.B. Nedarim, 31b, 32a ; T.B. Gitṭin, 70a ; Shocheṛ Ṭob, Ps. xxxi. p. 121a ; Lam. Rab. i. 50 ; T.B. Jebamoth, 71b, on the danger of circumcision when one travels.

³ Or, journey.

⁴ This is omitted by the MS., but it occurs in the first editions.

⁵ The printed editions quote Josh. v. 7.

⁶ *i.e.* the Israelites.

⁷ See Num. Rab. xi. 3, Cant. Rab. i. 12, and Shocheṛ Ṭob, Pss. p. 39a ; and cf. T.B. Jebamoth, 72a. The first editions add : “ And did He give them the Torah ? But, Heaven forbid ! They were circumcised, but they did not have the corona uncovered.”

⁸ This refers to (פְּרִיָּא) “ P’ri’ah ” (having the corona uncovered).

⁹ This is not a Biblical quotation. Should Josh. v. 5 be quoted ?

¹⁰ The first editions read : “ When the Israelites came to the land of Israel.”

it is said, "The Lord said unto Joshua, Make thee knives of flint,¹ and circumcise again the children of Israel a second time" (Josh. v. 2). "And Joshua made him knives of flint" (*ibid.* 3), and he gathered all the foreskins until he made them (as high) as a hill, as it is said, "And he circumcised the children of Israel at the *hill* of the foreskins" (*ibid.*). The Israelites took the foreskin and the blood² and covered them with the dust³ of the wilderness. When Balaam⁴ came, he saw all the wilderness filled with the foreskins of the Israelites, he said: Who will be able to arise by the merit of the blood of the covenant of this circumcision, which is covered by the dust? as it is said, "Who can count the dust of Jacob?" (Num. xxiii. 10).

Hence || the sages instituted that they should cover the foreskin and the blood with the dust of the earth,⁵ because they⁶ are compared to the dust of the earth, as it is said, "And thy seed shall be as the dust of the earth" (Gen. xxviii. 14). Thus the Israelites were wont to circumcise until they were divided into two kingdoms. The kingdom of Ephraim cast off from themselves the covenant of circumcision.⁷ Elijah, may he be remembered for good, arose and was zealous with a mighty passion, and he adjured the heavens to send down neither dew nor rain upon the earth. Jezebel heard (thereof), and sought to slay him. Elijah arose and prayed before the Holy One, blessed be He.

The Holy One, blessed be He, said to him: "Art thou better than thy fathers?"⁸ Esau sought to slay Jacob,

¹ The quotation ends here in the MS.; in the first editions the latter part of the verse only is given.

² The law of the covering of the blood is ascribed by Jubilees vii. 30 to Noah, who tells his sons: "and work ye a good work to your souls by covering that which has been shed on the face of the earth"; see also *ibid.* 31, 33. In opposition to Jubilees, our author transfers the precept to Abraham.

³ The Babylonian Jews appear to have used water to cover the blood at the circumcision, whereas the Palestinian Jews used earth to cover the blood and the foreskin after the circumcision. See Sha'arê Zedeḳ v. 10; Ṭur Joreh Di'ah, 265; Zohar, Gen. 95a. Cf. Menorath Ha-Maor § lxxx.

⁴ The Venice edition adds here: "the magician." See Jalḳuṭ, Gen. § 71.

⁵ See previous note 3; and see Chiluf Minhagim, ed. Müller, pp. 18 f., and see also the Haggadic Commentary Sekhel Ṭob i. p. 19.

⁶ The Israelites.

⁷ Jubilees xv. 33 refers to the neglect of circumcision by the children of Israel.

⁸ Cf. 1 Kings xix. 4.

but he fled before him,¹ as it is said, "And Jacob fled into the field of Aram"² (Hos. xii. 12). Pharaoh sought to slay Moses, who fled before him and he was saved, as it is said, "Now when Pharaoh heard this thing,³ he sought to slay Moses. And Moses fled from the face of Pharaoh" (Ex. ii. 15). Saul sought to slay David, who fled before him and was saved, as it is said, "If thou save not thy life to-night, to-morrow thou shalt be slain" (1 Sam. xix. 11).⁴ Another text says, "And David fled and escaped" (*ibid.* 18). Learn that everyone, who flees, is saved. Elijah, may he be remembered for good, arose and fled from the land of Israel,⁵ || and he betook himself to Mount Horeb, as it is said, "And he arose, and did eat and drink" (1 Kings xix. 8). There the Holy One, blessed be He, was revealed unto him, and He said to him: "What doest thou here, Elijah?" (*ibid.* 9). He answered Him, saying: "I have been very zealous" (*ibid.* 10). (The Holy One, blessed be)⁶ He, said to him: Thou art always zealous!⁷ Thou wast zealous in Shittim⁸ on account of the immorality. Because it is said, "Phineas,⁹ the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron the priest,¹⁰ turned my wrath away from the children of Israel, in that he was zealous with my zeal among them" (Num. xxv. 11). Here also art thou zealous. By thy life! They¹¹ shall not observe the

¹ The first editions add: "and he was saved."

² See Jalkuṭ, Ex. § 168, and Menorath Ha-Maor § lxxx. Eventually Jacob escaped from Laban, as well as from Esau. The first editions read: "Esau attempted to slay Jacob, as it is said, 'The days of mourning for my father are at hand; then will I slay my brother Jacob'" (Gen. xxvii. 41).

³ In the MS. the quotation ends here; the first editions quote the latter part of the verse.

⁴ The first editions quote (1 Sam. xix. 11) only.

⁵ To Horeb, which was outside Palestine.

⁶ This is missing in the MS., but it occurs in the first editions.

⁷ See Cant. Rab. i. 6; Tanna de bê Elijahu Zuṭṭa (viii.), p. 187; Jalkuṭ to 1 Kings § 217; Agadath Shir Ha-Shirim, p. 45, quoted by Schechter in his *Aspects of Rabbinic Theology*, p. 205; see also *ibid.*, p. 52, on Elijah's zeal.

⁸ See *infra*, p. 370, and Jalkuṭ, Gen. § 71.

⁹ Phineas is identified with Elijah. Just as we find in the New Testament that John the Baptist was held to be Elijah, see Matt. xi. 14. According to some Jewish authorities Elijah was a priest, see Tanna de bê Elijahu Rab. xviii. pp. 97f. This legend occurs also in the Book of the Bee (ed. Budge), p. 70.

¹⁰ In the MS. the quotation ends here.

¹¹ The first editions and Jalkuṭ, *loc. cit.*, read "Israel,"

covenant of circumcision until thou seest it (done) with thine eyes.

Hence the sages¹ instituted (the custom) that people should have a seat of honour for the Messenger of the Covenant; for Elijah, may he be remembered for good, is called the Messenger of the Covenant, as it is said, "And the messenger of the covenant, whom ye delight in, behold, he cometh" (Mal. iii. 1).²

¹ See Tur, Joreh D'iah, 265; Tania Rabbathi, 96, p. 101a, and Halakhoth Gedoloth quoted by Schorr in החלוך, v. 38.¹

² The chair for Elijah is to this day a feature at every circumcision. The MS. Gaster and the first editions add: "O God of Israel! Hasten and bring the Messiah in our lifetime to comfort us, and may he restore² our hearts, as it is said: 'And he shall restore³ the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to the fathers'" (Mal. iv. 6).⁴ According to this reading the chapter closes with a rhyme. Luria argues that as the verse quoted from Malachi speaks of Elijah, the reading might originally have been "Elijah" in place of the word "Messiah," or perhaps both words were in the context. See *infra*, p. 344. The Oxford MS. reads the entire verse Mal. iii. 1.

¹ Dr. Büchler observes: "The earliest reference known besides this, is R. Jacob b. Nissim of Kairwân about 970 c.E. אחרות חיים (ed. Schlesinger) 12; see also Güdemann, *Erziehungswesen in Italien*, p. 28, n. 4; Zunz, *Zur Gesch.*, pp. 485. 590 ff.; and Lewysohn, סקורי מנהגים, 93.

² Lit. "renew."

³ The R.V. renders "turn."

⁴ This is not the mission of the Messiah, but of Elijah, the great Reconciler.

CHAPTER XXX

THE TRIALS OF ABRAHAM (*continued*)

Abraham and Ishmael [36A. ii.]

THE ninth trial (was as follows): Ishmael was born with (the prophecy of the) bow,¹ and he grew up with the bow,² as it is said, "And God was with the lad, and he grew . . .³ and he became an archer" (Gen. xxi. 20). He took bow and arrows and began to shoot at the birds.⁴ He saw Isaac sitting by himself, and he shot an arrow⁵ at him to slay him.⁶ Sarah saw (this), and told Abraham. She said to him: Thus and thus has Ishmael done to Isaac, but (now) arise and write (a will in favour) of Isaac, (giving him) all that the Holy One has sworn to give || to thee and to thy seed.⁷ The son of this handmaid shall not inherit with my son, with Isaac, as it is said, "And she said unto Abraham, Cast out this bondwoman and her son" (*ibid.* 10).

Ben Tema⁸ said: Sarah said to Abraham, Write⁹ a bill of

¹ Perhaps the version should be, "Ishmael was born under (the constellation) Sagittarius." The word "Kēshēth" sometimes means this constellation, or it might indicate "harshness."

² Jalḳuṭ, Gen. § 94 reads: "Ishmael was born and grew up with the bow." Cf. Isa. xxi. 15.

³ The quotation ends here in the MS.; the first editions quote the latter part of the verse only.

⁴ See Tosephta Soṭah vi. p. 308; Jalḳuṭ, *loc. cit.*, and Gen. Rab. liii. 15. The MS. reads "Pugoth." This agrees with the Oxford MS. "Puga" is identified with "Suga," the name of a bird. See T.B. Baba Bathra, 90b.

⁵ MS. O.A. 167 reads: "the arrows." See Gen. Rab. liii. 11.

⁶ See Leḳach Tob, Gen. p. 47, note 20, for other parallels.

⁷ Cf. Gen. xv. 5 and xvii. 7. The first editions add: "By thy life." Luria would read: "In thy life time" and connects it with the preceding sentence: "Write in thy life time."

⁸ This is missing in the printed editions and in Jalḳuṭ, Gen., *loc. cit.*, but it occurs in MS. O.A. 167. Ben Tema was an Amora.

⁹ MS. O.A. 167 reads: "Arise and write."

divorce,¹ and send away this handmaid and her son from me and from Isaac my son, in this world and from the world to come. More than all the misfortunes which overtook Abraham, this matter was exceedingly evil in his eyes, as it is said, "And the thing was very grievous in Abraham's sight on account of his son" (*ibid.* 11).²

Rabbi Jehudah³ said: In that night the Holy One, blessed be He, was revealed unto him. He said to him: Abraham! Dost thou not know that Sarah was appointed to thee for a wife⁴ from her mother's womb? She is thy companion, and the wife of thy covenant;⁵ Sarah is not called thy handmaid, but thy wife;⁶ neither is Hagar called thy wife, but thy handmaid; and all that Sarah has spoken⁷ she has uttered truthfully. Let it not be grievous in thine eyes, as it is said, "And God said unto Abraham, Let it not be grievous in thy sight" (*ibid.* 12).

Abraham rose up early,⁸ and wrote a bill of divorce, and gave it to Hagar, and he sent her and her son away from himself, and from Isaac his son, from this world and from the world to come, as it is said, "And Abraham rose up early in the morning, and took⁹ bread and a bottle of water" (*ibid.* 14). He sent her away || with a bill of divorcement, and he took the veil,¹⁰ and he bound it around her waist, so that it should drag behind her to disclose (the fact) that she was a bondwoman.¹¹ Not only this, but also because

¹ See Pal. Targum, Gen. xxi. 10.

² The Pal. Targum, Gen., *loc. cit.*, explains that this was due to the evil deeds of Ishmael in the future. The inference in our Midrash is derived from the quotation, and it was only in this instance that Scripture refers to the sorrow of Abraham. See Midrash Haggadol, c. 308.

³ MS. O.A. 167 adds: "the Prince."

⁴ The Venice edition adds: "from her birth."

⁵ *i.e.* the first wife. See Mal. ii. 14; and Targum, *in loc.*, and cf. Rashi on Mal. ii. 14.

⁶ MS. O.A. 167 adds: "as it is said: 'And God said, But Sarah thy wife'" (Gen. xvii. 19). This verse is also given by the first editions.

⁷ MS. O.A. 167 adds: "to thee."

⁸ MS. O.A. 167 adds: "in the morning." See Midrash Haggadol, c. 309.

⁹ In the MS. the quotation ends here, but "etc." is added. The first editions and MS. O.A. 167 continue the verse. Luria adds: "And the child."

¹⁰ See Jalkuṭ, Gen. § 95, according to Jastrow, *T.D.* 1452b, for a variant reading. Cf. Gen. Rab. liii. 13. The Venice edition reads "water-barrel"; cf. Siphre, Num. § 115, and Jalkuṭ, Num. § 750, which reads "water-barrel." Our MS. agrees with the text in the 1st ed.

¹¹ See T.B. Baba Mezi'a, 87a.

Abraham desired to see Ishmael, his son, and to see the way whereon they went.

By the merit of our father Abraham the water did not fail in the bottle, but when she reached the entrance to the wilderness, she began to go astray after the idolatry of her father's house;¹ and forthwith the water in the bottle was spent, as it is said, "And she departed and wandered" (*ibid.*). Ishmael was seventeen² years old (when) he went forth from the house of Abraham, and Isaac was forty³ years old. By the merit of our father Abraham the water did not fail in the bottle, but when she reached the entrance to the wilderness, she began to go astray after the idolatry of her father's house; the water in the bottle was spent,⁴ and the soul of Ishmael was faint with thirst.

"And she departed and wandered" (*ibid.*). The meaning of "and she wandered" is merely idolatry, because it is written, concerning (this root),⁵ "They are vanity, a work of delusion"⁶ (Jer. x. 15).⁷ He went and cast himself beneath the thorns of the wilderness,⁸ so that the moisture might be upon him, and he said: O God of my father Abraham!⁹ Thine are the issues of death; take away from me

¹ The first editions read: "the house of Pharaoh her father"; according to Rabbinic legend Hagar was the daughter of Pharaoh. See *supra*, p. 190, Gen. Rab. xlv. 2, and the Book of Jashar xv. 31.

² The Venice edition gives twenty-seven years for Ishmael's age.

³ The first editions read: "ten years." The "forty years" may refer to Isaac's age when he married Rebecca and left his father's house to dwell in Sarah's tent. It seems very probable that the MS. reading is based on a copy which read "four" years. This was altered by the writer of our MS. into "forty." Ishmael was thirteen years older than Isaac, and as the former was seventeen years old when he left Abraham's house Isaac must have been four years old. See *infra*, p. 225. See Gen. Rab. liii. 13, according to which Ishmael was twenty-seven years old; see also the Book of Jashar xxi. 14, Jalkuṭ, Gen., *loc. cit.*, and Midrash Haggadol, *loc. cit.*

⁴ The whole of this sentence thus far is an exact repetition of a few lines above. See also Midrash Haggadol, *loc. cit.*, for the same circumstance.

⁵ Cf. Isa. xix. 13.

⁶ The root of this word (נחמ) is connected apparently with the Hebrew "to err" or "to wander" (תעה); see Zohar, Gen. 118b.

⁷ The previous verse refers to the images.

⁸ Cf. Jalkuṭ, Gen., *loc. cit.* The phraseology is based on Job xxx. 7. This chapter is applied to Ishmael by the Midrash. The next few words (up to "upon him") are wanting in the printed texts.

⁹ Cf. the version of the prayer in Jalkuṭ, Gen., *loc. cit.* The printed editions of our book differ here from our MS. The first editions read thus: "Sovereign of the Worlds! If it be Thy pleasure to give me water to drink, give me to drink and let not my soul depart because of

my soul, for I would not die of thirst. And He was entreated of him, as it is said, "For God hath heard the || voice of the lad where he is" (Gen. xxi. 17). The well¹ which was created at twilight² was opened for them there, and they went and drank and filled the bottle with water, as it is said, "And God opened her eyes, and she saw a well of water" (*ibid.* 19). And there³ they left the well,⁴ and thence they started on their way,⁵ and went through all the wilderness until they came to the wilderness of Paran, and they found there streams of water, and they dwelt there, as it is said, "And he dwelt in the wilderness of Paran" (*ibid.* 21). Ishmael sent for a wife from among the daughters⁶ of Moab, and 'Ayeshah⁷ was her name. After three years⁸ Abraham went to see Ishmael his son, having sworn to Sarah that he would not descend from the camel in the place where Ishmael dwelt. He arrived there at midday and found there the wife of Ishmael. He said⁹ to her: Where is Ishmael? She said to him: He has gone with his mother to fetch the fruit of the palms¹⁰ from the wilderness. He said to her: Give me a little bread and a little water,¹¹ for my soul is faint after the journey in the desert. She said to him: I have neither bread nor water. He said to her: When Ishmael comes (home) tell him this || story, and say to him: A certain old man came from the land of Canaan to see thee, and he said, Exchange¹² the

thirst; for death by thirst is unnatural, and it is harder than all other (kinds of) death. The Holy One, blessed be He, heard his prayer."

¹ See *infra*, p. 263.

² Of the eve of the first Sabbath in the week of Creation. See *supra*, p. 124.

³ In the wilderness of Beer-Sheba.

⁴ See *infra*, pp. 268, 323.

⁵ Lit. "they lifted up their feet."

⁶ The first editions read: "fords." The reading in our MS. is the correct text.

⁷ In later editions other readings of this name are found, namely, "'Essah" and "'Ephah." See Grünbaum, *op. cit.* p. 125.

⁸ Cf. the narrative in the Book of Jashar xxi. 22 ff.; Jalkuṭ, Gen., *loc. cit.*, and Midrash Haggadol, c. 310.

⁹ The scribe has made a little mistake here by writing "She said."

¹⁰ Luria objects to the text, and prefers to read, "fruit of the broom-tree"; cf. Job xxx. 4. See Jalkuṭ, *loc. cit.*; T.B. Baba Bathra, 75b; perhaps the text should read: "fruit and broom-trees."

¹¹ The first editions read: "a little bread and dainties." The Prague edition reads: "a little water and bread and dainties."

¹² The first editions read: "That the door-sill of the house is not good." See the Book of Jashar xxi. 31, and Jalkuṭ, *loc. cit.*

threshold of thy house, for it is not good for thee. When Ishmael came (home) his wife told him the story. A son of a wise man is like half a wise man. Ishmael understood. His mother sent and took for him a wife from her father's house,¹ and her name was Fatimah.²

Again after three years Abraham went to see his son Ishmael, having sworn to Sarah as on the first occasion that he would not descend from the camel in the place where Ishmael dwelt. He came there at midday, and found there Ishmael's wife. He said to her: Where is Ishmael? She replied to him: He has gone with his mother to feed the camels in the desert. He said to her: Give me a little bread and water, for my soul is faint after the journey³ of the desert. She fetched it and gave it to him. Abraham arose and prayed before the Holy One, blessed be He, for his son, and (thereupon) Ishmael's house was filled with all good things of the various blessings.⁴ When Ishmael came (home) his wife told him what had happened, and Ishmael knew that his father's love was still extended to him, as it is said, || "Like as a father pitieth his sons" (Ps. ciii. 13). After the death of Sarah, Abraham again took (Hagar) his divorced (wife), as it is said, "And Abraham again⁵ took a wife, and her name was Keturah" (Gen. xxv. 1). Why does it say "And he *again*"? Because on the first occasion she was his wife, and he *again* betook himself to her. Her name was Keturah, because she was perfumed with all kinds of scents.⁶

Another explanation of Keturah (is): because her

¹ From Pharaoh's house. See *supra*, p. 190, and cf. the Book of Jashar xxi. 17.

² See Pal. Targum, Gen. xxi. 21, and Jalkuṭ, *loc. cit.* These names Fatimah and 'Ayeshah point to Arabian influence, and give us another *terminus a quo* to fix the date and locality of its redaction. 'Ephah, mentioned above (p. 218, note 7), occurs as a woman's name in 1 Chron. ii. 46.

³ For this legend, see *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, pp. 66 f. with notes.

⁴ Jalkuṭ, *loc. cit.*, reads "food and blessing." See *infra*, p. 328, and cf. Midrash Haggadol, c. 311.

⁵ In our MS. the quotation ends here; it is continued in the first editions as in our version. See Pal. Targum, Gen. xxv. 1, and Midrash Haggadol, c. 375, note 8, where the parallel passages are given.

⁶ The Ishmaelites in the wilderness were the buyers and sellers of precious spices. Cf. Cant. iii. 6, and Ezek. xxvii. 21.

actions were beautiful like *incense*,¹ and she bare him six sons,² and they were all called according to the name of Ishmael,³ as it is said, "And she bare him Zimran" (*ibid.* 2).

Like a woman sent away from her husband, so likewise Abraham arose and sent them away from Isaac his son, from this world and from the world to come, as it is said, "But unto the sons of the concubines, which Abraham had,⁴ Abraham gave gifts, and he sent them⁵ away from Isaac his son" (*ibid.* 6), by a deed of divorcement.

Corresponding to the name of Ishmael's son⁶ Kedar, the *sons of Kedar* were so called, as it is said, "Of Kedar, and of the kingdoms of Hazor" (Jer. xlix. 28). Corresponding to the name of Ishmael's son "Kedemah"⁷ (Gen. xxv. 15), the "sons of K̄edem" were so called.⁸ Because they dwelt in the territory belonging to Cain, his children were called "sons of Cain," as it is said, "Now Heber the Kenite had separated himself from Cain" (Judg. iv. 11). Were not all the sons of Cain cut off⁹ by the waters of the Flood? But because they dwelt in the territory of the children of Cain, his children were called "sons of Cain," as it is said, "Nevertheless || Cain shall be wasted,¹⁰ as long as Asshur shall dwell in thy place" (Num. xxiv. 22). "Nevertheless Cain shall be wasted away" by fire, through the seed

¹ The Hebrew for "incense" (K̄eṭoreth) suggests a connection with the name K̄eturah.

² The first editions read here (instead of our context) the following: "Zimran, and Jokshan, and Medan and Midian, and Ishbak and Shuah."

³ The meaning is not quite evident; does it mean that the six names have some part of their spelling in common with the various letters of the name Ishmael? This is the case with the initial letter of five names, but Zimran is the exception.

⁴ In the MS. the quotation ends here; it is continued in the first editions.

⁵ The MS. reads: "'and he sent them away' by a deed of divorcement."

⁶ The first editions read "sons." The descendants of Ishmael intermarried with the children of Keturah.

⁷ In the MS. the word has been partly erased, only the letters קד are legible.

⁸ The first editions add: "as it is said: 'The children of K̄edem'" (Jer. xlix. 28).

⁹ Cf. Rabbi Bechai's commentary on Num. xxiv. 22, which reads: "Were not all the sons of Cain cut off?" according to our text. The later editions read: "separated at the generation of the flood."

¹⁰ In the MS. the quotation ends here. Our translation of the Scripture text differs from the usual version.

of Ishmael, the latter shall cause the kingdom of Assyria to cease.¹

Balaam said: Of the seventy nations that the Holy One, blessed be He, created in His world, He did not put His name on any one of them except on Israel;² and since the Holy One, blessed be He, made the name of Ishmael similar to the name of Israel, woe to him who shall live in his days, as it is said, "Alas, who shall live when God establisheth him?"³ (*ibid.* 23).

Rabbi Ishmael said: In the future the children of Ishmael will do fifteen things in the land (of Israel) in the latter days, and they are: They will measure the land with ropes;⁴ they will change a cemetery into a resting-place for sheep (and) a dunghill; they will measure with them and from them upon the tops of the mountains; falsehood will multiply and truth will be hidden; the statutes will be removed far from Israel; sins will be multiplied in Israel; worm-crimson will be in the wool, and he will cover⁵ with insects paper and pen; he will hew down the rock of the kingdom,⁶ and they will rebuild the desolated cities and sweep the ways; and they will plant gardens and parks, and fence in the broken walls of the Temple; and they will build a building in the Holy Place; and two brothers will arise over them,⁷ princes at the end;

¹ The reference may be to the Moslem possession of Bagdad in Babylon. See *infra*, p. 350; and also Rashbam, *in loc.* (Num. xxiv. 22).

² Some of the later editions add here: "And Ishmael, as it is said: 'And thou shalt call his name Ishmael'" (Gen. xvi. 11).

³ By giving him the name of *El*. "Alas, who shall live when he is appointed (with the name) *El*," may be the meaning read into the verse in question, or probably there is a play on the name Ishmael and the last two words *Missumô el*. The usual rendering is, "Alas, who shall live when God *doeth this*." See Midrash Haggadol, c. 383.

⁴ To obtain exact dimension; cf. T.B. Baba Bathra, 103b.

⁵ The root *למ* means to be decayed. See Isa. xxxiii. 9: "Lebanon mouldereth"; or should we render "The paper will be decayed with the pen"? Literature will then perish. Krauss, *Studien zur Byzantisch-Jüdischen Geschichte*, p. 145, renders the preceding clause: "purple will be exceedingly dear."

⁶ The tombs of the Kings of Judah. Krauss, *op. cit.*, renders here: "the coinage will be withdrawn from circulation."

⁷ Or, "against them," *i.e.* the two Caliphs, Mohammed Alemin and Abdallah Almamum (809-813 c.e.). See Graetz, *Geschichte*, v. pp. 197 f., and his article in Frankel's *Monatsschrift*, 1859, p. 112. This gives us again a date for determining the period when our book was finally edited. Krauss, *op. cit.*, points out that the reference in the preceding clause is to the Mosque of Omar, the foundation of which

and in their days the Branch, the Son of David, will arise, as it is said, || “ And in the days of those kings shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom, which shall never be destroyed ” (Dan. ii. 44).

Rabbi Ishmael also said : Three wars of trouble¹ will the sons of Ishmael in the future wage on the earth in the latter days, as it is said, “ For they fled away from the swords ” (Isa. xxi. 15). “ Swords ” signify only wars, one in the forest of Arabia, as it is said, “ From the drawn sword ” (*ibid.*); another on the sea, as it is said, “ From the bent bow ” (*ibid.*); and one in the great city which is in Rome,² which will be more grievous than the other two, as it is said, “ And from the grievousness of the war ” (*ibid.*). From there the Son of David shall flourish and see the destruction of³ *these and these*, and thence will He come to the land of Israel, as it is said, “ Who is this that cometh from Edom,⁴ with crimsoned garments from Bozrah? this that is glorious in his apparel, marching in the greatness of his strength? I that speak in righteousness, mighty to save ” (*ibid.* lxiii. 1).

was laid by the Caliph Omar after his conquest of Jerusalem in 636 C.E. In the next line we have the expression, “ the Branch, the son of David,” cf. *supra*, p. 201, note 3, and see also the Shemoneh 'Esreh, p. 49 (Singer).

¹ Or, “ commotion.”

² The later editions read here “ Aram,” owing to the Censor.

³ The Prague edition reads: “ the idolaters.” See also Graetz, *Geschichte*, v. pp. 441 ff., especially p. 446, on the connection between our book and the *Secrets of R. Simeon ben Jochai*. The latter work, according to Graetz, was the source used by our author. The theory of Graetz was controverted by Steinschneider in *Z.D.M.G.* xxviii. pp. 645 f. The *Secrets* are printed in Jellinek's *B.H.M.* iii. p. 78. A very interesting parallel to the latter part of this chapter of *P.R.E.* is to be found in the Book of the Bee, liii. (pp. 124 ff.).

⁴ In the MS. the quotation ends here; it is continued in the first editions.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE BINDING OF ISAAC ON THE ALTAR [38A. i.]

THE tenth trial was (as follows) : “ And it came to pass after these things, that God did prove Abraham ” (Gen. xxii. 1). He tried Abraham each time ¹ in order to know his heart, whether he would be able to persevere and keep all the commandments of the Torah ² or not, and whilst as yet the Torah had not been given, Abraham kept all the precepts ³ of the Torah, as it is said, “ Because that Abraham obeyed my voice,⁴ and kept my charge, my commandments, my statutes, and my Torah ” (*ibid.* xxvi. 5).⁵ And Ishmael went repeatedly from the wilderness to see || his father Abraham.⁶

Rabbi Jehudah said: In that night was the Holy One, blessed be He, revealed unto him, and He said unto him: Abraham! “ Take now thy son,⁷ thine only son, whom thou

¹ See Gen. Rab. lv. 1, and Cant. Rab. i. 9.

² The next words, up to “ as it is said,” are not in the printed editions.

³ According to the Book of Jubilees, Abraham not only enacted the *laws of tithes* (xiii. 25-29), but he also celebrated the feast of first-fruits of the grain harvest on the 15th of Sivan (xv. 1, 2), and the feast of Tabernacles (xvi. 20-31); he ordained peace-offerings and the regulations as to the use of salt and wood for the offerings, washings before sacrifices, *and the duty of covering blood* (xxi. 7-17), and prohibited intermarrying with the Canaanites (xxii. 20, xxv. 5), and adultery (xxxix. 6). On this theme see Apoc. Baruch lvii. 2, and cf. Ecclus. xliv. 20.

⁴ In the MS. the quotation ends here, but it is continued in the first editions.

⁵ See T.B. Joma, 28a f.

⁶ As Abraham had visited Ishmael, the latter knew that his father would receive him. See Pal. Targum, Gen. xxii. 1, and Gen. Rab. lv. 4, for the story of the dispute between Isaac and Ishmael, and for the account of the readiness of the former to offer up his life to the service of God.

⁷ In our MS. the quotation ends here, but it is continued in the first editions.

lovest, even Isaac" (*ibid.* xxii. 2). And Abraham, having pity upon Isaac,¹ said before Him: Sovereign of all worlds! Concerning which son² dost Thou decree upon me? Is it concerning the son lacking circumcision,³ or the son born for circumcision? He answered him: "Thine only son." He rejoined: This one is the only son of *his* mother, and the other son is the only son of *his* mother. He said to him: "The one, whom thou lovest." He said to Him: Both of them do I love.⁴ He said to him: "Even Isaac."

"And offer him there for a burnt offering"⁵ (*ibid.*). He spake to Him: Sovereign of all worlds! On which mountain hast Thou told me (to offer him)? (God) answered him: In every place where thou dost see My glory abiding and waiting for thee there, and saying,⁶ This is Mount Moriah;⁷ as it is said, "Upon one of the mountains which *I will tell thee of*" (*ibid.*).⁸

Abraham rose up early in the morning, and he took with him Ishmael, and Eliezer, and Isaac his son, and he saddled the ass. Upon this ass did Abraham ride. This was the ass, the offspring of that ass which was created during the twilight,⁹ as it is said, "And Abraham rose early in the morning, and saddled his ass" (*ibid.* 3).¹⁰ The same ass was also ridden upon by Moses when he came to Egypt, as it is said, "And Moses took his wife and his sons, and set them upon *the* ass" (Ex. iv. 20). This || same ass will be ridden

¹ Luria thinks that the reading should be: "The Holy One, blessed be He, had pity upon Isaac" (and ordered that Ishmael should be offered as an atonement for his past evil life). See Jalkuṭ, Gen. § 96, Midrash Haggadol, c. 317, and cf. Wisdom x. 5.

² See *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, p. 69, and cf. the Liturgy for the second day of the New Year, ed. Heidenheim, pp. 34b ff.

³ Ishmael had been born thirteen years before God commanded the rite of circumcision, and when he was born his father was uncircumcised, but when Isaac was born Abraham was circumcised. On the theme of the "Akedah" see Gen. Rab. lv. 1 f.

⁴ See T.B. Synhedrin, 89b; Gen. Rab. xxxix. 12.

⁵ See the rest of this quotation.

⁶ The first editions add "to thee"; see Jalkuṭ, Gen., *loc. cit.*

⁷ The 1st ed. reads here: "the altar."

⁸ The first editions add: "'Which I have told thee of,' is not written here, but, 'which I will tell thee of.'" God would indicate to Abraham the place in His own good time; cf. Gen. Rab. lv. 8.

⁹ Preceding the first Sabbath in the week of creation. See Aboth v. 9; Jalkuṭ, Gen. § 98; Jalkuṭ on Zech. ix. 9 (ed. King, p. 48); and cf. *supra*, p. 124.

¹⁰ This quotation should probably belong to the previous sentence, and follow the word "ass."

upon in the future by the Son of David,¹ as it is said, "Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion; shout, O daughter of Jerusalem: behold, thy king cometh unto thee: he is just, and saved; ² lowly, and riding upon an *ass*, even upon a colt, the foal of an ass" ³ (Zech. ix. 9).

Isaac was thirty-seven years old ⁴ when he went to Mount Moriah, and Ishmael was fifty years old. Contention arose between Eliezer and Ishmael. Ishmael said to Eliezer: Now that Abraham will offer Isaac his son for a burnt offering, kindled upon the altar,⁵ and I am his first-born son, I will inherit (the possessions of) Abraham. Eliezer replied to him, saying: He has already driven thee out like a woman divorced from her husband, and he has sent thee ⁶ away to the wilderness, but I am his servant, serving him by day and by night, and I shall be the heir of Abraham. The Holy Spirit answered them, saying to them: Neither this one nor that one shall inherit.⁷

On the third day they reached Zophim,⁸ and when they reached Zophim they saw the glory of the Shekhinah ⁹

¹ The Messiah; see *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, p. 71, note 2, and *Jewish Sources of the Sermon on the Mount*, p. 143, for the strange interpretation given to this Messianic function by Matthew (xxi. 7), and cf. Justin Martyr, *Dial. c. Tryph.* liii.

² In the MS. this first part of the verse is not quoted.

³ Later Rabbinic interpretation applied this verse sometimes to the Messiah ben Joseph. See Ibn Ezra, *in loc.*

⁴ See Tanna de bē Elijahu Rab. xxv. p. 138, and cf. Seder 'Olam Rab. i.; Tosaphoth to T.B. Jebamoth, 61b; Ex. Rab. i. 1, and the previous chapter in our book.

⁵ The wording here is based on Lev. vi. 13.

⁶ See Jalkuṭ, *loc. cit.*

⁷ See Gen. Rab. lvi. 1; Midrash Haggadol, col. 320; Tanchuma, *in loc.* For the story see also the Book of Jashar xxiii. 22 ff., Pal. Targum, and the second version to Gen. xxii. The Church Fathers deal with the theme in their usual style. See Ephraim of Syria on Jonah, 6; Ambrose *On Faith in Immortality*, G.T. i. pp. 404 f.; Zeno of Verona *On Patience*, 5.

⁸ *i.e.* Mount Moriah, on which the Temple was built; see 2 Chron. iii. 1. See Rashi on T.B. Pesachim, 49a; 'Arukh, ed. Kohut, vii. 33a; and cf. T.B. Berakhoth, 61b. The word מִצְדִּים means "watch-towers." The Midrash Haggadol, *loc. cit.*, reads "Zuphith." Jubilees (xviii. 13) agrees with our book in identifying the mount with Mount Zion. See also Book of the Bee, xxv. p. 43.

⁹ This passage is of considerable interest. We are in the domain of Philonic interpretation of the Bible. Thus Clement of Alexandria, under the influence of Philo's allegorical interpretation, says on the text, Gen. xxii. 3, 4: "Abraham, when he came to the place which God told him of on the third day, looking up, saw the place afar off. For the first day is that which is constituted by the sight of good things ;

resting upon the top of the mountain, as it is said, "On the third day Abraham lifted up his eyes, and saw *the place* afar off" (Gen. xxii. 4). What did he see? (He saw) a pillar of fire standing from the earth to the heavens.¹ Abraham understood that the lad had been accepted for the perfect burnt offering. He said to Ishmael and Eliezer: Do ye see anything upon one of those mountains? || They said to him: No. He considered them (as dull) as an ass. He told them: Since ye do not see anything, "Abide ye here with the ass" (*ibid.* 5),² with such who are similar to the ass.³

He took the wood and placed it upon the back of his son Isaac, and he took the fire and the knife in his hand, and they went both of them together.⁴ Isaac said to his father: O my father! Behold the fire and the wood, where is the lamb for the burnt offering? He replied to him: My son! Thou art the lamb for the burnt offering, as it is said, "And Abraham said, God will provide⁵ for himself the lamb" (*ibid.* 8).

Rabbi Simeon⁶ said: The Holy One, blessed be He, and the second is the soul's best desire; on the third, the mind perceives spiritual things" (*Sivom.* v. 11).

Our book identifies the place (עִבְרָה) with the Shekhinah, just as Philo does (*De Somniis*, i. M. i. 638, C.W. iii. p. 213); see Gen. Rab. lvi. 1 f.; and cf. the valuable note in Weinstein's *Zur Genesis der Agada*, p. 88. The representation of the Shekhinah as a "Pillar of Fire" corresponds with Philo's identification of the Logos with the "Pillar of Cloud," which at night became the "Pillar of Fire" in the wilderness, leading God's people to the Holy Land; see *Hellenism and Christianity*, p. 25, note. According to Jubilees xviii. 4: "And he came to a well of water and he said to his young men, 'Abide ye here with the ass.'" Does our author intentionally vary this by substituting the "cloud" for the well?

¹ The first editions add here: "He said to his son Isaac: My son! dost thou see anything upon one of these mountains? He said to him: Yes. (Abraham) said to him: What dost thou see? He replied: I see a pillar of fire standing from the earth up to the heavens." See, for further references to the vision of Isaac and Abraham, Gen. Rab. lvi. 1, Pal. Targum, Gen. xxii. 4, and Tanchuma, Vayêra, § xxiii., which refers to "a cloud enwrap on the mountain." See also Jalkut, Gen. § 99, and the Book of Jashar xxiii., which has used our book.

² See T.B. Jebamoth, 62a; Gen. Rab. lvi. 2; Eccles. Rab. on Eccles. ix. 7; T.B. Kiddushin, 68a; and Midrash Haggadol, c. 320.

³ The first editions add: "Just as the ass does not see anything, likewise do ye not see anything, as it is said: 'And Abraham said to his young men: Abide ye here with the ass'" (Gen. xxii. 5).

⁴ Cf. Gen. xxii. 6.

⁵ The word might be rendered: "accept." The verse might be translated thus: "God will accept for Himself the lamb, *i.e.* my son."

⁶ The first editions read: "Ishmael."

pointed out¹ the altar with a finger to Abraham our father, and said to him: This is the altar. That was the altar² whereon Cain and Abel sacrificed; it was the same altar whereon Noah³ and his sons sacrificed, as it is said,⁴ "And Abraham built *the* altar there" (*ibid.* 9). "And Abraham built an altar there" is not written here, but "And Abraham built *the* altar there." That was the altar whereon the first ones (of old) had sacrificed.⁵

Isaac said to his father Abraham: O my father! Bind for me my two hands, and my two feet, so that I do not curse⁶ thee; for instance, a word may issue from the mouth because of the violence and dread of death, and I shall be found to have slighted || the precept, "Honour thy father" (Ex. xx. 12).⁷ He bound his two hands and his two feet, and bound him upon the top of the altar, and he strengthened his two arms and his two knees⁸ upon him, and put the fire and wood in order, and he stretched forth his hand and took the knife. Like a high priest⁹ he brought near his meal offering, and his drink offering;¹⁰ and the Holy One, blessed be He, was sitting and beholding the father binding with all (his) heart and the son bound with all (his) heart. And the ministering angels¹¹ cried aloud and wept, as it is said, "Behold, the

¹ The Venice edition adds: "with the finger"; see *infra*, pp. 382 f.

² See *supra*, pp. 153, 171; see also Aboth de Rabbi Nathan (a) i. p. 4a; Jalkuṭ, Gen. § 101, for a parallel text. The first editions add: "whereon the first man brought (his offering)."

³ See *supra*, p. 171, note 8, and cf. Midrash Haggadol, c. 321.

⁴ The first editions quote Gen. viii. 20 also.

⁵ Luria suggests a variant reading, based on Jalkuṭ Makhiri, Ps. xxxvi. 5. "As it is said: 'And Noah built an altar to the Lord.' 'Abraham built there an altar' is not written here, but 'and he built *the* altar.'" The reading in Jalkuṭ, Gen., *loc. cit.*, is similar; see also Pal. Targum, Gen. xxii. 9.

⁶ The Venice edition reads: "on account of reflex movement." Read אמתא, see Pesikta Rabbathi xl. (p. 170b), Tanna de bê Elijahu Rab. xxvii. p. 138; and Tanna de bê Elijahu Zutta ii. p. 174; and cf. Agadath Bereshith xxxi. p. 62, and Grünbaum, *op. cit.* p. 112.

⁷ See Pal. Targum, Gen. xxii. 10, and Jalkuṭ, Gen., *loc. cit.*

⁸ See Shocheh Tob, Ps. xx. 8, p. 176.

⁹ See Lev. Rab. xxix. 9 f., which implies that the 'Akedah (Binding of Isaac) was on the Day of Atonement, so that the service of Abraham on that occasion might be considered as resembling that of the High Priest.

¹⁰ The meal offering and the drink offering accompanied the "burnt offering" in the Tabernacle and Temple.

¹¹ Jubilees xviii. 9 reads: "And I (the angel) stood before Him, and before the prince of the Mastêmâ, and the Lord said, Bid him not to lay his hand on the lad."

Erelim ¹ cry ² without; the angels of peace weep bitterly” (Isa. xxxiii. 7). The ministering angels said before the Holy One, blessed be He: Sovereign of all the worlds! Thou art called merciful and compassionate, whose mercy is upon all His works; ³ have mercy upon Isaac, for he is a human being, and the son of a human being, and is bound before Thee like an animal. “O Lord, Thou preservest man and beast”; as it is said, “Thy righteousness is like the mighty mountains; ² thy judgments are like a great deep: O Lord, thou preservest man and beast” (Ps. xxxvi. 6).

Rabbi Jehudah said: When the blade ⁴ touched his neck, the soul of Isaac fled and departed, (but) when he heard His voice from between the two Cherubim, ⁵ saying (to Abraham), “Lay not thine hand upon the lad” (Gen. xxii. 12), his soul returned to his body, and (Abraham) set him free, and Isaac stood upon his feet. And Isaac knew ⁶ that in this manner the dead in the future will be quickened. He opened (his mouth), and said: Blessed art thou, O Lord, who quickeneth the dead.⁷ ||

Rabbi Zechariah said: That ram, which was created at the twilight,⁸ ran and came to be offered up instead of Isaac, but Sammael ⁹ was standing by, and distracting it, in order to annul the offering of our father Abraham. And it was caught by its two horns in the trees, as it is said, “And Abraham lifted up his eyes, and looked, and behold,

¹ *i.e.* angels; see Kimchi's *Book of Roots*, s.v. אַרְמֵל. Cf. T.B. Chagigah, 5b; *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, p. 73, note 1; and cf. Gen. Rab. lvi. 5, and Midrash Haggadol, c. 322.

² The quotation ends here in our MS.

³ Cf. Ps. cxlv. 9.

⁴ Lit. “sword.” See Midrash Haggadol, c. 323.

⁵ See *supra*, p. 24. Cf. Heb. xi. 19.

⁶ The first editions add: “of the resurrection of the dead from the Torah.” The connection with the word Torah is not quite clear, and the word should be probably deleted. See Roček, 322, and cf. Brode's comment, *in loc.* The Jalkuṭ, Gen., *loc. cit.*, reads: “He knew that in the future He would revive the dead.”

⁷ This is the second benediction of the Shemoneh 'Esreh; see Singer, p. 45. The benediction is appropriately placed in Isaac's mouth, for he had also been bound unto death and then set free. The benediction speaks of the loosening of the bound, as well as of the resurrection.

⁸ Of the eve of the first Sabbath; see *supra*, p. 125.

⁹ See Jubilees xviii. 12: “And the prince of the Mastêmâ was put to shame. And Abraham lifted up his eyes and looked, and behold, a single ram caught and it came (?).” The word translated “and distracting it” is Mastênô; it reminds one of Mastêmâ of Jubilees. See also Midrash Haggadol, c. 324.

behind him a ram caught in the thicket by its horns" (*ibid.* 13). What did that ram do? It put forth its leg and took hold of the coat of our father Abraham, and Abraham looked, saw the ram, and he went and set it free. He offered it up instead of Isaac his son, as it is said, "And Abraham went and took the ram,¹ and offered it up for a burnt offering in the stead of his son" (*ibid.*).

Rabbi Berachiah said: The sweet savour (of the ram) ascended before the Holy One, blessed be He, as though it were the sweet savour of Isaac,² and He swore that He would bless him³ in this world and in the world to come, as it is said, "By myself have I sworn, saith the Lord, because thou hast done this thing"; and it says, "That in blessing I will bless thee, and in multiplying I will multiply thy seed, as the stars of the heaven" (*ibid.* 16, 17). "That in blessing" (refers) to this world; "I will bless thee," in the world to come; and "I will greatly multiply thy seed," in the future that is to come.

Rabbi Chanina ben Dosa said:⁴ From that ram, which was created at the twilight, nothing came forth which was useless.⁵ The ashes of the ram⁶ were || the base⁷ which was upon the top of the inner altar.⁸ The sinews of the ram were the strings⁹ of the harp whereon David played. The ram's skin¹⁰ was the girdle (around) the loins of Elijah, may he be remembered for good, as it is said, "And they answered him, He was an hairy man, and girt with

¹ The quotation ends here in our MSS.

² See Zohar, Gen. 12ob.

³ See Jalkuṭ, *loc. cit.*, and Apoc. Baruch, *loc. cit.*

⁴ See Jalkuṭ, Isa. § 436, and Midrash Haggadol, c. 325.

⁵ See Mishnah, Zebachim ix. 5, as to the parts of a burnt offering which were not offered on the altar.

⁶ See *supra*, p. 204, and cf. T.B. Zebachim, 62a.

⁷ Or, foundation. Does the text here refer to the horns of the altar? or should the text read, "the foundation whereon (stood) the inner altar"? See Midrash Haggadol, *loc. cit.*

⁸ The first editions add here: "as it is said: 'And Aaron shall make atonement upon the horns of it once in the year'" (Ex. xxx. 10).

⁹ Read Nimin instead of Nebalim, and see *supra*, p. 127. The first editions read: "The sinews of the ram were ten, corresponding to the ten strings of the harp," etc. According to one tradition the harp of David had only eight strings, and it is the harp of the Messiah which is to have ten strings. See Josephus, *Ant.* vii. 12. 3, and cf. Pesikta Rabbathi, pp. 98b f.

¹⁰ The inference here is drawn from the word "Ôr" (עור), leather.

a girdle of leather about his loins" (2 Kings i. 8).¹ The horn² of the ram of the left side³ (was the one) wherein He blew upon Mount Sinai, as it is said, "And it shall come to pass, that when the ram's horn soundeth long"⁴ (Josh. vi. 5). (The horn) of the right side, which is larger than that of the left, is destined in the future to be sounded in the world that is to come,⁵ as it is said, "And it shall come to pass in that day, that a great trumpet shall be blown" (Isa. xxvii. 13);⁶ and it is said, "And the Lord shall be king over all the earth" (Zech. xiv. 9).

Rabbi Isaac said: Nothing has been created except by the merit of worship. Abraham returned from Mount Moriah only through the merit of worship, as it is said, "We will *worship*, and come again to you" (Gen. xxii. 5).⁷ The Temple was fashioned only through the merit of worship, as it is said, "Exalt ye the Lord our God, and *worship*" (Ps. xcix. 5).⁸

¹ The first editions have a corrupt quotation based on 2 Kings i., verses 6 and 8. The MS. only quotes the few words: "He was an hairy man," etc.

² See Othijoth de Rabbi 'Akiba, letter Ṭ; ed. Jellinek, *B.H.M.* iii. p. 31; and Roḳeach, 203. The first editions read: "the two horns."

³ The first editions read here: "Wherein the Holy One, blessed be He, blew upon Mount Sinai." See Midrash Haggadol, *loc. cit.*

⁴ The Oxford MS. and the first editions quote Ex. xix. 19.

⁵ The first editions add: "at the ingathering of the exiles."

⁶ The inference here is derived from the word "great," implying the right side. On the subject of the Messianic trump, see Abḳath Rochel i., and cf. 1 Cor. xv. 52.

⁷ The Midrash Samuel (ed. Buber) iii. 7 contains a good parallel text, which is much fuller than our MS. It adds here: "The Israelites were redeemed from Egypt only in consequence of worship, as it is said: 'And the people bowed the head and *worshipped*' (Ex. xii. 27). The Torah was given only through the merit of worship, because it is said: 'And *worship* ye afar off'" (*ibid.* xxiv. 1). See Jalkuṭ, Gen. § 100.

⁸ The Midrash Samuel, *loc. cit.*, adds here: "The dead also will only be quickened through the merit of worship, as it is said: 'O come, let us worship and bow down' (Ps. xcv. 6). The exiles will only be gathered in again owing to the merit of worship, as it is said: 'And it shall come to pass in that day, that a great trumpet shall be blown; and they shall come which were lost in the land of Assyria, and they that were outcasts in the land of Egypt; and they shall *worship* the Lord in the holy mountain at Jerusalem'" (Isa. xxvii. 13). See also Gen. Rab. lvi. 2, and Midrash Haggadol, c. 320 f. On the entire chapter see the Book of Jashar xxiii.; Tanchuma (ed. Buber), Gen. p. 57a, b; Tanchuma, Vayēra, § xxiii.; and Midrash Agadah, Gen. pp. 50 ff.

CHAPTER XXXII

THE DEATH OF SARAH AND THE STORY OF ISAAC AND REBECCA [39B. i.]

SIX (people) were called by their names before they were created,¹ and they are : Isaac, Ishmael, Moses,² Solomon, Josiah, and King Messiah.³

Whence do we know about Ishmael ? Because it is said, " And the angel of the Lord said unto her, Behold, thou art with child,⁴ . . . and thou shalt call his name Ishmael " (Gen. xvi. 11). Why was his name || called Ishmael ?⁵ Because in the future the Holy One, blessed be He, will *hearken* to the cry⁶ of the people arising from (the oppression) which the children of Ishmael will bring about in the land in the last (days) ;⁷ therefore was his name called Ishmael.⁸

¹ In Mekhilta, Bò. xvi. p. 19a ; only Isaac, Solomon, and Josiah are mentioned. See Agadath Bereshith, 65. and Midrash Haggadol, c. 246. In T. J. Berakhoth i. 8 four names are mentioned, the three as in the Mekhilta and, in addition, Ishmael ; cf. Gen. Rab. xlv. 8. In T. B. Chullin, 139b, the name of Moses is mentioned, as also the names of Mordecai, Esther, and Haman, all these names being hinted at in the Torah. Luria observes that Cyrus (Is. xlv. 28 and xlv. 1) should have been mentioned in the list of people named before their birth. This fact would not warrant the inference that all these people were pre-existent. This reasoning is, however, often applied to the name of the Messiah, as though it meant that the Messiah pre-existed because his name was named before his birth ; see *Hellenism and Christianity*, p. 17.

² The first editions add : " our Rabbi," or " our teacher."

³ The first editions read : " the name of the Messiah." The Amsterdam edition reads : " our Messiah." The first editions add : " May the Holy One, blessed be He, cause him to come speedily in our days."

⁴ The first editions omit this part of the verse, and give the second half only.

⁵ *Ishma-el* is interpreted as meaning " *God* will hear " ; cf. Gen. xvi. 11.

⁶ The first editions read : " the voice of the cry."

⁷ The MS. omits " days." It occurs in the first editions. The reference is to the time of woe preceding the coming of the Messiah. See *supra*, pp. 221 f., and cf. Matt. xxiv. 3 ff. for the Messianic woes.

⁸ The first editions add : " as it is said, ' *God shall hear* and answer them ' " (Ps. lv. 19). The Hebrew for " *God shall hear* " contains the same letters as the Hebrew word *Ishmael*.

How do we know (this with reference to) Isaac? Because it is said, "And God said, Sarah thy wife shall bear thee a son indeed; and thou shalt call his name Isaac" (*ibid.* xvii. 19). Why was his name called Isaac? ¹ Because Yad (the first Hebrew letter of Isaac indicates) the *ten* trials ² wherewith our father Abraham was tried; and he withstood them all. Zaddi (the second letter indicates) the *ninety* (years), for his mother was ninety years (at the birth of Isaac), as it is said, "And shall Sarah, that is ninety years old, bear?" (*ibid.* 17). Cheth (the third letter points to) the *eighth* (day), for he was circumcised on the eighth day, as it is said, "And Abraham circumcised his son Isaac, being eight days old" (*ibid.* xxi. 4). Kuf (the fourth letter of the name marks) the *hundred* (years), for his father was an hundred years old (at Isaac's birth), as it is said, "And Abraham was an hundred years old" (*ibid.* 5).

Whence do we know about Moses? ³ Because it is said, "And the Lord said, My spirit shall not abide in man for ever in their going astray" (*ibid.* vi. 3). What is the implication (of the expression), "In their going astray"? ⁴ Retrospectively his name was called Moses. ⁵ For the life of Moses was one hundred and twenty years, as it is said, "His days shall be an hundred and twenty years" (*ibid.*).

Whence do we know concerning Solomon? Because it is said, "Behold, a son shall be born to thee, who shall be a man of rest, . . . for his name shall be *Solomon*"

¹ See Midrash Haggadol, c. 256; Agadath Bereshith, 53; Gen. Rab. liii. 7; and Tanchuma (ed. Buber), Gen. 54a. Jubilees xvi. 3 says: "And we told her (Sarah) the name of her son, as his name is ordained and written in the heavenly tables, (*i.e.*) Isaac."

² The Agadath Bereshith, *loc. cit.*, refers to the Ten Commandments. The context in our author agrees with Tanchuma, Korah, § xii.

³ See T.B. Chullin, 139b. The name of Moses is said to be hinted at in Ps. xviii. 16: "*He drew me out* (יָצָא) of many waters." The word Moses is connected with the root "to draw out" in Hebrew.

⁴ The first editions read: "The word 'in their going astray' has the same numerical value as (the name) Moses" (משׁ = MShH). See R. V. *in loc.*

⁵ B=2, Sh=300, G=3, M=40=345.

M=40, Sh=300, H=5 =345.

This system is known as Gematria, and was also known to and used by some of the Church Fathers; see Irenæus, *adv. Hæv.* v. xxx. 1 ff., where he speaks of the number of the name of the Antichrist; see also Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* vi. ch. xi. According to Jastrow, *T.D.* 239a, this word is a transposition of the word *γραμματῖα*, "accounts"; see also Arukh, ed. Kohut, ii. p. 309b.

(1 Chron. xxii. 9).¹ Why was his name called Solomon? Because his name was called Solomon in the Aramaic language, as it is said, "I will give *peace* (Shalom) and quietness unto Israel in his days" (*ibid.*).² ||

Whence do we know about Josiah? Because it is said, "Behold, a child shall be born unto the house of David, Josiah by name" (1 Kings xiii. 2). Why was his name called Josiah? (Because he was as acceptable)³ as an offering upon the altar; she⁴ said: A worthy offering let him be before Thee.⁵ Therefore was his name called Josiah, as it is said, "And he cried against the altar," etc. (*ibid.* 2).

Whence do we know concerning King Messiah? Because it is said, "His name shall endure for ever. Before the sun his name shall be continued (Yinnon)" (Ps. lxxii. 17).⁶ Why was his name called Yinnon? For he will *awaken*⁷ those who sleep at Hebron out of the dust of the earth, therefore is his name called Yinnon, as it is said, "Before the sun his name is Yinnon" (*ibid.*).

When Abraham returned from Mount Moriah in peace, the anger of Sammael⁸ was kindled, for he saw that the desire of his heart to frustrate the offering of our father Abraham

¹ The Venice edition reads: "and thou shalt call his name Solomon, because." See Midrash Haggadol, c. 246.

² The name שלמה (Solomon) is connected with שלום (peace). See also 2 Sam. xii. 24, with Kimchi's commentary thereon. The Aramaic Sh'lama (peace) is somewhat similar to the Hebrew name Sh'lomoh (=Solomon). The printed texts omit the words "his name was called Solomon in the Aramaic language."

³ The words in brackets do not occur in the MS., but they are found in the first editions.

⁴ The reference is probably to the mother. The first editions omit this.

⁵ See Jalkuṭ on 1 Kings xiii. § 200. The name Josiah (יאשיהו) is interpreted as though it were 'א' ש' הוּא, "he is worthy like a lamb." The next sentence is found only in the MS.

⁶ See 'Arukh, ed. Kohut, iv. p. 141a, s.v. יָנוּן, in the sense of "offspring"; cf. Gen. xxi. 23. Gesenius (Oxford edition) renders Ps. lxxii. 17: "Let his name have increase." See Parchon's *Heb. Dict. s.v.*, and note Jalkuṭ, *loc. cit.*, which says: "He will stir up all the evil ones of the earth (in the future)"; cf. Jalkuṭ, Gen. § 45, and Midrash Haggadol, *loc. cit.*

⁷ See Ibn Ezra on this verse of Ps. lxxii. See also T.B. Synhedrin, 95a, and *supra*, p. 230. 'Arukh, *loc. cit.*, reads: "in the future he will bring to life those who sleep in the dust, therefore is his name called Yinnon." See also *supra*, p. 12.

⁸ Midrash Haggadol, c. 324, reads, "Satan." On Sammael's discomfiture see Jubilees xviii. 9 and 12. The name Sammael (*i.e.* the Devil) occurs in Christian books, *e.g.* in the Acts of Andrew and Matthew (in *A.N.C.L.* xvi. p. 362).

had not been realized. What did he do? He went and said to Sarah: Hast thou not heard what has happened in the world? She said to him: No. He said to her: Thy husband, Abraham,¹ has taken thy son Isaac and slain him and offered him up as a burnt offering upon the altar.² She began to weep and to cry aloud three times,³ corresponding to the three sustained notes (of the Shophar),⁴ and (she gave forth) three howlings corresponding to the three disconnected short notes⁵ (of the Shophar), and her soul fled, and she died.⁶

Abraham came and found that she was dead. Whence did he come? From Mount Moriah,⁷ as it is said, "And Abraham came to mourn for Sarah" (Gen. xxiii. 2).

Rabbi José said: Isaac observed mourning during three years⁸ || for his mother. After three years he married Rebecca, and forgot the mourning for his mother.⁹ Hence thou mayest learn that until a man marries a wife his love centres in his parents. When he marries a wife his love is bestowed upon his wife, as it is said, "Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and he shall cleave unto his wife" (*ibid.* ii. 24). Does a man then *leave*¹⁰ his father and mother with reference to the precept, "Honour"?¹¹ But the love of his soul cleaves unto his wife, as it is said, "And his soul cleave (unto Dinah)" (*ibid.* xxxiv. 3); and it says, "And he shall cleave unto his wife" (*ibid.* ii. 24).

¹ See Tanchuma (ed. Buber), Gen. 57b; Pesikta Rabbathi xl.; Jalikut, Gen. § 98; T.B. Gittin, 57b, and the Book of Jashar xxiii. 77. The first editions omit Abraham and read "the old man."

² The first editions add: "And the lad wept, and cried aloud because he could not be saved."

³ Lit. "weepings."

⁴ *i.e.* the Teki'oth.

⁵ This is the "Teru'a"; cf. Mishnah, Rosh Ha-Shanah (iv. 9), p. 16a.

⁶ See Lev. Rab. xx. 2, and Eccles. Rab. to Eccles. ix. 1. According to these Midrashim it is Isaac who tells Sarah the story of the 'Aqedah. See Tanchuma, *in loc.* According to this version Satan, in the guise of Isaac, tells the tale. See also Midrash Haggadol, *loc. cit.*

⁷ See Pal. Targum, Gen. *in loc.* According to the Book of Jashar xxiii. 84, Sarah went to look for Abraham, but died at Hebron. Also according to Jubilees xix. 2, Sarah died at Hebron.

⁸ At the 'Aqedah, Isaac was 37 years old, and when he married Rebecca he was 40 years. For an instance of three years of mourning see 2 Sam. xiii. 38f. See Midrash Haggadol, c. 388.

⁹ "Sarah his mother" is the reading in the first editions.

¹⁰ Or "forsake."

¹¹ "Honour thy father and thy mother" (Ex. xx. 12).

Rabbi Jehudah said: Rebecca¹ was barren for twenty years. After twenty years (Isaac) took Rebecca and went (with her) to Mount Moriah, to the place where he had been bound, and he prayed on her behalf concerning the conception of the womb; and the Holy One, blessed be He, was entreated of him,² as it is said, "And Isaac intreated the Lord" (*ibid.* xxv. 21). The children were contending with one another³ within her womb like mighty warriors, as it is said, "And the children struggled together within her" (*ibid.* 22). The time of her confinement came round, and her soul was nigh unto death owing to her pains.⁴ And she went to pray in the place⁵ whither she and Isaac had gone, as it is said, "And she went to inquire of the Lord" (*ibid.*). What did the Holy One, blessed be He,⁶ do? Jacob took hold of the heels of Esau to make him fall, as it is said, "And after that came forth his brother, and his hand had hold on Esau's heel" (*ibid.* 26). Hence thou mayest learn that the descendants of Esau will not fall until a remnant || from Jacob will come and cut off the feet of the children of Esau from the mountain of Seir, as it is said, "Forasmuch as thou sawest that a stone was cut out of the mountain without hands" (Dan. ii. 45).⁷ Another Scripture text says, "Vengeance is mine, and a recompence,⁸ at the time when their *foot* shall slide" (Deut. xxxii. 35).

Rabbi Tanchuma⁹ said: The two lads grew up; the one went by the way of life, and the other went by the way of death,¹⁰ as it is said, "And the boys grew, and Esau was a cunning hunter" (Gen. xxv. 27). Jacob went on the way

¹ The Book of Jashar xxvi. 5 says: "And Isaac and his wife rose up and went to the land of Moriah to pray there and to seek the Lord." See also T.B. Jebamoth, 64a, and Pal. Targum, Gen. xxv. 21.

² According to the Midrash Agadah, Toledoth, p. 21, God hearkened to his prayer because "he was righteous and the son of a righteous man."

³ See Gen. Rab. lxiii. 6 for the cause of the struggle. Cf. Pal. Targum, Gen. xxv. 22.

⁴ See Book of Jashar xxvi. 9; Jalkuṭ, Gen. § 110.

⁵ The Book of Jashar xxvi. 10 says: "And she went to the land of Moriah to seek the Lord on account of this."

⁶ The first editions omit the words: "the Holy One, blessed be He."

⁷ The first editions quote here Dan. ii. 34. See Josephus, *Ant.* x. 10. 4.

⁸ The MS. only quotes thus far, the first editions continue the verse.

⁹ The first editions read: "R. Acha."

¹⁰ See *supra*, p. 102, for the "two ways."

of life, for he was dwelling in tents,¹ and he studied the Torah all his days.² Esau went on the way of death, because he slew Nimrod and his son Chavir, and he almost sought to kill Jacob his brother, as it is said, "The days of mourning for my father are at hand, and I will slay my brother Jacob" (*ibid.* xxvii. 41).

Rabbi Simeon said: In the hour when Isaac was bound, he lifted up his eyes heavenwards and saw the glory of the Shekhinah, as it is written, "For man shall not see me and live" (Ex. xxxiii. 20). Instead of death his eyes grew dim³ in his old age, as it is said, "And it came to pass, that when Isaac was old, that his eyes were dim, so that he could not see" (Gen. xxvii. 1). Hence thou mayest learn that the blind man is as though he were dead.⁴

The night-fall of the festival day of Passover came,⁵ and Isaac called unto Esau his elder son, and said: O my son! To-night the heavenly ones⁶ utter songs,⁷ on this night the treasures⁸ of dew⁹ are opened; on this day the blessing of the dews (is bestowed). Make me savoury meat whilst I am still alive, and I will bless thee. || The Holy Spirit rejoined, saying to him: "Eat thou not the bread of him that hath an evil eye,¹⁰ neither desire thou his dainties" (Prov. xxiii. 6). He went to fetch it, and was delayed there.¹¹ Rebecca said to Jacob his (other) son: ¹² On this night the treasures of dew

¹ According to the Targumim, *in loc.*, the "tents" are the "academies." See Jalkuṭ, Gen., *loc. cit.*

² The first editions read: "And Esau the wicked was going the way of death to slay our father Jacob, as it is said: 'The days of mourning for my father are at hand; then will I slay my brother Jacob'" (Gen. xxvii. 41).

³ See *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, pp. 78 f., and cf. Jalkuṭ, Gen. § 114.

⁴ See T.B. Nedarim, 64a, and Gen. Rab. lxx. 10.

⁵ See *supra*, p. 153. See also the Vilna Gaon on Orach Chayyim, 583 (108). Cf. Heb. xi. 20 on the theme in our text.

⁶ Jalkuṭ, Gen., *loc. cit.*, reads: "All the heavenly ones sing a song"; see Pal. Targum, Gen. xxvii. 1.

⁷ Pss. cxiii.-cxviii.

⁸ Cf. Slavonic Enoch vi. and Eth. Enoch lx. 20, and *supra*, p. 17, for this expression; and see T.B. Chagigah, 12b; and T.B. Ta'anith, 4b.

⁹ The text is in the plural, "dews" here and throughout the chapter. The prayer for dew forms part of the liturgy for the first day of Passover.

¹⁰ In the MS. the quotation ends here.

¹¹ See *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, p. 82.

¹² The first editions read: "Rebecca said to Jacob, O my son!"

will be opened, and on this night the angels utter a song.¹ Make savoury meat for thy father, that he may eat and whilst he still lives he may bless thee.

Now (Jacob) was skilled in the Torah,² and his heart dreaded the curse of his father. His mother said to him : My son ! If it be a blessing, may it be upon thee and upon thy seed ; if it be a curse, let it be upon me³ and upon my soul, as it is said, " And his mother said to him, Upon me be thy curse, my son " (Gen. xxvii. 13). He went and brought two kids of the goats. Were two kids of the goats the food for Isaac ? But he brought one as a Paschal offering,⁴ and with the other he prepared the savoury meat to eat ; and he brought it to his father,⁵ and he said to him : " Arise, I pray thee, sit and eat of my venison " (*ibid.* 19).⁶ Isaac said : " The voice is the voice of Jacob " (*ibid.* 22). Jacob (declares) the unity of God. " The voice is the voice of Jacob " ⁷ (*ibid.*) in the meditation of the Torah. " And the hands are the hands of Esau " (*ibid.*), in all shedding of blood and in every evil death. Not only this, but also when they proclaim in heaven, " The voice is the voice of Jacob," the heavens tremble.⁸ And when they proclaim on earth, " The voice is the voice of Jacob " (*ibid.*), every one who hears

¹ The first editions add : " On this night in the future thy children will be redeemed from the power of bondage ; on this night in the future they will sing a song." See T.B. Soṭah, 12b, and Wisdom xviii. 6.

² He should have fulfilled the desire of his father ; see T.B. Kīd-dushin, 31a, and Pal. Targum, Gen. xxvii. 6, 11.

³ So also Pal. Targum, Gen. xxvii. 13.

⁴ The first editions read : " Would not one (goat) have been sufficient for him ? As it is said : ' The righteous eateth to the satisfying of his soul ' (Prov. xiii. 25). But one (goat) corresponded to the Paschal Lamb." ¹

⁵ The first editions add here : " For we are taught in a Mishnah : the Paschal Lamb is brought only when one is satisfied with food. He entered," etc.

⁶ See Rashi, *in loc.* ; Zohar, Gen. 154a ; and cf. Derekh Erez Zūtta v. on the rule as to eating in a sitting posture.

⁷ The unity of God proclaimed by the " voice of Jacob " is applied to the declaration of the children of Israel who exclaim : " Hear, O Israel, the Lord is our God, the Lord is one " (Deut. vi. 4).

⁸ See *infra*, p. 282 ; Gen. Rab. lxvi. 4 ; Pesikta Rabbathi xxi. p. 99b ; Roḳeach, 362. The 1st ed. reads here : " And when they proclaim on earth, ' The voice is the voice of Jacob ' (Gen. xxvii. 22), every one who hears and does not obey, his portion is with ' the hands which are the hands of Esau ' " (*ibid.*).

¹ See Pal. Targum, Gen. xxvii. 9, and Rashi on Gen., *in loc.*, and T.B. Pesachim, 114b.

will make his portion with "The voice which is the voice of Jacob." And every one || who does not hear and does not act (obediently), his portion is with "The hands, which are the hands of Esau."

Rabbi Jehudah said: Isaac blessed Jacob with ten blessings concerning the dews of heaven and the corn of the earth, corresponding to the ten words¹ whereby the world was created, as it is said, "And God give thee of the dew of the heaven" (*ibid.* 28); "Let peoples serve thee, . . ." (*ibid.* 29). When Jacob went forth from the presence of his father Isaac, he went forth crowned like a bridegroom, and like a bride in her adornment,² and the quickening dew from heaven descended upon him, and refreshed his bones,³ and he also became a mighty hero; therefore it is said, "By the hands of the mighty Jacob, from thence is the shepherd, the stone⁴ of Israel" (*ibid.* xlix. 24).

¹ Ma'amaroth; see Lev. Rab. xxxiv. (end); Deut. Rab. i. 14.

² See *supra*, pp. 40, 112 f.; and cf. Isa. xlix. 18.

³ The words are based on Prov. xv. 30.

⁴ See *infra*, p. 268. The R.V. should be noted.

CHAPTER XXXIII

ELISHA AND THE SHUNAMMITE WOMAN¹ [41A. i.]

“AND² Isaac sowed in that land” (Gen. xxvi. 12). Rabbi Eliezer said: Did Isaac sow the seed of corn?³ Heaven forbid! But he took all his wealth,⁴ and sowed it in charity to the needy, as it is said, “Sow to yourselves in righteousness, reap according to love” (Hos. x. 12).⁵ Everything which he tithed, the Holy One, blessed be He, sent him (in return) one hundred times (the value) in different kinds of blessings, as it is said, “And he found in the same year an hundredfold: and the Lord blessed him” (Gen. xxvi. 12).

Rabbi Simeon said: Owing to the power of || charity the dead will be quickened⁶ in the future. Whence do we learn this? From Elijah the Tishbite.⁷ For he betook himself

¹ This chapter seems to be the Midrash to the Haphtarah of Vayêra (Gen. xvii.–xxii.), illustrating the resurrection experienced by Isaac at the ‘Akedah. The Book of Jonah, which formed the contents of Chapter X., is the Haphtarah in the afternoon service on the Day of Atonement.

² The first editions read: “It is written: ‘And Isaac sowed,’” etc.

³ The patriarchs were not to settle in Canaan; therefore they did not devote themselves to the agricultural life. Their wealth was in their flocks, which could be easily removed as occasion demanded. See Pal. Targum, Gen. xxvi. 12; Jalķuť, Gen. § III; and *infra*, p. 289.

⁴ Lit. “his mammon”; see *Jewish Sources of the Sermon on the Mount*, p. 169. The tithe had been observed by Abraham; see Gen. xiv. 20, and therefore Isaac also gave a tithe. See Num. Rab. xii. II. The first editions read: “But he took a tithe of all his wealth.”

⁵ See Tanna de bê Elijahu Źuťta (ed. Friedmann), i. p. 167.

⁶ See Prov. xi. 4. Isaac’s charity and righteousness are assumed here to have been the cause of his resurrection; another cause was the “‘Akedah”; see *supra*, p. 228. The first benediction of the Shemoneh ‘Esreh, as we have already seen, refers to Abraham; the second benediction refers to the resurrection, and therefore to Isaac, the *first* to experience this.

⁷ The dead son of Elijah’s hostess was quickened by God at the request of the prophet. The first editions add here: “For he was going from mountain to mountain, and from cave to cave.” This is based on 2 Kings ii. 1 ff.

to Zarephath, and a woman (who was) a widow received him with great honour.¹ She was the mother of Jonah,² and they were eating and drinking³ his⁴ bread and oil; he, she, and her son, as it is said, "And she did eat, and he also" (1 Kings xvii. 15).⁵

"He and she" (indicate that it was) by the merit of Elijah that they had to eat. After (a period of) days, the son of the woman fell sick and died,⁶ as it is said, "And it came to pass after these things that the son of the woman fell sick" (*ibid.* 17). The woman said to him (Elijah): Thou didst come unto me⁷ for coition, and thou wilt bring my sin to remembrance against me, and my son is dead. Now take away all that which thou hast brought⁸ to me, and give me my son. Elijah, may he be remembered for good, arose and prayed before the Holy One, blessed be He, and said before Him: Sovereign of all the worlds! Is it not enough (to endure) all the evils which have befallen me,⁹ but also this woman; for I know¹⁰ that out of sorrow for her son has she spoken of a matter which has not occurred, which she has brought against me to vex me.¹¹ Now let all the generations learn¹² that there is a resurrection of the dead, and restore the soul of this lad within him; and He

¹ By giving him the little she possessed and trusting in his word. See Tanna de bê Elijahu Rab. xviii. p. 97.

² See T.J. Sukkah v. 1. 55a; Gen. Rab. xcvi. 11; and see also *J.E.* vii. 226.

³ The *Jalkuṭ*, 1 Kings, § 209, omits the words "and drinking"; see T.B. Berakhoth, 35b. People did not drink oil, it was eaten with bread, etc.

⁴ The first editions read "her" here.

⁵ The first editions add: "Rabbi Levi said: It is written, 'He and she,' but we read, 'She and he.'" The Massorites afford numerous examples of this variation in the reading of the written text. See Berliner, *Midrash Keri and Kethib*; see also Cant. Rab. ii. 4; and *Kimchi* on 1 Kings xviii. 15; and cf. *J.E.* viii. 368.

⁶ The text does not state that the child died; see Maimonides, *Moreh Nebukim*, i. 42; *Kimchi, in loc.*; cf. T.B. Niddah, 70b, and T.B. Chullin, 7b.

⁷ The MS. and first editions add: "for coition." The text reads: "Thou art come unto me to bring my sin to remembrance and to slay my son" (1 Kings xvii. 18). The Midrash connects בִּיאָה ("coition") with אָמָה ("thou art come"); see Gesenius (*Oxford ed.*) p. 98a.

⁸ The blessing on the meal and oil.

⁹ Lit. "which have come over my head."

¹⁰ Luria holds that the text should read: "For Thou knowest"; cf. *Jalkuṭ, loc. cit.*

¹¹ The printed editions read: "to provoke me"; cf. Job ix. 20.

¹² From the resurrection of her son.

was entreated of him, as it is said, "And the Lord hearkened unto the voice of Elijah" (*ibid.* 22). Another Scripture text says, "And Elijah || took the child . . . See, thy son liveth" (*ibid.* 23).¹

Rabbi Joshua ben Korchah said: Art thou astonished at this?² Do not be astonished, come and see, (learn) from Elisha, the son of Shaphat, for no woman was able to gaze at his face without dying; and he went from mount to mount, and from cave to cave, and he went to Shunem, and a great woman received him with great honour. She was a sister of Abishag,³ the Shunammite, the mother⁴ of Oded, the prophet, as it is said, "And it fell on a day, that Elisha passed to Shunem" (2 Kings iv. 8), and the woman said to her husband: This man of God is (holy),⁵ no woman is able to gaze at his face without dying; but,⁶ "Let us make, I pray thee, a little chamber on the wall; and let us set for him there a bed, and a table, and a stool, and a lampstand" (*ibid.* 10). And every time that he passes he can turn thither into the chamber,⁷ as it is said, "And it fell on a day, that he came thither, and he turned into the chamber" (*ibid.* 11). And he called for the Shunammite, as it is said, "And he said, Call her. And when he had called her, she stood at the door" (*ibid.* 15). Why did she stand at the door? Because she was unable to gaze at his face,⁸ so that she should not die. He said to her:

¹ This concludes the exposition of R. Simeon on the Resurrection and Charity. The second quotation is not given in the printed texts.

² That charity causes the dead to be quickened.

³ Abishag lived at the close of David's reign; see *J.E.* i. 66.

⁴ The first editions read: "the wife of Iddo." Iddo lived in the reign of Jeroboam. See *Seder 'Olam Rab.* xx.; and cf. T.B. *Synhedrin*, 89b and 104a; *Tanchuma*, *Toledoth*, § xii. *Jalkuṭ*, 2 Kings § 228, reads: "The mother of Iddo the prophet." Luria, with fine judgment, suggested that Iddo of the printed texts should be corrected into "Oded," the prophet who lived in the reign of Asa. See 2 Chron. xv. 8; see also Rashi on 2 Kings iv. 8, where our *P.R.E.* is mentioned.

⁵ "Holy" is not in the MS., but it occurs in the first two editions.

⁶ "As it is said" is added by the first editions; it does not occur in the parallel context in *Jalkuṭ*, Kings, *loc. cit.*, which reads as our MS., "But 'Let us make,'" etc.

⁷ The first editions and *Jalkuṭ*, *loc. cit.*, add: "They built it, and prepared and arranged it. After some time¹ he passed by Shunem and turned in to the chamber."

⁸ See Lev. Rab. xxiv. 6, and *Sepher Chassidim* (ed. Frankfort, 1724), 178.

¹ Lit. "days."

“ At this season, when the time cometh round, thou shalt embrace a son ” (*ibid.* 16), the fruit of thy womb. She said to him: My lord is very old, and the way of women has departed from me, || and it is impossible to do this thing.¹ “ Nay, my lord, thou man of God, do not lie unto thine handmaid ” (*ibid.*).²

Rabbi Zechariah said: “ He will fulfil the desire of them that fear him ” (Ps. cxlv. 19).³ The Holy One, blessed be He, fulfilled the desire of the prophet. She conceived and bare, and the child grew. He went forth to refresh⁴ himself, and to look at the reapers. A mishap overtook him,⁵ and he died, as it is said, “ It fell on a day, that he went out to his father to the reapers ” (2 Kings iv. 18); this restrained them (from work) until he came (among them),⁶ and he died, as it is said, “ And he sat on her knees till noon, and then died ” (*ibid.* 20).

The woman went to Mount Carmel, and fell on her face to the ground before Elisha, saying to him: Would that my vessel⁷ had remained empty! But it was filled, and now its contents are spilt. The prophet answered: Everything which the Holy One, blessed be He, doeth, He telleth to me, but He has hidden this matter, as it is said, “ And when she came to the man of God⁸ . . . and Gehazi came near to thrust her away ”⁹ (*ibid.* 27). What is the meaning of “ to thrust her away ”? To teach us that he put his hand upon (her) pride, which was upon her breasts,¹⁰ as it is said, “ And the man of God said, Let her alone¹¹ . . . and the Lord hath hid it from me, and hath not told me ” (*ibid.*).

¹ Luria's reads: “ This thing cannot possibly be.”

² See *Kimchi, in loc.*, who uses the same words as our author, based on the quotation in our context in connection with Ps. cxlv. 19.

³ Cf. T.B. Megillah, 27a.

⁴ See 'Arukh, ed. Kohut vi. p. 288b, s.v. ַּרַּחַּ; cf. Lam. ii. 18.

⁵ See T.J. Jebamoth xv. 2, 14d.

⁶ The phrase, “ this restrained them until he came,” is in Aramaic and occurs only in our MS. Its meaning is doubtful. Is it an old Targum?

⁷ See 2 Kings iv. 3; ַּכֵּל (vessel) is used euphemistically here, meaning “ womb.”

⁸ In our MS. the quotation ends here.

⁹ The Midrash here has a play on the word “ lehadphah,” interpreting it as though it were “ lehôd japhjah,” “ the glory of her beauty,” i.e. the breasts; see T.B. Berakhoth, 10b, and T.J. Jebamoth ii. 4. 3d.

¹⁰ See Lev. Rab., *loc. cit.*

¹¹ The rest of the verse given by our MS. is omitted in the printed editions.

He took the staff which was in his hand, and gave it to Gehazi, saying to him: Do not speak with thy mouth any word at all; know that¹ thou goest and placest the staff upon the face of the lad, that he may live.

Now as for Gehazi, the matter was laughable in his eyes,² and to every man whom he met || he said: Dost thou believe that this staff will bring the dead to life? Therefore he did not succeed³ until (Elisha) went on foot and put his face⁴ upon the face (of the child), and his eyes upon his eyes, and his hands upon his hands, and he began to pray before the Holy One, blessed be He: Sovereign of all the worlds! Just as Thou didst perform miracles by the hand of Elijah, my master, and brought the dead to life, likewise let this child live; and He was entreated of him, as it is said, "Then he returned, and walked in the house once to and fro; and went up, and stretched himself upon him" (*ibid.* 35); "and the child sneezed seven times" (*ibid.*).

Rabbi Azariah⁵ said: Know thou the efficacy of charity.⁶ Come and see from the instance of Shallum,⁷ son of Tikvah, who was one of the important men of his generation, giving charity every day. What did he do? He filled the bottle with water, and sat at the entrance of the city, and he would give water to every person who came on the way, restoring his soul to him.⁸ On account of the charity which he did, the Holy Spirit rested upon his wife,⁹ as it is

¹ The first editions read here "whilst" and omit "know that."

² Lit. "before him." On Gehazi see *J.E.* v. 580 f.

³ His want of faith led to his failure to restore the child. Moreover, he did not believe that he was dead, because he told Elisha "the lad is not *awaked*" (2 Kings iv. 31).

⁴ *Jalkut. loc. cit.*, reads: "His mouth"; this agrees with the text in 2 Kings iv. 34. Perhaps Luria's suggestion that the reading should be: "his face . . . and his hands" is correct. John of Damascus, *op. cit.* iv. 34, refers to the virginity of Elisha; this idea occurs also in Ambrose and other Christian writers. See also Clement, "Two Epistles concerning Virginity," xiv. (*A.N.C.L.* xiv. p. 393).

⁵ The Prague edition reads: "Rabbi Zechariah"; this is also Brode's reading.

⁶ To cause the dead to be quickened.

⁷ See Siphre, Num. § 78, and *J.E.* xi. 227.

⁸ To feed the hungry is to restore his soul; cf. Lam. i. 11.

⁹ As to whether it also rested on him see *J.E.*, *loc. cit.*, and cf. *Jalkut. loc. cit.*, which reads "upon him"; see T.B. Megillah, 14b, and *Kimchi* on 2 Kings xxii. 14, who quotes the entire passage from our *P.R.E.*; he does not, however, read "upon him." The reason why the Holy

said,¹ "So Hilkiah the priest . . . went unto Huldah the prophetess, the wife of Shallum, the son of Tikvah" (*ibid.* xxii. 14). Originally his name was "the son of Sachrah";² just as thou dost say, "Merchandise is better³ than the circulation of money" (Prov. iii. 14). One Scripture text || says, "The son of Sachrah."⁴ When her husband died, the charitable deeds of her husband ceased,⁵ and all Israel went forth to show loving-kindness to Shallum, son of Tikvah. But they spied the band,⁶ and they cast the man into the sepulchre of Elisha,⁷ and he came to life, as it is said, "And as soon as the man touched the bones of Elisha, he revived" (2 Kings xiii. 21); and afterwards he begat Chanameel,⁸ as it is said, "Behold, Chanameel the son of Shallum thine uncle shall come unto thee" (Jer. xxxii. 7).

Rabbi Eliezer⁹ said: Know thou the power of charity.¹⁰ Come and see from (the instance of) Saul, the son of Kish, who removed the witches and the necromancers from off the earth, and once again he loved that which he had hated.¹¹ He went to En Dor, to the wife¹² of Zephaniah, the mother of Abner, and he inquired of her for himself by the familiar spirit, and she brought for him Samuel the prophet, and

Spirit rested upon Huldah is probably suggested by the special manner of her husband's charity in pouring out water for the thirsty; cf. Isa. xlv. 3, and Joel ii. 28.

¹ Insert שְׁנֵאֵר.

² See 1 Chron. xxxiv. 22: "the son of Hasrah," *i.e.* "Chasrah"—this becomes "Sachrah" by interchanging the first two letters of the name, just as the Massorites have done with the name "Tikvah" in this verse. "Sachrah" means "merchandise." See also 2 Kings xxii. 14.

³ In the MS. the quotation ends here; it is continued in the Venice edition.

⁴ This quotation is unknown to me; see, however, previous note (2).

⁵ The Hebrew word for ceased is "Chasrah." The *Jalkut*, *in loc.*, reads: "The charity of her husband failed that righteous woman"; cf. T.B. Synhedrin, 47a, and T.B. Chullin, *loc. cit.*

⁶ The first editions add: "that was coming against them."

⁷ Cf. Ecclus. xlviii. 13.

⁸ See *J.E.* vi. p. 203, *s.v.* Hanameel, son of Shallum and Huldah.

⁹ The first editions read: "Chananiah ben Teradion."

¹⁰ The text here is probably corrupt. Instead of reading, "the power of charity," we should perhaps read, "the power of righteous people." Luria thinks that the whole phrase is out of place. The narrative fits in better at the end of Chapter XXXI.

¹¹ See Targum on 1 Sam. xxviii. 7 ff.; Lev. Rab. xxvi. 7; Midrash Samuel xxiv.

¹² Kimchi, on 1 Sam. xxviii. 7, reads: "to a woman who had a familiar spirit, Zephaniah." See also Midrash Samuel, *loc. cit.*, and Lev. Rab., *loc. cit.*

the dead saw Samuel ascending, and they ascended with him,¹ thinking that the resurrection of the dead had come,² and the woman beheld, and she became very much confused, as it is said, "And the king said unto her, Be not afraid: for what seest thou?" (1 Sam. xxviii. 13).³ Some say: Many righteous men like (Samuel) came up with him in that hour.⁴

Rabbi Eliezer said: All the dead will arise at the resurrection of the dead, dressed in their shrouds.⁵ Know thou that this is the case. Come and see from (the analogy of) the one who plants (seed) in the earth. He plants naked⁶ (seeds) || and they arise covered with many coverings; and the people who descend into the earth dressed (with their garments), will they not rise up dressed (with their garments)?⁷ Not only this, but come and see from Chananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, who went down into the fiery furnace dressed in their garments,⁸ as it is said,⁹ "And the satraps . . . being gathered together, saw these men, that the fire had no power upon their bodies . . . neither were their hosen changed" (Dan. iii. 27). Learn¹⁰ from Samuel, the prophet, who came up clothed with his

¹ See T.B. Chagigah, 4b, and cf. Ascension of Isaiah ix. 17.

² Jalḳuṭ, ii. § 140, adds that Samuel brought Moses with him. Thinking it was the great Day of the Last Judgment, Moses would testify on behalf of Samuel; see Midrash Samuel, *loc. cit.*

³ "For what dost thou see?" is added by Luria.

⁴ Perhaps this sentence is a gloss added by some copyist, taken from Midrash Samuel or Lev. Rab., *loc. cit.*

⁵ The first editions read: "and they will ascend in their garments. From what dost thou learn this?" Luria reads: "When all the dead arise," etc. On the analogy employed by our author, see 1 Cor. xv. 36 ff., where the same thought occurs, and cf. T.B. Kethuboth, 111b; T.B. Synhedrin, 96b; and Jalḳuṭ, *loc. cit.*, which reads: "clothed in their shrouds."

⁶ The first editions read: "From the seed in the earth, by an inference *a minori ad majus* with reference to wheat. What happens to the (seed of) wheat? It is buried in a naked condition and it comes forth."

⁷ The first editions read: "how much more so will this apply to the righteous who were buried with their garments." See 1 Cor. xv. 42 ff. for a similar discussion. See Gen. Rab. xcvi. 6; T.B. Sabbath, 114a; Semachoth ix. on the question as to whether the garments used at the burial will be the garments of the resurrection.

⁸ The first editions add: "and they came out in their garments, as it is said, 'Nor was the hair of their head singed'" (Dan. iii. 27).

⁹ See T.B. Synhedrin, 92b; and Sepher Chassidim, § 1129.

¹⁰ The first editions read: "And again, from whom canst thou learn this."

robe, as it is said, "And she said, An old man cometh up; and he is covered with a robe" (1 Sam. xxviii. 14).

Rabbi Jochanan¹ said: All the prophets prophesied in their lifetime, and Samuel prophesied in his lifetime, and after his death, because Samuel said to Saul: If thou wilt hearken to my advice to fall by the sword, then shall thy death be an atonement for thee,² and thy lot³ shall be with me in the place where I abide.⁴ Saul hearkened to his advice, and fell by the sword, he and all his sons,⁵ as it is said, "So Saul died, and his three sons" (*ibid.* xxxi. 6). Why? So that his portion might be with Samuel the prophet in the future life, as it is said, "And to morrow shalt thou and thy sons be with me" (*ibid.* xxviii. 19). What is the meaning of "with me"? Rabbi Jochanan said: With me in my division in heaven.⁶

Hillel, the Elder, said: Samuel spake to Saul, saying, Was it not enough for thee that thou didst not hearken || unto His voice, neither didst thou execute His fierce anger upon Amalek,⁷ but thou dost also inquire⁸ through one possessed of a familiar spirit,⁹ and thou seekest (to know the future). Woe is the shepherd, and woe is his flock! For on thy account has the Holy One, blessed be He, given Israel thy people into the hands of the Philistines, as it is said, "Moreover, the Lord will deliver Israel also with thee into the hand of the Philistines" (*ibid.*).

¹ The first editions read: "Nathan."

² Death as an atonement is discussed by Schechter, *Aspects*, pp. 304, 307 f. See also T.B. Synhedrin, 44b, on this theme.

³ See Dan. xii. 13 for a parallel expression.

⁴ See Midrash Samuel, *loc. cit.*; and compare the words which are said to have been spoken by the Founder of Christianity to the penitent thief, Luke xxiii. 43.

⁵ The text quoted in support of this continues: "and his armour-bearer, and all his men." In 1 Chron. x. 6 the reading is: "So Saul died, and his three sons; and all *his house* died together." The Targum to this passage renders "his house" by "the men of his house." The first editions read: "he and all his house."

⁶ See Lev. Rab., *loc. cit.*, and T.B. Berakhoth, 12b, which is probably the source of the Midrash, and cf. Midrash Samuel, x.

⁷ See *infra*, p. 388.

⁸ Lit. "to inquire through one possessed of a familiar spirit and to seek." The first editions read: "Thou art come to inquire for thyself through one possessed of a familiar spirit."

⁹ See Gesenius (Oxford edition), s.v. אוֹב.

Rabbi Tachanah¹ said: Israel was exiled² to Babylon, and did not forsake their evil deeds. Ahab, son of Kolaiah, and Zedekiah, son of Maaseiah,³ became lying healers,⁴ and they healed the wives of the Chaldeans, and came unto them for coition.⁵ The king heard thereof, and commanded that they should be burnt. They both said: Let us say that Joshua, the son of Jehozadak, was with us, and he will save⁶ us from the burning with fire. They said to him: O our lord, O king, this man was with us in every matter. The king commanded that the three should be burnt by fire. And the angel Michael⁷ descended and saved Joshua from the fiery flames, and brought him up before the throne of glory, as it is said, "And he shewed me Joshua,⁸ the high priest" (Zech. iii. 1); and the other two were burnt by fire, as it is said, "And of them shall be taken up a curse. . . . The Lord make thee like Zedekiah and like Ahab, whom the king of Babylon roasted in the fire" (Jer. xxix. 22). It is not written here "whom the king of Babylon burnt with fire," but "whom he roasted,"⁹ hence we learn || that his¹⁰ hairs were singed on account of their sins, as it is said, "In the pride of the wicked the poor is *hotly* pursued" (Ps. x. 2). Whence do we know that he was delivered? Because it is said, "And the Lord said unto Satan, The Lord rebuke thee, O Satan. . . . Is not this a brand plucked out of the fire?" (Zech. iii. 2).

Rabbi Jehudah said: When Nebuchadnezzar brought a

¹ The first editions read "Jochanan." This is also the reading in the *Jalkuṭ Makhiri* on Zech. iii. 1, p. 35 (ed. Greenup).

² The first editions read "went up." This story is one of the versions of the Susanna narrative; see Brüll's *Jahrbücher*, iii. pp. 8 ff., where Origen is quoted, who knew the story and refers to Zedekiah and Ahab.

³ See Jer. xxix. 21, 23.

⁴ See T.B. *Synhedrin*, 93a; *Tanchuma*, *Vajikra*, § vi. The incident may be based on Job xiii. 4. Cf. Ezek. xiii. 6, and xxii. 28.

⁵ See also *Jalkuṭ* ii. § 309; *Pesikta de R. Kahana* xxv. pp. 164b.

⁶ See T.B. *Chullin*, 7a. The first editions read: "Let Joshua, the son of Jehozadak, a righteous man, come with us and we shall be saved through his merit."

⁷ Cf. *Zohar*, Gen. 104a.

⁸ The MS. reads "Jehozadak"; the verse is correctly quoted in the first editions.

⁹ *Jalkuṭ Makhiri*, Zech., *loc. cit.*, adds: "like these ears of corn he roasted them." Is this part of the original text?

¹⁰ *i.e.* Joshua's.

false accusation¹ against Israel to slay them, he set up an idol in the plain of Dura, and caused a herald to proclaim: Any one who does not bow down to this idol shall be burnt by fire. Israel did not trust in the shadow² of their Creator, and came with their wives and sons and bowed down to the idolatrous image³—except Daniel, whom they called by the name of their God,⁴ and it would have been a disgrace to them to burn him⁵ in fire, as it is said, “But at the last Daniel came in before me”⁶ (Dan. iv. 8). And they took Chananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, and put them into the fiery furnace, and the angel Gabriel⁷ descended and saved them from the fiery furnace.⁸ The king said to them:⁹ Ye knew that ye had a God who saves and delivers; why have ye forsaken your God and worshipped idols which have no power to deliver? But just as ye did in your own land and destroyed it, so do ye attempt to do in this land, (namely) to destroy it. The king commanded, || and they slew all of them. Whence do we know that they were all slain by the sword? Because it is said, “Then said he unto me, Prophesy . . . O breath, and breathe upon these slain, that they may live” (Ezek. xxxvii. 9).¹⁰

Rabbi Phineas said: After twenty years, when all of them had been slain in Babylon,¹¹ the Holy Spirit rested upon

¹ Lit. “wantonness of words”; baseless charges. Cf. Deut. xxii. 14, 17.

² See *supra*, p. 62, for this expression.

³ See T.B. Megillah, 12a; Cant. Rab. vii. 6. The image is discussed in T.B. Berakhoth, 58b.

⁴ See Luria's reading. Daniel was called Belteshazzar. “Bel” is, of course, a name of a Babylonian image or god.

⁵ *i.e.* Daniel.

⁶ The verse continues: “whose name was Belteshazzar, according to the name of my God.”

⁷ In Jalkuṭ, on Ezek. xxxvii. § 375, the reading is Michael; see Gen. Rab. xlv. 13. Our reading agrees with T.B. Pesachim, 118a; Pesikta Rabbathi, p. 160b; Ex. Rab. xviii. 5; and see Jalkuṭ on Dan., *in loc.*, and T.B. Synhedrin, 95b. It is noteworthy that Daniel is not mentioned here; he was therefore not cast into the furnace.

⁸ See *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, p. 55, note 1.

⁹ The Hebrews who had worshipped his image.

¹⁰ See Tanna de bē Elijahu Rab. v. p. 24, and *J.E.* ix. 202 f.

¹¹ See T.B. Synhedrin, 92b, and Tanchuma, Noah, § x.: “On the day when the three companions were delivered Ezekiel quickened the dead in the valley of Dura.” See Pal. Targum, Ex. xiii. 17, on the sons of Ephraim, who were slain for attempting to leave Egypt before the appointed time. See also Shibbolé Ha-Leṭeṭ, 219. According to one authority in T.B. Synhedrin, *loc. cit.*, “the whole incident was indeed a parable.”

Ezekiel, and brought him forth into the plain of Dura, and called unto him very dry bones, and said to him: Son of Man! What dost thou see? He answered: I see here dry bones. (The Spirit) said to him: Have I power to revive them? The prophet did not say:¹ Sovereign of all the worlds! Thou hast power to do even more than (this) here; but he said: "O Lord God, thou knowest" (*ibid.* 3), as though he did not believe;² therefore his own bones were not *buried* in a pure land,³ but in an unclean land, as it is said, "And thou shalt die in a land that is unclean" (Amos vii. 17).⁴ "Prophecy over these bones" (Ezek. xxxvii. 4). He said before Him: Sovereign of all the worlds! What! will the prophecy bring upon them flesh and sinews and bones?⁵ Or will the prophecy bring upon them all the flesh and bones which cattle, beast, and bird have eaten, and they (also) have died in the land?⁶ Immediately the Holy One, blessed be He, caused His voice to be heard, and the earth shook, as it is said, "And as I prophesied there was a thundering, and behold an earthquake" (*ibid.* 7), || and every animal, beast, and bird which had eaten thereof and died in another land⁷ the earth brought together, "bone to his bone" (*ibid.*).⁸

Rabbi Joshua ben Korchah said: There came down upon them the quickening dew⁹ from heaven, which was

¹ The first editions omit the negative. The later editions (*e.g.* Amsterdam and Prague) read: "he should have said."

² See Gen. Rab. xix. 11; Zohar, Num. 200a; Jalḳuṭ, Kings, § 244.

³ *i.e.* the land of Israel.

⁴ This quotation from Amos is very strange, inasmuch as it is applied to Ezekiel as a prophecy concerning his *burial*. Moreover, the prophet refers to death, which might be quite distinct from the burial of the prophet. See Tanna de bê Elijahu Rab., *loc. cit.*, and cf. *J.E.* v. 315 f., for further parallels to this story.

⁵ Read here "skin," as in the text of Ezek. xxxvii. 8.

⁶ The first editions read: "in another land." This is probably the correct reading, as it occurs again in this section, and, therefore, what was missing would have to be miraculously restored by God. The prophet had his doubts as to whether this would or could be accomplished. Interesting parallels to this discussion are to be found in the writings of the Church Fathers; see Athenagoras, "Resurrection of the Dead," ch. iv., and Tertullian, mentioned *infra*, p. 251, note.

⁷ The words from "every animal" till "another land" occur only in our MS.

⁸ See Jalḳuṭ, Ezek. § 375: "He caused His voice to be heard from between the two Cherubim"; see *supra*, p. 228, and cf. Ps. xcix. 1.

⁹ See *infra*, p. 260.

like a fountain,¹ which was bubbling and bringing forth water; so likewise (the bones) were moving and bringing forth upon themselves flesh, (other) bones² and sinews, as it is said, "And I beheld, and lo, there were sinews upon them, and flesh came up, and *skin* covered them above" (*ibid.* 8). He said to him: Prophecy unto the wind, as it is said, "Then said he unto me, Prophecy unto³ the wind. . . . Come from the four winds, O breath, and breathe upon these slain, that they may live" (*ibid.* 9). In that hour the four winds of the heaven went forth, and opened the treasure-house of the souls, and each spirit returned to the body of flesh of man, as it is said, "So I prophesied as he commanded me, and the breath came into them, and they lived, . . . an *exceeding* great army" (*ibid.* 10); and it is written about Egypt, "And the children of Israel were fruitful, . . . and waxed *exceeding* mighty" (Ex. i. 7). What is the meaning of "exceeding"? Just as in the latter case there were 600,000 (men), so in the former case there were 600,000 (men), and they all stood upon their feet except one man. The prophet said: Sovereign of all the worlds! What is the nature of this man? He answered him: He gave out money for usury,⁴ and he took with interest. || As I live, he shall not live. In that hour the Israelites were sitting and weeping, and saying: We hoped for light, and darkness came. We hoped to stand up with *all* Israel at the resurrection of the dead, and now "our hope is lost" (Ezek. xxxvii. 11). We hoped to arise so as to be gathered with *all* Israel, and now "we are clean cut off" (*ibid.*). In that hour the Holy One, blessed be He, said to the prophet: Therefore, say to them, As I live, I will cause you to stand at the resurrection of the dead in the future that is to come, and I will gather you with all Israel⁵ to the land, as

¹ This is also the reading in Jalḳuṭ, Ezekiel, *loc. cit.*

² Instead of "bones" we should probably read "skin"; see *supra*, p. 249, note 5.

³ The MS. reads incorrectly "against."

⁴ See Jalḳuṭ on Ezekiel, *loc. cit.*, which reads: "And he took usury and he shall not live (eternally)." This is based on Ezek. xviii. 8. See Ex. Rab. xxxi. 3, and see Tosaphoth T.B. Baba Mezi'a, 70b, catchword, "Thou mayest lend"; cf. Pal. Targum, Ex. xiii. 17. See also Tosaphoth Sotah, 5a.

⁵ The Venice edition reads here: "for the ingathering of the exiles to the land of Israel." On the vision in Ezek. xxxvii. see Cant. Rab. vii. 9. Maimonides, *Moreh Nebukhim*, ii. 46, regarded the

it is said, "Behold, I will open your graves, and cause you to come up out of your graves . . . and I will bring you into the land of Israel. . . . And I will put my spirit in you, and ye shall live" (*ibid.* 12, 14).

"resurrection" as a prophetic vision; see T.B. Synhedrin, *loc. cit.*, for the Talmudic account. The doubt of Ezekiel is noted by Tertullian, *On the Resurrection of the Flesh*, xxx. In this passage the Church Father interprets the vision in a literal sense, rejecting the allegorical meaning which was given to the vision in his day. Justin Martyr (*First Apology*, lii.) refers to this prophecy as pointing to the resurrection to be brought about by the Christian Messiah at his second coming; his words are: "By Ezekiel the prophet it was said: 'Joint shall be joined to joint, and bone to bone, and flesh shall grow again; and every knee shall bow to the Lord, and every tongue shall confess Him'" (Ezek. xxxvii. 7, 8, and Isa. xlv. 23). This may serve as a fair illustration of the method of quoting the Hebrew Scriptures by the Church Fathers.

CHAPTER XXXIV

THE RESURRECTION OF THE DEAD [48B. ii.]

“SEE now that I, even I, am he,¹ and there is no God with me” (Deut. xxxii. 39). Only the Holy One, blessed be He, said: “*I am*” in this world, and “*I am*” in the world to come; *I am* the one who redeemed Israel from Egypt, and *I am* the one who, in the future, will redeem them at the end of the fourth kingdom; therefore it is said, “I, even I, am he, and there is no God with me” (*ibid.*). Every nation who say that there is a second God, I will slay them as with a second death² || which has no resurrection; and every nation who say that there is no second God, I will quicken them for the eternal life. And in the future I will slay those (first mentioned) and quicken these, therefore it is said, “I kill, and I make alive” (*ibid.*). I have wounded³ Jerusalem and her people on the day of My anger, and in great mercy⁴ I *will* heal them,⁵ therefore it is said, “I have wounded, and I *will* heal” (*ibid.*). Neither any angel nor any seraph⁶ will deliver the wicked from the judgment of Gehinnom, as it is said, “And there is none that can deliver out of my hand” (*ibid.*).

Rabbi Jochanan⁷ said: All the dead will arise at the

¹ In the MS. the quotation ends here, in the first editions the verse is continued and the first editions add: “What purpose has the text in saying twice ‘I, even I’?” See Pal. Targum, *in loc.*, and Othijoth de R. ‘Akiba (*B.H.M.* iii. p. 17), letter 8: “I was before the world, and I am after the world.” See also T.B. Berakhoth, 9b, Jalkuṭ, Deut. § 946, and cf. Methodius, “On the Resurrection,” v. (*A.N.C.L.* xiv. p. 141).

² This is based on Dan. xiii. 2. Cf. Rev. xx. 6, 14, xxi. 8, and see Midrash Tannaïm, ed. Hoffmann, p. 202, and Siphre, Deut. § 329.

³ God destroyed Jerusalem, and He will rebuild it; cf. Lam. i. 17.

⁴ Cf. Isa. liv. 7, 11 f., and Jer. xxxiii. 6, 9.

⁵ See Isa. xxx. 26, and cf. Shocheṯ Tob, Ps. cxlvii. (end).

⁶ “‘I, even I,’ says God, ‘I will deliver them, I alone.’”

⁷ The first editions read “Jonathan.”

resurrection of the dead, except the generation of the Flood,¹ as it is said, "The dead shall not live, the deceased (Rephaim)² shall not rise" (Isa. xxvi. 14). "The dead (who) shall not live" refer to the heathens, who are like the carcase of cattle;³ they shall arise for the day of judgment,⁴ yet they shall not live; but the men of the generation of the Flood, even for the day of judgment they shall not arise, as it is said, "The Rephaim shall not rise" (*ibid.*). All their souls become winds,⁵ accursed, injuring⁶ the sons of men, and in the future world the Holy One, blessed be He, will destroy them out of the world, so that they should not do harm to a single Israelite, as it is said, "Therefore hast thou visited and destroyed them,⁷ and made all their memory to perish" (*ibid.*).⁸

Rabbi Zechariah said: The sleep at night is like this world, and the awakening of the morning⁹ is like the world to come. And just as || in the sleep of the night a man lies down and sleeps, and his spirit wanders over all the earth, and tells him in a dream¹⁰ whatever happens, as it is said, "In a dream, in a vision of the night . . . then he openeth the ears of men" (Job xxxiii. 15, 16), likewise (with) the dead, their spirit wanders over all the earth, and tells them all things¹¹ that happen in the world, but they are silent and (yet) they give song and praise to God, who will quicken them in the future, as it is said, "Let the saints exult in glory"¹² (Ps. cxlix. 5). The awakening in the morning

¹ Cf. T.B. Synhedrin, 107b, and Aboth de Rabbi Nathan (*a*) xxxvi. pp. 53b ff.

² The Rephaim (giants) are the men of the generation of the Flood. See *supra*, pp. 160 f., 167, and Gen. Rab. xxxi. 12.

³ *i.e.* doomed to destruction. Cf. the directions laid down for the conduct of Christians towards heathens, in Clement, "Two Epistles concerning Virginity," vi. (*A.N.C.L.* xiv. pp. 387 f.). See *supra*, p. 208, n. 7.

⁴ In the Messianic age, or, rather, at the close of the reign of Messiah.

⁵ Or, "spirits who injure."

⁶ Or, "Demons unto man"; see Jalkuṭ, Isa. *in loc.*

⁷ The quotation ends here in the MS., it is continued in the first editions.

⁸ See Zohar, Gen. 25b.

⁹ This is based on Isa. xxvi. 19. Cf. Hippolytus (ed. Achelis), p. 107.

¹⁰ See Eccles. x. 20, and see Midrash Rab. thereon; cf. T.B. Berakhoth, 18b, Gen. Rab. xiv. 9, and *supra*, p. 87.

¹¹ This is also the reading of the Venice edition.

¹² Even in the grave the saints continue to glorify God. See Ps. cxlix. 5; Jalkuṭ, 1 Kings, § 169; and Shocheṛ Ṭob on Ps. xxx. p. 117b.

is like the future world. A parable¹—unto what is the matter to be likened? To a man who awakens out of his sleep, in like manner will the dead awaken in the future world, as it is said, “O satisfy us in the *morning* with thy loving-kindness”² (*ibid.* xc. 14).

The voices of five (objects of creation)³ go from one end of the world to the other, and their voices are inaudible.⁴ When people cut down the wood of the tree⁵ which yields fruit, its cry goes from one end of the world to the other, and the voice is inaudible. When the serpent sloughs off its skin,⁶ its cry goes from one end of the world to the other and its voice is not heard.⁷ When a woman is divorced from her husband,⁸ her voice goeth forth from one end of the world to the other, but the voice is inaudible.⁹ When the infant || comes forth from its mother's¹⁰ womb.¹¹ When the soul departs from the body,¹² the cry goes forth from one end of the world to the other, and the voice is not heard. The soul does not go out of the body until it beholds the Shekhinah, as it is said, “For man shall not see me and *live*” (Ex. xxxiii. 20).¹³

¹ The parable is only found in our MS. Cf. 1 Cor. xv. 20, 51; 1 Thess. iv. 14; and Eph. v. 14.

² The verse continues: “and let us sing and rejoice *all* our days.” See Jalkuṭ Makhiri on Ps. xc. p. 44a; T.B. Berakhoth, 18b. “The wicked sleep the eternal sleep, never to awaken in the future.” Cf. Jer. li. 39 and Targum, *in loc.*

³ Brode and Luria read “six.” In fact there are “six” cases enumerated according to the text of the first printed editions. The MS. has five instances only.

⁴ See T.B. Joma, 20b, where four examples only are given. Jalkuṭ, Psalms, § 743, has used our author. See Gen. Rab. vi. 7. The first editions add: “and they are.”

⁵ This may be based on Deut. xx. 19. See also Jer. xlvi. 22 and Targum thereon.

⁶ See *supra*, p. 99, Gen. Rab. xx. 5. Cf. The Baraitha of the 32 Middoth, No. 14, ed. Reifmann, pp. 33f.

⁷ The first editions omit: “The voice goeth forth from one end of the world to the other.” It occurs in the Amsterdam edition. Cf. Jer. xlvi. 22.

⁸ See Mal. ii. 14–16.

⁹ The first editions add: “When a wife is with her husband at the first coition, her voice goeth forth from one end of the world to the other, but the voice is inaudible.”

¹⁰ See Isa. xxvi. 17, and xlii. 14; T.B. Joma, *loc. cit.*, and Lev. Rab. xxvii. 7.

¹¹ The first editions add: “the cry goeth forth from one end of the world to the other, and the voice is not heard.”

¹² See T.B. Joma, *loc. cit.*

¹³ See Siphre, Num. § 103; Siphra (beg.), and *infra*, p. 430.

Rabbi Ze'era¹ said: All the souls go forth and are gathered, each man's soul to the generation of his fathers and to his people.² The righteous with the righteous,³ and the wicked with the wicked, for thus spake the Holy One, blessed be He, to Abraham: "But thou shalt go to thy fathers in peace" (Gen. xv. 15).⁴ And when the soul goes forth from the body,⁵ then the righteous come to meet them,⁶ and say to them: Come unto peace! One verse says, "Therefore, behold, I will gather thee to thy fathers, and thou shalt be gathered to thy grave in peace" (2 Kings xxii. 20).⁷

Rab Huna⁸ said: All Israel⁹ who die outside the land (of Israel), their souls¹⁰ are gathered into the land (of Israel), as it is said, "Yet the soul of my lord shall be bound in the bundle of the living"¹¹ (1 Sam. xxv. 29). All the heathens who die¹² in the land of Israel have their souls cast outside the land (of Israel¹³), as it is said, "And the souls of thine enemies, them shall he sling out, as from the hollow of a sling" (*ibid.*), (even) beyond the land (of Israel).

In the future world the Holy One, blessed be He, will

¹ The first editions read "'Azariah."

² Death reunites, whereas in life separation and dispersion are frequent experiences. See Ps. xlix. 19.

³ See Jalḳuṭ, Gen. § 77, and Eccles. Rab. to Eccles. iii. 9.

⁴ The first editions read here: "When the soul goes forth from the body, is this peace? But the angels come to meet (it) and say to it: Peace, as it is said: 'He entereth into peace; they rest in their beds' (Isa. lvii. 2). Another verse says: 'Thou shalt be gathered to thy grave in peace'" (2 Kings xxii. 20).

⁵ Luria suggests that the text should read: "What is the peace?" (Is there any peace for the body when the soul leaves it?) See also T.B. Sabbath, 152b. See the Book of the Bee lvi. pp. 131 ff. for a parallel to our text.

⁶ *i. e.* the souls. See Roḳeach, 313, which has used *P.R.E.*; the reading here is: "The righteous come before the souls." See also T.B. Kethuboth, 104a, and Num. Rab. xi. 7.

⁷ Cf. 2 Chron. xxxiv. 28. Our MS. has omitted part of the verse, the first editions read the latter part only.

⁸ The first editions read "Rabbi Chanina."

⁹ The later editions read: "All the righteous."

¹⁰ Immediately after death.

¹¹ The land of the living is the Holy Land; when David was an exile from the Holy Land he cries that he cannot worship God. See 1 Sam. xxvi. 19.

¹² Some of the later editions read: "All the dead (bodies) of the wicked." The Amsterdam and Prague editions read: "All the dead (bodies) of the idolaters."

¹³ This is the reading of the Amsterdam and Prague editions.

take hold of the corners of the land of Israel, and shake it (free) from all unclean (things),¹ as it is said, "That it might take hold of the ends of the earth,² and the wicked be shaken out of it" (Job xxxviii. 13).

A man has three friends || in his lifetime, and they are : his sons and his household,³ his money, and his good deeds. At the hour of a man's departure from the world he gathers his sons and his household, and he says to them : I beg of you to come and save me from the judgment of this evil death.⁴ They answer him, saying to him : Hast thou not heard that there is no one who can prevail over the day of death ? and is it not written thus, "None of them can by any means redeem his brother" (Ps. xlix. 7) ?⁵ "For the redemption of their soul is costly" ⁶(*ibid.* 8). And he has his money fetched, and says to it :⁷ I beseech thee, save me from the judgment of this evil death. It answers him, saying : Hast thou not

¹ The first editions add : "like a man shakes a garment and casts out all that is therein and throws this away."

² In the MS. the quotation ends here; it is continued in the first editions.

³ Cf. Aboth vi. 9, Jalkuṭ, Isa. § 494 ; Jalkuṭ, Ps. § 834, reads "household." Bachja in Kad Ha-Ḳemach, s.v. בָּנָא, pp. 12a-b, quotes *P.R.E.* and reads : "his wife and his sons." The latter reading is to be found in the first editions. Cf. also Menorath Ha-Maor, 278. See Israel Lévi's article on this passage in *R.É.J.* xviii. pp. 83 ff., where he discusses the influence of "Barlaam and Josaphat" in this parable. "Barlaam and Josaphat" was written in the seventh century probably, and was known to the author of *P.R.E.* in its Greek or Arabic or Syrian version. See also Geiger, *Was hat Mohammed*, etc., p. 93, and *J.É.* ii. pp. 536 f.

⁴ This is an explanation of Ps. xlix. 5, "Why should I fear in the days of evil ?" (*i.e.* death).

⁵ "The first editions read here : "Even his money which he loves cannot redeem him, as it is said : 'Nor give to God a ransom for him' (Ps. xlix. 7). Why ?"

⁶ Siphre, Deut. § 329, says : "If they give to Him all the money in the world they would not be able to give Him his ransom." The first editions add here the following : "And this thing must be let alone 'for ever' (Ps. xlix. 8), but go towards peace and rest on thy couch, and stand for thy lot at the end of days, and may thy lot be with the pious of the world.¹ When he sees (things) in this way."²

⁷ The first editions add : "For thee have I toiled very much by night and by day." See Eccles. v. 10-15 on the folly of heaping up wealth.

¹ Note here the universalism of this wish. The pious of the world, not merely the pious of Israel, are the denizens of Paradise. On the "pious of the world," see Tosephta Synhedrin xiii. p. 434. The latter part of the paragraph is based on Dan. xii. 13.

² How his family are powerless to help him.

heard, "Riches profit not in the day of wrath"¹ (Prov. xi. 4)? He (then) has his good deeds fetched, and he says to them: I beseech you, come and deliver me from the judgment of this evil death.² And they answer him and say to him:³ Before thou goest, verily, we will go in advance of thee, as it is said, "And charity delivereth from death" (*ibid.*). Does then charity deliver from death? (This refers) to an evil death only. Another Scripture says, "And thy righteousness shall go before thee,⁴ the glory of the Lord shall be thy rearward" (Isa. lviii. 8).⁵

All the seven days of mourning the soul goeth forth and returneth from its (former) home to its sepulchral abode, and from its sepulchral abode to its (former) home.⁶ After the seven days of mourning the body || begins to breed worms,⁷ and it decays and returns to the dust,⁸ as it originally was, as it is said, "And the dust returns to the earth as it was"⁹ (Eccles. xii. 7). The soul goes forth and returns to the place whence it was given, from heaven, as it is said, "And the soul¹⁰ returns unto God who gave it" (*ibid.*). And whence do we learn that the soul has been given from heaven?¹¹ Come and see. When the Holy One, blessed be He, formed

¹ *i.e.* the day of death. The text might be rendered "the day of passing away" (from this life). Cf. Eccles. viii. 8.

² The first editions add here: "and strengthen yourselves with me,¹ and do not leave me to depart from the world, for ye still have hope for me that I may be saved."²

³ The first editions add: "Go towards peace."

⁴ The quotation ends here in the MS., it is continued in the first editions.

⁵ In Jalḳuṭ, Isa. *loc. cit.*, the verse: "And righteousness delivereth from death" (Prov. x. 2) is quoted. This is also to be found in the Kad Ha-Ḳemach, *loc. cit.*

⁶ This sentence is omitted in the printed editions. See 4 Ezra vii. 31.

⁷ See Roḳeach, 313, based upon our author; cf. T.B. Sabbath, 152a, and T.J. Mo'ed Katan iii. 5. 82b.

⁸ See T.B. Niddah, 69b, and T.B. Sabbath, 152b. The return to dust is considerably later than the first seven days after death.

⁹ The next sentence is not found in the printed editions.

¹⁰ The MS. text does not agree with the M.T. "Nephesh," which we have rendered soul, should be "ruach," spirit.

¹¹ *i.e.* by God.

¹ Because all my relatives and friends have forsaken me. For the phraseology, cf. Dan. x. 19.

² The next verse (9) in Ps. xlix. says: "and let him live for ever." This is the petition of one's good deeds, the only true and lasting friend of man.

man, he did not have in him the spirit.¹ What did the Holy One, blessed be He, do? He breathed with the spirit of the breath of His mouth, and cast a soul² into him, as it is said, "And he breathed into his nostrils the breath of life" (Gen. ii. 7).³

Rabbi Ishmael⁴ said: All the bodies crumble⁵ into the dust of the earth, until nothing remains of the body except a spoonful of earthy matter.⁶ In the future life, when the Holy One, blessed be He, calls⁷ to the earth to return all the bodies deposited with it,⁸ that which had become mixed with the dust of the earth, like the yeast which is mixed with the dough, improves and increases, and it raises up all the body.⁹ When the Holy One, blessed be He, calls to the earth to return all the bodies deposited with it, that which has become mixed with the dust of the earth, improves and increases and raises up all the body without water.¹⁰ Forthwith the earth quakes and the mountains tremble,¹¹ and the graves are opened,¹² and the stones of the graves are scattered about one from the other, as it is said, "And the Lord God shall save them || in that day as the flock of his people: ¹³ for they shall be as the stones of a crown, lifted on high over his land" (Zech. ix. 16).

Rabbi Azariah said: All the souls are in the hands of

¹ The first editions read: "the spirit of the soul." See *supra*, p. 78, n. 2. Cf. Tertullian, *On the Resurrection*, v.

² Or, "breath."

³ The breath of life came from God and returns to Him.

⁴ The first editions read "Simeon."

⁵ Read *יָרַח*, and cf. *supra*, p. 77.

⁶ Or, "rottenness." See T. J. Nazir vii. 2, 56b, and Lev. Rab. xviii. 1. The Venice edition adds here: "And it becomes mixed with the dust of the earth like yeast, which is mixed with the dough."

⁷ The Voice of God will usher in the resurrection, see *supra*, p. 249; see also Othijoth de R. 'Aqiba; *B.H.M.* iii. p. 60. Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 32; Apoc. Baruch xi. 4; 1 Thess. iv. 13, 15; and 2 Pet. iii. 4.

⁸ Cf. *infra*, p. 335. The earth holds the bodies until the resurrection. The day of death is called the "day of Account" (Isa. x. 3); cf. Num. xvi. 29, "the visiting of every man."

⁹ The first edition adds: "without water." This became in the Venice edition: "without a blemish." See T.B. Synhedrin, 91a, and Gen. Rab. xciv. 1.

¹⁰ This sentence is not in the printed texts. It is practically a repetition of the previous sentence. The first editions read instead: "like the leaven which improves and increases the dough."

¹¹ See T.B. Soṭah, 36b. See Arabic version of 4 Ezra vii. 32 (ed. Box, p. 119).

¹² See Ezek. xxxvii. 13.

¹³ In the MS. the quotation ends here.

the Holy One, blessed be He, as it is said, "In whose hand is the soul of every living thing" ¹ (Job xii. 10). A parable—to what is the matter like? To a person who was going in the market with the key of his house in his hand. As long as the key is in his hand, all his money is in his hand. Likewise the Holy One, blessed be He, has the key of the graves, ² and the key of the treasure-houses of the souls; ³ and He will restore every spirit to the body of flesh of man, as it is said, "Thou sendest forth thy spirit, ⁴ they are created; ⁵ and thou renewest the face of the ground" ⁶ (Ps. civ. 30).

The soul is like its Creator. ⁷ Just as the Holy One, blessed be He, sees and is not visible, so the soul sees and is not visible. ⁸ Just as the Holy One, blessed be He, has no sleep in His presence, ⁹ so the soul does not sleep. ¹⁰ Just as the Holy One, blessed be He, bears His world, ¹¹ so the soul bears all the body. ¹² All souls are His, as it is said, "Behold, all souls are mine" (Ezek. xviii. 4).

Rabbi Jehudah said: From the day when the Temple was destroyed, the land (of Israel) is *broken down* on account of the wickedness of those who dwell therein; like a man who is sick and has no power to stand, so is the land broken down and is without power to yield her fruits, as it is said, "The earth also is polluted under the inhabitants thereof" (Isa. xxiv. 5). ¹³

In the future life the Holy One, blessed be He, will cause

¹ After death. The parable illustrates this idea. This does not agree with the interpretation given in Siphre, Num. § 139, quoted in Jalkuṭ on Job, *in loc.*

² See T.B. Ta'anith 2b, "For I am the Lord, when I open your graves."

³ The first editions add here: "In the future life the Holy One, blessed be He, will open the graves, and He will open the treasure-houses of the souls." See 4 Ezra iv. 35, vii. 32; T.B. Chagigah, 12b; and Siphre Deut. § 344.

⁴ Thereby reviving the spirit of man. Cf. Athenagoras, *Resurrection of the Dead*, xxv.

⁵ In the MS. and the first editions the quotation ends here.

⁶ The earth will be renewed after the resurrection.

⁷ Luria adds: if one may so without irreverence." On this expression, see Bacher, *Terminologie*, i. pp. 72 f.

⁸ See T.B. Berakhoth, 10a, and Deut. Rab. ii. 37, where six points of similarity are enumerated; cf. Lev. Rab. iv. 8. On God's seeing, cf. Jer. xxiii. 24; on God's invisibility, see Ex. xxxiii. 20 and Isa. xlv. 15. See similar theories in Tertullian, *de Anima*, xlv.; and Methodius, *Banquet*, vi. 1.

⁹ See Ps. cxxi. 4; and Gen. Rab. xiv. 9.

¹⁰ See *supra*, p. 86.

¹¹ See Isa. xlvi. 4.

¹² Cf. Luria's reading.

¹³ See the earlier part of the verse.

the reviving dew to descend, and He will quicken the dead and renew all things, as it is said, "*Thy* dead shall live" (*ibid.* xxvi. 19). They are the Israelites, who died trusting in His name. || "*My* dead bodies shall arise" (*ibid.*). They are the heathens, who are like the carcase of the beast;¹ they shall arise for the day of judgment, but they shall not live. "Awake and sing, ye that dwell in the dust" (*ibid.*). They are the righteous, for they dwell² in the dust. "For thy dew is as the dew of light" (*ibid.*). The dew of the righteous is not the dew of darkness,³ but (it is) the dew of light, as it is said, "For thy dew is as the dew of light" (*ibid.*); and it gives healing to the earth, as it is said, "And the earth shall cast forth the dead"⁴ (*ibid.*). And what is the meaning of "And the earth shall cast forth the dead"?⁵

Rabbi Tanchum said⁶: On account of the seed of the earth, when it is commanded, (it) discharges the dew for the resurrection of the dead.⁷ From what place does it descend? From the head of the Holy One, blessed be He; for the head of the Holy One, blessed be He, is full of the reviving dew. In the future life the Holy One, blessed be He, will shake His head⁸ and⁹ cause the quickening dew to descend,¹⁰ as it is said, "I was asleep,¹¹ but my heart waked¹² . . . for my head is filled with dew, my locks with the drops of the night" (Cant. v. 2).

¹ A similar statement occurs in Tertullian, *On the Resurrection*, A.N.C.L. xv. p. 311.

² The righteous dead are called "living." See T.B. Soṭah, 5a, and T.B. Berakhoth, 18a. Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 35, 36, 61 to illustrate the preceding part of the paragraph.

³ The dew of nature descends at night (see Job xxix. 19), and is called "the dew of darkness." There is also "the dew of light," which is the heavenly or spiritual dew.

⁴ Rephaim; the root of this word means "to heal." See Cant. Rab. on Cant. v. 2.

⁵ The first editions read: "What is the meaning of 'it giveth healing to the earth'?"

⁶ This is probably a gloss, copied from T.J. Berakhoth v. 2. 9b. It is only this sentence which belongs to Rabbi Tanchum. Perhaps the saying is merely that the earth will disgorge the dead entrusted to its keeping.

⁷ See Luria's reading, and Jalkuṭ, 1 Kings, § 207.

⁸ See Zohar, Gen. 130a, and Singer, p. 79, for the "dew of light," based on Isa. xxvi. 19.

⁹ See Luria's reading.

¹⁰ The first editions add: "and He will revive the dead."

¹¹ The righteous sleeps in death, but his heart is ever awake; his soul is fed by the Divine dew which will effect the resurrection.

¹² The quotation ends here in our MS.

CHAPTER XXXV

THE VISION OF JACOB AT BETHEL [45B i.]

“ BETTER is the end of a thing than the beginning thereof ” (Eccles. vii. 8). The first blessings wherewith Isaac blessed Jacob were concerning the dews of heaven, and concerning the corn of the earth,¹ as it is said, “ And God give thee of the dew of heaven,² and of the fatness of the earth ” (Gen. xxvii. 28). The final blessings were the blessings of the foundation of the world, and in them there is no (interruption),³ either in this world or in the world to come, as it is said, “ And God Almighty bless thee ” (*ibid.* xxviii. 3). And he further added unto him the blessing of Abraham, || as it is said, “ And may he give thee the blessing of Abraham,⁴ to thee and to thy seed with thee ”⁵ (*ibid.* 4). Therefore (say)⁶ : “ Better is the end of a thing⁷ than the beginning thereof ” (Eccles. vii. 8). “ Better is the patient in spirit than the proud in spirit ” (*ibid.*).⁸ “ Better is the patient in spirit ”—this (saying) is applicable⁹ to our father Jacob, for every day he was patient in spirit, and he spake all kinds of words of

¹ *i.e.* material blessings of this earthly life.

² In the MS. and the first editions the quotation ends here.

³ There is a lacuna in the MS.; the space is just sufficient for the word which occurs in the Oxford MS. or in the first editions, and which means “ interruption.”

⁴ In the MS. the quotation ends here; it is continued in the first editions.

⁵ The verse continues: “ that thou mayest inherit the land of thy sojournings.”

⁶ This occurs in the first editions, and is missing in the MS.

⁷ The reference is to the final blessing of Jacob. The blessings which he received instead of Esau were but a cause of anguish and sorrow to him as far as material benefits were concerned; cf. Job viii. 7.

⁸ The first editions read: “ ‘ Better is slowness to anger than the proud in spirit.’ ‘ Better is slowness to anger,’ this (saying),” etc. The Oxford MS. agrees with our text.

⁹ Read אמור ביעקב.

entreaty.¹ (The words) "than the proud in spirit" (*ibid.*) refer to the wicked Esau, because every day he was eating the flesh of that which he had hunted. Owing to his pride he did not give any of his food to Jacob. Once he went out to hunt but he did not meet with any success. He saw Jacob eating lentil food, and he desired this in his heart, and he said to him: "Let me gulp down, I pray thee, some of that red pottage" (Gen. xxv. 30). Jacob said to him: Thou camest forth red at thy birth from thy mother; (now) thou dost desire to eat (this) *red* food; therefore he called his name "Edom" (red), as it is said, "And Esau said to Jacob" (*ibid.*).

Rabbi Eliezer said: Lentils are the food of mourning² and sorrow. Know thou that this is so, for when Abel had been killed, his parents were eating lentil food (as a sign) of their mourning for him in mourning and sorrow.³ And Jacob was eating lentil food in mourning and sorrow⁴ because the kingdom, the dominion, and the birthright belonged to Esau. Moreover, on that day Abraham, his grandfather, died.⁵ The Israelites eat lentil food in mourning and sorrow on account of the mourning || and sorrow for the Temple,⁶ and on account of the exile of Israel. Hence thou mayest learn that the children of Esau will not fall until a remnant from Israel shall come and give to the children of Esau lentil

¹ The MS. reads "Pangeoth," so also in first editions. Jastrow corrects this and reads Pagneoth (entreaty); see *T.D.* 1135a; his reference to our book on 1186a must be corrected so as to read Chapter XXXV. According to Luria the reading should be: "Every day he ate plain food." The Oxford MS. has: "Every day he ate food which was disqualified" (for the altar).

² See *T.B. Baba Bathra*, 16b; *Pal. Targ. Gen. xxv. 29*, and *Gen. Rab. lxiii. 14*. Cf. Jerome, *Epist. xxii. ad Paulam*, quoted in *J.Q.R.* vi. 227, and Brüll in *Kobak's Jeschurun*, viii. 31 ff.

³ The first editions add: "And when Haran was burned in the furnace of the Chaldees, his parents ate lentil food (as a sign) of their mourning for him in mourning and sorrow."

⁴ The Venice edition adds: "because of the kingdom and the dominion and the birthright of Esau."

⁵ Luria thinks that since Jacob was wont to eat lentils, there was no special reason to connect this circumstance with the death of Abraham. See *Pesikta Rabbathi xii. p. 48a*.

⁶ The custom of eating lentils on the eve of the Fast of Ab obtained formerly; see *Ṭur Orach Chayyim*, 552, and cf. *Gen. Rab., loc. cit.*, which says that lentils are a suitable repast for mourners because they have no mouth (*i.e.* slit), like the mourner who in his grief is struck dumb. Moreover, the lentils by their round form typify the going around of trouble and loss in this world. (See *J.E.* vii. 682.)

food in mourning and sorrow, and will take away from them the dominion of the kingdom and the birthright, which Jacob acquired from (Esau) by oath, as it is said, "And Jacob said, Swear to me this day; and he swore unto him" (*ibid.* 33).

Rabbi 'Aqiba said: Every place where our forefathers went, the well went in front of them, and they¹ dug three times and found it before them.² Abraham dug three times and found it before him, as it is said, "And Isaac digged again the wells of water, which they had digged in the days of Abraham" (*ibid.* xxvi. 18). And Isaac dug in the land (of Canaan) four times,³ and found it before him, as it is said, "And Isaac's servants digged in the valley" (*ibid.* 19).⁴ And it is written about Jerusalem, "And it shall come to pass in that day, that living waters shall go out from Jerusalem" (Zech. xiv. 8). This refers to the well which will arise in Jerusalem in the future,⁵ and will water all its surroundings. Because they found (the well) seven⁶ times, he⁷ called it Shib'ah (seven).⁸

Jacob was seventy-seven years old⁹ when he went forth from his father's house, and the well went before him.¹⁰ From Beer-Sheba as far as Mount Moriah is a journey of two days, || and he arrived there¹¹ at midday, and the Holy One, blessed be He, met him, as it is said, "And he met in the

¹ Luria thinks that "they" should be deleted, and that instead of this word we should read "Abraham."

² Three times in connection with Abraham is the digging of a well mentioned. Isaac also had to dig for water. The Midrashim differ as to the number of wells; see Gen. Rab. lxiv. 8. The next sentence in our text occurs only in our MS.

³ The first editions read: "three times."

⁴ The first editions quote the preceding verse and add the following: "He dug twice in the ground, and found it before him, as it is said, 'And Isaac's servants digged in the valley'" (Gen. xxvi. 19).

⁵ The Messianic age.

⁶ Three times by Abraham and four times by Isaac.

⁷ Isaac.

⁸ The first editions add here: "as it is said, 'And he called it Shib'ah' (Gen. xxvi. 33). By the name of the well (Beer) was a city called 'Beer-Sheba unto this day'" (*ibid.*).

⁹ See T.B. Megillah, 17a, and Seder 'Olam Rab. ii. p. 5a. Jacob was 63 years when he was blessed in place of Esau; he spent 14 years in the "tents" of Shem and Eber; and therefore he was 77 years old when he went to Beer-Sheba.

¹⁰ On the well in Jewish theology, cf. *Hellenism and Christianity*, p. 87; see also *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, pp. 81 and 263.

¹¹ Mount Moriah; see 'Arukh, ed. Kohut, v. p. 227a, s.v. "Maqom."

place,¹ and tarried there all night, because the sun was set" (Gen. xxviii. 11). Why is the name of the Holy One, blessed be He, called Maḳom? ² Because in every *place* where the righteous are ³ He is found with them ⁴ there, as it is said, "In every *place* (Maḳom) where I record my name ⁵ I will come unto thee, and bless thee" (Ex. xx. 24). The Holy One, blessed be He, said to him: Jacob! The bread is in thy bag,⁶ and the well is before thee, so that thou mayest eat and drink ⁷ and sleep in this place. He said before Him: Sovereign of all the worlds! Till now the sun has still fifty degrees to set,⁸ and I am lying down in this place. And (thereupon) the sun set in the west, although not in its proper time. Jacob looked and saw the sun setting in the west, and he tarried there, as it is said, "And he tarried there all night, because the sun was set" (Gen. xxviii. 11).

Jacob took twelve stones ⁹ of the stones of the altar, whereon his father Isaac had been bound, and he set them for his pillow in that place,¹⁰ to indicate to himself that twelve tribes were destined to arise from him. And they all became one stone, to indicate to him that all (the tribes) were destined to become one people ¹¹ on the earth, as it is said, "And who is like thy people Israel, *a nation that is alone on the earth*" (1 Chron. xvii. 21).

¹ Maḳom is used also as a title of God. The quotation from Gen. xxviii. 11 might be rendered in the sense of our Midrash, thus: "And he met the Omnipresent" (*i.e.* God). In the MSS. the quotation ends here.

² *i.e.* "Place." The 'Arukh, *loc. cit.*, reads as our MS. The first editions read: "Why was the place called Maḳom?"

³ Jalkuṭ, Gen. § 119, reads: "where the righteous stand" (in prayer).

⁴ Cf. Hos. xii. 4: "He found him in the House of God" (Bethel).

⁵ In the MSS. the quotation ends here.

⁶ See Jalkuṭ, Gen. *loc. cit.*; the words are based on 2 Kings iv. 42: "fresh ears of corn in his *sack*." The Targum on this verse renders this last word "garments." Perhaps the best word in our context would be "knapsack."

⁷ The first editions omit: "and sleep." It occurs in Jalkuṭ, Gen. *loc. cit.*

⁸ This is also the reading of Jalkuṭ, Gen. *loc. cit.*, and agrees with the text preserved by Nachmanides, Com. *in loc.* (Gen.); see T.B. Synhedrin, 95b, and Gen. Rab. lxviii. 10.

⁹ See Shocheṭ Ṭob on Ps. xci. 6; Gen. Rab. lxviii. 11; Leḳach Ṭob, Gen. xxviii. 11.

¹⁰ Jalkuṭ, *loc. cit.*, reads: "The Omnipresent came to make known to him," etc.

¹¹ Or "nation" (גו), which is used not only of the heathens but also of Israel. Luria reads עַם (people); the Venice edition has גו; this is also the reading of the Amsterdam and Prague editions.

Rabbi Levi said : In that night the Holy One, blessed be He, showed him all the signs. He showed him a ladder standing from the earth to the heaven, as it is said, " And he dreamed, and behold || a ladder ¹ set up on the earth, and the top of it reached to heaven " (Gen. xxviii. 12). And the ministering angels were ascending and descending thereon, and they beheld the face of Jacob, and they said : This is the face ² like the face of the Chayyah,³ which is on the Throne of Glory.⁴ Such (angels) who were (on earth) below were ascending to see the face of Jacob among the faces of the Chayyah, (for it was) like the face of the Chayyah, which is on the Throne of Glory. Some (angels) ascended and some descended,⁵ as it is said, " And behold the angels of God were ascending and descending on it " (*ibid.*).⁶ The Holy One, blessed be He, showed him the four kingdoms, their rule and their destruction, and He showed him the prince of the kingdom of Babylon ascending [seventy rungs, and descending ; and He showed him the prince of the kingdom of] ⁷ Media ascending fifty-two rungs and descending ; [and He showed him the prince of the kingdom of Greece ascending 180 ascents and descending ;] ⁷ and He showed him the prince of the kingdom of Edom ascending, and he was not descending, but was saying, " I will ascend above the heights of the clouds ; I will be like the Most High " (Isa. xiv. 14). Jacob replied to him : " Yet thou shalt be brought down to Sheol,⁸ to the uttermost parts of the pit " (*ibid.* 15). The Holy One, blessed be He, said to him : Even " though thou shouldest make thy nest as high as the eagle " (Jer. xlix. 16).

Jacob rose up early in the morning in great fear, and said : ⁹ The house of the Holy One, blessed be He, is in this place, as it is said, " And he was afraid, and said, How

¹ In the MS. the quotation ends here. On the theme cf. Wisdom x. 10.

² Cf. Pal. Targum, Gen. *in loc.* ; and see T.B. Chullin, 91b ; Gen. Rab. lxviii. 12, lxxviii. 3 ; and liturgy for the second day of New Year, ed. Heidenheim, p. 36a.

³ *i.e.* the face of a man ; cf. Ezek. i. 10, also T.J. Joma v. 3. 42c.

⁴ The next sentence does not occur in the printed texts.

⁵ See Pal. Targum, Gen. *in loc.* Note that the text says that the ladder was set up towards the earth, *i.e.* from heaven to earth.

⁶ See Gen. Rab. lxviii. 12.

⁷ The words in square brackets are wanting in the MS., but they occur in the first editions.

⁸ The quotation ends here in the MS.

⁹ Cf. Jalkuṭ Makhiri, Ps. xci. p. 46b.

dreadful is this place!¹ this is none other but the house of God ” (Gen. xxviii. 17). Hence thou canst learn that every one who prays in Jerusalem² is (reckoned) as though he had prayed before the Throne of Glory,³ for the gate of heaven is there, and it is open to hear the prayers of Israel, as it is said, “ And this is the gate of heaven ” (*ibid.*).

And Jacob returned to gather the stones, and he found them all (turned into) one stone, and he set || it up for a pillar in the midst of the place, and oil descended for him from heaven,⁴ and he poured it thereon, as it is said, “ And he poured oil upon the top of it ” (*ibid.* 18).⁵ What did the Holy One, blessed be He, do? He placed (thereon)⁶ His right foot,⁷ and sank the stone to the bottom of the depths, and He made it⁸ the keystone of the earth, just like a man who sets a keystone in an arch; ⁹ therefore it is called the *foundation* stone,¹⁰ for there is the navel of the earth, and therefrom was all the earth evolved, and upon it the Sanctuary of God¹¹ stands, as it is said, “ And this stone, which I have set up for a pillar, shall be God’s house ” (*ibid.* 22).

And Jacob fell upon his face to the ground before the foundation stone, and he prayed before the Holy One, blessed be He, saying: Sovereign of all worlds! If Thou wilt bring me back to this place in peace, I will sacrifice before Thee offerings of thanksgiving and burnt offerings,¹² as it is said, “ And Jacob vowed a vow, saying ” (*ibid.* 20). There

¹ See Shocher Tob on Ps. xci. 7, which has used our book.

² Cf. 1 Kings viii. 42.

³ See Menorath Ha-Maor, 100.

⁴ Cf. *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, p. 88, and see Matt. iii. 16 for the Spirit of God descending like a dove from heaven in the narrative of the baptism of the Founder of Christianity. See Books of Adam and Eve in *A. and P.* ii. pp. 143 f.

⁵ See T. J. Joma v. 4. 42c; Lev. Rab. xx. 4; and cf. T. B. Joma, 53b.

⁶ Lit. “planted.” Late eds. read, “stretched forth.”

⁷ According to the words of Isaiah the earth is God’s footstool, and our Midrash employs this bold imagery in speaking of the right foot of God. The stone became the centre stone of the earth, called “Eben Shethiyah.” See the Assumption of Moses i. 17, with Charles’ note, *in loc.*, and cf. Zohar, Gen. 131a, and T. J. Joma, *loc. cit.*

⁸ The MS. reads “them”; the first editions read “it.”

⁹ See Zohar, Gen. 122a.

¹⁰ See *J. E.* iv. 275b; Pal. Targum on Ex. xxviii. 30, and Siphre, Num. 76b. “Shethiyah” may mean “God has set (or fixed) it.”

¹¹ See *supra*, p. 71.

¹² See Pal. Targum, Gen. xxviii. 22, and Shocher Tob on Ps. xci. 7, p. 200b.

he left the well,¹ and thence he lifted up his feet, and in the twinkle of the eye he came to Haran, as it is said, "And Jacob went on his journey,² and came to the land of the children of the east" (*ibid.* xxix. 1); and the (text) says, "And Jacob went² from Beer-Sheba, and went to Haran" (*ibid.* xxviii. 10). "And the Holy God is sanctified in righteousness"³ (Isa. v. 16). The angels answered and said: Blessed art Thou, O Lord, the Holy God.⁴

¹ See Shocheh Tob on Ps. xci., *loc. cit.*

² The quotation ends here in the MS.

³ The divine righteousness or charity experienced by Jacob caused him to sanctify God.

⁴ This is the third benediction of the Shemoneh 'Esreh; see Singer, p. 45. This benediction of the sanctification should remind us of Jacob, according to the teaching of our Midrash.

CHAPTER XXXVI

JACOB AND LABAN [46B. ii.]

“WHEN thou goest, thy steps shall not be straitened; and if thou runnest, || thou shalt not stumble” (Prov. iv. 12).

Jacob's steps were not straitened,¹ and his strength did not fail,² and like a strong hero he rolled away the stone from the mouth of the well, and the well came up, and spread forth water outside itself,³ and the shepherds saw and they all wondered, for all of them were unable to roll away the stone⁴ from the mouth of the well; but Jacob alone rolled the stone from off the mouth of the well,⁵ as it is said, “And Jacob went near, and rolled the stone from the well's mouth” (Gen. xxix. 10).

Rabbi 'Aqiba said: Anyone who enters a city,⁶ and finds maidens coming forth before him, his way will be prosperous (before him). Whence dost thou know this? Know that it is so. Come and see from Eliezer, the servant of our father Abraham, who, whilst he had not yet entered the city, found maidens coming out before him, as it is said, “Behold, I stand⁷ by the fountain of water,” etc.⁸ (Gen. xxiv. 43). And He prospered his way.⁹

¹ This refers to the extraordinary speed of his journey mentioned in the previous chapter of our book; cf. also *supra*, pp. 108, 110.

² In spite of his excessive speed; cf. *supra*, p. 213.

³ Cf. Pal. Targum, Gen. xxix. 10; Gen. Rab. lxx. 8; and Zohar, Exodus, 13a.

⁴ See Shoher Tob on Ps. xci. 1, which reads: “And they wondered, because all of them were unable to roll away the stone.”

⁵ The rest of the sentence is wanting in the printed texts.

⁶ For the purpose of finding a wife. This was the purpose of the journey of Eliezer, Jacob, and Moses. See Gen. Rab. lix. 11, and *supra*, p. 108.

⁷ The quotation ends here in our MS.

⁸ See the rest of the verse for the reference to the maiden.

⁹ The first editions add: “As it is said, ‘The Lord hath prospered my way’” (Gen. xxiv. 56).

Whence again dost thou learn this? Know that it is so. Come and see from Moses, for, although he had not yet entered the city, he found maidens coming out before him, as it is said, "Now the priest of Midian had seven daughters; and they came" (Ex. ii. 16). And He prospered his way, and he redeemed Israel from Egypt.¹ Whence dost thou know this? Know that it² is so. Come and see from Saul, for whilst he had not yet entered the city, he found maidens coming forth before him, as it is said, "As they went up the ascent³ to the city, they found young maidens going out" (1 Sam. ix. 11).⁴ And He prospered his way and he acquired the sovereignty. || And whence do we know this? Know thou that it is so. Come and learn from Jacob, for whilst he had not yet entered the city, he found maidens coming forth before him, as it is said, "And, behold, Rachel his daughter cometh" (Gen. xxix. 6).

Rab Huna said: Everything is revealed and foreseen before the Holy One, blessed be He. Before Jacob came to Haran, what did the Holy One, blessed be He, do? He sent a plague among the sheep of Laban, and few were left out of many, and Rachel was tending⁵ these, as it is said, "Rachel came with her father's sheep;⁶ for she kept them" (*ibid.* 9). Whence do we know that few remained of the many? Because it is said, "And Jacob fed the *rest* of Laban's flocks" (*ibid.* xxx. 36), "the rest" (which remained) after the plague, in order to increase and multiply Laban's flocks at the feet of Jacob.⁷ Hence (the sages) said: Sometimes the foot of man destroys the house, and sometimes

¹ The Venice edition and MS. Gaster read: "And he advanced to kingship." On the kingship of Moses see the Book of Jashar lxxii. 34 ff.; T.B. Zebachim, 102a; cf. Jalḳuṭ, Gen. § 107.

² That one's way will be prosperous if he meet maidens when he enters a city.

³ Our MS. reads: "in the gate." This does not agree with M.T., which reads: "up the ascent."

⁴ This section is wanting in the printed texts; cf. Jalḳuṭ, *loc. cit.*

⁵ See Pal. Targum, *in loc.*

⁶ This part of the quotation is omitted by our MS.

⁷ The first editions add here: "'And the Lord hath blessed thee at my foot'¹ (Gen. xxx. 30). The feet of Jacob were worthy² to increase and multiply the sheep of Laban. Did the feet of Jacob increase and multiply?"

¹ Where I turned I obtained God's blessing on thy behalf.

² Luria reads וְכִי; the Venice edition and MS. Gaster read וְכִי, "and were then the feet of Jacob," etc.

the foot of man blesses the house,¹ as it is said, "And the Lord hath blessed thee at my foot" (*ibid.* 30). Likewise Laban² said to Jacob: "I have divined³ that the Lord hath blessed me for thy sake" (*ibid.* 27).

When Laban heard the tidings of Jacob, the son of his sister, and the power of his might which he had displayed at the well, he ran to meet him, to kiss him, and to embrace him, as it is said, "And it came to pass, when Laban heard the tidings of Jacob, his sister's son" (*ibid.* xxix. 13). "And Laban said unto Jacob, Because thou art my brother" (*ibid.* 15). Was he then his brother? Was he not the son of his sister? This teaches thee that the son of a man's sister is like his son,⁴ and the son of a man's brother || is like his brother. Whence do we learn (this)? From Abraham, our father, because it is said, "And Abram said to Lot, Let there not be strife⁵ . . . for we are brethren" (*ibid.* xiii. 8). Another verse (says), "And when Abram⁶ heard that his brother was taken captive" (*ibid.* xiv. 14). Was he his brother?⁷ Was he not the son of his brother? But it teaches thee that the sons of a man's brother are like his own brothers.

The sons of a man's sons are like his own sons. Whence do we learn (this)? From Jacob, because it is said, "Ephraim and Manasseh, even as Reuben and Simeon, shall be mine" (*ibid.* xlviii. 5). Were they his sons? Were they not the sons of his son? But it teaches thee that the sons of a man's sons are as his own sons. And the sons of one's daughters are as one's own sons. Whence do we learn (this)? From Laban, because it is said, "And

¹ The first editions read: "And Jacob's foot brought blessing, as it is said," etc. See Tanna de bē Elijahu Rab. xxiv. p. 125.

² The MS. reads: "Jacob said to Laban." This does not agree with M.T. The Oxford MS., the first editions, and MS. Gaster read: "Laban said to Jacob."

³ Laban relied on divination and the Teraphim; see T.J. 'Abodah Zarah iii. 2. 42d.

⁴ This is the reading of our MS., but the margin has: "it seems that one should read, 'like his brother.'" The printed texts also read: "the son of a man's sister is called his son." The Oxford MS. reads: "like his brother." Luria reads also "like his brother." MS. Gaster reads, "is called his son."

⁵ The quotation ends here in our MS.

⁶ Luria's text reads "Abraham"; this should be "Abram" in accordance with the Bible text.

⁷ See T.B. Jebamoth, 17b.

Laban answered and said unto Jacob, The daughters are my daughters, and the sons are my sons" (*ibid.* xxxi. 43).¹ Were they then his sons? Were they not the sons of his daughters? But it teaches thee that the sons of a man's daughters are like his own sons.

Jacob began to serve for a wife² for seven years. He³ made a banquet and rejoicing for seven days,⁴ and married Rachel,⁵ as it is said, "Fulfil the week of this one" (*ibid.* xxix. 27). "And Jacob did so, and fulfilled the week of this one"⁶ (*ibid.* 28).⁷ All the men of the place were gathered together to show loving-kindness to our father Jacob, as it is said, "And Laban gathered together all the men of the place, and made a feast" (*ibid.* 22).

The Holy One, blessed be He, said: Ye have shown loving-kindness to Jacob, My servant, I also will give || you and your sons your reward⁸ in this world, so that there be no reward for the wicked in the future world, as it is said, "Now Naaman, captain of the host of the king of Aram⁹ . . . because by him the Lord had given victory unto Aram" (2 Kings v. 1).

(Laban) took his two handmaids, and gave them to his two daughters. Were they his handmaids? Were they not his daughters?¹⁰ But according to the law of the

¹ See T.B. Jebamoth, 62b, and T.B. Baba Bathra, 143b. For an opposite view see Gen. Rab. xciv. 6; and cf. T.B. Soṭah, 49a.

² This is based on Hos. xii. 12; see Gen. Rab. lxx. 17.

³ Jacob. The Oxford MS. and the first editions read: "After seven years he made a banquet." The Bible text says that "Laban gathered together all the men of the place, and made a feast" (Gen. xxix. 22).

⁴ See *supra*, p. 112, and Pal. Targum, *in loc.*

⁵ The Oxford MS. and the first editions read "Leah."

⁶ Jubilees xxviii. 8 says: "And Laban said to Jacob, 'Let the seven days of the feast of this one pass by, and I will give thee Rachel, that thou mayst serve me another seven years'" ; cf. Gen. xxix. 27-29 and cf. Josephus, *Ant.* i. 19. 7.

⁷ The Oxford MS. and the first editions add here: "Again he kept another seven days of banquet and rejoicing, and he married Rachel,¹ as it is said: 'And he gave him Rachel his daughter to wife'" (Gen. xxix. 28).

⁸ The whole of this paragraph is omitted in the Oxford MS.

⁹ In the MS. the quotation ends here. *Aram* suggests to our author Laban, who was an Aramæan.

¹⁰ The legend that Zilpah and Bilhah were sisters occurs in Jubilees xxviii. 9 and in Test. XII Pat., Naph. i. 9, 11; see also Pal. Targ. Gen. xxix. 24, 29, Gen. Rab. lxxiv. 13; and Singer, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, i. p. 118.

¹ See Gen. Rab. lxx. 20,

land the daughters¹ of a man by his concubines are called handmaids, as it is said, "And Laban gave to Rachel his daughter² Bilhah his handmaid to be her handmaid" (Gen. xxix. 29).³

Rabbi Levi said: The Holy One, blessed be He, saw the sorrow of Leah, and He gave her power to conceive, (bringing) consolation to her soul;⁴ and she bare a male child, goodly in appearance, and wise; and she said: *See ye a son*⁵ which the Holy One, blessed be He, has given me, as it is said, "And Leah conceived, and bare a son, and she called his name Reuben; for she said, Because the Lord hath looked *upon my affliction*" (*ibid.* 32). Therefore he⁶ called his name Reuben.

Rabbi Eliezer said: Leah bare her sons after seven months,⁷ and in seven years there were born unto Jacob eleven sons⁸ and one daughter.⁹ And all of them were born, each with his partner¹⁰ with him, except Joseph, whose partner was not born with him, for Asenath, the daughter of Dinah, was destined to be his wife,¹¹ and (also) except

¹ Read here שְׁנוּתָיו.

² In the MSS. the quotation ends here.

³ See Gen. Rab., *loc. cit.* The Midrashic reading of Gen. xxix. 29 seems to be: "And Laban gave to Rachel his daughter Bilhah (by) his handmaid (to be) her handmaid."

⁴ *i.e.* the joy of motherhood; see Gen. xxix. 31: "And the Lord saw that Leah was hated."

⁵ ראו בן (Reuben). This is not the explanation of the Biblical text (Gen. xxix. 32); see T.B. Berakhoth, 6b, and Gen. Rab. lxxi. 4; cf. *J.E.* x. 386.

⁶ The MS. reads "he called." This reading agrees with Jubilees xxviii. 11. The first editions agree with the Oxford MS. and read: "she called."

⁷ Of gestation.

⁸ The first editions read here "tribes."

⁹ See Seder'Olam Rab. ii. p. 5a: "All the tribes and Dinah were born within 7 years, each one after 7 months." See T.B. Rosh Ha-Shanah, 12a. For a different view see Jalkuṭ, Ex. § 1, and cf. R. Bechai on Gen. xxix., where the explanation is given as to the month in which each tribe was born, each one being born in a different year. See also the Book of Jashar xxxi. 15 ff., and Jubilees xxviii. 9 ff., according to which the eleven sons were born within ten years; see Charles' note on p. 171 of *Jubilees*, and cf. Schürer, iii.³ 349 (on Demetrius).

¹⁰ *i.e.* future wife. They were twins, male and female; cf. *infra*, p. 304. According to Jubilees xxviii. 23, Leah bare two children, "a son and a daughter," Zebulun and Dinah.

¹¹ On Asenath see Hastings' *D.B.* i. 162 f.; *J.E.* ii. 172 ff.; see also Pal. Targum on Gen. xli. 45 and xlvi. 20; Midrash Agadah, Gen. p. 97; Jalkuṭ, Gen. § 146 (in name of Midrash Abkhir). See also *infra*, pp. 287 f.; and cf. the Book of Jashar xlix. 36 f.

Dinah, whose partner was not born with her. She¹ said : This child is (according to) justice and judgment,² therefore she called her name Dinah.³

Rabbi Eliezer also said : Jacob fled in order to come to Laban, and he fled to get away from Laban. Whence do we know that he fled in order to come to Laban ? Because it is said, " And Jacob *fled* || into the field of Aram " (Hos. xii. 12). (Whence do we know that)⁴ he fled in order to get away from Laban ? Because it is said, " And it was told Laban on the third day that Jacob was fled " (Gen. xxxi. 22). Why did he flee ? Because the Holy One, blessed be He, said to him : Jacob ! I cannot suffer My Shekhinah to dwell with thee outside the land,⁵ but " return unto the land of thy fathers, and to thy kindred ; and I will be with thee " (*ibid.* 3).⁶ Therefore he fled. And Laban took all the men of his city, mighty men, and he pursued after him, seeking to slay him. The angel Michael descended, and drew his sword behind him,⁷ seeking to slay him. He said to him : Do not speak to Jacob, either good or bad, as it is said, " And God came to Laban the Aramæan in a dream of the night,⁸ and said unto him, Take heed to thyself that thou speak not to Jacob either good or bad " (*ibid.* 24). Laban rose up early in the morning, and saw all that Jacob had, and he said (to him) :⁹ All these are mine, and since thou hast taken all these, yet wherefore hast thou stolen my Teraphim, which I worshipped ?¹⁰

What are the Teraphim ? They slay a man, a firstborn,

¹ Leah.

² " Din " (" justice "). The idea here is probably the same as *supra*, p. 152, that the world was originally developed by the primitive instincts of nature. See Zohar, Lev. 77b. There may also be a reference to the coming events in Shechem.

³ See T.B. Berakhoth, 60a, and Pal. Targum, Gen. xxx. 21.

⁴ The Oxford MS. and the first editions read : " Whence do we know ? " The expression is wanting in our MS.

⁵ The reference is to the land of Israel. The Oxford MS. reads : " I do not desire to let My Glory dwell with thee in this place " ; the later editions read : " in the house of Laban. "

⁶ God promises to be with Jacob in his birthplace, and not in the house of Laban. See *supra*, pp. 54 f.

⁷ *i.e.* Laban ; see Pal. Targum, Gen. xxxi. 24, and cf. *supra*, p. 191.

⁸ In the MSS. the quotation ends here.

⁹ " To him " occurs in the first editions, but not in the MSS.

¹⁰ Have we in the description of the Teraphim a protest against the worship of relics ? See also Wisdom xiv. 15.

and he is red (in colour). All that a man requires (to know) is not written here. This is impossible, since the men who dispute about the knowledge of making (the Teraphim) have increased. Everyone who follows that knowledge will ultimately go down to Gehinnom.¹ And they pinch off his head, and salt it with salt,² and they write upon a golden plate³ the name of an unclean (spirit),⁴ and place it under his tongue,⁵ and they put it in the wall, and they kindle lamps⁶ || before it, and bow down to it, and it⁷ speaks unto them. Whence do we know that the Teraphim speak? Because it is said, "For the Teraphim have spoken vanity" (Zech. x. 2).⁸ On that account had Rachel stolen them, so that they should not tell Laban that Jacob had fled, and not only that, but also to remove idolatrous worship from her father's house.⁹

Now Jacob knew nothing of all this, and he said: Any one who has stolen thy Teraphim shall die before his proper

¹ The preceding words (from "he is red") occur in our MS. only.

² For text see Buxtorf, *Lexic. Chald. Talm. Rabb.* (ed. 1640), s.v. חרפים; 'Arukh, ed. Kohut, viii. p. 285b, s.v. חרף adds: "and spices." This addition agrees with the text of the first editions. The Oxford MS. reads: "And they burn incense before him, and offer spices before him."

³ On קמטע, (charm) written on golden plates, see Tosephta Kelim (Baba Mezi'a) i. 12, p. 579. See also Origen, *c. Cels.* vi. 31; and M. Friedländer, *Antichrist*, p. 164, note 1, for other references and literature.

⁴ The Oxford MS. adds "spirit." This is also the reading of the first editions.

⁵ 'Arukh, *loc. cit.*, has "head."

⁶ Schwally, *Das Leben nach dem Tode*, pp. 40 f., sees here a reference to the "lamp of the dead"; and cf. Perles in *Monatsschrift*, x. (1861), p. 382.

⁷ 'Arukh, *loc. cit.*, has: "and Laban was speaking with them (the Teraphim)."

⁸ This section occurs also in Midrash Tanchuma, Vayezê, § xii.; Jalḳuṭ, Gen. § 130, Jalḳuṭ, Zechariah, § 578, the Book of Jashar xxxi. 41; Pal. Targum on Gen. xxxi. 19, and see *J.E.* xii. 109; also Athanasius Kircher, *Œdipus Ægyptiacus*, i. p. 261, and cf. Selden, *de Dis Syriis Syntagma*, i. ii. pp. 96 ff. On the Teraphim see Blau, *Altjüd. Zauberwesen*, p. 120; Bacher, *T.* ii. pp. 164 f.; and cf. Mekhilta pp. 67a, b; Siphre, Deut. § 43, p. 81b.

⁹ The first editions read here: "not only that, but also to cut away the name of idolatry from the house of her father." See also Gen. Rab. lxxiv. 5, and Pal. Targum, Gen. xxxi. 32. 'Arukh, ed. Kohut, viii. p. 285b, reads: "and further to destroy idolatry from her father's house." Jubilees xxix. 5 fixes Nisan 21st as the day of Jacob's departure from Laban. This date corresponds to the day when the Israelites crossed the Reed Sea. Jubilees does not mention the Teraphim, but has a good deal to say about the wickedness of the Rephaim. Are the "Rephaim" purposely substituted for the Teraphim?

time;¹ and the utterance² of a righteous person is like the speech from the mouth of an angel,³ and (Rachel) bare and died, as it is said, "And it came to pass, as her soul was in departing, for she died" (Gen. xxxv. 18).

Rabbi Jehudah said: Three forefathers made covenants with the people of the land.⁴ (With reference to) Abraham (the circumstances were as follows).⁵ When the angels were revealed unto him, he thought that they were travellers (from among) the people of the land,⁶ and he ran to meet them, and he wished to prepare for them a great banquet,⁷ and he told Sarah to prepare cakes for them. When Sarah was kneading, she perceived that the manner of women was upon her,⁸ therefore he did not hand them any of the cakes. He ran to fetch a calf. But the calf fled from before him, and went into the Cave of Machpelah, and he went in there after it, and he found Adam and his help-meet⁹ lying there upon their beds,¹⁰ and they slept, and lights were kindled above them,¹¹ and a sweet scent was upon them like a sweet savour, therefore he desired to have the Cave of Machpelah as a burial possession. He spoke to the sons of Jebus, in order to purchase from them the Cave of || Machpelah by a purchase with gold,¹² and by a perpetual deed for a possession

¹ The text says: "Let him not live" (Gen. xxxi. 32); *P.R.E.* gives the paraphrase of this, so also the Pal. Targum, *loc. cit.*

² Lit. "that which cometh out of the mouth."

³ This may be an illustration of the verse: "Suffer not thy mouth to cause thy flesh to sin; neither say thou before the *angel*, that it was an error: wherefore should God be angry at thy voice, and destroy the work of thine hands?" (Eccles. v. 6).

⁴ Of Canaan. The first editions add: "And they were: Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob."

⁵ The words in brackets have been supplied to show the connection of thought. The first editions read: "Abraham made a covenant with the people of the land."

⁶ See T.B. Baba Mezi'a, 86b. "The angels looked like Arabs," who travel from land to land, see Jalkuṭ, Gen. § 82.

⁷ See Aboth de R. Nathan (a) xiii. p. 29a; Gen. Rab. xlvi. 12; and Jalkuṭ, Gen. *loc. cit.*

⁸ See T.B. Baba Mezi'a, 87a.

⁹ See Zohar, Gen. 127a, and Midrash Haggadol, c. 348.

¹⁰ See *supra*, p. 148, and cf. *J.E.* viii. 248. According to the Book of Adam and Eve (ed. Malan) II. ix., Adam was "laid on the eastern side of the inside of the cave, the side of the incense, and (Seth) placed in front of him a lampstand kept burning." This was the "Cave of Treasures." The legend occurs in Jalkuṭ, Gen. *loc. cit.*

¹¹ Cf. *supra*, previous page, note 6.

¹² See Jalkuṭ, Gen. *loc. cit.*; here and in Jalkuṭ, Joshua, § 28, the expression is: "with a purchase by gold." Luria thinks that our text should read: "with a perpetual purchase by gold."

of a burying-place. Were they Jebusites? Were they not Hittites? But they were called Jebusites according to the name of the city of Jebus.¹ The men did not accept (this request).² He began to bow down and prostrate himself unto them, as it is said, "And Abraham bowed himself down before the people of the land" (*ibid.* xxiii. 12).

They said to him: We know that the Holy One, blessed be He, will give to thee and to thy seed in the future all these lands; make a covenant with us by an oath that thy seed shall not take possession of the cities³ of Jebus, and we will sell unto thee the Cave of Machpelah by a purchase with gold and by a perpetual deed and for a perpetual possession. He made with them a covenant with an oath that the Israelites would not take possession of the city of Jebus⁴ save by the consent of the sons of Jebus, and afterwards he bought the Cave of Machpelah by a purchase with gold, and a perpetual deed, for a perpetual possession,⁵ (as it is said), "And Abraham hearkened unto Ephron; ⁶ and Abraham weighed to Ephron the silver, which he had named in the hearing of the children of Heth, four hundred shekels of silver, current money with the merchant" (*ibid.* 16).

What did the men of Jebus do? They made images of copper, and set them up in the street of the city, and wrote upon them the covenant of the oath of Abraham. When the Israelites came to the land (of Canaan), they wished to enter the city of the Jebusites,⁷ but they were

¹ See 1 Chron. xi. 4: "Jerusalem, the same is Jebus, and the Jebusites the inhabitants of the land, were there." These inhabitants were Hittites by descent; moreover, the text quoted (Gen. xxiii. 16) speaks of them as the "children of Heth."

² At first they only consented to permit him to bury Sarah with their own dead.

³ See Midrash Haggadol, c. 350. The first editions read: "The city of Jebus except by the consent of the children of Jebus."

⁴ The preceding words of this sentence up to "save by the consent" are omitted in the first editions. See Jalkut, Joshua, *loc. cit.* For a variant reading see 'Arukh, ed. Kohut, vi. p. 180a, s.v. ךע.

⁵ Cf. Jer. xxxii. 7 ff. for the method of purchasing land. The MS. omits "as it is said"; this reading is found in the first editions.

⁶ The quotation ends here in the MS.

⁷ See Josh. xv. 8, and Judg. i. 8: "And the children of Judah fought against Jerusalem, and took it, and smote it with the edge of the sword, and set the city on fire"; and cf. verse 19: "for he could not drive out the inhabitants of the valley." What is the political significance of the legend?

not able (to enter),¹ because of the sign of the covenant of Abraham's oath,² as it is said, "And the children of Benjamin did not drive out³ the Jebusites that inhabited Jerusalem" (Judg. i. 21). || When David reigned⁴ he desired to enter the city of the Jebusites, (but) they did not allow him, as it is said, "And the king and his men went to Jerusalem against the Jebusites, the inhabitants of the land; which⁵ spake unto David, saying, Thou shalt not come in hither" (2 Sam. v. 6).

(Although) the Israelites were like the sand of the sea,⁶ yet it was owing to the force of the sign of the covenant of Abraham's oath.⁷ David saw (this) and turned backwards, as it is said, "And David dwelt in the stronghold" (*ibid.* 9).⁸ They said to him: Thou wilt not be able to enter the city of the Jebusites until thou hast removed all those images upon which the sign of the covenant of Abraham's oath is written,⁹ as it is said, "Except thou take away the blind and the lame" (*ibid.* 6). "The lame" refers to the images, as it is said, "Wherefore they say, The blind and the lame shall not come into the house" (*ibid.* 8). Lest thou shouldst say, The blind and the lame did not enter the Sanctuary, Heaven forbid (that we should say this), but these "blind and lame" refer to the images which have eyes and see not, feet and they walk not, (as it is said),¹⁰ "That are hated of David's soul" (*ibid.*). Because David hated to hear of and to see idolatry, as it is said, "Wherefore they say, The blind and the lame shall *not* come into the house" (*ibid.*).

David said to his men: Whoever will go up first, and remove those images upon which the sign of the covenant

¹ The MS. omits "to enter"; it is found in the first editions.

² See Midrash Agadah, Gen. p. 56; and Rashi, *in loc.*

³ The MS. and the first editions omit this first part of the verse.

⁴ See Siphre, Num. § 42; T.B. Zebachim, 114b; and cf. 1 Chron. xi. 4 and Ps. cxxxii. 2-5. David desired to conquer Jerusalem and to build the Temple.

⁵ Our MS. reads: "The men of Jebus said, Thou shalt not come in hither." The last words occur also in 1 Chron. xi. 5, which reads: "the *inhabitants* of Jebus said to David, Thou shalt not come in hither." The first editions have followed the text of 2 Sam. v. 6.

⁶ In number; cf. 2 Sam. xvii. 11.

⁷ That they were unable to capture the city of the Jebusites.

⁸ But not in the city.

⁹ Cf. 1 Macc. viii. 22.

¹⁰ "As it is said" is omitted by the MS.; it occurs in the first editions.

of Abraham's oath¹ is written, he shall be the chief.² And Joab, the son of Zeruiah, went up,³ and he became the chief, as it is said, "And Joab the son of Zeruiah went up first, || and was made chief" (1 Chron. xi. 6). Afterwards he⁴ bought the city of the Jebusites for Israel by a purchase with gold and with a perpetual deed for a perpetual possession. What did David do? He took from each tribe fifty shekels; verily all of them amounted to six hundred shekels,⁵ as it is said, "So David gave to Ornan⁶ for the place six hundred shekels of gold by weight" (*ibid.* xxi. 25).

Isaac⁷ made a covenant with the people of the land, when he sojourned in the land of the Philistines. He noticed that they turned their faces away from him. He went away from them in peace, and Abimelech and all his magnates⁸ came after him. He said to them: Ye turned aside your faces from me, and now ye come unto me, as it is said, "And Isaac said unto them, Wherefore are ye come unto me,⁹ seeing ye hate me?" (Gen. xxvi. 27). "And they said, We saw plainly that the Lord was with thee" (*ibid.* 28). They said: We know that the Holy One, blessed be He, will give to thy seed in the future all these lands; make a covenant of an oath with us, that thy seed will not take possession of the land of the Philistines. He made a covenant of an oath with them.¹⁰ What did Isaac do? He cut off one cubit¹¹ of the bridle of the

¹ According to Rashi and Kimchi, *in loc.*, the sign was the effigy of Abraham.

² Lit. "the head."

³ The first editions add: "first."

⁴ David.

⁵ See T.B. Zebachim, 116b; Siphre, Num. *loc. cit.*; Deut. § 62, and Baraitha of the 32 Middoth, 15. Our text is referred to by Tosaphoth on T.B. Kethuboth, 99a; catchword, "He gave."

⁶ In the MS. and the first editions the quotation ends here.

⁷ See Gen. Rab. lxviii. 7.

⁸ See Pal. Targum on Gen. xxvi. 26.

⁹ The quotation ends here in our MS.; the first editions read as far as "Wherefore." As usual, "etc." is added in all the texts.

¹⁰ This sentence is not in the printed texts.

¹¹ See Pal. Targum, Gen. xxvi. 28 ff., for this legend. According to the Midrash Agadah (Gen. *in loc.*), p. 66, Isaac was riding upon his ass when he made the covenant with the Philistines. He cut off the measure of a cubit from the bridle of the ass, so that it should be a proof to the Philistines that Isaac had sworn that his children should not take the land of the Philistines.

ass upon which he was riding, and he gave it to them that it might be in their hands¹ for a sign of the covenant of the oath.

When David reigned, he desired to enter the land of the Philistines, but he was unable (to do so) because of the power of the sign of the covenant² oath of || Isaac, until he had taken from them the sign of the covenant of Isaac's oath, as it is said, "And David took the bridle of the cubit³ out of the hand of the Philistines" (2 Sam. viii. 1),⁴ as it is written, "So the Philistines were subdued, and they came no more within the border of Israel" (1 Sam. vii. 13).⁵

Jacob made a covenant with the people of the land, because Laban said to him: I know that the Holy One, blessed be He, will give to thy seed in the future all these lands; make a covenant of an oath with me, that the Israelites will not take possession of the land of Edom.⁶ He⁷ made with him a covenant with an oath, as it is said, "And Jacob said unto his brethren, Gather ye stones" (Gen. xxxi. 46). Were they his brethren? Were they not his sons? But this teaches thee that a man's sons are like his brethren.⁸ Laban said to him: If the Israelites obtain possession of the land (of Canaan), then they must not come into the land of Edom⁹ for an evil purpose,¹⁰ and if Edom obtain possession they must not come into the land of Israel for evil, as it is said, "That I will not pass

¹ The first editions read here: "And he gave it to him as a sign that there should be between them a covenant of an oath."

² See Ex. Rab. xx. 1; and Gen. Rab. lii. 7.

³ See Shocheh Tob, Ps. lx. 1, p. 152b, and cf. T.B. Chullin, 60b, for the covenant of Abraham.

⁴ See Kimchi on this text, where the entire passage from *P.R.E.* is quoted. See also 'Arukh, ed. Kohut, v. p. 286b.

⁵ Luria reads: "And he subdued them." See Tosephta Soṭah, xi. 13, p. 316.

⁶ The first editions read "Aram" (Syria). They add the following: "And he erected for himself a pillar and (a heap of) stones,¹ and brought his sons with him in the covenant of the oath."

⁷ Jacob.

⁸ Cf. *supra*, p. 270, and see Rahmer, *op. cit.* p. 41.

⁹ See note 6, above.

¹⁰ The next clause up to "as it is said" occurs only in the MS.

¹ See the Book of Jashar xxxi. 52 f.; and read in this context: סצבה
ואבנים

over this heap to thee,¹ and that thou shalt not pass over this heap and this pillar unto me, for harm" (*ibid.* 52).

When David reigned, he wished to come into the land of Edom,² but he was unable on account of the power of the covenant of Jacob's oath until he had broken that pillar. Concerning this, Solomon³ said: "And break in pieces their pillars" (Ex. xxiii. 24). Afterwards he conquered the land of Edom,² as it is said, "David smote also Hadadezer the son of Rehob, king of Zobah,⁴ as he went to recover his dominion at the river"⁵ (2 Sam. viii. 3).⁶

¹ The quotation ends here in the MS.; the first editions read: "That I will not pass over this heap," not quoting exactly as in M.T.

² See *supra*, p. 279, note 6, first sentence.

³ This is an error. It should be "Moses." The first editions read "Moses."

⁴ The MS. concludes the quotation here and omits "the son of Rehob." The first editions read: "as it is written, 'And David smote Hadadezer, king of Aram.'" This is not to be found in the Hebrew Bible. See 1 Chron. xviii. 3.

⁵ The river Euphrates, which flows through the land of Syria. Zobah was an Aramæan kingdom; see Gesenius (Oxford ed.), p. 844a, b, and cf. 2 Sam. x. 6, 8, and Ps. lx. 1.

⁶ See Shocher Tob, Ps. lx. 1, p. 152b.

CHAPTER XXXVII

JACOB AND THE ANGEL [49A. ii.]

“As if a man did flee from a lion || and a bear met him” (Amos v. 19). The “lion” means Laban, who pursued (Jacob) like a lion to destroy¹ his life. The “bear” refers to Esau, who stood by the way like a bear bereaved by man,² to slay the mother with the children. The lion is shamefaced, the bear is not shamefaced.³ Jacob arose and prayed before the Holy One, blessed be He, saying: Sovereign of all the Universe! Hast Thou not spoken thus unto me, “Return unto the land of thy fathers, and to thy kindred, and I will be with thee”? (Gen. xxxi. 3).

And behold, Esau, the evil one, has now come to slay me; but I fear him and he does not fear Thee. Hence (the sages) say: Do not fear an executive officer or a ruler, but (fear) a man who has no fear of Heaven. (Esau) stood by the way like a bear bereaved by man, to slay mother and child.

What did the Holy One, blessed be He, do? He sent an angel⁴ to him to deliver him, and to save him from the hand⁵ of Esau; and he appeared unto him like a man, as it is said, “And there wrestled a man with him⁶ until the breaking of the day” (*ibid.* xxxii. 24). As soon as

¹ In *Jalkuṭ*, Amos, *in loc.*, the reading is “to tear in pieces”; cf. Ps. vii. 2, and see *Midrash Haggadol*, c. 524.

² The first editions read: “like a bereaved bear, he came.”

³ Laban not only did not molest Jacob, but admitted that he was unable to do so. Esau made no such admission.

⁴ See *Gen. Rab.* lxxviii. 1, as to whether the angel was Gabriel or Michael, see also *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, 95 f.; for a parallel see *Pal. Targum*, Gen. xxxii. 25.

⁵ For the wording see *Jer.* xlii. 11.

⁶ *i.e.* Jacob. The quotation ends here in the MS.; it is continued in the first editions.

the dawn appeared, the angel said to him : Let me go, for the time has arrived when I must stand¹ to sing² and to chant praises before the Holy One, blessed be He. But Jacob did not wish to let him go. What did the angel do ? He began to sing and to chant praises from the earth, || and when the angels (on high) heard the voice of the angel who was singing and praising from the earth, they said : Because of the honour of the righteous (one) do we hear³ the voice of the angel who is singing and praising from the earth ; and concerning him the verse says, "From the uttermost part of the earth have we heard songs,⁴ glory to the righteous" (Isa. xxiv. 16).

Again the angel said to him : "Let me go" (Gen. xxxii. 26). Jacob answered him : I will not let thee go until thou hast blessed me ;⁵ and he blessed him, as it is said, "And he blessed him there" (*ibid.* 29). Again he said to him : "Let me go" (*ibid.* 26). He answered him : I will not let thee go until thou tellest me what thy name⁶ is. And (the angel) called his name Israel⁷ like his own name, for his own name was called Israel.⁸ Jacob wished to prevail over the angel, and to throw him down upon the earth. What did the angel do ? He took hold of the sinew of the hip, which was upon the hollow of Jacob's thigh, and he lifted the sinew

¹ In Heaven ; cf. Isa. vi. 3 for the song of the angels. The same idea occurs in the New Testament ; see Luke ii. 13. See also Midrash Haggadol, c. 511 f.

² The first editions read : "to minister."

³ The MS. reads : "stand." The first editions read : "hear."

⁴ The quotation ends here in the MS.

⁵ The first editions add : "as it is said : 'I will not let thee go except thou bless me'" (Gen. xxxii. 26).

⁶ See also Hos. xii. 4.

⁷ The second half of this sentence is omitted by the Prague edition.

⁸ See Gen. Rab. lxxviii. 3, and Tosaphoth on T.B. Synhedrin, 37b, catchword "From the corner" ; cf. Num. Rab. x. 6. The idea of this Haggadah seems to be : the angel is named according to the mission entrusted to him by God. Here it was to announce the ideal for Jacob to pursue, namely, that he was to live as Israel, the warrior of God, destined in his seed to do battle with everything which opposes the establishment on earth of the Kingdom of God. Therefore the angel is named Israel. Israel must fear neither man nor angel ; he has prevailed over the powers above man, and need fear only God. See Judg. xiii. 3 ff. for the case of the angel and Manoah, where the same principle obtains. The angel is called פלא, which suggests הפלאה, "the separation" involved in the Nazirate of Samson. It may also be that the angel was the guardian angel of Israel and therefore bore the name "Israel."

of his hip (out of its place), and it became like the fat¹ of the dead. Therefore the children of Israel are forbidden to eat of the sinew of the hip which is upon the hollow of the animal's thigh, as it is said, "Therefore the children of Israel eat not the sinew of the hip which is upon the hollow of the thigh" (*ibid.* 32).

Jacob wished to cross the ford of the Jabbok, and he was detained² there. The angel said to him: Didst thou not speak thus³—"Of all that thou shalt give me⁴ I will surely give a tenth unto thee" (*ibid.* xxviii. 22)? What did our father Jacob do? He took || all the cattle in his possession which he had brought from Paddan-Aram, and he gave a tithe of them amounting to 550 (animals).⁵ Hence thou mayest learn that all the cattle in the possession of our father Jacob, which he had brought from Paddan-Aram, amounted to 5500 (animals).⁶ Again Jacob wished to cross the ford of the Jabbok, but he was hindered here. The angel said: Didst thou not speak thus—"Of all that thou shalt give me⁷ I will surely give a tenth unto thee" (*ibid.*)? Behold, thou hast sons. Thou hast not given a tithe of them. What did Jacob do? He put apart the four firstborn⁸ children of the four mothers, and eight children remained. He began (to count) from Simeon, and finished with Benjamin, who was still in his mother's womb.⁹

¹ The fat around the sinew of the thigh is prohibited to the Israelite; see T.B. Chullin, 89b, 92b, and roob, and Maimonides, *Maakhaloth Asuroth*, viii. 1.

² The first editions read: "and to stay there."

³ The first editions add: "unto me." The Jalkuṭ, Gen. § 132, omits "unto me."

⁴ The MS. and the first editions omit the first part of the verse.

⁵ Jubilees xxxii. 4 refers to the separation of the tithe of Jacob's cattle, 119 animals being offered: "This was his offering, in consequence of the vow which he had vowed that he would give a tenth."

⁶ The Jalkuṭ, *loc. cit.*, reads: "He took all his cattle and gave a tithe amounting to 550 (animals); hence we learn that all his cattle amounted to 5500 animals."

⁷ The quotation ends here in the MS.

⁸ The first-born are excluded from the operation of the law of tithe; see T.B. Bekhoroth, 53b.

⁹ That means, eight children. Two more were required, and starting to count *ab initio* we find that Levi is the tenth. See Jubilees xxxii. 3, where Levi is chosen as the tithe: "Jacob counted his sons from (Benjamin), and Levi fell to the *portion of the Lord*." Pal. Targum, *loc. cit.*, agrees with our author, but Gen. Rab. lxx. 7, and Tanchuma, Re'eh, § xiv., offer another calculation. Both Jubilees and our author fix the choice of Levi at the time when "Rachel became pregnant with her son Benjamin" (Jubilees xxxii. 3).

Again he began (to count) from Simeon, and he included Benjamin, and Levi was reckoned as the tithe, holy to God, as it is said, "The tenth shall be holy unto the Lord" (Lev. xxvii. 32).

Rabbi Ishmael said: All firstborns are required to have a tithe taken (only) when they fall under the observation¹ of the eye.² Only Jacob observed the law of tithe in advance; he began with Benjamin, who was in his mother's womb, and Levi was reckoned as holy to the Lord,³ and concerning him the Scripture says, "The tenth shall be holy unto the Lord" (*ibid.*).

Michael, the angel, descended and took Levi, and brought him up before the Throne of Glory,⁴ and he spake before Him: Sovereign of all || the universe! This is Thy lot,⁵ and the portion⁶ of Thy works.⁷ And He put forth His right hand and blessed him, that the sons of Levi should minister on earth⁸ before Him, like the ministering angels in heaven.⁹ Michael spake before the Holy One, blessed be He: Sovereign of all worlds! Do not such who serve the king have provision of their food given to them? Therefore He gave to the sons of Levi all holy things which accrue to His Name,¹⁰ as it is said, "They shall eat the offerings of the Lord made by fire, and his inheritance" (Deut. xviii. 1).

¹ According to Luria we should read: "When they do *not* fall under the observation of the eye."

² *i.e.* guarded so that the owner derives no benefit from them; see T.B. Bekhoroth, 9b, and T.B. Baba Mezi'a, 6b.

³ This is exactly the same method of reckoning which occurs in Jubilees xxxii. 3. Dr. Charles' note on p. 192 of *Jubilees* must be modified accordingly. See also Jalkuṭ, Gen. § 133.

⁴ See Test. Levi ii. 6: "And behold the heavens were opened, and an angel of God said to me, Levi, enter."

⁵ See *supra*, p. 177.

⁶ So also in Jubilees xxxii. 3.

⁷ Instead of "Thy works" (מעשיר) read: "Thy tithe" (מעשיר); see R. Bechai on Num. xviii. 20, p. 200a, and Jalkuṭ, *loc. cit.*

⁸ See Deut. x. 8, and cf. Test. Levi ii. 10 ff., which forms a close parallel to our Midrash.

⁹ The priests are called "angels"; see Mal. ii. 7, which the R.V. renders "messenger"; see also Ps. ciii. 21, and cf. Gen. Rab. lxx. 7.

¹⁰ Jubilees xxxii. 15 reads: "And all the tithes of the oxen and sheep shall be holy unto the Lord, and shall belong to His priests." Our author and Jubilees agree in ascribing the law of the tithe and the choice of Levi to the priesthood to Jacob's fulfilment of his vow to give a tithe "of all that came with him, both of men and cattle" (Jubilees xxxii. 2).

When Jacob passed to come into the land of Canaan, Esau came to him from Mount Seir in violent anger, contriving to slay him, as it is said, "The wicked plotteth against the just, and gnasheth upon him with his teeth" (Ps. xxxvii. 12). Esau said: I will not slay Jacob with bow and arrows, but with my mouth and with my teeth will I slay him, and suck his blood, as it is said, "And Esau ran to meet him, and embraced him, and fell on his neck, and kissed him; and they wept" (Gen. xxxiii. 4). Do not read *vayishakêhu* (and he kissed him), but (read) *vayishkêhu* (and he bit him). But Jacob's neck became like ivory, and concerning him the Scripture says, "Thy neck is like the tower of ivory" (Cant. vii. 4). The wicked (Esau's) teeth became blunt,¹ and when the wicked one saw that the desire of his heart was not realized he began to be angry, and to gnash with his teeth, as it is said, "The wicked shall see it, and be grieved; he shall gnash with his teeth, and melt away" (Ps. cxii. 10).

Jacob took all the tithe of his possessions and sent it by the hand of his servants, and gave it to Esau, saying to them: Say ye || to him, "Thus saith thy servant Jacob" (Gen. xxxii. 4). The Holy One, blessed be He, said to him: Jacob! That which was holy hast thou made profane? He replied to Him: Sovereign of all worlds! I flatter the wicked, so that he should not slay me. Hence the (wise men) say, we may flatter the wicked in this world for the sake of the ways of peace.² Esau said to him: O my brother, I have enough; as it is said,³ "And Esau said, I have enough" (Gen. xxxiii. 9). And because he gave honour to Jacob,⁴ therefore the sons of Jacob paid honour to the sons of Esau with the same

¹ See Cant. Rab. to Cant. vii. 5, Gen. Rab. liv. 9, and Midrash Haggadol, c. 517. The New Testament speaks of Esau as "a fornicator or profane person" (Heb. xii. 16): "For ye know that even when he afterward desired to inherit the blessing, he was rejected, for he found no place of repentance, though he sought it diligently with tears" (*ibid.* 17).

² See T.B. Soṭah, 41b, and Midrash Haggadol, c. 508. On the "ways of Peace" see Lazarus, *Ethik*, i. pp. 179 ff. The Sermon on the Mount says: "Resist not him that is evil" (Matt. v. 39). The disciples of the Founder of Christianity are commanded to be "wise as serpents and harmless as doves" (*ibid.* x. 16), as they were being sent forth "as sheep in the midst of wolves" (*ibid.*).

³ See Jalḳuṭ, *loc. cit.*

⁴ The first editions read: "Because Jacob gave honour to Esau."

expression;¹ as it is said, "Ye have compassed this mountain long *enough*" (Deut. ii. 3). The Holy One, blessed be He, said to him: Jacob! Is it not enough for thee that thou hast made profane that which is holy? Nay, but I have said, "And the *elder*² shall serve the younger" (Gen. xxv. 23); and yet thou hast said, "Thy servant Jacob" (*ibid.* xxxii. 4). By thy life! it shall be according to thy words; he shall rule over thee in this world, and thou shalt rule over him in the world to come. Therefore Jacob said to him (Esau): "Let my lord, I pray thee, pass over before his servant" (*ibid.* xxxiii. 14). Hence thou mayest learn that the sons of Esau will not fall until a remnant from Jacob shall come, and cut off the feet of the children of Esau from Mount Seir,³ and the Holy One, blessed be He, will descend.⁴ "And there shall not be any remaining to the house of Esau;⁵ for the Lord hath spoken it" (Obad. 18).

¹ "Rab" (enough), also signifying "Rabbi" or "Master"; cf. the N.T. use of Rabbi, as a title of honour, Matt. xxiii. 7. See also Deut. Rab. xi. 10, and Midrash Haggadol, c. 517.

² This in Hebrew is "Rab."

³ Seir was the territory of Esau.

⁴ This phrase, "and the Holy One, blessed be He, will descend," occurs only in the MS. The first editions quote Num. xxiv. 19.

⁵ The quotation ends here in the MS.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

JOSEPH AND HIS BRETHREN [50B. i.]

“OR went into the house and leaned his hand on the wall, and the serpent bit him”¹ (Amos v. 19). When Jacob went into his house in the land of Canaan² the serpent bit him. || And who was the serpent? This was Shechem, the son of Chamor.³ Because the daughter of Jacob was abiding in the tents, and she did not go into the street;⁴ what did Shechem, the son of Chamor, do? He brought dancing girls who were (also) playing on pipes⁵ in the streets.⁶ Dinah went forth to see those girls who were making merry; and he seized her,⁷ and he slept with her, and she conceived and bare Asenath.⁸ The sons of Israel said that she should be killed, for they said that now people would say in all the land⁹ that there was an immoral daughter¹⁰ in the tents of Jacob.

¹ The preceding chapter in our book began with the first half of this verse of Amos. Was the Haphtarah for the portion of Vajishlach (Gen. xxxii. 3–xxxvi. 43) Amos v., instead of Obadiah, which is now read in the Synagogues of the Sephardim?

² The first editions read: “land of his possession, which was in the land of Canaan.”

³ Add “the Hivite”; this emendation is based on the reading in Eccles. Rab. to Eccles. x. 8; cf. T.B. Sabbath, 85a, and Midrash Haggadol, c. 524 and c. 527. See Jubilees xxx. 2. The Targum of שׁנ (serpent) is חן, which suggests “Hivite.”

⁴ See the Book of Jashar xxxiii. 5 ff., and Pal. Targum, Gen. xxxiv. 1; see also Gen. Rab. lxxx. 5, Leḳach Ṭob, *in loc.*, and Midrash Haggadol, c. 524.

⁵ See Luria's commentary *in loc.*, and Sopherim xxi. 8.

⁶ The MS. text could be rendered: “outside his (house)”; the first editions read: “outside her (house).”

⁷ See Jalkuṭ, Gen. § 134; Leḳach Ṭob, *in loc.*; Rashi, *in loc.*

⁸ See *supra*, pp. 272 f.

⁹ The first editions read: “for now would all (the people of) the land say that there was a house of ill-fame in the tents of Jacob.”

¹⁰ The reading in Jalkuṭ, *loc. cit.*, is “daughter” (בת). The 1st ed. reads “house” (בית).

What did (Jacob)¹ do? He wrote the Holy Name upon a golden plate,² and suspended it about her³ neck and sent her away. She went her way. Everything is revealed before the Holy One, blessed be He, and Michael the angel descended⁴ and took her, and brought her down to Egypt to the house of Potiphera; because Asenath was destined to become the wife of Joseph.⁵ Now the wife of Potiphera was barren, and (Asenath) grew up with her as a daughter.⁶ When Joseph came down to Egypt he married her, as it is said, "And he⁷ gave him⁸ to wife Asenath⁹ the daughter of Potiphera priest of On" (Gen. xli. 45).

Simeon and Levi were moved by a great zeal on account of the immorality, as it is said, "And they said, Should he deal with our sister as with an harlot?" (*ibid.* xxxiv. 31). And each man¹⁰ took his sword and slew all the men of Shechem. When Jacob heard thereof, he became sorely afraid.¹¹ For he said: Now all the people of the land will hear, and they will gather together against me || and smite me. He began to curse the wrath of his sons, as it is said, "Cursed be their anger, for it is fierce" (*ibid.* xlix. 7); and he also cursed their sword¹² in the Greek language,

¹ The MS. omits "Jacob"; the first editions insert this word.

² The first editions read: "He brought a plate and wrote upon it," see T.B. *Ḳiddushin*, 73b.

³ Asenath's.

⁴ See *Sopherim*, *loc. cit.*

⁵ The Midrash *Agadah*, Gen. p. 97, has copied our book in giving the legend of Asenath. The narrative is also given in the book *Raziel*, p. 7a; see also *Jalkuṭ*, Gen. § 146.

⁶ As to the sterility of the wife of Potiphera see Koran, Joseph Sura, and cf. Gen. Rab. lxxxvi. 3; Midrash *Haggadol*, c. 579; *Leḳach Tob*, Gen. p. 98b, note 9; *Jalkuṭ* to Pss., § 732; and cf. T.B. *Soṭah*, 13b. The legend that Potiphera was impotent passed from the Jews to Jerome. See Schapiro, *Die Haggadischen Elemente im erzählenden Teil des Korans*, p. 34 f.; and A. Marmorstein, *Studien zum Pseudo-Jonathan Targum*, pt. i. pp. 31 ff.

⁷ Pharaoh.

⁸ Joseph; see *Sopherim* (ed. Müller), p. 309 (49), and J. Perles, *R.É.J.* xxi. p. 254.

⁹ The quotation ends here in the MS.; it is continued in the first editions.

¹⁰ Simeon and Levi.

¹¹ The phraseology is based on Neh. ii. 2. Luria reads here: "as it is said: 'Ye have troubled me, to make me of bad repute among the inhabitants of the land . . . and, I being few in number, they will gather themselves together against me and smite me'" (Gen. xxxiv. 30).

¹² This agrees with the reading preserved in 'Arukh, ed. Kohut, v. p. 139; see *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, p. 119.

for he said : “ Weapons of violence are their *swords* ” ¹ (*ibid.* 5).² All the kings ³ of the earth heard (thereof) and feared very much, saying : If two sons of Jacob have done all these great things, if they all band themselves together, they will be able to destroy the world.⁴ And the dread of the Holy One, blessed be He, fell upon them, as it is said, “ And the terror of God ⁵ was ⁶ upon the cities, . . . and they did not pursue after the sons of Jacob ” (*ibid.* xxxv. 5).

Jacob took his sons and his grandsons,⁷ and his wives, and he went to Kirjath Arba (so as to be) near Isaac his father. And he found there Esau and his sons and his wives dwelling in the tents of Isaac.⁸ And he spread his tent apart from him ;⁹ and Isaac saw Jacob, his wives,¹⁰ his daughters, and all that belonged to him, and he rejoiced in his heart exceedingly. Concerning him the Scripture saith, “ Yea, thou shalt see thy children’s children, *peace be upon Israel* ” ¹¹ (Ps. cxxviii. 6).

Rabbi Levi said : In the hour of the ingathering ¹² of Isaac, he left his cattle and his possessions, and all that he had, to his two sons ; therefore they both rendered loving-kindness (to him), as it is said, “ And Esau and Jacob his sons buried him ” (Gen. xxxv. 29).

Esau said to Jacob : Divide all that my father has left into two portions, and I will choose ¹³ (first), because I am the elder.¹⁴ || Jacob said : This wicked man has not satisfied

¹ The Amsterdam and Prague editions add : “ For thus do the Greeks call the sword,” מכיר (*μάχαιρα*, “daggers”); cf. Tanchuma, Vayechi, § ix. This addition is also given by the ‘Arukh (ed. Kohut), v. p. 139b, s.v. מכיר. Jerome uses this version. See Steinschneider’s *Festschrift*, p. 158, article by Krauss.

² See Gen. Rab. xcix. 6.

³ Later editions read : “ All the inhabitants.”

⁴ Later editions read : “ us.”

⁵ R.V. renders here : “ a great terror.”

⁶ In the MS. and the first editions the quotation ends here.

⁷ “ Grandsons ” is probably an error ; see Seder ‘Olam Rab. ii. 6a ; Gen. Rab. *loc. cit.* ; and the Book of Jashar xxxi. 38.

⁸ But Jacob’s home was at Migdal Eder ; cf. Pal. Targum, Gen. xxxv. 21, and Mic. iv. 8.

⁹ *i.e.* apart from Esau ; cf. the Book of Jashar xxxii. 72.

¹⁰ The first editions add : “ his sons.”

¹¹ “ Israel ” is interpreted here as pointing to Jacob.

¹² *i.e.* at his death. See Midrash Haggadol, c. 541.

¹³ See T.B. Soṭah, 13a.

¹⁴ The first editions read : “ the first-born.”

his eye with wealth, as it is said, "Neither are his eyes satisfied with riches" (Eccles. iv. 8). What did Jacob do? He divided all that his father had left as the one part, and the other part was to be the land of Israel and the Cave of Machpelah.¹ What did Esau do? He went to Ishmael² in the wilderness in order to consult him, as it is said, "And Esau went unto Ishmael" (Gen. xxviii. 9). Ishmael said to Esau: The Amorite and the Canaanite³ are in the land, and Jacob trusts (in God) that he will inherit the land, therefore take all that thy father has left, and Jacob will have nothing.⁴

And Esau took all that his father had left, and he gave to Jacob the land of Israel, and the Cave of Machpelah, and they wrote a perpetual deed between them.⁵ Jacob said to Esau: Go from the land of my possession, from the land of Canaan. Esau took his wives, and his sons, and his daughters, and all that he had, [as it is said, "And Esau took his wives . . . and all his possessions which he had gathered in the land of Canaan],⁶ and went into a land⁷ away from his brother Jacob" (*ibid.* xxxvi. 6). And as a reward⁸ because he removed all his belongings on account of Jacob his brother, He gave him one hundred provinces from Seir unto Magdiel, and Magdiel is Rome, as it is said, "Duke Magdiel, Duke Iram" (*ibid.* 43).⁹

Then Jacob dwelt safely and in peace in the land of

¹ This is also the reading in Jalkuṭ, Gen. § 138, and in Midrash Haggadol, *loc. cit.*; cf. Ex. Rab. xxxi. 17, and *infra*, pp. 291, 309. The first editions omit "and the Cave of Machpelah." The rest of the paragraph is wanting in Midrash Haggadol.

² Luria thinks that we should read "the sons of Ishmael" instead of "Ishmael" both here and in the next sentence. The first editions agree with the text of our MS. See Seder 'Olam Rab. ii. p. 52a.

³ See Gen. xii. 6. The Jalkuṭ, Gen. *loc. cit.*, reads "The Canaanite," without mentioning the Amorite.

⁴ Cf. Test. XII Pat., Gad vii. 4: "For though a man become rich by evil means, even as Esau, the brother of my father, be not jealous; but wait for the end of the Lord."

⁵ On the written agreement between them see *infra*, p. 309.

⁶ The words in brackets are not in the MS., but they occur in the first editions.

⁷ The MS. adds here "etc.," clearly indicating that the words "and went into a land" belong to a quotation from Scripture. The quotation is continued in the first editions.

⁸ See Jalkuṭ, Gen. § 76 (quoting the Tanna de bê Elijahu), and see also Tanna de bê Elijahu Rab. xiii. p. 65, note 49.

⁹ See Gen. Rab. lxxxiii. 4.

his possession,¹ and in the land of his birth, and in the land of the sojournings of his father.²

Rabbi Ishmael said : Every son of the old age || is beloved of his father, as it is said, " Now Israel loved Joseph ³ more than all his children, because he was the son of his old age " (*ibid.* xxxvii. 3). Was he then the son of his old age ? Was not Benjamin the son of his old age ? ⁴ But owing to the fact that (Jacob) saw by his prophetic power that (Joseph) would rule ⁵ in the future, therefore he loved him more than all his sons. And they envied him with a great envy, as it is said, " And his brethren saw that ³ their father loved him more than all his brethren ; and they hated him " (*ibid.* 4). Further, because he saw in his dream that in the future he would rule, and he told his father, and they envied him yet more and more, as it is said, " And they hated ³ him yet the more " (*ibid.* 8). Moreover, he saw the sons of his father's concubines ⁶ eating the flesh of the roes and the flesh of the sheep whilst they were alive,⁷ and he brought a reproach ⁸ against them before Jacob their father, so that they could not see his face any more (in peace), as it is said, " And they could not speak peaceably unto him " (*ibid.* 4). Jacob

¹ The first editions read : " in the land of Canaan."

² The first editions add here : " as it is said : ' And Jacob dwelt in the land of his father's sojournings ' " (Gen. xxxvii. 1).

³ The quotation ends here in the MS. ; it is continued in the first editions.

⁴ According to Rashbam (comm., *in loc.*), Jacob called his youngest child " Son of days "—Ben-jamin ; Judah also referred to him as " the child of old age." Onkelos renders : " Son of wisdom," *i.e.* a wise child ; see T.B. Megillah, 16b ; Leḳach Ṭob, Gen. xxxv. 18, p. 91a, notes 46 and 47. The interpretation given by P.R.E. agrees with the Arabian legend quoted by Schapiro, *op. cit.* p. 19. The same explanation is also given by Ephraim of Syria, *Hist. of Joseph*, p. 16 (quoted by Schapiro).

⁵ In Egypt, and there he would sustain the entire family in Jacob's old age. The reference to kingship may also refer to the ascendancy of the house of Joseph in Jewish history, and perhaps to the rule of the Messiah ben Joseph.

⁶ See Test. XII Pat., Gad i. 6, and cf. Gen. Rab. lxxxiv. 7.

⁷ This was one of the seven precepts of the " Sons of Noah " ; see Pal. Targum, Gen. ix. 4. On the mutilation of the flock see T.B. Bekhoroth, 39b ; T.B. Kethuboth, 5b, and 37a ; and cf. T.B. Chullin, 121b. They are said to have taken of the flesh of the ear of the sheep, although the animals were alive. See Test. of the XII Pat., Gad, *loc. cit.*, where a " lamb " incident is mentioned ; and cf. Pal. Targ. on Gen. xxxvii. 2.

⁸ רפי, " reproach " ; cf. Ps. l. 20, where LXX renders the word by σκάνδαλον (offence).

said to Joseph : Joseph, my son ! Verily I have (waited) many days without hearing of the welfare of thy brethren, and of the welfare of the flock, as it is said, " Go now, see whether it be well with thy brethren,¹ and well with the flock " (*ibid.* 14). And the lad² was wandering³ in the field, and the angel Gabriel⁴ met him, as it is said, " And a certain *man* found him, and, behold, he was wandering⁵ in the field " (*ibid.* 15). (The word) " man " (here in this context) is Gabriel only, as it is said, " The *man* Gabriel,⁵ whom I had seen in the vision " (Dan. ix. 21).

And (Gabriel) said to him : What seekest thou ? He said to him : I seek my brethren, as it is said, " And he said, I seek my brethren " (Gen. xxxvii. 16). And he led him to || his brethren, and they saw him and sought to slay him, as it is said, " And they saw him afar off " (*ibid.* 18). Reuben said to them : Do not shed his blood, as it is said, " And Reuben said unto them, Shed no blood ;⁵ cast him into this pit that is in the wilderness " (*ibid.* 22). And⁶ his brethren listened to him, and they took Joseph and cast him into the pit, as it is said, " And they took him, and cast him into the pit " (*ibid.* 24). What did Reuben do ? He went and stayed on one of the mountains, so as to go down by night to bring up Joseph out of the pit. And his nine brethren were sitting down⁷ in one place, all of them like one man, with one heart and one plan.⁸ Ishmaelites passed by them, and (the brethren) said : Come, let us sell him to the Ishmaelites, and they will lead him to the end of the wilderness, and Jacob will not hear any further report concerning him.

(The brethren) sold him to the Ishmaelites for twenty

¹ The quotation ends here in the MS. ; it is continued in the first editions.

² The MS. repeats the word " lad " ; this is due to the scribe's carelessness.

³ See Pal. Targum, *in loc.*, and the Book of Jashar xli. 22. The first editions read : " was walking and wandering on the way."

⁴ See Jalkuṭ, Gen. § 141, and Pal. Targum, *in loc.* This legend was known to Basil (i. p. 19). See Schapiro, *op. cit.*, p. 27, for the legend of the angel Gabriel and Joseph in Arabian literature. Gabriel appears in the New Testament account of the Annunciation of the birth of Jesus ; see Luke i. 26.

⁵ The quotation ends here in the 1st ed.

⁶ The first editions add here : " and he will die there."

⁷ To eat bread ; cf. Gen. xxxvii. 25.

⁸ Tanchuma, Vayesheb, § ii., reads : " As one man with one purpose."

pieces¹ of silver, and each one of them took two pieces of silver (apiece) to purchase shoes for their feet, as it is said, "Thus saith the Lord, . . . Because they have sold² the righteous for *silver*, and the needy for a pair of *shoes*"³ (Amos ii. 6). They said: Let us swear⁴ among ourselves that no one of us shall declare the matter to our father Jacob.⁵ Judah said to them: Reuben is not here, and the ban cannot be valid through nine (adults).⁶ What did they do? They associated the Omnipresent with them and proclaimed the ban.

And Reuben || went down by night to bring up Joseph out of the pit, but he did not find him there.⁷ He said to them: Ye have slain Joseph; "and I, whither shall I go?" (Gen. xxxvii. 30). And they told him what they had done, and the ban which they had proclaimed; and Reuben heard of the ban, and was silent; the Holy One, blessed be He, because of the ban, did not tell the matter to Jacob, and (though) concerning Him it is written, "He sheweth his word unto Jacob" (Ps. cxlvii. 19); but this word He did not shew unto Jacob, therefore Jacob did not know what had been done to Joseph, and he said: "Joseph is without doubt torn in pieces" (Gen. xxxvii. 33).

Rabbi Jannai said: The sale of Joseph was not atoned by the tribes⁸ until they⁹ died, as it is said, "And the

¹ See Test. Gad ii. 3(b), with Charles' note, *in loc.*, Pal. Targ., *in loc.*, and the Book of Jashar xlii. 19. Test. Zeb. i. 5 says: "Nor yet do I remember that I have done any iniquity, except the sin of ignorance which I committed against Joseph; for I covenanted with my brethren not to tell my father what had been done." See the next verse also.

² The quotation ends here in the MS.

³ Thereby reducing the needy to the condition of slavery. This legend has been borrowed from Test. Zeb. iii. 2, or from its source; see Pal. Targ. Gen. xxxvii. 28, and Liturgy, Day of Atonement, ed. H. M. Adler, ii. pp. 178 f.

⁴ Lit. "Let us put ourselves under the ban" (to prevent our divulging the matter).

⁵ The first editions add here: "except it be by the consent of all of us." See *supra*, note 1, quotation from Test. Zeb. i. 5.

⁶ The first editions read: "The ban cannot be valid save by ten (adults)." See Midrash Haggadol, c. 564.

⁷ Tanchuma, *loc. cit.*, adds: "and he returned to his brethren and said to them." See Test. Zeb. iv. 5.

⁸ See Gen. Rab. lxxxiv. 17, and cf. Tosephta Berakhoth iv. 18, p. 11.

⁹ *i.e.* Joseph's brethren. The brethren are called "the tribes"; see *supra*, p. 264, and *infra*, p. 376.

Lord of hosts revealed Himself in mine ears, Surely this iniquity shall not be purged¹ from you till ye die" (Isa. xxii. 14).² Owing to the sale (of Joseph) a famine came into the land of Israel for seven years, and the brethren of Joseph "went down to buy corn" (Gen. xlii. 3) in Egypt. And they found Joseph (still) living, and they absolved themselves of the ban;³ and Jacob heard about Joseph that he was living, and his soul and his spirit revived.⁴ Did their father Jacob's spirit die, so that it had to be revived? But, owing to the ban, the Holy Spirit had departed from him, and when they had removed the ban the Holy Spirit rested on him as at first; that || is what is written, "The spirit of Jacob their father revived" (*ibid.* xlv. 27).⁵

Rabbi 'Aqiba said: The ban is as much as the oath, and an oath is as much as the ban; and everyone who violates the ban is as though he had violated the oath, and everyone who violates the oath is as though he had violated the ban. Everyone who knows the matter and does not declare⁶ it, the ban falls upon him and destroys his timber and his stones, as it is said, "I will cause it to go forth, saith the Lord . . . and it shall enter into the house of him that sweareth falsely by my name . . . and shall consume it with the timber thereof and the stones thereof" (Zech. v. 4).⁷

Know the power of the ban.⁸ Come and see from

¹ The quotation ends here in the MS.; it is continued in the first editions. See Midrash Haggadol, c. 565.

² See Tanchuma, *loc. cit.*, in name of R. Mana.

³ Lit. "they annulled" or "loosened the ban." Cf. the use of "binding and loosing" in the N.T.: "I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be *bound in heaven*: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be *loosed in heaven*" (Matt. xvi. 19).

⁴ The first editions add: "as it is said, 'The spirit of Jacob, their father, revived'" (Gen. xlv. 27).

⁵ The first editions add: "Onkelos translates this (passage): 'And the spirit of prophecy rested on Jacob their father.'" Luria thinks that this is a gloss. On Onkelos see *J.E.* ix. 405, and see Hastings' *D.B.* iv. 679b.

⁶ As in the case of Achan's children; see *infra*, p. 296. Cf. Tanchuma, *loc. cit.*, and see T.B. and T.J. Nedarim, Maimonides, Hilkhoth Nedarim, and Shulchan 'Arukh, Joreh Di'ah, § 203 ff., on the laws as to vows.

⁷ In the MS. the first part only of the verse is given; in the first editions only the latter part is quoted. See Jalkuṭ, Zech. (ed. King), p. 34.

⁸ See Tanchuma, *loc. cit.*

Joshua, the son of Nun, who put Jericho under the ban; it was to be burnt with all things therein by fire. Achan, son of Carmi,¹ son of Zerach, saw the Teraphim,² and the silver which they brought (as offerings) before it, and the mantle which was spread before it, and one tongue of gold in its mouth. And in his heart he coveted them, and went and³ buried them in the midst of his tent. On account of his trespass which he had committed, thirty-six righteous men died on his account,⁴ as it is said, "And the men of Ai smote of them⁵ about thirty and six men" (Josh. vii. 5).

Joshua went and rent his garments, and fell upon his face to the ground before the Ark of the Covenant of God, and he sought (to effect) repentance, and the Holy One, blessed be He, was appeased by him, and He said to him: Joshua! Israel has trespassed the sin of trespass in the matter of the devoted things, as it is said, "Israel hath sinned" (*ibid.* 11). Joshua gazed at the twelve || stones which were upon the High Priest, which correspond to the twelve tribes.⁶ Every tribe that had done some transgression, the light (of its stone) became dim,⁷ and he saw the stone of the tribe of Judah,⁸ the light of which became dim. And he knew that the tribe of Judah had transgressed in the matter of the devoted thing. He cast lots, and Achan was taken, as it is said, "And he brought near⁹ his household man by man; and Achan, the son of Carmi, was taken" (*ibid.* 18). Joshua took Achan, the son of Zerach,¹⁰ with the silver and the mantle and the tongue of gold, and his sons and his daughters, and all that he had,

¹ The name "Carmi" means vineyard-man; see Josh. vii. 1.

² This is inferred from the reference in the Book of Joshua vii. 21 to the "tongue of gold" stolen by Achan; see *supra*, p. 274.

³ The first editions add: "and he took them."

⁴ See T.B. Synhedrin, 44a.

⁵ The quotation ends here in the MS.; it is continued in the first editions.

⁶ The first editions insert here: "The light of every tribe which had observed the commandments (lit. which had a precept in its hand) shone."

⁷ The first editions read: "its light did not shine."

⁸ See Rashi, on Josh., *in loc.*, who quotes *P.R.E.*

⁹ The MS. omits the words: "his household, man by man."

¹⁰ See Josh. vii. 18: "Achan, son of Carmi, the son of Zabdi, the son of Zerach."

and he brought them up into the valley of Achor.¹ And it is written, "The fathers shall not be put to death for the children,² neither shall the children be put to death for the fathers" (Deut. xxiv. 16). But because they were cognizant of the matter, and did not report it,³ he stoned them and burnt them.⁴ If there was a burning, why (was there) a stoning, and if a stoning, why a burning? But the stoning was because they knew of the matter and did not report it; burning (was inflicted) because thirty-six righteous men died through him,⁵ as it is said, "And the men of Ai smote of them⁶ about thirty and six men" (Josh. vii. 5).

Because (Achan) confessed⁷ before the Name of the Holy One, blessed be He, he has a portion in the world to come, as it is said, "And Joshua said, Why hast thou troubled us?⁸ The Lord shall trouble thee *this day*" (*ibid.* 25). "This day" thou art troubled, but thou shalt not be troubled in the future world.⁹

Know thou the power of the ban. Come and see from the (story of) the tribes, who were zealous because of immorality against || the tribe of Benjamin.¹⁰ The Holy One, blessed be He, said to them: Ye are zealous because of the immorality,¹¹ and ye are not zealous because of the image of Micah. Therefore the Benjamites slew some of them a first and a second¹² and a third time, until they went¹³ before the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord seeking

¹ See Josh. vii. 24.

² The quotation ends here in the MS. and in the first editions. The latter add after the quotation: "If so, for what reason did these (children) die?"

³ See *supra*, p. 294. for the view of Rabbi 'Aqiba on this point.

⁴ See Targum, Josh. vii. 24 f. Rashi, Gersonides, and other Jewish commentators maintain that the stoning was inflicted only on the beasts, and that Achan's children were there merely to see and to be warned.

⁵ Achan.

⁶ In the MS. the quotation ends here; it is continued in the first editions.

⁷ See Josh. vii. 20.

⁸ Thus far is the quotation in the MS.; this part of the verse is omitted in the first editions.

⁹ See T.B. Synhedrin, *loc. cit.*, and *J.E.* i. 164 f.; cf. also Num. Rab. xxiii. 6, and Semachoth, ii.

¹⁰ See T.B. Synhedrin, 103b; Tanna de bē Elijahu Rab. xi. pp. 56 f.; and cf. T.B. Baba Bathra, 109b.

¹¹ The first editions add: "of the tribe of Benjamin."

¹² This reading agrees with Jalkuṭ, Judg. § 76.

¹³ The first editions add: "and fell upon their faces to the ground." See Jalkuṭ, Joshua, § 18. Cf. Tanna de bē Elijahu Rab. xviii. p. 89.

repentance, and they were forgiven. They decreed¹ that all Israel should (make peace) with them,² and they repented³ both old and young, as it is said, "For they made a great oath⁴ concerning him that came not up unto the Lord to Mizpah" (Judg. xxi. 5). Did all Israel take an oath? But the ban is the same as the oath.

The men of Jabesh-Gilead neither went up nor did they go with them in the assembly, and they incurred (the penalty of) death, as it is said, "Concerning him that came not up⁵ unto the Lord to Mizpah, saying, He shall surely be put to death" (*ibid.*).

Know thou the power of the ban. Come and see from (the story of) Saul, the son of Kish, who decreed that all people, both young and old, should fast, as it is said, "Cursed be the man that eateth any food⁴ until it be evening" (1 Sam. xiv. 24). Jonathan did not hear (of this), and ate a little honey,⁶ and his eyes were enlightened,⁷ as it is said, "And his eyes⁸ were enlightened" (*ibid.* 27). Saul saw the Philistines returning against Israel,⁹ and he knew that Israel had trespassed in the matter of the ban. He looked at the twelve stones;¹⁰ for each tribe which performed one of the precepts had its stone || (on the High Priest's breast-plate) shining with its light, and each tribe which transgressed, the light of its stone was dim.¹¹ He knew that the tribe of Benjamin had trespassed in the

¹ Lit. "They issued the ban" (against all who disobeyed).

² The first edition has the same reading here as our MS. The Venice edition reads: "all Israel should go up after them."

³ The first editions read: "and they made an oath."

⁴ The quotation ends here in the MS. and in the first editions.

⁵ The MS. omits "unto the Lord to Mizpah" and reads instead "into the assembly." The first editions omit the word "saying." This omission in both texts is a probable indication of the dependence of the 2nd ed. on the 1st.

⁶ See Midrash Samuel, *in loc.*, and T.B. Berakhoth, 14a. Jalkuṭ on Samuel, *in loc.*, seems to be based on our Midrash.

⁷ According to Luria's emendation we should read "both his eyes."

⁸ The MS. and the first editions read "both his eyes." M.T. omits "both." See T.B. Joma, 83a.

⁹ See Tanchuma, Vayesheb, *loc. cit.*, which reads: "Saul saw that the Philistines were prevailing over the Israelites"; the Jalkuṭ, *in loc.*, reads: "The Philistines were strengthening themselves against Israel."

¹⁰ The first editions read: "He looked at the twelve tribes." Perhaps we should read: "He looked at the twelve stones of the tribes."

¹¹ See *supra*, p. 295, note 6.

matter of the ban. He cast lots¹ concerning Benjamin, and Saul and Jonathan were taken, as it is said, "And Jonathan² and Saul³ were taken" (*ibid.* 41). Saul took his sword to slay his son, as it is said, "God do so,⁴ and more also: for thou shalt surely die, Jonathan" (*ibid.* 44). The people said to him: Our lord king! It is an error. They brought on his behalf a sacrifice of a burnt offering for his error, and He was entreated of him, and they saved him from an evil death, as it is said, "So the people rescued Jonathan, that he died not" (*ibid.* 45).⁵

The Cutheans⁶ are not considered as a nation⁷ of the seventy languages, but they were the remnant of the five nations precious to the king,⁸ as it is said, "And the king of Assyria brought⁹ men from Babylon, and from Cuthah, and from Avva, and from Hamath and Sepharvaim, and placed them in the cities of Samaria instead of the children of Israel" (2 Kings xvii. 24).

Rabbi José said: He added four more nations to them, and they were in all nine nations,¹⁰ as it is said, "The Dinaites, and the Apharsathchites,¹¹ the Tarpelites, the Apharsites, the Archevites, the Babylonians, the Shushan-

¹ The method of procedure was as follows: The tribe concerned was indicated by the stone of that tribe on the breastplate. Then lots were cast to determine the family (see 1 Sam. xiv. 36-42), and finally the members of the family were placed before the Ark of the Covenant, which caused the transgressor to become paralysed. See *Kimchi*, on Josh. vii. 18, and cf. *J.E.* xii. 385 ff.

² In this and the next two quotations our MS. reads "Jehonathan." M.T. has "Jonathan."

³ Our MS. and the first editions read: "Saul and Jonathan." M.T. reads: "Jonathan and Saul."

⁴ The MS. and the first editions add "to me." This is not in M.T. The variant readings of Biblical texts preserved by our MS. are noteworthy.

⁵ See Pal. Targum and Nachmanides on Lev. xxvii. 29. See also Targum on 1 Sam., *in loc.*

⁶ Or Samaritans. In Talmudic times were proselytes accepted from among the Samaritans?

⁷ *i.e.* one of the seventy nations. For a parallel view see *Ecclus.* l. 26.

⁸ See *Tanchuma*, *Vayesheb*, *loc. cit.*, which reads: "They were the remnant of the five nations whom the king of Assyria led captive, as it is said: etc."

⁹ The quotation ends here in the MS.; the first editions add "from Cuthah," and omit "from Babylon," which is the reading of M.T.

¹⁰ On these nine nations see *Seder'Olam Rab.* xxii. (end), p. 50a, note 40, and *Bacher*, T. ii. 189. 5.

¹¹ The quotation ends here in the MS. and in the first editions.

chites, the Dehaites, the Elamites, and the rest of the nations . . . set in the city of Samaria" (Ezra iv. 9, 10).

And when the Israelites were exiled¹ from Samaria to Babylon, the king sent his servants, and he caused them to dwell in Samaria, to raise tribute for (his) kingdom. What did the Holy One, blessed be He, do? He sent lions among them, || which killed some of them, as it is said, "And so it was, at the beginning of their dwelling there,² that they feared not the Lord: therefore the Lord sent lions among them, which killed some of them" (2 Kings xvii. 25).³ They sent to the king,⁴ saying: Our lord, the king! The land whither thou hast sent us will not receive us, for we are left but a few out of many.⁵ The king sent and called for all the elders of Israel, and said to them: All those years during which ye were in your land, the beasts of the field did not bereave you, and now it will not receive my servants. They gave him a word of advice, (thinking) perhaps he would restore them to their land. They said to him: Our lord, O king! That land does not receive a nation who do not study the Torah; behold, that land does not receive a nation who are not circumcised.⁶ The king said to them: Give me two of you, who shall go and circumcise them and teach them the book of the Torah; and there is no refusal to the word of the king. They sent Rabbi Doseithai⁷ of the Court-House,⁸ and Rabbi Micaiah,⁹ and they circumcised them, and they taught them the book of the Torah in the Notariķon¹⁰ script, and

¹ The first editions add: "from their place."

² In the MS. and the first editions the quotation ends here.

³ See T.B. Ta'anith, 22b, and cf. Rashi, *in loc.*

⁴ The first editions read: "king of Babylon." The Bible speaks here of the king of Assyria.

⁵ See Jalķut, 2 Kings, § 234.

⁶ The first editions omit the words: "That land does not receive a nation who do not study the Torah." Tanchuma, Vayesheb, *loc. cit.*, and Jalķut, *loc. cit.*, read: "Because they do not study the Torah."

⁷ On Doseithai see Krauss' article in *J.E.* iv. 643 f. Bacher, T. ii. 385-7, considers that the name was probably suggested by its similarity to that of the Samaritan sect of the Dositheans.

⁸ The MS. reads "Bedaynê"; cf. Beth Din, and Jastrow, *T.D.* 140a.

⁹ This name occurs only in our MS. The same name occurs in Neh. xii. 35. The first editions read "Zechariah." Krauss, *loc. cit.*, seems to identify Zechariah with Sabbæus (סבאי, as in Tanchuma).

¹⁰ On Notariķon (shorthand) see *J.E.* xi. 339 f., where a reference to *P.R.E.* is made; see Krauss' article in *R.Ē.J.* xlii. p. 29, note 1, and Bacher, *Terminologie*, i. 125.

they¹ wept. Those nations followed the statutes of the Torah, and they served (also) their own gods.²

When Ezra came up³ (with) Zerubbabel, son of Shealtiel, and Jeshua, || son of Jehozadak, they began to build⁴ the Temple of the Lord, as it is said, "Then rose up Zerubbabel, the son of Shealtiel,⁵ and Jeshua, the son of Jozadak, and began to build the house of God" (Ezra v. 2). And the Samaritans came against them to fight (with) 180,000 (men).⁶ Were they Samaritans? Were they not Cutheans?⁷ But they were called Samaritans because of the city of Samaria. And further, they sought to kill Nehemiah, as it is said, "Come, let us⁸ meet together⁹ in one of the villages, . . . but they thought to do me mischief" (Neh. vi. 2). Moreover, they made the work¹⁰ of the Lord to cease¹¹ for two years¹² ["Then *ceased the work of the house of God*, which is at Jerusalem];¹³ and it

¹ The two Rabbis who foresaw the troubles destined to come from the Samaritans. Krauss, *loc. cit.*, suggests that וְכִי־בָכְוּ, "and they wept," should read וְכִי־בָנוּ, "and Samaritan" (writing); see Bacher, in *Monatsschrift*, xl. 19. The Karaites employed Noṭariḳon, which was known to the Samaritans (cf. At. BSh, ש"ב נ"א).

² The first editions add here: "As it is said: 'They feared the Lord, and served their own gods'" (2 Kings xvii. 33).

³ The first editions add: "from Babylon."

⁴ The MS. reads "Bokhim" (weeping); this agrees with Tanchuma and the first editions. It seems probable that the original reading was "Bonim" (building); this reading is preserved in Jalkuṭ, *loc. cit.*

⁵ In the MS. and the first editions the quotation ends here.

⁶ This number as the unit for war is derived from 1 Kings xii. 21; see also 2 Kings xix. 35; and T.B. Synhedrin, 95b.

⁷ The Dositheans flourished in Egypt, so much so that the Christian patriarch of Alexandria engaged in polemics against them. The Samaritans were divided into two sects: (1) that of the Kushan (Cuthim) and (2) that of the Dostan (Dositheans). See also Josephus, *Ant.* ix. 14. 3. The subject has been dealt with by Drusius in Trigland's *Trium scriptorum illustrium de tribus Judæorum sectis syntagma*, i. 283. See also Montgomery, *The Samaritans*, pp. 254 ff.

⁸ *i.e.* Sanballat and Geshem the Arabian; see Neh. iv. 7 ff. and vi. 1 ff.

⁹ The quotation ends here in the MS.; in the first editions "in one of the villages" is added.

¹⁰ *i.e.* the rebuilding of the Temple. The first editions read: "the heavenly work"; for the expression see T.B. Ta'anith, 23a.

¹¹ Lit. "annulled."

¹² The Venice edition reads: "as it is said: 'And it shall be . . . until the year of Jubilee'" (cf. Lev. xxv. 50); so also in the first edition, which omits "as it is said." In our MS. the portion in brackets is not given.

¹³ See Jalkuṭ on Kings, *loc. cit.*, and Tanchuma, Vayesheb, *loc. cit.*, for this reading; see also Gen. Rab. xciv. 9; Seder 'Olam Rab. xxix. p. 67b; T.B. Megillah, 11b.

ceased unto the second year of the reign of Darius, king of Persia" (Ezra iv. 24).

What did Ezra, Zerubbabel son of Shealtiel, and Jeshua son of Jehozadak, do?¹ They gathered all the congregation to the Temple of the Lord, and they brought 300 priests, 300 children,² and 300 scrolls of the Torah in their hands,³ and they blew⁴ (the trumpets), and the Levites sang songs and praises, and they excommunicated the Cutheans with the mystery of the Ineffable Name, and with the script such as was written upon the tables (of the Law), and by the ban of the heavenly Court of Justice, and by the ban of the earthly Court of Justice (decreeing) that no one of Israel should eat the bread of the Cutheans.⁵ Hence (the sages) said: Everyone who eats the bread⁶ of the Cutheans is as though he had eaten of the flesh of swine.⁷ Let no man make a proselyte in Israel from among the Cutheans.⁸ They have no || portion in the resurrection of

¹ See Ezra iv. 3.

² The first editions add "300 trumpets." Shophar is the term here for "trumpet."

³ *i.e.* the children's hands; see Sopherim iii. 18.

⁴ According to Jalkuṭ, *loc. cit.*, the trumpets were in the hands of the priests.

⁵ See T.B. 'Abodah Zarah, 35b and 38a, and Jubilees xxii. 16. The first editions add "for ever."

⁶ The first editions read "the meat."

⁷ See Mishnah Shebi'ith viii. 10; and cf. Tosaphoth Giṭṭin, 10a, and T.B. Chullin, 4a.

⁸ On proselytes see *J.E.* x. pp. 220 ff. and *R.É.J.* xii. p. 318. The form of the ban, and the prohibition of eating the bread of the Samaritans, have been exhaustively considered by Dr. Büchler in *R.É.J.* xliii. pp. 50 ff., where the following results are stated: (1) The form of the ban and its accompanying circumstances—(a) children as witnesses, (b) scrolls of law to sanctify the pronouncement, and (c) sounding of the Shofar—tally with the practice known to the Geonim of Babylon in the ninth century (*e.g.* Paltai; see Chemdah Genuzah, No. xxii., and cf. 'Arukh, s.v. נטו, iii. 229a; see also Hekhaloth Rab., ed. Jellinek, *B.H.M.* iii. p. 84). The prohibition of eating the bread of the Samaritans mentioned by our author does not find any support in the Talmudic literature (see T.J. Shebi'ith vii. 38b, line 69), but is "an institution of the Geonic age" (p. 64). The decree says that Samaritans could not be received as proselytes. Where the texts of the Talmud speak of נטו, "Samaritan," we have probably to read נטרי. There was a sect who were put on this footing by the Gaon Naṭronai (Teshuboth Ha-Geonim, Sha'arē Zedek, p. 24a, Nos. 7 and 27). The Halakhoth Gedoloth (ed. Hildesheimer, 443) states that "Cutheans, Seboneans, and Samaritans are not to be received as proselytes." This again appears in the Tanna de bē Elijahu Zuṭṭa (p. 169). The Karaites in the ninth century mutilated the Bible text, and in their reading agreed with the Samaritans (p. 67). In other words the literature of the Samaritans of the ninth century

the dead,¹ as it is said, "Ye have nothing to do with us² to build an house unto our God" (*ibid.* 3), neither in this world, nor in the world to come. So that they should have neither portion nor inheritance in Israel,³ as it is said, "But ye have no portion, nor right, nor memorial, in Jerusalem"⁴ (Neh. ii. 20).

They sent the ban (letter) to the Israelites who were in Babylon. Moreover, they added an additional ban upon them, and King Cyrus ordained it as a perpetual ban upon them, (as it is said),⁵ "And the God that hath caused his name to dwell there⁶ overthrow all kings and peoples that shall put forth their hand to alter the same, to destroy this house of God which is at Jerusalem. I, Darius, have made a decree; let it be done with all diligence" (Ezra vi. 12).

exercised a baneful influence in creating sects opposed to orthodox Judaism. Hence the ban against them. Moreover, the word for ban (חרם) does not occur in the Talmud (B. Shebu'oth, 35b-36a), but is common in the Geonic period. On the oath or ban see Eth. Enoch vi. 4 ff., where Mount Hermon is mentioned; Dr. Büchler sees here a reference to חרם. Is there any connection, he asks, between Enoch and our book here? That Jubilees was known to the Geonim has been shown by Epstein, מקרמונית היהודים, page vii, and also the fact that many of the characteristics of the Enoch literature have their parallels in the Geonic literature (see *Z.D.M.G.* vii. (1853) p. 249) has been established.

¹ The Dositheans, like the Sadducees, denied the future life. The question as to a future life would not have arisen in the time of Ezra. See Mishnah Synhedrin x. 1 and the Baraitha in T.B. Synhedrin, 90a, where, however, heretics only are referred to, and not Samaritans.

² In the MS. the quotation ends here; it is continued in the first editions.

³ The first editions read "Jerusalem."

⁴ The MS. reads "Israel"; M.T. has "Jerusalem." Is the M.T. purposely altered so as to justify the decree that no one in *Israel* is to receive a Cuthean as a proselyte?

⁵ "As it is said" is wanting in the MS.; it occurs in the first editions.

⁶ In the MS. and the first editions the quotation ends here. Our MS. and the first editions read "tamman" (there), whereas M.T. has "tammah." The meaning is, of course, identical.

CHAPTER XXXIX

JOSEPH IN EGYPT [53B. ii.]

THE fourth descent was (when) He descended into Egypt, (as it is said),¹ "I will go down with thee into Egypt" (Gen xlvi. 4). Jacob heard concerning Joseph that he was living, and he was thinking in his heart, saying: Can I forsake the land of my fathers, the land of my birth, the land of the sojournings of my fathers,² the land where the Shekhinah of the Holy One, blessed be He, is in its midst, and shall I go to an unclean land in their midst,³ for there is no fear of Heaven therein? ⁴ The Holy One, blessed be He, said to him: Jacob, do not fear; "I will go down with thee into Egypt,⁵ and I will also surely bring thee up again" (*ibid.*).

Jacob heard this word, and he took his ⁶ wives,⁷ and his sons, and his daughters, and the daughters of his sons.⁸ Another Scripture says, "With his daughter Dinah"

¹ "As it is said" is omitted by the MS.; it occurs in the first editions and in the Oxford MS. and in MS. Gaster.

² This clause occurs in our MS. only.

³ The Oxford MS. reads: "among slaves, in the midst of the children of Ham, where there is no fear of Heaven among them." The first editions and MS. Gaster read: "among slaves, the children of Ham, in a land where there is no fear of Heaven in their midst."

⁴ Cf. Gen. xx. 11.

⁵ The quotation ends here in the MSS.; it is continued in the first editions.

⁶ Should the reading be: "their wives"? Did any of Jacob's wives go down into Egypt?

⁷ See Gen. Rab. xciv. 6; Pal. Targum on Gen. xlvi. 5; and cf. Jalkuṭ, Gen. § 152.

⁸ The Oxford MS. adds: "And he brought them down to Egypt, as it is said, 'His sons, and his sons' sons with him, *his daughters*'" (Gen. xlvi. 7). The first editions agree with this reading except in the first words; their reading is: "And he made them come, as it is said." In our MS. there is considerable confusion owing to the carelessness of the scribe who has repeated the text Gen. xlvi. 15.

(*ibid.* 15). And all that he had, and he brought them to Egypt, as it is said, "His sons, and his sons' sons || with him," etc. (*ibid.* 7). Another Scripture says, "With his daughter, Dinah" (*ibid.* 15). Whereas another text says, "His daughters" (*ibid.* 7), to teach thee that the daughters of Jacob were the wives of his sons.¹ And all the seed of Jacob² married their sisters and their blood-relations, so that they should not intermarry with the people of the lands, therefore they were called a true seed, as it is said, "Yet I had planted thee a noble vine,³ wholly a true seed" (Jer. ii. 21).

When they came to the border of Egypt,⁴ all the males were enrolled (in genealogical lists to the number of) sixty-six, Joseph with his two sons in Egypt (made the total) sixty-nine.⁵ And it is written, "With seventy persons⁶ thy fathers went down into Egypt" (Deut. x. 22).⁷ What did the Holy One, blessed be He, do? He entered⁸ into the number with them, and the total became seventy, to fulfil that which is said, "I will go down with thee⁹ into Egypt" (Gen. xlvi. 4). When Israel came up from Egypt all the mighty men were enrolled, (amounting to) 600,000, less one. What did the Holy One, blessed be He, do? He entered⁸ into the number with them, and their total amounted to 600,000, to fulfil that which is said, "I will go down with thee into Egypt,¹⁰ and I will also surely bring thee up again" (*ibid.*).

Rabbi Ishmael said: Ten times¹¹ did the sons of Jacob

¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 272; Gen. Rab. lxxxiv. 21.

² Oxford MS. reads: "Hence thou mayest learn that all the seed of Israel," etc.

³ The MS. omits the first part of the quotation, and incorrectly reads "Ke" (for), which should be "Kullô" (wholly). The verse is accurately quoted in the Oxford MS. and in the first editions.

⁴ Oxford MS. reads: "When Jacob came to Egypt."

⁵ The Oxford MS. agrees with our MS.; the first editions read: "seventy less one."

⁶ The first part of the quotation is given by our MS.; the first editions, as well as the Oxford MS., continue the verse.

⁷ See T.B. Baba Bathra, 123a; Gen. Rab. xciv. 9. The seventieth person was Jochebed.

⁸ Luria adds: "If one may say so."

⁹ In the MS. the quotation ends here; it is continued in the first editions.

¹⁰ Our MS. omits the first part of the quotation, which is given in the first editions.

¹¹ It was only five times really, but as Joseph employed an interpreter the expression was repeated. On the age of the Patriarchs see T.B. Berakhoth, 55a; T.B. Soṭah, 13b; and R. Bechai on Ex

say to Joseph, "thy servant, our father." Joseph heard the word, and was silent. Silence gives consent; therefore were ten years deducted from his life.¹ Joseph heard || that his father had come to the border² of Egypt, and he took all the men who had intercourse with him,³ and he went to meet his father. All the people go forth to meet the king, but the king does not go forth to meet any man. But this teaches thee that the father of a man is like his king.

Rabbi Phineas said: The Holy Spirit⁴ rested on Joseph from his youth;⁵ and it led him in all matters of wisdom like a shepherd who leads his flock, as it is said, "Give ear, O Shepherd of Israel,⁶ thou that leadest Joseph like a flock, thou that sittest upon the cherubim" (Ps. lxxx. 1). In all his wisdom a certain woman⁷ enticed⁸ (him), and when he wished to accustom himself to sin,⁹ he saw the image¹⁰ of his father, and repented concerning it.¹¹

Three people conquered their passion¹² before their Creator, and they were Joseph, Boaz, and Paltê, son of Laish. It was fit that twelve tribes should have arisen from Joseph,¹³ as it is said, "And the *seed* of his hands was active"

(beg.), who quotes the Midrash Tadsheh. Test. Joseph ii. 7 refers to the *ten* temptations of Joseph.

¹ Joseph died at the age of a hundred and ten years. The full life of man is a hundred and twenty years.

² *i.e.* Goshen.

³ Luria suggests that the reading should be: "who were with him."

⁴ See Test. Joseph vi. 7: "The God of my fathers and the angel of Abraham be with me," and cf. Wisdom x. 13 f

⁵ The first editions add: "until the day of his death."

⁶ In the MS. the quotation ends here.

⁷ The first editions read: "the wife of Potiphera."

⁸ See T.B. Chullin, 4b, and Siphre, Deut. § 87, on "enticement."

⁹ See T.B. Sabbath, 49b, and T.B. Soṭah, 36b.

¹⁰ אִיקוֹן = אִיקוֹן (εἰκῶν), image, likeness; see T.B. Soṭah, *loc. cit.*; cf. Jubilees xxxix. 6, 7; Gen. Rab. lxxxvii. 7; *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, p. 110; Midrash Samuel v.; Jalkuṭ, Gen. § 146, quoting Midrash Abkhir; see also Schapiro, *op. cit.*, p. 41, and Grünbaum, *op. cit.* pp. 148 ff., and *J.E.* vii. 249.

¹¹ The first editions add: "And he conquered his passion." See Test. Joseph ii. 2 ff.

¹² See T.B. Synhedrin, 19b, and Midrash Haggadol, c. 585. We have a play here on the word "Jezer"—יֵצֶר לְפָנֵי יוֹצֵר; cf. T.B. Berakhoth, 61a.

¹³ This is based on T.B. Soṭah, *loc. cit.* Our MS. has a mutilated text. The first editions add here: "The seed of ten tribes exuded from the tips of his fingers (euphemistic expression for membrum), as it is said: 'And the *seed* of his hands was active' (Gen. xlix. 24), and there remained these two (tribes), Manasseh and Ephraim." The R.V. reads: "The *arms* of his hands." See Coptic Apoc., p. 279.

(Gen. xlix. 24), but there remained two (tribes), Manasseh and Ephraim. The woman brought grave charges against him to vex him, and he was confined in prison¹ for ten years. There he interpreted the dreams of the servants of Pharaoh, (he interpreted for) each one according to his dream just as though the events were taking place before him, as it is said, "And it came to pass, as he interpreted to us, so it was" (*ibid.* xli. 13).

And he interpreted the dream of || Pharaoh when the Holy Spirit rested upon him, as it is said, "And Pharaoh said unto his servants, Can we find such a one as this,² a man in whom the spirit of God is?" (*ibid.* 38).

All the nations came to Joseph to purchase food from Joseph. And Joseph spoke to each people according to their different tongue. And he knew what they were speaking. Therefore his name was called Jehoseph,³ as it is said, "For Joseph understood them, for there was an interpreter between them"⁴ (*ibid.* xlii. 23).

Moreover, when he went into the market-place he saw the people forming themselves into various companies and groups, and each one would speak in his own tongue, and he knew what they were saying,⁵ as it is said, "He appointed it in Joseph for a testimony,⁶ when he went out over the land of Egypt, when I heard the speech of one that I knew not"⁷

¹ See Seder 'Olam Rab. ii. p. 6a, according to which he was in prison twelve years. This agrees with the Book of Jashar xliv. 14 and xlvi. 20; see also Ex. Rab. vii. 1. One year was passed in the service of Potiphar; and as he was thirty years old when he stood before Pharaoh, he had spent thirteen years in Egypt, for he was seventeen years old when he was taken from his brethren. See Jubilees xxxix. 8 for the year in the service of Potiphar, the *eunuch*. After two years the chief baker and butler are thrown into prison with Joseph; and after ten years Pharaoh has his dreams, for "on the day that Joseph stood before Pharaoh he was thirty years old" (*ibid.* xl. 11). See Test. Joseph ii. 7-iii. 1 ff. On Joseph's chastity see Pal. Targum to Gen. xlix. 22, T.B. Soṭah, *loc. cit.*, and Test. Joseph (chs. iii.-vi.).

² The quotation ends here in the MS.; it is continued in the first editions.

³ The first editions read instead Turgoman, (*i.e.*) Dragoman, interpreter—"Milez" of Gen. xlii. 23. On Turgoman see Jastrow, *T.D.* 1657.

⁴ The MS. reads "bethokham" (in their midst). This is not the reading of M.T. The section which now follows is printed in the first editions before the words: "all the nations came."

⁵ We had this phrase in the preceding paragraph.

⁶ In the MS. and the first editions the quotation ends here.

⁷ The legend is based on T.B. Soṭah, *loc. cit.*, which is translated in *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, pp. 103 f.

(Ps. lxxxi. 5). Further, when he was riding in the chariot, and passed through all the borders of the land of Egypt, the Egyptian girls were climbing¹ up the walls for his sake, and they threw to him rings of gold, so that perchance he might look at them, and (they could) see the beauty of his² figure, but nobody's eye degraded³ him, for he was highly esteemed⁴ in the eyes of everyone, as it is said, "Joseph is a *fruitful bough*⁵ . . . his daughters run over the wall" (Gen. xlix. 22).⁶

All the nations came to purchase food. And they brought to Joseph their tribute (and) a present (and money) to purchase (food). And he spoke to each people according to their different tongue; || therefore was his name called Turgeman,⁷ as it is said, "For there was an *interpreter* between them"⁸ (*ibid.* xlii. 23), therefore was he speaking.⁹

Some of them were buying grain on account of the famine in their houses, and they went forth, and others came to buy food; and one asked his fellow as to the price in the market. From their reply they opened the price of the market.¹⁰ When they came to Joseph he said to them: Just as ye have heard, so it is; in order that the market should not be scarce (and prices dear). Hence (the sages) said: He who makes a corner in the market will never see a sign of blessing.¹¹

¹ "Mez'adath"; see Targumim on Gen. xlix. 22, and *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, pp. 122 f., where the parallel version of the legend from the Midrash Haggadol is translated.

² The first editions read: "and see them and the beauty of their figure."

³ The word שופח ("degraded") recalls Cant. i. 6 and Job xxviii. 7.

⁴ Lit. "fruitful and increasing."

⁵ The expression "a *fruitful bough*" is expanded by our author. There is a play upon the word "Porath." The legend is based on T.B. Soṭah, *loc. cit.*, which is translated in *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, pp. 103 f.

⁶ See Pal. Targum on this verse. Here, again, we have a play on the word "Za'adah" ("run"). This word is identified with "Az'adah" (Num. xxxi. 50), "chains," hence the "rings" of our Midrash.

⁷ This entire paragraph is practically a repetition of what has gone before. See notes on previous two paragraphs.

⁸ The MS. quotes the correct reading here, according to M.T.

⁹ The point is in the name *Turgeman*, which means "interpreter," *i.e.* Joseph. The verse Gen. xlii. 23 therefore means: For there was Joseph (an interpreter) between them.

¹⁰ This sentence occurs in our MS. only. It might be rendered: From their reply they revealed the price of the merchandise. Joseph did not wish to make a corner in the market, neither did he wish the price to fall.

¹¹ See T.B. Ta'anith, 10a; T.B. Baba Mezi'a, 60a; T.B. Megillah, 17b. The scarcity in the market would involve a sudden rise in the

Rabbi Tanchum¹ said: Joseph commanded and they built the treasure-houses in each city, and he gathered all the produce of the lands into the treasure-houses. The Egyptians were scoffing at him, saying: Now the worms will eat the stores of Joseph. But no worm had any power over them; neither did the (stores) diminish until the day of his death.² And he supported³ the land in the famine of bread, therefore was his name called Kalkol.⁴ And Kalkol is Joseph, as it is said, "And Joseph nourished"⁵ (*ibid.* xlvii. 12). Moreover, he nourished his father, and his brethren, and all his father's house, in the famine with bread to their satisfaction. "And Joseph nourished his father, and his brethren, and all his father's household, with bread, according to their families" (*ibid.*).⁶ ||

Rabbi Eliezer said: In the hour of the death of Jacob he called to his son Joseph, and said to him: O my son! Swear to me by the covenant of circumcision that thou wilt take me up to the burial-place of my fathers in the land of Canaan to the Cave of Machpelah. The⁷ ancients used to swear by the covenant of circumcision prior to the giving of the Torah, as it is said, "Put, I pray thee, thy hand under my thigh" (*ibid.* 29), and "he sware unto him" (*ibid.* 31). He kept (the oath) and did (accordingly), as it is said, "And he said, Swear unto me" (*ibid.*). And all the mighty men

market prices. See also T.B. Baba Bathra, 90b; Derekh Erez Rabba ii., and Tanna de bē Elijahu Rab. xv. p. 75.

¹ A Palestinian Amora of the third century. His name is mentioned again in Chapter XLIX. p. 392; see Bacher, P. iii. 627 ff., and *J.E.* xii. pp. 42 f.

² See T.B. Baba Mezi'a, 40a. Luria thinks that the word חסו (diminish) should be corrected so as to read טרוו (they became foul), by analogy with the Manna; see Ex. xvi. 20. Perhaps we should retain the reading "diminish" by analogy with the barrel of meal mentioned in 1 Kings xvii. 14 ff. On the question as to whether there was a famine after Jacob's death see Siphre, Deut. § 38, and Nachmanides on Gen. xlvii. 18.

³ In spite of supporting the land, the stores did not diminish.

⁴ See Lev. Rab. ix. 1, Eccles. Rab. to Eccles. vii. 23. "Kalkol" is based on 1 Kings iv. 31. "Kalkol" is referred to Joseph, about whom the text says, "Vayekhalkel," "and Joseph nourished" (Gen. xlvii. 12); see T.B. Synhedrin, 44b. This explanation of our book is also given by Jerome, *Comm. in loc.* (ed. Vall. iii. 850, quoted by Grünbaum, *op. cit.* p. 28).

⁵ See also 1 Chron. ii. 6.

⁶ This paragraph occurs in our MS. only; "as it is said" is omitted before the quotation.

⁷ The first editions read: "Originally the ancients," etc.

of the kingdom went up with him to bury him, and to show loving-kindness to Jacob his father, as it is said, "And Joseph went up to bury his father" (*ibid.* l. 7). The camp of Israel numbered 5040 (people). All the (people of the) land were bringing food on account of the famine to the camp of Joseph.¹ The Holy One, blessed be He, said to them: Ye have shown loving-kindness² to Jacob, My servant, I also will give you your reward, and also unto your children in this world. When the Egyptians died in the Reed Sea they did not die in the water,³ but they were deemed worthy to be buried in the earth. The Holy One, blessed be He, said to them: Ye have submitted yourselves⁴ to the divine punishment; I also will give you a place of burial, as it is said, "Thou stretchedst forth thy right hand, the earth swallowed them" (Ex. xv. 12).⁵

When they came to the Cave of Machpelah, Esau came against them || from Mount Horeb⁶ to stir up strife,⁷ saying: The Cave of Machpelah is mine.⁸ What did Joseph do? He sent Naphtali to subdue the constellations,⁹ and to go down to Egypt to bring up the perpetual deed which was between them,¹⁰ therefore it is said, "Naphtali is a hind let loose" (Gen. xlix. 21). Chushim, the son of Dan, had defective hearing and speech,¹¹ and he said to them: Why are

¹ "All the people, who were taking food home on account of the famine, were in the camp of Joseph." This is the emended reading suggested by Luria. The people of Canaan were there to pay respect to Jacob; see Gen. l. 11; according to Gen. Rab., *in loc.*, and Tanchuma, Vayechi, § xvii., even the kings of Canaan joined in this mark of respect.

² See *supra*, Chapter XVII.

³ See *infra*, p. 332. The first editions read: "they did not remain in the water."

⁴ Pharaoh said: "The Lord is righteous, but I and my people are evil" (Ex. ix. 27); see Mekhilta, Beshallah, Proem, 33b; and cf. T.B. Pesachim, 118a.

⁵ See *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, pp. 169 f., where the passage from the Mekhilta (referred to in the previous note) is translated.

⁶ The first editions read: "Esau came against them from Mount Seir." See also Wisdom x. 12.

⁷ The expression is based on Prov. xxvi. 17.

⁸ See T.B. Soṭah, 13a; this passage is translated in *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, pp. 125 ff.

⁹ "To hasten like a hind." This is Luria's emendation. On Naphtali's fleetness see Gen. xlix. 21, T.B. Soṭah, *loc. cit.*; and cf. Test. Naph. ii. 1.

¹⁰ Jacob and Esau; see *supra*, p. 290. The Prague and Brode's editions read "in their hand" instead of "between them."

¹¹ See the Book of Jashar, ch. lvi., for a parallel account of the legend, which practically agrees with *P.R.E.* According to Charles the legend in the Book of Jashar "has borrowed its materials from the

we sitting here? He was pointing (to Esau) with his finger. They said to him: Because this man will not let us bury our father Jacob. What did he do? He drew his sword and cut off Esau's head with the sword, and took the head into the Cave of Machpelah. And they sent his body to the land of his possession, to Mount Seir.

What did Isaac do? He grasped the head of Esau and prayed before the Holy One, blessed be He, and said: Sovereign of all the universe! Let mercy be shown¹ to this

Midrash in Josippon"; see *Jubilees*, ed. Charles, p. 215, note. Charles refers to Bousset, *Z.f.N.T. Wissensch.*, 1900, p. 205. In this connection the legend of the wars between the sons of Jacob and Esau with his sons in *Jubilees* xxxvii., xxxviii., the Testament of Judah (Test. XII Pat.) ix., and *Jerahmeel*, pp. 80-87, must be considered very briefly. According to Charles, "the oldest form of the legend is found in *Jubilees* and in the Test. Jud. ix.; the next oldest is the *Jalkuṭ* and *Chronicles of Jerahmeel*, and the latest is the Book of *Jashar*" (*Jubilees*, p. 215). The account in the Book of *Jashar* contains two parts: (1) the death of Esau by the hands of Chushim, son of Dan, at the burial of Jacob. This part of the legend is taken directly from our book, which was also the source used by Pal. Targum on Gen. i. 13. The source of our Midrash was T.B. *Soṭah*, *loc. cit.* Then (2) the account of the wars between the sons of Esau and the sons of Jacob which the Book of *Jashar* gives is undoubtedly connected with the account of Zepho, son of Eliphaz, and Æneas of Africa, given in the history of Josippon. Now the *Chronicles of Jerahmeel* agree with the Book of *Jubilees* in making Jacob the slayer of his brother Esau, and they agree in fixing the occasion of the conflict at the mourning for Leah. According to Beer, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, pp. 4 ff., the original form of the legend was that Judah slew Esau at the burial of Isaac. The death of Esau at the hands of Judah is mentioned in T. J. *Kethuboth* i. 5 (p. 25c); T. J. *Giṭṭin* v. 6 (p. 47a); *Siphre*, Deut. § 348; *Shoher Toḇ*, Ps. xviii. 40 (sect. 32); see also *Jalkuṭ*, Gen. § 162; and *Jalkuṭ*, Samuel, § 163. The later form of the legend is preserved in T.B. *Soṭah*, *loc. cit.*, which attributes the death of Esau to Chushim, who was deaf and dumb, at the burial of Jacob. *Jalkuṭ*, Gen. *loc. cit.*, combines both forms of the legend. *Jalkuṭ*, Pss. § 776, agrees with our book in the details of the death of Esau. Beer draws attention to the fact that the Jews of Palestine in the time of Hadrian (c. 135 C.E.) attributed the fierce hatred on the part of the Romans to the belief that Judah, the forefather of the Jews, had slain Esau, the forefather of the Romans, who were identified with the Edomites descended from Esau. In order to remove the "historical" foundation for this hostility, later forms of the legend transferred the deed to an irresponsible person, Chushim, whose descendants, the tribe of Dan, had long since disappeared from the land of Israel, having been carried away into exile, and, as some of the Rabbis taught, lost for all time. *Jubilees* holds to the original legend, owing to the opposition which it represents to the orthodox Rabbinic traditions of Palestine obtaining in the period prior to and following the rise of Christianity. *Pirkê de R. Eliezer* is aware of the teaching of *Jubilees*, and tries to correct and refute it on all fundamental points of controversy. This is sometimes done as strikingly by omission as by a variant doctrine, or story.

¹ The words are borrowed from Isa. xxvi. 10.

wicked one, for he had not learnt all the precepts of the Torah, as it is said, "Let favour be shewed to the wicked,¹ yet will he not learn righteousness" (Isa. xxvi. 10). He was speaking in iniquity concerning the land of Israel and the Cave of Machpelah, as it is said, "In² the land of uprightness will he deal wrongfully" (*ibid.*).

The Holy Spirit answered him, saying: As I live! he shall not see the majesty of God.³

¹ The MS. and the first editions omit the first part of the verse.

² Our MS. reads: "and in the land." This is not the reading in M.T. which is given by MS. Gaster. The reading in the Venice edition is also faulty.

³ The first editions add here: "as it is said, 'And he will not behold the majesty of the Lord'" (Isa. xxvi. 10).

CHAPTER XL

MOSES AT THE BURNING BUSH [55A. ii.]

THE fifth descent¹ was when He came down to the thorn-bush, as it is said, "And I am come down || to deliver them out of the hand of the Egyptians" (Ex. iii. 8). He abandoned the entire mountain,² and descended into the thorn-bush, and He abode therein. And the thorn-bush was (an emblem of) grief and distress,³ and it was⁴ full of thorns and thistles. Why did He abide in the midst of the thorn-bush which was (an emblem of) grief and distress? Because He saw Israel in great grief and He also dwelt with them,⁵ thus fulfilling that which is said, "In all⁶ their affliction He was afflicted" (Isa. lxiii. 9).⁷

Rabbi Levi said: That rod⁸ which was created in the twilight⁹ was delivered to the first man¹⁰ out of the garden of Eden. Adam delivered it to Enoch, and Enoch delivered

¹ See *supra*, p. 97, for the fourth descent. These "descents" are connecting links in the narrative. This accounts for the apparent disorder in the chapters which now follow, for we have the "Revelation" in the thorn-bush and at Sinai before the narrative of the birth of Moses. On the "descent" see Pal. Targum, Ex. iii. 8.

² *i.e.* Sinai.

³ See Tanchuma, Shemoth, § xiv.; Jalkuṭ, Pss. § 843, and Ex. Rab. ii. 5.

⁴ Luria reads: "The thorn bush was (full of) sorrow and distress because it was all thorns and thistles."

⁵ The Venice edition reads: "And He dwelt also with them in the midst of grief."

⁶ See *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, pp. 144 f., note 1 on p. 145.

⁷ Cf. T.B. Ta'anith, 16a.

⁸ See *supra*, p. 14, and cf. p. 124, and the Book of the Bee, pp. 24. 50.

⁹ On the first Sabbath eve in the Creation week, see references given in the previous note.

¹⁰ See the Book of Jashar lxxvii. 39 ff. The Jalkuṭ, Ex. §§ 168, 173, quotes this book as "the Book of the Chronicles of Moses," according to which Adam took the rod from Eden when he was driven forth, at the time when the rod had been made; he tilled the ground therewith. See also *R.É.J.* lxxviii. p. 150.

it to Noah,¹ and Noah [handed it on]² to Shem. Shem passed it on to Abraham, Abraham [transmitted it]² to Isaac, and Isaac [gave it over]² to Jacob,³ and Jacob brought it down into Egypt and passed it on to his son Joseph,⁴ and when Joseph died and they pillaged his household goods, it was placed in the palace of Pharaoh. And Jethro⁵ was one of the magicians of Egypt, and he saw the rod and the letters which were upon it, and he desired in his heart (to have it), and he took it and brought it, and planted it⁶ in the midst of the garden of his house.⁷ No one was able to approach it⁸ any more.

When Moses came to his house he went into the garden of Jethro's house, and saw the rod and read the letters⁹ which were upon it, and he put forth his hand and took it. Jethro watched || Moses, and said: This one in the future will redeem Israel from Egypt. Therefore he gave him Zipporah his daughter to wife, as it is said, "And Moses was content to dwell with the man;¹⁰ and he gave Moses Zipporah, his daughter" (Ex. ii. 21).

¹ Should this be: "Enoch handed it to Methuselah, and Methuselah handed it to Noah"? See *supra*, p. 53.

² The first editions have the words in brackets; the MS. omits same.

³ Jalkuṭ, Ex. § 168, and the Book of Jashar lxxvii. 46 agree that Jacob received it when he fled to Paddan-Aram. He declares: "For with my staff I passed over this Jordan" (Gen. xxxii. 10). See Gen. Rab. lxxvi. 5, and Agadath Bereshith on this verse. The rod divided the Jordan for Jacob and the Reed Sea for Moses and Israel; see Jalkuṭ, Num. § 763. The rod passed on to David and his successors, and will belong to the Messiah.

⁴ See the Book of Jashar, *loc. cit.*; and cf. Ezek. xxxvii. 19: "the stick of Joseph."

⁵ "Reuel" is the reading in Jerahmeel xlvi. 4 and 12; Jalkuṭ, Ex. § 173, reads "Jethro." "Pharaoh" of the printed texts is a mistake; for although he was a magician (cf. Ex. Rab. ix. 6 ff.) he would not take the rod which "he desired in his heart" and plant it in Jethro's garden.

⁶ For full details as to the various legends about the rod, see Grünbaum, *op. cit.* pp. 161 ff. Jalkuṭ, *loc. cit.*, omits the words "and he saw the rod" which occur in *P.R.E.*

⁷ The first editions read: "in the house of Jethro."

⁸ According to the Book of Jashar lxxvii. 49, 51, and the Jalkuṭ, *loc. cit.*, Jethro resolved to give his daughter to the man who was able to remove the rod.

⁹ See Ex. Rab. viii. 3; see also *infra*, p. 329, n. 8, and Pal. Targum, Ex. iii. 21. Cf. the Book of Jashar, *loc. cit.*, which appears to have used *P.R.E.* in the account of the "rod" (ch. lxxvii. 39-51). The letters on the rod were the Ineffable Name of God or the initials of the ten plagues.

¹⁰ In the MS. and the first editions the quotation ends here.

Moses was keeping the sheep of Jethro for forty years,¹ and the beasts of the field did not consume them, but they increased and multiplied exceedingly,² and concerning them the Scripture saith, "As the flock of holy things" (Ezek. xxxvi. 38).³

And he led the flock until he came to Horeb, as it is said, "And he led the flock to the back of the wilderness,⁴ and came to the mountain of God, unto Horeb" (Ex. iii. 1). There the Holy One, blessed be He, was revealed unto him from the midst of the thorn-bush. Moses saw the bush burning with fire, and the fire did not consume the bush, and the bush did not extinguish the flames of fire.⁵ Now the bush does not grow in the earth unless it has water beneath it. Moses saw and was wondering very much in his heart, and he said: What kind of glory⁶ is there in its midst? He said: I will now turn aside and see this great sight, why the thorn-bush is not burnt. The Holy One, blessed be He, said to him: Moses! Stand where thou art standing, for there in the future will I give the Torah to Israel, as it is said, "And he said, Draw not nigh hither;⁷ put off thy shoes from off thy feet,⁸ for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground" (*ibid.* 5). The Holy One, blessed be He, said to him: Go.⁹ Hence (the sages) said: Anyone who enters the Temple¹⁰ must remove || his shoe, for thus spake the Holy One, blessed be He, to Moses: "Put off thy shoes from off thy feet" (*ibid.*).

The Holy One, blessed be He, said to him: "Come and I

¹ See Siphre, Deut. § 357; and Midrash Tannaim, ed. Hoffmann, p. 226.

² See Cant. Rab. iii. 5.

³ Applied to Jethro's flock because Moses led them to graze near the Mount of God. The first editions add the next two words of the quotation.

⁴ In the MS. and the first editions the quotation ends here.

⁵ See Pal. Targum, Ex. iii. 2.

⁶ Or "mystery" of God; see Lev. Rab. xi. 5. The sentence is in Aramaic and is unusual in our book. The translation might be: "whose glory," etc.

⁷ In the MS. the quotation ends here.

⁸ In the first editions the quotation ends here.

⁹ This sentence occurs in our MS. only. The reference should probably be Ex. iii. 16.

¹⁰ See Mishnah Berakhoth ix. 1; T.B. Berakhoth, 62b; T.B. Soṭah, 40a. The Book of Jashar, *loc. cit.*, omits the reference to the removal of the shoes. See Pal. Targum, *in loc.* The first editions read: "Any one who stands in a holy place."

will send thee unto Pharaoh" (*ibid.* 10). He answered before Him : Sovereign of all worlds ! Have I not spoken thus to Thee three or four times, that I have no power, for I have a defective tongue, as it is said, " And Moses said unto the Lord, O Lord, I am not eloquent " (*ibid.* iv. 10). Not only this, but moreover Thou dost send me into the power of my enemy who seeks my hurt.¹ For this reason I fled from him, as it is said, " But Moses fled from the face of Pharaoh " (*ibid.* ii. 15). He answered him : Do not fear him,² for all the men who sought thy life are already dead.

Were they dead ? Were they not alive ? Only they had diminished³ their wealth. Hence thou mayest learn that all who lose their wealth are as though they were dead, therefore it is said, " For all the men are dead who sought thy life " (*ibid.* iv. 19). (God) said to him : " Come and I will send thee unto Pharaoh " (*ibid.* iii. 10). He replied to Him : Sovereign of all worlds ! " Send by the hand of him whom thou wilt send " (*ibid.* iv. 13)—that is to say, by the hand of that man whom Thou wilt send in the future.⁴ He said to him : I have not said, " Come and I will send thee to Israel," but " Come and I will send thee unto Pharaoh " (*ibid.* iii. 10). And as for that man of whom thou sayest that I should send him to Israel in the future that is to come, so it is said, || " Behold, I will send you Elijah the prophet⁵ before the great and terrible day of the Lord come "(Mal. iv. 5). " And he shall turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to their fathers " (*ibid.* 6).

(Moses) spake before Him : Sovereign of all worlds ! Give me a wonder or a sign.⁶ He said to him : Cast thy staff to the ground. He cast his staff to the ground, and it became

¹ The first editions read : " enemies, and of them who seek my hurt. Was it not for this reason that I fled from them ? "

² The first editions read : " them."

³ Lit. " They had descended from their wealth " ; see T.B. Nedarim, 64b and 65a.

⁴ Elijah ; or, perhaps, the reference is to Phineas the son of Aaron, who is identified by our author with Elijah ; see *infra*, p. 371, and Pal. Targum, *in loc.* : " By the hand of Phineas." On Elijah see T.B. 'Erubin, 43b.

⁵ In the MS. the quotation ends here and then follows the next verse, of which the first three words in the Hebrew are quoted. The first editions do not have the second quotation, but continue the first verse.

⁶ See Ex. Rab. iii. 12, and Siphre, Deut. § 83. Moses wished to have a sign in heaven and a wonder on earth.

a fiery serpent. Why did the Holy One, blessed be He, show unto Moses (a sign) with a fiery serpent,¹ and why did He not show it to him with something else? But just as the serpent bites and kills the sons of man, likewise Pharaoh and his people bit and slew the Israelites. Afterwards it became again like a dry stick. Thus He spake: Likewise Pharaoh and his people shall become like this dry stick,² as it is said, "And the Lord said unto Moses: Put forth thine hand,³ and take it by the tail" (Ex. iv. 4). He spake before Him: Sovereign of all worlds! Give me a wonder. He said to him: "Put now thine hand into thy bosom" (*ibid.* 6). And he put his hand into his bosom, and he brought it out leprous like snow. Why did the Holy One, blessed be He, show unto Moses (a sign) by means of an unclean thing, and (why) did He not show it by means of a clean thing? But just as the leper is unclean and causes uncleanliness, likewise Pharaoh and his people were unclean, and they caused Israel to be unclean.⁴ Afterwards (Moses) became clean again,⁵ and He spake to him: Likewise shall Israel become clean from the uncleanliness of the Egyptians, as it is said, "And he said, Put now thine hand into thy bosom" (*ibid.*).

Why did He show unto Moses the fire in the midst of the thorn-bush? || But the fire refers to Israel, who are compared to fire,⁶ as it is said, "And the house of Jacob shall be a fire" (Obad. 18). The thorn-bush refers to the nations of the world,⁷ who are compared to thorns and thistles. He said to him: Likewise shall Israel be in the midst of the nations. The fire of Israel shall not consume the nations, who are compared to thorns and thistles; but the nations of the world shall extinguish the flames of Israel—(these flames) are the words of the Torah. But in the future that is to come the fire of Israel will consume all the nations, who are

¹ The first editions read: "like a fiery serpent by (means of) the rod and (why) did He not show him something else?"

² The preceding part of this sentence occurs in the MS. only.

³ In the MS. the quotation ends here, in the first editions it is continued.

⁴ See *infra*, p. 382.

⁵ Luria adds: "as it is said: 'And He said, Restore thy hand.'" Cf. Ex. Rab. iii. 13. The MS. repeats the quotation (Ex. iv. 6).

⁶ Because the Shekhinah abides among them, and because they possess the Torah, the "Law of fire." Cf. Mekhilta de R. Simeon, p. 1 ff.

⁷ The Amsterdam and Prague editions read: "the idolaters"; later editions read "the wicked,"

compared to thorns and thistles,¹ as it is said, "And the peoples shall be as the burnings of lime" (Isa. xxxiii. 12).

Moses said before the Holy One, blessed be He: Sovereign of all worlds! Make known to me Thy great and holy Name, that I may call on Thee by Thy Name,² and Thou wilt answer me, as it is said, "And God said unto Moses, I am that I am" (Ex. iii. 14). "And God further said³ (to Moses)" (*ibid.* 15).

The angels saw that the Holy One, blessed be He, had transmitted the secret of the Ineffable Name⁴ to Moses, and they rejoined: Blessed art thou, O Lord, who graciously bestoweth knowledge.⁵

¹ See the rest of the verse quoted from Isaiah.

² Cf. *supra*, pp. 129, 264. See Shocher Tob on Ps. xcii. 1, p. 198b, and 8, p. 200b; cf. Isa. lii. 6. The first editions add: "And He made it known to him."

³ The MS. ends the quotation here. The first editions continue the next two words in the Hebrew text. The verse continues: "Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, The Lord, the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, hath sent me unto you: this is my name for ever, and this is my memorial unto all generations."

⁴ See Othijoth de R. 'Aqiba, letters י, ה, כ; *B.H.M.* iii. pp. 12 ff.; and cf. Grünbaum, *Z.D.M.G.* xl. p. 245. The rod with the Ineffable Name was transmitted by Moses to his successor Joshua, who conquered the Canaanites by its aid.

⁵ This is the fourth benediction of the Shemoneh 'Esreh; see Singer, p. 46. Our Midrash attempts to associate Moses with its origin, see *supra*, p. 267.

CHAPTER XLI

THE REVELATION ON SINAI [56B. i.]

THE sixth descent¹ was when He came down on Sinai, as it is said, "And the Lord came down upon Mount Sinai" (Ex. xix. 20). On the sixth of Sivan² the Holy One, blessed be He, was revealed unto Israel³ on Sinai,⁴ and from His place was He revealed (on) Mount Sinai,⁵ and the heavens were opened, || and the summit of the mountain entered into the heavens. Thick darkness covered the mountain, and the Holy One, blessed be He, sat upon His throne, and His feet stood on the thick darkness, as it is said, "He bowed the heavens also, and came down; ⁶ and thick darkness was under his feet" (2 Sam. xxii. 10).⁷

Rabbi Tarphon said: The Holy One, blessed be He, rose and came from Mount Sinai⁸ and was revealed unto the sons of Esau, as it is said, "And he said, The Lord came from Sinai, and rose ⁶ from Seir unto them" (Deut. xxxiii. 2). And "Seir" means only the sons of Esau, as it is said, "And Esau dwelt in Mount Seir" (Gen. xxxvi. 8). The Holy One, blessed be He, said to them: Will ye accept

¹ See *supra*, pp. 97, 312.

² See *infra*, p. 359. Jubilees fixes the 15th of Sivan as the Festival of the Giving of the Law (see i. 1) and as the Feast of Weeks (vi. 17, 18); see Charles' notes on pp. 52, 106. *P.R.E.* in following Rabbinic tradition opposes this here.

³ According to the *Mekhilta*, p. 63b, Moses received the Divine Revelation on the 6th of Sivan.

⁴ The first editions read: "Mount Sinai."

⁵ The first editions read: "and Mount Sinai was torn from its place." See T.B. Sabbath, 88a; Jalkuṭ, Ex. § 284; Pal. Targum, Ex. xix. 1; and *Mekhilta*, p. 65a.

⁶ The quotation ends here in the MS.; in the first editions it is continued.

⁷ See T.B. Sukkah, 5a, and T.B. Joma, 4a, on the Revelation on Mount Sinai.

⁸ The first editions read: "rose from Mount Seir."

for yourselves the Torah? They said to Him: What is written therein? He answered them: It is written therein, "Thou shalt do no murder" (Ex. xx. 13). They replied to Him: We are unable to abandon the blessing with which Isaac blessed Esau, for he said to him, "By thy sword shalt thou live" (Gen. xxvii. 40). Thence He turned and was revealed unto the children of Ishmael, as it is said, "He shined forth from Mount Paran" (Deut. xxxiii. 2). "Paran"¹ means only the sons of Ishmael, as it is said, "And he dwelt in the wilderness of Paran" (Gen. xxi. 21). The Holy One, blessed be He, said to them: Will ye accept for yourselves the Torah? They said to Him: What is written therein? He answered them: "Thou shalt not steal" (Ex. xx. 15) is written therein. They said to Him: We are not able to abandon the usage which our fathers observed, for they² brought Joseph down into Egypt, as it is said, "For indeed I was stolen away³ out of the land of the Hebrews" (Gen. xl. 15).⁴ Thence⁵ He sent || messengers to all the nations of the world. He said unto them: Will ye receive for yourselves the Torah? They said to Him: What is written therein? He said to them: "Thou shalt have no other gods before me" (Ex. xx. 3). They said to Him: ⁶ We have no delight in the Torah, therefore let Him give His Torah to His people, as it is said, "The Lord will give strength⁷ unto his people; the Lord will bless⁸ his people with peace" (Ps. xxix. 11).⁹ Thence He returned and was revealed unto the children of Israel, as it is said, "And he came from the ten thousands of holy ones" (Deut.

¹ Paran was the abode of Ishmael, Gen. xxi. 21.

² The first editions read: "for they stole Joseph and brought him down," etc.

³ The quotation ends here in the MS.; in the first editions it is continued.

⁴ Joseph's statement that he was stolen out of the land of the Hebrews refers to the transaction between his brethren and the Ishmaelites as recounted in Gen. xxxvii. 28. On this section see *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, pp. 193 ff.

⁵ The MS. reads: "And Moses." This is due to an error on the part of the copyist, "Umosheh" standing for "Umesham."

⁶ The first editions add: "We are unable to abandon the law of our fathers who served idols."

⁷ Strength (Ôz) is identified by the Midrash with the Torah.

⁸ The quotation ends here in the MS.; it is continued in the first editions.

⁹ See T.B. Zebachim, 116a.

xxxiii. 2). The expression "ten thousands" means the children of Israel, as it is said, "And when it rested, he said,¹ *Return, O Lord, unto the ten thousands* of the thousands of Israel" (Num. x. 36). With Him were thousands twice-told of chariots, even twenty thousand² of holy angels,³ and His right hand was holding the Torah, as it is said, "At his right hand was a fiery law unto them" (Deut. xxxiii. 2).

Hence thou mayest learn that the words of the Torah are like coals of fire.⁴ Why was it "at his right hand"? Whence do we know (that it was given to them) with expression of love? Because it is said, "The Lord hath sworn by his right hand,⁵ and by the arm of his strength" (Isa. lxii. 8).⁶

Rabbi Eliezer said: From the day when the Israelites went forth from Egypt, they were journeying and encamping in smoothness,⁷ they were journeying in smoothness and

¹ The quotation ends here in the MS.; it is continued in the first editions.

² Cf. Ps. lxxviii. 17: "The chariots of God are twenty thousand, even thousands upon thousands: the Lord is among them, as in Sinai, in the sanctuary."

³ Jubilees i. 27 teaches that the "law was given through the ministry of angels." According to Dr. Charles (*Jubilees*, p. 8, note 27) the text in Jubilees i. 27 "forms apparently the earliest testimony" to this idea. In the N.T. we have it also; see Gal. iii. 19, Acts vii. 53, and Heb. ii. 2. The idea is not Palestinian, but seems to be Alexandrian. This is perhaps an indication pointing to Alexandria as the home of Jubilees, just as Hebrews, Acts, and Paul's teaching are all representative of Alexandrine teaching. Our Midrash combats the notion that the Torah was given to Israel by the angels: God Himself gives His law to His people.

⁴ Cf. Aboth ii. 10: "for all the words of the Sages are like coals of fire." The first editions add here: "And He gave it to them with an expression of love, as it is said: 'His left hand is under my head' (Cant. ii. 6), and with an expression of an oath, as it is said: 'The Lord hath sworn,'" etc. The quotation from Cant. ii. 6 continues: "and his *right hand* doth embrace me."

⁵ The quotation ends here in our MS.

⁶ The first editions add: "'His right hand'¹ is nought else save an oath, as it is said, 'The Lord hath sworn by his right hand'"² (Isa. lxii. 8).

⁷ Of tongue. Luria thinks that the text should read "Machalôketh," "strife." This is also the reading in the Mekhilta, p. 62a, Lev. Rab. ix. 9, and Lam. Rab. Proem. The next words, up to "as it is said," occur in the MS. only.

¹ The "right hand" is the word used in the two texts to justify the analogy and the inference drawn by our Midrash. In Deut. xxxiii. 2 the "right hand" occurs in connection with the giving of the Law. See *infra*, p. 335.

² Here "right hand" occurs in connection with swearing.

they were encamping in smoothness, as it is said, "And they journeyed (from Rephidim, and they came to the wilderness of Sinai),¹ and they encamped in the wilderness" (Ex. xix. 2); until they all came to Mount Sinai, and they all encamped opposite the mountain, like one man with one heart, as it is said, "And there Israel encamped² before the mount" (*ibid.*). The Holy One, blessed be He, spake to them: Will ye receive for yourselves || the Torah? Whilst the Torah had not yet been heard they said to Him: We will keep and observe all the precepts which are in the Torah, as it is said, "And they said, All that the Lord hath spoken will we do, and be obedient"³ (*ibid.* xxiv. 7).

Rabbi Elazar of Modein said: From the day when the heavens and the earth were created, the name of the mountain was Horeb.⁴ When the Holy One, blessed be He, was revealed unto Moses out of the thorn-bush, because of the word for the thorn-bush (*S'neh*) it was called Sinai (*Sinai*), and that is Horeb. And whence do we know that Israel accepted the Torah at Mount Horeb? Because it is said, "The day that thou stoodest before the Lord thy God in Horeb" (Deut. iv. 10).⁵

Rabbi Phineas said: On the eve of Sabbath⁶ the Israelites stood at Mount Sinai, arranged with the men apart and the women apart.⁷ The Holy One, blessed be He, said to Moses: Go, speak to the daughters of Israel, (asking them) whether they wish to receive the Torah. Why were the women asked (first)? Because the way of men is to follow the opinion of women,⁸ as it is said, "Thus shalt thou say to the house of Jacob" (Ex. xix. 3); these are the women. "And tell the children of Israel" (*ibid.*); these are the men. They all replied (as) with one mouth, and they said: "All that

¹ The MS. and the first editions read: "they journeyed and they encamped."

² The verb here is in the singular number; the Israelites were united as though they were a single man, see Pal. Targum, Ex. xix. 2.

³ The first editions quote Ex. xxiv. 3.

⁴ See Ex. iii. 1 and xxxiii. 6; cf. 1 Kings viii. 9.

⁵ This is followed by the words: "And he drew near and stood at the foot of the mountain"; and there the Torah was given.

⁶ See *intra*, p. 359.

⁷ See T.B. Sukkah, 52a. The separation of the sexes was observed in the ark of Noah according to Jewish and Christian legend (see *supra*, p. 169), and it is observed to this day in some of the churches as well as in the synagogue.

⁸ See Ex. Rab. xxviii. 2; T.B. Sabbath, 87a, and Mekhilta, p. 62b.

the Lord hath spoken we will do, and be obedient" (*ibid.* xxiv. 7). (The Scripture also says,) "They that sing¹ as well as they that dance² (shall say), All my fountains are in thee" (Ps. lxxxvii. 7).³

Rabbi Chanina⁴ said: || In the third month the day is double the night,⁵ and the Israelites slept until two hours of the day, for sleep on the day of the (feast of) 'Azereth⁶ is pleasant,⁷ the night being short. And Moses went forth and came to the camp of the Israelites, and he aroused the Israelites from their sleep, saying to them: Arise ye from your sleep,⁸ for behold, your God desires to give the Torah to you. Already the bridegroom wishes to lead the bride and to enter the bridal chamber. The hour has come for giving you the Torah,⁹ as it is said, "And Moses brought forth the people¹⁰ out of the camp to meet God" (Ex. xix. 17). And the Holy One, blessed be He, also went forth to meet them; like a bridegroom who goes forth to meet the bride, so the Holy One, blessed be He, went forth to meet them to give them¹¹ the Torah, as it is said, "O God, when thou wentest forth before thy people" (Ps. lxviii. 7).

Rabbi Joshua ben Korchah said: The feet of Moses stood on the mount,¹² and all (his body) was in the midst of the

¹ *i.e.* the men.

² *i.e.* the women.

³ See Shocheh Tob. *in loc.*, p. 190b, and Cant. Rab. to Cant. i. 12.

⁴ The first editions read "Chakhinai."

⁵ This is one of the most interesting expressions in the whole of our book. The longest day is twice as long as the shortest in latitude 49° in Northern Asia; see Eth. Enoch lxxii. 14, and see Charles' note on p. 153 of the second edition of this book. Can we locate the place where this fact applies in connection with *P.R.E.*? Or is it merely a further instance of the dependence of *P.R.E.* upon the Pseudepigrapha?

⁶ Pentecost. Jubilees uses the term for the day following the seven days of Tabernacles; see Jubilees xxxii. 27, with Charles' note *in loc.*

⁷ The reading "pleasant" agrees with the reading in Cant. Rab., *loc. cit.*: "sleep at 'Azereth is pleasant and the night is long"; see T.B. Sabbath, 147a, and cf. Tosephta 'Arakhin i. 9, p. 543. Luria reads: "for the period of the days at 'Azereth is long and the night is short."

⁸ The first editions omit the rest of the sentence.

⁹ The first editions add here: "The best man¹ came and led forth the bride just like a man who acts as best man to his companion."

¹⁰ In the MS. the quotation ends here; it is continued in the first editions.

¹¹ The Amsterdam edition omits "them."

¹² Sinai.

¹ שושבין (best man).! "In Judea they used to put up two groomsmen (as guards); one appointed by the family of the groom, and one by the bride's family" (Tosephta Kethuboth i. 4).

heaven, like a tent¹ which is spread out, and the children of men stand² inside it, but their feet stand on the earth,³ and all of them are inside the tent; so was it with Moses, his feet stood on the mountain, and all his (body) was in the heavens, beholding and seeing everything that is in the heavens. The Holy One, blessed be He, was speaking with him like a man who || is conversing with his companion, as it is said, "And the Lord spake unto Moses face⁴ to face" (Ex. xxxiii. 11).⁵ The Holy One, blessed be He, said to Moses: Go and sanctify the Israelites for two days, as it is said, "And the Lord said unto Moses,⁶ Go unto the people, and sanctify them to-day and to-morrow" (*ibid.* xix. 10). What then was the sanctity of Israel in the wilderness? There were no uncircumcised people⁷ in their midst; the manna descended from heaven for them; they drank water out of the Well;⁸ clouds of glory surrounded them. What then was the sanctity of Israel in the wilderness? It refers to their avoidance of sexual intercourse.

Moses argued with himself. Moses said: A man of Israel may have gone to his wife, and they will be found to be prevented from receiving the Torah.⁹ What did he do? He added one day (more) for them on his own account, so that if a man of Israel went to his wife¹⁰ they would be found to be clean for two (complete) days; therefore he added one day for them on his own account.

The Holy One, blessed be He, said to him: Moses! How many souls of the children of men would have come

¹ Our MS. reads "Denda." The first editions read "Tendos." Jastrow, T.D. 541a, suggests that the reading should be "Torus" (bolster or sofa). The word in our printed editions is taken by the 'Arukh, ed. Kohut, iv. p. 47b, to be the late Latin *tenta*; Greek *τέντα*. The word occurs in Pal. Targum, Lev. xxv. 31. See *supra*, p. 16, note 6.

² 'Arukh, *loc. cit.*, reads "stand"; the first editions read "sit."

³ 'Arukh, *loc. cit.*, reads "stand outside."

⁴ In the MS. the quotation ends here; it is continued in the first editions.

⁵ "Face to face" means that the Divine word was as a man's speech as far as Moses was concerned.

⁶ This part of the verse is omitted by our MS.; it occurs in the first editions.

⁷ Luria reads: "people with uncircumcised hearts."

⁸ On the Well see *supra*, pp. 124 and 218.

⁹ See *The Clementine Homilies*, xi. 30.

¹⁰ On the eve preceding the day before the two days of prohibition; see T.B. Sabbath, *loc. cit.*; T.B. Jebamoth, 62a; and Aboth de R. Nathan (a) ii. p. 5a.

forth from Israel in that night? What thou hast done has been (rightly) accomplished.¹ The Holy One, blessed be He, approved his action.²

(The Holy One, blessed be He, said :³) Let Moses descend to the camp, and afterwards will I cause My Torah to be proclaimed.⁴ He said to him : " Go down, charge the people " (*ibid.* 21). Moses was wishing to be || there,⁵ and he said to Him : I have already charged the people. He said to him : Go, and call thy Rabbi.⁶ Moses descended to the camp to call Aaron, and the Holy One, blessed be He, proclaimed His Torah unto His people, as it is said,⁷ " So Moses went down unto the people,⁸ and told them " (*ibid.* 25). What is written after this? " And God spake all these words, saying, I, the Lord, am (to be) thy God,⁸ who brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage " (*ibid.* xx. 1, 2).

The voice of the first (commandment) went forth,⁹ and the heavens and earth quaked thereat,¹⁰ and the waters and rivers fled,¹¹ and the mountains and hills were moved,¹² and

¹ The first editions read : " Thou hast done well."

² The first editions add here : " as it is said, ' And let them be ready against the third day ' " (Ex. xix. 11). See Mekhilta, p. 64a; Tanna de bê Elijahu Rab. xviii. p. 101; and cf. Jalkuṭ, Ex. § 282. Luria reads in place of " as it is said," etc., " Be ready for three days and do not touch any man his wife."

³ The words in brackets are found in the first editions and are needed. They are wanting in our MS.

⁴ The first editions add here : " to Israel, so that one should not say : Moses was speaking to us out of the midst of the cloud."

⁵ See T.B. Joma, 4b; Lev. Rab. i. 1; T.B. Berakhoth, 45a; and Mekhilta, p. 66a.

⁶ Or " teacher." The first editions read : " Call Aaron."

⁷ The first editions add : " And the Lord said to him, Go, get thee down " (Ex. xix. 24).

⁸ In the MS. the quotation ends here; in the first editions it is continued.

⁹ See Pal. Targum on Ex. xx. 2.

¹⁰ Cf. Judg. v. 4.

¹¹ Luria reads " dried up " (cf. Nahum i. 4, and see Ex. Rab. xxix. 3) instead of " fled."

¹² See Hab. iii. 6 and Nahum i. 5. These prophets recall the revelation at Sinai, believing firmly in this fundamental fact of the history of Israel. They would have smiled at some of the latest theories of the Higher Critics, who propose to date the Pentateuch as a production of the times of Hezekiah. They would have ridiculed the notion that some late writer had " invented " the Sinaitic theophany in order to account for the Decalogue, which he held to be divinely inspired. One is tempted to ask, Why is not Lev. xix. also set in a theophanic background?

all the trees fell prostrate,¹ and the dead who were in Sheol revived, and stood on their feet till the end of all the generations,² as it is said, "But with him that standeth here with us this day" (Deut. xxix. 15),³ and those (also) who in the future will be created, until the end of all the generations, there they stood with them at Mount Sinai, as it is said, "And also with him that is *not* here⁴ with us this day" (*ibid.*).⁵ The Israelites who were alive (then) fell upon their faces and died.

The voice of the second (commandment) went forth, and they were quickened,⁶ and they stood upon their feet and said to Moses: Moses, our teacher! We are unable to hear any more the voice of the Holy One, blessed be He, for we shall die even as we died (just now), as it is said,⁷ "And they said unto Moses, Speak thou with us,⁴ and we will hear: but let not God speak with us, *lest we die*" (Ex. xx. 19). And now, why should we die as we died (just now)? The Holy One, blessed be He, heard the voice of Israel, and it was pleasing to Him, and He sent for Michael || and Gabriel, and they took hold of the two hands of Moses against his will,⁸ and they brought him near unto the thick darkness, as it is said, "And Moses drew near unto the thick darkness where God was" (*ibid.* 21).

It is only written here (in the text concerning) Moses (that) "he drew near."⁹ The rest of the commandments He spake through the mouth of Moses,¹⁰ and concerning him the text

¹ Cf. Ps. xxix. 5: "The voice of the Lord breaketh the cedars." This Psalm is interpreted by the Midrash as referring to the Giving of the Law. Luria thinks that we should read "hinds" in *P.R.E.* instead of "trees"; cf. Job xxxix. 1.

² The words "till the end of all generations" do not occur in all the texts.

³ See the rest of the verse.

⁴ The quotation ends here in the MS.; in the first editions it is continued.

⁵ See Ex. Rab. xxviii. 8, and cf. Tanchuma Nizabim, § ii.

⁶ See Ex. Rab. xxix. 4, and *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, pp. 196 ff.

⁷ The first editions add here: "'My soul went forth when he spake' (Cant. v. 6), and it is written: '."

⁸ Cf. T.B. Joma, *loc. cit.*

⁹ According to Luria, the Midrashic text is to be explained thus: "He drew near" is not written here, but "He was drawn near." The first editions seem to have the correct reading: "'was approaching' is not written, but 'he approached.'"

¹⁰ See Mekhilta, p. 71b, as to whether the children of Israel heard the first two Commandments of the Decalogue, or more. Cf. Cant. Rab. on Cant. i. 2.

says, "As the cold of snow in the time of harvest,¹ so is a faithful messenger to them that send him" (Prov. xxv. 13).

And it came to pass, "When ye hear the sound of the trumpet"² (2 Sam. xv. 10). Why did the Holy One, blessed be He, cause His voice to be heard out of the midst of the³ darkness, and not out of the midst of the light? A parable: to what is the matter to be likened? To a king⁴ who was having his son married to a woman, and he suspended in the wedding chamber of his son black curtains,⁵ and not white curtains.⁶ He said to them: I know that my son will not remain with his wife except for forty days; so that on the morrow they should not say the king was an astrologer, but he did not know what would happen to his son. So with the King, who is the Holy One, blessed be He, and His son is Israel, and the bride is the Torah.⁷ The Holy One, blessed be He, knew that Israel would not remain (loyal) to the commandments except for forty days, therefore the Holy One, blessed be He, caused them to hear His voice out of the midst of⁸ darkness, and not out of the midst of light, therefore it is said, "And it came to pass, when ye heard the voice" (Deut. v. 23).

Rabbi Jehudah said: When a man speaks with his companion, he || hears the sound of his voice, but he does not see any light with it;⁹ the Israelites heard the voice of the Holy

¹ The quotation ends here in our MS.; it is continued in the first editions.

² The first editions read: "And it came to pass, when ye heard the voice out of the midst of the darkness" (Deut. v. 23).

³ The first editions read here: "fire and darkness."

⁴ The first editions add: "who was an astrologer." See Tosephta 'Arakhin i. 10, p. 543. Cf. Ziegler's *Die Königsgleichnisse des Midrasch*, p. 353. See also Jalkuṭ, Deut. § 831. אסטרוֹלוֹגוֹס, ἀστρολόγος, astronomer or astrologer. The reading, as emended by Luria, is based on the Jalkuṭ, *loc. cit.* Ziegler's remarks on p. 352 (*op. cit.*) on astrology and marriage are interesting.

⁵ See 'Arukh, ed. Kohut, vii. p. 427a, s.v. פרייח.

⁶ The first editions add here: "The officials of the palace said to him: Our lord, O king! Nobody suspends in his son's wedding chamber anything except white curtains."

⁷ Our book is noteworthy here in referring to God as the "Father" of Israel assisting at the wedding of *His Son* "Israel" and the bride "the Torah." The usual poetry of the Midrashim is to unite God with Israel, His bride.

⁸ The first editions read here: "fire and darkness."

⁹ Our text agrees with Jalkuṭ, Ex. § 299. The first editions read: "When a man speaks with his companion he is visible, but his voice is invisible."

One, blessed be He, on Mount Sinai, and saw ¹ the voice ² going forth from the mouth of the Almighty ³ in the lightning and the thunder,⁴ as it is said, "And all the people saw the thunderings and the lightnings" (Ex. xx. 18). All the precepts which are in the Torah ⁵ number 611, and two, which the Holy One, blessed be He, spake,⁶ as it is said, "God has spoken once,⁷ *two* have I heard thus" (Ps. lxii. 11).⁸

Rabbi Phineas said: All that generation who heard the voice of the Holy One, blessed be He, on Mount Sinai, were worthy to be like the ministering angels,⁹ so that insects had no power over them.¹⁰ They did not experience pollution in their lifetime, and at their death neither worm nor insect prevailed over them. Happy were they in this world and happy will they be in the world to come,¹¹ and concerning them the Scripture says, "Happy is the people, that is in such a case" (*ibid.* cxliv. 15).

¹ See Ex. xx. 18.

² Our MS. reads Hakkol, "everything"; it should be Haḳḳol, "the voice."

³ On "Gebburah" see *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, p. 177.

⁴ But otherwise they saw nothing.

⁵ The first editions add here: "Therefore is this code called Torah.¹ And whence do you know (this)? Because Torah has the value of 611 and the two (precepts) which the Lord spake."

⁶ The first editions read: "number 613 precepts, and two, which the Holy One, blessed be He, spake."

⁷ The quotation ends here in the MS. The first editions read: "He has spoken once, *two* have we heard." This is a mutilated form of the quotation Ps. lxii. 11, and clearly proves that the Venice edition copied the first edition (the Constantinople text). After the quotation the first editions add "behold 613."

⁸ See Num. Rab. xi. 7; Jalḳuṭ, *in loc.*, Pss. § 783. According to the Midrash the Decalogue was proclaimed in one utterance; see also Mekhilta, 41b, and cf. Ex. Rab. xxviii. 4.

⁹ Cf. Ps. lxxxii. 6. According to the Book of Jubilees ii. 17-21, Israel is like the "angels of the presence and the angels of sanctification," chosen to observe the Sabbath with God "in heaven and on earth."

¹⁰ See T.B. Baba Bathra, 15a; and cf. Ezek. xxxiv. 25 and Prov. i. 33; these two verses are applied by the Midrash to the generation of those who received the Torah in the wilderness.

¹¹ See T.B. Synhedrin, 90a ff., for discussion on the "future life."

¹ תורה = 400 plus 6 plus 200 plus 5, *i.e.* 611. This Torah was given to Israel by Moses, and indicates the 611 precepts contained therein. There are two more, namely, the first two Commandments of the Decalogue given by God. This brings up the total to 613. The Torah is called the "Law of Moses" by Mal. iv. 4, and the name Torah is suggested by the word formed by the letters representing this number of 611, namely Taria (תרי"א); see Jalḳuṭ Makhiri, Ps. lxii. p. 157a.

CHAPTER XLII

THE EXODUS [58B. i.]

“AND it came to pass, when Pharaoh had let the people go” (Ex. xiii. 17). This is what the Scripture says, “Thy shoots¹ are a garden of pomegranates” (Cant. iv. 13). Just as this garden is full of (various) kinds of trees, each one bearing² according to its kind, so the Israelites, when they went forth from Egypt, were full of all good, (endowed with) the various kinds of blessings, as it is said, “Thy shoots are (like) a garden of pomegranates” (*ibid.*).

Rabban Gamaliel said: The Egyptians pursued after the children of Israel as far as the Reed Sea, and encamped behind them. The enemy was behind them³ and the sea || was in front of them. And the Israelites saw the Egyptians, and feared very greatly, and there they cast away from themselves all the Egyptian abominations,⁴ and they repented very sincerely, and called upon their God, as it is said, “And when Pharaoh drew nigh, the children of Israel lifted⁵ up their eyes” (Ex. xiv. 10). Moses beheld the anguish of Israel, and arose to pray on their behalf.⁶ The Holy One, blessed be He, said to him: “Speak unto the children of Israel, that they go forward” (*ibid.* 15).

¹ “Thy shoots” is to be interpreted as though it implied “thy coming forth.” In the Midrash here the word שלחך is also taken to mean, “those of thee who went forth.”

² The first editions add “fruit.”

³ *i.e.* Israel. The first editions read instead of this sentence: “The Israelites were between the Egyptians and the sea, which was in front of them, whilst the enemy was behind them.”

⁴ See Ezek. xx. 7; Siphre, Num. § 84; T. J. Sukkah iv. 3. 54c; Ex. Rab. xxiv. 1; Mekhilta, Bô, 5a and 15a. The authority for the tradition is R. Eliezer ben Hakkapar (*c.* 200 C.E.). See also T. B. Synhedrin, 103b, as to whether the Israelites took any idols with them across the Reed Sea.

⁵ MS. Gaster reads: “cried unto the Lord.”

⁶ See Ex. Rab. xxi. 1.

Moses spake before the Holy One, blessed be He, saying : Sovereign of all worlds ! The enemy is behind them, and the sea is in front of them, which way shall they go forward ? What did the Holy One, blessed be He, do ? He sent ¹ Michael, ² and he became a wall of fire ³ between (Israel and ⁴) the Egyptians. The Egyptians desired ⁵ to follow after Israel, but they are unable to come (near) because of the fire. The angels beheld the misfortune of Israel all the night, and they uttered neither praise nor sanctification ⁶ to their Creator, ⁷ as it is said, "And the one came not near the other all the night" (*ibid.* 20).

The Holy One, blessed be He, said to Moses : Moses ! "Stretch out thine hand over the sea, and divide it" (*ibid.* 16). "And Moses stretched out his hand over the sea" (*ibid.* 21), but the sea refused to be divided.⁸ What did

¹ See Pal. Targum, Ex. xiv. 19, and cf. Num. xx. 16 for the sending of the angel to save God's people. A parallel occurs in the Acts of Andrew and Matthias in *A.N.C.L.* xvi. p. 366.

² The first editions add : "the great prince." See Dan. xii. 1 for reference to Michael, and cf. Gen. Rab. l. 2 (and see Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, 294); Ex. Rab. ii. 5; and *supra*, p. 247. Our text is, perhaps, criticizing the Book of Jubilees, which says : "notwithstanding all signs and wonders the *prince of the Mastema* was not put to shame because he took courage and cried to the Egyptians to pursue after them with all the powers of the Egyptians" (xlvi. 12). On the opposition between Mastema (Sammael) on the one hand and Michael on the other, see *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, vol. xvi. p. 166, Marmorstein's article, note 5. See Tanchuma (Buber), Gen. 48b; and Ex. Rab. xviii. 5, where Michael and Sammael are contrasted. See also T.B. Sotah, 10b.

³ See Zech. ii. 5; Nachmanides on Ex., *in loc.*, and *supra*, p. 325.

⁴ The words in brackets are missing in our MS.; they occur in the first editions.

⁵ Perhaps the text should be rendered "ran."

⁶ Cf. Siphre, Num. § 58, based on Isa. lxii. 6. The first editions read "thanksgiving."

⁷ See R. Bechai, *in loc.*; Ex. Rab. xxiii. 7; Shocher Tob on Ps. cv. 1, p. 277b; and T.B. Megillah, 10b, which says that the angels did not sing to God because the work of His hands (*i.e.* the Egyptians) were perishing. The quotation is given by our MS. only.

⁸ The first editions add here : "He then showed it the covenant of circumcision and the coffin of Joseph, and the staff on which the Ineffable Name was engraved,¹ but it did not consent. Moses returned before the Holy One, blessed be He, saying : Sovereign of all worlds !

¹ See *supra*, p. 313; Ex. Rab. xxi. 6; Mekhilta, p. 30b; Pal. Targum, Ex. xiv. 21; Tanchuma, Nasso, § xxx. ; and Jalkuṭ, Isa. § 474 (end); on the staff, see *supra*, pp. 14, 312 f., and note Bacher, *Agada der Tannaiten*, ii. p. 273, where the tradition is recorded in the name of R. Nehemiah, a disciple of R. 'Aqiba (c. 130 c.E.).

the Holy One, blessed be He, do? He looked at the sea, and the waters saw the face of the Holy One, blessed be He, and they trembled and quaked,¹ and descended into the depths, as it is said, "The waters saw thee, O God; ² the waters saw thee, they were afraid: the depths also trembled" (Ps. lxxvii. 16).

Rabbi Eliezer said: || On the day when He said, "Let the waters be gathered together"³ (Gen. i. 9), on that very day were the waters congealed, and they were made into twelve valleys,⁴ corresponding to the twelve tribes, and they were made into walls of water⁵ between each path,⁶ and (the people) could see one another,⁷ and they saw the Holy One, blessed be He, walking before them, but the heels of His feet⁸ they did not see,⁹ as it is said,¹⁰ "Thy way was in the sea,¹¹ and thy paths in the great waters, and thy footsteps were not known" (Ps. lxxvii. 19).

Rabbi 'Aqiba said: The Israelites advanced to enter the Reed Sea, but they turned backwards, fearing lest the waters would come over them.¹² The tribe of Judah sanctified His

The sea will not listen to me. Forthwith was the Holy One, blessed be He, revealed before him in His glory at the sea. And the sea fled." This is wanting in MS. Gaster.

¹ See Ps. cvi. 9, and Midrash thereon; and see also Jalkuṭ Makhiri, Ps. cxiv. p. 98a.

² In the MS. the quotation ends here; it is continued in the first editions.

³ *i.e.* on the third day, see *supra*, p. 63. Cf. Gen. Rab. v. 5.

⁴ The first editions read "paths." The word in our MS. might mean "streams." On the subject, see Wisdom of Solomon xix. 7 ff., which contains the oldest extant Midrash on the Exodus. The twelve paths may be due to the idea of the twelve tribes; cf. Hab. iii. 9. See also Aboth de R. Nathan (*a*) xxxiii. p. 48b.

⁵ See Pal. Targum, Ex. xiv. 21.

⁶ The first editions read: "Between each path were windows." See 'Arukh, ed. Kohut, i. p. 124a, b, *s.v.* אַמְפּוּסִיּוֹת.

⁷ See Wisdom xix. 8; Pesikṭa, Beshallah, p. 86b; Jalkuṭ on 2 Sam. xx. § 152.

⁸ See *supra*, p. 27.

⁹ The first editions read: "were neither seen nor known."

¹⁰ The first editions read here: "'They have seen thy goings, O God' (Ps. lxxviii. 24); and it is written."

¹¹ In the MS. the quotation ends here; in the first editions it is continued.

¹² See T.B. Pesachim, 118b; T.B. Soṭah, 36b, 37a; and Shoher Ṭob, Ps. lxxvi. 1, p. 170b. The first editions add here: "The tribe of Benjamin wished to enter therein, as it is said: 'There is little Benjamin, their ruler' ¹ (Ps. lxxviii. 27). They went down (into the

¹ רָוִים seems to be associated by the Midrash with ירד, "to go down."

great Name, and entered the sea first, and under the dominion of the hand likewise of the sons of Judah¹ (did all Israel enter the sea after them), as it is said, "Judah became his sanctuary,² Israel his dominion"³ (*ibid.* cxiv. 2). The Egyptians desired⁴ to follow after Israel, but they turned backwards,⁵ fearing lest the waters would return over them. What did the Holy One, blessed be He, do? He appeared before them like a man riding on the back of a mare, as it is said, "To a steed in Pharaoh's chariots" (Cant. i. 9). The horse on which Pharaoh rode saw the mare (of God), and it neighed and ran and entered the sea after it.⁶

The Egyptians saw that Pharaoh had entered the sea, and all of them entered the sea after him, as it is said, "And the Egyptians pursued⁷ after them" (Ex. xiv. 9). Forthwith the waters returned, and covered them, as it is said, "And the waters returned, and covered⁸ || the chariots, and the horsemen" (*ibid.* 28).⁹

Ben 'Azzai said: Everything is (judged according to the principle of) measure (for measure); just as the Egyptians were proud, and cast the male children into the river,¹⁰ so

sea),¹ and the tribe of Judah began to stone them, as it is said, 'The princes of Judah cast stones² at them' (*ibid.*); and Nachshon³ sprang into the sea first, and he sanctified His great name in the eyes of all." See also *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, pp. 176 ff.

¹ The first edition and MS. Gaster read: "Under the dominion of the hand of the son of Judah, Nachshon." The words in brackets occur in the first editions but not in our MS., which reads: "under the dominion of the hand likewise the sons of Judah entered first." The second edition reads: "under the dominion of the hand of the sons of Judah."

² "His sanctuary," in order to sanctify Him.

³ The first editions and MS. Gaster add: "of Judah." See Shocher Tob, *in loc.*, Gen. Rab. lxxxiv. 17.

⁴ See note 5 on p. 329.

⁵ See Mekhilta, p. 32a.

⁶ See Agadath Shir Ha-Shirim ix. (ed. Schechter, p. 17); Mekhilta, p. 33a; Tanchuma, Shophetim, § xiv.; and Jalqut Makhiri, Ps. cxiv., *loc. cit.*

⁷ The MS. has in the margin "and they came." Pharaoh is not mentioned here; cf. next chapter, p. 341.

⁸ In the MS. the quotation ends here; it is continued in the first editions.

⁹ See Tanna de bê Elijahu Rab. vii. p. 43, and cf. *ibid.* xxiii. p. 123.

¹⁰ See Jubilees xlvi. 14: "And all the peoples whom he brought to pursue after Israel, the Lord our God cast them into the midst of the sea, into the depths of the abyss beneath the children of Israel,

¹ This is the reading in the Prague edition and MS. Gaster.

² See *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, p. 177, note 1.

³ See Num. Rab. xiii. 7.

the Holy One, blessed be He, cast them into the sea, as it is said, "I will sing unto the Lord, for he hath triumphed triumphantly¹; the horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea" (*ibid.* xv. 1).

Rabbi Shela said: All the children (of the Israelites) whom the Egyptians cast into the river did not die, for the river cast them up, and threw them into the desert of Egypt.² The Holy One, blessed be He, brought a rock to the mouth of each one, and a rock to the side of each one. The rock which was at his mouth was feeding him with honey and milk, and the rock which was at their side was anointing³ them with oil, like a lying-in woman who anoints⁴ her son,⁵ as it is said, "And he made him to suck honey out of the rock,⁶ and oil out of the flinty rock" (Deut. xxxii. 13). When Israel came to the sea, they saw the Holy One, blessed be He, and they recognized Him, and praised Him, and sanctified Him, as it is said, "This is my God, and I will praise him" (Ex. xv. 2).

Rabbi Simon said: On the fourth day the Israelites encamped by the edge of the sea, and to the south⁷ of the sea. The Egyptians were floating like skin-bottles upon the surface of the waters,⁸ and a north wind went forth and cast them opposite the camp of Israel, and the Israelites went and saw them, and they recognized them, and they

even as the people of Egypt had cast their children into the river." See also Wisdom xi. 16. Charles refers also to the following parallels illustrating the *lex talionis*: Wisd. xi. 7, xii. 23, xvi. 1, xviii. 4, 5; Philo, *Adv. Flacc.* 20; Josephus, *Contra Ap.* ii. 13.

¹ Just as the Egyptians *triumphed* over the Israelites by casting their children into the *sea*, so God *triumphed* over the Egyptians by casting them into the *sea*. This seems to be the meaning read into the double expression of "triumphing" in Ex. xv. 1. The quotation ends here in the MS. and in the first editions.

² See Deut. xxxii. 10, and cf. Ezek. xvi. 5 with the Midrashic interpretation thereon.

³ The first editions read "feeding."

⁴ The first editions read "feeds." See Jastrow, *T.D.* 963b, l. 18.

⁵ See *Jalkuṭ*, Ex. § 165, and Pal. Targum, Deut. xxxii. 13; T.B. *Soṭah*, 11b; Ex. Rab. xxiii. 8, and Aboth de Rabbi Nathan, *loc. cit.*

⁶ The quotation ends here in the MS.; it is continued in the first editions.

⁷ Luria thinks that מנגב should be מנגר, "opposite," because the Israelites were encamped towards the east of the sea. See Tosaphoth, 'Arakhin, 15a; catchword: "Just as."

⁸ See T.B. *Synhedrin*, 108a; Tanna de bē Elijahu Rab. xxxi. p. 158, based on Job xxiv. 7, referring to the generation of the Flood. See also Wisdom x. 19 and Josephus, *Ant.* ii. 16. 6.

said :¹ These (here) were the officials of the palace of Pharaoh, and those (there) were the taskmasters, and they recognized every one, as it is said, "And Israel saw the Egyptians² || dead upon the sea shore" (*ibid.* xiv. 30).

Rabbi Reuben said: The entire body follows the head,³ and when⁴ the shepherd goes astray the sheep go astray after him, as it is said, "For the sins of Jeroboam which he sinned,⁵ and wherewith he made Israel to sin" (1 Kings xv. 30). When the shepherd is good, all follow after him.⁶ Moses began to sing, and to utter praises before the Holy One, blessed be He, and all Israel followed him,⁷ as it is said, "Then sang Moses and the children of Israel" (Ex. xv. 1). Miriam began to sing and to utter praises, before the Holy One, blessed be He, and all the women followed her, as it is said, "And Miriam the prophetess, the sister of Aaron,⁸ took a timbrel . . . and all the women went out after her" (*ibid.* 20). Whence did they have timbrels and chorus in the wilderness?⁹ But the righteous always know and conciliate (God), and are assured that the Omnipresent, blessed be He, performs for them miracles and mighty deeds. Before (the time of) their departure from Egypt they prepared for themselves timbrels and chorus.

Israel spake before the Holy One, blessed be He: Sovereign of all worlds! These (Egyptians) who have arisen to come against us to destroy us from Thy world,¹⁰ as well as all who

¹ The first editions read: "and they recognized them, and they said, 'These are the children of Israel.'" We should read: "and the children of Israel said." This is another instance how the Venice edition (1544) has thoughtlessly copied the Constantinople edition (1514).

² The quotation ends here in the MS. The next word in the verse, "dead," is in the singular number, hence the Midrashic inference.

³ See T.B. 'Erubin, 41a.

⁴ Luria's text reads: "When the shepherd is good, and goes on the right way, the sheep follow him." This is practically the reading of the first editions in the next sentence.

⁵ The quotation ends here in our MS.

⁶ The first editions and MS. Gaster add: "Our teacher Moses was a faithful shepherd." Cf. Num. xxvii. 17. The expression "faithful shepherd" in Aramaic is the title of part of the Zohar.

⁷ See T.B. Soṭah, 30b, and Midrash on Prov., ed. Buber, p. 38a.

⁸ The quotation ends here in the MS.

⁹ So also in Mekhilta, p. 44a; see also Rashi on Ex. *in loc.*

¹⁰ The first editions and MS. Gaster read here: "And all who rise up against us are as though they rose up against Thee. (Destroy them) all in the majesty of Thy might, and in Thy fierce anger they shall be consumed like stubble."

rise up against us, are as though they had risen up against Thee. Let the majesty of Thy might and Thy fierce anger consume them like stubble, as it is said, "And in the greatness of thine excellency thou overthrowest *them that rise up against thee*:¹ thou sendest forth thy wrath, it consumeth them as stubble" (*ibid.* 7).

Israel spake before the Holy One, blessed be He: Sovereign of all worlds! There is none like Thee among the ministering angels,² and therefore all their descriptive names (contain part of the word) *Elohim* ("God"); e.g. *Michael* || and *Gabriel*.³ "Who is like unto thee among the divine creatures,⁴ O Lord?" (*ibid.* 11). Pharaoh⁵ replied after them⁶ with the tongue,⁷ saying: "Who is like thee, glorious in holiness,⁸ fearful in praises, doing wonders?" (*ibid.*). "Fearful in praise"⁹ is not written here, but "fearful in praises"; for the praises of the ministering angels are on high, and the praises of Israel are (uttered on earth) below. "Fearful in praises, doing wonders" (*ibid.*), and thus Scripture says, "But thou art holy, O thou that inhabitest the praises of Israel" (Ps. xxii. 3).

"Thou stretchedst out thy right hand,¹⁰ the earth swallowed them" (Ex. xv. 12). The Holy One, blessed be He, told the earth to bury the slain.¹¹ (The earth) said unto Him: Sovereign of all worlds! The waters have killed them, let the waters swallow¹² them. He answered (the

¹ The quotation ends here in the MS.; it is continued in the first editions. See Ps. lxxviii. 34.

² This is the explanation of the word *אלים* in the verse: "Who is like unto thee, O Lord, among the *Elim* (אלים)?" (Ex. xv. 11).

³ See *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, p. 65, note 1; and Shocher *Tob* on Ps. lxxviii. p. 160a, Ex. Rab. xxix. 2, and *Pesiḳta*, p. 108b; and cf. *supra*, p. 88.

⁴ "Elim."

⁵ See *infra*, p. 341.

⁶ *i.e.* the Israelites.

⁷ The first editions and MS. Gaster read: "with song and praise in the Egyptian language."

⁸ The quotation ends here in the MS.

⁹ Our MS. reads, incorrectly, "praises"; the first editions have the right reading, "praise."

¹⁰ The quotation ends here in the MS.; it is continued in the first editions.

¹¹ See Job xxvi. 5. The first editions read: "The Holy One, blessed be He, said to the earth: Receive thy hosts,¹ the slain."

¹² *i.e.* bury them. Cf. T.B. *Pesachim*, *loc. cit.*

¹ "'Ochlos" (host) may be connected with *ὄχλος*, "multitude."

earth) saying : On this occasion receive them ; on another occasion such that be killed by thee in the future will I cast into the sea, namely, Sisera and all his host, these will I cast into the sea, as it is said, "The river Kishon swept them¹ away,² that ancient river" (Judg. v. 21).³ (The earth) continued, saying to Him : Give me the oath by Thy right hand, that Thou wilt not claim them at my hand.⁴ The Holy One, blessed be He, put forth His right hand, and swore to the earth that He would not claim them, as it is said, "Thou stretchedst out thy right hand, the earth swallowed them" (Ex. xv. 12).⁵ All the kings⁶ of the earth heard of the departure from Egypt, and the dividing of the Reed Sea ; they trembled and feared,⁷ and fled from their place, as it is said, "The peoples have heard, they tremble" (*ibid.* 14).

Moses spake before the Holy One, blessed be He : Sovereign of all worlds ! Put Thy dread || and Thy fear upon them, that their heart may be as stone, until Israel has passed through the Jordan,⁸ as it is said, "Till thy people pass over⁹ . . . thou shalt bring them in, and plant them in the mountain of thine inheritance" (*ibid.* 16, 17).¹⁰ Thou shalt bring them in to Thy holy mountain. The Holy One, blessed be He, said to Moses : Moses ! Thou hast not said, "Bring *us* in⁹ and plant *us*,"

¹ Sisera's army.

² The quotation ends here in the MS. ; it is continued in the first editions.

³ The first editions add here : "The earth spake before Him : Sovereign of the world ! Just as in the hour when only one person was slain¹ I was cursed for his sake, and if I receive all these hosts, how much more so will I be cursed !" MS. Gaster reads almost the same text.

⁴ See Lam. Rab. on Lam. i. 9, and Shocher Tob, Ps. xxii. p. 90b.

⁵ The first editions and MS. Gaster add here : "The 'right hand' is only an oath, as it is said : 'The Lord hath sworn by his right hand, and by the arm of his strength' (Isa. lxii. 8). Forthwith the earth opened her mouth and swallowed them."

⁶ The Amsterdam edition has misread the word "kings" and gives "angels."

⁷ See T.B. Synhedrin, 37b ; and cf. Josh. ii. 9 and ix. 24.

⁸ The first editions read "sea." The reading in our MS., "the Jordan," is in agreement with the version of Onkelos on Ex. xv. 16. See *Liturgy for New Year*, Singer, p. 239. MS. Gaster adds : "until Israel has crossed the fords of Arnon."

⁹ In our MS. the quotation ends here ; it is continued in the first editions.

¹⁰ See Pal. Targum, *in loc.*

¹ And I received Abel's blood and body.

but (thou hast said), "Thou shalt bring *them* in¹ and plant *them*." The One who brings in, He also brings out. By thy life! According to thy words so shall it be.² In this world I shall³ bring them⁴ in, and in the world to come I will plant them as a true plant⁵ which shall not be plucked up out of their land,⁶ as it is said, "And I will plant them upon their land, and they shall no more be plucked up out of their land which I have given them, saith the Lord thy God" (Amos ix. 15); and it (also) says, "The Lord shall reign for ever and ever" (Ex. xv. 18).⁷

¹ In our MS. the quotation ends here; it is continued in the first editions.

² Cf. Deut. Rab. ii. 9, and Num. Rab. xix. 13.

³ The first editions read: "thou shalt." MS. Gaster agrees with our MS. here.

⁴ This was promised to Moses, but by striking the rock at Massah this privilege was forfeited. Luria suggests a variant reading: "Thou hast not said, 'I will bring them in and I will plant them,' but, 'Thou wilt bring them in and plant them.' The one who brings them in is the one who brings them out; so shall it be in this world, and in the future world thou wilt bring them in and I will plant them."

⁵ See Jer. xxxii. 41.

⁶ From "as it is said" to the end of the quotation from Amos ix. 15 is missing in the MS., which reads "etc." The first editions read as far as "their land."

⁷ See *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, pp. 182-184, for the parallel version from the Talmud.

CHAPTER XLIII

THE POWER OF REPENTANCE [60A. i.]

REPENTANCE and good deeds¹ are a shield against punishment. Rabbi Ishmael² said: If repentance had not been created,³ the world would not stand. But since repentance has been created, the right hand of the Holy One, blessed be He, is stretched forth to receive the penitent⁴ every day, and He says, Repent, ye children of men. "Repent, ye children of men" (Ps. xc. 3).⁵ Know thou the power of repentance.⁶ Come and see from Ahab, king of Israel,⁷ for he had robbed, coveted,⁸ and murdered,⁹ as it is said, "Hast thou killed, and also taken possession?" (1 Kings xxi. 19). He sent and called for Jehoshaphat, king of Judah,¹⁰ who gave him thrice daily forty stripes, and in fasting and with prayer he rose up early and retired late, before the Holy One, blessed be He,¹¹

¹ See Aboth iv. 11 in the name of R. Eliezer ben Jacob. תריס = *θυρεός*, shield.

² The first editions read: "Rabbi 'Aqiba said: 'Repentance was created and the right hand,' etc.

³ See *supra*, Chapter III., p. 10.

⁴ See T.B. Pesachim, 119a; Tanna de bê Elijahu Zutta, xxii. p. 37, xxiii. p. 40; and cf. Ezek. i. 8, with the interpretation in Pesachim, *loc. cit.* See Jalqut and Targum on Ps. xc. 3.

⁵ See *supra*, pp. 104 f.

⁶ The first editions read "charity and repentance"; see next note.

⁷ See T.B. Synhedrin, 102b; *J.E.* i. 281; and also Menorath Ha-Maor, § 284. The word Zedaqah (Charity) should be omitted. The first editions add: "who repented sincerely." See also Jalqut, 1 Kings xxi. § 222; and T.B. Ta'anith, 25b.

⁸ The first editions read "oppressed."

⁹ See T.B. Synhedrin, 113a, according to which he introduced idolatry; and cf. T.B. Synhedrin, 48b. Menorath Ha-Maor, *loc. cit.*, reads: "he coveted and murdered"; see Tanna de bê Elijahu Rab. xxvi. p. 130, and Num. Rab. xiv. 1.

¹⁰ See Jalqut on 1 Kings xxi. *loc. cit.*; Menorath Ha-Maor, *loc. cit.*; T.J. Soṭah, iii. 4. 18d, which refers to three years of penitence.

¹¹ The first editions add here: "and he studied the Torah all his days."

and he did not return any more to his evil deeds. His repentance was accepted, as it is said, || "Seest thou how Ahab humbleth himself¹ before me? Because he humbleth himself before me, I will not bring the evil in his days" (*ibid.* 29).

Rabbi Abbahu said: Know thou the power of repentance. Come and see from David, king of Israel.² For the Holy One, blessed be He, had sworn to the forefathers that He would multiply their seed like the stars of the heavens. And David came to count their number. The Holy One, blessed be He, said to him: David! I have sworn to the forefathers that I would multiply their seed as the stars of the heavens. And thou comest to annul My word. For thy sake the flock is given over to destruction;³ and in three hours there fell seventy thousand men,⁴ as it is said, "And there fell of Israel seventy thousand men" (1 Chron. xxi. 14). Rabbi Simeon said: Only Abishai, son of Zeruah, fell amongst the Israelites, for he was equal in his good deeds and his knowledge of the Torah to the seventy thousand men,⁵ as it is said, "And there fell of Israel seventy thousand men" (*ibid.*). "Men" is not written here, only "man."⁶ And David heard and rent his garments, and clothed himself in sackcloth and ashes, and he fell upon his face to the ground before the ark of the covenant of God.⁷

He sought (to do) penitence, and spake before the Holy One, blessed be He: Sovereign of all worlds! It is I who have sinned; forgive me, I beseech Thee, my sin. His repentance was accepted, and He said to the angel who had destroyed many (*Rab*) among the people: "Stay thine hand"⁸ (*ibid.* 15). What is the meaning of || "many" (*Rab*)? He said to him: *Rab* (the teacher) has fallen in Israel.⁹ What did the angel do? He took his sword

¹ In the MS. the quotation ends here.

² See Jalkuṭ on 2 Samuel, § 165, and Menorath Ha-Maor, *loc. cit.*

³ See 2 Sam. xxiv. 17, and *infra*, p. 400. The Pesikta, pp. 160b ff., has used *P.R.E.*

⁴ See T.B. Berakhoth, 62b.

⁵ See Midrash Samuel xxxi. (end); T.B. Berakhoth, *loc. cit.*; Shocher Tob on Ps. xvii. p. 64a; and *J.E.* i. p. 66.

⁶ The MS. has "70,000 men," and above this the letter ך, "as" or "like," has been added by a later writer.

⁷ The first editions regard this sentence as a quotation and add: "as it is said." The text is based on Josh. vii. 6.

⁸ The first editions read: "Now stay thine *hands*."

⁹ See 2 Sam. iii. 38: "for a prince and a great man has fallen this day in Israel."

and cleaned it with the garment¹ of David. David saw the sword of the angel,² and he trembled in all his limbs until³ his death⁴ (as it is said,⁵) "But David could not go before it⁶ to inquire of God; for he was afraid because of the sword of the angel of the Lord" (*ibid.* 30).

Rabbi Joshua said: Know thou the power of repentance. Come and see from Manasseh,⁷ son of Hezekiah, who perpetrated all the evil abominations much more than all the nations.⁸ He made his son to pass through the fire to Baal outside Jerusalem, causing (doves) to fly,⁹ and sacrificing to all the host of heaven. The princes of the troops of the king of Babylon came,¹⁰ and they caught him by the hair of his head, and brought him down to Babylon, and they put him

¹ תלבו, garment, also "Tallith."

² The first editions add "of death."

³ The first editions add "the day of."

⁴ See Tanna de bê Elijahu Rab. vii. p. 39, and Shocher Tob, Ps. xvii. p. 63b.

⁵ The MS. omits "as it is said"; the first editions have the expression.

⁶ The quotation ends here in the MS.

⁷ See *J.E.* viii. 281 on the Prayer of Manasseh. The legend dealing with his punishment and repentance occurs in the Apocalypse of Baruch lxiv. 8. Traces of this legend are to be found in the Apostolic Constitutions, ii. 22; also in Anastasius on Ps. vi., quoted by Charles in his Note on Apoc. Baruch, p. 107, where the Targum of 2 Chron. xxxiii. 12 f. is given. See also T.B. Synhedrin, 103a.

⁸ The first editions add here: "of the world, and wrought much evil, and sacrificed to idols,¹ as it is said: 'He also made his children to pass through the fire in the valley of the son of Hinnom: (and he practised augury, and used enchantments, and practised sorcery, and dealt with them that had familiar spirits, and with wizards): he wrought much evil in the sight of the Lord, to provoke him to anger' (2 Chron. xxxiii. 6).² He went to Jerusalem dedicating doves³ to all the host of heaven." MS. Gaster has almost the same reading.

⁹ See Mishnah Synhedrin, iii. 3. The dove-flying was an occasion for betting.

¹⁰ See 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11, and Menorath Ha-Maor, *loc. cit.* The first editions read: "The princes of the troops of Assyria came."

¹ Venice edition reads: "strange gods." The Targum, 2 Chron. xxxiii. 7, refers to Manasseh's image of himself, which he set up in the Temple. The Talmud (B. Synhedrin, 103b) holds that the image had originally one face, but ultimately it had four faces to provoke God. Apoc. Baruch, lxiv. 3, says: "And he made an image with *five* faces; four of them looked to the four winds, and the fifth on the summit of the image as an adversary of the zeal of the Mighty One," see also Assumption of Moses, ii. 8.

² See also 2 Kings xxi. 2 ff.

³ "He filled Jerusalem with the blood which he shed, and he sacrificed to all the host of heaven" is the reading suggested by Luria, based on 2 Kings xxiv. 4.

in a pan (over) a fire,¹ and there he called upon all the other gods² to whom he had sacrificed, and not one of them either answered him or saved him. He said: I will call on the God of my fathers with all my heart; perhaps He will do unto me according to all His wonders which He did unto my father. And he called on the God of his fathers with all his heart, and He was entreated of him, and He heard his supplication, as it is said, "And he prayed unto him; and he was intreated of him,³ and heard his supplication . . . then Manasseh knew that the Lord he was God" (2 Chron. xxxiii. 13). In that hour Manasseh said: There is both judgment as well as a judge.

Ben 'Azzai⁴ said: Know thou the power of repentance. Come and see from (the story of) Rabbi Simeon, son of Lakish. He with two || of his friends⁵ in the mountains, were robbing⁶ all who passed them on the way. What did he do? He forsook his two companions who were plundering on the mountains, and he returned to the God of his fathers with all his heart. Fasting and praying he arose early and retired late,⁷ before the Holy One, blessed be He, and he was studying the Torah all (the rest of) his days, and (giving) gifts to the needy. He did not return any more to his evil deeds, and his repentance was accepted. On the day when he died, his two companions, who were plundering on the mountains, also died. And they gave a portion in the treasury of the living⁸ to Rabbi Simeon, son of Lakish, but his two companions (were put) in the lowest Sheol.

¹ Luria reads: "in copper fetters," according to the Targum on 2 Chron. xxxii. 11; see Ruth Rab. v. 6, and the Note in Lightfoot's *Hor. Heb. et Tal. in Acta Apost.* xii. 7. See T.B. *Synhedrin*, 101b; Targum, 2 Chron., *loc. cit.*; Deut. Rab. ii. 13. The reading *במלוח*, the "hollow brazen horse," occurs in the Targum as well as in Apoc. Baruch; see 'Arukh, *s.v.* *מלוח*. Luria offers a variant reading: *וירא רנוחש*; see 'Arukh, *s.v.* *מליאר*—an iron barrel with apertures around which a fire was kindled. See also Agadath Bere-shith, ix. (end), and Bacher in *R.É.J.* xlv. 291 ff.

² Or "strange gods"; the later editions read "idols."

³ The quotation ends here in the MS.

⁴ The chronology is hopelessly at fault here. Ben 'Azzai was dead long before the time of Simeon ben Lakish.

⁵ See T.B. *Gittin*, 47a, and cf. *J.E.* xi. 354 f.

⁶ The first editions add: "and oppressing."

⁷ See *Menorath Ha-Maor*, *loc. cit.*

⁸ See the reading in the *Menorath Ha-Maor*, *loc. cit.*, which has used our book. Our text might be rendered: "They put Rabbi Simeon, son of Lakish, in the treasury of the living."

The two companions spake before the Holy One, blessed be He : Sovereign of all the universe ! There is before Thee respect for certain persons. This one was plundering with us on the mountains, and he is in the treasury of the living, whilst the other men are¹ in the lowest Sheol. He said to them : This one repented in his lifetime, but ye have not repented. They said to Him : Give us the opportunity, and we will repent very sincerely. He said to them : Repentance is only possible until one's death.²

A parable—To what is the matter comparable ? To a man who wished to take a voyage at sea. If he did not take with him bread and water from an inhabited land, he will not find anything to eat or to drink on the sea. Again, || if a man wish to go to the end of the wilderness, unless he take from some inhabited place bread and water, he will not find anything to eat or to drink in the wilderness. Likewise, if a man did not repent in his lifetime, after his death he cannot repent.³ But (God) gives to a man according to his ways, as it is said, “I⁴ the Lord search the heart,⁵ I try the reins, even to give every man according to his ways, according to the fruit of his doings ” (Jer. xvii. 10).

Rabbi Nechunia, son of Haḳḳanah, said : Know thou the power of repentance. Come and see from Pharaoh, king of Egypt, who rebelled most grievously against the Rock, the Most High,⁶ as it is said, “Who is the Lord, that I should hearken unto his voice ? ” (Ex. v. 2).⁷ In the same terms of speech in which he sinned, he repented, as it is said

¹ The first editions read : “ whilst we are.”

² See Midrash on Prov. vi. (ed. Buber, p. 28a), and cf. Eccles. ix. 10 with Midrash thereon.

³ The first editions add : “ as it is said, ‘ He will not regard any ransom ;¹ neither will he rest content, though thou givest many gifts ’ ”² (Prov. vi. 35).

⁴ Our MS. reads : “ For I the Lord.” This does not agree with M.T.

⁵ In the MS. the quotation ends here ; it is continued in the first editions as far as “ reins.”

⁶ Luria suggests another reading : “ the Rock of Eternity.” The Menorath Ha-Maor, *loc. cit.*, reads : “ Sovereign of Eternity.”

⁷ See the preceding chapter of our book, p. 331.

¹ The quotation ends here in the first editions.

² See Midrash on this verse. Luria reads : “ But He will give to a man according to his ways and according to the fruit of his deeds, as it is said, ‘ He will not regard,’ ” etc. A parallel reading is given by Menorath Ha-Maor, *loc. cit.*

“Who is like thee, O Lord, among the mighty?” (*ibid.* xv. 11). The Holy One, blessed be He, delivered him from amongst the dead. Whence (do we know) that he died?¹ Because it is said, “For now I had put forth my hand,² and smitten thee” (*ibid.* ix. 15).³ He went and ruled in Nineveh. The men of Nineveh were writing fraudulent deeds, and everyone robbed his neighbour, and they committed sodomy,⁴ and such-like wicked actions. When the Holy One, blessed be He, sent for Jonah, to prophesy against (the city) its destruction, Pharaoh hearkened and arose from his throne, rent his garments and clothed himself in sackcloth and ashes, and had a proclamation made to all his people, that all the people should fast for two⁵ days, || and all who did these (wicked) things⁶ should be burnt by fire. What did they⁷ do? The men were⁸ on one side, and the women on the other, and their children were by themselves; all the clean animals were on one side,⁹ and their offspring were by themselves. The infants saw the breasts of their mothers,

¹ In the Reed Sea. The first editions read: “that he did not die.”

² The quotation ends here in the MS. and in the first editions.

³ The 1st ed. and Gaster MS. read here: “But in very deed, for this cause have I made thee to stand” (Ex. ix. 16). The 2nd ed. adds: “And the Holy One, blessed be He, raised him up from amongst the dead¹ to declare the might of His power.² Whence (do we know) that He raised him up? Because it is said: ‘But in very deed for this cause have I made thee to stand, for to shew thee my power, and that my name may be declared throughout all the earth’” (Ex. ix. 16).³

⁴ Cf. *Pesikta*, p. 161a, and *Jalkuṭ*, Jonah, § 550.

⁵ The first editions read: “three days.”

⁶ The first editions read: “All who did *not* do these things.”

⁷ The first editions read: “he.”

⁸ The first editions read: “He made the men stand on one side.”

⁹ The first editions add: “and all the unclean animals were on the other side.” Luria thinks that “male animals” and “female animals” would be a more appropriate reading. See the reading in the *Menorath Ha-Maor*, *loc. cit.* *Jalkuṭ* Jonah, *loc. cit.*, omits it.

¹ We have here a conflate text arising from two different versions of the legend. In *Jalkuṭ* on Jonah (§ 550) we have one reading: “And He delivered him from death to declare the power of His might, as it is said: ‘But in very deed for this cause have I made thee to stand’” (Ex. ix. 16). The other reading is preserved in the *Menorath Ha-Maor*, *loc. cit.* See also the rest of the verse (Ex. ix. 16) in Pal. Targum, which refers to Pharaoh, who is to recount the Divine praise.

² The Amsterdam edition reads: “His might and His power.”

³ See *Mekhilta*, Beshallah vi. p. 33a, and *Shocheh Tob* on Ps. cvii. p. 228a. The Rabbis differ as to whether Pharaoh escaped; see *Eccles. Rab. to Eccles. x. 5*, and Pal. Targum on Ex. xiv. 27.

(and they wished¹) to have suck,² and they wept. The mothers saw their children, (and they wished¹) to give them suck. By the merit of 4123 children more than twelve hundred thousand men (were saved), as it is said, "And should not I have pity on Nineveh,³ that great city; wherein are more than six score thousand persons that cannot discern between their right hand and their left hand; and also much cattle?" (Jonah iv. 11); "And the Lord⁴ repented of the evil,⁵ which he said he would do unto them"⁶ (*ibid.* iii. 10). For forty years was the Holy One, blessed be He, slow to anger with them, corresponding to the forty days during which He had sent Jonah.⁷ After forty years they returned to their many evil deeds, more so than their former ones, and they were swallowed up like the dead, in the lowest Sheol, as it is said, "Out of the city of the dead⁸ they groan" (Job xxiv. 12).

The Holy One, blessed be He, sent by the hand of His servants, the prophets, to Israel⁹ (saying), "O Israel, return unto the Lord thy God" (Hos. xiv. 1).¹⁰ (Even) unto Him whose voice ye heard at Mount Sinai, saying, "I, the Lord, am to be thy God" (Ex. xx. 2).

"For thou hast fallen by thine iniquity" (Hos. xiv. 1).

¹ The words in brackets, which are missing in our MS., occur in the first editions.

² The Menorath Ha-Maor, *loc. cit.*, reads: "To have suck and they did not permit it, and they wept, and the mothers saw their offspring and they wished to give them suck, and they were unable and they wept." See T.B. Ta'anith, 16a, and T.J. Ta'anith ii. 1. 65b.

³ The quotation ends here in the MS.; in the first editions it concludes with the word "city." The preceding part of the sentence reads in the first editions: "By (their) merit there were more than twelve hundred thousand men."

⁴ The MS. and the first editions read "the Lord"; M.T. has "God."

⁵ The quotation ends here in the MS.; in the first editions it concludes with the word "said."

⁶ See the reading in the Menorath Ha-Maor, *loc. cit.*

⁷ Menorath Ha-Maor, *loc. cit.*, reads: "when He spake to Jonah."

⁸ R.V. has "populous," but in margin, "city of men." Nineveh was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar; see T.B. Megillah, 11b.

⁹ The first editions read: "to prophesy against Israel and He said."

¹⁰ The use of these verses from Hosea seems to suggest that this entire chapter on Repentance was originally a homily for the Sabbath of Repentance, *i.e.* the Sabbath before the Day of Atonement. This suggestion seems to be reasonable, because the reference to Jonah would be appropriate on the Sabbath before it was read. The Book of Jonah is the Haphtarah at Minchah on the Day of Atonement; see *supra*, Chapter X.

“And thy wealth”¹ is not written here, but “For thou hast fallen by thine *iniquity*.” It is not written here, “Take with you silver and gold,” || but “Take with you words” (*ibid.* 2). It is not written here, “And we will render silver and gold,” but “And we will render as bullocks (the offering of) our lips” (*ibid.*).²

Rabbi Jehudah said: If Israel will not repent they will not be redeemed.³ Israel only repents because of distress,⁴ and because of oppression, and owing to exile, and because they have no sustenance. Israel does not repent quite sincerely⁵ until Elijah⁶ comes, as it is said, “Behold, I will send you⁷ Elijah, the prophet,⁸ before the great and terrible day of the Lord come. And he shall turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to their fathers” (Mal. iv. 5, 6).

Blessed art thou, O Lord, who delightest in repentance.⁹

¹ The first editions read: “By thy glory and thy wealth.”

² See Menorath Ha-Maor, § 279; Tanna de bê Elijahu Zutta ix. p. 189; T.B. Synhedrin, 96b; and cf. 4 Ezra iv. 39.

³ See T.B. Synhedrin, 93a, and T.J. Ta'anith, *loc. cit.*

⁴ See Tanna de bê Elijahu Rab. xxi. p. 116; and Tanna de bê Elijahu Zutta iv. p. 180, and xiv. p. 196. See also Assumption of Moses, i. 18.

⁵ Lit. “Does not do a great repentance.”

⁶ The first editions add: “Of blessed memory,” or, “May his memory be a blessing”; see *supra*, p. 2, note 7. Cf. Luke i. 16 f.

⁷ In the MS. the words from “Elijah” to “come” are omitted. In the first editions the entire verse is given.

⁸ See Seder 'Olam Rab. xvii. p. 36a, b.

⁹ See Singer, p. 46. This is the fifth benediction of the Shemoneh 'Esreh. Does our Midrash wish to associate Elijah with this benediction?

CHAPTER XLIV

AMALEK AND ISRAEL [61B. i.]

RABBI JOCHANAN, son of Nuri, said: (After)¹ all the mighty deeds and wonders which the Holy One, blessed be He, did unto Israel in Egypt, and at the Reed Sea, they repeatedly tempted the Omnipresent² ten times,³ as it is said, "Yet have they tempted me these ten times" (Num. xiv. 22). Moreover, they slandered the Holy One, blessed be He, saying: He⁴ has forsaken us in this wilderness, and His Shekhinah is not in our midst, as it is said, "Is the Lord among us,⁵ or not?" (Ex. xvii. 7).⁶

Rabbi Joshua,⁷ son of Korchah, said: After this section what is written? "Then came Amalek" (*ibid.* 8). Amalek came against them to punish them. He who comes from || a journey should be met on the way with food and drink. (Amalek) saw them faint and weary, owing to the Egyptian bondage and the affliction of the journey, and he did not take to heart⁸ the precept of "Honour,"⁹

¹ "After" is wanting in our MS.; it occurs in the first editions.

² The first editions read: "The Holy One, blessed be He."

³ Read ער, instead of ער. See Aboth, v. 4, and Aboth de R. Nathan (b) xxxiv. p. 49b.

⁴ The first editions read: "The Lord."

⁵ In the MS. the quotation ends here.

⁶ See Ps. lxxviii. 22; and cf. *infra*, pp. 436f.

⁷ The MS. reads incorrectly: "Ishmael, son of Korchah." MS. Gaster reads: "Simeon."

⁸ To have pity on them, or to fear God, so as not to afflict them. See Tanna de bê Elijahu Rab. xxiv. p. 126: "Eliphaz the father of Amalek advised his son to go and dig wells for Israel, but he met them with the sword."

⁹ The fifth commandment is probably referred to here; see previous note, 8. The MS. alone reads: "the precept of 'Honour.'" The Book of Jubilees offers a parallel to this idea in the disobedience of the children of *Esau*, who forced him against his will to attack Jacob; see Jubilees xxxvii. 1 ff.

but he stood by the way like a she-bear, bereaved by man¹ (and eager) to slay mother and children,² as it is said, "How he met thee by the way" (Deut. xxv. 18).

Rabbi Azariah³ said: Amalek was a descendant⁴ of Esau, and because of his ancestor's⁵ enmity he came against them to punish them. The cloud⁶ was surrounding⁷ the camp of Israel like a city surrounded by a wall.⁸ The adversary and enemy⁹ were unable to touch them, but (when) anyone needed a ritual bath¹⁰ the cloud excluded him from the camp of Israel, because the camp of Israel was holy, as it is said, "Therefore shall thy camp be holy" (*ibid.* xxiii. 14), and (then) Amalek was smiting and slaying¹¹ the hindmost of those who were beyond the cloud,¹² as it is said, "And he smote the hindmost of thee,¹³ all that were feeble behind thee" (*ibid.* xxv. 18).

Moses said to Joshua: Choose men for us, houses¹⁴ of the fathers,¹⁵ men who are mighty in strength and valour,¹⁶ and go forth and do battle with Amalek. Moses, Aaron, and Hur stood on a high place,¹⁷ in the camp¹⁸ of Israel, one on his right hand, and one on his left. Hence thou mayest learn that the precentor¹⁹ is prohibited to officiate unless

¹ "By man" occurs in the MS only.

² See *supra*, p. 281; cf. 1 Sam. xv. 33.

³ The first editions and MS. Gaster read: "Zechariah."

⁴ Lit. "grandson."

⁵ Lit. "grandfather's." See Pal. Targ. Ex. xvii. 8, and Targum on Cant. ii. 15.

⁶ The first editions read: "The Pillar of Cloud."

⁷ Cf. Deut. xxxii. 10 and Pal. Targum, Deut. xxv. 18. See also Mekhilta, p. 53a: "The clouds surrounded the Israelites on all four sides."

⁸ Cf. Zech. ii. 5.

⁹ Cf. Lam. iv. 12 for phraseology.

¹⁰ Cf. T.B. Pesachim, 68a; T.B. Gittin, 60a; Num. Rab. vii. 1; and see *J.E.* viii. 588 on the "Ritual Bath."

¹¹ The MS. reads: "vehôlek," "and going"; the first editions read: "vehôleg," "and slaying." The latter seems to be the more correct reading.

¹² For another interpretation, see Tanchuma, Ki Têzê, § ix., and Pesikta, p. 27b. See *infra*, p. 389.

¹³ In the MS. the quotation ends here; it is continued in the first editions.

¹⁴ The first editions read: "sons."

¹⁵ See T.B. Kiddushin, 76b.

¹⁶ The first editions add: "who fear Heaven." See Mekhilta, p. 53b: "Amalek did not fear Heaven." Cf. Ex. Rab. xxvi. 3.

¹⁷ See Nachmanides on Ex. xvii. 9.

¹⁸ The first editions read: "in the midst of the camp."

¹⁹ The MS. has an abbreviation: "Sheshaz"; lit. "that the Messenger of the Congregation." The 1st ed. agrees.

there are two (men) standing with him,¹ || one on his right hand and one on his left.

All the Israelites (were standing²) outside (their tents³); they had gone forth from their tents, and saw Moses kneeling on his knees, and they were kneeling on their knees.⁴ He fell on his face to the ground, and they fell on their faces to the ground. He spread out the palms of his hands towards the heavens, and they spread out their hands to heaven.⁵ Just as⁶ the precentor officiates, in like manner all the people answer⁷ after him.

The Holy One, blessed be He, caused Amalek and his people to fall into the hand of Joshua,⁸ as it is said, "And Joshua discomfited⁹ Amalek and his people with the edge of the sword" (Ex. xvii. 13).¹⁰

Rabbi Shela said: The Holy One, blessed be He, wished to destroy, to cut off all the seed of Amalek. What did the Holy One, blessed be He, do? He put forth His right hand and took hold of the throne of His glory, and swore that He would destroy and cut off all the seed of Amalek,¹¹ as it is said, "And he said, Because there is a hand against the throne⁹ of the Lord, the Lord will wage war against Amalek" (*ibid.* 16).

Rabbi Phineas said: (After¹²) forty years Moses wished to say to Israel: Do ye remember that which ye said in the wilderness—"Is the Lord among us,¹³ or not?"

¹ See Mekhilta, p. 54b, Pesikta, p. 22a, and Tanchuma Beshallah, § xxviii. Was the custom mentioned in our book applicable only to public prayer on Fast Days (for rain or when war arose)? See Ṭur, Orach Chayyim, 566; and Beth Joseph, 566. 7.

² The MS. omits "were standing." The first editions have this reading.

³ This is missing in the MS., but occurs in the first editions; the next words up to "tents" are found in the MS. only.

⁴ Cf. Jalkuṭ, Ex. § 264.

⁵ The first editions read: "to their Father who is in Heaven." See T.B. Rosh Ha-Shanah, 29a.

⁶ The first editions read: "Hence thou mayest learn."

⁷ The first editions add: "Amen." See Jalkuṭ (*loc. cit.*), which omits "Amen"; see also T.B. Berakhoth, 49b.

⁸ The first editions read: "to fall by the edge of the sword."

⁹ In the MS. the quotation ends here; it is continued in the 1st ed.

¹⁰ See Targum on Cant. ii. 16, and cf. Pal. Targum on Num. xxi. 1.

¹¹ The first editions add: "from this world and from the world to come."

¹² The MS. omits: "after"; it occurs in the first editions.

¹³ The MS. omits: "or not"; it occurs in the first editions.

(*ibid.* 7).¹ But Moses said: If I speak² thus to Israel, behold I will put them to shame, and whosoever puts (his fellow) to shame will have no portion in the world to come.³

A parable—To what is the matter to be compared? To a king⁴ who had || a garden and a dog chained at the entrance to the garden. The king was sitting in his upper room, watching and looking at all that (transpired) in the garden. The friend of the king entered to steal (fruit) from the garden, and he incited the dog against him, and it tore his garments. The king said: If I say to my friend, Why didst thou enter my garden? behold I will put him to shame; therefore, behold, I will say to him: Didst thou see that mad dog, how it tore thy clothes?⁵ And he will understand what he has done. Likewise spake Moses: Behold, I will tell Israel the story of Amalek, and they will understand what is written before it; therefore Moses said: “Remember what Amalek did unto thee⁶ by the way, as ye came forth out of Egypt” (Deut. xxv. 17).

The Israelites said to our teacher Moses: Moses! One Scripture text says, “Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy” (Ex. xx. 8); and it is written, “Remember what Amalek did unto thee” (Deut. xxv. 17). How can these two texts be fulfilled?⁷ He said to them: The cup of spiced wine⁸ is not to be compared to the cup

¹ See T.B. 'Abodah Zarah, 5b.

² The MS. adds: “not”; this is probably an error; it does not occur in the first editions.

³ See Aboth iii. 12; T.B. Megillah, 25b, and Pal. Targum on Deut. vi. 16. The first editions add: “But I will tell them the story of Amalek, and they will understand¹ what is written (immediately) preceding this story.”

⁴ The legend is also given by Tanchuma, Ki Têzê, § ix., translated in *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, pp. 190 f.

⁵ The first editions add: “not knowing that thou art my friend.”

⁶ In the MS. the quotation ends here; it is continued in the first editions.

⁷ Or: “established.” See Tanchuma, Ki Têzê, *loc. cit.* The first editions add: “this ‘Remember’ and that ‘Remember.’”

⁸ “קתרין” (*conditum*, *κονδύρον*); cf. *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, p. 101.

¹ See T.B. Baba Mezi'a, 58b; T.B. Pesachim, 33b; and Tanchuma, Jethro, § iii. This Midrashic piece is translated in *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, pp. 188 f.

of vinegar.¹ This "Remember" is in order to observe and to sanctify the Sabbath day,² and the other "Remember" is in order to destroy and to cut off all the seed of Amalek, as it is said, "Therefore it shall be, when the Lord thy God hath given thee rest³ from all thine enemies . . . thou shalt not forget" (*ibid.* 19).⁴ || Israel forgot to destroy and to cut off all the seed of Amalek, but the Holy One, blessed be He, did not forget.⁵ When Saul reigned, Samuel said to him: "Thus saith the Lord of hosts, I have marked that which Amalek did to Israel. . . . Now go and smite Amalek, and utterly destroy all that they have" (1 Sam. xv. 2, 3). What is the meaning of "all that they have"? Even all the living male creatures.⁶ "Spare them not, but slay" (*ibid.*). Saul took the men of war, and he went out to meet Amalek. When Saul came to the crossing of the ways, he stood still, and thought in his heart,⁷ as it is said, "And Saul came to the city of Amalek,⁸ and argued⁹ in the valley" (*ibid.* 5). Saul said: If the men have sinned, what¹⁰ have the beasts done amiss? A Bath Kōl¹¹ came forth, saying to him: Saul! Be not

¹ The MS. reads "sumin," the first editions have "chomez," and then add: "this is a 'cup,' and that is a 'cup.'" The precept to "remember" the Sabbath is explained by the Rabbis to refer to the Kiddush, or sanctification of the Sabbath over the cup of wine; see Singer, p. 124.

² See *supra*, p. 138.

³ In the MS. the quotation ends here. The first editions read: "'Remember what Amalek did unto thee' (Deut. xxv. 17), and when thou comest to the land 'thou shalt not forget'" (*ibid.* 19).

⁴ See T.B. Synhedrin, 20b. Amalek was to be punished, and this Divine decree was not to be forgotten when Israel had their own land and king. This duty of executing Divine justice devolved upon Saul as the first king of the Israelites.

⁵ See Tanchuma, Ki Têzê, *loc. cit.*; Pesikta (Zachor), p. 26a, and Lam. Rab. v. 1.

⁶ On כְּשֵׁי בְּקִיר see Lexica.

⁷ See T.B. Joma, 22b; Midrash Samuel (ed. Buber), xviii. p. 50a.

⁸ In the MS. the quotation ends here; in the first editions the verse is continued.

⁹ וַיִּרְבֵּן might be interpreted in the sense of meditating. See R.V.

¹⁰ The first editions add here: "Have the women done amiss? If the women have sinned, what have the children done amiss?¹ If the children have sinned."

¹¹ The text in 1 Samuel xv. 19 says: "Why hast thou not hearkened unto the voice of the Lord?" The Bath Kōl was a Heavenly voice; see *supra*, p. 225.

¹ They and their children failed to bring bread and water to the Israelites.

more righteous than thy Creator,¹ as it is said, "Be not righteous overmuch" (Eccles. vii. 16).

Rabbi said: When Saul came to the camp of Amalek he saw the children of Israel tarrying² in the midst of Amalek.³ He said to them: Separate yourselves from the midst of Amalek, as it is said, "And Saul said unto the Kenites, Go, depart, get you down⁴ from among the Amalekites, lest I destroy you with them" (1 Sam. xv. 6). Did Jethro show loving-kindness to all Israel? But did he not show loving-kindness to Moses our teacher alone? Hence thou mayest learn || that whosoever shows loving-kindness unto one of the great men of Israel is considered as though he had shown loving-kindness unto Israel.⁵ Because of the loving-kindness which he showed, his children were saved from among the Amalekites.⁶

Rabbi José said: When Sennacherib came to the land (of Israel), all the nations who were in the regions round about the land of Israel saw the camp of Sennacherib, and feared greatly, and every man fled from his place, as it is said, "I have removed the bounds of the peoples,⁴ and have robbed their treasures" (Isa. x. 13). They went into the wilderness, and intermixed with the children of Ishmael,⁷ and all of them were (composed of) ten peoples, as it is said, "The tents of Edom, and the Ishmaelites;⁸ Moab, and the Hagarenes; Gebal, and Ammon, and Amalek; Philistia, with the inhabitants of Tyre; Assyria also is joined with them" (Ps. lxxxiii. 6, 7, 8).⁹ All of them are destined to fall by the hand of the Son of David, as it is said, "O my God, make them like the whirling dust"

¹ Cf. 4 Ezra viii. 47; T.B. Joma, *loc. cit.*; and Eccles. Rab. to Eccles. vii. 16.

² The first editions read: "Jethro mixed up in the midst"; this reading is probably the correct text.

³ The Kenites dwelt among the Amalekites.

⁴ In the MS. the quotation ends here; in the first editions it is continued.

⁵ See T.B. Berakhoth, 63b; Midrash Samuel, *loc. cit.*, and Cant. Rab. on Cant. ii. 5.

⁶ The first editions add here: "as it is said, 'So the Kenites departed from among the Amalekites'" (1 Sam. xv. 6).

⁷ The Ishmaelites dwelt hard by the Amalekites; see *supra*, p. 220.

⁸ In the MS. the rest of the verses up to the word Assyria are omitted; as usual, "etc." replaces the part left out.

⁹ See T.B. Sukkah, 52b.

(*ibid.* 13).¹ “As the fire that burneth the forest,² and as the flame that setteth the mountains on fire” (*ibid.* 14). “So pursue them with thy tempest,² and terrify them with thy storm” (*ibid.* 15).

¹ This Messianic passage is omitted in the modern editions owing to the fear of the censor. The ten nations mentioned in the Psalm are, of course, only memories of the past. The MS. adds “etc.” at the end of its quotation; the verse continues: “As stubble before the wind.”

² Thus far the MS. quotes this verse.

CHAPTER XLV

THE GOLDEN CALF [62B. ii.]

RABBI SIMEON BEN JOCHAI said: When the Holy One, blessed be He, was revealed to Moses out of the thorn-bush, in order to send him to Egypt, Moses spake before the Holy One, blessed be He (saying): Sovereign of all the worlds! ¹ Swear to me that all things which I desire to do, ² Thou wilt do, so that I should not speak words before Pharaoh, and Thou wilt not fulfil them, for then will he slay me. And He swore unto him that "whatsoever thou || desirest to do, I will do, except with reference to two things," (namely,) to let him enter the land (of Canaan), ³ and (to postpone) the day of (his) death. Whence do we know that He swore unto him? Because it is said, "By myself have I sworn, saith the Lord, the word is gone forth from my mouth in righteousness" (Isa. xlv. 23). ⁴ When Israel received the commandments they forgot their God ⁵ after forty days, and they said to Aaron: The Egyptians were carrying their god, and they were singing and uttering hymns ⁶ before it, and they saw it before them. Make unto us a god like the gods of the Egyptians, and let us see it before us, as it is said, "Up, make us a god" (Ex. xxxii. 1).

They betook themselves to the one who carried out

¹ This is also the reading of the Prague edition. The Venice edition omits "all."

² Just as God agreed to comply with the request of Moses in Ex. viii. 13 and xxxiii. 17, and Num. xvi. 31.

³ Cf. Deut. iv. 21.

⁴ The quotation from Genesis (xxii. 16) given in the printed texts is hardly applicable to Moses. The quotation as in our text does not quite agree with M.T., which omits "saith the Lord."

⁵ Cf. Ps. cvi. 21.

⁶ See *supra*, p. 333; Pal. Targum on Ex. xxxii. 5; T.J. Soṭah iii. 4. 19a; and see also Num. Rab. ix. 49.

the words of Moses,¹ (to) Aaron his brother, and Hur, the son of his sister. Whence (do we know) that Hur was the son of (Moses') sister? Because it is said, "And Caleb took unto him Ephrath,² which bare him Hur" (1 Chron. ii. 19). Why was Miriam's name called Ephrath?³ Because she was a daughter of the palace,⁴ a daughter of kings, one of the magnates of the generation; for every prince and great man who arose in Israel had his name called an Ephrathite, as it is said, "And Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, an Ephrathite"⁵ (1 Kings xi. 26); and it says, "And David was the son of that Ephrathite" (1 Sam. xvii. 12). Was he then an Ephrathite? Was he not of the tribe of Judah? But he was a nobleman,⁴ a son of kings, one of the magnates of the generation. But since Hur was of the tribe of Judah, and one of the magnates of the generation, he began to reprove Israel with harsh words,⁶ and the plunderers⁷ who were in Israel arose against him, and slew him.

Aaron arose || and saw that Hur, the son of his sister, was slain; and he built for them an altar, as it is said, "And when Aaron saw this,⁸ he built an altar before it" (Ex. xxxii. 5).

Aaron argued with himself, saying: If I say to Israel, Give ye to me gold and silver, they will bring it immediately;

¹ The Venice text reads: "to the companions of Moses."

² The quotation ends here in the MS.; it is continued in the first editions.

³ See T.B. Soṭah, 11b; and Ex. Rab. i. 17.

⁴ פלטיני (*palatinus*; παλατινος, παλατινή), a palatina, a daughter of a nobleman. See Midrash Agadah, Ex. p. 122.

⁵ R.V. has: "Ephraimite." Jeroboam was of the tribe of Ephraim; he was not an inhabitant of the city of Ephrath, but of Zeredah. See 1 Kings xi. 26.

⁶ See Num. Rab. xv. 7; Ex. Rab. xli. 7, xlvi. 4; and Lev. Rab. x. 3.

⁷ The first editions read: "despised ones." See Tanchuma Tezavveh, § x. Whilst Moses ascended Mount Sinai, Aaron and Hur were left in charge of the Israelites; and when Moses descended the Mount he refers to Aaron only. Hence the inference that Hur was dead. See *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, pp. 205 f.; parallels to Rabbinic literature are given there, p. 206, note 1.

⁸ MS. omits this first part of the quotation. The first editions read: "And Aaron saw (what had happened) to Hur, for he was slain; and he built an altar, as it is said, 'And Aaron saw' (Ex. xxxii. 5). What did he see? (He saw) that Hur, the son of his sister, had been slain, and he built an altar, as it is said, 'And he built an altar'" (*ibid.*). See Rashi, *in loc.*, and Midrash Agadah, Ex. p. 181.

but behold I will say to them, Give ye to me the earrings of your wives, and of your sons,¹ and forthwith the matter will fail,² as it is said, "And Aaron said to them, Break off the golden rings" (*ibid.* 2). The women heard (this), but they were unwilling³ to give their earrings to their husbands; but they said to them: Ye desire to⁴ make a graven image and a molten image without any power in it to deliver. The Holy One, blessed be He, gave the women their reward in this world and in the world to come. What reward did He give them in this world? That they should observe the New Moons⁵ more stringently than the men, and what reward will He give them in the world to come? They are destined to be renewed like the New Moons, as it is said, "Who satisfieth thy years with good things;⁶ so that thy youth is renewed like the eagle" (Ps. ciii. 5).

The men saw that the women would not consent to give their earrings to their husbands. What did they do? Until that hour the earrings were (also) in their own ears, after the fashion of the Egyptians, and after the fashion of the Arabs.⁷ They broke off their earrings which were in their own ears, and they gave (them) to Aaron, as it is said, "And all the people brake off || the golden rings which were in their ears" (Ex. xxxii. 3). "Which were in the ears of their wives" is not written here, but "which were in *their* ears." Aaron found among the earrings one plate of gold upon which the Holy Name was written, and engraven thereon was the figure of a calf, and that (plate) alone did he cast into the fiery furnace,⁸ as it is said, "So they gave *it* me:⁹ and I cast it into the fire, and there came out this calf" (*ibid.* 24). It is not written here, "And I cast them in," but "And I cast *it* in the fire, and there came out this

¹ The first editions add: "and of your daughters."

² See Tanchuma, Ki Thissa, § xix., and Zohar, Ex. 192a.

³ The first editions add: "and they did not consent."

⁴ The "addition" (Tosaphoth) to Rashi on T.B. Megillah, 22b, reads as in our MS., but the first editions read: "To make an idol, and an abomination without power in it to deliver—we will not listen to you."

⁵ This custom is referred to in T. J. Pesachim iv. 1. 30d; T. J. Ta'anith i. 6. 64c; see "addition" (Tosaphoth) to Rashi on T.B. Megillah, *loc. cit.*; Jarchi's Manhig, 43, and Rokeach, 228, and cf. *infra*, p. 410.

⁶ The quotation ends here in the MS. and in the first editions.

⁷ See Judg. viii. 24, which speaks of the earrings of the Ishmaelites.

⁸ See Pal. Targum on Ex. xxxii. 24.

⁹ This first part of the verse is given by the first editions, the MS. omits the quotation here, although "as it is said" is given.

calf." The calf came out lowing, and the Israelites saw it,¹ and they went astray after it.

Rabbi Jehudah said: Sammael² entered into it, and he was lowing to mislead Israel, as it is said, "The ox knoweth his owner"³ (Isa. i. 3).

The Holy One, blessed be He, said to Moses: Israel has forgotten the might of My power, which I wrought for them in Egypt and at the Reed Sea,⁴ and they have made an idol for themselves. He said to Moses:⁵ Go, get thee down from thy greatness.⁶ Moses spake before the Holy One, blessed be He: Sovereign of all the worlds! Whilst Israel had not yet sinned before Thee, Thou didst call them "My people," as it is said, "And I will bring forth *my* hosts, *my* people" (Ex. vii. 4). Now that they have sinned before Thee, Thou sayest unto me, "Go, get thee down, for *thy* people have corrupted themselves" (*ibid.* xxxii. 7). They are Thy people, and Thine inheritance, as it is said, "Yet they are thy people and thine inheritance" (Deut. ix. 29).

Moses took || the tables (of the law),⁷ and he descended, and the tables carried their own weight⁸ and Moses with them; but when they beheld the calf and the dances,⁹ the writing fled from off the tables,¹⁰ and they became heavy in his hands,¹¹ and Moses was not able to carry himself and

¹ "And they went astray after it" is omitted by the first editions, but it is preserved by R. Bechai in his comm. on Ex. *in loc.*

² The later editions read: "Satan." See Introduction, p. li.

³ The owner is Satan according to the Midrash; see T.B. Berakhoth, 32a, and cf. Ps. cvi. 19, 20. The first editions add here: "All Israel saw it, and kissed it, and bowed down to it, and sacrificed to it."

⁴ See Ps. cvi. 22.

⁵ The first editions and MS. Gaster read: "as it is said, 'Go, get thee down: for thy people have corrupted themselves' (Ex. xxxii. 7). He spake to Moses: 'Go, get thee down, for thy people have corrupted themselves.'" ¹

⁶ See *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, p. 207.

⁷ See T.J. Ta'anith iv. 4. 68b, and Ex. Rab. xxviii. 1. Moses took them against the will of the heavenly host.

⁸ See *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, p. 212; cf. T.B. Soṭah, 35a, with reference to the ark of the Covenant and its transportation. MS. Gaster reads: "When Moses came to the camp and saw the calf."

⁹ The first editions read: "the cymbals, the dances, and the calf."

¹⁰ Cf. Aboth de R. Nathan (a) xli. p. 67a; T.B. Pesachim, 87b; Leḳach Tob, Ex. p. 102a, and see Pal. Targum on Ex. xxxii. 19. The first editions read: "fled and flew away from off the tables."

¹¹ See T.B. Nedarim, 38a, and Deut. Rab. iii. 12.

the tables, and he cast them from his hand,¹ and they were broken beneath the mount, as it is said, "And Moses' anger waxed hot,² and he cast the tables out of his hands, and brake them beneath the mount"³ (Ex. xxxii. 19).

Moses said to Aaron: What hast thou done to this people? Thou hast made them unruly, like a woman who is unchecked⁴ owing to immorality. He said to Moses: I saw what they did to Hur, and I feared very greatly.

Rabbi said: All the princes were not associated in the affair of the calf, as it is said, "And upon the nobles⁵ of the children of Israel⁶ he laid not his hand" (*ibid.* xxiv. 11). The word ("Azilê") means the "princes," therefore they were accounted worthy to gaze upon the glory⁷ of the Shekhinah, as it is said, "And they saw the God of Israel" (*ibid.* 10).⁸

Rabbi Jehudah said: The tribe of Levi⁹ also did not associate itself in the affair of the calf, as it is said, "Then Moses stood in the gate of the camp,⁶ and said, Whoso is on the Lord's side (let him come) unto me. And all the sons of Levi gathered themselves together unto him" (*ibid.* xxxii. 26). Moses saw that the tribe of Levi was with him.¹⁰ He became strengthened with his might, and he burnt the calf with fire,¹¹ and powdered it, like the dust¹² of the earth, and he cast its dust upon the face of the waters, as it is said, "And he took the || calf which they had made" (*ibid.* 20). He made Israel drink the water (with the dust of the calf). Everyone who had kissed the calf with all

¹ See T.B. Sabbath, 87b.

² Thus far the quotation in the MS.; the printed texts give the latter part of the verse only.

³ See Rashbam's comm. *in loc.*

⁴ For the phrase cf. Num. v. 18 with Pal. Targum thereon. See also *supra*, p. 100, and cf. Num. Rab. ix. 49.

⁵ "Azilê." See T.B. Megillah, 10b; Tanna de bê Elijahu Rab. ix. p. 52, and cf. Kallah i. (end).

⁶ Thus far the quotation in the MS.; in the first editions it is continued.

⁷ The first editions read: "the presence."

⁸ P.R.E. identifies here the Shekhinah with the Deity.

⁹ See T.B. Joma, 66b, and T.B. Chagigah, 6b.

¹⁰ The first editions read: "had not associated itself with them."

¹¹ The first editions and MS. Gaster read: "Forthwith was he strengthened and endowed with might, that he took the calf and burnt it with fire."

¹² Read כעפר, as in MS. Gaster and the Venice edition.

his heart, his upper lip and his bones¹ became golden,² and the tribe of Levi slew him,³ until there fell of Israel about three thousand men,⁴ as it is said, "And the sons of Levi did according to the word of Moses" (*ibid.* 28).

The Holy One, blessed be He, sent five angels to destroy Israel. (The angels were) Wrath, Anger, Temper, Destruction, and Glow of Anger.⁵ Moses heard,⁶ and he went to invoke Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob⁷ at the Cave of Machpelah, and he said: If ye be of the children of the world to come, stand ye before me in this hour, for behold your children are given over like sheep to the slaughter.⁸ Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob stood there before him. Moses spake before the Holy One, blessed be He (saying): Sovereign of all the worlds! Didst Thou not swear to these (forefathers) thus to increase their seed like the stars of the heaven, as it is said, "Remember Abraham, Isaac, and Israel,⁹ thy servants, to whom thou swarest by thine own self, and saidst unto them, I will multiply your seed as the stars of heaven" (*ibid.* 13).

By the merit of the three patriarchs, the three angels, Wrath, Anger, and Temper, were restrained from (doing harm to) Israel. But two (angels) remained. Moses spake before the Holy One, blessed be He: Sovereign of all the universe! For the sake of the oath which Thou didst swear unto them, keep back (the angel) Destruction || from Israel, as it is said, "To whom thou swarest by thine own self" (*ibid.*); and Destruction was kept back from Israel, as it is said, "But he, being full of compassion, forgave

¹ The first editions read: "his lips became golden."

² Cf. the legend of Midas in Ovid's *Metam.* xi. See also Pal. Targum, Ex. xxxii. 20, and cf. Jalkuṭ Makhiri on Ps. lxxviii. p. 15a.

³ See Tanna de bê Elijahu Rab. iv. p. 17, and cf. T.B. Joma, *loc. cit.*

⁴ The quotation does not appear in the printed editions.

⁵ See Ex. Rab. xli. 5 (end); Shoher Ṭob on Ps. vii. p. 33b; Tanchuma (ed. Buber), Ex. pp. 57a, b; Deut. Rab. iii. 11; and cf. T.B. Sabbath, 55a; T.B. Nedarim, 32a; and T.B. Berakhoth, *loc. cit.*

⁶ God's threat to destroy Israel; see Ex. xxxii. 10.

⁷ See Jalkuṭ on Ps. vii. § 637: "He went to the cave of Machpelah," as in our MS.; this phrase does not occur in the printed editions of our book. See also Midrash Agadah, Ex. p. 182. For a parallel in Christian literature see the Acts of Andrew and Matthias (*A.N.C.L.* xvi. p. 356); cf. also 4 Ezra vii. 106 f., and Assumption of Moses, xii. 6.

⁸ For this phrase see Jer. xii. 3. Cf. T.B. Sabbath, 129b.

⁹ The quotation ends here in the MS. and the first editions.

their iniquity,¹ and *destroyed*² (them) not" (Ps. lxxviii. 38). Moses spake before the Holy One, blessed be He: Sovereign of all worlds! For the sake of Thy great and holy Name, which Thou didst make known unto me,³ hold back from Israel (the angel called) Glow of Anger, (as it is said,⁴) "Turn away from thy *fierce*⁵ anger" (Ex. xxxii. 12). What did Moses do? He dug in the earth in the possession of Gad,⁶ as (though for the foundation of) a large dwelling, and he buried "Fierce Anger" in the earth,⁷ like a man who is bound in the prison.⁸ Every time Israel sins it arises and opens its mouth to bite⁹ with its breath, and to destroy Israel. Moses pronounced against it the (divine) Name,¹⁰ and brought it down beneath the earth. Therefore is its name called Peor (the one who opens). When Moses died, what did the Holy One, blessed be He, do? He put his burial-place opposite to it. Every time Israel sins¹¹ it opens its mouth to bite with its breath, and to destroy Israel, but (when) it sees the burial-place of Moses opposite to it, it¹² returns backward, as it is said, "And he buried him in the valley,¹³ in the land of Moab, over against the house of Peor" (Deut. xxxiv. 6).¹⁴

¹ In the MS. the quotation ends here, it is continued in the first editions. See Wisdom xviii. 22, 25 for a parallel.

² *i.e.* there was no "Destruction." Cf. Deut. x. 10.

³ The first editions and MS. Gaster read: "For the sake of the oath which thou didst swear unto me."

⁴ "As it is said" is wanting in the MS.; it occurs in the first editions.

⁵ חרוך, fierce; also used as the name of the angel here.

⁶ See Tosaphoth to T.B. Soṭah, 14a. The first editions and MS. Gaster read: "the children of Gad."

⁷ Cf. Job xl. 13 with Targum thereon, and Lev. Rab. x. (end).

⁸ Cf. Jubilees xlviii. 15: "the prince of the Mastema was bound and imprisoned."

⁹ Einhorn suggests the reading לנשוף, "to blow," instead of לנשוך, "to bite." See T.B. Synhedrin, 64a. MS. Gaster reads: "to blow."

¹⁰ The New Testament speaks of the invocation of the name of Jesus in order to exorcise demons; see Mark ix. 38 and Acts iv. 10.

¹¹ See Tosaphoth to T.B. Soṭah, *loc. cit.*: "Every year at that season when they sinned with the daughters of Moab, it arises to accuse them."

¹² The first editions and MS. Gaster add: "it becomes afraid."

¹³ The quotation ends here in the MS.; it is continued in the first editions.

¹⁴ See Pal. Targum, *in loc.*, and Jalḳuṭ, Deut. § 965.

CHAPTER XLVI

MOSES ON THE MOUNT [64A. ii.]

RABBI ELAZAR, son of 'Azariah, said: On Friday, || on the 6th of the month,¹ at the sixth hour of the day, Israel received the Commandments.² At the ninth hour of the day they returned to their tents, and the Manna was prepared for them for two days,³ and Israel rested on that Sabbath full of joy as (with) the joy of the festival, because they were worthy to hear the voice of the Holy One, blessed be He, as it is said, "For who is there of all flesh,⁴ that hath heard the voice of the living God speaking out of the midst of the fire, as we have, and lived?" (Deut. v. 26). The Holy One, blessed be He, said to Moses in a pure expression of speech:⁵ Go, tell the children of Israel, that for My sake they should return to their tents, (as it is said,⁶) "Go, say to them, Return ye to your tents" (*ibid.* 30). It is possible that even thou (Moses) shouldst return. Hence thou mayest learn that from the hour when Moses brought down the Torah to Israel, he did not approach his wife,⁷ as it is said, "But as for thee, stand thou *here by me*" (*ibid.* 31).

Rabbi Joshua, son of Korchah, said: Forty days was Moses on the mountain, reading the Written Law by day, and

¹ See *supra*, p. 318; and cf. Mekhilta, Jethro iii. p. 63b; T.B. Sabbath, 86b and 88a; Book of Jashar lxxxii. 6; Pal. Targum to Ex. xix. 16; and cf. Roḳeach, 296.

² *i.e.* at 12 o'clock noon; the day begins at 6 a.m.; see Tosephta 'Arakhin i. 9, p. 543.

³ For Friday and Sabbath.

⁴ The quotation ends here in the MS.; in the first editions it is continued up to "living God."

⁵ *i.e.* an elegant expression, euphemism. "Tent" signifies the wife who is to be found in the *tent*. This is wanting in MS. Gaster.

⁶ "As it is said" is wanting in the MS.; it occurs in the first editions.

⁷ See *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, p. 270, where in note 2 it is pointed out that the Church Father Aphraates knew this legend.

studying the Oral Law¹ by night. After the forty days he took the tables (of the Law) and descended into the camp on the 17th of Tammuz,² and he broke in pieces the tables, and slew the sinners³ in Israel. He then spent forty days in the camp, until he had burnt the calf, and powdered it like⁴ the dust of the earth,⁵ and he had destroyed the idol worship from Israel,⁶ and he instituted every tribe in its place. And on the New Moon of Ellul⁷ the Holy One, blessed be He, said to him: "Come up || to me on the mount" (Ex. xxiv. 12), and let them sound the Shophar (trumpet) throughout the camp, for, behold, Moses has ascended the mount, so that they do not go astray again after the worship of idols. The Holy One, blessed be He, was exalted⁸ with that Shophar, as it is said, "God is exalted⁹ with a shout,¹⁰ the Lord with the sound of a trumpet" (Ps. xlvi. 5).

Therefore the sages instituted that the Shophar should be sounded on the New Moon of Ellul every year.¹¹

Rabbi Tachanah¹² said: The tables (of the Law) were not created out of the earth but out of the heavens, the handicraft¹³ of the Holy One, blessed be He, as it is said, "And the tables, the work of God were *they*" (Ex. xxxii. 16).

¹ Lit. "Mishnah." See Shocher Tob on Ps. xix. 7, p. 83b.

² See Mishnah Ta'anith, 26b.

³ See Nachmanides, Commentary on Ex. xxxiii. 7. Asheri at end of T.B. Rosh Ha-Shanah reads: "the Levites slew the Israelites." The first editions read "וּבְיָמָיו".

⁴ See *supra*, p. 356, n. 12. The first editions read: "in the dust." Luria's text reads: "like the dust."

⁵ The first editions and MS. Gaster add: "and he had slain everyone who had kissed the calf."

⁶ Cf. T.B. 'Abodah Zarah, 44a.

⁷ Asheri (*loc. cit.*) considers the reading in our text to be faulty. Moses was three times on Mount Sinai, each time forty days. On the 18th of Tammuz he ascended the second time and descended on the 29th of Ab. See Seder'Olam Rab. vi. p. 15a; Midrash Agadah, Ex. p. 185; Tanchuma, Ki Thissa, § xxxi.; Lekach Tob, Ex. p. 103b; and cf. Tosa-photh on T.B. Baba Kamma, 82a, catchword, "In order that." Nachmanides, Comm. Ex. *loc. cit.*, also disputes our author. See also Rokeach, 208; Tanna de bê Elijahu Zutta, iv. p. 178; and Jalkut, Ex. § 391.

⁸ The first editions read: "on that day and with that Shophar."

⁹ R.V. gives "gone up."

¹⁰ The quotation ends here in the MS.; in the first editions it is continued.

¹¹ See Tur, Orach Chayyim, 581, which reads: "every year and during all the month." See Menorath Ha-Maor, § 290, and Jarchi's Manhig, 24.

¹² Cf. *infra*, p. 430.

¹³ Cf. Ps. cii. 25, for phraseology. See Lekach Tob, Ex. p. 102a, and Jalkut, Ex. § 392.

They are the tables which were of old,¹ “*and the writing*” was divine writing; that was the writing which was of old, “*graven*² upon the tables.” Do not read Charuth, “graven,” but (read) Chêruth, “liberty.”³ When the Holy One, blessed be He, said to Moses: “Hew thee two tables of stone⁴ like unto the first” (*ibid.* xxxiv. 1), a quarry of sapphires⁵ was created for Moses in the midst of his tent,⁶ and he cut them out (thence), as it is said, “And he hewed two tables of stone like unto the first” (*ibid.* 4). Moses descended with the tables, and spent forty days on the mountain, sitting down before the Holy One, blessed be He, like a disciple who is sitting before his teacher,⁷ reading the Written Law, and repeating the Oral Law which he had learnt.

The ministering angels said to him: Moses! This Torah has been given only for our sakes.⁸ Moses replied to them: It is written in the Torah, “Honour thy father⁹ || and thy mother” (*ibid.* xx. 12). Have ye then father and mother? Again, it is written in the Torah, “When a man dieth in the tent” (Num. xix. 14). Does death happen among you? ¹⁰ They were silent, and did not answer anything further.¹¹

Hence (the sages) say: Moses went up to the heavenly regions with his wisdom, and brought down the might of the trust ¹² of the ministering angels, as it is said, “A wise man ¹³

¹ “*Mikkedem*” probably refers in our book to premundane creation; see *supra*, p. 11. The text of the verse Ex. xxxii. 16 continues: “And the writing was the writing of God, graven upon the tables.”

² This word only is given in the MS.; the first editions continue the quotation.

³ See T.B. 'Erubin, 54a. The meaning of the Haggadah is: You are free if you observe the Torah. See Aboth vi. 2; and Aboth de R. Nathan (a) ii. p. 5b.

⁴ Thus far the quotation in the MS. and in the first editions.

⁵ See T.B. Nedarim, 38a.

⁶ See Siphre, Num. § 101; Lev. Rab. xxxii. 2; Eccles. Rab. to Eccles. ix. 11, and x. (end).

⁷ See T.B. Megillah, 21a.

⁸ See T.B. Sabbath, 88a, with reference to the first tables; here in our book the second tables are considered.

⁹ Thus far our MS. text; the first editions read till “mother.” See *Pesikta Rabbathi*, p. 98a.

¹⁰ The first editions add: “(The Torah) has been given for our sake only.” See *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, pp. 198 ff., where the legend as told by the Talmud B. Sabbath, 88b and 89a, is translated. See also T.B. Chagigah, 16a.

¹¹ The phrase is borrowed from Job xxxii. 15.

¹² *i.e.* the great trust.

¹³ *i.e.* Moses.

scalesh the city of the mighty,¹ and bringeth down the strength² of the confidence thereof” (Prov. xxi. 22). When the ministering angels saw that the Holy One, blessed be He, gave the Torah to Moses, they also arose and gave unto him presents and letters³ and tablets⁴ for healing the sons of man, as it is said, “Thou hast ascended on high, thou hast led thy captivity captive;⁵ thou hast received gifts among men” (Ps. lxxviii. 18).

The Son of Betheria said: Moses spent forty days on the mount, expounding the meaning of the words of the Torah, and examining its letters.⁶ After forty days he took the Torah, and descended on the tenth of the month,⁷ on the Day of Atonement, and gave it as an *everlasting* inheritance to the children of Israel, as it is said, “And *this* shall be unto you an *everlasting* statute” (Lev. xvi. 34).⁸

Rabbi Zechariah said: They read in the Torah⁹ and found written therein, “And ye shall afflict your souls” (*ibid.* 29), and on the Day of Atonement¹⁰ they caused a Shophar to be sounded throughout all the camp and proclaimed a fast for all Israel,¹¹ old and young.¹² Were it not for the Day of Atonement the world could not stand,¹³ because the Day of Atonement is¹⁴ in this world and in the world to

¹ *i.e.* Heaven. The angels are called mighty heroes; see Ps. ciii. 20, and cf. Aboth de R. Nathan (*a*) xxiii. p. 38a; Lev. Rab. xxxi. 5. The angels according to the Midrash are male creatures, “Gibborim.” They have no females in their company. In the MS. the quotation ends here; it is continued in the first editions.

² *i.e.* the Torah. See *supra*, p. 319, on “‘Ôz” (might) as a term used to denote the Torah.

³ The Prague edition reads: “bound together” instead of “letters.” This is an error.

⁴ See T.B. Kiddushin, 73b; “Pittakin,” *πιττάκιον*, tablet. See *infra*, p. 399, and *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, p. 260.

⁵ The quotation ends here in the MS. and in the first editions.

⁶ See T.B. Menachoth, 29b.

⁷ The first editions read: “the seventh month.”

⁸ See Leḳach Tob, Ex. p. 103b. “This” (Zôth) refers to the Torah in the Midrash. Here it also refers to the institution of the Day of Atonement. See Seder ‘Olam Rab. vi. p. 15a, note 17; and Tanna de bê Elijahu Zuṭṭa iv. p. 181.

⁹ See T.B. Giṭṭin, 60a, on the public reading of the Torah. The section referred to is Lev. xxi.—xxiv.

¹⁰ The first editions read: “on that selfsame day.”

¹¹ The first editions read: “all the people, both men and women.”

¹² See T.B. Sukkah, 28a, b.

¹³ See my sermon on “Judaism: the Religion of Life” (1913), p. 4.

¹⁴ The Venice edition reads: “effects atonement.” MS. Gaster omits till “effects reconciliation” (p. 363).

come,¹ || as it is said, "It is a sabbath of sabbaths unto you" (*ibid.* 31). "A sabbath" refers to this world, "sabbaths" refers to the world to come. Moreover, if all the festivals pass away,² the Day of Atonement will not pass away, for the Day of Atonement effects reconciliation for serious offences³ as well as for slight offences. Whence do we know that the Day of Atonement effects reconciliation? Because it is said, "For on this day shall atonement be made⁴ for you, to cleanse you; *from all* your sins shall ye be clean" (*ibid.* 30). "From your sins" is not written here, but "from *all* your sins shall ye be clean before the Lord" (*ibid.*).

Sammael⁵ said before the Holy One, blessed be He: Sovereign of all the universe! Thou hast given me power⁶ over all the nations of the world, but over Israel Thou hast not given me power. He answered him, saying: Behold, thou hast power over them on the Day of Atonement if they have any sin, but if not, thou hast no power over them. Therefore they gave him a present⁷ on the Day of Atonement, in order that they should not bring their offering,⁸ as it is said, "One lot for the Lord, and the other lot for *Azazel*"⁹ (*ibid.* 8).

The lot for the Holy One, blessed be He, was the offering of a burnt offering, and the lot for *Azazel* was the goat as a sin offering, for all the iniquities of Israel were upon it, as it

¹ See T.B. Joma, 86a, and T.B. Kethuboth, 103b.

² According to one opinion all the festivals except Purim will pass away in the future; cf. T.J. Megillah, i. 7. 70d.

³ See Mishnah Shebu'oth i. 1; Maimonides, *Hilkhoth Teshubah* i. 2. Cf. T.B. Kerithoth, 26a.

⁴ The quotation ends here in the MS.; it is continued in the first editions.

⁵ The first editions read: "On the day when the Torah was given, Sammael," etc.

⁶ See T.B. Joma, 20a. The New Testament has a parallel idea. See the expression "son of the devil," Acts xiii. 10, and cf. Matt. iii. 7, and John viii. 44.

⁷ Or "bribe."

⁸ To Sammael. The first editions read: "in order not to annul the offering of Israel." Luria suggests an alteration in the text: "that he should not come nigh to accuse them." See *'Arukh*, ed. Kohut, vi. p. 182a, s.v. *איך*, and cf. R. Bechai, *in loc.*, and T.B. Joma, 67b, for the only reference in the Talmud to 'Azza (or, 'Uzza) and *Azazel* as angels. See also Jastrow, T.D. 1049a, and cf. T.B. Nedarim, 32b, and Lev. Rab. xxi. on "Satan," and see Rokeach, 216.

⁹ *Azazel* is to be identified with Satan or Sammael. See Zunz, *Gesammelte Schriften*, i. p. 236.

is said, "And the goat shall bear upon him¹ all their iniquities" (*ibid.* 22). Sammael saw that sin was not to be found among them on the Day of Atonement. He said before the Holy One, blessed be He: Sovereign of all the universe! Thou hast one people like the ministering angels who are in heaven. Just as the ministering angels || have bare feet,² so have the Israelites bare feet on the Day of Atonement.³ Just as the ministering angels have neither food nor drink,⁴ so the Israelites have neither food nor drink on the Day of Atonement. Just as the ministering angels have no joints, in like wise the Israelites stand upon their feet. Just as the ministering angels have peace obtaining amongst them,⁵ so the Israelites have peace obtaining amongst them on the Day of Atonement.⁶ Just as the ministering angels are innocent of all sin on the Day of Atonement, so are the Israelites innocent of all sin on the Day of Atonement. The Holy One, blessed be He, hears the prayers⁷ of Israel rather than (the charges brought by) their accuser,⁸ and He makes atonement for the altar, and for the sanctuary, and for the priests,⁹ and for all the people of the congregation both great and small, as it is said, "And he shall make atonement for the holy place" (*ibid.* 16).

Moses said: On the Day of Atonement I will behold the glory of the Holy One, blessed be He, and I will make atonement for the iniquities of Israel.¹⁰ Moses spake before the Holy One, blessed be He: Sovereign of all the universe! "Shew me, I pray thee, thy glory" (Ex. xxxiii. 18). The Holy One, blessed be He, said to him: Moses! Thou art

¹ Thus far the quotation in the MS.

² The first editions read: "have no joints," *i.e.* in the feet and legs, and therefore they cannot sit down. See T.J. Berakhoth i. p. 2c; Gen. Rab. lxxv. 21; Ruth Rab. i. (beg.); and 'Arukh, *s.v.* קפפ.

³ The custom still obtains. See Orach Chayyim, 124.

⁴ The first editions add: "on the Day of Atonement."

⁵ See T.B. Chagigah, 15a; Shocher Tob on Ps. i. p. 1b.

⁶ See T.B. Joma, 58b. The Day of Atonement effects atonement only between God and man; in order for man to be fully pardoned he must be reconciled with his fellow-creature. Cf. T.B. Ta'anith, 22a.

⁷ The Prague edition reads: "their testimony." MS. Gaster reads: "the misfortunes of Israel."

⁸ "Κατῆγορ," κατηγορός, accuser. See *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, p. 74. Should the line read: "rather than the testimony of Israel from the accuser"?

⁹ See Mishnah Shebu'oth i. 1, and T.B. Shebu'oth, 14b.

¹⁰ Moses stood in the cleft of the rock and beheld the Divine Vision on the Day of Atonement, when God pardoned Israel.

not able to see My glory lest thou die, as it is said, "For men shall not see me and live" (*ibid.* 20); but for the sake of the oath which I have sworn unto thee¹ I will do thy will. Stand at the entrance of || the cave,² and I will make all the angels³ who move⁴ before Me pass before thy face. Stand in thy might, and do not fear, as it is said, "And he said, I will make all my goodness pass before thee" (*ibid.* 19). When thou dost hear the Name which I have spoken to thee,⁵ there am I before thee, as it is said, "And he said, I will make all my goodness pass before thee" (*ibid.*).⁶

The ministering angels said: Behold, we serve before Him by day and by night, and we are unable to see His glory,⁷ and this one born of woman⁸ desires to see His glory. And they arose⁹ in wrath and excitement¹⁰ to slay him, and his soul came nigh unto death.¹¹ What did the Holy One, blessed be He, do? He revealed Himself unto him in a cloud,¹² as it is said, "And the Lord descended in the cloud" (*ibid.* xxxiv. 5). This was the seventh descent.¹³

The Holy One, blessed be He, protected him¹⁴ with the hollow of His hand that he should not die, as it is said, "And it shall come to pass, while my glory passeth by,¹⁵ that I will put thee in a cleft of the rock, and I will cover thee with my hand" (*ibid.* xxxiii. 22). When the Holy

¹ See *supra*, p. 358. The first editions add: "and the Name which I have made known unto thee."

² See Pal. Targum, Ex. xxxiii. 22. Cf. 1 Kings xix. 9; Elijah stood at the entrance of the cave. Cf. T.B. Megillah, 19b.

³ Where do we find this idea? See Midrash Agadah, Ex. p. 185.

⁴ The first editions read: "who minister."

⁵ See Ex. Rab. xxiii. 15.

⁶ Instead of this part of the verse, the first editions read here: "And I will be gracious to whom I will be gracious, and I will shew mercy on whom I will shew mercy" (Ex. xxxiii. 19).

⁷ See Siphre, Num. § 58, and Num. Rab. xiv. 21. Cf. *supra*, p. 25. The first editions have all the pronouns referring to God in the second person.

⁸ Who sleeps by night. Cf. *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, pp. 198f., and Aboth de R. Nathan (a) ii. p. 5b, note 39.

⁹ Against "him" is added by the first editions and MS. Gaster.

¹⁰ The wording is borrowed from 2 Chron. xxvi. 20. See T.B. Megillah, 29a.

¹¹ Cf. Dan. iii. 28.

¹² To protect him. See T.B. Chullin, 91b.

¹³ See *supra*, p. 97.

¹⁴ Cf. Ps. xci. 4: "He shall cover thee with his pinions, and under his wings shalt thou take refuge." See Pesikta Rabbathi, p. 37b; and Tanchuma (ed. Buber), Ex. p. 57a.

¹⁵ The quotation ends here in the MS.

One, blessed be He, had passed by, He removed the hollow of His hand from him, and he saw the traces of the Shekhinah, as it is said, "And I will take away mine hand,¹ and thou shalt see my back" (*ibid.* 23). Moses began to cry with a loud voice, and he said: ² "O Lord, O Lord, a God full of compassion and gracious . . ." (*ibid.* xxxiv. 6).

Moses said before the Holy One, blessed be He: Sovereign of all worlds! Pardon now the iniquities of this people.³ He said to him: Moses! If thou hadst said, Pardon now the iniquities of all Israel, even to the end of all generations (He would have done so).⁴ It was an acceptable time. || But thou hast said: Pardon, I beseech Thee, the iniquities of this people with reference to the affair of the calf. He said to him: Moses! Behold, let it be according to thy words, as it is said, "And the Lord said, I have pardoned according to thy word" (Num. xiv. 20).⁵

¹ In the MS. and the first editions the quotation ends here.

² Moses is the one who declares the thirteen divine attributes. See T.B. Joma, 36b.

³ The first editions and MS. Gaster read: "the iniquities of Israel in connection with the affair of the (golden) calf. But if Moses had said: Pardon," etc.

⁴ The words: "He would have done so," do not occur in our MS.; but the first editions and MS. Gaster have this reading, and they add: "because it was an acceptable time; and thus it says: 'In an acceptable time have I answered thee'" (Isa. xlix. 8). See T.B. Berakhoth, 8a, and T.B. Jebamoth, 72a.

⁵ See Ex. Rab. li. 4, and Deut. Rab. iii. 17.

CHAPTER XLVII

THE ZEAL OF PHINEAS [66A. i.]

RABBI ELAZAR, son of 'Arakh, said: When the Holy One, blessed be He, descended upon Mount Sinai to give the Torah to Israel, sixty myriads¹ of the ministering angels descended with Him, corresponding to the sixty myriads of the mighty men of Israel, and in their hands were swords and crowns,² and they crowned the Israelites with³ the Ineffable Name.⁴ All those days, whilst they had not done that deed,⁵ they were as good as⁶ the ministering angels before the Holy One, blessed be He. The Angel of Death did not hold sway over them, and they did not discharge any excretions⁷ like the children of man; but when they did that deed the Holy One, blessed be He, was angry with them, and He said to them: I thought that ye would be⁸ like the ministering angels, as it is said, "I said, Ye are angels,⁹ and all of you sons of the Most High" (Ps. lxxxii. 6). But now, "Nevertheless, ye shall die like men" (*ibid.* 7).

Rabbi Jehudah said: As long as a man is dressed in

¹ רבוא, "ten thousand." See T.B. Sabbath, 88a; and cf. Cant. Rab. on Cant. iii. 7.

² Cf. Wisdom xviii. 16; Cant. Rab. on Cant. viii. 4; Ex. Rab. xxix. 2; Zohar, Ex. 193b; Pesikta, pp. 107b, 124b; and the Targumim on Ex. xxxiii. 5. See 'Arukh, s.v. ווינאות, ווינאות, ווינאות, and Pesikta Rabbathi, pp. 98b, 154a.

³ The first editions add: "with the diadem of."

⁴ See *supra*, p. 22, and Bacher, T. ii. 118.

⁵ The making of the golden calf.

⁶ The first editions read: "They were better than the ministering angels."

⁷ See T.B. Joma, 75b; and cf. Num. Rab. vii. 4. The gnostics held similar views with reference to Jesus; see F. C. Conybeare, *Myth, Magic, and Morals*, p. 232.

⁸ The first editions add: "before Me."

⁹ "Elohim"; cf. Judg. xiii. 22. The quotation in our MS. ends here, but it is continued in the first editions.

his garments of glory, he is beautiful in his appearance¹ and in his honour;² so were the Israelites when they apparelled themselves with that Name—they were good before the Holy One, blessed be He, like the ministering angels. But when they did that deed (of the golden calf), the Holy One, blessed be He, was angry with them.³ || In that night the same⁴ sixty myriads of ministering angels⁵ descended,⁶ and they severally took from each one of them what they had put upon them, and they became bare,⁷ not according to their own wish, as it is said,⁸ “And the children of Israel stripped themselves” (Ex. xxxiii. 6). It is not written here,⁹ “the children of Israel took away,” but “the children of Israel stripped themselves.” Some say by itself (their adornment) was stripped off.¹⁰

Rabbi said: At every place where Israel *sat down*¹¹ in the wilderness, they made idols¹² for themselves, as it is said, “And the people *sat down* to eat and to drink” (*ibid.* xxxii. 6). What is written here? “And they rose up to play” (*ibid.*); they commenced to worship idols. One verse says, “And Israel *abode* in Shittim” (Num. xxv. 1). What is written here? “And the people began to commit whoredom¹³ with the daughters of Moab” (*ibid.*). They commenced to be immoral.¹⁴

¹ This reminds one of the English proverb: “Fine feathers make fine birds.”

² The first editions add: “and in his glory.”

³ The first editions add: “and He said to them: ‘Put off thy ornaments from thee, that I may know what to do unto thee’” (Ex. xxxiii. 5).

⁴ “The same” is in the MS. only.

⁵ See the different account in T.B. Sabbath, *loc. cit.*; according to this version, “One hundred and twenty myriads of ministering angels” were present at the Revelation at Sinai.

⁶ The first editions add: “Corresponding to the sixty myriads of the strong men of Israel.”

⁷ Cf. *supra*, p. 98.

⁸ The quotation is wanting in the MS.; it occurs in the first editions.

⁹ The first editions read: “‘They were stripped off,’ but ‘they stripped themselves’ with all their strength.” The later editions modify the last words and read: “against their will.”

¹⁰ Or, “it peeled off.”

¹¹ The verb here means “to sit down” or “to abide.”

¹² See Ex. Rab. xli. 11: “wherever you find a reference to sitting down you find some stumbling block” (occurring to the Israelites). Cf. also T.B. Synhedrin, 107a.

¹³ In the MS. the quotation ends here: it is continued in the first editions.

¹⁴ The first editions add: “This is idolatry.”

Rabbi Jehudah said: "The counsel of the wicked is far from me" (Job xxi. 16). This (text) refers to the counsel of Balaam, the wicked, who advised Midian, and there fell of Israel twenty-four thousand men. He said to them: You will not be able to prevail against this people, unless they have sinned before their Creator. They made for themselves booths¹ outside the camp of Israel, and they sold all kinds of merchandise of the market. The young men of Israel went beyond the camp of Israel and they saw the daughters of Midian, who had painted² their eyes like harlots, and they took wives of them, and went astray || after them, as it is said, "And the people began to commit whoredom with the daughters of Moab" (Num. xxv. 1).³

Simeon and Levi were exceedingly zealous because of the immorality, as it is said, "And they said, As with an harlot⁴ should he deal with our sister?" (Gen. xxxiv. 31). Each man took his sword and they slew the men of Shechem. The prince of the tribe of Simeon⁵ did not remember that which his ancestor⁶ had done, and he did not rebuke the young men of Israel, but he himself came⁷ publicly⁸ to the Midianitish woman for an immoral purpose, as it is said, "Now the name of the man of Israel that was slain,⁴ who was slain with the Midianitish woman, was Zimri . . . a prince of a fathers' house among the Simeonites" (Num. xxv. 14).

¹ Or "shops"; cf. *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, p. 242; Num. Rab. xx. 23; T.B. Synhedrin, 82b; and T.J. Synhedrin x. 2. 28d.

² In the Book of Jashar (lxxxv. 54) we read: "The children of Moab took all their daughters and wives of beautiful appearance and comely form and dressed them in gold and silver and costly raiment." See T.B. Synhedrin, 106a; Siphre, Num. § 131; T.J. Synhedrin, *loc. cit.*; cf. T.B. Synhedrin, 82b; Num. Rab., *loc. cit.*; Tanchuma, Balak, § xxvii., and Jalkut, Num. § 771; Pal. Targum to Num. xxv. 1; Midrash Agadah, Num., p. 147. Twelve miracles were connected with Phineas' deed; see Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, vol. iii. p. 387, and Pal. Targum, Num. xxv. 8.

³ In the 1st ed. the entire section is wanting; in the 2nd ed. the words "they sold . . . camp of Israel" are omitted.

⁴ Thus far the quotation in the MS.; it is continued in the first editions. The next sentence occurs in our MS. only.

⁵ See T.B. Synhedrin, *loc. cit.*

⁶ Simeon, son of Jacob, was zealous for the honour of his sister Dinah.

⁷ The Venice edition adds: "with immorality."

⁸ פרהים, παρρησία, "openly."

All the princes with Moses, Eleazar, and Phineas saw the angel who was to destroy the people,¹ and they sat down and wept, and they did not know what to do. Phineas saw how Zimri went publicly to the Midianitish woman for an immoral purpose, and he was moved by a great zeal,² and he snatched the spear out of the hand of Moses, and ran after (Zimri) and pierced him through the back, through the pudenda, and the spear went into the belly of the woman. Therefore the Holy One, blessed be He, gave a good reward to him and to his sons with the food of the shoulder.³ And the jaws were separated, the jaws of the man (from) the jaws of the woman; therefore the Holy One, blessed be He, gave him and his sons a good reward with the food of the cheeks,⁴ as it is said, "And they shall give unto the priest the shoulder,⁵ and the two cheeks, and the maw" (Deut. xviii. 3).

He arose like a great spiritual leader⁶ and he judged Israel,⁷ as it is said, "Then stood up Phineas, || and he executed *judgment*" (Ps. cvi. 30). What is the meaning of this expression, "And he executed judgment"? Like a great judge. Just as thou dost say,⁸ "And he shall pay as the judges determine" (Ex. xxi. 22). And he smote the young men of Israel⁹ so that all Israel should see and fear, as it is said, "And all Israel shall hear, and fear" (Deut. xxi. 21).¹⁰ The Holy One, blessed be He, saw what Phineas had done, and forthwith was He filled

¹ The first editions read: "the angel of death."

² To slay a prince, chief of one of the tribes.

³ The first editions read: "gave him the food of the maw. Moreover He strengthened his arms (so that) he fixed the spear in the earth, and they were found hanging from the top of the spear, the one above the other, the man above the woman." See Pal. Targum, Num., *loc. cit.*

⁴ The first editions read: "Gave him for food the cheeks." The gifts referred to were portions of certain sacrifices.

⁵ In the MS. the quotation ends here; it is continued in the first editions. For the Biblical account of the narrative see Num. xxv. 8. On this section see Gaster, *Jerahmeel*, p. xcvi and lv. 10-12, and Ginzberg, *op. cit.* p. 389.

⁶ דין, "judge" or spiritual leader. See Ex. Rab. xxxiii. 5 and T.B. Synhedrin, *loc. cit.*

⁷ The first editions read: "a judge for Israel."

⁸ This is an unusual form of introducing a quotation from the Bible in this book.

⁹ The first editions add here: "and they drew them throughout all the corners of the camp of Israel."

¹⁰ The quotation is given by the MS. only.

with compassion; the plague was stayed, as it is said, "And so the plague was stayed" (Num. xvi. 50).

Rabbi Eliezer said: He called¹ the name of Phineas by² the name of Elijah³—Elijah of blessed memory,⁴ (who was) of those who repented in Gilead, for he brought about the repentance of Israel⁵ in the land of Gilead. The Holy One, blessed be He, gave him the life of this world and the life of the world to come,⁶ as it is said,⁷ "My covenant was with him⁸ of *life and peace*" (Mal. ii. 5). He gave to him and to his sons a good reward,⁹ in order that (he might have) the everlasting priesthood, as it is said, "And it shall be unto him, and to his seed¹⁰ after him, the covenant of an everlasting priesthood" (Num. xxv. 13).

Rabbi Elazar of Modein said: Phineas arose, and pronounced the ban¹¹ upon Israel by the mystery of the Ineffable Name, and with the script which was written on the tables (of the Law), and by the ban of the celestial Court of Justice,¹² and by the ban of the terrestrial Court of Justice, that a man of Israel should not drink the wine

¹ The first editions read: "The Holy One, blessed be He, changed." See Jalkut, Num., *loc. cit.*

² The text literally means "like." Phineas flies in the heavens (see Pal. Targum to Num. xxxi. 8) by invoking the Ineffable Name. This is also done by Elijah; cf. Basset, *Les Apocryphes éthiopiens*, vii. p. 26; a parallel story occurs in the conflict between Peter and Simon Magus (see Hastings' *D.B.* iv. p. 523).

³ According to the Midrash Elijah was from Jerusalem of the tribe of Benjamin; see Ex. Rab. xl. 4; Gen. Rab. lxxi. 9; Tanna de bê Elijahu Rab. xviii. pp. 97 f. and note 57; and Tanna de bê Elijahu Zutta xv. p. 199 (end). Cf. Tosaphoth on T.B. Baba Mezi'a, 113b.

⁴ See *supra*, p. 2.

⁵ See T.B. Synhedrin, 106b, and Siphre, Num., *loc. cit.*

⁶ See T.B. Mo'ed Katan, 26a, "Elijah lives on"; cf. Ps. cvi. 30, where Phineas is spoken of by the Psalmist.

⁷ "Behold, I give my covenant of peace," and it is written: "My covenant was with him." This is the reading in the Jalkut, Num., *loc. cit.*, and is probably the most correct version preserved. "My covenant was with him" refers to Elijah, who is called the "angel." Phineas is also called the "angel"; see Lev. Rab. i. 1.

⁸ The quotation ends here in the MS.; it is continued in the first editions.

⁹ The first editions add: "between the righteous and the wicked."

¹⁰ The MS. reads "sons" instead of "seed after him," which is the MT. and the reading in the first editions.

¹¹ On the ban and the bread of the Cutheans see *supra*, p. 301.

¹² Cf. Liturgy of Evening of Day of Atonement, introduction to בל נרר.

of the nations¹ unless it had been trodden by the feet, as it is said, "And as for my sheep, that which ye have trodden with your feet² they eat, and they drink that which ye have fouled with your feet"³ (Ezek. xxxiv. 19). Because all the wine of the nations was devoted to idolatry and immorality, for they took the first of their new wine for idolatry and immorality,⁴ as it is said, "Whoredom and wine⁵ || and new wine take away the heart" (Hos. iv. 11).

Rabbi Phineas said: The Holy One, blessed be He, said to Moses: Do ye remember what those Midianites did to you, for twenty-four thousand men fell in Israel? But before "thou art gathered in,"⁶ arise, execute vengeance,⁷ (as it is said,⁸) "Avenge the children of Israel of the Midianites; afterwards shalt thou be gathered unto thy people" (Num. xxxi. 2).⁹

What did Moses do? He took a thousand men¹⁰ (and) a prince¹¹ from each tribe of the tribes of Israel. Behold, (there were) twelve thousand (men), and he who had been zealous because of the immorality, was the prince¹² over them. The¹³ holy vestments and the trumpets of alarm¹⁴

¹ For the parallel in the New Testament see 1 Cor. viii. 1 ff. and *ibid.* x. 20 f., and the parallel passages.

² The quotation ends here in the MS.; it is continued in the first editions.

³ The Venice edition adds here: "For all the wine of the heathens is poured out for idolatrous purposes and for immoral purposes."

⁴ The orgies in connection with the Bacchic rites illustrate this statement.

⁵ The quotation ends here in our MS. The first editions continue thus: "Another verse says: 'Be not among winebibbers; among gluttonous eaters of flesh'" (Prov. xxiii. 20).

⁶ *i.e.* before thy death.

⁷ The first editions add: "on them."

⁸ The MS. omits "as it is said," and reads only the first two words of the verse; the first editions have: "as it is said."

⁹ The command to punish the Midianites on account of the Peor idolatry was not put into execution immediately. Moreover, the punishment of the Amalekites was to be deferred until the Israelites had possession of the Holy Land.

¹⁰ See Siphre, Num. § 157, and cf. Tanchuma (Buber), Maṭṭoth, p. 79b, for the meaning: "two thousand from each tribe."

¹¹ "a prince" occurs in the MS. only; it is apparently an error.

¹² Phineas, see T.B. Soṭah, 43a; Siphre, Num., *loc. cit.*; and cf. 1 Chron. ix. 20.

¹³ The first editions read: "They took the holy vestments."

¹⁴ חורקה, "alarm."

were in his hand,¹ and they went, and they took captive the daughters of Midian, and they brought them (to the camp).² (Moses) said to (Phineas): Because of these did not twenty-four thousand men of Israel fall? as it is said, "Behold, these³ caused the children of Israel, through the counsel of Balaam,⁴ to commit trespass against the Lord in the matter of Peor" (*ibid.* 16); and he began to be angry with them, as it is said, "And Moses was wroth with the officers of the host" (*ibid.* 14).⁵ During his anger the Holy Spirit departed from him. Hence thou mayest learn that the impetuous⁶ man destroys his wisdom.⁷ Eleazar saw⁸ and he heard (the voice) behind (Moses),⁹ as it is said, "And Eleazar the priest said¹⁰ unto the men of war . . . This is the statute of the Law which the Lord hath commanded Moses" (*ibid.* 21). He¹¹ said to them: He¹² commanded Moses and He did not command me.

¹ The first editions read: "in their hand."

² The first editions read here: "And Moses heard, and he went forth to meet them, and he saw them."

³ The preceding verse says: "And Moses said unto them: Have ye saved all the women alive?"

⁴ The quotation ends here in the MS. and in the first editions.

⁵ See Jalkuṭ, Num. § 785, which quotes the Siphre Zutta; see also Siphre, Num., *loc. cit.*

⁶ קפון, "hot-tempered," "impatient."

⁷ Cf. Eccles. vii. 7, and see Eccles. Rab. on Eccles. vii. 7.

⁸ The first editions read: "He (*i.e.* God) called to Eleazar."

⁹ It passed by Moses, who failed to hear the Divine message.

¹⁰ In the MS. the quotation ends here; it is continued in the first editions.

¹¹ Eleazar; see Siphre, Num., *loc. cit.*, and cf. T.B. Pesachim, 66b, and Aboth de R. Nathan (*a*) i. p. 2a.

¹² God.

CHAPTER XLVIII

THE EGYPTIAN BONDAGE [67A. i.]

RABBAN JOCHANAN, son of Zakkai, opened (his exposition with the text): "In that day the Lord made a covenant with Abram,¹ saying, Unto thy seed will I give this land, from the river of Egypt unto the great river, the river Euphrates" (Gen. xv. 18). Abram said before the Holy One, blessed be He, Sovereign of all the universe! Thou hast not given me seed, yet dost Thou say, "Unto thy seed will I give² || this land" (*ibid.*). He said: "Whereby shall I know that I shall inherit it?" (*ibid.* 8). The Holy One, blessed be He, said to him: Abram! The entire world stands by My word,³ and thou dost not believe in My word, but thou sayest, "Whereby shall I know⁴ that I shall inherit it?" (*ibid.*). By thy life! In two ways shalt thou surely know, as it is said, "And he said to Abram, Know of a surety⁵ that thy seed shall be a stranger in a land which is not theirs, . . . and they shall afflict them" (*ibid.* 13).

Rabbi Elazar, son of 'Azariah, said: Is it not so that the Israelites did not dwell in Egypt except for 210⁶ years?

¹ The quotation ends here in the MS. and in the first editions.

² The MS. reads: "I have given." The first editions have: "will I give this land," and the following is added: "as it is said, 'Behold to me thou hast given no seed'" (Gen. xv. 3).

³ The first editions read "command" (*Dibbur*) = λόγος. See Shocheh Tob on Ps. cxix. 89; cf. Jer. xxxi. 3 ff. on the eternity of Israel.

⁴ In the MS. the quotation ends here; it is continued in the first editions.

⁵ The double form of the verb in the Hebrew text suggests the Haggadic interpretation in our book. One form of the verb is taken to refer to the promise of seed; the other refers to the affliction of Abraham's seed. In the MS. the quotation ends with the word "surety"; in the first editions it is continued.

⁶ 777 = 200 plus 4 plus 6; i.e. 210.

But in order to teach thee, know that this is so, come and see; for when Joseph went down to Egypt he was seventeen years old, and when he stood before Pharaoh he was thirty years old, as it is said, "And Joseph was thirty years old when he stood¹ before Pharaoh, king of Egypt" (*ibid.* xli. 46). And the seven years of plenty, and the two years of famine, behold, they are nine-and-thirty years (in all). And Levi, the son of Jacob, was six years older than Joseph,² and when he went down to Egypt he was forty-five years,³ and the years of his life in Egypt were ninety-two years;⁴ behold, all of them (amount to) 137 years, (as it is said,⁵) "And the years of the life of Levi were an hundred thirty and seven years" (Ex. vi. 16). On his going down to Egypt, his wife bare unto him Jochebed, his daughter,⁶ as it is said, "And the name of Amram's wife was Jochebed" (Num. xxvi. 59), and she was 130 years⁷ when she bare Moses, (as it is said,⁸) "And Moses was fourscore years old when he stood before Pharaoh" (Ex. vii. 7). || Behold, (the total is) 210 years in all.⁹ And thus it says, "And they shall serve them; and they shall afflict them¹⁰ four hundred years" (Gen. xv. 13).

Rabbi Elazar, son of 'Arakh, said to them:¹¹ The Holy One, blessed be He, said this to Abraham only at the hour when he had seed, as it is said, "Thy *seed* shall be a

¹ The quotation ends here in the MS.

² See *supra*, p. 272. There was seven months' interval between the birth of each child; Reuben, Simeon, and Levi. The last-named was born in the twenty-first month. Joseph was the last son born in the first seven years of Rachel's married life.

³ See Pal. Targum to Ex. vi. 16; Levi lived so long that he knew of Moses and Aaron standing before Pharaoh, and see T.B. Baba Bathra, 121b.

⁴ See Seder 'Olam Rab. iii. p. 8a: "One hundred and sixteen years elapsed between the death of Levi and the Exodus." See Ratner's note (14), *in loc.* Cf. *Jubilees* (ed. Charles), p. 172.

⁵ The MS. and the first edition omit "as it is said"; it occurs in the Venice edition.

⁶ See Num. xxvi. 59: "who was born to Levi." Jochebed was called "daughter of Levi" when Amram was married to her.

⁷ According to the Book of Jashar lxxvii. 2, Jochebed was one hundred and twenty-six years old at her marriage. See Seder 'Olam Rab. iii. p. 7b; Pal. Targum, Ex. ii. 1; T.B. Baba Bathra, 120a; T.B. Megillah, 8a, and Midrash Agadah, Ex. pp. 122 f.

⁸ The MS. omits "as it is said"; it occurs in the first editions.

⁹ The first editions add: "and the mnemonic is 'Rdu.'" "Descend" is the literal meaning of this word; the numerical value is 210, as above.

¹⁰ In the MS. the quotation ends here.

¹¹ The first editions read: "said to him," *i.e.* R. Jochanan,

stranger¹ in a land that is not theirs" (*ibid.*). From the time when Isaac was born until Israel went forth from Egypt 400 years (elapsed).² (Rabban Jochanan, son of Zakkai³) said to him: Verily it is written, "Now the sojourning of the children of Israel,⁴ which they sojourned in Egypt, was four hundred and thirty years" (Ex. xii. 40). He answered him, saying: 210⁵ years Israel abode in Egypt, and five years before Jacob came to Egypt there were born unto Joseph (the fathers of) two tribes, Manasseh and Ephraim,⁶ and they belonged to the Israelites.⁷ Behold, (we have) 215 years of days and nights,⁸ (this equals) 430 years; for the Holy One, blessed be He, reduced⁹ the time for the sake of the merit of the Patriarchs, for they are the mountains of the world,¹⁰ and for the sake of the merit of the Mothers,¹¹ for they are the hills of the world, and concerning them the Scripture says, "The voice of my beloved! Behold, he

¹ The quotation ends here in the MS. and in the first editions; the latter add: "and it is written, 'For in Isaac shall thy seed be called'" (Gen. xxi. 12). And not through Ishmael; see *supra*, p. 215, and cf. T.B. Nedarim, 31a, and Seder 'Olam Rab., *loc. cit.*

² Sixty years from the birth of Isaac to the birth of Jacob, plus 130 years when Jacob stood before Pharaoh and 210 years of bondage in Egypt, give a total of 400 years; cf. Seder 'Olam Rab. iii. p. 7a.

³ The words in brackets are wanting in the MS., but occur in the first editions.

⁴ In the MS. the quotation ends here; it is continued in the first editions.

⁵ The MS. reads "220 years." The first editions have "210 (Rdu) years." The MS. text is corrupt. This can be proved by the fact that the next sentence speaks of 215 years as the total—210 years plus 5 years. In the previous pages our text mentions "210 years," and this same figure reappears *infra*, p. 391.

⁶ See the Book of Jashar l. 15; they were born when Joseph was thirty-four years old, *i.e.* in the fourth year of plenty, for he was thirty years old when he stood before Pharaoh and foretold the seven years of plenty which were to be followed by the years of famine.

⁷ The first editions read: "they belonged to the tribes, as it is said, 'Ephraim and Manasseh, even as Reuben and Simeon, shall be mine'" (Gen. xlviii. 5).

⁸ The bondage was by day and night. See Ex. Rab. xviii. 11. The Egyptians prevented the Israelites from living in peace and comfort when the day's work was done. See Haggadah for the Passover (ed. Landshuth), p. 18.

⁹ Lit. "skipped."

¹⁰ See *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, pp. 248 f. The Jalkuṭ, Cant. § 986, reads: "the fathers, who are the mountains of the world; and for the merit of the sons of Jacob, who are the hills of the world"; cf. T.B. Rosh Ha-Shanah, 11a, and Pal. Targum, Gen. xlix. 26.

¹¹ Sarah, Rebecca, Rachel, and Leah.

cometh,¹ leaping upon the mountains, *skipping* over the hills " (Cant. ii. 8).

Rabbi Eliezer said : During all those years, when the Israelites abode in Egypt, they dwelt securely and peacefully at ease² until Ganoon,³ one of the grandchildren of Ephraim, came and said to them, The Holy One, blessed be He, has revealed Himself to me,⁴ to lead you out of Egypt. The children of Ephraim, in the pride of their heart, for they were of the royal seed,⁵ and mighty men in battle,⁶ took their wives and their sons, || and they went forth from Egypt.⁷ The Egyptians pursued after them, and slew of them 200,000, all of them mighty men,⁸ as it is said, " The children of Ephraim,⁹ being armed and carrying bows, turned back in the day of battle " (Ps. lxxviii. 9).

Rabbi Jannai said : The Egyptians did not enslave the Israelites but for one hour of the day¹⁰ of the Holy One, blessed be He, (that is to say, for) 83½ years. Whilst¹¹ yet Moses was not born, the magicians said to Pharaoh : In the future a child will be born, and he will take Israel out of Egypt.¹² Pharaoh thought, and said :¹³ Cast ye all the male

¹ The MS. omits the first part as well as the latter part of the quotation, reading : " leaping upon the mountains." The first editions give the first part of the verse.

² As long as they trusted in God and kept faith in His promises. The phrase is borrowed from Prov. i. 33. Cf. *supra*, p. 182.

³ The printed text of *P.R.E.* reads " Jagnoon." MS. Gaster omits the name. See Introduction, p. 1. For the legend see the Book of Jashar, ch. lxxv. For further references in Rabbinical literature see *J.E.* v. 189, and *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, pp. 256 f.

⁴ Cf. Ps. lxxviii. 8, 9. See also Mekhilta Beshallah, p. 24a ; Cant. Rab. to verse of Cant. ii. 7 ; and T.B. Kethuboth, 111a.

⁵ Of Joseph, according to Jacob's blessing.

⁶ The first editions read : " arose and took their wives, their sons, and their daughters."

⁷ This was thirty years before the Exodus. This vain attempt to hasten the Divine Deliverance was the cause of the harsh bondage which began then. See also Seder 'Olam Rab. iii. 7b, for another opinion.

⁸ The text is not correct. See Pal. Targum on Ex. xiii. 17 and *ibid.* note 7. Luria reads : " The Egyptians pursued them and slew 200,000, all mighty men, as it is said," etc. MS. Gaster reads : " The Egyptians arose and slew them, as it is said," etc.

⁹ In the MS. the quotation ends here.

¹⁰ God's day equals 1000 years, and reckoning 12 hours to the day the hour of God's day equals 83½ years. On God's day see *supra*, p. 128

¹¹ Luria reads : " Three years and a third before Moses was born."

¹² See the Book of Jashar lxvii. 19.

¹³ The first editions read : " He thought and said in his heart."

children into the river, and he ¹ will be thrown in with them,² and thereby the word (of the magicians) will be frustrated; therefore they cast all the (male) children into the river.

Three years (elapsed) until ³ the birth of Moses. When Moses was born they said (to Pharaoh): Behold, he is born, and he is hidden from our vision. (Pharaoh) said to them: Since he is born, henceforth ye shall not cast the male children into the river, but put upon them a hard yoke ⁴ to embitter the years of their lives with hard labour,⁵ as it is said, "And they made their lives bitter" (Ex. i. 14).

Rabbi Nathaniel said: The parents of Moses saw the child, (for) his form was like that of an angel of God.⁶ They circumcised him on the eighth day,⁷ and they called his name Jekuthiel.⁸

Rabbi Simeon said: They called him Ṭob (good), as it is said, "And when she saw him that he was *good*" (*ibid.* ii. 2). They concealed him in a house || of ⁹ the earth for three months. After three months¹⁰ she put him in an ark of bulrushes, and she cast him upon the bank of the river. All things are revealed before the Holy One, blessed be He. Now Bithyah,¹¹ the daughter of Pharaoh, was¹² smitten sorely with leprosy and she was not able to bathe

¹ Moses. See *Lekach Tob*, Ex. p. 3b; and *Pal. Targum*, Ex. i. 15.

² The first editions add: "as it is said, 'Every son that is born ye shall cast into the river'" (Ex. i. 22).

³ See *Jalkuṭ*, Exodus, § 165, which reads: "For three years and a third of a year they cast them in until Moses was born." The first editions read: "Three years and a third of a year (elapsed) until Moses was born." See also *'Arukh*, s.v. אהרן, and cf. the *Book of Jashar* lxviii. 3.

⁴ See Deut. xxvi. 6.

⁵ The first editions read: "to embitter the lives of their fathers."

⁶ See T.B. *Soṭah*, 12a.

⁷ See T.B. *Soṭah*, *loc. cit.*, and cf. *Jalkuṭ*, Gen. § 16.

⁸ See the *Book of Jashar* lxviii. 24 ff. and *Jalkuṭ*, Ex. § 166, quoting the *Book of Chronicles of Moses* on the various names of Moses. See also 1 Chron. iv. 18, where Jekuthiel is spoken of as the son of Bithyah, the daughter of Pharaoh. See the *Targum* to this verse and cf. T.B. *Megillah*, 13a. *Clement of Alexandria*, *Strom.* i. 23, gives Joachim and Melchi as names of Moses.

⁹ The first editions read: "beneath the earth for three months, as it is said, 'She hid him three months'" (Ex. ii. 2).

¹⁰ The first editions add: "she could hide him no longer."

¹¹ See *J.E.* iii. p. 231a.

¹² The *Venice* edition reads: "Was smitten with sore leprosy." According to the *Book of Jashar* lxviii. 15, the reason why Bithyah went down to bathe was because God had sent a consuming heat which oppressed the Egyptians.

in hot water,¹ and she came to bathe in the river, and she saw the crying child. She put forth her hand and took hold of him, and she was healed.² She said: This child is righteous, and I will preserve his life. Whosoever preserves a life³ is as though he had kept alive the whole world. Therefore was she worthy to (inherit) the life in this world and the life in the world to come.

All the household of Pharaoh's palace were (helping) to educate (Moses), as it is said, "And it came to pass in those days, when Moses was grown up, that he went out unto his brethren" (*ibid.* 11).⁴ Moses went into the camp of Israel, and saw one of the taskmasters of Pharaoh smiting one of the sons of Kohath, the Levites, for they were his brethren, as it is said, "And he saw an Egyptian smiting an Hebrew, one of his brethren"⁵ (*ibid.*). He began to rebuke him with the sword of his lips,⁶ and he slew him, and buried him in the midst of the camp, as it is said, "And he smote the Egyptian, and hid him in the sand" (*ibid.* 12). The word Chôl (sand) signifies (here) Israel only, as it is said, "Yet the number of children of Israel shall be as the sand of the sea" (Hos. i. 10).

He went forth on the second day, and saw two Hebrew

¹ See Tanna de bê Elijahu Rab. vii. p. 42; Ex. Rab. xi. 5; Pal. Targum to Ex. ii. 5, and Jalkuṭ, Ex. *loc. cit.*

² See T.B. Sotah, 12a-b. This seems to be a Jewish-Hellenistic Midrash, as it occurs in Ezekiel's drama, "The Exodus," quoted by Clement of Alexandria, *loc. cit.*

³ The first editions read: "a single life in Israel." See T.B. Synhedrin, 37a, and T.B. Baba Bathra, 11b. The first editions add: "And whosoever destroys a single life in Israel is as though he had destroyed the whole world. Therefore was the daughter of Pharaoh worthy to take shelter beneath the wings of the Shekhinah, and she was called the daughter of Omnipresent." Jalkuṭ, Ex. *loc. cit.*, reads: "She was worthy to have the life of the future world"; cf. Derekh Erez Zutta i., where we read that "Bithyah entered Paradise in her lifetime," *i.e.* without experiencing death. See also J.E. iii. 231 for further details as to the Rabbinical legends concerning Bithyah, "Daughter of God."

⁴ See Rashi on Ex. ii. 11; see also Jalkuṭ, Ex. *loc. cit.*

⁵ The *brethren* of Moses would be of the tribe of Levi.

⁶ Cf. Ps. lix. 7: "swords are in their lips," and also Isa. xi. 4. See *supra*, p. 156, and cf. Jalkuṭ, Ex. *loc. cit.* As a parallel to our text see Pss. of Solomon xvii. 27: "He shall destroy the ungodly nations with the word of his mouth." Probably the reference is to the invocation of the Ineffable Name. See Ex. Rab. i. 29, and Leḳach Tob, Ex. p. 7a, notes 78 and 80. Cf. Fürst, Z.D.M.G. xxxiii. p. 299; Lev. Rab. xxxii. 4, and Bacher, T. ii. p. 252. Clement of Alexandria, *loc. cit.*, says: "And the mystics say that he slew the Egyptian by a word only." This is also probably a Jewish-Hellenistic Midrash.

men striving. Who were they ? || Dathan and Abiram, as it is said, "And he said to him that did the wrong,¹ Wherefore smitest thou thy fellow ?" (Ex. ii. 13).² Dathan said to him : What ! Dost thou wish to kill me with the sword of thy mouth as thou didst kill the Egyptian yesterday, as it is said, "Who made thee a prince and a judge over us ?"³ Speakest thou⁴ to kill me, as thou killedst the Egyptian ?" (*ibid.* 14). "Seekest thou to kill me" is not written (in the Scripture) here, but "Speakest thou to kill me."

When Moses and Aaron came to Pharaoh, they said to him : "Thus saith the Lord,¹ the God of Israel, Let my people go" (*ibid.* v. 1), that they may serve Me.⁵ He said : I know not the Lord. "Who is the Lord,¹ that I should hearken unto his voice to let Israel go ? I know not the Lord, and moreover I will not let Israel go" (*ibid.* 2).⁶ Aaron cast down his rod,⁷ and it became a fiery serpent. The⁸ magicians also cast down their rods, and they became fiery serpents. The rod of Aaron ran and swallowed them up with their rods, as it is said, "And Aaron's rod swallowed up their rods" (*ibid.* vii. 12).

(Moses) put his hand into his bosom, and brought it forth leprous like snow, and the magicians also put their hands in their bosoms, and brought them forth leprous like snow. But they were not healed till the day of their

¹ The quotation ends here in the MS. ; it is continued in the first editions.

² Ex. Rab., *loc. cit.*, adds : "even though thy neighbour be an evil-doer." Dathan and Abiram are cited because they vexed Moses in the wilderness. See Num. xvi. 1. Our Midrash has been used by the Pal. Targum on Ex. ii. 13 f., which reads thus : "And he went out (on) the second day, and looked, and behold, Dathan and Abiram, men of the (tribe of) Judah, contended ; and seeing Dathan put forth his hand against Abiram to smite him, he said to him : Wherefore dost thou smite thy companion ? And Dathan said to him : Who is he who hath appointed thee a chief man and a judge over us ? Speakest thou to kill me as thou didst kill the Egyptian ?"

³ This part of the quotation is wanting in the MS. The entire verse is given in the first editions.

⁴ Lit. "sayest thou," *i.e.* by the word of thy mouth wilt thou kill me ? See Midrash Agadah, Ex. pp. 125 f., n. 43.

⁵ This translation agrees with the Venice edition text. The modern editions read according to the Scripture : "That they may keep a festival (offering) unto me" (ויחגגו לי). Our translation is a paraphrase of the Bible text. See T.B. Chagigah, 6b.

⁶ See Mekhilta Beshallah, 23b.

⁷ The first editions read : "Forthwith Aaron cast down his rod before Pharaoh."

⁸ The first editions read : "Immediately Pharaoh called the magicians."

death.¹ Every plague which the Holy One, blessed be He, brought upon them,² they also produced every plague until He brought upon them the boils, and they were not able to stand and to do likewise,³ as it is said, "And the magicians could not⁴ stand before Moses because of the boils" (*ibid.* ix. 11).

Rabbi 'Akiba said: The executioners⁵ of Pharaoh used to strangle the Israelites in the walls of the houses,⁶ || and the Holy One, blessed be He, heard their cry, as it is said, "And God heard their groaning,⁴ and God remembered his covenant with Abraham, with Isaac, and with Jacob" (*ibid.* ii. 24). Further, they burnt their children in the furnace of fire,⁷ as it is said, "But the Lord hath taken you,⁴ and brought you forth out of the iron *furnace*, out of Egypt" (Deut. iv. 20).

When⁸ Israel went forth,⁹ what did the Holy One,

¹ This sentence occurs in the MS. only. Cf. Pal. Targum, Ex. viii. 14.

² The first editions read: "brought upon the Egyptians in Egypt, they also performed."

³ See T.B. Synhedrin, 67b; Ex. Rab. ix. 6; and Jalkuṭ, Ex. § 183.

⁴ In the MS. the quotation ends here.

⁵ This word is the Latin *speculator*, executioner. See Jalkuṭ, Ex. § 169, and Deut. § 826, and cf. *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, p. 144, note 1.

⁶ The first editions add: "between the layers of bricks, therefore they cried out of the walls." The Bible text says: "The Egyptians *oppressed* the Israelites." "To oppress" (רָחַץ) suggests to the Haggadist writer the word which occurs in the story of Balaam, Num. xxii. 25: "And the ass saw the angel of the Lord and she *thrust* herself unto the *wall*, and *crushed* Balaam's foot against the *wall*." Hence the inference that the Egyptians oppressed Israel in connection with the walls. See T.B. Synhedrin, 111a.

⁷ Jalkuṭ, *loc. cit.*, adds: "a sacrifice to their gods; therefore, when Israel left Egypt, God executed judgment on their gods." Cf. Jer. xi. 4, where we read of the "iron *furnace*." See also Book of Jashar lxix. 7.

⁸ The first editions insert before this word: "And the Holy One, blessed be He, measured to them by that measure (which they had used), and slew their firstborn, as it is said, 'To him that smote Egypt in their firstborn'" (Ps. cxxxvi. 10). Israel was called God's firstborn. When God bade Pharaoh to send forth His firstborn son Israel, he refused. In return God smote his firstborn. The Jewish teaching as to the Divine method of retribution is well expressed by the Book of Wisdom xi. 16, which refers to the plagues thus: "That they might know that by what things a man sinneth, thereby he is punished." Cf. Revelation of Peter, 7 and 9, for a parallel view of retribution. As a parallel to our text, the following verse from Wisdom xviii. 5 seems appropriate: "But them who plotted to slay the infants of the holy ones (and when a single child had been exposed and saved) Thou to convict them didst deprive of the multitude of their children, and all together didst destroy them in a mighty flood." Jubilees xlvi. 14 says: "A thousand strong and brave men perished for one infant whom they had cast into the river." For further illustrations see Goodrick, *Wisdom*, p. 352.

⁹ The first editions add: "from Egypt."

blessed be He, do? He cast down all the idols of their abominations, and they were broken,¹ as it is said, "Upon their gods also the Lord executed judgments" (Num. xxxiii. 4).

Rabbi Joseph² said: The Egyptians defiled the Israelites and their wives with them.³ Bedijah, the grandson of Dan, married a wife from his tribe, Shelomith, daughter of Dibri,⁴ and in that night the taskmasters of Pharaoh came in unto her, for they slew him and came in unto her, and she conceived and bare a son. In every case the offspring follows the (nature of) the seed:⁵ if it be sweet, it will be due to the sweet (seed); if it be bitter, it will be due to the bitter (seed). And when Israel went forth from Egypt, he⁶ began to blaspheme and revile the Name of the God of Israel, as it is said, "And the son of the Israelitish woman blasphemed the⁷ Name, and cursed" (Lev. xxiv. 11).

Rabbi Ishmael said: The five fingers of the right hand of the Holy One, blessed be He, all of them appertain to the mystery⁸ of the Redemption.⁹ He showed the little finger of the hand to Noah,¹⁰ (pointing out) how to make the ark, as it is said, "And *this*¹¹ is how thou shalt make it" (Gen. vi. 15). With the second finger, which is next to the little one, He smote the firstborn of the Egyptians,¹² as it is said, "The magicians said unto Pharaoh, || This is

¹ See Mekhilta, 7b.

² The first editions read: "José."

³ For another opinion see Mekhilta, 5a, and Lev. Rab., *loc. cit.* Israel was redeemed because of four virtues, which included the merit of not being suspected of immorality. See also Jalḳuṭ, Lev. § 657.

⁴ See Lev. xxiv. 11, Midrash Agadah, Ex. p. 125, and Leḳach Ṭob, Ex. p. 7a.

⁵ Cf. *supra*, p. 150, and T.B. Niddah, 31a. The reference here is to the intellect which rules one's life.

⁶ The son of Shelomith.

⁷ The quotation ends here in the MS.

⁸ Read לטור, which is the reading preserved by the 'Arukh, ed. Kohut, iv. p. 439a, *s.v.* שטור. Later editions read: "are the foundations." On the "hand" of God see Passover Haggadah, p. 22. See also Jalḳuṭ, Ex. § 183, and Jalḳuṭ to Micah, § 653. Cf. Orach Chayyim, 473. 28.

⁹ Of Israel.

¹⁰ 'Arukh, *loc. cit.*, reads: "The little finger, therewith He shewed the ark to Noah." See *supra*, p. 164, n. 2.

¹¹ The word "this" in the text is the basis for the Haggadic inference that God's finger pointed out to Noah what he was to do in making the ark. Cf. Ex. xxx. 13.

¹² See T.B. Synhedrin, 93b: "The Egyptians and Sennacherib were smitten by the entire hand." Cf. Shocheh Ṭob, Ps. lxxviii. pp. 177b f.

the finger of God ” (Ex. viii. 19). With how many (plagues) were they smitten with the finger? With ten plagues.¹ With the third finger, which is the third (starting from) the little finger, He wrote the tables (of the Law), as it is said, “And he gave unto Moses, when he had made an end² of communing with him . . . tables of stone, written with the finger of God ” (*ibid.* xxxi. 18). With the fourth finger, which is next to the thumb, the Holy One, blessed be He, showed³ to Moses what the children of Israel should give for the redemption of their souls,⁴ as it is said, “*This* they shall give⁵ . . . half a shekel for an offering to the Lord ” (*ibid.* xxx. 13). With the thumb and all the hand the Holy One, blessed be He, will smite in the future all the children of Esau, for they are His foes,⁶ and likewise (will He smite) the children of Ishmael, for they are His enemies, as it is said, “Let thine *hand* be lifted up above thine adversaries, and let all thine enemies be cut off ” (Mic. v. 9).

Rabbi Eliezer said : The five letters of the Torah, which alone of all the letters in the Torah are of double (shape),⁷ all appertain to the mystery of the Redemption.⁸ With “Khaph” “Khaph” our father Abraham was redeemed from Ur of the Chaldees, as it is said, (*Lekh Lekha*) “Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred⁹ . . . unto the land that I will shew thee ” (Gen. xii. 1). With “Mem ” “Mem ”

¹ The MS. alone has this sentence. Cf. Passover Haggadah, pp. 21 f.

² The MS. gives the first part of the verse ; the latter part only is given by the first editions.

³ The half-shekel.

⁴ See the Commentary “Tosaphoth ” to the Torah, p. 43b (ed. Warsaw, 1876) : “With the fourth finger He showed to Moses the moon, and with the thumb He showed to him the half-shekel.”

⁵ The MS. and the first editions end the quotation here.

⁶ The first editions read : “the foes of the children of Israel.”

⁷ M, N, Z, P, Kh,—the five letters which have a different shape when they are the final letters in words. The reading of our MS. is supported by the text preserved in the ‘Arukh, ed. Kohut, iv. p. 439b. On these letters see T.B. Sabbath, 104a; T.B. Megillah, 2b; T.J. Megillah, i. 9. 71d; and Num. Rab. xviii. 21.

⁸ See Gen. Rab. i. 11; Tanchuma, Korach, § xii. The term “mystery of the redemption ” might also be rendered by “the secret of the redemption.” The idea in the Midrash here seems to be that the Israelites had a tradition or secret concerning the redemption. This is brought out in the legend of Serach and Moses. The Book of Wisdom says : “That night (of redemption) was known *beforehand* to our fathers, that knowing surely on what oaths they trusted they might be cheered ” (xviii. 6).

⁹ The MS. and first editions end quotation here.

our father Isaac was redeemed from the land¹ of the Philistines, as it is said, "Go from us:² for thou art much mightier (*Memennu M'ôd*) than we" (*ibid.* xxvi. 16). With "Nun" "Nun" our father Jacob was redeemed from the hand of Esau,³ as it is said, "Deliver me, I pray thee,² (*Hazilêne na*) from the hand of my brother, from the hand of Esau" (*ibid.* xxxii. 11). With "Pê" "Pê" Israel⁴ was redeemed from Egypt, as it is said, "I have surely visited you,⁵ (*Paḳôd Paḳadti*) and (seen) that which is done to you in Egypt, and I have said, I will bring you up out of the affliction of Egypt" (Ex. iii. 16, 17). With "Zaddi" "Zaddi" the Holy One, blessed be He, in the future will redeem Israel from the oppression of the kingdoms,⁶ and He will say to them, I have caused a branch to spring forth for you, as it is said, "Behold, the man whose name is (*Zemach*) the Branch;⁷ and he shall grow up (*yizmach*) || out of his place,² and he shall build the temple of the Lord" (*Zech.* vi. 12).⁸ These letters were delivered only to our father Abraham. Our father Abraham delivered them to Isaac, and Isaac (delivered them) to Jacob, and Jacob delivered the mystery of the Redemption to Joseph, as it is said, "But God will surely visit (*Paḳôd yiphḳôd*) you" (*Gen.* i. 24). Joseph his son delivered the secret of the Redemption to his brethren. Asher, the son of Jacob, delivered the mystery of the Redemption to Serach⁹ his daughter. When Moses and Aaron came to the elders of Israel and performed the signs in their sight, the elders of Israel went to¹⁰ Serach, the daughter of Asher, and they said to her: A certain man has come, and he has performed

¹ *Arukh, loc. cit.*, reads: "from the land of the Philistines," as in our MS. The first editions read: "from the *hand* of the Philistines."

² The quotation ends here in the MS.

³ This is also the reading of the Venice edition, and agrees with the text in the *Arukh, loc. cit.*

⁴ The first editions read: "our fathers."

⁵ The MS. and first editions end the quotation here. See *Leḳach Tob*, Ex. p. 10b, n. 3.

⁶ The first editions read: "at the end of the four kingdoms."

⁷ The verse, *Jer.* xxiii. 5: "I will raise unto David a righteous Branch," is quoted by *Tanchuma, loc. cit.* See also *Tanchuma* (ed. Buber), Ex. p. 7, n. 107.

⁸ For the Messianic interpretation of this verse in Philo see my *Hellenism and Christianity*, pp. 119 f.

⁹ See *T.B. Soṭah*, 13a; *Gen. Rab.* xciv. 9; *Eccles. Rab.* to *Eccles.* ix. 18; *Derekh Erez Rab.* i. See also *J.E.* xi. 200 f.

¹⁰ The first editions add: "our ancestress."

signs in our sight, thus and thus.¹ She said to them: There is no reality in the signs. They said to her: He said “*Paḳôd yiphḳôd*”—“God will surely visit you” (*ibid.*)² She said to them: He is the man who will redeem Israel in the future from Egypt, for thus did I hear,³ (“*Paḳôd Paḳadti*”) “I have surely visited you” (Ex. iii. 16). Forthwith the people believed⁴ in their God and in His messenger, as it is said, “And the people believed,⁵ and when they heard that the Lord *had visited*⁶ the children of Israel” (*ibid.* iv. 31).⁷

Rabbi ‘Akiba said: The taskmasters of Pharaoh were beating the Israelites in order that they should make⁸ the tale of bricks, and it is said, “And the tale of the bricks,⁹ which they did make heretofore, ye shall lay upon them” (*ibid.* v. 8).¹⁰ The Israelites were gathering the straw of the wilderness, and they were carrying it on their asses and (also on) their wives,¹¹ and their sons. The straw of the wilderness pierced their heels,¹² and the blood was mingled¹³ with the mortar. Rachel, the granddaughter || of Shuthelach,¹⁴ was near childbirth, and with her husband she

¹ The first editions add: “She said to them: There is no reality in those signs¹ of Moses. They said to her: Did they not say to us ‘*Paḳôd Paḳadti*’—‘I have surely visited you?’”² (Ex. iii. 16).

² The next two sentences are written on the margin of the MS.

³ The first editions read: “from my father, ‘*Pê Pê,*’ as it is said, ‘*Paḳôd Paḳadti.*’”

⁴ The first editions read: “in God and in Moses.”

⁵ The quotation ends here in the MS.; it is continued in the first editions.

⁶ The people believed when they heard that God had *visited* them. This was the secret or mystery of the redemption.

⁷ See Ex. Rab. v. 19, which has used *P.R.E.* See also Midrash on 2 Sam. xx. 19.

⁸ The first editions add: “for them.”

⁹ The quotation ends here in the MS. and in the first editions.

¹⁰ The first editions add: “The Egyptians did not give straw to the Israelites, as it is said: ‘There is no straw given unto thy servants, and they say to us, Make brick’” (Ex. v. 16).

¹¹ MS. Gaster and Jalkuṭ, Ex. § 176, read: “They were treading it in the mortar, they and their wives, their sons and their daughters.” The first editions read: “they were treading it down with their asses, their wives, and their sons and their daughters.”

¹² See Jalkuṭ, Ex. *loc. cit.*

¹³ Cf. Ezek. xvi. 6, and Zech. x. 5.

¹⁴ See Num. xxvi. 36. Shuthelach was of the tribe of Ephraim.

¹ See Cant. Rab. on Cant. ii. 7; *Pesikta Rabbathi*, p. 94a, on the Egyptian exile decreed by God, and the actual period of the bondage.

² Joseph also, in his last message to his relatives, said: “God will surely visit you (פקר יפקר) and bring you up from this land” (Gen. l. 24).

was treading the mortar, and the child was born (there) and became entangled in the brick mould.¹ Her cry ascended before the Throne of Glory.² The angel Michael³ descended and took the brick mould with its clay, and brought it up before the Throne of Glory.⁴ That night the Holy One, blessed be He, descended,⁵ and smote the firstborn of the Egyptians, as it is said, "And it came to pass at midnight⁶ that the Lord smote all the firstborn in the land of Egypt" (*ibid.* xii. 29).⁷

Rabbi José⁸ said: All that night the Israelites were eating and drinking, rejoicing and taking wine and praising⁹ their God with a loud voice,¹⁰ whilst the Egyptians were crying with a bitter soul,¹¹ because of the plague¹² which came upon them suddenly,¹³ as it is said, "And there was a great cry in Egypt;¹⁴ for there was not a house where there was not one dead" (*ibid.* 30).

The Holy One, blessed be He, said: If I bring forth the Israelites by night, they¹⁵ will say, He has done His deeds like a thief.¹⁶ Therefore, behold, I will bring them forth when the sun is in his zenith at midday.¹⁷

¹ See Pal. Targum to Ex. xxiv. 10.

² See Jalkut, Ex. *loc. cit.*, which has used *P.R.E.*

³ In Pal. Targum, *loc. cit.*, Gabriel is the angel.

⁴ See Pal. Targum, *loc. cit.*, which reads: "A memorial of the bondage wherein the Egyptians made the children of Israel to serve in clay and bricks, (when) there were women treading the mortar with their husbands. The delicate young woman with child was also there and made abortive by being crushed with the mortar. And thereof did Gabriel, descending, make brick, and ascending to the heavens on high, set it (as) a footstool under the throne of the Lord of the world." Cf. 3 Baruch iii. 5 for a parallel.

⁵ The first editions read: "was revealed, and smote all the first-born."

⁶ The quotation ends here in the MS.

⁷ The first editions read here the paragraph beginning, "The Holy One."

⁸ The first editions read: "Jehudah."

⁹ See Shocheh Tob on Ps. cxiii. p. 235a, and cf. T.B. Pesachim, 95b.

¹⁰ Cf. Ps. cv. 43.

¹¹ Cf. Isa. lxxv. 14 for the expression; see also Ezek. xxvii. 30.

¹² The slaying of the firstborn.

¹³ Cf. Job xxxiv. 20.

¹⁴ The MS. omits the first part of the quotation.

¹⁵ The first editions read: "The Egyptians will say: Now hath He done His deeds according to the way of thieves." See Midrash Agadah, Ex. p. 142.

¹⁶ See the Book of Jashar lxxx. 60 and cf. T.B. Berakhoth, 9a.

¹⁷ This day was also the middle of the month, at the time of full moon. The time of the deliverance was believed to be appointed at

By the merit of three things¹ Israel went forth from Egypt: (1) They did not change their language; (2) they did not change their names;² (3) and they did not slander one another. In the unity of (God's) Name Israel went forth from Egypt full of all good things, comprising (all) blessings,³ because He remembered the word which He spake to our father Abraham,⁴ as it is said, "And also that nation, whom they shall serve,⁵ will I judge, and afterwards shall they come out with great substance" (Gen. xv. 14).

that time in order to show the Egyptians that their gods, including the heavenly host, were powerless and unable to save them. The first editions add here: "as it is said, 'And it came to pass the *selfsame*¹ day, that the Lord did bring the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt by their hosts'" (Ex. xii. 51).

¹ See Mekhilta, Bô, v. p. 5a; Lev. Rab. xxxii. 5; Cant. Rab. on Cant. iv. 12, Lekach Tob, Êx. p. 16a, note 10.

² See Mekhilta, Bô, *loc. cit.* The first editions omit this clause.

³ See *supra*, p. 328.

⁴ Cf. Ps. cv. 42: "For he remembered his holy word, and Abraham his servant."

⁵ The quotation ends here in the MS.; it is continued in the first editions.

¹ מצות refers to the *essential* part of the day: cf. Ps. cxxxvi. 7-11.

CHAPTER XLIX

THE SEED OF AMALEK [69B. i.]

|| RABBI SIMEON, son of Jochai, said : The Holy One, blessed be He, wished to destroy and to cut off all the seed of Amalek.¹ He sent to Saul, the son of Kish, to destroy and to cut off all the seed of Amalek. Saul and the people heard, and did not spare any vile man except Agag, as it is said,² "But Saul and the people spared³ Agag, and the best of the sheep, and of the oxen" (1 Sam. xv. 9). Samuel heard (thereof), and he went to meet them, and he said to them : Ye have spared Amalek, and ye have left over a remnant of him.⁴ They said to him : The sheep and the oxen are for sacrifices⁵ unto thy God. (Samuel) said to (Saul) : The Omnipresent hath no delight in burnt offerings and sacrifices, but only in obeying His voice and in doing His will, as it is said, "And Samuel said, Hath the Lord as great delight³ in burnt offerings and sacrifices, as in obeying the voice of the Lord? Behold, to obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams" (*ibid.* 22).

Rabbi Phineas said : The Holy One, blessed be He, saw that in the future there would arise from Agag a man, a great enemy and adversary of the Jews.⁶ Who was this? This was Haman, as it is said, "Because Haman,

¹ See *supra*, p. 346.

² The verse reads : "But Saul and the people spared Agag, and the best of the sheep, and of the oxen, and of the fatlings, and the lambs, and all that was good, and would not utterly destroy them."

³ The quotation ends here in the MS.; it is continued in the first editions.

⁴ See Lev. Rab. xxv. 8 and xxvi. 7.

⁵ See T.B. 'Abodah Zarah, 24b.

⁶ See *supra*, p. 384; Ex. Rab. xxxviii. 4; T.B. Megillah, 12a and 19a; and cf. *infra*, p. 399.

the son of Hammedatha,¹ the *Agagite*, the enemy of all the Jews" (Esth. ix. 24). From the seed of Saul (arose) an avenger and a redeemer for Israel, (who delivered them) out of the hand of Haman. Who was this? This was Mordecai, as it is said, "There was a certain Jew¹ in Shushan, the capital, whose name was Mordecai . . . the son of Kish, a Benjamite" (*ibid.* ii. 5).

And there stood Samuel before the Holy One, blessed be He, and he said: Sovereign of all the Universe! Do not forget the sin² which Esau did to his father, || for he took strange women (for his wives), who offered sacrifices and burnt incense to idols, to embitter the years of the life of his parents.³ Remember his sin unto his sons and unto his grandsons unto the end of all generations, as it is said, "Let the iniquity of his fathers be remembered¹ with the Lord" (Ps. cix. 14). Samuel heard the voice of Agag muttering with his mouth, saying: Perhaps the bitterness of the evil death has passed from me, as it is said, "And Agag said, Surely the bitterness of death is past" (1 Sam. xv. 32). Samuel said to him:⁴ Just as the sword of Amalek thy ancestor consumed the young men of Israel who were outside the cloud,⁵ so that their women dwelt (as) childless women and widows,⁶ so by the prayer of the women⁷ all the sons⁸ of Amalek shall be slain, and their women shall dwell (as) childless women and widows. And by the prayer of Esther and her maidens all the sons of

¹ The quotation ends here in the MS.

² The first editions and MS. Gaster read: "The sorrow which the wicked Esau caused his father."

³ The first editions and MS. Gaster add: "as it is said, 'and they were a bitterness of spirit unto Isaac and unto Rebecca'" (Gen. xxvi. 35). The Book of Jubilees offers a parallel here; see ch. xxvii. 7 ff. and ch. xxv. 1, which reads: "My son, do not take thee a wife of the daughters of Canaan, as Esau, thy brother, who took him two wives of the daughters of Canaan, and they have embittered my soul with all their unclean deeds: for all their deeds are fornication and lust, and there is no righteousness with them, for (their deeds) are evil."

⁴ The first editions add here: "Just as thy sword made women childless, so shall thy mother be childless among women."

⁵ See *supra*, p. 346.

⁶ The Prague edition adds: "so shall thy mother be childless." MS. Gaster omits the rest of the paragraph, except the quotation.

⁷ This idea is due to the Midrashic interpretation of the words in 1 Sam. xv. 33, *i.e.* "by women (Esther and her maidens) shall thy mother be made childless."

⁸ The first editions read: "every son." The Prague edition has "every male."

Amalek were slain and their women remained childless and widowed, as it is said, "And Samuel said, As thy sword hath made women childless,¹ so shall thy mother be childless among women" (*ibid.* 33).

The prayer of Samuel destroyed² the power of the children of Agag against Israel,³ as it is said, "And Samuel broke⁴ Agag before the Lord in Gilgal" (*ibid.*).

The Holy One, blessed be He, said: He has made his attack against the heavenly beings,⁵ (and God) will send against them insignificant things, to teach them that the power of their might is nought. When Titus,⁶ the wicked, entered the Holy of Holies, he said: No adversary || or enemy can prevail against me. What did the Holy One, blessed be He, do to him? He sent a single gnat,⁷ and it went into his nostril, and it ate its way into his brain. That gnat became like a young pigeon, weighing two pounds,⁸ to teach him that there was nothing at all in the might of his power. When Israel⁹ walked in the Holy of Holies with a proud heart, and said: No adversary or enemy¹⁰ is able to stand before us. What did the Holy One, blessed be He, do to them? He sent against them a man, proud and like one sifting the sea, Nebuchadnezzar, whose name was Kabbir Mayim (like one sifting the sea),¹¹

¹ The quotation ends here in the MS. and in the first editions.

² The Prague edition reads: "diminished" (חסר).

³ The first editions add: "in Gilgal." MS. Gaster reads "Amalek" instead of "Agag."

⁴ *i.e.* destroyed the power of Amalek. The Targum renders ויטח by ופשח (cf. Targum to Ps. vii. 3): "and he flayed"; see also 2 Chron. xiv. 13: "for they were broken before the Lord." In the MS. the quotation ends here; it is continued in the first editions.

⁵ The first editions read: "Everyone who acts with the pride of the mighty." See Gen. Rab. x. 7. The point here is that Haman's pride was punished by the hand of a woman. On God's ways with man, see Num. Rab. xviii. 19 (on Num. xvi. 35).

⁶ See Lam. iv. 12 with Midrash Rab. thereon. See Aboth de R. Nathan (*b*) vii. p. 11a; T.B. Giṭṭin, 56b; and cf. *J.E.* xii. p. 164a.

⁷ The first editions add: "against him."

⁸ ליטרין (*λίτρα*), *litra*; the Roman libra or pound weight.

⁹ Represented by the High Priest.

¹⁰ See Lam., *loc. cit.*

¹¹ Cf. Tanna de bē Elijah Rab. xxxi. p. 158; Shocher Ṭob on Ps. cxxxvii. p. 262b; and Pesikṭa Rabbathi, p. 144a. The first editions read: "He sent against them Nebuchadnezzar the wicked, who was a very proud enemy against them." Kabbir Mayim might mean "the mighty one of the waters." According to Kebra Nagast (*G.T.*), p. 79, Nebuchadnezzar was the one who "escaped from the water" at his birth; cf. Ex. ii. 10.

to teach; "For by strength shall no man prevail" (*ibid.* ii. 9).¹

Rabbi Chakhinai² said: The Holy One, blessed be He, set³ no limit to the kingdoms, except to the Egyptian bondage,⁴ and to the kingdom of Babylon. Whence do we know this about the Egyptian bondage? Because it is said, "And they shall serve them; and they shall afflict them four hundred years" (Gen. xv. 13). The Holy One, blessed be He, dealt according to the abundance of His tender mercy,⁵ and He shortened (this time limit) by its half,⁶ 210 years.⁷ Whence do we know about the Babylonian kingdom? Because it is said, "For thus saith the Lord,⁸ After seventy years be accomplished for Babylon, I will visit you, and perform my good word toward you, in causing you to return to this place" (Jer. xxix. 10).

Rabbi Abbahu said: Forty-five years did Nebuchadnezzar reign. Know that it is so. In the year⁹ when he began to reign, he went up to Jerusalem, and conquered Jehoiakim, king of Judah, as it is said, "In the third year of the reign of || Jehoiakim, king of Judah,¹⁰ came Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, unto Jerusalem, and besieged it" (Dan. i. 1). For eight years he ruled over the kingdom of Jehoiakim, and eleven years Zedekiah ruled.¹¹ (Behold,) nineteen years before he destroyed the

¹ See Ezek. vii. 20: "As for the beauty of his ornament, he turned it to pride"; see also *ibid.* xxiv. 21. On Nebuchadnezzar, see *J.E.* ix. pp. 201 ff.

² The Prague edition and Brode's edition read: "Chaninah."

³ The first editions omit: "and to the kingdom of Babylon. Whence do we know this about the Egyptian bondage?"

⁴ Cf. T.B. Joma, 9a and 9b.

⁵ The first editions add: "and according to His abounding love." As Isa. lxiii. 7 says: "I will make mention of the loving-kindnesses of the Lord, and the praises of the Lord, according to all that the Lord hath bestowed upon us; and the great goodness toward the house of Israel, which he hath bestowed on them according to his mercies, and according to the multitude of his loving-kindnesses."

⁶ The first editions read: "in the number of 'Rdu' 210 years."

⁷ Cf. *supra*, p. 376.

⁸ The MS. and the first editions omit this part of the verse; the MS. reads: "After seventy years be accomplished"; the first editions add "for Babylon."

⁹ Luria's emendation reads: "In the second year."

¹⁰ The quotation ends here in the MS.; it is continued in the first editions.

¹¹ The first editions read: "he ruled over the kingdom of Zedekiah."

Temple. (Thereafter he ruled) twenty-six years.¹ Know that it is so. Come and see from the exile of Jehoiachin until his son Evil-Merodach² reigned thirty-seven³ years elapsed, as it is said, "And it came to pass in the seven and thirtieth year of the captivity of Jehoiachin,⁴ king of Judah, in the twelfth month, on the seven and twentieth day of the month, that Evil-Merodach, king of Babylon, in the year that he began to reign, did lift up the head of Jehoiachin, king of Judah, out of prison" (2 Kings xxv. 27).

Rabbi Jonathan said: The last of the kings of Media⁵ was Artaxerxes,⁶ king of Babylon, and he reigned thirty-two years, as it is said, "But in all this time I was not in Jerusalem;⁷ for in the two and thirtieth year of Artaxerxes, king of Babylon, I went unto the king" (Neh. xiii. 6).⁸

Rabbi Tachanah⁹ said: Come and see how wealthy Ahasuerus was, for he was wealthier than all the kings of Media and Persia, and concerning him the Scripture saith, "And the fourth shall be far richer than they all" (Dan. xi. 2). What was the wealth of Ahasuerus? He erected couches of gold and silver in the streets¹⁰ of the city, to show all the peoples¹¹ how rich he was, as it is said, "The couches were of gold and silver" (Esth. i. 6). All the vessels

¹ The first editions read: "Behold nineteen years (elapsed) before the Temple was destroyed." The Venice edition and MS. Gaster add: "After the Temple had been destroyed (he reigned) twenty-six years." This is omitted in the 1st ed. See T.B. Megillah, 11b, and Rashi, who quotes Seder 'Olam Rab.

² Son of Nebuchadnezzar.

³ Deduct from these thirty-seven years the eleven years of Zedekiah's reign prior to the destruction of Jerusalem, and we have twenty-six years, mentioned in our book.

⁴ The quotation ends here in the MS.; it is continued in the first editions.

⁵ The first editions add: "and Persia."

⁶ He is apparently identified by R. Tachanah in the next paragraph of our book with the "fourth king" of Dan. xi. 2.

⁷ The quotation ends here in the MS. and in the first editions.

⁸ See Seder 'Olam Rab. xxviii. p. 65a and xxx. p. 68b, note 10. According to some Jewish traditions (see T.B. Rosh Ha-Shanah, 4a) Artaxerxes II. is Darius II., who sanctioned the rebuilding of the Temple. This king appears to have reigned thirty-six years; see Esth. Rab. viii. 3, and Lev. Rab. xiii. 5. See also *J.E.* iv. p. 442, and cf. Josephus, *Ant.* xi. 6. 1.

⁹ The first editions and MS. Gaster read: "Tanchum." See *supra*, p. 308.

¹⁰ This is the paraphrase of Esth. i. 5: "in the court of the garden of the king's palace."

¹¹ The first editions read: "to let all the world know."

used by Ahasuerus were not vessels of silver, but vessels of gold.¹ He brought the vessels of the Temple, and all the vessels of his palace were changed in appearance,² so that they became like lead, as it is said, "The vessels being *diverse* one from another" (*ibid.* 7).

All the pavement of his palace consisted of precious stones and pearls, || as it is said, "Upon a pavement of porphyry, and white marble,³ and alabaster, and *stone* of blue colour" (*ibid.* 6).

Rabbi Eliezer said: For half the year Ahasuerus made great banquets for all the peoples, as it is said, "Many days, even an hundred and eighty days" (*ibid.* 4). Every people⁴ who ate its food in impurity,⁵ had its food provided in impurity, and every people who ate its food in purity⁶ had its food provided (according to the regulations of) purity,⁷ as it is said,⁸ "That they should do according to every man's pleasure" (*ibid.* 8).⁹

Rabbi José¹⁰ said: It was the universal custom of the kings of Media¹¹ when they were eating and drinking to cause their women to come before them stark naked, playing and dancing, in order to see the beauty of their figures. When the wine entered the heart of Ahasuerus, he wished to act in this manner¹² with Vashti the queen. She was

¹ Cf. 1 Kings x. 21, and Assumption of Moses iii. 2.

² Because they became dim in splendour when brought together with the beautiful sacred vessels of the Temple. This constituted the diversity referred to in the text (Esth. i. 7); see Targum 1. thereon, which is probably the source of *P.R.E.* s version.

³ The quotation ends here in the MS.; it is continued in the first editions.

⁴ The first editions read: "Everyone."

⁵ *i.e.* this food lacked the characteristics which marked the levitically pure food.

⁶ The Jewish Law determines the kind of food which may be eaten by its adherents. Such food is pure. The expression used here in our author, "Every people who ate its food in purity," points to priestly regulations and conditions. The subject has been dealt with exhaustively by Dr. Büchler in his *Der Galiläische 'Am-ha 'Ares des Zweiten Jahrhunderts.*

⁷ The first editions reverse the order of the clauses.

⁸ The first editions read: "to fulfil that which is written."

⁹ See Esth. Rab., *in loc.*; Jalḳuṭ, Esth. § 1056; T.B. Megillah, 12a; and cf. Jalḳuṭ, Esth. § 1048.

¹⁰ The first editions read: "Simeon."

¹¹ Although Ahasuerus was the king of Persia he was apparently a Mede by race. On the morals of the Medes see T.B. Berakhoth, 8b.

¹² For other instances of the evil effect of too much wine see Gen. ix. 21, and *supra*, p. 170; see also Hos. iv. 11, and cf. T.B. Soṭah, 7a.

the daughter of a king,¹ and she was not willing to do this.² He decreed concerning her, and she was slain. When the wine had passed from the heart of Ahasuerus, he sought after Vashti, but he did not find her. They told him of the deed which had been done,³ and (also) of the decree which had been ordained concerning her. Why was the decree passed against her? Because she used to make the daughters of Israel come⁴ and toil for her on Sabbaths, therefore was the decree ordained against her that she should be slain naked on the Sabbath,⁵ as it is said, "He remembered Vashti,⁶ and *what she had done*, and what was decreed against her" (*ibid.* ii. 1).

Rabbi Zechariah said: || Merit is transmitted by the hand of the worthy. By the hand of Daniel⁷ the sovereignty was transferred to Esther, because he said to the king, Let not the king weep, since all that thou hast done⁸ thou hast done according to the Torah. And whosoever keeps the Torah,⁹ the Holy One, blessed be He, preserves his kingdom; for thus the Torah says that the man shall rule his wife, as it is said, "And he shall rule over thee"¹⁰ (Gen. iii. 16). The king sent in all the provinces to do

¹ Belteshazzar; see T.B. Megillah, 9b, and Jalkuṭ, Esth. § 1050.

² The first editions and MS. Gaster read: "that she should come naked before him," and then add: "She sent to him saying: Foolish drunkard! If I come they may see that I am ugly, (then) they will despise thee at thy table; and if they see that I am beautiful, one of thy princes will kill thee¹ in the hour of (his taking) wine. The king heard her words and commanded that she should be slain."

³ The first editions read: "His princes told him of the decree which he had ordained against her."

⁴ The first editions add: "naked."

⁵ In the first editions the words "on the Sabbath" follow the words "ordained against her."

⁶ The quotation ends here in the MS.; it is continued in the first editions. On the theme see Esth. Rab., *in loc.*, and Targum I. to Esth. ii. 1.

⁷ The first editions and MS. Gaster add: "who was Memucan." See the Targum II. to Esth. i. 16, and cf. Esth. Rab. iv. 2 and 6. The latter does not, however, identify Memucan with Daniel. In Targum I. to Esth. i. 16 he is compared with Haman; cf. T.B. Megillah, 12b. *P.R.E.* is the source used by Targum II. in identifying Memucan with Daniel. Memucan means the "establisher."

⁸ The first editions add: "to Vashti."

⁹ The first editions read: "the precepts of the Torah." See Ezra vi. 11, 12 for a parallel to the expression in our text.

¹⁰ This was said to the first woman, and is one of the nine afflictions imposed upon womankind. See *supra*, p. 100.

¹ The Targum II. to Esther i. 12 has used here *P.R.E.*

according to his words,¹ as it is said, "That every man should² bear rule in his own house" (Esth. i. 22). He also said to the king: "Let there be sought for the king² fair young virgins" (*ibid.* ii. 2). Not³ "all young virgins," but "fair young virgins."⁴ "And let the maiden which pleaseth² the king be queen instead of Vashti" (*ibid.* 4); and it is written elsewhere, "And the maiden pleased him" (*ibid.* 9). This refers to Esther. The Holy One, blessed be He, invested her with grace and love⁵ in the eyes of all who saw her.⁴ "And Esther obtained favour² in the sight of all them that looked upon her" (*ibid.* 15).⁶

¹ The first editions read: "the words of Memucan."

² The quotation ends here in the MS.; it is continued in the first editions.

³ The first editions and MS. Gaster read: "Young virgins" and not "all young virgins."

⁴ The first editions add: "as it is said."

⁵ Cf. Targum II. to Esth. ii. 17: "and she was rewarded by (the king) with more grace and favour than all the virgins."

⁶ The 1st ed. adds: "for the sake of the merit that was to be (accomplished) at her hands."

CHAPTER L

HAMAN [70B. ii.]

“ THERE was a certain Jew in Shushan, the capital,¹ whose name was Mordecai ” (Esth. ii. 5). Rabbi Shema'iah said : Was there then no other Jew in Shushan, the capital, except Mordecai alone ? Lo ! it is written, “ And the Jews that were in Shushan ” (*ibid.* ix. 15). But because he was a Jew,² and a direct descendant of the patriarchs and also of the royal seed, and he was engaged in (the study of) the Torah all his days, and he was not defiled by any forbidden³ food in his mouth, therefore was his name called “ a Jew.”⁴

“ Whose name was Mordecai ” (*ibid.* ii. 5), because his prayer || ascended before the Holy One, blessed be He, like the scent of *pure myrrh*⁵ (מר רבני). “ The son of Jair ” (*ibid.*), because he enlightened (*Mair*) the faces (of the scholars) in Halakhah.⁶ “ The son of Shimei ” (*ibid.*), who went forth to curse David.⁷ “ The son of Kish ” (*ibid.*),⁸ of the seed of

¹ The quotation ends here in the MS. ; it is continued in the first editions.

² The first editions read : “ a righteous Jew.”

³ The first editions read : “ anything of unclean food did not pass into his mouth.” See *supra*, p. 393, note 6.

⁴ The first editions read : “ a certain Jew.” Cf. Ps. lx. 7 and Jalkuṭ, Esth. § 1052 (end). See also T.B. Megillah, 12b.

⁵ A play on the word Mordecai ; see Targum II. to Esth. ii. 5. T.B. Chullin, 139b, translates the words מר רור of Ex. xxx. 23 by מירא רכיא, clear (liquid) myrrh ; cf. T.B. Megillah, 10b. Prayer is compared with incense ; see Ps. cxli. 2.

⁶ As a member of the Synhedrion, he brought light to Israel in the hour of darkness ; see Esth. viii. 16 : “ The Jews had light and joy.”

⁷ Shimei was of the royal house of Saul, and therefore Mordecai as his descendant belonged also to the royal house. See Targum II. to Esth., *loc. cit.*

⁸ The first editions read : “ Because he knocked (*shêhikkish*) upon the doors of mercy and they were opened unto him.” See Sheḳalim v. 1 : “ Petachiah is Mordecai, because God opened to him the gates of prayer.”

those who could use both the right hand and the left,¹ as it is said, "The children of Ephraim, being armed and carrying bows" (Ps. lxxviii. 9).

Rabbi Simeon said: Come and see the wisdom of Mordecai, for he knew seventy languages,² as it is said, "Which came with Zerubbabel, Jeshua³ . . . Mordecai, Bilshan"⁴ (Ezra ii. 2), and he sat in the gates of the king to see that Esther and her maidens should not become defiled by any kind of unclean⁵ food. He heard the two eunuchs of the king speaking in the language of the Chaldees,⁶ saying:⁷ Now will the king take the afternoon sleep, and when he arises⁸ he will say, Give me a little water; let a deadly poison⁹ be given to him in the golden vessel,¹⁰ and he will drink thereof and die. Mordecai¹¹ went in and told Esther. Now Esther told the king in the name of Mordecai, as it is said, "And Esther told the king in Mordecai's name" (Esth. ii. 22). Hence (the Wise Men) have said: Whosoever tells a matter in the name of its author brings redemption into the world.¹²

When the king arose from his sleep, he said to his servants, his eunuchs, who were wont to give him something to drink: Give me a little water. They brought him the golden jug, and a deadly poison || was therein. He said to them: Pour out the water before me. They said to him: O our lord, O king, this water is excellent, good, even choice. Why should we pour it out before thee? He said to them: Thus have I resolved to have it poured out before me. They poured

¹ For phraseology see 1 Chron. xii. 2.

² The first editions read: "and his name was Mordecai Bilshan."

³ The quotation ends here in the MS.

⁴ See T.B. Menachoth, 65a; T.B. Megillah, 13b. Bilshan (= "linguist") is mentioned in this verse (Ezra ii. 2) as a separate person.

⁵ See T.B. Megillah, *loc. cit.*

⁶ According to T.B. Megillah, *loc. cit.*, the language was that of Tarsus (טרוסיות).

⁷ The first editions add: "one to the other."

⁸ The first editions read: "and when he gets up from his sleep he will say to us."

⁹ The Targum II. to Esth. ii. 21 speaks of "a poisonous snake in the golden cup" out of which Ahasuerus would drink.

¹⁰ Our MS. reads "Kesibath." The first editions read "Kitôn" (jug); see *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, p. 24. See also Targum II. to Esth., *loc. cit.*: "Keepers of the vessels." See also Zech. xii. 2 for the word קן.

¹¹ The first editions add: "heard their speech."

¹² See Aboth vi. 6, T.B. Chullin, 104b, and T.B. Megillah, 15a.

it out before him, and he found therein the deadly poison,¹ and he commanded that they should be hanged, as it is said, "They were both hanged on a tree" (*ibid.* 23). They were both hanged on one tree, one after the other,² as it is said, "Upon a tree" (*ibid.*); it is not written, "Upon trees." All affairs which were enacted before the king they wrote before him, and they placed it in the king's box,³ and when the king wished to discover what had happened to him they read the documents, and he knew what had happened to him. So they wrote in the book the word which Mordecai had told, as it is said, "And it was written in the book of the chronicles" (*ibid.*).

Rabbi Phineas said: Two wealthy men arose in the world, one in Israel and one among the nations of the world,⁴ Korah in Israel,⁵ and Haman among the nations of the world,⁶ who took the treasures of the kings of Judah.⁷ (When) the king⁸ saw his wealth and his ten sons⁹ keeping guard before him, he exalted him, and aggrandized him, as it is said, "After || these things did king Ahasuerus promote¹⁰ Haman, the son of Hammedatha" (*ibid.* iii. 1). The king commanded concerning him that all the people should

¹ See T.B. Megillah, 13b, according to which there was a serpent in the king's cup. See also Jalkuṭ, Esth. § 1053, quoting Abba Gorion.

² This sentence occurs in our MS. only.

³ Our MS. reads "Achmetha" (pot or vessel); see Targum i. to Esth. i. 4. The word in the first editions and in Luria's edition should probably be "G'looskoma" (γλωσσόκομον), which occurs in the LXX to 2 Chron. xxiv. 8, meaning case, chest, or coffin.

⁴ "And their wealth brought them only trouble," says Esth. Rab. vii. 4; see T.B. Pesachim, 119a; Ex. Rab. xxxi. 3; and Eccles. Rab. to Eccles. v. 12.

⁵ The first editions add: "for he found the treasures of gold belonging to Joseph." Esth. Rab., *loc. cit.*, says: "treasures of silver and gold which Joseph hid"; see T.B. Pesachim, *loc. cit.*

⁶ "In Shushan" is inserted by the later editions instead of "among the nations of the world." This is due to the censor.

⁷ The first editions add: "and all the treasures of the Holy of Holies." Haman was supposed by the Haggadist to have been in the army of Nebuchadnezzar at the capture of Jerusalem, and to have appropriated the treasures of the palace and Temple. Cf. Shocher Tob on Ps. xxii. p. 99a and on Ps. lxxviii. p. 173b.

⁸ Ahasuerus.

⁹ Perhaps the text should read "the wealth of his sons," cf. *infra*, p. 408. See Esth. Rab., *loc. cit.*, which adds, after the word "sons": "who were princes before him; he arose and exalted him and he aggrandized him."

¹⁰ The quotation ends here in the MS.; it is continued in the first editions.

bow down and show reverence to him.¹ What did Haman do? He made for himself an image of an idol, and had it embroidered upon his dress, above his heart, so that everyone who bowed down to Haman also bowed down to the idol which he had made. Mordecai² saw this, and did not consent to bow down to the idol,³ as it is said, "But Mordecai bowed not down, nor did him reverence" (*ibid.* 2); and (Haman) was full of wrath against him, and said: These Jews hated my forefathers from of old, and now will I say to the king that he should destroy them from the world. Haman entered before Ahasuerus, and said to him: O my lord, O king, "There is a certain people scattered abroad and dispersed among the peoples⁴ in all the provinces of thy kingdom" (*ibid.* 8), and they are of no benefit to thee and do not obey thee, and they do not perform thy will, and it is not for the king's profit to suffer them. If it please the king, accept half of my wealth and give me power⁵ over them, as it is said, "If it please the king, let it be written that they be destroyed" (*ibid.* 9). (The king) said to him: Behold, they are given into thy hand for nought, as it is said, "And the king said to Haman, The silver is given to thee, the people also" (*ibid.* 11). The Holy Spirit cried out, saying: "Thus saith the Lord, Ye were sold for nought,⁴ || and ye shall be redeemed without money" (Isa. lii. 3).⁶

Rabbi José said: Haman was an astrologer,⁷ and he wrote letters on slips,⁸ and cast lots by the constellations to know the distinction between one day and another, and between one month and another, and between one constellation and another, as it is said, "They cast Pur, that is, the

¹ The first editions read: "to Haman."

² Luria suggests another reading: "(Haman) saw that Mordecai did not consent to bow down and to prostrate himself before him, and he became full of wrath."

³ The first editions read: "to his abomination." See Jerahmeel, lxxix. i.

⁴ The quotation ends here in the MS.; it is continued in the first editions.

⁵ Lit. "permission," or "control."

⁶ The two previous quotations are not given by the first editions.

⁷ The first editions read: "a great astrologer." The Targum II. to Esth. iii. 7 gives the reasons why the various days of the week and the months (except Adar) were unpropitious for Haman.

⁸ פקודים, slips; see above, p. 362, note 4.

lot,¹ before Haman from day to day, and from month to month" (Esth. iii. 7). He wrote and sent throughout all the provinces to destroy and to slay and to exterminate all the Jews² on the thirteenth day of³ the month Adar, on the third day in the constellation Leo.⁴ Mordecai heard (thereof), and rent his garments,⁵ and put on sackcloth with ashes, and he went forth into the midst of the city, as it is said, "And Mordecai knew all that was done" (*ibid.* iv. 1); and he cried before the Holy One, blessed be He, saying: Sovereign of all the worlds! Thou didst swear to our forefathers to multiply their seed like the stars of the heaven, and now hast Thou given them like sheep to the slaughter.⁶ "Remember Abraham,⁷ Isaac, and Israel . . . to whom thou swarest . . . I will multiply your seed as the stars of heaven" (Ex. xxxii. 13). Esther heard (thereof), and her strength failed, as it is said, "And the queen was exceedingly enfeebled"⁸ (Esth. iv. 4). She sent and called for Hathach, the trusty (servant) of her household, to know what had been done⁹ to Mordecai. Hathach went forth to Mordecai, who told him the words.¹⁰ (Hathach) went in and told Esther. Haman saw Hathach coming and returning, and he slew him,¹¹ and Esther did not find another

¹ The quotation ends here in the MS.; it is continued up to "Haman" in the first editions.

² The first editions add: "both young and old, little children and women."

³ The first editions add: "the twelfth month which is."

⁴ The constellation of Adar is Pisces; see *supra*, p. 33, as to the constellations. It is Tuesday which is said to be connected with the constellation Leo. See T.B. Megillah, *loc. cit.*; Esth. Rab. vii. 11. On the subject of the horoscope see Cassel's *Esther*, pp. 104 f. This book contains an English version of the Second Targum.

⁵ On the custom of rending the garments see T.B. Mo'ed Katan, 26a. The MS. adds here "etc."

⁶ See *supra*, p. 357. On the Prayer of Mordecai cf. the prayer in the Apocrypha and in the Targum II.; see T.B. Megillah, 11a; and cf. Siphra, p. 112b.

⁷ The quotation ends here in the MS.

⁸ R.V. renders: "grieved." For the meaning of חללה as "weakness" see Isa. xxi. 3 and Nahum ii. 11 (Heb.).

⁹ What sin had brought about this dire misfortune. See T.B. Megillah, 15a.

¹⁰ Of the decree against the Jews.

¹¹ The text in Esther (iv. 12) says: "and *they* told Mordecai"; see Targum I. thereon; Jalkuṭ, Esther, § 1056; and cf. T.B. Megillah, *loc. cit.*, which identifies Hathach with Daniel. Targum II. to Esth. iv. 11 says: "And because Hathach was a messenger between Esther and Mordecai, Haman was very wroth against him and

man faithful enough to send to Mordecai. She said that it was her || desire to return answer to Mordecai.¹ She said to him, "Go, gather together all the Jews² that are present in Shushan, and fast ye for me, and neither eat nor drink three days" (*ibid.* 16). These (days) were the thirteenth, the fourteenth, and the fifteenth of Nisan.³ Mordecai said to her: Is not the third day⁴ (of the fast) the day of Passover? She said to him: Thou art the elder in Israel.⁵ If there be no Israel, wherefore is the Passover? Mordecai hearkened to her words, and he⁶ agreed with her. "So Mordecai transgressed"⁷ (*ibid.* 17). What is the meaning of the expression, "So he transgressed"? That he transgressed the festivals and Sabbaths.⁸ On the third day (of the fast) Esther put on the royal apparel, and sent and invited the king and Haman to the banquet which she had prepared on the fifteenth of Nisan.⁹ When they had eaten and drunk, Haman said:¹⁰ The king exalts me, and his wife aggrandizes me, and there is none greater than I am in all the kingdoms;

killed him. The words of Esther were then reported by writing to Mordecai."

¹ The first editions read: "She said that she would go to Mordecai, as it is said, 'And Esther *spake* to return answer unto Mordecai'" (Esth. iv. 15). This was her intention. See Jalkuṭ, Esther, *loc. cit.*: "The Holy Spirit carried her message to Mordecai."

² The quotation ends here in the MS.; it is continued in the first editions.

³ See T.B. Jebamoth, 121b; T.B. Megillah, *loc. cit.*; Seder 'Olam Rab. xxix. p. 66b; Lev. Rab. xxviii. 4; Pesikta, 71b. The first banquet was on the 16th of Nisan, and the second on the following day.

⁴ *i.e.* the 15th of Nisan.

⁵ The first editions read: "Thou art the head of the Synhedrion and thou sayest this word! If there be no Israel, for whom is the Passover?" The "word" refers to Mordecai's objection to fast on the Passover. The rule was not to fast on Sabbath or festival. The only exception was the Day of Atonement on a Sabbath, when the fast was duly kept thereon. See Shulchan 'Arukh i. 288 (8).

⁶ The first editions read: "and he did all that she commanded, as it is said."

⁷ ויעבר (Esth. iv. 17). R.V. renders: "And he went his way." The word עבירה, "transgression," is from the same root as the verb ויעבר; see Tanna de bē Elijahu Rab. i. p. 3.

⁸ The first editions read: "Teaching that he transgressed the law of the first day of Passover, by not eating" the unleavened bread, as prescribed by the Torah (Ex. xiii. 6).

⁹ Should we read "on the 16th of Nisan"? The printed texts as well as the MS. read "on the 15th." This would mean that Esther had prepared the banquet on the first day of Passover, and that the king dined with her on the evening of that day, which was the 16th day of Nisan at night.

¹⁰ The first editions read: "in his heart."

and Haman rejoiced very much in his heart, as it is said, "Then went Haman forth that day, joyful¹ and glad of heart" (*ibid.* v. 9).

"On that night the king's sleep fled" (*ibid.* vi. 1). That night the throne² of the King who is King of kings, the Holy One, blessed be He, became unsteady,³ because He saw that Israel was in great distress. The sleep of the king⁴ on earth fled, for he had seen in his dream Haman taking the sword to slay him;⁵ || and he became agitated and arose from his sleep,⁶ and he told the sons of Haman, the scribes,⁷ to read in the books so as to see what had happened to him. They opened the books, and found the incident which Mordecai had told,⁸ but they did not wish to read this, and they rolled up the scrolls. The king said to them: Read ye what is written before you. But they were unwilling to read, and the writing was read (of its own account)⁹ by itself, as it is said, "And they were read before the king" (*ibid.*). It is not written here, "They were reading," but "They were read."¹⁰ The king spake to his servants: Call ye Haman to me. They said to him: Behold, he is standing outside. The king said: The thing is

¹ The quotation ends here in the MS.; it is continued in the first editions.

² The first editions read: "the sleep."

³ The first editions read: "fled."

⁴ See T.B. Megillah, 15b, which reads: "the sleep of the king of the world." There is no reference to the sleep of God in our MS.; this agrees with the Targum II. on Esth. vi. 1; cf. Esth. Rab. x. 1, and Jerahmeel lxxxiii. 1.

⁵ Ahasuerus.

⁶ The Targum II. on Esth., *loc. cit.*, reads: "(God) commanded the angel, who is in charge of confusion, to confound Ahasuerus and to deprive him of sleep." See Eccles. Rab. v. on Eccles. v. 3, and Jalkuṭ, Esther, § 1057.

⁷ The 'Arukh, ed. Kohut, v. p. 385a, s.v. נקראין, quotes P.R.E.: "They were the readers of the books of the king." See also Esth. Rab., *loc. cit.*, which has used our book.

⁸ The first editions add: "concerning Bigthan and Teresh." See Esth. ii. 21-23; cf. T.B. Megillah, 15a.

⁹ By a miracle. The Targum II., *loc. cit.*, says: "When Shimshê the scribe saw what was told concerning Mordecai in the affair of Bigthan and Teresh, he turned over the leaves and did not want to read them. But it was the will of the Lord of the world that the leaves should open and read of themselves the record written on them." This passage illustrates how this Targum has used P.R.E.

¹⁰ Jalkuṭ, Esth., *loc. cit.*, adds: "Do not be surprised, because the reading was due to the (power of) the lot (נורל); for the script had flown away from the various narratives and came to the lap of the king."

true which I saw in my dream ;¹ he has come only in this hour to slay me. He said : Let him come in. He entered before the king. The king said to him : I wish to exalt and aggrandize a certain man ; what shall be done to him ? Haman said in his heart, for the seed of Esau² speak in their hearts, but never reveal their secret with their mouths, as it is said, "And Haman said in his heart" (*ibid.* 6). Haman said in his heart : He does not desire to exalt any other man except me.³ I will speak words so that I shall be a king just as he is. He said to him : Let⁴ them bring the apparel || which the king wore on the day of the coronation,⁵ and (let them bring) the horse upon which the king rode on the coronation day, and the crown which was put upon the head of the king on the day of coronation.⁶ The king was exceedingly angry because of the crown. The king said : It does not suffice this villain, but he must even desire the crown which is upon my head.⁷ Haman saw that the king was angry because of the crown ; he said : "And let the apparel and the horse be delivered⁸ to the hand of one of the king's most noble princes" (*ibid.* 9).⁹ (The king) said to him : Go, and do thus to Mordecai.¹⁰ As soon as Haman heard this he became greatly agitated,¹¹ and he said to him : My lord, O king ! There are very

¹ See Eccles. Rab., *loc. cit.* ; the Targumim on Esther, *in loc.* ; I.C.C. Esther, p. 244, and Gelbhaus, *Das Targum Scheni zum Buche Esther*, for Midrashic parallels.

² The first editions read : "All the seed of Amalek." See T.B. Megillah, 7a, which infers that the Book of Esther was inspired, as otherwise we could not know what Haman thought in his heart.

³ The first editions read : "To whom should the king desire to do honour more than to me."

⁴ The first editions omit the previous sentence and read here : "My lord, O king ! if thou desirest to do honour to the man in whom thou takest delight."

⁵ See Targum II. on Esth. vi. 7 for the dream and its fulfilment by Haman's words. Targum I. on Esth. vi. 8 adds : "on the day of his accession to the throne."

⁶ This is probably due to the text : "And the royal crown which is set upon his head" (Esth. vi. 8).

⁷ The first editions add : "if so, what hast thou left me ?"

⁸ In the MS. the quotation ends here.

⁹ No reference is now made to the crown.

¹⁰ The first editions add : "the Jew, who sitteth at the king's gate."

¹¹ The first editions read : "he became confused and agitated." See Targum II. on Esth. vi. 10 : "When Haman heard these words he was in great trouble, his countenance was changed, his sight became dim, his mouth became distorted, his thoughts confused, his loins languid, and his knees beat one against the other."

many named Mordecai. The king answered : " The Jew." (Haman) said to him : There are very many Jews.¹ The king said to him : " He who sits at the king's gate " (*ibid.* 10).²

Haman took the apparel and the horse and went to Mordecai.³ (Haman) said to him : Arise, and put on the purple of the king. (Mordecai) said to him :⁴ Villain ! Dost thou not know that for three days I have put on sackcloth with ashes,⁵ sitting on the ashes,⁶ because of that which thou hast done to me ? Now take me to the bath-house,⁷ and afterwards will I put on the purple of the king. And he washed him and dressed him. (Haman) said to him : Mount and ride upon the horse. He said to (Haman) : On account of the affliction of the fast I have no strength to mount and ride upon the horse. What did Haman do ? He lowered himself, || and Mordecai put his foot upon his

¹ The first editions add : " who are named Mordecai."

² The first editions add here the following : " He said to him : My lord, O king ! I did not think when thou didst speak but that it was for one greater than this man. As for this man, give him fields and vineyards and it will suffice for him ; as for these other (honours), how will they benefit him ? The king said to him : Go, do as thou hast spoken. I also am able to give him all that which thou hast decreed with thy mouth.¹ The king said to him : By the life of my head and my kingdom ! It is becoming for thee to do thus." ²

³ The Venice edition adds here : " And he inquired after his welfare (lit. peace). Mordecai replied : ' There is no *peace*, saith the Lord, unto the wicked ' " (Isa. xlviii. 22). This passage is wanting in the Oxford MS.

⁴ The Venice edition adds : " Fool of the world ! "

⁵ See Esth. iv. 1. Targum II. on Esth. vi. 11 reads : (Haman says) : " Now arise from your sackcloth and ashes, and put on the royal garment."

⁶ See Esth. iv. 3.

⁷ The first editions add here : " What did Esther do ? She ordained that any person who should stand (about) in the baths (the same) should not live. And if (Haman) should tell anyone to kindle lights, they should not hearken unto him. Haman went and (by) himself kindled the lights against his will. He sent his eldest son to call Mordecai into the baths. Mordecai received (him) and struck him with his foot, saying to him : Why did not thy father come himself ? Is he not my servant ? He returned to his father and told him, and he went against his will to take (Mordecai) to the baths, and he shaved his head and divested him (of his garments) and dressed him."

¹ See T.B. Megillah, 16a, and Targum II. to Esth. vi. 10.

² See Targum II. to Esth., *loc. cit.*, and Jalkuṭ, Esth. § 1058, which adds : " How long wilt thou continue to talk before me."

neck, and he mounted and rode upon the horse.¹ Mordecai² said : Blessed be the Omnipresent, who hath not let aught of His words fall to the earth, to fulfil that which is said, " But thou shalt tread upon their high places " (Deut. xxxiii. 29). Mordecai³ betook himself to his seat of honour at the king's gate, whilst Haman was hurried along, and he went⁴ " to his house mourning and having his head covered " (Esth. vi. 12),⁵ because of that which had happened to him.⁶

Zeresh his wife and all his astrologers⁷ said to him : Hast thou not heard what was done unto Pharaoh ?⁸ as it is said, " And Zeresh his wife said unto him, If Mordecai, before whom thou hast begun to fall, be of the seed of the Jews,⁹ thou shalt not prevail against him " (*ibid.* 13).

In that hour the pages of Esther came and took Haman

¹ The first editions add here : " And as he lifted up one leg, he struck him with the other foot. (Haman) said to him : Is it not written in the Torah (*i.e.* Bible) : ' Rejoice not when thine enemy falleth ' (Prov. xxiv. 17) ? (Mordecai) said to him : These words apply to Israel, but concerning the nations of the world (the text says) : ' But thou shalt tread upon their high places ' " (Deut. xxxiii. 29). The Amsterdam and Prague editions read " idolaters " instead of " nations of the world " just before the quotation from Deuteronomy. This long section is undoubtedly a later expansion of the simple original narrative which we have probably preserved in our MS. and in the Targum II. The Venice text contains several Aramaic words which are quite alien to the language of the *P.R.E.*

² See Targum II. to Esth., *loc. cit.*

³ The first editions read : " Mordecai came before the king, and Haman was proclaiming before him : ' Thus shall it be done unto the man whom the king delighteth to honour ' (Esth. vi. 11). ' But Haman hastened to his house ' " (*ibid.* 12), etc.

⁴ See T.B. Megillah, *loc. cit.*

⁵ The covered head was a sign of disgrace and mourning among the Jews (see *supra*, p. 100) ; also among the Persians (see Q. Curtius, v. 10 and x. 5).

⁶ See T.B. Megillah, *loc. cit.*, for the legend of Haman's daughter, who killed herself when she discovered her father's disgrace.

⁷ The first editions read : " friends."

⁸ The first editions add : " in Egypt." See Targum I. to Esth. vi. 13, which seems to have preserved the original text of *P.R.E.* ; or is the real fact *vice-versa* ? See Posner's dissertation on Targum I. p. 47. The version in the Targum I., *loc. cit.*, reads : " Before whom thou hast begun to fall, as the kings fell before Abraham in the Plain of the Field, as Abimelech fell before Isaac, as the angel was vanquished by Jacob, and as by the hands of Moses and Aaron Pharaoh and all his host sank in the Reed Sea, and as all kings and princes, who did them harm, were delivered by God into their hand, so also wilt thou accomplish nothing harmful against him." See also Targum II. to Esth. vi. 13.

⁹ The quotation ends here in the MS. and in the first editions.

to the banquet which she had prepared on the sixteenth¹ of Nisan. When they had eaten and taken (wine) the king said to Esther: "What is thy petition,² queen Esther? and it shall be granted thee; and what is thy request?" (*ibid.* vii. 2). She said to him: My lord, O king!³ I ask nought of thee, except my life, and my people. Because one man has come and has bought us to destroy, to slay, and to cause to perish.⁴ "But if we had been sold for bondmen and bondwomen, I had held my peace" (*ibid.* 4). The king said to her:⁵ Who is this man? She answered him: This one is the wicked Haman,⁶ as it is said, "And Esther said, An adversary and an enemy, even this wicked Haman" (*ibid.* 6). "The king arose in his wrath" (*ibid.* 7).⁷ What did the angel Michael⁸ do? He began to cut down the plants in his presence.⁹ || Intense wrath was kindled within him, and the king returned from the palace garden to the place of the banquet of wine. What did the angel Michael do? He lifted up Haman¹⁰ from Esther. The king ex-

¹ The first editions and MS. Gaster read: "the 17th of Nisan."

² The quotation ends here in the MS.; it is continued in the first editions.

³ The first editions read here: "'If it please the king, let my life be given me at my petition, and my people at my request'" (Esth. vii. 3). See Targum I., *in loc.*, which paraphrases this verse thus: "If I have found grace in thy sight, O king": "If I have found mercy before Thee, O High King," referring to God. Our author also only quotes the second half of the verse as referring to Ahasuerus.

⁴ See Esth. Rab. Proem.

⁵ The first editions read: "Who is he and where is he?" (Esth. vii. 5).

⁶ The first editions read: "This wicked Haman" (Esth. vii. 6). See Targum I., *in loc.* In the MS. the quotation which follows ends with the word "enemy." Then the first editions add: "Forthwith they covered his face."

⁷ The first editions add: "from the banquet of wine, and he went into the palace garden."

⁸ See Targum II. to Esth. vii. 7, and cf. Targum I. to Esth. vii. 7, which speaks of the "ten angels in the guise of the ten sons of Haman cutting down the king's plants." Josephus should be compared with our Midrash in connection with his account of the story of Esther.

⁹ The first editions add here: "The king saw and asked him: Who is this? He answered him: I am the son of Haman, for thus did my father command me.¹ Immediately was his wrath kindled." See T.B. Megillah, *loc. cit.*, and Esth. Rab. x. 9.

¹⁰ Against Esther, see Esth. vii. 8; and cf. Targum II. to Esth. vii. 8. The Venice edition reads: "He lifted Haman up from Esther, as though he had wished to come to her."

¹ This Midrash seems to be designed to express the attempt of Haman to cut off the Jews by the use of the figure of the cutting off of the plants in the king's garden.

claimed:¹ As for this villain, he is not satisfied with having purchased the people of Esther to destroy, to slay, and to cause to perish, but he must needs come upon her! "Will he even force the queen before me in the house?" (*ibid.* 8).² Haman heard this word and his countenance fell, as it is said, "They covered Haman's face" (*ibid.*).³ And the king commanded that he should be hanged on the gallows.⁴ What⁵ did Elijah, his memory be a blessing, do? He assumed the guise of Harbonah,⁶ one of the chamberlains of the king. He said to him: My lord, O king! There is a tree⁷ in Haman's house (taken) from the Holy of Holies,⁸ fifty cubits high. Whence do we know that it was from the Holy of Holies? Because it is said, "And he built the house of the forest of Lebanon" (1 Kings vii. 2).⁹ Forthwith the king commanded that he should be hanged thereon, as it is said, "And (the king¹⁰) said, Hang him thereon" (Esth. vii. 9), so as to fulfil that which is said, "Let a beam be pulled out from his house,¹¹ and let him be lifted up and fastened thereon; and let his house be made a dunghill for this" (Ezra vi. 11). And it says, "So they hanged Haman¹² on the gallows that he had prepared for Mordecai" (Esth. vii. 10). The king took all that belonged to Haman¹³ and gave it to Mordecai and to Esther.¹⁴ He¹⁵ said to them: Write

¹ The rest of this sentence occurs in the MS. only.

² Josephus, *Ant.* xi. 6. 11, adds: "as he had fallen upon the queen's bed."

³ This sentence occurs in the MS. only.

⁴ The first editions add: "as it is said, 'And the king said, Hang him thereon'" (Esth. vii. 9).

⁵ The first editions read: "In that hour what did Elijah," etc.

⁶ See Hagahoth of Maimonides, Hilkhoth Megillah, i. 7; *J.E.* vi. 231, also Esth. Rab. x. 9.

⁷ "'*Ēz*," tree, wood, or gallows. See also Targum II. to Esth. vii. 9; Josephus, *loc. cit.*, and cf. Jerahmeel lxxxii. 6.

⁸ Luria thinks that we should read here: "from the house of the forest of Lebanon." This is very likely correct.

⁹ The first editions vary the quotation and read: "'And he made the porch of pillars; the length thereof was fifty cubits'" (1 Kings vii. 6).

¹⁰ The MS. omits "the king."

¹¹ The quotation ends here in the MS. and in the first editions.

¹² In the MS. the quotation ends here; it is continued in the first editions.

¹³ "and his house" is added by Luria.

¹⁴ The first editions add the following: "to fulfil that which is said: 'And let his house be made a dunghill for this'" (Ezra vi. 11).

¹⁵ The first editions read: "The king commanded the Jews to do as seemed good in their eyes."

concerning the Jews as seems good in your eyes¹ in the name of the king. They wrote official letters, and they sent throughout all the provinces² to destroy, to slay, || and to cause all the enemies of the Jews to perish on the thirteenth of the month of Adar, on the third day in the constellation of Leo.³ Just as the lion⁴ is the king⁵ over all the beasts, and he turns his gaze towards any place as he wishes; likewise did he⁶ think fit, and he turned his face to destroy and to slay all the enemies of Israel, as it is said, "In the day that the enemies of the Jews hoped to have rule over them" (*ibid.* ix. 1).⁷

Rabbi Eliezer said: Haman had forty sons;⁸ ten of them were the scribes of the books of the king, and thirty were ruling in all the provinces, as it is said, "And the ten sons of Haman, in the rest of the king's provinces" (*ibid.* 12). They were all hanged upon the gallows of their father, as it is said, "And they hanged Haman's ten sons" (*ibid.* 14) upon the gallows. Another Scripture text says, "And they hanged Haman's ten sons" (*ibid.*).⁹

Rabbi Phineas said: Mordecai ruled¹⁰ over the Jews. Just as the king is dressed in purple, so was Mordecai dressed in purple, as it is said, "And Mordecai went forth from the presence of the king¹¹ in royal apparel" (*ibid.* viii. 15).¹² Just as the king has a crown upon his head, so Mordecai had a crown upon his head, as it is said, "And Mordecai went forth¹³ . . . with a great crown of gold"

¹ The king had told Haman to do with the Jews as seemed good in his eyes; this was the sequel. "Measure for measure."

² The first editions add: "of the king."

³ See Jalkuṭ, Esth. § 1059, and the note at the end of the Warsaw (1877) edition of the Jalkuṭ.

⁴ *i.e.* the constellation Leo.

⁵ Jalkuṭ, *loc. cit.*, reads: "And the lion is the king."

⁶ The constellation Leo.

⁷ The first editions read: "Just as he thought and he turned his face to destroy and to slay and to exterminate all the Jews, so was it reversed to their enemies, as it is said, 'Whereas it was turned to the contrary, that the Jews had rule'" (Esth. ix. 1).

⁸ In the Book of Esther the ten sons of Haman are referred to four times.

⁹ The previous quotation does not contain the words "upon the gallows"; probably Esth. ix. 25 was intended to be the quotation.

¹⁰ The first editions read: "reigned over all the Jews."

¹¹ The quotation ends here in the MS.

¹² The later editions omit part of this section.

¹³ This part of the quotation is not given by the MS.

(*ibid.*). Just as the king's fear obtains in all the land, so was the fear of Mordecai upon them, as it is said, "Because the fear of Mordecai was fallen upon them . . ." (*ibid.* ix. 3).¹ Just as the king's money is current throughout the land, || so was Mordecai's money current in all the land, as it is said, "For Mordecai was great" (*ibid.* 4).² What was the money of Mordecai? On the one side was (the face of) Mordecai and on the other (the face of) Esther. Wherefore? Because he was a good man, and a man of peace and seeking the peace of his people, as it is said, "For Mordecai the Jew was next unto king Ahasuerus, and great among the Jews" (*ibid.* x. 3); concerning him the Scripture saith, "Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright :³ for the latter end of (that) man is peace" ⁴ (Ps. xxxvii. 37).⁵

¹ The first editions add: "And his fame went forth throughout all the provinces" (Esth. ix. 4).

² The first editions quote the next phrase in the verse: "And his fame went forth."

³ The quotation ends here in the MS.; it is continued in the first editions.

⁴ The R.V. has in the margin: "For there is a reward for the man of peace."

⁵ See the Midrashim to this Psalm, which could be applied to the fall of Haman; see also Esth. Rab. x. 12. The Midrash Abba Gorion, as well as the other Midrashim to Esther edited by Buber in Siphre d'Agadatha, should be compared with this chapter. Munk's edition of Targum II. should also be consulted.

CHAPTER LI

THE NEW HEAVENS AND EARTH [73B. i.]

RABBAN GAMALIEL said: Just as the New Moons are renewed¹ and sanctified in this world, so will Israel² be sanctified³ and renewed in the future world just like the New Moons, as it is said, "Speak unto all the congregation of the children of Israel, and say unto them, Ye shall be holy:⁴ for I the Lord your God am holy" (Lev. xix. 2). The sages say: The heavens and the earth are destined to pass away and to be renewed. What is written concerning them? "And all the host of the heaven shall be dissolved,⁵ and the heavens shall be rolled together as a scroll" (Isa. xxxiv. 4). Just as when a man reads in a scroll of the Torah and he rolls it,⁶ and again he opens it to read therein and he rolls it (together), likewise in the future will the Holy One, blessed be He, roll together the heavens like a scroll, as it is said, "And the heavens shall be rolled together

¹ The first editions read: "are sanctified and renewed." The reference is to the "Benediction pronounced at the beginning of every lunar month." See T.B. Synhedrin, 42a; Sopherim xxv. 1, p. 280; Ex. Rab. xv. 24; and cf. T.B. Rosh Ha-Shanah, 24a, and *supra*, p. 354.

² It is only natural that the authors of the Midrashim should think of Israel in the same way as the Christian writers in all ages think of Christians. Thus Justin Martyr, in his *Second Apology*, vii., declares that the whole world is preserved only for the sake of Christians.

³ Cf. Ezek. xxxvi. 23, and T.B. Synhedrin, 90b, on the future life. The Church Fathers also discuss the passing away of the heavens and their renewal, see Methodius, *On the Resurrection*, viii. f.

⁴ The quotation ends here in the MS.

⁵ This part of the verse is omitted by the MS. and the first editions.

⁶ R.S. b. Adereth in his Responsa, i. ix, and R. Bechai on Gen. i. 22, add here: "again he opens it and reads therein and rolls it together." This agrees with the reading of our MS. The first editions omit this. The opening of the scroll the first time might be for the purpose of airing the parchment, the second time to find the place which was to be read.

as a scroll”¹ (*ibid.*); “And the earth shall wax old like a garment” (*ibid.* li. 6); just as a man spreads out his garment and folds it² up, and again he unfolds it || and puts it on and renews it (thereby), likewise the Holy One, blessed be He, in the future will fold up the earth and again will He spread it out and put it in its place like a garment, as it is said, “And the earth shall wax old like a garment” (*ibid.*).

All its inhabitants shall taste the taste of death³ for two days, when there will be no soul of man or beast upon the earth, as it is said, “And they that dwell therein shall die in like manner” (*ibid.*). On the third day He will renew them all and revive the dead, and He will establish it⁴ before Him, as it is said, “On the third day he will raise us up, and we shall live before him” (Hos. vi. 2).

Rabbi Eliezer said: All the host of heaven in the future will pass away and will be renewed. What is written concerning them? “And all the host of heaven shall be dissolved”⁵ (Isa. xxxiv. 4). Just as the leaves fade⁶ from off the vine and the fig tree, and the latter remain standing as a dry tree, and again they blossom afresh and bear buds and produce new leaves and fresh leaves. Likewise⁷ in the future will all the host of heaven fade away like a vine and a fig tree, and they will again be renewed before Him to make known that there is passing away (which) does not (really) pass away. No more shall there be evil, and no

¹ R.S. b. Adereth, *loc. cit.*, and R. Bechai, *loc. cit.*, agree here also with the reading in our MS. The text is corrupt in the first editions.

² Unless we adopt this reading, which is probably the correct text, we should read: “and shakes it.” The first editions have an abbreviated text.

³ But they will not really die. Cf. T.B. Synhedrin, 91b.

⁴ The first editions and R.S. b. Adereth read: “them.”

⁵ The MS. reads: “yibbôlu” (shall fade away); this does not agree with M.T. The first editions quote from the same verse: “And all their host shall fade away, as the leaf fadeth from off the vine.”

⁶ R.S. b. Adereth and R. Bechai agree herewith. The first editions read somewhat differently.

⁷ The 1st ed. reads: “Likewise all the hosts of heaven in the future will pass away and blossom again, bearing buds and sprouting afresh, and they shall become renewed in their place; to make known that He maketh everything to pass away. Never again will there be famine or plague, as it is said, ‘For, behold, I create new heavens and a new earth’” (Isa. lxxv. 17). The Venice edition agrees on the whole with this text, but adds: “there will not be any more new misfortunes.” R.S. b. Adereth reads “evil” instead of “plague.” In the Messianic Kingdom there will be neither sin nor misfortune.

more shall there be plague,¹ and (there shall) not be the former misfortunes, as it is said, "For, behold, I create new heavens" (*ibid.* lxx. 17).

Rabbi Jannai said: || All the hosts of heaven pass away and are renewed every day.² What are the hosts of heaven? The sun, the moon, the stars, and the constellations.³ Know that it is so. Come and see, for when the sun turns in order to set in the west, it bathes in the waters of the Ocean⁴ and extinguishes the flames of the sun, and no light is left, and it has no flame all night long until it comes to the east. When it arrives at the east it washes itself in the river of fire,⁵ like a man who kindles his lamp in the midst of the fire. Likewise the sun kindles its lamps and puts on its flames and ascends to give light upon the earth, and it renews every day the work of the Creation.⁶ And thus (it is) until even comes.⁷ At evening-time the moon and the stars and the constellations wash themselves in the river of hail,⁸ and they ascend to give light upon the earth. In the future that is to come, the Holy One, blessed be He, will renew them and add to their light a sevenfold light,⁹ as it is said, "Moreover, the light of the moon shall be as the light of the sun, and the light of the sun¹⁰ shall be sevenfold, as the light of seven days" (*ibid.* xxx. 26). "In the day" (*ibid.*).¹¹ Like which day? In the day of the redemption of Israel, as it is said, "In the day that the Lord bindeth up the hurt of his people" (*ibid.*).

¹ And then all misfortunes, even death, will cease. See Gen. Rab. xxvi. 6, cf. Assumption of Moses, x. 2, and Methodius, *op. cit.* ix.

² See Singer, p. 128: "Who reneweth in His goodness every day continually the work of the Creation."

³ This line occurs in the MS. only.

⁴ See *supra*, p. 39; Jalkuṭ, Isa. § 513; T.B. Pesachim, 94b, and the Pal. Targum to the verse Gen. xix. 23. The first editions add here: "like a man who extinguishes his lamp in the midst of the waters, so by the waters of the Ocean the flames of the sun are extinguished."

⁵ See T.B. Chagigah, 13b; Ex. Rab. xv. 6, and cf. *supra*, p. 25.

⁶ See note 2 above.

⁷ The first editions read: "until it comes to the west."

⁸ *e.g.* the light of the moon and stars, which lacks heating power. See Jalkuṭ on Isa., *loc. cit.*

⁹ The first editions add: "like the light of seven days."

¹⁰ The quotation ends here in the MS.; in the first editions it ends with the words, "as the light of the sun," mentioned previously.

¹¹ The verse continues: "in the day that the Lord bindeth up the hurt of his people, and healeth the stroke of their wound." The MS. reads: "as the day."

Rabban Gamaliel said: The Sabbath burnt offering which they brought || every Sabbath (consisted of) two he-lambs, and the burnt offering for the New Moon which they brought every New Moon consisted of two young bullocks. Two for each occasion,¹ corresponding to what? Corresponding to the two worlds, this world and the world to come. "One ram and one he-goat":² just as they³ are a single nation, their God is (likewise) *one*. "Seven he-lambs of the first year without blemish" (Num. xxviii. 11), corresponding to those who bring their offerings,⁴ to Him who renews them⁵ like the New Moons, as it is said, "This is the burnt offering of every month⁶ throughout the months of the year" (*ibid.* 14).

Rabbi Zechariah said: After⁷ (the words) "the burnt offering of every month⁸ throughout the months of the year" (*ibid.*), what is written? "And one⁹ he-goat for a sin offering unto the Lord" (*ibid.* 15). For what purpose was the sin offering? When the Holy One, blessed be He, created His world, He created two great luminaries,¹⁰ as it is said, "And God made the two great lights"¹¹ (Gen. i. 16). The one He made larger and the other smaller, and the moon obstinately refused¹² to do the will of its Creator so as to be made smaller; therefore Israel offered on its behalf

¹ Lit. "These two and those two," *i.e.* Sabbath and New Moon.

² See Num. xxviii. 11, 15.

³ The Israelites. Our MS. text agrees with that of the Amsterdam and Prague editions. The first editions read: "Just as He is one, so are they one and their God is one." This seems to be a conflate text.

⁴ The seven occasions when additional offerings (the Mussaphim) were brought, namely, Passover, Pentecost, Tabernacles, New Year, Atonement, Sabbath, and New Moon. Perhaps the reference is to the seven planets.

⁵ "In the future" is added by Luria.

⁶ The quotation ends here in the MS. and in the first editions.

⁷ Our MS. reads "one"; it should be "after (the words) the burnt offering of every month." The Venice edition reads: "After 'the New Moon' what is written?"

⁸ The quotation ends here in the MS.

⁹ The MS. omits in this quotation, which is repeated a little lower down, the word "one."

¹⁰ See *supra*, p. 31.

¹¹ In Luria's text the word for "lights" is inaccurate as a quotation from the Bible. In the MS. the quotation ends with the word "made." In the first editions the quotation is continued.

¹² On the Midrash see T.B. Chullin, 60b; Midrash Kōnen, p. 26; and *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, p. 13, and note 1; and cf. Midrash Agadah on Gen. i. 16.

the he-goat for a sin offering heavenwards as one of the burnt offerings of the New Moon, as it is said, "And one¹ he-goat for a sin offering unto the Lord" (Num. xxviii. 15). What is the meaning of "unto the Lord"? The Holy One, blessed be He, said: This he-goat shall be an atonement for Me,² because I have diminished the (size of the) moon.³

Rabbi Eliezer said: In the future the Temple will be raised up and renewed, as it is said, "Behold, I will do a new thing; now shall it spring forth; ⁴ shall ye not know it?" (Isa. xliii. 19). || And its gates⁵ which are buried in the earth will be renewed in the future and arise every one in its place, and the gate of the inner court which turned to the east.⁶ On the six days of work its doors shall be closed, and on the Sabbath day they are opened by themselves, as it is said, "Thus saith the Lord God: The gate of the inner court⁷ that looketh toward the east shall be shut the six working days; but on the Sabbath day it shall be opened, and in the day of the new moon it shall be opened" (Ezek. xlvi. 1).⁸

Rabbi Jehudah said: On Sabbath and New Moons Israel stood there,⁹ (and they perceived) that the Sabbath day had come, and they sanctified the Sabbath day;¹⁰ and

¹ The MS. omits again the word "one" in this quotation.

² The interpretation is due to the fact that only in connection with the sin offering for the New Moon does the Torah say: "A sin offering to the Lord." See T.B. Shebu'oth, 9a; T.B. Chullin, *loc. cit.*; and Gen. Rab. vi. 3; and cf. Jalkuṭ, Gen. § 44, quoting Midrash Abkhir.

³ Perhaps the idea underlying this Haggadah is not only the fact that the moon is much smaller than the sun, but also the fact that, unlike the sun, the moon is never constant in its phases as seen from the earth. Perhaps the waxing and waning are referred to in our Midrash. See Singer, p. 129, and *supra*, p. 31.

⁴ The quotation ends here in the MS.; it is continued in the first editions.

⁵ Of the Temple; cf. Isa. lxi. 4 and Zech. vi. 12, 13; Jalkuṭ, Ezek. § 383.

⁶ The MS. adds: "shall be, etc."

⁷ The quotation ends here in the MS. and in the first editions.

⁸ See Zohar, Gen. 75b.

⁹ In the inner court of the Temple. The first editions add: "and they saw the doors open by themselves and they knew."

¹⁰ The first editions add here: "and afterwards the heavenly (ones, *i.e.* angels) do likewise." This reading is exceedingly interesting, as it seems to be a parallel to the Book of Jubilees ii. 18: "And all the angels of the presence, and all the angels of *sanctification*, these two great classes—He hath bidden us to keep the Sabbath with Him

so also on the New Moons the Israelites were standing there and saw the doors opening by themselves,¹ and they knew that in that hour it was New Moon, and they sanctified the New Moon,² and afterwards (this was done) among the heavenly ones. Therefore Israel sanctifies the New Moons first in the lower regions (on earth) and afterwards (it is sanctified) in the heavenly regions, because they³ have defined the beginning of the Molad of the Moon in the presence of Israel, who saw the doors open by themselves, and they knew that the Shekhinah of the Holy One, blessed be He (was therein⁴), as it is said, "For the Lord, the God of Israel, hath entered in by it"⁵ (*ibid.* xliv. 2). Forthwith they⁶ fall down and prostrate themselves before their God. So it was in the past and so will it be in the future that is to come, as it is said, "And the people of the || land shall worship⁷ at the door of that gate before the Lord in the Sabbaths and in the New Moons" (*ibid.* xlvi. 3).⁸

Rabbi⁹ said: Is it not written, "There is no *new* thing under the sun" (Eccles. i. 9)? The (sages) said to

in heaven and on earth." The sanctification of the Sabbath is not the same as the sanctification of the New Moon. See T.B. Bezah, 17a; and T.B. Kiddushin, 37a.

¹ See Jalkut, *loc. cit.*: "Israel will stand." There is no tradition to support the saying of R. Jehudah as to the part attributed to the people in proclaiming the New Moon. This function was in the hands of the Synhedrion or the Nasi. See *supra*, Chapter VIII., on the intercalation of the month.

² The first editions read here: "They sanctified the New Moon, and afterwards in the heavenly regions, because the sign of the beginning of a New Moon (was known) to the children of Israel." The Venice text continues: "Since they stood there and saw the doors open by themselves they knew that the Shekhinah of the Holy One, blessed be He, was therein, as it is said, 'O Lord God of hosts, who is a mighty one like unto thee, O Lord?' (Ps. lxxxix. 8); (and it is said: 'And the Lord) said unto me, This gate shall be shut' . . . 'for the Lord, the God of Israel, hath entered in *by it*; therefore it shall be shut'" (Ezek. xliv. 2). The first editions have a corrupt text here, the portions in brackets are wanting.

³ The doors moved by the presence of the Shekhinah.

⁴ In the MS. there is a lacuna; the first editions read: "was therein."

⁵ The Hebrew for "by it" might be rendered "therein."

⁶ The people of Israel.

⁷ The quotation ends here in the MS.; it is continued in the first editions.

⁸ There were thirteen gates in the Temple, and the people prostrated themselves thirteen times. See Shekalim vi. 1.

⁹ The first editions read: "Rabbi Jonathan."

him :¹ The righteous and all their works will be *renewed*, but the wicked will not be renewed and “no new thing” shall be given to them, (even) to all who worship and trust *under* the sun, therefore it is said, “There is no new thing under the sun” (*ibid.*).

Rabbi Phineas said: In the future the waters of the well will ascend from under the threshold of the Temple, and they will overflow and bubble² over and issue forth and become twelve streams corresponding to the twelve tribes, as it is said, “And he brought me back unto the door of the house; and³ behold, waters issued out⁴ from under the threshold of the house eastward, for the forefront of the house was toward the east: and the waters came down from under, from the right side of the house, on the south of the altar” (Ezek. xlvii. 1). Three (streams) towards the south to pass through them up to the ankles, and three (streams) towards the west to pass through them up to the knees, as it is said, “When the man⁵ went forth eastward with the line in his hand, he measured a thousand cubits, and he caused me to pass through the waters, waters that were to the ankles. Again he measured a thousand, and⁶ he caused me to pass through the waters, waters that were to the knees” (*ibid.* 3, 4).⁷ And

¹ The Venice edition and Luria's text read: “He said to him.” It should be: “the sages said to him,” that there was an exception to the saying of Solomon that “there was nothing new under the sun,” namely, the righteous, who were destined to be *renewed*.

² The first editions read: “and will fructify.” Jalkuṭ, Ezek., *loc. cit.*, reads “umephakin”: “The waters of the well in the future shall rise up from under the threshold of the Temple, and shall ooze and bubble and go forth in twelve streams.” See also Jalkuṭ, Josh. § 15, and Jalkuṭ, Zech. § 579. Jalkuṭ, Ezek., *loc. cit.*, says that this water of the well “will go forth in *three* parts.” See Wisdom xix. 7 on the narrative of the Exodus. Cf. *supra*, pp. 70, 330, on the twelve paths in the Reed Sea.

³ The quotation commences here in the MS.; in the first editions the preceding clause is given.

⁴ The quotation ends here in the MS.; in the first editions the quotation ends with the word “house,” and they add the concluding part beginning with the words: “from the right side.”

⁵ The first editions read here “the sun”; the M.T. has “the man”; both editions omit “and he caused me to pass,” which occurs in the M.T. and in the MS. This variation of the texts proves the dependence of the Venice text upon that of the first edition.

⁶ In the MS. the quotation begins here.

⁷ The first editions add here: “There were three (streams) towards the north to pass through them up to the loins, as it is said, ‘And he measured a thousand *cubits* and caused me to

three (streams) towards the east to pass through them up to the neck, for the neck is the extremity of the body, as it is said, "And he measured a thousand cubits, and¹ he caused me to pass through the waters that were to the extremity"² (*ibid.* 3). And (the waters) descended to the brook of Kidron, and they rose higher than in "the stream,³ that I could not pass through" (*ibid.* 5), as it is said, "For the waters were risen, waters to swim in, a stream that could not be passed through"⁴ (*ibid.*). And the waters are drawn (thence), and they flow down to the fords of the Jordan,⁵ as it is said, "And they shall go down into || the Arabah" (*ibid.* 8).

Every field and vineyard which did not yield fruit, people water⁶ them with those waters and they yield fruit, as it is said, "And it shall come to pass, that every living creature which swarmeth, in every place whither the rivers come, shall live⁷ . . . for these waters are come thither, that all things may be healed and live" (*ibid.* 9). Then (the waters) enter the Salt Sea and they heal it.⁸ And⁹ the waters "shall go towards the sea, . . . and the waters shall be *healed*" (*ibid.* 8). And there they generate all kinds (of fish). The Scripture text (here) gives a general rule concerning the fish, that they will be as sweet as

pass through *the waters*, waters that were to the loins'" (Ezek. xlvii. 4). In this verse also there are two variations of the M.T., and both occur alike in the first edition. The variations are printed in *italics*.

¹ In the MS. the quotation begins here.

² אַנְפִּים, R.V. renders "ankles." See Tosephta Sukkah iii. 3, pp. 195 f.; cf. T.B. Joma, 77b; and Targum on Ezek. xlvii. 3, which also renders this word by קַיִסוּלִים.

³ See Jalkuṭ on Ezek. *loc. cit.*

⁴ The last word in the quotation in our MS. differs from the M.T.

⁵ Jalkuṭ, Ezek. *loc. cit.*, reads: "to the fords of Jericho."

⁶ The entire chapter seems to refer to the future, therefore the verb should be rendered as though it were the future tense: "will water."

⁷ The quotation in the MS. begins with the words "for these waters," and ends with the word "thither"; the first editions begin the verse and end with the word "swarmeth."

⁸ See Shekalim vi. 3. Another reading is given by Jalkuṭ, Ezek. *loc. cit.*, "and they extract from them" (the salt thereof); the first editions read: "and they cover it."

⁹ The first editions read: "as it is said: 'Then said he unto me, These waters issue forth from the eastern regions.'" The whole verse might be read with advantage in order to follow the trend of the Midrash.

Manna.¹ They ascend in the stream as far as Jerusalem, and there they are caught in its nets,² as it is said, "And it shall come to pass that³ fishers shall stand by it" (*ibid.* 10). It is written, "They shall stand by it."⁴

There upon the bank of the stream grow all kinds of trees bearing according to their kind.⁵ By the river they shall stand, "upon the banks thereof on this side and on that side" (*ibid.* 12). Every month they bring forth new fruit, as it is said, "It shall bring forth new fruit every month" (*ibid.*).⁶ Some of them are for food and others are growing, as it is said, "Because⁷ the waters thereof issue out of the sanctuary: and the fruit thereof shall be for meat, and the leaf thereof for healing" (*ibid.*).

Every man who is ill and bathes in those waters, will be healed, as it is said, "In every place whither the rivers come, he shall live⁸ . . . and every thing shall live whithersoever the river cometh" (*ibid.* 9). Every man who has a wound will be healed by taking of their leaves⁹ and applying

¹ Perhaps the MS. reads: "like Manna." The first editions read for this sentence: "And they produce all kinds of fish in the great sea (ocean), as it is said: 'Their fish shall be after their kinds, as the fish of the great sea, exceeding many' (Ezek. xlvii. 10). And they are sweetened." For the last word Luria suggested: "they are moved." In view of the text preserved in our MS. the reading in the first editions is not to be rejected.

² The first editions read: "in their nets."

³ The MS. adds here "Ki," which does not occur in M.T.

⁴ "And be caught there." The first editions add: "'From En-gedi¹ even unto Eneglaim² shall be a place for the spreading of nets'" (Ezek. xlvii. 10).³

⁵ The first editions read: "were growing all kinds of trees bearing fruit according to their kind, as it is said, 'By the river upon the banks thereof shall grow'" (Ezek. xlvii. 12).

⁶ See Num. Rab. xxi. 22, and Jalkuṭ, Ezek. *loc. cit.*

⁷ The quotation in the MS. begins here and ends with the word "sanctuary." The first editions continue to the end of the verse. The idea seems to be: The waters will be drawn from the Dead Sea and flow through the brook Kidron to Jerusalem. The reading in our MS. is considerably shorter than in our printed texts.

⁸ The quotation ends here in the MS. and in the first editions.

⁹ And by using them as a plaster. See T.J. Sabbath vii. 2. 10c, and Jalkuṭ, Ezek. *loc. cit.*

¹ Engedi is near the Dead Sea.

² Both editions read "Enreglaim," which does not agree with M.T.

³ In the future the fish will be caught near Eneglaim, which is near Jerusalem. See Neh. iii. 3 for the "fish gate" in the Holy City.

them to his wound, as it is said, "And the fruit thereof shall be for meat, and the leaf thereof for healing" (*ibid.* 12). What is the meaning of "for healing"? Rabbi Jochanan said: For a laxative; || suck its leaves and one's food is digested.¹

¹ See Sheḡalim vi. 5; Cant. Rab. to Cant. iv. 12; and Jalḡuṭ, Ezek. *loc. cit.*

CHAPTER LII

THE SEVEN WONDERS OF OLD [75A. ii.]

SEVEN wonderful things have been done¹ in the world, the like of which have not been created.² From the day when the heavens and the earth were created no man was ever saved from the fire³ until our father Abraham⁴ came and was delivered from the fiery furnace. All the kings of the earth heard (thereof) and they were astonished, for they had not seen anyone like him from the day when the world was created. And whence do we know that he was delivered from the fiery furnace? Because it is said, "And he said unto him, I am the Lord that brought thee out of the *furnace* of the Chaldees" (Gen. xv. 7).⁵ Another text says, "Thou art the Lord the God, who didst choose⁶ Abram, and broughtest him forth out of the furnace of the Chaldees" (Neh. ix. 7).

The second wonder (was) about the wives of the sons of Noah.⁷ From the day when the heavens and the earth were created there never was a woman who at ninety years of age had a child, until⁸ Sarah came and bare (a son) when (she was) ninety years old.⁹ All the kings

¹ See Jalkuṭ, Gen. § 77, which also reads: "have been done." The first editions read: "have been created."

² The first editions read: "which have no equal. The first wonder (was)."

³ The first editions read: "fiery furnace."

⁴ See *supra*, p. 188.

⁵ The next quotation is omitted by the first editions.

⁶ The quotation ends here in the MS.

⁷ The words: "About the wives of the sons of Noah" occur in the MS. only.

⁸ "Our mother" is added by the first editions. See Midrash Haggadol, c. 303.

⁹ The first editions add: "as it is said, 'And shall Sarah, that is ninety years old, bear?' " (Gen. xvii. 17).

of the earth heard (thereof), and they did not believe.¹ What did the Holy One, blessed be He, do to them? He dried up² the breasts of their wives,³ as it is said,⁴ "And all the trees⁵ of the field shall know⁶ that I the Lord have brought down the high tree, have exalted the low tree, have dried up the green tree, and have made the dry tree to flourish" (Ezek. xvii. 24).

"All⁷ the trees of the field shall know" (*ibid.*); this (expression) refers to the nations of the world.⁸ "That I the Lord have brought down the high tree" (*ibid.*) (this refers to Nimrod⁹). "I have exalted the low tree" (*ibid.*); this is Abraham our father. "I have dried up the green tree," refers to the breasts of the wives of the nations of the world.⁸ || "I have made the dry tree to flourish"; this refers to the breasts of Sarah, for they brought their children to be suckled by Sarah's breasts, for Sarah gave suck to all their children in peace, as it is said, "And she said, Who would have said¹⁰ unto Abraham, that Sarah should give children suck?" (Gen. xxi. 7).

The third wonder (was): From the day when the heavens and the earth were created there never was a man upon whom grey hairs were sprinkled¹¹ until Abraham

¹ See Gen. Rab. liii. 9. For phraseology see Ps. xlvi. 5. The first editions read: "All the kings of the earth saw and were astonished, and they did not believe."

² The first editions read: "He caused the ducts of the breasts of their wives to become dried up"; cf. Gen. Rab., *loc. cit.*

³ The first editions add: "and they brought their children to Sarah that she might give them suck"; cf. T.B. Baba Mezi'a, 87a.

⁴ The verse is not given as a complete quotation in the MS. or in the first editions.

⁵ The identification of human beings with trees has occurred in our book; see *supra*, p. 150; cf. Gen. Rab. liii. 1.

⁶ In the MS. the quotation ends here.

⁷ The verse (Ezek. xvii. 24) is now expounded allegorically.

⁸ The later editions read: "the worshippers of fire."

⁹ "This refers to Nimrod" is omitted by our MS., but it occurs in the first editions. The reference is to Nimrod's attempt to destroy Abraham by casting him in the fiery furnace.

¹⁰ The quotation ends here in the MS. The first editions read: "'I have made the dry tree to flourish.' This refers to our mother Sarah, for all of them brought their children to Sarah and she gave them suck, as it is said, 'Should Sarah give children suck?'" (Gen. xxi. 7).

¹¹ See Hos. vii. 9 for a similar expression; cf. T.B. Baba Mezi'a, *loc. cit.*, and Gen. Rab. lxxv. 9.

came.¹ The people were astonished because they had not seen any one like him from the day when the world was created. Whence do we know that grey hairs were sprinkled upon him? Because it is said, "And Abraham was old, well *stricken in age*" (*ibid.* xxiv. 1).²

Rabbi Levitas, a man of Jamnia, said:³ Like a diadem which belongs to the head of the king, so are grey hairs beauty and glory to old men, as it is said, "The glory of young men is their strength,⁴ and the beauty of old men is the hoary head" (Prov. xx. 29).⁵

The fourth wonder (was): From the day when the heavens and the earth were created no man was ill, (who) sneezed and lived, but in every place where he happened to be, whether on the way or in the market,⁶ and (when he) sneezed, his soul went out through his nostrils; until our father Jacob came and prayed⁷ for mercy concerning this, and he said before the Holy One, blessed be He: Sovereign of all the worlds! Do not take my soul from me until I have charged⁸ my sons and my household;⁹ and He was entreated of him, as it is said, "And it came to pass after these things, that one said to Joseph,¹⁰ Behold, thy father is sick" (Gen. xlviii. 1). || All the kings of the earth heard (thereof), and they wondered because there had been no one like him from the days when the heavens and earth had been

¹ The first editions read: "From the day when the heavens and the earth were created, grey hairs were not sprinkled upon the children of men until our father Abraham came, and upon him were grey hairs sprinkled."

² See Gen. xv. 15.

³ The first editions read: "Like a crown which is the glory on the king's head, so are grey hairs," etc.

⁴ In the MS. the quotation begins here; the first editions read the entire verse.

⁵ Cf. also Prov. xvi. 31: "The hoary head is a crown of glory; it shall be found in the way of righteousness"; cf. Gen. Rab. lix. 1.

⁶ The first editions differ from our text; they read: "no man was ill unless he happened to be on the way or in the market-place." Jalkuṭ on Job, § 927, reads: "Till Jacob's day it had never happened that a man sneezed and recovered from his sickness."

⁷ The first editions read: "And he sought for mercy." See T.B. Baba Mezi'a, *loc. cit.* On "sneezing" see *J.E.* ii. 255 f.; a bibliography is appended.

⁸ To keep the way of God.

⁹ See T.B. Baba Mezi'a, *loc. cit.*; Gen. Rab. lxxv. 9; and cf. T.B. Synhedrin, 107b.

¹⁰ The quotation ends here in our MS.; it is continued in the first editions.

created. Therefore a man is in duty bound to say to his fellow: Life!¹ when the latter sneezes,² for the death of the world was changed into light, as it is said, "His neesings flash forth light" (Job xli. 18).

The fifth wonder (was): From the day when the heavens and the earth were created, the waters of the sea had not been changed into dry land until Israel went forth from Egypt and passed over on dry land in the midst of the sea, as it is said, "But the children of Israel walked on dry land in the midst of the sea" (Ex. xv. 19).³ All the kings of the earth heard (thereof) and trembled, because there had been nothing like it from the day when the world had been created, as it is said, "The people heard, they trembled" (*ibid.* 14).⁴

The sixth wonder (was): From the day when the heavens and earth were created, the sun,⁵ the moon, and the stars and the constellations were ascending to give light upon the earth, and they did not come into contact⁶ with one another until Joshua came and fought the battles of Israel. It was the eve of the Sabbath,⁷ and he⁸ saw the plight of Israel lest they might desecrate the Sabbath, and further, he saw the magicians of Egypt⁹ compelling¹⁰ the constellations to come¹¹ against Israel. What did he⁸ do?

¹ The first editions read: "Therefore is a man bound to say when he sneezes, Life! for this death has been changed into light." See the parallels quoted by the 'Arukh (ed. Kohut) vi. 191a. Cf. T.J. Berakhoth iii. 5. 6d; Tosephta Sabbath viii. p. 118, and T.B. Berakhoth, 53b.

² Jalkuṭ, Gen. *loc. cit.*, reads: "A man is bound to thank God when he sneezes." To sneeze in times of illness was regarded as a good omen; cf. 2 Kings iv. 35, for the story of the child restored to life. See T.B. Berakhoth, 57b.

³ The first editions omit the quotation.

⁴ See *supra*, p. 330.

⁵ The first editions omit: "the sun."

⁶ See Jalkuṭ, Josh. § 22, and Shocheṭ Ṭob on Ps. xix. 9, p. 84a.

⁷ According to Seder 'Olam Rab. xi. it was the 3rd of Tammuz, the day of the "Tekuphah."

⁸ The first editions read: "Joshua."

⁹ The first editions read: "the magicians of the nations."

¹⁰ The Venice edition agrees with our MS. and reads: "compelling." Perhaps the reading should be "Chôshebim" (calculating). Jalkuṭ, Gen. *loc. cit.*, reads: "exciting." See Gen. Rab. xlv. 10, 12. Perhaps the idea is that of casting spells to force the constellations to oppose the enemy; cf. for this notion Judg. v. 20: "They fought from heaven; the stars in their courses fought against Sisera." See also Jalkuṭ, Josh., *loc. cit.*

¹¹ The first editions read: "coming," present participle, and not the infinitive as in the MS.

He stretched forth his hand to the light of the sun and to the light of the moon,¹ and he invoked upon them the || (Divine) Name, and each one stood for thirty-six hours in its place until the termination of the Sabbath day,² as it is said, "And the sun stood still, and the moon stayed" (Josh. x. 13).³ All the kings of the earth⁴ heard thereof and they wondered, because there had been none like him from the day when the world had been created, as it is said, "And there was no day like that⁵ before it or after it, that the Lord hearkened unto the voice of a man" (*ibid.* 14).

The seventh wonder (was): From the day when the heavens and earth had been created there had never been a sick man who had recovered from his sickness,⁶ until Hezekiah, king of Judah, came and fell sick and (yet) he recovered, as it is said,⁷ "The writing of Hezekiah, king of Judah, when he had been sick, and was recovered of his sickness" (Isa. xxxviii. 9). He began to pray before the Holy One, blessed be He, saying: Sovereign of all worlds! "Now, O Lord, remember, I beseech thee, how I walked before thee in truth⁸ and with a perfect heart, and have done that which is good in thy sight" (2 Kings xx. 3); and He was entreated of him, as it is said, "Behold, I will add unto thy days fifteen years" (Isa. xxxviii. 5).⁹ Hezekiah said before the Holy One, blessed be He: Sovereign of all worlds! Give me a sign, as it is said, "And Hezekiah said unto Isaiah, What shall be the sign¹⁰ that the Lord

¹ The first editions add: "and to the light of the stars."

² See T.B. 'Abodah Zarah, 25a.

³ The first editions add: "'until the nation had avenged themselves of their enemies' (Josh. x. 13). And it is written, 'And there was no day like that before it or after it, that the Lord hearkened unto the voice of a man'" (*ibid.* 14).

⁴ The first editions read: "The kings of the earth heard." The later editions have: "many people heard."

⁵ The quotation ends here in the MS. and in the first editions.

⁶ See Gen. Rab. lxxv. 9. Because of the unprecedented experience of Hezekiah, a sign was given. See T.B. Baba Mezi'a, *loc. cit.*, where Elisha's cure is quoted as the first. Cf. T.B. Synhedrin, 104a, and *ibid.* 107b.

⁷ The quotation in the first editions is: "'In those days was Hezekiah sick unto death'" (2 Kings xx. 1).

⁸ In the MS. the quotation ends here; in the first editions the last word quoted is "thee."

⁹ The text of the quotation in our MS. differs from that printed in the first editions. The M.T. should also be compared.

¹⁰ The quotation ends here in the MS.; it is continued in the first editions. The MS. as well as the first editions differ from the M.T. by omitting "unto Isaiah."

will heal me, and that I shall go up unto the house of the Lord?" (2 Kings xx. 8). He answered him: Ahaz thy father compelled¹ the constellations, and he bowed down² to the sun,³ and the sun fled before him⁴ and went down in the west ten steps.⁵ If thou desirest, it shall go down ten steps, or it shall ascend ten steps.⁶ Hezekiah spake before the Holy One, blessed be He: Sovereign of all worlds! Nay, || but those ten steps which it has (already) gone down let it retrace and stand,⁷ as it is said, "Nay, but let the shadow return⁸ backward ten steps" (*ibid.* 10). And He was entreated of him, as it is said, "Behold, I will cause the shadow on the steps,⁹ which is gone down on the dial of Ahaz with the sun, to return backward ten steps" (Isa. xxxviii. 8). All the kings¹⁰ of the earth saw, and they were astonished, for there had been nothing like it from the day when the world was created, and they¹¹ sent to behold the wonder,¹² as it is said, "Howbeit¹³ in (the business of) the ambassadors of the princes of Babylon¹⁴ who sent unto him to inquire of the wonder that was done in the land" (2 Chron. xxxii. 31).

¹ Should we read "Chôsheb," "was calculating"? Cf. *supra*, p. 423, note 10. The reading in our MS. agrees with the previous reading in this chapter in connection with Joshua. Brode suggests: "paid respect to" or "honoured"; if "compelled" be correct, "through spells" might be added for the purpose of interpretation.

² See Jalkuṭ on 2 Kings, § 245.

³ The first editions add: "moon, stars, and constellations."

⁴ Jalkuṭ, *loc. cit.*, agrees practically with this reading. The first editions read: "He fled before the sun."

⁵ Should we render the word "steps" or "degrees"?

⁶ The first editions read: "If thou desirest, it shall again descend ten steps." See 2 Kings xx. 9. Our MS. reads: "or shall it ascend ten constellations?" (מולות). This last word should be מעלות, "steps."

⁷ The first editions add: "in its place."

⁸ The quotation ends here in the MS.; the first editions read also the next word. The Venice edition and the MS. read as a quotation לא בני ישור instead of בני ישור. The first editions add after the quotation from 2 Kings xx. 10 the words: "on the steps which it had gone down."

⁹ The quotation ends here in the MS.; it is omitted in the first editions.

¹⁰ The later editions read: "All the nations of the earth."

¹¹ *i.e.* the Babylonians.

¹² The first editions read "as it is said," as though it were a Biblical quotation. This is an error.

¹³ The MS. reads: "uba," "and he came," instead of "vekhên," "howbeit," which occurs in the M.T. and in the first editions.

¹⁴ The quotation ends here in the first editions; it is continued in the MS. as in our version.

And Hezekiah saw the messengers,¹ and his heart was puffed with pride,² and he showed them all the treasures of the kings of Judah, and all the treasures of the Holy of Holies in the Temple,³ and further, he opened the Ark of the Covenant, and he showed them the tables of the Law,⁴ and he said to them: With this do we wage war⁵ and conquer, as it is said, "And Hezekiah was glad of them, and shewed them⁶ the house of his precious things" (Isa. xxxix. 2). The Holy One, blessed be He, was angry with him, and He said to him: Was it not enough for thee to have shown them all the treasures of the kings of Judah and all the treasures of the Holy of Holies? Moreover, thou hast opened for them the Ark, and hast shown them the tables, the work of My hand. By thy life! They shall come up and take away all the treasures of the kings of Judah, and all the treasures of the Holy of || Holies, as it is said, "Behold, the days come,⁷ that all that is in thine house, and that which thy fathers have laid up in store until this day, shall be carried to Babylon" (*ibid.* 6). Instead of the tables of the Law, they shall take of thy sons to be eunuchs in the palace of the king of Babylon, as it is said, "And of thy sons that shall issue from thee,⁸ which thou shalt beget, shall they take away; and they shall be eunuchs in the palace of the king of Babylon"

¹ The first edition reads: "And Hezekiah saw the kings of Babylon." The Venice edition corrects this and reads: "And Hezekiah saw the kings (?) of the king of Babylon"; it should be: "the messengers of the king of Babylon."

² See 2 Chron. xxxii. 31. See also Tanna de bê Elijahu Rab. viii. p. 46: "He became proud when he saw that God had worked a miracle on his behalf."

³ This is inferred from the words of the text: "There was nothing in his house, nor in all his dominion, that Hezekiah shewed them not" (2 Kings xx. 13). The king controlled the treasures of the Temple; see Shekalim v. 2.

⁴ See Targum to 2 Chron. xxxii. 31; and cf. Num. Rab. v. 9. There may have been in the Temple a second ark containing the broken Tables of the Law; see Tosaphoth to 'Erubin, 63b, which quotes T. J. Soṭah on this point.

⁵ See Cant. Rab. to Cant. iii. 4.

⁶ The quotation ends here in the MS.; it is continued in the first editions.

⁷ The MS. adds: "saith the Lord." This does not occur in the M. T. or in the printed editions. The quotation ends in the MS. with the word after "come" in the Hebrew text; in the first editions the quotation is continued up to "house."

⁸ The quotation ends here in the MS. and in the first editions.

(*ibid.* 7). These were¹ Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, who were made eunuchs in the palace of the king of Babylon, and they did not beget children. Concerning them the Scripture says, "For thus saith the Lord to the eunuchs that keep my sabbaths,² . . . Unto them will I give in mine house and within my walls a memorial³ and a name⁴ better than of sons and of daughters; I will give them an everlasting name, that shall not be cut off" (*ibid.* lvi. 4, 5).

¹ The first editions insert "Daniel."

² Cf. Tanna de bê Elijahu Rab. xxvi. p. 134. The MS. omits "my sabbaths"; the first editions give this.

³ See T.B. Synhedrin, 104a.

⁴ The quotation ends here in the MS.; in the first editions one word more of the text is added.

CHAPTER LIII

THE SIN OF SLANDER [76B. i.]

EVERYONE¹ who secretly slanders² his fellows has no remedy,³ as it is said, "Whoso privily slandereth his neighbour,⁴ him will I destroy : him that hath an high look and a proud heart will I not suffer" (Ps. ci. 5). Another Scripture text says, "Cursed be he that smiteth his neighbour in secret" (Deut. xxvii. 24).⁵ Know that it is so. Come and see from the (narrative of) the serpent which uttered slander concerning the Holy One, blessed be He, to Adam and his helpmate.⁶ The Holy One, blessed be He, cursed it, so that its food became the dust, as it is said, "And dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life" (Gen. iii. 14).

Rabban Gamaliel said : Israel also slandered⁷ the Holy One, blessed be He, (by) saying : Wilt thou say that He has power⁸ to feed us in the wilderness ? as it is said, "Yea, they spake against God ; they said, Can God prepare a table in the wilderness ? Behold, he smote the rock,⁹

¹ The first editions read : "All who slander a man in secret." This chapter is numbered lii. in the MS. referred to by Wertheimer ; see *infra*, p. 436, note 5.

² This leads on to the narrative of Miriam and Aaron, who slandered Moses ; see Num. xii. 1 ff.

³ The first editions read : "has no portion in the world to come." See T.B. 'Arakhin, 15b. The Menorath Ha-Maor, § 52, reads : "He has no remedy," as in our MS. text. See also Derekh Erez Rab. xi. ; and cf. Maimonides, Hilkhoth Teshubah, iii. 6, vii. 4 ; Tosephta Peah i. 1 ; and Aboth de R. Nathan (a) xl. p. 60b.

⁴ The quotation ends here in the MS.

⁵ See T.B. Soṭah, 37a. The quotation from Deuteronomy is interpreted as though it meant that one must not slander.

⁶ See *supra*, p. 94 ; and cf. Gen. Rab. xix. 4.

⁷ See Jalkuṭ, Lev. § 524.

⁸ The first editions read : "Has the Lord power."

⁹ The quotation ends here in the MS.

that waters gushed out, and streams overflowed" (Ps. lxxviii. 19, 20). The Holy One, blessed be He, heard¹ that they slandered His Glory, || and from His Glory,² which is a consuming fire, He sent against them a fire which consumed them round about, as it is said, "And the people were as murmurers³ . . . and the fire of the Lord burnt among them, and devoured in the uttermost part of the camp" (Num. xi. 1). The Israelites betook themselves to our teacher Moses, and they said to him: Moses, our lord!⁴ Let these be given like sheep to the slaughter,⁵ but not to the fire which is consuming fire. Moses saw the plight of Israel, and he arose to pray on their behalf,⁶ and He was entreated of him, as it is said, "And the people cried unto Moses" (*ibid.* 2).⁷

Rabbi Judah⁸ said: That fire which descended from heaven settled on the earth, and did not again return to its (former) place in heaven,⁹ but it entered the Tabernacle. That fire came forth and devoured all the offerings which they¹⁰ brought in the wilderness,¹¹ as it is said.¹² "And there descended fire from heaven" is not written here, but "And there came forth fire from before the Lord" (Lev. ix. 24).¹³

¹ The first editions read: "saw."

² Jalḳuṭ, *loc. cit.*, reads: "And He sent against them from His Glory, which is a fire that consumes fire, a fire to devour them." This is the correct text according to Luria. See also T.B. Joma, 21b.

³ Thus far the quotation in the MS.; in the first editions the latter part only of the quotation beginning with "and the fire" is given.

⁴ The first editions read: "Moses, our Rabbi! Give us like sheep."

⁵ See *supra*, p. 357.

⁶ See Siphre, Num. § 85.

⁷ The first editions cite the next verse: "And Moses prayed unto the Lord, and the fire abated."

⁸ The first editions read: "Jehudah."

⁹ See Siphre, Num. § 86, and Tanna de bê Elijahu Rab. i. p. 6.

¹⁰ The first editions read: "Israel."

¹¹ See T.B. Zebachim, 61b; Siphra, pp. 44bf.; Lev. Rab. vii. 5. The fire was kindled for 116 years—39 years in the wilderness, 24 years in Gilgal, and 53 years in Nob and Gibeon; see, however, Luria's note, *in loc.*

¹² The first editions add: "'And there came forth fire from before the Lord'" (Lev. ix. 24).

¹³ See T.B. Sabbath, 87b. It was on the 1st of Nisan that the fire descended upon the altar. The people revolted at the end of Iyar; see T.B. Ta'anith, 29a; Jalḳuṭ, Num. § 732 and § 752, and Deut. § 813: "That fire came down and devoured the (two) sons of Aaron, as it is said, 'And fire came forth from the Lord' (Num. xvi. 35); and that fire also consumed the company of Korah."

This was the fire which came forth and consumed the sons of Aaron,¹ as it is said, "And there came forth fire from before the Lord" (*ibid.*). That fire came forth and consumed the company of Korah, as it is said, "And fire came forth from the Lord" (Num. xvi. 35).

No man departs from this world until some of that fire,² which rested among the sons of man,³ passes over him, as it is said, "And the fire rested" (*ibid.* xi. 2). ||

"And Miriam and Aaron spake against Moses⁴ because of the Cushite woman whom he had married" (*ibid.* xii. 1). Was she then a Cushite woman?⁵ Was she not Zipporah? But just as this Cushite⁶ is different as regards his body from all other people,⁷ so was Zipporah different from all other women by her words⁸ and by her good deeds; therefore was she called a Cushite, as it is said, "For he had married a Cushite woman" (*ibid.*).

Rabbi Tachanah⁹ said: The Israelites also are called Cushites, as it is said, "Are ye not as the children of the Cushites unto me,¹⁰ O children of Israel?"¹¹ (Amos ix. 7). Just as the body of this Cushite is different from all creatures, so do the Israelites differ from all the nations of the world in their ways and by their good deeds; therefore are they called Cushites. One Scripture saith, "And Ebedmelech,

¹ The first editions read: "That was the fire which consumed the company of Korah," and omit the reference to Nadab and Abihu, the sons of Aaron.

² The inference is probably based on Deut. xviii. 16: "Neither let me see this great fire any more, that I die not." At the hour of death the fire, which symbolizes the Shekhinah, is seen. For man cannot see God and live, but he beholds the Vision Divine when he ceases to live. See *supra*, p. 254, and cf. Siphra, p. 4a.

³ The first editions read: "which rested upon the earth."

⁴ The quotation ends here in the MS.; it is continued in the first editions.

⁵ See T.B. Mo'ed Katan, 16b; Siphre, Num. § 99; Shocheh Tob, Ps. vii. p. 35b; and see Siphre, Zutta, p. 33, in the last instalment in *Monatsschrift*, vol. 54.

⁶ Or "Ethiopian."

⁷ The first editions read: "is different in his skin."

⁸ The first editions read: "by her good deeds."

⁹ The later editions read: "Tanchum."

¹⁰ The quotation ends here in the MS. and in the first editions.

¹¹ For a Christian Midrashic parallel see "The Arabic Gospel of the Saviour's Infancy," 40 (in *A.N.C.L.* xvi. p. 119).

the Cushite, said " (Jer. xxxviii. 12). Was it Ebed? ¹ Was he not Baruch, son of Neriah? ² But just as this Cushite is different in his body from all other people, so was Baruch, son of Neriah, different in his deeds and good ways from the rest of the sons of men. ³ Therefore was he called a Cushite.

One Scripture text says, " Then said Joab to the Cushite, Go, tell the king ⁴ what thou hast seen " (2 Sam. xviii. 21). Was he a Cushite? Was he not a Benjamite? ⁵ But just as this Cushite is different from all creatures, so was the Benjamite || different by his ways and his good deeds; ⁶ therefore was his name called " Cushite."

Rabbi Eliezer said: Come and see the integrity and perfection of that man, for he said to Joab, Even if thou wouldst give me gold and silver ⁷ I would not transgress the king's commands which he commanded thee, as it is said, " And the man said unto Joab, ⁸ Though I should receive a thousand (pieces of) silver in mine hand " (*ibid.* 12). Joab said to him: I beseech thee, show me the place where Absalom is hanging. But he did not consent. Joab began to bend the knee, and to prostrate himself before him, as it is said, " Then said Joab, Shall I not entreat ⁹ thee in this wise? " (*ibid.* 14). Then he took (Joab) by his arm, and showed him the place where Absalom was hanging. ¹⁰ Everyone who transgresses the commandment " Honour thy father " ¹¹ is accounted as though he had transgressed the Decalogue. Therefore was (Absalom) pierced by ten

¹ See *Pesiḳta Rab.* p. 130b; *Jalkuṭ*, Jeremiah, § 326, where the title of Cushite is given to Ebed; see also T.B. *Mo'ed Qatan*, *loc. cit.*, and Targum on Jer. xxxviii. 7, where the title is referred to the king Zedekiah. The first editions read: " Was Ebed a Cushite? "

² See Jer. xxxix. 15 and xlv. 1.

³ The words following till " Then " do not occur in the first editions.

⁴ The quotation ends here in the MS. and in the first editions.

⁵ See Ps. vii. 1: " Cush a Benjamite."

⁶ The first editions add: " from all Israel."

⁷ The first editions read: " a thousand pieces of silver."

⁸ The quotation ends here in the MS.; the first editions begin with the next word. The text of the quotation in the M.T. differs from that cited in the first editions.

⁹ R.V. renders: " I may not tarry thus with thee."

¹⁰ See *Mishnah Soṭah*, 9b.

¹¹ The MS. reads: " Honour "; this is the Fifth Commandment. The first editions omit this sentence.

spears, as it is said, "And ten young men that bare Joab's armour compassed about ¹ and smote Absalom; and slew him" (*ibid.* 15).

Six people were similar to the first man,² and they were all slain. They were: Samson with his ³ might, and he was slain;⁴ Saul with his stature, and he was slain;⁵ Asahel with his swiftness, and he was slain;⁶ Josiah with his nostrils,⁷ and he was slain through his nostrils; Zedekiah with his eyes, and he was slain through his eyes;⁸ Absalom with his hair, and he was killed through his hair. Absalom was a mighty hero in battle, and his sword was bound upon his loins.⁹ Why || did he not draw his sword and cut the hair of his head, and get down? But he saw that Gehinnom was open beneath him, and he said: It is better for me to hang by my hair¹⁰ and not to descend into the fire; therefore he was hanging,¹¹ as it is said, "Behold, I saw Absalom¹² hanging in an oak" (*ibid.* 10).

Rabbi José said: There are seven doors to Gehinnom. Absalom entered as far as the fifth door,¹³ and David heard (thereof), and began to weep, to lament, and to mourn, and he called¹⁴ Absalom! My son! five times,¹⁵ My son, my son, my son! "And the king was much moved, and he

¹ The quotation ends here in the MS.; the text of the verse in the first editions differs from the M.T.

² See T.B. Soṭah, 10a; five people were created with some likeness to the nature of the heavenly bodies. Because before his sin Adam was a perfect image of the heavenly bodies. In the legend of the Talmud, the third and fourth instances enumerated by our Midrash are omitted, and instead Asa of fleet foot is mentioned.

³ *i.e.* the might of Adam at his creation.

⁴ The first editions add: "in his might."

⁵ The first editions add: "in his stature."

⁶ The first editions add: "in his swiftness."

⁷ The inference is probably based on Lam. iv. 20: "The breath of our *nostrils*, the anointed of the Lord"; cf. T.B. Ta'amth, 22b, and T.B. Synhedrin, 93b.

⁸ The Babylonians put out his eyes; see 2 Kings xxv. 7.

⁹ Cf. 2 Sam. xx. 8, and T.B. Soṭah, 9b.

¹⁰ The first editions read: "by the hair of my head."

¹¹ The first editions read: "in an oak," and omit the quotation.

¹² The quotation ends here in our text.

¹³ The first editions add: "of Gehinnom." Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 80-87.

¹⁴ The first editions read: "for Absalom five times, 'My son,' 'My son,' as it is said."

¹⁵ At five doors of Gehenna; cf. T.B. Soṭah, *loc. cit.*, and T.B. Synhedrin, 102b.

went up to the chamber over the gate,¹ and wept: and as he went, thus he said, O my son Absalom, my son, my son Absalom! would God I had died for thee, O Absalom, my son, my son!" (*ibid.* xviii. 33). And they² brought him back from the five doors of Gehinnom, and he began to praise and laud and to glorify his Creator, saying: "Shew me a token for good;³ that they which hate me may see it, and be ashamed: because thou, Lord, hast helped me, and comforted me" (Ps. lxxxvi. 17). "Thou hast helped me" out of the war of Absalom, and "thou hast comforted me" in my mourning for him.⁴

The eighth descent⁵ was when He⁶ descended into the Tabernacle, as it is said, "And the Lord came down in a pillar of cloud,⁷ and stood at the door of the Tent, and called Aaron and Miriam;⁸ and they both came forth" (Num. xii. 5). The Holy One, blessed be He, said to them:⁹ Whosoever speaketh slander against his fellow in secret, hath no cure; if he slander his brother, the son of his father or the son of his mother,¹⁰ how much more so¹¹ is this the case? The Holy One, blessed be He, was angry with them, and He departed from the Tent, as it is said,¹² "And the anger of the Lord was kindled against them; and he departed" (*ibid.* 9). || "And the cloud removed from over

¹ The MS. adds "etc.," indicating that this is a quotation; the first word differs from the M.T. and the text in the first editions, which continue the quotation from the words, "O my son."

² The words of David; by his intercession and merit Absalom was saved from Gehenna. The first editions read: "And *he* brought him back."

³ The quotation ends here; it is continued in the first editions.

⁴ The MS. continues the chapter with the material of the fifty-fourth chapter in the printed editions.

⁵ See *supra*, p. 97, and Introduction, p. xv.

⁶ The first editions read: "The Holy One, blessed be He."

⁷ The quotation ends here in our MS.; it is continued in the first editions.

⁸ According to the Biblical record the eighth descent was at the appointment of the seventy elders; so that the descent in our chapter is really the ninth.

⁹ The first editions read: "to him," *i.e.* Aaron.

¹⁰ Cf. Ps. l. 20: "Thou sittest and speakest against thy brother; thou slanderest thine own mother's son." See also Siphre, Num. §§ 25 and 99; Aboth de R. Nathan (*a*) ix. pp. 20b f., note 35; and cf. Deut. Rab. vi. 8 ff. The first editions read: "the son of his father and mother."

¹¹ *i.e.* is the punishment an incurable disease?

¹² The first editions read: "as it is written"; this is unusual in our book.

the Tent" (*ibid.* 10).¹ Forthwith Miriam became leprous. The Holy One, blessed be He, said: If Aaron also be leprous,² the High Priest, who is afflicted with a blemish, will not be able to bring an offering upon My altar; ³ but he shall look upon his sister and become astonished,⁴ as it is said, "And Aaron looked upon Miriam, and, behold, she was leprous" (*ibid.*).⁵ Aaron went to Moses, and said to him: O our lord, Moses! Brethren do not suffer themselves to be separated one from the other except through death, as it is said, "Though he be fruitful among his brethren" ⁶ (Hos. xiii. 15). Our sister, while still among the living, is separated from us,⁷ as it is said, "Let her not, I pray, be as one dead" (Num. xii. 12). Not only this, but now all Israel will hear and say that the sister of Moses and Aaron is leprous. Half of this infamous report concerns thee.⁸ Moses was appeased by the words, and he arose and prayed for her,⁹ and He was entreated of him, as it is said, "And Moses cried unto the Lord, saying,¹⁰ Heal her, O God, I beseech thee" (*ibid.* 13).

Rabbi Levitas, a man of Jamnia, said: Unless the father¹¹ of a leprous person spit¹² in his face, he will not be healed,¹³

¹ This quotation occurs only in the MS.

² See T.B. Sabbath, 97a.

³ See Tosaphoth to Zebachim, 102a; Mo'ed Katan, 8a; and Bechoroth, 45b.

⁴ The first editions read: "and become distressed." See Siphre, Num. § 105: "As long as he beheld her (the leprosy) was spreading over her"; see also Aboth de R. Nathan (a) ix. p. 21a.

⁵ In the Fragments from the lost writings of Irenæus (xxxii.) we find a parallel Midrash to our author; see "Ante-Nicene Christian Library," vol. ix. p. 173.

⁶ The text in Hosea reads: "he be fruitful," but the first editions read: "he be separated"; this is probably to be interpreted as an instance of "Do not read" . . . "but read . . ."

⁷ The first editions add: "by death," and omit the quotation.

⁸ This sentence occurs in our MS. only.

⁹ The Prague edition reads: "he prayed for them."

¹⁰ The quotation ends here in our MS.; it is continued in the first editions.

¹¹ The MS. reads: "mother," but as the verb belonging to this word is masculine, it is an error due to the scribe's carelessness, and we should read "father," as in the first editions.

¹² The reading agrees with the Venice edition. Cf. Lev. xv. 8; and Aboth de R. Nathan, *loc. cit.*

¹³ See Aboth de R. Nathan, *loc. cit.*: "Moses drew a small circle about him, and said: I will not move until Thou hast healed Miriam my sister." The New Testament affords a parallel to the practice of healing by spitting; see Mark vii. 33, where it is said that Jesus cured a man who was deaf and who had an impediment in his speech: "And

as it is said, "And the Lord said unto Moses, If her father had but spit in her face,¹ would she not be ashamed seven days?" (*ibid.* 14). Hence (the sages) say: A male afflicted with unclean issue (needs) seven (days for his purification²); a woman with an issue (requires) seven (days' separation); a menstruant (needs) seven (days of purification);³ one made unclean through a corpse⁴ (needs) seven (days of purification); a mourner (mourns for) seven (days); the wedding feast (lasts) seven (days);⁵ and a leprous person (requires) seven (days' separation). (Whence do we know that⁶) a male with an unclean issue (requires) seven days (for his purification)? || (Because it is said,⁶) "And when he that hath an issue is cleansed⁷ of his issue, then he shall number to himself seven days for his cleansing" (Lev. xv. 13). Whence do we know that a woman with an issue (requires) seven (days of purification)? Because it is said, "But if she be cleansed of her issue,⁷ then she shall number to herself seven days, and after that she shall be clean" (*ibid.* 28).⁸ Whence do we know that a menstruant (requires) seven (days of separation)? Because it is said, "She shall be in her separation seven days" (*ibid.* 19). "Her separation"⁹ (or impurity) thou dost not read, but "*in her impurity*";

he took him aside from the multitude privately, and put his fingers into his ears, and he spat, and touched his tongue." See also Mark viii. 23: "When he had spit on his eyes." See Preuss, *Medizin des Talmuds: Speichel als Heil-Mittel*, pp. 321 f.

¹ The quotation ends here in the MS.

² Or, "cleansing."

³ This and the next instance are omitted in the first editions. On the subject see Aboth de R. Nathan (*b*) i. p. 1b.

⁴ See Num. xix. 11. On mourning customs see *supra*, p. 115.

⁵ This clause occurs in the MS. only; the reference is to the marriage banquet, see *supra*, p. 112.

⁶ This is wanting in the MS.; it occurs in the first editions.

⁷ The quotation ends here in the MS.; it is continued in the first editions.

⁸ In the printed editions there is a lacuna here. The MS. has probably some of the missing text. The Tanna de bê Elijahu Zutta has also part of the lost chapters of the *P.R.E.*, according to Friedmann.

⁹ The MS. reads the exact letters of the word in Lev. xv. 19 ("B'niddathah"), which is translated by the R.V. "in her separation," or "impurity." The fact that the same letters are repeated as the word which has to be read suggests either that this word with the same letters was read differently to the M.T., or that some other form of the word, such as the same word less the first letter ("Niddathah"), *i.e.* "Her separation," as we have assumed in our version, was before the copyist. The Midrashim on this theme are to be found in Horowitz' edition of the Baraitha dealing with Niddah, of which there are several recensions.

because Rabbi Ze'era said: The daughters of Israel have made the Law exceptionally stringent for themselves, so that if they see a blood stain of the size of a mustard seed¹ they observe on its account seven days, after that they are cleansed² (of their issue of blood³). Whence do we know that one made unclean through a corpse (needs) seven (days of purification)? Because it is said, "And whosoever in the open field toucheth one⁴ that is slain with a sword, or a dead body . . . shall be unclean seven days" (Num. xix. 16). Whence do we know that the mourner (mourns for) seven (days)? Because it is said, "And he made a mourning for his father seven days" (Gen. l. 10). Whence⁵ do we know that the (bridal) banquet (lasts) seven days? Because it is said, "Fulfil the week of this one. . . . And Jacob did so, and fulfilled⁴ her week" (*ibid.* xxix. 27, 28). Whence do we know that a leper (keeps) seven (days of purification)? From Miriam, as it is said, "And Miriam was shut up⁴ without the camp seven days" (Num. xii. 15).

Rabbi said: They⁶ slandered God again and said, We were dwelling in the land of Egypt in ease and contentment, but the Holy One, blessed be He, and Moses have brought us forth from Egypt to die in the wilderness, as it is said, "And the people spake against God, and against Moses, Wherefore have ye brought us up⁴ out of Egypt to die in the wilderness?" (*ibid.* xxi. 5). What did the Holy One, blessed be He, do unto them? He sent against them fiery serpents which bit and killed them, as it is said, "And the Lord sent among the people fiery serpents,⁴ and they bit the people; and much people of Israel died" (*ibid.* 6). Moses beheld the misfortune of Israel, and he arose and prayed on their behalf. The Holy One, blessed be He, said to him: Moses! Make thee a serpent of copper like that serpent⁷ || which spoke slander betwixt Adam and his helpmate, and place it on a high place. Let every man who

¹ See T.B. Berakhoth, 31a; and cf. T.J. Berakhoth, v. 1. 8d.

² Lit. "clean."

³ See Lev. xv. 19.

⁴ The quotation ends here in the MS.

⁵ The rest of the paragraph is wanting in the text of this last chapter of *P.R.E.* published by Wertheimer in *Botté Midrashoth*, iii. pp. 29-34.

⁶ The Israelites.

⁷ See *supra*, p. 428, and cf. Tanchuma (ed. Buber), Num. p. 63 f.

has been bitten direct his heart to his Father¹ who is in heaven, and let him gaze at that serpent, and he will be healed. Moses made a serpent of copper and set it up in a high place, and every man who had been bitten turned his heart to his Father who is in heaven, and gazed at that serpent, forthwith he became restored to health, as it is said, "And it came to pass, that if a serpent had bitten² any man, when he looked at the serpent of copper, he lived" (*ibid.* 9); and it also says, "If the serpent bite without enchantment, then is there no advantage in the master of the tongue" (*Eccles.* x. 11).³

Rabbi Meir said: If a doctor visit one whom a serpent has bitten, and cure him, verily will goodness be shown to this one.⁴

Rabbi José said: If a man hire a workman who is zealous, and (when) he discharges him should he give him his wages in full; what favour does he give him?⁵ But if he hire a workman who is lazy, (when) he discharges him should he give him his wages in full, verily he is giving him a real favour.⁶ Likewise spake Solomon before the Holy One, blessed be He⁷: Sovereign of all the worlds! Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were zealous workmen. Thou gavest to them wages in full, of their own (earnings) Thou didst give them. But we are lazy workmen, and when Thou wilt give us our wages in full, and wilt heal us; verily, every one will praise Thee and bless (Thee).⁸

It is finished. Praise be to God!

¹ See T.B. Rosh Ha-Shanah, 29a, and Wisdom, xvi. 7.

² The quotation ends here in the MS.

³ The expression, "the master of the tongue," seems to point to the slanderer, whose condemnation forms the theme of our chapter. See Bacher, P. i. 402 and 485, for Midrashic interpretations of this verse.

⁴ The doctor.

⁵ The labourer who has fully earned his wages. Cf. Matt. xx. 1-16.

⁶ For the lazy workman has not earned his wages, and therefore is receiving more than his due.

⁷ Wertheimer's text omits the following two sentences.

⁸ In acknowledging that all we receive is due to the boundless love and grace of our Heavenly Father. See T.B. Baba Mezi'a, 86b.

Immediately following the *P.R.E.* in the MS. comes the well-known Aboth de R. Nathan, the text of which corresponds to the Recension "A" in Dr. Schechter's edition. In a future work, I hope to translate

the chapters claimed to belong to *P.R.E.*, and published by Horowitz, and later by Friedmann in his edition of the *Tanna de bê Elijahu*.

I have a very humble favour to ask at the hands of my readers. Will they kindly let me know whether they can suggest any variations in my translation and offer any parallels from Jewish and Christian and Mohammedan, as well as from classical literature, in illustration of the various points arising out of this Midrash? I am painfully aware that this work is in a very crude condition, and that there are many errors, but in spite of all its blemishes I sincerely hope that something of value may be found in this volume, which has cost the author very many hours of toil snatched away from leisure and holiday.

NOTE¹

DR. BÜCHLER'S essay, "*Das Schneiden des Haares als Strafe der Ehebrecher bei den Semiten*," which appeared in the *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, xviii. pp. 91–138, demonstrates that the punishment of cutting the hair of one guilty of adultery arose under Arabian influence. This penalty is unknown in the Talmud and Midrash. The custom was known to R. Simon b. Zemach Duran, c. 1440, who quotes the *Pirkê de R. Eliezer*, xiv., as his authority. The punishment was already known in the Geonic age. Naṭronai Gaon (857–867) is said to have been the authority when this form of punishment was discussed (cf. *Halakhoth Pesuḳoth*, ed. Müller, p. 53, No. 94, and *Sha'arê Zedek*, p. 25, No. 13). The earliest reference is in *Halakhoth Kezuboth*, attributed to the Gaon Jehudai of Sura, c. 760 (in Horowitz, תורתן של ראשונים, i. 29). On the basis of these facts Dr. Büchler infers that the curse pronounced upon Eve that a woman should not have her hair cut save for adultery arose in the Schools of Sura and Pumbeditha. This fact may point to the home and date of the *Pirkê de R. Eliezer*, which was probably written after the introduction of this penalty; but see Perls in *Magyar-Zsidó Szemle*, vol. xxiii. p. 124, who suggests as the correct reading מגלה אותו for מגלחתו.

¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 100, note 4.