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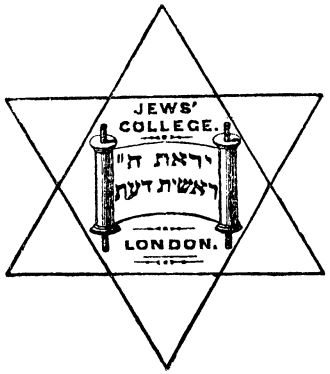
THE OLD RABBINIC DOCTRINE OF GOD

II. ESSAYS IN ANTHROPOMORPHISM

BY

A. MARMORSTEIN, PH.D., RABBI



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INTRODUCTION

THE five essays presented here as a second part of the *Old Rabbinic Doctrine of God* cover merely some of the aspects of Rabbinic teachings and speculations on the subject of anthropomorphism and anthropopathism. In selecting certain problems connected with the doctrine of God in Judaism of the first centuries of the C. E. I was guided mainly by three principles: At what stage of Jewish history was objection raised to crude anthropomorphism and anthropopathism among the Jews, under what influences did such a movement arise, and where did it originate? Long before such a movement can be traced in post-Biblical literature Prophets and Psalmists arose in Israel who strongly and eloquently raised their voice against popular beliefs in God's corporeality, human forms of the deity, His needs and passions, His partial knowledge and imperfect justice. Yet their words did not dispel the clouds of criticism of exaggerations and narratives which attribute to God human limbs and human feelings. Neither critics, nor defenders of the Bible were fully aware of the great difficulty faced by all anthropomorphic religions, namely, that of harmonizing the highest conception of God's spirituality with man's shortcomings, of beholding and grasping the existence and rule of an entirely spiritual being. This problem formed a stumbling block which caused and will cause great danger to religious truth and enlightenment. It is, therefore, necessary to trace this fight between anthropomorphic and anti-anthropomorphic conceptions of the deity in early Judaism of the first centuries.

The general view that the movement originated on Hellenistic soil cannot be maintained, since the earlier Hebrew sources betray the prevalence of such tendencies as found in later Hellenic writings. Besides, similar questionings of anthropomorphic and anthropopathic passages of the Bible can be discovered also on Palestinian soil. Furthermore both

movements, one in favour of the literal, and the other in favour of the spiritual understanding of the Bible, are equally represented in both camps and countries. It is true that historical evidence is more favourable for the earlier date of this treatment of the subject in Egypt rather than in Palestine. Yet, this may be due to the lack of documents on Palestinian soil in the pre-Mishnaic period, or to the uncertainty still prevailing whether Palestinian Jews exercised their influence on the Jewry of Alexandria and the rest of the Diaspora, or whether, vice versa, the latter shaped the ideas and teachings of the former. However that may be, the contact between them can be established and their common interest in the Bible plainly recognized. Religion and origin overbridged the considerable gulf of language and culture that cut asunder the two sections, and the bond uniting them, their monotheism and their Scriptures, was stronger and more intimate than accidental and external incongruities. This can be shown by Philo's reflections on assimilation—probably with special reference to his own nephew who deserted his God and his people, joined the Romans, and later led Rome's Imperial legions against Jerusalem—which would put some of our present-day champions of Jewish nationalism to shame. He says in his *Life of Moses* (Bk. I, ch. vi, par. 31, Loeb edition, vi, p. 294): 'They nevertheless look down on their relatives, relations, and friends and set at naught the laws under which they have been born and bred, and subvert our ancestral customs to which no blame can justly be attached, by adopting different modes of life, and, in their contentment with the present, loose all memory of the past.' These are words of an enlightened and experienced sage condemning unhealthy assimilation.

Secondly, I have tried to prove that the division between the pro- and anti-anthropomorphic theologians depends on the attitude taken towards the Biblical text. The strict literalist does not object to any kind of anthropomorphism, whilst the anti-anthropomorphist strives to divest the letter of its possible crudeness and corporeality. Here again it is almost impossible to decide with certainty whether the exegetical method produced the theological divergence, or whether, vice

versa, theology influenced exegesis. Those who believe that allegorical methods of exegesis owe their very existence to apologetic and anti-anthropomorphic motives, will answer this query in the affirmative, others, like I. Heinemann in his essay, *Altjüdische Allegoristik*, Breslau, 1935, may reverse this process. But neither the question, nor the solution, is so simple as all that, since many cross currents and many serious obstacles held up the straight and unchecked development of the doctrines and conceptions of the deity in Israel. The numerous sects, which arose among the Jews, preached and taught many queer and quaint things, which had to be challenged by the official leaders of religious thought, and led either to a fierce combat of ideas, or to a modification of the then established theological views. Traces of this spiritual fight can be found in some chapters of these essays. The difference of exegetical method reveals itself not only in the substance, but also in the form, of Biblical interpretation. The terminology used by the school of pro-anthropomorphic teachers, who, as was stated, were literalists, was necessarily different from, if not entirely opposed to, that of the allegorists. This can be shown to be a fact from our literary documents. Another outcome of this religious split within the schools of Judea and Galilee was the controversial struggle about the value of the Haggadah, strictures against writing and studying Haggadic lore, its supremacy or inferiority in relation with the Halakah. No wonder that anti-anthropomorphic Haggadists who looked askance at Biblical anthropomorphism would raise a rather emphatic protest and utter their full disapproval of anthropomorphic Haggadoth with slight or no Scriptural support at all. This fundamental difference of view, described and discussed in these essays, had important, far-reaching repercussions on other problems and branches of Rabbinic theology as well. Thus, cosmology and anthropology, the relation between God and the world, the relation of God to man, the conception of the imitation of God, and other problems, took a characteristic shape in one school and an opposite form in another. One took an affirmative, the other a negative stand, to these questions, according to the light in

which they taught of God and His word as embodied in the Bible. The consecutive parts of this work will prove the truth of this assertion. Here, a general remark may suffice.

This diversity of opinion and teaching, however, did not affect the unity of Judaism, or endanger the purity of doctrine, for the foundation of Israel's religion was safeguarded by the unshakable belief in the existence and unity of God which permeated all sections of the Jewish community. Only when and where dualistic and trinitarian theories crept into the synagogue and schools, there and then the very existence of Judaism was shaken and imperilled, and sectarianism wrought havoc in the rank and file of our people. That the victims of such heretic and sectarian movements were not even more numerous, although no doubt there may have been many of them, is entirely due to the preaching and teachings of the saintly and wise Haggadists whose sayings are described and analysed in the following pages. However great the distance in time and space between them and our contemporaries, however different the outlook of the Jew in the twentieth century may be compared with that of the Jew in the first three or four centuries, there are many puzzles which are still unsolved, as there are many ideas and views of those teachers recorded here which are still, and will for ever remain, vital forces for all generations to come. The Bible, without the monumental contributions of the Haggadah and Halakah, remains a book sealed with seven seals.

A. MARMORSTEIN.

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I

1. THE Jewish religion is classed with anthropomorphic religions. Such a designation is by no means of a degrading character and quality. The name 'anthropomorphic religion' is free from any mark of inferiority. No system of religious thought, or form of religious life, can be separated from anthropomorphic or anthropopathic conceptions. Only by such an equipment can religion proclaim the existence of an active and living God, and only thus can it adhere to a real, personal divinity. Deprived of it nothing remains but shallow theism. As long as people will crave after a personal deity they cannot do otherwise than, some with more, some with less skill, ascribe to God certain human attributes and speak of His qualities and functions in human ways and manners. Man cannot worship or show reverence to an impersonal power, nameless and impotent, without attributes of goodness or justice, not visible by deeds and unrecognizable by passions. Higher religions cannot exercise any influence, and rule the hearts of multitudes, if they are divested or robbed of their anthropomorphic and anthropopathic wealth inherent in their sacred narratives and teachings. Anthropomorphic and anthropopathic elements in a religion are thus not to be looked upon as disadvantages. On the contrary, they endowed men with spiritual strength and opened higher ways of thought leading to religious enlightenment. At many stages of cultural development religious values and doctrines cannot be brought home to mankind unless the meaning of God's existence and creative work is presented in forms of these two terms.

However useful and necessary these modes and expressions of religious instruction have been and still are, they were bound to produce drawbacks. Disadvantages grew up, which made themselves felt very early and very strongly in the synagogues and schools of the Jews. Historical causes are responsible for such an early opposition to, and such a strong criticism of, an anthropomorphic and anthropopathic presentation of the divine

character of God. As Jewish religion was embodied in the Holy Scriptures which invested God with human forms and endowed Him with similar feelings, naturally misgivings were aroused in the minds of Jews living among foreign cultures and civilizations, with the result that early prophets raised their voices against excessive humanization of the divine. The Greek historian Herodotus speaks in terms of high praise of the Persians who banished all images from their divine worship and abstained from depicting their divinity in human form.[1] He apparently was not aware of the prohibition which forbids the making of images or likenesses of God enforced among the Hebrews. It is probable that the often expressed charge of the Jewish Ass-worship and other similar groundless accusations current in those and later times among the Greeks reached his ears.[2] Anthropomorphism was a very sore problem among the Greeks. To Greek philosophers it meant much more than to Jewish Bible-readers. The Greeks could see their Gods in statues and images, which conveyed to the onlookers the idea not only of a personal, but of a physical god appearing in a form made by man from earthly material. However great the art employed and the beauty conveyed may have been the limbs and the features of the gods presented by art and genius manifested an obstacle to the spiritual conception and identity of the divine being. *Such* an anthropomorphic menace was held far away from Jewish religion; yet it was a danger in Greek religion, which ultimately aroused the unbounded antagonism of philosophy against the religion of the Greeks, and finally brought about the downfall of the whole shaken fabric of Greek and Roman civilization, resting as it did on such an unstable basis. Religion was, and is still to-day, the soul of human civilization; the strength or the weakness of the latter depends on the force or feebleness of the former. The Hellenists felt

[1] Bk. II. 172; cf. J. Geffcken, 'Der Bilderstreit im Heidnischen Altertum', *A. R. W.*, xix (1919), p. 288.

[2] About the diverse accusations against the Jews v. *Monatsschrift*, iv. 126; Rahmer's *Jüdisches Literaturblatt*, viii (1879), 52; Kobak's *Jeschurun*, viii, p. 16; Hennecke, *Handbuch der Neutestamentlichen Apocryphen*, p. 116; Staehelin, *Anti-Semitismus*, pp. 15–24; and Reich in *Neue Jahrbücher für das Classische Altertum* (1904), 707 ff.

very early in the course of their historic development what the Babylonian-Assyrians learnt before them, and the Egyptians experienced at an even earlier stage, that all treasures and might, power and force, cannot preserve even the greatest empire in the absence of spiritual values. Writers and thinkers coming from various camps and schools, poured out their biting ridicule over the makers of idols and laughed heartily at the poets of Greece who invented gods with human passions, human faults, and human forms.[3] Such a condemnation of anthropomorphic doctrines and conceptions, as being most dangerous superstitions, was bound to react on the religion of the Greek-speaking Jewish community of the Diaspora. The history of the last two hundred years offers a close parallel to the events which occurred among the Greeks during the last centuries before the Current Era. The Jews of the Diaspora, in the same manner as the German-speaking Jews, were most anxious to gain the good opinion of their neighbours and most zealous to adjust their religion to the standard of the general culture of their surroundings. The Jews of Alexandria dreamt of full emancipation and strove for full equality. In order to gain these they were prepared to go very far in sacrificing much of the religion of their ancestors, and losing some precious legacies of their religious and national inheritance. The general idea took root among them that by so doing they might find favour in the eyes of the Greeks, especially with the more advanced, cultured, and intellectual classes. The Jewish Hellenist Aristoboulos was interrogated by his king about certain passages in the Bible, in which the hands and arms, face and legs, walking and resting of God are mentioned.[4] This Hellenist did his best to bring home to his pagan inquirer, and indirectly as well to his Jewish readers, who were somewhat troubled by these anthropomorphisms, an allegoric version by which these passages would lose their crudeness. The educated circles of the Alexandrian community consisted of different classes with different tendencies. One class was evidently inclined to take the above

[3] v. Cicero, *de Natura Deorum*. II. xvii. 45.

[4] v. M. Friedländer, *Geschichte der Jüdischen Apologetik*, Zürich (1904), p. 29; cf. A. Schlatter, *Geschichte Israels*, Stuttgart (1925), pp. 82–7.

mentioned passages and expressions literally. This caused many of them real spiritual misgivings and disturbed their religious tranquillity. Others saw in this difficulty a most welcome opportunity to discard Jewish religion also, since it was, in their view, antiquated and not worthy of perpetuation for future generations. Aristoboulos is a very reliable witness for the remarkable fact that among the intellectual Jews in the Greek-speaking Diaspora there arose at least one man,—but most probably he was one of many, whose names, however, are forgotten—for the defence of his religion, and for the sanctity of the ancient documents on which that religion was based, destined as they were to survive many ages and cultures. If we turn now from Aristoboulos to Philo we perceive that these parties remained alive for many generations. The situation did not change—at least not considerably—in spite of the great progress made by Hellenism in the Greek world. There are plenty of traces of lively discussions regarding this problem in the Greek Bible Translation, known under the title of the Septuagint.[5] If we add to this the repetition of the questions, and the vehemence with which the opponents of the allegorical method of interpretation are handled by Philo, the great importance that this question assumed nineteen centuries ago among the Jews of Alexandria can be easily realized. The influence of these protracted discussions and lively disputes was, however, by no means confined to Hellenistic Jews, but as will be shown in the next paragraph, penetrated deeply the schools and places of worship of Palestinian Jewry as well.

2. Anthropomorphism occupies a most prominent place in the works of Philo. He asserts that God cannot have a human form, for if He had, then it would unmistakably follow that He has human needs and human desires. Such an assumption, naturally, cannot be entertained or tolerated.[6] No reader of Philo's treatise on the unchangeableness of God[7] can fail to notice that the writer is deeply agitated by Biblical passages

[5] v. A. F. Dähne, *Geschichtliche Darstellung der Jüdisch-Alexandrinischen Religionsphilosophie*, Halle (1834), ii, pp. 32 ff.
[6] *De Posteritate Caini*, ed. Mangey, i, p. 227; cf. Dähne, loc. cit., i, p. 122.
[7] *Philonis Opera*, vol. iii, pp. 20–1.

which convey anthropomorphic ideas and lend themselves to mischievous teachings about the Jewish doctrine of God. Not being the first either among the Greeks or among Jews, who faced this problem, he, in his elaborate interpretation, followed a well trodden path. This must be especially emphasized for the simple reason that it is very difficult, when speaking of Philo, to establish what is borrowed material and what is his own original view. Following an old tradition and stepping in the footsteps of a long line of religious and secular thinkers, one may assert that his words represent a good deal of the fruits of earlier theological speculations. Yet one thing is certain, that just as he was not the first, likewise he was not the last among Jewish theologians and Bible readers who devoted their attention to these great difficulties of Jewish religious thought. Philo will forever remain in the front line among the defenders of these sacred but incriminated texts, and his voice on this subject will find a hearing in all ages, whenever these passages cause anxiety and mistrust.

Philo speaks of these matters in a way as if he would defend something of personal concern, and therefore loses the philosophic calm which is proper in the treatment of philosophical subjects. He calls his opponents *some of those careless inquirers* and refers to them in quite uncomplimentary terms. No one would go so far in a quiet academic discussion as to say of his opponents the following words: 'Suppose that the lawgiver is hinting that the creator repented of the creation of man, when he beheld their impiety, and this was the reason why he wished to destroy the whole race. Those, who think thus, may be sure that they make the sins of these men of old times seem light and trivial through the vastness of their own godlessness.' Philo must have been provoked by grievous offence on the part of his opponents which caused him to lose his temper and utter such words of condemnation and abuse against them. Who were these opponents? Surely they were thinkers who differed from Philo in his method of exegesis or interpretation of anthropomorphic and anthropopathic passages occurring in the Bible. Their offence was, in the eyes of Philo, that they took such a saying as is referred to in the previous quotation absolutely

literally, and at its face value. That fact alone does not enable us to group these men; whether they belong to the more conservative section of the community who accepted the letter, or whether they were members of the more advanced party of Alexandrian Jews who cast overboard, with these misapprehended narratives, also the heavier and weightier parts of Jewish religion.

We know from other utterances and remarks, preserved in the works of Philo, that there existed some very extreme radicals in his neighbourhood, against whom he used very sharp language. Yet their fault was not adherence to the literal meaning of the Scriptures, but the reverse; they went so far in their extreme allegorization that nothing was left of real religion and of religious law which would mean anything to a Jew.[8] Therefore here must be sought another party of opposite extremists that could not sever itself from the belief in the literal meaning of this or similar narratives. Such antagonistic and contending parties were always unavoidable companions in the course of Jewish history, when decaying cultures and doomed civilizations were fighting their last battle and struggling for life. The advanced radicals, whatever their practical attitude towards their religion may have been, could not have failed to allegorize these narratives about the repentance of God, without being driven to that final path which led out of Judaism. If they were acquainted with, or influenced by, contemporary philosophy, they surely must have known the allegorical method of interpretation. Philo himself was not altogether free in his very defence of this passage from Stoic teachings which saw the chief requisites of the human sage in constancy, both in action and thought. The human sage, runs their teaching, takes in hand with unbending steadfastness and firm constancy all that it behoves him to do. How can one therefore ascribe repentance to God the giver of wisdom? This problem crops up in Philo's exposition of Gen. vi. 7. Here Philo takes some people strongly to task for falling victims to misinterpretation of an anthropo-

[8] v. M. Friedländer, *Der Vorchristliche Jüdische Gnosticismus*, Göttingen (1898), p. 96; and cf. A. Marmorstein, 'Les Épicuriens dans la littérature talmudique', in *R.E.J.*, vol. 54 (1907), pp. 181–93.

pathic expression in that verse. His words are: 'Again, some on hearing these words suppose that the Existent (God) feels wrath and anger, whereas He is not susceptible of any passion at all'.[9] These people are most probably the same men who in the previous quotation were stigmatized as worse sinners than the wicked generation. How does Philo himself explain these passages? Rebuke is surely no argument or justification. Indeed Philo was not satisfied with mere reproach but laid down general rules by which these and similar passages should be handled and mastered. These directions are the connecting links between the Hellenistic manner of religious thinking and Rabbinic theology, and consequently must be considered here. Philo's words seem to me of such importance for my subject that they have to be quoted in their entirety. He says:

'All the same the lawgiver uses such expressions just so far as they serve for a kind of elementary lesson to admonish those who could not otherwise be brought to their senses. Thus in the laws which deal with commands and prohibitions—laws in the proper sense of the word—there stand forth above others two leading statements about the cause. One that God is not a man (Num. xxiii. 19), the other that He is as a man, but whilst the former is warranted by grounds of certain truth, the latter is introduced for the instruction of the many, and therefore it is also said of Him 'like a man He shall train His son' (Deut. viii. 5).[9]

Philo teaches how to deal with two contradictory Bible passages, and further how to remove the belief in God being a man. The first method was highly developed and largely elaborated by the Palestinian scribes, the latter problem requires a fuller treatment in these essays. It is noteworthy that here again Philo uses rather strong words for Bible readers who adhere to the literal meaning of the text, and does not mind condemning such a method as 'the mythical fiction of the impious'.

3. Early Rabbinic texts show clearly that such Biblical passages as those mentioned by Philo in which God is spoken of as Ish (אִישׁ), required explanation and defence. In an earlier part of this work the observation was made that אִישׁ was used for the designation of God in early Rabbinic literature.[10] This

[9] Philo, loc. cit., pp. 36, 37.

[10] v. *Doctrine of God*, pp. 66–7.

divine name was primarily based on Ex. xv. 3: 'The Lord is a man of War, the Lord is his name'. Such a Scriptural reference could not be passed over in silence. Indeed in an early text the question was raised: 'How can such a thing be said of God?' To many readers, who were not used to poetic style, it appeared strange that God could be called a *Man of War*. That such a teaching is quite out of accord with old Hebrew conceptions of the divine is further demonstrated with the help of several prophetic utterances to be found in the writings of Jeremiah, Isaiah, and Ezekiel; some texts adding 2 Chron. vi. 16. Jer. xxiii. 24 says: 'Indeed, I fill heaven and earth'; Is. vi. 3 says: 'And one calls to the other saying, Holy, Holy, Holy, full is the earth of His glory'; and finally Ez. xliii. 2 says: 'And behold the glory of the God of Israel came from the way of the East and His voice was like the noise of many waters, and the earth was lit up with His glory'.[11] How can God therefore be called 'a Man of War'? The quotation appended from Chronicles adds to the amazement of the questioners, for it says: 'Now, therefore, Lord, God of Israel, &c., behold the heavens and the heaven of heavens contain thee.'[12] The answer is such that it may have been given by Philo himself. God is no man, yet owing to God's love and holiness, God sanctifies his name among His children. The scribe confirmed this doctrine by a word of the prophet, Hos. xi. 9: 'For I am God and not man yet in your midst holy', which means to say that God reveals Himself as man for the sanctification of Israel. This verse is put together in another place with that in Num. xxiii. 19, mentioned above in the quotation from Philo, to dispel the notion that God could be called or considered *a man*. A remarkable dialogue, which is supposed to take place in the last days of eschatological bliss, between the

[11] Mekilta, p. 38a. It is noteworthy that the whole passage is omitted in the Mekilta of R. Simeon.

[12] Attention may be called to the order in which the verses from the prophets are cited: Jeremiah, Isaiah, Ezekiel, 2 Chronicles; the first two are in proper order, not so the last two. Apparently the text of the Mekilta is composed of two different readings. The first version reads Jeremiah, Isaiah, and Chronicles; the second reading had the quotation from the three major prophets. Some later scribe combined the two readings.

community of Israel and God, discusses several problems bearing on and betraying more the polemical tendencies of the age in which it was composed than those of Messianic times.[13] Among the questions raised in that dialogue there is one which has a close bearing on the subject here discussed. The community of Israel asks the following questions: 'It is written in the book of the prophet Jeremiah (iii. 1), "Behold, if a man sent away his wife and she went and married someone else, can the former husband take her back again?"' In this question God is paralleled to the איש of the Hebrew text, and the divorced woman stands for the dispersed Jewish nation. God replies: 'The law of the Pentateuch, forbidding the remarriage of a divorced wife by her previous husband is in force only when she marries someone else, meaning an איש (cf. Deut. xxiv. 1–4), but not God, who is not an איש.' In the text of the Sifre[14] there is a further Scriptural reference to Isaiah l. 1, which bears out that Israel was never divorced and never driven away by God. 'Where is the bill of your mother's divorce which could prove that I sent her away, or to which of my creditors have I sold you?'—asks the prophet in the name of God. These words are repeated in several pamphlets and fill volumes from the days of Isaiah up to the present day. Israel is forsaken by God, rejected, and despised. Such views are proclaimed by pious and impious readers of the Holy Scriptures, and defenders of religious thought against Judaism. Early Christian and late pagan readers of the Bible were delighted to discover in these anthropomorphisms some support for their ideologies. The rejection of the literal usage of this name for God, as these two instances show, is traced to the school of R. Ishmael. This school, as will be seen later, was opposed to exegetical methods followed by R. Akiba and his school who took such anthropomorphisms literally as the identification of the Hebrew איש with God.

4. Philo does not curtail or restrain remarks about people

[13] v. on the subject Marmorstein, 'L'épître de Barnabe et la polémique juive', in *R.E.J.*, vol. 60, 1910, pp. 213–20, and *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien*, Skotschau, 1910, pp. 24–6.

[14] v. Sifre Deut., par. 306; Midrash Tannaim, p. 181.

who took anthropomorphic teachings literally, but he asks them in sermons or public discussions the following pertinent questions:

'Does Moses speak of feet and hands, goings in and goings out, in connexion with the Uncreated? or, of His armings to defend Himself against His enemies? For he describes Him as bearing a sword, and using as His weapon wind and death-dealing fire. His wrath, His moods of anger, His jealousy, and other emotions similar to them are spoken of by Moses, which he describes in the terms of human nature.'

The serious objections to the anthropomorphic and anthropopathic utterances of Moses which Philo compressed in a few lines may have originated either from the radical party of the community, or have been directed against the defenders of the strict letter of the Biblical narrative. It will soon be shown that the earliest Rabbinic Midrash retained many traces of similar discussions among Palestinian Jews. In this paragraph, however, attention may be concentrated on the reply which Philo had in store for his questioners in Alexandria. This reply is very interesting for more than one reason, and deserves fuller treatment. These are his actual words:

'Those admitted into the infallible mysteries of the Existent do not overlay the conception of God with any of the attributes of created beings. These find a moral most pertinent in the oracles of revelation. That "God is not a man", nor yet is He as the heaven or the universe. These forms are of a particular kind which present themselves to our senses, but He is not apprehensible even by the mind, save that He is.'

Philo employed this illustration from the world of Mysteries and reminded his readers of the oracles, in order that he might impress those of his audience who may have been attracted by the then fashionable cult of religions. Next to the refutation, in which he fully agrees with the Midrash that God is not a man, Philo lays great stress on the denial of the false idea that God can be spoken of either as *heaven* or as *universe*. This is again an unmistakable thrust against some of his radical contemporaries who regarded heaven or universe as deities. This doctrine refuted by Philo opens a new opportunity for observing

another similarity, and at the same time a contrast, between Palestinian and Alexandrian Jewish theology. The former records a remarkable scholarly dialogue between the two leading scholars of the Judaean schools in the first decades of the second century in Palestine, R. Ishmael and R. Akiba. Unfortunately the text is in a very bad condition and calls for some elaborate treatment which must be relegated to the footnotes.[15] Here follows the translation according to the revised texts. R. Ishmael

[15] v. Gen. R., ed. Theodor, chap. i, p. 12. Similar discussions are reported as having taken place between these two scholars on Gen. iv. 1 in Gen. R., ed. Theodor, chap. xxii, p. 206, and on Gen. xxi. 20, ibid., chap. liii, p. 574. All the three dialogues are modelled after one and the same scheme. Rabbi Ishmael opens with a short reference to the teacher of Rabbi Akiba, pointing out at the same time the number of years during which Rabbi Akiba sat at the feet of his master and adopted his exegetical methods. Then he inquires how that method can be applied to certain difficult exegetical and theological passages. If the exegetical rules were accepted and applied to Gen. i. 1 some heretical ideas would result as a consequence of such teachings, namely, that heaven and earth are deities. Gen. iv. 1 would suggest the idea that Cain is a God, and in the case of Ishmael another wrong conception might arise that Elohim is a lad. After these, Rabbi Ishmael cites Deut. xxxii. 47 with an unfriendly remark about his opponent's inability to expound these verses correctly. In the first instance he says that the particle (את) means 'to include the creation of sun and moon, &c., with the creation of heaven and earth'; in the second case the teaching is underlined that Cain was the first of all creatures, who was born in a natural way; and thirdly, that the superfluous particle in the case of Ishmael purports to indicate that Ishmael was not alone but accompanied by a number of beasts and animals and a large household. The interpretations ascribed here to Rabbi Ishmael are strictly opposed to the spirit and letter of his exegetical teachings. The original text can be reconstructed by consulting all the available parallels and manuscripts. Tanchuma, ed. Buber, Gen., p. 5 f., has the following reading, in which R. Ishmael says: 'The expression (את) in Gen. i. 1 surely cannot be explained according to your method; it is, however, the usual expression of the text.' Rabbi Akiba says: 'Thou canst not explain it according to your method, cf. (v. Deut. xxxii. 47) but I can, for if the particle would be omitted one would think that heaven and earth are Godheads; now, since the text puts את, the teaching can be derived that heaven and earth were brought into existence fully furnished with their complete equipment.' It is noteworthy that the rendering of the verse from Deuteronomy, which is quoted here in the dialogue in the name of R. Ishmael or R. Akiba respectively, is cited in the Palestinian Talmud four times in the name of one of the younger Palestinian Amoraim, R. Mana, v. Peah i. 1, Shebiit i. 6, Shabbath i. 1, Sukka iv. 1, and Ketuboth viii, end. This looks strange, unless we take it as a later gloss. The Midrash Abḳir published by me in *Dwir*, pt. i, pp. 127–8, enables us to render the question and

says to R. Akiba: 'Thou hast served Nahum the man of Gimzo for twenty-two years, who expounded all the particles as את, גם, אך, and רק. How did he explain Gen. i. 1 את השמים? Could we have said without these particles that heaven and earth are deities?' R. Akiba replies: 'את השמים includes the creation of sun, moon, stars, and planets, and את הארץ includes the creation of trees, herbs, and the planting of the Garden of Eden.' It is obvious that R. Akiba did not become angry on being challenged by his colleague, who advanced a theory which surely would lead to the suggestion that heaven and universe are deities. Philo's words make it certain that there were circles outside the schools about a century before, in Egypt, which propagated such views. M. Joel[16] has called attention to Irenaeus, who mentions Gnostics holding some tenets according to which Moses hinted in the very first sentence of the Genesis at a fourfold divinity, i.e. God, beginning, heaven, and earth.[17] Considering further that for many centuries Heaven (שמים) was one of the names used in Judaism for the designation of the diety[18], it is no wonder that such a conception should have become deeply rooted among the people, especially those who could compare the Greek with the Hebrew term. The designation of the divine power or powers was a common feature in the religious conceptions of the Persians[19] as well as of the Greeks,[20] and modern research has tried to trace the usage among these two peoples as far back as the Assyrian-Babylonian religious system.[21] It is remarkable that in spite of these resemblances between Jewish and pagan designations of the deity, neither scribes nor people refrained from calling God by this name in devotion or in solemn speech.

answer in this way: R. Ishmael asks what is the meaning of את in this verse? Surely no one of us will go so far as to suggest that heaven and universe are deities or that man is God, or that God is a lad? Thereon R. Akiba gives his interpretation.

[16] *Blicke in die Religionsgeschichte* (Breslau, 1880), pt. i, p. 169.

[17] adv. Heres, i. 18.

[18] v. above, pt. i, p. 105.

[19] v. Spiegel, *Eranische Altertumskunde*, ii, p. 15; cf. Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, p. 66.

[20] v. Johannes Geffcken, *Zwei Griechische Apologeten*, p. xi.

[21] Farnell, *Greece and Babylonia*, p. 270; v. also D. Chwolson, *Ssabier*, ii, p. 124.

Most characteristically R. Ishmael used his argument as a *deductio ad absurdum*, meaning by this to say that surely no Palestinian Jew would dare to advance such a view; yet Philo's words unmistakably testify that among Alexandrian Jews there were elements that called for rebuke because of their belief that God is 'heaven or universe'.

5. Finally Philo solved these difficulties more in a homiletical than in a philosophical sense. He speaks of a physician who devises the treatment of his patient according to the condition of his sickness. Or, he illustrates with the example of the conduct towards the foolish and ill-behaved slave on the part of his master, in order to depict the relation of God to man. 'All such may well learn', he concludes his peroration, 'the untruth, which will benefit them if they cannot be brought to wisdom by truth.' After this he sums up with the story of the husbandman who whilst digging his orchard to plant some fruit trees lighted on a great treasure and thus met prosperity beyond all his original hopes. Philo indicates that he copied this story from a much earlier source and claims for it no originality. It is not certain whether the application of the parable is his own or not; it reads: 'So does God deliver the lovers of his eternal wisdom without toil and labour'.[22]

The story of the husbandman who found the treasure deserves special treatment. It is one of the many intimate links connecting Rabbinic teaching with the Gospels and Hellenistic literature. In Philo's rendering there are some details missing which are very necessary for the understanding of the story, namely the manner of lighting on the treasure. Matthew[23] has this account of the discovery of the treasure in the field in an enlarged form. 'The kingdom of heaven is like unto a treasure hid in a field; the which when a man hath found he hideth, and for the joy thereof goeth and selleth all that he hath and buyeth that field.' It seems that in the Gospel the treasure is found in a field belonging to some one else, and it is difficult

[22] Philo, loc. cit., par. 91 ff., pp. 56–7.

[23] Chap. xiii. 44; cf. Maurenbrecher, *Von Nazareth nach Golgotha* (1900), p. 169, R. v. Pöhlmann, Geschichte der socialen Frage und des Socialismus in der alten Welt. München, 1912, ii. 396.

to understand what led the discoverer to light on the treasure. The Rabbinic variants do throw some light on the fuller and original form of both of these rather obscured versions. There is no doubt that all the three Jewish writers, however different they may have been in their mental outlook and their religious beliefs, elaborated an old Jewish proverb or parable, which is based on an ancient story. The Midrash preserved no less than four different applications of this proverb to various anecdotes. The Midrash named after the school of Rabbi Ishmael preserved the original proverb and applied it to Korah. The proverb was rendered in this manner: 'For my benefit has my cow broken its leg.'[24] This source is a guarantee of the antiquity of the proverb as well as of that of the anecdotes on which it is based. The teaching is that through the contention of Korah and his assembly, and their ultimate downfall, Aaron and his descendants benefited and were granted the twenty-four gifts of priesthood. In other words, the proverb teaches that those whom God loves He protects and grants them His Grace even at the expense of others. The second version, in which a very characteristic anecdote is connected with this proverb, relates it to an episode in the life of the first-century scholars R. Elieser ben Hyrkanos and R. Joshua b. Hananyah.[25] These two scholars visit the large and wealthy Jewish community of Antiochia to collect funds in support of their colleagues and students.[26] One version has it that they were accompanied by their pupil R. Akiba.[27] Here in Antiochia lived a man called Abba Judan, who was a very liberal supporter of the Palestinian academies. At the time of this visit, paid by the scholars to the city, his financial affairs were not very prosperous. He was aware of the fact that he would be unable to contribute to the collection of the distinguished guests in his usual manner. This fact filled him with grief and shame, so that he was hiding before them. His wife who was even more charitable than her husband—by the way quite a

[24] Sifre Num., § 119.

[25] v. pal. Horayoth 48 a, Lev. r., v. 4, Deut. r., iv. 8.

[26] The term used is: לגבות לעסק על עסק מגבת חכמים, in Deut. r. מצות עמילי תורה.

[27] Omitted in Deut. r.

typical characteristic in Jewish folklore[28]—noticing her husband's anxiety and distress, advised him to sell the half of his remaining field and give the price thus obtained to the collectors. And he did so. Next time, when he was ploughing his field, his cow fell into a pit and broke its leg; yet the very spot contained a treasure of greater value than his previous fortune. People applied to Abba Judan the proverb: 'For my good has my cow broken its leg'. A third story links this adage with another event in the biography of R. Elieser b. Hyrkanos and gives the words a more spiritual meaning, more like the application made of the story by Philo. In the case of Abba Judan the charitable person is rewarded by material treasure, in the story of R. Elieser, however, with spiritual gifts, with learning. This scribe spent his early youth as a labourer in his father's fields near his native Galilean village. Thirsting for knowledge, he was kept back by his father and brothers from satisfying his scholarly ambitions. Once, while working in the field, the cow broke its leg, and the labourer out of fear of his father and brothers fled to Jerusalem, where he joined the school of Rabban Yochanan ben Zakkai, and achieved fame and leadership among the scholars. Through this accident in the field he also was enabled to gain the greatest treasure in life, the Torah.[29] Lighting on unexpected treasures is a well-known motif in Jewish legends[30] as in general folklore. These stories belong to the same type and group. There is a fourth version by R. Simon ben Yohai, who compares the Egyptians after the exodus of the Hebrews from Egypt to a man who sold a field, which was situated, according to one version, in a distant province, and according to another in an unseemly place. The happy buyer found there a great treasure. When the previous owner heard of this, he took his own life in his grief.[31]

[28] v. Marmorstein, 'Beiträge zur Religionsgeschichte und Volkskunde', ii, in Grünwald's *Jahrbuch*, ii, pp. 375 ff.

[29] v. Gen. r., ch. xli, ed. Theodor, p. 139 f., Pirke R. Elieser, ch. i, and other parallels given by Theodor.

[30] v. Marmorstein, 'Beiträge zur Religionsgeschichte und Volkskunde', in Grünwald's *Jahrbuch*, ii, pp. 345–51.

[31] Mekilta 27 a, Mekilta of R. Simon, p. 44, Cant. r., iv. 13, quoted as תני ר' שבי. Here the place is not פלטויא בירושה במדינת הים but במקום אשפה.

If we compare these four versions of the Rabbinic application of the proverb with the Gospel and Philo, we see, in spite of the discrepancies between them, some common features. The man in the Gospel sells everything, like Abba Judan, to find a treasure. Philo's husbandman like the young Elieser finds a treasure, namely the proper understanding of the Torah. The treasure comes to the discoverer unexpectedly. Such discoverers are the favourites, who, as Philo puts it, understand the proper meaning of the words of the Law-giver, and are not like the slow-souled dullards, taking anthropomorphisms literally. We shall see whether that was the case with R. Elieser. Yet, before doing so, another close parallel between the Haggadah and an old report in Philo's writing shall be discussed here, for it has some bearing on the subject of anthropomorphism.

6. The Haggadic material preserved in Philo deserves fuller and more detailed investigation than it has received till now. The essays and studies, which have appeared since Gfroerer and Dähne among Christians, and Fraenkel, who heads the list of modern Jewish scholars, who devoted their studies to Hellenistic writers, do not afford any precise answer to the question as to the inner relation between Hellenistic and Rabbinic Haggadah. I will show this connexion, apart from the previous instances, in another case as well. Long before Philo the question was raised and discussed among Greek Jews, why man's creation was left till the end, and did not anticipate that of all the others? The question is based on the assumption that the more important things anticipate the less important ones in rank and order. Philo records four answers to this query, which he culled or copied from earlier teachers. The first answer amounts to this. God furnished man not only with the highest spiritual gifts, namely with a rational inner relation to the deity, but also with material gifts which prepared for him everything fit to advance a prosperous life and physical well-being. Secondly, this order of things is a safeguard and promise that if his life and conduct are regulated and carried on virtuously, in complete accord with the divine will, then the earth will furnish him with all necessities without

trouble and toil. Thirdly, this order indicates that there is a close contact and intimate relation between the beginning and end of the work of creation. There is a unity between Man and Heaven, closely joined together by eternal ties. Heaven is the best among the celestial bodies, man represents the crown of creation among the lower creatures on earth. Finally, the sudden appearance of man on the stage of the universe was most dramatically arranged, so that he should inspire with fear and awe all the already existing beasts and creatures.[32]

The question was raised in Palestine as well as in Alexandria. One cannot ascribe priority to the Greek source on the ground that the theory that the greater and more excellent were older or more ancient than things that came later into existence was not known in the schools of the Palestinians. Considering the very strong sense of and feeling for honour and order developed in ancient Judaism, it is somewhat daring to see foreign influence in such a thought. The great consideration shown in life and action, in public and in private, to rank and precedence in religion and in wisdom seems to be some genuine innate growth of the Jewish character, and not to be due to extraneous thought. The amazement that the most important creature should be at the same time the last in the order of created beings, could well have been voiced first by a Palestinian Jew, who might have been quite immune from the influence of Greek intellectual activities.

The 'last but not least' principle translated into Hebrew as אחרון אחרון חביב is surely of a more recent date and a later development than the teaching of first things coming first.[33] The question, therefore, is quite natural in the mouth of a Palestinian Jew: 'Why was man created last?'[34] If man is—and there is nothing to gainsay it—the crown of the creation, then why was he not created before all the other creatures of

[32] Philo, *De Officio Mundi*, par. 77; v. the references in the German translation and in Theodor, *Bereshit rabba*, p. 137, and E. Stein, *Philo und Midrash* (1931), pp. 6–7.

[33] v. Gen. r. ch. lxxviii, ed. Theodor, p. 925.

[34] Tosefta Sanhedrin, ed. Zuckermandel, viii. 7–9, p. 428, ll. 2–12, pal. Sanhedrin iv. 9, b. Sanh. 38 a, Gen. r., ch. xv.

the world? If the anthropocentric conception is correct, then man should head all creation. The coincidence of the question in Philo and in an ancient Barayta is not the most significant part of the resemblance between the two different sources. The agreement in the answers and explanations offered is perhaps of even greater importance for students of theology. The style and the present place of the fragment show traces of high antiquity. The latter is an unmistakable piece of evidence for its use in the procedure of the ancient courts, when criminal law was still practised in Palestine. The homily was already in those early days made use of in addressing the witnesses and appealing to their sense of responsibility and honesty. The Barayta, just as Philo, offers four different interpretations and replies. This variety in both sources, in Greek and Hebrew, is a clear testimony to the general interest taken by all sections of Jews in this perplexing question. In the Palestinian source the first view recorded leads the reader to the arena of disputes between scribes and Jewish believers in a dualistic religious system. Man was purposely created after all other creatures, in order that the Minim should not be able to assert that man was the assistant or partner of God in the creation of the world.

In speaking of Minim most probably Gnostics are referred to, who propagated the theory of the two Gods, viz. the Highest God, and the Lower God, the Demiurgos. Yet, it is not impossible that Alexandrian Jews, who saw in the Logos the real Creator, were indicated by this designation. In any case such a solution would not appeal to Philo and we do not expect him to elaborate such a point of view, for it would be quite contrary to his philosophy and theology alike. The later dogma of the participation of Jesus in the work of creation is too young for our source. The second answer ascribes an ethical and moralistic reason for the present order of things. Man was created last in order that his pride should be defeated. Man should not become proud, for even the smallest insect preceded him in creation. This has no exact parallel in Philo's list of answers. Yet, it is worth while to compare the second theory in the Tosefta with the fourth in Philo. Here, the idea of man's

creation is at least intended to imbue him with humility; there, however, it was staged in this way in order to overawe the stronger animal world. This contrast between Philonic and Rabbinic Haggadah is most remarkable. The last two theories reported in the Barayta bring home the idea, first that man was created last so that he shall immediately embark on his duty, the discharge and fulfilment of the Mizwah, the divine law. For this view there is apparently again no room in Hellenistic theology. The last, however, in the Barayta, agrees literally with the first taught by Philo. Since Philo honestly admits here that he owes these teachings to earlier systems, there can be no question regarding priority as far as Philo is concerned, but only regarding his source which is unknown at present. Adam was created last so that he should be enabled to partake of a banquet already prepared, without delay and waiting. This is illustrated in both of our sources by the story of the king's banquet. A king built and inaugurated a new palace. He invited guests for this purpose. The parable is further elaborated by an old Midrash on Prov. ix. 1:

> '"Wisdom built her house", that is the King of Kings, the Holy one blessed be He, who built His world in seven days by wisdom. "She hath hewn her pillars seven", these are the seven days of creation. "She hath killed her beasts and mingled her vine", these are the seas, the streams, deserts, and the other necessities of the world. "Afterwards she hath sent forth her maidens and crieth upon the highest places of the city, 'whosoever is simple may return hither'", namely, Adam and Eve.'

The parable of the banquet arranged by the king in the Midrash has a close parallel in the words of Philo. He says: 'Just as a host does not call to a meal before he has prepared it, and made ready everything wanted for the meal, so God prepared everything before inviting man to partake of it.' Philo, or his source, added another parable taken from the life of the theatre and circus, which was dear to his Greek readers. Palestinian Bible students of his generation would have found less pleasure and amusement in a picture of that sort. A banquet prepared for guests is a very favoured, and therefore frequent, topic in the Haggadah to illustrate and illuminate

various theological doctrines, e.g. the perfection of creation,[35] future reward and punishment,[36] and many others.[37]

The authorship of this parable is ascribed in the Genesis rabba[38] to R. Nehemiah. This is perfectly in accord with the ancient tradition surviving in the schools that the anonymous passages in the Tosefta go back to the teachings of this scribe.[39] The parable was further developed and elaborated in the Amoraic Haggadah in several variations. R. Samuel b. Isaac compares the creation of man by God to a king, who prepared a banquet and invited many guests to partake of it. He prepared for them many dishes full of great delicacies, and said: 'Whosoever eats and blesses the king, he will enjoy it, but he who eats and does not bless him, he will be beheaded by the sword.'[40] Closer connexion between the Tannaitic and the Amoraic Haggadah can be established in a long sermon of R. Aibo, a teacher of the fourth century, recorded by R .Huna.[41] God created man with full knowledge at the end of the creation, and not by any oversight. He was created after all creatures so that all necessities should await him when he came into this world. The angels objected to man's creation with the words of the Psalmist, Ps. viii. 8. God said to them: 'If so, all sheep and oxen wherefore were they created? Imagine a tower full of the choicest things, and there are human beings going by, what is the good of filling it with all the precious dainties?' The angels submitted to the will of God by saying: 'O Lord

[35] v. the answer given in the dialogue of R. Yose b. Halafta to the matrona, who inquires about the proper order of creation, similar to our Barayta; v. Tanhuma, ed. Buber, i, p. 2.

[36] v. R. Yohanan ben Zakkai; v. b. Shabbath 153 a, Eccles. r., ix. 3, 8, Eccles. z., p. 121, Midr. Proverbs, ch. 16, Semahoth zutarti, p. 33.

[37] R. Joshua ben Levi, Midr. Psalms, ch. iv, ed. Buber, p. 48; R. Eleasar b. Pedath, Gen. r., ch. lxii, ed. Theodor, p. 671; R. Levi, Pes., ed. Buber, p. 22 b, R. Samuel b. Isaac, Gen. r., ch ix, p. 73; Deut. r., ch. xi, 6, Midr. Eleh Deb. r., ed. Buber, p. 3, no. 7; b. Ber. 31 a, cf. Luke xiv. 16, cf. E. Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa*, p. 467.

[38] v. Gen. r., ch. xv, ed. Theodor, p. 137.

[39] v. Marmorstein, *Midrash Haseroth we Yeteroth* (London, 1917), p. 4, note 15.

[40] v. Gen. r., ch. ix, p. 73. The application is that the angel of life accompanies him, who performs the commandments and good deeds; the transgressors, however, are handed over to the angel of death.

[41] Gen. r., ch. viii, p. 61.

of the whole Universe, how glorious is Thy name over the whole world.'

There is a further resemblance between the third of Philo's arguments and some Haggadic interpretations on our problem, which requires a few observations. Whether Philo and Rabbis have drawn from a common source, or, whether Philonic theories penetrated into the Palestinian schools in the third century are questions which cannot be answered at present. The fact has to be established that the question of man's place in creation was just as vigorously discussed from the pulpit in this age as three centuries before. The views and theories advanced in this context centre around Ps. cxxxix. 5. 'Thou hast formed me behind and before, and thou hast put thine hand upon me.' The gross anthropomorphism called for explanation and mitigation. Teachers like R. Yochanan b. Nappacha and R. Simon b. Lakish, who were by no means troubled by such utterances of the Bible, found it necessary to soften the meaning of this verse. The former rendered the text thus: 'God has endowed man with two impulses, good and evil, therefore, says man, hast thou formed me with two formations, one leading forward, and the other backward. One enables man to inherit the world to come, the other, however, leads to punishment.' His colleague said: 'Man was created before all creatures.' The spirit of God in Gen. i. 2, meaning the spirit of the first man, Adam, who was the first and at the same time the last of the created beings.[42] Here, exactly as in Philo, we have before us the teaching which attempts to connect the beginning and the conclusion of creation, the physical with the spiritual, the creation of the body and the spirit of Adam.

Even if the main purpose of the homily was to explain the anthropomorphism of the passage, yet, the preacher contributes at the same time some solution to the question; 'Why was man created last?' His reply was in short that man may have been the last as far as his physical character goes—which is in reality of minor importance—spiritually he anticipated the

[42] v. Tanh., ed. Buber, iii, p. 32, Gen. r., ch. viii, ed. Theodor, p. 56, Lev. r., ch. xiv, 1.

whole creation. There are still some indications preserved, which clearly show that this solution did not enjoy great popularity, but called for opposition. Thus R. Eleasar b. Pedath, a contemporary of these teachers, adheres to the literality of our text. Adam was spiritually and physically created on the last day. The only concession which he is inclined and prepared to make is that on the last day of creation the spiritual Adam was created before the physical Adam. The spiritual part of man, his immortal soul, his spirit, anticipated the creation of the body as well as that of the animal world. Another teacher, R. Samuel b. R. Tanhum, (read perhaps: Nahmani) proves from Ps. cxlviii that the order of creation in Gen. ch. i has a complete parallel in this Psalm. Or, in other words, the things were created in the same order as that in which they are enumerated in this Psalm, where the praise of God is spoken of.[43] R. Simlai is even more outspoken in his opposition to R. Simon b. Lakish who maintained that man was created first. Just as man's praise and song is the last, so his creation came after that of all the other creatures.[44] It would be most tempting to investigate here the problem whether the preachers of the opposition did not reject the very basis of the question and teach that the most important things need not be first in order and rank. Many changes have taken place in contemporary Judaism which may have altered the standard conceptions of what is important and what is of no consequence in social as well as in religious life. Such an investigation, for which there is a great abundance of material, must be left for another place where the anthropological conceptions of the Rabbis will be described and analyzed.

[43] Gen. r., ch. viii, ed. Theodor, p. 56.
[44] v. previous note, ibid., p. 59.

II

1. THE comparisons between Philo and Haggadah teach one lesson, which leaves no room for any doubt. I mean that Alexandrian Jewry was divided into many religious groups and sections in the days of Philo. The conditions in Palestine differed not very much from those among the Greek-speaking Jews. Otherwise, one could not account for the many similarities of the questions raised in the one place as in the other. The different groups mentioned by Philo were of various colours and bore different crests. Next to the radicals at both ends, who defended the literality of the Scriptures out of piety and reverence, there were the Jewish Marcionites who adhered to the same principle out of hatred against the Bible and the Jewish teaching of God. The Jewish scoffers in Alexandria, who are characterized by Philo as 'persons, who cherish a dislike of the institutions of our fathers and make it their constant study to denounce and decry the Laws',[1] were not without sympathizers and coreligionists in Palestine. Between these two groups stood the allegorists, who tried to avert the criticism and misinterpretation of the Bible, and through the Bible of the Jewish doctrine of God.

If one turns to the anonymous Haggadah, there a door is opened to a mine of information on this subject from which material can be gathered, which may be of the same date as Philo, if not older. We saw above[2] that the literality of Exod. xv. 3 was rejected by Philo as well as by the allegoristic school of the Haggadah; so, too, other anthropomorphistic utterances were scrutinized in the same way. Thus Exod. xiii. 21, where God is spoken of as walking. Here as in the previous case the literality of the text is confronted by teachings of the prophets, which reduce such words to absurdity. Here again, the same verses from the prophets Jeremiah, Isaiah, and Ezekiel are cited to make such a notion of walking in the case of deity quite

[1] *De confusione linguarum*, § ii.
[2] v. above, p. 7 ff.

preposterous. A Haggadist, who bears a Greek, or according to other readings, a Latin name, Antigonos or Antoninus, offers an explanation, which also would do credit to Philo, when he says that such an expression means nothing else but the manifestation of God's love for Israel in delivering them from Egypt.[3] Another homily is devoted to the problem of God's jealousy mentioned in Exod. xx. 5. Is there such a thing as jealousy before God?[4]. Is God jealous on account of people who transgress His word and act against His will? Does He inflict punishment on sinners by throwing stones, arrows, or slings? Such Biblical passages, we see now, were criticized in Jerusalem as in Alexandria, as we read in Philo's words, quoted above. The answer given by Palestinian sages is on the same model and breathes the same intellectual atmosphere as that of the Greek-speaking teachers. There is no such feeling with or in the deity, and consequently the expression must not be understood literally. What does it mean? That those who are addicted to idol worship are changing the character of the real God into that of the non-existent idols. That is to say that these idolators proclaim ideas about God which cannot be justified. They think that just as idols are jealous when their worshippers turn to other deities, so likewise God may be jealous when Hebrews turn away from Him and embrace other religions. The school of R. Ishmael preserved another view to combat the literal meaning of such a passage. God is the Lord of jealousy, but divine jealousy has no room or place in the Jewish conception of God.[5] The same doctrine was taught with reference to Ps. cxxi. 4. Can one say about God that he is sleeping? No. God has dominion and rule over sleep, but sleep is far from Him. God's jealousy was frequently dis-

[3] Mekilta 25a; v., however, Mekilta of R. Simon b. Yohai, p. 40, where a different interpretation is attributed to R. Yose, the Galilean, about which further on p. 110. Further Tanh., p. 80a. In legends and popular tales the idea often occurs that God is walking about, M. Ps., ed. Buber, p. 464, Pes. ed. Buber, p. 212 b., v. Yalkut Makiri Hosea, ed. Greenup, *JQR.*, N.S. xv. 1924, p. 209, אני ואתם נלך לנחמה. God goes for Israel's sake to a place of uncleanness, i.e. Egypt, Exod. r., ch. xv. His way and walk is in holiness, R. Aha b. Ḥanina, Tanh. B., iii, p. 73.

[4] Mekilta of R. Simon b. Yohai, p. 105.

[5] Mekilta, p. 67b.

cussed in the dialogues held between rabbis and various inquirers. An interlocutor of R. Gamaliel II, who is given the title of philosopher, asked: 'Why is God jealous of the idols? There is nothing in them worth being jealous of.' He does not object to the idea of divine jealousy, but he cannot see the reason for such a feeling in the given instance. A wise man, a rich person, a hero, might be jealous of his rival's wisdom, wealth, or strength, but the idols are—especially according to Jewish teaching—of no reality at all, then why should God be jealous? R. Gamaliel in his reply admits the jealousy of God, yet with the modification that the jealousy is not directed against the idols, but against those who adore them and ascribe divine rank to them.[6] Interesting in the reply of the Patriarch is the story of a man's calling his dog by his father's name and swearing by the dog, which is a plain reminiscence of Socrates' swearing by his dog.[7] Christian Apologists frequently mention this episode in the life of the Greek philosopher. Somehow it had also become known to the Rabbis. Stricter than this alleged philosopher, who discussed with R. Gamaliel the question of God's jealousy, were the Gnostics, who poured out all their contempt on the God of the Jews for His jealousy. It seems to have been a special dogma of the Ophites. The serpent said to Eve: 'By the life of God, I am sorely grieved on your account, because you are as stupid as the beasts.... Do not be afraid ... for out of jealousy did God forbid you to eat from the fruits of the tree....[8] The same accusation of jealousy is repeated in the Palestinian Targum[9] and by one of the foremost Haggadists of the third century,[10] R. Levi, as illustrating Ophite polemics against Jewish religion. The same teacher dwells also on the contradiction between Lev. xix. 18, forbidding jealousy and vengeance, and Nahum i. 2, where God is called an avenging God. His solution retains the literal meaning of the text, which implies that God will avenge the

[6] Ibid., p. 67b.

[7] For a fuller treatment of this point v. my remarks in the *Tarbiz*, vol. v, p. 145, where all the particulars can be found.

[8] v. 'Life of Adam and Eve', ch. xviii, in Kautzsch, *Pseudepigraphen des A. T.*, p. 521.

[9] Gen. iii. 4.

[10] Gen. r., ch. xix, ed. Theodor, 172.

misdeeds of his enemies, wicked people, and the nations of the world.[11]

A third problem which occupied the mind of the early Haggadists was the question of God's resting on the Sabbath. Here, as in the first instance, the idea is contradicted by a quotation from Isaiah, xl. 28, where we read: 'that there is no travail, nor weariness before Him. He fainteth not, nor is He weary.' This is opposed to Exod. xx. 11, where it says: 'And God rested on the seventh day'.[12] In the Mekilta there are further quotations from Isa. xl. 29, and Ps. xxxiii. 6, showing that the term 'resting' gives no sense if spoken of the deity.[13] The treatment of the subject is different in these two sources, which leads to the assumption that is fully borne out by the vast material at our disposal, that in Judea, and later in Galilee, there were two different theological systems, the one understanding the early religious documents more literally, the other more spiritually. The first source explains the contradiction by introducing the doctrine of divine retribution for the wicked, who by their evil deeds contribute to the destruction of the Universe, which was created with toil and trouble. The theological maxim further voices the opinion that sins and transgression cause all the evils and ultimately the destruction of the world. The second source represents the more spiritual, allegorical interpretation of the text. Surely, they would say, these expressions, rest and work, are not fit to be applied to God. When we speak of resting or working with reference to the Godhead we are employing mere figures of speech used for bringing home to human understanding the existence and greatness of God.

It can be explained in this, as well as in many other instances, why both schools of thought and exegesis paid such attention to these problems, which to many thinkers may appear trivial and not worth while. However, external as well as internal reasons compelled them to enlarge on this subject. It has not yet been recognized how much Jewish theology, in the centuries under review, was stimulated by the polemic onslaughts

[11] Eccles. r. on viii. 4, Gen. r., ch. 55, ed. Theodor, p. 586.
[12] Mekilta of R. Simon, p. 109. [13] Mekilta 59 b.

directed against Judaism by the united forces of pagan religion and philosophy, Gnosticism and Early Christianity. It is the Sabbath which is attacked by all three of them. The Jews of the Diaspora were especially distinguished by their faithful and loyal observance of the Sabbath.[14] No wonder that that precious gift given to Israel by God became the subject of ridicule by clowns and priests alike in ancient Rome and Alexandria, wherever the poisonous hydra of Anti-Semitism lifted up its ugly head. Philo, the Church Fathers, and the Haggadah preserved some material on this subject. One of the arrows aimed against the Jewish Sabbath touched also at the same time the Jewish doctrine of God. On the one side it was asked: 'If the law of the Sabbath is of such importance and cannot be abrogated, as taught by the teachers of Judaism, why does your God not keep it?' On the other hand it was objected: 'How can the Scriptures write about God resting on the seventh day?' Philo addresses his words to such objectors, when he says in good Haggadic manner: 'Excellently, moreover, does Moses say "caused to rest", and not "rested"; for He causes to rest that which, though actually not in operation, is apparently making, but He Himself never ceases making.'[15] One can point to Celsus as a representative of ancient philosophy as indicating the impression made on educated and intelligent heathen readers of the Bible. 'After this work', says Celsus, 'He became tired like a clumsy artisan and bad worker, who needs rest in order to recuperate from his labour.'[16] The whole chorus of Church Fathers joins Origen in repelling such calumnies and misinterpretations.[17] The writer of the Book of Jubilees does not hesitate to say that God kept the first Sabbath, just as Adam was the first among the earthly ones who observed this day.[18] The same teaching is spread by the author of the Pirke of R. Elieser,[19] who in so many of his teachings

[14] v. Gen. r., xi. 4, Pesikta r., 119 b, cf. further my remarks in my article on 'Sabbath Observance in the Diaspora' in the *Hator*, vol. viii (Jerusalem, 1928), no. xi, pp. 7 ff.
[15] *Allegorical Interpretation*, i, 5, ed. Loeb, p. 151.
[16] *Origenes contra Celsum*, vi. 61.
[17] v. for a fuller treatment of this subject *Rheinisches Museum*, lxvi, 400 ff.
[18] Jub. ii. 18. [19] Ch. xviii.

agrees with the Jubilees. As a reply to Christian and earlier Gnostic anti-Jewish attacks, Rabbinic apologists introduced the theory that God observes the Sabbath, just as the teaching gained ground that God observes other particular laws, as will be shown in the course of these studies.[20] A fourth ancient objection was caused by the verse in Exod. xxii. 23. It says: 'I will slay you with the sword.' Does God use a sword in order to slay them? Surely not. Then what is the meaning of the passage? God will bring upon them those who will slay them with the sword.[21] Finally, there is Exod. xv. 7, to be mentioned in this connexion. 'Thou hast overthrown them that rise up against Thee.' Who can rise up against God? The answer is, those who rise against God's children,[22] or according to another version, against His beloved ones, they are regarded as if they rose against God Himself.[23] The homilist gives instances. Amraphel against Abraham, Pharaoh against Israel, Sisera, Senacherib, Nebuchadnezzar, and Hiram, the king of Tyre, are meant by this designation. The Mekilta does not supply this list of individuals, whose hostility to Israel is known from the Scriptures, but instead supplies a number of Biblical verses which speak of God's enemies in a similar manner, as Ps. lxxiv. 23, lxxxiii. 2, and cxxxix. 21. The words 'those that rise up against Thee', 'those that hate Thee', and 'Thine enemies', appear meaningless if taken literally. Their meaning, therefore, had to be changed and applied to God's beloved or His people. Mekilta as well as Sifre on Numbers[23] add here a long list of Soferic alterations which aim at elimination of gross anthropomorphisms. The vicinity of these two lists may offer a clue for the date of these early endeavours to remove or explain allegorically passages in which God is invested with human passions. Anyhow, one is justified in asserting that the allegorical exegesis in Palestine is not much younger than that of the Greek Diaspora. The emendations of the Scribes as well as these questions and answers belong to the oldest form and material of the ancient Haggadah. It may be noted that in

[20] v. Tanh. i, ed. Buber, p. 12, Pes. r., 187a, Gen. r., ch. xi, p. 94, Exod. r., xxx. 9, Yalkut Makiri, Ps. cxlvii. 29.

[21] Mekilta 39a. [22] Mekilta of R. Simon, p. 63. [23] Sifre Num., par. 84.

that age the difficulties raised were two-fold. First of all, how can one speak of God as walking, as being jealous, as sleeping or resting, as having a sword in His hand, or as having enemies? The assertion appears even more absurd in cases where statements to the contrary can be adduced, which show that these assertions are impossible if applied to God. Here again it can be shown that we are moving on the oldest ground of the Haggadah, for, in its earliest form, the raising of contradictions plays a prominent part.

2. Besides these anonymous Haggadic utterances there are some, which following the same tendency and imbued with the same spirit are ascribed to R. Ishmael, a teacher of the early second century. The resemblance in method and coincidence in thought is so striking that one would be inclined to place the anonymous ones under the name of this teacher. R. Ishmael followed the teachers of the allegorical school, in opposition to his chief colleague R. Akiba, who, as we saw in an earlier chapter, preferred the literal exposition, even where anthropomorphic difficulties predominate. Here, mainly R. Ishmael's views shall be recorded and analysed. In a sermon on Exod. xii. 13 'and I will see the blood', the question is raised in the style which was noticed in the previous chapter: Is not everything revealed before Him? Thereupon evidence is brought to support this assertion from Dan. ii. 22 and Ps. cxxxix. 12. The doctrine of God's omniscience is based on these verses. God knoweth what is in the darkness, and light dwelleth with Him. Further 'the darkness hideth not from Thee'. R. Ishmael's answer would have caused joy to Philo, if he had heard it. God naturally can see everything in the Universe, but 'I will see the blood', means something quite different, namely 'as a reward for your faithful observance of the commandment in connexion with the Paschal Lamb I will reveal Myself to you, and will have pity on you, and redeem you'.[24] A second interpretation removes the anthropomorphism by asserting that the expression 'and I saw', does not mean seeing the blood, as the literal sense conveys, but 'and I will remember the sacrifice of Isaac, for whose sake or merit Israel shall be redeemed

[24] Mekilta 8a.

in a literal sense. This dissension must have divided them in their interpretation of the legal and ritual exposition of the Bible as well. A rationalist takes an attitude towards the law different from that of a mystic, who sees and perceives God everywhere, walking and standing, praying and working. Historical conditions favoured the victory of R. Akiba. R. Akiba's theology as opposed to that of R. Ishmael is expressed in many controversies which they had on many important subjects, as e.g. Exod. xii. 2, which is interpreted by R. Akiba in a literal sense. God has shown unto Moses the New Moon. According to R. Ishmael such a thing is out of the range of possibility. Moses has shown the New Moon to the Israelites.[37] This was one of the three things which God showed to Moses with His finger. These things are the New Moon, the making of the lamp, and the prohibition of unclean animals. Secondly, on Exod. xx. 18, R. Ishmael taught that they saw the visible, and that they heard what could be heard. R. Akiba favours the more literal exposition that they could hear the visible, and could see that which was conveyed to them by the ear. Everything which came out of the mouth of the Geburah was immediately engraved on the tablets.[38] Thirdly, the name Elohim in Exod. xxii. 27 is taken by R. Ishmael as meaning 'judges', R. Akiba again renders it literally, 'God'.[39] A further dispute between these two teachers is connected with their attitude to esoteric studies, the Maaseh Bereshith and Maaseh Merkabah. The same applies to the public discussion of the Laws concerning prohibited marriages עריות. R. Akiba, who took all these texts in their literal meaning feared that they might have grave consequences if treated in public; not so R. Ishmael, whose allegorical method was a safe-guard against such possible misinterpretation.[40]

There is a further controversy between these two teachers, which throws light on the one side on the principal antagonism

[37] Mekilta 2 b. Sifre Numbers, par. 61, where ed. Horowitz adds 'as if' כאילו, which is, however, a gloss contradicting the real meaning of the sentence. Menahoth 29 a quotes this Barayta as a תנא דבי רבי ישמעאל Pesikta, ed. Buber, p. 54 b and Pesikta r., p. 78 a, as תני רבי שמעון בן יוחא Exod. r., xv. 1, Num. r., xv. 4, Tanhuma Bo, and Shemini, ed. Buber, p. 28. v. further b. Hullin 42 a.

[38] v. Mekilta 71 a. [39] Ibid., 97 a. [40] v. pal. Hagiga ii. 1.

of these two masters, and on the other side illuminates their relation to earlier Jewish Hellenistic thought and religion. R. Akiba expounded the word אבירים in Ps. lxxviii. 25 as food of angels. He may have known the Greek version as used by the author of the *Sapientia Salomonis*. When R. Ishmael heard this interpretation, he became indignant and objected on the ground that angels have no food and, consequently, there is no eating in heaven. The meaning of the word is to be derived by the change of אבירים[41] into אברים. It is a food, which is absorbed by the limbs. R. Ishmael as an allegorist concurs with the teaching of Philo, who likewise explains all actions or feelings ascribed to God, but which are too human, as carried out by angels. His words may be translated here, for they throw welcome light on the development of the Rabbinic allegorists as well. 'The unique or sole God is surrounded by numberless forces destined for the salvation of the world. . . . There is in the air a chorus of invisible holy, bodyless souls, the partners of the divine beings. The Scriptures call them angels. This whole host of angels is arranged in perfect order, is devoted to the service of the Most High, and ever ready to obey His command. For in heaven there is no negligence of duties. Just as in the case of a human king it is meet that ministers or officers should carry out functions and duties which cannot be performed by the king himself without loss of prestige; truly the Father of the Universe needs no creatures for His service, yet he deputes and commissions, for the sake of decency or dignity, some of the inferior power to discharge certain functions or duties, without investing them with independent will or initiative.'[42] These words of Philo guided all allegorists before and after his time. They corroborate the experience of the student of Rabbinic texts that R. Ishmael, or Pappus, and others made room in their theological teaching for angels and spirits, when they found themselves faced with anthropomorphic passages in the Bible, so that they substituted for the name of God that of an angel or spirit. Yet the angels of the allegorists were different from those who lived in the speculations of the

[41] b. Yoma 75 b. [42] v. *De confusione linguarum*, iii. 394.

theological trend of mind. R. Ishmael and his forerunners in introducing a question on a difficult passage of the Bible use the term וכי אפשר לומר כן, meaning: 'How is it possible to say thus?', whilst R. Yose ha-Gelili when facing anthropomorphic passages, asks: וכי תעלה על דעתך לומר כן? meaning, 'how can one entertain even the thought of saying such a thing?' Surely, R. Akiba would never dream of using such language even when reading the most irrational verse in the Scriptures.

The difference between the earlier anthropomorphic and the allegorical schools can be detected in the anonymous Haggadah in many instances. The anthropomorphic school explains the difficulty about God being a man of war, in which a close parallel between Philo and the earlier Palestinian allegorical school has been established above,[48] in different ways. To the literal interpretation, the difficulty is not 'is it at all possible to speak of God as a man of war?', but, will the fact that here God is called a young warrior, whereas at the revelation He is depicted as an old sage or scribe, not confound dualistic religious thinkers and they will proclaim that the Bible confirms a dualistic conception of deity?[49] That is all that they are concerned about. A literal exposition must face such threats and dangers. Here it was taught that God appeared with weapons. An exposition on Exod. xii. 12 will clearly show that both schools are represented in our sources one close to the other. 'And I shall pass through the land of Egypt.' An anonymous teaching endeavouring to avoid the gross anthropomorphism of the verb, namely God's walking, which, as we saw, was disliked by Hellenistic as well as by Palestinian allegorists,[50] offers the translation 'and I will pour out my anger', &c. The verb עברתי resembles the noun עברה. Just as R. Ishmael, the allegorist and opponent of anthropomorphic literality, acquiesces in speaking and reading of 'God's joy', so, for some reason to be investigated later, the idea of God's wrath and anger did not seem incompatible with the

[48] v. above, pp. 7 ff.
[49] Mekilta, p. 37 b and Mekilta of R. Simon, p. 60.
[50] v. above, p. 3 and p. 10.

theology of this school. The opposing or rival theology, as taught by R. Judah b. Ilai, a pupil of R. Akiba, does not hesitate to interpret: 'God passed from one place to another', merely adding 'like a king who does the same.'[51] The view of R. Yose the Galilean about God testing man, recurs in the following anonymous teaching on Exod. xx. 20. The text has: 'in order to test you', which is also interpreted 'that God came in order to magnify (exalt) you before all the nations of the world'. Here again, the opposition adds the significant technical term used by the advocates of the literacy of the text, בודאי, viz. the verb testing is to be understood in the literal sense, and not allegorically.[52]

It will be necessary, before advancing further in our investigation of the ancient disagreement on this subject, to consider the position occupied by R. Yose the Galilean in this controversy. One is entitled, after the evidence produced up till now, to group this scribe among the allegorical interpreters of the Tannaitic age. Allegorists were in many respects in a queer position on several occasions, when they faced difficulties which the literalists safely ignored or passed by.

A very instructive example of this observation is offered in the controversy between R. Ishmael and R. Akiba on Exod. xx. 23, לא תעשון אתי. The former refers אתי to the image and likeness of the ministering angels, Serafim, and Ofanim that are in heaven. R. Akiba, however, translates 'do not make Me, or of Me, a likeness, as the heathen make images of their gods'.[53] Something similar can be observed in the Haggadah of R. Yose ha-Gelili on Exod. xxxiii. 22, where the strong anthropomorphism could not pass without mitigation by such an allegorist as R. Yose. The verse has: 'And I will lay my hand on thee till I pass over.' A scribe who adhered to the literal interpretation of the text might have overlooked the anthropomorphism altogether. An allegorist could not abide by the literal meaning of such expressions. R. Yose, therefore, teaches that the expression indicates to Moses that he will be

[51] Mekilta of R. Simon, p. 13.
[52] Mekilta, pp. 7 b and 12 a, Mekilta of R. Simon, p. 13.
[53] Mekilta, 72 a, and Mekilta of R. Simon, pp. 114–15.

protected by special grace in dangers which he will encounter. These perils arise from the action of demons and spirits who at certain hours or on certain occasions, have power to do mischief independently of God. Here, as in the case of R. Ishmael, an angelological doctrine, a demonological conception, helps to overcome an anthropomorphic difficulty.[54] The very same quaint teaching is used for removing the anthropomorphism in 1 Kings viii. 11, 'and the priest could not stand in service owing to the cloud, for the glory of God filled the house of God. Why could the priest not discharge his duties and minister in the presence of God's glory?' R. Yose replies that the priests could not minister because there are moments when the demons and spirits are at liberty to do harm to mankind independently of their divine master, or at their own discretion. There is a third allegorical interpretation, which some texts ascribe to the same teacher. Ps. xcv. 2 'which I swore in my anger, if they will come to my rest'. 'Till God's anger lasts'—there was no objection to speaking of His anger, as pointed out before on p. 36, and see also further Pt. I, on pp. 196 ff.—yet 'to my rest' seemed hard, and had to be rendered allegorically, namely, 'to my promised land'.[55] Finally, it is to be observed that the demonological theory of this teacher was also applied in solving the contradiction between Num. and Exod. The Glory of God was visible, or appeared in the cloud. What does that mean? God is everywhere present. It means, says the allegorist, that whenever Moses and Aaron were threatened by their enemies God protected them. That is the meaning of this phrase. His angels were sent to their guard, or the demons were given free hand to bring havoc on the wicked.[56]

This difference between the leading teachers of the pre-Bar Kochba period can be traced back to earlier times. The teachers and predecessors of R. Ishmael and R. Akiba manifest

[54] Mekilta, 72 b, v. also Barayta b. R. H. 24 b, b. Ab. Zara 43 b.

[55] v. Introduction to Sifra, p. 2 b, further Jalkut Makiri Psalms, ed. Buber, ch. 93, 20, where the sayings of R. Yose are quoted anonymously, similarly in Num r., ch. xiv. 19.

[56] v. Mekilta 48 a.

the very same tendencies in their exegetical method, and consequently in their theological outlook, as their pupils and successors in the schools of Judea, and later on in Galilee. R. Joshua ben Hananyah, who propagated the idea that God shares the trouble of his people, or that the Shekinah is journeying with Israel from exile[57] to exile must be ranked together with R. Akiba and his followers. There could be established no link between R. Ishmael and this teacher, in spite of the close personal relation that according to Rabbinic biographers existed between them, namely that R. Joshua redeemed R. Ishmael from Roman captivity after the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem. The young priest leaned more towards the opinions, and favoured the wisdom, of his benefactor's opponents. The prophecy of the aged Levite that the captive priest would become a great teacher among his people, was verified to the letter, but the teacher developed in a different direction. Let us turn to the exegesis and theology of R. Joshua and his opponents. R. Joshua is in favour of the literal interpretation, whilst his colleagues R. Elieser b. Hyrkanos and R. Eleasar of Modiim, the native of the ancient Hashmonean place, adopted the allegorical method. A few instances may suffice to demonstrate this contention.

Exod. xiii. 18, 'the way of the wilderness, the Red Sea', is explained by R. Elieser thus: 'the way, in order to fatigue them', cf. Ps. cii. 27, 'in the wilderness in order to purify them', cf. Deut. vii. 15, 'The Red Sea', in order to test them, cf. Ps. cvi. 7. R. Joshua, however, expounds these words differently: 'The way', that is the Torah, cf. Deut. v. 30, and Prov. vi. 23. 'The wilderness', in order to give them the Manna, Deut. viii. 16; 'The Red Sea', in order to show them miracles and wonderful deeds, cf. Ps. cvi. 22.[58] Both teachers tried to answer the question raised: 'Why did God not lead them straight into the promised land?'

Regarding Exod. xiv. 2 there is a dispute about the meaning of the geographical term פי החירות. R. Elieser takes it as an idol of supernatural origin, which was destined to

[57] v. Mekilta of R. Simon, p. 1.

[58] Mekilta, p. 24 a, Mekilta of R. Simon, p. 38.

literalists. R. Akiba taught that these angels require food, not so R. Ishmael. This difference of opinion brought about the controversy concerning the meaning of the word אבירים in the Haggadah of the two teachers.

The contention of the two teachers and their schools can further be shown in the following Midrash. We noticed above that the two masters were at variance on the exegetical value of the particles used in the Hebrew language. R. Ishmael attached no importance to them. Yet, in three instances, he admitted their usefulness. One of these is Deut. xxxiv. 6 'and he buried him in the valley'. The subject is missing in this sentence. Who buried Moses? R. Ishmael asked: 'Did others bury him? No, he buried himself.'[43] R. Ishmael used his opponent's method here, in order to reject a rather strong anthropomorphic teaching. The rival school taught that the subject in this sentence is no one else but God. A preacher of the third century, R. Simlai, is credited with the following remarkable teaching: The Pentateuch begins and ends with the commandment to exercise charity. The Alpha and Omega of the Law is lovingkindness and benevolence. How does or did this Jewish teacher, who is often grouped together with Scribes and Pharisees of the crude and gross legalistic type, prove this? He saw in Gen. i. 28 that God was pronouncing the blessing over the bridal couple, like a minister of religion in performing a wedding ceremony; further in Gen. ii. 22, he saw an instance of God acting as best-man by adorning the bride before the wedding; then in Gen. xviii. 1 an instance of God visiting the sick and ailing; finally in our passage of Deuteronomy a case of God burying the dead and comforting the mourners.[44] All these acts of charity are frequently pointed out as the greatest virtues by which man imitates the work of his Maker.[45] Some of these virtues and qualities are especially elaborated by teachers of the anthropomorphic school. R. Abbahu, whose Haggadah is exceedingly rich in anthropomorphic material as will be demonstrated in a following chapter of these essays, depicts God as blessing the bridal-couple with a cup of wine in His hands and uttering the prescribed blessings which were customary in the days of this Amora.[46] The interpretation of the text in the narrative of Moses as meaning that God Himself busied Himself with the funeral of Moses must be older than the third century, and was propagated either by R. Akiba, the head of this school, or by his followers.

This divergence of views existed also between R. Akiba and R. Yose the Galilean, another contemporary scholar. There is recorded an ancient Tannaitic dispute between these two teachers on Gen. xxii. 1, concerning the meaning of the verb נסה. R. Yose the Galilean taught that the verb means 'and God exalted Abraham', R. Akiba, however, is satisfied with the literal meaning, and translates 'and God tested'.[47] This interpretation of R. Akiba fully agrees with his method which adheres to the literal meaning in spite of the anthropomorphic idea conveyed by the text. He does not fear or care that a literal exegesis may raise doubts about the omniscience of God. His religious system is so firm that such trifles cannot disturb it. This may perhaps be the result of his deep religious experience and his earlier intellectual endeavours. This scholar, who once tasted the spiritual fruits of the Pardes which he diligently frequented and left in perfect religious equilibrium, must have become more confirmed in the more rigid conservative or literal perception of the Bible, allowing no compromise or concession of any type or to any extent. Jewish history in various periods shows similar appearances under similar conditions of intellectual growth and decline. Yet this school was opposed by another train of thought, like that represented by R. Ishmael and R. Yose ha-Gelili, expressing the rationalistic point of view. The very characteristic terminology used by these two teachers in their Haggadah, which, however, is surely older than their time, is an eloquent witness to their

[43] v. Sifre Numbers, par. 32.

[44] v. b. Sotah 14 a, Gen. r., ch. viii, ed. Theodor, p. 67, Eccles. r., vii. 2, Tanhuma, i, ed. Buber, p. 83, Midrash Psalms, xxv. 11, Pirke R. Elieser, ch. xvii.

[45] v. Marmorstein, 'Die Nachahmung Gottes (Imitatio dei)' in *Jüdische Studien, Dr. J. Wohlgemuth gewidmet* (Berlin, 1928), pp. 144–59.

[46] v. Gen. r., ch. viii, ed. Theodor, p. 66.

[47] v. Gen. r., ch. lv, ed. Theodor, pp. 588–9.

mislead the Egyptians, whilst R. Joshua saw in it a geographical name.[59]

R. Joshua understood Exod. xiv. 15 in the sense that there was nothing left to Israel except to continue the journey, according to R. Elieser, however, Moses was reproved for wasting time in long prayer in an hour of danger.[60]

Exod. xv. 22 offers a very eloquent proof of the difference in the exegesis of the two masters. The text ויסע משה requires some comment. R. Joshua taught that all the journeys made by the children of Israel were by God's command with the exception of this one, which was by the direction of Moses himself, as indicated in the letter of the Scriptures. Not so R. Elieser; according to him, this journey was also at the command of God, then why does the text say that Moses made Israel to journey? It seems to say that Moses forced them to move against their wish with a stick in his hands. For they beheld the corpses of their task-masters rotting on the field, and they thought that no one of the old people was left in Egypt, so they wanted to return to Egypt till Moses forced them to go on.[61]

Exod. xv. 24 was expounded by R. Joshua literally, the people murmured against Moses. R. Eleasar of Modiim teaches that they rebelled against God as well.[62] Similarly v. 22 is taken literally (כשמועו), namely, they could find no water. R. Elieser, however, renders the verse allegorically, namely, 'they were fatigued in order to try them.'[63] According to the allegorists 'water' stands here for 'Torah'. The *Dorshe Reshumoth* explain also the word עץ in v. 25 as 'Torah' in opposition to R. Joshua, who understood the text literally. Moses taught them Torah, by doing so he healed the waters. Exod. xvi. 3 is taken by R. Joshua as an unjustified exaggeration on the part of the hungry Hebrews, who were starving in Egypt and wanting the necessities of life, whilst according to R. Elieser

[59] Mekilta 25 b, Mekilta of R. Simon, p. 41.
[60] Mekilta 29 a, Mekilta of R. Simon, p. 47.
[61] Mekilta 47 b, Mekilta of R. Simon, p. 71.
[62] Mekilta 45 b, Mekilta of R. Simon, p. 72.
[63] So Mekilta 45 b., v. a longer recension in Mekilta of R. Simon, p. 72, where the roles are changed.

they were telling the truth. For as slaves they had access to food and drink—but lacked freedom; in the wilderness they enjoyed freedom but lacked physical comfort.[64]

Exod. xvi. 4 הנני ממטיר לכם, R. Joshua stresses the literal meaning of לכם, by implying that the rain of food from heaven was only for Israel. R. Eleasar of Modiim sees in it an allusion to the merits of the fathers, which play a great part in his Haggadah.[65] Similarly the anthropomorphic expression הנני is understood by R. Eleasar as 'for the merit of the fathers I will, &c.', whilst R. Joshua favours the literal rendering by paraphrasing the sentence: 'I will reveal myself at once without delay'.

Exod. xvi. 9, לפני ד׳, R. Joshua explains that the expression קרבו לפני ד׳ means, come before judgment, cf. Is. xli. 21, whilst R. Eleasar of Modiim says that קרבו indicates the revelation of the Shekinah.[66] Apart from the obscurity in the interpretation of the statement of R. Eleasar, who probably tries to explain the term 'before God' as the revelation of the Shekinah—for any creature is everywhere in the presence of God—the saying of R. Joshua does not coincide with the observation that he champions the literal meaning of the text. As a fact, in the Mekilta, p. 48 a, the expositions are reversed in agreement with the general tendencies of these scribes.

In verse 10 R. Joshua takes the verb וייפנו literally, explaining that they did not turn to the wilderness till the revelation of the Geburah. R. Elieser takes the meaning allegorically, that they turned to the merits of the fathers.[67] The reading of the Mekilta of R. Simon, p. 76, is wrong.

The anthropomorphism in verse 12 is weakened by teaching God's omniscience. He knows what Israel said and what the people will say in future.[68] In the Mekilta of R. Simon, p. 76, this teaching is ascribed, surely wrongly, to R. Joshua. Doubtless the copyists omitted his teaching, and credited him with that of R. Elieser.

[64] Mekilta 47 a, Mekilta of R. Simon, p. 74.
[65] Mekilta, p. 47 a, Mekilta of R. Simon, p. 75, v. also ed. Horovitz-Rabin, p. 160, R. Joshua uses the term בוודאי.
[66] v. Mekilta of R. Simon, p. 75.
[67] v. Mekilta, p. 47 a.
[68] Mekilta 47 a.

An instructive instance can be brought forward from the contradictory explanations by these two teachers of verse 14. R. Joshua interpreted the phrase as the hoar frost on the earth, דק ככפר על הארץ, literally, that the Manna fell down like the frost on the earth. R. Eleasar the Modite explained that the Manna came down as a consequence of the prayers of the fathers, who sleep in the dust.[69] This Haggadah is supplemented by an anthropomorphic legend, that God stretched out both His hands in order to receive the prayers offered by the patriarchs, which is entirely opposed to the spirit of R. Eleasar's teaching. It is evidently a later gloss.

Another example: on Exod. xvii. 12: 'And the hands of Moses were heavy.' R. Joshua says that the hands of Moses were as heavy at that moment as that of a man on whose hands are hanging two pitchers of water. R. Eleasar of Modiim takes this sentence figuratively. Moses was disappointed or did not succeed immediately because he delayed the performance of his duty from that day to the next.[70] Consequently the phrase does not convey the meaning that the hands of Moses became heavy, but that Moses came to grief, or pain. In a duplicate passage the view of R. Joshua is rendered thus: 'The sin of Moses became so heavy on his hands that he had to return or rely on the merits of the fathers.'[71] This teaching is, as we saw, a typical feature of R. Eleasar's Haggadah. One may mention some more instances to make still clearer the statement as to the difference between the two teachers. Exod. xviii. 24: 'Moses hearkened to the words of his father-in-law and did all that Jethro said.' Thus the literal meaning is accepted by R. Joshua. R. Eleasar of Modiim modifies this by saying that Moses did all God commanded him.[72]

3. Besides the controversies between R. Akiba and his two contemporaries, R. Ishmael and R. Yose the Galilean, there are four disputes recorded which took place between him and another scholar of his age, whose name is not so well known as

[69] Mekilta, p. 39 a, Mekilta of R. Simon, p. 77.

[70] v. Mekilta of R. Simon, p. 83, anonymously, Mekilta, p. 54 a.

[71] Mekilta, p. 54 b and Mekilta of R. Simon, p. 83.

[72] v. Mekilta 60 a, Mekilta of R. Simon, p. 91; v. further on vers. 23, 27, 21, v. 18.

that of the two scribes mentioned previously. I mean the four remarkable sermons of Pappus, or Pappayos, which met with serious criticism on R. Akiba's part. They belong to the subject under discussion in this chapter and require fuller treatment. The texts on which the sermons of Pappus are based give rise to speculation on the doctrine of God generally, and on the problem of anthropomorphism particularly. The name of the preacher is little known and was at one time identified with that of an early bishop of the Church.[73] This, however, is not to be taken seriously. In the infancy of the modern science of Judaism such ingenious suggestions were frequent and permissible; now-a-days greater care and reserve is to be exercised. Whosoever this preacher may have been, his sermons deserve fuller investigation. He preached in public, in a Jewish synagogue, and R. Akiba, who was present on these occasions, stopped him, by telling him: 'Enough'. This happened to other preachers as well[74] and makes the sermons even more interesting and instructive. The very fact that the orator is silenced in public for some reason or other points to some intellectual or spiritual crisis in the midst of that community, when the divergence of views or doctrinal contention reaches such a height that the ideas or utterances of a preacher sound or are looked upon as dangerous. The order of the sermons which have to be mentioned here cannot be established, for it varies according to the sources at our disposal. The compilers of the different Midrashic collections put that sermon which has a bearing on their special text either in front or at the end of their list. I shall treat them according to the order given in the Mekilta,[75] which is as follows: (a) Cant. i. 9; (b) Job xxiii. 13; (c) Gen. iii. 22, and (d) Ps. cvi. 20.

I. 'To the horses of Pharaoh's chariot have I compared thee my love.' The preacher takes for granted that each member of his audience present is fully aware of the fact that Canticles

[73] v. L. Löw, Ben Chananja, vi. 827..

[74] v. f.i. Gen. r. ch. xxxvi, ed. Theodor, p. 339, and parallels, where R. Judah b. Ilai tells R. Meir: דייך.

[75] Mekilta 33 a, Mekilta of R. Simon, p. 54. Gen. r. ch. xxi. 5. Cant. r., i. 45, Tanhuma, ed. Frankfurt a. O. 65 b., Midr. fragment *MGWJ.*, 1894, p. 172.

is composed of dialogues between God and the Kenesseth Israel. What does such a comparison, as spoken of in this verse, mean? asked Pappus. Can such a comparison be made at all? His explanation would not satisfy Philo or any of his colleagues of the allegorical school. He interprets the poet's words thus: If Pharaoh appeared on a male horse, God did the same,[76] on a female horse, then God did the same.[77] R. Akiba indignantly tells him to keep silent. R. Akiba, on his own part, advances this exposition of the verse, that God rejoiced at the downfall of the Egyptians, but He would have rejoiced more to destroy Israel, if it were not for the Torah. This quaint idea is based on the similarity between the word for 'horse' סוס, and the verb for 'rejoice'. I have serious doubts whether the explanations in the text are properly recorded at all. The preacher in raising his difficulties must have belonged to the school of allegorists, that is, to the circle of R. Ishmael, or that of R. Yose the Galilean. The method of R. Akiba, however, as we learnt on the previous pages, was to take such passages literally. Furthermore, it was shown above[78] that R. Ishmael propagated the view that God rejoices at the defeat of the wicked. The views expressed here, have to be, therefore, simply transposed. The allegorical view was that of Pappus, the literal interpretation is that of R. Akiba.

There is some external evidence that such literal explanations were given in the schools and synagogues of Judea in the first decades of the second century. Justin Martyr in his attack against the Jew Tryphon mentions something of this type. The Church Father may have listened to such, or to a similar, exposition by R. Akiba or by some of this teacher's numerous pupils, who adopted his exegetical norms. Justin reproaches the sages of Israel for pondering on such futile questions, as, why are only male and not female camels mentioned or spoken of?[79] There is another anti-Jewish dialogue of the second century preserved, in which the attack is expressed more distinctly. We read there:[80] 'Do not, like a Jew, suppose concerning an incorporeal being that distinctions of male or female

[76] Mekilta 33 a.
[77] v. Habakkuk iii. 15, and Ps. xviii. 11.
[78] v. above, pp. 29 f.
[79] *Dialogue* ch. cxii; cf. Harnack, p. 69.
[80] Published in the *Expositor*, April (1897), p. 304.

hold good. You may hold such language about them, just as you would even about your own body; for your soul is nominally called feminine, yet in reality it is neither male nor female.' The Haggadah actually speaks of male and female in the creation, for instance, about the upper and lower waters being male and female respectively,[81] yet it is a general tendency in folk-lore to call the stronger elements male, and the weaker female.[82]

That the transposition of the names of the teachers, suggested a few lines earlier, is justified, seems the more probable because the pupils of R. Akiba would otherwise be adopting and broadcasting teachings silenced by their master, which is surely unlikely. Thus R. Meir says that just as Pharaoh appeared on a female horse, so God rode on a female horse on His throne of Glory. The later Haggadists joined a legend as commentary to these words. Pharaoh asked his servants about his swiftest animal with which he could pursue the escaping Hebrews. They advised him to take a certain coloured mare, after which all the males will run with the greatest possible speed. God asked His ministering angels a similar question. 'Which is the quickest among all my creatures?' They replied: 'Thou art omniscient and Thou knowest best that the wind coming out of the wings of the Cherubim is the swiftest of all Thy creatures.' Consequently God appeared on it.[83] If the legend is eliminated from the Haggadah it would appear that R. Meir agreed with Pappus. In another legend a somewhat similar teaching is connected with the name of R. Joshua b. Korha. He says: 'Pharaoh was riding a mare when he appeared at the sea. God rode a mare. Yet, how can one say such a thing, was He not riding a Cherub? This is true, but the Cherub had the likeness of one of Pharaoh's mares, so that all the horses of Pharaoh were swiftly running after it into the sea.'[84] Here

[81] R. Levi, Gen. r., ch. xiii, Eccles. r., p. 67. pal. Berakoth 14 a; ibid. Taanith 64 b, Bathe Midrashoth, ed. Wertheimer, i, p. 6; cf. further *Ethiopic Enoch*, ed. Charles, p. 107.
[82] v. *Zeitschrift des Vereines für Volkskunde*, xx, 143.
[83] Midrash Agadath Shir Hashirim, ed. Schechter, p. 17, ed. Buber, p. 15.
[84] Aboth of R. Nathan, ed. Schechter 83 a, where the text has to be adjusted according to the Mekilta.

again it is a most unlikely assertion that R. Joshua b. Korha should have propagated an idea publicly rejected by R. Akiba. There is finally textual confirmation for reversing the names of these two scribes in the version of the later Midrash on Canticles, which may here be relied on.[85]

II. The second homily teaches that God judges mankind all by Himself, without the assistance and counsel of His heavenly host of ministering angels, and that there is no gainsaying His words. R. Akiba, however, explained the words as meaning that God's judgments are perfectly just and well-balanced and true.[86] Pappus followed here the exegesis of the allegorical school, which favoured angelological theories, as demonstrated above.[87] Consequently some emphasis had to be laid on the strict unity or independence of God's justice from external powers. R. Akiba, probably thinking of Gnostic speculations about the justice of God, teaches the perfect truth of God's justice, which cannot be assailed or doubted. The later teaching that God consults His *familia* was not yet known in this age.[88] It is, however, most remarkable that in one passage belonging to R. Akiba the term בית דין של מעלה, i.e. 'the Heavenly Court' is used[89] which would perfectly fit in with his opposition to Pappus in this instance. The allegorist opposed the conception of the participation attributed by the literalist to the Heavenly Court or *familia*, and was consequently rebuked by R. Akiba.

III. The third sermon of Pappus is built on the same principle as the previous one. An allegorist could not accept the interpretation 'behold, man is like God', he naturally would see in ממנו the ministering angels. R. Akiba retorts that one can explain the text literally without bringing in the name of God at all. God put before man two ways. One of life and the other of death. Man chose that of death. This text requires some elucidation. It is quite clear why Pappus

[85] v. Cant. r., ad loc.

[86] v. the version in Masmuth's מערן גנים, ed. Buber, Berlin, 1889, p. 74.

[87] v. above, p. 33.

[88] v. Marmorstein, 'Anges et hommes dans l'Agada', *RÉJ.* 84 (1927), pp. 37–51, and pp. 138–141.

[89] v. Makkoth 13, a b.

offered his exposition, which is in agreement with that of the allegorical school. Yet, surely, R. Akiba could have raised no objection to such an interpretation on dogmatic grounds. Secondly, how did R. Akiba force his doctrine of the two ways into the text, which contains not the slightest allusion to it? All one can say is that R. Akiba expounded: Behold, man (has chosen) one of them (the two ways). Here again Canticles rabba helps to re-establish the original text. Accordingly, Pappus referred to God, the Unique of the World, R. Akiba, however, to the ministering angels. This variant is helpful, but by no means decisive. For the critic of the text may ask the question, how did the reference to the ministering angels creep into the sermon of Pappus in all the parallel texts? Furthermore, it cannot be denied that R. Akiba prefers the literal and his opponent the allegorical method of exposition. One has again to reverse these two views, as was necessary in the first sermon. The allegorist says that אחד ממנו cannot mean 'like God', but 'as one of the ministering angels'. R. Akiba replies that there is no obstacle in the way of rendering the phrase literally: 'Like God Himself'. How is now the omission of this view in the Mekilta and the insertion of the teaching of the two ways to be accounted for? The text in Ecclesiastes rabba records three comments on this verse. There the third view, that of the Hakamim, is identical with the teaching ascribed to R. Akiba in the Mekilta. This introduces a second allegorical interpretation, which avoids anthropomorphism and angelology at the same time.

IV. The fourth sermon is based on the original text of Ps. cvi. 20, which reads כבודי instead of כבודם: 'They changed my glory into the image of a grass-eating ox'. Pappus said, 'One might think that the Hebrews made a golden calf after the image of the ox above; therefore, the text says, "a grass-eating ox".' Akiba says that they made the calf after the image of an ordinary grass-eating beast, taking the words of the Psalmist quite literally.[90]

[90] v. Tanhuma כי תשא, par. 21–2; Yalkut Makiri Ps. 106. 48, R. Simon b. Lakish, b. Hag. 13 a b.

4. Justin Martyr in his dialogue with the Jew Tryphon[91] asserts that the Jewish teachers of his age ascribe to God human forms, picture Him with physical qualities, invest Him with a human figure and think of Him as in possession of human limbs. The references in the Bible to God's limbs are interpreted literally and they speak of God as taking on the image of angels or of man. This charge was often repeated by scholars of the last and of this century, whenever the old-Rabbinic doctrine of God was discussed or criticized. A German scholar of our time writes: 'Die ganze Entwickelung der alttestamentlichen, und nachher der nachalttestamentlichen-talmudischen Theologie ist von der Idee der Geistigkeit Gottes niemals so bestimmt erfüllt, dass der Gedanke an irgend eine irgendwelche Körperlichkeit Gottes im Judentum vollständig abgestreift worden wäre.'[92] Finally, there is an historian who spent some time in writing about Judaism, who characterizes the Jewish teaching of God as being first of all exclusive, secondly jealous, thirdly as anthropomorphic.[93] I think it is high time to examine these charges against the Rabbinic conception of God with the aid of the Rabbinic material at our disposal. From the foregoing paragraphs it seems pretty evident that there were two trains of thought in Judaism, one favouring the allegorical method, which was never open to Justin's challenge. What about the opposing school of R. Akiba? Is the description of Justin not true about them? The following paragraph will be devoted to the investigation of this problem.

Contemporaries of Justin, R. Dosa and R. Akiba, followed by the pupils of the latter, left some remarks on the verse 'for no man can see Me and live'. R. Dosa taught that man cannot see God and live, but he will behold Him after death. He based his pronouncement on Ps. xxii. 30, 'before His countenance bow down all those, who descend to dust, whilst his soul is no more alive'. R. Akiba, who is in favour of literal exegesis, as we have noticed, says that even the holy creatures

[91] Ch. 114, cf. Harnack, *Texte und Untersuchungen*, xxxix, p. 57.
[92] Baudissin, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, xviii, 1915, p. 200.
[93] Ed. Meyer, *Entstehung des Christentums*, ii, p. 23.

who carry the Throne of Glory cannot see the Glory, namely God, as it is said 'no one can see Me, and live' (Num. xxxiii. 20).[94] R. Simon ben Yohai adds to this: 'I am not refuting or contradicting the words of my master, I merely supplement his teaching by saying that even the ministering angels, who are endowed with the blessing of eternal life, cannot see the Glory. The text applies to them as well as to all creatures.' These three views which have to be considered here are taught with some variants in another source.[95] R. Akiba teaches there that even the ministering angels are unable to see God. The view of R. Dosa in the Sifra is here ascribed to Simon the Yemenite and that of R. Dosa is given in the name of R. Eleazar, the son of R. Yose the Galilean, with the further remark that neither the figure nor the place of God can be seen or ascertained by man in this life. Did these scribes hold that God has a figure, which can be seen? Was there in their theology room for a visible God? To answer these questions one must gather more material garnered in the store-houses of Jewish theology, religious thought and teaching.

A legend has it that when the High-Priest Simon the Just on his last Day of Atonement was ministering in the Temple, his usual companion, a venerable old man, clad and wrapt in white, entered the Holy of Holies with him, but did not leave with him. Hence he inferred, and correctly so, that it was his last year of office.[96] In the circle of R. Abbahu this report roused some surprise, for it is written that no one shall be in the Tent of Appointment during the time when the High-Priest is atoning in the Sanctuary (Lev. xvi. 17). Not even one of the angels was permitted to stay there at that moment. R. Abbahu says that surely the venerable old man was not a human being, but God Himself. R. Abbahu was favourably inclined to anthropomorphic ideas, as will be proved further on, yet this answer may have been familiar to the contemporaries of the High-Priest who circulated that legend as well. There is another High-Priest about whom it is told that he encountered in that sacred place Akathriel, who is God, if

[94] Sifra 3 b. Yalkut Makiri Psalms, p. 154.
[95] Sifre Numbers, par. 103.
[96] pal. Yoma v. 2.

the text is to be taken literally. R. Ishmael ben Elisha saw Akathriel sitting on His throne appealing to the High-Priest that he should bless Him, which he did.[97] The passage gave rise to vehement attacks on the part of various heretical writers, which were repelled by scholars of the Geonic age, and after.[98] The difficulty is not removed by seeing in Akathriel an angel or the Light of Glory, for the ancient readers saw in this name God Himself. Besides, the older as well as the younger Haggadah preserved numerous traces of a religious conception in which God is spoken of or imagined as a visible figure. Rabbis in the Middle Ages still adhered to such a presentation of religious teaching.[99] The Midrash depicts the Hebrews as seeing God as warrior or as a learned scribe [100] The Hebrews on the Red Sea were able to point at God with their fingers, 'They beheld His image as a man is able to look his friend in the face.' [101] Hillel may have taken the words of Gen. i. 27 literally, when he compared himself, the man created in God's image, with the eikon or statue made for the honour of the ruler that is well looked after and carefully preserved.[102] R. Meir follows in the footsteps of this great teacher in expounding the prohibition not to leave the hanged man over-night on the tree; for he is bearing the very image of God, which, as developed at some greater length in a parable, would lead to blasphemy.[103] These observations lead to a Barayta that has a close bearing on the subject under discussion. Five persons, we are taught, were created מעין דוגמא של מעלה [104], which means 'in the likeness or image of the Above'. 'Above' signifies the name of God.[105] What did this saying convey to the reader? It could mean that Samson in strength and force was almost like God, the all-powerful and almighty. Saul, Absalom, Zedekiah, and

[97] b. Berakoth 7a. Barayta Aziluth 76b. Zunz, *Syn. Poesie*, 474; Perles, J., *Miscellen*, p. 10, derives the name from the Persian.

[98] v. Geonic Responsa, ed. Lyck, no. 115. Commentary on the Sepher Yezira by R. Judah Barzeloni, pp. 20–1.

[99] v. the Ketab Tamim of Moses Tachau in Ozar Nehmad iii. pp. 54 ff.

[100] v. above, p. 36. [101] Mekilta 37a. Mekilta of R. Simon, p. 60.

[102] v. Lev. r., ch. xxxiv.

[103] b. Sanhedrin 46b. [104] b. Sotah 10a. [105] v. pt. i, p. 91.

Asa excelled in the beauty of their limbs or figures all their fellow creatures, and were almost similar to God. This teaching sounded so anthropomorphic that it had to go through some important modification. Younger texts read instead of נדמו מעין דוגמא של מעלה the less dangerous phrase נדמו לאדם הראשון. They were like Adam in beauty and physical perfection.[106] It seems that the older expression was altered in order to avoid criticism and objection. According to an old commentary the original expression refers to the heavenly beings who serve before Him, but not to God Himself, who has no figure.[107] Accordingly, the Barayta attempts to show that Samson and the other personages enumerated there reached in beauty and strength respectively a very high degree, surpassing the usual measure of these qualities and bordering on those of the celestials. About God such phantasies are not only impossible but blasphemous. Nevertheless, the original text favours a more literal exposition, in agreement with the conceptions advanced from the available sources.

A literary remnant of this anthropomorphic movement in Palestinian Jewry of the first century is the little booklet circulating under the name of Shiur Komma. Here, anthropomorphism reaches its climax. God is not only spoken of as a man with a figure and limbs, but fantastic measures and numbers are supplied to the reader in order to convey an idea of God's physical greatness. It was rightly pointed out by Dr. Gaster that the Church Father Irenaeus in his book against the Heresies speaks against similar tendencies among contemporary sects,[108] and refutes these mystical tendencies and Gnostic speculations. Yet it was perhaps not only Gnostic Jews or Christians who indulged in such theological teachings.

[106] v. Pirke de Rabbenu ha-Kadosh, ed. Grünhut, ch. v. 14, ed. Schönblum, vi. 28, where six names are mentioned. Uzziah is added to the previous list, v. further Pirke of R. Elieser, ch. liii, Tanhuma Deut., ed. Buber, p. 8, Lev. r., ch. xx, and Tanhuma, ibid., where the total is increased by another name.

[107] v. the Yezira-commentary of R. Judah of Barzelona, p. 39.

[108] v. *M.G.W.J.*, xxxvii, vol. 1892, pp. 179ff., now in his *Texts and Studies*, vol. ii, pp. 1330-34.

The material quoted in this chapter, which could be enlarged, leaves no doubt that there was a school in Judaism, and an important one too, that believed in a God who accompanies man in human form and shape. These mystics, who were far removed in their religious life and thought from any rationalism, were so near to and one with their Maker that they could think of Him as invested with human figure and limbs. The very fact that such a piece of literature survived for centuries in Hebrew is strong evidence for the immense influence that this non-rational theology exercised in the course of Jewish history. Even the opponents of this work, like the Gaon Saadyah,[109] do not deny the antiquity of the book; they merely harp on its pseudo-epigraphic character. Yet the very fact that the story of Akathriel found a place in the Talmud is undisputable evidence that such beliefs must have been widely held during the first centuries of the Current Era. The Shiur Komma was originally a part of the Midrash on the Alphabetha ascribed to R. Akiba, and not of the Hekaloth, as suggested by Dr. Gaster.[110] The Bohemian writer and scholar Moses of Tachau, at all events, saw in the Shiur Komma a part of R. Akiba's Midrash.[111] Anyhow, the mystics of the Middle Ages must have known something about the origin of this literature, and their tradition coincides remarkably with the observation of the tendency which ruled in the school of R. Akiba. The fiercest opposition against and unmerciful strictures passed on the little book by Karaite, Christian, and Jewish scholars and writers did not prevail to rob it of its popularity in the circles of mystics and saints.[112] It satisfied the craving of man after nearness to and oneness with God, which rationalism and pure wisdom cannot supply and offer.

Aboth of R. Nathan preserved[113] a remarkable piece of

[109] v. Yezira Commentary, loc. cit.

[110] v. loc. cit., p. 1338.

[111] v. Kethab Tamim loc. cit., p. 61.

[112] v. *Cat. Ohel Dawid*, p. 444 and p. 896; further *Orient. Literaturblatt* (1842), 812; *Hatehiyah*, pp. 41–3; *Hammagid*, iv. 46; Responsa Shaare Teshubah, no. 122; Epstein, *Mikadmaniyoth*, p. 120.

[113] Chap. 43, 2nd version, ed. Schechter, p. 120.

disquisition on the subject of the visibility of God. There are three groups enumerated. The first sees the king and his countenance, the second can see the king but not his countenance, and the third can see neither. The three different groups are alluded to in Ps. cxl. 14, Isa. xxx. 20, and Isa. xxx. 21. The first verse is rendered thus: 'Surely the righteous give thanks to Thy name, they sit beholding Thy countenance', cf. Ps. xi. 7. The Haggadist understood, therefore, ישרים as 'beholding', and not as 'the upright' shall sit or dwell before Thy countenance. Further, the second verse, which means 'and thy teacher shall not be hidden any more', was expounded as 'and thou wilt not behold, or the countenance of God will not be seen, yet thine eyes shall see thy teacher, God.' Finally, there is the third set, about which the continuation says: 'and thy ears shall hear behind thee saying.' The teachers classify the prophets here in three groups, according to their standard and degree, and air their views about the visibility of God. For, it is added, some see Him in a dream, others in prophetic vision, and the third in an ordinary vision. Yet there will come a time when God will 'pour out His spirit on mankind and every one will prophesy in the name of God', cf. Joel iii. i f. In an Haggadic exaggeration, this Haggadah makes even the animal world participate in sharing the blessing of the Holy Spirit. For my purpose it is of importance to establish that the author of this saying believed in a corporeal visibility of God, in distinction from other Haggadists, who rejected such an idea entirely, and meant by this term merely a more or less intimate nearness of the created being to his Creator.

A parallel to this passage can be read in the Midrash on Psalms[114] where seven groups of pious men are enumerated. The first of these dwells with the king, and sees the king face to face. These seven groups enjoy the presence of God after this life, in Paradise; the groups spoken of in the Aboth of R. Nathan, however, in their lifetime. Nevertheless, a connexion between the two sources certainly existed.

Such a view, of God's visibility and corporeality, was not

[114] Chap. xi, 6, v. also Yalkut Makiri, ed. Buber, p. 70.

general. It could not prevail. Even if all the traces of opposition to such a teaching had been obliterated by the more successful school of the defenders of the letter of the Scriptures, it would be pretty obvious that it was not the only one. Fortunately enough there is good evidence for the existence of allegorical teachers who challenged these doctrines. On Num. xii. 8, there is a remarkable controversy between the school of R. Ishmael and R. Joshua b. Korha, whom we have recognized as a representative of the literal way of exegesis.[115] The former expound the text, 'He spoke to him from mouth to mouth, and not in riddles, and even the likeness of God was shown to him', similarly to the exposition of Exod. xxxiii. 23, that God allowed Moses to see the happiness of the wicked and the trouble of the righteous in this world, and the reward of the pious as well as the punishment of the sinners in the world to come. Such an exegesis is strictly allegorical and has no room in its theological system for a likeness or figure of God.[116] Not so the other school. R. Joshua b. Korha interprets the text literally. Moses, he says, did not do the right thing by hiding his face, he might have seen all that is below and above, the past and the future. When he finally said, 'Show me Thy glory', God said to him, 'When I wanted to show thee My countenance thou didst hide thy face from before Me, now no one shall see My countenance and live'.[117] Later Amoraic Haggadists defended the respectful conduct of Moses, and teach that he was not punished but awarded the privilege of enjoying for forty days the splendour of the Shekinah.[118]

Another very interesting piece of Haggadah gives us a glimpse of the theological contests of the schools carried on in the early years of the second century in Palestine. Simon b. Azzai, a contemporary of R. Akiba, tells of a great discovery made by him in Jerusalem. He found there a book entitled Megillath Yuhasin, in which was written: (a) that a certain person,

[115] v. above p. 45. [116] Sifre Numbers, par. 103.

[117] v. Exod. rabba chap. iii, quoted in B. Berakoth 7 b as תנא משום רבי יהושע בן קרחא

[118] So R. Hoshaya, R. Samuel bar Nahmani in the name of R. Jonathan ben Elieser, and R. Joshua of Siknin in the name of R. Levi. For the sources, v. previous note.

whose name is not revealed in our sources, was a bastard, born from a married woman; (b) that the Mishnah of R. Elieser b. Jacob was measured and pure; and (c) that the prophet Isaiah was put to death by King Manasseh.[119] This tradition recurs also in the apocryphal writing called 'The Ascension of Isaiah'.[120] The report that the prophet was cut asunder by a saw whilst hiding in a cedar tree, is given, in Aramaic, in the Talmud as well as in the Apocalypse of Paul, an early Christian literary document.[121] For my purpose the passage is of importance, for the Hebrew part of the story recounts in detail the theological controversy which, it is alleged, took place between king and prophet, and which led to the death of the latter. The king discovered three contradictions between Isaiah and the Pentateuch. Moses said: 'For no man can see Me and live', whilst the prophet proclaims: 'And I saw God sitting on a high and exalted throne'. Secondly, Moses said: 'Who is like the Lord our God everywhere, near where we cry unto Him?' whilst Isaiah says: 'Seek the Lord when He is to be found'. Thirdly, Moses said: 'I will fill the number of thy days'. Isaiah, however, prophesies in the name of God: 'I will add unto thy days fifteen years'. We notice here that the idolatrous king plays the role of the defender of the Mosaic law and religion, whilst the prophet is accused of introducing a reformed or modernistic theology. Furthermore, the king represents the conservative but more spiritual religion against Isaiah, whose conception of God is more material and reactionary. Manasseh adheres to the teaching of Moses that God is permanently near to him who cries unto Him, whenever and wherever the prayer may be delivered, the prophet makes it dependent on time and season. Then there is a second point as to whether God's decrees are changeable or immutable. Finally the question is put: 'Can God be seen or not?' Here a fragment of some disputes which agitated the minds of theologians in the first or the

[119] b. Yebamoth 49 b. [120] v. ed. Charles, chap. iii. 10.

[121] v. Heidenheim, *Vierteljahresschrift*, iv, 171; Hennicke, *Handbuch der Neutestamentlichen Apokryphen*, p. xv; Kautzsch, *Pseudoepigraphen*, p. 172, note c.

second century is recorded in a shortened form. Possibly the members of the Pardes indulged in such discussions. Their views are clad in the words of the Scriptures. The members of the allegorical school merely quoted the words which declare that God cannot be seen, He has no form or image; the opposing school pointed to the literal meaning of the words of Isaiah. Is it possible that the narrator allegorized, in the death of Isaiah, the predicted downfall of his rivals? If he did so, he was right, for ultimately the allegorical method conquered the literal interpretation of the Bible; yet this victory was long delayed, and is by no means won yet. As the next paragraph will show, the literal method of interpretation enjoyed great popularity among the Amoraic Haggadists, and regulated and directed their theological outlook and ideas.

5. I turn now to the Haggadic material in the teachings of the Amoraim on the subject of anthropomorphism, by which their contributions to the development of this doctrine can be illuminated. Although the whole Tannaitic material could not be brought forward in the previous paragraphs under discussion, yet these sufficed to establish the fact that there were two schools, one opposing, and the other defending, the literality of the Biblical text on which their theological outlook depended and their conception of God was based. This division was carried on by the great teachers of the Amoraic period. On the whole, one can say so at the outset, the anthropomorphic trend of mind so warmly defended and propagated by R. Akiba and his followers, gained the upper hand first, and the greater number of teachers adopted his view; whilst only a small minority cherished and dared to propagate allegorical doctrines.

It will be advisable to illustrate this observation first by the teachings of the Amoraim on the creation of the world. R. Simon b. Yehozadak, a teacher of the third century, asked R. Samuel bar Nahmani to explain to him how God created light. He, the questioner, does so, since he had heard that R. Samuel was a Baal Haggadah, i.e. a Haggadist, and such a man is supposed to know about similar subjects. The answer was that God wrapt Himself in a garment of light, and light spread from one end of the world to the other. The information was

given in a whisper, as customary with mystic teachers, which surprised the questioner, for the idea is clearly conveyed by the words of the Psalmist (civ. 2). Both teachers must have understood this verse literally.[122] The Psalmist kept alive some ancient myth and the mystic Haggadist took it in its literal meaning. One can easily verify the fact by observing that whilst the writings of the wisdom literature are very poor in anthropomorphic passages, Psalmists and Prophets furnish a great abundance of such material, derived from old mythical reminiscences. The influence of these poetical or mythical figures of speech penetrated into synagogues and schools through these Haggadic teachers.

The cosmological doctrines of the contemporary Haggadah are full of anthropomorphic colour. R. Simon b. Lakish makes God say that the sin-offering brought on the New Moon's day should be an atonement for Him, for He diminished the moon, which was first equal in size and strength with the sun.[123] God said: 'This offering shall be an atonement for Me, because I made the moon smaller'. The same teacher has further another very strange teaching of a similar type. God, he says, required levitical purification through Aaron for His stay in Egypt, in a place of impurity, during the delivery of the Israelites from that land.[124] For, this is the underlying idea of this legend, Israel was delivered neither by the Logos, nor angels, but by God Himself.[125] This teacher

[122] Gen. r. chap. iii, ed. Theodor, p. 19 f., b., Pes. 145 Lev. r. xxxi. 7, and v. also xv. 21 Tanh. בראשית, 10, ויקהל, 7, Midr. Psalms xxvii. 1, civ. 4, Seder El. r., ch. iii. Pes. reads 'in a white stola', איצטלא ? בנה, Tanh. i, p. 6, has R. Nathan, i.e. Jonathan; v., however, Tanh. ii, p. 122, where the right name of the questioner is given. Here, however, the question is not about the creation of light, but as to the creation of the world. In Midr. Psalms xxvi, ed. Buber the saying is by R. Abun ha-Levi; v., however, p. 330, like the other sources.

[123] v. Gen. r. chap. vi, ed. Theodor 42, further b. Hullin 60 b, Shebuoth 9 a, Pirke R. Eliezer chap. li, v. also ch. vi, in the name of R. Zachariah, further Midrash Konen, p. 2.

[124] Exod. r. chap. xv. 6, v. also ibid. xviii. 1, where God appears in the palace of Pharaoh in order to communicate with Moses, v., however, Mekilta, p. 1 a f., God does not reveal Himself outside Palestine.

[125] v. the Geniza fragment of the Passover Haggadah published by I. Abrahams, *J.Q.R.* vol. x, pp. 41 ff.

held the view that the creation was actual work, and not a creation by word. R. Simon b. Judah, in whom one may see an allegorist, teaches that one cannot speak in regard to God in the terms of labour. All the terms of making and creating and so forth have to be taken allegorically. God spoke, and through His Logos everything came into being. Toil and fatigue have no meaning in speaking of God.[126] Not so R. Simon b. Lakish, who emphatically asserts that the world was created by toil and work.[127] Another anthropomorphist connects with this lore an ethical doctrine. The righteous, who contribute by their piety and good deeds to the preservation of the world, will be rewarded for supporting and keeping alive God's work; the wicked, however, will be chastised for destroying God's creation by their misdeeds.[128]

The position taken by R. Simon b. Lakish in the matter of anthropomorphism was fully shared by the leading teacher of this age, the head of the school of Tiberias, R. Yochanan b. Nappacha. This is the more significant, since these two teachers could not see eye to eye with one another in most of the Halachic and Haggadic questions that agitated their minds. By this time, one can assume, the anthropomorphic view held the upper hand in the school of Tiberias. R. Yochanan, whom one copyist credited with the doctrine of the Logos,[129] is reported in another source as having depicted the creation of the world in a real anthropomorphic way. He makes God take two balls (פקועות), one of which was of fire, and the other of snow, then He mixed them up together, and out of them the world was created. R. Hama b. Hanina teaches that God took four such balls with which He created the world.[130] Such cosmological

[126] v. Gen. r. chap. iii, chap. x, ed. Theodor, pp. 19 and 85 f. based on Ps. xxxiii. 6, further on Isa. lxvi. 2, chap. xii, ed. Theodor, p. 99, further ch. xii, ed. Theodor, p. 108, the teaching is ascribed to R. Yochanan, taught by R. Abbahu, most probably, wrongly.

[127] v. Tanhuma i, ed. Buber, p. 7.

[128] R. Yose bar Nahorai, R. Levi in his name, chap. x, ed. Theodor, p. 86, speaking of ידי קוניהם ממשמשות, v. however, R. Aha ibid., chap. viii, p. 37.

[129] v. above, note 126.

[130] Gen. r. chap. x, ed. Theodor, p. 75, b. Hagiga 12 a, has a similar teaching in the name of Rab, R. Abba bar Kahana records this teaching of Rab in Gen. r. chap. iv., p. 31.

theories cannot be reconciled with the teachings of the earlier or later allegorical views. It would be useful to discover how and why the ancient, by then long discarded, pre-Socratic cosmological philosophies crept into Jewish theology in the third century. That such was the case can be gathered from several instances. R. Abbahu, a pupil of R. Yohanan, who lived in Caesarea, a Greek city, taught that God experimented and created several worlds till this world seemed the best and most fitting in His eyes.[131] Such a view could not be harmonized with the teaching of a world created by the Logos. Ancient Jewish apologetic dialogues show that the doctrine of the Logos was disputed by pagan inquirers.[132]

The creation of the world was a favourite topic in the early dialogues between the scribes and their heathen interlocutors. Thus R. Gamaliel and a philosopher,[133] Hadrian and R. Joshua b. Hananyah,[134] a Roman matron and R. Yose b. R. Halafta,[135] exchanged words on this subject. Now our sources report that R. Joshua b. Hananyah replied to Hadrian with the theory expounded in the third century by R. Hama b. Hanina, which proves the earlier date of this teaching. R. Joshua b. Hananyah, as we know from several indications,[136] was well versed in Greek philosophy and literature, may have adopted and adapted the theories of the early Greek natural philosophy and planted it in Jewish soil. This accounts also for the attention given in the Haggadic controversies between this teacher and

[131] v. Gen. r. chap. iii. 9. Exod. r. 30. 2 Eccles. z. 37. Eccles. r. iii. 13.

[132] v. f. i, R. Meir and the Samaritan, Gen. r. ch. iv, 3, ed. Theodor, p. 27. As to the doctrine of the Logos in Rabbinic theology, v. Mekilta 31 b, 32 b. 43 b. Sifre Deut. par. 330, Aboth v, 1, R. Yohanan b. Zakkai, Pirke R. Elieser, ch. xlviii, Simon b. Zoma, Gen. r. ch. iv, 7, ed. Theodor, p. 30, pal. Hagiga 71 c, further ii Baruch, xiv, 18, God can do everything by His word, cf. Gen. r., ch. 28, 2, ed. Theodor, p. 261, Tanhuma Gen. ed. Buber, p. 25. Agadath Bereshith, ed. Buber, p. 2, Yelamdenu Genesis, ed. Grünhut, p. 18 b, Deut. r. v. 13. Finally it penetrated into the Jewish-Aramaic magic incantations, v. ed. Montgomery, p. 121.

[133] v. Gen. r. ch. i, ed. Theodor, p. 8, v. Graetz, *Gnosticismus u. Judenthum*, p. 33.

[134] v. Gen. r. ch. x, ed. Theodor, p. 75.

[135] v. Tanhuma 1, ed. Buber, p. 2.

[136] v. Marmorstein, *R. Josue b. Hananiah et la sagesse grecque, in R.É.J.* 87, 1929, pp. 200 ff.

his opponent, R. Elieser b. Hyrkanos, to cosmological and cosmogonic questions. Thus the dispute about the origin of the material with which the celestial and earthly things were created by God[137] betrays foreign influence. There is some evidence also in Philo for this assertion.

The divergence of these two schools found expression in the different divine names used by them. The teachers who taught that the world was created by the use of the *word* or *logos* coined the name 'He who spake and the world was created' (מי שאמר והיה העולם) for God, whilst the literalists speak of בורא or יוצר, i.e. Creator or Former of the world.[138] To this school belonged the anonymous preacher who developed his theory on the text of Eccles. iv. 8. *There is One*, that is the Holy One blessed be He. *There is no other*, for He has no mate, nor partner. *He has neither son, nor brother.* Since there is no companion to Him, how could He have a son? It means that the Israelites are called His children and brothers out of love. *His trouble is endless.* This signifies the great trouble taken by Him in the creation of the world during the six days of creation. *For whom do I toil and deprive Myself?*—asks God. Is it not that Israel shall cleave unto my ways? This means that if the pious are not zealous in the diligent performance of the commandments and good deeds, is the trouble and toil of the creation not in vain?[139] Another example of the theological teaching of this school is to be found in an exposition on Ps. civ. 16. 'The cedars of the Lebanon which He planted.' These cedars were like grasshoppers. God took them, tore them up, and planted them in the Garden of Eden; that is why they are called the Trees of God.[140]

These strange theological teachings are in great contrast to the teaching that God created both worlds by pronouncing two letters. God says to His creatures: 'Know in whom ye put your trust; in Him who created both worlds with two letters.' The teaching is derived from Isa. xxvi. 4 כי ביה צור עולמים, which

[137] v. Gen. r. ch. xii, ed. Theodor, p. 109, b. Yoma 54 b, Eccles. r. iii, 20, Eccl. zutta, p. 99.

[138] v. pt. i, pp. 74–76, 86–87, and p. 89.

[139] Eccles. r. iv. 8.

[140] Gen. r. ch. xv, ed. Theodor, p. 135.

means through the letters י and ה did He create the worlds. With the letter ה this world, and with the letter י the world to come. The ה indicated that there was neither toil nor labour in the divine creation, but simply the application of the Logos, cf. Ps. xxxiii. 6.[141] This teaching is taught by R. Abbahu in the name of R. Yochanan. Such a tradition is most surprising and contradicts all that we know about these two teachers, master as well as pupil. In one Haggadah R. Yochanan, as we have shown before, depicts God as creating the world by stretching out two balls, and here he speaks of God as creating the world by the Logos. Apart from this saying, there are others to be found in Rabbinic literature which credit him with anthropomorphic utterances. Similarly R. Abbahu can safely be placed among the sages who favour similar physical teachings regarding corporeal actions of God? Two examples will suffice to demonstrate their attitude towards our problem. R. Yochanan as well as R. Abbahu uses the term אילמלי מקרא שכתוב אי אפשר לאמרו (if it had not been written in the text, one could not say such a word). This, as will be shown in these essays, is a typical expression of those who not only take anthropomorphic expressions literally, but, moreover, strengthen the anthropomorphic meaning of them. Thus, when R. Abbahu declares on the strength of Exod. xxxii, 'Moses took hold of God just as a man of his fellowman by his coat, and said to Him: "Lord of the Whole Universe, I will not leave Thee alone till Thou wilt pardon the sin of Israel".'[142] Similarly R. Yochanan depicts God standing before Moses wrapt in a praying-shawl and teaching him the order of prayers and supplication.[143] These anthropomorphic sayings shared, after centuries, the fate of the Bible. Just as the allegorists turned the accounts of the Scriptures into allegories, so the teachings of the literalists, by a strange irony, were understood and expounded allegorically. Yet there arose some mystics and sages who opposed such treatment of the Haggadah, and insisted on strict literality. It is, at any rate,

[141] v. Midrash Psalms ch. lxii, 1, ed. Buber, p. 307, without these names of teacher and pupil, pal. Hagiga 16 c. Gen r. ch. xii. 10, Pes. r. ch. xxi, p. 109 b. Menahoth 29 b. Tanhuma gen. ed. Buber, p. 11.

[142] b. Berakoth 32 a.

[143] b. Rosh Hashanah 17 b.

very quaint that these teachers should be enumerated among the allegorists, or opponents of the literal way of interpretation.

6. It seems that the friends of the anthropomorphic interpretation of the doctrine of God prevailed and held the upper hand over the allegoristic preachers. Yet there can be detected survivals of the once strong and influential school of R. Ishmael and his followers. Historical changes and fluctuations in thought may have weakened or counteracted these teachings, but there remained influential preachers who propagated and perpetuated this aspect of religious thought. The teacher who unearthed the older idea of Logos, creation by the Word, is one instance. Another preacher to be mentioned here is R. Isaac Nappacha, who flourished in the second half of the third century, contemporaneously with the majority of the Haggadists referred to in the previous paragraph. Several of his Haggadic sayings leave no doubt that he was strongly opposed to the literal understanding of the Bible and disliked any sign of religious instruction which might lead to a material or physical conception of the Godhead. To begin with, there is his explanation of the figure of speech פנים אל פנים, which represents God as speaking to Moses 'face to face'. It was meant in an allegorical sense. R. Isaac's rendering is preserved in two versions. According to the first it means to say, 'I and thou', says God to Moses, 'we, both can clarify the Halakah'. According to the other way of exegesis God said to Moses: 'Treat Israel in the same friendly manner as I treated thee.' Face to face, therefore, means: 'show them the same friendliness or encouragement', this is the allegorical sense of the word פנים, 'which I have shown thee'.[144] There have been Haggadists who took this term quite literally, against whom this exposition is directed. A further proof for the allegorical tendency of this Haggadist can be brought forward from his teaching based on 1 Chron. xxix. 23: 'And Solomon sat on the throne of God'. The very question raised in this connexion betrays the terminology of the allegoristic teachers. How can a mortal sit on God's throne? God is a consuming fire, cf. Deut. iv. 24. Surely, this must not be taken literally. It means that just as God's kingdom extends from

[144] Berakhoth 63 b.

one end of the world to the other, or is limitless, so will the rule of Solomon be on earth.[145] Furthermore, there is another similarity between Solomon's judgment and that of God. Before God's seat of judgment, man is tried without witnesses and previous warning; the same will occur before Solomon. In some parallels of this Haggadah, many more resemblances are elaborated, which need not be given here, since these two suffice to show the allegorical method of this teacher. A third allegorical Haggadah by our teacher combines a long list of anthropomorphic passages with an allegorical interpretation. These verses speak of God as speaking, sitting, walking, dwelling, laying bare His arm, and being fearful and awful. R. Isaac collects several passages bearing on these topics, and adds that all these actions are not to be taken in their literal sense, but allegorically. God's actions are meant in 'holiness'. With great ingenuity he discovers that wherever these anthropomorphic deeds are spoken of, the text always adds some qualification of 'holiness'. This served to indicate that God's actions are not like those of an ordinary human being.[146] R. Isaac pursued some homiletical aim in compiling this long catalogue of anthropomorphic passages that are always combined with some adjective or appellative of holiness. This indicates their allegorical value or bearing.

Here attention must be paid to some teachings recorded in the Talmud[147] under the name of this teacher by R. Abun b. R. Ada which apparently contradict the result arrived at through the material brought forward in the previous lines. The first sentence does not cause much trouble, since there appears no reason why an allegorist should not indulge in such teaching. The question raised is put in this way: Whence do we derive the idea that God is present, or to be found, in the synagogues?

[145] Cant. r. i, i, 10, v. also Midrash Psalms, ed. Buber, p. 324, Exod. r. xv, 26, anonymous, with further parallels.

[146] The Scriptural references are: (I) God speaking in Ps. ch. v. 5; (II) God walks, cf. ibid., lxviii. 25; (III) God lays bare His arm, Isa. iii. 10; (IV) God sits on His holy throne, cf. Ps. xlvii. 9; and (V) His might, Exod. xv. 11. The sermon is quoted in pal. Berakoth ix. 1, Midrash Psalms, ed. Buber, p. 27, Tanhuma iii, ed. Buber, p. 73; the names of the Haggadists vary in the various sources.

[147] b. Berakoth 6 a.

for us a time-table of God's daily occupation. God's day is divided into study of the Torah, judgment of the world, the feeding of all the creatures from the biggest to the smallest, and finally the last part is devoted to play with the Leviathan. A somewhat later teacher expresses the opinion that since the destruction of the Temple there are only the 'four cubits of the Halakah left to God'. This is the teaching of R. Hiyya bar Abba.[153] R. Berekyah preserved the teaching of R. Judah b. Ezekiel that there is no day without a new teaching produced by God in His heavenly Beth Hamidrash.[154] There is no end to the remarks and views about God's role as teacher in the eschatology of the Amoraic period.[155] All these endeavours of the Amoraim to portray God as learning and teaching can be understood as replies to the questions raised about the value of the Torah on the one side, and the inquiry about God's occupation on the other side.

For the question whether God observes the Law was often repeated and seriously meant. Justin Martyr quite bewilders his poor Jewish interlocutor, Tryphon, with this ingenious question. It cannot be accidental that, somewhat earlier, a Min asked a similar question in a Roman synagogue of scribes who visited Rome and preached in one of the numerous synagogues in that city. The scribes were R. Gamaliel, R. Eleasar b. Azaryah, R. Joshua b. Hananyah. The subject of their speeches was characteristically enough the theme of the nature of God and the nature of man. Man decrees laws and demands of others that they should carry them out, he himself, however, does not keep them. God decrees and He is the first to discharge the duties imposed upon others.[156] That this was a live subject can easily be imagined if we recall the spiritual and religious cross-currents among the Jews of Rome about the end of the first and beginning of the second century, which necessitated a visit from the leading scribes of Judea. The subject must have touched one of the sore points of Jewish contemporary life, namely, the attitude to the Law. It is certain that the sermon preached in

[153] b. Berakoth 8 a. [154] Gen. r. lxiv. 4, ed. Theodor, p. 104.
[155] Seder El. r. ed. Friedmann, p. 4; Finn, *Heassif* (1884), 99.
[156] Exod. r. xxx. 1.

the metropolis of Rome was by no means purely academic, but of practical guidance to the assembled Jews. M. Joel[157] thinks that this—and this applies to many other passages of a similar nature and form—was designed to impress the hearer with the absolute value and the permanent duration of the observances. The observances are not only prescribed by God to man, but kept in the first instance by Himself. The due distance between God and man, says Joel, should not be overlooked. His words are: 'Sie sind nicht nur ein Weg, den Gott dem Menschen zugeschrieben, sondern den er unter schicklicher Berücksichtigung des Abstandes zwischen Gott und Menschen auch von Gott selbst eingehalten glaubt'. The topic was even of greater relevance than is assumed by Joel. The question was again and again asked of Christian apologists and Jewish sages, What is God doing after having finished the work of creation? [158] The reply was that God observes the law, just as the teachers, for the very same reason, were eager to propagate the teaching that the patriarchs kept the minutest particulars of the Law.[159]

The problem, which agitated the minds of the Roman Jews in the first century, was alive among the Galilean Jews of the third century, and called for solution. R. Eleasar b. Pedath shaped the teaching in this form: 'Usually, an earthly king after issuing a decree, either keeps it himself, or insists that it shall be obeyed by others. God is quite different. Whenever He issues a statute, He is always the first to observe it.' The Scriptural evidence is somewhat complicated. It is based on Lev. xix. 32, 'thou shalt rise up from before the hoary head, and honour the face of the old man, and fear the Lord'. God was the first to discharge this duty when He rose before Abraham.[160] This Haggadist must have been aware of the older

[157] *Blicke in die Religionsgeschichte*. Breslau, 1880, ii, p. 172.
[158] v. the question of King Ptolemy in Rome, Gen. r. ch. vi, v. also Mekilta, p. 104 b, 'God is heating the hell for the wicked'. An unbeliever, Min, mockingly says to R. Gamaliel II: 'I do know what your God is doing at present', v. b. Sanhedrin 39 a, a Roman Matron asks R. Jose b. Halafta the same question, and receives a jocular reply, v. Tanhuma, Num. ed. Buber. Gen. r. ch. lxviii. 4, Num. r. iii. 6, xxii. 8, Midr. Samuel, ed. Buber, ch. v, Pesikta 11 b, Lev. r. viii.
[159] v. Marmorstein, 'Quelques problèmes de l'apologétique juive', *R.É.J.* 68, 1914, 161 ff. [160] Lev. r. xxxv. 3.

tradition, although this is, in our sources, reported by a contemporary teacher, R. Levi,[161] that God stood as a sign of honour before the patriarch.[162] In another source the same teaching is ascribed to R. Simon. Significantly, it is introduced by three Greek words *βασιλεύς*, *νόμος*, *ἄγραφος*, and based on the verse ושמרו את משמרתי, reading, 'I the Lord observe my ordinances first'.[163] A third Haggadist bases this doctrine on Ps. xii. 7, 'God's words are pure, not so those of a mortal which are not pure', i.e. are unreliable, because he is often unable to keep his promise, or carry out his plan. God, however, who is everlasting and almighty, is always true to his word.[164] An anonymous preacher uses this argument, 'a king orders and does not do what he decrees', in a diatribic speech of God to Moses, when He commanded him to erect the Tabernacle,[165] implying the idea that God's deeds are different altogether. In later Rabbinic homiletics, when the custom spread of introducing a sermon by more or less elaborate eulogies of God, the term 'He decrees and He fulfils' became a standing feature of the Haggadah.[166] In brief, one may deduce from these sayings and the emphasis laid on the doctrine that God not only decrees but also observes His laws, that they are due to apologetic motives, which in Jewish theology as well as in that of the Church influenced the history and the development of doctrine. That this is not the only anthropomorphic doctrine developed by the Rabbis under the influence of apologetic tendencies will be demonstrated in the next paragraph.

7. Students of the Haggadah are often faced by a peculiar type of utterances, that ascribe human actions to God and invest Him with human feelings, in which expressions of anthropopathism are attributed to Him. This can be observed already in the Tannaitic Haggadah. R. Elieser b. Hyrkanos depicts God sitting, roaring like a lion in His pain over the destruc-

[161] Gen. r. xlviii. 7, and parallels, ed. Theodor, p. 482.
[162] v. Gen. xviii. 1.
[163] pal. Rosh-Hashana 57 a b, cf. S. Brann, *Orient. Literaturblatt*, 1847, col. 330.
[164] v. Pesikta, ed. Buber, p. 30 a b and parallels.
[165] Exod. r. xl. 2.
[166] v. Pesikta rabbati, ed. Friedmann, p. 57 a, Tanhuma, f. 74.

tion of the Temple. It is certain that without the Scriptural support of Jer. xxv. 30 this teacher would not have made such a daring, anthropomorphic statement. 'The Lord roars from High, from His holy habitation does He give His voice.' He is roaring on account of the loss of His habitation.[167] In comparing God to a lion, the teacher of Lydda was guided by the often praised simile of the prophet Amos.[168] Yet a Barayta speaks without restraint of God weeping on account of the fate of three men, and He is supposed to do so daily. These three unhappy beings are: (*a*) a scholar, who has an opportunity of studying the Torah and neglects it; (*b*) a scholar, who has no leisure for study, and in spite of it devotes his time to learning; and (*c*) a *parnas*, a communal leader, who is overbearing or proud towards the members of the community.[169] Such an expression found its critics among the Amoraim, who asked: 'Is there weeping before God? Can one use such a word about God?' Yes, they taught, there is such a thing before the Godhead. God mourns and weeps over the loss of His Sanctuary. Here again the later Rabbis followed the lead of earlier teachers. Thus Rab elaborates the earlier Haggadah of R. Elieser b. Hyrkanos.[170] Further, commenting on Jer. xiii. 17, 'I shall weep in secret owing to your pride', R. Samuel b. Inia reports in the name of Rab that there is a place called מסתרים, where God weeps, but it is not in secret. R. Samuel b. Isaac explains the phrase מפני גאוה as meaning 'because the pride of the Jewish people is taken away from them, and given to the nations of the world'. A third Samuel, namely b. Nahmani, renders the teaching somewhat differently. God is weeping because the pride or glory of the Kingdom of Heaven is crushed.[171] The destruction of the Temple, an event never to be forgotten, appeared to earlier and later witnesses as causing weeping in heaven. In other words: as we saw that there is rejoicing in heaven, so there is weeping and mourning before God.[172] Both are connected with the rise and the decline in the fortunes of the Jewish people. None of these teachers, therefore, could take

[167] b. Berakoth 3 a. [168] Am. iii. 8.
[169] b. Hagiga 5 b, cf. Pirke Rabbenu ha-Kadosh, ed. Schönblum iii, 6.
[170] b. Ber. 3 a. [171] b. Hagiga 5 b. [172] v. above pp. 43–4.

exception to the idea of God weeping, although Rab disliked to hear of God weeping in secret, because it contradicted the doctrine of God's omnipresence.

Further, one can make the observation that the Rabbis do not mind speaking of God as being in trouble or pain, thinking of Him as sharing His people's distress and exile. R. Meir, in the second century, translates Deut. xxxii. 18, 'and thou hast forgotten God מחוללך', not 'who hath formed thee', but, based on Ps. xlviii. 7, 'who shares thy suffering and thy distress'.[173] There is further a very old exposition on Esther vi. 1 referring the text to God, presupposing the identification of the word המלך in the Scroll of Esther with God. The king's sleep was disturbed. The throne of heaven was terribly shaken, for He saw the awful distress of Israel. How can there be sleep before the Omnipresent? asked the orator. Does it not say, Ps. cxxi. 4, 'behold the guardian of Israel slumbereth not and sleepeth not'? The text means that when God beholds Israel's trouble, and the nations of the world all in comfort, then it appears as if God must be fast asleep. This is what the Psalmist exclaims, Ps. xliv. 24, 'awake, O God, why sleepest Thou?'[174] Besides the verses just quoted from the Book of Psalms, there was a third one, Ps. lxxviii. 65 'and God awoke as from sleep', which gave rise to serious consideration. The answer is given anonymously, but may be traced back to R. Elieser b. Hyrkanos, who favours such distinctions. God sleeps when Israel is neglecting the divine ordinances, and is awake when the Law is faithfully carried out.[175] Another attempt to avert the strong anthropomorphic feeling of this passage advanced the theory that God masters sleep, but sleep has no mastery over Him.[176] When Israel is in trouble, God seems to be asleep. The intimate connexion that is supposed to have existed between God and Israel and which lived in the minds of the Jewish teachers, induced them to preach the strange anthropopathic doctrine

[173] Midrash Tannaim, ed. Hoffmann, p. 195.

[174] Midrash Esther r. x, 1., v. also b. Sotah 48 b, in the name of Rabbahu, yet the use of the divine name Makom suggests Tannaitic origin.

[175] Mekilta, p. 39 a.

[176] Ibid., p. 68 a, cf. p. 95 a, and above p. 24.

that God weeps or mourns. This view alone, however, would not have sufficiently emphasized the grief and distress felt by God at the tragic fate of the Jewish people. Another, weightier, cause must be sought to explain this strange doctrine.

R. Akiba, the great religious teacher and the immortal national martyr of the Jewish people, is credited with the teaching that the Exodus of the Hebrew slaves from Egypt meant much more than the freeing of serfs from bondage. It signified the release of God Himself, if one may say such a thing of God. The teaching goes back to Ps. xci. 15. God was in servitude and bondage during the whole time that His children were subjugated by the taskmasters of Pharaoh.[177] This teaching was further extended by adding that not only in Egypt, but wherever His people were exiled and persecuted the Shekinah, the Divine Presence, or God Himself, is with them. This was the case with the exiles of Egypt, of Babylonia, of Elam, and of Edom. This teaching of R. Akiba was not original, and is merely a reiteration of the words of his teacher R. Joshua b. Hananyah, who taught: 'Come and see God's boundless love and gracious protection that He granted to His people, Israel. His Shekinah went down with them to Egypt, was with them at the crossing of the Red Sea, He accompanied them during their journey through the desert, and brought them to His Sanctuary. God is with Israel everywhere and under all circumstances, in their good fortune as well as in their misfortune.'[178] These eye-witnesses of the Destruction of the Second Temple felt what the dreamers of a speedy Restoration of the Temple did, who comforted their contemporaries and fellow sufferers with the belief in the immutable presence of their God.

Successive generations of teachers often repeated these words, and with them dispelled the people's despair and raised their hope and trust in God. Such an action was especially called for since Christian teachers renewed and reiterated the old defamation of the Jewish nation, first broadcast by pagan

[177] v. Mekilta, p. 17 a, the Scriptural proofs are: Isa. ii. 27, Isa. xliii. 14, Jer. xlix. 39, and Isa. lxiii. 1,

[178] Mekilta of R. Simon b. Yohai, p. 1 f., cf. Gen. xlvi. 4, Exod. xiv. 19.

writers and orators. *God has forsaken the people of Israel! He is no more dwelling in their midst.* This was manifested by the Exile of Israel, the defeat of the Jews on the battlefields of Galilee and Judea, the downfall of the City of Jerusalem, and last but not least the Destruction of the Temple in Zion. Such a proof appeared conclusive to the mind of Greeks and Romans, whose religious ideas and conceptions accepted these reasonings. A defeated and destroyed people or land is forsaken by the gods. The gods become either too weak to protect their worshippers any longer, or they themselves are perishing and broken. One or the other of these two causes must be operating in the case of the Jews. The new Christian community coming from the heathen varied, or had to change, this teaching into a defamation of the Jews, proclaiming that God had abandoned and forsaken the Jews, whose share and position was taken by the new nation, the true Israel, the real people of God, the Church of Christ. The Christian anti-Jewish campaign against God's people was even more intensive and not less poisonous than that of the gutter-press of Alexandria or Caesarea, and the results even more harmful than the attacks of the philosophic adherents of the decaying Greco- Roman religion and civilization. The tragedy of Jewish history is up to this very day a cry for defamation—and an appeal for persecution. R. Joshua b. Hananyah frequently defended Israel and the Torah against calumnies and misrepresentations on the part of many critics and hostile interlocutors, among whom is to be counted one who tried to demonstrate forcibly by mimicry the doctrine of Israel's rejection by God. It may therefore reasonably be assumed that such a statement as that of R. Joshua was intended to emphasize the truth that God is and will remain for ever in the community of Israel. The scattered and down-trodden nation is still God's people. That this polemical attitude against the unfortunate victims of Imperial Rome did not weaken when the Church became consolidated and assumed the legacy of the Greco-Roman world, thereby christening the anti-Jewish weapons, can be attested from numberless utterances of Church Fathers and preachers of the first four centuries. They initiated throughout the whole world a pernicious campaign against the race that had produced their Saviour and their literature. No wonder that the teachers of Judaism could not remain silent, but used every available means of defence and justification. Many generations sighed under the unbearable burden of these cruel accusations, losing courage and self-respect in face of these irreligious allegations, which, mingled with fanatic hatred, tried to rob the Jew of his religion, his future and his past, blot out all he held divine and precious in life and death. The enemies could not overcome and destroy Israel's love of God and God's love for Israel. Israel was not forsaken by God. The gigantic task of these Jewish teachers was to keep alive Israel's attachment to God. The history of this attack and defence is not yet written, and requires a monograph of its own. Yet the very attacks enable us to understand and grasp the deeper value and real meaning of sayings that attribute to God such feelings and ascribe to Him such actions, as grief and exile, as shown above.

The passages cited are not the only ones which emphasize this teaching. The Sifre, like the Mekilta, repeats the same idea. The Shekinah suffers, when Israel is in trouble.[179]

R. Abbahu, a native of Caesarea, where not long before him the Church Father Origen lived and taught, preached a most remarkable sermon: 'Whenever salvation is granted to the Jews, this means simultaneously the salvation of the Holy One, blessed be He'. The idea is based on Ps. xci. 15–16: 'With him am I in distress', says God; 'And I will share with Him my salvation', says Israel. R. Abbahu expresses the fervent prayer of his contemporaries and fellow sufferers in these beautiful, although quaint words: 'Lord of the Universe, Thou hast said with him am I in distress. Be saved, by hearkening to my supplication for redemption, come to Thine own salvation.'[180] One cannot miss the strong anxiety felt by this teacher for the existence and continuity of his people as a religious community, in the presence of the wild and dangerous tempest raging around him. There is a second Haggadah, which justifies the inference that this topic played a not

[179] Sifre Num 84. [180] Midrash Tanhuma, iii, ed. Buber, p. 71.

unimportant part in the theology of this teacher in Caesarea. He proclaimed that this idea of Israel's salvation being simultaneously the salvation of God, is taught in many passages of the Scriptures.[181] Ps. ix. 15 'I will rejoice in Thy salvation', is one of them, Isa. ii. 1 'I rejoiced in Thy salvation', is another. Altogether, there are five of these verses. A third verse is Ps. xiii. 6, 'My heart shall rejoice in Thy salvation'. The remaining two are Ps. lxxx. 3, and Ps. xci. 16. The two last verses combine the conception of God sharing Israel's distress and future salvation. One depends on the other. The present is a sign for the future, as well as a witness for the past relation between God and Israel. The ages refute that cruel doctrine of God having forsaken His people.

The combining of God's exile with the fate of Israel on the one side, and the salvation of both on the other side, based on Ps. xci. 15, was also a strong point in the Haggadah of R. Simon b. Lakish, who was likewise not averse from anthropomorphic ideas. According to a legend used by this teacher, God said when the enemies forced their way into the Sanctuary, that He must share the servitude of Israel. This secret was revealed to Daniel. 'And thou wilt arise at the end of the days.'[182] Daniel asked: 'At which end?' God: 'At the period of judgment and trial.' Daniel: 'And wilt Thou rest?' God: 'Rest for the world.' Daniel: 'Thou wilt rise: with whom? With the righteous or with the wicked?' God: 'With the righteous.' Daniel: 'When?' God: 'At the end of the right.' It does not say לקץ הימים meaning 'the end of the days', but, לקץ הימין 'at the end of the right'. 'My right hand', says God, 'is in servitude, as long as my children are subjugated by the nations of the world, I share their trouble and suffering. When they are redeemed, my right hand will be freed.' This idea was also found expressed in the words of the Psalmist (lx. 7): 'In order to save thy friends strengthen or help Thy

[181] Midrash Psalms, ed. Buber, p. 89, and p. 111, Tanh. iii, ed. Buber, p. 71, v. Yalkut Makiri Psalms, p. 304, Exod. r. ch. xxx, Lev. r. ch. xxxix, cf. *Monatsschrift* (1887), 179, the interpretation given there is an historical document for the mentality of German Jews at the end of the last century, but not of those of the third century in Palestine.

[182] Dan. xii. 13.

right hand.'[183] It is quite likely that R. Abbahu and R. Simon b. Lakish only developed teaching which was widespread much earlier.

The danger was felt most poignantly in Caesarea and other Greek-speaking cities with large Jewish populations. The struggle was a permanent and intensive one. No wonder that the teachers of Judaism saw in the fate of their religious community the distress or the salvation of their God. A teacher who lived somewhat later and may have survived the Christianization of the Imperium Romanum by Constantine the Great and his bishops, and shared the great dream of a restoration of the Jewish people under Julian the Apostate, R. Berekyah, addresses his audience with the words of the Prophet Zacharia (ix. 9): 'Rejoice, O daughter of Zion, for the Righteous is approaching, and He will be saved.' The text does not say 'and He will save thee', but 'and He will be saved'.[184] Likewise in Isa. lxii. 11 it is indicated that through His people God Himself also will be saved. These scribes were convinced that, with the fall of Israel, the divine idea as taught by Moses and by prophets, developed by sages and by scribes, is condemned. Their divine message can be saved only by the salvation of the Jewish people. This is their teaching and it contains the key to the understanding of the history of Judaism.

The teaching of God's participation in Israel's redemption and persecution anticipated the age of the teachers in the third and fourth centuries. The nephew of R. Joshua b. Hananyah, likewise called Hananyah, found in the opening words of the Decalogue the teaching that God was redeemed with Israel from Egypt. He read: 'I am the Lord thy God, who was redeemed with thee from the land of Egypt.'[185] The teaching of R. Akiba, quoted above, is cited as belonging to the School of R. Ishmael.[186] R. Yannai, who lived in the early decades of the third century, sees in the relation of God and Israel the

[183] v. Midrash Ps., ed. Buber, p. 110–11. Pesikta, ed. Buber, p. 131 b, Midrash Psalms, ch. 137, end, R. Azarya and R. Abbahu in the name of R. Simon b. Lakish.

[184] v. Midrash Tanhuma, iii, ed. Buber, p. 71, v. also Pes. rabbati, p. 30 b. Yelamdenu, *R.É.J.* xvi, p. 221.

[185] pal. Suka 45 c.

[186] pal. Taanith i. 1, b. Meg. 29 b.

mutual relation of twins to each other. The pain felt by one reacts on the other.[187] Anonymous teachers derive from the name of Levi[188] and from the thorn-bush the symbolical teachings of God's immutable adherence to Israel and His share in His people's misfortune.[189] Instead of long comments on these extracts a parable of R. Judan may bring home quite clearly the assumed apologetic tendency of this anthropomorphism of the Haggadists.[190] There lived once side by side a mother and her daughter who, as was well known to all their neighbours, were not on the friendliest terms. When the daughter was in travail and great pain, the mother joined her daughter in her lamentations and cries of anguish. The neighbours were surprised and asked her: 'Wherefore dost thou cry? Thou art not giving birth to a child; besides, thou art not on such friendly terms with her.' The mother replied: 'Is she not my daughter? How can I bear the pain of my child, without sharing it?' Similarly, after the Destruction of the Temple loud weeping and lamentation was heard in the whole Universe coming from God.[191] The ministering angels said to God: 'Is there such a thing as weeping before Thee? Is there weeping, mourning, and lament in heaven? Does it not say: "Glory and Majesty is before Him"?'[192] God replied to them: 'Is My house not destroyed, are My children not driven into exile, should I not be grieved?' Indeed, the prophet Elijah informs R. Jose, who visited the ruins of Jerusalem, that God mourns daily the fate of His Sanctuary and of His children. 'Woe unto the father, whose children are driven from the mansion and table of their father.'[193] Of a truth, God has not forsaken Israel.

8. There is a third problem of Jewish Apologetics, the discussion of which tended to strengthen anthropomorphic thought in Jewish theology. It is the question of God's needs in general, and of the command to erect a sanctuary and to offer sacrifices in particular. One of the strongest attacks

[187] Exod. r. ii. 5. [188] Exod. r. i. 5.
[189] b. Taanith 16a, Tanh. ii. 14. Pirke of R. Elieser, ch. xl.
[190] Midrash Psalms, ed. Buber, 173. [191] Cf. Isa. xxii. 12.
[192] Cf. 1 Chron. xvi. 27. [193] b. Berakoth 3a.

framed, and one of the most effective weapons forged in the schools of ancient philosophy, in the combat against polytheism, lay in the argument regarding the absurdity of belief in the needs of the gods.[194] It was re-echoed many a time from Jewish as well as from Early Christian lips and pulpits, before Christianity was severed from Judaism. Yet in turn, with the spread of the Hebrew Bible, similar objections were raised to the Jewish teachings of God as propagated by the Biblical writings. A homily of R. Yochanan bar Nappacha may serve as an indication to show the effect of this argument on Jewish teachers and their pupils in the third century. Moses, it is taught, experienced a setback when three commandments were given to him. First of all, when he was enjoined to erect a Sanctuary (Exod. xxv. 8), secondly, when he was ordered to prescribe the daily offerings (Num. xxviii. 2), and finally, when the law of taxation, the Half Shekel, was about to be promulgated, and he was told that this contribution means a 'ransom of the soul' for him who pays it (Exod. xxx. 12).

As to the tabernacle, Moses was amazed. How can a mortal being erect a Sanctuary unto God? Whereas it says about Him 'behold neither the heavens nor the heaven of heavens can contain Him' (1 Kings viii. 27). As to the sacrifices, the prophet Isaiah says: 'the Lebanon cannot supply enough fuel, nor all the cattle thereof enough burnt offerings' (xl. 16). Finally, how can one give the ransom of one's soul?[195] The last point belongs to our group only so far as the passage might have conveyed the wrong impression that God needed the Half Shekel for such a purpose. The questions involved in this sermon, and the difficulties underlying them, are of a much earlier date, and call for fuller treatment than the abridged homiletic sketch, preserved in the literature of the Midrash, presupposes. It is first of all necessary to consult again the theology of the Hellenistic writers and connect the two divergent schools.

[194] v. the literature in Geffcken's *Zwei Griechische Apologeten*, pp. 202ff.
[195] The sources of the sermon are: Pesikta, ed. Buber, p. 20a, R. Judah b. Simon in his name. Pesikta rabbati, ed. Friedmann, p. 84b, shortened. Further Tanhuma, ed. Buber, Num., p. 34, where, however, the order of the subjects is: (*a*) the half shekel, (*b*) sacrifices, and (*c*) the Tabernacle. Num. r., xii. 13, Midrash Psalms, ch. 91. v. also Pes. B., p. 68b.

A people living in a strange environment is more sensitive to external influence and more likely to listen to outside criticism than a nation enjoying full political and intellectual independence in a more or less secure home. Alexandrian writers and preachers faced earlier polemics and questions on the subject of God's dwelling place. The Jews in Palestine did not mind what Zeno or other Stoics thought of temples, erected by human hands.[196] To them the Sanctuary on the Temple Mount represented the most sacred and beautiful spot in the whole universe. Not so to the Jew in Rome or Alexandria. It may be that when Philo was coming back from his pilgrimage to Jerusalem some sceptic or stoic whispered in his ears: 'Is there anything sacred in the most magnificent edifice? Or, in other words, does your God need a Sanctuary? Can a building contain God?' It cannot be accidental that the LXX, Philo, the author of the Psalms of Solomon, and later Josephus, use the text of Solomon's prayer as the basis for their discussion of this question, in the same way as is done later by the Galilean teacher of the third century. It will be useful to give to these sources special attention and consideration. The Glosses added in the text of the LXX to 1 Kings viii. 53 and 2 Chron. vi. 1 must have been written by a theologian who felt the difficulty and the incongruity of the passages as keenly as did later on the contemporaries of the teacher of Tiberias, or, according to the legend, Moses himself. In the first gloss so much is clear, that the glossator was deeply troubled by the prayer of Solomon on one side, and the erection of the Sanctuary on the other side. The answer to this query is borrowed from some earlier source, unknown to us, and means that it is absurd to assume that God lives in a house. His dwelling is in the dense darkness, wherever that may be. The second gloss translates the prayer more definitely than the first. Solomon prayed: 'A house

[196] Pythagoras taught that God has no fairer temple than the pure soul, v. Farnell, *Higher Aspects of Greek Religion*, p. 147, v. also Seneca, *Ep.* 95, Lactantius, *Inst. div.* vi, God dwells not in temples of wood and stone, and needs no ministration of human hands. Zeno spoke with contempt of the erection of sacred edifices; for how can an edifice be sacred when built by labourers and builders?

fitting for a king like Thee, where Thou mayest dwell for my adoration of Thee, in this present period.' The Temple of Solomon is, therefore, built for man's sake, and not for God's need or comfort. Further, this institution is ordained for the present age, when man is weak and frail; the real perfect age will see more glorious and more appropriate buildings, built by God himself. We learn here the idea that the erection of the Temple is for man's sake, but, as will be shown further on, even observances and other institutions are made for the same purpose. Philo[197] seemed to have solved the difficulty by a similar theory. The Temple made by Moses was a necessity for the present world; the more perfect world will not need such an outward symbol of God's dwelling among man. Whilst, however, Philo sees the ideal Temple in the future, the author of the Wisdom of Solomon saw it in the past, when he says:[198] 'Thou hast commanded to erect a Sanctuary unto Thee on the Holy Mount and a place for sacrifices in the city of Thy residence, an imitation of the holy Tabernacle which Thou hast prepared from the beginning of creation.' The earthly temple shall serve as a reminder to man of the divine habitation in heaven. Here again, there is a teaching, which either was borrowed from, or has made a lasting impression on, Palestinian Haggadists. Finally, there is Josephus, who paraphrases the words of Solomon in a similar way to that of the LXX. God has an eternal abode. Perhaps it is that abode spoken of by the author of Solomon's Wisdom, and surely that which is contrasted by the Glossator of the LXX and Philo with the Temple built by human hands and human labour. This habitation is made of all the elements created by God: Heaven, earth, air, water, which are all of them imbued throughout by Him, but they do not suffice to contain His divinity.[199] Let this suffice for the Hellenistic literature, in order to convey some idea of the agitation caused by this problem among Greek-speaking thinkers.

Turning to the Palestinian sources, we see that as far

[197] v. on LXX and Philo, Dähne, *Geschichtliche Darstellung*, ii, pp. 44–5.
[198] Ch. ix. 8, v. Weinstein, *Genesis der Agada*, p. 17.
[199] *Ant.* viii. 9.

as the material available can teach the question does not arise before the middle of the second century. R. Judah bar Ilai is the first who dispels the scruples aroused on this account. God is like a king who used to talk to his little daughter where he chanced to meet her. Yet, when she grew up, he built a pavilion for her, for he considered it not polite to continue to behave in such a manner towards his daughter. Similarly God wanted to show honour to His people, when Israel became a nation and received the Law on Sinai.[200] The Tabernacle was not built because of God's need of a worthy habitation, but as an eloquent sign of the great honour shown to Israel. The same teacher uses a similar argument in explaining the commandment about the kindling of the lamps in the Sanctuary.[201] God does not require light, but the commandment was given in order that Israel should be able to acquire merit so as to inherit a share in a future life.[202] On similar lines is the expression in the Mekilta[203] where the command for making the Tabernacle is contrasted with the saying of the prophet Jeremiah, ch. xxiii. 24, 'God fills heaven and earth, how can He dwell in a house built by a human being?' The answer given is that the command was issued in order to enable man to receive reward. It is noteworthy that out of the three points raised in the Haggadah of R. Yochanan b. Nappacha two are raised as contradictions in the older Mekilta.

A contemporary of R. Yochanan, a teacher of Lydda, R. Joshua b. Levi, advances the teaching that the Exodus of Israel from Egypt was conditional on the erection of the Tabernacle; otherwise the liberation would not have taken place, or might have later on been annulled.[204] The exegetical force of this Haggadic teaching appears so weak that one cannot help assuming that the idea of the Tabernacle was at this time sorely in need of apologetic support. The Law of the erection of the Tabernacle, as this teacher is endeavouring to imply, is of greater importance and significance than is commonly assumed. He may have developed an earlier idea of R. Simon b. Yohai, according to

[200] Pes., ed. Buber, p. 2 a.
[201] v. Num. viii. 1 ff.
[202] Tanhuma iv, ed. Buber, p. 36.
[203] Mekilta 18 b.
[204] Pes., ed. Buber, p. 18 a.

whom the world exists for the sake of the Tabernacle.[205] Here also one would like to know whether the idea owes its origin to some tangible cause in the background, or was it the result of learned, but unauthoritative, exegesis? There are other Haggadists who emphasize the merit of the Tabernacle, i.e. that of erecting the Sanctuary, e.g. R. Samuel bar Nahmani.[206] Yet, in the case of R. Joshua b. Levi an indication is still at our disposal which makes it more than probable that in uttering these words he intended to defend this institution and its religious meaning against evil-minded critics. He emphasizes in another homily the great blessing and source of welfare which the Temple has been to the Gentile world.[207] He, surely, meant to say in the face of sharp opposition that ridiculed the whole conception of building Sanctuaries generally, and the rebuilding of the Temple in Jerusalem in particular, that Jews as well as Gentiles have to look to the Temple as to a source of blessing in the present and as to a safeguard of their existence in the future. Are there, one might ask, any traces of such opposition discernible in the literature at our disposal? If we may trust the author of the Clementine Homilies (II, XLIV) there were people who raised such questions as: If He dwells in a Tabernacle, who is without bounds?

Another theory about the influence exercised by the erection of the Tabernacle deserves mention in this connexion. R. Eleasar b. Pedath and R. Yochanan b. Nappacha taught that on the very day when the Tabernacle was erected the evil spirits, the rule of demons, and the fear of ghosts disappeared from the world.[208] Did these preachers understand the function of the Tabernacle as that of dispelling for ever the dominion of dark superstition as represented by idolatry and the end of an antiquated and misplaced form of religion? Or did they mean to convey the thought that contemporaries of Moses saw in the sacred building a place of refuge for superstitious men and women? The exegetical proofs, without which such teaching

[205] Ibid., p. 136 a.
[206] v. Marmorstein, *Doctrine of Merits*, p. 82.
[207] Lev. r. i. 2, Cant. r. on ii, 3, Num. r. i. 3.
[208] Pes., ed. Buber, p. 6 b. Pes. r., ch. xxi, Tanhuma iv, ed. Buber, p. 39, Midrash Psalms, p. 47 d.

could not be accepted, do not help us to see any more clearly behind the scenes. Most likely they saw in the fulfilment of this commandment a reward, granted as a weapon against dangerous forces of demons and ghosts, in which people still believed.

A most remarkable sermon on this subject is preserved in the Yelamdenu, one of the latest Midrashic compositions, which is, however, rich in thoughts and teachings proclaimed in earlier ages. The subject of the homily is the question: 'How many things preceded the creation of the world?' Answer: Seven. The reply, borrowed from a Barayta, is several times quoted in Talmud and Midrash.[209] Among these seven pre-existent things there is also the Sanctuary. This leads to the very theme of the sermon introduced by the rhetorical catch-word: בא וראה, 'Come and see'. The preacher introduces or invents a legend for the benefit of his audience. In this God says to Moses, when transmitting the command to erect the Tabernacle, that he shall impress the people by saying to them the following words: 'It is not because I have nowhere to dwell that I enjoin you to build a Sanctuary unto Me, truly not so, for I erected My Sanctuary on High before the creation of the world.' Then the preacher supports this assertion by citing passages from Jer. xvii. 12, Hab. iii. 20, and Isa. vi. 1. Yet why does God want such a building on earth below? In order to give expression to His love for Israel. God leaves His pre-mundane palace and descends to Israel's Tabernacle. We see here, first of all, the idea of the Heavenly Sanctuary, which occurs also in the Wisdom of Solomon, secondly the teaching that the building of the Tabernacle is for the sake of Israel, as taught in the synagogues of the Hellenists, and moreover to show the appreciation and love vouchsafed to His people, as proclaimed by R. Judah b. Ilai.[210]

That the command to build an abode for the Divinity is a manifestation of God's love for Israel led to two very remarkable trains of thought in the theology of the Palestinian scribes. The presence of God in Israel is a sign of grace, but also of Israel's purity and holiness. There is to be mentioned first a

[209] Tanhuma Num. ed. Buber, p. 34; for parallels v. Buber's note loc. cit. no. 5, and Theodor, Genesis rabba, p. 6.

[210] v. above, p. 79.

homily of R. Isaac.[211] The righteous cause the Shekinah, the Divine Presence, God, to dwell on earth, whilst the wicked people drive away the Shekinah, removing Him to the heights of heaven. This meaning is put with Haggadic skill into the words of Ps. xxxvii. 29. Originally the Shekinah dwelt on earth, the transgression of Adam, the misdeeds of the generations of Enosh, the sins of the people of the Flood and of the Tower, of Egypt in the days of Abraham, of Sodom, and of Egypt in the days of Moses, removed the Divine Presence into the seventh heaven.[212] This happened gradually. Similarly seven pious men, viz. Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Levi, Kohath, Amram, and Moses brought the Shekinah down from the seventh heaven to earth, till the Tabernacle was erected. Some of the Rabbis believed and taught that originally there was a divine immanence which became, to a certain degree, transcendent, owing to the sin of the creatures. R. Levi illustrates the presence of God in the Tabernacle by the simile of a cave situated near the shore of the sea. At high tide the water fills the cave, yet the sea is not lacking any water. Likewise here, the Tabernacle is full of the glory of God without diminishing in the least the extent or strength of the Shekinah.[213] The same teacher expressed his view on the present subject in another homily which was reported in the synagogues in two different versions. According to the first, taught by R. Joshua of Sikenin, the usual narrator or reporter of R. Levi's homilies, Moses was shown in heaven four patterns of fire in four different colours, viz. black, white, green, red, which Moses was to follow in building the Tabernacle. R. Berekyah handed down this teaching in the form of a parable. Once a king appeared to his Ben Bayyith in a cloak covered with jewels, and told him to procure a similar precious garment. The poor man apologized, and said: 'How can I satisfy such a wish of yours?' The king answered: 'Thou in

[211] The names of the scholars are given in the sources with variants. Pes. has R. Tanhum, the son-in-law of R. Eleazar b. Abina in the name of R. Simon b. Joseph, Cant. has R. Menahem b. R. Eleazar b. Abina in the name of R. Simon b. Yasina.

[212] Pes., ed. Buber, 1 b, v. note 22, Cant. r., v. 1. Gen. r., ch. xix, p. 176 where Cain is mentioned instead of Adam.

[213] Pes., ed. Buber. 2 b, and parallels.

thy capacity and I in my glory.' Thus said God to Moses: 'If thou dost below that which is above, I will leave my household of above and draw my Shekinah below among you.'[214] Here again God leaves the high heavens, his familia above,[215] and finds His place below, (Zimzum.)[216] In spite of such anthropomorphic expressions as ascending and descending, R. Levi, in common with other Haggadists, found nothing objectionable in them. Thus an anonymous preacher on Prov. xxx. 4 thinks it quite proper to apply all parts of that sentence to God, 'Who ascended high and descended below? God', cf. Ps. xxiv. 3, and Exod. xix. 20. The rest of the sentence refers to God as the Lord of life, the giver of rain, who revives after death, &c.[217]

Nevertheless, there was also a different voice heard in the synagogues, according to which the Shekinah never found an abode on earth before the erection of the Sanctuary.[218] This teaching is recorded in the name of Rab, apparently disputing the opinion represented by R. Isaac who was an Amora of a later date. Yet the younger scholar may have continued a Tannaitic view ascribed to R. Simon b. Yohai, who also speaks of the Shekinah abiding first below. This presence of the Divine Glory on earth was temporarily interrupted, but later on, with the building of the Temple, again restored.[219] These opposing views appear further in the following Haggadah. The angels moaned and said: 'Woe!'—because God was about to

[214] Pesikta ed. Buber, 4 b. Cant. r. iii. 2, Num. r. xii. 18. The Haggadist tries to answer the question, how could a human being, a mortal being, undertake such a task?

[215] About the conception of the Heavenly Familia, v. Marmorstein 'Anges et hommes dans l'Agada', in *RÉJ.* 84 (1927), pp. 37 ff., 138 ff

[216] The term Zimzum, viz. that the Omnipresent God contracts and confines His Shekinah on, or to, a certain spot, is a creation of the Amoraic Haggadah of the third century. The term occurs, besides, in the sayings of R. Levi, also in those of R. Yochanan, v. Pes. ed. Buber, p. 20 a, v. also Midrash Cant., ed. Grünhut, p. 15 b.

[217] Pesikta, ed. Buber, p. 8 a.f., v. Yalkut Shimeoni, Proverbs no. 962. Pes. r. quotes the saying in a Petiha of R. Tanhuma b. Abba.

[218] Pesikta rabbati, ch. viii, ed. Friedmann, p. 18 b.

[219] It is most extraordinary that the compiler should record a controversy between an Amora and a Tanna in this order and in such a manner. The parallels in Tan. and Num. r. agree with the text of the Pes. r. as far as the names of the teachers are concerned.

depart from the upper ones, and descend to the lower beings.[220] God comforted them by saying: 'Indeed, my original principal dwelling is amongst you', cf. Hab. iii. 3. Another teacher, whose name[221] cannot be established precisely, remarks that God mocked at them by asserting that the principal place of the Shekinah was with the angels; no, the Divine Presence abode first on earth, and then departed to the high, whence it was restored after the building of the Sanctuary.[222] An Amoraic Haggadist of the third century elaborated some compromise of these two divergent views. When God created the world, says R. Samuel b. Nahmani, He desired to have a habitation in the lower world, just as He possessed one in the upper regions; therefore He commanded Adam not to eat from the fruits of the tree of knowledge. Adam transgressed this command and therefore God removed His Divine Presence from the earth to the first heaven.[223] Apparently this teacher tried to find a deeper justification for the erection of the Tabernacle.

This discussion, and the same applies to similar discussions in the ancient Rabbinic writings, which seem to the uninitiated artificial and futile at the same time, must have meant a great deal to the teachers who shared in it. We are led to the second teaching derived from this complex of ideas; namely, that the

[220] Yelamdenu, v. Yalkut Machiri, ed. Greenup, Habakuk, p. 31, Tanhuma Terumah, 9, the author of the Haggadah is R. Samuel b. Nahmani, yet v. the following note, which discusses this point at greater length.

[221] There seems to be confusion in the sources about the author of this view and legend. In Num. r. R. Joshua b. Levi, R. Simon b. Judah being, as usual, his reporter, is credited with this saying. In the Yelamdenu, at the end of the Haggadah of R. Samuel b. Nahmani, the words are put into the mouth of David.

[222] v. Yelamdenu, *supra* note 220, further Num. r. xii. 6–7. The subject recurs also in the Haggadah of R. Alexandri, Cant. r. viii. 2, but not in connexion with the erection of the Tabernacle; he refers to the objection of the angels to the revelation of the Torah to Israel and to their fear that the Divine Presence will move from heaven and dwell among mankind on earth.

[223] Tanhuma Num. Naso, 16, v. also Tanh. Lev. ed. Buber, p. 110, where R. Samuel b. Abba figures as the author. Buber prefers to read R. Samuel b. Ammi, on account of Gen. r. iii. 9. The Haggadah is remarkable for more than one reason. There was surely some external motive which led him to connect the rather wide-spread conception of the Heavenly Sanctuary with the transgression of Adam?

erection of the Tabernacle served as a witness of God's pardon and forgiveness to Israel. There is a lengthy sermon on this subject, which preserves the apologetic tendencies without any attempt to disguise the emphatic apologetic aim in it. The homily is ascribed to a teacher R. Ishmael, hardly the Tannaite of this name.[224] The tent of testimony is a sign for all the creatures of the world that God has pardoned the sin of the golden calf. He illustrates this teaching by a parable. Once a king married a wife, whom he loved very dearly. Yet once he became angry and left her. The neighbours said to her: 'He will never return to you.' After a time the king made peace with her and took her back in his palace and she dined and drank with him as before. The neighbours were reluctant to believe that such a change had come over the king, till they recognized the fact by the odour of perfume on her. The application of this rather extraordinary parable is this. God is the king who loves Israel dearly, yet for a short while He is angry with the community of Israel, on account of their sin in making the calf. The nations of the world are the neighbours who assert that God has forsaken Israel, or that His covenant with the people is invalidated. Now the erection of the Tabernacle at the command of God was a visible testimony that He pardoned the sin of His people, restored the old relationship, and, moreover, caused His Shekinah to rest among them. It is highly noteworthy that most of the teachers, if not all mentioned in the previous paragraph, in their discussions or in their sermons on the conclusions drawn by Christian writers and clerics from the story of the golden calf, i.e. the rejection of Israel by God, the broken and lost covenant, and the transfer of His love to the new nation, the Church, used this apologetic weapon. The force of their rejoinder rested on the argument that the Shekinah does not dwell among evil-doers. To the Jewish scribes the erection of the Tabernacle was a mere restoration of the earlier dwelling of God amongst the pious and righteous.

Another Haggadist likewise used the Tabernacle as convincing proof for the appeasement between God and Israel. R. Judah b. Simon depicts rather dramatically the doubts of

[224] Tanhuma, Exodus, ed. Buber, p. 127 f. and the editor's note no. 13.

Moses as to the efficacy of his prayers on behalf of his people. When God told him to erect a sanctuary, he was assured that the sin of the calf was forgiven and he became satisfied.[225]

The second subject of R. Yochanan's sermon is also of great interest and occupies a prominent place in Jewish apologetics. It is quite natural that the question of sacrifices, their nature and meaning, their purpose and interpretation, their Biblical foundation, and their relation to other religious systems, should have aroused curiosity and opposition within and without the Jewish community. Jews could not remain indifferent to the general cry raised by philosophers and students of religion with unmistakable vehemence against this form of divine worship among the Greeks and Romans.[226] Consequently very early apologists among Jewish Hellenistic writers generally, and Philo and Josephus particularly,[227] endeavoured to defend the Mosaic system of sacrifices. With the rise of Christianity this dispute was intensified, in spite of the fact that the first Christians made the pilgrimage to the Temple Mount in order to discharge their duties like all other pious God-fearing Jews.[228] Moreover, although some fundamental christological conceptions are actually based on the Biblical sacrificial system,[229] nevertheless

[225] Midrash Eleh Debarim, ed. Buber, p. 2.

[226] v. especially Johannes Geffcken in *Jahrbücher für kl. Philologie*, vol. xv (1905), 631.

[227] The material is conveniently collected in P. Krüger's *Philo und Josephus als Apologeten des Judentums* (Leipzig, 1906); v. also P. Wendland, *Hellenistisch-Römische Literatur*, p. 153.

[228] v. Matt. v. 23, also Acts ii. 46, cf. H. Achelis, *Das Christentum in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten* (Leipzig, 1912), p. 4. There is no foundation for Harnack's assertion in his *Dogmengeschichte*, vol. i, 3rd ed. (1894), p. 67 note: 'Damit war vor Allem das ganze Opferwesen, das schon auch Jesus Christus wesentlich ignorirt hat, zurückgewiesen'. Harnack's assumption lies here in the German 'wesentlich', for which no foundation can be found.

[229] v. Heb. ix. 13. 'For if the blood of rams and bullocks and the ashes of the heifer, which sprinkled upon the defiled ones, sanctified for the purification of the flesh, how much more shall the blood of Christ, who offered himself without stain by the eternal spirit, purify your conscience from dead works to prepare you for the service of the living God?' A noteworthy parallel, and perhaps simultaneously a strong rejoinder against these words may be read in the Haggadah of R. Isaac, whose theological teachings, as shown by me in several places, are of the greatest

the Mosaic laws about sacrifices became a strong weapon in the fight against Judaism. It is not without great significance that the Tannaitic Haggadah has very little to say on this subject. No doubt the words of the writer of the Barnabas-letter, referring to all the prophets as having described the offerings of sacrifices as unnecessary to God, were known and shared by the earlier and later scribes of Israel.[230] Yet sacrifices remained an integral part of Jewish religious life up to the destruction of the Second Temple, and even after that period pious Jews and learned scholars could become used only with the greatest difficulty to a religious practice deprived of this approach to God.[231] For several reasons, which can here be merely indicated, the Early Church took a different attitude in this matter. The discontinuation of sacrifices, owing to historical conditions, was a convenient argument in favour of the abrogation of other Mosaic laws, as Sabbath, circumcision, dietary prescriptions, and so on. Just as the sacrifices had a temporary character, why not the rest of the laws?—was a frequently heard argument, which, when propagated with necessary backing, found willing ears among Jews and Gentiles alike. Secondly, it helped the consolidation of the christological conception of Jesus's death as the real sacrifice and substitute for animal sacrifices for the whole of mankind. Thirdly, it helped a good deal to silence Gnostic and philosophic criticism directed against the Church. These arguments and theories did not help to soothe the conscience of the more serious and devout adherents of the new religion among the Gentiles as well as among those of Jewish origin. They

importance for the understanding of the relation between Christianity and Judaism in the third century, based on Gen. xviii. 1, where he makes God say in a legend: 'Whosoever slaughters a bullock or a lamb, and pours out a drop of blood, I do come and bless him'; cf. Exod. xx. 24, 'Abraham is sure of my blessing, out of his mansion a whole stream of blood flowed, when he obeyed my command and circumcized the male members of his household'; v. Tanhuma Gen., ed. Buber, i, p. 84. This is not the only passage in the Haggadah where the death of Jesus and the duty of circumcision are contrasted; v. also Gen. r. 48. 4, Ag. Ber., ch. xix.

[230] Ch. ii. 4; v. Windisch, *Der Barnabasbrief* (Tübingen, 1920), p. 311, and the notes given there.

[231] Aboth of R. Nathan, ch. iv. 5, cf. Marmorstein, Midrash Haseroth we Yeteroth. London, 1917, p. ix.

could not help wondering how a considerable portion and a most integral part of a legislation could be bluntly discarded and cast overboard for no sufficient reason, if the Pentateuch as a whole was to be considered the basis of the new religion. Long before Julian the Apostate asked his Christian citizens about the neglect of this law, honest Christians recognized the incompatibility and the contradiction in their religious system.[232] The earlier reply that these laws were the result of Israel's stiff-neckedness and sinful behaviour, in a word a punishment and burden, but were no longer binding or applicable to the new nation, was often repeated and found apparently many believers and apostles. The more Jewish-minded Christians were taught that these commandments were really no integral part of the Mosaic laws, but later forgeries, which were added by misguided teachers or false law-givers.[233] Such a solution could not find general acceptance and actually did not satisfy deeper seekers after religious truth. Why did Moses order such laws? Surely, God needs no food? There is no eating in Heaven? Marvellous, indeed, that a Jewish teacher of the third century and one of the sources used by the Clementine writers should have supplied one and the same answer. The coincidence gives food for thought, but it cannot here be dwelt upon. When meantime—says the author of the Recognitions of Clement[234]—Moses, that faithful and wise steward, perceived that the vice of sacrificing to idols had been deeply ingrained in the people from their associations with the Egyptians, and that the root of this evil could not be extracted, he allowed them indeed to sacrifice, but permitted it to be done only to God, that by any means he might cut off one half of the deeply ingrained evil, leaving the other half to be corrected by another, and at a future time; by Him, namely, concerning whom it is said: 'A prophet shall the Lord your God raise unto you, whom you shall hear even as Myself, according to

[232] The question is discussed more fully in my essay: 'Juden und Judentum in der Altercatio Simonis Judaei et Theophili Christiani', in *Theologische Tydschrifs*, vol. xlix, pp. 360–82.

[233] cf. Marmorstein, 'Judaism and Christianity in the middle of the Third Century', in *H.U.C.A.* vol. x, 1935, pp. 247 ff.

[234] *Recognitions of Clement*, i. 36.

all things, which he shall say unto you. Whosoever shall no hear that prophet, his soul shall be cut off from his people.' R. Levi, a teacher belonging to the circle of R. Yochanan in Tiberias, teaches the Jewish version of this doctrine.[235] R. Phinehas relates a parable and its homiletic application of this Haggadist in this way: 'There was once a king, who had a son whose favourite food was flesh of fallen and torn animals. The king said: "This kind of food shall never fail on my table, till he will get sick of it".' Similarly God treated his people. They were prone to worship idols in Egypt, consequently, they offered sacrifices to the idols and demons. They offered them on high places, and many plagues broke out in their midst. God said: 'Let them offer sacrifices before Me in the Tabernacle at all times, so that they may abstain from idolatry and be saved from punishment.' According to both versions, the admission of sacrifices was a concession to the people, who cleaved to the old form of divine service, learnt in Egypt. It is not without interest and usefulness to inquire here after the possible common source of which the Galilean Amora and the Clementine theologian availed themselves in expressing their views. In order to do so one has to turn to Philo. Did Philo know or share such a conception of the origin of sacrifices among the Hebrews, as taught by those two representatives of the Church and Synagogue, or not? From some of his utterances in his work on the life of Moses (Book I, xv. 87, Loeb edition, vi, p. 320 f.) one would gather that such an idea was unknown and strange to Philo. He makes Moses say this to Pharaoh, in laying before him his request and that of his companions that he would send the Hebrews out of his boundaries in order to sacrifice. Moses told him that their ancestral sacrifices must be performed in the desert, as they did not conform with those of the rest of mankind, and so exceptional were the customs peculiar to the Hebrews that their rule and method ran counter to the common course. Philo plainly denies in these words the possibility of the Hebrews having been influenced in their sacrificial system by Egyptians. He would, no doubt, have indignantly rejected such

[235] Lev. r. xxii. 5.

a theory of Egyptian influence. Philo, in good Haggadic style, offers an answer to the obvious question why Moses and his Hebrews could not perform their sacrifices within the frontiers of Egypt. Yet the strong emphasis laid on the antiquity and peculiarity of the Hebrew sacrificial system suggests to those who are accustomed to read between the lines of Philo's long sentences, that he aimed at combating the very doctrine taught later on by teachers of Judaism and Christianity.

Yet in spite of the considerable resemblances between the Christian and the Jewish variations of a probably older Rabbinic Haggadah,[236] the contrast is rather pointed according to their religious position. There, in the Christian recension, the law of sacrifices was a temporary; here, in the Jewish relation, a divine institution. There, a mere concession, unavoidable and dictated by the force of circumstances; here, a measure of love and benevolence. This latter point of view can be made even clearer by examining other sayings and teachings of R. Levi on the subject of sacrifices. Some of them will be adduced here. First of all, the saying that God warned Israel about the great importance of the sacrifices commanded in the Pentateuch, for there is no better pleader for them, at the time of drought, than the performance of the sacrifices;[237] meaning to say, that for the merit of this observance God grants them their request. Further, there is a teaching of this sage reported in which he emphasizes the fact that God likes, or better, finds pleasure in, Israel's sacrifices.[238] This statement seems to be directed against some opponents, either Jews or Gentiles, who were teaching or asserting that God does not find pleasure, or never did find pleasure, in performances of this kind. In spite of the fact that the whole discussion had no bearing on practical religion, since sacrifices belonged to the dead past, nevertheless, the academic discussion and the confessional strife as to their value was not silenced in the third century.[239] The root

[236] Tanhuma, Lev. iii, ed. Buber, p. 94. Sacrifices are regarded as atonement for the golden calf.

[237] Pes. ed. Buber, p. 191 a, Pesikta rabbati 201 a, Eccles. r. on vii. 14.

[238] v. Pes. ed. Buber, p. 192 a, 192 b.

[239] v. Marmorstein, *Deux renseignements d'Origène concernant les Juifs RÉJ.* vol. 71, 1920, pp. 190 ff

of the problem touched a fundamental question of the doctrine of God. Does God require sacrifices?, was asked. God has no needs; if so, then there is no meaning in these ordinances enumerated in the Bible. The age of R. Yochanan very often repeated this question, as can be gathered from the number of Haggadists, who tried to answer this difficulty. R. Yochanan returns to this problem in another Haggadah. He says, with reference to Ps. l. 12, 'There are some creatures of God, who can exist without any assistance from other creatures; how can one say that God, the Creator of all creatures, is in need of His creatures' "help"'? As an example, the growth of the olive is quoted. The olive-tree produces abundance of olives without being watered or tended by human cultivators.[240] His colleague, R. Simon b. Lakish, asked in his sermon on Num. xxviii. 6, 'Is there eating and drinking before God?'. He goes even so far as to disprove such an assertion by citing the case of Moses, who spent forty days and nights in heaven without food and drink; how can one ascribe such needs to God?[241] These teachers were surely confronted by persons who argued, even if they did not believe, that the Mosaic conception of religion has room for such religious ideas as that God requires food or drink. A third teacher who taught and preached in the neighbourhood of these two scholars, R. Isaac Nappacha, repeats the very same question: 'Is there food and drink before Him? If you say that there is, learn from the angels and servants, who are with Him, who need no food and drink; how much less He who sustains all?'[242] This Haggadist often dwelt on the problem of sacrifices, as has been shown by me on several occasions; he proclaims that prayers are a suitable substitute for sacrifices.[243] Most interesting is a saying of his on Lam. ii. 7 that the Jews are like certain citizens who first arranged tables, i.e. supplied food, for their king, then provoked him, and he tolerated their

[240] Pes. r. 80 a, R. Hiyya b. Abba in R. Yochanan's name.

[241] v. Pes. r. 10 a, and with some variants, ibid., p. 194 a; v. also Tanhuma Num., pp. 244 b–245 a, Num. r., ch. xxi.

[242] v. the sources in the previous note.

[243] v. my Midrash Haseroth we Yeteroth, p. 10, where the sources are given in notes 40 ff.

conduct. The king said to them: 'Why do you take this liberty to provoke and annoy me, because you prepared this banquet for me? Well, I reject your gift.' The same happened to God. Similarly God says to Israel: 'You assume that you may provoke Me indefinitely because you offer Me sacrifices. Well, I will reject your altar.'[244] This sermon, with a good deal of irony, ridicules the childish notion, which was widespread among his contemporaries, that the sacrifices, if acceptable before God, should at least have saved the Temple from destruction, and that animal sacrifices are a cover or a permit for transgressions. Against these views the extraordinary sermon of R. Isaac is directed. There is a fourth refutation of this erroneous teaching, that God requires food, which is, however, anonymous, demonstrating by the example of Solomon whose requirements could not be satisfied (cf. 1 Kings v. 2 f.). How could human beings furnish sufficient food for the deity?[245] A parallel sermon, which may have been a variant of the last, proves the inability of man to sustain the deity from the example of the Behemoth Ps. l. 10.[246] Finally, we find the view, expressed by, and ascribed to, R. Samuel b. Nahman that sacrifices do not mean that God needs food, but are a revelation of God's grace in providing for a man a means of repentance and atonement, by which he can acquire reward and merits.[247]

[244] v. Midrash Lamentations, ed. Buber, p. 113; a similar Haggada is given in the name of R. Samuel b. Nahmani.

[245] v. Pesikta rabbati 194 b.

[246] v. ibid. and Tanhuma III, 11. iv. 46.

[247] Pes. r. 194 b, v. also about this teacher's views on sacrifices pal. Ber. ii. 1. Rosh Hashanah i. 1.

III

A HAGGADAH, of uncertain age and origin, voices a very strange teaching, which may serve as text for this chapter devoted to the Rabbinic conception of the visibility or invisibility of God. Seven groups of righteous will be granted, in the eschatological age, the great privilege of seeing God. Their countenance will be like that of the sun, or moon, of the firmament or the stars, of the lightening or the lilies or the pure lamp in the Sanctuary.[1] As to the origin of this important and interesting doctrine there is only one clue. In the Tannaitic Midrash on Deuteronomy[2] the latter part of this Haggadah is quoted in the name of R. Simon b. Yohai, whilst the first part is given anonymously. It is quite likely that the compiler of the Leviticus rabba may have used a fuller version of the Sifre, or combined the teaching of R. Simon b. Yohai with the earlier anonymous one.

The term used for seeing God is here, as in many other places, מקבל פני שכינה. The doctrine of the relation of the righteous to God, and God's relation to them, occupies a most important chapter in Rabbinic teaching about God. Its full meaning and extent has not yet been investigated, but deserves fuller treatment than can be accorded here. Its proper place is really in Rabbinic anthropology. The pious stand higher than the ministering angels, or at least are equal with them. Some climb to this height of perfection in their life-time, others after their death. Some reach this excellency in this world, others in the world to come. There are righteous men spoken of as God-like in their earthly pilgrimage, others see God at their departure from this valley of death. It is nevertheless worth while investigating this term. What was meant by this

[1] Lev. r. xxx. 2, cf. Pirke of Rabbenu ha-Kadosh, ed. Schönblum, vii. 11, reading מאורות פני צדיקים לעתיד לבא, instead of שעתידים להקביל פני שכינה, v. Marmorstein, *Jüdische Archaeologie und Theologie, ZfNW.* xxxii, 1933, 32–41.

[2] Sifre Deut. 67a, cf. Pirke loc. cit. where the sentence is ascribed to R. Simon b. Menasyah.

teaching that 'seven sets of righteous will be enabled to receive, or see the countenance of the Shekinah'? There are numerous passages in the Scriptures suggesting or conveying the idea, either explicitly or otherwise, that the mortal will or can see God at one time or another.[3] This chance or possibility is opened to man, in spite of the understood and presupposed invisibility and incorporeality of God. In spite of this fact generally acknowledged in Rabbinic theology, the Rabbis use this term, which implies that man will behold God, or see the Shekinah, which is virtually the same, since Shekinah is used as one of the divine names.[4] To make this fact clearer, and in order to dispel any possible doubt on this matter, some more material may be elaborated here. One homilist concludes his oration with the following words: 'In this world they (the Levites) perished[4] because their eyes saw My glory (cf. Exod. xxxiii. 20); not so in the world to come, when, returning to Zion, I will reveal Myself in My glory before all My people, and they will see Me, and live for ever (cf. Isa. lii. 8). Moreover, they will point with their fingers and will exclaim: "For this is the God, our God" (cf. Ps. xlviii. 15). Further it says (cf. Isa. xxv. 9): "And he will say on this day, behold our God, &c."'[5] In another version the same peroration is put with some variants.[6] Isa. lxvi. 14 says: 'And ye will see and your hearts will rejoice.' What shall we see, and what shall we rejoice at? In this world, owing to our sins, we have no prophetic vision, no Holy Spirit (cf. Ps. lxxiv. 9), even the Shekinah is departed from our midst (cf. Isa. lix. 20). In the world to come, however, God will reveal Himself again (cf. Isa. lx. 5) and man will see Him (cf. Ps. lii. 8). According to a third source at our disposal[7] this grace is granted to the living as well. The pilgrims at the

[3] v. the essay of Graf Wolf Wilhelm Baudissin, 'Gottschauen in der alttestamentlichen Religion', *A.R.W.* xviii, 1915, pp. 173–239.

[4] There is an ancient belief among Hebrews as well as among other nations that the beholding of divine things causes death, or at least blindness, how much more the sight of God. v. Lev. r. xxxi. 7. Pirke of R. E., ch. xiii, cf. Keim, *Rom u. Christentum*, p. 30, P. Wendland, *Hell.-Röm. Kultur*, p. 125, Folklore i, 108–14 and Philologus, lxiv, 1905, p. 164.

[5] Tanhuma, ed. Buber, iv, p. 18.

[6] Agadath Bereshith, ed. Buber, ch. lxxiii, p. 48.

[7] Sifre Deut., par. 143, cf. the reading of R. Hillel b. Elyakim.

festivals who appeared before the Lord, experienced such a revelation, seeing God.

In order to establish an approximate date for these teachings and ideas, one has to search for the spread of such conceptions in the Haggadah of teachers whose date is known from the usual sources. A well-known teacher of the second century, R. Yose b. Halafta of Sepphoris, told his son, R. Ishmael, who moved by mystic longings wanted to see the Shekinah: 'You are longing to see God during your life-time in this world, your wish may become true if you devote all your time to the study of the Torah in Palestine.'[8] The advice given by R. Yose b. Halafta to his son, very significant as his words are, becomes even more noteworthy, when two important facts are not lost sight of; first of all, this teacher's attitude to Christianity and Gnosticism on one side, and secondly, the striking parallel to his words which is found in an early Christian document.[9] The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews says likewise that without *holiness* one cannot see God. Is there a connexion between these two sources? It is a well attested fact that the author of this Epistle availed himself of Jewish Haggadic material, Rabbinic as well as Hellenistic, consequently there is nothing surprising in the resemblance between his words and those of R. Yose b. Halafta. Naturally one would not expect the ideal of *Talmud Torah* in an early Christian document. Yet the ideal of Study of the Torah was to the ancient Jew the beginning and end of *holiness*, which enables man to see God. Similarly, Paul preaches in the spirit of the ancient sages of the Haggadah, merely christianizing their words slightly, when he says: 'Now, we see through a mirror, in a riddle, then, in the future, we shall see eye to eye.'[10] The Rabbis, therefore, must have been divided on the question of θεὸς ὀφθείς, on the experience of seeing God. The teachers who belonged to R. Yose's group or followed him taught that God can be seen in this world, the other school relegated this experience to the future world, as Paul did.

[8] Midrash Psalms. ch. cv, ed. Buber, p. 448, based on Ps. cv. 4, 'Seek the Lord, and His strength, i.e. the Torah, Seek His countenance evermore'.

[9] Heb., ch. xii. 14.

[10] 1 Cor. xiii. 12, v. also 2 Cor. v. 7.

Surely, among the mystics of Palestine there was the same yearning to see God, which burnt in the hearts of so many contemporary Greeks and Romans.[11]

A dialogue held between two scholars of the middle of the third century, both of whom are called by the name R. Hananyah, the Elder and the Younger, contributes some new information to our knowledge on this subject. The younger scholar ventured, in an apocalyptic utterance, so far as to announce that in future God will show His glory to all the creatures of the world, by lowering His Throne of glory from the midst of the sky, placing it on the very spot where sun and moon shine in the solstice of the month of Tebeth.[12] The older teacher of this name denies such a possibility by quoting the verse Exod. xxx. 20. The difference between this later Amoraic statement or picture of the future revelation and the earlier Tannaitic assertion is most remarkable. Here not merely Jews, but the creatures of the whole world, without distinction of race and creed, nationality and culture, share this unique religious experience, which is in store for mankind. Furthermore, the older scribe cites in his reply Ps. lxxxiv. 12 as a proof that God will endow frail humanity with the faculty to see God. One cannot read these lines without having the impression that speculation about the form of the eschatological revelation of God played a considerable part in the theological teaching of these Galilean rabbis. God will be visible to mankind as He was seen by earlier generations of Hebrews. About the final form of this world-shaking historical act the views clashed, then as before. Some thought that God Himself would be seen, others dreamt of a great theophany, which would inspire humanity and open the blind eyes of men and women to behold God's appearance. Mystics and rationalists cannot, naturally, see eye to eye on such points. This Rabbinic Haggadah leads the way to establish a closer contact between the teachings of the Rabbis and those of the unknown authors of the Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament. The writer of the Book of Jubilees and that

[11] v. R. Reitzenstein, *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen*, Leipzig, 1910, 118 ff., 124 ff.

[12] Tanhuma v, ed. Buber, p. 31, a fuller version in Tanhuma, f. 267 a.

of the individual Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs were fascinated by the thought that God will become or is visible to His creatures. These authors and their circles, out of which they grew, or to whom they addressed their words, attached some special meaning or particular importance to this thought. A few instances may suffice to bring this home to the reader. The Book of Jubilees preaches in the same strain as our Haggadist that at the end of the days God will descend from His heavenly heights and dwell with a purified Israel for all eternity. Then the Lord will appear to the eyes of all, or will be seen by all.[13] This close agreement between the two streams of the Haggadah presupposes between the two branches of Jewish literature a more intimate relation than our historical knowledge can explain or warrant. The author, or authors, of the Testaments repeatedly point to a new revelation, in which God will appear and will be seen in Jerusalem.[14]

It is most remarkable that whilst Rabbinic eschatology and Pseudepigraphic visionaries freely speak of God's visibility, this possibility is never mentioned in the dialogues between pagans and scribes, when the latter are challenged by the unmistakable direct appeal: *Show me your God.* Jewish as well as Christian apologists have only one answer to this provocation, namely, that God is invisible.[15] The problem of God's visibility so often raised in Jewish Apologetics, is most significantly touched on by Philo in his writings on the Life of Moses (Bk. I. xv, 8, Loeb edition, p. 320), faithfully reflecting the mentality of his pagan contemporaries, when he introduced Pharaoh's reply to Moses with the following remark: 'The king whose soul from his earliest youth was weighed down with the pride of many generations did not accept a God discernible only by the mind, or any at all beyond those

[13] Ch. i. 25.

[14] Test. Zebulun ix. 8, cf. Henry T. Wicks, *The Doctrine of God in the Jewish Apocryphal and Apocalyptic Literature*, London, 1915, p. 121.

[15] Cf. the material given in Marmorstein, 'Die Gotteslehre in der Jüdischen Apologetik', in Dr. Wohlgemuth's *Jeschurun*, vol. vii, 1920, p. 175, further my essay, 'Jews and Judaism in the Earliest Christian Apologies', *Expositor*, vol. xlv. 1919, pp. 104 ff., and Midrash Abkir, ed. Marmorstein, *Dwir*, i, 1923, p. 125.

whom his eyes beheld.' Within the Jewish community there were not lacking groups and circles divided on the doctrine of invisibility or visibility of the divine being. R. Akiba, as was shown before in these essays,[16] generally cleaving to the literal meaning of the text, thought it necessary to proclaim that even the ministering angels *cannot see* God. Another early teacher, R. Dosa b. Hyrkanos, however, approaches some of the views treated earlier in this chapter by saying that no human eye can behold the deity whilst alive, but after death the human soul is granted such a privilege.[17] According to another teacher, whose date and name are not indicated in the sources, all departing souls, when taking leave of the body, are granted the sight of God.[18] For God says to Moses: 'In this world you are not able to see My glory, yet you shall see Me in the world to come. When did Moses behold Him? When He died. That teaches you that all departing souls see God.' This teaching must have filled many generations of believing Jews with comfort and strength at the moment of departing from their earthly abode, and before starting their journey to the great beyond. Modern students of the history of religions[19] are inclined to discover in all these passages of the Old and New Testament, Apocrypha, and Pseudepigrapha sharp, undeniable traces of the immense influence exercised by the Greek mystery religions on Jewish religion. Is it possible to apply these theories to the origin and development of this conception in Rabbinic theology? Before reflecting on this question, another more relevant query has to be raised. What is the difference between the meaning of מקבל פני שכינה, and that of 'seeing God'? The first expression occurs in the sentence which served as the starting-point of this discussion.[20] There are many more which deserve consideration.

To begin with there is R. Jeremiah (b. Elieser) who speaks of

[16] v. above p. 48.

[17] v. above, pp. 48–9.

[18] Sifra 3 b, Num. r. ch. xiv, Lekah Tob Exod. p. 205, Midrash Agada, ed. Buber, p. 185.

[19] Reitzenstein. *Poimandres*, p. 240, Hennicke, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, p. 183, *Handbuch*, p. xiv.

[20] v. above, p. 92 ff.

four groups of people who are barred from *seeing the Shekinah.* They are: the scoffers, the hypocrites, liars, and those who spread evil reports.[21] The meaning of this term, used here in the negative, will become clearer when the preacher's Scriptural references are investigated. Hos. vii. 5 says that He withdrew His hands from scorners.[22] Job xiii. 16 indicates that 'a hypocrite shall not come before Him'. Ps. ci. 7 declares that 'he that telleth lies shall not tarry in My sight'.[23] Ps. v. 5 teaches that speakers of evil shall not dwell with God. The term קבלת פני שכינה, consequently, covered a wide range of nearness to and intimacy with God. Yet those who were estranged from Him by moral defaults and shortcomings, could not come near Him. To see God, to receive the countenance of the Shekinah meant, therefore, to the ancient teachers nothing less than to be near to God, to dwell in His vicinity, to be protected by His hand, and to tarry in His sight.

From the negative use of this expression one may turn now to its affirmative application. Haggadists of all ages are familiar with this phrase and use it for various purposes. R. Meir encourages those who minutely observe the law of wearing fringes at the corner of their garments by saying: 'Whosoever is particular in observing this commandment is to be regarded as if he had seen the countenance of the Shekinah.'[24] A younger scribe renders this thought somewhat differently, teaching that when the Jews look at their fringes, then they cause the Shekinah to dwell in their midst.[25] R. Simon b. Yohai fully agrees

[21] v. b. Sotah 42 a, cf. Pirke of Rabbenu ha-Kadosh, ed. Schönblum, iv, 25, where, however, instead of אין מקבלות פני שכינה the term גידונות חוץ לפרגוד is used, v. also Yalkut Makiri Hosea, ed. Greenup, p. 186, and b. Sanhedrin 106 a, where the sentence is given in the name of R. Hisda by R. Jeremiah b. Abba, cf. further Mayyan Ganim on Job, ed. Buber, p. 44, and Yalkut Makiri on Ps. v. 11.

[22] Rab taught that scoffers are destined to go to hell, v. b. Aboda Zara 18 b. R. Eleasar b. Pedath adds that severe chastisement is awaiting them, ibid. R. Ketina deduces from the passage quoted in the text, that scorners will encounter poverty, v. ibid.

[23] R. Judah in the name of Rab says regarding this verse: 'Leave My boundary on account of telling lies, they cannot stand before My eyes.'

[24] v. pal. Berakoth i. 4.

[25] Midrash Psalms xc. 18, ed. Buber, p. 394.

with R. Meir in preaching that whosoever is zealous in the performance of this commandment is worthy to perceive the countenance of the Shekinah.[26] Great importance was, as we see, attached to this observance, the more so since, as we read in our sources, it was, at an earlier period, much neglected, and gave cause for complaint. This gave rise to threats and admonitions which predict the death of little children as a result of neglect of this commandment.[27] Whilst the neglect of the law of fringes is condemned so strongly, the fulfilment of the precept is magnified as if one had, in obeying this regulation, minutely discharged all the precepts of the Torah.[28] It is not unlikely that these valuations of the law of Zizith owe their origin to the great importance attached to it as a deterrent from sexual aberrations, examples of which were current in legend and folk-tale, known to students and laymen alike.[28] Consequently, the teachings can be translated thus: 'He who abstains from impurity and lewdness, he who leads a chaste life of abstinence, deserves to experience the nearness of God.'

The very same motive induced a scholar, R. Menasyah, the grandson of R. Joshua b. Levi, to say that a man who happens to be in view of an immoral act or object, and does not look at it, will be rewarded by *seeing God.*[29] The teaching is based on Isa. xxxiii. 15, 'he shutteth his eyes from seeing evil',[30] and on the continuation in verse 17, 'the king (i.e. God) in His beauty shall thine eyes see, they shall see the land which is far off'. This teacher was indebted for his saying to his grandfather, the famous scholar of Lydda, who referred the passage in the Book of Isaiah just cited to those people who refrained from looking at women doing some laundry-work who probably stood half-naked.[31] Not to glance or look at women is a well-known prohibition and a warning frequently repeated in Jewish

[26] b. Menahoth 43 b.

[27] b. Shabbath 32 b and 22 b.

[28] v. my ed. of Midrash Haseroth we-Yeteroth, p. 8 note 26.

[29] v. the story of Nathan dezuzitha, Gaster, *Exempla* no. xxxv, and for parallels ibid., p. 192.

[30] 'Evil' means lewdness and immorality. The saying is quoted in Lev. r., ch. xxiii. 13 c, Pes. r. 125 a, Derek Erez, ch. i.

[31] v. b. Baba Bathra 57 b, cf. also R. Phineas in Pes. r. 2 a.

moralist writings of all ages and climates, which is based on Old-Rabbinic teachings.

A pupil of R. Meir, R. Dositheus b. R. Yannai by name, attaches to charity and lovingkindness the same meaning and weight that the master ascribed to the observance of the Zizith-commandment. This teacher formulates his doctrine in this way: A man offers some gift to a king. It is altogether doubtful whether it will be accepted. Moreover, assuming that the ruler will accept the gift, it is still uncertain whether the donor will have an opportunity to see the king or not. It is quite different with the King of Heaven. A man gives a penny to the poor, he at once becomes worthy of seeing God. For this is the teaching of the text: 'I will "through charity" see Thy countenance, I shall be satisfied, when I awake with Thy likeness.'[32] The compiler of the Midrash on Psalms[33] used an interesting variant from some unknown source. Here the following reading is supplied: a 'matrona' is desirous of seeing the king; she tries by all available means to be received by him in audience. She adorns herself with a crown, which she uses when appearing before him. Owing to her adornment she is able to stand before him. The same with man; the gift given to the poor is his adornment which enables him to see God. This text shows that to see the countenance is equal to the expression להקביל פני שכינה in the parallel. A third parallel further adapts this teaching by extending this privilege to all givers of charity, whether righteous or wicked. All, without distinction, are worthy of seeing God, or perceiving the countenance of the Shekinah, because of the great merit of charitable deeds and actions.[34] This idea is derived from Isa. xl. 5, 'All flesh, without discrimination, even Gentiles, are promised that they shall partake in the great future revelation of God and His glory'.

There is further to be recorded the teaching of R. Yochanan b. Nappacha who extends and promises this sign of grace to those who pronounce the blessing at the sight of the New Moon.[35] To bless the Moon in the due season or time seems

[32] b. Baba Bathra 10 a, cf. Ps. xvii. 15.
[33] Midrash Psalms, ch. xvii. 18, ed. Buber, p. 134 f.
[34] Pes. r. 2 a.
[35] b. Sanhedrin 42 b.

to this teacher of such great religious importance that its performance is looked upon as if the performer of this duty had seen the Shekinah. The view found support in the זה mentioned in Exod. xii. 2, in connexion with the law concerning the New Moon, and the זה in Exod. xv. 2 in the Song of Moses. The teaching of the Amoraic Haggadist is based on the older teaching of R. Akiba against R. Ishmael, seeing in the first זה an indication that God has shown Moses the moon with His finger, whilst R. Ishmael interprets the passage as meaning that Moses had shown the Hebrews the moon, pointing out to them the particulars of this ordinance.[36] It is true that in the Babylonian Talmud there is a Baraytah quoted in the name of the school of R. Ishmael saying: 'If the Jews had no other merit except that of seeing the countenance of their Father in Heaven only once every month, it would be sufficient unto them.'[37] Yet it was demonstrated on a previous occasion in these essays that this Barayta collection handed down under the name of R. Ishmael or his school does not always represent the point of view of R. Ishmael or of his school.[38] There is further a difference between the Amoraic מקבל פני שכינה and the Tannaitic להקביל פני אביהם שבשמים. The real meaning of R. Yochanan's teaching can be guessed by combining the teaching of R. Akiba with that of another earlier teacher, who saw in the verse זה אלי ואנוהו the doctrine of the *imitatio dei*.[39] The visibility of God when commanding the rules of the New Moon and His appearance on the Red Sea are guarantees for all who observe the commandment of the blessing to be said in due time at the sight of the moon that they will see God.

It is by no means improbable that both sayings arose out of prevailing historical conditions in the days of these teachers. A religious persecution, which caused great mental suffering and anxiety to Palestinian Jewry in the second half of the third century C.E., affected to a considerable extent the carrying

[36] v. Mekilta, p. 2 b and supra, p. 32.
[37] b. Sanhedrin, p. 42 a.
[38] v. *MGWJ.*, ii. 390, iii. 149, Frankel, מבוא הירושלמי, p. 108. Friedmann, Mekilta, Introduction, Berliner, *Hebräische Bibliographie*, x. 138, Königsberger, *Quellen der Halachah*, p. 43 f.
[39] Mekilta, p. 37 a.

out of this observance. The rulers looked askance at this religious performance. R. Yochanan, therefore, praised and encouraged those who, in spite of physical discomfort and perhaps danger of life, sanctified the New Moon. The neglect of this performance would entail serious disturbance in religious life, for on the regulation of the Calendar depended the celebration of the festivals.[40]

The Amora promises further this high degree of nearness to God to a student who goes from the synagogue directly to the house of study in order to spend his time in study of the Torah.[41] He bases his doctrine on Ps. lxxxiv. 8 interpreting it thus: 'He who goes from strength to strength will see God in Zion.' The reading justifying such a homily must have differed from the Massoretic text, which has got יראה אל אלהים, i.e. appeareth before God, whilst the Haggadist makes of it יראה אל אלהים בציון, viz. seeth the God of gods in Zion. Most likely the Massoretes would reject such an interpretation as too anthropomorphic. The LXX, however, renders the sentence in agreement with the Haggadist: 'The God of gods shall be seen in Zion.'

The expression to be found in Exod. xxxiii. 7 כל מבקש יהוה is explained by some Haggadists as seeking the nearness of, or visiting, Moses, surely because the literal meaning of the text, seeking God, did not appeal to them. This gave rise to a general teaching that he who visits or appears before a scholar full of Torah, is as if he has approached God.[42] Another version puts this teaching somewhat differently, in applying it to the visit paid or to be paid, at regular intervals, by a disciple to his master.[43] The text כל מבקש ה' was understood by these teachers as מבקש פני ה', seeking the countenance of God. Similarly, in an allegorical sermon on Cant. viii. 8 'what

[40] v. Marmorstein, 'Les persécutions religieuses de l'époque de R. Jochanan b. Nappacha', *RÉJ.*, 77, 1923, pp. 166 ff., and Graetz, *MGWJ.*, 1884, 548; further Hamagid, 1863, 93, Heasif, ii. 447.

[41] b. Berakoth 64 a, b. Moed Katan 29 a, R. Levi, v. Yalkut Makiri, Psalms lxxxiv. 15, R. Levi b. Hanina, instead of Hiyya.

[42] Tanhuma, ed. Buber, ii. 115.

[43] pal. Erubin v. 1. v. also Gen. r., ch. lxiii. 8, where the reading agrees with Tanhuma.

shall we do to our sister on the day when she will be spoken for', a preacher makes the community of Israel address the question to God: How can we see the countenance of the Shekinah? Through the observances of the Torah.[44] Faithful observance of religious duties as laid down in the Law, enables man to reach complete nearness to God. Moses in his last prayer for the prolongation of his life, used the words פנים שהקבילו פני שכינה, 'the countenance which was received before God, or, the countenance of mine which saw God's countenance, should it experience death?' Finally, there is an eschatological saying, as usual in Haggadic perorations, which makes the visibility of God dependent on the unity of Israel which is also the first requirement for the redemption of man (cf. Jer. iii. 4, and iii. 18).[45] This however, as has been shown, was the teaching of R. Haninah,[46] which was not generally accepted.

Before concluding this chapter two more similar phrases used by the Rabbis have to be considered. The first is ניזונין מזיו השכינה or ליזון מזיו השכינה, the second reads: נהנין מזיו השכינה. R. Abbahu, in one of his diatribes, makes the earth say to God, 'The upper ones are sustained by the splendour of the Shekinah, whilst the lower ones, if they do not toil, will starve'.[47] To be fed by the splendour of the Shekinah is opposed here by to be fed or find sustenance by work and labour. Yet, Moses, we are told, when spending forty days on the mount, was sustained by the splendour of the Shekinah.[48] The splendour of the Shekinah was granted, according to R. Samuel b. Nahmani, reported by R. Haggai in his name, to every Hebrew who witnessed the revelation of God on Mount Sinai.[49] The Biblical support for such a doctrine is found in Ezek. xv. 14, where the beauty of Israel which made the nation

[44] v. Midrash Canticles, ed. Grünhut, p. 48 a, where the text has to be read as above.

[45] Tanhuma, ed. Buber, v, p. 12.

[46] ibid., p. 49.

[47] Gen. r. ii. 2.

[48] Tanhuma, ed. Buber, ii. 119, Exod. r. xlvii. 5, where it is added that the living creatures carrying the Throne of Glory are sustained by the splendour of the Shekinah.

[49] Pes. r. ed. Friedmann, p. 101 a.

famous among the Gentiles, is spoken of. This beauty is nothing else but the giving of the law on Sinai. A Mishnah teacher, R. Tahlifa (identical with R. Halafta b. Saul) expounds the word שמחים in 1 Kings viii. 66 as meaning that all who partook of the festivities enjoyed the splendour of the Shekinah.[50] Similarly to the conception of הקבלת פני שכינה, Rabbinic apocalyptists developed the eschatological vision of the righteous sitting with crowns on their heads and being sustained or fed by the splendour of the Shekinah.[51] They found this vision indicated in their exposition of the words in Exod. xxiv. 11, where it is said 'and they saw the God of Israel, meaning the glory of God, which supplied them with food and drink', i.e. the joy of seeing the Shekinah supplied them with food and drink. Properly understood, all these terms conveyed the idea that the righteous—but also wicked people who have charitable works to their credit, or Gentiles of a similar disposition—will see God, or be received by Him. In other words, this seeing of God means that certain merits enable man to attain a nearness to God, which to most of these theologians was equivalent to seeing God. Yet there were some, as was shown in the course of this chapter, who were so steeped in their mysticism that they spoke of and believed in a real visibility of God. This sight of God, in one form or another, meant to some teachers of Judaism a manifestation of God's immense love to His creatures generally, and to His near ones particularly. This subject, which can here be merely touched upon, belongs to another chapter of the Rabbinic doctrine of God, namely the relation of God the Creator of man to His creatures, which will find its place in the treatise on Rabbinic anthropology.

[50] Pesikta, ed. Buber, p. 37 a, b. Moed Katan 9 a.

[51] Aboth R. Nathan, i, ch. i, ed. Schechter, p. 3 a. v. also b. Rosh Hashanah 8 a, b. Berakoth 16 a.

IV

1. The difference between the two contending schools of thought manifested itself not only in doctrine, but most significantly also in style and in expression. Such a division in thought, naturally, must have penetrated likewise the terminology of the schools. An adherent of allegorical methods will use different words and terms in introducing his teachings from those familiar to teachers who would not deviate from the letter of the Scriptures. If such a suggestion can be maintained, then the apparent grouping of the two schools is established; and secondly, the individual members belonging to this or that school or group can be named and classified. Chronologically as well as materially the first place has here to be given to the school and scholars, which and who believed that the words of the Torah have to be understood literally, strictly according to their writing, דברים ככתבם as their phrase runs. R. Elieser b. Jacob applied this rule to Deut. xxii. 17. 'They shall spread out the cloth before the Elders of the city'. It cannot be questioned that, in early times, the literal carrying-out of the rite was the usage, and it persisted up to a very late date in Jewish history, when the change of manners brought about the discarding of primitive customs. It is impossible now to fix the date when this alteration took place. Undoubtedly in some places the custom survived till very late. This does not contradict the fact that already at the beginning of the second century, if not earlier, some objections to the crudeness and coarseness of early conduct were actually raised. R. Ishmael, the well-known allegorist, actually disregards the literal application of the procedure, and declares himself satisfied with the figurative performance of the action resulting out of the bridegroom's accusation.[1]

[1] Sifre Deut. par. 237, Midrash Tannaim, p. 140, b. Ket. 46 a; v. however pal. Ket. iv. 3, where R. Jose b. Abun corrects the Barayta. A similar controversy between the literalists and R. Ishmael is recorded regarding Deut. xxv. 9, v. Sifre, Deut. par. 291, Midrash Tannaim, p. 167.

A second teacher, to whom the method of taking the letter at its face-value is attributed, was R. Judah b. Ilai.[2] Yet he applies it only in certain cases and with certain reservations, namely, when the text contains a redundant word or a superfluous expression, only then can the rule be applied. Otherwise it would be impossible to harmonize such an attitude with the fact that R. Judah b. Ilai employs allegorical interpretations in his numerous Haggadoth, and strongly objects to literal translations.[3] The two instances in which R. Judah finds exceptions to the general rule by applying the term of דברים ככתבן, are of Haggadic and Halachic nature. A conflict between letter and life is inevitable in the long course of a nation's history, and can be harmonized by admitting progress in thought without taking refuge in legal fictions, as was done by Roman lawyers.[4] Such difficulties arise also in the courts and academies of the Scribes.[5] In some sources the term דברים ככתבן was interchanged with בעינן קרא כדכתיב 'we read the text according to its literal meaning'. Another term frequently used by the literalists is כמשמעו i.e. the text has to be taken literally, of which several instances are preserved in the Halachah as well as in the Haggadah.[6] Finally, the terms ממש and ודאי may be added as typical of the literalist school, before embarking on a fuller investigation of the terms used by the literalist and allegorical interpreters of the Bible.[7]

[2] v. b. Pes. 21 b and Sotah 48 b.

[3] v. further on pp. 142–6.

[4] v. Otto v. Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, vol. vi, Stuttgart, 1920, p. 133.

[5] v. Sanhedrin 45 b. According to R. Ishmael, if a condemned city has no road the prescribed punishment cannot be carried out, because the text stresses the point of having a road, though R. Akiba prescribes that a road has to be built, yet afterwards destroyed. R. Ishmael favours the abolishing of the whole ceremony or punishment in such cases. R. Akiba is inclined to do justice to the letter of the law, although it appears absurd to pave a street which will have to be destroyed afterwards in order to execute judgment on the condemned city. This point of comparison between Jewish and Roman law requires and deserves fuller investigation. It must be considered under the aspect of the validity of the law under changed conditions where it has become out-moded.

[6] v. Bacher, *Terminologie*, vol. i, s.v. משמע.

[7] v. for instance R. Akiba, Mekilta, p. 14 b, סוכות ממש; cf. Mekilta of R. Simon, p. 26, where the term ודאי occurs. As to the term ודאי

The first term to be dealt with here, at greater length, is: אלמלא מקרא כתוב אי אפשר לאומרו, i.e. were this or that not explicitly written in the text, one could not say or utter such a statement. Such a phrase, naturally, assumes that the teacher is inclined to take the words of the Scriptures literally, and moreover, he adds to it some anthropomorphism expanded by himself. In some cases, here as well as in the previous instances, the tradition clashes with the very character of the respective teacher's attitude to the problem of anthropomorphism. The teachers who are credited with the use of this term are here enumerated in their chronological order:

(1) R. Elieser b. Hyrkanos.[8] He explains the verb נשא God carried Israel like a father carrying his child. The term does not fit in this connexion, and ought to be joined with the view of the rival Haggadist, who connects the verb with דלג *steps*, which is less spiritual than the former explanation. R. Elieser

v. *Hamagid*, 1866, col. 368, further *Hakarmel*, 1872, pp. 72 and 448, L. Blau, *Massoretische Untersuchungen*, Strassburg, 1891, pp. 56 f. The term is to be found in the teachings of R. Joshua b. Hananyah, v. Mekilta of R. Simon, p. 75, on Exod. xvi. 4. לכם, unto you, is expounded as בודאי לכם, 'as fit unto you and to none else', which is opposed by R. Eleasar of Modiim, who sees in the word an allegorical reference to the merit of the fathers. Similarly a dispute is recorded between the same teachers on Exod. xviii. 3 on the word נכריה, where R. Joshua again uses the term ודאי to indicate that the word is to be understood literally, whilst R. Eleasar saw in it a reference to idolatry practised in that land, Mekilta, ibid., p. 86, v. also Mekilta, ad. loc. R. Akiba, in opposition to R. Elieser, sees in Exod. xiii. 5 in the expression 'a land overflowing with milk and honey, חלב ודאי, actually mountains flowing with milk, cf. Joel iv. 18, whilst his opponent, an allegorist, sees in it the produce of fruit trees (v. Mekilta of R. Simon, p. 32). There is an instance in which the term ודאי is cited in the Haggadah of R. Ishmael; it seems, however, that it was meant as a question to the literalist R. Akiba, v. Exod. r. v. 23, v. also J. Bassfreund, 'Über ein Midrasch-Fragment in der Stadt-Bibliothek zu Trier', *MGWJ.*, vol. xxxviii, 1894, p. 175, and Marmorstein, 'Zur Erforschung des Jelamdenu-Problems', ibid., lxxiv, 1930, p. 280. R. Judah interprets Lev. xix. 4 as 'do not look at the idols', using the term ודאי, whilst the anonymous interpreter renders the sentence as 'do not turn to the idols in order to worship them' (v. Sifra, p. 76 a). The term is somewhat strange in this connexion, since the literal meaning of the verse can apply to both, looking at or worshipping before idols. For other instances cf. Mekilta of R. Simon, pp. 101, 114, 115, pal. Yebamoth 8 d, Kiddushin i. 7, Gen. r., p. 142, Tanh. iv, ed. Buber, p. 114.

[8] Mekilta of R. Simon, p. 14.

agrees with the view of R. Jonathan. The Sages who speak of God's jumping or skipping, concur with the anthropomorphic exposition of R. Josiah in the Mekilta.[9] R. Elieser, we know, belongs to the allegorical interpreters of the Bible,[10] and the Rabbinic text has to be amended accordingly.

(2) R. Akiba[11] propagates the theory, discussed earlier in these essays, that the redemption of Israel is the salvation of God. His remark refers to 2 Sam. vii. 23.[12]

(3) R. Yose the Galilean is credited in one place in the Mekilta of R. Simon with this term, which, however, cannot be correct.[13]

(4) R. Judah b. Ilai[14] delivers a very anthropomorphic Haggadah under the cover of this term; it is also very doubtful whether the sentence really belongs to him.

(5) R. Simon b. Yohai on Gen. iv. 10, 'thy brother's blood cries to me' &c.[15]

(6) Bar Kappara.[16]

(7) R. Joshua b. Levi on Deut. vii. 10, explaining the words אל פניו.[17]

(8) R. Yochanan b. Nappacha uses this term three times in order to convey anthropomorphic teachings, which are not at all warranted in the Scriptures.[18]

(9) R. Simon b. Lakish shares fully the anthropomorphic views advanced by his colleague, and adds many more of his own to them.[19]

[9] p. 8 b. [10] v. above, p. 39. [11] v. above, pp. 40 ff.

[12] Sifre Num., § 84, Mekilta 16 a, Agadath Shir ha-Shirim, ed. Schechter, p. 20, l. 519.

[13] Ed. Hoffmann, p. 40; v. however Mekilta, p. 25 a, where this teaching is recorded in the name of another teacher, v. above, p. 37.

[14] Sifre Num., § 106, cf. also pal. Sotah i. 1, b. Sotah, p. 13 b.

[15] Gen. r., ch. xxii, ed. Theodor, p. 216; v. also A. Kaminka, *HUCA.*, x, 1935, p. 161.

[16] Gen. r., ch. i. 1. [17] b. Erubin 22 a.

[18] v. Rosh Hashanah 17 b, God is wrapt in a praying-shawl like a precentor in the congregation; b. Baba Bathra 10 a, God is indebted to a charitable person as is a debtor to his creditor; v. also Lev. r. xxxiv. 2, where the same teaching is ascribed to R. Simon b. Lakish, cf. further Lev. r. xxxvii. 2; b. Baba Bathra 26 a on Job ii. 3.

[19] Tanh., ed. Buber, v. 54, Tanh. f. 283 a, Pesikta, ed. Buber 93 a; the correct reading is preserved in Yalkut, i. § 931, Moses decrees, and God complies with it. Midr. Psalms, xl. 5, ed. Buber, p. 388 f., further b. Hullin 99 b.

(10) R. Hama b. Hanina.[20]

(11) R. Abbahu.[21]

(12) R. Reuben.[22]

With the exception of two teachers in this list, R. Judah b. Ilai and R. Joshua b. Levi, all of them belong to the class of Bible commentators who took the text in its strict literal sense, and felt no objection to the grossest anthropomorphic expressions. Moreover, they overdid the Biblical anthropomorphism by creating situations for which there is no warrant in the Scriptural text. Extreme literalism alone could dare to proclaim that God is suffering in Israel's exile, that God is judged by human judges, and in fine, that God acts as a congregational leader, that God obeys the decrees of mortal beings, and so on and so forth. The formula used by them is a far-reaching tribute to the letter of the Bible. Although being fully aware of the fact that such terms, in an ordinary way at least, cannot be applied to God in any sense, yet the Biblical expression entitles the reader to say so, and if so inclined, to exaggerate it.

The same experience, namely of the interdependence between literalism and anthropomorphism, can be gained from the anonymous Haggadah, i.e. teachings and homilies which are preserved by the compilers and editors of the Midrashim without mentioning the name of their authors. Some of them deserve full and careful attention, and will be discussed here.

There are numerous such Haggadoth which are rendered in the same phraseology, speaking of God as mourning, or as suffering exile. Thus Midr. Lam. r., p. 138: אמר הקב״ה פלגי מים תרד עיני על שבר בת עמי, אילולא שהכתוב מדבר היה הלשון שאומרו חייב לחתכו אבר אבר, אלא קדמו הראשונים שנ׳ וקדמונים אחזו שער (Job xviii. 20); ibid., p. 148, כיון שראה אותם הקב״ה חגר שק ותלש בשערו, ואלמלא וכו׳. הה״ד ולקרחה ולחגור שק (Isa. xxii. 12); ibid., p. 161 = p. 138·

[20] Tanh., ed. Buber, v, p. 30.

[21] b. Ber. 32 a and b. Sanh. 95 a.

[22] Cant. r. ii. 4, Ginze Schechter, i, p. 87, omitting the name of this Haggadist.

Pes. r. p. 134 a, האמורה הזו שהלבישו אותך מה היא עושה עליך? אילולי שהדבר כתוב אי אפשר לאומרו עשה ה״ אשר לא מלאכי זמם בצע אמרתו (Lam. ii. 17); ibid., p. 135, השרת בלבד אלא הקב״ה נשא עמהם, אלמלא וכו׳ למענכם שלחתי בבלה (Isa. xliii. 14); Exod. r., ch. xxx. 21, קרובה ישועתי לבא, כי קרובה ישועתכם אינו אומר אלא ישועתי, יהי שמו מבורך אילולא שהדבר כתוב וכו׳ אל הקב״ה לישראל אם אין לכם זכות בשבילי אני עושה כביכול, כל ימים שאתם בצרה אני עמכם שנ׳ עמו אנכי בצרה, ואני גואל לעצמי שנ׳ וירא כי אין איש, וכה״א גילי מאד בת ציון וכו׳. ומושיע אין כתיב כאן אלא ונושע, הוי אפי׳ אין בידכם מעשים עושה הקב״ה בשבילו. Here again ideas are conveyed and supported by Biblical references which were mentioned in an earlier chapter as the teachings of Haggadists who belong to the school of literal interpreters of the Bible. Considering that most of the teachers who use this term cannot be grouped with the allegorists, and furthermore that the anthropomorphisms in the Haggadic sayings introduced by this formula were taught by teachers of the opposite camp, the proof seems to be decisive that the formula אלמלא מקרא כתוב אי אפשר לאומרו belongs to the terminology of the school of R. Akiba and his followers. It is surely more than a blind coincidence, and confirms the result of this investigation, that R. Akiba is credited in Midrash Canticles zutta, ed. Buber, p. 17, with the phrase: 'A man would surely be guilty of death if he should utter such a word, now, however, as it is written in the text, it is permitted to say so.' Thus he defends the conception that God is really indebted to the person who acts charitably towards His creditors. A man who lends money to a centurion will boast of it, more so if he put the hegemon under obligation to him, how much more if the king himself is his debtor. This applies also to God.

This phrase offers another opportunity to establish a link between the Palestinian and the Alexandrian Haggadah. Philo in the third book of his *Allegorical Interpretations*[23] makes

[23] Ch. ii, ed. Loeb, v. 1, p. 303.

the following remark: 'Were one not to take the language as figurative, it would be impossible to accept the utterance (the statement that man is said actually to hide himself from God), for God fills and penetrates all things and has left no spot void or empty of His presence.' This sentence might have come from R. Ishmael, or R. Yose the Galilean who would have adorned it with many Biblical references. Philo, and perhaps before him some Palestinian allegorists likewise, may have emphasized the figurative meaning of the text. The opposition, however, laid stress on the written words which must be understood literally. They retorted that if it had not been *written*, then, surely, it would be *impossible* to say so; now that it is written there is no obstacle in the way of uttering, or believing, such things. A trace of the Philonic terminology is still preserved in the Haggadah of the Rabbinic allegorists. Such Haggadoth will be the subject of the next paragraphs.

2. In the first place attention will be called to some passages in which the Haggadists raise the question: וכי אפשר לומר כן? is it possible to say so? The question fully coincides with the words of Philo. Furthermore the teacher or preacher who believed and adhered to the letter of the text would be reluctant to ask such a question. To him the letter, whatever there may be behind it, is sufficient to guarantee the sacredness of the narrative. Mekilta, p. 28 a, וה׳ הולך לפניהם יומם, אפשר לומר כן והלא כבר נאמר?; ibid., p. 37 a, *R. Ishmael*, זה אלי ואנוהו, וכי אפשר להנוות קונו?; ibid., p. 38 a, יי איש מלחמה אפשר לומר כן? והלא כבר נאמר והיה כאשר ירים משה ידו וכו׳ וכי ידיו של משה מגברות ויגד משה ישראל או ידיו שוברות עמלק? אלא וכו׳; p. 63 b, וכי מה אמר המקום למשה לאמר לישראל או מה אמרו לו ישראל לאמר למקום?; p. 65 b, יכול ממש שירד הכבוד וירד יי על הר סיני וכו׳ שומע אני והציעו על הר סיני?; p. 72 b, כמשמעו אמרת ומה אחד משמש וכו׳. It can be observed that these questions were asked in the school of R. Ishmael, which represented the allegorical method of exegesis. In some places the introductory formula was omitted, like Mekilta, p. 8 a, in the saying of R. Ishmael on וראיתי את הדם, where the question is

raised: והלא הכל גלוי לפניו? (repeated on p. 12a). There are many indications that the seemingly daring and irreverent question וכי אפשר לומר כן was omitted. Tanhuma, f. 80a renders the quotation given above from Mek. 28a thus: וה׳ הולך לפניהם יומם הלא כבר נאמר הלא את השמים וכו׳. The formula is also used in the Haggadah of the Amoraim. R. Jonathan b. Eliezer, who asks: קול ה׳ בכח אפשר לומר כן?[24] and R. Isaac Nappacha[25], who asks: וכי אפשר לו לאדם לישב על כסא יי?[26] are two witnesses that the school of the allegorists survived the epoch of the Tannaim and found loyal successors in the third century.

It will be useful to revert again to Philo. The very question of Philo, or of his predecessors, how can a mortal hide before God?, was discussed by the teachers of Palestine. The report about Jonah's flying from before God is questioned: וכי מפני יי הוא ברח והלא כבר נאמר וכו׳? (Mek. 1b). Thereon the usual Biblical verses are cited proving the omnipresence of God. Similarly, the passage Gen. iv. 16 about Cain ויצא קין מלפני יי, was explained allegorically by several Haggadists of the Amoraic age who hesitated a great deal before taking the meaning of the word literally.[27] Such questions may safely be ascribed to the school of R. Ishmael, or to other allegorical interpreters of the Scriptures. Looking for further material of this kind, the Mekilta of R. Simon b. Yohai offers some help. On p. 109 the question is raised: וכי יש לפניו עמל ויגע הלא כבר נאמר וכו׳? (Isa. lx. 28), or, p. 105, וכי יש לפניו קנאה?.

3. Another term used by this school is the question: וכי תעלה על דעתך לומר by which the Haggadist raises doubts about the literal meaning of the text, anticipating an allegorical interpretation. It is not at all surprising that R. Yose the Galilean, whom one has to recognize as a prominent representative of the allegorical method, is very frequently named as author of these sentences in which this formula occurs.

[24] v. Exod. r. xxviii. 5, cf. Yalkut Makiri Ps. lxviii. 27.
[25] v. above, p. 62.
[26] v. Cant. r. i. 10, Pesikta, ed. Buber 28b.
[27] v. Gen. r. ch. xxiii, ed. Theodor, p. 220, and parallels.

A few instances may suffice to show this. Sifre Deut. § 277, ולא תשכב בעבוטו, וכי תעלה על דעתך שישכב בעבוטו אלא שלא ישכב ועבוטו עמו ובאת אל הכהן; ibid. § 298, אשר יהיה בימים ההם זו היא שאמר רבי יוסי הגלילי וכי תעלה על דעתך שתלך אצל כהן שלא יהיה בימיך אלא כהן שהוא כשר לפני מותו, וכי תעלה על דעתך; ibid. § 342, שלאחר מותו היה משה מברך את ישראל וכו׳ וכיוצא בו הנה אני שולח לכם את אליהו וכו׳ וכי עלתה בדעתך שלאחר ביאת היום אליהו מתנבא וכו׳; Exod. r. chap. xix. 4, וסוף דבר לא תעלה על דעתך שיעקב לחם ושמלה שאל, אלא אמר יעקב הבטחני הקב״ה שהוא עמדי ויעמיד ממני את העולם, אימתי יודע אני שהוא עמדו וכו׳; Exod. r. xiii. 8, והיה אלהים עמכם, וכי תעלה על דעתך כשהיה יעקב חי לא היה הקב״ה אשר שם צפרים יקננו וכי תעלה על דעתך ששם (כלומר בבהמ״ק) צפרים היו מקננות? אלא עם בניו?; Exod. r. xxxv. 1, הצפרים שהיה כהן שוחט ומקריב בבהמ״ק. These instances could easily be multiplied. Yet further instances would merely confirm the theory which can be proved by the examples cited here. Only an exegetical method which rejects the literal meaning of the text could raise such a question, and, finally, supply an allegorical interpretation as is done in all the cases at our disposal. A fuller and elaborate discussion of one of R. Yose's teachings, who like R. Ishmael opposed R. Akiba's literal expositions, will throw light on the attitude of both schools. Sifre Deut. § 153 brings the following Barayta in the name of R. Yose the Galilean: אשר יהיה בימים ההם, וכי תעלה על דעתך שאדם הולך אצל שופט שלא נמצא בימיו? אלא מה ת״ל אל השופט אשר יהיה בימים ההם? אלא שופט שהוא כשר ומוחזק באותן הימים, היה קרוב ונתרחק כשר, וכן הוא אומר, אל תאמר מה היו שהימים הראשונים היו טובים מאלה כי לא מחכמה שאלת על זה (Eccles. vii. 10). Any careful reader must observe that the verse taken from Ecclesiastes contradicts the first part, the teaching of R. Yose the Galilean. There is a *lacuna* between the first and the second part of this Barayta. This Barayta is quoted in a shortened form in the same

Midrash, § 298 (v. above, p. 115) with reference to the priest. Further, see b. Sanhedrin 28 a, and b. Kiddushin 15 b. These two extracts from the original Barayta throw light on the difficult expression באותן הימים in the text of the Sifre. Accordingly R. Yose says that a man may call on a judge who is a קרוב ונתרחק, i.e. whose earlier relationship which would disqualify him to act as judge had ceased, and on the other hand may not bring his offerings to a priest, who is כשר ונתחלל, i.e. was at one time a fully qualified priest, but for some reason had forfeited his qualification. Therefore the text, in the words בימים ההם, conveys the meaning that the judge or the priest has to be fully qualified to function on that occasion. Rabbinic sources preserve this Barayta further in the Tosefta Rosh Hashanah, chap. 1, and b. R. H. 25 a f., where, however, first of all the name of the teacher is omitted, and which secondly contains an additional sentence which enables the student to complete, or supplement, the part missing from the Sifre. There the teaching is deduced that הא אין לך לילך אלא אל שופט שבימיך, i.e. the judge, whether good or bad, qualified or not, has the authority in his days. This is proved by the passage from Ecclesiastes. This means to say that the text is to be interpreted quite literally, and not allegorically as suggested by R. Yose the Galilean. This second interpretation helped the defenders of the Patriarch R. Judah II, who appointed unqualified, ignorant judges to offices, to justify the action and confirm the authority of these judges in spite of vehement opposition to them.[28] R. Yochanan b. Nappacha, one of the foremost advocates of these appointments, derived from this incident his view that men like Gideon, Samson, or Jephtah, the קלי העולם, are to be respected and obeyed, if they attain high positions in life, like Moses, Aaron, and Samuel (Eccles. r. on ch. i. 5). The original text of the Sifre may be, therefore, emended as follows:

1. אשר יהיה בימים ההם

[28] v. Marmorstein, 'L'opposition contre le patriarch R. Juda II' in *RÉJ.*, vol. lv, 1912, pp. 59 ff., and ארבעה מחקרים בתלמוד ובמדרש ס' היובל לכבוד הרב הכולל דר' צדוק העוועשי, Budapest, 5694, pp. 66–67.

2. וכי תעלה על דעתך שאדם הולך אצל שופט או אצל כהן שלא נמצא בימיו?

3. ומה ת"ל אשר יהיה בימים ההם?

4. אלא זה שופט או כהן שהוא כשר ומוחזק באותן הימים, היה קרוב ונתרחק כשר, כשר ונתחלל פסול.

5. [ד"א הא אין לך לילך אלא לשופט שבימיך] וכה"א אל תאמר וכו'.

It can be shown that R. Ishmael also used this term: וכי תני ר' תעלה על דעתך, for instance, pal. Ketuboth iv. 5, ישמעאל זה אחד משלשה מקריות שנאמרו בתורה במשל, אם יקום והתהלך בחוץ וכו'. וכי עלה על דעתך שיהא זה מהלך בשוק והלה נהרג על ידיו? For further instances cf. b. Sabb. 10 a; M. Sota ix. 4; Sifre, ad. loc., Sifre Deut. § 222. It must not be considered as accidental that R. Akiba prefers the term עלת על לב, v. Sifra, p. 10 b, v. also R. Simon b. Yohai, ibid., p. 8 a; R. Yochanan b. Nappacha pal. Ber. ii. 1. Other instances for תעלה על דעת, v. Exod. r. xix. 4.

That R. Yose the Galilean was fond of the allegorical method, and rejected the literal interpretation of the text, can be demonstrated by numerous instances. Here a small number of them will suffice:

(1) Deut. xxxii. 2 where the verb ערף is explained as *atonement*, cf. Deut. xxi. 4, וערפו שם את העגלה, just as the calf atones for bloodshed, so the words of the Torah for all the sins committed. Sifre Deut. § 306, p. 131 b where R. Eleasar, the son of R. Yose the Galilean, is mentioned as the author of this explanation, v. however Midrash Tannaim, p. 184, v. however Sifre Deut. § 207, belonging to the school of R. Akiba, where the verb is taken literally.

(2) Deut. xxi. 21. R. Yose the Galilean questions the justice of the stoning of the בן סורר ומורה by the question raised: וכי מפני שאכל זה טרטימר בשר ושתה לוג יין אמרה תורה יצא לבית דין ויסקל? אלא הגיעה התורה לסוף דעתו של בן סורר ומורה, Sifre Deut. § 220, Midr. Tann., p. 131, M. Sanh. 72 a.

(3) Deut. xx. 8, R. Akiba explains the term הירא ורך הלבב literally, a man, who is afraid and cannot stand the hardships of the battle, R. Yose the Galilean, however, זה שהוא מתירא מן העבירות שבידו, Sifre Deut. § 197, where this teaching is given anonymously, probably by R. Ishmael. R. Yose is represented by the explanation זה בן מ׳ שנה, v., however, Midr. Tann., p. 120, M. Sota iv. 5, Tosefta, ch. vii, v. J. Brüll, מבוא המשנה Frankfurt, 1876, p. 127.

(4) Gen. iii. 16, והוא ימשל בך, אומר ר׳ יוסי הגלילי יכול ממשלה בכל צד? ת״ל לא יחבול ריחים ורכב (Deut. xxiv. 6), v. Gen. r. ch. xx., ed. Theodor, p. 191. For the history of the allegorical interpretation of the verse, v. Ps.-Jonathan Targum, Jerushalmi, Deut. xxiv. 6, Grönemann, *Die Jonathan'sche Pentateuch-Übersetzung in ihrem Verhältnisse zur Halacha*, Leipzig, 1879, p. 96. Chajes, Z. Hirsch, אמרי בינה, p. 19, Geiger, *Urschrift*, p. 471, Poznanski, *Kohler Festschrift*, p. 294.

(5) An exception to this experience seems to be the exposition of R. Yose the Galilean, on Ps. lxviii. 17, where he explains the verse literally, whilst R. Akiba is credited with the allegorical method. No doubt the text has to be reversed. R. Akiba expounds the verse literally as the race of the mountains, and R. Yose the Galilean as that of the tribes to receive the Torah. The proper reading ought to be first R. Akiba, then R. Yose ha-Gelili, v. Gen. r. ch. xcix, ed. Theodor, p. 127 f.; v. Mek. p. 65 b, Midr. Ps., ed. Buber, ch. lxviii, 9; Pes. r. ch. 7, Num. r. xiii. 2.

4. There is a third phrase used by the adepts of the allegorical exegesis of the Scriptures, namely דברה תורה כלשון בני אדם, the Torah speaks in the language of man. Such a term could be used only by a teacher who does not accept the literal meaning of the text as binding. A few instances may prove this assertion. Sifre Deut. § 42, R. Ishmael, ד״א ואספת דגנך, למה נאמר? לפי שהוא אומר לא ימיש ספר התורה הזה מפיך, שומע אני כמשמעו, ת״ל ואספת דרך ארץ דברה תורה [כלשון בני אדם]. R. Simon b. Yohai, surely following his teacher's, R. Akiba's, view, takes the text literally. Ibid. § 34, בשבתך בביתך בלכתך בדרך דרך ארץ דברה תורה כלשון

בני אדם. B. Ber. 31 b records a controversy between R. Ishmael and R. Akiba which at first sight would upset the theory that the term דברה תורה כלב״א belongs to the school of R. Ishmael, for there we read: דתניא ונקתה ונזרעה זרע מלמד שאם היתה עקרה נפקדת דברי ר׳ ישמעאל, ר׳ עקיבא אומר אם כן ילכו כל העקרות כולן ויסתתרו וכו׳ מאי ראה תראה דברה תורה כלשון בני אדם. The correct reading is, however, given in b. Sota, 26 a, where the names are given in the right order, first R. Akiba, and in the second place R. Ishmael; v. also Sifre Num. § 19, b. Sanh. 56 a. The discussion in the Talmud assumes that R. Isaac Nappacha, whom we recognized as belonging to the late adherents of the allegorical school, was guided by the same principle, איש איש למה לי? דברה תורה כלשון בני אדם, b. Sanh. 64 b, הכרת תכרת הכרת בעוה״ז תכרת לעוה״ב. דברי רבי עקיבא, אמר לו רבי ישמעאל והלא כבר נאמר ונכרתה וכי שלשה עולמים יש? אלא ונכרתה בעולם הזה, הכרת לעולם הבא, תכרת דברה תורה כלשון בני אדם. This reading cannot be correct. First of all because it is not in the spirit of R. Ishmael's exegesis, and secondly, because there is no difference between R. Akiba and R. Ishmael. The correct reading is preserved in Sifre Num. § 112, הכרת תכרת הכרת בעוה״ז תכרת לעולם הבא, דברי ר׳ עקיבא, א״ל רבי ישמעאל לפי שהוא אומר ונכרתה הנפש ההיא שומע אני שלש כריתות בשלשה עולמות ת״ל הכרת תכרת הנפש ההיא דברה תורה כלשון בני אדם. There are further more instances, where the duplication of the noun (איש איש), or the verb (המול ימול) indicates, according to R. Akiba, some new teaching, whilst R. Ishmael's school understood them as דברה תורה כלשון בני אדם.[29] For my purpose it is sufficient to establish the division which existed and the guiding principles underlying these controversies. The same method was applied to the problems of anthropomorphism, which underwent entirely different treatments in the two opposing schools and in those of their successors.

[29] v. Sanh. 85 b, 90 b, Abodah Zarah 27 a, Zebahim 108 b, Niddah 32 b, 44 b, Arakin 3 a, Maseroth 12 a, b. Kid. 17 b.

Geiger teaches that the application of this term to the removal of anthropomorphic passages of the Bible is of a later date, and of post-Talmudic origin.[30] Yet, apart from the remarkable coincidence demonstrated in the previous lines that the term is mainly used by teachers of the allegorical school, there is some external proof for the earlier date of this term and its meaning. Apart from Justin Martyr, a contemporary of R. Ishmael and R. Akiba,[31] there is Clement of Alexandria who enjoyed the tuition of a Jewish teacher, whose words are quite unmistakable: 'To interpret the will of the passionless God as akin to our emotions is to interpret the Scriptures carnally. The ascription of joy or pity to Him is a concession to our weakness.'[32] What does that mean if not דברה תורה כלשון בני אדם?

5. In the same Tannaitic school a term was used to mitigate some more or less gross anthropomorphic expressions. There is a legend that when God first revealed Himself to Moses he imitated the voice of Amram, the father of Moses, so that he should not be frightened.[33] Because, it is added, one makes the ears hear, what they can grasp. The editor of Exodus rabba[34] records this legend in the name of one of the latest Palestinian Haggadists of the fourth century, namely, R. Joshua b. R. Nehemayah. This fact, however, does not rule out the Tannaitic origin of the legend, as confirmed by the defence of the anthropomorphism in the language of the earlier school. The same term is applied to several passages which are arranged in the same Mekilta[35] namely, (*a*) on Exod. xix. 18, 'like the smoke of the furnace'. You might think actually like the smoke of a furnace. The text says, Deut. iv. 11, 'and the mount was burning in fire'. Wherefore, then, does the text say: 'like a furnace'? One makes the ears hear what they are capable of grasping. (*b*) Ezek. xliii. 2, 'and the glory of the God of Israel came from the eastern way and His voice was like that of many waters'. Is that possible? But the ear hears what

[30] v. now his *Qebuzath Mamarim*, p. 308 f.
[31] v. Goldfahn, *Justin Martyr und die Agada*, p. 18, note 1.
[32] v. Patrick, *Clement of Alexandria*, p. 274.
[33] v. Mekilta R. Simon, ed. Hoffmann, p. 167.
[34] Ch. iii. 1.
[35] v. pp. 100–1.

it is capable of grasping. (*c*) Ps. xxiv. 8, 'The Lord is strong and mighty, the Lord is strong'. (*d*) Amos iii. 8, 'the lion roars, who is not frightened?' (*e*) Deut. xxxii. 2, 'let my teaching come down like rain.' Is it possible that the rain is greater than the words of the Torah, to which they are compared? We find further the same term in the Mekilta p. 94, on the words 'and I carried you on eagle's wings', Exod. xix. 4. In the Mekilta of R. Ishmael, p. 68 b, only the passages from Ezekiel and Amos are enumerated; further the answer given is not אלא משמיעין את האוזן מה שיכולה לשמוע, but לשכך את האוזן מה שיכולה לשמוע. Rashi on Exod. xix. 18, copies the instances brought forward in the Mekilta of R. Ishmael, and reads לשבר את האוזן, perhaps read לסבר?

Rashi applies this rule also in his commentary on Exod. xxxi. 17, probably taken from an ancient Midrash, where the often discussed difficulty about God's resting on the day of Sabbath is spoken of. Since God did not toil or work in accomplishing His creation but did so by His mere word, the logos,[36] how can one say God rested? Later in the Haggadah of the Amoraim the more literal view was upheld and it was taught that God finished the work of creation, but that his work still goes on, *scil.* rewarding the righteous and punishing the wicked which is regarded as work.[37]

Besides the two Mekiltas there are other ancient literary documents in which this rule occurs. Thus in the fourteenth paragraph of the Baraytah of R. Elieser b. R. Yose ha-Gelili where the rule is styled: מדבר גדול שנתלה בדבר קטן כדי להשמיע האוזן כדרך שישמע, i.e. 'from a great thing, which is made dependent on a small one, in order to make the ear hear what it may understand'. As instances the passages from Deut. and Amos are adduced. In later sources the saying is ascribed to R. Elieser, the son of R. Yose the Galilean.[38] The teaching took a more elaborate form in Aboth de Rabbi

[36] v. the view of R. Judah b. Simon, Gen. r., ch. x, p. 85.
[37] Cf. Gen. r., ch. xi, p. 96, R. Phineas in the name of R. Hoshayah, Pes. r., ch. xxiii, p. 120 b, and ch. xli, p. 174 a. Midrash haggadol, p. 64, R. Huna in the name of R. Aha.
[38] v. Yalkut Deut., par. 942.

Nathan,[39] where first of all Isa. xlii. 13, then the verses from Amos and Ezekiel, are quoted. Finally the rule is somewhat enlarged in the saying: מראין את העין מה שיכולה לראות ומשמיעין את האוזן מה שיכולה לשמוע. The first version differs from the second where the verses from Amos, Ezekiel, and Deuteronomy are enumerated. Thirdly, the passage occurs in a Yelamdenu fragment, published by Neubauer, *RÉJ.* xiv. 97, from Makiri (Tanhuma), where, however, only Exodus and Amos are given. In conclusion attention may be drawn to a figure of speech, similar to this, used more than once in Gnostic documents: 'and he saw, what an eye cannot see, no ear hear, and the heart cannot grasp', where the Biblical wording seems obvious, and may have a closer bearing on the Haggadic phrase discussed here.

6. One may infer from the material brought forward in the previous paragraphs that neither the Tannaim, nor the Amoraim, their successors in the schools and synagogues, were unanimous in their views and teachings about the problems of anthropomorphism and anthropopathism. This subject still requires some further elucidation. On the one side high praise is bestowed upon the great prophets of Israel for 'being invested with the great gift of comparing the creature to the Creator', מדמין את הצורה ליוצרה; on the other side such an attempt is condemned as rather daring and beyond the power of human faculties. In order to make clear these divergent points of view, one has to examine the sayings of the two schools and their representatives, which course may enable the student to establish their proper place in the history of Jewish religious speculation.

To begin with, there is Hezekiyah b. R. Hiyya, who partly belongs to the age of the Tannaim, having sat at the feet of the last great masters of that period, and repeated their words by saying: 'Blessed are the Prophets, who are capable of comparing the creature to its Creator, the plant to its planter, as it says in Ps. lxxxiv. 12, "for sun and shield is the Lord God"; further Amos iii. 8 "a lion roareth, who will not fear?", and finally Ezek. x. 2 "and the Lord God of Israel cometh from,

[39] Cp. IX, ch. ii, ed. Schechter, p. 12.

&c., and his voice is like the voice of many waters and the earth was lit up by his glory". Yet one makes the ear hear what it can grasp, and the eye see what it can behold.'[40] The actual closing remarks themselves, as was shown in the previous paragraph, are borrowed from the terminology of the allegorical Haggadah[41] and are to be found in Tannaitic sources on these very same Biblical verses. This is quite natural since this teacher is considered as one of the compilers of Tannaitic works.[42]

Another source at our disposal attributes an almost identical saying to an Amoraic Haggadist who lived near the end of the third century. He illustrates his teaching by quoting Scriptural proofs quite different from those of Hezekiyah. The anthropomorphism of his passages centres around the term אדם—איש used for God. These passages are: Dan. viii. 16, 'and I heard the word of Man'; Man, as we saw above, stands in Rabbinic theology for God.[43] R. Judah b. Simon, belonging to the same period and circle, asserts that there are even more eloquent testimonies to confirm the veracity of the thesis. Ezek. i. 26, 'and on the throne there was the likeness of the appearance of Man';[44] Then Eccles. ii. 21 'The man whose travail is in wisdom, &c.', meaning God.[45] The tendency of these three teachers cannot be interpreted otherwise than as aiming at an attempt to weaken such anthropomorphic expressions as are enumerated in their Haggadah.

In strong contrast and unmistakable opposition to the aims of these teachers, magnifying the glorious seers of old for their great skill in anthropomorphism, are others, condemning and rebuking such an undertaking as that of comparing the creature to the Creator, the form to the former, the vessel to the potter, and the plant to the planter, as utterly futile. The

[40] v. Midrash Psalms, ed. Buber, p. 5.

[41] v. above, p. 7.

[42] v. D. Hoffmann, *Einleitung in die halachischen Midraschim*, Berlin, p. 21 and מכילתא דרבי שמעון, Frankfurt a. M., 1905, p. xii f.

[43] Gen. r., ch. xxvii, ed. Theodor, p. 255.

[44] v. above, pt. i, p. 64 and p. 65.

[45] Eccles. r. on ii. 26, Eccles. z., p. 116, Tanh., ed. Buber, i, p. 24, anonymous; v. also Pes., ed. Buber, p. 36 b, Pes. rabbati, p. 61 b and p. 197 b, Tanhuma Num., Num. r., ch. xix. 4.

literalist, naturally, would see much harm done by such exaggerated and far-reaching comparisons. One cannot say whether these teachers have been cognizant of the fact that the author of the Wisdom of Solomon[46] taught similarly, anticipating them, when he wrote: 'For no man is able to depict God that the picture should convey an idea of His likeness'. The rabbis say that the prophets could do so. Philo concurs with the writer of the 'Wisdom' that the Creator is infinitely superior to the created thing, consequently no attempt at a comparison has the slightest chance of success.[47] Among the Haggadists R. Hoshayah and R. Samuel b. Nahmani offer similar emphatic denials of ability on the part of a human being to emulate God. There is, however, an obvious and radical gulf between the Hellenistic and Palestinian Haggadists on this subject. The former speak and write against idol worshippers, the latter are addressing their words to Jewish Gnostics, by no means less dangerous than the fanatical pagan revivalists of the third century. R. Hoshayah in a most remarkable and significant sermon based on Isa. xxix. 46, illuminates the prophetic 'woe' by the following parable. Once an architect was entrusted with the office of tax-gatherer. As it happened, he had built a city with all her palaces and mansions, secret and hiding places. His new duties brought him to that very place. When he noticed that the inhabitants tried to evade payment of taxes and duties by availing themselves of the convenient trenches and caves and other secret places for hiding themselves, the former architect and present tax-collector exclaimed: 'How stupid of these people who are thinking that they can make use of some secret places by hiding themselves therein, as if I, the builder, had no knowledge of them?' Like them, says the prophet, are those men and women in his generation who believe that they have a chance to keep secret their plans and thoughts of evil from their Maker. Doing their deeds in darkness, they assert that God does not know and see their deeds. Such people turn things upside down. Can one attach the same value to the clay or the matter as to the potter who fashions them? Can the creature be compared with the Creator? Can the plant be

[46] Ch. iv. 16.

[47] *De decal.*, ii. 189 ff.

the same as the planter? These apparently wicked people invest God with human deficiencies. God, they teach, is not omniscient, just as man cannot know or see everything.[48] The homily is clearly directed against extreme Gnostics whose theology vigorously deprived the God of the Bible of His omniscience. The retort was, therefore, most appropriate. The architect, the Demiourgos, the Creator cannot be told by the creature: 'Thou hast not made me!'

Gnostics who defended, or rather made use of, the letter of the Scriptures for the propagation of their pernicious doctrines and anti-Jewish bias, could not be refuted otherwise than with their own weapons, with the letter of the Bible. Allegorical art and skill would not appeal to or satisfy them. R. Hoshayah, living in the vicinity of the Church Father Origen in Caesarea, defended the Bible as representative of the Jews, just as Origen did the same as the spiritual head of the Church. Origen spoke as an allegorist, R. Hoshayah as a literalist. The Haggadists who were brought into contact with Gnostics could not shut their eyes, guided by their deep penetrating insight in, and understanding of, the Hebrew Scriptures, to the movements of the day in their own surroundings which manifested most striking resemblances to the problems and occurrences faced by the Prophets and Psalmists of yore. R. Samuel b. Nahmani who lived and preached in the late years of the third century expounds Ps. l. 21, seeing in the verse a reflection of the events connected with the making of the golden calf.[49] אלה (these)—namely the words of greeting, applied to the golden calf—'thou hast made, and I kept silent'—meaning God pardoned the nation's crime owing to the supplication of Moses—'yet, if thou dost think that I am like thee'—namely the creature like the Creator, the plant like its planter—'then I will reprove thee, and set them in order before thine eyes'. This Haggadist as well as R. Hoshayah demonstrates eloquently that none, not even the Prophets, can convey the idea of God's likeness by parables or allegories. There are limits

[48] v. Gen. r., ch. xxiv. 1. Some readings have this teaching in the name of R. Levi, v. Midrash Psalms, ed. Buber, p. 111.

[49] Deut. r., i. 3.

set to the human understanding and its endeavours to imitate God. Allegorical interpreters of the Bible can indulge in teaching the doctrine of *imitatio dei*, not so theologians whose teachings are too closely connected with the letter of the Sacred Writings.

7. The philological meaning of the כביכול, to be registered here, was discussed by N. Brüll in the *Jeschurun* (ed. Kobak),[50] but he recognized the theological bearing of this term as well. He found, first of all, that R. Akiba was the first to make use of it together with the expression discussed earlier in this chapter אלמלא מקרא כתוב אי אפשר לאומרו which is the characteristic way of teaching in the schools of the anthropomorphic Haggadists. According to Rashi the two terms are actually synonymous and mean to say or convey the idea: 'if one could say or assert such a thing of God, one would say'.[51] R. Joshua b. Joseph of Tlemcen, the author of the methodological work הליכות עולם takes the first two letters כב to mean 'the Torah which is written in twenty-two letters, can say thus, but we human beings could not utter such a word.'[52] Geiger[53] translates the phrase: 'als spräche man von einem, bei dem so etwas möglich wäre'. There are many others who have tried to explain this term in various ways. Brüll saw in it the expression otherwise used בנוהג שבעולם, and translates: *was gewöhnlich geschieht, in dem was in der Welt gebräuchlich ist.* He substantiates his suggestion by the frequent use of the כ׳ in Mishnaic Hebrew in the sense of 'the amount, the quantity', and יכול in the meaning of 'possibly', as applied in the terminology of the Tannaitic Midrash. Accordingly the rendering of the term will be: 'wie in der Möglichkeit, als ob es möglich wäre', corresponding to the term אתמהא,

[50] Bamberg, 1871, vii, pp. 1–6.

[51] v. Rashi, Yoma 3 a and other passages to be quoted later on in the course of this paragraph.

[52] Eliyahu Bahur, the grammarian, objects to this interpretation for several reasons. They have been endorsed by the Talmudist Yom Tob Lipman Heller.

[53] *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, v. 271, L. Löw, in *Ben Chananja Forschungen*, p. 91, Pineles, דרכה של תורה, p. 203, Buber, Pesikta, note 24 on p. 120, Dukes, *Sprache der Mishna*, p. 84.

which occurs in the group of later Midrashim collected in Rabboth.

Brüll's assertions require some modification. First of all it does not hold good that R. Akiba was the first teacher to avail himself of this term. R. Yochanan b. Zakkai, if we may rely on our present textual evidence, used it before R. Akiba in explaining the difference between the treatment of the chief and robber, as to their fines and punishment. R. Yochanan said: 'The robber made equal the honour of the slave with that of his master: the thief, however, put the honour of the slave higher than that of the master. כביכול, he made the Eye of Above (the All-seeing) as if he could not see (as if it were blind) and the Ear of Above as if it were deaf.' He connects this teaching with the following Scriptural references: Isa. xxix. 15, Ps. xciv. 7, and Ezek. ix. 9–10. All the texts have here כביכול.[54] Of the contemporaries of R. Akiba who mention this term in their teachings I refer to Hananyah, the nephew of R. Joshua b. Hananyah, and Simon b. Azzai. The former says: 'It is written כביכול הוצאתיך, I went out with you from Egypt.' By a textual alteration from הוֹצאתיך into הוצאתיך the meaning given by this Haggadist could be read into the text.[55] The latter uses the term in the sense of 'not even God would do so and so' in teaching 'כביכול God does not mention His name, *scil.* Elohim, before He said בראשית ברא'.[56] If it should be the case that the term is applied more frequently in the Haggadah of R. Akiba than in that of earlier and succeeding teachers, it can easily be accounted for by the very fact that R. Akiba's Haggadah is richer in anthropomorphic thoughts and his anthropomorphism exceeds that of others, so that either he himself, or later teachers, or even scribes and copyists saw the necessity of inserting or appending this

[54] v. Mekilta 91 b, Tosefta Baba Kamma vii. 2, b. B. K. 79 b.

[55] v. pal. Sukka iv. 3, Pesikta rabbati, ch. xxi, p. 110 a, as to the idea of God's redemption; v. above, pp. 68 ff.

[56] v. Midrash Tannaim, p. 186; cf. parallels to this saying in Gen. r., i. 12, Midrash Psalms xviii. 29, ed. Buber, p. 156, where Simon b. Azzai compares God's ways with those of a king. The latter mentions first his name and title, then his קטיזמא, *scil.* his works. God does the reverse, namely, 'in the beginning created', is followed by 'Elohim'.

somewhat mitigating and explanatory term. It will be necessary, therefore, in order to make clear the attitude of R. Akiba on the subject of anthropomorphism, to examine some of his homilies and sermons in which the term כביכול occurs. Some have been treated in earlier parts of these essays, but it will not be entirely unprofitable to read them in this context.

It should, however, first be remembered that in several instances the term כביכול follows that of אלמלא מקרא שכתוב, as will be shown immediately. Preachers who coupled both of them together must have been aware of the fact that they could not be synonymous, unless they were regarded as duplicates, a point which can be easily demonstrated. Thus, Mekilta p. 16 a, we read: R. Akiba said אלמלא מקרא כתוב אי אפשר לאומרו כביכול Israel says to God: 'Thou hast redeemed Thyself'. It is the same idea which is to be found in the teaching of Hananyah, the nephew of R. Joshua b. Hananyah.[57] Now what does the duplication of the expression mean? None of the interpretations registered previously fit in this context. It is not the only instance in our sources in which these two terms occur together. R. Abbahu, who belongs to the anthropomorphic school of theology, uses them both together to indicate that God is also reading the Torah, whilst standing.[58] The teacher of R. Abbahu, R. Yochanan, uses both terms to indicate the idea that God is under obligation to him who is charitable to the poor.[59] The term כביכול by itself is used by a number of Tannaites and Amoraim. A small collection of such passages by these teachers may help to establish the exact meaning of this difficult word for which no adequate explanation is yet forthcoming. R. Eleasar, the son of R. Yose the Galilean, teaches the great value and the immense importance of peace. For, כביכול the Satan has no power to touch the worst kind of idolators who keep peace.[60] Even the best text will remain obscure if the term be understood to convey some attempt to remove anthropomorphic teachings or expressions unsuitable

[57] v. above, p. 71 f. [58] b. Meg. 21 a. [59] b. B. B. 10 a.
[60] v. Sifre Num. Editio Horowitz reads the sentence in the name of R. Eleasar the son of R. Eleasar ha-Kappar, and adds כביכול אמר המקום א השטן וכו' (v. 46).

for use in speaking of or referring to God. Surely, the meaning must be somewhat different! Another interesting case is given in an anonymous Haggadah[61] where a number of difficult passages like Deut. xi. 12, Ps. cxxi. 4, further 1 Kings ix. 3, and Ps. xxix. 8 are contrasted with several passages that prove and assert that God is omnipresent, all powerful. The first passage implies that God's providence is limited to Palestine, whilst Job xxxviii. 26–7 extends it to all the countries of the earth. The second verse limits God's guardianship to Israel, Job xii. 10 teaches that all the living creatures without distinction of race and tongue are in His hand. The third implies that His eyes are THERE all the days, whilst Zech. iv. 10, Prov. xv. 3 convey the teaching that nothing is hidden from Him wherever it may be. The reference to Midbar Kadesh is surprising. In the first three instances the explanation and solution introduces the form of כביכול. God has a special care and providence for the land of Israel, for the people of Israel, for the Sanctuary, but He extends it to all countries, to all flesh, mankind, and to all places. The term, in all the passages, does not avoid anthropomorphism but makes room for both universalism and particularism, general and special providence, in the same breath. The meaning, therefore, attached to the term by ancient and modern scholars, cited above, does not fit here and does not cover fully the proper sense of the sentence.

It is true that there are instances in which anthropomorphic conceptions are introduced and conveyed by such a term. For instance Sifre Deut. 326, Midrash Tannaim p. 201, where we read: 'When God judges the nations there is joy before Him, whilst when He judges Israel כביכול there is regret before Him.' It was observed[62] that the anti-anthropomorphic school did not refrain from ascribing joy and rejoicing to God, nor did they hesitate to speak of His anger; therefore the term need not suggest that it was applied in order to remove anthropomorphic conceptions. There are besides several more indications that the term כביכול is used by both parties, by

[61] Sifre Deut. 40, p. 78 b, Midrash Tannaim, p. 32.
[62] v. p. 44.

anthropomorphic as well as anti-anthropomorphic Haggadists. Exception must be made in the case of passages where both terms, viz. אלמלא and כביכול, are coupled together.

In the dialogues between Pappus and R. Akiba about which v. above pp. 42–47, the term is used in the explanation given by R. Akiba. 'כביכול the Holy One blessed be He appeared on a mare, &c.', v. Mekilta, p. 33a. An anonymous homilist, probably R. Akiba, depicts the influence of the state of God's relation to Israel when they do or do not do, respectively, His will. In the first case the left of God becomes right, otherwise כביכול the right becomes left. Similarly, when Israel does God's will, there is no sleep before Him, otherwise there כביכול is sleep before Him. Further in the first case, there is no wrath, contrariwise there is. Finally, God fights for His people in the first case, but changes His mercy to cruelty otherwise (Mekilta, 39a). It is to be observed that only in the first and second antitheses is the term applied, and there also only in the negative parts, and not in the affirmative assertions, although all are of an anthropomorphic character. This fact is to be noted as contradicting all the suggestions offered for finding the possible meaning of the term which do not work in this, as in many other cases. If the term served the purpose, as generally assumed by the scholars mentioned earlier in this chapter, of avoiding anthropomorphic expressions, it is impossible to see how this was achieved by adding it to one anthropomorphism, and omitting it in another. R. Meir, a pupil of R. Akiba, uses this term M. Sanhedrin, vi. 5, where, however, the exact reading is doubtful, v. מתניתא דבני מערבא vi. 10. In some editions of the Exod. r. xv. 12, the teaching, familiar to the Tannaitic Haggadah, is ascribed to him that 'the redemption is to me and you, כביכול I was redeemed together with you'.

A few instances from the Haggadah of the Amoraim shall conclude our collection of the rich material at our disposal in the Rabbinic writings. R. Jonathan b. Elieser remarks anent the commandments קח לך and ויקחו אליך that כביכול 'I prefer yours to theirs' (b. Yoma, 3b). R. Yochanan b. Nappacha uses

it for propagating, but not mellowing, some gross anthropomorphic teaching by saying: 'The Holy One, blessed be He, immediately descended from Heaven in his Glory כביכול and cut their navel, bathed them and anointed them (Exod. r. xxiii. 8). His colleague, R. Simon b. Lakish, teaches that when Israel are just, or gather merits, then כביכול they increase the strength of the גבורה, i.e. of God, when, however, they commit sins they כביכול decrease the גבורה. Both כביכול are here, as usual, confirmed by citing Biblical verses. A similar teaching is recorded by Levi b. Parta, and is repeated by R. Judah b. Simon in the name of R. Levi b. Tarphon.[63] It is, of course, somewhat corporeal to speak of the increase and decrease of the Dynamis, yet the כביכול does not stress the idea or weaken the grossness of the conception, but indicates the Scriptural basis of the exegetical teaching or the homiletical truth. The meaning of the term כביכול rests therefore on the fact that the Scriptures or some parallel support convey the same thought. I would, therefore, suggest that the word is an abbreviation of the following sentence: כיוצא בדבר יש כח ואפשר לומר. This suggestion fits remarkably well as a continuation of the foregoing אלמלי מקרא שכתוב, the final clause then saying כיוצא בדבר יש כח ואפשר לומר. All the instances quoted up till now appear in a new and clear light if the כביכול is treated as an abbreviation and solved in the way just suggested. The best proof of this is borne out by the fact that in all cases the term is either preceded or followed by a Scriptural reference. In later sources, however, especially in anonymous sayings, the term is applied promiscuously, simply with passages from the Bible, or without them, as a warning against coarse anthropomorphism or anthropopathism. This is not surprising, since in later sources, under the influence of Kabbalistic teaching

[63] v. Midrash Lam. r. i. 10, v. also Midrash Yalkut Makiri, ed. Buber, on Psalms, p. 310, and MS. Adler. The first sentence reads: אר' עזריה בשם רבי שמעון בן לקיש כשישראל זכים כביכול הן נותנין כוח בגבורה, שנא' באלהים נעשה חיל, וכשהן חוטאין כביכול הן מחישין כוח הגבורה והיא שכת' וילכו בלוא כח לפני רודף (Lam. i. 6 and Ps. lx. 14). The second reference has כשהצדיקים זכין כביכול הן נותנין וכו'.

and speculation, כביכול became one of the names by which mystics and dreamers spoke of God.

R. Isaac Nappacha uses this term to reiterate the teaching that God was with His people in Egypt, and in all the other exiles,[64] supporting his doctrine by quotations from Biblical literature. Another teacher of the late third century, R. Levi, uses the term to propagate a rather quaint teaching that just as God commanded Moses, likewise Moses enjoined God; further, just as God called and spoke to Moses, so did Moses to God. Both observations of the Haggadist are based on Scriptural evidence.[65] It is difficult to see the proper background of such a teaching and the aim of the preacher in indulging in such speculation. No doubt his contemporaries who listened to such quaint thoughts understood his words better than we and knew what he was aiming at. The same preacher is responsible for another theological doctrine reported in the name of R. Hanina b. Hama that as long as the seed of Amalek, *scil.* the Empire of Rome, exists neither the Divine Name nor the Divine Throne will be firm or complete. This will be firm after the downfall of Amalek, as prophesied by David in Psalm vii. 7–8.[66] Scores more passages could be gleaned from all parts of Rabbinic literature, but they would merely increase our theological knowledge of these centuries and not enlighten us about the proper meaning of the word. This must be attempted by reconnoitring in other directions than those pursued by scholars hitherto.

[64] v. Exod. r. xv. 16. [65] Exod. r. xxi. 2.

[66] v. Pesikta rabbati, ed. Friedmann, p. 51 a, cf. my Midrash Haseroth we-Yeteroth, p. 25, note 101.

V

1. It was unavoidable that a literature extending chronologically over a millennium, and geographically over many lands with different religious and cultural influences, should lose the traces of its origin and date. Theological discrepancies and intellectual incongruities, progressive and retrogressive thoughts, stand peacefully registered and recorded next to one another. Late compilers and early editors did well to preserve them both in their Midrashim, affording posterity more than one clue to the long and arduous history of religious thought, thus offering a key to open the storehouses of Jewish theology. They demonstrate and establish with certainty that the most sublime questions of Jewish religion reached their unanimity only after passing through many spiritual tests and struggles. The picture generally drawn of the scribes as dry and pedantic lawyers and punctilious mincers of words has no chance of existence when faced with the wealth of material reproducing their teachings and views about God. Whether a legal or a ritual question is the centre of their discussions, whether religious praxis or ethical theory is involved, whether the glorious past is reviewed or the dream of the future is visualized, they can touch none of these without bringing dream or reality, law or prayer, worship or preaching, into living contact with God Himself. It was only right, therefore, that the דורשי רשומות, the masters of allegorical studies of old, should have extolled their branch of religious activity as leading to the recognition of God.[1] It is consequently the more surprising and perplexing that the very same literature should tell of unmistakable antagonism and considerable opposition which arose in the schools against the writing of the Haggadah, or its study or propagation from (written) books. The minute details of this antagonism between Haggadists and Halakists are hidden from the searcher's eyes to-day, yet the few clear indications

[1] v. above, pt. i, p. 7.

require further illumination and investigation. The material at our disposal for such an investigation is of various dates, and offers no support for any theory of the continuity of such a movement. Nevertheless the fact remains that from time to time condemning or even hostile voices were raised against Haggadic studies and research. It really does not matter whether this opposition arose sporadically or was continuous; sufficient it is to say that it existed. If so, then the theologian or the historian must find out the deeper causes of such an intellectual appearance in Jewish life. First of all, the dates of these extraordinary manifestations have to be discussed.

It may not be accidental that the first period of anti-Haggadic feeling is somehow linked up with the name of R. Akiba. His colleague, R. Eleasar b. Azaryah, calls on him to leave the Haggadah alone, and turn his attention to Ahaloth and Negaim.[2] Surely R. Eleasar b. Azaryah himself taught Haggadah as well as Halakah; then why this rebuke? As from Judea in the first decades of the second, so from Galilee in the last decades of the third century, words of censure against Haggadah and Haggadists reach the student. We are told that R. Zeira, a contemporary of the great Haggadists of Tiberias and Caesarea, abused Haggadic lore by referring to it as to 'books of magicians'.[3] The only way to discover the real significance of these reports is by scrutinizing and analysing them.

The retort of R. Eleasar b. Azaryah was provoked by some of R. Akiba's most remarkable utterances. A dispute arose between R. Akiba and R. Yose the Galilean, whose antagonism to R. Akiba in exegesis and doctrine was duly established in previous chapters, in which the difficulty in Daniel vii. 9 was discussed, where the singular of the one throne and the plural of the many thrones was surely irritating to the advocates of Scriptural literacy. R. Akiba suggested that one throne is for God, the other for David. R. Yose the Galilean thought such

[2] v. b. Hagiga 14 a, b, Sanh. 38 b, ibid. 67 b, Sabb. 96 b, Midr. Psalms, ch. 104.

[3] pal. Maaseroth 51 a.

an interpretation impossible, and said: Akiba, how long are you going to profane divine things? As a good allegorist he suggested that the two thrones represent two attributes of God, namely, those of justice and mercy. In a later source R. Akiba is credited with a change of his previous opinion and as having adopted the point of view of the Galilean scribe. In spite of this admission he was urged by R. Eleasar b. Azaryah to refrain from Haggadah and concentrate on Negaim and Ahaloth. The final result of the protracted controversy was that in reality there was only one throne, yet that the plural indicates that there was a chair and a footstool (based on Isa. lxvi. 1). The fact that a pupil of R. Akiba, namely R. Meir, adopted the allegorical interpretation of R. Yose the Galilean would tend to show that the master himself abandoned his earlier position.[4] The anthropomorphic idea of God's using a throne seemed too strong even to the School of R. Akiba, and became untenable. No wonder that such anthropomorphic Haggadoth gave rise to and engendered protests. The same is the case with the second report in which R. Akiba is firmly requested to leave Haggadic studies and turn his attention to other branches of learning. R. Akiba indulged in the following exaggeration: 'One frog filled the land of Egypt and brought about that terrible plague.'[5] The singular in Exod. viii. 2 caused the literalist to produce such extravagant homiletics. Now, apart from these instances, there are several others which leave no doubt that the literal adaptation of the Hebrew text of the Bible led to crude anthropomorphisms which the allegorists could not hear without misgivings and fears for the purity of their religious teachings. Hence the opposition to the Haggadah as taught and proclaimed by R. Akiba.

About the middle of the third century a movement which disapproves of spreading Haggadic lore in writing appears in contemporary literature. R. Joshua b. Levi is inclined to deprive the writers of such books of their share in the world

[4] v. Exod. r. x. 5.

[5] Tanhuma ii, Seder El., ch. vii, Midr. Ps., ch. 78, 6, Sanh. 67 b, Midr. Lekah Tob, ii, p. 37, v. R. Ilai, Midrash Agada, p. 136 f., anonymous.

to come. He is not less averse to those who look into, or read out of, such manuscripts.[6] R. Hiyya bar Abba who is a younger contemporary of the just named teacher makes no secret of what he thought of the writers of Haggadic documents. He wishes that their hands may be cut off.[7] Finally, there is a third teacher of this age who likewise condemned not only the written, but expressed his undisguised disapproval of the living word of the Haggadah, so that some of the famous Haggadists in his neighbourhood felt justifiably hurt.[8] These rather sharp reprobations of Haggadic lore could not have been directed against the Haggadah as such. On the contrary, the Haggadah was favoured by these preachers as much as by their opponents. The proof of this fact is the rich Haggadic activity of all the above three teachers as documented by their sayings and sermons preserved in the Midrashic literature. The reason for their strange utterances on Haggadic writing and teaching has to be sought for in the same direction as observed in the attitude of R. Eleasar b. Azaryah towards R. Akiba, which points to a dislike of anthropomorphic tendencies in the Haggadah. This significant split in Palestinian Jewish life is merely the continuation of earlier divergences between allegorists and literalists in the Diaspora as well as in Palestine. The under- and cross-currents of these streams can be observed in the Amoraic period, and did not stop during the many centuries of the Geonic and later Rabbinic epochs. That this is the real reason for Zeira's attitude against the Haggadah as taught by his colleagues R. Levi and R. Abba b. Kahana can be confirmed by two facts. First of all by a fuller examination of the report in the Palestinian Talmud, and secondly by investigating Zeira's Haggadah. It cannot be expected that the great masters of the Haggadah would allow to pass unchallenged such a depreciatory statement about the Haggadah and Haggadists made in their presence. As a matter of fact they asked Zeira to suggest some problem for solution which could or would confirm his judgment. He asked them for the meaning of Ps. lxxvi. 11, 'surely the wrath of man shall

[6] Soferim xvi. 10–11.
[7] pal. Shabbath xvi. 1.
[8] pal. Maaseroth 51 a.

praise (or, acknowledge thee), the remainder of wrath shalt thou restrain'. It cannot be accidental that Zeira chose this verse, which has baffled generations of perplexed scholars and commentators for more than two thousand years, to test their skill in their literal exegesis. They actually were not at a loss to understand the verse in its literal meaning as speaking of the divine wrath in this and in the future world. This test case should condemn the literalistic tendency of the Haggadah, for which a man like Zeira has nothing but contempt and condemnation.

If Zeira's Haggadah is carefully reviewed one cannot fail to notice that his was the allegorical method which, as shown, continued the method and view of earlier schools and teachers. It is clear that in spite of the paucity of Zeira's Haggadah, there are still a number of his teachings left which bear out the truth of this assertion. No doubt only an adept and a friend of allegorical exegesis could see in Exod. v. 4 the often neglected yet very true teaching that a man who aspires to a dignity or leading position that is above him, and so is unable to fill the place conscientiously, sins against the sense of the second commandment of the Decalogue.[9] This rebuke of unjustifiable communal, spiritual as well as political, leadership, at the end of the third century, was of more than a mere academic nature.[10] Secondly in Lev. xvi. 2 there is an anthropomorphism which no allegorist can leave unnoticed. 'I will appear in the cloud upon the mercy seat', means according to R. Zeira that God does not punish without a preceding warning.[11] His derivation is based on the use of the future, instead of the past. No doubt the endeavour to mitigate the anthropomorphism tempted Zeira to offer this explanation. Thirdly, his remark on Ps. vii. 12 could be quoted, where he adds to the text that although God is angry, yet He does not punish every day, but at the end.[12] Here again R. Zeira tried to weaken the obvious anthropopathism by seeing in God's anger the

[9] Pesikta rabbati, p. 111 a.
[10] v. the literature quoted on p. 148, note 30.
[11] pal. Yoma, ch. i, end, p. 3 b.
[12] pal. Sota 24 b, Midrash Psalms, ad loc.

due punishment for offences accumulated and committed against God. Finally, mention may be made of his argument given for the inclusion of the Scroll of Ruth in the Scriptures. This Scroll teaches nothing about pure and impure, about forbidden or permitted things; then why was it included in the Holy Bible? Because, says Zeira, it is a most eloquent testimony for the great value and virtue of charity.[13]

In these selected passages, which convey an idea of the allegorical and anti-anthropomorphic tendency of Zeira's exegetical trend of mind, and moreover the lack of anthropomorphic and anthropopathic Haggadah in his teachings in contrast to some of his contemporaries, R .Yochanan, R. Simon b. Lakish, R. Abbahu, and many others, referred to in earlier chapters of these essays, one may find some confirmation of the view that Zeira was opposed not to Haggadah generally, but to the anthropomorphic Haggadah, whether based on the Biblical text or added to it by legends and speculations. The next step will be to find out whether this view holds good also in the case of the other two earlier and older Amoraim, R. Hiyya bar Abba and R. Joshua b. Levi, or not. We saw that they opposed the writing of Haggadic books and their use for reading purposes or study. It is not without significance that it was on record that R. Yochanan and R. Simon b. Lakish used Haggadic compilations in manuscript.[14] Although R. Joshua b. Levi also confesses with great regret that he sometimes used a Haggadic compilation on Psalms[15]—but this may have happened before he made his condemning announcement. In comparing their respective attitudes about writing Haggadic matters, the contrast and antagonism between the teacher of Lydda, R. Joshua b. Levi, and the teacher of Tiberias, R. Yochanan b. Nappacha, are most striking. In contrast to the words of R. Joshua, we read in the name of R. Yochanan: 'It is a solemn covenant (lit. a covenant cut or sealed) that he who learns Haggadah from a book will not so easily forget his learning.'[16] This sounds pretty plain. It is definitely and deliberately directed against the view held and proclaimed

[13] Ruth r. i. 1.
[14] v. b. Gittin, 60a; Temura 14b.
[15] pal. Shabbath, x. 1, Gen. r. xxxiii. 2.
[16] pal. Berakoth 13. i.

by the teacher of Darom. It is surely not accidental that some data and indications about written Haggadoth in the circle of R. Yochanan are still preserved. R. Hanina b. Hama made a remark with reference to what R. Simon b. Lakish wrote ר׳ חנינא אמר על הדא דכתב ר׳ שמעון בן לקיש.[17]

I turn now to the Haggadah of R. Hiyya b. Abba for material to establish his opinion on the question of anthropomorphism and, what goes hand in hand with it, his application of the allegorical method of Bible-exegesis. The place occupied by R. Hiyya b. Abba requires a more circumstantial description than any that is possible here in this work. The very fact that he is to be looked upon as the antithesis of R. Abbahu speaks eloquently enough for the character of his Haggadah. This alone may have induced him to give vent to his dislike of certain Haggadic writings. The literal exposition of the Bible and the consequences arising out of that method must have filled him with uneasiness about the future development of religious thought in Judaism. His Haggadah is far removed from literality and consequent anthropomorphisms. He, like his Tannaitic forerunners, dwells on Exod. xiii. 21, 'and God went before them'. The anthropomorphism is mitigated on the same lines as those of the earlier allegorist.[18] Further, he found it necessary to expound the anthropomorphic expressions in 1 Sam. iii. 1 and 1 Kings xviii. 8, where it is said 'and the lad Samuel was serving God before Eli', and 'by God before whom I stood'. What does the text mean by saying 'he stood before God'? Can one say such a thing? Is God not omnipresent? The meaning is, that as long as he stood before Eli, or Elisha before Ahiya ha-Shiloni, it was considered of the same value as if he had done service before the Shekinah.[19] In a third Haggadah the anthropomorphism in Num. xiv. 10, 'and the glory of God appeared in the tabernacle, &c.', with the preceding words of the verse 'and the whole congregation said that they will stone them with stones' is expounded as

[17] v. Yalkut Makiri Ps. ii. 34; v. also Midr Ps. ii. 13, where, however, the word דכתב is omitted. The omission is surely due to scribal correction.
[18] Midrash Psalms, ch. xviii, ed. Buber, p. 156, and above, p. 23.
[19] Midrash Samuel, ch. viii, ed. Buber, p. 23.

meaning that they cast stones against Heaven.[20] Finally there is his exposition of Num. xxvii. 21, where the oracle through the Urim and Tumim is rendered in the following way: It does not say according to the order of the Urim and Tumim, but according to the judgment of the Urim and Tumim, which implies that it depends on the heavenly court's decision whether Israel, going to war, will conquer or suffer defeat.[21] This teaching confirms the truth of the observation made by me before [22] that allegorical Haggadists are prone to substitute angels when faced with anthropomorphic difficulties or irrational utterances. Urim and Tumim were, therefore, not oracles, but simple decisions by angels, or other celestial beings.

It remains to demonstrate that this Haggadist combined an anti-anthropomorphic attitude with allegorical exegesis. Thus the word צפונה in Deut. ii. 3 is not translated as '*to the north*', according to its literal sense, but allegorically.[23] He says, surely with reference to contemporary political conditions as witnessed by historical evidence,[24] that Jews when threatened by Rome (Edom) with persecution do not offer any resistance to Imperial Rome, but seek a hiding-place till Edom's rule shall disappear. Another instance: R. Phinehas and R. Jeremiah in the name of R. Hiyya b. Abba raised a question regarding 1 Kings ii. 34, 'in his house, in the wilderness'. Surely the

[20] b. Sota 55 a.
[21] pal. Shabbath 5 a.
[22] v. above, p. 46.
[23] Deut. r. i. 19.
[24] v. Marmorstein, *Eine messianische Bewegung im dritten Jahrhundert, Jeschurun*, ed. Wohlgemuth, xiii, 1927, 16–28, 171–86, 369–85. Attention may here be drawn to another opponent of the messianic party eager to overthrow the heavy and hated yoke of Rome, whose homily is given Midr. Ps., ed. Buber, p. 73, cf. Yalkut Makiri, viii. 1. The preacher speaks first of the Four Kingdoms. The last one is Rome. Then he proves that the 'Redemption is caught in four different forms', quoting Jer. xlix. 9 (harvest), Joel iv. 13 (childbirth), Mic. ii. 2, and Cant. viii. 14 (spices). In all four verses the idea of salvation is expressed with reference to material or physical deliverance. What is the common teaching to be derived from all of them as far as spiritual or political redemption can be considered? A common feature in all four instances is that if they are plucked before their time they bring destruction and are useless to their owners. The application to Israel must be that premature efforts by forcible intervention or military attempts against the Empire are bound to fail and will be harmful to the national cause.

house of Joab was not in the wilderness. This cannot be understood in its literal sense. It means that with the death of Joab the whole of Israel became desolate like a wilderness.[25] Thirdly, Ps. cv. 19, 'till the time when his word comes' (*scil.* fulfilled or true). The context suggests that the word of God is meant, as actually interpreted by the Rabbanan, yet R. Hiyya b. Abba refers it to the word of Joseph.[26] These three instances may suffice for the present purpose.

R. Joshua b. Levi, the third opponent of written and the writing of Haggadoth, holds an altogether exceptional position in the history of the Haggadah. It would require a bulky volume to do justice to his Haggadic activity and production which cannot be discussed here. I confine, therefore, my observations to a few necessary remarks. Legends and traditions of various sorts occupy a great space in this teacher's Haggadah. Their source may have been the so-called Massoreth Haggadah, alluded to in some instances. They abound in anthropomorphist thoughts and ideas. The nature of these sources involves more or less pronounced anthropomorphism as is the case in all popular secular or religious tales and narratives. Significantly enough, these legends or tales about Biblical heroes are supported by Biblical references, or are skilfully interpolated into the Scriptures. This, of course, cannot be attempted, and cannot be achieved only by applying the method of literality, but one has to have recourse also to the allegorical method, of which several examples can be cited. The fact that Zeira figures among the teachers who perpetuated R. Joshua b. Levi's Haggadic teachings, is an additional proof for the agreement between these teachers as to their attitude towards anthropomorphism and literal interpretation of the Bible. The anthropomorphic trend in R. Joshua b. Levi's Haggadah may go back either to his earlier way of thinking and teaching, which he later on abandoned, or to his dependence on his sources, Haggadic traditions and compositions, the origin of which is in most cases unknown to us.

[25] Midrash Samuel, ch. xxv, ed. Buber, p. 124.
[26] v. Gen. r., ch. lxxxvii, end, Midr. Psalms, ch. cv, ed. Buber, p. 451, Yalkut Makiri, cv. 26.

2. An earlier attempt to counteract anthropomorphic conceptions by avoiding literal translations of the Biblical text is recorded in the name of R. Judah b. Ilai, who lived about a hundred years before the antagonists of Haggadic writings and studies in Galilee. He is credited with the teaching that 'whosoever translates the text of the verse literally, tells lies, and whosoever adds to the text is guilty of blasphemy'.[27] Significantly enough early commentators of the Geonic period referred the first part of the sentence to passages like Exod. xxiv. 17, where the visibility of God is spoken of, whilst the second part would condemn such substitutes as 'and they saw an angel of God', instead of 'the glory of God'. One may rightly doubt whether the Geonic commentators faithfully interpreted the words of the Tannaite. It is an established fact that allegorists and teachers of an anti-anthropomorphic tendency are not averse from such substitutes, as shown above.[28] The numerous exegetical and homiletical controversies which took place between R. Judah b. Ilai and R. Nehemayah, and which are recorded in the Talmudim and Midrashim, leave not the slightest shadow of a doubt in which camp R. Judah is to be sought and found. It is sure that he has to be counted among the allegorists, and at the same time among the anti-anthropomorphists. Thus R. Judah followed the line along which R. Ishmael and R. Yose the Galilean went in the footsteps of R. Eleasar of Modiim and R. Elieser the son of Hyrkanos, carrying on the learned tradition of the School of Hillel, and concluding in the Tannaitic period the legacy of the anonymous and to us only faintly known sages who adhered to the figurative interpretation of the Pentateuch and Prophets. The exegesis and theology of R. Judah requires a full monograph; here a few instances will be given to demonstrate on one side that he favoured the allegorical method, and on the other side that he was opposed to anthropomorphisms not only in popular Targumim, but also in the Haggadah. In some cases this rule does not seem to work, as was the case with the controversies

[27] v. Tosefta Megilla, b. Kiddushin 49 a, cf. A. Berliner, *Targum Onkelos*, p. 87, H. Chayes, *Orient. Literaturblatt*, 1840, col. 43.

[28] v. p. 46.

between R. Ishmael and R. Akiba, or R. Joshua and R. Elieser, yet here, as there, these irregularities are due to, or can be accounted for by, negligence or carelessness of scribes and copyists. The following instances are taken from the Genesis Rabba (ed. Theodor-Albeck).

(1) Gen. ii. 8, 'and put there', is explained figuratively as: 'God exalted man', in order to avoid the anthropomorphic implication of the literal meaning of וישם שם, cf. Deut. xvii. 15. R. Nehemayah explains the text as 'invited', or 'persuaded', like a king who has prepared a banquet and invites guests (Gen. r., ch. xv, p. 137).

(2) A similar controversy is recorded on Gen. ii. 15, 'and God took', which means 'exalted' according to R. Judah, cf. Isa. xiv. 2, and 'persuaded' according to R. Nehemayah, cf. Hos. xiv. 3 (Gen. r., ch. xvi, p. 148). Both teachers endeavour to mitigate the anthropomorphism of the text.

(3) Gen. iii. 23, 'and God drove him from the Garden of Eden'. R. Judah explains that he was deprived of his share in Eden in both worlds, whilst R. Nehemayah allows such a possibility only as to this world but not as to the future world (Gen. r., ch. xxi, p. 201).

(4) Gen. iv. 15, 'and God made (put) unto Cain a sign'. R. Judah understood under this anthropomorphism that God caused the sun to shine upon him, as a sign of forgiveness. R. Nehemayah, however, explains the sentence: Cain was afflicted with leprosy because of his crime (Gen. r., ch. xxii, p. 219).

(5) Gen. vi. 6, 'and God repented'. This often discussed anthropomorphism is weakened by R. Judah in his explanation that God regretted to have created man from the lower, and not from the upper world, for if he had done the latter, man would not have rebelled against God. R. Nehemayah does not mind taking the verb literally (Gen. r., ch. xxvii, 6, p. 258).

(6) Gen. vi. 19, 'and from all the beasts'. R. Judah says that the unicorn did not enter the ark, but its young ones did. R. Nehemayah denies this, but thinks that Noah tied the unicorn next to the ark, and thus it was preserved. The exactness of the word 'and of all the beasts' was probably

questioned by critics, which necessitated this discussion (Gen. r., ch. xxxi, p. 287).

(7) 1 Kings xvii. 6, 'and the ravens brought him bread and meat'. R. Judah says that there is a city in the vicinity of Scythopolis (Bethshan) called Arbu, consequently, the 'Orbim' were not ravens, but people of that place who supplied the prophet with food. R. Nehemayah takes the text literally, ravens brought him food from the table of king Jehoshaphat (Gen. r., ch. xxxii, pp. 309–10).

(8) Gen. xiv. 13, 'Abram the Hebrew'. R. Judah explains העברי allegorically, the whole world was on one side, Abraham on the other. R. Nehemayah renders it literally as 'who came from Eber'; the Rabbis take it geographically, from the other side of the river (Gen. r., ch. xli, p. 418).

(9) Gen. xiv. 22, הרימותי, 'I lifted up'. R. Judah finds in the verb an allusion to the ceremony of the heave-offering, cf. Num. xviii. 26. R. Nehemayah interpreted it as an expression of an oath, cf. Dan. xii. 7 (Gen. r., ch. xliii, p. 423).

(10) Gen. xvi. 1, 'and she did not bear him'. R. Judah explains the לו (him) in the sense that if she had married some one else she would have been blessed with children. R. Nehemayah renders the text thus: לא ילדה שרה לה ולאברם Sarah did not bear for herself or for Abram (Gen. r., ch. xlv, p. 447).

These ten instances may bear out my contention that R. Judah, and partly also R. Nehemayah, belong to the allegorical school. A fuller investigation of the Haggadah of these two Tannaites shows that the two contending schools still struggled for supremacy in the age after the death of R. Akiba and R. Ishmael, and could come to no agreement even in the schools of Galilee, whither the scholars repaired after the defeat of Bar Kochba in Judea.

This contest of the schools and scholars of the early centuries of the Current Era on the topic of figurative and literal exegesis and translation of the Sacred Writings of the Hebrews was not without serious repercussions on the weighty problem of elementary education. R. Elieser b. Hyrkanos, when visited by his pupils before his departure from this world, was requested

to teach them *the paths of life*. His sayings, which by the way are among the most precious gems of old Rabbinic teaching, cover more than one aspect of religious life and reflect many sides of the master's religious experience. Apart from the emphasis laid on the right attitude in prayer and proper conduct in scholastic life, the teacher admonishes them: 'Keep back your children from הגיון and place them between the knees of the disciples of the wise' (v. Ber. 28b). The noun הגיון puzzled many generations of students and commentators of the Talmud, and all their skill and efforts led to no satisfactory result. Rashi, our best teacher and guide, leaves us here in the dark. For according to him the master enjoined his pupils to refrain from too much Bible study when educating children in private or in public. Is it likely that a man, a scholar of R. Elieser's calibre, should wish to restrict the duty of such studies, instead of stressing the necessity of diligent study of and daily and nightly meditation on the words of the Torah? Furthermore, how is the injunction contained in the first sentence to be brought into accord with the warning to take great care in the choice of proper, worthy, and qualified scholars for the education of the growing youth? More helpful is R. Nathan ben Yehiel, the author of the Aruk, who interprets the words as follows: 'Avoid teaching your children by translating or expounding the Biblical text in a strictly literal way, or by any such method.' Such an education calls for teachers who are skilled and able to teach the Scriptures in a proper way. The lexicographer derived this explanation from older Geonic sources which on their part may have drawn from authorities no longer available to us. Yet one may see in this explanation of the words of R. Elieser a remarkable confirmation of the anti-literal and anti-anthropomorphic attitude in his Bible-studies demonstrated in these pages from the material still available in the old Tannaitic literature. R. Elieser, apparently, reviewing on his death-bed his activity and the results of his life, could not help expressing a personal note, an innermost feeling, a serious self-defence. His words are, therefore, directed against his colleagues of the opposition who propagate the method of literality. His words must have made a very deep impression on

the witnesses of that memorable scene in the scribe's mansion in Lydda. For somewhat later R. Akiba thought it opportune, or was perhaps compelled, to warn his pupil R. Simon b. Yohai from following the teaching of R. Elieser. He said, 'When thou teachest thy son, instruct him from a properly corrected book', meaning to say put the utmost stress on the letter and writing of the text and avoid the figurative sense of the Scriptures (b. Pes. 112 a). R. Simon b. Yohai, like R. Judah b. Ilai, although both were pupils of R. Akiba, did not adhere to the teaching of their master in this question of method and principle (v. further about הגיון *Hebr. Bibliographie*, xiv. 47. Further instances of the interchange of the names of teachers in our sources occur in Siphre Deut. 212, cf. b. Yebamoth 48 b, b. Sanhedrin 28 b, and Midr. Lam. r. Petihatha, no. 2).

3. The literal or anthropomorphic understanding of the Bible was bound to engender new anthropomorphic and anthropopathic teachings which, on their part, met with the fate of the earlier Biblical anthropomorphisms. Preachers and homilists, philosophers and mystics, commentators and grammarians treated them according to their proclivities, either literally or allegorically. A number of sages and scholars could be registered with the former, and an equally strong set represents the other group. My task cannot be to account for, or to describe at any length, the history of anthropomorphism in the long course of Jewish literature; in this paragraph the background of a few such anthropomorphic Haggadoth shall be demonstrated. Without the historical and archaeological, the religious and cultural understanding of the Rabbinic texts the inner meaning of them will remain either partly obscure or will be entirely misunderstood, just as it happened to the Scriptures, in spite of good translations and a wealth of commentaries. Two examples of anthropomorphic teachings shall be analysed here which, on the one hand, throw light on contemporary history, and on the other, gain light from historical knowledge.

The first Haggadah is by the Babylonian teacher Rab, in the first half of the third century, who preached the following sermon. 'When sun and moon enter to ask permission (or to take leave) of God in order to go forth and spread light on the

world, their eyes become dim from the splendour of the Shekinah, so that their dim eye-sight prevents them from discharging their duties. What does God do unto them? He shoots arrows in front of them, so that they are enabled to walk forth guided by their light, i.e. by the light of the divine arrows.' The preacher found this quaint idea confirmed in Hab. iii. 2, where the prophet says: 'Sun and moon stood in the Zebul (the highest of the seven heavens), at the light of thy arrows they walk, at the shining of thy glittering spear'. Further he combined with this verse Joel ii. 10, 'Sun and moon shall become dark, and the stars lose their splendour'.[29] For a Haggadist, who took the verses in Habakkuk and Joel literally, it was quite natural to indulge in such mythological descriptions, but one is inclined to ask, whence did Rab learn or deduce that sun and moon *take permission* before starting their functions for which they were ordered from the beginning of creation? How did he get hold of the idea that this happens every day, which is not indicated in the words of the prophets quoted? Yet this new and original contribution of the preacher is the very key for the understanding of the whole situation. The expression נטילת רשות designates the sermon preached by the candidate for scholarly authorization or ordination on leaving the academy before starting his independent scholarly and judicial activities. When leaving his *alma mater*, as an honour, he was obliged to deliver an address, mostly of a Haggadic nature. Rab, therefore, when his turn came to leave Sepphoris for his native Babylonia, compared the going forth of the qualified Rabbi from the school to the exit of the sun and moon. Both, scholars, the earthly torchbearers of the Torah, as well as the celestial luminaries, go out into the world to become the bearers of the light of the Torah to mankind, to carry the light of mind and warmth of soul to humanity. Just as the celestial beings cannot rely on their own natural powers but require the assistance of Heaven in order to discharge their duties, so the scholar, like Rab himself, must faithfully acknowledge the past instruction of his teacher, and look forward to the future guidance of his

[29] Lev. r. xxxi. 9, Yalkut Makiri, Habakkuk, ed. Greenup, London, 1910, p. 51.

master after he has settled in the place of his new activity, far away from his spiritual home. Considering the history reported of the circumstances accompanying the ordination of this scholar, the sermon delivered offers a new support to the historical report known from other sources.[30] The anthropomorphic setting is merely the rhetorical corollary of the preacher's thoughts and feelings.

The second instance is also taken from the world of Rabbinic legends. Its author is R. Jonathan b. Elieser, reported to us by R. Samuel b. Nahmani. The teacher himself, as demonstrated by our references to several of his teachings above,[31] belongs to the school of the allegorists. He flourished in the third century in Galilee. The plural נעשה in Gen. i. 26 was a source of constant trouble to Bible readers from early ages up to the present. First pagans, then Gnostics, and later Christians availed themselves of this verse in their attacks on Hebrew and Jewish monotheistic conceptions, and in their propaganda for their peculiar teachings, viz. polytheism, dualism, and christology. R. Jonathan faced Gnostic arguments which induced him to invent a legend depicting Moses writing the Torah from the beginning till verse 26. When Moses arrived at that verse, he lifted up his eyes and said: 'Lord of

[30] v. b. Sanhedrin 5a. R. Hiyya asked R. Judah I for his nephew's ordination. This permission was granted, withholding the candidate's right to settle cases of the 'firstborn animals'; it may be that the preacher alluded to this fact in dwelling on the restrictions put on the celestial luminaries. On the subject v. Grätz, *Geschichte*, vol. iv, 4th ed., p. 255 f.; Weiss, *Dor Dor*, vol. iii, p. 132; Halevy, *Doroth ha-Rishonim*, vol. ii, p. 216; A. Epstein, 'Le retour de Rab en Babylonie', in *RÉJ.*, vol. xliv, 1902, reprint, p. 4. Pal. Hagiga i. 8 has the report that R. Gamaliel III did not concede after the death of his father the supplementing of the ordination of Rab. It may be that the נטילת רשות has a special point in referring to the restrictions imposed upon the candidate. It is, however, difficult to believe that, as Weiss thinks, the Patriarch may have been guided by dynastic or personal feelings. As a matter of fact Rab himself may have felt that he was not quite qualified and equipped in that branch for which ordination was not granted him. For a similar conception of God helping sun and moon by spreading light before them v. also the teaching of R. Joshua b. Levi based on Ps. lxxxix. 16 and Hab. iii. 11. The point of נטילת רשות does not occur here at all, Midr. Psalms, ch. xix, ed. Buber, p. 169.

[31] v. Index, s.v., and pp. 114, 130.

the Whole Universe, Thou givest an opportunity to heretics to criticize (or to object).' God said to him: 'Write, and do not care about them, he who will err let him do so.' Further, God said to Moses: 'Among men whom I created, there will always be different classes. They will produce men who are great and small, socially and intellectually. Now, when it shall come to pass that the greater one has *to take permission* from the smaller one, the former should not argue: "How shall I, who am a greater scholar, or of greater importance in social life, take authorization from a man who is smaller in learning or in piety?" If such a case aris eshe may be told: "Go, and take a lesson from thy Creator who created the upper and lower ones, nevertheless consulted the ministering angels before creating man."'[32] It is pretty clear that the latter part of the sermon is directed against some of the preacher's contemporaries, who, proud of their learning or academic successes, were loath to submit for ordination or authorization to leaders who were smaller or less important in learning or even in character. Such episodes are recorded in the history of the third century. These show that after the death of R. Judah the Prince, the compiler of the Mishnah, and especially under his successors, really gifted scholars hesitated to submit to the spiritual leadership of men altogether inferior in learning and perhaps also in character. The innate antihierarchic feeling of the Jew during the ages manifested itself at all times. R. Jonathan, however, thought it to be for the good of the religious life of his age to support and strengthen the Patriarchs in their inherited rights. With what feelings these well-meant words were received by the scholars to whom they were addressed, is not known to us, but the changes recorded in the proceedings of the ordination occurring in these days may not have been to the liking of the leaders and authorities.[33]

[32] Gen. r., ch. viii, ed. Theodor, p. 61.

[33] It is quite likely that some of the junior members of the academy of Sepphoris during the presidency of Rabbi hesitated and manifested reluctance to submit later on to R. Gamaliel III whose prominence in learning was not recognized and original merit for leadership not sufficiently manifested. The Patriarch had foreseen trouble and warned his son to put fear into the hearts of the students by taking the reins of leadership

4. Porphyry, who lived in the third century C.E. and dreamt of a rejuvenation of paganism, criticized very strongly the figurative interpretation of the Hebrew writings as practised by Jews and Christians alike, and objected especially to the exegetical activity of Origen. The Church Father, Porphyry asserts, borrowed his method from the allegorical exegesis of the old Greek philosophers, and adapted it for his purposes.[34] This judgment is quite justified, and can be equally turned against Philo and some of his fore-runners. It is more difficult to accept such a view when extended to the Rabbinic adherents of the allegorical method, some of whom have been named in the foregoing pages. The connecting link between the Rabbis and earlier Hellenistic allegorists, Philo included, is, at present, impossible to discover. The communal and literary intercourse between the Greek diaspora and the Palestinian community is too little known to afford material for a working hypothesis. The hypothesis, however, that Philo and his sources may have used more of the earlier Palestinian wisdom and scholarship than they are credited with, is seen to have more basis when the Greek writings are examined and searched in the light of the Palestinian Midrash. A few instances may exemplify this in addition to the examples brought forward in the earlier course of these essays.

In his essay 'On Flight and Finding'[35] Philo says: 'And well may she say this (Thou art the Maker of my wishes and my offspring), for of free and really high-born souls He who is free and sets free is the Creator, while slaves are makers of slaves; and angels are God's household-servants, and are deemed gods by those whose existence is still one of toil and bondage.'

energetically into his hands (b. Ketuboth 103 b). A long fight ensued for many decades, till the leaders of the school succeeded in acquiring some influence in granting authorization, academic titles, and scholarly preferment to students. The movement was already in full swing in the time of R. Jonathan; hence his admonition. About the history of ordination, v. Bacher, 'Zur Geschichte der Ordination', *MGWJ.*, xxxviii, 1894, 122–7; Marmorstein, 'L'Opposition contre le patriarche R. Judai', in *RÉJ.*, vol. lxv, 1912, pp. 59–67, and 'La Réorganisation du doctorat en Palestine au IIIe siècle', ibid., vol. lxvi, 1913, pp. 44–54.

[34] Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, vi, ch. xix.

[35] Philo, vol. v, London, 1934, § 212.

The context is obscure, as remarked by the translators.[36] Yet Philo tries to overcome a difficulty, which was equally felt by the teachers of the Rabbinic Midrash. There is a discrepancy between Gen. xvi. 13, 'and she called the name of God, who spake to her', and verses 9 ff. which teach that an angel spoke to her. The Haggadists, in addition, disliked the idea that God should converse with a woman.[37] It was, therefore, suggested that in this place as well the word 'angel' should be inserted. Philo, however, must have had before him an older Jewish interpretation on this question. Before man saw God, or was looked upon by God, in toil and bondage, he conceived only of angels, not so afterwards when he was endowed with knowledge of God, free and 'really high-bred', then he could call on the name of God who spake to him.

In the same essay[38] Philo, on Exod. xv. 27, elaborates the deeper meaning of the text that the twelve springs correspond to the twelve signs of the zodiac, the twelve months, the twelve hours of the day and the night, the twelve tribes of the nation, the twelve loaves of the sanctuary, and the twelve stones on the oracle. The seventy palms, in their turn, correspond to the seventy Elders and the seventy sacrifices offered on the Feast of Tabernacles. R. Eleasar of Modiim, who was one of the staunchest allegorists, as shown previously, teaches that God created twelve wells from the beginning of the creation, corresponding to the twelve tribes of the children of Israel, and seventy palm-trees corresponding to the seventy Elders.[39] Just as in the first Philonic Haggadah the idea of angels as God's household-servants deserves fuller attention with reference to the familiar Haggadic teaching of the heavenly familia[40] or Court of Above, similarly the Rabbinic term כנגד ('corresponding

[36] Ibid., p. 124.

[37] Gen. r., ch. xlv, ed. Theodor, p. 457; v. also ch. xx, ibid., p. 188; for a fuller text v. pal. Sota vii. 1; Midr. Ps. ix. 7, ed. Buber, p. 83. The view that God did not speak directly to a woman is not general.

[38] §§ 184–6.

[39] v. Mekilta 49 b, Mekilta of R. Simon, p. 74; cf. Yelamdenu in Yalkut Jos. 15, Midrash of R. Phinehas b. Yair, quoted in Midrash Hahefez, Ms. Haftara for the first Day of Tabernacles.

[40] v. Marmorstein, 'Anges et hommes dans l'Agada' in *RÉJ.*, vol. 84, 1927, pp. 37 ff. and ibid., pp. 138 ff.

to') could be enlarged by comparison with the Hellenistic Haggadah. Here one remark must not be omitted that in the Rabbinic Haggadah the very same juxtaposition of subjects connected with the numbers twelve and seventy, respectively, is to be found, as also in Philo, which surely cannot be purely accidental.[41]

Philo makes a third remark in the treatise just mentioned[42] which throws light on a Haggadah of R. Judah b. Ilai, an adept at allegorical teaching, and gains fresh meaning from a knowledge of Rabbinic doctrines. In dwelling on Gen. ii. 6 the writer says: 'Those who are unversed in allegory and the nature-truth which loves to conceal its meaning, compare the spring mentioned with the river of Egypt which rises in flood yearly and turns the plain into a lake, seeming to exhibit a power wellnigh rivalling the sky.' R. Judah, who lived about fifteen decades after Philo, preserves this interpretation rejected by Philo. He answers a question which was raised and discussed among the scribes in his days: 'How does the earth get watered? Like the Nile, supplying water again and again.' This theory is based on the Scriptural evidence that a well or a cloud rises from the ground, to which is added the remark: 'First the fields were watered from below, then God changed the order by decreeing that rain should come from above.[43] This change of nature was

[41] v. Tanhuma Gen., ed. Buber, p. 221. The twelve tribes correspond to the order of the world. Day and night consist of twelve hours respectively, the year has twelve months, and finally there are the twelve houses or divisions of the zodiac. Another Haggadist connects the twelve stones in the contest of Elijah with the same line of thought, v. Pesikta rabbati, ch. iv, ed. Friedmann, p. 13 a; v. further Midrash Tadshe, ed. Epstein, p. xxvii, and Midrash Othioth of R. Akiba, ed. Jellinek, Beth ha-Midrash, iii, p. 24; cf. also *JQR.*, v. 47 as to Josephus *Antt.* iii. 7. 7, and Marmorstein, *Kiddush Yerahim derabbi Phinehas*, Budapest, 1921, pp. 5 ff. and Q. S. P. E. F., July 1920, pp. 139 ff. and July 1930, p. 156 f. The combination with the number 70 similar to that of Philo's is to be found in the late Midrash called Esfa, v. Coronel, *Geonic Responsa* no. 106, where the 70 Elders figure together with 70 Sabbaths and Festivals of the year, 70 children of Jacob who went down to Egypt, and 70 calves; cf. Midrash Tadshe, ed. Epstein, p. xxvi.

[42] par. 170 ff.

[43] Gen. r., ch. xiii. This question whether rain comes from above or from below is disputed by R. Elieser b. Hyrkanos and R. Joshua b. Hananyah, and later by R. Yochanan b. Nappacha and R. Simon b. Lakish, v. ed. Theodor, pp. 119–20.

due to the wickedness of man who took his prosperity and safety for granted, and excluded any consideration for God from his conduct and actions.'[44] The same idea was already current in the days of Philo, or before his time, for he alludes to it, naturally as a patriotic Alexandrian Jew disapprovingly, by saying: 'This afforded Moses ground for branding the Egyptian character as atheistical in its preference for earth above heaven, for the things that live on the ground are [in Egypt] made out to be above those that dwell on high, and the body above the soul.' These may have been the words of some Palestinian moralist rebuking Epicureans for their materialistic views and for the lack of fear of heaven caused by their material independence or spiritual blindness.

These comparisons between Hellenistic and Palestinian Haggadah testify not only to an early contact between these two branches of the same tree, but, as demonstrated in the opening chapter of this work, to the parallel growth of literal and figurative exegesis in both countries. They may be looked upon either as a cause, or as a result of the ruling forces in the realm of religious thought. One party objected to the literal meaning of the text: the other could detect nothing therein which would give rise to objection or argument. One example will suffice to elucidate this. Many a Greek Jew read with amazement Num. xxxv. 25 ff., and asked the queries penned by Philo in the following words:

> 'The fourth and only remaining point of those proposed for consideration was the time prescribed for the return of the fugitives, namely, that of the death of the High Priest. If taken literally, this point presents, I feel, great difficulty. The penalty inflicted by law on those whose offences are identical is unequal, if some are to be fugitives for a longer, some for a shorter period; for of the High-Priests, some are to be long-lived, some the reverse, some are appointed in youth, some in old age; and of those guilty of unintentional homicide some went into exile at the outset of the High-Priest's priesthood, others when the holder of the sacred office was nearing his end.'[45]

The consequence of a literal interpretation will be that some

[44] v. Gen. r., ibid., p. 119.

[45] *De fuga*, § 106 f.

may be imprisoned for a very long time, and others may be lucky to escape after a very short internment. Philo's friends felt very uncomfortable in reading the Biblical ordinance about the fugitives. His explanation was that the High Priest here stands for the Divine Word, which anticipated a kind of Trinity consisting of Father (God), mother (Wisdom), and Son (the Logos), which, however, found no echo in early Rabbinic theology. Palestinian Haggadists found no fault with such a law, in spite of the difficulties possibly raised. An ancient Mishnah teaches that the mothers of the priests supplied the fugitives with plenty of food and raiment, so that they should not pray for the death of their sons.[46] The pious ladies believed in the efficacy of prayer, even if coming from the lips of murderers. Another rationalistic explanation given, is that the High Priest is responsible for life in the community, therefore his life is shortened as a punishment for neglected duties. The Sifre on Numbers records two statements on this subject, one by R. Meir, and the other by Rabbi if the reading is reliable. The former says that the connexion between the High Priest and the murderer expresses a contrast. The latter shortens human life, the former lengthens human life by worshipping in the Sanctuary. Rabbi formulates the contrast thus: 'Murder defiles the land and causes the Shekinah to depart from it, whilst the High Priest serves to cause the Shekinah to rest upon the people in the land.'[47] These homilies, however enthusiastically they may have been received or applauded by the listeners in Tiberias or Sepphoris, would not have satisfied a Greek-speaking assembly in Alexandria or Ephesus, for they touched merely the fringe of the difficulty. Advanced religious thinkers or rationalistic Bible readers, either in Palestine or in the Diaspora, could not accept the letter of some of the Biblical narratives or utterances, ordinances or observances, without formulating their scruples; teachers or students who were inclined towards mysticism or irrationalism, however, were quite willing to acquiesce in acknowledging the letter of the Bible.

[46] Maccoth, ch. ii, p. 11 a.

[47] v. § 160. Perhaps instead of רבי אמר, as often, דבר אחר is to be read. In this case R. Meir's teaching is preserved in two versions.

This fact leads to a very perplexing situation which repeated itself several times in the course of the history of Judaism. It can be observed that scribes like R. Joshua b. Hananyah, R. Akiba, R. Meir, R. Abbahu, and others, whose acquaintance with Greek philosophy, Greek literature, secular law, and general life is more or less well documented, are opposed, if not hostile, to allegorical interpretations, and consequently do not mind anthropomorphic conceptions about God. Yet others whose whole life and upbringing betray no sign of philosophic knowledge or external influences favour allegoristic expositions of the Sacred Writings on which their religion and theology are founded. The solution of this puzzling contrast may be seen in the very fact that the wider experience and knowledge acquired by the former served as a warning against the dangers and pitfalls of allegorizing the Bible. Living in an age when, among other enemies, Gnostics menaced the very existence of Judaism by undermining the stronghold of Judaism, the Bible—and Marcion was not the first and not the last of the long line of enemies of the Bible—they thought it appropriate to defend the Bible with the same weapons with which Gnostics tried to destroy it, namely, by insisting on a literal exegesis. These rabbis who imbibed foreign culture essayed to defend the literal meaning of the Scriptures, whatever the result as far as the Jewish teaching of God was concerned might be. What appeared to the Gnostic writers to be gross corporality, crude anthropomorphism, coarse sensuality, these freed and high-bred souls—to use a phrase of Philo—thought to be the true spiritual significance of Scripture, hidden from the blind eyes of the apostles of an abortive and imaginary learning. Further, they were fully aware that in divesting the heroes of the Bible of their real existence, whether faults or virtues, by transforming these into abstract virtues or academic faults, the most vital forces of historic consciousness become weakened and falsified. Then they were alert enough to notice that by pouring new philosophies and old primitive conceptions into the observances and ceremonies, hallowed by ages and tested by exiles, they not merely imperil the religious development but would knock out the bottom of the very

safe-guards of the nation's hope. The words of these scribes, who guided the Jewish community in many lands from the Maccabean period up to the rise of the Byzantine Empire, breathe a continuous sigh of prayer to God for life, coupled with an indestructible trust in the Eternity of their task. Such a work cannot be undertaken, carried on, and accomplished by men and women whose religion is lifeless and whose God is an allegory. What did it matter if pagans spread rumours that Jews in Jerusalem were ass-worshippers, or philosophers reproached the Jews that their idea of God was not spiritual enough, and, finally, Christians joined the choir with their disharmonious song that Israel had falsified the message of the old law-givers and prophets and psalmists? They sought the nearness of their God, craved for the presence of their Creator, whether in the Land of their Fathers, or in the countries of their Dispersion, sang new songs of hope, of trust, and belief in God, intensified the rule of the heavenly King in their homes, schools, and places of worship.

It would be a mistake to ascribe the lion's share of victory and triumph to one party or section of spiritual guides of Judaism without doing justice to the endeavours and work, achievements and contributions of their rivals as well. The unparalleled course of Jewish history, the unique tragedy and triumph of the Jew on the stage of the history of the world, engendered a more or less constant division in their midst. Other nations, living on their own soil, experienced in longer or shorter intervals spiritual upheavals, intellectual revolutions, moral and religious changes, which mark new epochs and tear asunder fathers and sons, families and classes. Social and political life cause such eruptions and results, for good or for evil, in progress or disaster. The Jew, among the nations, passes through a crisis even in peaceful days, in quiet times, and in well-organized communities. For under the inevitable process of assimilation, he has to listen with one ear to domineering fashions, current wisdom, widespread follies, the everchanging outlook on life and society, the sympathies and antipathies of his age and his neighbours, whilst with his other ear, he has to hearken, whether he likes or dislikes it, to the

voice of his religion, of his sacred documents of old, to the messages of his teachers, to the cries of his history, and to his constant companion, his God. Now these contrasts between the legacy of old and the voice of the age have to be harmonized, if the community and the religion, from which it draws its strength, vitality, and force of rejuvenation, is to survive. This fight between the modernists and the antiquarians, the assimilationists and dissimilationists, liberals and conservatives —there may be found scores of names for these movements and shibboleths—ultimately goes back to the very fount of the disputes discussed in these essays. The question was, and still is, how we shall adjust the knowledge of the ages, advanced and progressive thought, with the word of the Bible. Shall we take the latter in a literal or in a figurative sense? The attitude of the Jew to his God, to his people, to his religion and community, depends on this very question and the answer given to it. The allegorists suggested that the teachers of Israel are entitled to put new wine into old bottles, to invigorate the old, weakened religious life with new methods and forces. And they also succeeded. A legend tells posterity that when the Schools of Shammai and Hillel reached the climax of their spiritual controversy, a heavenly voice was heard, saying that both schools proclaimed the words of the living God.[48] The ups and downs of the history of the Jewish people, the advances and retrogressions of Jewish life, the triumph and fall of Jewish thought, testify clearly that both views of God, the literal and allegorical, have their rights and places in Judaism. There are times when one preponderates over the other. Both are the words of true religion, of the living God.

[48] pal. Berakoth i. 4, b. Erubin 13 b.

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Compiled by the Rev. DR. JOSEPH RABBINOWITZ, B.A., PH.D. (Lond.)

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