

PIRKÊ DE RABBI ELIEZER

TRANSLATED AND ANNOTATED
WITH INTRODUCTION AND INDICES

BY
GERALD FRIEDLANDER



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(THE CHAPTERS OF RABBI ELIEZER THE GREAT)
ACCORDING TO THE TEXT OF THE MANUSCRIPT
BELONGING TO ABRAHAM EPSTEIN OF VIENNA

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TO

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PRINCIPAL OF THE JEWS' COLLEGE, LONDON

P R E F A C E

My thanks are due to Dr. A. Marmorstein for much general help in the course of my work. He has verified all the Rabbinic quotations in the notes and has added many additional references. I have further to express my gratitude to Dr. Büchler for valuable counsel in the preparation of the translation and also for reading and correcting the proof-sheets. I dedicate this book to him as a mark of gratitude for a series of kindnesses shown to me during many years. It is mainly owing to his inspiration and encouragement that I have ventured to offer this effort as a contribution to Jewish literature.

G. F.

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INTRODUCTION

§ 1. SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE BOOK AND ITS HISTORY

THE book usually designated פרקי דר' אליעזר, *Pirkê de Rabbi Eliezer* (*Chapters of Rabbi Eliezer*), is not the least important of the Rabbinic Pseudepigrapha. The attention recently given to the study of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha has, to a certain extent, been limited by the neglect of the Rabbinic side of the subject. The only Hebrew works translated in the magnificent Oxford edition of the *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha* are the *Pirkê Aboth* and the *Fragments of a Zadokite Work*. The selection of these two books is singularly unfortunate, since neither belongs to the Pseudepigrapha proper. More appropriate would have been the inclusion in the afore-mentioned *corpus* of such works as the *Othijoth de Rabbi 'Akiba* or the *Pirkê de Rabbi Eliezer*, now presented, for the first time, in an English translation.

The name of the writer of the book is unknown. The putative author is Rabbi Eliezer, son of Hyrkanos, who lived in the latter half of the first century C.E. and in the first decades of the second century. He was famous on account of his great erudition, but in spite of his reputation as a scholar he was ultimately excommunicated. Was it on account of this very fact that the actual writer of our book deliberately selected the name of this famous master in Israel as its supposed author? In many respects the book is polemical and unorthodox—polemical in opposing doctrines and traditions current in certain circles in former times, unorthodox in revealing certain mysteries which were reputed to have been taught in the school of Rabban Jochanan ben Zakkai, the teacher of our Rabbi Eliezer. Did our author deem it dangerous to expose his own identity? Did he not run the risk of being placed under the ban for the

daring displayed in writing his book? What name was more honoured, in spite of the excommunication which had made it so prominent, than Rabbi Eliezer the Great, who is quoted in Mishnah and Talmud more frequently than any one of his contemporaries?

The book enjoyed considerable popularity in Jewish circles in former days, for there are more than two dozen editions. There is also a Latin version with an elaborate commentary by Vorstius (1644), indicating a certain interest in the book even in non-Jewish circles. The first edition was printed in Constantinople in 1514, the second edition appeared in Venice, 1544, the third edition was published in Sabbioneta in 1567. Later editions of value are those of Amsterdam and Prague. The folio edition of Rabbi David Luria (Vilna, 1837) is the best extant. His critical commentary is a mine of valuable information which has been constantly laid under contribution in the preparation of the notes in the present volume. The editions of Brode and Einhorn have also been consulted.

The text adopted for translation is a valuable unedited MS. belonging to Abraham Epstein of Vienna. This treasure contains not only the entire work as printed in the various editions, but a small section of the last chapter which has never been printed. Wertheimer's *Botté Midrashoth*, iii. pp. 29–34, contains a parallel text to the last chapter, but not as complete as our MS. text. The MS. is probably the work of a Spanish scribe of the twelfth or thirteenth century. It was formerly the property of N. Coronel. In very many instances the text preserved in the MS. is superior to that contained in the printed editions. The MS. used by the editor of the *editio princeps* was fairly accurate, as this text is on the whole correct and consecutive. This edition was used by the editor of the beautiful second edition, in which some of the errors incidental to a first edition have been rectified. This text has been used by all subsequent editors and was adopted by Vorstius for his Latin version.

In addition to Epstein's MS., the present writer has used an old MS. fragment of the astronomical chapters (VI.–VIII.) belonging to the Rev. Dr. M. Gaster, and also his MS. (9), which, however, is incomplete. Several fragments from the Cairo Genizah belonging to Mr. Elkan N. Adler, M.A.,

have been collated. The Genizah fragments belonging to the Cambridge University have been copied by Dr. A. Marmorstein and his transcript has been used. The MSS. of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, have also been collated. The fragment MS. in the British Museum, edited by Horowitz, has likewise been consulted.

In the printed texts there are fifty-four chapters, whereas in our MS. there are only fifty-three chapters, due to the fact that the last two are combined into one. In its present form the book is undoubtedly incomplete. In all the editions the last chapter breaks off in the middle of a sentence. The MSS. referred to in the *Jewish Encyclopedia* (x. p. 59b) have not been available.

§ 2. PLAN AND CONTENTS OF THE BOOK

The book, as we now know it, is, in all probability, a composite work, consisting of three originally distinct sections. The object of one of these parts was to describe in detail the "ten descents" from heaven to earth, which God is said in Holy Scripture to have made in the past. The books of old told of the Ascension of Isaiah, as well as of the Assumption of Moses and other worthies; our book essayed the more sacred task of revealing the ten Divine descents on earth. The purpose of the *Pistis Sophia* is somewhat similar, of course from the standpoint of the Christian gnostic. The last chapter in our book deals with the eighth descent. The missing part of the work is claimed to be preserved in the text published by M. Friedmann in the *Pseudo-Tanna de bē Eljahu*. The authenticity of this material has, however, not been established thus far.

Another section incorporated in our present work professed to give a detailed account of Rabbinic mysticism, more particularly the ancient mysteries of the Creation (Ma'aseh Bereshith), the Divine Chariot (Ma'aseh Merkabah), as well as the secret of the Calendar (Sôd Ha-'Ibbur) and the secret of the Redemption (Sôd Ge'ullah). The mysteries of the heaven above, the earth beneath, and the waters under the earth are all revealed. Paradise and Gehenna, this world and the new world, are all explored. We hear of the Ministering Angels, Sammael and the angels

“who fell from their holy place in heaven,” and also concerning Leviathan and Behemoth. The life hereafter, the resurrection of the dead, and the Messianic Age are discussed. The doctrine of the “Last Things,” usually known as Eschatology, is not entirely forgotten.

The possibility of a third book in our work is to be detected in the fragment of a Midrash on the *Shemoneh 'Esreh* (the Jewish prayer *par excellence*), which is contained in the latter part of the “Chapters.” Whether the three chapters (VI.–VIII.) dealing with the Calendar are an integral part of the section previously discussed or whether they belong to the actual *Pirkê de Rabbi Eliezer* is a moot point, which cannot be decided off-hand. The result of the combination of the different sections may be seen in the repetition of several narratives (*e.g.* the creation of Adam), in obvious contradictions (*e.g.* Chapter III. and Chapter XVIII.; Chapter XXX. and Chapter XXXI., on the question of the difference between the ages of Isaac and Ishmael), and finally in the absence of consecutive order in the arrangement of the material. Likewise the order in which the different chapters are arranged is a further proof of the composite nature of the entire book. Moreover, the first two chapters form an independent section which has been prefixed for the purpose of providing a preface in order to justify the authorship attributed to Rabbi Eliezer. The two chapters are entirely biographical, setting forth the call of Rabbi Eliezer. Our contention as to the relation of these two chapters towards the rest of the book, as we now know it, seems to be supported by the fact that the MS. of the first part of our book in the British Museum begins at Chapter III. of the printed text. The same fact applies to the portion of our book which has been incorporated by R. Asher Ha-Levi in his *Sepher Ha-Zikhronoth* (Bodleian MS. Heb. d. 11, No. 2797). Dr. Marmorstein finds in MS. Adler (522, p. 143b), Chapter XLIV. quoted. This corresponds to Chapter XLII. in the printed texts. Again, on p. 79a, Chapter XLI. is mentioned, corresponding to Chapter XXXIX. in our text. In Gaster MS. (9) ten anciently written chapters have been inserted which are all enumerated as though the book began with Chapter III. This clearly shows that in some MSS. the first two

chapters were missing, and, as we have suggested, did not form part of the original work.

Chapters III.–XI. deal with the work of the Creation.

Chapters XII.–XX. refer to Adam and Eve.

Chapters XXI. and XXII. give the story of Cain, Abel, and the other descendants of Adam and Eve.

Chapters XXIII. and XXIV. contain the history of Noah and his sons and the narrative of the Flood.

Chapter XXV. sets forth the sin and doom of Sodom.

Chapters XXVI.–XXXI. cover the life story of Abraham, including the story of the 'Aqedah (or the binding of Isaac).

Chapters XXXII. and XXXIII. deal with the life of Isaac.

Chapter XXXIV. is devoted to an account of the resurrection of the dead.

Chapters XXXV.–XXXVII. present the story of Jacob's life.

Chapters XXXVIII. and XXXIX. refer to Joseph.

Chapter XL. discusses the signs given by God to Moses.

Chapter XLI. is concerned with the revelation on Sinai.

Chapters XLII. and XLIII. (which are evidently out of place) contain the narrative of the Exodus (which should precede the story of the revelation on Sinai).

Chapter XLIV. unfolds the history of Amalek.

Chapters XLV.–XLVII. set forth the story of the Golden Calf.

Chapter XLVIII. resumes the subject of the Exodus.

Chapters XLIX. and L. give the story of Haman and Mordecai.

Chapter LI. is eschatological.

Chapter LII. describes the wonders of old.

Chapter LIII. reverts to the history of Israel in the wilderness, *e.g.* the "Brazen" Serpent and Miriam.

In the second half of the book we see the fragment of the Midrash on the *Shemoneh 'Esreh*, furnishing a series of links connecting the various sections of this part of the book. Thus the first benediction is referred to in Chapter XXVII. in connection with Abraham. The second benediction occurs in Chapters XXXI. and XXXIV.,

in connection with Isaac. The third in Chapter XXXV. (Jacob), the fourth in Chapter XL. (Moses), the fifth in Chapter XLIII. in connection with Manasseh and Nineveh, the sixth in Chapter XLVI. in connection with Israel in the wilderness, the seventh in Chapter LI. (Messianic), and the eighth in Chapters LII. and LIII. (Miriam). The fact that only eight descents and only eight benedictions are dealt with in the book is noteworthy, and points to the present incomplete condition of the work.

§ 3. OUR BOOK IN JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN LITERATURE

The book is usually known by the title *Pirkê de Rabbi Eliezer*. Our MS. uses this designation, adding "Ha-Gadol" ("the Great"). The first to quote our book are the Geonim or Rabbis of Babylon, see *Siddur* of Rab 'Amram (c. 850 c.E.), p. 32a. Machzor Vitry (ed. S. Hurwitz), p. 117, quotes our book by the title "Peraḳim" ("The Chapters"). In the Tosaphoth to Kethuboth, 99a, R. Tam calls it "Haggadath de Rabbi Eliezer ben Hyrḳanos." The 'Arukh terms it "Baraitha de Rabbi Eliezer." Dr. Marmorstein finds our book mentioned in Midrash Ha-Chêfêz (B.M. 2351, p. 89b) under the title of "Mishnah de R. Eliezer"; the same designation occurs in a bookseller's catalogue of the twelfth to thirteenth century, see *J.Q.R.* xiii. p. 53.

The usual title *Pirkê de Rabbi Eliezer* is employed by Rashi (e.g. on Gen. xxvii. 9; Deut. xii. 17; Jonah i. 7), Jehudah Ha-Levi (Khazari iii. 65 and iv. 29), and Maimonides (Moreh Nebukhim i. 70 and ii. 26). For further references see the excellent chapter on our book in Zunz, *Gottesdienstliche Vorträge der Juden* (2nd ed.), p. 283, note f.

In addition to the writers and books mentioned in the previous paragraphs, quotations from our book are to be found in R. Achai Gaon in She'eltoth, in Naṭronai Gaon in Chemdah Genuzah No. 93, in R. Moses of Coucy's *S.M.G.*, in Halakhoth Gedoloth (ed. Hildesheimer, p. 5), in Midrash Haggadol (ed. Schechter), Midrash Agadah (ed. Buber), Jalkuṭ Shim'oni, Jalkuṭ Makhiri, Midrash Sekhel Tob (ed. Buber), also in the commentaries on the Pentateuch by R. Bechai and Nachmanides, as well as in the latter's *Torath Ha-Adam*, and many other books too numerous to mention.

In addition to the bibliography to be found in the *Jewish Encyclopedia* (x. p. 60a) and in Wolff, *Bibl. Hebr.* i. p. 173, iii. p. 110, and iv. p. 1032, the following references have been furnished by Dr. Marmorstein :

Zakuto, *Juchasin*, p. 52b (the first to cast a doubt on the authorship of R. Eliezer).

'Azariah de Rossi, *Meor 'Enayim*, ch. xliii.

Rapoport, in *Kerem Chemed*, vii. p. 41.

Steinschneider, *Polemische und Apologetische Literatur*, p. 339 ; *Z.D.M.G.* xxviii. 640 ; *H.B.* v. 15 and 120, viii. 7, and ix. 3.

The periodicals *Keneseth Ha-Gedolah*, i. 165 ; *Ha-Maggid*, xii. nos. 26 ff. ; *R.É.J.* liv. 66 ; *M.G.W.J.*, 1893, p. 253 ; *J.Q.R.* iv. 622, and *J.Q.R.* (new series) i. pp. 64 f.

Graetz, *M.G.W.J.*, 1859, p. 207 ; *H.B.* xiv. 7 ; *Geschichte*, iv. p. 223 ; and *Z.D.M.G.* xxviii. 645.

Epstein, *Eldad*, p. 76 ; and

Chwolson, *Ssabier*, i. p. 98.

§ 4. *P.R.E.* AND TALMUD, TARGUM, MIDRASH, ZOHAR, AND LITURGY

The fact that with two exceptions all the names of the Rabbis quoted in our book are Palestinian teachers has been duly noted by scholars, see *J.E.* x. p. 59a. Equally remarkable is the fact that the direct quotations from the Talmud are to be found in the Palestinian Talmud only. The inference to be drawn from this circumstance is that the author was probably a Palestinian. Again, there is a very close connection between the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch, usually known as the Pseudo-Jonathan ben Uzziel, and our author.

The present writer inclines to the view that our book was one of the sources used by this Targumist. There is also evidence which goes to show that the author of the Second Targum to Esther used our book. Likewise there is reason to believe that the Zohar has used many of the interpretations and doctrines which are to be found in our work. In all probability a similar statement applies to the Book of Jashar.

On the other hand, our author has laid Genesis Rabbah under contribution. In the notes attention will be drawn to some of the parallels to be found in Talmudic and Midrashic literature.

The question of interdependence arises in connection with the *Baraitha de Sh'muel*. The date 776 c.e. is mentioned in this work, and shortly after this date the work was most probably written. Have we, however, the original *Baraitha*? Was our book used by the writer of this *Baraitha*? Were the two works originally united in one book? Are we to believe, as Dr. Gaster seems to urge in his valuable Introduction to *Jeraḥmeel*, that the three astronomical chapters (VI.–VIII.) are part of the original *Baraitha*? These problems must remain for the present unsolved. The views of Zunz on this question will be referred to in the notes. On the entire problem Bornstein's note on pp. 177 f. in Sokolow's Jubilee Volume (1904) should be consulted. A similar unsolved problem arises in connection with the Sepher Jezirah; some of the points of contact between this book and *P.R.E.* will be mentioned in the notes.

Many of the Midrashic explanations and legends contained in our book have been utilized by the Payeṭanim (liturgical poets) whose poems have enriched the liturgy of the Synagogue. The commentary to the Machzor by Heidenheim draws attention to many parallels in our book.

Recent investigation has proved that the date hitherto assigned to Kālir must be altered to an earlier period (c. seventh century). According to Zunz, *G.V.* (p. 290) Kālir used *P.R.E.* in his liturgical compositions, and if this be so, he must have had an earlier form of our book than has come down to us.

The Jozereth as well as the daily and Sabbath liturgy of the Synagogue point to the direct influence exerted by our book. One instance will illustrate this point. The Kēdushah of the Mussaph for Sabbath and Holyday is to be found in its earliest form in our book (see p. 26 and cf. *M.G.W.J.*, 1887, pp. 550 ff.). Does this fact enable us to determine the provenance of our "Chapters"? Dr. Büchler has pointed out to the present writer that the phrase on p. 169, "Through me will all the righteous crown Thee with a crown of sovereignty," shows that the author

knew the special form of the *Ḳedushah* of the mystics known as the “*Joredê Merkabah*,” discussed by P. Bloch in *M.G.W.J.*, 1893 (37), p. 310, and by Dr. Büchler in *R.É.J.* liii. p. 220.

In connection with this subject, it is interesting to note that the tenth chapter seems to be a homily for the Day of Atonement. According to Horowitz, *Beth 'Eked Ha-Hagadoth*, p. 21, Chapter XXX., which has been incorporated in the Midrash of the Ten Kings, was also written for liturgical purposes, probably as a Midrash for the Sabbath preceding the 9th of Ab. Possibly Chapters XXV. and XXVI. were homilies for the New Year. The sections from Chapters III., IV., V., VI., IX., and XI. dealing with the Creation and Adam, which are preserved in the B.M. MS. 27089 and printed by Horowitz, *Sammlung kleiner Midraschim*, i. pp. 4 ff., may have served a liturgical purpose in connection with the New Year, because according to our author Adam was created on the New Year. Similar Midrashic sections are—(1) Chapter XLII., for Sabbath Shirah or for the seventh Day of Passover; (2) Chapter XLI., for Pentecost; (3) Chapter IV., dealing with the Cherubim and the Divine Throne for Pentecost (the Haphtarah being Ezek. i.); and (4) Chapter XXXIII., for the Intermediate Sabbath in Passover (the Haphtarah being Ezek. xxxvii.). Several chapters are also to be regarded as Midrashim to the weekly Portion (Sedra). Finally, Chapter XLIV. and Chapter XLIX. are probably Midrashim for Sabbath *Zakhôr*, whilst Chapter L. is a Midrashic reading for Purim. Chapter XXXI., which deals with the 'Akedah, may have been a homily for the New Year or for Sabbath Vayêra. Chapter XXXIII. was most likely the Midrash to the Haphtarah for Sabbath Vayêra.

§ 5. *P.R.E.* AND THE PSEUDEPIGRAPHA AND APOCRYPHA

Among the most valuable writings in the second volume of the Oxford edition of the *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha* are Jubilees, the two Books of Enoch, the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs, 4 Ezra, and the Books of Adam and Eve. With all these books there are points of contact in the *Pirkê de R. Eliezer*. For instance, the

Biblical narrative covered by our book agrees to a considerable extent with the material dealt with by the Book of Jubilees. We shall find frequent occasion in the notes to refer not only to the points of similarity between the two works, but also to several points of dissimilarity. There seems to be reasonable ground for assuming that the author of our book was acquainted not only with Jubilees, but also with the pseudepigraphic Books of Enoch (Ethiopic and Slavonic), and very probably with the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs, or with the sources of these books.

Jubilees and our book are alike in being practically Midrashic paraphrases and expansions of the narratives contained in the Book of Genesis and part of the Book of Exodus. Our book contains more than this, but it is a later compilation. Both books deal with the Calendar (see Jubilees vi. 28–33), and in this respect they recall the Books of Enoch (Eth. Enoch lxxii.–lxxxii.). In all these books we have chapters setting forth the story of the Creation (Ma'aseh Bereshith). The mysteries and secrets contained in some of the above-mentioned books of the Pseudepigrapha reappear in our book. The past is recalled and the future revealed. The nature of God, angels, and man is unfolded. We read of sin and grace, repentance and atonement, good and evil, life and death, Paradise and Gehenna, Satan and Messiah. The same anthropomorphic expressions occur in all this literature and reappear in our book. The Index will enable the reader to find easily in our book its teaching on all these points.

Our book does not merely re-echo the esoteric doctrines of Apocalypse, it occasionally dares to speak with its own voice and at times deliberately modifies the teaching of the old Pseudepigrapha. For instance, the Calendar doctrines set forth in Jubilees and part of the Enoch literature are rejected and opposed. The Calendar section in our book is of more than passing interest, because it may indicate—(1) The probable date when our book was written, (2) its provenance, and (3) the motive for its composition. According to S. Poznański (*Hastings' Ency. of Religion and Ethics*, iii. 117) the probable date is in the period of the Geonim (c. 800), its origin was in Babylon, and the purpose of the book was to oppose factions or sects who at this period had

their individual calendars. Reference should be made to the *J.Q.R.* x. 152–161 for the discussion on the Calendar disputes in the days of Sa'adiah (892–942), see also *J.Q.R.* xiv. pp. 37 ff. and (new series) v. 4, pp. 543 ff.

The various forms of the Calendar, which were probably the occasion of attack or defence, *e.g.* the systems set forth in Jubilees and the Books of Enoch, as well as the calendars of the Samaritans and Karaites, and the systems elaborated in the Rabbinic and Patristic literature and also in the Hellenistic Jewish writings, would have to be carefully considered before we can be in a position to formulate the purpose of the Calendar in our book.

To revert to the Book of Jubilees in relation to our book, the following passages in the former seem to have some connection with our text.

Jub. i. 29 refers to the renewal of the heavens and the earth (cf. *ibid.* iv. 26 and xxiii. 26–28, and Charles' note on p. 10 of his edition of Jubilees); Chapter LI. (pp. 410 ff.) in our book is devoted to this theme.

In Jub. i. and ii. reference is made to the intercourse between Moses and the angels; the same subject reappears in our book (Chapter XLVI. pp. 361 f.), where we also read of "letters and tablets for healing" (p. 362) given to Moses by the angels, this is similar to Jub. x. 12, 13.

According to Jub. ii. 17–21, when the Israelites observe the Sabbath, they resemble the angels; this belief reappears in our book (Chapter XLVI. p. 364), except for the fact that Sabbath is replaced by the Day of Atonement (*i.e.* the Sabbath of Sabbaths).

Very striking is the passage in Jub. ii. dealing with the selection of Israel to keep the Sabbath and the nature of the Sabbath observance, "eating, drinking, and blessing God" (ii. 21). This must be compared with *P.R.E.* xix. p. 138: "The Holy One, blessed be He, blessed and hallowed the Sabbath day, and *Israel* is bound only to keep and to hallow the Sabbath day. . . . Whosoever says the benediction and sanctification over the wine on the eves of Sabbaths." Jub. ii. 29, 30, should also be compared with *P.R.E.*, *loc. cit.*

Both books protest against the exposure of the person; thus in Jub. iii. 31 and vii. 20 this ordinance is laid down in

connection with Noah, whilst in our book, xxii. p. 160, this sin is one of the causes of the flood.

The offering brought by Noah, according to Jub. vi. 3, consisted of an ox, a goat, a sheep, kids, salt, a turtle-dove, and the young of a dove; in our book, xxiii. p. 171, this reappears as "ox, a sheep, a turtle-dove, and pigeons."

Jub. vi. 17 f. lays great stress on the importance of the festival of Pentecost, even attributing its institution to Noah and the patriarchs; our book varies this by connecting the institution of Passover with Adam and the patriarchs (pp. 153, 236).

Jub. vi. 23-29 dwells on the importance of the New Moon; this occurs also in our book, p. 410.

Jub. vii. 2, 35 ff., xvi. 20-31, and xxi. 7-17 refers to the age of the patriarchs various laws other than the seven precepts of the sons of Noah. This tendency is followed by our book, which mentions Sha'atnez (p. 154; see Lev. xix. 19), Sabbath (p. 142), Habdalah (pp. 145 f.), and the wedding benediction (pp. 89 f.) in connection with the life of Adam.

Noah divides the earth among his three sons (Jub. viii. 11). Dr. Charles (*in loc.*) refers to Beer, who quotes *P.R.E.* xxiv. The actual text in Jub. viii. 11-30 should be compared with the last paragraph in *P.R.E.* xxiii. (pp. 172 f.), which might reasonably be looked upon as a condensed version of the twenty verses in Jubilees. Thus the first sentence in *P.R.E.* (*loc. cit.*) reads: "Noah brought his sons and *his grandsons*, and he blessed them with their (several) settlements, and he gave them as an inheritance all the earth." Jubilees (viii. 11) reads: "And he called his sons, and they drew nigh to him, they and *their children*, and he divided the earth into the lots, which his three sons were to take in possession." Shem receives according to Jubilees (viii. 12) "the middle of the earth," and according to *P.R.E.* (*loc. cit.*) he inherits "the habitable land." Ham receives "beyond the Gihon . . . and it extends towards the west to the sea of 'Atêl, and it extends . . . till it reaches the sea of Mâ'ûk" (Jub. viii. 22). Dr. Charles (*in loc.*) thinks that Mâ'ûk is a distortion of Ὠκεανός, the great ocean stream. *P.R.E.* (*loc. cit.*) reads: "He blessed Ham and his sons . . . and he gave them as an inheritance the coast of

the sea." Japhet's portion is Northern Asia, Europe, and five great islands (Jub. viii. 25–29a); and according to *P.R.E.* (*loc. cit.*) he receives "for an inheritance the desert and its fields."

Both books agree (Jub. xii. 26, *P.R.E.* p. 188) in saying that Abraham spoke Hebrew, the holy language of the Creation. In both books Satan (or Sammael in *P.R.E.*, Mastema in Jubilees) plays a striking part, he is a chief or prince (see Jub. xvii. 16 and xlviii. 2, and *P.R.E.* p. 92). Jub. x. 11 identifies Satan and Mastema; a parallel to this section of Jubilees (x. 8–11) is to be found in our book (p. 363 f.). According to Jub. iii. 17 the serpent alone was the cause of the fall of Eve; our author (p. 92), following other legends, describes Sammael as using the serpent in his plot against Eve. In Jub. xviii. 9, 12, Mastema is put to shame at the sacrifice of Isaac; this legend reappears in *P.R.E.* (pp. 228, 233 f.), according to which Sammael attempts to hinder Abraham.

The fundamental importance of circumcision is insisted upon in both books (Jub. xv. 11 ff. and *P.R.E.* xxix.), and they both refer to the serious neglect of the rite (Jub. xv. 33 f. and *P.R.E.* pp. 212 ff.). According to Jub. xv. 30–32 and *P.R.E.* p. 177, Israel alone is subject to God, whilst the nations of the world are subject to the dominion of the angels. Both books, Jub. xvii. 17 and *P.R.E.* pp. 187 ff., refer to the ten trials of Abraham. Again, both books (Jub. xxi. 17; *P.R.E.* pp. 61, 212) lay stress on the duty of covering the blood with dust. They also agree (Jub. xxii. 16; *P.R.E.* pp. 208, 301) in ordaining restrictions as to the food of non-Jews. Isaac's oath to the Philistines (Jub. xxiv. 25, 33) reappears in our book, pp. 278 f. Jub. xxxii. 2 f. has a close parallel in our book (p. 284), about the story of the choice of Levi as the tithe devoted to God.

There is considerable agreement in both books on Angelology and Demonology. Both books teach the eternal validity of the Law, older than creation and coming from the custody of the angels in heaven.

On the other hand, there are many divergent teachings. We have already referred to the Calendar. According to Jub. i. 27 (see Charles' ed. p. lxiv f.) an angel reveals the Law to Moses; our author (p. 320) opposes this doctrine,

which was taught in Hellenistic Jewish and Christian circles (see LXX to Deut. xxxiii. 2 and Acts of the Apostles vii. 53, and cf. Josephus quoted in the Westminster N.T. ed. of Acts, *loc. cit.*). In *P.R.E.* (*loc. cit.* and pp. 324 f. and 327) God alone gives the Law, although myriads of ministering angels are present. Jub. ii. 2-3 fixes the first day for the creation of the angels, our book (p. 20) gives the second day. According to Jub. ii. 7 the garden of Eden was created on the third day, whereas in our book (p. 11) it belongs to the premundane creation. Jub. iv. 15, 22, identifies the angels of the Lord who descended on the earth with the Watchers who sinned with the daughters of men. This interpretation of the "sons of Elohim" is accepted by our author (p. 160), who qualifies it by adding that the Israelites are also called "sons of God" (p. 161). Dr. Charles (*Jubilees*, pp. 33 ff., note 14) refers to the Christian interpretation of "the sons of God" as indicating "the good among mankind, the descendants of Seth, and the daughters of men to be the descendants of Cain." Our author (p. 158 f.) tells us that, "all the generations of the righteous arose from Seth," whereas "from Cain arose and were descended all the generations of the wicked." Jub. v. 7 teaches that the sons of the angels who rebelled against God slew one another with the sword, but our author (p. 162) varies this by letting them perish in the flood. In Jub. xii. 14, Haran, the brother of Abraham, is burnt in the fire, whereas according to our book (p. 188) it is Abraham who is cast into the fire and rescued by Divine interposition.

In Jub. xix. 11 the marriage of Abraham with Keturah is spoken of as his third marriage, "for Hagar had died before Sarah"; this is contradicted by our author (p. 219), who identifies Keturah and Hagar. Jub. xxx. 2 ff. gives the praise of Simeon and Levi in connection with the punishment which they inflicted upon Shechem; this is omitted in our book (pp. 288 f.), which speaks of Jacob cursing the wrath of his sons, "and he also cursed their sword in the Greek language"; Jubilees (xxx. 25) adds, "And he reproached them because they had put the city to the sword and he feared those who dwelt in the land." In Jub. xxxiv. 12, 18 f., the institution of the Day of Atonement is connected with the sale of Joseph; this view is

controverted by our book (p. 204) by associating the Day with Abraham. In Jub. xxxviii. 2, Jacob is represented as slaying Esau; our author (p. 309) varies this tradition by referring the incident to the action of Chushim, the son of Dan, a deaf mute, on the occasion of the burial of Jacob. Jub. xl. 10 rejects the legend which formed the basis of the Hellenistic Jewish romance dealing with the history of Asenath (see Hastings' *Bible Dict.* i. 162), according to which Asenath was of the house of Israel; our book (pp. 272 f., 287 f.) adopts this legend, and states that she was the daughter of Dinah. Our book differs from Jubilees by omitting the sins of Reuben and Judah and by enunciating the doctrine of the resurrection. There are many other points of connection between the two books, some of which will be indicated in the notes.

The most valuable contribution to the study of Jubilees in its relation to the Midrashim is B. Beer's *Das Buch der Jubiläen* (1856). This was amplified by a second essay by the same author. These important pioneer works are indispensable. Dr. Marmorstein has a chapter on "Jubilees and Pal. Targum" in his *Studien zum Pseud-Jonathan Targum* (1905), pp. 22-26. Dr. Kohler's article on Jubilees in *J.E.* vii. pp. 301 ff. should also be consulted in this connection.

Ethiopic Enoch, usually known as 1 Enoch, also contains many ideas which seem to be repeated or reflected in our book. The notes contain the references to many of these similar thoughts. Some of the most interesting points of contact are the following:

- 1 Enoch vi. 2: "The angels" are "the children of heaven"; cf. *P.R.E.* p. 161: "Whilst they (the angels) were still in their holy place in heaven, these were called *the sons of God*."
- vi. 4: "Let us all swear an oath and all bind ourselves by mutual imprecations," cf. *P.R.E.* (p. 293), which reads: "Let us swear among ourselves . . . and they proclaimed the ban" (חרם).
- vii. 1-5: "And all the others together with them took unto themselves wives . . . and they began to go in unto them . . . and they bare great giants . . .

who consumed all the acquisitions of men. The giants turned against them and devoured mankind . . . and drunk the blood.” Cf. *P.R.E.* (pp. 160 f.): “The angels . . . took wives from amongst them . . . from them were born the giants . . . who stretched forth their hands to all (kinds of) robbery and violence, and shedding of blood.”

- 1 Enoch viii. 1, 2: “And the beautifying of the eyelids . . . and they committed fornication, and they were led astray”; cf. *P.R.E.* (p. 160): “their eyes painted like harlots, and they went astray after them.”
- ix. 1: “Michael, Uriel, Raphael, and Gabriel”; cf. *P.R.E.* (p. 22): “Michael . . . Gabriel . . . Uriel . . . and Raphael.”
- ix. 1, 2 and x. 2: “Much blood being shed upon the earth, and all lawlessness being wrought upon the earth. . . . The earth made without inhabitant cries the voice of their crying up to the gates of heaven . . . and a deluge is about to come”; cf. *P.R.E.*, *loc. cit.* and also p. 162: “Behold, we will restrain ourselves from multiplying and increasing, so as not to produce the offspring of the children of men. . . . They said, If He bring from heaven the waters of the flood.”
- x. 4: “Bind Azazel . . . and make an opening in the desert . . . and cast him therein”; cf. *P.R.E.* p. 363: “and the lot for Azazel was the goat as a sin offering” (cf. Charles’ note on p. 22 of *Jubilees*).
- xii. 4 (and cf. xv. 3): “The Watchers of the heaven who have left the high heaven, the holy eternal place”; cf. *P.R.E.* p. 160: “The angels who fell from their holy place in heaven,” cf. *ibid.* pp. 46, 92, and 194.
- xiv. 9 ff.: “Crystals . . . and fiery cherubim between them, (that house) was hot as fire and cold as ice . . . fear covered me and tremblings gat hold upon me . . . and I looked and saw therein a lofty throne, its appearance was as crystal, and the wheels thereof as the shining sun, and there was the vision of the Cherubim. And from underneath the throne came streams of flaming fire so that I could not look thereon. And the Great Glory sat thereon. None of the angels could enter and could behold His

face. . . . The flaming fire was round about Him . . . ten thousand times ten thousand (angels stood) before Him." Cf. *P.R.E.*, Chapter IV. (pp. 21–25), where we read of the "crystal . . . and the fiery ministering angels and the Shekhinah of the Holy One . . . sitting on a throne high and exalted. The appearance of His *Glory* is like the colour of amber (or crystal). One half (of His Glory) is fire and the other half is hail . . . and a veil is spread before Him, and the seven angels . . . minister before Him. . . . Fire is flashing continually around His throne, and the Chajjôth (around the throne) . . . are the Cherubim . . . the whirling wheels of the Chariot, lightnings . . . go forth. . . . The Chajjôth . . . do not know the place of His Glory . . . a river of fire arises and goes forth before Him. . . . The Seraphim . . . cover their face so as not to behold the presence of the Shekhinah."

1 Enoch xvii. 5 refers to the river of fire, cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 25 and 412.

— xviii. 2: "And I saw the Corner Stone of the Earth," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 71: "and he saw there the Foundation Stone," and cf. *ibid.* p. 266.

— xviii. 5: "The firmament of the heaven above," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 21: "The firmament which is above the head of the four Chajjôth."

— xviii. 8: "And the summit of the throne was of sapphire," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 23: "And the likeness of His throne is like a sapphire throne."¹

— xx. 2–8: here the Seven Archangels are mentioned; *P.R.E.* p. 23 refers to "the seven angels, which were created first, (who) minister before God." Four of these seven angels mentioned in 1 Enoch are Uriel, Raphael, Michael, and Gabriel; these four names occur also in *P.R.E.* p. 22; cf. also 1 Enoch xl. 9.

— xxv. 5: "Its fruit shall be good for the elect: it shall be transplanted to the holy place, to the temple of the Lord," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 418 f.

— xxv. 6: "And they shall live a long life on earth . . . and in their days shall no sorrow or plague or torment

¹ Cf. Ezek. i. 26.

or calamity touch them"; cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 411 f. and 418, for a similar expression and idea.

1 Enoch xxvi. 1: "The middle of the earth," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 266, for parallel expression.

— xxxii. 1: Seven mountains are referred to, cf. *P.R.E.* p. 71.

— xxxiii. 2: "The ends of the earth whereon the heavens rest," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 16.

— xxxiv. 3: The north is described, cf. *P.R.E.* p. 17.

— xxxvi. 1: "I went to the south to the ends of the earth . . . and thence there come dew, rain, and wind"; *P.R.E.* p. 17 reads: "From the quarter facing south the dews of blessing and the rains of blessing go forth to the world."

— xxxvi. 4: "That they might praise His work," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 8 f.

— xxxvii. 2: "It had been good for them if they had not been born," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 104 f.

— xxxvii. 4: "Has caused His light to appear on the face of the holy," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 7.

— xxxix. 7: "And all the righteous . . . shall be strong as fiery lights," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 21.

— xxxix. 11: "He knows before the world was created what is for ever," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 11.

Cf. 1 Enoch xxxix. 12–13 and *P.R.E.* p. 26, on the trisagion.

1 Enoch xl. 1: "And on the four sides of the Lord of Spirits I saw four presences," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 22 f.

— xli. 7: "The one (sun) holding a position opposite to the other," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 44.

— xlv. 4, 5: "I will transform the heaven . . . and I will transform the earth," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 410 ff.

— xlvii. 3: "The books of the living," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 104 (note 6).

— xlviii. 3: "Yea before the sun . . . his name was named," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 12 and 233.

— li. 1: "The earth shall give back that which has been entrusted to it," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 258 and 335.

— lii. 7: "None shall be saved, either by gold or by silver," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 256 f.

— liv. 6: "And cast them into the burning furnace," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 103.

— liv. 8: "The waters shall be joined with the waters, that

which is above the heavens is the masculine and the water which is beneath the earth is the feminine," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 167.

- 1 Enoch lv. 2 : " This shall be a pledge of good faith between Me and them for ever as long as heaven is above the earth," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 172.
- lvi. 7 : " And they shall begin to fight among themselves," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 62.
- lviii. 3 : " The righteous shall be in the light of the sun . . . the days of their life shall be unending," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 21, 412, and 418.
- lx. 4 : " Michael sent another angel . . . and he raised me up . . . and my spirit returned," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 325.
- lx. 7 : " Leviathan," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 63 f. and 70.
- lx. 8 : " Behemoth," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 75 f.
- lx. 20 : " The waters are for those who dwell on the earth, for they are nourishment for the earth," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 87
- lxi. 5 : " Those who have been destroyed by the desert, and those who have been devoured by the beasts, and those who have been devoured by the fish of the sea, that they may return," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 249.
- lxii. 2 : " The word of his mouth slays all the sinners," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 379.
- lxii. 16 : " They shall have been clothed with garments of glory," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 98.
- lxv. 7 : " How silver is produced from the dust of the earth," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 181.
- lxvii. 8 : " And those waters . . . shall serve for the healing of the body," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 418.
- lxix. 6 : " And he led astray Eve," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 92, 94 f., and 150 f.
- lxix. 11 : " For men were created exactly like the angels," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 85, 151, and 378.
- lxix. 18 : " The sea was created, and as its foundation He set for it the sand against the time of its anger," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 27 f.
- lxx. 3 : " He set me between the two winds, between the north and the west, where the angels took the cords to measure," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 416 f.
- lxxi. 4 : " The ends of the heaven," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 16.

- 1 Enoch lxxi. 15: "The world to come," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 112, 228, and 230.
- lxxi. 15: "Since the creation of the world," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 420.
- lxxii. 1: "Till the new creation," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 411.
- lxxii. 2: "The portals which are in the east," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 37 ff.
- lxxii. 3: "The leaders of the stars," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 34.
- lxxii. 3: "Windows," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 37 ff.
- lxxii. 5: "The chariot on which he (*i.e.* the sun) ascends," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 40.
- lxxii. 14: "The day becomes double the night," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 322.
- lxxii. 37: "But as regards size they are both equal," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 31.
- lxxv. 1: "And the leaders render service," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 34.
- lxxvii. 1–3 refers to the four quarters of the world, cf. *P.R.E.* p. 17.
- lxxvii. 4: "Seven mountains," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 71.
- lxxvii. 5: "Seven rivers," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 140 f.
- lxxviii. 3: "The size . . . of both is alike," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 31.
- lxxviii. 12: "She becomes full moon exactly on the day when the sun sets in the west," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 50 f.
- lxxxii. 1: "So preserve the books . . . and see that thou deliver them to the generations of the world," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 52 f.
- lxxxix. 9: "One was white . . . one . . . red, and one black," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 172 f.
- lxxxix. 59: "And he called seventy shepherds," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 67, 176 f., and 221.
- xci. 16: "All the powers of the heavens shall give seven-fold light," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 412.
- xciii. 11: "Who is there of all the children of men that is able to hear the voice of the Holy One?" etc., cf. *P.R.E.* p. 9.
- xcvi. 9: "Wherefore do not hope to live, ye sinners . . . for ye have no ransom," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 256 and 416.

- 1 Enoch c. 1 : " And brothers, one with another shall fall in death," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 220 f.
- ci. 6 : " Has He not set limits to the doings (of the sea) and confined it throughout by the sand ? " cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 27 f.
- civ. 1 : " Remember you for good," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 2.
- cvi. 2 : " And when he opened his eyes, he lighted up the whole house like the sun, and the whole house was very bright," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 7.
- cvi. 5 : " Resembling the sons of the God of heaven . . . sprung from the angels," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 161.

The similar phrases and ideas which occur in *P.R.E.* and in the Book of the Secrets of Enoch, usually known as the Slavonic Enoch, are noteworthy. Many of the following references are given in the notes on our book :

- Slav. Enoch iv. 1 : " The rulers of the orders of the stars," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 34.
- iv. 1 : " Angels who rule the stars and their heavenly service," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 34 and 46.
- v. 1 : " The treasures of the snow and ice," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 17.
- vi. : " The treasures of the dew," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 17, 236.
- x. 3 : " The angels terrible and without pity," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 103.
- xi. 3 : " The chariot of the sun," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 40.
- xi. 4 : " Angels go with the sun, each angel has six wings," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 40.
- xii. 2 : " Their wings were like those of angels, each with twelve," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 92.
- xiii. 2 : " Six . . . gates, each gate having sixty-one stadia," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 37.
- xiv. 2 : " Angels take his (*i.e.* the sun's) crown," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 40.
- xvi. 8 : " And seven (months) are computed to the circle of the moon during a revolution of nineteen years," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 57.
- xviii. 4 and 5 : " The Watchers with their prince Satanail, . . . and of them there went three to the earth from the throne of God . . . and took unto themselves wives

. . . and the giants were born and . . . there was much wickedness," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 160 f.

Slav. Enoch xix. 1 : "Seven bands of angels . . . superintend the good or evil condition of the world," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 103 f.

— xix. 3 : "They hold in subjection all living things both in heaven and earth," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 48 f.

— xix. 6 : "Seven Cherubim . . . and they rejoice before the Lord at His footstool" (cf. Rev. iv. 6). See *P.R.E.* p. 23.

— xx. 3 : "The Lord from afar sitting on His lofty throne," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 22.

— xxi. 1 : "The six-winged creatures overshadow all His throne, singing: Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Sabaoth! heaven and earth are full of Thy glory," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 25 f.

— xxii. 6 : "Michael, the chief captain, lifted me up and brought me before the face of the Lord," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 284.

— xxiii. 6 : "366 books," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 37 and 165.

— xxiv. 3 : "Nor have (My angels) understood My infinite creation," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 25.

— xxiv. 4 : "For before anything which is visible existed, I alone held my course," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 10.

— xxiv. 5 : "And I planned to lay the foundations," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 10.

— xxv. 4 : "And I made for Myself a throne, and sat upon it," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 11.

— xxviii. 4 : "I gathered the sea . . . and I restrained it with a yoke," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 27 f.

— xxix. 3 : "From the fire I made the ranks of the spiritual hosts, ten thousand angels . . . and their garment is a burning flame," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 21 and 25.

— xxix. 5 : "And I hurled (Satanail) from the heights with his angels," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 99 and 193 f.

— xxx. 11 : "And I placed (Adam) upon the earth, like a second angel, in an honourable, great, and glorious way," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 85 and 89.

— xxx. 12 : "And I made him a ruler to rule upon the earth," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 79 and 86.

— xxx. 15 : "And I showed him the two ways, the light and

the darkness, and I said unto him : ‘ This is good and this is evil,’ ” cf. *P.R.E.* p. 102.

- Slav. Enoch xxxi. 1 : “ And I made a garden in Eden . . . and (I ordained) that he should observe the law and keep the instruction,” cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 84 f.
- xxxi. 2 : “ And I made for him the heavens open that he should perceive the angels singing the song of triumph,” cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 89 f.
- xxxi. 3 : “ And the devil took thought, as if wishing to make another world, because things were subservient to Adam on earth, to rule it and have lordship over it,” cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 91 f.
- xxxi. 4 : “ He became Satan after he left the heavens,” cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 92 and 193 f.
- xxxi. 6 : “ He conceived designs against Adam ; in such a manner he entered and deceived Eve. But he did not touch Adam ” ; cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 92, 94 and 150 f.
- xl. 2 : “ The heavens and the end of them,” cf. *P.R.E.* p. 16.
- xl. 6 : “ I have laid down the four seasons, and from the seasons I made four circles, and in the circles I placed the years,” cf. *P.R.E.* p. 35.
- xl. 12 : “ The lowest hell,” cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 340 f.
- xli. 2 : “ Blessed is the man who was not born,” cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 104 f.
- xlii. 1 : “ The guardians of the gates of hell,” cf. *P.R.E.* p. 103.
- xlii. 3 : “ Rest has been prepared for the just,” cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 128, 255 (note 4).
- xlii. 4 : “ Blessed is he who turns from the unstable path of this vain world, and walks by the righteous path which leads to eternal life,” cf. *P.R.E.* p. 103.
- xlv. 1 : “ God made man with His own hands,” cf. *P.R.E.* p. 148.
- xlv. 3 : “ If a man spits at the face of another,” cf. *P.R.E.* p. 434.
- xlviii. 1, 2 : “ I gave (the sun) 182 thrones when he goes on a short day, and also 182 thrones when he goes on a long day, and he has two thrones on which he rests,” cf. *P.R.E.* p. 37.
- xlviii. 2 : “ From the month Sivan after seventeen days

he descends to the month Thevan (? Kislev) and from the 17th day of Thevad (? Tebeth) he ascends," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 38.

Slav. Enoch 1. 2 : " Ye shall inherit the endless life that is to come," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 137.

— 1. 5 : " Whoever shall spend gold or silver for the sake of a brother shall receive abundant treasure in the day of judgment," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 238.

— lii. 11 : " Blessed is he who establishes peace and love," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 102 f.

— lii. 12 : " Cursed is he who troubles those who are at peace," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 310 f.

— liii. 1 : " For there is no person there to help any man who has sinned," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 104 f. and 341.

— lviii. 1 : " In those days when the Lord came upon the earth for the sake of Adam," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 89.

— lix. 5 : " If any one does an injury to an animal secretly, it is an evil custom," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 291.

— lxi. 2 : " Mansions : good for the good, evil for the evil," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 104 f. and 255.

— lxii. 2 : " If he let the appointed time pass and does not perform the works, he is not blessed, for there is no repentance after death," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 341.

— lxiii. 1 : " When a man . . . feeds the hungry, he gets a recompense from God," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 181 f.

— lxv. 3 : " The Lord contemplated the world for the sake of man, and made all the creation for his sake," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 29 and 86 f.

— lxv. 9 : " There shall be . . . no sickness nor anxiety," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 411 f.

— lxvi. 6 : " They (the just) shall be seven times brighter than the sun," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 412.

Appendix, p. 90 (iii. 17) : At the birth of Melchizedek, " the child was complete in its body like one of three years old ; and spake with its lips and blessed the Lord " ; cf. *P.R.E.* p. 161.

— p. 91 (iii. 35) : " The middle of the earth where Adam was created," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 143.

— — (iii. 36) : " As Adam buried his son Abel there, . . . wherefore he lay unburied . . . till he saw a bird called a jackdaw burying its fledgling " ; cf. *P.R.E.* p. 156.

Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, and P.R.E.

- Test. Reuben v. 5-7 : "Command your wives and daughters that they adorn not their heads and faces . . . for thus they allured the Watchers who were before the flood . . . and the women gave birth to giants"; cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 160 f.
- Test. Simeon ii. 8 : "His God . . sent forth His angel and delivered" (Joseph), cf. *P.R.E.* p. 292.
- ii. 10 : "When Reuben heard (of the sale of Joseph) he was grieved, for he wished to restore him to his father," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 292 f.
- iv. 4 : "Now Joseph . . . had the Spirit of God within him," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 305.
- v. 3 : "Then shall perish the seed of Canaan, and a remnant shall not be unto Amalek," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 347.
- Test. Levi ii. 7 : "And I saw there a great sea hanging between" (the first and second heaven), cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 16 and 39.
- ii. 10 : "The redemption of Israel," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 62 and 72.
- iii. 4 : "In the highest (heaven) of all dwelleth the Great Glory," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 22.
- iii. 5 : "And in . . . it are the angels of the presence of the Lord, who minister," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 22.
- iii. 9 : "When, therefore, the Lord looketh upon all creation, the heavens and the earth and the abysses are shaken," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 23 ff.
- iv. 2 : (Levi) to be "a servant and a minister of His presence," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 284.
- v. 1, 3 : "The angel opened to me the gates of heaven and I saw . . . upon a throne of glory the Most High . . . then the angel brought me down to the earth"; cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 22 and 284.
- vi. 8 : "They sought to do to . . . Rebecca as they had done to Dinah," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 110 f.
- viii. 3, 4 : "When we came to Bethel, my father Jacob saw a vision concerning me, that I should be their priest unto God . . . and he paid tithes of all to the Lord through me"; cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 283 f.

Test. Levi xiii. 5, 6 : "Work righteousness . . . upon the earth, that ye may have a treasure in heaven, and *sow* good things in your souls, that ye may find them in your life"; cf. *P.R.E.* p. 238.

— xvi. 4 : "And your holy places shall be laid waste . . . and ye shall have no place that is clean," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 221.

— xviii. 9, 11 : "Sin shall come to an end, and the lawless shall cease to do evil. . . . And he shall give to the saints to eat from the tree of life," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 411 and 418.

Test. Judah vii. 7 : (And the Canaanites) "besought my father (Jacob) and he made peace with them," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 279 f.

— ix. 2, 3 : "Esau, the brother of my father, came upon us with a mighty and strong people, and Jacob smote Esau with an arrow and he was taken up wounded on Mount Seir"; cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 309 f.

— xxii. 2 and cf. Test. Naph. viii. 2 : "Until the salvation of Israel shall come," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 62 and 72.

— xxiii. 2 ff. : Messianic woes are described, cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 62 and 221 f.

— xxiii. 4 : "And they shall make some of you eunuchs," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 426.

— xxiv. 4 : Messiah called "branch," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 384.

— xxv. 4 : "They who have died in grief shall arise in joy, and they who were poor for the Lord's sake shall awake to life," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 252.

Test. Zebulun i. 5, 6 : "For I covenanted with my brethren not to tell my father what had been done . . . because they had all agreed, that if any one should declare the secret, he should be slain," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 293.

— iii. 2 : (They) "took the price of Joseph and bought sandals for themselves," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 293.

— iv. 5 : "Reuben's sorrow," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 293.

— ix. 4 : "Be not ye, therefore, divided into two heads, for everything which the Lord made hath but one head"; cf. *P.R.E.* p. 333.

Test. Dan. ii. 2, 3 : "For anger is blindness . . . though it be

a prophet of the Lord, he disobeyeth him," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 373.

Test. Dan. iv. 7 : "When the soul is . . . disturbed, the Lord departeth from it," cf. *P.R.E.*, *loc. cit.*

— v. 6 : "Your prince is Satan," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 92.

— v. 12 : "And the saints shall rest in Eden," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 58 and 128.

— vi. 4 : "On the day on which Israel shall repent, the kingdom of the enemy shall be brought to an end, for the very angel of peace¹ shall strengthen Israel"; cf. *P.R.E.* p. 344.

In Test. Naphtali i. 11, 12, Zilpah and Bilhah are sisters, cf. *P.R.E.* p. 271.

Test. Naphtali ii. 1 : "I was swift on my feet like the deer," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 309.

— iii. 4 : "Sodom, which changed the order of nature," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 181 ff.

— iii. 5 : "The Watchers, . . . whom the Lord cursed at the flood, on whose account He made the earth without inhabitant and fruitless," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 162.

— v. 6, 7 : "A bull . . . with two great horns . . . and Joseph came and seized him, and ascended up with him on high," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 131.

— v. 8 : "Assyrians, Medes, Persians, Syrians shall possess in captivity the twelve tribes of Israel," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 128, 201 f., and 265.

— vii. 4 : "To declare that Joseph had been sold, but I feared my brethren," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 293.

— viii. 5 : "For a good work there is a good remembrance before God," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 290 and 309.

Test. Gad i. 6, 7 : "Joseph told our father that the sons of Zilpah and Bilhah were slaying the best of the flock . . . for he saw that I had delivered a lamb out of the mouth of the bear . . . and had slain the lamb, being grieved concerning it that it could not live"; cf. *P.R.E.* p. 291.

— ii. 3 : "Therefore I and Simeon sold him to the Ishmaelites for thirty pieces of gold," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 292 f.

— v. 10 : "For by what things a man transgresseth, by the same also is he punished," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 185 and 331 f.

¹ Elijah=Phineas.

- Test. Gad vii. 4 : " Though a man became rich by evil means, even as Esau, the brother of my father," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 290.
- vii. 5 : " The unrepentant is reserved for eternal punishment," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 105.
- Test. Asher i. 3 : " Two ways hath God given to the sons of men," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 102.
- vii. 4, 5, 6 : " For the latter end of men do show their righteousness (or unrighteousness), when they meet the angels of the Lord and of Satan. For when the soul departs troubled, it is tormented by the evil spirit . . . but if he is peaceful with joy he meeteth the angel of peace, and he leadeth him into eternal life " ; cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 103 ff., 255.
- vii. 1 : " Sodom which . . . perished for ever," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 186.
- Test. Joseph ii. 1 : " The God of Israel my father delivered me (Joseph) from the burning flame," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 305.
- ii. 7 : " In ten temptations He showed me approved," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 187.
- iii. 3 : " But I remembered the words of my father " (and sinned not with the Egyptian woman) ; cf. *P.R.E.* p. 305.
- iii. 7 : " Because she had no male child she pretended to regard me as a son, and so I prayed to the Lord, and she bare a male child," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 288.
- vi. 6 : " The God of my father hath revealed unto me by His angel thy wickedness," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 305.
- x. 2 : " The Lord will dwell among you, because He loveth chastity," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 305 f.
- Test. Benjamin iv. 1 : " That ye also may wear crowns of glory," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 367 f.

The Greek Apocalypse of Baruch or 3 Baruch contains several phrases and ideas common to *P.R.E.*

Both books profess to reveal the mysteries of God, thus 3 Baruch ii. 1 refers to the firmament and " where there was a river " ; cf. *P.R.E.* p. 16, and see also *A. and P.* ii. p. 534.

3 Baruch iii. 5, 6 : " A woman making bricks . . . brought

forth while she was making bricks . . . and the Lord appeared to them," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 385 f.

- 3 Baruch iv. 6 and v. 2: "Dragon . . . also drinks about a cubit from the sea, which does not sink at all"; cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 75 f., and see *A. and P.* p. 535, note 3.
- iv. 8: "Tree which led Adam astray . . . which Sammael planted," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 95.
- iv. 10: "The flood . . . removed without the bounds (of Paradise) the shoot of the vine and cast it outside," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 170.
- iv. 11: (Noah) "found also the shoot of the vine," cf. *P.R.E.*, *loc. cit.*
- iv. 16: (Adam) "was divested of the glory of God," *P.R.E.* p. 98.
- vi. 1, 2, and vii. 4: "The sun . . . chariot . . . crown of fire," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 40.
- vi. 5: "Expanding his wings receives its fiery rays," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 25 and 40.
- vi. 7: "On his right wing very large letters," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 40.
- ix. 7: "Sammael when he took the serpent as a garment," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 92.
- xiv. 2: "Michael . . . presenting the merits of men to God," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 386.

The (Syriac) Apocalypse of Baruch, and P.R.E.

- Baruch iv. 3: (The city) "which was prepared beforehand here from the time when I took counsel to make Paradise," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 14, note 10.
- iv. 3: "And showed (Paradise) to Adam before he sinned," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 128.
- vi. 9: "Jerusalem . . . is again (to be) restored for ever," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 414.
- x. 6: "Blessed is he who was not born," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 104 f.
- xi. 4: "The righteous sleep in the earth," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 260.
- xiv. 18: (Man) "was by no means made on account of the world, but the world on account of him . . .

on account of the righteous has this world come,"
cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 62 f., 76, and 86 f.

Baruch xvii. 2: "Adam . . . lived nine hundred and thirty years," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 128, and see Gen. v. 5.

— xviii. 2: "Darkness of Adam," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 144.

— xxi. 6: "The holy living creatures . . . which Thou didst make from the beginning, of flame and fire, which stand around Thy throne," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 21 and 23 f.

— xxiv. 2: "Who has been long-suffering towards all those born that sin and are righteous," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 76.

— xxviii. 2: "For the measure and reckoning of that time are two parts weeks of seven weeks," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 62 and 200 f.

— xxix. 4: "And Behemoth will be revealed from his place, and Leviathan will ascend from the sea . . . then they will be for food for all that are left," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 70, 72, and 76.

— xxix. 7: "The dew of health," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 238 and 260.

— xxx. 2: "The treasures will be opened in which is preserved the number of the souls of the righteous," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 255 and 259.

— xxxii. 4: (The building of Zion) "must be renewed afterwards in glory, and it will be perfected for evermore," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 414.

— xxxix. 7: "The *principate* of My Messiah will be revealed," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 83.

— xlviii. 46: "For Thou didst of old command the dust to produce Adam," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 76 ff.

— l. 2: "For the earth will then assuredly restore the dead, which it now receives, in order to preserve them, making no change in their form, but as it has received so will it restore them"; cf. *P.R.E.* p. 258.

— li. 3: "Their splendour will be glorified in changes, and the form of their face will be turned into the light of their beauty," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 412.

— li. 11: "The living creatures which are beneath the throne," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 23 f.

— lvii. 2: "At that time (in the days of Abraham and Isaac) the unwritten law was named amongst them," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 223.

- Baruch lix. 3: "And those who were under the throne of the Mighty One were perturbed, when He was taking Moses unto Himself," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 361 and 365.
- lix. 5-7: "He showed to him . . . the suppression of anger and the multitude of long-suffering . . . wisdom . . . understanding . . . and knowledge," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 76 and 365 f.
- lix. 10: "The mouth of Gehenna," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 29, 71, and 432.
- lxiv. 8: "When (Manasseh) was cast into the brazen horse," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 340, note 1.
- lxxiii. 2: "Then healing will descend in dew," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 260.
- lxxv. 4: "Who is able to recount the thoughts of Thy mind?" cf. *P.R.E.* p. 9.

The Book of Wisdom, and P.R.E.

- Book of Wisdom i. 13: "Nor hath (God) pleasure in the destruction of them that live," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 104.
- ii. 13: (Having) "knowledge of God, and calleth himself the Lord's child," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 161.
- ii. 18 and cf. v. 5: "For if the righteous be God's son," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 161.
- ii. 22: "Yea, they know not the mysteries of God," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 9.
- ii. 24: "But through the Devil's envy came death into the world," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 100.
- iii. 7, 8: "And in the day of their inspection they shall shine forth . . . and their Lord shall be King for ever," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 83 and 260.
- iv. 4: "For even if in their shoots they blossom for a season, standing unstably they shall be shaken by the wind, and be rooted out by the violence of the winds," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 132.
- v. 15: "But the righteous live for ever," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 104 and 260.
- vii. 18, 19: "The turn of the solstices and the changes of seasons, the cycles of years and the positions of the stars," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 52.
- ix. 2: "And through Thy wisdom didst form man to

have rule over the creatures made by Thee," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 79.

Book of Wisdom ix. 6 : "For though one be perfect among the sons of men, if the wisdom from Thee be lacking, he shall be accounted for naught," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 129.

— ix. 8 : "The holy Tabernacle which Thou preparedst from the beginning," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 12.

— ix. 9, 10 : "And with Thee is wisdom that knoweth Thy works, and was present when Thou madest the world. . . . Send her forth out of the holy heavens. And despatch her from the throne of Thy glory," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 12.

— x. 1, 2 : "She it was that protected the first formed father of the world throughout, created alone as he was, and rescued him from his own transgression, and gave him strength to rule over all things"; cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 79 and 127.

— x. 4 : "Through whom (Cain's descendants) when the earth was drowned," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 162, and cf. Josephus, *Ant.* i. 2. 2.

— x. 5 : "She also, when the nations were confounded in a conspiracy of wickedness, found the just man and preserved him blameless unto God, yea, and kept him firm against pity for a son"; cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 176 and 224, and Jerome, *Quaest. Heb. in Gen.*, quoted by Deane *in loc.*

— x. 7 : "And plants that bear fruit of bloom that never ripeneth; a pillar of salt standing as a memorial of an unbelieving soul," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 186.

— x. 10 : Wisdom guided "in straight paths"; and showed "to him (Jacob) God's kingdom and gave him knowledge of holy things"; cf. *P.R.E.* p. 265.

— x. 12 : "She preserved him throughout from enemies, and made him safe from liars in wait, yea, and a sore conflict she decided for him"; cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 309 f.

— x. 13, 14 : "She deserted not a righteous one that was sold, but delivered him from sin . . . until she brought him the sceptre of a kingdom," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 305.

— x. 19 : "But their enemies did she drown, and cast them up out of the depths of the abyss," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 332.

- Book of Wisdom xi. 16 : "That they might know that by what things a man sinneth, thereby he is punished," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 332.
- xi. 23 : "Thou hast mercy on all because Thou hast power over all, and dost overlook the faults of men in order to their repentance," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 76.
- xi. 24 : "Thou cherishest all things that are and abhorrest nothing which Thou madest, for Thou never wouldst have formed anything in hatred thereof," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 76.
- xii. 10 : "But executing judgment upon them by little and little Thou gavest them a place of repentance," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 10.
- xii. 19 : "And madest Thy sons to be of good hope that Thou grantest for sins repentance," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 10.
- xiv. 6 : "For in the beginning also, when the haughty giants perished," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 161.
- xiv. 15 : "For a father afflicted with untimely grief, having made an image of a child quickly reft away, now honoured as a god him which was then a dead human being, and enjoined on his dependants mysteries and initiations"; cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 273 f.
- xvi. 7 (and cf. *ibid.* 12) : "For he that turned towards it was not saved by that which was beheld, but through Thee, the preserver of all," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 437.
- xviii. 6 : "That night was known beforehand to our fathers, that knowing surely on what oaths they trusted they might be cheered," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 195.
- xviii. 16 : (The Logos) "bearing as a sharp sword Thine irrevocable commandment," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 367.
- xviii. 22 : "And he (Aaron) overcame the wrath . . . but by word he subdued the chastiser, appealing to the oaths and covenants of the fathers," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 357 f.
- xviii. 25 : "To these the destroyer yielded," cf. *P.R.E.*, *loc. cit.*
- xix. 8 : Cf. *P.R.E.* p. 330, note 7.

The Book of Adam and Eve, and P.R.E.

“The Book of Adam and Eve,” also called the “Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan,” offers many passages which seem to recall phrases and thoughts in our book. The quotations given refer to the edition of Malan.

Book of Adam and Eve i. i. : “Water that encompasses the world and reaches unto the borders of heaven,” cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 16, 39.

— i. i. : “To dwell there in a cave,” cf. *P.R.E.* p. 148.

— i. iv. and i. xxiii. : “When Adam looked at his flesh that was altered,” cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 98, 147.

— i. v., xi., and xii. : “From light into this darkness,” cf. *P.R.E.* p. 144.

— i. v. : “Thou art (He) who made us both in one day,” cf. *P.R.E.* p. 78.

— i. vi. : “If only you had not transgressed My commandment and had kept My law” (in the Garden), cf. *P.R.E.* p. 85.

— i. vi. : “The wicked Satan who continued not in his first estate . . . so that I hurled him down from heaven,” cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 99, 193.

— i. vii. : “Thou madest them all (*i.e.* the beasts) subject to me,” cf. *P.R.E.* p. 79.

— i. vii. : “The beasts did obeisance to Adam,” cf. *P.R.E.* p. 79.

— i. x. : “While thou wast under My command and wast a bright angel,” cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 85, 98.

— i. xiii. : The first dark night is described, cf. *P.R.E.* p. 144.

— i. xiii. : “Thou didst not keep one day My commandment,” cf. *P.R.E.* p. 125.

— i. xvii. : “Wriggling on its breast on the ground by reason of the curse that fell upon it from God,” cf. *P.R.E.* p. 99.

— i. xvii. : “Aforetime the serpent was the most exalted of all beasts,” cf. *P.R.E.* p. 92.

— i. xxii. : “We did transgress Thy commandment, and forsook Thy law, and sought to become gods like unto Thee when Satan the enemy deceived us”; cf. *P.R.E.* p. 94.

- Book of Adam and Eve I. xxiii. : "Adam and Eve . . . offered upon the altar as an offering unto God," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 171, note 8.
- I. xxiv. : "God accepted their offering and showed them mercy," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 147.
- I. xxv. : "And thereby it will be made known that Thou art a merciful God," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 147.
- I. xxvii. : "And he shed light into the cave," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 144.
- I. xxvii. : "Angels filled with light and sent . . . to keep us," cf. *P.R.E.*, *loc. cit.*
- I. xxvii. : "Satan was hidden in the serpent," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 93.
- I. xxix. : God sends Michael to fetch golden rods to be with Adam in the cave, and to "shine forth with light in the night around him and put an end to his fear of the darkness," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 144.
- I. xxx. : "Gabriel fetches for Adam from Paradise sweet-smelling incense," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 146, note 7.
- I. xxxi. : Cave of Treasures, (so called) by reason of the bodies of righteous men that were in it, cf. *P.R.E.* p. 148.
- I. xxxii. : "On the eighth day . . . Eve went down into the water . . . Adam also went down into the water," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 147.
- I. xxxiii. : "They fasted in the water," cf. *P.R.E.*, *loc. cit.*
- I. xxxiv. : "Their bodies were lean," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 147.
- I. xxxiv. : "Thou . . . didst create me out of . . . dust . . . and didst bring me into the garden at the third hour, on a Friday," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 78 f., 84, 128.
- I. xxxvii. : "We transgressed Thy commandment at the sixth hour of Friday, we were stripped of the bright nature we had, and did not continue in the garden after our transgression, more than three hours. On *the evening* Thou madest us come out of it"; cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 94, 98, 125.
- I. xxxviii. : "Thy righteous seed," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 336.
- I. xlv. : "See this fire of which we have a portion in us," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 20, 88.
- I. xlviii. : "Satan called to his hosts . . . and said to them, 'Ye know that this Adam, whom God

created out of the dust, is he who has taken our kingdom. Come, let us gather together and kill him''"; cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 91 f.

Book of Adam and Eve I. xlviii.: "Spread over us like a tent," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 16.

— I. li.: "And bound (Satan) by the side of those skins until Adam and Eve came near," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 99.

— I. li. and cf. lvii.: "This is (Satan) who was hidden in the serpent, and who deceived you, and stripped you of the garment of light and glory in which you were. This is he who promised you majesty and divinity"; cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 93 f., 98.

— I. lv.: "You (angels) do not serve me as you were wont," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 89, 125.

— I. lv.: "(Satan) gathered together his hosts, and made war with us (angels). And if it had not been for God's strength that was with us, we could not have prevailed against him to hurl him down from heaven"; cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 193 f.

— I. lvi.: "A day of rest as I gave thee," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 125 f.

— I. lvi.: "And God commanded His angels to escort Adam (and Eve) to the cave with joy. . . . And the angels took up Adam and Eve and brought them . . . with songs and psalms until they brought them to the cave"; cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 89 f.

— I. lix.: "See (Satan) is lord and master of all thou (Adam) hast," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 93.

— I. lx.: Apparition of Satan as an old man described, cf. *P.R.E.* p. 234.

— I. lxii., lxix., lxxii.: "But Satan, the wicked, was envious," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 91.

— I. lxii.: "Then Satan went away ashamed of not having wrought out his design," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 233.

— I. lxvii. (and cf. lxxii.): (Adam and Eve) "may, perhaps, deny God, and He (will) destroy them. So shall we be rid of them"; cf. *P.R.E.* p. 91.

— I. lxviii. (I. lxxv. and II. xviii.): "They offered . . . on the altar they had built at first," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 227, note 2.

— I. lxxiii. and II. iii.: Angels arrange *the wedding* of Adam and Eve; "the *wedding*," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 89 f.

- Book of Adam and Eve I. lxxiv. : (Eve) "brought forth her first-born son, and with him a daughter," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 152.
- I. lxxv. : (Eve) "brought forth another son and daughter," cf. *P.R.E.*, *loc. cit.* and p. 154.
- I. lxxv. : "After the birth of these, Eve ceased from child-bearing," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 152, note 11.
- I. lxxv. : "Cain, moved by Satan to kill Abel on account of the twin-sister of the former," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 154.
- I. lxxix. : "Cain took a large stone, and smote his brother with it upon the head," cf. *P.R.E.*, *loc. cit.*
- I. lxxix. : "The earth, when the blood of . . . Abel fell upon it, trembled," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 155 f.
- I. lxxix. : "Cain began at once to dig the earth (wherein to lay) his brother . . . he . . . cast his brother into the pit (he made) . . . but the earth would not receive him; but it threw him up at once"; cf. *P.R.E.*, *loc. cit.*
- I. lxxix. : "God (said) to Cain, 'Where is thy brother?' . . . in mercy . . . to try and make him repent," cf. *P.R.E.*, *loc. cit.*
- II. i. : (Adam and Eve) "found (Abel) lying on the earth, and beasts around him," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 156.
- II. i. : "Adam . . . laid him in the Cave of Treasures," cf. *P.R.E.*, *loc. cit.*
- II. i. : "They placed a lamp (in the Cave of Treasures) to burn, by night and by day, before the body of Abel," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 275.
- II. viii. and II. xxi. : Adam directs his body to be placed in the Cave of Treasures, and finally to be buried in the middle of the earth, cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 78, 148, 266.
- II. viii. and II. x., xi. : Seth's children are to be kept apart from those of Cain, cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 158 f.
- II. ix. : Adam came out of the garden on Friday at the ninth hour, cf. *P.R.E.* p. 125.
- II. ix. : Adam's body was in the cave and "in front of him a lamp-stand (was) kept burning," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 275.
- II. ix. : "The altar upon which Adam offered," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 227, note 2.
- II. xi., III. iv. : The children of Seth are named "children of God" or "angels of God," by reason of their purity; cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 158 f., 161.

Book of Adam and Eve II. xvii. : "The land, north of the garden, which God created before the world," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 11.

— II. xvii. : "The chosen garments," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 175, 178.

— II. xviii. : "The fathers themselves were praying for his deliverance," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 310 f., 432 f.

— II. xx. deals with the immorality of the children of Cain, cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 159 f.

— II. xx. : Genun misleads the children of Seth, cf. *P.R.E.* p. 377.

— II. xx. : "And when they looked at the daughters of Cain, at their beautiful figure and at their hands and feet dyed with colour, and tattooed in ornaments on their faces, the fire of sin was kindled in them," . . . and they committed abominations; cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 159 f.

— III. ii. : (Noah) builds the ark in the presence of the children of Cain, that "they may see thee working at it; and if they will not repent, they shall perish," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 161, 165.

— III. ii. : "The first storey shall be for lions, and beasts, animals and ostriches all together. The second storey shall be for birds and creeping things.

"And the third storey shall be for thee and thy wife, and for thy sons and their wives.

"And make in the ark wells for water, and openings to them . . . and thou shall line these wells with lead"; cf. *P.R.E.* p. 165.

— III. v. : God made Adam king over His works, cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 79 f.

— III. v. : "To watch over the body of our father Adam, for it is a body of great value before God," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 148.

— III. vii. (viii. and xi.) : "Thy wife, and the wives of thy sons, shall be on the western side of the ark; and they and their wives shall not come together"; cf. *P.R.E.* p. 169.

— III. viii. : "All the animals shall be gathered unto thee," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 166.

— III. ix. : "An angel of God sat upon the ark," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 167.

— III. xi. : When the flood was over, they (men and women

in the ark) "came together, the husband with his wife," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 169.

Book of Adam and Eve III. xiii. : "Noah took a root of vine and planted it, and dressed it until it yielded fruit," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 170.

— III. xiv. : Noah divides the earth among (his sons), cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 172 f.

— III. xvii. : "The house full of light," cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 166 f.

— III. xvii. : "And (lest) they hang on to the body of Adam," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 148.

— III. xxiii. : "*One of the first kings* that ever reigned on the earth, whose name was Nimrud, a giant," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 80.

— III. xxiv. : "Satan entered into the idol of gold," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 355.

— III. xxv. : Nimrod sacrifices victims to the fire, cf. *P.R.E.* pp. 188, 420.

— IV. ii. : (Pharaoh) "gave to Sarah, Hagar the Egyptian," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 190.

— IV. ii. refers to Ishmael as being thirteen years older than Isaac, cf. *P.R.E.* p. 217, note 3.

— IV. ii. states that Isaac was fourteen years old when put on the altar, cf. *P.R.E.* p. 225.

— IV. iii. : "Jerusalem that means the middle of the earth," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 266.

— IV. v. : "And this Naasson was great among the sons of Judah," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 331, note 1.

— IV. ix. : Lion-proselytes and Samar[itans], cf. *P.R.E.* p. 299.

— IV. xi. : "The fire . . . is the Divine fire that was all the time in the house of God," cf. *P.R.E.* p. 429.

Dr. Ginzberg's article on the Book of Adam and Eve in the first volume of the *Jewish Encyclopedia* should be read, and the notes on the Books of Adam and Eve in *A. and P.* ii. might be consulted. Many of the references to similar phrases and ideas given in this Introduction are not repeated in the notes to *P.R.E.*

The Apocalypse of Abraham (see *P.R.E.* pp. 70, 76) should also be read as a side-light to our book. Thus, the interpretation of "Ur of the Chaldees" as the fire of the Chaldees is common to both. The attempt of Azazel to disturb

Abraham when offering his sacrifice to God is somewhat similar to the attempt of Sammael to hinder Abraham's sacrifice of the ram instead of Isaac. The "unclean bird" which swoops down upon the carcasses, as well as "the vision" of Abraham between the pieces, beholding the world in its future career, reappear in our book. Both writings refer to the Divine throne and the Cherubim as well as to the revelation of the secrets of the deep (Leviathan). Sammael (or Azazel) had twelve wings according to our book and the Apocalypse. Dr. Ginzberg, in his interesting article on the Apocalypse in the *J.E.* i. 92, refers to Chapters IX., XIII., XX., XXI., and XXVIII. of the *Pirkê de Rabbi Eliezer*.

For parallel or similar expressions and teaching in—

- (a) 4 Ezra, see pp. 11, 60, 63, 70, 87, 136, 198, 202, 257 ff., 260, 350, and 357.
- (b) Ascension of Isaiah, see pp. 17, 21, 92, and 245.
- (c) Assumption of Moses, see pp. 11, 63, 194, 266, 339, 344, 357, 393, and 412.

We have by no means exhausted the material in the foregoing paragraphs. Such books as *Schatzhöhle*, *Kebra Nagast*, and the Book of the Bee, not to mention the Koran and its famous commentaries, contain much material in common with our "Chapters." Philo and Ecclesiasticus also offer several interesting parallels.

It is not by any means definitely established that our author actually copied any of the afore-mentioned books. What is maintained, however, is the existence of some sort of literary connection between *P.R.E.* and these books. This may be explained by the existence of compositions based on the Pseudepigrapha or used by the authors of this class of literature. The link is missing and it would be extremely hazardous to do more than point out the existence of similar ideas and occasionally actual parallel phrases. It must not be forgotten that many of the ideas common to the Midrashim and the Pseudepigrapha were, so to say, common property, floating traditions which were recorded not only in Enoch or Jubilees, but also in the Books of Adam and Eve, and later in our book, and later still in such compositions as the Book of the Bee.

One lesson seems to be driven home from our study,

and that is the impossibility of properly understanding the Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphic writings without the assistance of the teaching of Rabbinic. So also *vice versa*, we must illustrate Rabbinical literature by the teaching of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha.

§ 6. *P.R.E.* AND PATRISTIC LITERATURE

Ginzberg, Goldfahn, Graetz, Kohler, Rahmer, and others have discussed various aspects of Patristic literature in connection with Midrashic teaching. This field of inquiry is by no means exhausted. Very many interesting parallels to some of the teaching in our "Chapters" are to be found in the writings of the Church Fathers. It would be advantageous to read the Patristic literature in the light of Midrashic exegesis and interpretation and *vice versa*. One or two instances will explain this standpoint.

The Statutes of the Apostles (ed. Horner), § 70, p. 215, direct that "seven days should be kept for a memorial of the living and the dead." This rule will be appreciated if compared with the Jewish institution of the "seven days of mourning" (see *P.R.E.* p. 115). Again, the 48th statute directs prayers to be said five times daily (*op. cit.* pp. 182 f.). This rule should be illustrated by the Rabbinic custom of praying thrice daily (see *P.R.E.* p. 110).

Vorstius and many scholars after him have not disguised their profound contempt for the legends contained in our "Chapters" and in other Midrashic writings. This attitude must give place to a more sympathetic understanding of the fact that Midrash exists not only in the works of the Rabbis but also in the New Testament and in Patristic literature. Many legends preserved in our "Chapters" are also to be found in the interesting volumes of the "Ante-Nicene Christian Library." Many of these parallels are mentioned in the notes to our "Chapters."

§ 7. DATE AND ORIGIN OF *P.R.E.*

A few historical and literary clues, disclosed by a careful study of our book, enable us to fix the date of its final redaction. This is probably either the second or the third

decade of the ninth century. This late date does not, however, indicate that most of the material at the disposal of the redactor did not belong to a much earlier period. We have already mentioned 776 C.E. in connection with the *Baraita de R. Sh'muel*, and if this treatise proved to be an independent work, which has been partially incorporated into our book, we can safely assert that the three astronomical chapters belong to a date at least half a century prior to the final redaction of the book. The Creation legends, which go back to the Books of Enoch and Jubilees as well as to the Books of Adam and Eve, contain material which is earlier than the first century C.E. Again, the legends dealing with the Flood have elements in common with traditions preserved by Hippolytus, whose activity was in the first decades of the third century (c. 200–236). Jean Gagnier, who was at Oxford in the eighteenth century, drew attention to a parallel in Hippolytus to *P.R.E.*, duly noted by Fabricius in his stately edition of the writings of the Church Father.

Scholars are by no means agreed as to the locality whence *P.R.E.* emanated. The latest opinion is that of Dr. Samuel Krauss, who refers to it as a Byzantine production, see *Studien zur Byzantinisch-Jüdischen Geschichte* (1914), pp. 145 f. M. Grünbaum in his learned book, *Neue Beiträge zur Semitischen Sagenkunde* (1893), inclines to the view that *P.R.E.* was written in an Arabian atmosphere. There are clear indications of contact with Mohammedan material (cf. *P.R.E.* xxx.), the names Fatimah (p. 219) and 'Ayes Shah (p. 218) as wives of Ishmael occur and betray Islamic influence. In Chapter XXX. (pp. 221 f.) two brothers who are reigning simultaneously are indicated; Graetz has long ago pointed to this passage as referring to the two sons of Harun al-Rashid, Alemin and Elmamum, who ruled in the early years of the ninth century. Müller has drawn attention to the Minhagim or religious customs which are peculiar to our book, and as a result of his investigation he is of opinion that *P.R.E.* is a Palestinian production. There are many subsidiary points which seem to support this view. The fact already mentioned, that the direct quotations from the Talmud are only from the Palestinian recension; and the use made of another Palestinian work, Genesis

Rabbah, seem to support a Palestinian origin. There are striking references to the Holy Land, its privileges and superiority, which point to a Palestinian authorship. On the other hand, there are reasons for regarding Babylon as the home of *P.R.E.* Dr. Büchler's studies dealing with the ban, which will be quoted in the notes (pp. 301 f.), seem to point to Babylon as the source whence our book came. Other lines of inquiry, *e.g.* the punishment inflicted on a woman guilty of immorality (see p. 100), point in the same direction. It is extremely difficult to decide in a question of this kind, especially when eminent authorities hold such divergent views. It is right to point out that the views of Graetz referred to on pp. 221 f. have been refuted by Steinschneider (see note on p. 222). Likewise his theory (*Geschichte*, v. p. 446) that our book in Chapter XXX. is indebted to the Secrets of R. Simeon ben Jochai in connection with the misrule of the Ishmaelites, has been controverted by Horowitz, *Beth 'Eḳed Ha-Hagadoth*, p. 24. Both, however, agree that the date of the composition of our book is about 750 C.E.

§ 8. POLEMICAL TENDENCY IN *P.R.E.*

Apparently there is no direct reference to Christianity. On the other hand, there are several allusions to Islam as the "Fourth Kingdom" destined to persecute the Chosen People prior to the dawn of the Messianic Kingdom. There are also several echoes from the old controversies which the ancient teachers in Israel waged against the Gnostics (cf. pp. 17, 79 f.). One of the set purposes of part of the work is to combat certain teachings contained in some of the Pseudepigrapha, especially in the Book of Jubilees. It is noteworthy that the Cairo Genizah has restored to us Aramaic fragments based on the Book of Jubilees and also on the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs. The *Zohar* refers to a book of Enoch (Lev. 10a) which seems to have been in Aramaic. We believe we have established the fact that there is close connection between our "Chapters" and the afore-mentioned pseudepigraphic books.

Our author lays great stress on the doctrine of the resurrection of the body (cf. pp. 228, 249 f.). This may be

directed against the teaching set forth in many of the pseudepigraphic and apocryphal books, which deny the physical resurrection.

On page 254 he opposes, as the Talmud, the destruction of fruit-bearing trees (see Krauss in *השילח*, 1908, xix. 28 ff.; and *T.A.* ii. p. 205).

There may be a polemical interest in the description of the Teraphim (pp. 273 f.), possibly the worship of relics is attacked here. The belief in the possibility of the Deity having physical offspring (see p. 85, note 10) is opposed. Celibacy (p. 89, note 2) seems to be regarded with disfavour, and possibly divorce (see p. 219) is likewise disapproved.

§ 9. THEOLOGY OF *P.R.E.*

The note struck in the first two chapters, proclaiming the supreme value of the Torah, the Law of God, is in harmony with the teaching in the rest of the book. The Law belongs to the premundane creation (p. 11), it was with God at the Creation (p. 12), even consulted by the Divine Architect when He was planning the Universe (*ibid.*) and creating man (p. 76). The Torah had its home in heaven and was entrusted to Israel because the other nations refused to accept its teaching (p. 319). Some of the precepts of the Torah were kept in heaven by God and the Angels (pp. 137 f.), and also by Adam and the patriarchs (pp. 126, 143, 204) prior to the revelation on Sinai.

The love or goodness of God impelled Him to the creation of man (p. 76). The belief in original sin is not countenanced (pp. 158 f.). Moral evil was brought into the world by Sammael (p. 158) and the offspring of the fallen angels (pp. 160 f.). The angelology in our book is interesting on account of its connection with the Pseudepigrapha. Michael, Sammael (with whom Azazel is identified), demons and merciful angels, the fall of the angels, Cherubim, Chajjôth, Seraphim, and the heavenly host, are all dealt with. The Index will enable the reader to find our author's views on this theme.

The ethical tone is excellently expressed in the chapter on the Two Ways (pp. 102 f.). The duty of loving service is set forth in two chapters (pp. 106 ff.) and in many passages

throughout the book. The sacredness of human life (pp. 176, 386) is emphasized. The day of judgment and retribution is not forgotten (p. 416). The value of repentance is dealt with in a special chapter (pp. 337 ff.). There are chapters devoted to eschatology (pp. 410 ff.) and the resurrection (pp. 252 ff.). For references to God, Shekhinah, the Divine throne, Messiah, Leviathan and Behemoth, Gehenna and Paradise, the future world and death, the reader can consult the Index.

The quotations from the O.T. are given according to the chapters and verses in the Revised Version. This translation has frequently been modified in order to express the Haggadic interpretation of our author. The quotations in the original are rarely given in full, but in order to understand the teaching in question the entire verse should be read. To facilitate reference the source of every Biblical quotation is given, a labour already done by Vorstius and Luria. The headings at the head of each chapter have been added by the present writer. Most of the printed editions contain a summary of the contents of each chapter. The method of transliteration adopted has not been uniformly followed, especially when a name is well known by reason of appearing in the Revised Version, *e.g.* Eliezer. The R.V. names have generally been retained. The letter ך is represented by *ch*, ם by *t*, ן by *kh*, ך by *k*, ם by *k*, ן by *k*, ן by *z*, ן by *z*, ן by *z*.

ABBREVIATIONS EMPLOYED IN NOTES

A.T. = Altes Testament.
A.N.C.L. = Ante-Nicene Christian Library.
Apoc. = Apocalypse.
A. and P. = Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, ed. Charles (Oxford).
A.R.W. = Archiv für Religionswissenschaft.
Bacher, T. = Bacher's Agada der Tannaiten.
Bacher, Terminologie = Bacher's Die älteste Terminologie der jüdischen Schriftauslegung.
B.H.M. = Beth Ha-Midrash.
B.M. = British Museum.
C. = column.
C.E. = Common Era.
Comm. = Commentary.
C.W. = Cohn, Wendland.
D.B. = Dictionary of the Bible.
d. R. = de Rabbi.
ed. = edition.
eds. = editions.
Enc. Bib. = Encyclopædia Biblica.
E.T. = English Translation.
Eth. = Ethiopic.
Geiger, Was hat Mohammed = Geiger's Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judentume aufgenommen?
Ginzberg, Die Haggada = Ginzberg's Die Haggada bei dem Kirchenvätern.
Grünbaum, Beiträge = Grünbaum's Neue Beiträge zur Semitischen Sagenkunde.
G.T. = German Translation.

G.V. = Die Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge.
I.C.C. = International Critical Commentary.
Jahrbücher = Jahrbücher für jüdische Geschichte.
J.E. = Jewish Encyclopedia.
J.Q.R. = Jewish Quarterly Review.
Lazarus, Ethik = Lazarus' Die Ethik des Judentums.
LXX = Septuagint Version.
M. = Mangey.
Monatsschrift = Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums.
MS. = Manuscript.
M.T. = Massoretic text.
N.H.W.B. = Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch.
N.T. = New Testament.
O.T. = Old Testament.
p., pp. = page, pages.
Pal. Targum = Palestinian Targum (Pseudo-Jonathan).
Pesh. = Peshitta.
P.R.E. = Pirḳê de Rabbi Eliezer.
R. = Rabbi or Rabban.
Rab. = Rabbah.
Real-Ency. s. = Real Encyclopädie Supplementband.
R.É.J. = Revue des Études Juives.
R.V. = Revised Version.
Schechter, Aspects = Schechter's Aspects of Rabbinic Theology.
Schürer = Schürer's Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes.

Singer = Authorized Daily Prayer Book.

Slav. = Slavonic.

T. = Testament.

T.A. = Talmudische Archäologie (Krauss).

Targ. = Targum.

T.B. = Babylonian Talmud.

T.D. = Targum Dictionary.

Test. XII Pat. = Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.

T.J. = Talmud of Jerusalem (Palestinian Talmud).

Z.A.T.W. = Zeitschrift für die A.T. Wissenschaft.

Z.D.M.G. = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

Z.f.N.T. Wissensch = Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft.

Zur Gesch. = Zur Geschichte (Zunz).

THE CHAPTERS OF RABBI ELIEZER THE GREAT¹

CHAPTER I

RABBI ELIEZER AND THE TORAH² [1b. i.]

THE following befell Rabbi Eliezer, son of Hyrkanos. His father had many ploughmen³ who were ploughing arable ground,⁴ whereas he was ploughing a stony plot; he sat down and wept. His father said to him: O my son! Why

¹ Also called "Baraitha of Rabbi Eliezer"; see *supra*, Introduction, and cf. Zunz, *G. V.*, p. 283, Weiss, *Dor Dor veDorshav*, iii. p. 290, and Hamburger, *Real-Ency.* s. II. i. pp. 162 ff., on the *P.R.E.* The first two chapters are probably a later addition to the Midrash contained in the rest of the "Chapters." They form a very good introduction to this pseudepigraphic book, which was attributed to the famous teacher, Rabbi Eliezer the Great. The third chapter opens with the name of Rabbi Eliezer. The MS. fragment of our book in the British Museum which Horowitz has edited in his *Sammlung Kleiner Midraschim*, i. 4 ff., begins with the third chapter. The same fact obtains in some of the fragments contained in the Bodleian Library. For the biography of Rabbi Eliezer ben Hyrkanos see Bacher, *T. i.* pp. 96 ff., and *J.E.* v. 113 ff., where a bibliography is added. Our "Chapters" contain about twenty dicta attributed to R. Eliezer; see Bacher, *op. cit.* pp. 122 f., who considers all these sayings as pseudepigraphic. The subject-matter of the first two chapters of our book is to be found in Aboth d. R. Nathan (a) vi., (b) xiii., *Jalkut*, Gen. § 72, and Gen. Rab. xlii. (in the new edition of Theodor, ch. xli., where further parallels are given in the notes on p. 397). Various recensions of the first two chapters have been published by Horowitz, *Beth 'Eked Ha-Hagadoth*, pp. 7 ff.

² The headings to the chapters have been added by the translator. The numbers in the square brackets after the headings indicate the pages and columns of the MS.

³ Gen. Rab. xlii. 1 and *Jalkut*, Gen., *loc. cit.*, read: "his brethren were ploughing in the plain, whereas he was ploughing on the mountain." The 1st and 2nd eds. omit the word "many."

⁴ Lit. "were ploughing upon the surface of the furrow." Cf. Ps. cxxix. 3 for the word "furrows."

dost thou weep? Art thou perchance distressed because thou dost plough a stony plot? In the past thou hast ploughed a stony plot,¹ now behold thou shalt plough with us arable soil.² He sat down on the arable ground and wept. His father said to him: But why dost thou weep? Art thou perchance distressed because thou art ploughing the arable land? He replied to him: No. (Hyrkanos) said to him: Why dost thou weep? He answered him: I weep only because I desire to learn Torah.³ (Hyrkanos) said to him: Verily thou art twenty-eight years old⁴—yet dost thou desire to learn Torah? Nay, go, take thee a wife and beget sons and thou wilt take them to the school.⁵ He fasted two weeks⁶ not tasting || anything, until Elijah⁷—may he be remembered for good⁸—appeared to him and said to him: Son of Hyrkanos! Why dost thou weep? He replied to him: Because I desire to learn Torah. (Elijah) said to him: If thou desirest to learn Torah get thee up to Jerusalem to Rabban Jochanan ben Zakkai.⁹ He arose and went up to Jerusalem to R. Jochanan ben Zakkai and sat down and wept. (R. Jochanan) said to him: Why dost thou weep? He answered him: Because I wish to learn

¹ These words are omitted in the 1st and 2nd eds.

² This would be easier labour. At this point the MS. adds the second letter of the Hebrew alphabet to signify the beginning of the second paragraph. The 1st and 2nd eds. omit "with us."

³ Torah is not merely the written word of God, but also its oral interpretation. The term sums up all that is implied by Religion and Ethics.

⁴ Aboth d. R. Nathan (a) vi. reads "22 years," and cf. *ibid.* (b) xiii.

⁵ Thy merit will be accounted as though thou didst study the Torah; see T.B. Kiddushin, 30a, for this doctrine. The second paragraph in MS. ends here.

⁶ "He was distressed for three weeks" is the reading in Aboth d. R. Nathan (b) xiii. On "weeks" see Krauss, *T.A.* ii. pp. 422 f.; and note 784.

⁷ On Elijah in Rabbinical literature see *J.E.* v. 122 ff. In our work the Elijah story and legends are treated at considerable length. In Christian books Elijah also appears; see Mark ix. 4 ff. and Matt. xvii. 11. In the Gospel of Barnabas (124a) Elijah rebukes a man for weeping. See also Coptic Apocrypha, ed. Budge, p. 265, for a further parallel. Elijah is the "comforter" in Jewish and Christian literature, and in this capacity he is the forerunner of the Messiah.

⁸ On this expression see Zunz, *Zur Gesch.* pp. 321 ff.

⁹ The greatest teacher of his day, who preserved Judaism in spite of the overthrow of the Jewish State by the Romans, in the year 70 c.E. For his biography see Bacher, *T.* i. pp. 22 ff., and *J.E.* vii. 214 ff. Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, iv. pp. 11 ff., Schürer, ii. 366 ff., and Schlatter's biography should be consulted.

Torah. (R. Jochanan) said to him: Whose son art thou? But he did not tell him.

(R. Jochanan) asked him: Hast thou never learnt¹ to read the Shema,² or the Tephillah,³ or the Grace after meals?⁴ He replied to him: No. He arose⁵ and (R. Jochanan) taught him the three (prayers).⁶ (Again) he sat down and wept. (R. Jochanan) said to him: My son, why dost thou weep? He replied: Because I desire to learn Torah.⁷ He (thereupon) taught him two rules (of the Law)⁸ every day of the week, and on the Sabbath⁹ (Eliezer) repeated them and assimilated them.¹⁰ He kept a fast for eight days without tasting anything until the odour of his mouth attracted the attention of R. Jochanan ben Zakkai, who directed him to withdraw from his presence. He sat down and wept. (R. Jochanan) said to him: My son, why dost thou weep? He rejoined: Because thou didst make me withdraw from thy presence just as a man makes his fellow withdraw, when the latter is afflicted with leprosy. (R. Jochanan) said to him: My son, just as || the odour of thy mouth has ascended before me, so may the savour of the statutes of the Torah ascend from thy mouth to Heaven.¹¹ He said to him: My son! Whose son art thou?

¹ Aboth d. R. Nathan (b) xiii. reads: "Didst thou never go to school?"

² The "Shema" is the Jewish confession of faith. It is set forth in Deut. vi. 4-9, etc.; see Singer, pp. 40 ff., and *J.E.* xi. 266.

³ The "Tephillah" or "Shemoneh 'Esreh," the Jewish prayer *par excellence*, is to be found in Singer, pp. 44 ff.; see *R.É.J.* xix. pp. 17 ff., and *J.E.* xi. 270 ff. Our "Chapters" deal with the subject-matter of the "Shemoneh 'Esreh"; cf. Zunz, *G.V.*, p. 285, and S. Sachs in "Ha-Techiyah," pp. 21 f. On the question as to the relation between Sirach and the "Shemoneh 'Esreh" see Oesterley's edition of *Ecclesiasticus*, pp. 232 and 349 f.

⁴ The Genizah Fragment has: "the reading of the Grace after meals." On Grace after meals see Singer, pp. 280 ff., and *J.E.* vi. 61 f.

⁵ The student stood whilst learning; see T.B. Megillah, 21a. The 1st and 2nd eds. read: "He said, Stand, and I will teach thee the three (prayers)."

⁶ In the MS. the fourth paragraph begins here.

⁷ And not merely prayers.

⁸ "Halakhoth," i.e. laws to be observed by the Jews, based upon the Torah. Thus, according to Matt. xii. 1-8, Jesus discusses Halakhah. The final decisions become Halakhoth; cf. Mark vii. 5 and Luke xi. 40 f. See Bacher, *Terminologie*, i. s.v. הלכה, pp. 42 f.

⁹ The first two editions omit "on the Sabbath."

¹⁰ In the MS. this is the end of the fourth paragraph.

¹¹ In Aboth d. R. Nathan (b) xiii. the reading is: "So may the teaching of thy mouth go forth from one end of the world to the other."

He replied: I am the son of Hyrkanos. Then said (R. Jochanan): Art thou not the son of one of the great men of the world,¹ and thou didst not tell me? By thy life! he continued, This day shalt thou eat with me.² (Eliezer) answered: I have eaten already with my host.³ (R. Jochanan) asked: Who is thy host? He replied: R. Joshua ben Chananjah⁴ and R. José the Priest.⁵

(R. Jochanan) sent to inquire of his hosts, saying to them: Did Eliezer eat with you this day? They answered: No; moreover has he not fasted eight days without tasting any food?⁶ R. Joshua ben Chananjah and R. José the Priest⁷ went and said⁸ to R. Jochanan ben Zakkai: Verily during the last eight days (Eliezer) has not partaken of any food.⁹

¹ Hyrkanos was a very wealthy man.

² In MS. the sixth paragraph begins here.

³ *Akhsania* (ξευλα), hospitality, lodging, host. According to Aboth d. R. Nathan (a) vi., Eliezer was silent when R. Jochanan asked him whether he had partaken of food.

⁴ See Bacher, T. i. pp. 123 ff., and *J.E.* vii. 290 ff.

⁵ See Bacher, T. i. pp. 67 ff., and *J.E.* vii. 243 ff.

⁶ Here begins the seventh paragraph in the MS. The Genizah Fragment continues: "Moreover."

⁷ Aboth d. R. Nathan (b) xiii. adds: "R. Simeon ben Nathaniel."

⁸ Some of the old printed editions read here: "Has he not been without food for the last eight days?" Luria, *in loc.*, thinks that the last clause was spoken by R. Jochanan to the Rabbis who visited him, telling them that Eliezer had not eaten at his table. Aboth d. R. Nathan (*loc. cit.*) refers to R. Jochanan's grief at this neglect, which might have cost Eliezer's life.

⁹ The Genizah Fragment adds: "And he compelled him to eat and to drink, and on the morrow" (also).

CHAPTER II

R. ELIEZER AND HIS BRETHREN [2A. i.]

THE sons of Hyrkanos said to their father: Get thee up to Jerusalem and vow that thy son Eliezer should not enjoy any of thy possessions.¹ He went up to Jerusalem to disinherit him, and it happened that a festival was being celebrated there by R. Jochanan ben Zakkai. All the magnates of the district were dining with him; (such as) Ben Zizith Hakkeseth,² Nicodemus ben Gorion,³ and Ben Kalba S'bu'a.⁴ ||

Why was his name called Ben Zizith Hakkeseth? Because he reclined at table in a higher position than the other magnates of Jerusalem.⁵ Concerning Nicodemus ben Gorion, people said that he had (stored) provisions containing 3 S'ah⁶ of fine flour for every inhabitant of Jerusalem. When the

¹ Lit. "and ban thy son Eliezer from thy possessions." The Genizah Fragment reads: "to put him in the ban." The brothers claimed that Eliezer should be disinherited because he had left his old father without permission. For a parallel text see Gen. Rab. xlii. (ed. Theodor, p. 398), Aboth d. R. Nathan (a) vi. Was it the custom to resort to the Synhedrion in order to disinherit one's son?

² See Lam. Rab. i. 5 (31), Eccles. Rab. to Eccles. vii. 11, and T.B. Giṭṭin, 56a. According to the Talmud (*loc. cit.*) the name Ben Zizith Hakkeseth was due to his intercourse (*Kisé*, i.e. seat) with the great men of Rome.

³ See J.E. ix. 300, where the reference to T.B. Ta'anith should be emended to 20a.

⁴ Ben Kalba S'bu'a, this name is the result of a pun. According to T.B. Giṭṭin, *loc. cit.*, anyone who came to him even as hungry as a dog (*keleb*) was dismissed fully satisfied (*sab'a*).

⁵ T.B. Giṭṭin, *loc. cit.*, gives another explanation of this name, due to the tradition that the fringes (*Zizith*) of the man's garments were hanging over the cushions of his seat. The 'Arukh (ed. Kohut, vii. 40a, s.v.) appears to have had a text of our passage in accordance with the Talmudic reading, but unlike our text.

⁶ S'ah, a dry measure, the size of which is held to equal 12.148 litres or 10.696 qts. The Genizah Fragment reads "three years" instead of "three S'ah."

zealots ¹ arose and burnt all the storehouses, they measured and found that he had had provisions for three years for every inhabitant in Jerusalem.² Concerning Ben Kalba S'bu'a it was told that he had a house measuring 4 Kors ³ with roofs covered with gold.⁴ The people said (to R. Jochanan): Behold, the father of R. Eliezer has arrived. He bade them saying: Prepare a place for him, and seat him next to us.⁵ (R. Jochanan) fixed his gaze ⁶ on R. Eliezer, saying to him,⁷ Tell us some words ⁸ of the Torah. (R. Eliezer) answered him saying: Rabbi!⁹ I will tell thee a parable. To what is the matter like? To this well which cannot yield more water than the amount which it has drawn (from the earth); likewise am I unable to speak words of the Torah in excess of what I have received from thee.¹⁰

(R. Jochanan) said to him, I will (also) tell thee a parable. To what is the matter like? To this fountain which is bubbling and sending forth its water, and it is able to effect a discharge more powerful || than what it secretes; in like manner art thou able to speak words of the Torah in excess of what Moses ¹¹ received at Sinai. (R. Jochanan) continued: Lest thou shouldst feel ashamed on my account, behold I

¹ On the Zealots or Sicarii see Josephus, *Wars*, iv. 3. 9 ff.

² This passage is missing in the printed editions, but it occurs in the Genizah Fragment.

³ The Kor is assumed by Gesenius (Oxford ed. p. 499) to be the same as the Chomer, which was thirty times the S'ah. On these measures see *Enc. Bib.* iv. 5294 ff.

⁴ The first printed editions read: "gardens crushed with gold." Luria reads: "he had a palace with an area covering 4 Kors, all the beams were overlaid with gold." He thinks that the text should read: "he had a palace covering 4 Kors with treasures containing gold." The MS. seems to have preserved the true reading, which is also the reading in the Genizah Fragment.

⁵ The 1st and 2nd eds. read: "They prepared a place for him and seated him next to him" (*i.e.* R. Jochanan). The Genizah Fragment reads: "and seat him next to yourselves; they prepared a place for him and placed him next to him" (R. Jochanan). In the MS. the first paragraph ends here.

⁶ For this expression see T.B. Synhedrin, 11a: "the sages fixed their gaze upon Hillel the Elder."

⁷ The Genizah Fragment adds: "O my son!"

⁸ Lit. "One word."

⁹ Perhaps "Rabban" would be more correct. The MS. uses an abbreviation.

¹⁰ See Aboth ii. 10, where Eliezer is described as a "plastered cistern which loses not a drop," and cf. Taylor's note on p. 34 of his (2nd) edition of Aboth. The second paragraph ends here in the MS.

¹¹ The 1st and 2nd eds. read, "they received."

will arise and go away from thee. Rabban Jochanan ben Zakkai arose and went outside. (Thereupon) R. Eliezer sat down and expounded.¹ His face shone like the light of the sun and his effulgence beamed forth like that of Moses,² so that no one knew whether it was day or night.³ They went and said to Rabban Jochanan ben Zakkai: Come and see R. Eliezer sitting and expounding, his face shining like the light of the sun and his effulgence beaming like that of Moses, so that no one knows whether it be day or night.⁴ He came from (his place) behind him⁵ and kissed him on his head, saying to him: Happy are ye, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, because this one has come forth from your loins.

Hyrkanos his father said: To whom does (R. Jochanan) speak thus? The people answered: To Eliezer thy son. He said to them: (R. Jochanan) should not have spoken in that manner, but (in this wise), "Happy am I because he has come forth from my loins." Whilst R. Eliezer was sitting and expounding, his father was standing upon his feet. When || (Eliezer) saw his father standing upon his feet, he became agitated and said to him: My father! be seated, for I cannot utter the words of the Torah when thou art standing on thy feet.⁶ (Hyrkanos) replied to him: My son, it was not for this reason that I came, but my intention was to disinherit thee. Now that I have come and I have

¹ According to Gen. Rab. XLII. i., the text of Eliezer's exposition was Ps. xxxvii. 14, "The wicked have drawn out the sword, and have bent their bow; to cast down the poor and needy, to slay such as be upright in the way." The brothers of Eliezer might possibly be described in the terms of this text.

² The reference is to Ex. xxxiv. 35, "And the skin of Moses' face shone." See also Eccles. viii. 1.

³ The third paragraph ends here.

⁴ This sentence is wanting in the printed editions. There seems to be some confusion in the text. The MS. concludes here the fourth paragraph.

⁵ According to Aboth d. R. Nathan (b) xiii. R. Jochanan had gone forth from the assembly so as not to embarrass R. Eliezer. While Eliezer is expounding, R. Joshua and R. Simeon ben Nathaniel leave the assembly to find R. Jochanan, to whom they say, "Come and see! R. Eliezer is sitting and expounding things more profoundly than (the things) told to Moses at Sinai." For another instance of kissing by the same teacher see T.B. Chagigah, 14b.

⁶ It would be disrespectful for a son to sit in the presence of his parent, who would be standing; cf. T.B. Kiddushin, 33b, where this theme is discussed.

witnessed all this praise; behold thy brothers are disinherited and their portion is given to thee as a gift.¹

(Eliezer) replied: Verily I am not equal to one of them.² If I had asked the Holy One, blessed be He, for land, it would be possible for Him to give this to me, as it is said, "The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof" (Ps. xxiv. 1). Had I asked the Holy One, blessed be He, for silver and gold, He could have given them to me, as it is said, "The silver is mine, and the gold is mine"³ (Hag. ii. 8). But I asked the Holy One, blessed be He, that I might be worthy (to learn the) Torah only, as it is said, "Therefore I esteem all precepts concerning all things to be right; and I hate every false way" (Ps. cxix. 128).

¹ The fifth paragraph ends here in the MS.

² This section to the end of the chapter is to be found in *Jalkuṭ Makhiri to Psalms* (Ps. cxix.), § 77, with slight variations in the reading. The last sentence reads: "But I prayed to Him only that I might be found worthy, as it is said, 'Therefore I esteem all precepts,' " etc.

³ The 1st ed. and subsequent editions continue the rest of the verse, but a strange error has crept into their texts; they read "amar" instead of "n'um," which is the actual reading in *Haggai*. This error is also in the Talmud (B.) *Ḳiddushin*, 82b.

CHAPTER III¹

PREMUNDANE CREATION, AND THE WORK OF THE FIRST DAY [2B. ii.]

R. ELIEZER² BEN HYRKANOS opened³ (his discourse with the text), "Who can utter the mighty acts of the Lord, or⁴ shew forth all his praise?" (Ps. cvi. 2).⁵ Is there any man⁶ who can utter the mighty acts of the Holy One, blessed be He, or who can shew forth all His praise?⁷ Not even the ministering angels⁸ are able to narrate (the Divine praise). But to investigate a part of His mighty deeds with reference to what He has done, and what He will do in the future (is permissible), so that His name should be exalted among His creatures, whom He has

¹ This is probably the beginning of the Baraitha or Pirkê de R. Eliezer. The Chronicles of Jerahmeel begin with this section of our work. The following chapters up to Chapter XI. form a treatise dealing with Ma'aseh Bereshith (The Work of the Creation) and Ma'aseh Merkabah (The theme of God's Chariot). Cosmological and theosophical themes were favourite ones in the school of R. Eliezer's famous teacher, R. Jochanan ben Zakkai; see T.B. Chagigah, 14b, for the story of R. Jochanan ben Zakkai listening to R. Elazar ben 'Arakh expounding the Ma'aseh Merkabah.

² This gives the title to the book.

³ *i.e.* explained (the text).

⁴ The Venice edition and several later editions are at variance with the actual text of the psalm by adding "and who," which is not in the Biblical quotation. The quotation is correctly given in B.M. MS. and in the first printed text (Constantinople, 1514).

⁵ See Jalḳuṭ, *in loc.*

⁶ The printed editions add: "in the world."

⁷ See T.B. Megillah, 18a, for the view that the one who utters the praise of God to excess will be taken from the world, based on Job xxxvii. 20. Cf. Slav. Enoch xxiv. 3.

⁸ The ministering angels are identified by Siphre (Deut. § 306, end) with "the sons of Elohim" of Job i. 6, and they are probably to be identified with "the angels of sanctification" mentioned in the Book of Jubilees ii. 2, 18; cf. Eth. Enoch lxi. 10 ff. For "the heavenly host praising God" see Luke ii. 13, and for angelology see *J.E.* i. 583 ff.

created, from one end of the world || to the other, as it is said, "One generation to another shall laud thy works" (*ibid.* cxlv. 4).¹

Before the world was created, the Holy One, blessed be He, with His Name² alone existed, and the thought arose in Him to create the world. He began to trace (the foundations of)³ the world before Himself, but it would not stand. They⁴ told a parable, To what is the matter like? To a king who wishes to build a palace⁵ for himself. If he had not traced in the earth its foundations, its exits and its entrances,⁶ he does not begin to build.⁷ Likewise the Holy One, blessed be He, was tracing (the plans of) the world before Himself, but it did not remain standing until He created repentance.⁸

Seven things⁹ were created before the world was created.

¹ Our text has been used by Jalkuṭ, Psalms, § 864. Here ends the first paragraph in MS.

² On the Tetragrammaton see Nestle, *Z.D.M.G.* xxxii.; Fürst, *ibid.* xxxiii.; and Nager, *ibid.* xxxv. The printed editions read here: "The Holy One, blessed be He, and His great Name." On "God and His Name" see D. H. Joël's *die Religionsphilosophie des Sohar*, p. 235.

³ The words in brackets are based on B.M. MS., which reads: "He traced its foundations, its exits and entrances, on the earth, but it did not stand firm until He created repentance, because seven (things) were created before the world."

⁴ *i.e.* the Rabbis.

⁵ *Palṭin* = *παλάτιον*, *palatium*, palace.

⁶ The phraseology is based on Ezek. xliii. 11. The printed editions reverse the order and read: "its entrances and its exits."

⁷ The architect's plans must be prepared prior to the erection of the building. What holds good for our earthly experience is assumed to have its counterpart in the experience of the Creator. Philo (*de Mundi opific.* 4. i. M. 4, C.W. i. p. 4, § 19) offers a good parallel to the idea of preparing plans prior to the Creation; see also Gen. Rab. i. i. and my *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, p. 4.

⁸ Repentance is the sole condition whereby harmony, divine and human, can obtain, cf. Wisdom xii. 10, 19. On the subject of Repentance see *J.E.* x. 376 ff. Lazarus, *Ethik*, i. pp. 44 f., and Schechter, *Aspects*, see index, *s.v.* "Repentance" and "Penitence," and cf. my *Grace of God*, pp. 30 ff. The second paragraph in the MS. ends here.

⁹ This passage is borrowed from T.B. Pesachim, 54a, or T.B. Nedarim, 39b, the order being varied by Repentance coming after the Torah. See also Jalkuṭ on Jeremiah, § 298, and cf. Gen. Rab. i. 4 (Theodor, p. 6 note, *in loc.*) and Tanna de bē Elijahu Rab. xxxi. p. 160, where only six subjects are enumerated. Friedmann (note 33, *in loc.*) points out that by comparing the various readings in Talmud and Midrash we find that there were nine premundane things, cf. *Zohar*, Lev. 34b. It is important to bear in mind, in reading Gen. Rab. i. 4, that of the six premundane things some were actually created and some were only ideally present in the mind of the Creator. The Torah and the Throne of Glory were created, but the patriarchs, Israel, the Temple,

They are: The Torah, Gehinnom, the Garden of Eden,¹ the Throne of Glory, the Temple, Repentance, and the Name of the Messiah.

Whence do we know that this applies to the Torah? Because it is said, "The Lord possessed me² in the beginning of his way, before his works *of old*" (Prov. viii. 22). "Of old"³ means before the world was created.⁴ Whence do we know this with regard to the Garden of Eden? Because it is said, "And the Lord God planted a garden *of old*"⁵ (Gen. ii. 8). "*Of old*," whilst as yet the world had not been created. Whence do we know this with reference to the Throne of Glory?⁶ Because it is said, "Thy throne is established *of old*" (Ps. xciii. 2). "Of old," whilst as yet the world had not been created. Whence do we know

and the Name of the Messiah were only in the thought of God. In the Book of Enoch (Ethiopic) xlvi. 3, the Messiah is said to have had his name named *before* the sun and the signs were created; see my *Hellenism and Christianity*, pp. 15 ff., on the question of the pre-existence of the Messiah, and cf. Assumption of Moses i. 14.

¹ The "Garden of Eden" is usually rendered by the term Paradise. The fact that Gehenna is in juxtaposition to "Gan Eden" would lead one to infer that Paradise was referred to in this context. Our author is probably opposing the view that the Garden of Eden was created on the "third day"; see Jubilees ii. 7.

² The verse might be rendered: "The Lord formed me as the beginning of his way." The reference is to Wisdom, which is here personified; see *Hellenism and Christianity*, pp. 64 ff. Christianity under the influence of Alexandrian Jewish thought identified Wisdom with its Messiah, whilst Palestinian Judaism identified Wisdom with the Torah.

³ The 1st ed. and later editions derive the inference from the word "*before*."

⁴ "Whence do we know this with reference to Gehinnom? Because it is said, 'For a Topheth is prepared *of old*' (Isa. xxx. 33). 'Of old' means whilst yet the world had not been created." This paragraph is omitted by the MS., but it occurs in the 1st ed. Topheth was a place in the Hinnom Valley (*i.e.* Ge-henna or Ge-Hinnom) where the hateful and cruel Moloch abominations had been perpetrated; see W. R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 357. The Tanna de bê Elijah Rab., *loc. cit.*, says: "Topheth is nought else but Gehinnom." See also Schwally, *Z.A.T.W.*, 1890, pp. 212 ff.

⁵ See R.V. *in loc.* Our Midrashic passage occurs as follows in the Pal. Targum of Gen. ii. 8: "And a garden from the Eden of the just was planted by the Word of the Lord God before the creation of the world." This Haggadah appears also in Jerome; see Diestel, *Geschichte des A.T. in der Christlichen Kirche*, p. 102, and Rahmer, *Die Hebräischen Traditionen in den Werken des Hieronymus*, p. 17. See also 4 Ezra iii. 6, which states: "And thou leddest him (Adam) into Paradise, which thy right hand did plant *before ever* the earth came forward." On Paradise see *J.E.* ix. pp. 516 f.

⁶ The Throne of Glory as premundane occurs in Slavonic Enoch xxv. 4, where God says, "And I made for myself a throne . . . and I said to the light," etc.; see LXX Prov. viii. 27.

that Repentance (was premundane)? Because it is said, “*Before* the mountains were brought forth, or ever thou hadst formed the earth and the world” (*ibid.* xc. 2);¹ and then in close proximity (we read), “Thou turnest man to contrition” (*ibid.* 3). “Before,” *i.e.* before || the world was created. Whence do we know this with regard to the Temple? Because it is said, “A glorious throne, set on high *from the beginning*, is the place of our *sanctuary*” (Jer. xvii. 12). “From the beginning,” whilst as yet the world had not been created.² Whence we do know that the name of the Messiah (was premundane)? Because it is said, “His name shall endure for ever; before the sun Yinnôn was his name” (Ps. lxxii. 17).³ “Yinnôn,” before the world had been created. Another verse says, “But thou, Bethlehem Ephrathah,⁴ which art to be least among the thousands of Judah, from thee shall he come forth unto me who is to be ruler over Israel; whose ancestry belongs to the *past*, even to the days of old⁵” (Mic. v. 2). “The past,”⁶ whilst as yet the world had not been created.

Forthwith⁷ the Holy One, blessed be He, took counsel with the Torah whose name is Tushijah (Stability or Wisdom) with reference to the creation of the world. (The Torah) replied and said to Him: Sovereign of the worlds!

¹ The translation in the Revised Version might be consulted, in order to see how the Midrashic point of view, based on a literal translation, agrees with or differs from the ordinary interpretation. In the 1st ed. this section follows that dealing with the Temple.

² The premundane or Heavenly Temple was known to the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, ix. 11, who speaks of the “greater and more perfect tabernacle, not made with hands, that is to say, *not of this creation*.” See Wisdom ix. 8, and Odes of Solomon iv. 3. Maimonides, *Guide* i. ix., discusses our theme. See also Menorath Ha-Maor, Introduction to the fourth book, where we are cautioned not to take the words in this passage in their literal meaning.

³ The R.V. reads: “His name shall be continued as long as (or, “before”) the sun.” For Yinnôn as a Messianic name see T.B. Synhedrin, 98b, and *infra*, p. 233. The Midrashic interpretation in our text occurs already in LXX, *in loc.*: “His name endures *before* the sun.”

⁴ The rest of the quotation is missing in the MS.

⁵ This quotation, a second one to justify the idea that the name of the Messiah was premundane, is omitted by the Menorath Ha-Maor, *loc. cit.* It is not given by the Talmud. On this verse in Micah see *Hellenism and Christianity*, pp. 5 f.

⁶ “The past” is the same word which was rendered “of old” (Gen. ii. 8) quoted above.

⁷ In the MS. the fourth paragraph begins here. On the theme see Wisdom ix. 9 f.

if there be no host for the king¹ and if there be no camp for the king, over whom does he rule? If there be no people to praise the king, where is the honour of the king? The Holy One, blessed be He, heard this and it pleased Him. The Torah spake: The Holy One, blessed be He, took counsel with me concerning the creation of the world, as it is said, "Counsel is mine, and sound knowledge;² I am understanding; I have might" (Prov. viii. 14). Hence they³ say, Every government which has no counsellors is not a proper government.⁴ Whence do we know this? From the government of the House of David which employed counsellors, as it is said, "And Jonathan David's uncle⁵ was a counsellor, a man of understanding, and a scribe" (1 Chron. xxvii. 32). If the government of the House of David had counsellors, how much more so should other people act likewise. This is of benefit to them, as it is said, "But he that hearkeneth unto counsel is wise" (Prov. xii. 15), || and (Scripture) says, "But in the multitude of counsellors there is safety" (*ibid.* xi. 14).

Eight⁶ things were created on the first day, namely,

¹ This is quoted in Ginzberg's *Geonica*, ii. p. 88.

² The idea of Wisdom or the Torah being with God prior to the Creation is generally assumed to be expressed in the famous passage verses 22-31 of this eighth chapter of Proverbs. This is, however, a mistaken view; see *Hellenism and Christianity*, pp. 65 ff. The source is rather to be found in the LXX Prov. viii. 30. Our Midrashic passage is based on Gen. Rab. i. i.; see also Jalḳuṭ on Prov. viii. 14, § 941, and see Bacher, P. i. p. 107 (note), who refers to the parallel in Philo.

³ The 1st ed. reads: "The wise men."

⁴ Might one infer from this passage that the writer of *P.R.E.* was living in a land where the régime was not conducted in accordance with the rule laid down? Perhaps the reference is to the rule of the Mohammedans in Palestine, Egypt, or Babylon.

⁵ The 1st and 2nd eds. have the reading "the son of David." This is an error.

⁶ The fifth paragraph in the MS. begins here. These eight things are almost identical with the seven things enumerated in Jubilees ii. 2, if "the abysses" of the latter correspond to the "Chaos and Void" of our text. See Jerahmeel i. 3, which is based on our text. This suggested identification seems to be warranted by the fact that Philo (*loc. cit.* 7) agrees with the enumeration in our text and Jubilees in the following six objects of creation: heaven, earth, darkness, water, spirit, and light. As the seventh object created on the first day he gives the abyss. This is also the reading in the Midrash Tadsheh vi., where Tehomoth=abyss. It seems that Philo knew a cosmology which was known to Jubilees, to Midrash Tadsheh, and to our author; see Charles, *Jubilees*, pp. 11 f. T.B. Chagigah, 12a, which gives appropriate quotations to support the view enunciated, enumerates ten things as being created on the first day. Neither the Talmud nor *P.R.E.*

Heaven, Earth, Light, Darkness, Tohu (Chaos), Bohu (Void), Wind (or Spirit), and Water, as it is said, "And the *wind* of God was moving upon the face of the *waters*" (Gen. i. 2).¹

mention Tehomoth, which is the equivalent to abyss, but they both have Tohu and Bohu.

¹ רוח can mean *wind* or *spirit*; Gen. i. 2 might be rendered, "And a mighty wind." Is there any ancient Rabbinic authority for the translation in the R.V., "the spirit of God"? See Bacher, T. i. p. 424. and cf. Philo, ed. Cohn, G.T. i. p. 36, n. 3. The following section first appeared in the 2nd ed. (Venice, 1544) of *P.R.E.*:

"Some (wise men) say that day and night also,¹ as it is said, 'And there was evening and morning, one day' (Gen. i. 5).

"Eight things were created on the second day, namely, the Well,² the Manna,³ the Rod,⁴ the Rainbow,⁵ the art of writing, the written characters,⁶ the Garments,⁷ and the destroying spirits.⁸

"Ten things arose in the thought (of the Creator),⁹ namely, Jerusalem,¹⁰ the spirits of the patriarchs,¹¹ the paths of the righteous,¹²

¹ This is based on T.B. Chagigah, *loc. cit.*, which refers to the "measure of the day and the measure of the night"; cf. Jubilees ii. 2.

² For the Well, see Num. xxi. 16 ff.; see also Pirḳê Aboth v. 9, with Taylor's note, p. 84. Cf. Pal. Targum, Num. xxii. 28. There seems to be considerable confusion here, because, according to Aboth (*loc. cit.*), all the things enumerated in our text except the Garments were created at twilight just before the first Sabbath. This tradition is recorded by our book, *infra*, pp. 124 f.; see also T.B. Pesachim, *loc. cit.*

³ On the Manna, see *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, pp. 185 ff.

⁴ On the Rod, see Ex. iv. 17, and cf. Abrahams, *The Rod of Moses*, the Book of Jashar, lxvii., and *infra*, p. 312.

⁵ On the Rainbow, see Gen. ix. 13.

⁶ On the art of writing and the characters of the script, see Löw, *Graphische Requisiten und Erzeugnisse bei den Juden*, p. 3 and note 9, where we learn that the text should be rendered, "the writing and the instrument employed in writing." The writing on the tablets is mentioned in Ex. xxxii. 16.

⁷ The Garments were those worn by Adam and Eve; see Gen. iii. 21, and the Book of Jashar, vii.; the subject will arise in a later section of our book. The Church also has its legends dealing with the seamless tunic of its Founder.

⁸ On the Mazẓikim or evil spirits, see *J.E.* iv. 514 ff., and cf. T.B. Pesachim, *loc. cit.*, and Siphre, Deut. § 355, n. 10, for the source of the entire paragraph.

⁹ Here again we have a text which is faulty, inasmuch as Gehenna and the Temple were reckoned among the premundane creation. The writer has confused the tradition about the ten things created on the eve of the first Sabbath at twilight with the premundane creation. See Pal. Targ. Gen. ii. 2 and Aboth v. 9.

¹⁰ The ideal heavenly Jerusalem of the O.T. (see Isa. xlix. 16) is known also to the writers of the New Testament; see Gal. iv. 26 and Rev. iii. 12. The Jerahmeel MS. reads: "the *place* of the Temple." See also Apoc. Baruch iv. 3, and Test. XII Pat., Dan v. 12.

¹¹ See Hos. ix. 10, where the emphasis is to be put on the words "first season" according to Gen. Rab. i. 4.

¹² For the expression see Prov. iv. 18, and cf. Gen. Rab. ii. 5.

Whence were the heavens created? From the light of the garment with which He was robed.¹ He took (of this light) and stretched it like a garment and (the heavens) began to extend continually until He caused them to hear, "It is sufficient."² Therefore is He called God Almighty (*El Shaddai*), who said to the world:³ "*It is sufficient*," and it stood (firm). Whence do we know that the heavens were created from the light of His garment? Because it is said, "Who coverest thyself with light as with a garment; who stretchest out the heavens like a curtain" (Ps. civ. 2).⁴

Whence was the earth created? He took of the snow⁵

Gehinnom,¹ the waters of the Flood,² the second tables of the Law,³ the Sabbath,⁴ the Temple,⁵ the Ark,⁶ and the light of the world to come."⁷

This reading occurs in Jerahmeel i. 3, 4, but not in the B.M. MS. of *P.R.E.* The latter continues: "Whence was the water created? From the light of the garment of the Holy One, blessed be He. Light signifies nought else but water, as it is said, 'He spreadeth abroad the cloud of his light'" (Job xxxvii. 11).

¹ See Ex. Rab. L. i. The idea of this Midrash is that God created the heavens without any help from any intermediary. God alone is the Creator. "The light of His robe" means His will or favour. The world has been created by Divine love and favour for the benefit of mankind, the children of the Heavenly Father.

² See T.B. Chagigah, *loc. cit.*, "This is what Resh Lakish also said: What is the meaning of the words 'I am God Almighty' (*Shaddai*)? It means I am He who (*Sha*) said to the world, 'It is sufficient' (*dai*)."

³ The printed editions read: "to the heavens."

⁴ The second half of the verse is omitted in the MS. The fifth paragraph ends here. Cf. also Ps. cii. 25, 26. The Church Fathers discussed the creation narrative in much the same way as our author: thus Athanasius in his exposition of the 103rd Psalm (corresponding to the Hebrew 104th Psalm) refers to the formation of the heavens in the terms of the Old Testament writers; see also Basil, *Hexæmeron*, iii.

⁵ See D. H. Joël, *op. cit.* pp. 321 ff., where a full discussion of this passage is given and the views of Maimonides and the theories of the Cabbalists are examined.

¹ On the fire of Gehenna see *infra*, p. 20. Luria suggests that the text should be emended so as to read, "the paths of the wicked," to correspond with the expression "paths of the righteous."

² In the days of Noah; see Gen. Rab. ii. 3.

³ See Ex. xxxiv. 1: "Hew thee two tables of stone like unto the first." The first tables were of heavenly origin (cf. *ibid.* xxxii. 16), so also the second.

⁴ Jubilees ii. 30 offers a parallel to our text, "We kept Sabbath in the heavens before it was made known to any flesh to keep Sabbath thereon on the earth."

⁵ See 1 Kings viii. 13, and cf. *supra*, p. 12, note 2.

⁶ Of the Sanctuary; see Num. Rab. iv. 13. According to the Midrash, the Ark represents the Th. one of Glory.

⁷ See T.B. Chagigah, *loc. cit.*, and *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, p. 8 and note 3.

(or ice) which was beneath His Throne of Glory and threw it upon the waters, and the waters became congealed so that the dust of the earth was formed, as it is said, "He saith to the snow, Be thou earth" (Job xxxvii. 6).¹

The hooks² of the heavens are fixed in the waters of the ocean.³ The waters of the ocean are situated between the ends of the heavens and the ends of the earth. The ends of the heavens are spread out over the waters of the ocean, as it is said, "Who layeth the beams of his chambers⁴ in the waters" (Ps. civ. 3).⁵

The dome (or inside shape) of the heavens ascends upwards like a tub,⁶ (that is to say) like a tent (*denda*) which is spread out⁷ with its extremities (fixed) || downwards⁸ and its dome stretching upwards so that people can sit beneath it and their feet stand on the earth, whilst all of them are inside the tent; in like wise are the heavens, their extremities are (fixed) downwards and their dome stretches upwards

¹ See Tanchuma (Buber) Miḳez, 16. Our text seems to be based upon T.J. Chagigah, ii. 1. 77a, according to which the world was originally "Water in water." Then God made the water into snow (or ice); see Ps. cxlvii. 16, 17. This psalm in verse 15 speaks of God sending out "his commandment upon (the) earth; his word runneth very swiftly"—pointing to the word of creation. See Bacher, P. iii. 218. The verse quoted from Job (xxxvii. 6) is rendered by the R.V., "He saith to the snow, Fall thou on the earth." See also Sepher Jezirah i. 11 for a parallel. See Isa. xl. 12 for the reference to the "dust of the earth," and cf. T.B. Joma, 54b; Maimonides, *Guide*, ii., xxvi., and Midrash Kōnen, ed. Jellinek, *B.H.M.* ii. p. 24. This concludes the seventh paragraph. The sixth paragraph is not marked in the MS.

² *Ḳurḳos* (κῦρκος), ring or hook. The heavens being compared with a curtain are assumed to have hooks or rings wherewith they may be fastened; see Tosaphoth Chagigah, 12a, catchword "From the end." The 'Arukh (ed. Kohut, vii. 215b) quotes our text.

³ *Oḳeanos* (ὠκεανός). The Church Fathers dwell on the relation between the Ocean and the world; thus Chrysostomus, *Homilies on the Epistle to the Romans* (xxviii.), quotes Ps. civ. 6 in this connection. Cf. Augustine, *de Civitate Dei*, xii. 12. John of Damascus, *On the Orthodox Faith*, ii. 9, tells us, "The Ocean flows around the entire earth like a river." See Test. Levi ii. 7, "And I entered from the first heaven, and I saw there a great sea hanging." Cf. also Jubilees ii. 4.

⁴ *i.e.* the heavens.

⁵ The eighth paragraph ends here.

⁶ Or, basket. The MS. uses the word *denda* (tent), which occurs again, *infra*, p. 323; this points to Spain as the home of the scribe who wrote our MS. On the "tent" see T.J. Berakhoth, 2c, d, and Baraitha d. Shemuel, i. The word which is translated by "tub" occurs only in our MS.

⁷ The MS. adds: "like a tent."

⁸ The 1st ed. reads "upwards"; in this paragraph there are several variants in the MSS. and the printed texts.

and all creatures dwell beneath them as in a tent, as it is said, "And he spreadeth them out as a tent to dwell in" (Isa. xl. 22).¹

Four quarters² have been created in the world; the quarter facing the east, that facing the south, that facing the west and that facing the north. From the quarter facing the east the light goeth forth to the world.³ From the quarter facing south the dews of blessing and the rains of blessing⁴ go forth to the world.⁵ From the quarter facing west⁶ where are the treasures⁷ of snow and the treasures of hail, and thence come forth into the world cold and heat and rains. From the quarter facing north darkness goeth forth into the world. The quarter facing north He created, but He did not complete it, for He said, Anyone who says: I am a God, let him come and complete this quarter which I have left (incomplete) and all will know that he is a God.⁸

There (in the north) is the abode of the destroying spirits, earthquakes, winds, demons, lightnings and thunders; thence evil issues forth into the world, as it is said, "Out of the north evil shall break forth upon all the inhabitants of the earth" (Jer. i. 14).⁹ Some say by ten Sayings was

¹ This verse is also applied by Basil, *op. cit.* i. 8, in his account of the form of the heavens.

² מַרְקָא (as in Ezek. xlii. 16-20) = direction or quarter of the world; wind would not be appropriate here. Gaster, *Jerahmeel* i. 7, renders the word "wind" and also "corner." On the four quarters see Ethiopic Enoch lxxvii. 1, Num. Rab. ii. 10, and *Pesikta Rabbathi*, § xlv. p. 188a.

³ See T.B. Baba Bathra, 25a, b.

⁴ See Ezek. xxxiv. 26.

⁵ The rains which are not a blessing come from the north; see *infra*, note 9.

⁶ Eth. Enoch lxxvii. 2: "And the west quarter is named the diminished, because there all the luminaries of the heaven wane and go down." In Num. Rab., *loc. cit.*, the reading is slightly different: "In the west are the treasures of snow, and the treasures of hail, cold, and heat go forth to the world . . . from the north cometh forth darkness to the world."

⁷ See T.B. Chagigah, 12b, and cf. Eth. Enoch xli. 3 ff. The conception rests on Job xxxviii. 22. All the powers of nature were supposed to dwell in their respective chambers or to be stored up in treasures.

⁸ This seems to point to polemics. Probably the Gnostic doctrine of the Demiurge is attacked here. For other polemics in our book, see *infra*, pp. 79, 85 f., and 252. See also Ascension of Isaiah iv. 6.

⁹ In the MS. the tenth paragraph ends here. Cf. Jubilees ii. 2. Origen, *de Principiis*, ii. viii. 3, quotes Jer. i. 14, and identifies the

the world created¹ || and in three (Divine attributes) are these (ten Sayings) comprised,² as it is said, "The Lord by wisdom founded the earth; by understanding he established the heavens, by his knowledge the depths were broken up" (Prov. iii. 19, 20). By these three (attributes) was the Tabernacle made, as it is said, "And I have filled him with the spirit of God, with wisdom, with understanding, and with knowledge" (Ex. xxxi. 3). Likewise with these three (attributes) was the Temple made, as it is said, "He³ was the son of a widow woman of the tribe of Naphtali, and his father was a man of Tyre, a worker in brass; and he was filled with wisdom and understanding and knowledge" (1 Kings vii. 14). By these three attributes it will be rebuilt in the future, as it is said, "Through wisdom is an house⁴ builded; and by understanding it is established; and by knowledge are the chambers filled" (Prov. xxiv. 3, 4).

With these three attributes will the Holy One, blessed be He, give three good gifts to Israel in the future, as it is

"north" with "the cold north wind," which is the "Devil." For Rabbinic references to the winds see T.B. Baba Bathra, *loc. cit.*; and cf. Num. Rab., *loc. cit.*, as a parallel to our text. Jeraḥmeel MS. omits the rest of this chapter.

¹ Our text reappears in the Zohar, Lev. 11a. See Pirḳê Aboth v. 1, and Taylor's note, p. 78 of his 2nd edition. Cf. T.B. Rosh Ha-Shanah, 32a, where the first verse of Genesis is reckoned as one of the ten sayings owing to verse 6 of Ps. xxxiii. The Venice edition adds the following, namely: (1) "And God said, Let there be light" (Gen. i. 3). (2) "And God said, Let there be a firmament" (*ibid.* 6). (3) "And God said, Let the waters be gathered together" (*ibid.* 9). (4) "And God said, Let the earth put forth grass" (*ibid.* 11). (5) "And God said, Let there be luminaries" (*ibid.* 14). (6) "And God said, Let the waters bring forth abundantly" (*ibid.* 20). (7) "And God said, Let the earth bring forth" (*ibid.* 24). (8) "And God said, Let us make man" (*ibid.* 26). (9) "And God said, Behold, I have given you" (*ibid.* 29). (10) "And God¹ said, It is not good that the man should be alone" (*ibid.* ii. 18).

² Perhaps the translation should be: By three (Divine attributes) were (the works of creation) completed. The Venice edition adds: "And they are, Wisdom, Understanding, and Knowledge." On these three attributes see T.B. Berakhoth, 55a, and Midrash Shocher Tob, Ps. l. 1, and Buber's note (4), where the sources are given. This Midrash may help us to understand our text: "With three names did the Holy One, blessed be He, create His world, corresponding to the three good attributes through which the world was created."

³ Hiram, the builder of Solomon's Temple.

⁴ The *House* is a common designation of the Temple, see Jastrow, *Targum Dictionary*, p. 168a.

¹ The Hebrew text in Genesis reads, "Lord God."

said, "For the Lord will give¹ wisdom, out of his mouth cometh knowledge and understanding" (*ibid.* ii. 6).² It is not said, "The Lord has given wisdom." These three attributes will be given³ to King Messiah, as it is said, "And the spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord" (Isa. xi. 2).⁴

¹ The next sentence should precede the rest of the quotation if we follow the order of the words in the MS. It is omitted in the printed editions.

² See Jalkut, Prov. § 935, where attention is drawn to the verb "will give" in the imperfect tense indicating the future. This point is lost sight of in the R.V.; see also Ex. Rab. xli. 3, and cf. T.B. Berakhoth, 5a.

³ The 1st ed. adds "in double measure"; this has been adopted by later editions.

⁴ This famous passage from Isaiah is quoted by Justin Martyr in his *Dialogue with Trypho*, lxxxvii., as referring to the Messiah.

CHAPTER IV

THE CREATION ON THE SECOND DAY [4A. i.]

ON the second day ¹ the Holy One, blessed be He, created the firmament,² the angels,³ fire for flesh and blood,⁴ and the fire of Gehinnom.⁵ Were not heaven and earth created on the first day, as it is said, "In the beginning God created ⁶ the heaven and the earth" (Gen. i. 1)? Which firmament

¹ See Jalkut, Gen. § 5, and Jalkut, Ezek. § 338.

² According to Jubilees ii. 4, the firmament *only* was created on the second day; see Slav. Enoch xxvi.-xxvii.

³ In Gen. Rab. i. 3 and iii. 8, the question is discussed as to which day of the week of creation were the angels called into being. According to R. Jochanan it was the second day, as in our text, whereas according to R. Chanina it was the fifth day. Theodor (*in loc.*) gives the various parallel sources in notes 7 and 8. See also Pal. Targum on Gen. i. 26, where the creation of the angels is also assigned to the second day, as in Slavonic Enoch xxix. 1 ff. In Jubilees ii. 2 this event is said to have been on the *first* day; see Charles' note 2 on pp. 12 f. Our book opposes this view. The Church Fathers sometimes held this view; see Epiphanius, *adv. Hær.* lxx. 4. The Rabbis were fully aware of the teaching that God was assisted at the creation by angels or the Messiah, and in order to oppose such doctrine the creation of the angels was fixed on the second or fifth day; cf. Ex. Rab. xv. 22.

⁴ See T.B. Pesachim, 54a, and Gen. Rab. xi. 2 for the view that this fire was created at the termination of the first Sabbath. As the angels are often of fire (cf. Rev. xiv. 18), both angels and fire are held by our author to have been created on the second day. This view is held in spite of the statement that *light* was created on the first day.

⁵ The fire of Gehenna is mentioned in the New Testament; see Matt. v. 22, and cf. Rev. xx. 10. See also Eth. Enoch xc. 24 and 26, the Apocalypse of Baruch lix. 10, 11, and the Apocalypse of Peter for an account of Gehenna. The 21st book of Augustine's *de Civitate Dei* is devoted to this theme. The Rabbis came to the conclusion that the fire of Gehenna must have been created on the second day, because the Scripture does not say with reference to this day "and it was good," which, however, does occur in the story of the other five days of creation; see T.B. Pesachim, 54a, Ex. Rab. xv. 22, and Jalkut, Gen. § 15.

⁶ The MS. omits the rest of the verse; it is given in the 1st ed. and subsequent editions.

was created on the second day? Rabbi Eliezer said: || It was the firmament which is above the heads of the four Chajjôth (living creatures),¹ (as it is said ²), "And over the head of the Chajjôth there was the likeness of a firmament, like the colour of the terrible crystal"³ (Ezek. i. 22). What is the meaning of (the expression), "like the colour of the terrible crystal"? It means like precious stones and pearls; it illuminates all the heavens like a lamp which is illuminating⁴ the whole house and like the sun which is shining with maximum intensity at noonday, as it is said, "The light dwelleth with him" (Dan. ii. 22);⁵ and like this in the future will the righteous shed light,⁶ as it is said, "And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament" (*ibid.* xii. 3).⁷ Were it not for that firmament the world would be engulfed by the waters above it and below it;⁸ but (the firmament) divides the waters (above) from the waters (below), as it is said, "And God said, Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters, (and let it divide the waters from the waters)"⁹ (Gen. i. 6), it illuminates¹⁰ between the waters above and the waters below.¹¹

(As for) the angels created on the second¹² day, when they are sent (as messengers) by His word they are changed into winds, and when they minister before Him they are changed into fire, as it is said, "Who

¹ On the Chajjôth, see T.B. Chagigah, 13a, and Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, iii. 128 f. The Chajjôth are to be identified with the "creature" of Rev. iv. 7. Do they correspond with the angels of the presence of Jubilees ii. 2? The firmament implies the division between the upper and lower waters; see Midrash Kônen (Jellinek, *B.H.M.* ii. p. 25).

² "As it is said" occurs in the printed texts.

³ Or "ice."

⁴ This is also the reading in B.M. MS. See also Jalkut to Ezek. *loc. cit.*, and cf. Eth. Enoch xiv. 9 ff.

⁵ The second paragraph in MS. begins here.

⁶ Cf. Matt. xiii. 43. Eth. Enoch xxxix. 7 f., and Ascension of Isaiah viii. 22.

⁷ This section is quoted by Tosaphoth, T.B. Baba Bathra, 8b, catchword, "Umazdikê."

⁸ Perhaps the translation should be: "by the waters, for above it are waters and beneath it are waters." This is practically the text in the printed editions. See Pal. Targum, Gen. i. 6.

⁹ This part of the verse in brackets is wanting in the MS.

¹⁰ The 1st ed. reads: "it divides."

¹¹ The second paragraph ends here.

¹² B.M. MS. reads: "first day."

maketh his angels winds; his ministers a flaming fire" (Ps. civ. 4).¹

Four² classes of ministering angels minister and utter praise³ before the Holy One, blessed be He: the first camp (led by) Michael⁴ on His right, the second camp (led by) Gabriel⁵ on His left, the third camp || (led by) Uriel⁶ before Him, and the fourth camp (led by) Raphael⁷ behind Him; and the Shekhinah of the Holy One, blessed be He, is in the centre. He⁸ is sitting on a throne high and exalted.⁹ His throne is high and suspended above in the air. The appearance of His Glory is like the colour of amber.¹⁰ And the adornment of a crown is on His head, and the Ineffable Name¹¹ is upon His forehead.¹² One half (of His glory) is fire the other half is hail,¹³ at His right hand is life and at His

¹ This verse is quoted by many of the Church Fathers in order to describe the nature of the angels; see John of Damascus, *op. cit.* ii. 3. The MS. quotes only the first half of the verse. The entire verse is given by the first editions. The third paragraph ends here.

² The New Testament refers to the four living creatures before God's throne; see Rev. iv. 6. The whole of this chapter is a parallel to our text.

³ The printed texts omit "minister and."

⁴ The Midrash here has given rise to a passage in the Hebrew prayer-book; see Singer, p. 297. See also Num. Rab. ii. 10, Midrash Kōnen, p. 27, and Pesikta Rabbathi, § xlvi. p. 188a. On Michael see the valuable monograph by Leuken, and *J.E.* viii. 535 ff. As parallels to our text see Targum to Job xxv. 2, and Eth. Enoch xl. 9 and lxxi. 8 f., which mentions the four archangels in the following order: Michael, Raphael, Gabriel, and Phanuel; in this Book of Enoch (ix. 1) the angel Uriel appears to be the same as Phanuel. In the N.T. we find Michael and Gabriel mentioned. The B.M. MS. reads here Gabriel in place of Michael, and Michael instead of Gabriel.

⁵ See *J.E.* v. 540 f.

⁶ See *J.E.* xii. 383.

⁷ See *J.E.* x. 317 f.

⁸ *i.e.* God.

⁹ This sentence is omitted by the B.M. MS. The words are found in the Sabbath Morning Liturgy, Singer, p. 126, last two lines. See Eth. Enoch xiv. 18.

¹⁰ The B.M. MS. adds: "One-half thereof is fire and the other half is hail." In our MS. the fourth paragraph ends here. The 1st ed., followed by subsequent editions, adds: "As it is said: 'And I saw as the colour of amber'" (Ezek. i. 27).

¹¹ The 1st ed. reads: "A crown is set on His head, and the diadem of the Ineffable Name is upon His forehead." On the *Shem Hamme-phorash* or "Ineffable Name" see G. Klein, *Der älteste Christliche Katechismus*, pp. 44 ff., and *supra*, p. 10, note 2.

¹² This passage is the source for the words: "Upon His forehead is impressed the glory of His holy name" in the Hymn of Glory; see Singer, p. 79. The Venice edition adds: "and His eyes run to and fro throughout the whole earth."

¹³ Fire and hail represent the two divine attributes of justice and love; see Zohar, Gen. 186a, and cf. Eth. Enoch xiv. 20. The B.M. MS. omits these words in this context.

left is death. He has a sceptre of fire in His hand and a veil¹ is spread before Him, and His eyes run to and fro throughout the whole earth,² and the seven angels,³ which were created first,⁴ minister before Him within the veil, and this (veil) is called Pargod.⁵ His footstool is like fire and hail.⁶ Fire is flashing continually around His throne,⁷ righteousness and judgment are the foundation of His throne.⁸ And the likeness of His throne is like a sapphire throne with four legs,⁹ and the four holy Chajjôth are fixed to each leg, each one¹⁰ has four faces and each one

¹ See Coptic Apocrypha, p. 90, and Eth. Enoch xiv. 21.

² Cf. 2 Chron. xvi. 9.

³ The seven angels or archangels are referred to in the Book of Enoch (Eth.), ch. xx.; see Charles' notes, *in loc.*, for further references.

⁴ The printed texts read: "Since the beginning." Does our book here agree with Jubilees ii. 2?

⁵ פרגוד (Παραργαυδος); see T.B. Berakhoth, 18b, and T.B. Chagigah, 15a, the veil which separates the Shekhinah from the angels; see Rashi on T.B. Jebamoth, 63b, catchword, גוף (body). The B.M. MS. reads here: "The seven angels which were created at the beginning, minister before the veil which is spread before Him." See Coptic Apoc., p. 254, Eth. Enoch xc. 21; Rev. iv. 5; and T.B. Baba Mezi'a, 59a.

⁶ The Footstool of God represents Divine Justice and Love, which in their turn are symbolised by fire and hail; cf. Lam. ii. 1, "He did not remember his footstool in the day of his anger." The 1st ed. of our text reads: "His footstool is fire and hail flashing around His throne." See Slav. Enoch xxxvii. 1.

⁷ See Ps. xcvi. 3. Origen, *contra Celsum*, iv. 13, discusses the fiery nature of God.

⁸ The Venice and Sabbioneta editions insert the following: "and the seven clouds of glory¹ surround it. And the whirling Ophan² and the Cherub and the Chajjah (living creature) are uttering praise before Him."³

⁹ Cf. T.B. Chagigah, 13a.

¹⁰ See Ezek. x. 14. On the Cherubim see Maimonides, *Guide*, iii. 1 ff. and cf. *ibid.* ch. xlv., and Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, i. 377 ff., where the N.T. and Patristic references are given. Speaking generally, the Patristic literature has much more to say concerning angels, good and bad, than Rabbinic literature. This can be easily seen by comparing the references in Eisenmenger's *Entdecktes Judentum* or in Weber's *Jüdische Theologie* on the one hand and the index to Thalhofer's *Bibliothek der Kirchenväter*, i. pp. 226-229, on the other. The state-

¹ On the seven clouds of glory, see Mekhilta, 24b, based on Ps. cv. 39, and cf. J.E. iv. 123. The number 7 is in harmony with the notion of 7 heavens, 7 rivers around the Holy Land, the 7 planets (T.B. Baba Bathra, 74b), 7 portals to Gehenna, the 7 archangels, etc.; and cf. *infra*, p. 140. Eth. Enoch lxxvii. 4-8 speaks of 7 mountains, 7 rivers, and 7 islands. See also Ps. xcvi. 2.

² Ophan (or wheel) occurs in Ezek. x. 13; this is identified by P.R.E. with the Galgal (גלגל) or whirling wheel.

³ See Ezek. i. 24 and iii. 12 f. with Targum. The B.M. MS. adds here: "They are the Cherubim,"

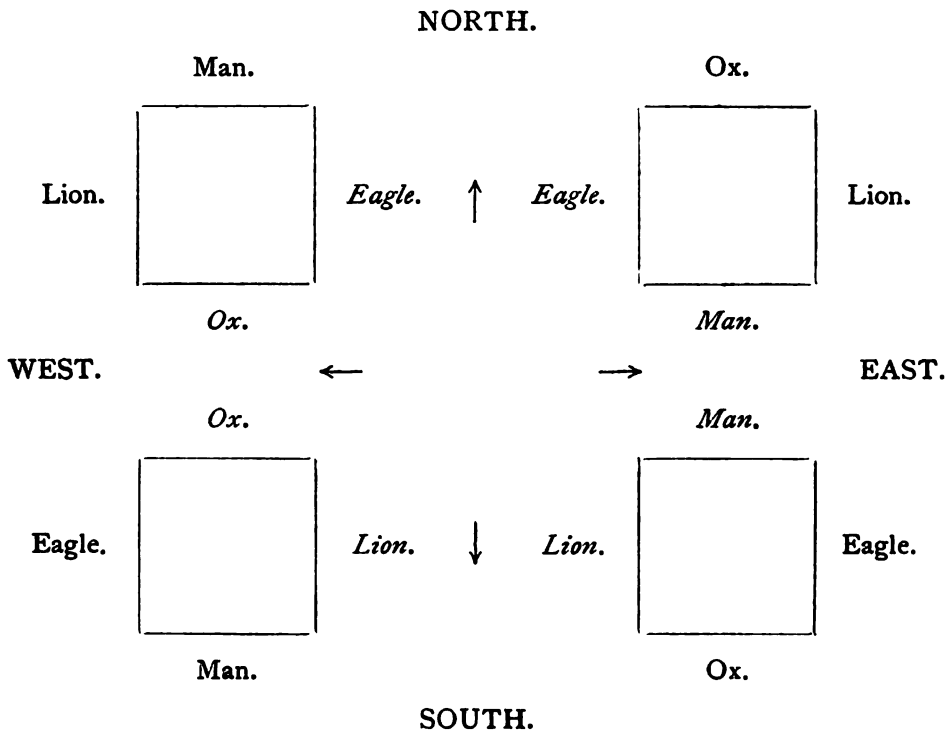
has four wings, as it is said, "And every one had four faces and four wings" (Ezek. i. 6), and these (Chajjôth) are the Cherubim.

When¹ He || speaks towards the west He speaks between the two Cherubim with the face of the ox, when He speaks towards the north He speaks between the two Cherubim with the face of an eagle.

Over against them² are the Ophanim (Wheels) and the Whirling Wheels of the Chariot,³ and when He looketh

ment on the subject in Hastings' *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*, i. 57, "The Jews believed all that the N.T. says of angels, but they also believed much more," needs revision. The Church is more concerned with angels in its liturgy and ritual than the Synagogue.

¹ The first editions add the following: "when He speaks towards the east He speaks between the two Cherubim with the face of a man, and when He speaks towards the south He speaks between the two Cherubim with the face of a lion." See Ezek. i. 10. The scheme indicated seems to be as follows:—



² The Cherubim.

³ The Merkabah (מרכבה) or Chariot is described in Ezek. i. and x. See T.B. Chagigah, 14b, Maimonides, *Guide*, iii. 1-7, and cf. Ecclus. xlix. 8, and *J.E.* viii. 498 ff. The mystery of the Chariot is also referred to by Eth. Enoch xiv. 18, and Origen, *contra Celsum*, vi. 18. See also Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, i. 377 f. and v. 644. The Venice edition adds: "When He sits He is upon the throne high and exalted,"

upon the earth His chariots are upon the Ophanim, and owing to the noise caused by the whirling wheels of the Chariot—lightnings and thunder go forth into the world.¹ When He dwells² in heaven He rideth upon a swift cloud.³ When He hastens He flies upon the wings of the wind, as it is said, "And he rode upon a cherub, and did fly; yea, he flew swiftly upon the wings of the wind" (Ps. xviii. 10).

The Chajjôth stand next to the throne of His glory and they do not know the place of His glory.⁴ The Chajjôth stand in awe and dread,⁵ in fear and trembling, and from the perspiration of their faces a river of fire arises and goes forth⁶ before Him, as it is said, "A fiery stream issued and came forth from before him . . ." (Dan. vii. 10). And the wings of Gallizur⁷ the angel, who stands next to the Chajjôth, (are spread forth) so that the fire which consumes the fire of the angels should not burn (them). Two Seraphim stand, one on His right and one on His left, each one has six wings,⁸ with twain they cover their face⁹ so as not to behold the presence of the Shekhinah, with twain they cover their feet so that they should not be seen before the presence of the Shekhinah, || so that the standing of the foot of the calf¹⁰ might be forgotten. With twain do they fly,

¹ See Ps. lxxvii. 18.

² This is omitted in the Cambridge Genizah and in the first editions.

³ The Venice edition adds: "as it is said, 'And he rode upon a cherub, and did fly'" (Ps. xviii. 10). A more appropriate quotation would be: "Behold, the Lord rideth upon a swift cloud" (Isa. xix. 1).

⁴ This is wanting in the Oxford MS. (d. 35).

⁵ A parallel text with deviations occurs in Singer, pp. 38 and 130. See also Liturgy, Second Day of New Year, ed. Heidenheim, p. 36a.

⁶ See T.B. Chagigah, 13b; cf. Eth. Enoch lxxi. 6 and xiv. 18f.: "And I looked and saw a lofty throne; its appearance was as *crystal*, and the *wheels* thereof as the shining sun, and there was the vision of *cherubim*. And from underneath the throne came *streams of flaming fire*, so that I could not look thereon." The N.T. speaks of the heavenly throne; see Rev. i. 4, iii. 21, iv. 2; cf. Gen. Rab. lxxviii. 1.

⁷ The whole of this sentence is missing in the printed texts. Gallizur, as the name of an angel, occurs in Pesikta Rabbathi, § xx. p. 97b; Jerahmeel, lii. 8; and Liturgy, Eighth Day of Solemn Assembly, ed. Heidenheim, p. 20b.

⁸ The B.M. MS. adds here: "as it is said, 'Above him stood the Seraphim; each one had six wings'" (Isa. vi. 2).

⁹ Our text agrees with the B.M. MS., and this reading has been preserved in Jalkuṭ on Isaiah, § 404; see also Lev. Rab. xxvii. 3, and Tanchuma, Emor, § viii. The 1st and 2nd eds. read: "With twain does each one cover his face."

¹⁰ The foot of the Cherub was like that of the calf (see Ezek. i. 7); this might recall the sin of the Golden Calf. See T.B. Chagigah, *loc. cit.*

praising and reverencing, and they sanctify.¹ One answers and another calls,² one calls and another answers, and they say, "Holy, Holy, Holy, is the Lord of Hosts; the whole earth is full of his glory" (Isa. vi. 3).³

The Chajjôth stand at the side of the throne of His glory and they do not know the place of His glory;⁴ they respond and say in every place where His glory⁵ is, "Blessed be the glory of the Lord from his place" (Ezek. iii. 12). Israel,⁶ a nation unique on the earth,⁷ declares daily⁸ the unity of His great Name, saying, "Hear, O Israel: the Lord is our God, the Lord is one" (Deut. vi. 4). He answers His people Israel and says to them, I am the Lord your God who has delivered⁹ you from every trouble.¹⁰

¹ These words are similar to the first words of the Kedushah (Sanctification); see Singer, p. 160, and cf. Ps. lxxxix. 7. The Sephardic Liturgy is somewhat different, its phraseology for this part of the Prayer Book being probably based on Isa. xxix. 23. For the Kedushah see Ezek. xxxvi. 23; Isa. vi. 3; Ex. Rab. xv. 6, and Lev. Rab. ii. 8. The Venice edition adds: "His Great Name." The B.M. MS. reads here: "And they stand near the throne of His glory and do not know the place of His glory, as it is said, 'Blessed be the glory of the Lord from his place' (Ezek. iii. 12), and the Chajjôth stand in awe and dread," etc., as above.

² See Jalḳuṭ on Isaiah, *loc. cit.*, and T.B. Chullin, 91b, for the angelic sanctification. The Oxford MS. (d. 35) reads: "One calls and they all reply and say."

³ This is the end of the 7th section in the MS. On the theme see Slav. Enoch xxi. 1.

⁴ The reading seems to be corrupt, and should run: "The Chajjôth respond and say," etc. The first part of the sentence has already been given at the beginning of the preceding paragraph.

⁵ On the "Glory" see Abelson, *The Immanence of God in Rabbinic Literature*, p. 380 ff. The Place of God's glory is identified by P.R.E. with the Shekhinah; see *infra*, p. 225, note 9, and cf. Eth. Enoch xxxix. 12-14.

⁶ The 9th section in the MS. begins here.

⁷ These words occur in the 'Amidah for Sabbath afternoon; see Singer, p. 175.

⁸ The Oxford MS. (d. 35) adds: "continually every day twice."

⁹ The Oxford MS. (d. 35) reads: "who redeems."

¹⁰ The many parallels in our text to Eth. Enoch xiv. 9-22, and Slav. Enoch xxi. 1 and xxii. 1-3 are noteworthy, and point to the influence which the pseudepigraphic books have had upon our author. The latter part of this chapter is of importance in connection with the liturgy of the Synagogue. We note how the threefold responses of the Kedushah are set forth here as the responses of (1) the angels, (2) Israel, and (3) God; compare Singer, pp. 160 f. The writer of the MS. did not end the chapter here, but continued with the next chapter. A later scribe has added in the margin, "Chapter V.," thus agreeing with other MSS. and the printed editions. Our chapter should be compared with the Merkabah Midrashim in the first two volumes of Wertheimer's *Botté Midrashoth*.

CHAPTER V

THE GATHERING OF THE WATERS [5A. i.]

ON the third day¹ all the earth was flat like a plain and the waters covered the surface of all the earth. When the word of the Almighty² was uttered, "Let the waters be gathered together" (Gen. i. 9), the mountains and hills arose from the ends of the earth and they were scattered³ over the surface of all the earth, and valleys were formed over the inner parts of the earth; and the waters were rolled together and gathered into the valleys, as it is said, "And the gathering together of the waters he called seas" (*ibid.* 10).⁴ Forthwith the waters became proud⁵ and they arose to cover the earth as at first, when the Holy One, blessed be He, rebuked them || and subdued them,⁶ and placed them beneath the soles of His feet,⁷ and measured them with

¹ Of the week of creation. Our Book agrees here with the Book of Jubilees, which states: "And on the third day He commanded the waters to pass from off the face of the whole earth" (ii. 5). Cf. Ps. civ. 6, according to which the mountains were beneath the water, the surface of which was like a plain.

² Jalkuṭ, Gen. § 8, reads: "The Holy One, blessed be He."

³ The gathering of the waters revealed the hills and valleys which had hitherto been covered by the water.

⁴ In the MS. the tenth paragraph (of the fourth chapter) is marked here. For a parallel text see Wertheimer, *op. cit.*, i. p. 6.

⁵ The Oxford MS. (d. 35) reads: "The waters became insolent and attempted to ascend to Heaven as at first until He rebuked and subdued them and placed them beneath the soles of His feet, as it is said: 'Who maketh a way in the sea, and a path in the mighty waters'" (Isa. xliii. 16). The first editions agree with our MS.

⁶ See Ps. civ. 7, Job xxxviii. 8-10, and Prov. viii. 29. Eth. Enoch offers a parallel: "the sea was created, and as its foundation He set for it *the sand against the time of anger*, and it dare not pass beyond it from the creation of the world unto eternity" (lxix. 18).

⁷ See Job ix. 8, Ps. lxxvii. 19, and Shocher Tob, Ps. xciii. 5, where our text is preserved; cf. Midrash Kōnen, p. 25. The 1st ed. (*P.R.E.*) reads: "and He subdued them beneath the ends of His feet." The

the hollow of His hand¹ that they should neither decrease nor increase. He made the sand as the boundary of the sea, just like a man who makes a fence for his vineyard. When they rise and see the sand before them they return to their former place,² as it is said, "Fear ye not me? saith the Lord³: will ye not tremble at my presence, which have placed the sand for the bound of the sea?" (Jer. v. 22).

Before the waters were gathered together the depths⁴ were created. These are the depths which are beneath the earth; for the earth is spread⁵ upon the water like a ship which floats in the midst of the sea, so likewise is the earth spread out over the water, as it is said, "To him that spread forth the earth above the waters . . ." (Ps. cxxxvi. 6). He opened an entrance to the Garden of Eden⁶ because thence were planted upon the face of all

Midrash should be compared with Tanchuma, Chukḡath, § 1, and see T.B. Baba Bathra, 74b. The subject has been discussed by Jampel in the *Monatsschrift*, 1912, p. 148.

¹ See Isa. xl. 12.

² See *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, p. 10.

³ The second half of the verse is not given in the MS., which reads "etc."

⁴ The Venice edition adds the words "the luminaries" before the words "the depths." This is clearly a mistake.

⁵ Jalḡuṡ Makhiri to Psalms (Ps. cxxxvi. 11) reads: "the earth floats upon the depths." The text of this section in the Jalḡuṡ is more correct than the printed editions of *P.R.E.*

⁶ This agrees with the Book of Adam and Eve (ed. Malan) i. i.: "And to the north of the garden there is a sea of water." See Jalḡuṡ Makhiri (*loc. cit.*) for a parallel to our text. The Venice edition differs slightly from the 1st ed. and reads: "The entrance to the Garden of Eden opened therein and He brought forth thence plants upon the face of all the earth." This 5th chapter is devoted to the account of the creation on the third day. Thus far we find the following things enumerated: (1) the gathering of the waters, (2) the appearance of the mountains and hills, (3) the transference of the plants and trees from the Garden of Eden, and we shall have (4) an account of the mists and clouds which water the face of the earth. The Book of Jubilees seems to offer a parallel: (1) "And the dry land appeared, and on that day He created for them (2) all the seas according to their separate gathering-places, and all the rivers, and the gathering of the waters in the mountains and on all the earth and all the lakes, (3) and all the dew of the earth, (4) and the seed which is sown, and all sprouting things, and fruit-bearing trees, and trees of the wood, and the Garden of Eden in Eden, and all (plants after their kind). These four great works God created on the third day" (ii. 6, 7). It seems strange that both books in connection with the third day refer to the Garden of Eden, especially as our book has already dealt with this as one of the pre-mundane creations. According to Gen. Rab. xv. 3 the Garden of Eden was created *before* the creation of *man*, who was created on the sixth

THE GATHERING OF THE WATERS 29

the earth all kinds of trees yielding fruit according to their kind, and all kinds of herbs and grass¹ thereof, and in them (was seed), as it is said, "Wherein is the seed thereof, upon the earth" (Gen. i. 11).

He prepared a table for the creatures whilst as yet they were not created,² as it is said, "Thou preparest a table before me" (Ps. xxiii. 5). All the fountains arise from the depths to give water to all creatures.³ Rabbi Joshua said: The diameter⁴ of the earth is equal to a journey of sixty years,⁵ and one of the depths which is near to Gehinnom bubbles with water and produces water⁶ for the delight of the sons of man.

Rabbi Jehudah || said: Once every month ducts⁷ rise from the depths to irrigate the face of all the earth, as it is said, "And there went up a *mist* from the earth and watered⁸ the whole face of the ground" (Gen. ii. 6).⁹ The clouds cause the seas to hear the sound of their waterspouts,¹⁰ and the seas cause the depths to hear the sound of their waterspouts, and the deep calls to the deep to bring up waters to give them to the clouds, as it is said, "Deep

day, whereas Eden was created on the third day. This tradition is preserved in Slavonic Enoch (A and B) xxx. 1 and in the Book of Adam and Eve (ed. Malan), *loc. cit.*

¹ The Venice edition adds: "He planted thereof, and in them was their seed upon the earth."

² The reading in the first editions is: "whilst as yet the world was not created." This "table" is not one of the premundane creations; see T.B. Synhedrin, 38a, based on Prov. ix. 1-3, and cf. Lev. Rab. xi. 1. Gregory, Bishop of Nyssa in the fourth century c.e., has a similar Midrash in his work *de Hominis opificio*, 2; see also Slav. Enoch (B) xxx. 1.

³ See Ps. civ. 10-13.

⁴ On this theme see T.B. Pesachim, 94a, and Gen. Rab. iv. 5, and see Theodor's notes on p. 29 of his edition for further parallels.

⁵ Oxford MS. (2835, c. 27) reads "five hundred years"; cf. T.J. Berakhoth, 2c; T.B. Chagigah, 12a, and Gen. Rab. vi. 6.

⁶ The 1st ed. reads: "and produces delight for the sons of man." On the subject referred to in the text see T.B. Sabbath, 39a.

⁷ Our text is preserved in Jalkut to Psalms (Ps. xlii. § 744). On "Silonoth" (ducts) see Jastrow, T.D. 979b. Gaster, Jeraḥmeel ii. 5, renders here "rivulets ascend from the depths," etc.

⁸ The rest of the verse is not given by the MS., which reads "etc."

⁹ The LXX renders this verse: "But a *fountain* ascended out of the earth"; see *Hellenism and Christianity*, p. 25 note.

¹⁰ See Jalkut Makhiri, Psalms (Ps. xlii. 16), where our text occurs with variant readings; thus, instead of "Zinôrôthiham," which means "their splashing," or "duct," or "spout," we find "Kinôrôthiham" ("their harps").

calleth unto deep at the sound of thy waterspouts" (Ps. xlii. 7).¹

The clouds draw water from the depths, as it is said, "He causeth the vapours to ascend from the ends² of the earth" (*ibid.* cxxxv. 7), and in every place where the King commands them;³ there they cause rain (to fall), and forthwith the earth becomes fruitful and yields produce like a widow who becomes pregnant through debauchery.⁴ But when the Holy One, blessed be He, desires to bless the produce of the earth,⁵ and to give provision to the creatures,⁶ He opens the good treasures in heaven and sends rain upon the earth, namely, the fructifying rain,⁷ and forthwith the earth becomes fruitful like a bride who conceives from her first husband and produces offspring of blessing, as it is said, "The Lord shall open unto thee his good treasury the heaven"⁸ (Deut. xxviii. 12).

¹ See T.B. Ta'anith, 25b, for the application of this verse in connection with the water ceremonies on the Feast of Tabernacles.

² Where originally the water was.

³ See Job xxxvii. 11-13. The rain illustrates the working of Divine Providence; cf. Jer. xiv. 22.

⁴ This rain would not be the rain of blessing, cf. T.B. Ta'anith, 6b.

⁵ See Ps. lxxv. 9, 10, and cf. T.B. Ta'anith, 8b.

⁶ This phrase does not occur in the 1st ed. See Ps. cxxxii. 15.

⁷ The rain from heaven is full of vitalizing power; see *infra*, pp. 63 and 167. The actual expression in our context is "the masculine waters." Eth. Enoch liv. 8 offers a parallel: "And all the waters shall be joined with the waters, that which is above the heavens is the *masculine*, and the water which is beneath the earth is *feminine*." See Charles' interesting note (8) on p. 107 of his edition, where he quotes T.J. Berakhoth, ix. 2, "the upper water is male and the lower water is female."

⁸ The verse continues: "To give the rain of thy land in its season and to bless all the work of thy hand." This is given in the B.M. MS. The 1st ed. and later editions add: "and it is written, 'For as a young man marrieth a virgin, so shall thy sons marry thee'¹ (Isa. lxii. 5), and it is written, 'For as the rain cometh down, and the snow from heaven,² . . . and watereth the earth, and maketh it bring forth and bud, and giveth seed to the sower and bread to the eater'" (*ibid.* lv. 10).

¹ See T.B. Mo'ed Qatan, 2a, where this verse is explained as in our context. On "rain" see Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, iv. 195 f., and Krauss, *Talmudische Archäologie*, ii. 149 f. Interesting references to rain occur in Eth. Enoch apart from the quotation given in note above, namely, lx. 21 ff., and in the previous verse "the chambers of the rain" are mentioned.

² The latter part of the verse is not given by the printed texts, which merely add "etc."

CHAPTER VI¹

THE PLANETS ; THE COURSE OF THE SUN [5B. i.]

ON the fourth day He connected together ² the two luminaries,³ of which one was not greater (in size) than the other.⁴ They were equal ⁵ as regards their height,⁶ || qualities,⁷ and illuminating powers,⁸ as it is said, "And God made *the two great lights*" (Gen. i. 16). Rivalry ensued between them, one said to the other, I am bigger than thou art. The other rejoined, I am bigger than thou art.

What did the Holy One, blessed be He, do,⁹ so that there should be peace between them? He made the one larger and the other smaller,¹⁰ as it is said, "The *greater* light to rule the day,¹¹ and the *lesser* light to rule the night and the stars he also made" (*ibid.*).¹²

¹ In our MS. the fifth chapter begins here.

² The B.M. MS. reads here "created." The word in the printed texts means "associated" or "joined." On the legend see Gen. Rab. vi. 3 and T.B. Chullin, 60b, which is translated in *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, pp. 12 f.; and see Pal. Targum, Gen. i. 16.

³ The first editions read: "the two great luminaries."

⁴ This legend occurs in Eth. Enoch lxxii. 37, "but as regards size they are both equal," and cf. Slavonic Enoch xvi. 7. Our text reads (if taken quite literally): "This one was not greater than that one, and that one was not greater than this one."

⁵ The equality was implied in the words of the Scripture, "the two great lights." The Oxford MS. (d. 35) reads: "but the two of them were equal as though they were one."

⁶ Above the earth, or firmament. ⁷ *e.g.* they have the same shape.

⁸ The Pal. Targ. Gen. i. 16 offers a parallel here.

⁹ The B.M. MS. adds: "to restore peace between them. He made the one smaller because it had slandered its companion." See Gen. Rab. vi. 3.

¹⁰ See T.B. Chullin, *loc. cit.*, and cf. 3 Baruch ix. 7. The Midrash is also preserved in the Machzor Vitry, p. 154, reading of the Sabbath morning liturgy. Cf. Singer, p. 129. See also Baer's *Abodath Israel*, p. 212, note, for the reading in the Tur: "and He diminished (וירקטן) the figure of the moon."

¹¹ The MS. does not give the second half of the verse, it merely reads "etc."

¹² See *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, pp. 12 f.

All the stars minister¹ to the seven planets,² and their names are : Sun, Venus, Mercury, the Moon, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars.³ The mnemonic of their service is KZNSh ChLM, by night ; ChLM KZNSh by day and KLSH ZMChN for the hours of the night ; ChNKL ShZM for the hours of the day.⁴ On the first day Mercury and the Sun, on the second day Jupiter and the Moon, on the third day Venus and Mars, on the fourth day Saturn and Mercury, on the fifth day the Sun and Jupiter, on the sixth day the Moon and Venus, on the seventh day Mars and Saturn.⁵

¹ The word in the text may mean *serve*, or *minister to the needs of*, or *to be in attendance on others*, or *to be placed over*, hence to influence, or rule.

² Lit. "Stars of the hours." The 1st ed. reads, "the seven stars and all the hours," but subsequent editions read, "the seven stars of the hours." The first editions give the names in the following order : Mercury, the Moon, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Sun, and Venus. These editions continue : "And they minister to the seven days of the week." The idea implied is that each planet influences the world for one hour by day and by night. Thus—

At 6 o'clock, SATURDAY NIGHT (when the first day of the week begins), MERCURY (K) rules, and again at 1 a.m.					SUNDAY MORNING—	
SATURDAY, 7 p.m., the MOON (L) rules, and at	2	„	SUNDAY MORNING.	}	The SUN (Ch) rules at 6 a.m.	
„ 8 „ SATURN (Sh) „ „ 3 „	3	„			VENUS (N) „ 7 „	7 „
„ 9 „ JUPITER (Z) „ „ 4 „	4	„			MERCURY (K) „ 8 „	8 „
„ 10 „ MARS (M) „ „ 5 „	5	„			MOON (L) „ 9 „	9 „
„ 11 „ the SUN (Ch) „ „ 6 „	6	„			SATURN (Sh) „ 10 „	10 „
„ 12 „ VENUS (N) „ „ 7 „	7	„			JUPITER (Z) „ 11 „	11 „
At 6 p.m. SUNDAY, JUPITER (Z) rules, and at 6 a.m.					MARS (M) „ 12 noon.	12 noon.
„ MONDAY, VENUS (N) „ „ „					MONDAY, the MOON (L) rules.	
„ TUESDAY, SATURN (Sh) „ „ „					TUESDAY, MARS (M) „	
„ WEDNESDAY, the SUN (Ch) „ „ „					WEDNESDAY, MERCURY (K) „	
„ THURSDAY, the MOON (L) „ „ „					THURSDAY, JUPITER (Z) „	
„ FRIDAY, MARS (M) „ „ „					FRIDAY, VENUS (N) „	
					SATURDAY, SATURN (Sh) „	

The Jewish day begins at 6 p.m. (*i.e.* six hours earlier than the usual time in vogue in this country). For full explanation see Rashi on T.B. Berakhoth, 59b, and on T.B. 'Erubin, 56a. The seven planets are mentioned in the Sepher Jezirah iv. 7 by the same names as in our text. See also Baraitha d. Shemuel, ch. iii.

³ The seven planets in the order of the text are represented by the following letters : Ch (Sun), N (Venus), K (Mercury), L (Moon), Sh (Saturn), Z (Jupiter), M (Mars). The letters represent the Hebrew names of the planets.

⁴ The whole of this sentence is missing in the printed editions.

⁵ The seven planets were believed to move in seven different orbits ; see Philo, *op. cit.* 38, i. M. 27, C.W. i. 112. Origen, *contra Celsum*, vi. 21, speaks of "the spheres of the planets." In the next chapter of Origen we hear of the mysteries of Mithras, and in connection with the rites of this cult the seven planets are mentioned. The order is as follows : Saturn, Venus, Jupiter, Mercury, Mars, the Moon, the Sun. This is exactly the reverse order of the mnemonic in our text for the service of the planets by day. In chapter xxxi. Origen deals with the "ruling

All of them minister to the twelve constellations¹ which correspond to the twelve months. The constellations are: Aries, Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, Leo, Virgo, Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius, Capricornus, Aquarius, and Pisces.² All the constellations minister to³ the days of the sun.⁴ Now the days of the solar month are 30 days, 10 hours and a half,⁵

spirits" accepted by the teaching of the Gnostics; these "ruling spirits" are the seven planets. The system has fortunately been preserved in the *Pistis Sophia* (ed. Mead), pp. 360 ff. The Church Father John of Damascus, in his *Doctrine of Faith*, ii. 7, also mentions the seven planets. See also Hippolytus, *Philosophumena*, iv. 6 ff.

¹ *i.e.* the Zodiac. On this subject see John of Damascus, *loc. cit.*, and cf. *J.E.* iv. 244 f. Slavonic Enoch xxx. reads: "The sun that he should go according to each sign of the Zodiac; and the course of the moon through the twelve signs of the Zodiac," and see Eth. Enoch lxxiii.-lxxiv.

² The first editions add: "These (*i.e.* the constellations) were created in the work of the Creation to rule the world, and thus are their ordinances. And these seven servants¹ were created, and He placed them in the firmament of the heavens."² Our MS. agrees here with the Oxford MS. (d. 35).

³ Perhaps the word should be rendered "serve"; see *supra*, p. 32, note 1. Gaster's *Jerahmeel* iv. 2 has "rules" in reference to the sun, and "serves" in connection with the other planets.

⁴ Does this mean that the constellations influence the months, there being twelve constellations corresponding to the twelve months? Perhaps the reference is to the fact that the sun is in each constellation for 30 days, 10 hours, 30 minutes (*i.e.* a solar month). The Oxford MS. (d. 35) reads, "the days of the solar year." The Venice edition reads: "the days of the solar month." According to John of Damascus (*loc. cit.*)—

The sun enters Aries	on March 21st.
" " Taurus	" April 23rd.
" " Gemini	" May 24th.
" " Cancer	" June 24th.
" " Leo	" July 25th.
" " Virgo	" August 25th.
" " Libra	" September 25th.
" " Scorpio	" October 25th.
" " Sagittarius	" November 25th.
" " Capricornus	" December 25th.
" " Aquarius	" January 25th.
" " Pisces	" February 24th.

The 1st ed. adds "Sun, Moon, Mars, Mercury, Venus, Saturn. Sun, Moon, Saturn, and Mercury minister to each constellation 30 (days) 4 hours like an attendant, and just as the Sun and Moon and Mercury enter simultaneously." The text is evidently corrupt.

⁵ The 1st ed. adds here: "and during the days of the lunar month two constellations serve for four days and eight hours." The meaning is not evident. 4 days, 8 hours \times 7 = 30 days, 8 hours.

¹ *i.e.* the planets.

² Each one in its own orbit.

and each constellation ministers to the || days of the solar month for two days and a half, so that two constellations (minister for) five days.¹ The chief² which begins at the beginning of the solar month is the same chief which completes³ at the end of the solar month; the one which opens is the one which closes.⁴

The great cycle of the sun is 28 years,⁵ and therein are seven small cycles each of four years.⁶ The number of days of the solar year⁷ is 365 and a quarter of a day. The seasons⁸ of the solar year are four, each season (consisting of) 91 days 7½ hours. The beginnings of the cycles of the seasons are the 4th, 2nd, 7th, 5th, 3rd, 1st, and 6th (days).⁹ Between each cycle there are 5 days and 6 (hours).¹⁰

¹ The sense to be conveyed seems to be that in a solar month every 2½ days is under the influence of a constellation, the last 10½ hours being reckoned as part of the service of the constellation which is next in order to that constellation which was placed over the last 2½ days of the month. We shall see that each constellation is served by the Moon for 2½ days, or, as John of Damascus says (*loc. cit.*), "The Moon passes through the twelve constellations in each month."

² *i.e.* the constellation.

³ This would then mean that the next constellation begins its influence at the beginning of the next solar month.

⁴ It seems that the last 10½ hours of the solar month are under the influence of the constellation which ruled at the beginning of that month.

⁵ See T.B. Berakhoth, *loc. cit.*; T.B. Sabbath, 129b, with Rashi.

⁶ The order of the planets which begin the seven small cycles respectively is Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, the Sun, Venus, Mercury, and the Moon, a cycle of four years being supposed to elapse between the beginning of the rule of each of these planets.

⁷ 1st ed. reads "solar years," the later texts read "the sun."

⁸ Tekuphah; see Jewish Calendar, 1915-16, edited by the present writer, pp. 31, 35, etc., for the Tekuphah. The word means "turn," or "cycle"; cf. Ex. xxxiv. 22 and Ps. xix. 6. It means in our book season, or (1) vernal equinox, or (2) the summer solstice, or (3) the autumnal equinox, or (4) the winter solstice. See Rashi on T.B. Berakhoth, *loc. cit.* where we learn that the first Tekuphah of Nisan at the Creation was on the fourth day (Wednesday). Can Jubilees i. 14 and ii. 9 refer to Tekuphah? See Pal. Targ. Gen. i. 14, which reads: "And God said: Let there be lights in the expanse of the heavens, to distinguish between the day and the night; and let them be for signs and seasons for festivals and for the numbering by them of the calculation of the days and for the sanctification by them of new moons and new years, (for) intercalations of months and intercalations of years and Tekuphoth of the Sun and the Molad of the Moon and cycles." Etheridge's version (*The Targums*, i. p. 159) is inaccurate.

⁹ The seven days respectively of the seven small cycles. The Oxford MS. (d. 35) reads: "The Tekuphoth are at the beginning of the night of the fourth day, the beginning of the night of the second day" . . . concluding with "the beginning of the night of the sixth day."

¹⁰ Is the text faulty here? The interval of five days is apparent from the preceding sentence in the text.

The Tekuphoth (*i.e.* seasons) of the small cycle are four in each year, some of them (last) 91 days $7\frac{1}{2}$ hours and some last 92 days.¹ The first year of the cycle (of four years) has its Tekuphah in Nisan at 6 p.m.; in the second year at 12 p.m.; in the third year at 6 a.m.; in the fourth year at 12 a.m.²

The four beginnings of the Tekuphah of the four months of Nisan³ commence at the beginning of the night,⁴ at midnight, at the beginning of the day,⁵ and at noon (respectively). The rest of the other (days of the) || Tekuphoth are as follows: ZCh; GYCh; VACH; TDCh.⁶

The first Tekuphah of Nisan⁷ took place at the beginning

¹ This means that the year equals 4×91 days, $7\frac{1}{2}$ hours = $365\frac{1}{2}$ days. The Oxford MS. (d. 35) reads: "Some of them (last) 91 days and some of them 92 days." This reading seems preferable to our text and seems to point to 366 days in the year, *i.e.* two seasons of 91 days each and two of 92 days each. Luria rejects the reading, "Some of them (last) 92 days."

² Luria's reading in the latter part of Note 22, *in loc.*, has been adopted, as the MS. text seems to be unintelligible. The MS. reads: The first year of the cycle is A-G (1st and 3rd letters of the Hebrew alphabet); the second year is B-B (2nd letter of Hebrew alphabet); the third year is GAD (3rd, 1st, and 4th letters); the fourth year is DD. The reading adopted for the translation gives the following abbreviations: A-A, B-V, G-A, D-V, where the first letters of each set refer to the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th years (of the small cycle) respectively; the 2nd letters indicate the hours when the Tekuphoth of Nisan in the four years begin, namely: 6 p.m. (A), 12 p.m. (V), 6 a.m. (A), and 12 a.m. (V).

³ In each cycle of four years.

⁴ The Jewish day consists of night, lasting 12 hours, which begins at 6 p.m., and day, lasting 12 hours and commencing at 6 a.m.

⁵ *i.e.* 6 a.m.

⁶ ZCh = 7th and 8th letters of Hebrew alphabet.

GYCh = 3rd, 10th, and 8th letters of Hebrew alphabet.

VACH = 6th, 1st, and 8th letters of Hebrew alphabet.

TDCh = 9th, 4th, and 8th letters of Hebrew alphabet.

Ch (8th letter) is an abbreviation for the word (ח) meaning "half."

The abbreviations mean:—

When the Tekuphah of Nisan is the 1st hour (A) of the night, *i.e.* at 6 p.m., the Tekuphah of Tammuz is $7\frac{1}{2}$ hours (ZCh) later, *i.e.* 1.30 a.m. The Tekuphah of Tishri is at 3 hours of the day (G), *i.e.* 9 a.m., and the Tekuphah of Tebeth is $10\frac{1}{2}$ hours of the day (YCh), *i.e.* 4.30 p.m. Again, when the Tekuphah of Nisan is the 6th hour, *i.e.* midnight (V), the Tekuphah of Tammuz is $1\frac{1}{2}$ hour of the day (ACH), *i.e.* 7.30 a.m., and the Tekuphah of Tishri is 9 hours of the day (T), *i.e.* 3 p.m., and the Tekuphah of Tebeth is $4\frac{1}{2}$ hours of the following night (DCh), *i.e.* at 10.30 p.m.¹

⁷ At the era of the Creation.

(of the hours) of Saturn.¹ The Tekuphah of Tammuz (took place) at the middle (of the hours) of Saturn.² The Tekuphah of Tishri (occurred) at the beginning of the hours of Jupiter.³ The Tekuphah of Tebeth (took place) at the middle (of the hours) of Jupiter.⁴ And thus with all the other Tekuphoth, which occur at the beginning of the hours or at the middle of the hours.⁵

The first cycle⁶ took place at the beginning of the hour of Saturn, (and the names of the Planets of the hours are) Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, the Sun, Venus, Mercury, and the Moon. The second cycle occurred in the hour (of the Planet) which is in front of it,⁷ (*i.e.*) at the beginning of the hour of Jupiter. The third cycle occurred at the beginning of the hour of Mars. The fourth cycle entered at the beginning of the hour of the Sun. The fifth cycle entered at the beginning of the hour of Venus. The sixth cycle entered at the beginning of the hour of Mercury. The seventh cycle entered at the beginning (of the hour) of the Moon. (At) the end of seven hours,⁸ at the end of seven cycles,

¹ Saturn is the planet for the eve of the fourth day at 6 o'clock p.m. on Tuesday. See *supra*, p. 32, note 2.

² $7\frac{1}{2}$ hours later is still the hour of Saturn; this would be at 1.30 a.m. Wednesday.

³ $7\frac{1}{2}$ hours later is the hour of Jupiter at 9 a.m. Wednesday.

⁴ $7\frac{1}{2}$ hours later is still in Jupiter at 4.30 p.m. Wednesday afternoon.

⁵ This refers to the service of the planets over the hours, as can be seen from the notes above; the two Tekuphoth are either at the beginning or at the middle of the hours.

⁶ Of the seven Tekuphoth cycles referred to above, the first begins on the fourth day, *i.e.* Wednesday (which commences on Tuesday at 6 p.m., which is the hour of Saturn).

⁷ In reference to the position of its orbit around the earth as centre. In this connection the position of the planets is as follows: nearest to the earth we have the Moon, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn.

⁸ It has been suggested by R. Elijah of Vilna that this reference to the seven hours should be omitted. Perhaps the reading should be "At the end of the seven planets of the hours," *i.e.* the cycle recommences with Saturn. The Tekuphoth of Nisan are as follows:—

	1	2	3	4	years.
1. Wednesday	6.0 p.m.				
Thursday		12.0 p.m.			
Friday			6.0 a.m.		
Saturday				12.0 a.m.	
	5	6	7	8	years.
2. Monday	6.0 p.m.				
Tuesday		12.0 p.m.			
Wednesday			6.0 a.m.		
Thursday				12.0 a.m.	

at the end of 35 days¹ of the great cycle of 28 years, the Tekuphah cycle returns (*i.e.* begins again) at the beginning of the fourth day² in the hour of Saturn in the hour when it was created.

In 366 (degrees)³ the sun rises and declines, it rises 183 (degrees) || in the east, and it declines 183 (degrees) in the west corresponding to the 365⁴ days of the solar year. (The sun) goes forth through 366⁵ apertures and enters by

The third cycle falls on Saturday, Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday at 6 and 12 p.m. and 6 and 12 a.m. respectively in the 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th years respectively.

The fourth cycle falls on Thursday, Friday, Saturday, and Sunday at 6 and 12 p.m. and 6 and 12 a.m. respectively in the 13th, 14th, 15th, and 16th years respectively.

The fifth cycle falls on Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday at 6 and 12 p.m. and 6 and 12 a.m. respectively in the 17th, 18th, 19th, and 20th years respectively.

The sixth cycle falls on Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday at 6 and 12 p.m. and 6 and 12 a.m. respectively in the 21st, 22nd, 23rd, and 24th years respectively.

The seventh cycle falls on Friday, Saturday, Sunday, and Monday at 6 and 12 p.m. and 6 and 12 a.m. respectively in the 25th, 26th, 27th, and 28th years respectively.

It must be borne in mind that the first two Tekuphah of every cycle are p.m., and therefore the actual English day in these cases is nominally one day earlier than the Jewish day.

¹ This is also the reading of the 1st ed. Later editions are faulty, and read "65 days." The number 35 is due to 7×5 days, the latter being the interval between each small cycle of four years, during which there are 16 Tekuphah, and each Tekuphah is $7\frac{1}{2}$ hours' interval later than its predecessor. 7 = the number of cycles.

² Tuesday evening at six o'clock, when the fourth day (Wednesday) of the Hebrew week begins.

³ "Degrees" according to the reading in the first two editions. The 1st ed. reads "365 degrees."

⁴ In the MS. a later writer has written "6" above the "5." The first editions read, "according to the days of the solar year."

⁵ The printed texts read 366 apertures. According to T.J. Rosh Ha-Shanah ii. 5, 58a, l. 41 ff., "The Holy One, blessed be He, created 365 windows for the service of the world: 182 in the east and 182 in the west and one in the centre of the firmament, whence it came forth at the beginning at the Creation." See also Ex. Rab. xv. 22: "The Holy One, blessed be He, created 365 windows in the firmament, 183 on the east and 182 on the west." The Jalkut on 1 Kings, §185, compares the knops mentioned in 1 Kings vii. 24 to "the 365 windows which are in the east and in the west, for the sun rises in one in the east and sets in one in the west." This section of the Jalkut is taken from the Midrash Tadsheh (cf. Epstein, Midrash Tadsheh, p. xvi). Further parallels are to be found in Buber's Shocher Tob, Ps. xix. 11, and Jalkut on Psalms (xix.), §673, and on Eccles. §967. The astronomical theories of our book are not in agreement with the Rabbinical system set forth in the Talmud and Midrashim. It seems that our author held the view that the solar year had 366 days. Each half-year the sun passes through 91, plus 91, plus 1 apertures, or in one year through 366

the east; 90 days¹ it is in the south (east) quarter, 91 days in the north (east) quarter and one aperture is in the middle² and its name is Nogah.³

(At) the Tekuphah of Tishri⁴ (the sun) begins from the aperture of Nogah and goes through its revolutions towards the south quarter, through one aperture after another until it reaches the aperture of Bilgah.⁵ (At) the Tekuphah of Tebeth (the sun) begins from the aperture of Bilgah⁵ and continues its course, returning backward through one aperture after another until it reaches the aperture of Ta'alumah,⁶ through which the light goes forth,⁷ as it is said, "*And the thing that is hid bringeth he forth to light*" (Job xxviii. 11). (At) the Tekuphah of Nisan (the sun) begins from the aperture of Ta'alumah,⁸ and it⁹ goes to the north quarter through one aperture after another until it reaches the aperture No'aman.¹⁰ (At) the Tekuphah of Tammuz (the sun) begins from the aperture No'aman and goes on its course, returning backwards through aperture after aperture until it reaches the aperture Cheder¹¹ whence the whirlwind goes forth, as it is said, "*Out of the chamber*

apertures. Now we find a parallel teaching in the Slavonic Enoch xiii. 2: "And I saw the six great gates open, each gate having sixty-one stadia." Thus far Text B.; see Charles' ed., p. 15, and cf. Eth. Enoch lxxii. 2 ff. on the course of the sun. Here also "windows" are mentioned. The whole of this chapter should be read in comparison with our text. Eth. Enoch adopts the strange calculation that the solar year has 364 days, though he was acquainted with the year of 365½ days. Does our book attempt a new solution? or, as I venture to suggest, did our author borrow from Slavonic Enoch? This seems the most probable view.

¹ The first editions read 91 days. This agrees with the Oxford MSS. (d. 35) and (O. 167) and also Gaster's MS.

² This aperture separates the 91 N.E. windows from the 91 S.E. windows, and the sum total equals 183, which agrees with our text: "it rises 183 (degrees) in the east."

³ נוגה, or "Venus." The word means light. The Venice edition reads "the aperture Nogah."

⁴ About the time of the autumnal equinox; see J.E. xii. 76 f. The Tekuphah Tishri falls now on October 7th, about 14 days after the equinox.

⁵ The first editions read (שבתאי) "Saturn."

⁶ Or "darkness." See Targum on Job xxviii. 11.

⁷ The quotation is not given by the Oxford MS. (d. 35).

⁸ The first editions add: "through which the light goeth forth."

⁹ The sun.

¹⁰ Or "pleasantness." Nature is at her best at this period of the year. The MS. reads "Nô'aman," the first two editions read "Na'amôn."

¹¹ Or "secret chamber."

cometh the storm ¹ and cold out of the scattering winds " (*ibid.* xxxvii. 9).

Through these apertures which are in the east (the sun) || goes forth and opposite to them ² in the west (the sun) sets. The Shekhinah is always in the west.³ (The sun) sets and worships ⁴ before the King of Kings, the Holy One, blessed be He, saying: Lord of all worlds! I have done according to all that Thou hast commanded me.⁵

The aperture which is in the midst of the firmament is named M'zarim ⁶ and (the sun) does not go forth or set ⁷ therein except once in its great cycle; ⁸ (thereon) it goes through it as on the day when it was created.⁹ At night the sun is in the west.¹⁰ At the Tekuphah of Tishri and at the Tekuphah of Tebeth the sun goes on its course in the south quarter and in the waters of the Ocean ¹¹ (which are) between the ends of the heavens and the ends of the earth where it is submerged.¹² For the night is long and the way is long ¹³ until (the sun) reaches the aperture which is in the east, (even) the aperture through which it desires to go forth,¹⁴ as it is said, "It goeth toward the south, and turneth

¹ The MS. omits the second half of the verse, substituting "etc."

² The apertures on the east.

³ See T.B. Baba Bathra, 25a, and T.B. Synhedrin, 91b.

⁴ Lit. "bows down."

⁵ See Deut. xxvi. 14 for phraseology.

⁶ Or "scattering winds." See Job xxxvii. 9 and Targum, *in loc.*

⁷ Lit. "does not go in or go out."

⁸ *i.e.* once in twenty-eight years.

⁹ The 1st ed. reads: "on the day when the world was created, on the day when it was created."

¹⁰ *i.e.* when it sets. The Prague edition reads here: "on the day it was created at night and in the west."

¹¹ See John of Damascus, *op. cit.* ii. 9, with reference to the ocean which surrounds the earth.

¹² Or "where it sets."

¹³ To traverse half of the west, the north, and half of the east. The apparent risings of the sun are all in the east from the point of view of the spectator on the earth; half the year the rising is south of the earth's equator, the other half of the year this is north of the equator; thus the setting in the west corresponds to the rising, and accounts for the "long way" after setting in the winter.

¹⁴ At its next rising. The following reading is given by the first two editions: "At the Tekuphah of Nisan and Tammuz the sun goes forth on its course to the north quarter to the waters of the Ocean which are between the ends of the heavens and the ends of the earth; for the night is short and the way is short (after sunset) until it reaches the apertures which are in the east through which it desires to go forth."

about unto the north" (Eccles. i. 6).¹ It goes to the south at the Tekuphah of Tishri and at the Tekuphah of Tebeth, and turns to the north at the Tekuphah of Nisan and at the Tekuphah of Tammuz. It goes on its course for six months in the south quarter, and for six months in the north quarter, and owing to its circuits the sun² returns to the aperture which is in the east. The sun has three letters of (God's) Name written upon his heart,³ and the angels lead him;⁴ such || as lead him by day do not lead him by night, and such as lead him by night do not lead him by day. The sun rides in a chariot and rises, crowned as a bridegroom,⁵ as it is said, "Which is as a bridegroom coming out of his chamber, and rejoiceth as a strong man to run his course" (Ps. xix. 5). The sun's rays and face, which are turned downwards (to the earth), are of hail;⁶ and were it not for the hail which quenches the flames of fire⁷ the world would be consumed by fire, as it is said, "And there is nothing hid from the heat thereof" (*ibid.* 6). In winter (the sun) turns the upper (half of) his face downwards,⁸ and were it not for the fire which warms the face of hail the world could not endure because of the ice (cold), as it is said, "Who can stand before his cold?" (*ibid.* cxlvii. 17). These are the ends of the ways of the sun.⁹

¹ Ecclesiastes refers to the wind here, but our text applies this to the sun. See the Targum to this verse of Ecclesiastes.

² Lit. wind or quarter. See previous note.

³ See Jerahmeel iii. 4: "Three letters of the Ineffable Name of God are written upon the heart of the sun." The sun has three different terms in Hebrew.

⁴ Slav. Enoch xiv. 2-4 says: "When he (the sun) goes out by the Western gate four hundred angels take his crown and bring it to the Lord. And the sun revolves in his chariot . . . and when he comes near the east . . . the four hundred angels bring his crown and crown him." There is probably some connection between this passage and P.R.E. Eth. Enoch refers to the sun's chariot (lxxii. 5). See also 3 Baruch, ch. vi. 1 f. ed. Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, ii. p. 536. This Apocalypse of Baruch offers also other parallels to our Midrash, see Introduction, and cf. J.E. ii. 550.

⁵ The first editions add: "and he goeth forth and rejoiceth like a strong man."

⁶ The 1st ed. reads: "The sun's rays and face which look downwards are of fire and his rays and face which look upwards are of hail." The Venice edition adds "to the earth" after "downwards." See Eth. Enoch iv.

⁷ The first editions read: "his face of fire."

⁸ The first editions read: "the lower (half of) his face upwards, and were it not for the fire which warms the hail."

⁹ Compare with our text Eth. Enoch lxxxii. 15-20.

CHAPTER VII¹

THE COURSE OF THE MOON [7A. i.]

RABBAN JOCHANAN BEN ZAKKAI, Rabban Gamaliel, R. Ishmael, R. Elazar ben 'Arakh, R. Eliezer ben Hyrkanos, and R. 'Aqiba² were expounding³ (the laws of) the Molad⁴ of the moon. They said:⁵ The Holy One, blessed be He, spake one word and the heavens were created⁶ as the residence of the Throne of His Glory,⁷ as it is said, "By the *word* of the Lord were the heavens made" (Ps. xxxiii. 6). But in connection with the (creation of the) host of heaven He laboured with great labour.⁸ || What did the Holy One, blessed be He, do? He blew with His mouth the wind of the breath⁹ of life¹⁰ and all the host of heaven were created,¹¹ as it is said, "And *all* the host of them by the *breath* of his mouth" (*ibid.*).

All the stars and constellations¹² were created at the

¹ In MS. this is ch. vi.

² On Rabban Gamaliel ii. see *J.E.* v. 560 ff.; on R. Ishmael see Bacher, T. i. 232 ff., and *J.E.* vi. 648 ff.; on R. Elazar b. 'Arakh see *J.E.* v. 96 f.; for life of R. 'Aqiba see Bacher, T. i. 263 ff. It is difficult to understand how R. 'Aqiba or R. Ishmael could have discussed Torah with Rabban Jochanan b. Zakkai.

³ The first editions read: "were sitting and expounding."

⁴ Molad is the conjunction of Moon and Sun; see Schwarz, *Der jüdische Kalender*, pp. 58 f.

⁵ The margin of the MS. has, "and all of them" (said).

⁶ Cf. Isa. xlv. 12. See Othijoth d. R. 'Aqiba, third paragraph of letter Resh, ed. Jellinek, *B.H.M.* iii. p. 46, and compare John i. 3, where the Logos or Word is the Creator.

⁷ The first editions read: "His Kingdom."

⁸ The first editions read: "great labour is mentioned, as it is said, 'And all the host of them by the *breath* of his mouth' (*ibid.*)."

⁹ Breath implies more than a mere word.

¹⁰ The first editions read: "He blew with the wind of the breath of His mouth."

¹¹ "Simultaneously" is added by the first editions.

¹² "And the two luminaries" is added by the first editions.

beginning of ¹ the night of the fourth ² day, one (luminary) did not precede the other except by the period of two-thirds of an hour. Therefore every motion ³ of the sun (is done) with deliberation, and every motion of the moon is (done) quickly.⁴ The distance covered by the sun in thirteen days and a fifth ⁵ is covered by the moon in one day,⁶ and (the distance) covered by the sun all the days of the year, the moon traverses (the same distance) in forty-one days.⁷ All the days serve for the beginning of the Molad of the (new) moon; (for the following series ⁸) the days are reckoned backward; at the beginning of the night of the fourth day ⁹ the beginning of the Molad (new moon) was

¹ 6 p.m.

² Tuesday evening at 6 p.m., when the fourth day began.

³ Lit. "action."

⁴ Since the sun was created just before the moon the latter hastens to overtake the former.

⁵ Oxford MS. (d. 35) reads: "12 days."

⁶ The text of the printed editions is hopelessly corrupt. They state: "The distance covered by the sun all the days of the year is traversed by the moon in one day."

⁷ The 1st ed. reads: "28 days." The Venice text reads: "30 days," which seems to be more correct than "41 days" of our MS. Our author seems to treat numbers without any regard to the exact amount. By treating fractions as though they were whole numbers, we may find an explanation of the difficulty which has already occurred in the previous chapter; perhaps the $365\frac{1}{2}$ days of the year were described as 366 so as to avoid the fraction. The text should probably read thus: "The distance covered by the sun in 12 days is covered by the moon in 1 day, and (the distance) covered by the sun all the days of the year, the moon traverses in 30 days." See, however, T.J. Rosh Ha-Shanah ii. 5, p. 58a, which is possibly the source of our text here. The lunar month according to the Hebrew astronomers was said to be 29 days, 12 hours, and $\frac{793}{1080}$ parts of an hour (1 minute = 18 parts). Our book sometimes treats this as a whole number by saying, "the month has 30 days," or we find the more exact reference to 29 days, 12 hours, and 40 minutes, neglecting the 4 minutes, $3\frac{1}{2}$ seconds, which really belong to the sum total. On the entire subject of the Calendar see the valuable article by S. Poznański in Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, iii. 17 ff.

⁸ The series of the small cycles of three years in which the Molad of the next cycle falls on the day which was anterior to that on which the previous Molad fell. The calculation is based on the length of the lunar month being reckoned as measuring 29 days, 12 hours, 40 minutes, so that in one year the surplus over the complete week equals 4 days, 8 hours (since each lunar month has 4 complete weeks and 1 day, 12 hours and 40 minutes; and this surplus multiplied by 12 equals 18 days, 8 hours, i.e. 4 days, 8 hours beyond the two weeks), and in three years we have a surplus of 13 days (two weeks less one day); therefore the day of the next series to the one in question will be one day earlier than the preceding series; see Schwarz, *op. cit.* p. 23, and Lewisohn, *Geschichte und System des jüdischen Kalenderwesens*, p. 25, note 84.

⁹ Tuesday, at 6 p.m.

in the hour of Saturn;¹ and the mnemonic is ShNZ KMLChSh. After three years of the small cycle the day² of the next cycle (reverts to) the beginning of the night of the third day, and the beginning of the Molad (new moon) is in the hour of Venus. After three years of the small cycle the day² of the next cycle (reverts to) the beginning of the night of the second day, the beginning of the Molad is in the hour of Jupiter. After three years of the small cycle the day² of the next cycle (reverts to) the beginning of the night of the first day, the beginning of the Molad || is in the hour of Mercury.³ After three years of the small cycle the day² of the next cycle (reverts to) the beginning of the night of the Sabbath, the beginning of the Molad is in the hour of Mars. After three years of the small cycle the day² of the next cycle (reverts to) the beginning of the night of the sixth day, the beginning of the Molad is in the hour of the Moon. After three years of the small cycle the day² of the next cycle (reverts to) the beginning of the night of the fifth day, the beginning of the Molad is in the hour of the Sun. After three years of the small cycle the day² of the next cycle (reverts to) the beginning of the night of the fourth day, the beginning of the Molad reverts to the hour of Saturn as in the hour when it was created.

The great cycle of the moon is 21 years; it has 7 small cycles each containing 3 years.⁴ The total of the days of the lunar month is $29\frac{1}{2}$ days, 40 minutes, and 73 parts.⁵ Each constellation serves the days of the lunar month for 2 days and 8 hours; three constellations serve for 7 days. The chief⁶ which begins on the new moon (of the lunar month) is the same which concludes at the end of the lunar month.⁷ The moon becomes new at every

¹ See *supra*, p. 32, note 2. Saturn is represented by Sh.

² Of the Molad at the beginning of the new cycle.

³ The MS. reads: "Kôkhab Chamah," which is not the usual appellation for Mercury; see Zunz, *Gesammelte Schriften*, iii. p. 243.

⁴ The first editions add: "Each constellation ministers to the days of the lunar month."

⁵ As we have seen, 1 hour = 1080 parts, therefore 73 parts = $4\frac{1}{8}$ minutes. Luria holds that the expression "73 parts" is an interpolation. See T.B. Rosh Ha-Shanah, 25a, on the question of the duration of a lunar month, which agrees with our text.

⁶ The constellation.

⁷ The twelve constellations serve or influence 28 days of the lunar month; the remaining $1\frac{1}{2}$ days, etc., are under the influence of the constellation which presided at the beginning of the month.

Molad, once at night and the next time¹ by day, || and this is their sign: "And it was evening and it was morning" (Gen. i. 5). Between one Molad and (the corresponding) Molad in the ensuing year (there elapse) 4 days, 8 hours, and 876 parts.²

From one small cycle to the next cycle (elapse) 13 days, 2619 parts.³ When⁴ the sun goes in the south quarter, the moon goes in the north quarter, and when the sun goes in the north quarter⁵ the moon goes in the south quarter. All the hours serve for the beginning of the Molad of the moon in a retrospective order, according to the order "ShLKNChM and Z."⁶ In the first year at the beginning of the night of the fourth day the beginning of the Molad (conjunction of the moon) is in the hour of Saturn (Sh). In the second year⁷ the beginning of the conjunction of the

¹ Lit. "once."

² The first editions read: "4 days, 8 hours, and 873 parts." This is incorrect. Luria reads: "4 days and 8 hours." The basis of his assumption, which is unwarranted, is the theory that the lunar month = 4 weeks and 1 day, 12 hours, and 40 minutes, and this surplus multiplied by 12 = 18 days, 8 hours, i.e. 2 weeks and 4 days, 8 hours. Again this surplus multiplied by 3 (the small cycle) = 13 days exactly. Our MS. is quite correct; see Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, iv. p. 120. The 1st and 2nd eds. add: "the difference between a great cycle and a small cycle is only 13 days."¹

³ This means 13 days, 2 hours, 25½ minutes.

⁴ The text in the printed edition reads: "In the west at the time." The reference is probably to the relation between the position of the sun and moon (1) in the winter and (2) at the beginning of the conjunction of the moon and sun. See T.B. Rosh Ha-Shanah, 24a, with Rashi's commentary at top of page.

⁵ In the summer the sun is more in the north than in the winter, and the moon is in conjunction in the south-west, and in the summer its position is south of the sun at its conjunction.

⁶ The 1st ed. omits this mnemonic.

⁷ "In the hour following" is found in some of the late editions. The difference between one year and the next in this connection is taken to be 4 days, 8 hours; if the first Molad were at 6 p.m. Tuesday, in the next year it will be 4 days, 8 hours later, i.e. Sunday 2 a.m., which is the hour of the moon. The following table will summarize the text:—

The beginning of the Molad at 6 p.m. Tuesday in the hour of Saturn.

"	"	2 a.m. Sunday	"	the Moon.
"	"	10 a.m. Thursday	"	Mercury.
"	"	6 p.m. Monday	"	Venus.
"	"	2 a.m. Saturday	"	the Sun.
"	"	10 a.m. Wednesday	"	Mars.
"	"	6 p.m. Sunday	"	Jupiter.

¹ This is the interval between each small cycle, neglecting the fractions.

moon is in the hour of the Moon (L). In the third year, in the following hour, the beginning of the conjunction of the moon is in the hour of Mercury (K).¹ In the fourth year the beginning of the conjunction of the moon is in the hour of Venus (N). In the fifth year, in the hour following, the beginning of the conjunction of the moon is in the hour of the Sun (Ch). In the sixth year the beginning of the conjunction of the moon is in the hour of Mars (M). In the seventh year, in the hour following, the beginning of the conjunction of the moon is || in the hour of Jupiter (Z) in the hour following.² The third and fifth years are like the seventh. In like manner for three times these hours serve at the conjunction of the moon retrospectively until the (expiration of) the 21 years of the cycle.

All the constellations serve the moon by night from the four corners of the world : ³ 3 in the north, 3 in the south, 3 in the east, and 3 in the west. All the hours ⁴ serve the moon by night from the four corners of the world : 2 in the south, 2 in the north, 2 in the east, and 2 in the west. In the hour in which it began to serve in the

Speaking of the sun and moon, Eth. Enoch says (lxxviii. 5) : " And they set and enter the portals of the west, and make their revolutions to the north and come forth through the eastern portals on the face of the heaven." The old Jewish belief as to the relation between the motion of the sun and moon was as follows : According to Rashi (T.B. Rosh Ha-Shanah, *loc. cit.*) the conjunction of every Molad (new moon) takes place when the moon is in the south-west corner of its orbit.

In winter since the sun does not traverse the west in the daytime save when it sets, therefore the moon is in the west before the sun gets there, because the moon during the first half of the lunar month goes to the north, whilst the sun revolves in the south.

In summer the sun goes over the greater part of the west in the daytime ; and as it is then revolving in the north it is there before the moon, for then the moon is chiefly in the south. Where the sun sets there the moon rises.

¹ See *supra*, p. 43, note 3.

² " In the hour following " and the next sentence do not occur in the printed texts.

³ See Jalkut, Ex. § 418, and Jalkut, 1 Kings, § 185, according to the latter passage, " The twelve constellations (*i.e.* the Zodiac) through which the world is ruled, three turn to the north . . . Aries, Leo, and Sagittarius ; Taurus, Virgo, and Capricornus are turned to the west ; Gemini, Libra, and Aquarius are turned to the south ; Cancer, Scorpio, and Pisces are turned to the east." An entirely different order is given in the Jalkut on Exodus, *loc. cit.* Cf. T.B. Pesachim, 94a, and see Eth. Enoch lxxii. 2 ff.

⁴ *i.e.* the stars of the hours or the seven planets. This sentence is wanting in the 1st ed.

south, (therein) it finishes in the west ;¹ and so with all its circuits.

All the great² luminaries of the stars³ are situated in the south except Ursa Major,⁴ which is placed in the north. All the Mazzikin⁵ which move in the firmament and the angels⁶ who fell⁷ from their holy place (even) from heaven,⁸ (when) they ascend to hear the (Divine) Word behind the veil⁹ they are pursued¹⁰ with a rod of fire, and they return¹¹ to their place.¹²

10 days, 21 hours, and 204 parts are the excess of the days of the solar year over the days of the lunar year ;¹³ and

¹ The eight hours refer to the length of the shortest night according to our book; see *infra*, p. 322. The seven planets are placed thus: two in the south, two in the north, two in the east, and the seventh planet in the west; in addition, the first planet which served in the south serves at the end of the night (8th hour) in the west.

² The 1st ed. reads "small."

³ The expression is borrowed from Ezek. xxxii. 8. The seven planets are not referred to in this connection. The Pal. Targum, Ex. xl. 4, "And thou shalt bring in the lamp-stand on the south side, because thence are the paths of the sun and moon, and the pathways of the luminaries."

⁴ עגלה, "waggon." The constellation Taurus of the Zodiac or Ursa Major as a star is probably implied; see Rashi on T.B. Berakhoth, 58b.

⁵ See *supra*, p. 14, note 8.

⁶ The fall of the angels recalls Jude 6; Jubilees v. 6, 7; Slav. Enoch xviii.; Eth. Enoch vi.-xvi., xix., and lxxxvi.; Test. XII Pat. (Reuben, v. 6, 7), and Fragments of a Zadokite Work (ed. Schechter, iii. 18). See *infra*, pp. 99 and 160. The fall of the angels is a favourite subject with the Church Fathers, e.g. Athenagoras, *Embassy*, xxiv.; Justin Martyr, *Second Apology*, v.; and *Dialogue with Trypho*, lxxix.

⁷ The first editions add: "from their greatness."

⁸ The first editions add: "in the days of the generation of Enosh." This view opposes the doctrine of the Book of Jubilees v. 6-9, which holds that the fall of the angels took place in the days of Noah. Cf. Eth. Enoch vi. 4-6. On the "generation of Enosh" see *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, pp. 37, 193, and 248; Jerahmeel xxiv. 9, xxvi. 20; Pal. Targum, Gen. iv. 26. On the "fall of the angels" see Gen. Rab. xxvi. 7; Pal. Targum, Gen. vi. 4; Jerahmeel xxv., and Gaster's Introduction, p. lxxiii, for further parallels. In Christian literature this legend also occurs; see *The Clementine Homilies*, xiii.

⁹ See *supra*, p. 23, note 5.

¹⁰ 1st ed. reads: "they are separated."

¹¹ The first editions add: "backwards."

¹² This is missing in the 1st ed.

¹³ The 204 parts = 11½ minutes; Luria holds that this is a later addition to our text. On the astronomical question see Gen. Rab. xxxiii. 7. Our reading has been used by the Pal. Targum, Gen. i. 16 (see Ginsburger, *Pseudo-Jonathan*, p. 2, note 8). The Slavonic Enoch says, "And there remain 11 days over, which belong to the solar circle of the whole year" (xvi. 5). According to Eth. Enoch lxxviii. 15, 16, the lunar year has 354 days and the solar year has 364 days, thus

the intercalation is introduced to equalize the days of the solar || year with the days of the lunar year.¹ The sun and the moon begin (their courses) at the new moon of Nisan, the sun goes before the moon at its Tekuphah;² and Aries begins to serve before it by day, and all the constellations serve thereafter³ according to their order. The moon goes in the opposite direction⁴ and Aries begins to serve before it⁵ by night, and all the constellations serve thereafter according to their order, until the year of the small cycle, until the year of intercalation (comes round). (When) the intercalated month comes round it supersedes (or thrusts aside) the new moon (of Nisan) and remains at the new moon of Shebat,⁶ and so on until the twelve⁷ intercalated months

the difference between them amounts to 10 days. Jubilees vi. 32-36 holds that the moon "comes in from year to year 10 days too soon."

¹ On the intercalation see *infra*, Chapter VIII. p. 57.

² According to Gikaṭilla's *Ginnath Ēgôz* (ed. Hanau), p. 50b, the text should read: "The sun goes before the moon according to her ordinance."

³ Lit. "after it," *i.e.* after Aries.

⁴ Lit. "backwards."

⁵ The MS. reads "before him," *i.e.* the sun. The first printed editions read: "before her," *i.e.* the moon.

⁶ The intercalated month is always interposed between Adar and Nisan, so as to ensure the fall of the Passover in the early spring. The first printed editions read here, "Adar," which appears to be the correct reading. The Venice edition adds: "and thus is it until the year of the small cycle¹ comes round; (when) the intercalated month comes it displaces the new moon and remains at the new moon of Tebeth."²

⁷ The text is questioned by Luria and others. If instead of "12" we read "7" then we have the cycle of 19 years with 7 intercalated months, which will be presently considered. Luria thinks that "the sun and moon are equal at the commencement of the eve of the fourth day in the hour of Saturn," as "when they were created" only applies at the end of the cycle of 84 years. This number is obtained by multiplying 12 (the number of the constellations) by 7 (the number of the planets); or by multiplying the solar cycle of 28 years by 3; or by multiplying the lunar cycle of 21 years by 4; possibly this 84-year cycle was intended to be used for astrological purposes.

¹ This small cycle is not the same as we have already discussed, namely, the 3-years cycle; it is the small cycle of intercalation which will be explained in Chapter VIII.

² The 1st ed. reads "Shebat." At the second intercalation when the month is interposed before Nisan the intercalated month will be at the new moon of the month before Adar (*i.e.* Shebat) if considered in relation to the first year of the intercalation; and in the next year when the intercalation takes place the intercalated month before Nisan will really begin at the new moon of the month before Shebat (*i.e.* Tebeth) if considered in relation to the first year of the series. Thus after 12 years the intercalated month would again begin at the new moon of Adar. This is probably the meaning of the text which speaks of "12 intercalated months."

(come round) when the sun and the moon are equal (again) at the commencement of the eve of the fourth day in the hour of Saturn in the hour when they were created. Between each Molad (conjunction of the moon and sun) there are only 36 hours, 40 minutes, and 73¹ minims (parts).

The moon does not disappear from the firmament save for the twinkling of an eye; even though there were a full thread (of light) surrounding it in the east and in the west,² the eye has not the power to see the moon until eight large³ hours (have elapsed). (The large hours) are two hours for each (large) hour, either at the beginning of the Molad (conjunction) of the moon or at the end of the Molad of the moon.

The number of the days of the lunar year is 354 days, a third of a day, and 876 minims.⁴ || All the hours of a lunar month are 708 hours and 40 minutes; all the hours of a lunar year are 8504 hours.⁵

All the constellations serve the Molad of the moon and also the generations⁶ of the children of men;⁷ upon them

¹ The "73 minims" must be considered as an interpolation; see *supra*, p. 43, note 5.

² That is, at the beginning and end of the Molad; see T.B. Rosh Ha-Shanah, zob, Rashi, *in loc.*

³ The large hour equals two ordinary hours, as is explained in the next line of the text. This passage explaining the large hour is not in the printed editions. According to T.B. Rosh Ha-Shanah, *loc. cit.*, the Palestinian Jews were unable to discern the moon at the Molad, for 6 hours after and 18 hours before the Molad; in Babylon the reverse rule obtained. The reading "6 hours" in this Talmudic passage seems to Luria to be the appropriate reading in our text. Assuming, however, that our text is correct, we might argue that Palestine could not be the place where our book arose.

⁴ 876 minims equal 48 $\frac{3}{4}$ minutes. There is evidently something amiss here, because the next sentence tells us that the lunar month has 708 hours and 40 minutes, which means that the lunar month equals 29 days, 12 hours, and 40 minutes. On this basis the lunar year has 354 days, 8 hours. Must we assume that the "876 minims" are an interpolation? This figure equals 48 $\frac{3}{4}$ minutes, which in one lunar month equal 41 $\frac{1}{8}$ minutes or 73 minims.

⁵ 8504 hours = 12 times 29 days, 12 hours, and 40 minutes.

⁶ Or, "history."

⁷ The knowledge of the influence of the stars and planets on terrestrial affairs or, in other words, astrology was believed to enable men to know the future. Our book bases this on the text, which is quoted in this paragraph; also Gen. v. 1, which was read as follows: "This is the calculation of the generations of man." See also Job xxxviii. 19, "Where is the way to the dwelling of light. . . . And that thou shouldst discern the paths to the house thereof? Thou knowest for thou wast then born." The sun, moon, and the planets are referred to in this chapter, showing that they have some connection with the time

the world stands, and everyone who is wise and understands, he understands the Molad of the moon and the generations of the children of men, and concerning them the text says, "And let them be for signs,¹ and for seasons" (*ibid.* 14). The *signs* of the hours shall not depart from serving the sun by day and the moon by night.

In three cycles of the sun or in four cycles of the moon² there are 84 years, which are one hour³ of the day of the Holy One, blessed be He. When the sun and moon become equal⁴ at the beginning of the eve of the fourth day and at the hour of Saturn in the hour when they were created, and in the hour when the flames of the moon reach the sun by day at the degree (or ascent) of 60 (degrees), it passes therein and extinguishes its light; and in the hour when the flames of the sun reach the moon at night in the degree (or ascent) of 40 (degrees), it passes through it and extinguishes its light.⁵

Rabbi Nehorai said: It is the decree of the King⁶ that when Israel sins || and fails to intercalate the year as is becoming, the Holy One, blessed be He, acts in His mercy at the time when the flame of the sun reaches the moon by night at 40 degrees (or ascents), then the Holy One, blessed

and duration of life. Slav. Enoch xix. 2 says, "And these orders arrange and study the revolutions of the stars, and the changes of the moon, and revolutions of the sun, and superintend the good and evil condition of the world." The N.T. also implies a belief in the doctrines of astrology, *e.g.* Matt. ii. 9; see Jeremias, *Babylonisches im N.T.*, p. 52. This book of Jeremias is the best book on N.T. astrology; for astrology among the Jews see Löw, *Gesammelte Schriften*, ii. 115 ff.

¹ The first editions add the next word in the verse, "and for seasons"; this is wanting in our MS.

² The lunar cycle referred to here consists of 21 years, as stated *supra*, p. 43. The solar cycle consists of 28 years, see *supra*, p. 34.

³ God's day equals 1000 years, therefore 1 hour (reckoning 12 hours to the day) equals $83\frac{1}{3}$ years. The third part of the year is reckoned as a whole year. This is another instance of the use of fractions as whole numbers, which seems to be a characteristic of our author. The Church Fathers use this idea of God's day lasting 1000 years; see Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho*, lxxxii., and Irenæus, *adv. Hær.* v. 28. 3; and cf. Slavonic Enoch xxxiii. 1 f.

⁴ That is, they begin their courses as at the Creation.

⁵ This refers to the eclipses. It is not clear what the 60 or 40 degrees or ascents mean here.

⁶ The first editions read: "The decree of the King is made public by a word." See Jalḳuṭ, Jer. § 285. Instead of the reading "by a word" Luria suggests the reading "in the world," referring to the eclipses which are visible over a large portion of the world.

be He, makes the moon dim and hides one of the Synhedrion.¹ When Israel does the will of the Holy One, blessed be He, in His great mercy He makes the sun dim and He sends forth His anger upon the nations of the world,² as it is said, "Thus saith the Lord, Learn not the way of the *nations*, and be not dismayed at the signs of heaven,³ for the *nations* are dismayed at them" (Jer. x. 2).⁴ Just as the moon's light does not rule over the sun's light⁵ by day, nor does the sun's light rule over the moon's light⁶ by night, likewise the calculation of the moon does not rule by day nor does the calculation of the sun (obtain) by night,⁷ and the one does not trespass on the boundary of the other.⁸

The dwelling of the moon is between cloud and thick darkness⁹ made like two dishes turned one over the other,¹⁰ and when it is the conjunction of the moon these two clouds turn in the east quarter¹¹ and (the moon) goes forth from between them¹² like a ram's horn.¹³ On the first night (is revealed) one measure (of light), on the second night

¹ Cf. T.B. Synhedrin, 37a, and Cant. Rab. on Cant. vii. 3. Here "to hide" means to conceal in the future life; this, in other words, is a warning not to neglect the intercalation. According to the Jesod 'Olam iii. 17 the moon is the "chief" of the Synhedrion, which dies at the eclipse by being *hidden*. For eclipse in N.T. see Luke xxiii. 44, 45.

² The first editions read here also "the nations of the world." Later editions read: "worshippers of idols."

³ The first editions continue the verse.

⁴ Some of the old editions read here: "the nations (or according to the Prague edition 'the worshippers of idols') are dismayed, but not Israel." See Pseudo-Seder Elijahu Zutta (ed. Friedmann, p. 10 and note 40) on the eclipses, where the Talmudic and Midrashic sources are fully given. The astronomical question is treated at length in Israeli's Jesod 'Olam, *loc. cit.*; see also Maimonides, Hilkhoth Kiddush Ha-Chodesh.

⁵ According to Slavonic Enoch xvi. 7 the moon shines with her own light.

⁶ See T.B. Chullin, 60b. When the sun is invisible the moon shines.

⁷ The first editions read: "We do not count the calculation of the sun at night, nor the calculation of the moon by day."

⁸ See, however, Gen. Rab. vi. 3 for the opposite opinion. According to Lev. Rab. xxvi. 4 the sun and moon borrow light from one another.

⁹ This is based on Job xxxviii. 9. On the text see Buber's introduction to Sepher Ha-Orah, p. 119.

¹⁰ The first printed editions insert here: "and (the moon) goes forth from between them."

¹¹ The first printed editions read: "turn their faces to the west quarter."

¹² See Singer, p. 128: "bringing forth the sun from his place, and the moon from her dwelling."

¹³ At rising.

the second measure, and so on until the half of the month when the moon is fully revealed, and from the middle of the month these two clouds turn their faces in the west quarter.¹ The corner (*i.e.* crescent) of the moon with which it comes forth first,² (the same) begins to enter and is covered therein by the two (clouds) on the first night³ (by) one measure, on the second night (by) a second measure, and so on to the end of the month until || it is entirely covered. And whence do we know that it is placed between two clouds? Because it is said, "When I made the cloud the garment thereof, and thick darkness⁴ a swaddlingband for it" (Job xxxviii. 9). And whence do we know that it becomes entirely covered? Because it is said, "Blow ye the trumpet in the new moon, *at the covering*,⁵ on our solemn feast day" (Ps. lxxxi. 3). "At the covering," on the day when it is entirely covered, blow ye the trumpet in the new moon.⁶

¹ This is also the reading of the 1st ed. The Venice edition reads: "in the quarter of the east."

² See Jalkuṭ Makhiri, Ps. lxxxi. 14. pp. 25a, b, and Jalkuṭ, Job xxxviii. 9, § 923.

³ After full moon.

⁴ The first editions give the next word of the text, whereas our MS. has "etc."

⁵ "Covering"; see 'Arukh (ed. Kohut), iv. p. 266a, which has a different text of our passage. For further reference to the sun and moon see T. J. Berakhoth i. 1.; T. J. Rosh Ha-Shanah ii. 5. 58a; Shocher Tob (Ps. xix.), pp. 168 f.; Pesikta de R. Kahana, P. Ha-Chodesh, 41b f.; and Ex. Rab. xv. 22.

⁶ This verse of Ps. lxxxi. 3 is applied by the Liturgy (see Singer, p. 115) and by the Midrashim (*e.g.* Shocher Tob, Ps. lxxxi. § 5) to the New Year. The fact that the Shophar (ram's horn) was mentioned a few lines previously seems to point to this section as forming part of a Midrash for the New Year.

CHAPTER VIII¹

THE PRINCIPLE OF INTERCALATION [9A. i.]

ON the 28th of Ellul the sun and the moon were created.² The number of years, months, days, nights,³ terms, seasons, cycles, and intercalation were before the Holy One, blessed be He,⁴ and He intercalated the years and afterwards He delivered the (calculations) to the first man in the garden of Eden,⁵ as it is said, "This is the calculation⁶ for the generations of Adam" (Gen. v. 1), the calculation of the world is therein for the generations of the children of Adam.

Adam handed on the tradition to Enoch,⁷ who was initiated in the principle of intercalation, and he intercalated the year, as it is said, "And Enoch walked with God" (*ibid.* 22). Enoch walked in the ways of the calculation concerning the world which God had delivered to Adam.

¹ This is ch. vii. in the MS. The printed editions present a good deal of the material in this chapter in a different order to that of our MS.

² See T.B. Rosh Ha-Shanah, 11a and 27a, for the view of R. Eliezer that the world was created in Tishri. The heavenly bodies were created on Ellul the 28th. The work of creation began on the 25th of Ellul, see also Lev. Rab. xxix. 1. In the preceding chapters the assumption was that the Creation took place in Nisan, cf. *supra*, pp. 35 f., 47. This opinion has also the support of the Talmud B. Rosh Ha-Shanah, 12a. Part of this chapter is quoted in the "Megillah of Abiathar," edited by Schechter in *J.Q.R.* xiv. pp. 463 ff.

³ The first editions add: "hours." Cf. Wisdom vii. 18 f.

⁴ See Gen. Rab. iii. 7 as to the calculations prior to the Creation.

⁵ In a holy place; for, according to our book, the Garden of Eden was near Mount Moriah in Palestine. See *infra*, p. 143.

⁶ See *supra*, p. 48, note 7, and cf. T.J. Rosh Ha-Shanah i. 3. 57b and Pesikta de R. Kahana P. Ha-Chodesh, p. 43b.

⁷ The mention of Enoch in connection with the Calendar is significant, suggesting an acquaintance with the Calendar systems associated with Enoch in the pseudepigraphic literature. The fact that according to the O.T. Enoch lived 365 years is also noteworthy in this connection.

And Enoch delivered the principle of intercalation to Noah,¹ and he was initiated in the principle of intercalation, and he intercalated the year, as it is said,² "While the earth remaineth,³ seed-time and harvest, and cold and heat, and summer and winter" (*ibid.* viii. 22). "Seed-time" refers to the Tekuphah of Tishri,⁴ "harvest" refers to the Tekuphah of Nisan, "cold" refers to the Tekuphah of Tebeth, and "heat" refers to the Tekuphah of Tammuz; "summer" is in its season and "winter" is in its season.⁵

The counting of the sun is *by day* || and the counting of the moon is *by night*, "*they shall not cease.*"⁶

Noah handed on the tradition to Shem, and he was initiated in the principle of intercalation; he intercalated the years and he was called a priest, as it is said, "And Melchizedek⁷ king of Salem . . . was a priest of God Most High" (*ibid.* xiv. 18). Was Shem the son of Noah a priest? But because he was the first-born, and because he ministered to his God by day and by night, therefore was he called a priest.⁸ Shem delivered the tradition to Abraham; he was initiated in the principle of intercalation and he intercalated the year, and he (also) was called priest, as it is said, "The

¹ This should probably read "Methuselah," and the text should continue, "who handed it on to Noah."

² Luria's text here needs correction.

³ The rest of the verse is given by the first editions.

⁴ Pal. Targum of this verse reads: "During all the days of the earth, (there shall be) sowing at the Tekuphah of Tishri, and harvest at the Tekuphah of Nisan, cold at the Tekuphah of Tebeth and warmth at the Tekuphah of Tammuz, and summer and winter, and days and night shall not fail." Tekuphah means not only season, but also the time of solstice and equinox according to the season.

⁵ The "Megillah of Abiathar," p. 463, adds: "summer in its season and winter in its season."

⁶ This section is based on the text "day and night shall not cease" (Gen. viii. 22).

⁷ Melchizedek is identified by our book with Shem. According to T.B. Nedarim, 32b, the priestly office held by Melchizedek's successors passed to those of Abraham; see Beer, *Buch der Jubiläen*, p. 74. The question of the identification of Shem with Melchizedek occurs in the Talmud (*loc. cit.* in this note), and see Buber's note 18 on p. 30 of the Midrash Agadah, cf. also Pal. Targum and Jer. Targum on Gen. xiv. 18, and Gen. Rab. xliii. 6 and lvi. 9. See also the note of Charles in his ed. of *Jubilees*, p. 101. A considerable part of this section of our text occurs in Jalkut Makhiri, Ps. cx. 16, but the quotation from Gen. xiv. 18 is omitted. There are other variations in the text.

⁸ The verse from Gen. xiv. 18 occurs here in the printed editions, and not above as in our MS.

Lord hath sworn, and will not repent,¹ Thou art a priest for ever after the order² of Melchizedek" (Ps. cx. 4). Whence do we know that Shem delivered the tradition to Abraham? Because it is said, "After the order of Melchizedek" (*ibid.*). Abraham delivered the tradition to Isaac, and he was initiated in the principle of intercalation, and he intercalated the year after the death of our father Abraham, as it is said, "And it came to pass after the death of Abraham, that God blessed Isaac his son" (Gen. xxv. 11), because he had been initiated in the principle of intercalation and had intercalated the year (therefore) He blessed him with the blessing of eternity.³ Isaac gave to Jacob⁴ all the blessings and delivered to him the principle of intercalation. When Jacob went out of the (Holy) Land, he attempted to intercalate the year outside the (Holy) Land. The Holy One, blessed be He, said to him: Jacob! Thou hast no authority to intercalate the year outside the land (of Israel); behold, Isaac thy father is in the (Holy) Land,⁵ he will intercalate the year, as it is said, "And God appeared unto Jacob again, || when he came from Paddan-Aram, and blessed him" (*ibid.* xxxv. 9). Why "again"? Because the first time He was revealed to him, He prevented him from intercalating the year outside the (Holy) Land; but when he came to the (Holy) Land the Holy One, blessed

¹ The rest of the verse is not given by the MS., which merely adds "etc."

² Cf. Heb. v. 6 ff., on this theme. The Hebrew *יְרֵאָה* might suggest the meaning of "ruling"; the Oxford *Gesenius*, p. 184, renders the word: "after the order," or "manner of." Is it merely a coincidence that the Test. XII Pat., Benj. x. 6, mentions the same names as in our text and in the same order?—"Then shall ye see Enoch, Noah, and Shem, and Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob."

³ Or "of the world."

⁴ See Jalkut Makhiri, Pss. *loc. cit.*, which reads: "And Isaac handed on to Jacob all the blessings, and handed to him the principle of intercalation," confirming the accuracy of the text of our MS. The printed editions read: "Isaac delivered the tradition to Jacob, and he was initiated in the principle of intercalation, and he intercalated the year."

⁵ Although Isaac was blind, nevertheless the duty of intercalating the year devolved upon him and not upon Jacob when absent from the Holy Land. The Church offers a parallel to the subject-matter of our text in the famous controversy as to the right calculation for Easter; see the epistle sent to Pope Hilarus by Victorius in the fifth century. In this letter we have several references to the lunar cycle of 84 years which also occurs in our book. (For text see Thalhofer's *Bibliothek der Kirchenväter*, Die Briefe der Päpste, vi. pp. 16-30; cf. also Ideler, *Handbuch der Chronologie*, II, p. 276, and see also "The Paschal Canon of Anatolius of Alexandria," in *A.N.C.L.* xiv. pp. 411 ff.)

be He, said to him: Jacob! Arise, intercalate the year, as it is said, "And God appeared unto Jacob *again*, . . . and blessed him" (*ibid.*), because he was initiated in the principle of the intercalation, and He blessed him (with) the blessing of the world.¹

Jacob delivered to Joseph and his brethren the principle of intercalation, and they intercalated the year in the land of Egypt. (When) Joseph and his brethren died, the intercalations ceased from Israel in Egypt, as it is said, "And Joseph died, and all his brethren, and all that generation" (Ex. i. 6). Just as the intercalations were diminished from the Israelites in the land² of Egypt, likewise in the future will the intercalations be diminished at the end of the fourth kingdom³ until Elijah, be he remembered for good, shall come.⁴ Just as the Holy One, blessed be He, was revealed to Moses and Aaron in Egypt, likewise in the future will He be revealed to them⁵ at the end of the fourth kingdom,⁶ as it is said, "And the Lord spake unto Moses and Aaron in the land of Egypt *saying*,⁷ This month shall be unto you the beginning of months" (*ibid.* xii. 1, 2). What is the significance of the word "saying"? Say to them,⁸ Till now⁹ the principle of intercalation was with Me, henceforth it is your right to intercalate thereby the year.¹⁰ Thus were the

¹ *i.e.* the revelation of the Divine Name El Shaddai. "When I suspend judgment concerning man's sins, I am called El Shaddai," says the Midrash Tanchuma, Shemoth, § xx., and cf. *infra*, pp. 264 ff. In the first editions here follows the section beginning with the words: "Hence the (Sages) have said."

² The first editions read: "the Egyptian bondage."

³ The first editions read here: "bondage of the fourth kingdom."

⁴ The first editions read: "until King Messiah shall come." This sign, due to the ignorance which will obtain in the period just before the advent of the Messiah, is to be compared with the "woes of the Messianic age" in Jubilees xxiii. 19: "For they have forgotten commandment, and covenant, and feasts, and months, and Sabbaths, and jubilees."

⁵ The Venice ed. reads: "to us."

⁶ Some editions read "exile," or "bondage."

⁷ The MS. does not continue the verse; the first editions add: "This month shall be unto you."

⁸ The first editions add: "to Israel."

⁹ From the death of Joseph during the period of bondage.

¹⁰ See Pesikta de R. Kahana, *loc. cit.*, which reads: "it (the principle of intercalation) is delivered unto you." See also T.J. Rosh Ha-Shanah i. 13. 57d and Ex. Rab. xv. 2. The order of the narrative here in the MS. differs from that of the printed texts. On the astronomical knowledge of Moses, see Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* i. xxiii., and cf. Acts vii. 22.

Israelites went to intercalate the year in the (Holy) Land. When they were exiled to Babylon || they intercalated the year through those who were left in the (Holy) Land. When they were all exiled and there were not any (Jews) left in the (Holy) Land,¹ they intercalated the year in Babylon. (When) Ezra and all the community with him² went (to Palestine), Ezekiel³ wished to intercalate the year in Babylon; (then) the Holy One, blessed be He, said to him: Ezekiel! Thou hast no authority to intercalate the year outside the Land; behold, Israel thy brethren,⁴ they will intercalate the year,⁵ as it is said, "Son of man, when the house of Israel dwell in their *own* land" (Ezek. xxxvi. 17). Hence (the Sages) have said, Even when the righteous and the wise are outside the Land, and the keeper of sheep and herds are in the Land, they do not intercalate the year⁶ except through the keeper of sheep and herds in the Land. Even when prophets are outside the Land and the ignorant⁷ are in the Land they do not intercalate the year except through the ignorant who are in the land (of Israel),⁸ as it is said, "Son of man, when the house of Israel dwell in their *own* land" (*ibid.*) it is their duty to intercalate the year.

On account of three things⁹ is the year intercalated, on account of trees, grass, and the seasons (Tekuphoth). If two of these (signs) be available and not the third,

¹ After the murder of Gedaliah; see T.B. Sabbath, 145b, and Seder 'Olam Rab. xxvii. p. 62a. The Land = Palestine.

² This is based on Ezra ii. 1; cf. T.B. 'Arakhin, 13a and 32a.

³ On the question whether Ezekiel could have been a contemporary of Ezra, see Rashi on Ezek. xxix. (end), and cf. *infra*, p. 249. The special privileges attached to the Holy Land are noteworthy in considering the provenance of our book.

⁴ *i.e.* your brethren in the land of Israel, see 2 Kings xxv. 22 and Jer. xliii. 5.

⁵ The order of narrative in our MS. differs from that of the printed texts.

⁶ This passage if rendered literally reads: "Even the righteous and the wise outside the Land and the keeper of sheep and herds in the Land, then the year is intercalated only by the keeper of sheep and herds." See T.B. Synhedrin, 18b and 26a, for instances of intercalation by shepherds. Cf. the narrative of the Magi and the Star in Matt. ii. 1 ff.

⁷ Or "commoners" (הריוט = *δωδωτης*), see T.B. Nedarim, 78a. For an instance of intercalation outside Palestine see T.B. Berakhoth, 63a, and cf. Tosaphoth on Jebamoth, 115a.

⁸ The printed editions differ from our MS. here with reference to the arrangement of the material.

⁹ The first editions read: "signs." This is also the reading in the Oxford MS. (d. 35). See *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, p. 221, note 3.

they do not intercalate the year, (that is to say) neither because of the trees nor because of the grass. If one (sign)¹ be available and the other two be absent, they do not intercalate the year on account of the Tekuphoth.² If the Tekuphah of Tebeth had occurred on the 20th³ day of || the month or later, they intercalate the year; but till the 20th day of the month Tebeth or earlier they do not intercalate the year.

The cycle of intercalation is 19 years, and there are 7 small cycles⁴ therein; some of these are (separated by) 3 years, some (by) 2 years, others (are separated by) 3 or 2 years, or (by) 3, 3, and 3 years (the order of the cycles being): 3rd, 6th, 8th, 11th, 14th, 17th, and 19th years. There are two (sets) of three years' cycles.⁵

¹ *i.e.* the Tekuphah. Luria thinks that the reading should be as follows: "If two signs be available and not the third we intercalate on account of the presence of the trees and the grass; if one sign be available and the other two be absent we do not intercalate on account of the Tekuphah" (see T.B. Synhedrin, 12a, b, and cf. T.B. Rosh Ha-Shanah, 21a).

² "This is an error," says Luria; "it should be the 16th"; see T.B. Rosh Ha-Shanah, *loc. cit.*, and T.B. Synhedrin, 13a: for if the Tekuphah of Tebeth fell on the 21st of Tebeth, then the Tekuphah of Nisan would be on the 24th of Nisan (91 days' interval), which is the day after Passover, accordingly Passover would not be in Abib (the Tekuphah in Nisan), and therefore Adar Shêni should be intercalated. The reading in our text (the 20th) is approved by Schwarz (*Der jüdische Kalender*, p. 36, note 3). The "Megillah of Abiathar" (*op. cit.* p. 471) reads: "If the Tekuphah of Tebeth had occurred from half (of the month) and later they intercalate the year, but till half (of the month) and earlier they do not intercalate the year." The printed editions read: "If the Tekuphah had occurred by the 20th day of the month or earlier they intercalate the year; but from the 20th day of the month or later they do not intercalate the year." This is clearly wrong. The correct reading is preserved by our MS., which is confirmed by the Oxford MS. (d. 35). On this subject see Maimonides, Kiddush Ha-Chodesh iv. 2, Schürer, i. (3rd ed.), pp. 752 ff.; F. K. Ginzel, *Handbuch der Mathematischen und Technischen Chronologie*, ii. p. 67; and L. Wreschner, *Samaritanische Traditionen*, p. 10. In the past year (5675) the Tekuphah of Tebeth fell on Wednesday, January 6, 1915, at 10.30 p.m., *i.e.* the fifth day of the Hebrew week, the 21st of Tebeth, and the Tekuphah of Nisan fell on Thursday, April 8, 1915, at 6 a.m., *i.e.* the 24th of Nisan, *after* the termination of the Passover festival. The rule in our text does not apply now in actual practice. See Jozeroth, ed. Arnheim, p. 73.

³ The first editions read: "they intercalate the year on account of the Tekuphoth." This reading agrees with "Megillah of Abiathar," p. 469.

⁴ Of intercalated years.

⁵ Our text has the following order of years, 3rd, 6th (the 3rd after the preceding year of intercalation), the 8th (*i.e.* two years after the preceding year), 11th (again three years' interval), 14th (again three years' interval), 17th (three years' interval), and the 19th year (two

The intercalation takes place in the presence of three;¹ Rabbi Eliezer says that ten (men are required), as it is said, "God standeth in the congregation² of God"³ (Ps. lxxxii. 1), and if they become less⁴ than ten, since they are diminished they place a scroll of the Torah before them,⁵ and they are seated in a circle in the court-room,⁶ and the greatest (among them) sits first,⁷ and the least sits last; and they direct their gaze downwards⁸ to the earth and (then) they stand and spread out their hands⁹ before their Father who is in heaven, and the chief of the assembly¹⁰ proclaims¹¹ the name (of God), and they

years' interval). On this question see Ginzler, *op. cit.* pp. 75 f.; and cf. Jesod 'Olam iv. ii. p. 63b, and the works on the Calendar by Lewisohn, p. 40, and Schwarz, p. 78. According to the Oxford MS. (d. 35) the text should read thus: the 3rd, 5th, 8th, 11th, 14th, 16th, and 19th, agreeing with the cycle of Meton the Greek astronomer, with the exception that the latter has the 13th year instead of the 14th year.

¹ Men who know the principle of intercalation.

² The "congregation" consists of ten, the Minyan; this is derived from the use of the word "congregation" in connection with the ten spies who brought a false report to Moses in the wilderness (Num. xiv. 27). The Oxford MS. (d. 35) reads here: "'In the congregation of God.' 'Congregation' means only ten (men), as it is said: 'How long shall I bear with this evil congregation,'" etc. (Num. xiv. 27). See "Megillah of Abiathar," pp. 469 f.

³ Or "in the congregation of the mighty." For the occasions when a Minyan is necessary, see Mishnah Megillah iv. 3, tractate Sopherim x. 8, and *infra*, pp. 127 f. The Talmud B. Synhedrin, 70b, also requires ten men at the intercalation, and cf. Ex. Rab. xv. 20.

⁴ *e.g.* if one or more of the ten men go away, see T.B. Berakhoth, 47b. Luria thinks that the text is corrupt, reading "when they had deliberated" instead of "if they become less." The MSS. do not support this suggested emendation.

⁵ To read therein the section dealing with the Calendar (Ex. xii. 1 f.).

⁶ Such as was used by the Synhedrion at Jerusalem; see T.B. Synhedrin, 35b, 36b, and Sopherim xix. 9.

⁷ See T.B. Baba Bathra, 120b, for order of procedure; for a Biblical parallel see Gen. xliii. 33. The text means literally: "And they sit, the greatest according to his greatness, and the least according to his littleness."

⁸ See Lev. ix. 24 for "falling on the face," and see Ezek. li. 28.

⁹ See Lam. iii. 41; Targ. Onkelos on Gen. xiv. 22, and cf. T.B. Jebamoth, 105b.

¹⁰ The "Rosh Yeshibah" points to Palestine or to the schools of the Geonim in Babylon, or to the Academies in Egypt; see *J.Q.R.* xiv. p. 450, note 1.

¹¹ *i.e.* the benediction on reading the Torah; see Singer, p. 68. It probably means that the Ineffable Name was pronounced. The "Megillah of Abiathar," p. 469, recounts how the Ineffable Name was mentioned with "sanctification, greater than that of the Day of Atonement when the High Priest pronounced it seven times."

hear a Bath Kol¹ (saying) the following words,² "And the Lord spake unto Moses and Aaron . . . saying,³ This month shall be unto you" (Ex. xii. 1, 2).

If, owing to the iniquity of the generation, they do not hear anything at all;⁴ then, if one may say so,⁵ He is unable to let His glory abide among them. Happy were they who stood in that place⁶ in that hour,⁷ as it is said, "Happy is the people who know the joyful sound:⁸ they walk, O Lord, in the light of thy countenance" (Ps. lxxxix. 15); in the light of the countenance of the Holy One, blessed be He, they walk.⁹

On the New Moon of Nisan || the Holy One, blessed be He, was revealed to Moses and Aaron in the land of Egypt, and it was the 15th¹⁰ year of the great cycle of the moon, the 16th year of the cycle of intercalation,¹¹ (and He said): "henceforward the counting devolves on you."¹²

¹ The Heavenly Voice; see Mark i. 11, and cf. *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, p. 195, note 4.

² Lit. "according to this expression." The Oxford MS. (d. 35) adds: "as it is said."

³ The MS. does not continue the quotation.

⁴ R. Eliezer was permitted to hear the Bath Kol. See T.B. Baba Mezi'a, 59b, and T.B. Soṭah, 48b. In later times this privilege was withdrawn because of the sins of the people.

⁵ On this term see Bacher, *Terminologie*, i. pp. 72 f.

⁶ *i.e.* the court-room of the Synhedrion. The reference is to the good days of old, long before our book was written.

⁷ When the intercalation took place; this was at night. According to the "Megillah of Abiathar," p. 471, the intercalation took place by day; see T.B. Synhedrin, 11b.

⁸ *i.e.* the Teru'ah or trumpet blast. The various features of this ceremony have a parallel in the ceremonies of the Ban mentioned *infra*, p. 301. Are we dealing with a Geonic institution?

⁹ Luria infers from our narrative that the Shophar was sounded at the intercalation ceremony; see T.B. Synhedrin, *loc. cit.*, and Tosephta Synhedrin ii. 7 ff., p. 417, on this ceremony.

¹⁰ Luria corrects this and reads "the 12th." On the date of the Exodus see Seder 'Olam Rab. v. pp. 11b f.

¹¹ Of 19 years.

¹² See the "Megillah of Abiathar," p. 464. On the important question as to the probable origin of *P.R.E.* in connection with the intercalation, see *J.Q.R.* (New Series) i. pp. 64 f.

CHAPTER IX¹

THE CREATION AND WONDERS OF THE FIFTH DAY [10A. ii.]

ON the fifth day² He caused the waters to bring forth abundantly all kinds of winged fowls, male and female, unclean and clean. By two signs³ are they declared to be clean, by the crop, and by the claw peeling off. Rabbi Eliezer said: (Another sign was) also by the projecting toe of the claw. Two kinds of birds have been chosen for the offering of a burnt sacrifice,⁴ namely, the turtle-dove and the young pigeon.

He⁵ caused the waters to bring forth abundantly all kinds of fish, male and female, unclean and clean. By two signs are they declared to be clean, by the fins and by their scales;⁶ and if they do not have them (*i.e.* both signs) they are unclean.

On the fifth day He caused the waters to bring forth abundantly all kinds of locusts,⁷ male and female, clean and unclean. By two signs are they declared to be clean: by their long legs with which they jump,⁸ and by the wings which cover the entire body, such are clean. Such (living things) as were brought forth from the water, namely, fish

¹ In our MS. this is ch. viii.

² For the creation on the fifth day see Gen. i. 20-23; 4 Ezra vi. 47 ff.; Jubilees ii. 11, 12; Slav. Enoch xxx. 7. Our book reckons three kinds of living things created on the fifth day: birds, fish, and locusts; in Jubilees, *loc. cit.*, three kinds: great sea monsters, fish, and birds are also enumerated.

³ On the signs see T.B. Chullin, 59a, 61a and 62a; Tosephta Chullin iii. 22, p. 505, and Pal. Targum on Lev. xi. 13.

⁴ This agrees with Luria's reading; the printed texts read: "an offering and a burnt-offering."

⁵ The Venice edition adds: "On the fifth day." The 1st ed. omits this and the following words up to "male."

⁶ On fish see Lev. xi. 9, 10, 12, and T.B. Chullin, 66b.

⁷ See T.B. Chullin, 59a and 65 a, b.

⁸ The first editions add: "upon the earth." See Lev. xi. 20-23.

and locusts,¹ are (eaten) without (being subject to the laws of) Shechitah² (with the ritual slaughtering), but the bird cannot be eaten unless (it be killed) by (the method of) Shechitah. Such creatures which have been created from the earth³ || have their blood covered with earth, and such as have been created from the water must have their blood poured out like water.⁴

¹ Dr. Charles is mistaken in stating that in the "Pirke R. Eliezer ix. it is said that locusts are not created from water" (*Fragments of a Zadokite Work*, p. 31). Just the opposite theory is advocated by our work. The Zadokite Fragment taught that the elements of fire and water were to be found in the composition of the locusts, hence they are to be killed by fire or by water; see Schechter, *op. cit.*, p. 51, note 24, who points out that according to Rabbinic law, the locust requires no killing at all; see Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah*, Hilkhoth Shechitah, ch. i. 1, and Tur Joreh Di'ah, 13. The importance of this Halakhah will be appreciated if we are able to fix the date and home of our book. The question has been critically discussed by Dr. Büchler in the *J.Q.R.* (New Series) iii. (1913) pp. 442 f.; see *J.Q.R.* (New Series) iv. pp. 460 ff., where Jubilees v. 30 is cited as bearing on the question. Cf. also Wreschner, *op. cit.* p. 52.

² The first editions read: "are eaten, for they are not (killed) by Shechitah." For the ritual slaughter of animals by the knife see T.B. Chullin, 27a. This method probably obtained among the early Christians, see Acts xv. 20 and 29, xxi. 25; for further references see Preuschen, *N.T. Dict.* s.v. *πνικτός*, c. 933.

³ The MS. actually reads "water," but the text was here originally "earth." The Oxford MS. (d. 35) reads: "Such as were created from the earth have their blood poured out like water, and such as swarmed from the water have their blood covered by the dust." As the parchment of our MS. has been damaged by the erasure, an attempt has also been made to change the word "water" (in the next line) into "earth."

⁴ Luria reads: "Such as have been created from the water may have their blood consumed like water, and such as have been created from the earth, their blood is prohibited to be consumed: the exception is the fowl; for although it has been created from the water its blood is prohibited to be consumed, and, moreover, it requires that the blood which falls upon the earth when it is killed must be covered by dust." The traditional text found in our MS. as well as in the first editions is probably correct in view of the unusual Halakhah (or Law) preserved in the *Fragments of a Zadokite Work* (ed. Charles), xiv. 13: "Nor shall fish be eaten unless they are split alive and their blood was shed." Dr. Schechter thinks that this rule was "directed against the Rabbinic opinion permitting the eating of the blood of the fish. See Sifra, 39a, and Kerithoth, 20b." See, further, T.B. Chullin, 27b, "where," says Dr. Schechter, "we have a homily to the effect that cattle have to be killed in a certain way because they were created out of the dry land (earth); fish, again, require no killing, being created out of the water; whilst birds, which were created out of alluvial mud (a combination of water and earth), occupy also, with regard to their ritual killing, a middle place between cattle and fish. The notion was that the mode of killing is in some way connected with the element out of which the animal in question was created." See Wreschner, *op. cit.* p. 54. The 1st ed. reads: "its blood is poured out on the earth." The Venice edition agrees with our MS.

Rabbi Eliezer said : Not only concerning the water does the Scripture say that " the waters should bring forth abundantly " (Gen. i. 20), but also concerning the birds¹ which are compared with water, as it is said, " And the uproar of many peoples, which roar like the roaring of the seas " (Isa. xvii. 12), and just as the waters brought forth abundantly on the fifth day, likewise in the future will the nations of the world swarm in the fifth world,² and they will fight one another to destroy³ (one another), as it is said, " And they were broken in pieces, nation against nation, and city against city ;⁴ for God did vex them with all adversity " (2 Chron. xv. 6). What is written (immediately) afterwards ? The Salvation of Israel (is mentioned), as it is said,⁵ " But be ye strong ; and your hands shall not be slack " (*ibid.* 7).

All rivers flowing on the earth,⁶ as soon as they flow on the earth, they are blessed and good and sweet. There is some benefit to the world through them ;⁷ (when) they flow into the sea they are bad,⁸ cursed, and bitter, and they are of no benefit to the world. Why are they similar to Israel ? For when the Israelites rely upon the protection of their Creator and do His will, they are blessed and good and sweet, and there is some benefit to the world through them,

¹ The Oxford MS. (d. 35) and the first editions read : " nations of the world."

² Is the fifth world the fifth kingdom, *i.e.* the kingdom of the Messiah ? Or, is the " fifth world " another way of saying the " fifth era " or " day " of the world ? This would be the period 5000 A.M. to 6000 C.E. (*i.e.* 1240–2240 C.E.). Our reading is also preserved in the 1st ed. In the Venice edition the word " fifth " is omitted.

³ See T.B. 'Abodah Zarah, 4a, T.B. Synhedrin, 97b, and Zohar, Gen. 46b and 119a, for the wars of the Messianic Age, which were supposed to begin about the end of the fiftieth century A.M. ; cf. *infra*, pp. 198–203 ; and see Rev. xvi. 14 for the internecine strife of the nations.

⁴ The first two editions have erred here in a strange manner : they *both* quote as a Scripture text the words : " And I will set nation against nation, kingdom against kingdom, for God did vex them with all adversity." The last clause is part of the quotation from 2 Chron. xv. 6, the first part of this verse being accurately given by our MS. Where do we find the words : " And I will set nation against nation, kingdom against kingdom ? " Might one suggest Matt. xxiv. 7, based on Isa. xix. 2 and 2 Chron. xv. 6, as a parallel ? See also 4 Ezra xiii. 31.

⁵ See Isa. lxii. 11 and Ps. xiv. 7.

⁶ The Venice edition omits " flowing on the earth " ; the 1st ed. agrees with our text.

⁷ Cf. Recognitions of Clement viii. 24 and John of Damascus, *op. cit.* ii. 9.

⁸ Luria suggests the reading : " they are cursed, evil."

and for their sake¹ the world stands. (When) the men of Israel depart from their Creator and trust in the statutes of the nations,² they are bad, accursed, and bitter, || and there is no benefit in them for the world. Just as the waters of the rivers (are) the food of the waters of the sea,³ so are (the sinners destined to be) fuel for Gehinnom. All the rains that descend into the sea are (as) seed for (all creatures) in them,⁴ and thereby the fish are fed.⁵

On the fifth day the waters in Egypt⁶ were changed into blood. On the fifth day our forefathers went forth from Egypt.⁷ On the same (*i.e.* fifth) day the waters of the Jordan stood still before the ark of the Covenant of God.⁸ On the same (*i.e.* fifth) day Hezekiah stopped the fountains which were in Jerusalem, as it is said, "This same⁹ Hezekiah also stopped the upper spring of the waters of Gihon" (*ibid.* xxxii. 30).¹⁰

On the fifth day He brought forth from the water the Leviathan,¹¹ the flying serpent, and its dwelling is in the

¹ See Jer. x. 2, 3, and Assumption of Moses i. 12. A parallel to our text is given by 4 Ezra iv. 55, 59, vii. 11.

² Cf. Matt. v. 13, 14.

³ The river water is absorbed by the salt water and thereby the composition of the sea water is modified; see Gen. Rab. v. 3 on this problem.

⁴ *i.e.* the sea. Cf. *supra*, p. 30, the rain is the male element in water; see Shocher Tob, Ps. cxlvi. § 3, p. 268a.

⁵ The first editions read: "become fruitful."

⁶ See Seder 'Olam Rab. iii., and cf. Mishnah 'Edujoth ii. 10 for the duration of the Plagues. Our book (*infra*, p. 330) states that the day of departure was on the third day; on this point see T.B. Sabbath, 87b. Luria thinks that the text should be emended thus: "On the fifth day the sea was divided when our fathers went forth from Egypt."

⁷ The reading of our text is preserved in Jalkuṭ, Jonah, § 550, as follows: "It was taught in a Baraitha that R. Eliezer said, On the fifth day the waters of Egypt were turned into blood, on that day our fathers went forth from Egypt; on that day the waters of the Jordan stood still before the ark of the Lord, on that day Hezekiah stopped all the fountains; on the fifth day Jonah fled before God." See first sentence in next chapter of our book.

⁸ See Josh. iii. 15, 16; Tosaphoth in Menachoth, 30a, catchword: "From here onwards," refers to the day when Jericho fell; cf. Seder 'Olam Rab. xi.; see Ratner's ed. p. 24a, note 24, for the parallels, and see in our book, *infra*, pp. 423 f.

⁹ The printed editions are incorrect here.

¹⁰ On Hezekiah see Aboth de R. Nathan (*a*) ii. pp. 6a, b; and cf. T.B. Berakhoth, 5b, T.B. Pesachim, 56a, and in our book, *infra*, pp. 424 ff.

¹¹ The Leviathan is the "flying serpent." See Isa. xxvii. 1, and Gen. Rab. vii. 4 with Theodor's note, *in loc.*; 4 Ezra vi. 49 ff. (ed. Box, p. 92); Eth. Enoch lxix. 7 f.; and cf. *Monatsschrift*, lxiii. p. 20. Our book holds the view that the Leviathan was created on the fifth

lowest waters; and between its fins¹ rests the middle bar of the earth.² All the great sea monsters in the sea are the food for the Leviathan. Every day³ it opens its mouth, and the great sea monster destined to be eaten that day (tries) to escape and flee, but it enters the mouth of the Leviathan; and the Holy One, blessed be He, plays with it, as it is said, "This is the Leviathan, whom thou hast created to play with him"⁴ (Ps. civ. 26).

Rabbi Mana⁵ said: Such creatures which have been created from the earth increase and multiply on the earth, and such which have been brought forth from the water increase and multiply in the water, except all kinds of winged birds, for their creation was || from the water, yet they increase and multiply on the earth, as it is said, "And let the fowl multiply in the earth" (Gen. i. 22). Such as were brought forth from the water increase and multiply by the egg;⁶ and such as were created from the earth increase and multiply by foetus (*i.e.* living offspring).⁷

day, and Behemoth on the sixth day; see *infra*, p. 75; and see also T.B. Baba Bathra, 74b, 75a; Pal. Targum on Gen. i. 21. On Behemoth see Pesikta de R. Kahana vi. p. 58a; Lev. Rab. xxii. 10; Num. Rab. xxi. 18, and Tanchuma, Nizabim, § iv.

¹ The first editions read: "its two fins."

² See *infra*, p. 71.

³ The first editions read here: "And the Holy One, blessed be He, plays with it every day." This part of the sentence is out of place, as it occurs again a few lines farther on in these editions. Our MS. is quite correct here.

⁴ The R.V. renders: "whom thou hast formed to take his pastime therein." See Job xli. 5, and cf. Jalkut on Job, § 927.

⁵ The first editions read: "Meir."

⁶ The 1st ed. reads here: "in the water" instead of "by the egg."

⁷ See Basil, *op. cit.* vii. 2; and John of Damascus, *op. cit.* ii. 9, for the creation of and from the water; cf. T.B. Chullin, 27b, Bechoroth, 8a, Pal. Targum on Gen. i. 20, and Midrash Agadah, p. 3. Luria (note 43) suggests an emendation of the text as follows: "Such as *were created* from the water increase and multiply by living offspring" (*e.g.* whales); whereas such as were *brought forth* from the water are hatched from the egg" (*e.g.* the duck). The 1st ed. reads: "multiply on the earth." Does the 1st ed. here preserve the true reading?

CHAPTER X¹

THE HISTORY OF JONAH [11A. i.]

ON the fifth day Jonah² fled before his God. Why did he flee? Because on the first occasion when (God) sent him to restore the border of Israel, his words were fulfilled, as it is said, "And he restored the border of Israel³ from the entering in of Hamath" (2 Kings xiv. 25).⁴ On the second occasion (God) sent him to Jerusalem to (prophecy that He would) destroy it. But⁵ the Holy One, blessed be He, did according to the abundance of His tender mercy and repented of the evil (decree), and He did not destroy it;⁶ thereupon⁷ they called him a lying prophet.⁸ On the third occasion⁹ (God) sent him against Nineveh¹⁰ to destroy it. Jonah argued with himself, saying, I know that the nations

¹ In our MS. this is marked as ch. ix. Jalkuṭ Makhiri, Jonah, ed. Greenup, pp. 6 ff., contains selections from *P.R.E.* here.

² The story of Jonah belongs to the series of events which happened on a Thursday; moreover, the Leviathan mentioned in connection with the story was created on the fifth day. See Jalkuṭ, Jonah, § 550, and *supra*, pp. 63 f.

³ In the MS. the quotation ends here. The first two editions continue as in our translation.

⁴ The Oxford MS. (d. 35) continues this verse: "unto the sea of Arabah, according to the word of the Lord, the God of Israel, which he spake by the hand of his servant Jonah, the son of Amittai the prophet, who was of Gathhepher." In spite of the sins of Israel, this prophecy of Jonah was fulfilled. Jonah is only once referred to in the apocryphal literature, 3 Macc. vi. 8; see LXX text of Tobit xiv. 4.

⁵ The first editions add: "because they repented."

⁶ It is assumed by our Midrash that this prophecy is referred to by Jonah (iv. 2), "Was not this my saying when I was yet in my country . . . for I knew that thou art a gracious God . . . and repentest thee of the evil." See T.B. Synhedrin, 89b.

⁷ The first editions add "Israel."

⁸ See 2 Kings ix. 4, 11, 12. The prophet mentioned in these verses is Jonah, according to Rashi and Kimchi, *in loc.*

⁹ See T.B. Jebamoth, 98a.

¹⁰ The first editions read: "to Nineveh."

are nigh to repentance,¹ now they will repent and the Holy One, blessed be He, will direct His anger against Israel. And is it not enough for me that Israel should call me a lying prophet; but shall also the nations of the world (do likewise)? Therefore, behold, I will escape from His presence to a place where His glory is not declared. (If) I ascend above the heavens, it is said,² "Above the heavens is his glory" (Ps. cxiii. 4). (If) above the earth,³ (it is said), "The whole earth is full of his glory" (Isa. vi. 3); behold, I will escape to the sea,⁴ to a place || where His glory is not proclaimed. Jonah went down to Joppa, but he did not find there a ship in which he could embark, for the ship in which Jonah might have embarked was two days' journey away from Joppa,⁵ in order to test⁶ Jonah. What did the Holy One, blessed be He, do? He sent against it a mighty tempest on the sea and brought it back to Joppa. Then Jonah saw and rejoiced in his heart, saying, Now I know that my ways will prosper before me.

He said to the (sailors), We⁷ will embark with you. They replied to him, Behold, we are going to the islands

¹ See *infra*, pp. 342 f., and Mekhilta Bô, i, p. 2; T.J. Synhedrin xi. 7, 30b; Tanchuma Vajikra, § vii. This is an excellent dictum. The non-Jews are easily turned to repentance. The first editions read: "this nation is nigh to repentance."

² The Venice edition reads: "it is said that His glory is there, as it is said."

³ The Venice edition reads: "Above the earth? It is said that His glory is there, as it is said." For similar questions see Chrysostomus, *Homily on Repentance*, 3.

⁴ In the first editions the word (סִי) "to the sea" is replaced by (לִי) "for myself."

⁵ This addition to the Biblical narrative is preserved in the Midrash Jonah (in Jellinek's *Beth Ha-Midrash*, i. pp. 96-105), and see the Zohar, Gen. 121a, b, for further embellishment. This Midrash, as well as our chapter, undoubtedly formed one of the Homilies for the service of the Day of Atonement, the Book of Jonah forming the lesson from the Prophets for the afternoon service of that day. This point is of importance in our estimate of the probable use which our book was intended to render. Was it a book for the Synagogue? Was it intended to supply Midrashic material for the preacher in his public discourses? As far as this 10th Chapter is concerned, the answer is in the affirmative. We shall find further evidence to support this view in the course of our study of this book.

⁶ Perhaps the text should read: "In order to test Jonah what did the Holy One, blessed be He, do?"

⁷ The MS. reads: "we will embark." The 1st and 2nd eds. read: "I will embark."

of the sea, to Tarshish.¹ He said to them, We² will go with you. Now (this) is the custom on all ships that when a man disembarks therefrom he pays his fare; but Jonah, in the joy of his heart, paid his fare in advance,³ as it is said, "But Jonah rose up to flee unto Tarshish from the presence of the Lord; and he went down to Joppa and found a ship going to Tarshish; so he paid the fare thereof, and went down into it,⁴ to go with them" (Jonah i. 3).

They had travelled one day's journey, and a mighty tempest⁵ on the sea arose against them on their right hand and on their left hand; but the movement⁶ of all the ships passing⁷ to and fro was peaceful in a quiet sea, but the ship into which Jonah had embarked was in great peril of shipwreck, as it is said, "But the Lord sent out a great wind into the sea, and there was a mighty tempest in the sea, so⁸ that the ship was like || to be broken" (*ibid.* 4).

Rabbi Chanina⁹ said: (Men) of the seventy languages¹⁰

¹ Ibn Ezra on Jonah i. 3 tells us on the authority of Sa'adiah that Tarshish is Tarsus; he also gives another opinion that Tunis in Africa is the port referred to. For other views, see Gesenius (Oxford edition), pp. 1076 f.

² The MS. reads also here: "*we* will embark." The 1st and 2nd eds. read: "I will embark."

³ See T.B. Nedarim, 38a, according to which Jonah pays the fares of all on board. See *J.E.* vii. 226 f. for the story of Jonah in Rabbinical literature.

⁴ Our MS. ends the quotation here, but adds "etc." The first editions add "etc." after "Joppa."

⁵ According to the Midrash Kōnen, p. 25, at the creation of the world God stipulated with the sea that it should not suffer Jonah to sail to Tarshish.

⁶ Lit. "way."

⁷ The versions in Tanchuma Vajikra, § viii., and Jalkuṭ Jonah, *loc. cit.*, differ somewhat. Our text is, however, the source whence the Midrashim have drawn their material. Kimchi on Jonah i. 7 remarks: "I have found in the Pirḳê R. Eliezer, A great tempest arose against them on the sea, and on their right hand and on their left hand all the ships were passing to and fro in peace in the tranquillity of the sea; and the ship into which Jonah had embarked was in great distress so that one thought that it would be broken in pieces." See Gen. Rab. xxiv. 4 with reference to the wind sent to hinder Jonah; cf. Lev. Rab. xv. 1 on same point.

⁸ The first editions omit the preceding part of the quotation.

⁹ The first editions read "Chananjah."

¹⁰ The seventy nations of humanity have each one a representative on board. The ship is a type of the world, which only can find its salvation through the willing martyrdom of the Hebrew, who, although he be inoffensive in his conduct with his fellow-men of all nationalities, is nevertheless quite willing to allow himself to be doomed to destruction in order to relieve his fellow-men of their threatened ruin. This

were there on the ship, and each one had his god in his hand, (each one) saying: ¹ And the God who shall reply and deliver us from this trouble, He shall be God. ² They arose and every one called upon the name of his god, but it availed nought. ³ Now Jonah, because of the anguish of his soul, was slumbering and asleep. The captain of the ship came to him, saying, Behold, we are standing betwixt death and life, and thou art slumbering and sleeping; of what people art thou? He answered them, "I am an Hebrew" (*ibid.* 9). (The captain) said to him, Have we not heard that the God of the Hebrews is great? Arise, call upon thy God, perhaps He will work (salvation) for us according to all His miracles which He did for you at the Reed Sea. He answered them, ⁴ It is on my account that this misfortune has befallen you; take me up and cast me into the sea and the sea will become calm unto you, as it is said, "And he said unto them, Take me up, and cast me forth into the sea; so shall the sea be calm unto you" (*ibid.* 12).

Rabbi Simeon said: The men would not consent to throw Jonah into the sea; but they cast lots among themselves and the lot fell upon Jonah. ⁵ What did they do? They took all their utensils which were in the ship, and cast them into the sea ⁶ in order to lighten it for their (safety), but it availed nought. || They wanted to return ⁷ to the dry land, but they were unable, as it is said, "Nevertheless the men

universalistic aspect of the mission of the Hebrew is familiar to the student of the Bible. Abraham, Moses, and the suffering servant of God, who is none other than Israel, represent this teaching, which our book enforces. The basis for the Midrashic idea of the seventy nations is afforded by comparing the text of Jonah i. 5, which says, "*And every man* cried unto his God," with the text in Mic. iv. 5, "*For all the people* will walk *every man* in the name of his God."

¹ The first two editions read here: "as it is said, 'Then the mariners were afraid, and cried every man unto his God'" (Jonah i. 5). The Venice edition adds: "They bowed down saying, Let each man call on the name of his God."

² Cf. Elijah's appeal on Mount Carmel, 1 Kings xviii. 24.

³ See Targum, Jonah i. 5.

⁴ The first editions add: "I will not hide from you that."

⁵ The first editions add here: "as it is said, 'So they cast lots, and the lot fell upon Jonah'" (Jonah i. 7).

⁶ See Targum, Jonah, *loc. cit.*, and Midrash Jonah (ed. Jellinek), p. 97.

⁷ The reading in our MS. is in agreement with the reading of the Tanchuma (*loc. cit.*) and Jalkut, Jonah, *loc. cit.* The printed texts read, "they wanted to row hard," instead of our reading.

rowed hard to get them back to the land ; but they could not " (*ibid.* 13).¹ What did they do ? They took Jonah and they stood on the side of the ship, saying, God of the world ! O Lord ! Do not lay upon us innocent blood, for we do not know what sort of person is this man ; and he says deliberately,² On my account has this misfortune befallen you.³

They took him (and cast him into the sea) up to his knee-joints, and the sea-storm abated. They took him up again to themselves and the sea became agitated again against them.⁴ They cast him in (again) up to his neck, and the sea-storm abated. Once more they lifted him up in their midst and the sea was again agitated against them, until they cast him in entirely and forthwith the sea-storm abated,⁵ as it is said, " So they took up Jonah, and cast him forth into the sea : and the sea ceased from her raging " (*ibid.* 15).

" And the Lord had prepared a great fish to swallow up Jonah " (*ibid.* 17).⁶ Rabbi Tarphon said : That fish was specially appointed from the six days of Creation⁷ to swallow up Jonah, as it is said, " And the Lord *had* prepared a great fish to swallow up Jonah " (*ibid.*). He entered its mouth just as a man enters the great synagogue, and he stood (therein). The two eyes of the fish were like windows⁸ of glass giving light to Jonah.

Rabbi Meir said : || One pearl was suspended inside the

¹ This quotation is missing in the first two editions.

² Lit. "with his mouth." The prayer of the sailors here should be compared with the text in Jonah i. 14. The first editions read : " he said to them."

³ The first editions add : " take me and cast me into the sea. Forthwith."

⁴ The first editions add : " they cast him (into the sea) up to his navel,¹ and the sea-storm abated. Again they took him up among themselves, and the sea again was agitated against them."

⁵ The quotation is not given by the first editions ; the last clause is wanting in the MS., being replaced by " etc."

⁶ This quotation occurs here only in the MS. Its presence suggests the probability of our context being part of a Midrash.

⁷ See Gen. Rab. v. 5 and T.B. Bechoroth, 8a.

⁸ Our MS. reads "*ampumeth*." According to Jastrow, *T.D.* 78a, this stands for *ôphsejaniôth*, "glass windows." This represents *ôφιαρός* (obsidian), a stone used as glass, see *infra*, p. 330. See 'Arukh, ed. Kohut, i. 24b. Does the "Great Synagogue" refer to the famous Synagogue of Alexandria ?

belly of the fish and it gave illumination to Jonah, like this sun which shines with its might at noon; and it showed to Jonah all that was in the sea and in the depths,¹ as it is said, "Light is sown for the righteous" (Ps. xcvi. 11).

The fish said to Jonah, Dost thou not know that my day had arrived to be devoured in the midst of Leviathan's mouth? Jonah replied, Take me beside it, and I will deliver thee and myself from its mouth. It brought him next to the Leviathan. (Jonah) said to the Leviathan, On thy account have I descended to see thy abode in the sea, for, moreover, in the future will I descend and put a rope in thy tongue,² and I will bring thee up and prepare³ thee for the great feast of the righteous.⁴ (Jonah) showed it the seal of our father⁵ Abraham (saying),⁶ Look at the Covenant (seal), and Leviathan saw it and fled before Jonah a distance of two days' journey. (Jonah) said to it (*i.e.* the fish), Behold, I have saved thee from the mouth of Leviathan, show me what is in the sea and in the depths. It showed him the great river of the waters of the Ocean,⁷ as it is said, "The deep was round about me" (Jonah ii. 5), and it showed him the paths of the Reed Sea⁸ through which Israel passed, as it is said, "The reeds were wrapped about my head" (*ibid.*); and it showed him the place whence the waves of the sea and its billows flow,⁹ as it is said, "All || thy waves and thy billows passed over me" (*ibid.* 3); and

¹ The first editions read here: "and concerning him (*i.e.* Jonah) the Scripture says." The Zohar, Exodus, 48a, offers a parallel to this sentence.

² See Job xl. 25 (in Heb. = R.V. xli. 1).

³ The first editions read: "to sacrifice."

⁴ The feast of the righteous in the Messianic age is referred to by Jesus in Matt. xxvi. 29; see also T.B. Baba Bathra, 74a, T.B. Chagigah, 14b, and Aboth iv. 16, and cf. T.B. Sabbath, 153a. The "secret chambers of Leviathan" are referred to in Cant. Rab. i. 4; Eth. Enoch lx. 7-9 describes the Leviathan and the Behemoth; see also 4 Ezra vi. 49-52, and Apoc. Baruch xxix. 4. For further references see Charles' note on p. 115 of his ed. of Eth. Enoch, and J.E. viii. 37 f.; see also Volz, *Jüdische Eschatologie*, pp. 351 and 365, and Jellinek, *Beth Ha-Midrash*, vi. pp. 150 f., on "Leviathan Banquet."

⁵ The first editions omit "our father."

⁶ The Venice edition reads: "he said."

⁷ The river of the waters of the ocean means the water which was supposed to surround the earth; see 3 Baruch ii. 1, Apoc. Pauli xxi., xxxi., Eth. Enoch xvii. 5 f., Test. Abraham (*A.N.C.L.* extra vol.), viii. p. 191.

⁸ See *infra*, p. 330, and cf. J.Q.R. v. pp. 151 f.

⁹ This is the reading in Tanchuma Vajikra, § viii., and Jalikut, Jonah, § 550.

it showed him the pillars of the earth in its foundations, as it is said, "The earth with her bars *for the world* were by me" (*ibid.* 6);¹ and it showed him the lowest Sheol,² as it is said, "Yet hast thou brought up my life from destruction,³ O Lord, my God" (*ibid.*); and it showed him Gehinnom,⁴ as it is said, "Out of the belly of Sheol I cried,⁵ and thou didst hear my voice" (*ibid.* 2); and it showed him (what was) beneath the Temple of God, as it is said, " (I went down) to the bottom of the mountains" ⁶ (*ibid.* 6). Hence we may learn that Jerusalem stands upon seven (hills⁷), and he saw there the Eben Shethiyah⁸ (Foundation Stone) fixed in the depths.⁹ He saw there the sons of Korah¹⁰ standing and praying over it. They¹¹ said to Jonah, Behold thou dost stand beneath the Temple of God, pray and thou wilt be answered. Forthwith Jonah said to the fish, Stand in the place where thou art standing, because I wish to pray. The fish stood (still), and Jonah began to pray before the Holy One, blessed be He, and he said : Sovereign of all the

¹ Cf. Ps. civ. 5 and T.B. Chagigah, 12b.

² The Venice edition reads "Gehinnom." See T.B. 'Erubin, 19a. According to the Midrash Kônen, p. 30, "there is one gate to Gehinnom in the sea of Tarshish."

³ The last words of the quotation do not occur in the MS., but the first editions give them.

⁴ The first editions read: "the lowest Sheol." The lowest region in Gehenna; see *infra*, pp. 340 f., 343, 432 f. On the theories about Gehenna see Jellinek, *Beth Ha-Midrash*, i. pp. 147-149; Jerahmeel ix. 11, xiii. 5, xiv. 1 ff.; Eth. Enoch lxiii. 10, with Charles' note, *in loc.*

⁵ The first editions give the last words of this quotation, which are missing in the MS.

⁶ The roots of the seven mountains in Jerusalem whereon the Temple rested. The mountains are designated in the O.T. as follows: Mount Zion, Mount Moriah, The Holy Mount, The Mount of my Holy Beauty, The Mount of the House of the Lord, The Mount of the Lord of Hosts, and The Lofty Mount of the Mountains.

⁷ The word for "hills" is missing in the MS.; some other word was inserted and then erased. It occurs in the Oxford MS. (d. 35). In the letter of Aristeas (83 f.) Jerusalem is described as being situated "on the top of a mountain of considerable altitude. On the summit the Temple had been built in all its splendour."

⁸ According to T.J. Joma v. 4, 42c, it was called Foundation Stone because the whole world was founded thereon; see also T.B. Joma, 54b; T.B. Synhedrin, 26b; cf. Eth. Enoch, xviii. 2; and *infra*, p. 266.

⁹ The first editions read here: "beneath the Temple of God."

¹⁰ Luria notes that according to Midrash Kônen (p. 31) the "company of Korah" are in the third department of Gehenna. Should the reading be "the company of Korah" instead of "the sons of Korah"? Cf. J.Q.R. v. p. 152.

¹¹ The Venice edition and Midrash Jonah, p. 98, read: "The fish said."

Universe!¹ Thou art called "the One who kills" and "the One who makes alive," behold, my soul has reached unto death, now restore me to life. He was not answered until this word came forth from his mouth, "What I have vowed I will perform" (*ibid.* 9), namely, I vowed to draw up Leviathan and to prepare² it before Thee, I will perform (this) on the day of the Salvation³ of Israel, as it is said, "But I will sacrifice unto thee with the voice of thanksgiving" (*ibid.*).⁴ Forthwith the Holy One, blessed be He, hinted (to the fish) and it vomited out⁵ Jonah || upon the dry land, as it is said, "And the Lord spake unto the fish, and it vomited out Jonah⁶ upon the dry land" (*ibid.* 10).

The sailors saw all the signs, the miracles, and the great wonders which the Holy One, blessed be He, did unto Jonah, and they stood and they cast away⁷ every one his God, as it is said, "They that regard lying vanities forsake their own shame"⁸ (*ibid.* 8). They returned to Joppa and went up to Jerusalem and circumcised the flesh of their foreskins, as it is said, "And the men⁹ feared the Lord exceedingly; and they offered a sacrifice unto the Lord" (*ibid.* i. 16). Did they offer sacrifice?¹⁰ But this (sacrifice) refers to the blood of the covenant of circumcision, which is like the blood of a sacrifice.¹¹ And they made vows every one to bring his children and all belonging to him to the God¹² of Jonah; and they made vows and performed them,

¹ The first editions add: "Thou art called 'the One who brings up' and 'the One who brings down.' I have gone down, now bring me up."

² The first editions read: "to sacrifice." See Midrash Jonah, p. 99.

³ This is the day of the Messianic judgment. For the idea of salvation in the Messianic age see Singer, pp. 49 (second paragraph), 101 (last paragraph), and 129. See also Volz, *op. cit.* pp. 226 f.

⁴ This quotation is missing in the first editions.

⁵ The first editions read: "it cast forth."

⁶ The first editions continue the verse as in the translation; the MS. omits "upon the dry land."

⁷ The first editions add: "into the sea."

⁸ See Kimchi, *in loc.*, for the meaning of Chesed. Kimchi quotes in his commentary on Jonah ii. 9 our passage with a variant reading.

⁹ The text of the Bible reads here "men," as in our MS., but the first editions read "the sailors." See Zohar, Ex. 231a.

¹⁰ The first editions add: "Is it not (a fact) that they do not accept sacrifices from the nations?" See T.B. Menachoth, 73b, and cf. Paul's attitude towards the table of the idolaters of his day (see 1 Cor. x. 21).

¹¹ Cf. Ex. Rab. xvii. 3 and 5.

¹² The first editions read: "They vowed and performed (it) that

and concerning them it says, "Upon the proselytes, the proselytes of righteousness."¹

each one should bring his wife and all his household to the *fear* of the God of Jonah." The "Phoboumenoi" and "Sebomenoi" correspond to these proselytes who fear God. On the subject see Schürer, II. ii. 311-319 (E.T.).

¹ This refers to the Shemoneh 'Esreh, the xiiith benediction (Singer, p. 48, last paragraph). See also T.B. Megillah, 17b, and Midrash Jonah, *loc. cit.*

This chapter should be compared with the Midrash Jonah (ed. Jellinek, and ed. Eisenstein, *Ozar Midrashim*, pp. 217b ff.). Our book was the source used by the author of the Midrash. The variant readings which a comparison of the two texts affords may be illustrated by one example: instead of "the day of the salvation of Israel," the Midrash reads, "the day of my salvation." Again, the prayer of Jonah in the Midrash is considerably longer than that of *P.R.E.*

The story of Jonah is interpreted in a fine Midrashic spirit by Zeno in his 17th tractate. Ephraim (29th chap. on the prophet Jonah) refers to Jonah's dread of being called a "lying prophet," and mentions also the dread inspired by Jonah among the terrible monsters of the deep. A very interesting point is suggested by a passage in Origen, *contra Celsum*, vii. 57, according to which Jonah was considered to be the Messiah in place of Jesus. Our book ascribes certain Messianic functions to Jonah in connection with the Leviathan and the Day of Israel's salvation. Perhaps he is a type of the "Messiah ben Joseph" who is to overcome the Anti-Christ or Satan (*i.e.* the Leviathan). The New Testament connects the story of Jonah with its Messiah; see Matt. xii. 39-41 and *ibid.* xvi. 4; cf. Luke xi. 29-32. The "Fish" as a Christian Messianic emblem may be associated with the Jonah legends.

CHAPTER XI¹

THE WORK OF CREATION ON THE SIXTH DAY [12B. i.]

ON the sixth day (God) brought forth from the earth all kinds of animals, male and female, clean and unclean. By two signs² are they declared to be clean: (the signs are) chewing the cud, and dividing the hoof.³ Three⁴ kinds of animals were chosen for the sacrifice of a burnt-offering, namely, the ox, the lamb, and the goat. Every kind of clean animal which is neither *Nevelah*⁵ (*i.e.* which has not been slaughtered according to the rules of Shechitah⁶) nor Terephah⁷ (*i.e.* torn) in the field⁸ is permitted to be eaten, except with regard to three parts, namely, the fat, || the blood, and the sinew of the thigh,⁹ as it is said, "As the green herb have I given you all" (Gen. ix. 3).¹⁰

¹ This is the tenth chapter in our MS.

² See T.B. Chullin, 59a, and *supra*, p. 60. The attention drawn to the ritual regulations of Shechitah and to the clean animals is what one would expect in a popular treatise for perusal in the home or Synagogue. This seems to be the tendency of much of the Pseud-epigrapha, such as the Book of Jubilees or the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. The Jewish law as to clean animals is explained allegorically by the Epistle of Barnabas x.

³ See Lev. xi. 4.

⁴ See Tanchuma, Shemini, § vii.; there are only these three kinds of clean animals. Cf. T.B. Chullin, 63b.

⁵ This word is usually rendered "carion."

⁶ On Shechitah see J.E. xi. 253 ff.

⁷ Terephah is interpreted to mean not merely the flesh of an animal torn in the field, but all animal flesh which has not been killed according to the rules of Shechitah, and which has become unfit for consumption according to Jewish law and custom. See Acts x. 14, for "unclean" food.

⁸ The Oxford MS. (d. 35) and some editions read here "its flesh," instead of "in the field." The Prague edition reads: "it is kasher" (ritually in order and permitted). Cf. Ex. xxii. 31, on which our text is based, and see Baraitha of the 32 Middoth, ed. Reiffmann, p. 37.

⁹ See Gen. xxxii. 32.

¹⁰ According to T.B. Synhedrin, 59b (and cf. Siphra, Shemini, p. 48a), animal flesh was permitted to the "sons of Noah." Had Adam not sinned, animal flesh would have been prohibited, says the Midrash Agadah, Genesis, p. 5.

On the sixth day (God) brought forth from the earth seven clean beasts;¹ their slaughter and the method of consumption are similar² to the (rules observed) with a bird; and all the rest of the beasts in the field are entirely³ unclean.

He⁴ brought forth from the earth all kinds of abominations⁵ and creeping things, all of them are unclean.⁶ Such (creatures) which have been created from the earth, their life (or soul) and body are from the earth, and when they return they touch their dust⁷ at the place whence they were created, as it is said, "Thou takest away their breath, they die, and return to their dust"⁸ (Ps. civ. 29); and it is written, "And the spirit of the beast goes downward to the earth" (Eccles. iii. 21).⁹

On the sixth day He brought forth from the earth a beast (Behemoth) which lies stretched out on a thousand hills¹⁰ and every day has its pasture on a thousand hills, and overnight (the verdure) grows of its own account as though he had not touched it, as it is said, "Surely the mountains bring him forth food" (Job xl. 20). The waters

¹ The first editions add here: "namely, the hart, the gazelle, the roebuck, the wild-goat, the pygarg, the antelope, and the chamois."¹

² The text is difficult to interpret; as regards fowl, only "one sign" is essential for the ritual slaughter, whereas "two signs" are requisite in the case of the animals mentioned; see T.B. Chullin, 71a, 89b, and 92b.

³ Lit. "all of them."

⁴ The first editions read: "On the sixth day He brought forth."

⁵ Perhaps the original text was "Sherazim" (reptiles), instead of "Shekazim" (abominations); see, however, Deut. xiv. 3. The printed texts omit "kinds of."

⁶ And therefore not to be eaten.

⁷ The first editions read: "when they die they return to the place whence they were created."

⁸ The first editions do not give the last clause of the quotation.

⁹ The distinction implied here between man and beast is in the origin of the spirit, that of man is heavenly whilst that of the beast is of the earth.

¹⁰ Cf. Ps. l. 10 and Job xl. 15, "Behold now Behemoth, which I made"; see T.B. Baba Bathra, 74b, and Targum on Ps. l. 10. Cf. *supra*, p. 63, note 11, and see 4 Ezra (ed. Box), pp. 90 ff. The Leviathan was created, according to our author, on the fifth day, whereas the Behemoth was created on the sixth day; see Jerahmeel v. and vi.; Jalkut, Gen. § 12, and J.E. viii. 37 ff.; and cf. Num. Rab. xxi. 18, and Lev. Rab. xxii. 10. On "Behemoth" see Midrash Kônen, pp. 26 and 37.

¹ See Deut. xiv. 5. The Venice ed. (1544) adds: "and all of them (as regards) their slaughter," etc.

of the Jordan give him water to drink, for the waters of the Jordan surround all the earth,¹ half thereof (flow) above the earth and the other half below the earth,² as it is said, "He is confident, though Jordan swell even to his mouth" (*ibid.* 23). This (creature) is destined for the day of sacrifice, for the great banquet of the righteous,³ as it is said, "He only that made him can make his sword⁴ to approach unto him" (*ibid.* 19).

The⁵ Holy One, blessed be He, spake to the Torah:⁶ "Let us make || man in our image, after our likeness" (Gen. i. 26). (The Torah) spake before Him: Sovereign of all the worlds! The man⁷ whom Thou wouldst⁸ create will be limited in days and full of anger; and he will come into the power of sin. Unless Thou wilt be long-suffering with him, it would be well for him not to have come into the world.⁹ The Holy One, blessed be He, rejoined: And is it for nought that I am called "slow to anger"¹⁰ and "abounding in love"? He began to collect the dust of the first man from the four corners of the world;¹¹ red,

¹ The first editions read: "the land of Israel." Cf. Eth. Enoch xxvi. 2 f.

² See T.B. Baba Bathra, *loc. cit.*, and cf. Gen. Rab. v. 8, and xxiii. 7.

³ See *supra*, p. 70. According to Midrash Agadah, Gen. p. 3, the female companion of the Leviathan is reserved for the Messianic Banquet; cf. Pal. Targ. on Gen. i. 2, and cf. T.B. Baba Bathra, 75a, Gen. Rab. vii. 4, Leḳach Tob, Gen. p. 14.

⁴ To slay him.

⁵ The first editions read: "Forthwith the Holy One," etc.

⁶ The Torah is the instrument in God's hand at the Creation; see *supra*, p. 12, and Gen. Rab. i. 1. Cf. Midrash Kōnen, p. 23, based on Prov. iii. 19. The idea was used by the author of the Epistle of Barnabas v. 5, vi. 12, where God is represented as consulting the Christ. According to other traditions of the Church and Synagogue, God consulted the ministering angels at the creation of man; cf. Midrash Agadah, Gen. p. 4, and Irenæus, *adv. Hæv.* i. 24.

⁷ The first edition reads: "This man." The Venice edition has: "The world is Thine, this man," etc.

⁸ The Venice edition adds here: "is Thine." The idea expressed by the next few words, "that man would have but few days," is to be compared with p. 125, *infra*. The sentence is based on Job xiv. 1.

⁹ See Matt. xviii. 6, and Eth. Enoch xxxviii. 2.

¹⁰ See *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, p. 212, and Test. Abraham, A.N.C.L. (extra vol.) p. 192, and cf. Wisdom xi. 23 f.

¹¹ The first editions read: "earth." The Pal. Targum on Gen. ii. 7 says: "And the Lord God created man with two inclinations; and He took dust from the place of the House of the Sanctuary and from the four quarters of the world, and mixed (the dust) with all the waters of the world, and created him red, dark red (or brown), and

black, white,¹ and "pale green,"² (which) refers to the body.

Why (did He gather man's dust) from the four corners of the world? ³ Thus spake the Holy One, blessed be He: If a man should come from the east to the west, or from the west to the east,⁴ and his time comes to depart from the world, then the earth⁵ shall not say, The dust of thy body is not mine,⁶ return to the place whence thou wast created.⁷ But (this circumstance) teaches thee that in every place where a man goes or comes,⁸ and his end approaches when he must depart from the world, thence is the dust of his body, and there it returns to the dust, as it is said, "For dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return" (*ibid.* iii. 19).

The day had twelve hours; ⁹ in the first hour He collected

white." It is evident that the Targum has used our book in this context. See also Tanchuma, *Peḳudē*, § iii. On the creation of Adam see T.B. Synhedrin, 38b, *Zohar*, Gen. 35b, *ibid.* 205b, and *infra*, Chapter XII. Cf. Grünbaum, *Beiträge*, pp. 54 ff.

¹ The first editions add the following: "and yellow. 'Red,' this is the blood; 'black' refers to the entrails;¹ 'white' refers to the bones and sinews." Cf. T.B. Niddah, 31a.

² *Jalkuṭ*, Gen. § 13, reads as our MS., "pale green." The first editions read "yellow." Might the four colours indicate the different colours of the skin of men?

³ See Book of Adam and Eve (ed. Malan) i. xxxiv., and Slavonic Enoch xxx. 13; and cf. Tertullian, *Against the Valentinians*, xxiv., and the Book of the Bee (ed. Budge), p. 16.

⁴ The first editions add: "or to any place where he may go."

⁵ The first editions add: "which is in that place."

⁶ The first editions add: "and I will not receive thee."

⁷ According to Gen. Rab. xx. 10, and Tanna de bē Elijahu Rab. xxxi. (ed. Friedmann), p. 164, the "return" of man to the dust is held to signify the resurrection.

⁸ The first editions read: "and his end comes to depart from the world, whence the dust of his body comes thence it returns, and that dust will raise its voice, as it is said," etc.

⁹ Luria thinks that the order of the hours of the day whereon Adam was created is a gloss added by a copyist who knew the legends of the Talmud; cf. T.B. Synhedrin, *loc. cit.* See Aboth de R. Nathan (a) i. p. 3a; *Pesikta Rabbathi*, § xlvi. p. 187b, note 7; Lev. Rab. xxix. 1; Shocher *Tob*, Ps. xcii. 3; Tanchuma, *Shemini*, § viii. R. Bechai on Gen. ii. 7 gives parallel readings to our text. The Church literature also has many legends of the Haggadic type concerning the creation of Adam; thus the Apostolic Constitutions, vii. 34, says: "Thou hast exhibited man (Adam) as the ornament of the world, and formed him a body out of the four elements." Irenæus (*adv. Hær.* v. 23) says: "Adam sinned on the sixth day of the

¹ See T.B. Kerithoth, 22a; perhaps the reference is to the liver and spleen.

the dust for (the body of) Adam, in the second (hour) He formed it into a mass,¹ in the third (hour) He gave it its shape, in the fourth (hour) He endowed || it with breath,² in the fifth (hour) he stood on his feet,³ in the sixth (hour) he called the (animals by their) names, in the seventh (hour) Eve was joined to him (in wedlock), in the eighth (hour) they were commanded concerning the fruits of the tree, in the ninth (hour) they went up to (their) couch as two and descended as four,⁴ in the tenth (hour)⁵ they transgressed His commandment, in the eleventh (hour) they were judged, in the twelfth (hour) they were driven forth, as it is said, "So he drove out the man" (*ibid.* 24).

And He formed⁶ the lumps of the dust of the first man into a mass⁷ in a clean place,⁸ (it was) on the navel⁹ of the earth. He shaped him and prepared¹⁰ him, but breath and soul were not in him. What did the Holy One, blessed be He, do? He breathed with the breath of the soul of His mouth, and a soul was cast¹¹ into him, as it is said, "And he breathed into his nostrils the breath of life" (*ibid.* ii. 7).

Creation." See also Aphraates, *Homilies*, ed. Wright, p. 168; other references are given by Ginzberg, *Die Haggada bei den Kirchenvätern*, p. 50; and cf. Kohut in *Z.D.M.G.* xxv. pp. 59-94, and *J.E.* i. 174 ff.

¹ See Hippolytus (in *A.N.C.L.* vi. p. 130) for Adam legends, and cf. *Clementine Homilies*, ii.

² Or, "a soul was cast into him." The first editions read: "He cast a soul into him." See *Jalkuṭ*, Gen. § 15, and *Midrash Abkhir*, and cf. W. R. Harper Memorial Vols. i. p. 258.

³ The first editions read: "He made him stand on his feet."

⁴ See *Jubilees* iii. 34, and cf. *Gen. Rab.* xxii. 2 and *Book of Adam and Eve* (ed. Malan) i. lxxiii. Perhaps our book refers to the conception of Abel and his twin-sister. The Church Fathers deal with similar legends, see Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catechism*, xii. 6; cf. *Schatzhöhle*, p. 7, and the *Book of the Bee*, p. 24.

⁵ The first editions add: "They were brought into the Garden of Eden and." This reading is contradicted by our book, see *infra*, p. 84. See also the *Book of the Bee*, p. 23.

⁶ The story of man's creation is recapitulated here and in the next chapter. We have a collection of three variant accounts of the same legend. See Introduction.

⁷ See *Pal. Targ. Gen.* ii. 7 quoted *supra*, p. 76, note 11; *Gen. Rab.* xiv. 7 and 8 on the creation of Adam. See also *T.J. Sabbath* ii. 4, p. 5b.

⁸ *Gen. Rab.* xiv. 8 says: "He was created from the place of his atonement," *i.e.* the Temple.

⁹ Palestine; see *Ezek.* xxxviii. 12 for the term "navel of the earth." See *Jubilees* viii. 12, 19; *Eth. Enoch* xxvi. i.; the *Book of the Bee*, p. 17; and *infra*, p. 266.

¹⁰ *i.e.* adorned him with the faculties which distinguish man from the beast.

¹¹ See *supra*, note 2, on this phrase; and cf. *Gen. Rab. loc. cit.*

Adam stood and he began to gaze upwards and downwards.¹ He saw all the creatures which the Holy One, blessed be He, had created; and he² was wondering in his heart, and he began to praise and glorify his Creator, saying, "O Lord, how manifold are thy works!" (Ps. civ. 24).³ He stood on his feet and was adorned with the Divine Image. His height was from east to west, as it is said, "Thou hast beset me behind and before" (*ibid.* cxxxix. 5). "Behind" refers to the west, "before" refers to the east.⁴ All the creatures saw him and became afraid⁵ of him, thinking that he was their Creator, and they came to prostrate || themselves before him.

Adam said to them: What (is this), ye creatures! Why are ye come to prostrate yourselves before me? ⁶ Come, I and you, let us go and adorn in majesty and might, and

¹ The first editions add here: "and his height was from one end of the world to the other," as it is said, 'Thou hast beset me *behind* and *before*' (Ps. cxxxix. 5). 'Behind' refers to the west, 'before' refers to the east."

² The first editions read: "he began to glorify the Name of his Creator."

³ This quotation from Ps. civ. is very appropriately placed in Adam's mouth, inasmuch as this psalm is a song of the Creation.

⁴ This passage in this connection is not in the printed texts.

⁵ See *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, p. 22, and Eccles. Rab. to Eccles. vi. 10. The word "creatures" of our text reads "ministering angels" in the Midrashim. Slav. Enoch xxxi. 3 refers to the envy of Satan "because things were subservient to Adam on earth." See also Philo, *G.T.* i. p. 57, n. 3, and Wisdom ix. 2, x. 2.

⁶ Have we here a polemic against Gnostic doctrines? See Freudenthal, *Hellenistische Studien*, p. 69. The idea of the first Adam being a "lower" God is reflected in the doctrine of the "Second Adam." See 1 Cor. xv. 45-49 for the "Second Adam," and cf. *Hellenism and Christianity*, pp. 44 f.

¹ See T.B. Chagigah, 12a; and cf. Gen. Rab. viii. 1 and xxiv. 2. According to Ecclesiasticus xlix. 16 Adam was "above every living thing in the creation"; the Church Fathers have many legends as to the original state of Adam before he sinned; see Basil, discourse on "God not being the cause of evil," vii., where the original glory of Adam in Paradise is described; Irenæus, *adv. Hær.* i. 30. 6, refers to the legend of the immense size of Adam; according to Chrysostomus (Homilies on 1 Cor. xvii. 3) Adam was like an angel endowed with the gift of prophecy. See also Hilgenfeld, *Die jüdische Apokalyptik*, p. 230 f. For later views of Christian scholars see Diestel, *op. cit.* pp. 488 f. On Adam's creation see also Slav. Enoch xxx. 10 ff. The Rabbis held different views on the question of the size of Adam's body; cf. T.B. Rosh Ha-Shanah, 11a; Baba Bathra, 75a. Cf. Philo, *de Mundi opific.* Mi. 32 f. and 35, C.W. i. p. 39, § 136 f., and p. 42, § 51.

acclaim as King over us the One¹ who created us. If there be no people to acclaim the king as king, the king acclaims himself.² If there be no people to praise the king, the king praises himself. In that hour Adam opened his mouth and all the creatures answered after him, and they adorned in majesty and might and acclaimed their Creator as King over themselves, and they said, "The Lord reigneth, he is apparelled with majesty" (*ibid.* xciii. 1).³

Ten kings ruled from one end of the world to the other. The first king was the Holy One, blessed be He, who rules in heaven and on earth,⁴ and it was His intention to raise up kings on earth, as it is said, "And he changeth the times and the seasons; ⁵ he removeth kings, and setteth up kings" (Dan. ii. 21).

The second king was Nimrod, who ruled from one end of the world to the other, for all the creatures were dwelling in one place and they were afraid of the waters of the flood,⁶ and Nimrod was king over them,⁷ as it is said, "And the *beginning* of his kingdom was Babel"⁸ (Gen. x. 10).

The third king was Joseph, who ruled from one end of the world to the other, as it is said, "And *all* the

¹ The Prague edition reads: "The Living One." The Slavonic Book of Adam and Eve (ed. Jagić, p. 9) speaks of Adam praising God in Paradise in company with the angels.

² The 1st ed. reads this sentence thus: "Because the people acclaim the king and no king acclaims himself, if there be no people to acclaim him." The next sentence is omitted by the first editions; their text continues: "Adam went alone and acclaimed Him king first, and all the creatures (did likewise) after him, and he said, 'The Lord reigneth,'" etc.

³ According to T.B. Rosh Ha-Shanah, 31a, this psalm was recited in the Temple on the sixth day of the week. This custom still obtains in the Synagogue; see Singer, p. 83.

⁴ See Targumim (Rishon and Shēni) on Esth. i. 1, T.B. 'Erubin, 53a, T.B. Megillah, 11a, where Ahab, Nebuchadnezzar, and Ahasuerus only are mentioned. The text of Neh. ix. 5, 6 was probably used by the writer of our Midrash. Our book has been used by the writer of the Midrash of the Ten Kings; see Horowitz, *op. cit.* pp. 39 f.

⁵ The MS. omits the rest of the quotation, which is given by the first editions.

⁶ Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* i. 4. 1.

⁷ See *infra*, pp. 174 f., and cf. Jalkuṭ, Gen. § 62, and see Book of Jashar vii. 45, "And Nimrod reigned in the earth over all the sons of Noah"; and cf. Jeraḥmeel xxxi. 20, Pal. Targ. Gen. x. 10, and Jalkuṭ ii. § 211. A different explanation is given by Josephus, *loc. cit.*

⁸ On Nimrod see J.E. ix. 309 ff. and *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, pp. 44 f.

earth came || into Egypt to Joseph" (*ibid.* xli. 57). It is not written here "Egypt came,"¹ but "they came into Egypt,"² for they brought their tribute and their presents to Joseph to buy (corn); for forty years he was second to the king,³ and for forty years he was king⁴ alone, as it is said, "Now there arose a *new* king over Egypt" (Ex. i. 8).⁵

The fourth king was Solomon, who reigned from one end of the world to the other, as it is said, "And Solomon ruled over *all* the kingdoms" (1 Kings iv. 21); and it says, "And they brought every man his present,⁶ vessels of silver, and vessels of gold, and raiment, and armour, and spices, horses, and mules, a rate year by year" (*ibid.* x. 25).

The fifth king was Ahab, king of Israel, who ruled from one end of the world to the other,⁷ as it is said, "As the Lord thy God liveth, there is *no* nation or kingdom,⁸ whither my lord hath not sent to seek thee" (*ibid.* xviii. 10). All the princes of the provinces⁹ were controlled¹⁰ by him; they sent and brought their tribute and their presents to Ahab. Are not all the princes of the provinces of the world two hundred and thirty-two?¹¹ as it is said, "Then he mustered the young men of the princes of the provinces, and they were two hundred and thirty-two" (*ibid.* xx. 15).

¹ The first editions read: "'Earth' is not written here, but 'and all the earth.'" Earth or land would refer to Egypt alone, *all* the earth refers to all countries.

² See *infra*, pp. 306 f., and cf. Gen. Rab. xc. 6. "The famine was restricted to Phoenicia, Arabia, and Palestine," says the Midrash.

³ The first editions add: "of Egypt."

⁴ See T.B. Soṭah, 11a, Book of Jashar lviii. 6; and cf. *J.E.* vii. 248 ff. for "Joseph in Rabbinical literature."

⁵ The Oxford MS. (d. 35) adds "etc." The verse continues: "who knew not Joseph." Hence the inference that the new king did not know his predecessor Joseph.

⁶ The rest of the verse is omitted by our MS., but it is given by the first editions. On Solomon see *J.E.* xi. 439 f.

⁷ The first editions omit the words "who ruled . . . other."

⁸ The first editions and our MS. do not continue the quotation, but add "etc."

⁹ אפרכיא or אפרכיא (ἐπαρχία), prefecture.

¹⁰ Or, "were conquered."

¹¹ The first editions read here: "Ahasuerus ruled over half the world, 116 provinces, and by the merit of Esther 11 more provinces were added to him, as it is said, 'Ahasuerus who reigned, from India unto Ethiopia, one hundred and seven and twenty provinces'"¹ (Esth. i. 1).

¹ See Esth. Rab. on Esth. i. 1 and T.B. Megillah, 11a, on the 127 provinces.

The sixth king was Nebuchadnezzar, who ¹ ruled from one end of the world to the other.² Moreover, he ruled over the beasts of the field and the birds of heaven, and they could not open their mouth except by the permission of Nebuchadnezzar, || as it is said,³ "And *wheresoever* the children of men dwell, the beasts of the field and the fowls of the heaven hath he given into thine hand" (Dan. ii. 38).

The seventh king was Cyrus,⁴ who ruled from one end of the world to the other, as it is said, "Thus saith Cyrus king of Persia,⁵ *All* the kingdoms of the earth hath the Lord, the God of heaven, given me" (2 Chron. xxxvi. 23). Ahasuerus ruled over half the world. Is not half the world but 116 provinces, as it is said, "This is Ahasuerus, who reigned from India unto Ethiopia" (Esth. i. 1).⁶

The eighth king was Alexander ⁷ of Macedonia, who ruled from one end of the world to the other, as it is said, "And as I was considering, behold, an he-goat came from the west ⁸ over the face of the *whole* earth" (Dan. viii. 5). "Over the earth" is not written here, but "over the face of the *whole* earth."⁹ And not only that, but he wished to ascend to heaven in order to know what is in heaven, and to descend into the depths in order to know what is in

¹ See *supra*, p. 81, note 7.

² The MS. omits here the following passage, which occurs in this context in the first two editions: "as it is said, 'And wheresoever the children of men dwell'" (Dan. ii. 38). The preceding verse reads: "Thou, O king, art king of kings."

³ The first editions vary the quotation by reading Isa. x. 14: "And there was none that moved the wing, or that opened the mouth, or chirped." This verse is applied by Isaiah to Sennacherib; see *infra*, pp. 39c ff., for a reference to Nebuchadnezzar; and cf. Dan. ii. 37, and T.B. Sabbath, 149b. The printed texts differ from the MS. here by omitting any reference to the beasts of the field.

⁴ On Cyrus as king of the earth see Jerahmeel lxxviii. 1. See also T.B. Megillah, 12a, and T.B. Rosh Ha-Shanah, 3b.

⁵ The MS. ends the quotation here; the first editions continue till "earth," adding "etc.," which also occurs in the MS.

⁶ This paragraph in its context is peculiar to our MS.; see *supra*, p. 81, note 11.

⁷ On Alexander the Great in Rabbinic literature see *J.E.* i. 342 f., where a good bibliography is to be found at the end of the article. See also Jerahmeel, Index, p. 299, s.v. "Alexander."

⁸ The quotation in the MS. ends here; the first editions agree in this instance.

⁹ The first editions add here: "that he might know what was at the ends of the earth." The phrase occurs in a modified form a few lines lower down in our MS.

the depths,¹ and not only that, but he attempted to go to the ends of the earth in order to know what was at the ends of the earth. The Holy One, blessed be He, divided his kingdom² among the four corners (or winds) of the heavens, as it is said, "And when he shall stand up, his kingdom shall be broken, and shall be divided towards the four winds of the heaven" (*ibid.* xi. 4).

The ninth king is King || Messiah, who, in the future, will rule from one end of the world to the other,³ as it is said, "He shall have dominion also from sea to sea" (Ps. lxxii. 8);⁴ and another Scripture text says, "And the stone that smote the image became a great mountain, and filled *the whole earth*" (Dan. ii. 35).⁵

The tenth king will restore the sovereignty to its owners.⁶ He who was the first king will be the last king, as it is said, "Thus saith the Lord, the King . . . I am the first, and I am the last;⁷ and beside me there is no God" (Isa. xlv. 6); and it is written, "And the Lord shall be king over *all* the earth" (Zech. xiv. 9).⁸

¹ See T.J. 'Abodah Zarah iii. 1, 42c.

² See Num. Rab. xiii. 14.

³ Not merely over Palestine does the Messianic kingdom extend, but over the whole world. This universalism is noteworthy.

⁴ This verse is not given in the first editions. The verse continues: "And from the river unto the ends of the earth."

⁵ See Jalkuṭ, *in loc.*, and Num. Rab. *loc. cit.* This verse was known to Josephus as a Messianic text; see *Ant.* x. 10. 4.

⁶ The first editions read: "to its owner"; see *infra*, p. 130, and Maimonides, Hilkhoth Melakhim xi. 4.

⁷ The MS. ends quotation here; the first editions continue the text.

⁸ The Messianic kingdom is universal in space, but not in time; the kingdom of God which follows the kingdom of the Messiah will be eternal and universal. The first editions continue: "and the sovereignty shall return to its (rightful) heirs and then, 'The idols shall utterly pass away. And the Lord alone shall be exalted in that day' (Isa. ii. 18, 17). And He will tend His flock and cause them to lie down, as it is written, 'I myself will feed my sheep, and I will cause them to lie down' (Ezek. xxxiv. 15); and we shall see Him eye to eye, as it is written, 'For they shall see, eye to eye, when the Lord returneth to Zion'" (Isa. lii. 8).

CHAPTER XII¹

ADAM IN PARADISE [14A. ii.]

WITH love abounding did the Holy One, blessed be He, love the first man, inasmuch as He created him in ² a pure locality, in the place of the Temple,³ and He brought him into His palace,⁴ as it is said, "And the Lord God took the man, and put him into the garden of Eden ⁵ to dress it and to keep it" (Gen. ii. 15). From which place did He take him? From the place of the Temple, and He brought him into His palace, which is Eden, as it is said, "And he put him into the garden of Eden to dress it" (*ibid.*).⁶ Perhaps thou wilt say:⁷ To plough (the fields) and cast out⁸ the stones

¹ In the MS. this is ch. xi.

² The first editions read: "from a pure and holy place. From which place did He take him? From the site of the Temple."

³ Man's body is an emblem of God's sanctuary. In the preceding chapter we are told that God gathered the *dust* to form the first man from the four corners of the earth, establishing thereby the right of every human being to live and to be buried in any part of the earth. A similar idea was known to Philo, *de Mundi opific.* Mi. 35, C.W. i. p. 42, § 51. As to the Temple being the site of Adam's origin see T.J. Naẓir vii. 2, 52b, and Gen. Rab. xiv. 8, and cf. *infra*, p. 143. Eden was more than a mere garden. See T.B. Berakhoth, 34b.

⁴ "Palace" recalls Dan. xi. 45.

⁵ The words "to dress it and to keep it" are missing in the MS., but they are found in the 1st ed.

⁶ This does not occur here in the printed texts, which continue: "What labour then was there in the midst of the garden, that (the text) should say: 'to dress it and to keep it'?" According to Jubilees iii. 15, "Adam and his wife were in the garden of Eden for seven years tilling and keeping it, and we gave him work, and we instructed him to do everything that is suitable for tillage." As we shall see, our book gives an allegorical interpretation of this "work in Eden."

⁷ The first editions add here: "There was work (to be done) in the garden of Eden, namely, that he should prune the vines in the vineyards."

⁸ See Isa. xxviii. 24 for phraseology.

from the ground.¹ But did not all the trees grow up of their own accord?²

Perhaps thou wilt say: There was some other work (to be done) in the garden of Eden, (such as) to water the garden. But did not a river flow through and issue forth from Eden, and water the garden, as it is said, || "And a river went out of Eden to water the garden" (*ibid.* 10)?

What then is the meaning of this expression: "to dress it and to keep it"? (The text) does not say "to dress it and to keep it" except (in the sense) of being occupied with the words of the Torah³ and keeping all its commandments,⁴ as it is said, "to keep the way of the tree of life" (*ibid.* iii. 24). But the "tree of life" signifies only the Torah,⁵ as it is said, "It is a tree of life to them that lay hold upon it" (Prov. iii. 18).

And (Adam) was at his leisure in the garden of Eden, like one of the ministering angels.⁶ The Holy One, blessed be He, said: I am alone in My world and this one (Adam) also is alone in his⁷ world. There is no propagation before Me and this one (Adam) has no propagation in his life;⁸ hereafter all the creatures⁹ will say: Since there was no propagation in his life,⁸ it is he who has created us.¹⁰ It is

¹ The first editions add: "or again, that he should pile up the sheaves or cut (the corn)."

² Cf. Gen. Rab. xiii. 1.

³ Torah means not merely the written word of God, but also its interpretation and implication.

⁴ The printed texts read differently here: "to keep the way of the tree of life." See Siphre, Deut. § 41.

⁵ The Palestinian Targum renders Gen. ii. 15 as follows: "And the Lord God took the man from the mountains of worship, where he had been created, and made him dwell in the garden of Eden, to do service in the Law and to keep its commandments." A similar interpretation occurs in the Church Father Theophilus (*To Autolytus*, ii. 24) and in the Slavonic Enoch xxxi. 1: "And I made a garden in Eden in the East, and (I ordained) that he should observe the Law and keep the instruction."

⁶ Man is become "like one of us," was interpreted by the Midrash, Gen. Rab. xxi. 5, and Mekhilta, Beshallah, vi. p. 33a (n. 18 for parallels) as meaning: "like one of the ministering angels." This idea of the Midrash was known to Justin Martyr, *Dial. c. Tryph.* lxii.

⁷ Some texts read: "My." See Pal. Targum, Gen. ii. 18.

⁸ Lit. "before him."

⁹ *Supra*, p. 79, we read that the animals wished to worship Adam, thinking he was their Maker. The belief was prevalent in former days that all the animals in Paradise were endowed with speech and reasoning power. See Jubilees iii. 28 (n. 28), and Grünbaum, *op. cit.* pp. 56, 60.

¹⁰ Our author may wish to refute the notion obtaining in some non-Jewish religions that God had physical offspring.

not good for man to be alone, as it is said, "And the Lord God said, It is not good for man to be alone; I will make him an help meet for him . . ." (Gen. ii. 18).¹

Rabbi Jehudah said: ² If he be worthy she shall be an help meet for him; if not, she shall be against him to fight him.³

When the earth heard this expression⁴ thereupon it trembled and quaked, crying before its Creator: Sovereign of all worlds! I have not the power to feed the multitude⁵ of mankind. The Holy One, blessed be He, replied: I and thou will (together) feed the multitude⁵ of mankind. They agreed to divide (the task) between themselves: the night was for the Holy One, blessed be He, || and the day (was apportioned) to the earth.⁶ What did the Holy One, blessed be He, do? He created the sleep of life,⁷ so that man lies down and sleeps whilst He sustains

¹ Thereby divine attributes will not be given to him by the other creatures. They will perceive that man is not omnipotent. Our Midrash may also hint that Adam (first or Second Adam) was not the Creator. As we have pointed out, the view that the Second Adam was the Creator obtained in early Christian circles. See Gen. Rab. xii. 7.

² The first editions insert here: "Do not read¹ (in Gen. ii. 18) *k'negdo*, 'meet for him,' but (read) *l'negdo*, 'against him.'"

³ Jalkut, Gen. § 23, reads: "If he be fortunate she will correspond to him (and be in harmony with him); if not, she will oppose him." According to Rashi she will be a "lash" ("Nigdo") to him; see Midrash Agadah on Gen. ii. 18.

⁴ i.e. of man's supremacy over it. Man was to increase and multiply, to fill the earth and to *subdue* it (Gen. i. 28). The Oxford MS. (d. 35) reads: "When the earth heard the expression help-meet."

⁵ Lit. sheep or herd.

⁶ See Ps. xlii. 8.

⁷ See Ps. iii. 5; T.B. Berakhoth, 58b; Gen. Rab. xiv. 9, and Shocher Tob, Ps. xxv. 2; and cf. *infra*, p. 253. For further references to Adam legends see *Die Sagen der Juden*, ed. Micha Josef bin Gorion, 1913 (Anhang). Two volumes of this Midrashic collection have appeared, and in the appendix the sources are given for the legends dealing with the Creation, the Patriarchs, etc. Equally interesting and valuable are the *Legends of the Jews*, by L. Ginzberg; the sources of the legends have not yet appeared in the promised final volume. Parallels to the Midrashim in Christian literature are dealt with by L. Ginzberg in his *Haggada b. d. Kirchengvatern*, i., Amsterdam, 1899. Parallels in Mohammedan literature are given by Geiger, *Was hat Mohammed*, etc., and M. Grünbaum, *op. cit.* pp. 60 ff., and in *Z.D.M.G.* xxxi. pp. 183 ff.; the monographs by Rahmer (on Jerome), Funk (on Aphraates), Gerson, and Goldfahn (on Justin Martyr) should be consulted for "Christian" Midrashic parallels.

¹ Jerome employs this formula of Midrashic exegesis (e.g. on Zech. xiv. 20).

him and heals him and (gives) him life and repose, as it is said, "I should have slept: then had I been at rest" (Job iii. 13). The Holy One, blessed be He, supports (man) with¹ the earth, giving it water; and it yields its fruit and food for all creatures—but the first² man's food "in toil³ shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life" (Gen. iii. 17).

The Holy One, blessed be He, had compassion upon the first man (Adam), and, in order that he should not feel any pain, He cast upon him the sleep of deep slumber,⁴ and He made him sleep whilst He took one of his bones from his side and flesh from his heart⁵ and made it into an help (meet for him) and placed her opposite to him. When he awoke from his sleep he saw her standing opposite to him.⁶ And he said, "Bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh" (*ibid.* ii. 23). As long as he was alone he was called Adam (man).⁷

Rabbi Jehudah⁸ said: Because of the name Adamah (ground) whence he was taken, his name was called Adam. Rabbi Joshua ben Korchah said: He was called Adam because of his flesh and blood (*dām*⁹). He said to him: Adam!

¹ The first editions read: "supports the earth."

² The first editions omit: "the first."

³ Or "sorrow," see 4 Ezra vii. 12, and *Jewish Sources of the Sermon on the Mount*, p. 191.

⁴ The deep sleep made Adam insensible to pain; cf. T.B. Synhedrin, 39a. Tertullian, *De Anima*, xliii., discusses the "sleep" of Adam.

⁵ See Pal. Targ. Gen. ii. 21. According to the *Leḳach Tob*, Gen. ii. 21, Eve was made from the sixth rib. Theophilus, *op. cit.* xxviii., discusses why Eve was formed from Adam's rib.

⁶ A similar expression is used by the Book of Jasher i. 4.

⁷ According to the Talmud (T.B. Jebamoth, 63b) an adult male who lives without a wife is not called man ("Adam"). This designation was given when God blessed the first *pair*. This view is opposed by our author.

⁸ The first editions omit till "R. Joshua ben Korchah."

⁹ See 'Arukh, ed. Kohut, i. p. 34b: "The first man was called Adam because of the word for earth (Adamah), whence he was taken;" and see *ibid.* p. 307a for another version. The Church Fathers also find fanciful interpretations of the name of the first man. Augustine on the Gospel of John ix. 14 explains the four letters of Adam's name (in Greek) as referring to the East, West, North, and South. Cf. Slavonic Enoch xxx. 13, and Sibylline Oracles iii. 24-26. Augustine (*op. cit.* x. 12) gives the numerical value of Adam as 46, pointing out that the Temple had stood 46 years at the time of the death of the Founder of Christianity. The Rabbis were not the only people who had recourse to "Gematria." The first editions add the following paragraph: "Immediately he embraced her and kissed her,¹ and he said: Blessed art thou of the Lord,² thy bone is from my bones

¹ Cf. Gen. Rab. xxiii. 5.

² Cf. Ruth iii. 10 for similar phraseology.

Adam ! And when an help-mate had been built for him, his name was called *êsh* (fire), and she (was called) *êsh* (fire).¹

What did the Holy One, blessed be He, do ? He put His name (יה) between their (names), saying : If they go in My ways || and keep all My precepts, behold My name is given to them,² it will deliver them from all distress. If they do not (walk in My ways), behold I will take away My name from their (names), and they will become *êsh* (fire).³ And fire consumes fire, as it is said, " For it is a *fire* that consumeth unto destruction " (Job xxxi. 12).⁴

The Holy One, blessed be He, made ten wedding canopies⁵ for Adam in the garden of Eden. They were all (made) of precious stones, pearls, and gold. Is it not a fact that only one wedding canopy is made for every bridegroom,⁶ whilst three wedding canopies are made for a king ?⁷ But in order to bestow special honour upon the first man, the Holy One, blessed be He, made ten (wedding canopies) in the garden of Eden, as it is said, " Wast thou in Eden the garden of God ; was every precious stone⁸ thy covering, the sardius, topaz, and the diamond, the beryl, the onyx, and the jasper, the sapphire, the emerald, and the carbuncle, and gold ? " (Ezek. xxviii. 13).⁹ Behold these are the ten canopies. The angels were playing upon timbrels and dancing with

and it is becoming for thee to be called woman (*ishah*), as it is said."

¹ The first editions read : " When an help-mate, a woman (*ishah*), had been built for him, his name was called man (*ish*), and she was called woman (*ishah*)."

² *Ish* (יש) and *ishah* (אשה) have the letters Yod (י) and Hêh (ה) apart from the letters ו which they have in common. See Jerahmeel vi. 16, and cf. Pal. Targ. Ex. xxviii. 30, on the Ineffable Name.

³ By removing the letters Yod and Hêh from the Hebrew words *ish* and *ishah* each word spells *êsh*, fire ; and see T.B. Soṭah, 17a.

⁴ See 'Arukh, s.v. " Adam " and s.v. " êsh," and cf. T.B. Soṭah, 5a.

⁵ The canopy used at Jewish weddings is still called Chuppah. The word may also mean Wedding Chamber. For further details, see *Jewish Encyclopædia*, s.v. ; and cf. T.B. Baba Bathra, 75a ; Gen. Rab. xviii. 1 ; Jalkuṭ, Gen. § 20 ; and Büchler in *Monatsschrift*, xlix., 1905, pp. 18 ff., and in *J.Q.R.* (New Series) iv. pp. 490 f.

⁶ See Ps. xix. 5.

⁷ See Cant. iii. 9-11.

⁸ The rest of the verse is omitted by the MS. and the first editions, which read : " etc."

⁹ On this verse see *Hellenism and Christianity*, pp. 99 f. The ten canopies are apparently indicated by the nine precious stones and gold as mentioned in the verse. Menorath Ha-Maor, § 205, states that the Messiah will have ten canopies. See also *B.H.M.* iii. p. 60.

pipes,¹ as it is said, "The workmanship² of thy tabrets and of thy pipes was with thee" (*ibid.*).

On the day when the first man was created, as it is said, "In the day when thou³ wast created they were prepared" (*ibid.*), the Holy One, blessed be He, said to the ministering angels: Come, let us descend and render loving service to the first man and to his help-mate, for the world rests upon the attribute of the service of loving-kindness.⁴ The Holy One, blessed be He, said: More beloved is the service of loving-kindness than the sacrifices and burnt-offerings which Israel will bring in the future upon the altar before Me, as it is said, || "For I desire love, and not sacrifice" (Hos. vi. 6).⁵

The ministering angels were going to and fro and walking before him like friends who guard the wedding canopies,⁶ as it is said, "For he shall give his angels charge over thee,⁷ to keep thee in all thy ways" (Ps. xci. 11). (The word) "way" here means only the way⁸ of bridegrooms. The Holy One, blessed be He, was like a precentor.⁹ What is the

¹ The first editions read: "like females." ¹ See Jalkuṭ Makhiri, Ps. xci. p. 46a.

² The Hebrew here (*Melēkhēth*) suggests angels (*Mālākhim*). The Midrashim which deal with the "Canopies" are numerous. The subject has not been considered in all its bearings. The Jewish Messiah will be married, hence the "Canopies," for his wedding. This is probably a disguised attack on the Christian exaltation of the unmarried state, as exemplified by the Founder of the Christian Church. The discussion on the Canopies is to be found also in Lev. Rab. xx. 2; Eccles. Rab. viii. 1; Jalkuṭ, Eccles. § 764. According to Dr. Büchler (*J.Q.R.*, New Series, iv. pp. 490 f.) the word Chuppah might be rendered "bower." One also thinks of cave or cavern in this connection. According to the *Schatzhöhle*, p. 7, Adam had one cave after his expulsion from Paradise; see also Book of Adam and Eve (ed. Malan) i. v.

³ Adam.

⁴ On Gemilluth Chasadim (Service of Loving-kindness) see Paul Goodman, *Die Liebestätigkeit im Judentum*, and Bergmann, in *Soziale Ethik im Judentum*, pp. 51 ff., and see *infra*, Chapter XVI.

⁵ See *infra*, p. 107.

⁶ The reading in Menorath Ha-Maor, *loc. cit.*, is as follows: "And the ministering angels were going before him like friends who guard the wedding canopies, as it is said, 'For he shall give his angels charge over thee, to guard thee on all thy ways'" (Ps. xci. 11). The first editions read: "ministering angels were like groomsmen."

⁷ The MS. quotes this verse up to "thee"; the entire verse is given by the first editions.

⁸ See Prov. xxx. 19.

⁹ Our text is preserved in Menorath Ha-Maor, *loc. cit.*, and cf. Jalkuṭ Makhiri, Ps. xcii. p. 46a. The precentor is the Chazan. The period when the Chazan became the Reader of the prayers is that

¹ The Hebrew in the text has the same root as the word for *female*.

custom observed by the precentor? He stands and blesses the bride in the midst of her wedding chamber.¹ Likewise the Holy One, blessed be He, stood and blessed Adam and his help-mate, as it is said, "And God blessed them" (Gen. i. 28).²

of the Geonim. See Sopherim, x. 7, xi. 3, 5, and xiv. 14; Eppenstein's article in *Monatsschrift*, lii., 1908, pp. 467 ff., and *infra*, p. 109.

¹ Or canopy.

² This indicates the sacred nature of matrimony, which is aptly termed *Kiddushin* (sanctification). See Gen. Rab. xviii. 2 for the marriage of Adam and Eve.

CHAPTER XIII¹

THE SERPENT IN PARADISE [15A. ii.]

“ENVY, cupidity, and ambition remove man (Adam) from the world.”² The ministering angels³ spake before the Holy One, blessed be He, saying: Sovereign of all Worlds! “What is man, that thou shouldst take note of him?” (Ps. cxliv. 3). “Man (Adam) is like unto vanity”⁴ (*ibid.* 4), upon earth there is not his like.⁵ (God) answered them: Just as all of you praise Me in the heights of heaven so he professes My Unity on earth,⁶ nay, moreover, are you able to stand up and call the names for all the creatures which I have created? They stood up, but were unable (to give the names). Forthwith Adam stood up and called the names for all His creatures, as it is said, “And the man gave names to all cattle” (Gen. ii. 20). When the ministering angels saw this they retreated,⁷ and the ministering angels said: If we do not take || counsel against this man so that he sin before his Creator, we cannot prevail against him.⁸

¹ In our MS. this is ch. xii.

² This is taken from Aboth iv. 28. The three sins enumerated brought about the sin and punishment of Adam and Eve. See Aboth de R. Nathan (a) i. and (b) i.; T.B. Synhedrin, 59b; and *infra*, p. 125.

³ The parallel text preserved in the Midrash Haggadol, Gen. (ed. Schechter), c. 86, reads: “the subordinate angels became jealous of him.”

⁴ According to our author, if Adam had not sinned he would have lived for ever. See *Z.D.M.G.* xxxi. p. 232.

⁵ See Job xli. 33 (Heb. xli. 24), and cf. *infra*, p. 265.

⁶ Lit. “in the lower regions.” See Jalkuṭ, Gen. § 25. According to Slavonic Enoch xxx. 2, Adam in Paradise sees the heavens open “that he should perceive the angels singing the song of triumph.”

⁷ Or, “they retraced their steps,” or “betook themselves backward.” This is missing in the first two editions. On the theme see Gen. Rab. xvii. 4.

⁸ See *infra*, pp. 367 f., 436, and cf. Jerahmeel xxii. 1. The spirit animating the angels in desiring the fall of man is that of jealousy; this explains the “envy” quoted from Aboth iv. at the beginning of the chapter.

Sammael was the great prince in heaven ;¹ the Chajjôth² had four wings and the Seraphim had six wings, and Sammael had twelve wings. What did Sammael do ? He took his band³ and descended⁴ and saw all the creatures which the Holy One, blessed be He, had created in His world and he found among them none so skilled to do evil as the serpent, as it is said, "Now the serpent was more subtil⁵ than any beast of the field" (*ibid.* iii. 1). Its appearance was something like that of the camel,⁶ and he⁷ mounted and rode upon it.⁸ The Torah began to cry aloud, saying, Why, O Sammael ! now that the world is created, is it the time⁹ to rebel against the Omnipresent ? Is it like a time when thou shouldst lift up thyself on high ?¹⁰ The Lord of the world "will laugh at the horse and its rider"¹¹ (Job xxxix. 18).

A parable, to what is the matter like ?¹² To a man in

¹ At first the "great prince" was Sammael, but after his fall Michael is "the great prince"; cf. T.B. Chagigah, 12b. On Sammael and Michael see *infra*, pp. 192 f., and J.E. x. 665 f. (*s.v.* Samael).

² The Jalkuṭ, Gen. *loc. cit.*, reads: "The Chajjôth with four wings and the Seraphim with six wings." Our text and Jalkuṭ (*loc. cit.*) are parallel texts; the printed texts differ slightly. The first editions read: "The Chajjôth and the Seraphim with six wings." The Midrash Haggadol (Genesis), *loc. cit.*, differs in the arrangement, and omits the reference to the Chajjôth.

³ *i.e.* troop of angels obeying him. See Geiger, *op. cit.* pp. 101 f.

⁴ See *infra*, pp. 99, 193 f. The word ירד, "descended," recalls Eth. Enoch vi. 6, and Jubilees iv. 15; cf. Luke x. 18.

⁵ Our MS. ends quotation here, adding "etc."

⁶ The Serpent had the appearance of the camel prior to the punishment meted out to it by God. On the theme see T.B. Erubin, 18a; T.B. Synhedrin, 59b; Gen. Rab. xix. 1; Zohar, Ex. 136a; and Aboth de R. Nathan (a) i. p. 3a. In the Slavonic Book of Adam and Eve (ed. Jagić, p. 26) Satan uses the Serpent to deceive Eve. See Archelaus, "Disputation with Manes," in A.N.C.L. xx. p. 344, for a parallel.

⁷ Sammael, or Satan. See Ascension of Isaiah i. 8.

⁸ The Midrash Haggadol, Gen. *loc. cit.*, adds: "and betook himself to mislead the man."

⁹ The MS. reads 'ād, the first editions read 'ēš (time); so also Midrash Haggadol, *loc. cit.*

¹⁰ This is quoted from Job xxxix. 18. The R.V. renders, "What time she lifteth up herself on high." The verse is intended to illustrate Sammael's sin in approaching Eve and causing Adam to rebel. According to Tertullian, *de Patient.* v., the Evil One "impatiently bore that the Lord God subjected the universal works" to man. This led on to his "envy." He deceived him because he envied him.

¹¹ The R.V. reads: "She scorneth the horse and his rider." The "horse" is applied in the Midrash to the Serpent and "the rider" to Sammael.

¹² The deed of Sammael is illustrated by the parable.

whom there was an evil spirit. All the deeds which he does,¹ or all the words which he utters, does he speak by his own intention? Does he not act only according to the idea of the evil spirit, which (rules) over him? So (was it with) the serpent. All the deeds which it did, and all the words which it spake, it did not speak² except by the intention of Sammael. Concerning him, the Scripture says, "The wicked is thrust down in his evil-doing" (Prov. xiv. 32).³

A parable, to what is the matter like? To a king || who married a woman and made her supreme over all that he had.⁴ He said to her: All that I have shall be in thy hands, except this house,⁵ which is full of scorpions. A certain old man visited her; he asks, for instance,⁶ for vinegar. He said to her: Wilt thou argue that he deals kindly with thee?⁷ He deals with me (thus): over all that he possesses has he made me supreme. Thus said he to her: Behold, all that I have is given into thy hands except this house,⁵ which is full of scorpions. (The old man) said to her: Is not all the jewellery⁸ of the king indeed in this house⁵? But⁹ he wishes to marry another woman, and to give them to her. The king is the first man (Adam), the woman is Eve, and the one who asked for vinegar is the serpent;¹⁰ and concerning them (the text) says, "There are the workers of iniquity fallen, they are thrust down, and shall not be able to rise"¹¹ (Ps. xxxvi. 12).

¹ The first editions add: "does he do them at his own suggestion?"

² The first editions read: "it neither spake nor did."

³ Cf. the version in Jalkuṭ, Gen. *loc. cit.*

⁴ The first editions add: "consisting of precious stones and pearls."

⁵ The first editions read "cask" (חבית), and so throughout the parable; this is more correct than "house" (הבית) in our text.

⁶ This expression is omitted in the Amsterdam edition of 1708 and in the Dyhrenfürth edition. The vinegar was used by the poor for dipping therein their bread; see Aboth de R. Nathan (a) xx. p. 36a.

⁷ The first editions read here: "How does the king treat thee? She said to him: All that he possesses has he given to me and left in my hands except this cask."

⁸ *Kosmin* (κόσμος), jewellery; see Arukh, s.v. קומי. The reading in the first editions is corrupt.

⁹ The first editions read: "He spake not thus to thee save for the reason that he wishes to marry another woman."

¹⁰ For a variant parable to illustrate the theme taken from Aboth de R. Nathan (a) i. p. 3b, see *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, p. 29.

¹¹ The printed editions omit the second half of the verse.

The serpent argued with itself, saying: If I go and speak to Adam, I know that he will not listen to me, for a man is always hard ¹ (to be persuaded), as it is said, "For a man is churlish and evil in his doings" (1 Sam. xxv. 3); but behold I will speak to Eve,² for I know that she will listen to me; for women listen to all creatures, as it is said, "She is simple and knoweth nothing" (Prov. ix. 13). The serpent went and spake to the woman: ³ || Is it ⁴ (true that) you also have been commanded concerning the fruit of the tree? ⁵ She said (to him): Yes, as it is said, "Of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the garden" (Gen. iii. 3). And when the serpent heard the words of Eve, he found a way ⁶ through which he could enter (to approach her), so he said to her: This precept is nought else except the evil eye, for in the hour when ye eat thereof, ye will be like Him, a God. Just as ⁷ He creates worlds and destroys worlds,⁸ so will ye be able to create worlds and to destroy worlds. Just as He slays and brings to life, so also will ye be able to kill and to bring to life, as it is said, "For God doth know that in

¹ See Gen. Rab. xvii. 8 to illustrate the notion that a man is more easily appeased than a woman. The quotation from 1 Sam. is not in the printed editions. The Midrash Haggadol, Gen. c. 87, reads: "for Sammael has no authority over man because he is hard."

² The first editions read here: "the woman whose mind is feeble." Slavonic Enoch xxxi. 6 tells us how Satanail or Satan "conceived designs against Adam; in such a manner he entered and deceived Eve. But he did not touch Adam." The "evil eye" mentioned in our text, *infra*, might be rendered "envy."

³ For a Christian Midrash on this theme see "Fragments from the lost writings of Irenæus" in *A.N.C.L.* ix. p. 166.

⁴ The first editions add the words in brackets.

⁵ The text is probably corrupt here; Luria suggests that instead of the words "this tree" which occur in the printed texts we should read "this garden." This agrees with the reading preserved in the Oxford MS. (d. 35), and in Jerahmeel xxii. 2. According to the reading "this tree," the answer desired by the Serpent would not have been forthcoming. By asking about the "fruit of the garden" the Serpent was enabled to mislead Eve. The Talmud (T.B. Synhedrin, 29a) lays stress on the addition to the Divine command made by Eve when she said, "neither shall ye touch it" (Gen. iii. 3). Our MS. intends the question to be quite general: "Is it a fact that you have been commanded (not to eat) the fruit of any tree?" This agrees with the Midrash Haggadol, Gen. *loc. cit.*

⁶ Lit. "opening." See Tertullian, *de Patient.*, *loc. cit.*

⁷ The first editions read: "What does He do?"

⁸ This idea of being able to create other worlds has a parallel in Slavonic Enoch xxxi. 3: "And the devil took thought, as if wishing to make another world."

the day ye eat thereof,¹ then your eyes shall be opened" (*ibid.* 5).²

The serpent went and touched the tree, which commenced to cry out, saying : ³ Wicked One ! do not touch me ! as it is said, " Let not the foot of pride come against me, and let not the hand of the wicked drive me away. There are the workers of iniquity fallen " ⁴ (Ps. xxxvi. 11, 12).

The serpent went and said to the woman : Behold, I touched it, but I did not die ; thou also mayest touch it, and thou wilt not die.⁵ The woman went and touched the tree, and she saw the angel of death⁶ coming towards her ; she said : Woe is me ! I shall now die, and the Holy One, blessed be He, will make another woman⁷ and give her to Adam,⁸ but behold I will cause || him to eat with me ; if we shall die, we shall both die,⁹ and if we shall live, we shall both live. And she took of the fruits of the tree, and ate thereof, and also gave (of its fruits) to her husband, so that he should eat with her, as it is said, " And she took of the fruit thereof, and did eat ; and she gave also unto her husband with her " (Gen. iii. 6). When Adam had eaten of the fruit of the tree, he saw that he was naked,¹⁰ and his eyes were opened, and his teeth were set on edge. He said to her : What is this that thou hast given me to eat, that my eyes should be opened and my teeth set on edge ? ¹¹ Just as my

¹ The MSS. end the quotation here, but add " etc. " ; the first editions continue the verse.

² Our MS. ends here the 12th chapter.

³ See Aboth de R. Nathan (*a*) i. p. 2b, the tree cried out when Eve stared at it and (desired its fruit). See also Jeraḥmeel xxii. 3.

⁴ The MSS. give only the verse from Ps. xxxvi. 11 ; the first two editions omit the second half of this verse and add the first half of the next verse.

⁵ The Midrash Haggadol, Gen. c. 88, adds : " Forthwith the woman saw that the tree was good for food. " See Aboth de R. Nathan, *loc. cit.*, and Pal. Targum, Gen. iii. 6.

⁶ According to the Pal. Targum (*loc. cit.*), " and the woman beheld Sammael, the angel of death, and she was afraid. "

⁷ The printed editions add : " for him. "

⁸ See Tertullian, *de Patient.*, *loc. cit.*, where Adam is described as " not yet Eve's husband. "

⁹ See a similar Midrash in the Church Father Ephraim, Comm. in Gen. vol. i. p. 35.

¹⁰ See *infra*, p. 98.

¹¹ The first editions add : " against my knowledge. " See Jer. xxxi. 29, 30, and Ezek. xviii. 2. For the Rabbinic sources dealing with the Serpent, Eve, and Adam see Tosephta Soṭah iv. (end) ; T.B. Soṭah, 9a ; Gen. Rab. xix. 4 ; Pesikṭa Rabbathi, § xv. p. 68b ; Tanchuma,

teeth were set on edge, so shall the teeth of all generations be set on edge.¹

Lekach Tob and Jalkut, *in loc.*; and see Midrash Agadah and Rashi on Gen. iii., and cf. Jeraḥmeel xxii.; see also *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, pp. 27 ff.; Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, vol. i. pp. 71 ff.; and F. R. Tennant, *The Fall and Original Sin*, 1903, pp. 152 and 158.

¹ See the parallel version from Gen. Rab. xix. 5, translated in *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, p. 28, and cf. Aboth de R. Nathan, *loc. cit.*, Midrash Haggadol, Gen. c. 90, "their teeth and the teeth of all generations." According to Slavonic Enoch xxx. 16: "Therefore his *ignorance* is a woe to him that he should sin, and I appointed death on account of his sin." The expression "to set the teeth on edge" in our text means "paying the penalty." See also 4 Ezra iii. 7.

CHAPTER XIV

THE SIN OF ADAM AND EVE [16A. ii.]

TEN descents upon the earth ¹ were made by the Holy One, blessed be He; they were: (1) Once in the Garden of Eden; (2) once at (the time of) the generation of the Dispersion; ² (3) once at Sodom; ³ (4) once at the thorn-bush; ⁴ (5) once in Egypt; ⁵ (6) once at Sinai; ⁶ (7) once at the cleft of the rock; ⁷ (8) and (9) twice in the tent of Assembly; ⁸ (10) once in the future.⁹

Once in the Garden of Eden; whence do we know? Because it is said, "And they heard the voice of the Lord God *walking* in the garden ¹⁰ in the cool of the day" (Gen. iii. 8). And it is written,¹¹ "My beloved ¹² *is gone down* to

¹ See Siphre, Numbers, § 93; Mekhilta Jethro, 3, p. 64a; Aboth de R. Nathan (a) xxxiv. Other parallels are given by Schechter, p. 51b, note 32 of his edition of Aboth de R. Nathan. The other descents are mentioned in Chapters XXIV., XXV., XXXIX., XL., XLI., XLVI., and LIII.

² Cf. *infra*, pp. 176 f., and Gen. Rab. xxxviii. 9.

³ See *infra*, p. 179, and Gen. Rab. xlviii. 7; and cf. Jalkut, Gen. § 27, which reads: "Once in *Egypt*, once at the thorn-bush, once at Sinai, once at the cleft of the rock." The reference to Egypt will be discussed *infra*, p. 303.

⁴ See T.B. Megillah, 29a, and cf. *infra*, p. 312.

⁵ This is not in the first editions. See *supra*, note 3.

⁶ See Mekhilta Jethro, 9, p. 72b; and cf. *infra*, p. 318.

⁷ Cf. *infra*, p. 365. The reading in the first two editions is: "twice at the cleft of the rock." This is probably incorrect; see *supra*, note 3, and cf. Aboth de R. Nathan, *loc. cit.*

⁸ See *infra*, p. 433. Here also we should read, "Once in the tent of Assembly." Aboth de R. Nathan, *loc. cit.*, has this reading, and refers to Num. xi. 25.

⁹ Aboth de R. Nathan (*loc. cit.*) refers here to Zech. xiv. 4. The ninth and tenth descents are to be in the future also: see Siphre, *loc. cit.*; T.B. Sukkah, 5a; and Othijoth de R. Akiba, letter Hê (Jellinek, B.H.M. iii. p. 24).

¹⁰ In the MS. the quotation ends here, the first editions continue the verse.

¹¹ The first editions have: "And another text says."

¹² The "beloved" is God. This verse is quoted because it contains the verb (ירד) "to descend."

his garden, to the beds of spices" (Cant. vi. 2). (God) sat in judgment,¹ and He judged with judgment. He said to him (Adam): Why didst thou flee² before Me? He answered Him: I heard Thy voice³ and my bones trembled,⁴ as it is said, "I heard thy voice in the garden, and I was afraid, || because I was naked: and I hid myself" (Gen. iii. 10).⁵

What was the dress of the first man? A skin of nail,⁶ and a cloud of glory covered him. When he ate of the fruits of the tree, the nail-skin was stripped off him,⁷ and the cloud of glory departed from him, and he saw himself naked, as it is said, "And he said, Who told thee that thou wast naked?"⁸ Hast thou eaten of the tree, whereof I commanded thee?" (*ibid.* 11).

Adam said before the Holy One, blessed be He: Sovereign of all worlds! When I was alone, I did not sin against Thee. But the woman whom Thou hast brought to me enticed me

¹ See Gen. Rab. xx. 2 ff. for the judgment of the Serpent, Eve, and Adam. The first editions read here: "He sat in a judgment of truth, the Judge of righteousness and truth. He called to Adam and said to him." Cf. ציוק הדין (Burial Service) in Singer, pp. 318 f.

² For similar phraseology see Ps. cxxxix. 7. This psalm is interpreted by the Midrashim as referring to Adam; see *infra*, p. 143.

³ The first editions read: "I heard the report of Thee." Cf. Hab. iii. 2 and Cant. Rab. iii. 6.

⁴ See Job iv. 14 for a similar expression.

⁵ The first editions read here: "And I hid myself from my deed, and I was afraid of my deed, for I was bare of (the fulfilment of) my commandment,"¹ as it is said, "For I was naked" (Gen. iii. 10).²

⁶ The dress of Adam and Eve was, according to the Pal. Targum, Gen. iii. 7, "onyx-coloured"; cf. Gen. Rab. xx. 12. The legend of an original skin of nail is preserved in the custom which still obtains among orthodox Jews, who gaze at their nails with the Habdalah light at the termination of the Sabbath. Dr. S. Daiches considers this custom as a relic of nail magic (see Jews' College Publications, v. pp. 31 f. n. 1). According to the Church Father Ephraim, *op. cit.* p. 139, Adam and Eve lost their angelic endowments immediately after their sin, their sight and power of discerning became limited only to matters corporeal and sensible; see the Book of Adam and Eve (ed. Malan), p. 215, for this reference. See also Odes of Solomon, pp. 66 ff. and 69, notes 1, 2.

⁷ The first editions add here, "and he saw himself naked," and not after the words, "and the cloud of glory departed from him." See Pal. Targ. Gen. *loc. cit.* A similar tradition is preserved in the *Coptic Apocrypha*, ed. Budge, p. 250.

⁸ The MSS. end the quotation here, the first editions continue the verse.

¹ Some of the old editions read: "Thy commandment"; see also Ezek. xvi. 39.

² "Naked," *i.e.* Adam was stripped of his dress of glory as a consequence of his disobedience.

away from Thy ways,¹ as it is said, "The woman whom thou gavest to be with me,² she gave me of the tree, and I did eat" (*ibid.* 12). The Holy One, blessed be He, called³ unto Eve, and said to her: Was it not enough for thee that thou didst sin in thy own person? But (also) that thou shouldst make Adam sin? She spake before Him: Sovereign of the world! The serpent enticed my mind to sin before Thee, as it is said, "The serpent beguiled me, and I did eat" (*ibid.* 13). He brought the three⁴ of them and passed sentence of judgment upon them, consisting of nine curses and death.

He cast down Sammael⁵ and his troop from their holy place in heaven,⁶ and cut off the feet of the serpent,⁷ and decreed that it should cast its skin and suffer pain once in seven years in great pain, and cursed it || that it should drag itself with its belly (on the ground), and its food is turned in its belly into dust⁸ and the gall of asps,⁹ and death is in its mouth,¹⁰ and He put hatred between it and the children of the woman,¹¹ so that they should bruise its

¹ The first editions read: "Thy words." See *B.H.M.* iii. pp. 60 f.

² The MSS. end the quotation here.

³ The first editions add here: "He said."

⁴ See Pal. Targ. Gen. iii. 16 and cf. Gen. Rab. xx. 2, 3.

⁵ On the identification of Sammael with the Devil see Wisdom ii. 24, Pal. Targum on Gen. iii. 6; see also Rev. xii. 9 and xx. 2. Paul in 2 Cor. xi. 3 refers to the beguiling of Eve by the Serpent. On the speaking of the Serpent see Jubilees iii. 7 and Josephus, *Ant.* i. 1. 4. According to Slavonic Enoch xxxi. 3, "The devil took thought, as if wishing to make another world, because things were subservient to Adam on earth. . . . He became Satan *after* he left the heavens." See T.B. Sabbath, 55a, for the Haggadic account of Adam and Eve and the Serpent.

⁶ "But the wicked Satan . . . I hurled him down from heaven, he it is who made the tree appear pleasant in your eyes," says the Book of Adam and Eve (ed. Malan) i. i.; cf. *ibid.* xlv. The Fall of Satan is mentioned in Luke x. 18, John xii. 31, and cf. Eph. ii. 2.

⁷ This Midrash was known to Josephus; see *Ant. loc. cit.* The first editions add: "And He cursed it more than all living beasts and all cattle." Two curses are set forth here; cf. T.B. Bechoroth, 8a, and see Gen. Rab. xx. 5, Tosephta Soṭah iv. 17, 18.

⁸ Cf. Job xx. 14; T.B. Joma, 75a: "The serpent brought man back to dust, and therefore dust is its food."

⁹ See Pal. Targum on Gen. iii. 14. "A deadly venom shall be in thy mouth, and thou shalt eat dust all the days of thy life."

¹⁰ See Job xx. 16.

¹¹ The New Testament refers to this incident in 1 John iii. 8, Col. ii. 15, Heb. ii. 14 ff., Rom. xvi. 20, and see Revelation of Moses (in "Ante-Nicene Christian Library," xvi. p. 461). Ephraim, *op. cit.*, refers

head,¹ and after all these (curses comes) death.² He gave the woman nine curses and death: the afflictions arising from menstruation and the tokens of virginity;³ the affliction of conception in the womb; and the affliction of child-birth; and the affliction of bringing up children; and her head is covered like a mourner,⁴ and it is not shaved except on account of immorality, and her ear is pierced like (the ears of) perpetual slaves;⁵ and like a hand-maid she waits upon her husband; and she is not believed in (a matter of) testimony;⁶ and after all these (curses comes) death.

He extended pardon⁷ to Adam (as to a part of the) nine curses and death. He curtailed his strength, and He shortened his stature⁸ by reason of the impurity connected with issues and with pollution;⁹ as well as the impurity arising from sexual intercourse; he was to sow wheat and to reap thistles,¹⁰ and his food was to be the grass of the earth, like that of the beast; and (he was to earn) his bread in

to the cutting off of the Serpent's feet; see *supra*, p. 99, note 7. The first editions read: "between it and the woman."

¹ See T.J. Kiddushin iv. 11, p. 66c, and Sophrim xv. 10, for the rule, "Break the head of the best among serpents."

² Cf. the words of Wisdom, *loc. cit.*, "But through the devil's envy came death into the world"; see also Slavonic Enoch xxxi. 3.

³ See T.B. 'Erubin, roob, and Aboth de R. Nathan (a) i. p. 2b.

⁴ For an example of this see Büchler, *The Economic Condition of Judea*, p. 53, and see T.B. Kiddushin, 72a. The New Testament also directs women to have their heads covered; see 1 Cor. xi. 5 and cf. the *Apostolic Constitutions*, i. 8. In our MS. and in the Oxford MSS. as well as in some of the old editions of our book (*e.g.* Venice, 1544) after "mourner" the words "she is not shaved except on account of immorality," occur, but later editions have deleted the passage. This phrase is of great importance in view of Dr. Büchler's interesting and learned monograph on this theme. A special note at the end of the book will recapitulate the results of Dr. Büchler's investigations, as the date of *P.R.E.* may possibly be determined by the period when the custom of cutting the hair of the immoral woman as a punishment obtained.

⁵ Schwally, *Das Leben nach dem Tode*, p. 39, refers to the inference suggested by the perforation of a woman's ears; see also *Z.A.T.W.*, 1891, p. 183.

⁶ Because Adam listened to Eve, and was led astray by her; see 'Arukh, ed. Kohut, v. 394b.

⁷ Our MS. reads ריטום (pardon). The Oxford MS. (d. 35) reads ריטום (retribution), and Oxford MS. (O.A. 167) has רינו (his sentence). The printed texts omit this and read: "He drew Adam aside and decreed against him nine curses and death."

⁸ See *Coptic Apocrypha*, p. 250: "his body diminished in size."

⁹ See T.B. Synhedrin, 38b.

¹⁰ See Gen. Rab. xx. 10, and Tanna de bē Elijahu Rab. xxxi. p. 164.

anxiety, and his food by the sweat (of his brow); and after all these (curses came) death.¹

If Adam sinned, what was the sin of the earth, that it should be cursed? Because it did not speak against the (evil) deed,² therefore it was cursed; for in the hour when the sons of man transgress the graver sins || God sends a plague³ to the sons of man; and in the hour when the sons of man transgress sins less vital, He smites the fruits of the earth,⁴ because of (the sins of) the sons of man, as it is said. "Cursed is the ground for thy sake" (*ibid.* 17).

¹ For a Christian interpretation of the judgment, see Revelation of Moses, *loc. cit.* p. 460 f.

² By protesting and warning Adam; see Pal. Targum, Gen. iii. 17.

³ See Aboth (v. end), T.B. Sabbath, 32a, and T.B. Joma, 83a. The Church Fathers have very elaborate expositions of the "Fall" and its consequences. Thus Irenæus (*adv. Hær.* iii. 3) writes: "It was for this reason, too, that immediately after Adam, as the Scripture relates, He pronounced no curse against Adam personally, but against the ground, in reference to his works; as a certain person among the ancients has observed, 'God did indeed transfer the curse to the earth, that it might not remain in man.' But man receives as a punishment of his transgression the toilsome task of tilling the earth, and to eat bread in the sweat of his face, and to return to the dust whence he was taken. Similarly also did the woman (receive) toil, and labour, and groans, and the pangs of parturition, and a state of subjection, that is, that she should serve her husband; so that they should neither perish altogether when cursed by God, nor, by remaining unreprimanded, should be led to despise God. But the curse in all its fulness fell upon the serpent which had beguiled them." For other references see Diestel, *op. cit.* (in Index), and Thalhoffer, *Bibliothek der Kirchenväter* (in Index).

⁴ See *Coptic Apocrypha*, p. 243: "the fruit of the earth is little because of the sins of man."

CHAPTER XV

THE TWO WAYS [17A. i.]

RABBI ELIEZER said: I heard with my ear¹ the Lord of hosts speaking. What did He speak? He said: "See, I have set before thee this day life and good, and death and evil" (Deut. xxx. 15). The Holy One, blessed be He, said: Behold, these two ways² have I given to Israel, one is good, the other is evil. The one which is good, is of life; and the one which is evil, is of death.³ The good way has two byways, one of righteousness and the other of love, and Elijah,⁴ be he remembered for good, is placed exactly between these two ways.⁵ When a man comes to enter (one of these ways), Elijah,⁶ be he remembered for good, cries aloud concerning him, saying, "Open ye

¹ See Isa. v. 9, and note the Targum thereon. R. Eliezer ben Hyrkanos was held to be worthy of being endowed with the Holy Spirit; see T.J. Sotah (end) and T.B. Synhedrin, 11a; Jalkut, Job, § 919.

² The theme of this chapter of our book is the Jewish doctrine of the Two Ways, the ways of good and evil, or of life and death. Adam did not keep the "way of life" (see *supra*, p. 85); he disobeyed God by taking of the fruit of the tree of "good and evil." The "Way of Life" in Paradise was guarded by the Cherubim, and the earthly way of "good and evil" is likewise in the charge of angels, good and evil. Slavonic Enoch xxx. 15 connects the "two ways" with Adam before his disobedience. On the "Two Ways" see *Jewish Sources of the Sermon on the Mount*, pp. 239 ff. See also Gen. Rab. xxi. 5. The Christian literature has also its doctrine of the Two Ways; see the *Apostolic Constitutions*, vii. 1; Epistle of Barnabas xviii.-xx.; Hermas, Mand. vi. 2; Pseudo-Clementine Homilies, v. 7; and for "Heaven and Hell" see the *Revelation of Peter* (ed. Robinson and James, 1892, pp. 48 ff.). See also Test. XII Pat., Asher i. 3, with Charles' note *in loc.* Some of the printed texts read "two words" instead of "two ways." The latter is, of course, the correct reading; see Jalkut, Job, *loc. cit.*

³ See T.B. Joma, 38b.

⁴ On Elijah in Jewish literature see *supra*, p. 2, note 7; J.E. v. 122 ff.; Schechter, *Aspects of Rabbinic Theology*, p. 288.

⁵ *i.e.* the ways leading to life and death.

⁶ See *supra*, p. 95; T.B. Kiddushin, 70a; Ruth Rab. v. 6. On Elijah's work see Seder 'Olam Rab. xvii.

the gates, that the righteous nation which keepeth truth may enter in" (Isa. xxvi. 2). And there cometh Samuel the prophet, and he places himself between these two byways.¹ He says: On which of these (two byways) shall I go? If I go on the way of righteousness, then (the path) of || love is better than the former; if I go on the way of love, (the way) of righteousness is better: but I call heaven and earth to be my witnesses² that I will not give up either of them.³

The Holy One, blessed be He, said to him: Samuel! Thou hast placed thyself between these two good byways. By thy life! I will give to thee three good gifts. This teaches thee that everyone who doeth⁴ righteousness and sheweth the service of love, shall inherit three good gifts, and they are: life, righteousness, and glory, as it is said, "He that followeth after righteousness and love, findeth life, righteousness, and glory" (Prov. xxi. 21). It is only written here (in the text): "He findeth life, righteousness, and glory."⁵

(Leading) to the way of evil, there are four⁶ doors, and at each door seven angels⁷ are standing—four without, and three within. The (angels) without are merciful, and those within are cruel. When a man comes to enter,⁸ the merciful angels go to meet him and say to him: What hast thou to do with the fire yonder? What hast thou to do with those glowing coals?⁹ Listen to us and

¹ Samuel, like Elijah, sought to reconcile God and man. On Samuel in Rabbinic literature see *J.E.* xi. 7. On the idea in our Midrash see 1 Sam. ii. 26; according to this text, Samuel grew in favour with God and man. The favour of God is the result of "righteousness," whilst the favour of man is due to "love" between man and his fellow.

² This expression is very common in the Tanna de bē Elijahu.

³ The first editions add here: "but I will take them for myself." See Eccles. vii. 18.

⁴ The first editions read "who desireth and doeth," instead of "doeth." Luria suggests "pursueth."

⁵ This sentence is missing in the printed editions.

⁶ Cf. the three sins of Israel mentioned by Amos ii. 6 and the four calls of Wisdom in Prov. i. 20 ff.

⁷ The first editions read: "seven watchers, angels, are sitting," *i.e.* guardian angels.

⁸ The first editions add: "the first door."

⁹ The first editions read: "Why wilt thou enter into the midst of this fire? Why wilt thou enter among the uncircumcised and the glowing coals?" Luria reads "flames" instead of "uncircumcised." The picture of Gehenna in our context may be suggested by the "swords

repent.¹ If he hearken to them and repent, behold it is well, and if not, he says to them: ² Amongst them (yonder) let my life (be). || They say to him: Thou hast entered the first door; do not enter the second door. When he comes to enter the second door, the merciful angels go to meet him and say to him: What benefit is it to thee to be erased³ from the Torah of thy God? ⁴ Would it not be better to be inscribed in the Torah of thy God? Hearken unto us and repent. If he listen to them and repent, it is well; and if not, he says to them: ⁵ With them yonder let my life (be). They say to him: Behold thou hast entered the second door, do not enter the third door. When he is about to enter the third door the merciful angels go to meet him and say to him: ⁶ What benefit is to thee that they (*i.e.* the good angels) should flee from thee and call thee "Unclean"? Would it not be better that they should call thee "Pure One" and not "Unclean"? Hearken to us and repent. If he hearken unto them, behold, it is well; and if not, he says unto them: With them (yonder) let my life (be). They say to him: Behold thou hast entered the third door; do not enter the fourth door! When he is about to enter the fourth door the merciful angels go to meet him and say to him: Behold, thou hast entered these doors, and thou hast not hearkened nor returned.⁷ Thus far the Holy One, blessed be He, receives

of flaming fire" in the hands of the Cherubim guarding Paradise. The "flaming fire" is outside Paradise. For the "everlasting fire" in the New Testament see Matt. xxv. 41; the old editions (*e.g.* Amsterdam) read הרים, "mountains," instead of "wicked."

¹ Or "return"; possibly the word implies "*repent and return.*"

² The first editions read here: "If he hearken to them it is well; and if not, verily they say to them: Amongst them (yonder) there is no life." Our MS. has undoubtedly the better reading.

³ The first editions read: "to be removed."

⁴ The first editions omit the next sentence and read instead: "that they (*i.e.* the good angels) should call thee 'Unclean,' and that they should flee from thee."

⁵ See note 2 above.

⁶ The first editions read, instead of our text, the following: "Why wilt thou be erased from the book of life? ¹ Is it not better for thee to be inscribed (therein) rather than to be erased (therefrom)? Hearken unto us, and repent. If he listen to them, it is well; and if not, woe to him and to his head!" See Wisdom i. 13.

⁷ The translation might also be, "repented." See Jalkut, Job, *loc. cit.*

¹ On the "Book of Life" see T.B. Rosh Ha-Shanah, 16b, and cf. Jeremias, *Babyl. im N.T.*; see also Isa. xxx. 8.

|| the penitent ; thus far the Holy One, blessed be He, pardons¹ and forgives,² and every day He says : Return, ye children of man, as it is said :³ "Thou turnest man to contrition"⁴ (Ps. xc. 3).

The cruel angels⁵ say : Since he would not hearken to the first (angels), let us cause his spirit to depart, as it is said, "Let his spirit go forth, let him return to his earth" (*ibid.* cxlvi. 4). And concerning them⁶ (the Scripture) says :⁷ "Upon the third and upon the fourth generation of them that hate me" (Ex. xx. 5) ; and another verse says : "Lo, all these things doth God work, twice, yea thrice, with a man" (Job xxxiii. 29). And thus He calls to Eliezer.⁸

The Holy One, blessed be He, said : Eliezer ! Thou hast made thyself like a threefold cord,⁹ as it is said, "And a threefold cord is not quickly broken" (Eccles. iv. 12). I also will apply to thee this verse : "Thou shalt be perfect with the Lord thy God" (Deut. xviii. 13). Do not read thus, but : "Thou shalt be perfect *before*¹⁰ the Lord thy God."

¹ The first editions add " sins."

² See T.B. Joma, 86b, and T.B. Rosh Ha-Shanah, 16a.

³ The first editions read, instead of our quotation, the following : "'Return, ye backsliding children' (Jer. iii. 14). If man hearken unto them, it is well ; and if not, woe to him and to his destiny !" ¹

⁴ Or "destruction." See T.B. Chagigah, 16a, for an instance of repentance even after death ; see also Jalḳuṭ Makhiri, Ps. xci. 13, and *infra*, p. 341.

⁵ See Prov. xvii. 11 and cf. Shocher Tob, Ps. i. 22, p. 11b, and cf. Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho*, cv., on the "evil angel taking our soul." See also Hippolytus (*Against Plato*, ed Lagarde, p. 69).

⁶ The unrepentant.

⁷ The printed texts omit the quotation from Ex. xx. 5 and conclude the quotation from Job xxxiii. 29 with the word "work," adding "etc."

⁸ Luria thinks that probably the text originally ended with a reference to Samuel. The first editions agree with our MS. and read "to Eliezer," indicating Rabbi Eliezer ben Hyrḳanos, whose name also occurs at the beginning of the chapter.

⁹ The printed texts omit the quotation from Eccles. iv. 12. Some of the texts read, "Hast thou made thyself?" etc. The threefold cord is Torah, Divine Worship, and Loving Service. R. Eliezer had acquired Torah, and devoted his life to the service of God ; and by his action to his brothers he rendered loving service to them. The reference to Samuel would be just as likely.

¹⁰ In the MS. the texts "with the Lord" are identical. This is clearly due to an error of a copyist. See Jalḳuṭ, Deut. § 919, and cf. Siphre, Deut. § 173. I have followed the reading of the Pesikta Zuṭarta, p. 30b.

CHAPTER XVI

THE SERVICE OF LOVING-KINDNESS [17B. ii.]

THE world rests upon three things: upon the Torah, upon Divine Worship, and upon the service of loving-kindness.¹

"Upon the Torah," whence do we know (this)? Because it is written, "If my covenant² of *day and night* stand not" (Jer. xxxiii. 25); and (another text) says, "This book of the Torah shall not depart out of thy mouth,³ but thou shalt meditate therein *day and night*" (Josh. i. 8). Whence do we know (that the world rests) upon the service of loving-kindness? Because it is said, "For I desired love, || and not sacrifice" (Hos. vi. 6). Whence do we know (that the world rests) upon Divine Worship? Because it is written, "And the prayer of the upright is his delight"⁴ (Prov. xv. 8).⁵

¹ See Aboth i. 2; Pesikta Rabbathi, v. p. 15b; and cf. *supra*, p. 89, and *infra*, p. 122.

² God's covenant is the Torah; see T.B. Sabbath, 33a; cf. T.B. Pesachim, 54a; and T.B. Nedarim, 32a. The argument by analogy afforded by comparing similar words in two different verses of Scripture is known as "Gezerah Shavah," and is employed here. For examples see Levy, *N.H.W.* i. 320 f.; and cf. Bacher's *Terminologie*, i. s.v. pp. 13 ff.

³ The rest of the verse is omitted by our MS.; it occurs in the first editions. The MS. adds the paragraph following dealing with the service of loving-kindness.

⁴ Luria thinks that the text should read: "(The world rests) upon Divine Worship. What is this (Worship)? Prayer." The preceding part of the verse quoted reads: "The *sacrifice* of the wicked is an abomination to the Lord, and the prayer of the upright is his *delight*" (Prov. xv. 8). In Mal. ii. 13 "delight" is used instead of "offering." On this theme see Aboth de R. Nathan (a) iv. p. 9b; T.J. Megillah iii. 7. 74b; Num. Rab. xii. 12. The ethical lesson here is noteworthy: knowledge of God's Law must find expression, on the one hand, in Divine Worship, and, on the other, in the service of loving-kindness to humanity. Judaism claims to be the highest expression of religious truth, and stands or falls by the ethical teaching it enunciates.

⁵ The first editions add: "What is the Divine Worship? Prayer, for thus we find in Daniel, to whom Darius said: 'Thy God whom

Whence do we learn of the service of loving-kindness for bridegrooms? We learn (this) from the Holy One, blessed be He; for He Himself bestowed loving-kindness upon Adam and his help-mate. The Holy One, blessed be He, said to the ministering angels: Come ye and let us show loving-kindness to Adam and his help-mate. The Holy One, blessed be He, descended with the ministering angels to show loving-kindness to Adam and his help-mate.¹ The Holy One, blessed be He, said: More beloved unto Me is the service of loving-kindness than sacrifices and burnt-offering which Israel, in the future, will bring on the altar before Me, as it is said, "For I *desired* love, and not sacrifice" (Hos. vi. 6).²

Rabbi José said: From whom do we learn of the seven days of banquet? ³ From our father Jacob.⁴ For when our father Jacob married Leah, he made a banquet with rejoicing for seven days, as it is said, "Fulfil the *week* ⁵ of this one" (Gen. xxix. 27).⁶

thou *servest* continually, he will deliver thee' (Dan. vi. 16). Was there any Divine Worship in Babylon? ¹ But this (refers to) Prayer."

¹ In the Garden of Eden; see *supra*, pp. 88 ff.

² See *supra*, pp. 76, 84, 89, for the idea that the world rests on love. Here the stress is on "*I desire*," since God's desire or will is the cause of the world's existence. The bridegroom is especially mentioned, because the study of the Torah is to be set aside in order to render the service of loving-kindness to the bride and bridegroom. The Jewish teachers did not encourage celibacy; neither was the cult of virginity considered a desirable element in religion, as was the case in the Christian Church. It is possible that the emphasis laid on the Divine participation in Adam's nuptials was intended to counteract the attitude of the Church towards marriage; see 1 Cor. vii. 8; Matt. xix. 10, 12. This section in our book should be compared with the latter part of Chapter XII.; see also *Pesikta de R. Kahana*, p. 172b (end).

³ At a wedding. The marriage feast is mentioned in the parables of the N.T.; see Matt. xxii. 2 ff.

⁴ See Nachmanides on Gen. xxix. 27; and cf. T.J. Kethuboth i. 1, p. 25a, and Jalkuṭ, Judges, § 70.

⁵ See Pal. Targum, *in loc.*

⁶ The first editions add: "And all the men of the place were gathered together to render loving service to Jacob, as it is said: 'And Laban gathered together all the men of the place, and made a feast' (Gen. xxix. 22). The Holy One, blessed be He, said to them: Ye have shown loving-kindness to Jacob, My servant. I will deal kindly and give you your reward in this world,² because there is no reward for evil-doers in the world to come, as it is said, 'Because by him the Lord

¹ In Babylon and elsewhere outside Palestine the sacrificial cult was replaced by prayer; see Siphre, Deut. § 41, p. 80a; and cf. Esther Rab. viii. 7.

² See T.B. Kiddushin, 40b, and T.B. 'Erubin, 22a.

Rabbi Simeon¹ said: Our father Abraham wrote (in his will and bequeathed) all that he had as an inheritance² to Isaac, as it is said, "And Abraham gave all that he had unto Isaac" (*ibid.* xxv. 5). He took the document and gave it into the hands of Eliezer, his servant, (who) said, Since the document is in my hand all his money is in my hand,³ so that he might go and be recommended⁴ (thereby) in his⁵ father's house and with his family.

From Kirjath || Arba unto Haran was a journey of seventeen days; and in three hours⁶ the servant came to Haran. He was astonished in his mind⁷ and he said: This day I went forth, and this day I arrived, as it is said, "And I came *this day* unto the fountain" (*ibid.* xxiv. 42).

Rabbi Abbahu said: The Holy One, blessed be He, wished to show loving-kindness to Isaac, and he sent an angel⁸ before Eliezer; and the way was shortened for him, so that the servant came to Haran in three hours.

And everything⁹ is revealed before the Holy One, blessed be He. A daughter of kings,¹⁰ who in all her life had never gone forth to draw water, went out to draw water in that hour. And the girl, who did not know who the man¹¹ was, accepted (the proposal) to be married to Isaac. Why?

had given victory unto Syria' (2 Kings v. 1), and he¹ received his reward."²

¹ The first editions read: "Shemajah."

² See *infra*, p. 215; and cf. T.B. Baba Bathra, 130a. Isaac was destined to be Abraham's heir according to God's promise; see Gen. xv. 4. The first editions omit the quotation, Gen. xxv. 5.

³ The words of Eliezer are not in the first editions.

⁴ By the will of Abraham everything in his possession passed to Isaac. This circumstance would be appreciated by the family of Rebecca. See Gen. Rab. lix. 10.

⁵ Abraham's.

⁶ The "shortening of the way" occurs also in the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew xxii. (*A.N.C.L.* xvi. p. 38), and see *A.R.W.* xvi. p. 169.

⁷ Lit. "heart."

⁸ See Gen. xxiv. 7, and cf. Gen. Rab. *loc. cit.*

⁹ Cf. Luria's reading based on Jalkut Makhiri, Ps. lxii. 5.

¹⁰ See Midrash Haggadol, Gen. c. 367. For Bethuel as king see Jalkut, Gen. § 109, and Sopherim xxi. (ed. Müller) p. 304, n. 46.

¹¹ The reading in the Jalkut, *loc. cit.*, is: "And the girl knew not man." This reading is probably due to Gen. xxiv. 16. Clement of Alexandria gives a parallel Haggadic interpretation in his *Strom.* iv. 25.

¹ Laban.

² By the victory of Aram, the service of loving-kindness rendered to Jacob by Laban was requited to the descendants of Laban the Aramean. See *infra*, p. 112.

Because she had been destined¹ for him from his mother's womb,² as it is said, "In the balances they will go up, they are together lighter than vanity" ³ (Ps. lxii. 9).

Laban and Bethuel answered: Since (this) word has come forth from the mouth of the Almighty, we cannot prevent it, as it is said, "Then Laban and Bethuel answered and said, The thing proceedeth from the Lord: ⁴ we cannot speak unto thee bad or good" (Gen. xxiv. 50). "Behold, Rebecca is before thee; take her and go" (*ibid.* 51).

The servant arose early in the morning and saw the angel standing and waiting for him in the street. He said to them: ⁵ "Do not hinder me, ⁶ for the Lord hath prospered my way" (*ibid.* 56). For behold, the man who came with me yesterday, he has prospered my way; behold, he is standing || and waiting for me in the street,⁷ as it is said, "And he said to them, Do not hinder me, for the Lord hath prospered my way." They ate and drank at Rebecca's (bridal) banquet.⁸ Like a precentor, who is standing and blessing the bride in her bridal canopy,⁹ so they stood and blessed Rebecca their sister (wedded) to Isaac, as it is said, "And they blessed Rebecca, and said unto her, Our sister . . ." (*ibid.* 60).¹⁰

At six hours of the day¹¹ the servant went forth from Haran, and he took Rebecca and Deborah her nurse and made them ride upon the camels. So that the servant should not be alone with the maiden (Rebecca) by night,

¹ See Targum Onkelos to Gen. xxiv. 14.

² *i.e.* from his birth. The first editions read: "from her mother's womb."

³ Cf. Lev. Rab. xxix. 8, Gen. Rab. lix. 9, T.J. Beza v. 2, 63a.

⁴ The MS., the Midrash Haggadol, Gen. c. 368, and the first editions end the quotation here, and add: "etc."

⁵ Eliezer is speaking to Laban and his friends.

⁶ The MS. ends the quotation here; the first editions continue the verse, and then the printed texts read: "Behold he is in the street, waiting for me. They ate and drank at Rebecca's banquet, as it is said."

⁷ The Midrash Haggadol, Gen. c. 370, refers here to the "angel" who accompanied Eliezer.

⁸ The first editions add parts of verses 54 and 56 of Gen. xxiv.

⁹ See Midrash Haggadol, Gen. *loc. cit.*; and cf. *supra*, pp. 89 f., and see Kallah i., and Tosaphoth, Kethuboth, 7b, *s. v.* שְׁנֵי אֲמָרִים.

¹⁰ This was a marriage by proxy. The Rabbis differ as to whether the nuptial benedictions can be said only in the presence of the bride and bridegroom; see R. Nissim on T.B. Sukkah, 25b, and RIṬBA on Kethuboth, 8a.

¹¹ *i.e.* at noon, twelve o'clock. See Midrash Haggadol, Gen. c. 371, for a parallel text.

the earth was contracted¹ before him, and in three hours the servant came to Hebron at the time of the prayer of the afternoon-evening.² And Isaac had gone forth to say the afternoon-evening prayer, as it is said, "And Isaac went forth to *meditate* in the field towards even" (*ibid.* 63).³

Rabbi Simeon⁴ said: Abraham spake to Isaac his son (saying), This servant⁵ is suspected of all the transgressions of the Torah, and deceit is in this servant,⁶ as it is said, "He is a Canaanite,⁷ the balances of deceit are in his hand; he loveth to defraud" (Hos. xii. 7). See, lest he has defiled her,⁸ therefore bring the girl into the tent and examine her tactually;⁹ || and if she be undefiled, behold, she is destined

¹ The Pal. Targum on Gen. xxiv. 61 states: "And as the way was shortened for him in his journey to Paddan-Aram, so was it shortened for him on his return, so that in one day he went and in one day he returned."

² *i.e.* at 3 p.m. The MS. reads: "the afternoon of the evening." The first editions read "afternoon." Midrash Haggadol, *loc. cit.*, has "evening." The word "Minchah" is used to designate the "afternoon prayer" or the "afternoon offering"; see Jastrow, *T.D.* 779a.

³ The first editions add: "*Meditation* (Sichah) is nought else save prayer,¹ as it is said, 'A prayer of the afflicted, when he is overwhelmed and poureth out his complaint (Siach) before the Lord'" (Ps. cii. 1). See *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, p. 84. Gen. Rab. lxviii. 9 quotes here Ps. cxlii. 2, instead of Ps. cii. 1 as above.

⁴ The first editions read: "Ishmael."

⁵ The Prague edition reads: "O my son! this servant," etc.

⁶ The first editions read: "This servant is suspected of transgressions, and deceit is in his hand." עֲבִירָה (transgression) often means "immorality."

⁷ Servants or slaves were called "Canaanites" in consequence of Noah's curse upon his son Ham, whose son was Canaan; cf. T.B. Baba Bathra, 92b.

⁸ "Zinôr," euphem. for vagina; see 2 Sam. v. 8.

⁹ For a parallel see the legends of the Virgin Mary and Salome in "Ante-Nicene Christian Library," xvi. p. 12 (The Protevangelium of James); and cf. same story in same volume, p. 32, The Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, and see Hennecke, *Apokryphen d. N.T.*, p. 61; see also Tertullian, "On the Veiling of Virgins," xi. R. Simeon's inference is based on the view that obtained in ancient times that slaves could be reasonably suspected of loose conduct; see T.B. Berakhoth, 45b; T.B. Pesachim, 91a and 113b. Clement of Alexandria, to quote but one of the Church Fathers, held a similar opinion of the slaves of his day; see *The Instructor*, iii. 4. The Midrash in our text also occurs in Jalkut on Gen., § 109, Midrash Abkhir, and in the Midrash Agadah, Gen. p. 60. See also Rokeach, pp. 54a, b (1st ed.). According to the Book of Jashar (xxiv. 40) Rebecca was ten years old when wedded to

¹ Jerome, *in loc.*, knew this Haggadic interpretation, which also occurs in Onkelos and Pal. Targum, *in loc.* See Gen. Rab. lx. 14; T.B. Berakhoth, 26b; cf. Rahmer, *Die Hebräischen Traditionen in den Werken des Hieronymus* (1861), p. 38.

for thee from her mother's womb.¹ He brought her into the tent and examined her tactually, and he showed the result to Abraham his father, and afterwards he took her to be his wife, as it is said, "And Isaac brought her into the tent of Sarah his mother . . . And Isaac was comforted after his mother's death" (Gen. xxiv. 67);² for the deeds of Rebecca were like unto those of Sarah.³ Hence the Israelites have the custom of producing the tokens of the damsel's virginity,⁴ as it is said, "Then shall the father of the damsel, and her mother, take and bring forth the tokens of the damsel's virginity" (Deut. xxii. 15).⁵

The steward of Abraham's household⁶ was his servant Eliezer, and whence was his servant? When (Abraham) went forth from Ur of the Chaldees all the magnates of the kingdom⁷ came to give him gifts; and Nimrod⁸ took his first-born (son)⁹ Eliezer and gave him to (Abraham) as a perpetual slave.

When (Eliezer had thus) dealt kindly with Isaac, he set him free, and the Holy One, blessed be He, gave him his reward in this world, so that there should not be a reward

Isaac. Another opinion is to be found in Sopherim xxi. 9, and in Seder 'Olam Rab. i. p. 4a.

¹ The first editions read: "She is thine by the word of the Almighty." See Midrash Haggadol, c. 373.

² The last clause of the quotation is not in the first editions.

³ The first editions add: "she was found to be as perfect as Sarah his mother."¹ 'The king's daughter *within* is all glorious' (Ps. xlv. 13); 'And Isaac was comforted after his mother's death'" (Gen. xxiv. 67).

⁴ The first editions read: "custom of tactual examination so that they should not be in doubt, as it is said, 'Then shall the father of the damsel, and her mother, take'" (Deut. xxii. 15). On the custom see Müller's *Chiluf Minhagim*, p. 37, where it is pointed out that it is a Palestinian custom. This might point to a Palestinian as the author of *P.R.E.*, or to Palestine as its home.

⁵ See the rest of the verse.

⁶ Lit. "The steward of his house (was) the servant of Abraham, for Eliezer was his servant." Our translation agrees with the text of the first two editions.

⁷ The first editions read: "All the magnates of the generation arose and gave him gifts."

⁸ On Nimrod see *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, pp. 44 f. and 51; *J.E.* ix. 309; Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, i. pp. 177; cf. Augustine, *de Civ. Dei*, xvi. 11, 3. See also Jerahmeel, s.v. in Index, for references. The first editions add: "arose and wrote a document transferring his servant Eliezer to Abraham."

⁹ The rest of the sentence is wanting in the first editions.

¹ This is like the reading in the Targumim, Gen, *in loc.*

for the wicked in the world to come;¹ and He raised him to kingship, and he is Og, king of Bashan.²

Rabbi José³ said: From whom do we learn (that there should be) seven days of (the wedding) banquet?⁴ From our father Jacob, who || made a banquet with rejoicing for seven days, and he took Leah (as his wife). Again he kept another seven days of banquet and rejoicing, and took Rachel (as his wife), as it is said, "And Laban gathered together all the men of the place, and made a feast" (Gen. xxix. 22). The Holy One, blessed be He, said to them: Ye have shown loving-kindness to Jacob, My servant. I will give a reward to your children, so that there be no reward for the wicked in the world to come: "Because by him the Lord *had given* victory unto Syria" (2 Kings v. 1). From whom do we learn (that there should be) seven days of banquet? From Samson the Nazirite of God, for when he went down to the land of the Philistines, he took a wife and kept seven days of banquet and rejoicing, as it is said, "And it came to pass, when they saw him,⁵ that they brought thirty companions to be with him" (Judg. xiv. 11). What were they doing with him? They were eating and drinking and rejoicing,⁶ as it is said, "And Samson said unto them, Let me now put forth a riddle unto you" (*ibid.* 12); and another text says, "They could not declare the riddle in three days" (*ibid.* 14).⁷

The bridegroom is like a king. Just as a king is praised by everybody,⁸ so is the bridegroom praised by everybody (during) the seven days of the feast. Just as a king is

¹ Eliezer, however, inherited the future world according to the tradition of some Rabbis; see *Derekh Erez Zutta*, i. (end), and *Midrash Agadah*, Gen. xxiv. p. 60.

² See *J.E.* v. 112, Pal. Targum on Gen. xiv. 13, *infra*, p. 167; and cf. *Jalkut* on Num. § 765, Gen. Rab. lx. 2, Deut. Rab. i. 25, T.B. Baba Bathra, 58a, T.B. Joma, 28b, and *Sopherim* xxiv. 9.

³ The first editions read: "Rabbi"; i.e. Jehudah I (c. 200 C.E.); see, however, *supra* in this chapter, p. 107, for a similar text. The whole of this section till "Syria (2 Kings v. 1)" is wanting in the first two editions. See *supra*, p. 107, note 6.

⁴ The custom is clearly indicated in the text Judg. xiv. 10 and 12; cf. Matt. ix. 15, and *supra*, p. 107.

⁵ The first editions end the quotation here.

⁶ The first editions read differently: "What is the meaning of ('when they saw) *him*'? They were eating and drinking *with him*, as it is said," etc.

⁷ See *Jalkut*, *in loc.*, and *Menorath Ha-Maor*, § 173.

⁸ See T.B. Kethuboth, 17a; and cf. Singer, p. 299: "The jubilant voice of bridegrooms from their canopies," and Jer. xxxiii. 11.

dressed in garments of glory,¹ so the bridegroom is dressed in garments of glory.² Just as a king is rejoicing, with feasts in his presence, all his days, so || the bridegroom is rejoicing and has feasts before him all the seven days of the banquet. Just as the king does not go into the market-place alone, likewise the bridegroom does not go into the market-place alone.³ Just as the face of a king is shining like the light of a sun,⁴ so the face of the bridegroom is shining like the light of a sun, as it is said, "And he⁵ is as a bridegroom coming out of his chamber,⁶ and rejoicing to run his course" (Ps. xix. 5).

¹ Cf. Isa. lxi. 10.

² The first editions add : " all the seven days of the banquet."

³ See Rashi on T.B. Menachoth, 98a, catchword מִי. The mourners likewise are not permitted to go out alone. The order of the narrative here is different in the printed texts.

⁴ Cf. Prov. xvi. 15.

⁵ *i.e.* the sun.

⁶ The MS. ends the quotation here ; the first editions add " etc."

CHAPTER XVII

LOVING SERVICE TO MOURNERS [19A. ii.]

CONCERNING the one who tenders the service of loving-kindness to mourners.¹ Whence do we learn of the service of loving-kindness to mourners?² From the Omnipresent, who alone showed loving-kindness to Moses, His servant, and buried him³ with His own hand. If this story had not been written (in the Torah) it would be impossible to say it, as it is said, "And he buried him in the valley in the land of Moab" (Deut. xxxiv. 6).⁴

Rabban Gamaliel,⁵ the son of R. Jehudah, said: Not to Moses alone did He show loving-kindness, but also to Aaron. For when they⁶ went up Mount Hor all the tribes of Israel were contending and saying, Moses and Eleazar have left Aaron on Mount Hor and have gone down (by themselves).⁷ They did not believe that he was dead. To show loving-kindness to him, what did the Holy One, blessed be He, do? He took Aaron's coffin and brought it above the camp of Israel, and all Israel saw

¹ This sentence is missing in the printed editions.

² On mourning customs see Bender's article in *J.Q.R.* vi. pp. 317 ff. and 664 ff., also article in *J.E.* ix. 101 ff.

³ On the death of Moses see *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, pp. 270-272. The service of loving-kindness to mourners is not proved from the burial of Moses. See T.B. Soṭah, 14a, where the custom is inferred from the case of Abraham; cf. T.B. Synhedrin, 46a.

⁴ See T.B. Soṭah, 13b, and Siphre. Deut. § 357.

⁵ On R. Gamaliel see *J.E.* v. 560 ff. On the theme in our text see *Jalkut*, Num. § 787, and cf. Num. Rab. xix. 20.

⁶ Moses, Aaron, and Eleazar. The Gaster MS. 9 begins with the words "were contending," and continues to the end of the book as in the printed editions. The text, apart from the inserted and older MS. section, follows the Venice edition very closely.

⁷ For their own advantage and glory; see *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics* on the death of Aaron, pp. 235-238.

Aaron's coffin flying and moving in the air.¹ They then believed that he was dead, and they showed loving-kindness to him, as it is said : || " And *all* the congregation *saw* that Aaron was dead " (Num. xx. 29). Only the men ² showed loving-kindness to Moses, as it is said, " And the *sons* of Israel wept for Moses " (Deut. xxxiv. 8). The men and the women and the children ³ showed loving-kindness to Aaron.

Why (was this) ? Because he loved peace and pursued peace,⁴ and passed daily through the entire camp of Israel and promoted peace between a man and his wife, and between a man and his neighbour ; therefore *all* Israel showed loving-kindness to him, as it is said, " And when *all* the congregation saw that Aaron was dead,⁵ they wept for Aaron thirty days, even *all* the house of Israel " (Num. xx. 29).⁶

Rabbi José said : From whom do we learn of the seven days of mourning ?⁷ From Jacob, our father, for thus did his son Joseph unto him,⁸ as it is said, " And he made a mourning for his father seven days " (Gen. l. 10).⁹

¹ See *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, p. 228 ; and for the loving-kindness see *ibid.* p. 240. A similar legend as to Mohammed's coffin occurs in Arabian literature.

² Not " all the congregation," as at the death of Aaron.

³ The first editions omit " and the children."

⁴ See Aboth de R. Nathan (a) xii. pp. 24b ff.

⁵ The first editions insert the quotation, " they wept for Aaron," etc., before the paragraph beginning, " Why (was this) ? " The MS. as well as the first editions do not quote the first part of the verse (Num. xx. 29).

⁶ The first editions add the following : " This verse ¹ is not in its right place, for at ' Moserah there Aaron died, and there he was buried ' (Deut. x. 6). And the text points to this (place) as though he died there and was buried there." ²

⁷ See Gen. Rab. c. 7, and T.B. Mo'ed Katan, 20a ; Tanchuma Vajechi, § xvii. Cf. T.J. Soṭah i. 10, 17c ; Jalkuṭ i. § 161.

⁸ The first editions read : " for Joseph kept for him seven days of mourning."

⁹ The first editions add the following : " And all the magnates of the kingdom ³ went up with him, as it is said : ' And there went up with him both chariots and horsemen ' (Gen. l. 9).⁴ The Holy One,

¹ The weeping was at Moserah ; see Seder 'Olam Rab. ix., T.J. Joma i. 1, p. 38b, T.J. Soṭah i. 10, p. 17c, and Pal. Targum on Deut. x. 6, and cf. Rashi on Num. xxvi. 13.

² See Num. xxxiii. 38.

³ The Amsterdam edition reads : " the kingdoms."

⁴ The rest of the verse should be considered, " and it was a very great company " (Gen. l. 9).

Whence do we learn (the duty of) showing loving-kindness to mourners? From Jezebel, the daughter of Ethbaal.¹ The palace of Jezebel, daughter of Ethbaal, was near the market-place.² When any corpse was carried through the market-place, she would go forth from her palace, and she clapped³ with the palms of her hands and praised with her mouth, and she followed the corpse⁴ ten steps. Concerning her, Elijah, be he remembered for good,⁵ prophesied (and said): "In the portion of Jezreel shall the dogs eat the flesh of Jezebel" (2 Kings ix. 36). But over the limbs which were (employed in) showing loving-kindness, the dogs had no power, as it is said, "And they went || to bury her: but they found no more of her than the skull, and the feet, and the palms of her hands" (*ibid.* 35).⁶

blessed be He, said to them: Ye have shown loving-kindness to Jacob, My servant,¹ and I will also give you and your children a good reward in this world. When the Egyptians died in the (Red) Sea, they were not drowned² in the sea, but they were worthy to be buried,³ as it is said: 'Thou stretchedst out thy right hand, the earth *swallowed* them'' (Ex. xv. 12).⁴

¹ See 1 Kings xvi. 31.

² Or "street." The basis of this Haggadah is to be sought in 2 Kings ix. 35. The palace was near the city gate which is generally near the market-place or the "High Street." The first editions add here: "When any bridegroom happened to pass (her palace) she would go forth from her palace, and she clapped her hands and praised with her mouth, and she would go ten steps."

³ The first editions read: "And she made a noise by rubbing her hands, and she bewailed with her mouth." The reading in our MS. seems to be drawn from the account describing Jezebel's conduct when she saw bridegrooms.

⁴ The usual distance was four cubits. See *Tur*, Joreh Di'ah, § 361; Maimonides, Hilkhoth Abel, xiv.; and see also T.B. Soṭah, 35b and 46b.

⁵ See *supra*, p. 2, note 8.

⁶ The quotation in the MS. is abbreviated thus: "And they went to bury her, but they found no more of her than the palms," etc. See Rashi and Kimchi on 2 Kings ix. 36. On the theme of our text see Jalkuṭ, 2 Kings ix. (§ 232); Menorath Ha-Maor, § 216; Kad Ha-Kemach, s.v. נָלַם. *Tur*, Eben Ha-Ezer, 65, quotes the Midrash, as though the text were "bridegroom and bride," and not merely "bridegroom."

¹ See *infra*, p. 309.

² See T.B. Pesachim, 117a, and cf. *infra*, p. 332.

³ The bodies of drowned men are liable to be thrown ashore; they would lie exposed and remain unburied. God, however, had mercy on the doomed Egyptians and bade the sea cast up the drowned, whereupon the earth was constrained to receive the dead, and thus they were buried. The idea contained in this Midrash is the belief of the Jew in the dignity of man, created in the image of God.

⁴ See *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, p. 169, and cf. *infra*, pp. 334 f.

Whence do we learn (the duty of) showing loving-kindness to mourners? From the men of Jabesh-Gilead. For when Saul and his sons were slain, the men of Jabesh Gilead said: Are we not bound to show loving-kindness to the man who delivered us from the disgrace of the sons of Ammon? ¹ All their mighty men arose and went all night to the walls of Beth-Shan, ² and they took the body of Saul and the bodies of his sons from the walls of Beth-Shan, as it is said, "All the valiant men arose, and took away the body of Saul" (1 Chron. x. 12).

The mourners are comforted with bread and wine, ³ as it is said, "Give strong drink unto him that is ready to perish, and wine unto the bitter in soul" (Prov. xxxi. 6). ⁴

The men of Jabesh-Gilead showed (loving-kindness ⁵) to Saul and his sons. ⁶ (God said,) I will also give you and your sons your reward in the future; for when the Holy One, blessed be He, in the future will gather Israel from the four corners of the world, the first whom He will gather, will be the half-tribe of Manasseh, ⁷ as it is said, "Gilead is mine, and

¹ Cf. 1 Sam. xi. and see Pseudo-Rashi on 1 Chron. x. 12. Gilead was nigh to Benjamin, Saul's tribe; see Num. Rab. xiv. i.

² i.e. they came to Beth-Shan at night. Beth-Shan is three hours' journey from Jabesh-Gilead. The first editions omit the next clause, and continue: "as it is said."

³ See Semachoth xii. The subject has been dealt with by Perles in his *Leichenfeierlichkeiten im Nachbiblischen Judentum*. See J.E. v. 529 f. and *ibid.* ix. 101 f.

⁴ The first editions omit the first half of the verse. See T.B. 'Erubin, 65a: "wine was only created in order to comfort the mourners." "Bread" is mentioned in Jer. xvi. 7, Ezek. xxiv. 17, 22, and Hos. ix. 4, in connection with mourning.

⁵ The MS. omits "loving-kindness." It occurs in the first editions. Saul had rescued the men of Jabesh-Gilead from the attack of the children of Ammon (see also Josh. ii. 12 for the term "dealing kindly"). The context refers to 2 Sam. ii. 5. Loving-kindness is that extra service of love which is more than one is in duty bound to do to one's fellow. The latter sums up one's obligation to any and every human being, namely, to deal justly and truly with all men, and not to hurt anyone. Loving service goes beyond this. See *Jewish Sources of the Sermon on the Mount*, pp. 97, 104 f.

⁶ The first editions and Jalkut Makhiri, Pss., p. 154b, add: "by fasting, weeping, and lamentation," ¹ as it is said: "And they fasted ² seven days" (1 Sam. xxxi. 13). The Holy One, blessed be He, said to them: In the future."

⁷ In the land of Gilead; see Siphre, Deut. § 355.

¹ The mourning consisted of the three phases enumerated. See 2 Sam. i. 11, 12 and Esth. iv. 1-3.

² Fasting was not the usual custom. The rule to fast is limited now to the anniversary of the day of death of one's father or mother,

Manasseh is mine" (Ps. lx. 7). Afterwards (will He gather in) Ephraim,¹ as it is said, "Ephraim is the defence of mine head" (*ibid.*). Afterwards Judah (will be gathered in), as it is said, "Judah is my sceptre" (*ibid.*).

"Gilead is mine," refers to Ahab, king of Israel, who died in Ramoth-Gilead;² "and Manasseh is mine," is to be taken literally; "Ephraim is the defence of mine head," refers to Jeroboam;³ "Judah || is my sceptre," points to Ahithophel;⁴ "Moab is my washpot" (*ibid.* 8), means Gehazi;⁵ "upon Edom will I cast my shoe" (*ibid.*), refers to Doeg;⁶ "Philistia, shout thou because of me" (*ibid.*). The Holy One, blessed be He, said:⁷ It is for Me to search for merit on their behalf,⁸ and to make them friendly towards one another.⁹

Rabbi Phineas said: Thirty years¹⁰ after Saul and his sons had been killed, a famine lasting three years arose in the days of David, year after year,¹¹ as it is said, "And there was a famine in the days of David three years, year after year" (2 Sam. xxi. 1). Why was it year after year? In the first year all Israel went up to (celebrate the great) festivals. David said to them: Go and look if perchance there be among you some who worship idols, for because of the sin of idolatry rain is withheld, as it is said, "Take heed to yourselves, lest your heart be deceived,¹² and ye turn aside, and

¹ See *infra*, p. 141. The children of Joseph will be the first to be redeemed in the future, says the Abkath Rochel, ii. We are now in the field of Messianic Eschatology.

² See 1 Kings xxii. 29 ff.

³ He was an Ephraimite; see 1 Kings xi. 26. The first editions add: "the son of Nebat."

⁴ He was of the tribe of Judah; see 2 Sam. xvii. 15 for the story of Ahithophel.

⁵ Gehazi inherited the leprosy of Naaman; the "washpot" receives the dirt of the one who washes therein. On Gehazi see *J.E.* v. 580 and 582, and see Num. Rab. xiv. 1.

⁶ The first editions add: "the Edomite."

⁷ The first editions add: "to them."

⁸ The reading of the Amsterdam edition is: "It is for Me to search for their merit."

⁹ See T.J. Synhedrin x. 2, 29b and Num. Rab., *loc. cit.*

¹⁰ Jalkut to 2 Sam. xxi. § 154 reads like our MS., "After thirty years"; see Rashi on T.B. Jebamoth, 79a. The first editions read: "In the year after Saul and his sons had been killed."

¹¹ See T.J. Kiddushin, iv. 1, 65b, c, which is the source of our text; see also T.J. Ta'anith, iii. 3, 66c, and Num. Rab. viii. 4, and Midrash Samuel xxviii. 5; cf. T.B. Jebamoth, 78b.

¹² The MS. and the first editions end the quotation here.

serve other gods, and worship them " (Deut. xi. 16). What is written after this ? " And the anger of the Lord will be kindled against you, and he will shut up the heaven, that there be no rain " (*ibid.* 17).¹ They went forth and investigated, but did not find (any idolatry).

In the second year² all Israel went up (to celebrate) the festivals. David said to them : Go forth and see if there be among you people who lead immoral lives, because owing to the sin of immorality the heavens³ are closed, as it is said, " And thou hast polluted the land with thy whoredoms " ⁴ (Jer. iii. 2). What is written after this in this context ? " Therefore the showers have been withholden, and there hath been no latter rain " (*ibid.* 3). They investigated, but they did not find (any immoral people).

In the third || year all Israel went up (to celebrate) the festivals. David said to them : Go forth and see if there be among you people who shed blood, because on account of the sin of those who murder⁵ the rain is withheld, as it is said, " So ye shall not pollute the land⁶ wherein ye are ; for blood, it polluteth the land " (Num. xxxv. 33). They went forth and investigated, but they did not find (any murderer). David said to them : Henceforth the matter only depends upon me.

David arose and prayed before the Holy One, blessed be He. And He answered him : It is for Saul ;⁷ was not Saul one who was anointed with the oil of consecration ? and was it not Saul in whose days there was no idolatry in Israel ? and was it not Saul who secured his portion⁸ with

¹ The first editions omit from " What is written " to the end of the quotation.

² Of the famine.

³ The first editions read : " the rain is withheld."

⁴ The first editions continue : " and with thy wickedness."

⁵ The first editions read : " the shedding of blood." Other reasons for the famine are suggested in T.B. Jebamoth, *loc. cit.* ; Jalkut, Num. § 771 ; Midrash Samuel, *in loc.* ; and cf. T.J. Kiddushin, *loc. cit.*

⁶ The MS. and the first editions end the quotation here ; the MS. adds " etc." Cf. Isa. xxiv. 5.

⁷ See Num. Rab., *loc. cit.*, and Jalkut, 2 Samuel (§ 154). The first editions read : " David said, Sovereign of the World ! I am not Saul, for in my days idolatry has not been done in Israel, and I am not Saul who was anointed with the oil of consecration, and I am not Saul who quarrelled with Samuel the prophet." This agrees with MS. Gaster.

⁸ See *infra*, p. 246, and cf. T.B. Berakhoth, 12b, and Kaphtor Vapherach vii. (ed. Edelman), p. 21a.

Samuel the prophet? Yet ye are in the land (of Israel) and he is (buried) outside the land (of Israel).

David forthwith arose and gathered together all the elders of Israel and the nobles, and they crossed the Jordan. They came to Jabesh-Gilead and they found the bones of Saul and Jonathan his son. No worm¹ had been able to touch² them, as it is said, "He keepeth all his bones,³ not one of them is broken" (Ps. xxxiv. 20). They took the bones of Saul and Jonathan his son, and placed them in a coffin, and they crossed the Jordan, as it is said, "And they buried the bones of Saul and Jonathan his son . . . and they performed⁴ all that the king commanded" (2 Sam. xxi. 14). The king commanded that they should bring the coffin of Saul in all the borders of each tribe. And it came to pass that the tribe || wherein they brought the coffin of Saul, the people (there) with their wives and their sons and their daughters came forth and displayed loving-kindness to Saul and to his sons, so that all Israel should discharge their obligation of showing loving-kindness. And thus (did they do) until it came to the border of his possession to the border of Jerusalem,⁵ in the land of Benjamin⁶ in Jerusalem, as it is said, "And they buried the bones of Saul and Jonathan his son in the country of Benjamin" (*ibid.*),⁷ in the vicinity of Jerusalem. When the Holy One, blessed be He, saw that all Israel had displayed loving-kindness (to him⁸), He was forthwith full of compassion, and He sent rain upon the land, as it is said, "And after that God was intreated for the land" (*ibid.*).

¹ Worms destroy bones as well as flesh. Luria prefers to read רקבה, "decay," and not "worm."

² Lit. "to rule over them."

³ In spite of the prolonged transportation, the bones were not broken.

⁴ The printed text and MS. Gaster add, "to them"; this is not in the Bible text.

⁵ Luria reads: "the border of his inheritance, to the land of Benjamin"; see Num. Rab., *loc. cit.* The first editions read: "until it came to the border of Israel and to the land of Benjamin, as it is said, 'And they buried him in the border of his inheritance'" (Josh. xxiv. 30).

⁶ The text in the printed editions differs here from our reading.

⁷ The quotation continues: "In Zela, in the sepulchre of Kish his father" (2 Sam. xxi. 14).

⁸ Saul,

Rabbi Nathaniel said: Three hundred years¹ before the birth of Josiah, was his name mentioned,² as it is said, "Behold, a child shall be born unto the house of David, Josiah by name" (1 Kings xiii. 2); "And he was eight years old when he began to reign" (2 Kings xxii. 1). What is the disposition of a lad of eight years of age?³ He despised⁴ the idols and broke in pieces the pillars, and smashed the images⁵ and cut down the groves.⁶ His merit was great⁷ before the⁸ Throne of Glory. Because of the evil which Israel did in secret⁹ the righteous one¹⁰ was gathered (to his fathers), as it is said, "For the righteous is taken away because of the evil" (Isa. lvii. 1).¹¹ || All¹² Judah gathered together also with Jeremiah the prophet to show loving-kindness to Josiah, as it is said, "And Jeremiah lamented for Josiah,¹³ and all the singing men and the singing women spake of Josiah" (2 Chron. xxxv. 25). Rabbi Meir said: "The singing men" refer to the Levites, who stood upon the platform¹⁴ singing; "and the singing women" refer to their wives. Rabbi Simeon said: These terms do not refer merely to the Levites and their wives; but to the skilled women, as it is said, "Thus saith the Lord

¹ Between the accession of Jeroboam and Josiah there elapsed 320 years. Josiah was eight years old when he ascended the throne, so that 312 years elapsed from the accession of Jeroboam to the birth of Josiah. In round numbers this is 300 years, see *infra*, p. 233.

² See *infra*, p. 233.

³ This refers to 2 Chron. xxxiv. 3; see Targum on this text and also Pseudo-Rashi thereto.

⁴ This is based on Isa. vii. 16.

⁵ See 2 Chron. xxxiv. 4, 7.

⁶ See 2 Kings xxiii. 14.

⁷ Lit. shining or illustrious. See T.B. Mo'ed Katan, 25b, where Amos viii. 8 is applied to Josiah.

⁸ The first editions read: "before the Holy One, blessed be He, and the Throne of Glory."

⁹ Idolatry was again rife in the homes of the Hebrew people; see Lam. Rab. i. (53) and T.B. Ta'anith, 22b.

¹⁰ Josiah.

¹¹ This quotation is missing in the printed editions. The R.V. renders somewhat differently.

¹² The first editions read: "All the men of Judah and Jerusalem."

¹³ The MS. and the first editions end the quotation here, the printed texts add "etc." The context justifies the insertion of the entire verse.

¹⁴ The first editions read: "their platform." On the meaning of "Dukhan" see Levy, *N.H.W.B.* i. 382a.

of hosts,¹ Consider ye, and call for the mourning women,² that they may come; and send for the *cunning* women, that they may come: and let them make haste, and take up a wailing for us" (Jer. ix. 17, 18). Hence the wise men instituted (the rule) that this should be done³ to all the *wise* men of Israel and to their great⁴ men, as it is said, "And they made them an ordinance in Israel" (2 Chron. xxxv. 25).

Solomon saw that the observance⁵ of loving-kindness was great before the Holy One, blessed be He. When he built the Temple he erected two gates, one for the bridegrooms, and the other for the mourners and the excommunicated. On Sabbaths the Israelites went and sat between those two gates; and they knew that anyone who entered through the gate of the bridegrooms⁶ was a bridegroom, and they said to him, May He who dwells in this house cause thee to rejoice with sons and daughters. If one entered through the gate of the mourners with his upper lip covered, then they knew that he was a mourner, and they would say to him, May He who dwells || in this house comfort thee. If one entered through the gate of the mourners without⁷ having his upper lip covered, then they knew that he was excommunicated, and they would say to him, May He who dwells in this house⁸ put into thy heart (the desire) to listen to⁹ the words of thy associates, and may He put into the hearts of thy associates that they may draw thee near (to themselves), so that all Israel may discharge their duty by rendering the service of loving-kindness.

¹ The MS. reads "the Lord." The first editions read according to the Massoretic text.

² The MS. ends verse 17 here and continues verse 18. The first editions end the quotation at the words, "that they may come."

³ The first editions read: "Thus all Israel took upon themselves to show loving-kindness."

⁴ This agrees with Luria's emendation.

⁵ The first editions read: "the attribute."

⁶ See Sopherim xix. 12 (ed. Müller, pp. 278 f.) for historical material. On the "gates" see Middoth ii. 2, and Tamid, 27a, and Kaphtor Va-Pherach vi. p. 16b. Dr. Büchler has written on the subject of the gates of the Temple; see J.Q.R. x. 678 and xi. pp. 46 ff.

⁷ The 1st ed. omits the negative.

⁸ The first editions read: "comfort thee." Nachmanides, in his *Torath Ha-Adam* (ed. Venice), p. 7, omits these words.

⁹ The first editions omit "the words of." Nachmanides, *op. cit.*, agrees with our MS.

When the Temple was destroyed, the sages¹ instituted (the rule) that the bridegrooms and mourners should go to the synagogues and to the houses of study. The men of the place see the bridegroom and rejoice with him; and they see the mourner and sit with him upon the earth, so that² all the Israelites may discharge their duty in the service of loving-kindness. With reference to them he³ says: Blessed art Thou,⁴ who giveth a good reward to those who show loving-kindness.⁵

¹ Nachmanides (*ibid.*) reads: "the sages"; see Semachoth vi. and Middoth (ii. 12). Sopherim, *loc. cit.*, quotes this rule in the name of R. Eliezer ben Hyrkanos, clearly showing that the compiler of Sopherim used our book and regarded it as the work of R. Eliezer b. Hyrkanos. The rule is a Palestinian custom; see Brüll, *Jahrbücher*, i. p. 30.

² Nachmanides (*ibid.*) omits "and they sit," and reads: "all the Israelites."

³ See for a similar expression, *supra*, p. 73. It might be that "he" refers to the one who receives the service of loving-kindness. Perhaps it merely refers to any Israelite who has to say the benediction. Or, we might render: "it says."

⁴ The first editions add: "O Lord."

⁵ See T.B. Kethuboth, 8b. The form of the benediction has its parallel in the Daily Morning Service; see Singer, p. 7.

CHAPTER XVIII¹

THE CREATION ON THE EVE OF THE SABBATH [21A. i.]

TEN things were created (on the eve of the Sabbath) in the twilight (namely):² the mouth of the earth;³ the mouth of the well;⁴ the mouth of the ass;⁵ the rainbow;⁶ the Manna;⁷ the Shamir;⁸ the shape of the alphabet;⁹ the writing¹⁰ and the tables (of the law);¹¹ and the ram of

¹ In the printed text and MS. Gaster this is ch. xix.

² The words in brackets are missing in the MS. but they occur in the first editions and in MS. Gaster.

³ See Num. xvi. 32. For the subject-matter of this paragraph see Aboth v. 9, with the excellent observations of Taylor in his 2nd edition of *Aboth*, pp. 83 ff. Our text agrees to a large extent with this Mishnah, but differs from the version in T.B. Pesachim, 54a; Siphre, Deut. § 355, Pal. Targum, Num. xxii. 28, Mekhilta, p. 51a, and *supra*, p. 14. Eight things enumerated in our context were said (*supra*, p. 14, note 1) to have been created on the second day. This statement is wanting in our MS.; it was inserted for the first time in the second edition of *P.R.E.* For the ten things see *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, pp. 24 f. See also Lekach Tob, Gen. ii. 3, p. 9a.

⁴ In T.B. Pesachim and Siphre, *loc. cit.*, the "well" only is mentioned. The "mouth of the well" is mentioned in our text and in Aboth v. 9; this may refer to the well of Hagar or Jacob, or the reference might be to Num. xxi. 16. See *infra*, pp. 268, 323.

⁵ See Num. xxii. 28.

⁶ See Gen. ix. 13 and *J.E.* x. 312.

⁷ See Ex. xvi. 15, and Pal. Targ. to Ex. xvi. 4, 15; and cf. *J.E.* viii. 293. The Oxford MS. and MS. Gaster and the first editions add: "the Rod." See *infra*, pp. 312 f., and cf. Ex. iv. 17.

⁸ See 1 Kings vi. 7 for the information that no tool was used in the Temple. How then were the stones cut? The legend says, "By the worm called Shamir"; see T.B. Gitin, 68a. On the Shamir see *J.E.* xi. 229 f. and T.J. Soṭah ix. 13, 24b, and T.B. Soṭah 48b. For the references to the "Ten Marvels" created on the eve of the first Friday, see Siphre, Deut., *loc. cit.*

⁹ See *supra*, p. 14, note 6.

¹⁰ Interesting material on the Hebrew alphabet is contained in the Othijoth de R. Akiba.

¹¹ On the "tables of the Law" in Rabbinical literature see *J.E.* xi. 662 ff. The "tables" are not mentioned *supra*, p. 14, note 1; see, however, p. 15.

Abraham.¹ (Some sages say: the destroying spirits² also, and the sepulchre of Moses,³ and the ram of Isaac; and other sages say: the tongs also.⁴)

At the seventh hour (of the day⁵ on Friday⁶), the first man entered the garden of Eden, and the ministering || angels were praising before him,⁷ and dancing before him, and escorting him⁸ into the garden of Eden; and at twilight at the eve of Sabbath,⁹ he was driven forth, and he went out. The ministering angels were crying aloud concerning him, saying to him: "Man¹⁰ in glory tarrieth not overnight,¹¹ when he is like the beasts that pass away"¹² (Ps. xlix. 12).

"Like a beast that passes away" is not written here, but "like the beasts that pass away," (so) were they both.¹³ The Sabbath day arrived and became an advocate¹⁴ for the first man, and it spake before Him: Sovereign of all worlds!

¹ See *infra*, pp. 228 ff. The Oxford MS. and MS. Gaster omit this. The next section in brackets is wanting in our MS.; it occurs in the Oxford MS. (O.A. 167), MS. Gaster, and in almost the same reading in the first editions.

² See *supra*, p. 14, note 8; and see Gen. Rab. vii. 4; and cf. *J.E.* iv. 514 ff.

³ See Deut. xxxiv. 6.

⁴ See Taylor, *Aboth*, p. 86, note 22, and Hoffmann, *Mishnajoth*, p. 352, note 37.

⁵ *i.e.* 1 o'clock p.m.; see Shocher Tob, Ps. xcii. 3, p. 202a. This contradicts the statement in Chapter XI.; see *supra*, p. 78.

⁶ "Of the day on Friday" is missing in our MS., but it occurs in the 2nd ed., and in the MS. Gaster. This was the day of his creation. The text is lit. "eve of the Sabbath."

⁷ See *supra*, p. 89; and cf. Slav. Enoch xxxi., where Adam perceives "the angels singing the song of triumph." Cf. Koran, ed. Rodwell, 1911, p. 341.

⁸ So also in Jubilees iii. 9.

⁹ Friday afternoon between sunset and night; see also Slav. Enoch xxxii. 2, which implies that the expulsion of Adam was followed by the Sabbath. See *supra*, p. 78.

¹⁰ The Hebrew word is also "Adam."

¹¹ For he did not tarry overnight in his glory in Paradise; see T.B. Synhedrin 38b.

¹² *i.e.* when they were driven forth out of Paradise; see *infra*, p. 143. This Psalm (xlix.) is applied to Adam by our book and by many Midrashim, see Shocher Tob, Ps. xcii. 3, p. 202b.

¹³ The point here is the change from the singular to the plural: "they were like"; see Gen. Rab. xxi. 7. They (*i.e.* Adam and Eve) became like the beasts when they were expelled from Eden; they had to die like the beasts. Perhaps the meaning of the Midrash would be better understood by translating verse 12 of Ps. xlix. thus: "Adam did not tarry overnight in glory, he was to be likened to the beasts; yea, they (Adam and Eve) were to be (thus) compared."

¹⁴ See *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, p. 74. Cf. *infra*, pp. 143 f.

No murderer¹ has been slain in the world during the six days of creation, and wilt Thou commence (to do this) with me?² Is this its sanctity, and is this its blessing? as it is said, "And God blessed the seventh day, and hallowed it" (Gen. ii. 3). By the merit of the Sabbath day Adam was saved from the judgment of Gehinnom.³ When Adam perceived the power of the Sabbath, he said: Not for nought did the Holy One, blessed be He, bless and hallow⁴ the Sabbath day. He began to observe (the Sabbath)⁵ and to utter a psalm for the Sabbath day, and he said: "A psalm, a song for the Sabbath day" (Ps. xcii. 1).⁶ Rabbi Simeon⁷ said: The first man said this psalm, and it was forgotten throughout all the generations until Moses⁸ came and renewed it || according to his name,⁹ "A psalm, a song for the Sabbath day" (*ibid.*), for the day which is entirely Sabbath and rest in the life of eternity.¹⁰

"It is good to confess¹¹ to the Lord" (*ibid.*). The first man said: Let all the generations learn from me,¹² that whosoever sings and utters psalms to the name of the Most High, and confesses his transgressions in the court of justice¹³ and abandons (them), will be delivered from the judgment

¹ Perhaps the text should read: "No man has been slain." In Shocher Tob, *loc. cit.*, the reading is: "No man has been punished."

² On the Sabbath.

³ See T.B. Sabbath, 118a. No mourning is permitted on the Sabbath, for the dead are not in the power of Gehenna on that day. For parallel Christian legends see Wisdom, ed. Deane, p. 163.

⁴ By showing Divine love and mercy to Adam, the sanctity and the blessing of the Sabbath were realized by him.

⁵ The first editions read: "to sing."

⁶ According to Shocher Tob, *loc. cit.*, Adam wished to sing hymns to the Sabbath day: but the latter declined the honour, and told Adam to join in singing praises to God.

⁷ The first editions read: "Ishmael."

⁸ See Gen. Rab. xxii. 13, and Kimchi, Preface to *Commentary on Psalms*.

⁹ The first editions omit: "according to his name." See T.B. Baba Bathra, 14b, for the Mosaic Psalms.

¹⁰ This is missing in Shocher Tob, *loc. cit.*, and Jalkut, Ps. xcii. § 843. It probably owes its place in our text to a marginal gloss by some scribe of our book, being based on the Mishnah Tamid (end). See Senior Sachs' remarks on this passage in *Ha-Techiyah*, i. p. 20 (notes).

¹¹ R.V. "to give thanks."

¹² See *infra*, p. 147. The next clause occurs in our MS. and in the Oxford MS. only.

¹³ The MS. uses here an abbreviation, בבר (Bbd). It does not occur in any of the printed texts. The Oxford MS. reads: "at the judgment."

of Gehinnom,¹ as it is said, "It is good to confess to the Lord" (*ibid.*).

"To declare thy loving-kindness in the morning" (*ibid.* 2). Adam said: (This refers to) all who enter this world² which is like unto the night;³ and to all who come into the world to come, which is like unto the morning.⁴ They shall declare the faithfulness and love of the Holy One, blessed be He, which He has shown to me,⁵ (for He has) delivered me from the judgment of Gehinnom, as it is said, "To declare thy loving-kindness in the morning, and thy faithfulness every night" (*ibid.*).

"Upon a ten-stringed instrument and upon the psaltery" (*ibid.* 3). All testimonies reliable to Israel are (celebrated) with ten (males). The harp upon which David played had ten strings.⁶ The testimony for the dead is through ten (males).⁷ The testimony for the (public) benediction of (God's) Name is through ten (males).⁸ The testimony of the covenant of circumcision is through ten (males).⁹ The testimony for Chalizah¹⁰ is through ten (males),¹¹ as it

¹ Cf. Prov. xxviii. 13. See also Wisdom, x. 1, 2.

² The first editions read: "the world to come which is like unto the morning. 'And thy faithfulness every night' (Ps. xcii. 2) (refers) to all who come into this world, which is like unto the night."

³ In Aboth de R. Nathan (a) i. p. 4a this is derived from Isa. xxi. 11: "Watchman, what of the night?"

⁴ Cf. the term "Dayspring" applied to the Christian Messiah; see *Hellenism and Christianity*, p. 119. Aboth de R. Nathan, *loc. cit.*, derives the lesson of our Haggadah from Lam. iii. 23.

⁵ In this world by prolonging my life.

⁶ Luria thinks the reading should be "Nimin" and not "Nebalim"; see Targum, *in loc.*, and cf. *infra*, p. 229.

⁷ To enable the benediction for the mourners to be recited, ten adult males are required to form a quorum, see T.B. Kethuboth, 8b, and Sopherim x. 8, xix. 12. See T.B. Megillah, 23b; Nachmanides, *Torath Ha-Adam*, pp. 49 ff., and Shocher Tob, *loc. cit.*, p. 203b, note 61, and Joreh D'iah, 361. On the Minyan (or ten adult males) see *J.E.* viii. 603, and Elbogen, *Der Jüdische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, p. 493.

⁸ This refers to the "Bar'khu"; see Singer, pp. 37, 96.

⁹ See Tur, Joreh D'iah, 265, quoting Zemach Gaon, who holds that if the rite can be performed in the presence of ten males it should be done, but it may be done even if ten be not present. See also Shocher Tob, Ps. xcii. 7, p. 203b, note 62; and Jalkut to Ps. xcii. § 843. Our text is referred to by Maharil in his Laws on the rite of Circumcision; see also Piskê Rikanati, 593.

¹⁰ The ceremony of untying and taking off the shoe of a brother-in-law by the childless sister-in-law who has become a widow, see Deut. xxv. 5-11, and cf. T.B. Jebamoth, 101a, and Eben Ha-Ezer, § 109, 13, and Shocher Tob, *loc. cit.*, p. 204a, note 64.

¹¹ The first editions add here: "The testimony for the benediction

is said, "And he¹ took ten men of the elders of the city" (Ruth iv. 2).²

The Holy One, blessed be He, said: I desire of Israel the meditation of their mouths like³ the psaltery and an instrument of ten strings,⁴ as it is said, "With⁵ the meditation of || the harp" (Ps. xcii. 3).

"For thou, O Lord, hast made me glad through thy work" (*ibid.* 4). Adam said: The Holy One, blessed be He, had made me glad and brought me into the garden of Eden, and showed me the place of the abode of the righteous in the garden of Eden,⁶ and He showed me the four kingdoms,⁷ their rule and their destruction;⁸ and He showed me David,⁹ the son of Jesse, and his dominion in the future that is to come.¹⁰ I took from my years seventy years¹¹ and added them to his days,¹² as it is said, "Thou wilt add days to the

of marriage is through ten (males)." See T.B. Kethuboth, 8b, for the custom.

¹ The MS. and the first editions read "Boaz," which is not in accordance with the Hebrew text.

² See Shocher Tob, *loc. cit.*, for the entire passage; and cf. T.B. Kethuboth, 7a.

³ The printed text reads "with," Luria suggests "like"; see Jalkut, Ps., *loc. cit.*, and Shocher Tob, *in loc.*, p. 204a.

⁴ The first editions read: "psaltery and harp."

⁵ "With" (לְ) is probably to be explained according to the Midrash as though it meant "it is for Me"; *i.e.* My lot is to hear their psalms.

⁶ Slav. Enoch viii. 1 ff.-ix. 1 describes the heavenly garden of Eden: "This place is prepared for the righteous." See Introduction.

⁷ Luria adds in his text: "namely, Babylon, Media, Macedonia, and Syria." The last name should probably be *Edom* (*i.e.* Rome).

⁸ The first editions read: "ruling and destroying." The Shocher Tob (*in loc.*), p. 204b, agreeing with our MS., reads: "And He led me into the garden of Eden and showed me the place of the abode of the righteous, and He showed me the four kingdoms." The printed editions omit the passage referring to the abode of the righteous.

⁹ *i.e.* the Messiah.

¹⁰ The Messianic kingdom. This is to be followed by the "Future World." The two periods, in contradistinction to the present age, are often spoken of as "the future that is to come."

¹¹ This Haggadic fancy, which occurs in Jubilees iv. 30, was known to Justin Martyr, *Dial. c. Tryph.* lxxxi.: "For according to the days of the tree of life . . . we believe a thousand years to be figuratively expressed. For as it was said to Adam, 'In the day that he should eat of the tree, he should surely die' (Gen. ii. 17), so we know he did not live a thousand years. We believe also this expression, 'The day of the Lord is a thousand years' (Ps. xc. 4; 2 Pet. iii. 8) relates to this." See also Epistle of Barnabas xv. The origin of the legend is to be traced to the verse quoted (Ps. lxi. 6) and the psalmist's interpretation of man's life which is said to consist of seventy years; see Ps. xc. 10; see also Gen. Rab. xix. 8, and Num. Rab. xiv. 12.

¹² *i.e.* David's life, which lasted seventy years.

days of the king;¹ his years shall be as many generations" (*ibid.* lxi. 6). The Holy One, blessed be He, said to him: Thou wilt add days to the days of (the king Messiah); I also will add to his years in the future which is to come, as though they were many generations, as it is said, "His years shall be as many generations" (*ibid.*).² I have given to God praise, and song (lauding) His works, as it is said, "I will sing of the works of thy hands" (*ibid.* xcii. 4).

"How great are thy works, O Lord!" (*ibid.* 5). Adam began to glorify and to praise the Name of the Most High, as it is said, "How great are thy works, O Lord!" (*ibid.*) but Thy thoughts are very deep,³ like the great deep⁴ exceedingly (deep), as it is said, "Thy thoughts are very deep" (*ibid.*). "A brutish man knoweth not" (*ibid.* 6). Every man of Israel⁵ who is brutish (in knowledge) and has not learnt understanding, let the wise men of Israel teach him the ways of the Torah,⁶ as it is said, "Consider, ye brutish among the people" (*ibid.* xciv. 8).⁷ But a man who is an expert among the nations of the world⁸ is still foolish. Why? For he knoweth not the words of the Torah, as it is said, "Neither doth a fool || understand *this*"⁹ (*ibid.* xcii. 6).

"When the wicked spring up as the grass" (*ibid.* 7). True¹⁰ (it is) that Thou, O Lord, beholdest the wicked, that they are as numerous¹¹ as the grass to cover the face of all the earth,¹² and all the worshippers of idols flourish,¹³ (Thou

¹ In the MS. the quotation ends here; the first editions continue the verse.

² This entire sentence is missing in the printed texts.

³ The first editions read: "to the depth of Thy thoughts (is similar to) the deep (which is) exceedingly deep."

⁴ The deep (Tehom) was held to be unsearchable. See Job xxxviii. 16: "Hast thou walked in the recesses of the deep?" Cf. T.B. Pesachim, 54b.

⁵ The first editions read here: "A man who is brutish among Israel."

⁶ The first editions read: "teach him understanding."

⁷ This is Israel; see Jalkut, Ps. § 843.

⁸ The first edition reads: "Expert in faith." The Venice edition has the same reading as our MS. Paul held the wisdom of the world to be foolishness before God; see 1 Cor. iii. 19.

⁹ "This" (*zôth*) is interpreted to mean the Torah; see T.B. 'Abodah Zarah, 2b.

¹⁰ The first editions read: "At the time when Thou seest."

¹¹ The 1st ed. reads: "who are seen."

¹² Cf. Isa. xxvii. 6.

¹³ The 1st ed. omits from this word till "And he did not say, Hallelujah."

knowest) that they and their works are an evil iniquity¹ for the days of the Messiah.² The Holy One, blessed be He, has only multiplied them in order to destroy them from this world³ and from the world to come, as it is said, "To have them destroyed for ever and ever. And thou, O Lord, art on high for evermore" (*ibid.* 7, 8). David saw that the wicked increased like grass, (so as) to cover the face of all the earth, and that all the worshippers of idols flourished, and that they and their works were iniquity, and he did not say "Hallelujah" ("praise ye the Lord") until he perceived that in the future they would be destroyed from⁴ this world and from the world to come; and he said "Hallelujah," as it is said, "Sinners shall be consumed out of the earth,⁵ and the wicked shall be no more. Bless the Lord, O my soul. *Praise ye the Lord*" (*ibid.* civ. 35).⁶ (Then will He be) King exalted⁷ in the heights and in the depths, as it is said, "And thou, O Lord, art on high for evermore" (*ibid.* xcii. 8).

"For, lo, thine enemies, O Lord" (*ibid.* 9); Israel said: Sovereign of all worlds! Thou hast placed all our enemies over us⁸ (to afflict us with) a heavy yoke on our backs, but we know that they are doomed to destruction, as it is said, "O Lord, for, lo, thine enemies shall perish"⁹ (*ibid.*). And all || idolaters, for they and their works are iniquity, shall be scattered like chaff¹⁰ before the wind.¹¹

¹ The reading of Shocher Tob (*in loc.*) is: "an iniquity hidden."

² The Venice edition adds: "And the wicked, who are as numerous as grass."

³ In the days of the Messiah. According to the Christian doctrine of election, very many of the sons of men will be doomed to enter Hell and to remain there for all eternity. See Matt. vii. 13, xxiii. 33, and Mark ix. 48.

⁴ The printed texts omit from "from this world" to "Hallelujah."

⁵ The printed texts omit the rest of the verse.

⁶ See T.B. Berakhoth, 10a. Note the interpretation given by Beruria, the wife of Rabbi Meir: "Let sins be consumed out of the earth, and then there will be no more wicked people." The first edition omits the next sentence in our text. The Venice edition reads: "Then the Holy One, blessed be He, (will be) King, exalted."

⁷ MS. reads "Marom," exalted; the Venice edition reads "Masor," which is an error. See Jalkuṭ on Ps. xcii. 8, § 843.

⁸ In Egypt and Babylon.

⁹ See *infra*, p. 383.

¹⁰ Cf. Dan. ii. 35.

¹¹ The first editions add: "As it is said, 'All the workers of iniquity shall be scattered'" (Ps. xcii. 9).

“ But my horn hast thou exalted like that of the reêm ” ¹ (*ibid.* 10). Just as the horns of the reêm ² are taller than those of all beasts and animals,³ and it gores to its right and to its left, likewise (is it with) Menachem, son of ‘Ammiel, son of Joseph,⁴ his horns are taller than those of all kings,⁵ and he will gore in the future towards the four corners of the heavens, and concerning him Moses said this verse, “ His firstling bullock, majesty is his, and his horns are the horns of the reêm : with them he shall gore ⁶ the peoples all of them, even the ends of the earth ” (Deut. xxxiii. 17). All ⁷ the kings will rise up against him to slay him, as it is said, “ The kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers (take counsel together) ” (Ps. ii. 2). And Israel who (will be) in the Land (of Palestine) (will experience) great trouble,⁸ but in their troubles they (will be) like a green olive,⁹ as it is said, “ I am anointed with fresh oil ” (*ibid.* xcii. 10).¹⁰

¹ Or “ wild-ox.” On the reêm see Delitzsch, *Babel and Bible* (E.T.), p. 164, where the reêm is shown in a beautiful illustration.

² Lit. “ this reêm.”

³ See Shocher Tob, p. 204a. The Venice edition reads: “ of all animals.” This is wanting in the 1st ed.

⁴ “ Son of Joseph ” probably means “ of the tribe of Joseph.” The reference to the reêm is suggested by the Blessing of the tribe in Deut. xxxiii. 17. According to the Zohar (Num. p. 173b), Messiah ben David is Menachem ; this is also the view of the Book of Zerubbabel (ed. Jellinek, *B.H.M.* i. 59). Cf. Abkath Rochel ii. ; T.B. Synhedrin, 98b ; *J.E.* viii. 511 f. ; and *R.É.J.* lxviii. pp. 135, 150. ‘Ammiel appears to be another form of “ Emanuel.”

⁵ The Venice edition reads: “ all animals.” The 1st ed. omits the name of “ Menachem, son of ‘Ammiel, son of Joseph,” and reads instead: “ the son of David.”

⁶ The MS. ends quotation here, adding “ etc.” The printed texts conclude the quotation with “ reêm.”

⁷ This paragraph occurs in the first editions, but in the Venice edition it is inserted after the following passage, which is wanting in our MS. and in the 1st ed.: “ With him are the ten thousands of Ephraim, and the thousands of Manasseh,¹ as it is said, ‘ And they are the ten thousands of Ephraim, and they are the thousands of Manasseh ’ ” (Deut. xxxiii. 17).

⁸ See Pesikta Zuta, Balak, p. 129b.

⁹ The MS. adds: “ I am afflicted ” ; it is missing in the printed texts.

¹⁰ See Shocher Tob, *in loc.* The Midrash interprets “ I am anointed ” as though it were connected with the root “ Balah,” “ to afflict,” cf. 1 Chron. xvii. 9, and not from “ Balal.” In the time of trouble Israel trusts in God and shall be like a green olive tree full of sap ; cf. Ps. lii. 8 ; T.B. Berakhoth, 35a, and Jalikut, Ps. § 845. Perhaps

¹ These tribes are to come with the Messiah ben Joseph to oppose Gog and Magog ; see *supra*, pp. 117 f., and Abkath Rochel ii.

“ Mine eyes have looked on mine enemies ” (*ibid.* 11). The Israelites in the Land (of Israel¹) behold the downfall of their enemies, as it is said, “ Mine eyes have looked on mine enemies ” (*ibid.*). And² such who in the future will come against them (Israel), their ears shall hear of their destruction, as it is said, “ Mine ears have heard concerning the evil-doers that rise up against me ” (*ibid.*).

“ The righteous shall flourish like the palm tree ” (*ibid.* 12). Just as this palm tree is beautiful in all its appearance,³ and all its fruits are sweet and good,⁴ likewise the son of David⁵ is beautiful in his appearance⁶ and in his glory, and all his deeds || are good and sweet before the Holy One, blessed be He, as it is said, “ The righteous shall flourish like the palm tree : he shall grow like a cedar in Lebanon ” (*ibid.*). Just as this cedar has very many roots beneath the earth, and even if the four winds⁷ of the world came⁸ against it, they could not move it from its place,⁹ as it is said, “ He shall grow like a cedar in Lebanon. They that are planted in the house of the Lord ” (*ibid.* 12, 13). In the future when the Holy One, blessed be He, will gather Israel from the four corners of the world,¹⁰ just like this gardener who transplants¹¹ his fir trees from one garden-bed to another garden-bed, likewise in the future will the Holy One, blessed

our text should be rendered : “ But their trouble, being like a green olive tree, made one distressed ” ; or : “ But (in) their trouble am I anointed as with (the oil of) a green olive tree.”

¹ After the great trouble and misfortunes endured by Israel the Messianic redemption will take place, and the enemies will be finally judged. See Jalḳuṭ, *loc. cit.*

² This paragraph does not occur in the printed editions.

³ On the palm tree see Shocher Ṭob, Ps. xcii. 11, with notes 87 ff.

⁴ See T.B. Kethuboth, 10b. The palm branch forms a striking element in the public entry into Jerusalem by the Founder of Christianity ; see John xii. 13.

⁵ This is the Messiah.

⁶ See Ps. xxi. 5 ; and cf. Shocher Ṭob on Ps. xcii. 11.

⁷ *i.e.* the winds from all four quarters of the world. Cf. Matt. vii. 24, 25, and Wisdom, iv. 4.

⁸ The first editions add : “ to blow.”

⁹ The 1st ed. agrees here with our MS. The Venice edition adds : “ Likewise (will it be) with the son of David, whose might and deeds are manifold before the Holy One, blessed be He. Even if all the nations come against him they will not move him from his place.”¹

¹⁰ So Isaiah (xi. 12) prophesies.

¹¹ To improve them.

¹ It will be otherwise with the Messiah ben Joseph, who will be slain in the conflict with Gog and Magog ; see Abḳath Rochel, *loc. cit.*

be He, gather them¹ from an impure land and (plant them) in a pure land,² as it is said, "They that are planted in the house of the Lord" (*ibid.*). Like this grass, they shall blossom and sprout forth in the Temple, as it is said, "In the courts of our God they shall flourish" (*ibid.*).

"They shall still bring forth fruit in old age" (*ibid.* 14). Just as this³ old age is glory and honour to old men,⁴ so shall they be in glory and honour⁵ before the Holy One, blessed be He, as it is said, "They shall be full of sap and green"⁶ (*ibid.*). These are the mighty heroes by reason of their good deeds, as it is said, "They shall be full of sap and green, to declare that the Lord is upright" (*ibid.* 14, 15). Why all these (statements)?⁷ To declare, and to proclaim clearly the works of the Holy One, blessed be He, for He is righteous and upright, and that there is no unrighteousness (in Him), as it is said,⁸ "And there is no unrighteousness in him" (*ibid.* 15).⁹

¹ "An unclean land" is expressed by "outside the Land" (of Palestine) in the Amsterdam ed. Any land outside the "Holy" Land is held to be unclean in the sense that the Biblical Laws of purity are not observed therein, such laws being only intended for Palestine; see Lev. xviii. 25.

² See *supra*, p. 84. Just as Jews consider the soil of Palestine to be "terra sancta," so the English Church has a preference for the water of the river Jordan in administering the rite of baptism; this, at least, was the case at the baptism of the late King Edward VII.

³ Luria omits the word "this."

⁴ See Prov. xx. 29.

⁵ Cf. Jalḳut, *loc. cit.*

⁶ The next words until "To declare" are missing in the first editions.

⁷ As to the prosperity of the wicked. The Venice edition reads: "To declare, to praise," etc.

⁸ The first editions add: "He is my rock."

⁹ On God's justice see Siphre, Deut. § 307.

CHAPTER XIX¹

THE SABBATH [22B. ii.]

THE School of Shammai said: The heavens² were created first, and the earth afterwards, as it is said,³ "In the beginning God created *the heavens* and the earth" (Gen. i. 1). The School of Hillel said: The earth was created first, and the heavens afterwards, as it is said, "Of old hast thou laid the foundation of the *earth*; and the heavens are the work of thy hands" (Ps. cii. 25).⁴ The School of Shammai said: The heavens were created first, and the earth afterwards, as it is said,⁵ "These are the generations of the *heavens* and of the earth" (Gen. ii. 4). The School of Hillel said: The earth was created first, and the heavens afterwards, as it is said, "In the day that the Lord God made *earth* and heaven" (*ibid.*). The School of Shammai said: The heavens were created first, because it is said, "And the *heavens* and the earth were finished" (*ibid.* 1). The School of Hillel

¹ This is ch. xviii. in the printed editions.

² The history of the creation of man is associated by the Rabbis with the fundamental law of Jewish ethics, the rule of loving-kindness. To quote their dictum, "The Torah begins and ends with the service of loving-kindness" (T.B. Soṭah, 14a). The preceding chapters xvi. and xvii. dealt with the service of loving-kindness, and the story of the Creation is now resumed.

³ The controversy was evoked by the precedence given to heaven or earth in the texts of Scripture quoted by the different teachers; see *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, pp. 6 f.

⁴ See T.B. Chagigah, 12a; T.J. Chagigah ii. 1, 77c, d; Gen. Rab. i. 15; Lev. Rab. xxxvi. 1; Midrash on Samuel v. (where the School of Shammai is represented as expressing the opinions which are elsewhere attributed to the School of Hillel); and cf. Sepher Ha-Bahir, § 17, and Bacher, T. i. 14.

⁵ The first editions quote here Isa. xlviii. 13: "Yea, mine hand hath laid the foundation of the earth." The earth is mentioned *first* in this verse, and therefore the opinion of the School of Hillel is thereby substantiated. The "School of Hillel" is the correct reading, as in our MS. The following passage until "Yea, mine hand" is omitted in the printed texts.

said : The earth was created first, and the heavens afterwards, as it is said, "Yea, mine hand hath laid the foundation of the earth, and my right hand hath spread out the heavens" (Isa. xlviii. 13). The School of Shammai said : The heavens were created first, and the earth afterwards, because it is said, "Thus saith the Lord, The *heaven* is my throne, and the earth is my footstool" (*ibid.* lxvi. 1). Contention arose between them (*i.e.* the Schools¹) on this question, until the Holy Spirit² rested between them, and they both agreed that both (heavens and earth) were created in one hour and at one moment.³

What did the Holy One, blessed be He, do ? He put forth His right hand and stretched forth the heavens, and He put forth His left hand and founded the earth, as it is said, "Yea, mine *hand* || hath laid the foundation of the earth, and my *right hand* hath spread out the heavens :⁴ when I called unto them, they stood up *together*" (*ibid.* xlviii. 13). Both of them were created simultaneously, as it is said, "And the *heavens* and the *earth* were finished, and all their host" (Gen. ii. 1).⁵ And, indeed, were the heavens and the earth completed (so as not to require God's providence) for their continued existence and maintenance ? Has it not been written concerning them, "Thus saith the Lord, The heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool" (Isa. lxvi. 1) ?⁶ But they were finished with reference to the original deed (of creation) and with reference to the work (of being created) and being called into existence. Therefore it is said, "And the heavens and the earth *were finished*" (Gen. ii. 1).

Israel spake before the Holy One, blessed be He : Sovereign of the worlds ! Thou didst complete the heavens and the earth with reference to being made, created, and called into existence ;⁷ let not Thy mercy and loving-kindness be

¹ Lit. them.

² The first editions read "Shekhinah."

³ The Zohar, Gen. 17b, has this idea ; cf. *ibid.* 29b. The basis for this third view is afforded by the text Isa. xlviii. 13 : "When I called unto them, they stood up together." The Targum renders this text thus : "Yea, with my word I completed the earth, and with my power I expanded the heavens ; I called to them, they stood together."

⁴ The MS. and the printed texts end the quotation here.

⁵ See Mekhilta, p. 1a.

⁶ The first editions do not quote this verse, but "Do not I fill heaven and earth ?" (Jer. xxiii. 24) instead.

⁷ The first editions add : "in the six days of Creation."

withheld,¹ for if Thou withholdest Thy mercy and loving-kindness we are unable to exist,² because the world rests upon Thy mercy and loving-kindness,³ as it is said, "For the mountains shall depart,⁴ and the hills be removed; but my kindness shall not depart from thee . . . saith the Lord that hath mercy on thee" (Isa. liv. 10);⁵ and it says (elsewhere), "Remember, O Lord, thy tender mercies and thy loving-kindnesses; for they have been ever of old" (Ps. xxv. 6).⁶

"And on the seventh day God finished⁷ his work" (Gen. ii. 2). The Holy One, blessed be He, created seven dedications,⁸ six of them He dedicated, and one is reserved for the (future) generations. He created the first day and finished all His work and dedicated it,⁹ as it is said, "And it was evening, and it was morning, one day" (*ibid.* i. 5). He created the second day and finished all His

¹ "From us" should probably be added to the text; cf. Ps. xl. 11.

² Man sins, and therefore needs God's grace and mercy. This idea is well expressed by the teaching of 4 Ezra vii. 135-137. The Bible text, "Remember, O Lord, thy tender mercies and thy loving-kindnesses, for they have been *ever of old*" (Ps. xxv. 6), is a parallel to our passage; cf. Targum of this verse, which renders the last words, "for they have been from eternity." Cf. Gen. Rab. xxii. 1, Jalkut, Ps. § 702, and Shocher Tob to Ps. xxv. 8, p. 107a, where the question is discussed, How would mankind have arisen if God had dealt with Adam with strict justice? The grace of God was granted to Adam so as to enable mankind to arise and flourish on earth before the doom of death overtook him. There may be an attempt here to counteract the un-Jewish doctrines of the Pauline school, which taught that, owing to Adam's sin, God's grace was withdrawn, and only through the advent of a Second Adam (or Christ) could this Divine grace be restored to the world. The theologians who suggest that Judaism has something to learn from the Pauline doctrine of grace must be unaware of the Jewish teaching on this theme.

³ This idea has already been mentioned in our book. See *supra*, pp. 76, 84, 106.

⁴ The quotation ends here in the first editions, which add "etc."; in the MS. the quotation ends with the words, "be removed."

⁵ God's love and mercy *cannot* cease, they are eternal attributes.

⁶ This quotation is wanting in the printed texts; it concludes in the MS. with the words, "loving-kindnesses." The point in the quotation lies in the words "ever of old," which might be rendered "eternal" or "from everlasting."

⁷ "His work" is not in the MS., but is covered by "etc." of the printed editions. See *Pesikta Rabbathi*, p. 187b; *Jalkut*, Gen. § 16.

⁸ The six days of Creation were complete, and each day's work had its dedication. This did not apply to the seventh day; see T.B. Sabbath, 11b; T.B. Berakhoth, 58b. The Sabbath will only receive its completion in the future world; see T.B. Rosh Ha-Shanah, 31a.

⁹ The reading has its parallel in *Menorath Ha-Maor*, § 159 (end).

work and dedicated it, as it is said, || “And it was evening, and it was morning, a second day” (*ibid.* 8); and so through the six days of creation. He created the seventh day, (but) not for work, because it is not said in connection therewith, “And it was evening and it was morning.” Why? For it is reserved for the generations (to come), as it is said, “And there shall be one day which is known unto the Lord; not *day*, and not *night*” (Zech. xiv. 7).¹

A parable: To what is this matter to be compared? To a man who had precious utensils.² And he did not desire to give them as an inheritance except to his son;³ likewise with the Holy One, blessed be He. The day of blessing and holiness⁴ which was before Him, He did not desire to give it as an inheritance except to Israel.⁵ Know that it is so! Come and see! for when the Israelites went forth from Egypt,⁶ whilst yet the Torah had not been given to them, He gave them the Sabbath as an inheritance. Israel kept two Sabbaths⁷ whilst as yet the Torah had not been given to them, as it is said, “And thou madest known unto them thy holy Sabbath”⁸ (Neh. ix. 14). And afterwards He gave them the Torah, as it is said, “And commandedst them commandments, and statutes, and *Torah* by the hand of Moses, thy servant” (*ibid.*).⁹

The Holy One, blessed be He, observed and sanctified the

¹ This is the Sabbath day, concerning which “day and night” are not mentioned in the Creation story. See *infra*, p. 143.

² Cf. Aboth iii. 23 with reference to the Torah.

³ Cf. Mal. iii. 17. The first editions add: “who serves him.” God and His children are referred to by the parable. Every nation is a child of God, Israel is the son who serves Him. See *infra*, p. 319, and Shocher Tob, Ps. xcii. p. 201b, where this Haggadah is used, and as a parallel see Jubilees ii. 20.

⁴ In Menorath Ha-Maor, *loc. cit.*, “blessing and holiness” occur instead of “rest and holiness,” of the first editions, based on the words of the Scripture, “He blessed and hallowed” (cf. Ex. xx. 11).

⁵ Cf. Jubilees ii. 18 f.

⁶ According to the Midrash (cf. Book of Jashar lxx. 47), the Sabbath had been given to Israel in Egypt, but not by God. See T.B. Kiddushin, 41b.

⁷ See Tosaphoth in T.B. Sabbath, 87b, catchword “Just as.”

⁸ In the MS. the quotation ends here, in the first editions it is continued without any interruption.

⁹ This text mentions the Sabbath before the “Commandments, statutes, and Torah.” The Sabbath law is mentioned in Exodus xvi. 23, in connection with the Manna prior to the revelation at Sinai.

Sabbath,¹ and Israel is obliged² only to observe and sanctify the Sabbath. Know that it is so! Come and see! for when He gave them the Manna, He gave it to them in the wilderness during forty years on the six days of creation,³ but on the Sabbath He did not give (it) || to them. Wilt thou say that He did not have power enough to give it to them every day? ⁴ But (the fact was) the Sabbath was before Him; therefore He gave to them bread for two days on the Friday, as it is said, "See, for that the Lord hath given you the Sabbath,⁵ therefore he giveth you on the sixth day the bread of two days" (Ex. xvi. 29). When the people⁶ saw that Sabbath (was observed) before Him, they also rested, as it is said, "So the people rested on the seventh day" (*ibid.* 30).

"And God blessed the seventh day,⁷ and hallowed it" (Gen. ii. 3). The Holy One, blessed be He, blessed and hallowed the Sabbath day, and Israel is bound only to *keep* and to hallow the Sabbath day.⁸ Hence they⁹ said: Whosoever says the benediction and sanctification over the wine on the eves of Sabbath,¹⁰ his days¹¹ will be increased in this world, and¹² in the world to come, as it is said, "For by me thy days shall be multiplied" (Prov. ix. 11) in this world; "and the years of thy life shall be increased" (*ibid.*) in the world to come.

"Ye shall keep the Sabbath,¹³ for it is holy unto you"

¹ See Jubilees ii. 18.

² See Shocher Tob, Ps. xcii. p. 201b.

³ Sunday to Friday, the days of work.

⁴ See Menorath Ha-Maor, *loc. cit.*, which reads, "Lest thou shouldst say that He had no power to give, He continued to give it (*after* the Sabbath)." Another reading is given in Shocher Tob, Ps. xcii., *loc. cit.*

⁵ In the MS. the quotation ends here, but "etc." is added; in the first editions the verse is continued.

⁶ The first editions read "Israel."

⁷ In the MS. the quotation ends here, but "etc." is added; the first editions continue the quotation as in our version.

⁸ See Gen. Rab. xi. 2, and Mekhilta, p. 50b; and see *supra*, p. 137, and *infra*, p. 141.

⁹ The Sages.

¹⁰ Friday evenings. See Jubilees ii. 21.

¹¹ The first editions add: "and years."

¹² Variant readings are given in Menorath Ha-Maor, *loc. cit.*, and Roḳeach, 52. The first editions add here: "And years of life will be given to him." As we shall see, the phraseology of this reading is borrowed from Prov. ix. 11, according to the interpretation given in T.B. Synhedrin, 38a, and Lev. Rab. xi. 1.

¹³ In the MS. the quotation ends here, but the first editions continue the verse.

(Ex. xxxi. 14). What is the keeping of the Sabbath? Neither to do any work thereon,¹ nor to kindle fire thereon, neither to take forth nor to bring in beyond the Techum (limit)² of the Sabbath even one foot,³ nor to fetch in his hand something⁴ which is not his food nor the food for his cattle.⁵ This is the keeping of the Sabbath,⁶ as it is said, "Wherefore the children of Israel shall keep the Sabbath" (*ibid.* 16).

"It⁷ is a sign between me and the children of Israel for ever" (*ibid.* 17). The Holy One, blessed be He, said: This (Sabbath) have I given to Israel⁸ as a sign between Me || and them; for in the six days of creation I fashioned all the world, and on the Sabbath I rested, therefore have I given to Israel the six days of work, and on the Sabbath, a day¹⁰ (for) blessing and sanctification,¹¹ for Me and for them; therefore it is said, "Between me and the children of Israel it is a sign for ever" (*ibid.*).¹²

¹ The first editions reverse the order of the clauses, "Not to kindle fire thereon, nor to do any work thereon." The order in our MS. is based on the sequence of the texts dealing with the Sabbath commandments in Ex. xxxi. 14. To kindle fire is prohibited in Ex. xxxv. 3, and in the *previous* verse the prohibition to work is set forth; see Luria's commentary, *in loc.*, where the reading of our MS. had been anticipated.

² The 2000 spaces or ells from the town, called a Sabbath-journey; see Acts i. 12, Jubilees i. 8, and Zadokite Documents xiii. 7. See Tosephta Soṭah v. 13, p. 303, for a discussion as to whether the Techum principle is contained in the Torah, and cf. *J.E.* x. 592.

³ See T.B. 'Erubin, 52b.

⁴ Anything not permitted to be used on the Sabbath is called "Mukzeh."

⁵ The first editions read after the word "something": "and carry it four *spaces* in a public thoroughfare, and to bring it from one *allotment* to another." See *J.E.* x. 582 on the "four ells" or *spaces*. "Reshuth," territory, domain, *allotment*, one's area or court. See Baba Kamma iii. 1 for the different terms in connection with Reshuth; see also T.B. Sabbath, 6a, and cf. Jubilees ii. 29 and i. 8, Zadokite Documents xiii. 16. The first editions omit the words: "which is not his food, nor the food for his cattle."

⁶ Trafficking on the Sabbath was a cause of reproach on the part of Jeremiah (xvii. 20 ff.) and Nehemiah (xiii. 17 ff.). The rest of this sentence is wanting in the first editions.

⁷ The Sabbath.

⁸ The quotation is concluded here in the MS.; the first editions continue as in our version.

⁹ "It is a sign" is added here by Shocher Tob, Ps. xcii., *loc. cit.*

¹⁰ The first editions read: "and the seventh day (for) blessing," etc.

¹¹ The first editions add: "and rest." Scripture speaks of God blessing and sanctifying the seventh day (Gen. ii. 3), and resting on the Sabbath (Ex. xx. 11), "Wherefore the Lord blessed the Sabbath day and hallowed it" (*ibid.*). See *supra*, p. 137, note 4.

¹² The first editions omit: "it is a sign for ever."

The Holy One, blessed be He, created seven¹ firmaments, and He selected from them all 'Araboth² only for the place of the throne of glory of His kingdom, as it is said, "Cast up a highway for him that rideth on the 'Araboth,³ with Jah, his name" (Ps. lxxviii. 4). The Holy One, blessed be He, created seven lands,⁴ and He chose from all of them the land of Israel only, as it is said, "A land . . . the eyes of the Lord thy God are always upon it, from the beginning of the year even unto the end of the year" (Deut. xi. 12).⁵ Another verse says, "I said, I shall not see the Lord, even the Lord in the land of the living" (Isa. xxxviii. 11).⁶ The Holy One, blessed be He, created seven deserts, and of them all He chose the *desert* of Sinai⁷ only to give therein the Torah, as it is said, "The *mountain* which God hath desired for his abode" (Ps. lxxviii. 16).

The Holy One, blessed be He, created seven seas,⁸ and of

¹ The Sepher Jezirah iv. emphasizes the superior nature of the seventh kind of the various works of Creation; see also Lev. Rab. xxix. 11; Num. Rab. iii. 8; Jalkut, Psalms (Ps. cxxxix.), § 888.

² See T.B. Chagigah, 12b. 'Araboth is the seventh heaven. See also Hekhaloth iv. and also Maimonides, *Guide*, i. 70, who quotes our text. The New Testament speaks of the "third heaven" (2 Cor. xii. 2). See the *Apocalypse of Peter* on this theme. On the seven heavens see Slavonic Enoch, pp. xxx ff.

³ R.V. has "deserts." The quotation ends here in our MS., the printed texts continue the same.

⁴ They are enumerated in Lev. Rab., *loc. cit.*, cf. Aboth de R. Nathan (a) xxxvii. p. 55b (n. 10); see also Midrash, Proverbs viii., where ten lands are mentioned. Israel passed through seven lands after leaving Egypt to enter the Holy Land. The lands are: Edom, Ammon, Moab, Midian, the land of the Amorites, Bashan, and the Holy Land, which is the seventh land. See also Siphre, Deut. § 40, and *infra*, p. 167.

⁵ See also Mal. iii. 12, and for the reading of the text see Kaphtor Va-Pherach x. The latter part of the quotation is wanting in the first editions. The first editions add the following: "The Holy One, blessed be He, created seven mountains,¹ and he chose only Mount Sinai from all of them, as it is said, 'Why look ye askance, ye high mountains, at the *mountain*² which God hath desired for his abode?' " (Ps. lxxviii. 16).

⁶ This quotation is missing in the printed texts of our book.

⁷ The first editions read "Kadesh." The order of the paragraphs here in the MS. does not agree with that of the printed editions. In Jalkut, Ps. lxxviii. § 796, the wilderness of Sinai is the "chosen" one; this is another name of the wilderness of Kadesh. See T.B. Sabbath, 89a.

⁸ See T.B. Baba Bathra, 74b, and Shocher Tob, Ps. xxiv. 6, p. 103a, notes 23 and 24, which refer to the seven seas in Palestine.

¹ See T.B. Megillah, 29a, and *infra*, p. 318. See also Eth. Enoch xxxii. 1.

² This is interpreted as Sinai; see Shocher Tob, *in loc.* p. 159b.

them all He chose the Sea of Kinnereth¹ only, and gave it as an inheritance to the tribe of Naphtali,² as it is said, "O Naphtali, *satisfied with favour*,³ and full with the blessing of the Lord:⁴ possess thou the *sea* and the south" (Deut. xxxiii. 23). What is the "blessing of the Lord"? (It means) that He blessed him and gave him as an inheritance the sea and the south, as it is said, "Possess thou the sea and the south" (*ibid.*).⁵

The Holy One, blessed be He, created seven æons, || and of them all He chose the seventh æon⁶ only; the six æons are for the going in and coming out (of God's creatures) for war and peace. The seventh æon is entirely Sabbath and rest in the life everlasting.⁷ Seven lamps were made for the sanctuary, and the lamp of Sabbath was illuminating opposite the other six (lamps), as it is said, "In front of the lampstand the seven lamps shall give light" (Num. viii. 2).⁸ The Holy One, blessed be He, created seven days, and of them all He chose the seventh day only, as it is said, "And God *blessed* the seventh day, and hallowed it" (Gen. ii. 3).⁹

Everyone¹⁰ who keeps the Sabbath, happy is he in this world and happy will he be in the world to come,¹¹ as it is said, "Happy is the *man* that doeth this, and the *son of man* that holdeth fast by it: who keepeth the Sabbath from

¹ *i.e.* the Lake or Sea of Gennesareth.

² The pre-eminence of Naphtali was due to the fact that the east side of his territory touched the Sea of Gennesareth and the west side was on the Mediterranean.

³ *i.e.* God's favour; see Shocher Tob, Ps. lxxviii. p. 160b.

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

⁵ This sentence is not in the printed editions.

⁶ The æon was a period of 1000 years. On the Millennium see Slav. Enoch xxxii. 2-xxxiii. 2, where the *eighth* day is the day of rest.

⁷ See *supra*, p. 126, note 10, and cf. Tanna de bê Elijahu Rab. ii. p. 6, and Jalḳuṭ, Ps. cxxxix. § 888.

⁸ This sentence is not in the printed editions.

⁹ The printed editions add here: "The Holy One, blessed be He, created seven years, and of them all He chose the year of release only. The year of release is every seventh year." See Jalḳuṭ, Ps. cxxxix. § 888, and Lev. Rab., *loc. cit.*

¹⁰ According to T.B. Sabbath, 118b, even idolaters will be forgiven; see *infra*, p. 146. The first editions read: "Everyone who keeps the Sabbath in this world, the Holy One, blessed be He, will forgive all his sins."

¹¹ Cf. Jubilees ii. 2. 8: "Everyone who observes it and keeps Sabbath thereon from all his work will be holy and blessed throughout all days."

profaning it" (Isa. lvi. 2). Do not read "(He who keepeth the Sabbath) *from profaning*¹ it," but read "He who keepeth the Sabbath *is pardoned*"² concerning all his transgression.³

¹ *Mechallelô* (from profaning it).

² *Machul lô* (it is forgiven him). This is a play on the word of the text of Isa. lvi. 2. See Tanna de bē Elijahu Rab. xxvi. p. 134.

³ The printed texts read: "to teach (us) that all his transgressions are forgiven him." The section on the Sabbath in Jubilees ii. 17 ff. and l. 6 ff. should be compared with the regulations as to the Sabbath in our book. There are some striking resemblances as well as considerable points of dissimilarity. Jubilees (ii. 23, 24) connects the Sabbath with Jacob. Our book refers this institution to Adam; see previous chapter, and Introduction.

CHAPTER XX

ADAM'S PENITENCE [24A. i.]

"So he *drove out* the man" (Gen. iii. 24). *Driving out* (*i.e.*) and he went forth outside the garden of Eden (and he abode)¹ on Mount Moriah, for the gate of the garden of Eden is nigh unto Mount Moriah.² Thence He took him and thither He made him return to the place whence he was taken, as it is said, "To till the ground from whence he was taken" (*ibid.* 23).³

Rabbi Jehudah said: The Holy One, blessed be He, kept the Sabbath⁴ first in the heavenly regions, and Adam kept the || Sabbath first in the lower regions. The Sabbath day protected him from all evil, and comforted⁵ him on

¹ The MS. does not read: "and he abode." This is the reading of the first editions. Jalkut, Gen. § 34 (end), adds: "outside the garden of Eden." The new abode of Adam was near the garden of Eden. The Midrash appears to understand, Gen. iii. 24, thus: "So he drove out the man and he dwelt at the east of the garden of Eden." This Haggadic interpretation already appears in the LXX.

² See T.B. 'Erubin, 19a. Beth-Shan is described as the door to Palestine; see *J.Q.R.* v. p. 148, where Origen's Midrash about the garden of Eden being the centre of the world is quoted. As to where the garden of Eden was believed to be, see Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies*, pp. 45 ff.

³ Instead of this quotation the first editions cite Gen. ii. 15: "And the Lord God took the man," and then they add: "From what place did He take him? From the place of the Temple, as it is said: 'To till the ground from whence he was taken'" (Gen. iii. 23).¹

⁴ "In the heavens" is also added by Shocher Tob, p. 203a, but it is wanting in the first editions of our book; see *supra*, pp. 125 f. The idea of Sabbath being observed in heaven occurs in Jubilees ii. 18; see previous chapter in our book, p. 138.

⁵ See *supra*, pp. 125 f.

¹ Shocher Tob, Ps. xcii. p. 203a, reads: "From the place of the Sanctuary and thence He restored him to the place whence he was taken, as it is said, 'To till the ground from whence he was taken'" (Gen. iii. 23).; See also Pal. Targ. Gen. ii. 7, and *supra*, p. 84.

account of all the doubts of his heart, as it is said, "In the multitude of my doubts within me, thy comforts delight my soul" (Ps. xciv. 19).

Rabbi Joshua ben Korchah said: From the tree under which they hid themselves,¹ they took leaves and sewed (them), as it is said, "And they sewed fig leaves together,² and made themselves aprons" (Gen. iii. 7). Rabbi Eliezer said: From the skin³ which the serpent sloughed off, the Holy One, blessed be He, took⁴ and made coats of glory⁵ for Adam and his wife, as it is said, "And the Lord God made for Adam and for his wife coats of skin, and clothed them" (*ibid.* 21).

At twilight on Saturday⁶ (evening), Adam was⁷ meditating in his heart and saying: ⁸ Perhaps the serpent, which deceived me, will come in the evening,⁹ and he will bruise me in the heel. A pillar of fire was sent to him to give illumination about him and to guard him from all evil.¹⁰ Adam saw the pillar of fire and rejoiced in his heart,¹¹ and he put forth his hands¹² to the light of the fire, and said: Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe, who creates the flames of fire.¹³ And when he removed

¹ See the Book of Adam and Eve (ed. Malan) I. xxxvi.

² The MSS. and the first editions conclude the quotation here.

³ So also according to Pal. Targ. Gen. iii. 21; and cf. *supra*, p. 99.

⁴ The first editions omit "took."

⁵ In the Torah scroll of Rabbi Meir the reading was "coats of light"; see Gen. Rab. xx. 12 and Epstein in *Monatsschrift*, 1884, pp. 343 ff. Cf. *supra*, p. 98, for the skin of nail, as the covering of glory of the first man.

⁶ Luria holds that this section is out of place. It should be inserted in the previous chapter at the point where the Blessing of the Sabbath occurs. See T.J. Berakhoth viii. 6, 12b, on the day of 36 hours, during which the light of the first Sabbath lasted; and cf. Shocher Tob, p. 202b.

⁷ The first editions read: "sitting and meditating."

⁸ The first editions read: "Woe is me, perhaps the serpent which deceived me on the eve of the Sabbath will come and bruise me in the heel."

⁹ Oxford MS. (e. 76) reads: "deceived me on the eve (before) the termination of the Sabbath" will come.

¹⁰ See Book of Adam and Eve (ed. Malan) I. xxix., and T.B. 'Abodah Zarah, 8a.

¹¹ The first editions add: "and he said: Now I know that the Omnipresent is with me."

¹² Oxford MS. (e. 16) reads: "hand."

¹³ See Singer, p. 216; and see T.B. Berakhoth, 52b; T.B. Pesachim, 53b; T.J. Berakhoth viii. 7, 12c; Gen. Rab. xii. 6; and cf. Shocher Tob, p. 203a.

his hands ¹ from the light of the fire,² he said: Now I know that the holy day has been separated from the work day here below (on earth), for fire may not be kindled on the Sabbath day; and in that hour he said: Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe, who divides || the holy from the profane,³ the light from the darkness.

Rabbi Mana said: How must ⁴ a man say the Habbalah blessing? (He does this) over the cup of wine, with the light of fire,⁵ and he says: Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe, who creates the various flames of fire; and when he removes his hand from the fire (flame) he says: Blessed art Thou, O Lord, who divides the holy from the profane.

If he have no wine he puts forth his hands ⁶ towards the light of the lamp and looks at his nails,⁷ which are whiter than his body, and he says: Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe, who creates various flames of fire; and when he has removed his hands ⁸ from the fire, he says:

¹ Oxford MS. (e. 16) reads: "hand."

² Oxford MS. (e. 16) and the first editions read: "from the fire"; has our MS. an incorrect reading here?

³ See *supra*, pp. 126, 138; and cf. *Sepher Ha-Manhig*, *Hilkhoth Shabbath*, § 67. The next words are not in the first editions.

⁴ Lit. "is he obliged." *Siddur Rab 'Amram*, 59b, reads: "How is a man obliged (to perform Habbalah) with the cup of wine? He brings his hand near to the light of the fire." See also *Ravia*, ed. Aptowitzer, p. 131, and *Or Zarua*, ii. 24d, § 93. Both hands are to be stretched forth to the light according to our author and the authorities quoted (see *Sha'arê Teshubah*, § 102, and *Shibbolê Ha-Leḳeṭ* (52b), § 130). See *Siddur R. 'Amram*, 59a, for the expression to "look at the palms"; cf. *Ha-Manhig*, § 65, p. 34a. This was the custom of R. Naṭronai. The *Mishnah Berakhoth* viii. 6 deals with the necessity of *enjoying* the light in order to say the blessing over same; see T.B. *Berakhoth*, 53b. According to our book the custom of looking at the nails is only to be observed when there is no wine. The *Pirḳê de R. Eliezer* seems to have the same custom here and in reference to rinsing the cup mentioned *infra*, p. 146, note 7, as obtained in *Sura*, and these customs were known to R. Naṭronai.

⁵ The light will enable him to see the wine in the cup, and then he need not look at his nails, nor put forth his hands to the light; for he has already derived some benefit from the light. If he have no wine, he looks at his nails. On the customs of the Habbalah see T.B. *Berakhoth*, 33b and 52b, and T.B. *Sabbath*, 150b, and *J.E.* vi. pp. 118 ff.

⁶ This is according to the reading in our MS. The plural occurs also in Oxford MS. (e. 76) and the second edition.

⁷ See *Sepher Ha-Orah*, i. pp. 57 f., notes 13 and 14, and *Machzor Vitry*, 117 f.

⁸ The 2nd ed. reads: "hand." This section is wanting in the 1st ed.

Blessed art Thou, O Lord, who divides the holy from the profane.

If he be on a journey,¹ he puts forth his hand² to the light of the stars, which are also fire,³ and says: Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe, who creates the various flames of fire. If the heavens be darkened,⁴ he lifts up a stone outside,⁵ and says: ⁶ Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God, who creates the various flames of fire.⁷

Rabbi Zadok said: Whosoever does not make Habdalah⁸ at the termination of Sabbaths, or does not listen to those who perform the ceremony of Habdalah, will never see a sign⁹ of blessing.¹⁰ Everyone who makes Habdalah at the termination of Sabbaths, or whosoever hears those who perform the Habdalah, the Holy One, blessed be He, calls

¹ The first editions read: "If he have no fire."

² Oxford MS. (e. 76) reads: "hands."

³ The first editions add: "and he looks at his nails which are whiter than his body."

⁴ Oxford MS. (e. 76) reads: "darkened with clouds."

⁵ Oxford MS. (e. 76) and the first editions read: "from the earth," and he obtains a spark by striking the two stones together.

⁶ See Friedländer, *The Jewish Religion*, pp. 254, 340, and 343, for the rules of the rite. The 1st ed. reads: "and he performs the Habdalah." This is also the reading of the Venice edition, which adds: "and he says: Blessed (is He) who separates the holy from the profane."

⁷ The ritual here set forth is not on all fours with the rules prescribed by the Shulchan 'Arukh. Spices are not mentioned at all. We should not say the benediction over the light when the light of the stars is the only light available; see T.B. Berakhoth, 52b, and Ṭur, Orach Chayyim, 296 and 297. The following section occurs in the MS. Gaster and in the 2nd ed.: "Rabbi Eliezer said: After a man has drunk the (contents) of the cup of Habdalah, it is a religious privilege and duty to put a little water in the cup (of wine used at the Habdalah), and to drink in order to show that the precepts are beloved,¹ and what remains of the water in the cup should be put over his eyes. Why? Because the Wise Men have said: The (observance of the) 'remnants' left over in connection with a religious act keeps back punishments."

⁸ The Oxford MS. (e. 76) and the first editions add: "over wine."

⁹ See *supra*, p. 138. On the Habdalah see Elbogen, *op. cit.* pp. 120, 532.

¹⁰ See T.B. 'Erubin, 65a, T.B. Shebu'oth, 18b, and Jalḳuṭ, Gen. § 34, and cf. Siddur Rab 'Amram, § 40, p. 60a, b. A variant reading is to be found in Ṭur, Orach Chayyim, 299.

¹ A similar custom still obtains in the Church of England. After the rite of Communion has been done, the officiating minister pours water into the chalice, and then drinks the water to prevent the waste of any drops of the consecrated wine. The custom mentioned by our text is referred to by the Geonim; see Siddur Rab 'Amram, pp. 59a ff., on the Habdalah.

him holy to be His holy treasure, and delivers him from the affliction of the peoples, as it is said, "And ye shall be holy unto me: for I the Lord am holy" (Lev. xx. 26).¹ ||

On the first day of the week ² he ³ went into the waters of the upper Gihon ⁴ until the waters reached up to his neck, and he fasted seven weeks of days,⁵ until his body became like a species of seaweed.⁶ Adam said before the Holy One, blessed be He: Sovereign of all worlds! Remove, I pray Thee, my sins from me and accept my repentance, and all the generations will learn that repentance is a reality.⁷ What did the Holy One, blessed be He, do? He put forth His right hand,⁸ and accepted his repentance,⁹ and took away from him his sin, as it is said, "I acknowledge my sin unto thee, and mine iniquity have I not hid: ¹⁰ I said, I will confess my transgressions unto the Lord; and thou forgavest the iniquity of my sin. Selah" (Ps. xxxii. 5). Selah¹¹ in this world and Selah in the world to come. Adam returned ¹² and meditated in his heart, and said: I

¹ In the first editions the latter part of this paragraph reads: "Everyone who listens to those who perform the Habbalah or whosoever makes the Habbalah over the wine, the Holy One, blessed be He, acquires him as a treasure, as it is said: 'I have separated you from the peoples, that ye should be mine'" (Lev. xx. 26). The Venice edition adds: "And ye shall be a peculiar treasure unto me" (Ex. xix. 5). This last reading agrees with Oxford MS. (e. 76), which omits the quotation from Lev. (xx. 26).

² Sunday. On the incident see Israel Lévi's article in *R.É.J.* xviii. pp. 86 ff., where it is suggested that our author has used the Arabic, Ethiopic, or the Latin version of the Book of Adam and Eve xxxii.—xxxiv.

³ The first editions read: "Adam." See Introduction, p. xlvii.

⁴ *i.e.* the pool of Siloam; cf. 2 Chron. xxxii. 30. See Coptic Apocrypha, p. 245, and cf. Ginzberg, *Die Haggada, etc.*, p. 52.

⁵ *i.e.* forty-nine days. According to T.B. 'Erubin, 18b, Adam fasted 130 years; see also Zohar, Gen. 55a, and T.B. 'Abodah Zarah, 8a.

⁶ The first editions read: "like a sieve." Our MS. agrees here with the Oxford MS. (e. 76); see Jalkut, Gen., *loc. cit.*

⁷ The first editions add: "and that Thou dost accept the repentance of the penitent."

⁸ This expression is peculiar to our book; it occurs several times, cf. the legend in the Book of Adam and Eve, in *A. and P.* ii. p. 135.

⁹ On Adam's repentance see Tertullian, *Against Marcion*, ii. 25.

¹⁰ The quotation ends here in the MSS. and in the first editions.

¹¹ The last word of the previous verse is *Selah*, and the verse quoted concludes with *Selah*. The word is used in the sense of "so be it," or perhaps it suggests "pardon" (*Selach*).

¹² The Oxford MSS. and the printed texts read: "sat."

know that death will remove me ¹ (to) "the house appointed for all living" (Job xxx. 23). Adam said: Whilst I am yet alive ² I will ³ build for myself a mausoleum to rest therein. ⁴ He planned ⁵ and built for himself a mausoleum to rest therein beyond ⁶ Mount Moriah. Adam said: If in the case of the tables (of stone), just because in the future they will be written by the finger (of God), the waters of the Jordan are destined to flee before them; ⁷ how much more so will this be the case with my body which His two hands ⁸ kneaded, and because He breathed into my nostrils the breath of the spirit of His mouth? After my death they will come and take my bones, and they will make them into an image for idolatry; ⁹ but verily I will put || my coffin deep down beneath the cave and within the cave. ¹⁰ Therefore it is called the Cave of Machpelah, which is a double cave. ¹¹ There Adam was put and his help-meet, ¹² Abraham and his help-meet, Isaac and his help-meet, Jacob and his help-meet. Therefore it is called "the city of four"

¹ The first editions read: "he said: For I have said, 'thou wilt bring me to death and to the house,' etc." The text of Job xxx. 23 reads: "For I know thou wilt bring," etc. The Oxford MS. (e. 76) reads: "I know that thou wilt bring me to death," etc.

² The first editions read: "yet in the world."

³ See the Book of Adam and Eve (ed. Malan) II. ix. for the death and burial of Adam.

⁴ The first editions add here: "beyond Mount Moriah."

⁵ The first editions read: "He dug out"; so also in Oxford MSS.

⁶ Luria reads: "he went beyond Mount Moriah and dug," etc.; see Zohar, Gen. 57b, and *infra*, p. 275.

⁷ In the days of Joshua.

⁸ See *supra*, pp. 76f.; and cf. T.B. Kethuboth, 5a, and Aboth de R. Nathan (a) i. p. 4b. This legend was known to the Church Fathers; see Theophilus, *To Autolycus*, II. 18.

⁹ Here Adam seems to exercise prophetic powers. This agrees with the legend in the *Recognitions of Clement*, I. 47. Is our author attacking the worship of relics?

¹⁰ Owing to the power inherent in his divinely shaped and fashioned body, the waters of the Flood would have no power to destroy his remains; see T.B. Baba Bathra, 58a, Gen. Rab. xxviii. 3. The Book of Jasher III. 14 refers to the burial of Adam in the "cave." In the Book of Jubilees VIII. 19 the Garden of Eden is facing Mount Zion, *i.e.* Mount Moriah. The three things, according to Jubilees VII. 20, which brought the Flood were, "fornication, uncleanness, and all iniquity." Cf. T.B. Synhedrin, 74a, for the three cardinal sins, idolatry, immorality, and murder. For a parallel text with slight variations see Midrash Haggadol, c. 122.

¹¹ See T.B. 'Erubin, 53a, and Jalkut, Gen., *loc. cit.* The legend of the double cave was known to Jerome; see Rahmer, *op. cit.* p. 36.

¹² On the order of the burials see T.J. Ta'anith IV. 2, 68a; Zohar, Num. 164a.

(Kirjath Arba'); for four pairs (were buried there),¹ and concerning them the verse says, "He entereth into peace; they rest in their beds,² each one that walketh in his uprightness" (Isa. lvii. 2).³

¹ These words in brackets occur in the Oxford MS. (e. 76). Hippolytus (*A.N.C.L.* vi. p. 491) mentions eight people buried in the cave. This is another form of the legend of the "four pairs" mentioned in our text.

² In the MS. and the Midrash Haggadol, *loc. cit.*, the quotation ends here; in the first editions it is continued.

³ See T.B. Kethuboth, 104a. In the first editions instead of helpmeet the names are given, namely, Eve, Sarah, Rebecca, and Leah.

CHAPTER XXI

CAIN AND ABEL [25A. i.]

"BUT¹ of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the garden" (Gen. iii. 3). It was taught in a Baraitha,² Rabbi Ze'era said: "Of the fruit of the tree"—here "tree" only means man, who is compared to the tree, as it is said, "For man is the *tree* of the field" (Deut. xx. 19). "Which is in the midst of the garden"—"in the midst of the garden" is here merely an euphemism.³ "Which is in the midst of the garden"—for "garden" means here merely woman, who is compared to a garden, as it is said, "A garden shut up is my sister, a bride" (Cant. iv. 12). Just as with this garden whatever is sown therein, it produces and brings forth, so (with) this woman, what seed she receives, she conceives and bears⁴ through sexual intercourse.

(Sammael) riding on the serpent came to her, and she conceived;⁵ afterwards Adam came to her, and she conceived

¹ The first editions begin the chapter with the expression: "It is written." Our MS. agrees with the Oxford MSS. here.

² "A tannaite tradition not incorporated in the Mishnah," see *J.E.* ii. 513. The use of the term *נר* (it was taught in a Baraitha) in connection with a statement by Rabbi Ze'era (4th cent. C.E.) is incongruous.

³ The first editions read here: "Just as 'in the *middle* of the body' (has its implication, likewise), 'in the midst of the garden' refers to that which is in the middle of the woman, because 'garden' means woman," etc.

⁴ The first editions read "from her husband." This allegorical interpretation of the Paradise narrative is exceptionally bold. The Zohar, Gen. 35b, offers a parallel, having used our book as its original; see also Nachmanides, *Torath Ha-Adam*, 102b. The texts (Isa. lxi. 3, lx. 21, and xvii. 11) quoted by the Zohar *in loc. cit.* afford the scriptural basis for the interpretation in question.

⁵ The first editions add "Cain." See *Jalkut*, Gen. § 29 and § 35, and Zohar, *loc. cit.*, for the reading: "Satan riding on the serpent." See Pal. Targ. Gen. iv. 1, which has used our author. This Haggadah occurs also in the Church Father Ephraim (in Gen. vol. i. p. 35); he says that the

Abel,¹ as it is said, "And Adam knew Eve his wife" (Gen. iv. 1). What is the meaning of "knew"? (He knew) that she had conceived.² And she saw his³ likeness that it was not of the earthly beings, but of the heavenly beings, and she prophesied⁴ || and said: "I have gotten a man with the Lord" (*ibid.*).⁵

serpent was made to crawl on its belly "for having increased the pangs of child-bearing, through the seduction of Eve"; see also Slavonic Enoch xxxi. 6. The legend was most probably known to Paul, who refers to the "serpent" as having "beguiled Eve in his craftiness"; see 2 Cor. xi. 2, 3, and cf. 1 Tim. ii. 14, 15; and Protevangelium of James, 13 (*A.N.C.L.* xvi. p. 8), and cf. 4 Macc. xviii. 8.

¹ This agrees with Luria's emendation, based on the Jalkuṭ, Gen. § 35, and Zohar, *loc. cit.*; see *supra*, p. 78.

² Some of the Haggadic details of this chapter appear in Josephus, *Ant.* i. 1. 4. For the reading of the text here see Jalkuṭ, *loc. cit.*

³ Cain's. The Pal. Targum, Gen. iv. 1, reads: "And Adam knew Eve his wife, who was pregnant by the angel Sammael, and she conceived and bare Cain; and he was like the heavenly beings, and not like the earthly beings, and she said, I have acquired a man, the angel of the Lord." Cf. *infra*, pp. 153 f., and see Zohar, *in loc.*, and Jalkuṭ, Gen. § 35. See also Vita Adæ et Evæ xxi. 3, in *A. and P.* ii. p. 138.

⁴ The Jalkuṭ, *loc. cit.*, reads: "she understood."

⁵ The Oxford MS. (e. 76) and the first editions insert here the following: "Rabbi Ishmael said: From Seth¹ arose and were descended all the generations of the righteous, and from Cain arose and were descended all the generations of the wicked, who rebelled and sinned against Heaven, and said, We do not need the drops of Thy rains, as it is said, 'Yet they said unto God, Depart from us'" (Job xxi. 14).²

¹ Read Meshêth, "from Seth," instead of Meshom, "thence." See next chapter for a repetition of this section. The Midrashic interpretation seems to have been known to Philo, who speaks of Cain as the type "of folly and impiety" (*De Cherub.* xx.). See Heb. xi. 4; 1 John iii. 12; Jude 11. On the Cainites see Epiphanius, *adv. Hær.* i. 3. 38, i. 7. 5; and Irenæus, *adv. Hær.* i. xxxi. 1. In Ecclus. xlix. 16, Seth is compared with Shem as "glorified among men." Josephus, *Ant.* i. 2. 1 ff., described Abel as "a lover of righteousness" . . . "but Cain was not only very wicked . . . and it came to pass that the posterity of Cain became exceeding wicked. . . . Seth became a virtuous man, and as he was himself of an excellent character so did he leave behind him (children) who imitated his virtues. All these proved to be of good dispositions." Cain is "a son of wrath," according to the Apoc. Mosis 3. See also the Book of Adam and Eve (ed. Malan) i. lxxix. and the Book of Jubilees iv. 11 ff., xix. 24, on this subject. The Gnostics taught that "Cain derived his being from the Power above," says Irenæus, *adv. Hær.*, *loc. cit.* According to the Gnostics, Eve had several sons, who were declared to be angels; see Irenæus, *op. cit.* i. xxx. 7. On Sammael or Michael, as the name of the serpent, see Irenæus, *loc. cit.* 9. There are several points of contact in this chapter, as well as in the preceding chapter, with the doctrines of the Gnostics as set forth in the writings of Irenæus. See also Grünbaum, *op. cit.* pp. 73 ff.

² The Book of Job was frequently used by the Haggadists in their Midrashim on the Book of Genesis.

Rabbi Miasha¹ said: Cain was born, and his wife,² his twin-sister,³ with him.⁴ Rabbi Simeon⁵ said to him: Has it not already been said, "And if a man shall take his sister, his father's daughter, or his mother's daughter, and see her nakedness, and she see his nakedness; it is a shameful thing"?⁶ (Lev. xx. 17). From these words know that there were no other women whom they could marry, and these were permitted to them, as it is said, "For I have said, The world shall be built up by love"⁷ (Ps. lxxxix. 2). With love was the world built up before the Torah had been given.⁸ Rabbi Joseph⁹ said: Cain and Abel were twins,¹⁰ as it is said, "And she conceived, and bare (with) Cain" (Gen. iv. 1). At that hour she had an additional capacity for child-bearing (as it is said), "And she *continued* to bear his brother Abel" (*ibid.* 2).¹¹

¹ Oxford MS. (e. 76) reads "Meir" (2nd cent. C.E.). Miasha lived in the 4th cent. C.E.

² "His wife" does not occur in the first editions.

³ According to the Book of Adam and Eve (ed. Malan) i. lxxiv., Luluwa was the twin-sister of Cain; see *Schatzhöhle*, p. 34, and also the Book of Jashar i. 12. Other references are given by Ginzberg, *op. cit.* pp. 60 f.

⁴ The Oxford MS. (e. 76) and the printed editions add: "Abel was born, and with him his twin-sister." Her name was Aklima (Book of Adam and Eve (ed. Malan) i. lxxv). The first edition differs slightly in the order of the words here.

⁵ According to the first editions the name is "Ishmael," who lived c. 90-135 C.E., and was a contemporary of R. 'Akiba, the teacher of R. Meir. R. Simeon (? son of Jochai) was also a disciple of R. 'Akiba.

⁶ חסר, love, permissible or shameful; see Jalkut, Ps. lxxxix. § 839. Our MS. does not give the last few words of the quotation. In the first editions the quotation ends with the words: "his father's daughter." In the Oxford MS. (e. 76) the quotation ends with the words: "mother's daughter."

⁷ The R.V. renders the passage: "Mercy shall be built up for ever."

⁸ R. Ishmael seems to imply that, prior to the giving of the Law (Torah), the world's law was based on the impulses of nature and therefore immoral. See the Book of Adam and Eve (ed. Malan) ii. vii., as to the marriage of Adam's son Seth. Epiphanius, *op. cit.* xxxix. 5, refers to this subject.

⁹ The Oxford MS. (e. 76) agrees with our MS., but the first editions read "José"—R. José bar Chalaphtha was a pupil of R. 'Akiba.

¹⁰ See T.B. Synhedrin, 38b; Abot d. R. Nathan (a) i.; Gen. Rab. xxii. 2. According to the Book of Jashar, *loc. cit.*, "Eve bore two sons and three daughters." According to this book the union of Adam and Eve was consummated *after* the expulsion from Paradise; see also Jalkut, Gen. § 15 and § 35, and T.B. Jebamoth, 62a. Josephus says: "Adam and Eve had two sons . . . they had also daughters" (*Ant.* i. 2. 1).

¹¹ Our MS. agrees with Oxford MS. (e. 76), and partially with the Oxford MS. (OA. 167). The first editions read: "At that hour she

Now Cain was a man who loved the ground in order to sow seed ; and Abel was a man who loved to tend the sheep ; the one gave of his produce as food for the other, and the latter gave of his produce as food for his (brother). The evening of the festival of Passover¹ arrived. Adam called his sons and said to them : In this (night) in the future Israel will bring Paschal offerings, bring ye also (offerings) before your Creator.

(Cain) brought the remnants of his meal of roasted grain, (and) the seed of flax,² and Abel brought of the firstlings of his sheep, and of their fat, he-lambs, which had not been shorn of their wool.³ The offering of || Cain was precluded,⁴

was debarred from bearing," as it is said, " And she *ceased* to bear." Here "Asaph" = to cease. Our text agrees with Pal. Targ. Gen. iv. 2. See Gen. Rab. xxii. 3, and cf. the Book of Adam and Eve (ed. Malan) I, lxxv.

¹ Our book lays stress on the Passover in contradistinction to Jubilees, which exalts Pentecost and Tabernacles. Luria argues that as there was a tradition that the world was created on the 1st of Nisan, Adam was therefore created on the 6th, and "at the end of days" (Gen. iv. 3) means one week, and these numbers equal thirteen, and after this day is the 14th, which is the eve of Passover. The offering was brought on the 14th, and eaten that day at even, which is the beginning of the 15th. On the other hand, according to our book, *supra*, p. 52, the creation began on the 25th of Ellul, and Adam was fashioned on the 1st of Tishri ; "at the end of days" would be interpreted as the change in the seasons from autumn to spring, when the first-fruits would be brought. Cf. *infra*, p. 236. Our text is reproduced by Pal. Targ. Gen. iv. 3, and Midrash Agadah (ed. Buber), Gen. p. 10, and see *ibid.* note 6.

According to Dr. Büchler (*J.Q.R.* v. 442), in the first year of the triennial cycle of reading the Torah, a Palestinian custom, on the first day of Passover, Gen. iii. 22-iv. 26 was read. Now, the story of the offering of Cain and Abel occurs in Gen. iv. 3 ff., and would fall in the Passover week. This explains our text, "the night of the festival of Passover arrived." See *J.E.* xii. p. 256a, line 6 ; Gen. iii., which is quoted there, should probably be Gen. iv.

Chrysostomus (about 175 C.E.) declared that it was customary to begin reading from Genesis during Lent, *i.e.* Nisan. This shows that the Early Church followed the old Jewish custom of commencing the reading of the Torah in Nisan, the beginning of the Jewish ecclesiastical new year ; see *J.E. ibid.* p. 257b. For a parallel reading, with slight variants, see Midrash Haggadol, c. 106 f.

² In Tanchuma, Bereshith, § 1x., we read : "Some sages say, The remnants of his meal ; other sages say, The seed of flax." See 'Arukh (ed. Kohut) iv. p. 229b ; and cf. Zohar, Lev. 87a, where flax is mentioned as the offering of Cain.

³ The offering was the first-fruit of the animal and the first shearing of the wool.

⁴ This is also the reading of Oxford MS. (e. 76). The Oxford MS. (O.A. 167) and the first editions read "was abhorred" ; cf. Prov. xxviii. 9.

and the offering of Abel was acceptable, as it is said, "And the Lord had respect unto Abel and to his offering" (*ibid.* 4).

Rabbi Joshua ben Korchah said: The Holy One, blessed be He, said: Heaven forbid! Never let the offerings¹ of Cain and Abel be mixed up (with one another), even in the weaving of a garment, as it is said, "Thou shalt not wear a mingled stuff, *wool* and *linen* together" (Deut. xxii. 11). And even if it be combined² let it not come upon thee, as it is said, "Neither shall there come upon thee a garment of two kinds of stuff mingled together" (Lev. xix. 19).

Rabbi Zadok said: A great hatred³ entered Cain's heart against his brother Abel, because his offering had been accepted.⁴ Not only (on this account), but also because Abel's twin-sister was the most beautiful of women, and he desired her in his heart. Moreover he said: I will slay Abel my brother, and I will take his twin-sister⁵ from him, as it is said, "And it came to pass when they were in the *field*" (Gen. iv. 8).

"In the field" means woman, who is compared to a field.⁶ He took the stone and embedded it in the forehead⁷

¹ Wool from Abel's sheep and flax from Cain's offering. The two combined would come under the prohibition of Sha'atnez (cf. Deut. xxii. 11). Perhaps the prohibition of Kilayim (Lev. xix. 19) is also intended. This reference to Adam in connection with Sha'atnez is probably intentional, and is our author's imitation of Jubilees, which also connects various laws with the Patriarchs. See Tanchuma, Bereshith, *loc. cit.*, for a variant reading, and cf. 'Arukh, *loc. cit.*, s.v. *Kilayim*, and see Maimonides, *Guide*, iii. 37, and *J.E.* xi. 212 f.

² The 1st ed. reads "embroidered." This agrees with the Oxford MSS. The 2nd ed. reads "decomposed."

³ The Book of Jashar i. 16 says: "And Cain was jealous of his brother on this account." Josephus, *Ant.*, *loc. cit.*, also agrees with this view. The first editions read: "Envy and a great *hatred*." The Oxford MS. (e. 76) reads: "Envy and hatred." Test. XII Pat., Benj. vii. 5: "Because forever those who are like unto Cain in *envy* and *hatred* of brethren, shall be punished with the same judgment."

⁴ This agrees with Jubilees iv. 2; see also Irenæus, *adv. Hær.* iv. 3 (*A.N.C.L.* v. p. 433).

⁵ In Jubilees iv. 1 the wife of Cain is 'Avan, who was born after Abel. See Book of Adam and Eve (ed. Malan) i. lxxviii.

⁶ The Oxford MS. (e. 76) adds: "as it is said: 'But if a man find the damsel that is betrothed in the *field*'" (Deut. xxii. 25). The first editions read: "as it is said: 'For man is the tree of the field'" (Deut. xx. 19). Man is the *tree*, woman is the *field*. This fine figure has a parallel in Euripides, Orestes, 552 ff. Compare our expression, "*Mother Earth*."

⁷ The Book of Adam and Eve (ed. Malan) i. lxxix. states: "And Cain . . . took a large stone and smote his brother with it upon his head." See Pal. Targum, Gen. iv. 8, which reproduces our text: "he embedded a

of Abel, and slew him, as it is said, "And Cain rose up against Abel his brother, and slew him" (*ibid.*).

Rabbi Jochanan said: Cain did not know that the secrets are revealed before the Holy One, blessed be He.¹ He took the corpse of his brother Abel and hid it in the field.² The Holy One, blessed be He, said to him: "Where is Abel thy brother?" (*ibid.* 9). He replied to Him: Sovereign of the world! A keeper of vineyard and field hast Thou made me.³ A keeper of my brother Thou hast not made me; as it is said, "Am I my brother's keeper?" (*ibid.*). The Holy One, blessed be He, said to him: || "Hast thou killed, and also taken possession?"⁴ (1 Kings xxi. 19). "The voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground" (Gen. iv. 10). When Cain heard this word⁵ he was confused. And He cursed him, that he became⁶ a wanderer on the earth because of the shedding of the blood,⁷ and because of the evil death.

Cain spake before the Holy One, blessed be He: Sovereign of all the worlds! "My sin is too great to be borne" (*ibid.* 13), for it has no atonement.⁸ This utterance was

stone in his forehead and slew him." The Book of Jashar i. 25 speaks of "the iron part of the ploughing instrument with which he suddenly smote his brother." See also Book of the Bee, p. 26.

¹ Jubilees (iv. 6) states, in connection with Cain's crime, that "we announce when we come before the Lord our God, all the sin which is committed in heaven and on earth, and in light and in darkness, and everywhere. The 1st eds., Oxford MS. (e. 76) and Gaster MS. add: "What did he do?"

² The Oxford MS. (e. 76) reads: "he dug in the earth and hid (or buried) it." The first editions have almost the same reading. According to our book there was apparently no actual burial by Cain, this was done by Adam and Eve; see *infra* in this chapter. See Tanchuma, *loc. cit.*, and Jalkuṭ, Gen. § 38. Our Midrash was known to Jerome, *Ep. ad Dam.* 125. See Book of Adam and Eve (ed. Malan), *loc. cit.* According to the Book of Jashar, *loc. cit.*, "Cain rose up and dug a hole in the field, wherein he put the body of his brother, and he turned the dust over him." Ginzberg, *op. cit.* p. 66, note 2, deals with this theme; see also Grünbaum, *op. cit.* pp. 83 f.

³ Abel's flocks would not be in the fields or vineyards of Cain, and therefore, in the ordinary course of events, he would not have known the whereabouts of his brother.

⁴ "Hast thou taken possession" of thy brother? (*i.e.* his wife and his flock). The later editions read: "I have also heard."

⁵ See T.B. Synhedrin, 37a, b.

⁶ The first editions read: "that he should be."

⁷ Almost a literal quotation from Jubilees iv. 4, surely this must be something more than a mere coincidence.

⁸ Luria suggests that the last words might be read as a question: "Is there no atonement for it?"

reckoned to him as repentance,¹ as it is said, "And Cain said unto the Lord, My sin is too great to be borne" (*ibid.*); further, Cain said before the Holy One, blessed be He: Now will a certain righteous one² arise on the earth and mention Thy great Name against me and slay me.³ What did the Holy One, blessed be He, do? He took one letter from the twenty-two letters,⁴ and put (it) upon Cain's arm⁵ that he should not be killed, as it is said, "And the Lord appointed a sign for Cain" (*ibid.* 15). The dog⁶ which was guarding Abel's flock also guarded⁷ his corpse⁸ from all the beasts of the field and all the fowl of the heavens.⁹ Adam and his helpmate were sitting and weeping and mourning¹⁰ for him, and they did not know what to do (with Abel), for they were unaccustomed to burial. A raven¹¹ (came), one of its fellow birds was dead (at its side). (The raven) said: I will teach this man what to do. It took its fellow and dug in the earth, hid it and buried it before them. Adam said: Like this raven will I act. He took || the corpse of Abel and dug in the earth and buried it. The Holy One, blessed be He, gave a good reward to the ravens in this world. What reward did He give them? When they bear their young and see that they are white¹² they fly from them, thinking that they are the offspring of a serpent, and the Holy One, blessed be He, gives them their sustenance¹³ without lack, as it is said, "Who provideth

¹ Cf. T.B. Synhedrin, 101b, and Lev. Rab. x. 5.

² See Jalkuṭ, Gen., *loc. cit.*, and Jalkuṭ Makhiri, Ps. cxlvii. pp. 143a, b.

³ By mentioning God's name, see *J.Q.R.* v. p. 409, and cf. *infra*, p. 379.

⁴ The first editions add: "which are in the Torah and wrote (it)." See Zohar, Gen. 36b. Most of this chapter has close parallels in the Zohar. See also Pal. Targum, *in loc.*

⁵ In Pal. Targum, *in loc.*, "Upon the face of Cain" is the reading. The sign of the Tephillin is placed on the *forehead* and on the left *arm*. See also Ezek. ix. 4, 6, and Othijoth de R. Akiba, ch. i. Cf. Rashi on Gen. iv. 15, and Midrash Agadah, Gen. p. 12.

⁶ See Job xxx. 1. A parallel text occurs in Midrash Haggadol, c. 116f.

⁷ This contradicts the earlier story of Abel being buried by Cain.

⁸ Jubilees iv. 7 says: "Adam and his wife mourned for Abel."

⁹ See Book of Adam and Eve (ed. Malan) 11. i.

¹⁰ For the phraseology see Neh. i. 4. The legend occurs also in the Koran, Sura v.

¹¹ Tanchuma, *loc. cit.*, reads: "Two clean birds"; cf. Gen. Rab. xxii.

8. See Midrash Haggadol, c. 116.

¹² See Jalkuṭ to Job, § 925; cf. T.B. Kethuboth, 49b.

¹³ See Tanchuma, 'Eḳeb, § ii. In the first editions the quotation from Job is not given.

for the raven his food, when his young ones cry unto God, and wander for lack of meat " (Job xxxviii. 41). Moreover, that rain should be given ¹ upon the earth (for their sakes), and the Holy One, blessed be He, answers them, as it is said, " He giveth to the beast his food, and to the young ravens which cry " (Ps. cxlvii. 9).²

¹ The first editions read : " they cry that rain should be given."

² The previous verse of the Psalm speaks of rain. See also Jalkuṭ Makhiri, *in loc.*, p. 143b. The Midrash Haggadol, c. 117, gives this verse as Ps. cxliv. 9. This is a printer's error for Ps. cxlvii. 9. It adds Job xxxviii. 41.

CHAPTER XXII

THE FALL OF THE ANGELS [26A. i.]

"AND¹ Adam lived an hundred and thirty years, and he begat in his own likeness after his image" (Gen. v. 3). Hence thou mayest learn that Cain was not of Adam's seed,² nor after his likeness, nor after his image.³ (Adam did not beget in his own image)⁴ until Seth was born, who was⁵ after his father Adam's likeness and image,⁶ as it is said, "And he begat in his own likeness, after his image" (*ibid.*).

Rabbi Simeon⁷ said: From Seth arose and were descended⁸ all the generations of the righteous.⁹ From

¹ The first editions read: "It is written: 'And Adam,' " etc.

² See *supra*, pp. 150 f., for the statement that Cain was the offspring of Eve and Sammael. The Scripture text seems to have afforded ground for the distinction which the Rabbis and others drew between Cain and Seth: "And Adam knew Eve his wife, and she conceived and bare Cain, and *she* said, I have acquired a man (child) from the Lord" (Gen. iv. 1). Concerning Abel the Bible states, "And she continued to bare his brother Abel" (*ibid.* 2), without adding any further qualification as in the case of Cain. With reference to Seth the text says, "And Adam lived an hundred and thirty years, and he begat in *his own likeness* after *his image*, and he called his name Seth" (*ibid.* v. 3). The fifth chapter of Genesis begins afresh the history of Adam's offspring, but omits all reference to Cain, whose descendants are mentioned in ch. iv. The Pal. Targum to Gen. v. 3 adds: "but before Eve had borne Cain, who was not like to him" (*i.e.* Adam).

³ The words "likeness and image" are not mentioned in the story of Cain's birth. The first editions add: "neither did his deeds resemble those of Abel his brother." Cain inherited the nature of Sammael, the angel of Death, and became a murderer.

⁴ The words in brackets are not in the text.

⁵ The first editions add: "of his seed."

⁶ The first editions add: "and his deeds were similar to those of Abel his brother."

⁷ The first editions read: "Ishmael." Our MS. agrees with the Midrash Haggadol, c. 117, and the Oxford MS. (O.A. 167). Dr. Büchler observes: "Also in the text of the Talmud Ishmael and Simeon are very frequently interchanged."

⁸ The first editions add: "all the creatures."

⁹ See *supra*, p. 151, note 5, for this paragraph. There is probably some confusion in the texts here. "The generations of the righteous" are

Cain arose and were descended all the generations of the wicked, who rebel¹ and sin, who rebelled against their Rock,² and they said: We do not need the drops of Thy rain,³ neither to walk in Thy ways, as it is said, "Yet they said unto God, Depart from us" (Job xxi. 14).

Rabbi Meir said: || The generations of Cain went about stark naked,⁴ men and women, just like the beasts,⁵ and they defiled themselves with all kinds of immorality, a man with his mother or his daughter, or the wife of his brother,⁶ or the wife of his neighbour, in public⁷ and in the streets, with evil inclination which is in the thought of their heart,⁸ as it is said, "And the Lord

the offspring of Seth mentioned in Gen. v.; and "the generations of the wicked" are the offspring of Cain enumerated in Gen. iv. See Zohar, Gen. 35b, and Gen. Rab. xxiii. 1. Pal. Targum to Gen., *loc. cit.*, adds: "And Cain was cast out; neither is his seed enumerated in the 'Book of the generations of Adam.'"

¹ The expression is based on Ezek. xx. 38.

² Cf. *infra*, p. 341. The expression is often used to denote God as Creator. The first editions read: "The Omnipresent." The Oxford MS. (O.A. 167) and the Midrash Haggadol, *loc. cit.*, read: "their Creator."

³ Cf. Job xxiv. 13. The Midrash applies this chapter of Job to the generation of the Flood. See Gen. Rab. xxxi. 2.

⁴ Pal. Targum on Gen. vi. 2 says: "And the sons of the great saw that the daughters of men were beautiful . . . walking with naked flesh"; cf. Job xxiv. 10, and Grünbaum, *op. cit.* pp. 75 ff.

⁵ See Jubilees iii. 30, 31 and cf. *ibid.* vii. 16, for a strong protest against nudity. See also Jalkut, Deut. § 945; and cf. Brüll, *Trachten der Juden*, pp. 4 ff. The fact that our book protests so strongly against the immodest vogue which probably obtained at the period and in the place where the author lived might point to the "origin" of our book, if we could only locate the fact referred to. One is apt to think of the vagaries of certain classes of recluses who belonged to the Christian Church and led solitary lives in the deserts of Egypt. Thus, in the *Paradise of the Holy Fathers* (ed. Budge, vol. i. p. 242), we read of the Abba Bessarion, who "wandered hither and thither like one possessed; in the season of frost he went naked." In the Jalkut quoted above, the passage states (on the text, Deut. xxxii. 21, "They have moved me to jealousy with that which is *not God*"): "this refers to those who come from Barbary (or Mauretania) who walk naked in the street." See also Siphre, Deut. § 320. Have we an echo of the warnings against incest referred to in Jubilees xxxiii. 10 ff.? and cf. *ibid.* xli. 25-26. See also *Schatzhöhle*, pp. 14 f.

⁶ For Rabbinic references to the subject see T.B. Synhedrin, 58a; and cf. T.B. Jebamoth, 63b. See also T.J. Jebamoth xi. 1. 11d, Gen. Rab. xviii. 5, and Siphra, Kedoshim x. 11.

⁷ See Zohar, Gen. 60b. The first editions omit: "or the wife of his neighbour"; they read: "in secret and in public with evil inclination," etc.

⁸ Cf. Gen. vi. 5.

saw that the wickedness of man was great ¹ in the earth" (Gen. vi. 5).

Rabbi said: The angels who fell ² from their holy place in heaven saw the daughters of the generations of Cain ³ walking about naked, with their eyes painted ⁴ like harlots, and they went astray after them, ⁵ and took wives from amongst them, as it is said, "And the sons of Elohim ⁶ saw the daughters of men that they were fair; and they took them wives of all that they chose" ⁷ (*ibid.* 2).

Rabbi Joshua ⁸ said: The angels are flaming fire, as it is said, "His servants are a flaming fire" (Ps. civ. 4), and fire came with the coition of flesh and blood, but did not burn the body; ⁹ but when they fell from heaven, from their holy place, their strength and stature (became) like that of the sons of men, and their frame was (made of) clods of dust, as it is said, "My flesh is clothed with worms and clods of dust" (Job vii. 5).

Rabbi Zadok said: From them were born the giants

¹ The quotation ends here. The first editions continue as in our version. "Rabbi" mentioned in the next paragraph is R. Jehudah, the Prince.

² These "fallen angels" were called Nephilim (the fallen ones). "Giants" is the usual rendering of this term. On the angels, cf. *supra*, pp. 46, 99; and *infra*, pp. 193 f. These angels who fell from heaven are not mentioned by name in our book, but they are named Shemchazai and Uzziel in Pal. Targum to Gen. vi. 4, and also in the Azazel Midrash in Jellinek's *B.H.M.* iv. pp. 127 f.; see Jeraḥmeel, pp. 52 ff., also Deut. Rab. xi. 9, and Zohar, Gen. 46b, 47a. The source of the legend is the Book of Enoch; see Introduction. On the names of the angels, see Brüll, *Jahrbücher für Jüd. Gesch.* i. 147 f., where the reference to our text must be corrected.

³ See Nachmanides (in Gen. *in loc.*), who quotes our text.

⁴ See Pal. Targum, Gen. vi. 2; and cf. Gen. Rab. xxvi. 7, and Jalkuṭ, Gen. § 44, quoting Midrash Abkhir.

⁵ See Pal. Targum *in loc.*; and cf. Tanna de bē Elijahu Rab. xxxi. p. 158.

⁶ The R.V. renders, "the sons of God." The Targum gives "the sons of the nobles" (or the "mighty") in the sense of "angels." Our MS. quotes the second half of this verse only, the first editions quote the first half of the verse.

⁷ The Pal. Targum renders: "And they took to themselves wives of all who pleased them."

⁸ The first editions add: "ben Korchah."

⁹ Cf. Paul's expression, "burned in their lust one toward another" (Rom. i. 27). On the "sin of the angels," see the Book of Adam and Eve (ed. Malan) III. iv., which gives a very interesting version, denying the possibility of "angels . . . committing sin with human beings"; and see *Recognitions of Clement*, iv. 26, and Methodius, *Discourse on the Resurrection*, vii.

(Anakim),¹ who walked with pride in their heart,² and who stretched forth their hand to all (kinds of) robbery and violence, and shedding of blood,³ as it is said, "And there we saw the Nephilim,⁴ the sons of Anak" (Num. xiii. 33); and it says, "The Nephilim were on the earth in those days" (Gen. vi. 4).

Rabbi Joshua⁵ said: || The Israelites are called "Sons of God,"⁶ as it is said, "Ye are the sons of the Lord your God" (Deut. xiv. 1). The angels are called "Sons of God," as it is said, "When the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy" (Job xxxviii. 7);⁷ and whilst they were still in their holy place in heaven, these were called "Sons of God," as it is said, "And also after that, when⁸ the sons of God came in unto the daughters of men, and they bare children to them; the same became the mighty men, which were of old, men of renown" (Gen. vi. 4).⁹

Rabbi Levi said: They bare their sons and increased and multiplied¹⁰ like a great reptile, six children at each birth.¹¹ In that very hour they¹² stood on their feet, and spoke the holy language, and danced before them like sheep, as it is said, "They cast their young like sheep, and their children danced" (Job xxi. 11).

Noah¹³ said to them: Turn from your ways and evil

¹ On the Anakim "giants" see T.B. Soṭah, 34b, and Gen. Rab., *loc. cit.*

² The first editions read: "with high stature." Cf. Wisdom xiv. 6.

³ Cf. Job xxiv. 14.

⁴ See *supra*, p. 160, note 2.

⁵ First editions add: "ben Korchah."

⁶ On "Sons of God" in Gen. vi. 2 see LXX, Aquila, and Pesh.; and Philo, *de Gigant.* 2, i. M. i. 263, C.W. ii. 6 ff. p. 44, and other references given by Charles on Jubilees v. 1. See also Wisdom ii. 13, 15.

⁷ See Jubilees v. 1. The LXX version of Job xxxviii. 7 is interesting as a parallel to our author's interpretation of the "sons of God." "When the stars were made, all my angels praised me with a loud voice." See also the Targum to Job *in loc.*

⁸ The MS. and the first editions give only part of the verse.

⁹ The angels whilst in heaven were the sons of "Elohim"; when they fell and sinned they lost their right to this designation. Men may rise by virtue and holiness and become worthy of being called "the sons of Elohim."

¹⁰ See Gen. Rab. xxxvi. 1 and Lev. Rab. v. 1. Luria holds that this dictum of R. Levi has been interpolated here from Gen. Rab. *loc. cit.*

¹¹ See *infra*, p. 174; and cf. T.B. Berakhoth, 6a.

¹² The offspring.

¹³ The Book of Adam and Eve (ed. Malan), *loc. cit.*, offers a close parallel: "But Noah preached repeatedly to the children of Cain, saying,

deeds, so that He bring not upon you the waters of the Flood, and destroy all the seed of the children of men.¹ They said to him: Behold, we will restrain ourselves from multiplying and increasing, so as not to produce the offspring of the children of men. What did they do? When they came to their wives they spilled the issue of their seed upon the earth² so as not to produce offspring of the children of men, as it is said, "And God saw the earth, and behold it was spilled" (Gen. vi. 12). They said: If He bring from heaven the waters of the Flood upon us, behold, we are of high stature, and the waters will not reach || up to our necks;³ and if He bring the waters of the depths against us, behold, the soles of our feet can close up all the depths. What did they do? They put forth the soles of their feet, and closed up all the depths.⁴ What did the Holy One, blessed be He, do? He heated the waters of the deep, and they arose and burnt their flesh, and peeled off their skin from them, as it is said, "What time they wax warm, they vanish; when it is hot, they are consumed out of their place" (Job vi. 17). Do not read thus ("When it is hot," בַּחֲמוֹ), but (read) "in his hot waters" (בַּחֲמִימָיו).⁵

'The flood will come and destroy you, if we do not repent.' But they would not hearken to him; they only laughed at him." See also Gen. Rab. xxx. 7, Tanna de bē Elijah Rab. xv. p. 74, the Book of Jashar v. 22 ff., Midrash Agadah, Gen. p. 18, and T.B. Synhedrin, 108b. See also Ephraim, on the Repentance of Nineveh (E.T. p. 34), for the refusal of the people to repent at the bidding of Noah. The Church Fathers speak of Noah as a preacher. See Methodius, *Banquet of Ten Virgins*, x. 3. and cf. Hippolytus, *A.N.C.L.* vi. pp. 492 f.

¹ See *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, pp. 39 f., and Wisdom x. 4.

² The Oxford MS. (O.A. 167) reads: "And the Holy One, blessed be He, saw that they had corrupted their way." See R.V. Gen. vi. 12.

³ "Water up to the neck" is an expression of extreme peril; cf. Isa. viii. 8, xxx. 28; Ps. lxix. 2.

⁴ See Pal. Targum on Gen. vii. 10, T.B. Synhedrin, *loc. cit.*, and *infra*, p. 167.

⁵ The Hebrew could be interpreted as meaning "anger." The later editions add: "The Parashah (Portion) of Bereshith (Gen. i. 1-vi. 8) is completed." These words are highly significant. They seem to indicate that our book was intended originally to be a Midrash on the Torah, and as it is now preserved it is but a fragment of what it might have been. The "Portion" of Genesis is not to be identified with the "Book" of Genesis. The question of the triennial cycle of reading the Torah must also be borne in mind in dealing with our book. The narrative dealing with the Adam legends recurs three times: (1) Chapters III.-V., (2) Chapters XI.-XIV., and (3) Chapters XVIII.-XXII. Thus far in the first twenty-two chapters of the book we have only covered the first six chapters of Genesis. The first two

chapters were biographical, and apart from them, the actual Midrash of twenty chapters may be subdivided as follows :

- III.-V. Creation.
- VI.-VIII. Astronomy.
- IX. Ritual.
- X. Jonah.
- XI. Creation Story resumed.
- XII.-XIV. Adam and Eve and Sammael.
- XV. Ethical matter.
- XVI. Abraham, Isaac, Eliezer, and Rebecca, and Wedding Customs.
- XVII. Mourning Rites.
- XVIII. Adam.
- XIX.-XX. Sabbath.
- XXI.-XXII. Cain, Abel, and the Fall of the Angels.

Chapters XVI. and XVII. seem out of place in this scheme.

A considerable portion of this chapter and the one following occurs in the Midrash Haggadol. Several parallels are to be found in *Lekach Tob*, Midrash Agadah, and Aggadath Bereshith.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE ARK AND THE FLOOD [26B. ii.]

"And this is how thou shalt make the ark" ¹ (Gen. vi. 15). R. Shemiah taught: The Holy One, blessed be He, showed Noah with a finger ² and said to him, Like this and that shalt thou do to the ark. One hundred and fifty rooms ³ were along the length at the left ⁴ side of the ark, thirty-three ⁵ rooms across the width in the side within, ⁶ and thirty-three rooms in the side across the width on the outside; ⁷ and ten compartments in the centre, which were for the storerooms for the food. ⁸ And there were five protected cisterns ⁹ on the right side of the ark, and fifty ¹⁰ protected cisterns on the left side of the ark, and the openings for the water pipes opened and closed, and so was it in the lowest

¹ The Scripture text reads "it," referring to the ark. See *J.E. s.v. Noah, Ark, Deluge*; the Pal. Targum has undoubtedly used our Midrash in the paraphrase of the Noah narrative (Gen. vi.-vii.). The subject has been dealt with by Grünbaum, *op. cit.* pp. 79 ff., and by Ginzberg, *op. cit.* pp. 39 ff., 79 ff., 87.

² See *infra*, pp. 382 f., and T.B. Menachoth, 29a, Mekhilta, p. 2b, Tosaphoth to T.B. Chullin, 42a, and Midrash Haggadol, c. 148.

³ Lit. "nests" or "cells"; see Pal. Targum, Gen. vi. 15, and Book of Adam and Eve (ed. Malan) III. ii., for a parallel tradition.

⁴ The first editions read: "right side of the ark, and one hundred and fifty along the left side." MS. Gaster reads: "One hundred rooms along the right side," etc.

⁵ Pal. Targum, *loc. cit.*, has: "thirty-six in the middle." Ginsburger, *Pseudo-Jonathan*, *in loc.*, reads: "thirty-three."

⁶ Where the entrance was, *i.e.* on the east of the ark.

⁷ Luria suggests that "within" may refer to the east, and "the outside" to the west.

⁸ See Book of Adam and Eve (ed. Malan), *loc. cit.*, for a parallel, and cf. Hippolytus, *A.N.C.L.* vi. p. 491.

⁹ אֶפְסָיִת = אֶפְסָיִת (puteana), enclosures surrounding a well; see Book of Adam and Eve, *loc. cit.*: "line the well with lead." This word occurs in the Pal. Targum, *loc. cit.*

¹⁰ The printed editions read: "five."

division;¹ and so || on the second floor, and so on the third floor.²

The dwelling-place of all the cattle and animals³ was in the lowest compartment, the dwelling-place for all fowl was in the second compartment, and the dwelling-place for the reptiles⁴ and the human beings was in the third compartment.⁵ Hence thou mayest learn⁶ that there were 366 kinds of cattle on the earth, and 366 kinds of fowl on the earth, and 366 kinds of reptiles on the earth, for thus was (the number) in the lowest compartment,⁷ so in the second compartment, and so in the third floor, as it is said, "With lower, second, and third stories shalt thou make it" (*ibid.* 16).

Rabbi Tachanah⁸ said: Noah made the ark during fifty-two years,⁹ so that they should repent of their ways.¹⁰ But they did not repent. Whilst yet the Flood had not come, the unclean (animals) were more numerous than the clean (animals). But when the waters of the Flood came, and

¹ *i.e.* the hold.

² Cf. Book of Adam and Eve (ed. Malan), *loc. cit.*

³ See T.B. Synhedrin, 108b. A parallel to our Midrash is to be found in Hippolytus in *A.N.C.L.* vi., *loc. cit.*, and see German edition (Achelis), p. 88. Schatzhöhle, p. 17, has also a parallel.

⁴ The first editions add: "and creeping things."

⁵ Cf. Book of Adam and Eve, *loc. cit.*

⁶ Cf. Luria's reading, which agrees with the tradition preserved in Midrash Kōnen, *B.H.M.* ii. 36; cf. Leḡach Tob, Gen. p. 39. According to Luria the text should be: "Hence thou mayest learn, that all the kinds of fowl on the earth equal 365; and likewise with the kinds of reptiles on the earth, and so with the kinds of cattle and animals on the earth." The first editions read: "32 kinds of fowl on the earth, 365 kinds of reptiles on the earth."

⁷ 366 rooms. This number is found thus: 150 on the right.

150 on the left.

33 "within."

33 "without."

366

Does this number refer to the 366 days of our author's solar year? Noah was in the ark one solar year.

⁸ The first editions read: "Tanchuma."

⁹ According to the Book of Jashar v. 34 Noah took five years to build the ark; see *A.N.C.L.* xviii. p. 344.

¹⁰ The first editions add: "and evil deeds," but omit: "But they did not repent." See the Book of Adam and Eve, *loc. cit.* The same tradition occurs in the writings of several of the Church Fathers: Theophilus of Antioch (*To Autolycus*, iii. 19), Ephraim of Syria (on Jonah, 13); Revelation of Paul, *A.N.C.L.* xvi. p. 491; and Book of the Bee, p. 31; see also *supra*, pp. 161 f.

the Holy One, blessed be He, wished to increase the clean and to diminish the unclean (animals), He called to Noah and said to him: Take to thee into the ark of all clean beasts seven and seven,¹ the male and his female; and of the unclean beasts two and two, the male and his female, as it is said, "Of every || clean beast thou shalt take to thee² seven and seven, the male and his female; and of the beasts that are not clean two, the male and his female" (*ibid.* vii. 2).

Noah said to the Holy One, blessed be He: Sovereign of all the world! Have I then the strength to collect them unto me to the ark? The angels appointed over each kind went down and gathered them,³ and with them all their food unto him to the ark. They came to him of their own accord,⁴ as it is said, "And *they* came unto Noah into the ark" (*ibid.* 9); they came by themselves. "And they brought (them) to Noah" is not written here, but, "And they *came* unto Noah into the ark."⁵

Rabbi Mana said: When all the creatures had entered (the ark), the Holy One, blessed be He, closed and sealed⁶ with His hand the gate⁷ of the ark, as it is said, "And the Lord shut him in" (*ibid.* 16).

Rabbi Meir said: One pearl was suspended in the ark, and shed light upon all the creatures in the ark, like a lamp which gives light⁸ inside⁹ the house, and like the sun

¹ The first editions end the paragraph here.

² The quotation ends here in the MS., which adds "etc."

³ The Book of Adam and Eve (ed. Malan) III. viii. says: "My power shall go with it (the trumpet blast) to make it come into the ears of the beasts and the birds. . . . I will command my angel to blow the horn from heaven, and all these animals shall be gathered unto thee." Cf. Pal. Targum on Gen. vi. 20: "they shall enter to thee by the hand of the angel, who will take and cause them to enter to thee."

⁴ This is not in the printed texts. For a similar legend see Gen. Rab. xxxii. 4 and 5, and cf. Ephraim, Sermon on Repentance i. 3.

⁵ This sentence is not in the printed texts. In the previous sentence the first editions read: "'And Noah brought' is not written in the Scripture, but 'And they came unto Noah.'"

⁶ The same expression occurs in the Book of Adam and Eve (ed. Malan) III. ix.

⁷ Or, "door."

⁸ See Pal. Targum, *in loc.*; T.B. Synhedrin, *loc.cit.*; Jalkut, Gen., *in loc.*; Gen. Rab. xxxi. 11, which has a different version as compared with the Talmudic version of the legend. According to the Midrash it is Rabbi Levi who gives the tradition. Cf. Lekach Tob, *in loc.*, and *supra*, p. 21.

⁹ The first editions read: "by its power, as it is said: 'A light shalt thou make,'" etc.

yonder which shines in his might, as it is said, "A light shalt thou make to the ark" (*ibid.* vi. 16).

Rabbi Zadok said: On the 10th of Marcheshvan all the creatures entered the ark; on the 17th of the same ¹ (month) the waters of the Flood descended from heaven upon the earth, for they were the waters (endowed with the) male (principle). And there came up the waters of the depths, for they are the waters (endowed) with the female (principle),² and they were joined with one another, and they prevailed so as to destroy || the world,³ as it is said, "And the waters prevailed exceedingly upon the earth" (*ibid.* vii. 19).

And all living things which were upon the face of the earth decayed,⁴ as it is said, "And every living thing was destroyed which was upon the face of the ground" (*ibid.* 23), except Noah and those who were with him in the ark, as it is said, "And Noah only was left, and they that were with him in the ark" (*ibid.*), except Og,⁵ king of Bashan, who sat down on a piece of wood under the gutter ⁶ of the ark. He swore to Noah and to his sons that he would be their servant for ever.⁷ What did Noah do? He bored an aperture in the ark, and he put (through it) his food daily for him, and he also was left, as it is said, "For only Og, king of Bashan, remained of the remnant of the giants" (Deut. iii. 11).

(The Flood was universal) except in the land of Israel,⁸ upon which the water of the Flood did not descend from

¹ See Pal. Targum, Gen. vii. 11; and compare our text with the Scripture text. See also T.B. Rosh Ha-Shanah, 11b; Seder'Olam Rab. iv. p. 10a, note 17. Rabbi Eliezer held the view that the world was created in Ellul and Adam in Tishri.

² See *supra*, p. 30; T.J. Berakhoth ix. 3. 14a, and Eth. Enoch liv. 8. The rain from heaven is the male principle.

³ The living creatures in the world.

⁴ The first editions read: "were destroyed."

⁵ See T.B. Niddah, 61a, and *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, p. 267. The Midrashic interpretation of the word "Rephaim" (Deut. iii. 11) gave rise to this legend. See Job xxvi. 5, *supra*, p. 112, and *infra*, p. 253. The legend which connects Og with the "Palit" is ignored by our book, which identifies Og with Eliezer, the servant of Abraham. The "Palit" is identified with Michael, see *infra*, pp. 193 f.; and cf. *J.E.* ix. 388, and Grünbaum, *op. cit.* p. 80.

⁶ The first editions read: "On a rung of (one of) the ladders."

⁷ See *supra*, p. 112.

⁸ See T.B. Zebachim, 113a; Nachmanides in his commentary on Gen., *in loc.*, and 3 Baruch iv. 10.

heaven, but the waters were gathered together from all lands, and they entered therein, as it is said, "Son of man, say unto her, Thou art a land that is not cleansed, nor rained upon, in the day of indignation" ¹ (Ezek. xxii. 24). He ² sent forth the raven to ascertain what was (the state of) the world. It went and found a carcase of a man cast upon the summit of a mountain, ³ and it settled thereon for its food, ⁴ and it did not return with its message to its sender, as it is said, "And he sent forth the raven" (Gen. viii. 7). He sent forth the dove to see what was (the state of) the world, and she brought back her message to her sender, as it is said, "And the dove came in to him at eventide, ⁵ and, lo, in her mouth an olive leaf pluckt off" ⁶ (*ibid.* 11). And why in her mouth was an olive leaf pluckt off? || The dove spake before the Holy One, blessed be He, saying: Sovereign of all worlds! Let my food be bitter like this olive, and let it be entrusted ⁷ to Thy hand, and let it not be sweet (even) as honey, and given by the hand of flesh and blood. ⁸ Hence they ⁹ said: He who sends a message by the hand of an unclean (messenger) ¹⁰ is (like) sending by the hand of a fool, and he who sends a message by the hands of a clean (messenger) is like sending by the hand of a messenger faithful to his senders. ¹¹

Rabbi Zadok said: For twelve ¹² months all the creatures

¹ The land in the text is interpreted by the Midrash as referring to the Holy Land at the time of the Flood.

² *i.e.* Noah. The first editions read: "Noah."

³ Lit. "upon the tops of the mountains."

⁴ Cf. the interpretation of Job xxiv. 20, in Gen. Rab. xxxiii. 5.

⁵ The MS. ends the quotation at "eventide." The first editions continue the verse. Pal. Targum, Gen. viii. 11, reads: "And the dove came to him at the evening time, and behold, a leaf of olive gathered, broken off, she brought in her mouth, and which she had taken from the mount of Olives." Palestine had escaped the deluge. See Seder 'Olam Rab. iv. p. 10b, note 27, and Tosaphoth to 'Erubin 18b.

⁶ Cf. the R.V.

⁷ The first editions read: "and given by Thy hand."

⁸ Cf. Gen. Rab. xxxiii. 6; T.B. Synhedrin, 108b; and *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, p. 41. See also Revelation of Paul, *loc. cit.*

⁹ The sages of Israel.

¹⁰ Later editions read: "evil." The raven was "unclean," whilst the dove was a "clean" bird; see *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, pp. 40 f.

¹¹ Cf. Prov. xxv. 13 for a similar expression; see Jalkut, Gen. § 58; Aboth de R. Nathan (a) xxxiv. p. 51b.

¹² See Mishnah 'Edujoth ii.; and Seder 'Olam Rab. iv. p. 9b. The Flood began on the 17th of Marcheshvan, and on the 27th of this month, a

were in the ark; and Noah stood and prayed before the Holy One, blessed be He, saying before Him: ¹ Sovereign of all worlds! Bring me forth from this prison, for my soul is faint, because of the stench ² of lions.³ Through me will all the righteous crown Thee with a crown of sovereignty,⁴ because Thou hast brought me forth from this prison, as it is said, "Bring my soul out of prison,⁵ that I may give thanks unto thy name: for the righteous shall crown me, when thou wilt have dealt bountifully with me" (Ps. cxlii. 7).⁶

Rabbi Levitas, a man of Jamnia, said: He separated the males from the females of all which came to the ark ⁷ when they came into the ark, as it is said, "And Noah went in, and his sons, and his wife, and his sons' wives" (Gen. vii. 7). Verily the males were on one side.⁸ When they went forth from the ark, He caused the males to be joined with the females, as it is said, "Go forth of the ark, thou, and thy wife,⁹ and thy sons, and thy sons' wives with thee" (*ibid.* viii. 16). Verily a man with his wife (went forth), "Thy sons, and thy sons' wives with thee" ¹⁰ (*ibid.*) || He blessed them, that they might increase and multiply on the earth, as it is said, "And God blessed Noah and his sons,"¹¹

year later, Noah was released. This period lasted one year and eleven days, *i.e.* one lunar year plus eleven days, which is the duration of a solar year.

¹ See the fine prayer in the Book of Jashar vi. 31, which has used our *P.R.E.* See Tanchuma, Noah § ix. The basis of the prayer here is probably Isa. xlix. 9.

² Luria suggests that the text should read: "the dread."

³ The first editions add: "bears and leopards."

⁴ The story of Noah forms part of the "Zichronoth" in the Synagogue liturgy for the New Year. For another explanation see Tanchuma, Gen., *loc. cit.* See Introduction.

⁵ In the MS. the quotation ends here; the first editions continue the verse.

⁶ See the Book of Jashar vi. 36.

⁷ The first editions omit: "when they came into the ark." See the Book of Adam and Eve (ed. Malan) III. vii. f.; T.J. Ta'anith i. 6. 64d; T.B. Synhedrin, *loc. cit.*; Gen. Rab. xxxi. 12. The Church has in some quarters to this day retained the custom of separating the sexes at Divine worship. For other references see Ginzberg, *op. cit.* p. 82, who quotes Origen and Ephraim.

⁸ The first editions add: "And the females were on the other side." The legend occurs also in Hippolytus (ed. Achelis), G.T., *loc. cit.*

⁹ The MSS. end the quotation here: the first editions continue the verse.

¹⁰ Cf. Luria's reading.

¹¹ The MS. ends the quotation here; the first editions continue the verse till the word "multiply."

and said unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth" (*ibid.* ix. 1). The sons of Noah were fruitful and multiplied, and they begat sons with their twins with them.¹

Noah found a vine which was lying there,² which had come out of the garden of Eden.³ It had its clusters with it, and he took of its fruit and ate, and rejoiced in his heart,⁴ as it is said, "My wine, which cheereth God and man" (Judg. ix. 13). He planted a vineyard with it. On the selfsame day it produced and became ripe⁵ with its fruits, as it is said, "In the day of thy planting thou dost make it grow,⁶ and in the morning thou makest thy seed to blossom" (Isa. xvii. 11).⁷ He drank wine thereof, and he became exposed in the midst of the tent, as it is said, "And he drank of the wine, and was drunken; and he was uncovered within his tent" (Gen. ix. 21).⁸ Canaan entered and saw the nakedness of Noah, and he bound a thread (where the mark of) the Covenant⁹ was, and emasculated him. He went forth and told his brethren. Ham entered and saw his nakedness. He did not take to heart the duty of honouring (one's father¹⁰). But he¹¹ told his two brothers in the market,¹² making sport¹³ of his father. His two

¹ This sentence does not occur in the printed editions. See Midrash Haggadol, c. 165.

² The first editions read: "which had been cast forth."

³ Pal. Targum, Gen. ix. 20, reads: "And he found a vine which the river had brought away from the garden of Eden." Apparently our Midrash wishes to connect the folly of Noah with the sin of Adam; see Siphre, Deut. § 323. Cf. T.B. Synhedrin, 70a, Gen. Rab. xxxvi. 3, and Zohar, Gen. 73a. See 3 Baruch iv. 10 ff.

⁴ The first editions read: "and he desired them in his heart." The quotation which follows in our text is omitted by the printed editions.

⁵ The 1st ed. and several later editions read: "its fruits ripened."

⁶ The quotation ends here in the MS. and first editions.

⁷ Note the preceding verse in Isaiah. See *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, p. 43.

⁸ The quotation does not occur in the printed editions of our book.

⁹ i.e. Circumcision. The legend that Noah was an eunuch occurs also in Theophilus of Antioch (*To Autolycus*, iii. 19). See also Zohar, Gen. 73b, and Grünbaum, *op. cit.* p. 86.

¹⁰ Our MS. reads: "the duty (or precept) of 'Honour'" (Ex. xx. 12). Some editions (Amsterdam) add: "and mother." See Book of Adam and Eve (ed. Malan) iii. xiii. According to Luria the text should continue: "therefore was he cursed by being called a slave"; see Tanchuma, ed. Buber, Gen. 24b.

¹¹ The first editions read: "He went forth and told."

¹² So also the Targumim, *in loc.* Perhaps the translation should be "outside."

¹³ See Justin Martyr, *Dial. c. Tryph.* cxxxix.; "who mocked at his father's nakedness."

brothers rebuked him. What did they do? They took the curtain of the east¹ with them, and they went backwards and covered² the nakedness of their father, as it is said, "And Shem and Japheth took a garment,³ and laid it upon both their shoulders, and went backward, and covered the nakedness of their father; and their faces were backward, and they saw not their father's nakedness" (*ibid.* 23).

Noah awoke from his wine, and he knew what the younger son of Ham had done unto him, and he cursed him,⁴ as it is said, "And he said, Cursed be Canaan" (*ibid.* 25). Noah sat and mused in his heart, saying: The Holy One, blessed be He, delivered me || from the waters of the Flood, and brought me forth from that prison, and am I not obliged to bring before Thee a sacrifice and burnt offerings?⁵ What did Noah do? He took from the clean⁶ animals an ox and a sheep,⁷ and from all the clean birds, a turtle-dove and pigeons; and he built up the first altar upon which Cain and Abel⁸ had brought offerings, and he brought four burnt offerings, as it is said, "And Noah builded an altar unto the Lord; and took of every⁹ clean beast, and of every clean fowl, and he offered burnt offerings on the altar" (*ibid.* viii. 20). It is written here only, "and he offered burnt offerings on the altar," and the sweet savour ascended before the Holy One, blessed be He, and¹⁰ it was pleasing to Him, as it is said, "And the Lord smelled the sweet savour" (*ibid.* 21). What did the Holy One,

¹ Or "veil of the east," the veil or curtain used to shield one from the heat and glare of the sun. The 2nd ed. reads: "the cover."

² See Midrash Agadah, Gen. p. 23, note 16.

³ The quotation ends here in the MS. and first editions.

⁴ See Gen. Rab., *loc. cit.*, and Justin Martyr, *Dial. c. Tryph.*, *loc. cit.*; for other references to Church Fathers see Ginzberg, *op. cit.* p. 86.

⁵ See Zohar, Gen. 70a. There is considerable agreement between the Zohar and P.R.E. in this and the next chapter.

⁶ See Book of Adam and Eve (ed. Malan) III. xi.

⁷ The first editions add: "and a goat."

⁸ Pal. Targum, Gen. viii. 20, reads: "And Noah built an altar before the Lord; that altar which Adam had built at the time when he was cast forth from the garden of Eden, and had offered an offering upon it; and upon it had Cain and Abel offered their offerings." Cf. also T.B. Zebachim, 115b, and Gen. Rab. xxxiv. 9.

⁹ The quotation ends here in the MS.

¹⁰ The first editions add: "as it is said, 'and he offered burnt offerings on the altar'" (Gen. viii. 20).

blessed be He, do? He put forth His right hand, and swore to Noah¹ that He would not² bring the waters of the Flood upon the earth, as it is said, "For this is as the waters of Noah unto me; for as I have sworn³ that the waters of Noah should no more go over the earth" (Isa. liv. 9). And He gave a sign in the rainbow as a sign of the covenant of the oath between Himself and the people, as it is said, "I do set my bow in the cloud,⁴ and it shall be for a token of a covenant" (Gen. ix. 13).

And thus our sages instituted⁵ that they should (mention)⁶ the oath to Noah every day, as it is said, "That your days may be multiplied, and the days of your children, upon the land⁷ which the Lord sware unto your fathers to give them, as the days of the heavens above the earth" (Deut. xi. 21).

Noah brought his sons and his grandsons, and he blessed them with their (several) settlements,⁸ and he gave them as an inheritance all the earth.⁹ He especially blessed¹⁰ Shem and his sons, (making them) dark but comely,¹¹ and he gave them the habitable earth.¹² He blessed Ham and

¹ See *infra*, pp. 335, 347; and cf. Tanchuma, Noah § xi.

² The first editions add here: "again."

³ The quotation ends here in the MS. and the first editions, which add: "etc."

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

⁵ See T.B. Berakhoth, 13a, for the daily recital of the story of the Exodus. The Scripture passage quoted occurs in the second section of the "Shema"; see Singer, p. 41. The ritual question involved here is interesting, because the actual narrative of the oath to Noah is not recited daily. The verse quoted as a reason for this institution continues, after the word "land," thus: "which the Lord *sware* unto your fathers to give them." This was not the oath to Noah. See Eth. Enoch lv. 2.

⁶ The MS. omits "mention"; it occurs in the first editions.

⁷ The first editions end the quotation here; in the MS. the last word quoted is "children." In the printed texts this quotation is the conclusion of the chapter. Our MS. continues with a section which forms part of chapter xxiv. in the printed editions.

⁸ The first editions read: "gifts."

⁹ The division of the earth among the sons of Noah is also mentioned by Jubilees viii. 10, and was known to the Church Father, Epiphanius (G.T. pp. 217 ff.).

¹⁰ The verb is repeated.

¹¹ Cf. Cant. i. 5; but they were not "black"; the Oxford MS. (O.A. 167) reads: "white and comely."

¹² Not the sea which was the lot of the sons of Ham, nor the deserts which fell to the sons of Japheth. Shem has his tents and fixed abode in the habitable lands of the earth.

his sons, (making them) dark || like the raven,¹ and he gave them as an inheritance the coast of the sea.² He blessed Japheth and his sons, (making) them entirely white,³ and he gave them for an inheritance the desert and its fields;⁴ these (are the inheritances with) which he endowed them.⁵

¹ Luria reads, as an emendation, "black and uncomely"; cf. Gen. Rab. xxxvi. 7. If our MS. text be accepted, a parallel may be found in Cant. v. II.

² *e.g.* the Egyptians on the seacoast, or the Sidonians on the Phœnician coast; cf. Jer. xlvii. 7.

³ The first editions add: "and beautiful." Japheth as a word signifies "beauty." The sons of Japheth were the migratory tribes from the north, *e.g.* the Goths who settled in Europe. See Eth. Enoch lxxxviii. 9.

⁴ The first editions read: "desert and fields."

⁵ *i.e.* the children of Noah. The words in brackets occur in the first editions. See Introduction, pp. xxiv. f., and li.

CHAPTER XXIV

NIMROD AND THE TOWER OF BABEL [28B. i.]

RABBI ELIEZER ¹ said : They begat their sons and increased and multiplied like a great reptile, six at each birth,² and they were all one people, and one heart, and one language, as it is said, " And the whole earth was of one language and of one speech " (Gen. xi. 1).³ They despised the pleasant land,⁴ as it is said, " And it came to pass, as they journeyed ⁵ in the east " (*ibid.* 2). They went to the land of Shinar, and found there a large stone,⁶ very extensive, and the whole plain, and they dwelt there, as it is said, " And they found a plain in the land of Shinar, and they dwelt there " (*ibid.*).

Rabbi 'Akiba said : They cast off the Kingdom of Heaven ⁷ from themselves, and appointed Nimrod king over themselves ; a slave son of a slave. Are not all the sons of Ham slaves ? ⁸ And woe to the land when a slave rules,⁹ as it is said, " For a servant, when he is king " ¹⁰ (Prov. xxx. 22).

Rabbi Chakhinai ¹¹ said : Nimrod was a mighty hero,

¹ The first editions read " Ilai."

² We have had this expression *supra*, p. 161. It is an " Oriental " exaggeration, signifying the prolific nature of the people.

³ See Pal. Targum, *in loc.*

⁴ Palestine ; cf. Ps. cvi. 24, and Zohar, Gen. 75b.

⁵ " In the east " might also be rendered " in the commencement," or " at first " ; see Zohar, Gen. 74b.

⁶ The first editions read : " a large and extensive land, entirely a plain."

⁷ See T.B. 'Erubin, 53a ; cf. Pal. Targum to Gen. x. 8 on Nimrod ; see also the Book of Jashar vii. 46 ff., and Jerahmeel lvii. 14. Augustine rendered Gen. x. 9, " Nimrod was a hunter against God " (*de Civ. Dei*, xvi. 4).

⁸ The Venice edition reads : " are slaves."

⁹ The phraseology is based on Eccles. x. 16.

¹⁰ The previous verse says, " The earth trembles." Nimrod caused the people to tremble, as a result of discarding the Kingdom of Heaven.

¹¹ The first editions read " Chanina."

as it is said, "And Cush begat Nimrod, who began to be a mighty one in the earth" (Gen. x. 8). Rabbi Jehudah said:¹ The coats² which the Holy One, blessed be He, made for Adam and his wife, were with Noah³ in the ark, and when they went forth from the ark, || Ham, the son of Noah, brought them forth with him, and gave them as an inheritance to Nimrod.⁴ When he put them on, all beasts, animals, and birds, when they saw the coats,⁵ came and prostrated themselves before him.⁶ The sons of men⁷ thought that this (was due) to the power of his might; therefore they made him king over themselves, as it is said, "Wherefore it is said, Like Nimrod, a mighty hunter before the Lord" (*ibid.* 9).⁸

Nimrod said to his people:⁹ Come, let us build a great city for ourselves, and let us dwell therein, lest we be scattered upon the face of all the earth, as the first people¹⁰ (were). Let us build a great tower in its midst, ascending to heaven,¹¹ for the power of the Holy One, blessed be He, is only in the water,¹² and let us make us a great name on the earth, as it is said, "And let us make us a name" (*ibid.* xi. 4).

¹ See *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, pp. 44 f. On the garments of Adam and Eve see the Book of Jashar, vii. 24 ff.; Gen. Rab. xx. 12 and lxxv. 16; Pal. Targ. Gen. xxv. 27, xxvii. 15.

² The first editions read "coat." See Book of the Bee, p. 35.

³ The first editions read "them." See Hippolytus, *A.N.C.L.* vi. p. 492.

⁴ The *Recognitions of Clement*, iv. 27, speak of Ham as the first magician and refer to Nimrod as follows: "the magic art having been handed down to him as by a flash" (*ibid.* 29).

⁵ The MS. reads: "the writing" (הכתב).

⁶ See Rashi on T.B. Pesachim, 54b, and the Book of Jashar, *loc. cit.*

⁷ The first editions read "they," *i.e.* his fellow-countrymen; see Jalkut, Gen. § 62. See *J.E.* ix. 309.

⁸ The next verse says, "The beginning of his kingdom." See Josephus, *Ant.* i. 4. 2; T.B. Pesachim, 94b; and cf. Pal. Targum, *in loc.*, and the Book of the Bee, p. 37.

⁹ See T.B. Chullin, 89a; Gen. Rab. xxvi. 4; and cf. Lekach Tob, Gen. p. 27a.

¹⁰ At the Flood. According to Jubilees vii. 20, Noah enjoined upon his sons commandments "to cover the shame of their flesh, and to bless their Creator, and honour father and mother, and love their neighbour, and guard their souls from fornication and uncleanness and all iniquity. For owing to these three things came the flood upon the earth."

¹¹ See T.B. Synhedrin, 109a, and Othijoth de R. 'Akiba, letter Resh. *B.H.M.* iii. pp. 46 f.

¹² Luria thinks that the correct reading should be "in heaven," and not "in the water."

Rabbi Phineas said: There were no stones there wherewith to build the city and the tower. What did they do? They baked bricks and burnt them like a builder¹ (would do), until they built it seven² mils³ high, and it had ascents on its east and west. (The labourers) who took up the bricks went up on the eastern (ascent), and those who descended went down on the western (descent). If a man fell and died they paid no heed to him, but if a brick fell they || sat down and wept, and said: Woe is us! when will another one come in its stead? ⁴

And Abraham,⁵ son of Terah,⁶ passed by, and saw them building the city and the tower, and he cursed them in the name of his God,⁷ as it is said, "Swallow up, O Lord, divide their language" (Ps. lv. 9). But they rejected his words,⁸ like a stone cast upon the ground. Is it not a fact that every choice and good⁹ stone is only put at the corner of a building? and with reference to this, the text says, "The stone which the builders rejected is become the head of the corner" (*ibid.* cxviii. 22).

Rabbi Simeon said: The Holy One, blessed be He, called to the seventy¹⁰ angels, who surround the throne of His glory, and He said to them: Come, let us descend and let us confuse the seventy nations and the seventy languages.¹¹

Whence (do we know) that the Holy One, blessed be

¹ Or "stone mason."

² The first editions read "seventy." See Book of the Bee, p. 41.

³ "Mil" (mille) = 2000 cubits. According to the Jalkuṭ, Gen. *in loc.*, the height was seven miles; see also Jalkuṭ Makhiri, Ps. lv. p. 145b. The MS. adds "of property."

⁴ This indifference to the value of human life reappears in the story of the Egyptian bondage; see *infra*, p. 386. See also *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, p. 46, and cf. 3 Baruch iii. 5.

⁵ In the first editions the name is "Abram." See Wisdom x. 5.

⁶ Terah was one of those who assisted in the building of the Tower of Babel, according to the Zohar, Lev. 111b.

⁷ The expression is borrowed from 2 Kings ii. 24. See Seder 'Olam Rab. i. p. 3a.

⁸ Abraham uttered his reproof in vain. See Jalkuṭ, Pss. § 703.

⁹ See 1 Sam. ix. 2 for this phrase.

¹⁰ The seventy nations with Israel form the human family. Israel has no guardian angel; God is the Guardian of Israel. See LXX, Deut. xxxii. 8, for the earliest form of this Midrash. Augustine, *de Civ. Dei*, xvi. 5, offers a parallel to this Haggadah. See also Hippolytus (ed. Achelis), ii. p. 243; Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* vi. 17; and *Recognitions of Clement*, ii. 42.

¹¹ The first editions read: "Come, let us confuse their speech."

He, spake¹ to them? Because it is said, "Go to, let *us* go down" (Gen. xi. 7). "I will go down" is not written, but "Go to, let *us* go down."² And they cast lots among them. Because it is said, "When the Most High gave to the nations their inheritance" (Deut. xxxii. 8). The lot of the Holy One, blessed be He, fell upon Abraham and upon his seed,³ as it is said, "For the Lord's portion is his people; Jacob is the *lot* of his inheritance" (*ibid.* 9).

The Holy One, blessed be He, said: The portion and lot which have fallen to Me,⁴ My soul liveth thereby,⁵ as it is said, "The lots have fallen unto me in pleasures; yea, I have a goodly heritage" (Ps. xvi. 6). The Holy One, blessed be He, descended with the seventy angels, who surround || the throne of His glory, and they confused their speech into seventy⁶ nations and seventy languages. Whence do we know that the Holy One, blessed be He, descended? Because it is said, "And the Lord God *came down* to see the city and the tower" (Gen. xi. 5). This was the second descent.⁷

And they wished to speak one to another in the language⁸ of his fellow-countryman, but one did not understand the language of his fellow. What did they do? Every one took his sword, and they fought one another to destroy (each other), and half the world fell there by the sword, and thence the Lord scattered them upon the face of all the earth, as it is said, "So the Lord scattered them abroad on that account, upon the face of all the earth" (*ibid.* 8).

Rabbi Meir said: Esau, the brother of Jacob, saw the

¹ Luria reads, "He called." The first editions read: "descended unto them."

² See Jalkuṭ Makhiri, Pss., *loc. cit.*, and cf. Gen. Rab. xxxviii. 10.

³ Some editions read: "and upon his house."

⁴ See Jalkuṭ, Psalms, § 667.

⁵ The first editions read: "My soul delighteth in him."

⁶ Some editions read, "seventy languages." The first editions add: "Each nation had its own writing and its own language, and He appointed an angel over each people. And Israel fell unto His lot and portion, and concerning this it is said, 'For the Lord's portion is his people'" (Deut. xxxii. 9). Each nation had not only its own language but also its peculiar style of writing.

⁷ See *supra*, p. 97.

⁸ The first editions read, "in the holy language." See *supra*, p. 161. The original language was Hebrew. See for a parallel legend, *Recognitions of Clement*, i. 30, and the *Book of the Bee*, p. 42.

coats¹ of Nimrod, and in his heart he coveted them,² and he slew him,³ and took them from him.⁴ Whence (do we know) that they were desirable in his sight? Because it is said, "And Rebecca took the *precious* raiment of Esau, her elder son" (*ibid.* xxvii. 15). When he put them on he also became, by means of them, a mighty⁵ hero, as it is said, "And Esau was a cunning hunter" (*ibid.* xxv. 27). And when Jacob went forth⁶ from the presence of Isaac, his father, he said: Esau, the wicked one, is not worthy to wear these coats. What did he do? He dug in the earth and hid them there, as it is said, "A noose⁷ is hid for him in the earth" (Job xviii. 10).

¹ The first editions add: "which the Holy One, blessed be He, made for Adam and Eve."

² The Venice edition reads, as in our text, "them"; but the Prague edition reads "it" (*i.e.* one garment).

³ See the Book of Jashar vii. 24, and Pal. Targum, Gen. xxv. 27 f. The wonderful garments of Adam and Eve have a parallel in the seamless tunic of the Founder of Christianity, see *A.N.C.L.* xvi. pp. 235 f.

⁴ See Midrash Agadah, Gen. xxvii. 13; Leḳach Tob, Gen. p. 66b and 67a; Jalkuṭ, Gen. § 115; cf. Rashi on T.B. Pesachim, 54b, and Tanchuma, Toledoth, § xii.

⁵ The sentence is wanting in the Oxford MS. (O.A. 167).

⁶ After receiving the blessing from Isaac.

⁷ The rest of the verse says, "and a trap for him in the way." The garments enabled the wearer to catch the animals. See Pal. Targum, Gen. xxvii. 15; and Jalkuṭ, Gen. § 115.

CHAPTER XXV

THE SIN OF SODOM [29A. ii.]

THE third descent ¹ which He descended ² || was at Sodom, as it is said, "I will go down now and see" (Gen. xviii. 21). The Holy One, blessed be He, said: Shall I not ³ tell My friend Abraham an important matter which I will do in My world in the future, as it is said, "And the Lord said, Shall I hide from Abraham that which I do?" (*ibid.* 17). Rabbi Chanina, son of Dosa,⁴ said: The Holy One, blessed be He, was revealed, and three angels ⁵ (appeared) unto our father Abraham, as it is said, "And he lifted up his eyes and looked, and, lo, three men" (*ibid.* 2). He ⁶ began to inform him about the conception⁷ of the womb by Sarah his wife, as it is said, "I will certainly return unto thee when the season cometh round" (*ibid.* 10). Afterwards He ⁸ told (him) about the doom⁹ of Sodom,¹⁰ as it is said, "And the Lord said, Because the cry of Sodom and Gomorrah is great" (*ibid.* 20).

¹ See preceding chapter. On the ten descents see *Zohar*, Gen. 75a; *Aboth de Rabbi Nathan* (a) xxxiv.; Gen. Rab. xxxviii. 9 and xlix. 6; and *Jalkut*, Gen. § 27 and § 83, and *supra*, p. 97, note 1.

² The first editions read: "which the Holy One, blessed be He, descended."

³ The first editions read: "I will tell."

⁴ The first editions read here "Chaninah."

⁵ According to our book, God with three angels appeared to Abraham at Mamre; see Rashbam, Ibn Ezra, and Nachmanides, *in loc.* (Gen. xviii.). According to Midrash Agadah, Gen. (p. 39), the three angels were Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael. See also T.B. Joma, 37a, and *Leḥach Tob*, Gen. p. 41b.

⁶ The first editions read: "One" (angel).

⁷ On the angelic message to Abraham see T.B. Baba Mezi'a, 86b; Pal. Targum to Gen. xviii. 2; Gen. Rab. xlviii. 16 and l. 2; *Zohar*, Gen. 99a.

⁸ Instead of "Afterwards," the first editions read: "Another" (angel).

⁹ Lit. the work, or affair, or business.

¹⁰ The first editions add: "and Gomorrah."

Hence thou mayest learn :¹ Everyone, who wishes to tell his companion a matter which is a disgrace to him, begins with a good word² and concludes with the evil matter which is unpleasant to him. Whence do we learn this ? From the Holy One, blessed be He, for when He was revealed to our father Abraham, He began to announce to him (the good news) concerning the conception by Sarah his wife. Afterwards He told him about the fate of Sodom, as it is said, "And the Lord said, Because the cry of Sodom and Gomorrah is great" (*ibid.*).³ (Abraham) began to ask for compassion before Him on behalf of Lot, the son of his brother. He spake before Him : Sovereign of all worlds ! Like the death of the wicked shall the death of the || righteous be ? (As it is said),⁴ "Wilt thou consume the righteous⁵ with the wicked ?" (*ibid.* 23). The Holy One, blessed be He, answered him : Abraham !⁶ By the merit of the righteous⁷ (one) will I forgive Sodom.⁸ "If I find in Sodom fifty righteous" (*ibid.* 26), then will I forgive it all its⁹ sins.

Hence they¹⁰ said : If there be fifty righteous in the world, the world exists through their righteousness. (Abraham) arose and began to beseech (God), and made supplication before Him until he brought (the number down to) ten. Hence (the sages said) :¹¹ (When there are) ten people in a place, the place is delivered by their righteousness, as it is said, "And he said, I will not destroy it for the sake of the ten" (*ibid.* 32).¹²

¹ The first editions read : "they said," *i.e.* the sages.

² This rule still obtains in connection with the public recital of the Torah ; see Orach Chayyim, 138.

³ The first editions omit the repetition of the quotation here.

⁴ "As it is said" is omitted in the MS.

⁵ "The righteous" in the Hebrew is in the singular number ; this fact might suggest the idea that Abraham was referring to Lot.

⁶ The first editions add : "By thy life !"

⁷ The first editions read : "By the merit of fifty righteous (people)."

⁸ The first editions read : "as it is said."

⁹ The first editions read : "their."

¹⁰ The sages.

¹¹ The first editions read : "Hence the sages said : If there be ten righteous people in a place, by their merit the place is delivered."

¹² See Gen. Rab. xlix. 13 ; Shocher Tob, Ps. v. p. 26b ; and Zohar, Gen. 105b. Jer. v. 1 is the Biblical authority for the doctrine that the merit of the individual procures Divine forgiveness ; cf. Ezek. xiv.

Rabbi Ze'era said: The men of Sodom were the wealthy men of prosperity,¹ on account of the good and fruitful land² whereon they dwelt. For every need which the world requires, they obtained therefrom. They procured gold therefrom, as it is said, "And it had dust of gold" (Job xxviii. 6). What³ is the meaning (of the text), "And it had dust of gold"? At the hour when one of them wished to buy a vegetable, he would say to his servant, Go and purchase for me (for the value of) an assar.⁴ He went and bought (it), and found beneath it heaps of gold;⁵ thus it is written, "And it had dust of gold"⁶ (*ibid.*). They obtained silver therefrom, as it is said, "Surely there is a mine for silver" (*ibid.* 1). They procured precious stones and pearls thence, as it is said, || "The stones thereof are the place of sapphires" (*ibid.* 6). They obtained bread therefrom, as it is said, "As for the earth, out of it cometh bread" (*ibid.* 5). But they did not trust in the shadow of their Creator, but (they trusted) in the multitude of their wealth,⁷ for wealth thrusts aside its owners from the fear of Heaven,⁸ as it is said, "They that trust in their wealth" (Ps. xlix. 6).⁹

Rabbi Nathaniel¹⁰ said: The men of Sodom had no consideration for the honour of their Owner by (not) distributing

19. The inference as to the salvation of the *world* by the merit of fifty righteous people is derived from God's words in Gen. xviii. 26: "And I will spare for their sake *all* the place" (*i.e.* every place). Abraham had spoken merely of "the place."

¹ The first editions read: "the wealthy men of the world."

² Sodom was situated at the right of Jerusalem; see Ezek. xvi.

46. The phraseology in our text is borrowed from Num. xiii. 19, 20.

³ The first editions omit this sentence.

⁴ Assar = Assarius = $\frac{1}{24}$ of a silver Denar. On this point see Krauss, *T.A.* ii. p. 407. The first editions add: "(some) vegetables."

⁵ Lit. "full of gold." The first editions read: "gold." See T.B. Synhedrin, 109a; Siphre, Deut. § 43; and Tosephta Soṭah iii. p. 296.

⁶ See Lev. Rab. v. 2; and Jalkuṭ, Job, § 915. The idea of the Haggadah seems to be as follows: When the vegetable was bought at the cost of an Assar, the dust of the earth which was clinging to the vegetable was so valuable (owing to the gold which it contained) that the purchaser received back more than he had paid.

⁷ See Ps. lii. 9; the Midrashim refer this passage to the story of Sodom.

⁸ The first editions read: "thrusts aside from its owners the fear of Heaven."

⁹ See Prov. xxx. 8.

¹⁰ The first editions read: "Joshua, son of Korchah,"

food to the wayfarer and the stranger,¹ but they (even) fenced in ² all the trees on top above their fruit so that they should not be seized;³ (not) even by the bird of heaven, as it is said, "That path no bird of prey knoweth" (Job xxviii. 7).

Rabbi Joshua, son of Korchah,⁴ said: They appointed over themselves judges who were lying judges, and they oppressed every wayfarer ¹ and stranger who entered Sodom by their perverse judgment, and they sent them forth naked, as it is said, "They have oppressed the stranger without judgment" (Ezek. xxii. 29).⁵

They were dwelling in security without care and at ease, without the fear of war from all their surroundings, as it is said, "Their houses are safe from fear" (Job xxi. 9).⁶ They were sated with all the produce of the earth, but they did not strengthen with the loaf of bread either the hand of the needy or of the poor,⁷ as it is said, "Behold, this was the iniquity of thy sister Sodom; pride, fulness of bread,⁸ and prosperous ease was in her and in her daughters; neither did she strengthen the hand of the poor and needy" (Ezek. xvi. 49).⁹ ||

Rabbi Jehudah said: They made a proclamation in Sodom (saying): Everyone who strengthens the hand of the poor or the needy with a loaf of bread shall be burnt

¹ The first editions read: "the native and the stranger"; see Job xxviii. 4. They caused human intercourse with the outside world to cease. To honour God is to be merciful; see Prov. iii. 3 and xiv. 31; T.B. Sabbath, 127a. The men of Sodom did not suffer the birds to praise God by singing on the trees in their land. The Book of Jashar (xix. 7) says: "And when men heard all these things that the people of the cities of Sodom did, they refrained from coming there." For further stories of cruelty see Pal. Targum on Gen. xviii.; and cf. *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, pp. 60 ff.

² The first editions read: "they cut off."

³ The first editions read: "so that there should not be any benefit from them."

⁴ The first editions read "Nathaniel."

⁵ See the Book of Jashar xix. 3 ff.; T.B. Synhedrin, 109a.

⁶ The first editions omit this quotation.

⁷ The Book of Jashar (xix. 44) reads: "For they (the men of Sodom) had abundance of food and had tranquillity amongst them, still they would not sustain the poor and needy."

⁸ In the MS. the quotation ends here, "etc." being added.

⁹ Their prosperity led to their rebellion against God; cf. Hos. xiii. 6. In the Book of Jashar, chapter xix., we have two stories on the theme of this paragraph; they are probably variants of one tradition.

by fire. Peleṭith,¹ daughter of Lot, was wedded to one of the magnates of Sodom. She saw a certain very ² poor man in the street of the city, and her soul was grieved on his account, as it is said, "Was not my soul grieved for the needy?" (Job xxx. 25).³ What did she do? Every day when she went out to draw water she put in her bucket all sorts of provisions from her home, and she fed that poor man. The men of Sodom said: How does this poor man live? When they ascertained the facts, they brought her forth to be burnt with fire. She said: Sovereign of all worlds! Maintain my right and my cause ⁴ (at the hands of) the men of Sodom. And her cry ascended before the Throne of Glory. In that hour the Holy One, blessed be He, said: "I will now descend, and I will see" (Gen. xviii. 21)⁵ whether the men of Sodom have done according to the cry ⁶ of this young woman, I will turn her foundations upwards,⁷ and the surface thereof shall be turned downwards, as it is said, "I will now descend, and I will see whether they have done altogether according to her cry, which is come unto me" (*ibid.*). "According to *their* cry" is not written here (in the text), only "According to her cry."

And thus the text says,⁸ "He who walketh with wise

¹ See T.B. Synhedrin, 109b. The name Peleṭith is given by the Pal. Targum on Gen. xviii. 21, Book of Jashar xix. 24; cf. Gen. Rab. xlix. 6; Jalkuṭ, Gen. § 83; and *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, p. 63. In the Midrash Agadah (Genesis), p. 42, the name of Lot's daughter is Kalah. The Oxford MS. (O.A. 167) reads "Paltia."

² Lit. "broken," "afflicted," or "humiliated." See *J.E.* xi. 424.

³ This quotation is not in the printed texts of *P.R.E.*

⁴ Ps. ix. 4 may have suggested the phrase of our text. Luria observes that this Psalm might well apply to the story of Sodom.

⁵ The first editions continue the verse: "whether according to her cry which is come unto me." The word in the Hebrew text which the R.V. renders "according to the cry of it" is rendered by the Midrash literally "according to her cry."

⁶ Pal. Targum, Gen. xviii. 20 f., reads: "And the Lord said to the ministering angels, The cry of Sodom and Gomorrah, because they oppress the poor, and decree that whosoever giveth bread to the needy shall be burnt with fire, is therefore great; and their guilt is exceedingly heavy. I will now appear, and see whether, as the cry of the *damsel* Peleṭith, which ascendeth before Me, they have completed their sins."

⁷ See Job xxviii. 5. This chapter is applied by our author to the story of Sodom. See also Lev. Rab. v. 2; and Midrash Haggadol, c. 282, note 98.

⁸ Luria reads: "Behold (the text) says." The reading, if rendered literally, is: "And thus it (or he) says."

men shall be wise: but the companion of fools shall be broken" (Prov. xiii. 20). || "He who walketh with wise men shall be wise." To what is this like? To one who enters a perfumer's shop, although he neither takes anything nor gives anything,¹ nevertheless he absorbs a good scent, and goes away (therewith). Likewise everyone who walks with the righteous acquires some of their good ways and deeds. Therefore it is said, "He who walketh with wise men shall be wise." "But the companion of fools shall be broken" (*ibid.*). To what is this comparable? To a man who enters a tannery, although he neither takes or gives anything,¹ nevertheless he has absorbed a foul odour.² Likewise he who walks with the wicked acquires some of their evil ways and deeds, that is according to what is written,³ "But the companion of fools shall be broken" (*ibid.*).

Another explanation:⁴ "He who walketh with wise men shall be wise" (*ibid.*). This refers to Lot,⁵ who walked with our father Abraham, and learned of his good deeds and ways. They⁶ said: What did our father Abraham do? He made for himself a house opposite to Haran,⁷ and he received everyone who entered into or went out from Haran, and he gave him to eat and to drink. He said to them: Say ye, The God of Abraham is the only one in the universe.⁸ || When Lot came to Sodom he did likewise. When they made proclamation in Sodom: All who strengthen the hand of the poor or needy with a loaf of bread shall be burnt by fire,⁹ he was afraid of the men of the city, (and did not venture) to do so by day, but he did it by night, as it is said, "And the two angels came to Sodom at even; and Lot sat in the gate of Sodom" (Gen.

¹ Or, "he neither sells nor buys."

² The first editions add: "and he brings it away with himself."

³ The first editions read: "as it is said."

⁴ This is missing in the first edition.

⁵ See Jalkut, Deut. § 824; Midrash, Prov. (ed. Buber), ch. xiii. p. 36b; and Jalkut, Prov. xiii. § 950.

⁶ The sages.

⁷ Cf. Gen. xii. 4 f. Luria suggests that the reading should be "Sodom." See Agadath Bereshith, 25; Gen. Rab. lii. 1 and liv. 6; Jalkut, Gen. § 84, reads: "outside Haran."

⁸ The first editions read: "He said to him: There is one God in the Universe."

⁹ See Pal. Targum, quoted *supra*, p. 183, note 6.

xix. 1). Why did Lot sit in the gate of Sodom? ¹ Because he was afraid of the men of the city, (and did not venture) to act (charitably) by day, but he did so by night. He saw the two angels walking in the street of the city, and he thought that they were wayfarers in the land, and he ran to meet them. He said to them: Come and lodge ye overnight in my house, eat and drink, and ye shall go your way in peace. But the men would not accept this for themselves, and he took them by the hand against their will, and brought them inside his house, as it is said, "And he urged them greatly" (*ibid.* 3).

A certain young man of the people of that city saw them, and he ran and told all the men of that city, and they all gathered together at the door of the house to do according to their wont, even deeds of sodomy,² as it is said, "And they called unto Lot, and said unto him, || Where ³ are the men who came to thee to-night? bring them forth unto us that we may know ⁴ them" (*ibid.* 5). What did Lot do? Just as Moses gave his life for the people,⁵ so Lot ⁶ gave up his two daughters instead of the two angels, as it is said, "Behold, now, I have two daughters" (*ibid.* 8). But the men ⁷ would not agree (and did not accept them). What did the angels do to them? They smote them with blindness until the dawn of the (next) morning. All were treated with (measure for) measure.⁸ Just as he had taken

¹ The first editions read: "For on that day they had appointed him (judge) over themselves. (Lot) overtook them (the angels) and said to them," etc. Cf. Esth. v. 13, for Mordecai who sits in the "king's gate," *i.e.* as a judge; cf. Sublime Porte for the use of "gate" as a court of government or law.¹ The MS. seems to have a mistake here; it merely repeats what was stated a few lines previously, without explaining why Lot sat in the gate of Sodom. See Pal. Targum, *in loc.*

² The first editions omit "deeds of sodomy." A parallel occurs in Clement of Alexandria, *Pæd.* iii. 8.

³ The MS. does not give this part of the verse.

⁴ "Know" in the sense of punishing offenders, cf. Judg. viii. 16; see Parchon's Heb. Lexicon, s.v. יָדָע; or perhaps it is used here in the sense of carnal knowledge.

⁵ The first editions read "Israel." See Mekhilta, p. 34b.

⁶ The first editions read: "So Lot gave his life for them." By going out to reason with the men of Sodom, who threatened to deal with him according to their wont.

⁷ Of Sodom.

⁸ See Pal. Targum, Gen. xix. 24: "And the word of the Lord had caused showers of favour to descend upon Sodom and Gomorrah that they might repent, but they did not."

¹ Dr. Büchler notes as a parallel the expression רִינָא רַבְנָא of the court of the Exilarch of Babylon.

them by the hand without their will and taken them into his house, so they took hold of his hand,¹ and the hand of his wife, and the hand of his two daughters, and took them outside the city, as it is said, "But he lingered; and the men laid hold upon his hand" (*ibid.* 16). And they² said to them: ³ Do not look behind you, for verily the Shekhinah of the Holy One, blessed be He, has descended in order to rain upon Sodom and upon Gomorrah brimstone and fire.⁴ The pity of 'Edith⁵ the wife of Lot was stirred for her daughters, who were married in Sodom,⁶ and she looked back behind her to see if they were coming after her or not. And she saw behind⁷ the Shekhinah, and she became a pillar of salt, as it is said, "And his wife looked back from behind him, and she became a pillar of salt" (*ibid.* 26).⁸

¹ Cf. Gen. xix. 16 ff. Some of the later editions omit the words "the hand of his wife." See Midrash Haggadol, c. 291 f.

² The angels.

³ Lot and his family. The text in Gen. (xix. 17) says, "Do not look behind *thee*"; note that the singular number is employed.

⁴ Pal. Targum, Gen. xix. 24, reads: "There are now sent down upon them sulphur and fire from before the word of the Lord from Heaven." See Zohar, Gen. 107b f.

⁵ The MS. reads either "Erith" or "Edith." Midrash Haggadol, c. 293, has "'Edith." In Jalkut, *in loc.*, "'Erith" is the reading. *Edith* points to "'Ed," witness, for such was the pillar of salt. "Ado" is the reading in the Book of Jashar (xix. 52). Pal. Targum, *loc. cit.* 26, reads: "And his wife looked after the angel to know what would be the end of her father's house, for she was of the daughters of the men of Sodom, and because she sinned by salt she was manifestly punished; behold, she was made a statue of salt." The Second Version adds: "until the time of the resurrection shall come when the dead shall arise."

⁶ See Midrash Haggadol, *loc. cit.*

⁷ The first editions read: "behind her."

⁸ The first editions add the following: "And she stands even now. All day the oxen lick it and it decreases up to her feet, and in the morning (the pillar of salt) grows afresh, as it is said: 'And his wife looked back from behind him, and she became a pillar of salt'" (Gen. xix. 26). In the days of Maimonides all trace of the pillar had been lost. The Book of Jashar (xix. 54) reads: "And the oxen which stood in that place daily licked up the salt to the extremities of their feet, and in the morning it would spring forth afresh and they again licked it up, unto this day." For a parallel Christian Midrash, see "A Strain of Sodom" in *A.N.C.L.* xviii. p. 230. See Jalkut, Esth. § 1055; Jalkut, Exodus, § 256. See Koran (ed. Rodwell), lxxxvii. p. 301, and Josephus, *Ant.* i. 11. 4, for references to Sodom. On Lot's wife, see Wisdom x. 7; Cyril of Jerusalem; Mystagogue's Catechism viii.; Augustine, *de Civ. Dei*, x. 8. On the Flight from Sodom, see Ambrose, *Flight from the World*, 54; Gregory the Great, *Pastoral Rule*, iii. 27. On Lot's hospitality, see Chrysostomus, Hom. xxxiii. 2; cf. Heb. xiii. 2. See also Grünbaum, *op. cit.* pp. 132 ff., and Ginzberg, *op. cit.* pp. 108 ff.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE TRIALS OF ABRAHAM [31A. ii.]

OUR father Abraham was tried with ten trials,¹ || and he stood firm in them all.² The first trial³ was when our father Abraham was born; all the magnates of the kingdom⁴ and the magicians sought to kill him, and he was hidden under the earth⁵ for thirteen years without seeing sun or moon. After thirteen years⁶ he went forth from beneath

¹ See Jubilees xvii. 17 and xix. 8. Parallels to our text are to be found in Aboth v. 3 (with a variant reading); Aboth de R. Nathan (a) xxxiii. and (b) xxxvi.; Jalkuṭ, Gen. § 68; Book of Jashar xii. ff.; Shocher Tob, Ps. xviii. p. 77a; Midrash Agadah (Genesis), p. 26; and cf. Liturgy for the Second Day of the New Year, the Piyyuṭ: "Thy Word is pure"; and see *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, p. 75, and cf. Grünbaum, *op. cit.* pp. 99 f.

² The first editions insert here the following: "and it was foreseen by him that in the future his children would tempt the Holy One, blessed be He, with ten trials, and He anticipated the cure for their wound,¹ and He tried him with ten trials."²

³ The Aboth de R. Nathan, *loc. cit.*, does not enumerate this nor the second trial. On the order of the trials, see Hoffmann, *Mishnaioth*, p. 352.

⁴ See *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, pp. 49 f., and Jalkuṭ, Gen. *loc. cit.*, which reads as our MS.; and see the Book of Jashar (viii. 15 ff.), and Jerahmeel xxxiv. The first editions omit: "and the magicians." Instead of "the kingdom" later editions read "Nimrod." The magicians were led to persecute Abram by observing his star at his birth; see *infra*, pp. 377 f.; and cf. Beer, *Das Leben Abrahams*, pp. 98 f. The birth stories of Abraham, Moses (cf. Josephus, *Ant.* ii. 9. 2, and T.B. Soṭah, 12a), and Jesus have much in common except the "Virgin Birth," which is peculiar to the narrative concerning the birth of the founder of Christianity.

⁵ Lit. "in a house of the earth," *i.e.* a cave. Cf. Isa. xli. 2 and the Book of Jashar viii. 35.

⁶ The Midrashim differ on this point; see Gen. Rab. xxxviii. 12, xcv. 3; Cant. Rab. on Cant. ii. 5. See the Book of Jashar ix. 4; and R. Bechai on Gen., *in loc.* See also T.B. Nedarim, 32a; Est. Rab. ii. 5; and generally for the legends of Abraham, see Ginzberg, *The*

¹ See T.B. Megillah, 13b.

² In Aboth de R. Nathan, *loc. cit.*, the ten plagues in Egypt are referred to as a parallel to the ten trials. See also Jalkuṭ, Ps. § 777.

the earth, speaking the holy language;¹ and he despised idols² and held in abomination the graven images, and he trusted in the shadow of his Creator, and said:³ "Blessed is the man who trusts in thee" (Ps. lxxxiv. 12).

The second trial was when he was put into prison for ten years—three years in Kuthi,⁴ seven years in Budri.⁵ After⁶ ten years they sent and brought him forth and cast him into the furnace of fire,⁷ and the King of Glory⁸ put forth His right hand⁹ and delivered him from the furnace of fire, as it is said, "And he said to him, I am the Lord who brought thee out of the furnace¹⁰ of the Chaldees" (Gen. xv. 7). Another verse (says), "Thou art the Lord the God, who didst choose Abram, and broughtest him forth out of the furnace of the Chaldees" (Neh. ix. 7).¹¹

The third trial was his migration¹² from his father's house¹³ and from the land of his birth; and He brought him to

Legends of the Jews, i. pp. 185 ff., and Gorion's *Die Sagen der Juden*, ii. pp. 26 ff. For further references see Beer, *op. cit.* pp. 102 f. Our book relates that Abraham was in his fourteenth year when he abandoned idol worship. This agrees with Jubilees xi. 16, which also speaks of his learning writing. Our author varies this by referring to his knowledge of the Holy language. Jubilees xii. 25, 26, however, refers to Abraham's ability to speak Hebrew.

¹ See Gen. Rab. xlii. 8.

² The first editions read: "groves."

³ The first editions add: "O Lord of Hosts." This is part of the verse quoted. See the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew vi. (*A.N.C.L.* xvi. p. 23) for a parallel Christian Midrash.

⁴ The first editions read Kutha, which is identified by the Talmud (B. Baba Bathra, 91a) with the Casdim; see also Josephus, *Ant.* i. 6. 5 and i. 7. 1.

⁵ Cf. T.B. Baba Bathra, *loc. cit.*, and Jalkuṭ, Gen. § 77. The first editions read Ḳardi; for the variant spellings see Jastrow, *T.D.* 1412a. Probably our MS. should read Ḳudri. See also Hippolytus (ed. Achelis), p. 90.

⁶ In the first editions the reading is: "Some say three years in Ḳardi and seven years in Kutha."

⁷ See *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, pp. 52 ff., and cf. Pal. Targum, Gen. xi. 28. See also *infra*, p. 420.

⁸ See T.B. Pesachim, 118a, and Cant. Rab. on Cant. i. 1.

⁹ See Gen. Rab. xlv. 4.

¹⁰ אור (Ur), "furnace." Cf. Isa. xlv. 16 and Grünbaum, *op. cit.* pp. 90 ff., and see Introduction, p. li.

¹¹ This quotation is omitted by the printed texts. It forms part of the morning liturgy; see Singer, p. 34.

¹² See Jubilees xvii. 17. This trial is the first according to the Midrash Haggadol, Gen. c. 201.

¹³ From Ur of the Chaldees, his country. This agrees with Ibn Ezra's interpretation of the text, Gen. xii. 1.

Haran,¹ and there his father Terah died,² and Athrai³ his mother.⁴ Migration is harder for man than for any other creature.⁵ Whence do we know of his migration? Because it is said, "Now the Lord said || unto Abram, Get thee out" (Gen. xii. 1).⁶

The fourth trial (was the famine). From the day when the heavens and the earth were created, the Holy One, blessed be He, had not brought into the world a famine but only in the days of Abraham,⁷ and not in any of the lands but only in the land of Canaan,⁸ in order to try him and to bring him down into Egypt, as it is said, "And there was a famine in the land, and Abram went down into Egypt" (*ibid.* 10).

The fifth trial was when Sarah his wife was taken to Pharaoh to be (his) wife. And is there any man, who seeing his wife taken away to another man, would not rend his garments? But (he trusted in the Holy One, blessed be He,) that he would not approach her.⁹ Whence do we know that Sarah was taken to Pharaoh to be his wife? Because it is said, "And the princes of Pharaoh saw her" (*ibid.* 15).¹⁰

Rabbi Joshua, son of Korchah,¹¹ said: In that night when our mother Sarah was taken, it was Passover night,¹² and

¹ Luria thinks that the text should continue: "as it is said: 'Get thee out of thy land and from thy birthplace'" (Gen. xii. 1).

² See Seder 'Olam Rab. i. p. 2b, note 22, and p. 3a, note 24.

³ The 2nd ed. reads Amathlai; see T.B. Baba Bathra, 91a. and Beer, *op. cit.* pp. 96 f.

⁴ See T.B. Baba Bathra, *loc. cit.*

⁵ Cf. T.B. Kethuboth, 28a, based on Isa. xxii. 17; see also T.B. Synhedrin, 26a, and Jalḳuṭ on Isa. § 280. Perhaps the last words of the sentence in our text should read: "than anything else." The reading in the Midrash Haggadol, Gen., *loc. cit.*, is: "which was the hardest of all" (the trials).

⁶ The first editions continue the quotation.

⁷ This does not agree with Gen. Rab. xxv. 3, according to which there were two famines prior to the days of Abraham.

⁸ See Rashi, Gen. xii. 10.

⁹ The words in brackets are missing in our MS.; they are based on Luria's emendation. The first editions read: "But in accordance with her counsel he did not approach her."

¹⁰ The printed texts omit the question and answer. The rest of the quotation reads: "And they praised her to Pharaoh: and the woman was taken into Pharaoh's house."

¹¹ The first editions read: "Rabbi Tarphon." This agrees with the reading preserved in the Midrash Haggadol, Gen. c. 208 f.

¹² See *supra*, p. 153, for a similar expression in connection with the offering of Cain and Abel; cf. Zohar, Gen. 21b, 22a.

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 man-servants, 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. Jalkut, 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 Jalkut, *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 Kamma, 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 *Pesikta 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 Kamma, *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 "Palit" ("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 Jalkut, 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 פליט, 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 Shocher 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 Shocher 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 Shocher 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 Jalkuṭ, 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 Lekach Tob, *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 day*"³ 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. Jalkut, 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. נחם, and *ibid.* p. 20, s.v. נחם. 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 pluckt 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 " Zeriķa." On " Ze'era " see *J.E.* xii. 651 f., and on " Zeriķa " see *ibid.* 662.

³ See *Joreh D'iah*, 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 *Jalkuť*, 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 *Shoher 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 *Jalkut*, 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 bē Elijahu Rab. xxiii. p. 123; and Siphrē, 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. Gittin, 70a ; Shocher Tob, 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 Shocher Tob, 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 (פִּרְיָה) “ 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 Jalkuṭ, 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 bē 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 bē 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 Dī'ah, 265; Tania Rabbathi, 96, p. 101a, and Halakhoth Gedoloth quoted by Schorr in החלין, 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 Kairwān about 970 c.E. אחרות חיים (ed. Schlesinger) 12; see also Gudemann, *Erziehungswesen in Italien*, p. 28, n. 4; Zunz, *Zur Gesch.*, pp. 485. 590 ff.; and Lewysohn, מקורי 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 Jalkuṭ, 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; Jalkuṭ, *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 Lekach 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 Jalkuṭ, 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 Jalkut, 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 Jalkut, 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, Jalkut, 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 (נחם) 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. Jalkut, 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 Jalkut, 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.; Jalkut, 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 Jalkut, *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 Jalkut, *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 Jalkut, *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 Jalkut, *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.