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דור לדור

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IN MEMORIAM
DR. ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN



דור לדור ישבח מעשיך

"one generation shall laud Thy works to another..."

(Psalms 145:4)

Over a year has passed since the demise of our close friend Dr. Israel Goldstein. The splendor of this great Jew continues to illuminate the world and Israel, in the institutions and causes which were touched by his inspired leadership.

For us here at the World Jewish Bible Center, Dr. Goldstein's closeness was, for decades, a major inspiration to us to carry on our endeavours in spreading the study and appreciation of Torah. And as we reflect on his rich and variegated contributions to the Jewish community and to Israel, we can discern the impact of our Jewish Scriptures which shaped his life and thoughts.

The Bible was his standby from his earliest years in Philadelphia where he absorbed the teachings of his father, and of his grandfather in the European "Shtetl" where he was privileged to spend several of the early years of his life. Inspired by these early influences, the lessons of the Torah became an integral part of the words of his mouth and the product of his pen.

As a tribute to his attachment to the Bible we are hereby privileged to dedicate this issue of "Dor le Dor" to his memory.

Louis Katzoff
Editor

IN MEMORIAM

Dr. Israel Goldstein was born in the basement of an immigrants' synagogue in the U.S.A. His father was an ordained rabbi and served as sexton of the synagogue. Rabbi Goldstein, who spent two and a half years of his childhood, from age five to seven, with his grandparents in a typical Lithuanian "shtetl", later rose to great heights and honours in Jewish, Zionist and American life. There was hardly a central Jewish or Zionist organization in his native America, or on the world Jewish scene, which did not acquire his leadership as president or chairman. He also delivered opening prayers to seven sessions of the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives.

In the way he conducted his private life and public service, during the long span of his life, one finds no difficulty in discerning that he chose as a model for his own life and activities the character and concept of public service of the man whom he portrayed in his first student sermon — Rabban Gamliel of Yavneh.

The young Goldstein said about Gamliel:

"By nature he was tender and kind. His private life was a living example of his motto: 'Whoever shows compassion to man will receive compassion from heaven' ... the outstanding feature in this leader was his national devotion... Rabban Gamliel conceived public office not as a means of attaining prestige, but as a public trust."

The Jewish people would be well-advised to recognise that character and concepts of public service, as demonstrated by these leaders, and blended in their personalities, could and should serve as an example of Jewish leadership at all times.

On the first anniversary of the passing of Dr. Israel Goldstein, we voice the hope that the example set by him in his private and public life, and the ideals and thoughts expressed in his writings may inspire and guide young Jewish men and women of our days, as he was inspired and guided by the great leader of an earlier age.

S.J. (Shai) Kreutner

Vice Chairman,

World Jewish Bible Center

RABBI DR. ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN

(1896–1986)

A Personal Tribute by Gabriel Sivan

After Stephen Wise and Abba Hillel Silver, Israel Goldstein was the last surviving giant of American Zionism. An inspired and inspiring rabbi, statesman and orator, he played a supremely important role in communal, philanthropic, religious and Zionist affairs on the American and world Jewish scenes.

The son of a Lithuanian immigrant who had been ordained by Rabbi I.J. Reines, founder of the Mizrahi movement, Israel Goldstein was born in Philadelphia. There, his traditional home and environment provided the Hebrew and Yiddish culture which, together with an abiding love for America, shaped his outlook and sympathies. Throughout the 42 years of his active career in the rabbinate, he ministered to Congregation B'nai Jeshurun, the oldest Ashkenazi synagogue in New York. Under his leadership, it moved from near-Reform to Conservative and became a citadel of Zionism in the U.S.A.

From 1930 onward, he gained eminence as head of the American Pro-Falasha Committee, seeking to relieve the plight of Ethiopia's Black Jews; as a champion of "the little man" through his presidency of the Jewish Conciliation Board of America; and as a vehement opponent of racial and religious prejudice. Years later he appeared on Senator Joseph McCarthy's list of "dangerous radicals" and in 1956 he was chosen to nominate Adlai Stevenson as the New York Liberal Party's candidate for the office of U.S. President.

Israel Goldstein stood head and shoulders above most of his contemporaries by virtue of the efforts he devoted to the relief of British civilians during World War II and, especially, to organizing the rescue of Holocaust victims and survivors. He was destined to become a principal architect and advocate of Medinat Yisrael, serving also as Treasurer of the Jewish Agency during the first critical year of Israel's statehood.

In the course of his long and eventful career, he demonstrated his gift for leadership as president of the American JNF, the Synagogue Council, the ZOA and the American Jewish Congress, as co-chairman of the UJA, vice-president of the World Jewish Congress, chairman of the World Confederation of General Zionists and in many other important capacities. A founder of the National Conference of Christians and Jews in the U.S., he was also the driving force behind the establishment of Brandeis University.

At the end of 1960, he and his wife Bert — a Zionist leader in her own right — fulfilled their long-cherished aim to settle in Jerusalem. This “retirement” led, however, to ten more years of active service by Dr. Goldstein as world chairman of the Keren Hayesod — United Israel Appeal. He then undertook many vital missions in remote corners of the Jewish world and, as director of the Six-Day War emergency campaign, increased the Keren Hayesod’s income twelvefold.

His friends were drawn from several political camps, ranging from the Labor Alignment to the National Religious Party, but he refused to be identified with any Knesset fraction and so remained true to his “general” Zionist philosophy.

Israel Goldstein was an enthusiastic supporter of Ben-Gurion’s still unfulfilled project for a World Jewish Bible Center (Bet ha-Tanakh) in Jerusalem; and to promote higher education in Israel he served as a governor of the Hebrew University, the Weizmann Institute of Science and Haifa University. A chair in Zionism and the Givat Ram campus synagogue at the Hebrew University bear his name, as does the Zionist Youth Village in Jerusalem’s Katamon neighborhood, where pupils looked upon him as a benevolent “grandfather.”

Until shortly before his death, on April 11, 1986, it was my privilege to be Dr. Goldstein’s editorial consultant for some years and to supervise the publication of works including his autobiography, *My World as a Jew* (1984), and a volume of addresses entitled *Jewish Perspectives* (1985). A symposium, chaired by Professor Moshe Davis, was held at the Jewish Agency in November 1985 to mark the appearance of *Jewish Perspectives*, his tenth and last book. No one who attended that packed gathering will ever forget the 89-year-old honoree’s magnificent response, which gave scarcely a hint of the agonizing disease that would soon bring his life to an end.

In a personal tribute, broadcast by Kol Yisrael on May 23, 1986, I said: “Israel Goldstein described himself as a ‘liberal’ Conservative rabbi, but he could be uncompromising about Jewish fundamentals and always placed the interests of *Klal Yisrael* above sectarian concerns. He rose to high honors and rubbed shoulders with Harry Truman, Chaim Weizmann and others, he met the Pope and the Shah of Iran, but he never lost the common touch and did much good by artful skill. He was, perhaps, the most unforgettable man I have ever met, and I can still see his face light up when I told him some joke or anecdote... Alas for those who have departed and who cannot be replaced!”

חבל על דאבדין ולא משתכחין!

ORGANS OF STATECRAFT IN THE ISRAELITE MONARCHY

BY ABRAHAM MALAMAT

PART IV

LECTURER'S REPLY

This is the fourth and concluding part of a lecture given by Professor Abraham Malamat at the home of the first Prime Minister of Israel, David Ben Gurion, in 1963.

The first parts, the lecture itself, appeared in the Fall and Winter issues of Dor le Dor, in 1986 and 1986/7, respectively. The Discussions that followed appeared in the Spring issue, 1987. This issue presents the Response by the lecturer. We are presenting this series in commemoration of Ben Gurion's birthday centennial.

FICTION OR POLITICAL REALITY?

First I should like to thank the participants for their noteworthy remarks and questions, and I shall try to cover as much ground as possible.

My first remark will be directed to Mr. Hacham, one of whose queries has been echoed by other participants, namely, the basic problem of the nature and function of the elders and "young men". Is our chapter no more than mere fiction? I grant that it falls into the category of wisdom literature, when taken in the broadest sense of the term. However, it was not my intention to analyse the chapter from its literary or textual aspects. My basic contention premises a clear and concrete historico-political background to our story. On the other hand, I have pointed out that there are literary features in the narration, witness the term *yēlādīm*, "boys", "young men" Mr. Zakkai is certainly correct in regarding this

Prof. A. Malamat is Professor of History of the Biblical Period at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He is Honorary Member of the Bible Societies in Great Britain, the U.S.A., and South Africa, and was elected as foreign member to the Austrian and North German (Rheinisch-Westfälisch) Academies of Sciences. He recently returned from his Sabbatical at Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

word as a touch of contempt and irony on the redactor's part, who may have substituted it for original institutional terminology, possibly "king's sons", "princelings", or the like.

Mr. Hacham maintains that it is unreasonable to accept Rehoboam's accession age as 41, as this would presuppose his having been born before Solomon became king. It is possible that Solomon was enthroned at an age when royal offspring could already have sprung from his loins. From the infamous Uriah and Bathsheba episode, we learn that Solomon's birth took place after David's Ammonite war. I accept Prof. S. Yeivin's chronology that this war occurred during the first decade of the 10th century B.C.E.¹ It is thus entirely possible for Solomon, who reigned 40 years, to have been 18-20 years old at his accession (about 970 B.C.) and for Rehoboam to have been born a year earlier.

I have pointed out elsewhere the historical significance of Solomon's marriage with the Ammonite princess, Naama (Rehoboam's mother), in close proximity to his accession². The act of wedlock took place at the time that the struggle for royal succession flared up among David's sons, specifically between Adonijah and Solomon. By virtue of this royal match, David would secure Solomon's place in the line of succession as the latter was not the firstborn and could not automatically claim the throne.

Mr. Ben-Gurion and others have raised the problem of Solomon's enthronement. Why, they ask, is there no mention in his case of a covenant with the northern tribes? One may attempt to answer this by surmising that the question of a covenant with Israel was not nearly as acute for Solomon as for David or Rehoboam. Solomon's position at the time of his accession was most secure. There was no reason for the northern tribes to challenge the glorious Davidide dynasty. Moreover, Solomon acted as co-regent with David and required no new recognition of his authority. Had there been such a covenant-renewal with the Israelite tribes it would have been a mere formality, undeserving of special notice.

One should pay due note to the oblique reference in the book of Chronicles to a second coronation of Solomon, as mentioned by Prof. Elizur. Before kingship became well institutionalized, kings were apparently crowned several times. I am inclined to interpret in this manner the various biblical traditions concerning

¹ See his article on David in *Encyclopaedia Biblica* (Hebrew), II (1954), cols. 640 ff.

² *JNES*, XXII (1963), 8.

Saul's coronation (I Samuel 9–11). I would not regard these as mere literary treatment of one factual instance as commonly held, but rather as reflections of historical nuclei. Thus Saul could conceivably have been crowned twice or even three times³.

THE EGYPTIAN FACTOR IN SOLOMON'S POLICY

Now I come to Mr. Ben-Gurion's main theme which defends Rehoboam and casts all blame upon Solomon. I, for one, would like to put in a plea on the latter's behalf. One should view the deeds of the second half of his reign not as the product of sheer malicious intent, but as the result of the emerging and highly involved political constellation. I should like to point out one factor in particular, which has been overlooked too often, namely, the advent of the Pharaoh Shishak to the Egyptian throne, roughly during Solomon's 24th year. It is at this time that the turning point in Solomon's reign comes about.

The chronological picture is as follows: Solomon commenced Temple construction during the fourth year of his reign. This lasted seven years. When it was completed, palace construction began, lasting for an additional 13 years, making a total of 23–24 years. Upon completion of the palace, he began to build the *mil-lo* (possibly the rampart linking the upper and lower town of Jerusalem). It was while engaged in this work that Jeroboam's revolt against Solomon broke out, during the king's 24th year or slightly thereafter. Jeroboam then fled to Egypt, as the Bible explicitly states, to Pharaoh Shishak (I Kings 11:30), who had ascended the throne about this time and founded the 22nd dynasty⁴.

There would appear to be an inter-relationship between the dynastic changes in Egypt and Jeroboam's revolt: Shishak, who had replaced weak precursors, embarked upon an aggressive foreign policy directed against Palestine among others. His ambitions of conquest were not realized during Solomon's lifetime, but they came to fruition during Rehoboam's fifth year when he carried out an extensive military campaign throughout Palestine⁵. During Solomon's reign, nevertheless, Shishak undoubtedly began to stir up trouble between Judah and

3 See now G. Wallis, *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der M. Luther Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Gesellschafts- und sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe*, XII (1963), 24ff.

4 A. Malamat, *BA*, XXI (1958), 96ff., reprinted with slight additions in *The Biblical Archaeologist Reader*, II (1964), esp. p. 94.

5 The actual route of this campaign has been reconstructed by B. Mazar, *VTS*, IV (1957), 57ff. Cf. also S. Herrmann, *ZDPV*, LXXX (1964), 55ff.

Israel and to support Jeroboam's revolt, with the intent of weakening Solomon's throne. Jeroboam's flight to Shishak, upon failure of the revolt, stands out in bolder relief when viewed in this light.

Another point of information connected with Solomon's 24th year is the renewed treaty concluded with Hiram of Tyre (I Kings 9:10 ff.) which stipulated appreciable concessions by Solomon. The Israelite King was forced to hand over the area of Cabul in western Galilee to the king of Tyre in return for various supplies and services.

This matter may also be related to the new tough Egyptian policy and its after-effects in northern Israel. Owing to the potential unrest in this area, Solomon finds it necessary to fortify its three strongholds: Megiddo, Hazor and Gezer⁶. This defense-policy lies at the root of the heavy tax burden and corvée placed upon Israel, and explains the increased aid from his Phoenician ally. This it was that compelled him to make territorial concessions to his northern neighbor.

A PROBLEM OF METHODOLOGY

His Excellency, the President (*Z. Shazar*), has raised a methodological problem in questioning the validity of the comparison between the Rehoboam affair and the Gilgamesh-Agga epic. He noted the time gap between the two as one thousand years, but in point of fact the disparity is almost two millennia.

Pres. Shazar: The editing of the epic took place a thousand years later.

Lecturer: The extant fragments of the epic refer to the Old Babylonian period, the first centuries of the 2nd millennium. But it reflects the historical situation of some 1,000 years earlier. Such a historical inter-relationship of widely-spaced periods is quite conceivable at times and is precisely what occurred in the case we have been discussing. This problem has occupied my mind, as well. Consequently, I stressed the fact that we have before us nothing more than a typological parallelism, not a direct relationship. Were I to agree that we are confronted here with a literary parallel, as apparently posited by Mr. Weinfeld, I should encounter a serious methodological complication of the kind propounded by President Shazar. The distance between the two works is so great in time and place that one would then have to seek out interim links in order to establish a firmer basis for our parallel. It is true that a fragment of the Gilgamesh epic was

⁶ See I Kings 9:15, and for the new archaeological evidence Y. Yadin, *BA*, XXIII (1960), 62-68, with references to the discoveries at Hazor and Gezer.

found several years ago at Megiddo, dating from the middle of the second millennium⁷. This, however, is a relic of the famous and widespread Gilgamesh composition, written in the Akkadian language, whereas we have been dealing with a lesser-known creation composed in the Sumerian tongue, whose central figure again is Gilgamesh. The relationship, therefore, is to be grasped from a typological aspect — similar political and social circumstances brought about similar problems and ultimately similar reactions.

The question, of course, is why we had to go back some two millennia before meeting an extra-biblical parallel to the Rehoboam event. Since the regimes in Mesopotamia and the rest of the ancient Near East were so completely absolutistic even by the end of the 3rd millennium B.C.E., at the latest, I am inclined to think that there was little real scope left for political groupings. This, of course, is the situation where literate, as distinct from illiterate, societies are concerned, whose records have provided us with whatever information we possess on their political systems⁸. To be sure, royal advisors are a common phenomenon of the ancient Near East. As for an active “bicameral” assembly, however, as in our instances, that is another matter. Yet it is precisely the social and political systems of the Sumerian city-states in the 3rd millennium, aptly named “primitive democracy”⁹ by Prof. Jacobsen, that show resemblance to Israel in its premonarchic and early-monarchic periods. Both Gilgamesh and Rehoboam appeared in their respective countries at the stage before monarchy had become fully institutionalized and when central authority rested to an appreciable extent on representative government.

Actually, Rehoboam's is a recurring historical phenomenon where a ruler, in moments of dire national stress, is confronted with his people's ultimatum. He

7 A. Goetze and S. Levy, *Atiqot*, II (1959), 121–28.

8 See the enlightening symposium *Authority and Law in the Ancient Orient*, JAOS, Supplement XVII (1954); for the limited authority of advisory bodies in Egypt and in the Hittite kingdom see pp. 4, 18ff. See now also W. F. Albright, *History, Archaeology and Christian Humanism* (1964), pp. 180ff.

9 However, some reservations concerning the appropriateness of this term for the Sumerian situation, have been voiced, reservations now shared by Jacobsen himself. See Larsen, IXe *Congrès international des sciences historiques*, II (1951), 225f. See also Albright, *History, Archaeology and Christian Humanism*, p. 183, and note 8. Cf. now the doubts raised concerning a comparison with ancient Israel in J. A. Soggin, *Das Königtum in Israel* (1967), pp. 136–148.

must choose between losing face or showing an iron hand, with the wrong choice, as so often in history, bringing disaster in its wake.

TÖBĀ, AN ADDITIONAL ASPECT OF THE COVENANT

I am gratified by the illuminating material from the Bible as presented by Drs. Uffenheimer and Gevaryahu concerning the "young men", in support of my thesis which sees this group as a princely council. As to Dr. Gevaryahu's inquiry on the *misharum*-procedure in Mesopotamia, it may positively fit into the framework of the Rehoboam story and has, in fact, recently been mentioned in this context¹⁰. The people of Israel could rightly expect alleviation of their economic burden, in connection with the impending coronation. Knowledge of actual royal decrees of the ancient Mesopotamian kings (especially of the Old Babylonian period), lends greater clarification and concreteness to the concept behind the "heavy yoke" and the alleviation which the people demanded of Rehoboam. Thus, one king from the beginning of the 2nd millennium (one of the successors of Lipit-Ishtar of the Isin dynasty), explicitly states that he has reduced taxes and greatly restricted the period of corvée service, etc., which had been imposed by his forefathers¹¹.

As to Dr. Braslavi's remarks on Hadad's flight to Egypt, may I say that I have in fact discussed this very matter elsewhere¹². The rearing of Hadad's son "among the sons of Pharaoh" (I Kings 11:20), was in accordance with widely-practiced Pharaonic policy of the New Empire, whereby progeny of foreign vassals were brought up at Egypt's court. The very presence of royal offspring in goodly number in the courts of the Near East is yet another point which prevents my sharing Dr. Naor's objections against identifying the "young men" with royal princelings.

On the other hand, Dr. Naor has drawn attention to an interesting detail in connection with Abner's negotiations with David. As prerequisite to concluding the covenant with the northern tribes, the latter (David) is urged to do *all that is*

¹⁰ See D. J. Wiseman, *JSS*, VII (1962), 168

¹¹ See F. R. Kraus, *JCS*, III (1949), 35. On the general problem of the *misharum*-act, see Kraus, *Ein Edikt des Königs Ammisaduga von Babylon* (1958) and J.J. Finkelstein, *JCS*, XV (1961), 91 ff.

¹² *BA*, XXI (1958), 97, *BA Reader*, II, 90 ff.

good in the eyes of Israel (II Sam. 3:19). As a matter of fact, this instance also finds a fine parallel in the Rehoboam story. In I Kings 12:7, we hear the elders advising Rehoboam to accept the terms of the northern tribes, saying among other things: *If thou wilt... speak good words to them, then they will be thy servants for ever*. While working on the subject of covenants in the ancient Near East, I noticed that the expression "good words" or "good things" recurs repeatedly in reference to the act of treaty-making, to the extent that this expression, at times, becomes synonymous with "covenant". Thus, in the Aramaic treaty of the 8th century B.C.E., discovered at Sefire near Aleppo, a term used for covenant is *tābtā* (pl. *tābātā*), the equivalent of Hebrew *tōbā*, *tōbōt*, i.e. "good (things)". This has been recently emphasized by W. L. Moran, who has assembled citations from the Akkadian on this point¹³.

This usage, however, may also be detected in various biblical passages other than the two mentioned before, e.g., David's prayer before God (II Sam. 7:28): *...and thy words are truth and thou has promised this good thing (tōbā) unto thy servant*. The reference is to the Lord's covenant with David's dynasty, and finds its sole terminological indication here in the word *tōbā* (but cf. Ps. 89:4 and *passim*; 132:12, where the term *bērit*, "covenant" is expressly mentioned). Another example, this time in connection with the High Priest Jehoiada, may be found in II Chronicles 24:16: *And they buried him in the city of David among the kings, because he had done good (tōbā) in Israel, and toward God and His house*. In my opinion, the reference here is once again to a covenant, in this instance the one mentioned earlier which Jehoiada, the High Priest, effected between God and the people of Israel. Lastly, may one not find food for thought in the "good words" (*tōbōt*) spoken by Evil-Merodach, Nebuchadnezzar's successor, to Jehoiachin (II Kings 25:27 ff.), during the former's accession year? Perhaps here too there was a type of legal arrangement whereby Jehoiachin's throne was "set above the throne" of the other kings that were with him in Babylonian captivity. I hope to treat this subject more fully at some future date.

On the dispute relating to Israel's revolt under Rehoboam, I feel that the

13 JNES, XXII (1963), 173ff. Cf. D. R. Hillers, BASOR, No. 176 (Dec. 1964), 46f. Add further to the biblical examples adduced by Hillers and by us, the expression *toba* (followed by *šalōm*) in Jer. 33:9. Note that in the Akkadian, Aramaic, and Hebrew usage the feminine forms of the respective terms are preferred.

question is largely one of semantics. My aim was to stress that the slogan "to your tents, O Israel" was merely a formula for the dispersal of the assembly rather than a signal for active rebellion.

Finally, the question posed by Justice Silberg: Can one see a relationship between the covenant with the king and his anointment? Most definitely. The act of anointing expresses the divine aspect of the covenant, the king-God relationship mentioned before¹⁴. The question brings us back to the problem raised at the outset of our lecture: were these acts of covenant-making and anointing permanent or sporadic practices? This is an age-old argument, already raised in talmudic literature¹⁵. I return to my contention that the covenantal act (and, for that matter, the act of anointing) can be regarded as a customary affair, at least where a new dynasty was concerned or during a crisis on matters of succession.

In reference to the anointment, attention should be paid to still another detail. Not only are there five or six sole instances of the anointing of kings but, to the best of my knowledge, only two Israelite sovereigns are specifically referred to as messiah ("the anointed") — Saul and David. The term may have been employed also in the cases of Solomon (II Chron. 6:42). and Zedekiah, if the latter is indeed the one referred to in *the breath of our nostrils, the anointed of the Lord* (Lam. 4:20).

¹⁴ See now E. Kutsch, *Salbung als Rechtsakt im Alten Testament und in alten Orient* (1963), p. 52ff., 59.

¹⁵ See for example *Jerusalem Talmud, Horayoth*, Chap. 3, p. 47; *Babylonian Talmud, Horayoth*, 11b.

PROBLEM OF THE THEODICY

BY SIDNEY BREITBART

Fill the earth and master it (Gen. 1:28)¹

Now that man has become like one of us, knowing
good and bad" (Gen. 3:22)

Surely if you do right,
There is uplift.
But if you do not do right
Sin is the demon at the door,
Whose urge is toward you
Yet you can be its master (Gen. 4:7)

INTRODUCTION

The Holocaust is an unavoidable issue for contemporary Jewish theology. It is the watershed in Jewish self-understanding forcing man to reexamine the question of God's role in history, and the God-man relationship. Traditional answers to these questions thus far have failed, undermined from the outset by concepts which oppose each other with the force of contradiction. e.g., dysteleological, innocent suffering and Divine Providence. The reader interested in this subject is familiar with the innumerable attempts on the part of philosophers and theologians, recently discussed in an article by Fischer². Among the best known are Berkovits, Fackenheim, Maybaum, and Rubinstein. Each in his own way has tried to deal with these questions and to distill from the Holocaust some theological meaning.

1 All translations here are taken from the Jewish Publication Society, *A New Translation of The Torah*.

2 "God After the Holocaust: An Attempted Reconciliation" *Judaism*, Summer 1983 Issue.

Sidney Breitbart, MS. from Columbia University in metallurgy, joined Aberdeen Proving Grounds. At the end of WWII he headed the research department of a private organization. Since 1964, as a result of his interest in Jewish Thought, he attended Baltimore Hebrew College. For the last few years he has served as Trustee of the College.

I cannot subscribe to any presently available traditional or modern approaches to this problem. A new approach is required, one which would eliminate the contradictions and paradoxes involved and yet not deny God and His unique relationship to man. This new approach offered below is one in which God is exonerated for the presence of evil in this world. For this purpose a discussion of the freedom of man is necessary because the question of the theodicy of God and its inherent paradox arises essentially from the issue of freedom of man to choose evil.

MAN AND FREEDOM

Freedom of man, is a distinctly human phenomenon. It does not belong to the inanimate world, which is completely subject to the invariant domination of physical laws. Thus a stone is not free to fall upward nor is it free not to fall down. An animal is not free to oppose its instincts. Man is the only creation of God with the unique ability to choose from any number of alternatives. Furthermore, being able to project his mind into time, he becomes aware of possible consequences of his choices, as a result of which man becomes a deliberate, conscious participant in the choice he makes. To be human, then, decisively involves man's freedom of choice and therefore the possibility to do good and evil. Man is free, he can choose and transcend the conditioning of his past, his environmental, economic and other factors. It follows that *God's nonintervention is necessary for man to be man as God had created him*, that is to make choices of his free will. We may consider that this aspect of creation was part of a divine plan to enlist man in the universal possibility for man to be a partner moving towards the goal of creation.

Human freedom and sovereignty, however, can never be quite absolute. Without self-imposed limits, chaos would inevitably result. Society can impose legal limits on its people, but this does not guarantee moral behavior. If an individual thinks he can outwit the system and get away with breaking the limits, he may well do so. Only a self-chosen, autonomous responsibility will act as a deterrent to absolute freedom, since such responsibility cannot be imposed.

Human freedom can be at one and the same time a prescription for evil deeds as well as a challenge and opportunity for good. What it will be, depends on man's existential decision. Because we are born human, we have the never-ending task of having to make choices, for good or evil. Because of his choosing, man is

responsible and is held accountable for his actions. However, it is one thing to be *responsible* for one's actions *after the act* and another thing to *approach a choice with an attitude of prior responsibility*, an awareness that one has no *absolute freedom in making a choice*. This latter attitude is the mark of a moral man, who realizes that his choice cannot be made in a vacuum graced only by his own presence. Always there is the presence of God, who challenges man to approach the choice in the spirit of responsible freedom. Responsible freedom arises from accepting the attitude of prior responsibility. This is the basic responsibility of human existence. Understood in this manner, Providence and moral acts (those arising from an attitude of responsible freedom) are mutually consistent. God and man can then be seen as partners, man actualizing God's purpose for this world.

The availability of alternatives makes man's exercise of freedom meaningful. Man is free because he can transcend his conditioning and choose an opposite course. Choice then is the crucial issue for man, because the meaning of a man's life is derived from a continual engagement in a series of choices and, therefore, of acts. A non-choice is also a choice and a non-act is also an act. Man does not simply, i.e., neutrally, exist. Through his choice he determines the qualitative character of his existence in any given moment. Mastering of evil is achieved in the very process of choosing. It is here that the confrontation in the choice between good and evil climaxes. Evil or the divine manifest themselves in reality only when chosen and acted upon by man. Through the process of choice, man is self-determining; if man opts for partnership with God, he adds his finite measure to the salvation of the world, and in so doing he confers on himself authentic existence, meaning and purpose to his life.

The human drama, unfolding in the dimensions of human history and morality, is determined by man's choice. The destiny of the world hinges on what man chooses. Man's fate lies in his own hands, subject neither to the decrees of destiny, nor to the guilt of his forebears. This is the consequence of the responsibility of human existence.

In summary, God, in creating man as a freely choosing human being, of necessity had to create the possibility of good and evil, the purpose and meaning of which will be demonstrated below when the partnership concept will be developed.

REFLECTIONS OF EVIL

Did God create a world with evil in it? He did not. God created only the *possibility for evil and good*. A world without the potential for good and evil is not possible, given the conditions of our human existence — freedom and the availability of alternatives to choose from, which even includes no choice. Without the evil alternatives, people would be as puppets of God. Choice would be meaningless. We could not even choose God. Thus there would be no merit, theologically, to our existence.

The theodicy of God is a paradox — *man would not have a concept of a moral God if he did not know the difference between good and evil. Therefore, if God did not create the world with the possibility of evil, man's morality would not be a question to be discussed*. Possibility of evil is thus a necessary precondition of Jewish theology.

What, then, is the source of evil in man? In Jewish tradition, the answer is the “yetzer ra”, the evil inclination, but man was also given a counterpart, the “yetzer tov”, the good inclination, resulting in a neutral condition as claimed by Ben Sira³. What man does in the confrontation with these impulses is the crucial point. God gave man the freedom to choose, by setting the two in opposition to each other. Man knows good by knowing evil, and evil by knowing good. Thus, both are necessary for life.

RESOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM OF THEODICY

The concept of partnership can be extended to the relationship between man and nature, in which the advance of science as a means of alleviating the human condition could be understood in light of the obligation to “master nature” (Gen. 1:28). The fact that modern technology has often been used in the service of evil ends is not a statement about the nature of science or technology, but a statement, if not an indictment, of the human will behind it. The question of man as a moral agent (or partner of God) thus remains primary. It is to that question then, that we must turn.

It is in the social sphere in which suffering is so prevalent that the problem of theodicy — the apparent conflict between the existence of evil and the presence of

3 *Great Jewish Ideas* — B'nai B'rith Great Book Series, Vol. 5. P. 176.

an omnipotent and just God — is most difficult to understand. This is because the problem is full of contradictions and paradoxes, where God and man seem to be adversaries, and where faith confronts experience. This question has permeated Jewish literature. To cite only one example:

Abraham, the patriarch of the Jewish faith community, questions God on this very issue.

Will You sweep away the innocent along with the guilty? Far be it from You to do such a thing, to bring death upon the innocent as well as the guilty, so that innocent and guilty fare alike. Far be it from You! Shall not the Judge of all the earth deal justly? (Gen. 18:23–25).

The question of theodicy is thus introduced with God's own acquiescence, as demonstrated by His patience with Abraham's persistent questioning. The basic issue has been joined — the unquestioning faith in God and man's sense of justice and morality. Job, in demanding an explanation from God, since he considered himself blameless, fell silent before God's power and omnipotence. His questions remained unanswered, but his faith remained intact. This represents the ultimate traditional view of faith: *Even though He slay me, yet will I believe in Him* (Job).

This is not the view of Abraham in the Binding of Isaac story. Abraham submitted the demand to the question of morality and was able to resolve the contradictions in the story without denying God and His justice...⁴

Historically every traditional solution to the seeming paradox had as its primary goal the justification of God. The status of the deity had to be protected. Every traditional attempt to answer the question, "Why does God permit evil acts and why do righteous people suffer?" falls apart on the rocks of inherent contradictions and the conflict of free choice, faith, reason and God working in history. Even the first part of the question "why does God permit evil deeds?" is contradictory to the notion of God acting in history. If God acts in history, the presence of evil acts is not only a part of His plan, but may be evidence that He condones it, and even that He causes it. In this sense God would be responsible for the Holocaust! The second part of the question assumes a necessary connection, a cause and effect relationship, between righteousness and reward, and

⁴ *The Akedah — A Test of God* Sidney Breitbart — published in *Dor le Dor*, Vol. XV, 1, Fall 1986.

between evil deeds and punishment. This may not indeed be the case, as the condition of man in this world seems to indicate. Faith in God, as God of justice, demands it nevertheless. Job, in his insistence on his righteousness and in demanding an explanation, did not see any cause and effect situation, but fell silent in the face of the Omnipotence of God.

Is there a solution? I suggest there is. I will present a theological model for the resolution of this seemingly unsolvable problem, in which God's covenantal relationship to man is maintained, evil acts are not God's responsibility, and reason is not forfeited to faith. In this I shall follow the common basic rule of all thinking that inconsistencies and contradictions must be avoided and which I claim has not been the case to date.

GOD'S FAITH IN MAN

If God gave man the freedom to choose, can God then be held responsible for evil acts of man? In a 1964 paper⁵, I reinterpreted the test of Adam as a creation of the moral and spiritual man. I showed that the action by Adam was not a sin⁶ as has been interpreted for some two thousand years, and which forms the Doctrine of Original Sin in Christianity. The paper concluded, in view of the negative command with its inherent contradictions (one of those contradictions being that man can be a moral being without the knowledge of good and evil), that God wanted man to choose the "Knowledge of good and evil" and, furthermore, to do so through his own free and autonomous decision and thus become a moral and spiritual being. The purpose of the test of Adam was to assign the moral and spiritual domain to man. The created man is thus ordained into the struggle for salvation as one who is himself called upon to choose between good and evil alternatives. The power of decision was entrusted to man. With his choice, Adam embarked upon an earthly path. The test of Adam revealed the goal, the destiny that God intended for mankind. Man was to become the partner of God in the world, as Gen. 3:5, 3:22 state, giving rise to a relationship of a higher order than that of power involved in a Creator and creature relationship.

⁵ *"The Story of Adam & Eve — The Creation of the Moral and Spiritual Man — The Torch*, 1964, Fall Issue.

⁶ The word sin is not used by God in the Adam Story. It is first used by God in the Cain Story.

Adam was to become like God but not God. Being like God, knowing good and evil, man can leave Paradise⁷ and take charge of the world as a partner of God. Adam's choice can be said to be a primal choice. The words, *God* and *choice*, are primary words. Everything flows from them. They form the connection between the divine and man, and between heaven and the human world. For man to become a partner of God, he must choose for himself this task and affirm it. In so doing, he confers on himself authentic existence. *The Adam Story reveals God as the Challenger to all people to accept the "Knowledge of Good and Evil" and thus, assume the responsibility for the moral condition of this world. The eternal presence of this challenge in life attests to the eternal presence of God.*

God's faith in man's capability to act as a partner of God is shown in Gen. 2:19, prior to the test of Adam:

And the Lord God formed out of the earth all the wild beasts and all the birds of the sky, and brought them to the man to see what he would call them...

God forms the animals, but He enlists man in the creative activity of naming them, a process of transcendence which, in the ancient world, meant conferring meaning and significance, as well as lordship. Man was asked to complete God's process of creation, which certainly represents a partnership idea⁸.

The physical world including man was created by God, without requiring human participation — consequently man was created last. In contrast, the world of meaning in the process of naming was the task assigned to man, and thus Adam II (the creation in chapter II of Genesis) was created first, his contribution fully required. God and man thus stand together in an intimate partnership. God manifests Himself in the challenge of responsibility while man answers in the affirmative, "Here I am". By this answer we give ourselves an identity.

A PARTNERSHIP RELATIONSHIP

The Adam story ties together the partnership with God with the finiteness of man. Can this be otherwise? Would man want to choose an awesome respon-

⁷ *Adam I and Adam II*, an unpublished paper by this author.

⁸ *Pentateuch and Haftorah* — Dr. J. H. Hertz, Soncino Press, P. 6. ["Ethically, creation is still unfinished: and it is man's glorious privilege to finish it"].

sibility if he knew that he was immortal? God made the condition of finitude accompany the choice for a meaningful existence as a partner of God. If one rejects the partnership with God, he is in a finite condition without compensatory, meaningful value. However, by a choice of partnership relationship, in which man lives in harmony with God's intent, the finite condition is ameliorated, because man thereby gives meaning to his finite existence. Man's ontological doubt is therefore erased. In support of this, I recall, the statement of God: *Now that man has become like one of us, knowing good and bad* (Gen. 3:22). Man is now ready to act out his partnership role in conformity with God's intent.

God, while investing in man the freedom to choose, nevertheless gives him direction of choice to be made:

*Surely if you do right,
there is uplift.
But if you do not do right
Sin is the demon at the door,
Whose urge is toward you
Yet you can be its master (Gen. 4:7).*

God thus emphasizes that it is man's responsibility as an expression of his partnership role to be the master of his choice and that the right choice results in uplift. Another illustration of God's intention for man's choice is expressed in the following lines:

*I have put before you life and death, blessing and curse, choose life if
you and your offspring would live (Deut. 30:19).*

Man, as a partner of God, must turn his attention to this world. In accepting God's challenge and assignment of this world, and in assuming the partnership, man expresses his active commitment to this world. Every human arena becomes man's responsibility and every act becomes a spiritual expression of his partnership role.

The above is not advocating a humanistic approach to life. Simply stated the humanistic approach rests on the premise that all problems are human in origin and in solution. God is banned from this world, because God undercuts man's initiative and responsibility: furthermore, man is at the mercy of forces held to be

outside his control! In the humanistic approach, if any God is admitted to exist, He is functionless as far as man's destiny is concerned.

MAN IS NOT THE MEASURE OF ALL THINGS

The partner of God, on the other hand, approaches the solution from the viewpoint of God-given inalienable rights, the assignment of this world to man and his acceptance of responsibility for it. Man is then not the measure of his own values because in the acceptance of responsibility God's presence is required in every deliberation and solution of problems.

Adam's action is a paradigm for the individual "I", the existential "I", in assuming the responsibility of existence. This leads to the awareness that the other person is also potentially an "I". The existentialist "I", however, cannot exist on this unilateral basis. Sartre's position that when man chooses for his own good, it is necessarily good for everybody is not valid. This is valid only when man chooses on the basis of partnership with God, which implies a moral choice. The responsibility must be extended to interrelate the "I"'s. Thus, we are led to a community of "I"'s, a peoplehood of covenantal responsibility and partnership with God. This peoplehood is different from a community of faith only. It is an active community of people who see themselves in a unique relationship to God by their free, autonomous choice of accepting God's assignment of the moral sphere to man. Adam's choice did not alienate man from God; he came closer to God as it is said *he became like one of us*. (Gen. 3:22).

The Adam story is the first story of the first man, and the story is that of a choice. Adam was born to choose between two alternatives, a sort of two dimensional freedom. In choosing the "knowledge of good and evil", Adam became truly free; free in depth as well. This dimension of freedom imposes limits on itself for the sake of true freedom and opposes absolute freedom.

This difference between absolute freedom and responsible freedom gives the lie to radical theology, which sees God and man as competitors, even enemies. It is either man or God. Man has come of age and in freedom accepts responsibility for his life and the world, (or, he is free to enslave others). Man becomes the supreme being. He deifies himself in that he sets his own standards which are in reality no standards because the community component is absent. His responsibility is only to himself. Without responsible freedom, i.e., partnership with God, everything is possible. Man certainly proved this in Auschwitz. According to the

radical theologians, man is free and responsible for the consequences of his actions. He does not approach, however, problems from a sense of prior responsibility and limited freedom. This is the essential difference.

GOD'S ROLE IN THE HOLOCAUST

My thesis claims that God indeed cannot work fully in history. God can work in history only by virtue of the partnership relationship which man establishes in accepting the challenge of God; but He cannot work through the evil man precisely because he, the evil man, rejects God's challenge and assignment of the moral sphere to man. The disassociation of God from being the Director of History and from man's inhumanity to man exculpates God of His involvement in the Holocaust. As Edmund Burke said two centuries ago: "The only thing necessary for the triumph of evil is for good men to do nothing". In the Holocaust period, we see this in the action, or rather non-action of the leaders of the world, be they the Pope, Roosevelt, Churchill, church leaders, philosophers and humanists in Germany itself, and the indifference of the population of the world, all of whom abdicated their responsibility and thus allowed the Holocaust to happen. At the very beginning Hitler could have been stopped and his radical evil prevented by the actions of men and nations. Their disinterest, as Hitler had learned from the experience of the Armenians at the hands of the Turks, made the Holocaust possible. the disinterest of the people and its consequence is well stated by Pastor Niemoller:

"In Germany, the Nazi first came for the Communists, and I didn't speak up because I was not a Communist. Then they came for the Jews and I did not speak up because I was not a Jew. Then they came for the Trade Unionists and I did not speak up because I was not a Trade Unionist. Then they came for me... by that time there was no one to speak up for anyone."

God will not work in history to prevent evil acts, just as He will not prevent the emergence of false gods and prophets. This is a necessary consequence of God creating man with a free will.

The traditional explanation for the suffering of the Jewish people has been: "For our sins we have been punished". This doctrine makes the victim responsible for his suffering.

It is obscene to claim that the Holocaust was God's punishment for our sins. This is a result of the belief that God acts directly in history. The unfolding of

history is man's responsibility assigned to him by God, and therefore God cannot be blamed for the Holocaust. The Biblical God who requires human help in making goodness prevail is a better response to the problem of evil and the Holocaust than is the God of theologians, who require omnipotence, justice and goodness. The Biblical God charges man to master and subdue nature, assigns the moral sphere to man and charges man to accept partnership with God voluntarily and autonomously. Thus man would act with an attitude of responsibility. He will fully devote himself to this task only if it is chosen autonomously, for this choice will represent his inner and complete self. Man must want to choose this duty for him to discharge it and to be effective. If man, in his freedom, rejects this attitude, he rejects God and he enters the world of evil. God's purpose in history is thus nullified.

The Holocaust occurred because of, or in spite of God, (in either case theologically unacceptable), and only we, the Jewish people, the only group perceiving itself in the unique relationship with God, that of partnership, must redeem ourselves and the world. This was the purpose in the Adam II story where man was assigned the responsibility for the morality of the world.

CONCLUSION

Theological efforts which attempt to filter the events of history through the prism of Divine Providence substitute a greater unknown for the lesser one — a method which would not be acceptable in any other field of disciplined inquiry. The alternative, however, is not to sever the Divine and human orders completely. No theology with so radical a separation as its premise could legitimate itself as Jewish. What is necessary is to understand Divine Providence in history through the human agency which creates history — in a word, to recognize that man stands in a partnership with God, the very terms of which make man responsible for his fate. The essential role of Providence is metaphysically to constitute man with the freedom to choose this responsibility as a partner of God. The rest belongs to man given this premise. The truth of Judaism's mode of self-interpretation lies in affirming the Jewish unique relationship to God, that of partnership or "choosing" God's challenge of the responsibility of existence.

WITCHCRAFT IN THE BIBLE

BY SHIMON BAKON

When, in 1662, "witches" were executed in Salem after due process, Cotton Mather could write in clear conscience: "We have such sufficient evidence that no reasonable man in this whole country ever did question it..."¹. The phenomenon of the witchhunt was no mere momentary hysteria. It had lasted for more than 300 years, both in Catholic and in Protestant Europe, reaching notoriety in Puritan America. It is true that by the end of the 17th century this witchhunt had spent itself, but not before claiming the lives of untold numbers of victims. Unquestionably Cotton Mather, a prolific writer, and son of the founder of Harvard University, sincerely believed, as did most of the clergy of his time, that harsh laws had to be enacted in order to punish "solemn conversing or compacting with the devil by way of conjuration or the like"². Though the witchhunt was more drastic in Protestant countries than in Catholic ones, we are informed of many a case where tens of "witches" were burned at the stake by the Inquisition, Christian prohibition of "witchcraft" was ostensibly based on the Bible, yet a closer study will show that it was fought by the Bible and by Christianity for two very different reasons.

ISRAEL, A TINY ISLAND OF MONOTHEISM

It was Israel's destiny to have its roots in Mesopotamia, to be enslaved in Egypt for hundreds of years, and to come to Canaan — these three countries being classical showcases for every type of witchcraft. That witchcraft was endemic in a polytheistic culture is not surprising, since it was based on the belief that the universe was populated by unseen forces, spirits, and demons that permeate all things. Control over these forces afforded control over nature, and magic was the supernatural ability of manipulating the course of natural events. So all-pervading was the role of magic in the social and religious life of the Egyptians,

1 Mather's History of New England (Book 6, Chapter 7).

2 New Plymouth Record (original spelling retained).

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that Warren D. Dawson wrote: "It affected not only the relationship of men with their living fellows, but also with the dead and gods. Magic was believed to be a sure means of accomplishing all his necessities and desires and of performing, in short, everything that the common procedure of daily life was inadequate to bring about."³

Many forms of magic, witchcraft, and divination were also widespread in Mesopotamia. Canaan, lying between these great centers of antiquity, Egypt and Babylonia, had adopted much from both. Within that sea of polytheism and heathenism, accompanied faithfully by witchcraft, the tiny island of monotheism, Israel, considered witchcraft a major challenge to its survival.

BIBLICAL PROHIBITION

The Pentateuch is vehement in its denunciation of all kinds of witchcraft. On some occasions it pleads not to engage in such abominable practices⁴. On others it decrees the penalty of death. Thus in Exodus 22:17 it is stated: *You shall not suffer a sorceress to live* —⁵ *מכשפה לא תחיה*.

In Leviticus 20:6 we read:

<i>And the soul that turneth to ghosts</i>	והנפש אשר תפנה אל האבות
<i>and to familiar spirits to go astray after them</i>	ואל הידעונים לזנות אחריהם
<i>I will set My face against that soul</i>	ונתתי את פני בנפש ההיא
<i>and will cut him off from among the people.</i>	והכרתי אותו מקרב עמו

While in these verses the punishment for consulting an אב or a ידעוני is כרת namely being "cut off from among the people" by the hand of God, the penalty for those practicing these "vices" is death by stoning.

<i>A man or a woman that divineth by a ghost</i>	ואיש או אשה כי יהיה בהם אב
<i>or a familiar spirit, shall surely be put to death</i>	או ידעוני, מות יומתו
<i>they shall stone them...</i>	באבן ירגמו אותם

There is, of course, a regrettable gap between prohibition and reality. The struggle against witchcraft, as well as against idol worship, was a protracted one.

3 Warren D. Dawson — The Legacy of Egypt (1942) p. 184.

4 Leviticus 19:26, 31; Deuteronomy 18:9.

5 At this point we follow the JPS translation of the various types of witchcraft.

The fact is, both were practiced in Israel for hundreds of years with impunity. Even an Isaiah who denounces witchcraft throughout many of his prophecies, seems to acquiesce to the fact that the "diviner", the "cunning charmer", and the "skillfull enchanters" served, like the judge and the prophet, as leaders of the people⁶. And Jeremiah pleads with the inhabitants of Jerusalem not to listen to *Your prophets, nor to your diviners, nor to sorcerers that speak unto you: you shall not serve the king of Babylon*⁷.

There are two well-known biblical instances in which the practice of witchcraft was actively suppressed. One is the tragic effort by Saul who *had put away those that divineth by a ghost or a familiar spirit, out of the land*⁸. Saul had these individuals removed out of the land, exiled, but not executed.

The other is the sweeping reformation instituted by king Josiah who *put away* (בער) *those who divine by a ghost or a familiar spirit....and all detestable things...*⁹, all those and other abominations that his notorious grandfather, Manasseh, had introduced into Judea during the 55 years of his reign. Here the "remove" (בער) does not make clear the method of Josiah's campaign. Were they merely prohibited from working their "arts", were they exiled, or were they executed?

There is a post-biblical incident, ascribed to Shimon ben-Shetah, who was alleged to have hanged 80 witches of Ashkelon¹⁰. This, if true, jars modern sensitivity. It raised judicial questions already by talmudic Sages. However, Strack claims¹¹ "that the statement of Mishna Sanh. 4:6.... is erroneous, since the city had an independent municipality from 104 B.C.E."

REASONS FOR BIBLICAL PROHIBITION

We have noted before that Christianity's opposition to witchcraft, including the penalty of death for its practitioners, was indeed based on the Pentateuch, but outside of these, all similarities cease. Christianity permitted a metaphysical

6 Isaiah 3:2.

7 Jeremiah 27:9.

8 I Samuel 28:3.

9 II Kings 23:24.

10 Mishna Sanhedrin 4:6.

11 Hermann L. Strack, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash*, p. 108.

dualism to slip within the pattern of its faith. There were two powers, vying for the soul of the believer: God and Satan. The latter, with his hell, had an independent existence, and witches, sorcerers and magicians were subservient to him. Thus witchcraft took on the color of outright heresy, a direct attack on the Church. Furthermore, and this point needs to be stressed, the Satan-devil being real, the power of those practicing witchcraft was believed to be real too. Such great dramas as the "Fausts" by Marlowe or Goethe have their 'Sitz in Leben' in Christianity — they are Christian dramas.

The Bible is consistently monotheistic. There are no two separate domains, God and Satan, soul and body, spirit and matter, or even good and evil. Thus Isaiah, drawing the full implication of monotheism, is moved to proclaim:¹²

There is none beside Me...

I form light and create darkness

I make peace and create evil

I am the Lord that does all these things.

כי אפס בלעדי

יוצר אור ובורא חשך

עשה שלום ובורא רע

אני ה' — עשה כל אלה

What then was the biblical rationale for its assault on witchcraft? It is no coincidence that in all the six passages in the Pentateuch dealing with the prohibition of witchcraft, it follows, precedes or is concurrently placed within the context of abominations — *חורבנות*. I do not wish to tire the reader with quotations. He is invited to check the relevant passages¹³. These abominations are idol worship (especially that of Moloch), sexual lewdness and perversions, the eating of blood and detestable (unclean) food. In other words, witchcraft together with the enumerated vices, are abominations of the Lord, and they defile those who practice them. Israel is warned: *When thou art come into the land which the Lord... gives thee, you shall not learn to do after the abominations of these nations*¹⁴. In order to become a holy people, Israel must be weaned from such practices. Who will transmit God's will to Israel? The Torah reassures: *a prophet will the Lord thy God raise up unto you.... unto him you shall hearken*¹⁵.

Here we get a glimpse of another reason for the biblical assault on witchcraft.

¹² Isaiah 45:6–7.

¹³ Ex. 22:17; Lev. 19:26,31; 20:6,27; Deut. 18:9–14.

¹⁴ Deut. 18:9,10.

¹⁵ Deut. 18:9,10.

In an article that appeared in *Dor le Dor*¹⁶, I called attention to the fact that certain biblical institutions and legislation seem in direct revolt against Egypt. Thus the *king* in Israel, unlike the Pharaoh, is not divine, and has limited power. The *priests* in Israel own no land, the Lord is their inheritance, whereas most of the land in Egypt was owned by the priesthood. And now the institution of a God-appointed *prophet* is proposed, to take the place of the magis. As to the biblical view on witchcraft, one can identify with Hertz's comment on תחיה לא מכשפה¹⁷, that this law was not "because there was any reality in witchcraft. It was a negation of the unity of God and an abominable form of idolatry".

A SPECTRUM OF WITCHCRAFT IN THE BIBLE

לא תלמד לעשות כחזקבות הגויים ההם. לא ימצא בך מעביר בנו ובתו באש קסם קסמים, מעונן ומנחש ומכשף וחבר חבר, ושאל אוב וידעוני דורש אל המתים (18:9–11).

These Deuteronomic injunctions contain quite a range of all types of witchcraft. However, these are not all-inclusive, and other terms are to be found in different passages of the Bible. There is no absolute certainty what they signify. In fact, even the old and new J.P.S. use different translations. Etymology is of little help. Thus מנחש — usually translated as 'divining', may have some connection with "snakes". Is it snake-charming, or the imitation of the snake's hiss? We do not know. In many passages the term ידעוני accompanies the אוב. Usually translated as "familiar spirit", we have no biblical description of its practice. Nor do we have any clear idea what the frequently occurring מעונן signifies. Does it derive from ענן — clouds, pointing to divination through the agency of moving clouds? Or is it related, as some scholars would have it, to the Arabic "ghana", namely the producing of murmuring sounds — denoting some technique of soothsaying? What does the masterful play on words of לחש — חרש, employed by Isaiah (3:3) convey לחש ונבון לחש חרש? In fact, are the three words חרש — לחש — נחש onomatopoeic, imitating the sounds used in incantations? Neither do we enter to the substance of true comprehension when we translate חבר, as "spelling a charm". Even Isaiah's description of אוב, occurring in 29:4, would contribute little to our understanding of its practice,

16 *Egypt and Israel Dor Le Dor*, Vol. XI, 2, Winter 1982.

17 J.H. Hertz *Pentateuch and Haftarah*, p. 313, on the verse 22:17.

were it not for its detailed portrayal in the renowned meeting of Saul and the **בעל־האוב** of Endor. What, indeed, does Isaiah's utterance tell us about the **אוב**?

And thy voice shall be as a ghost – out of the ground והיה כאוב מארץ קולך
And thy speech shall chirp out of the dust. ומעפר אמרתך תצפץ.

Does he wish to suggest that in the practice of **אוב** the effect of a voice is projected as if coming from the ground? And indeed LXX renders **אוב** as 'ventriloquist'. To eliminate further confusion, I will concentrate on those terms described by the actual portrayal of their practice in the Bible.

THREE CATEGORIES OF WITCHCRAFT

If we cut through the maze of practices engaged in by the many nations throughout history, we can discern three major categories of witchcraft. It is fortunate that for each of these categories there are instances or events recorded in the Bible that may offer some insights as to their definition and practice.

DIVINATION

It is the forecasting of the future by certain signs, omens, or obscure acts, and is based on the belief that "spirits" inhabit the natural elements. By proper interpretation of signs, known by specially endowed wise people (wizards), the future is made known to them. Techniques vary. In the Bible we encounter the term **נחש** repeatedly, and, in some instances we can observe the means applied. When Laban, addressing Jacob, asserts: **נחשתי, ויברכני ה' בגלליך** *I have observed the signs, and the Lord has blessed me for thy sake*¹⁸, we are not told what these "signs" were. In another passage, when Joseph accuses his brothers of having stolen his "cup", berating them **נחש כי ינחש איש אשר כמני** *know ye not that such a man as I indeed divine*¹⁹ the alleged method of his divination may be that cup, or perhaps the wine in it. Had he not astonished his unsuspecting brothers when he had seated them according to their ages?

However the clearest insight into divination in the Bible is to be found in Ezekiel²⁰: *For the king of Babylonia standeth at the parting of the way... to use*

¹⁸ Genesis 30:27.

¹⁹ Genesis 44:15.

²⁰ Ezekiel, 21:26.

divination: he shaketh his arrows to and from, he inquireth of teraphim, he looketh at the liver.

Another technique for which we have a classical example in the Bible is אֹב — namely the consulting of the spirit of a deceased. Saul, having *put away those that divined by a ghost or a familiar spirit out of the land* — ושָׁאוֹל הִסִּיר הָאֹבֹת²¹, and panicking in a moment of great national crisis when he faced the Philistines at Gilboa, not knowing what to do, since when *Saul inquired of the Lord, the Lord answered him nor — neither by dreams, nor the Urim and Tumim, nor by prophets*²², he asked his servants to seek a woman that “*divineth by a ghost*”. What occurred in Endor is, of course, well known. Whatever craft the אֹב בַּעֲלָת אֹב used, to have the supposed apparition of Samuel come up before Saul and to have that apparition address him, is a secret which the Bible does not divulge. We are aware that this visit sealed the fate of the king.

ENCHANTMENTS

The second category, that of enchantments, incantations, is the supposed supernatural power to “force the hand of divinity”, to bend its will to that of the enchanter. A classic example of such “ability” is the story of Balaam, who was called by Balak, King of Moab, to “curse” Israel and thus block their advance into Canaan²³. In the Book of Joshua we find a ready-made term for Balaam: וְאֵת בָּלַעַם בֶּן בְּעוֹר “הַקֹּסֵם” הָרָגוּ בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל — *the Children of Israel killed Balaam...the ‘Kosem’ = enchanter, soothsayer*²⁴. That the term of קֹסֵם is used for this sort of occult craft is re-enforced in the Balaam narration where it is stated: וַיֵּלְכוּ זִקְנֵי מוֹאָב וְזִקְנֵי מִדְיָן מִדֵּין ‘קֹסְמִים’ בְּיָדָם — *And the elders of Moab and of Midian went and “rewards for enchantments” in their hands*²⁵. It is true that throughout Scripture the term קֹסֵם is used loosely to denote various arts of divination, soothsaying, etc. However, as regards Balaam, no other occult art is ascribed to

21 I Sam. 28:3.

22 Ibid. See more about it in an article by this author in *Dor le Dor: Saul and the Witch of Endor*, Vol. V, 1, Fall 1976.

24 Joshua 13:22

23 Numbers 22.

24 Joshua 13:22.

25 Numbers 22.

him but *he whom thou blessest is blessed and him whom thou cursest is cursed*²⁶. There seems to be a definite recognition on the part of the enchanter that there is a higher divinity. To be effective he has to bribe or force it, in this case the Lord, by building seven altars and offering the requisite sacrifices of a bullock and a ram on each. The place chosen for the act of cursing seems to be of great importance, for Balaam changes position after each unsuccessful attempt.

Balaam, of course, is frustrated as he himself comes to the recognition that *God is no man, that He should lie, neither the son of man that He should repent* ויתנחם לא איש אל ירכוב, ובן אדם ויתנחם²⁷. His will cannot be bent by machinations or the incantations of man.

SORCERY AND MAGIC

The third category within the general domain of witchcraft is magic or sorcery. Much casuistry has been exerted to find subtle differences of definitions between the two terms. For our non-scientific purposes we shall treat them as one. While we defined *Divination* as the alleged capability of reading the future through special signs (such as the flying of birds, arrows, liver, etc.) or some occult arts (such as consulting the spirit of a deceased or necromancy), and *Enchantment* as the supposed ability of bending the will of divinity toward that of the enchanter, *Magic* could be described as the supernatural power of manipulating and controlling the course of natural events. Another classic incident related in the Bible is the first confrontation between Moses and Pharaoh on the matter of releasing the Hebrews from Egyptian slavery. We shall give it the Hebrew name of כַּשּׁוּף²⁸. In that famous confrontation, after Aaron had changed his staff into a serpent, Pharaoh²⁹

*called for the wise men and the sorcerers
and they also, the magicians of Egypt,
did in like manner with their secret art.*

ויקרא... לחכמים ולמכשפים
ויעשו גם הם, חרטמי מצרים
...בלהטתם

²⁶ Numbers 22:6.

²⁷ Numbers 23:19.

²⁸ Again etymologically כַּשּׁוּף has been variously defined as appliance of drugs, even incantation.

²⁹ Ex. 7:11.

The term **חרטם** is obscure. Many scholars believe it to be Egyptian. Gesenius, however, thinks it to be a perfect Hebrew word, deriving from **חרט** – to scratch, namely, a sacred scribe, skilled in the sacred art of hieroglyphics. We meet these **חרטמים** in another context – the fateful dream of Pharaoh that catapulted Joseph to his high position. At that instance³⁰ Pharaoh had

called the “magicians” of Egypt

וַיִּקְרָא אֶת כָּל חֲרָטְמֵי מִצְרַיִם

but they could not interpret them (dreams).

וְאֵין פֹּתֵחַ אוֹתָם

It seems, then, that the **חרטמים** may be the Egyptian equivalent of **מכשפים**, seeming to perform various “secret” arts.

MIRACLE AND MAGIC

Judaic monotheism makes the reality of miracle almost mandatory. God Almighty, Who created the Universe, is also a God concerned about man, and involved in his affairs. Though he has set rules and limits for nature, He will on occasion break them Himself – to right an injustice, to justify His Holy Name, to stand by His elect. Or, if He so desires, He will appoint someone to perform a miracle. It is of crucial importance that the following be stressed: He is the source of, or gives the impetus, for a miracle. It is obvious that the monotheistic position requires that nature has no independent existence. There is, of course, nothing startling or especially revelatory in this re-statement of a theistic position. With this in mind let us continue with the Joseph narration³¹.

And Pharaoh said to Joseph, I dreamt a dream

and there is none that can interpret it.

And I have heard say of thee that when

thou hearest a dream thou canst interpret it.

To which Joseph answered: *It is not in me. God will give Pharaoh an answer of peace.* He, contrary to the wise men and **חרטמים** of Egypt, does not interpret. He merely serves as God's vessel.

One will notice a reluctance on the part of our Sages regarding miracles. The

³⁰ Gen. 41:8.

³¹ Gen. 41:15–16.

test of faith is not a miracle. thus, in a fictitious dialogue between God and Moses, the latter is upbraided for his lack of faith³². Comparing Moses with the Patriarchs, the Midrash has God say:

I said to Abraham: *walk through the land...* yet when he sought a place to bury Sarah, he had to purchase it.

I said to Isaac: *Sojourn in this land, I shall be with thee...* yet he had to dispute for water.

I said to Jacob: *the land whereupon you liest, to thee will I give it...* yet he sought a place to pitch his tent (in Shechem).

Our Sages went one step further. In Pirke Avot³³ ten miracles are enumerated which were created on the sixth day of Creation. The message is clear. All these miracles (including Aaron's staff) were an integral part of Creation, a providential ingredient of God's plan for the future – thus not necessitating to break the rules of nature He Himself had instituted.

32 Sanhedrin 100a.

33 5:6.

IN THE FORTHCOMING FALL ISSUE

THUS THEY STRIPPED EGYPT

UNDERSTANDING GOD THROUGH THE AKEDAH

QUESTIONS BY THE SERPENT AND THE ASS

FOUR REPETITIONS IN THE SONG OF SONGS

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THE PURCHASE OF THE MACHPELAH

ON HOLINESS

FIVE QUESTIONS OF ABRAHAM

BY LOUIS KATZOFF

"Ethics of the Fathers" (Pirkei Avot) points out that Abraham was tested ten times by God. As we read the story of Abraham in Genesis, we find in a "reciprocal" manner at least five times that Abraham challenges God, either directly or by inference. What is significant in these challenges are the lessons that are derived in concretizing specific values in Judaism and becoming an integral part of the fabric of the Jewish heritage.

1. NEED FOR PROGENY

After Abraham undergoes some trying experiences on his arrival to the promised land, God appears to him and assures him of divine protection: *Fear not, Abram, I am a shield to you; your reward shall be very great* (Genesis 15:1).

But Abraham is not satisfied:

What can You give me, O Lord God, seeing that I continue childless... Since You have granted me no offspring, one of my household will be my heir (15:2-3).

The Almighty assures Abraham that his own progeny will inherit him:

That one shall not be your heir; none but your very own issue shall be your heir (15:4).

Value: Judaism has constantly emphasized the ideal of family and offspring. Without progeny, how will the tradition continue?

2. PROGENY PLUS HERITAGE

The offspring promised by the Almighty was not readily realized. The couple Abraham and Sarah were quite advanced in years, and yet no child was born. As the covenant between God and Abraham was being consummated (17:1-12), Sarah is blessed with the promise of childbirth. But this paradoxically brings on a

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measure of skepticism in Abraham, as he exclaims: *Will a man 100 years of age and Sarah 90 years old give birth?* (17:7).

Unexpectedly, Abraham bursts forth in the wish: *Would that Ishmael live before thee* (17:18). The Sages understand this verse to mean that Abraham was ready to settle without offspring from Sarah, if only his son, born of Hagar, would carry on His tradition of Godliness. Ultimately Sarah is promised that she would give birth to a child who would perpetuate the covenant:

Sarah your wife will indeed bear you a son... and I will maintain My covenant with him as an everlasting covenant for his offspring to come (17:19).

Value: It is the wish of every God-fearing Jew to see his children raised in the Jewish tradition. The value of Talmud Torah, even at great financial sacrifice, is uppermost in his mind: (לא ימוש מפניך ומפי זרעך ומפי זרעך) (17:19). The perpetuation of Abraham's legacy has been the concern and watchword of the Jew for the last four millenia. Progeny plus heritage has been the fervent hope throughout the generations.

3. ERETZ YISRAEL: A POSSESSION

In response to the first challenge of Abraham concerning progeny, God takes him outside his abode and promises offspring as numerous as the stars in the heavens (15:5). A special reward is in store for Abraham for his faith in the Divine —

And He counted it to him for righteousness והאמין בה' ויחשבה לו צדקה

As the Almighty continues with praise and with an additional promise of inheriting the land, Abraham again asks for assurance in the realization of the promise: *O Lord, how will I know that I will inherit it?* (15:8). This time God reassures him through a special ritual which culminates in a covenant between the two, a covenant which specifies the possession of the land for generations to come: *On that day the Lord made a covenant with Abraham to wit: to thy children have I given this land* (15:18).

Value: The love-affair of the Jewish people with Eretz Yisrael has never wavered, since the promise enacted in the covenant close to 4,000 years ago.

4. ETHICAL MONOTHEISM

Reading the Biblical text, one is totally aware of God's choice of Abraham to teach mankind the concept of monotheism. Always, God speaks first to Abraham, not the reverse. When we peruse Rabbinic statements about Abraham's search for meaning in the world's movements, we can conclude that Abraham found his way to monotheism through his own unique sensitivities. Whether God chose Abraham or whether Abraham found God, we can be sure that Abraham's God would be one whose foundation rock would be justice. It is no wonder then that Abraham could stand up before the Almighty to plead the cause of Sodom: Perhaps there were sufficient righteous man to save the city from destruction? *השופט כל הארץ לא יעשה משפט? Will the Judge of all the earth not do justice?* (18:25).

Value: The ethical surge of Abraham shines forth in his statement immediately preceding his challenge in the cause of justice:

What if there should be fifty righteous men within the city, will You then wipe out the place and not forgive it for the sake of the innocent fifty who are in it? Far be it from You to do such a thing... Shall not the Judge of all the earth deal justly? (18: 24–25).

This ethical thrust is evident throughout Scriptures. Judaism's contribution to civilization inheres in the promulgation of ethical monotheism.

5. CLEAN BREAK WITH PAGANISM

The final challenge is connected with the account of Akedat Yitzchak — the sacrifice of Isaac — a chapter laden with mystery. True, it constituted the tenth and last test of Abraham's faith, to see whether he was ready to sacrifice Isaac at the divine behest. Yet, we may infer from at least one verse in the chapter that Abraham was confident that his God would not accept human sacrifice — but would show him the way to an animal substitute. When Isaac inquired of his father: *Here are the fire and the wood, but where is the sheep for the sacrifice* (22:7), Abraham responds: *אלהים יראה לו השם לעולה, בני The Almighty will show the sheep for the sacrifice, my son* (22:8).

As we know the practices of ancient paganism, it becomes evident that child sacrifice was a common occurrence. Archeologists have found numerous children's skeletons in foundations of homes. The worship of Moloch, wherein

child sacrifice was a major ritual, was practiced in one form or another throughout Near Eastern society.

Contrary to the modern incomprehensibility of child sacrifice, it was not at all strange to Abraham as he saw the world around him. Appeasement of the gods was the expected behavior of every pagan worshipper. The dilemma agitating Abraham was whether his God was like the other gods in demanding child sacrifice. Would Abraham fit into the milieu of his society or would he make a complete break with the world of paganism once and for all time?

The underlying motif of the Akedat Yitzchak episode is the final break with the world of paganism in the newly adopted faith of Abraham. In Abraham's belief in monotheism, the confrontation with paganism in its prescription of appeasing the gods through human sacrifice needed a dramatic experience to show mankind the absolute abhorrence of such practice. Abraham's monotheism was thus the final and culminating rejection of the pagan ways of the world of idolatry.

Value: Judaism clearly forbids human sacrifice, as in the several Torah references concerning the abhorrent Moloch practices. There is no trace of human sacrifice in Biblical history, except for the possible (in the unclear) account of the daughter of Jephthah (in chapter 11 in Judges).



BIBLE TRIVIA (Continued from p. 248)

called סופרים: "counters"⁵. As a result of their efforts, the Mesora was developed and the purity of the Torah text is preserved to date.

LETTERS AND WORDS

There are 304,805 letters in the Torah. Whether by accident, or design, the middle of all the letters is the Vav (ו) in the word נחן and that letter is traditionally written larger than the rest.

Since the number of words are even, the two middle words have the identical spelling דרש דרש. In the ספר תורה the first is usually written at the end of a line and the second at the beginning of the next line.

⁵ למה נקראו סופרים? שהיו סופרים כל האותיות שבתורה Why were they called Soferim? Because they counted all the letters in the Torah (Kiddushim 31a).

BIBLE TRIVIA

SOFERIM – SCRIBES – COUNTERS

BY CHAIM ABRAMOWITZ

There was an active group of scholars called *Soferim* (Scribes) preceding the Sages of the Talmud. Beginning with Ezra Hasofer, one of their activities was to produce, as far as humanly possible, errorless copies of Torah scrolls and other holy writings. In the days before the invention of printing, copies of any book had to be handwritten by a scribe using another copy as his guide. The possibility of errors was manifold. Words, or even lines, might be omitted or repeated or misspelled, and errors in the guide copy would also be incorporated in the new one. Sometimes, when there was a demand for multiple copies of a single item, someone would read it aloud and a number of scribes would write it. This may have been the source of the errors in the Torah of Rabbi Meir¹ whose scribe wrote טוב מות² instead of מאד, and כחנות אור³ instead of עור. To minimize errors, scribes usually sought an authentic guide copy. Three recognized scrolls of the Torah were found in the Temple. Wherever there were differences, the agreement of two was accepted as the truth⁴.

To avoid errors and to maintain the purity of the text of the Torah, and to a lesser degree of the other books of the Bible, Soferim developed numerous safeguards. They counted the number of times rare words or deviations in spelling, etc. appeared in the Bible. They counted the number of words and letters in the Torah, and noted the exact middle of the words and the letters. Because of these, a new meaning was given to the word סופרים – Soferim. Now they were

(Continued on p. 247)

1 Bereshit Rabba 9 and 20.

2 Genesis 1:20.

3 Ibid. 3:21.

4 Soferim, chapter 6.

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SAMSON IN TIMNAH

JUDGES 14-15: FORM AND FUNCTION

BY YAKOV THOMPSON

Among the many characters in the book of Judges, Samson is one of the best known. Judges 13-16 relates Samson's birth, career and his ultimate defeat at the hands of his enemies, the Philistines. These four chapters form an independent unit within the Book of Judges although they are set within a general framework that emphasizes Samson as a "judge in Israel", that is, as one of a group of leaders who arose during the premonarchic period for the purpose of saving their people from physical danger.

The attention given to the story of Samson is well deserved. The text, although short, is rich in meaning and message. Divine promise and national hope are ideals that are constantly in tension with the realities of Samson's life that is, seemingly, without ideals or direction. Just as the story begins with great promise for Samson, and through him for all of Israel, it runs quickly to its end to illustrate the tragedy of Samson's death.

It is our purpose in this paper to examine the literary structure of chapters 14 and 15, which narrate Samson's marriage to a Philistine woman from Timnah and the events that occur as a result of that marriage. We shall discuss these two chapters not only as a unit within the Samson story but also as the transition between chapters 13 and 16. Our purpose is therefore, two-fold: first to understand the literary structure and form of these two chapters that deal with Samson's visit to Timnah, and the events that followed; secondly, to refer to both chapters 13 and 16 in order to identify how the incidents in Timnah form a transition between the themes of these chapters, the former being the enunciation of God's purpose for Samson and the latter being an account of how successfully Samson lived up to that purpose.

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The first encounter the reader has with Samson is in chapter 14. Previously we read of Samson's "miraculous" birth and God's desire for him to be a Nazirite dedicated to His service. At the conclusion of chapter 13 we are told that Samson grew up and was blessed by God. God's "spirit" rested upon Samson, foreshadowing the "spirit" of physical strength that would give Samson the ability to fulfill God's purpose.

Chapter 14 records Samson's first act which was to "go down" to the district of Timnah. Curiously enough, this journey comes without warning and without reason. Why should Samson suddenly go off to Timnah? As Crenshaw¹ has pointed out, many times in the Samson story we, the readers, possess critical information that the characters do not, yet we are not given a reason at this point for Samson's actions. More strikingly, just as chapter 13 was marked by repetition and retardation of the story, chapter 14 seems to move at a pace that defies understanding. As swiftly as Samson "went down" to Timnah, he "goes up" and returns to his parents to tell them that he has seen a woman whom he wants to marry. We receive that news at the same time that his parents do. Although we might question Samson's motivation, Samson's father offers only a protest against his choice that refers back to chapter 13:1. How could Samson choose a wife from among the Philistines who are not only "uncircumcised" (14:3) but who have been ruling over the Israelites for forty years? (13:1).

If the speed and casualness of Samson's choice of a wife fails to disclose any love, surely his father's response is even more practical and "unromantic". Manoah is not concerned about love. He is concerned about his son becoming too familiar with those who are not only non-Israelite but who also oppress Israel. Samson's reply is equally as frank: *...get her for me because she is the right one in my eyes*². Samson's justification for his proposed marriage is very interesting. For what is this Timnite woman "right" in Samson's eyes? Although the argument has been made³ that this "rightness" merely refers to Samson's sexual attraction for the woman, we contend that it has a difficult meaning.

1 James L. Crenshaw, *Samson*, (Atlanta, 1978). p. 54.

2 Translations taken from Robert F. Boling, *Judges*, Anchor Bible #6A, (Garden City, N.Y., 1975).

3 Cf. *Samson*, pp. 77-78.

Although “being right in one’s eyes” is a common Biblical idiom for ideas or objects, we see that it is quite out of context here if Samson is alluding only to his physical attraction of her. Rather we are led to ascribe a more common meaning to the phrase thus understanding “she was, in his eyes, the right one through whom to fulfill his purpose”. Such an understanding is supported by the next verse which justifies to the reader both Samson’s demand and his parents’ hesitancy.

Now, his father and mother did not realize that it originated with (the Lord) that He was looking for some occasion from the Philistines. The Philistines at that time dominated Israel. (Judges 14:1–4).

Thus the rapid movement of these four verses (14:1–4) is suddenly brought into focus. Samson went down to Timnah with a specific task — to find the one who would provide the opportunity to fulfill God’s plan. Samson found her and moved quickly to arrange the wedding that would provide “God’s occasion.” Further, this interpretation links chapters 13 and 14. God’s spirit came upon Samson and he went down to Timnah where events would quickly take their own course.

Before leaving verses 14:1–4, we should offer another argument against those who understand Samson’s attraction for the Timnite as purely physical. As we shall see, Samson’s wife-to-be had a younger sister who, so her father claimed, was more beautiful than she. Would Samson have not chosen her if his only goal was to marry a beautiful woman? Further, if desire had been such an important role in Samson’s choice, why did he give up his conjugal rights so easily when told she had been given to “the best man” (15:2). Just as the story fails to portray love, it fails to portray desire. It does however portray Samson in quest of an opportunity against the Philistines. Just as Samson is God’s tool to “liberate” Israel, the Timnite is Samson’s tool to provide a claim against her people.

Having now understood the first episode concerning Samson’s activities in Timnah, we are able to anticipate the theme and structure of chapters 14 and 15. As we stated earlier, they are chapters of transition and explanation. These two chapters, which deal with an ill-fated marriage and the subsequent actions it provoked, stand between Samson’s birth and his death. In no way do we imagine that this one event (excluding the visit to the prostitute in Gaza) narrates all of Samson’s life. The chapters are, however, sufficient for our needs as well as the nar-

rator's needs. They explain how Samson chose to execute God's plan against the Philistines and how successful he was in fulfilling that plan. The events in Timnah also explain why Samson, although only one man, became the enemy of the Philistines who would pay such a high price to learn the secret of his strength and who would show their appreciation to Dagon for his capture (16:23–24). Chapters 14–15 provide the background one needs in order to understand the events of chapter 16 just as they are needed to show the fulfillment of God's promise in chapter 13.

The style of the narrative also reveals this link between Samson's birth and death. Chapter 13 is filled with repetition and dialogue. Chapter 16 is likewise filled with dialogue and repeated phrases that retard and anticipate the end of the story. Between them stand the events in Timnah which are presented one after the other hurriedly and without explanation.

THE EPISODE OF THE LION

Having set the stage for the marriage as well as explaining its purpose, the narrator continues to relate the events leading up to the wedding. Samson and his parents are going to arrange the wedding when suddenly Samson's way is blocked by a lion. To be sure, the episode concerning the lion provides the riddle Samson will pose to the thirty Philistines who have come to insure his good behavior. Yet, in terms of the story, we see that again the action takes place quickly without introduction and without an effort to answer obvious questions: Where were Samson's parents when he killed the lion? Where were they when Samson spoke to the Timnite? Is the narrator jumping from topic to topic or is he introducing the "occasion against the Philistines?" This becomes a crucial concern to understand the structure of the story. What exactly is the occasion against the Philistines that God has provided for Samson? Is it the murder of the thirty innocent Philistines to pay off his wager (14:19)? Was it the destruction of the harvest (15:4) Was it the slaughter of the thousand Philistines from among those who came to capture him (15:15)?

We would argue that all of these events and not any one of them are the occasion which God sought. Just as the story begins with a deceptive casualness, "Samson happened to go down to Timnah", the story of the lion, while seemingly a "casual" happening, actually begins the snowballing of Samson's hostility towards the Philistines. The lion would become the subject of an "entertaining"

riddle that would start a cycle of revenge and counter-revenge that depicts Samson's single-handed attempt to "liberate Israel". This chain of experiences shows that the narrator took several isolated events in the life of Samson and interwove them into one unit, thus telescoping Samson's career into the cycle of cause and result stemming from his short and tragic marriage to the Timnite woman.

It has been noted⁴ that "fire" is used as a motif in the Samson story. The Philistines threatened the Timnite with fire to learn Samson's riddle; Samson burns their harvest with fire, and the Philistines eventually kill Samson's wife and her family with fire. Although this motif may point to a symbol for Samson himself, it at least emphasizes the results of what took place in Timnah; fire begets fire, revenge begets revenge. In every event in the cycle, Samson appears to step closer to liberating Israel from the Philistines. Sadly, however, we understand that he is but a step closer to his own death.

FORESHADOWING FURTHER EVENTS

As we stated before, chapters 14 and 15 also anticipate much of the closing chapter. The Timnite woman wants to learn a secret (14:16), just as Delilah will want to learn a secret (16:6). Both "entice" him (14:15) and Samson gives in to both, yet we see that the presentation reflects the difference between Samson's relationship with each woman. That is, Samson only "uses" the Timnite as pretext for attacking the Philistines. Samson speaks to her briefly. However, he loves Delilah; their conversations are long and from Samson's viewpoint much more self-revealing. The Timnite's efforts to obtain the secret of the riddle are recorded in narrative with little dialogue or repetition because our narrator wishes to foreshadow the exchanges between Samson and Delilah. At the end of this section, we are, however, brought back to the very beginning of the Timnah story. Just as God's spirit came upon Samson before he "went down" to Timnah (13:25), that spirit returns as he "goes down" to slay thirty Philistines for their clothing, and comes back to his father's house, unaware that his bride is being given to another (14:19–20). Thus, the stage is set for another occasion aimed against the Philistines, and the cycle of revenge continues.

We are not suggesting that revenge is the theme of the story. It is simply a con-

4 Robert Alter, *The Art of Biblical Narrative*, (New York, 1981) pp. 94–95).

venient paradigm to explain the structure of these two chapters. Samson had initially sought an "occasion against the Philistines". This phrase, which seems to indicate a single event, is turned into an entire series of events by the narrator for the purpose of recording Samson's career as a champion against Israel's enemy.

Chapter 15 continues the confrontations between Samson and the Philistines. Finding that his wife was given to his "best man", Samson destroys the crops of the Philistines. The Philistines then burn the Timnite household along with its inhabitants. Horrified by such behavior (15:7), Samson strikes back at the Philistines and makes his escape, perhaps hoping to break this cycle of revenge and counter-revenge (15:7). The Philistines invade Israelite territory to capture Samson. He surrenders to them only to attack them and cause a great slaughter among his captors, as the spirit of God comes again upon him. As before, we are given details of Samson's career that would earn him the title of "Philistine enemy". The events stemming from Samson's marriage bond to the Timnite family continue to provide Samson an "opportunity against the Philistines". Once again God's spirit comes upon him providing the strength to overcome staggering odds. Once again the narrator foreshadows the coming events — Samson is bound by his kinsmen only to break free (15:13), he will be bound by Delilah only to break free (16:9,12). Ultimately, he will be bound once again and "break free" only at the cost of his own life (16:28–30).

We now see a correlation between the visitation of God's spirit and Samson's violent activities which are, at least to Samson, justified "occasions" to take revenge on the Philistines. We should also note the two occurrences on which God does not bestow His spirit but rather answers Samson's request. The first time is Samson's plea for water (15:18), which resulted in Samson being revived, "he came alive" (15:19). The second occurrence, typically foreshadowed in the former, is Samson's plea for strength (16:28), which, although it results in his death, is called by Samson "a deliverance".

Chapters 14 and 15 which contain a preponderance of fast narrative, naked facts and little dialogue provide the necessary clues to appreciate the story as a whole. Chapters 14 and 15 were carefully composed to show that Samson does indeed fulfill God's desire to have "an occasion" against the Philistines. These chapters, also by careful anticipation of Samson's fate, show that Samson caused his own downfall by not protecting his sacred office. It is only his inability to withstand Delilah's pleading that causes God to leave him. In his career against

the Philistines, however, he was true to God's service. Samson's revenge was God's revenge. God caused the Philistines to rule over Israel just as it was Samson who caused the Philistines to seek an answer to his riddle. It was this riddle that set off the chain of events for which Samson would take revenge. The Philistines threatened the Timnite just as they threatened Israel, and Samson took revenge for both.

Incidentally, this interpretation of Samson's actions could explain one of the thematic problems of the text, in which Samson's career is seen as a personal crusade to defend his honor. It is not his personal grudge against the Philistines that prompts Samson, rather it is God's desire to seek "an occasion" against them. Thus, Samson is but the instrument of God's will. Indeed we see that it is God's spirit that takes hold of him before his subsequent attacks upon the Philistines.

Chapters 14 and 15 are a necessary part of the story, yet we see that the narrator combines the form and the function of these chapters to report the beginning of Samson's career in words that express both the consequences of God's spirit and the consequences of its absence. By telescoping Samson's career into this series of episodes, the narrator has prepared us for the events in chapter 16. With constant foreshadowing and anticipating of later events, chapters 14 and 15 fulfill the promise of Samson's birth and warn us of Samson's ultimate defeat.



ODED – A PROPHET OF GOD

BY B.Z. LURIA

Against the background of the war between sister nations, the rout of the army of Ahaz and shame and depression of the people in Judah and Jerusalem, the author of II Chronicles 28:9–15 introduces a short story of only 8 verses about some prophet whom we know only by his name: Oded. This story, however, sheds light on the people in the land of Ephraim. Oded and his followers prove that the power of love is greater than armies of Pekach son of Remalyahu (of Ephraim) and Rezin king of Aram.

The alliance of the kings of Israel and Aram against Ahaz, king of Judah, is related, quite briefly, in II Kings 16:5:

Then Rezin, King of Aram, and Pekach, son of Remalyahu, King of Israel, came up to Jerusalem to war; and they besieged Ahaz, but could not overcome him....

In II Chronicles 28:1–8, this war is described in greater detail:

Wherefore the Lord his God delivered him into the hand of the King of Aram... And he was also delivered into the hand of the King of Israel... And the Children of Israel carried away captive of their brethren two hundred thousand women, sons and daughters, and took also away much spoil from them, and brought them to Samaria.

Even though the story in Chronicles deals with an event that transpired a number of generations before the book was written, there is no reason for casting any doubt on its authenticity. It comes from an outside source, not found in the book of Kings, and passed on from father to son as a shining example of the love that existed between Ephraim and Judah. In the course of time it was committed to writing and reached the author of Chronicles. The names of the persons that

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appear in 28:12 bear witness to its authenticity. Even the most extreme among Bible critics do not question the truth of the story.

In the wars between Judah and Ephraim the author of Chronicles generally relates the events from a Judean point of view. This is the only time that he changes and tells the story from the point of view of Ephraim.

The story of Oded was so important in the eyes of Josephus¹ that he copied the entire story, with slight changes.

Almost two hundred years had elapsed since that unfortunate confrontation between Rehoboam, son of King Solomon, and the elders of the people in Shechem, which resulted in the division of the kingdom and the series of wars between Judah and Israel: (a) Rehoboam and Jeroboam, (b) Abiya and Jeroboam, (c) Asa and Baasha, (d) Amazia and Jehoash.

Despite all these wars the author of Chronicles still looks upon the Judean captives as brothers. It is reasonable to assume that in spite of the differences between the two royal houses, the spirit of love among the common people of both kingdoms still prevailed. They had not forgotten that the people of Ephraim and Judah were one people, whose God is the God of Abraham and whose religion is the religion of Moses. The action of Oded who, together with his four partners, were able to do what they did in front of the mass of people who gathered to see the captives, is proof of the unity and love between Judah and Ephraim.

We know the prophets of God in Ephraim: Shemaya, the man of God, and Ahiya from the reign of Jeroboam, Elijah the Gileadite and Michayahu the son of Imla in the days of Ahab, Elisha and the group of "Sons of prophets" during the reign of Jehu, and Jonah son of Amitai during the reign of Jeroboam son of Joash. These grew up and flourished in Ephraim, and there were others who came from Judah to prophesy in Ephraim. Amos of Tekoah and Micah of Morasha, and others whose names are unknown to us are ample proof that the Northern Kingdom did not forget the Law of Moses, and that the prophets led the people in the spirit of the Torah many years after the division. Let us not judge the people of Ephraim by the misdeeds of Ahab and Jezebel.

Concerning the war that is connected with the story of Oded, there are four biblical references:

¹ *Antiquities* Book IX Chapter 12, No. 3, Whiston translation.

1. *Hosea* 5:8–9 warns about the punishment that will be visited on Ephraim for the wrongdoings of the Ephraimites in Judah and Jerusalem without referring to this war specifically. They are common and unclear expressions as if the prophet was trying to hide this degradation the Ephraimites brought on their brothers.

2. *II Kings Ch. 16* speaks of an event from a far distance, which did not occur during his time. Which historical event does he have in mind when he says: *In those days God began to send in Judah Rezin the King of Aram and Pekach son of Remalyahu* (15:37).

3. *II Kings 16:5* refers to this event again when it is stated — *Then Rezin King of Aram and Pekach son of Remalyahu King of Israel went to war on Jerusalem and they besieged Ahaz and they did not prevail.*

4. *Isaiah 7:1* uses the same expression, except that the end is in the singular: *And he did not prevail.*

In contrast to the four wars between Judah and Ephraim — wars between brothers — we have here an alliance between Israel and Rezin King of Aram, a foreign nation and a long-time enemy, whose aim is to subdue their brother nation — Judah. It is as if history repeats itself in the deed of Asa, King of Judah, when he bribed Ben Haddad with silver and gold to break his treaty with Baasha King of Israel and force him to leave Judah. But then there were two separate wars: Baasha vs. Asa and Ben Haddad vs. Baasha, whereas this time Israel and Aram went together to conquer Judah.

The expressions, “In those days God began to send against Judah” in *II Kings* 15:37 and the addition “and they could not prevail” in *Isaiah 7:1* and *II Kings* 16:5 came to cover up and hide the deeds of the allies Ephraim and Aram against Judah. Concerning the phrase “they could not prevail” we read about the one hundred and twenty thousand killed and about the famous personalities Mas-siyah, the king’s son, Azrikam, the head of the royal house, and Elkana, second to the king, who were killed. All that proves that they did not capture Jerusalem and wreak havoc there. The prophet Oded said “and you killed them in a rage”, and the Malbim comments: “you did not kill as if you were sent by God, but because of your rage against them. It was not because of God’s anger that you had no compassion for your brothers. You killed in a rage and not in the degree of punishment desired by God. Their cry reached heaven because you were pitiless”.

Because of their evil deed during the war and the possibility of sharing great spoils, the prophet castigated them for their war crimes, and tried to awaken in them feelings of regret by stressing the natural friendship that existed between Judah and Ephraim. The prophet emphasized two reasons:

1. It was not by your might that you conquered Judah. It was because of their sins that God punished them.

2. They are your brothers, the inhabitants of Judah and Jerusalem, and the Torah² warned that "your brothers the Children of Israel, you shall not treat one another with rigour". Are you going to enslave them now? The explanation that with their action they will violate a commandment of the Torah fell on willing ears. They listened to the prophet, and even before they reached Samaria, they changed direction and returned the captives to Judah.

The prophet succeeded in convincing the victorious troupes to return the captives. This is how this incident is related in II Chronicles 28:14:

And the men [Azariah, Berechiah, Jeheziah, and Amasa who had supported the plea of Oded] rose up, and took the captives, and with the spoil clothed all that were naked among them... and gave them to eat and to drink... and carried all the feeble of them upon asses and brought them to Jericho...

This narration hints of the deep concern and love that Oded and his four supporters held for the welfare of the captives. He weighed whether to go along the regular road, over the hill, and chance meeting the armies of Pekach and Rezin, who, drunk with victory, might not permit the captives to return. He preferred to take the long but sure way of Wadi Farak and the Jordan Valley to Jericho.

We know nothing about the personality and deeds of the Prophet of God, Oded. Many generations later the Papal Secretary Epiphanius wrote in his book "The Lives of the Prophets"³:

The Prophet Azariah from Subatha who had returned the captives to Judah from Israel at his request — was buried in his birthplace.

(Translated from the Hebrew by Chaim Abramowitz).

2 Leviticus 25:16.

3 The book was written in Greek, which may have been translated from the Hebrew. The English translation was published by Charles Cutler Torrey, 1946.

THE EAGLE IN BIBLE AND MIDRASH

BY S.P. TOPEROFF

The common name by which the eagle is known in the Bible, where it is often found, is *nesher*, (נֶשֶׁר). However, it is generally conceded that this is a generic name covering a variety of species including the eagle, vulture, griffon and kite, according to the wording of the text. Indeed one writer clearly distinguishes between a griffon and an eagle in these words: "While the eagles and other birds are content with lower elevations, the griffon alone selects the stupendous gorges of Arabia, Petraea and the defiles of Palestine" (Tristram). Evidence for this is found in the Bible: *Does the nesher mount up at thy command and make her nest on high* (Job 39:27) and parallels. For this reason the nesher is called the king of the skies as it reaches the highest parts of the loftiest rocks.

One mediaeval moralist conveys this lesson: "The image of the eagle is to teach us this lesson, that even as the eagle soars higher and higher but swoops down, so should scholars act. Though they be brilliant they should not be conceited in the presence of their teachers, but listen humbly so that they may learn from them" (Aknin).

On the other hand we find this intriguing comment of Radak (mediaeval commentator), on Isaiah 49:31 who quotes Saadiah Gaon to the effect that the nesher rises higher every ten years and drops its feathers which are burnt through the rays of the sun.

The Hebrew nesher is derived from the root nashar: to *drop*, but in the Piel can mean to *tear*. This depicts the action of the eagle, his beak is strong and hooked, his claws are long and sharp, he flies very high and with his keen sight he has a clear view of the landscape beneath and never misses an opportunity to swoop down swiftly, seize and tear his prey so that it falls apart *as the vulture that swoops on the prey* (Job 9:26).

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Allied to its ability to achieve great heights, the eagle is also famed for its swiftness; *our pursuers are swifter than the eagles of the heaven* (Lamentations 4:19). And the Mishnah advises us symbolically to be "swift as an eagle to do the will of your father Who is in heaven" (Pirkei Avot 5:23).

This important characteristic of the eagle is underlined in the Torah where we find in beautiful poetic imagery the love of God for Israel being compared to the eagle and its young: *You have seen what I did to the Egyptians and bore you on eagles' wings and brought you onto Myself* (Exodus 19:4). In the words of Rashi who quotes the Mechilta: "As an eagle which bears its fledglings upon its wings, Scripture uses this metaphor because all other birds place their young between their feet since they are afraid of other birds that fly around them, but the eagle fears none except man who may shoot arrows at it, as no bird flies above it. For this reason the eagle places its young upon its wings saying: 'Better that the arrows and missiles strike me rather than my young'".

The full import of the above passage is evident from Rashi's comment on Exodus 14:19 where we learn that the angel of God and the pillar of cloud divided the camp of Egypt from that of Israel and God received the arrows of the Egyptians. In other words, God in His abundant love and kindness to Israel diverted the missiles directed against his beloved people, and like the eagle accepted them under the wings of the divine presence.

This care and consideration of the eagle towards its young is further portrayed in Moses' farewell song *as an eagle that stirs up its nest, hovers over its young, spreads abroad its wings, takes them beneath them on its pinions* (Deuteronomy 32:11). Here Rashi quotes the Yalkut which informs us that God's loving concern and deep attachment to Israel is compared to the eagle that does not suddenly enter the nest but flutters its wings between the branches and bushes and gently awakens its young. In this manner they are prepared to fly and they obediently submit to the training and discipline which eventually takes them to the lofty heights and they become independent.

The innate affection of the eagle is not restricted only to its own fledglings but is also extended to those of other birds, as we learn from a remarkable statement in the Talmud. The Rabbis distinguish between the eagle and the wild goat; the latter is heartless towards her young. When she crouches for delivery she goes up to the top of a mountain so that the young shall fall down and be killed, but God prepares an eagle to catch it in his wings and set it before her, and if he were one

second too soon or too late it would be killed (Bava Bathra 16a-b).

Yet another confirmation of the care of the neshet towards its young is furnished by Job who declares that *she dwells and abides on the rock upon the crag of the rock and the stronghold* (Job 39:28). What was the purpose of the stronghold? If perchance a strong bird did reach the crag of the rock it would find the stronghold impenetrable. Thus, the eagle would make it virtually impossible for any harm to befall the young who were enclosed in the stronghold.

So far we have emphasised the young. We shall now make one reference to old age. The Psalmist suggests that the eagle retains its vitality and alertness even in old age: *Who satisfies your old age with good things, so that your youth is renewed like the eagle* (Psalm 103:5). We know from nature study that the eagle can live to more than a hundred years.

The fifth commandment enjoins us to *honour your father and your mother, that your days may be long*. We normally associate this commandment with people, but it is very tempting to suggest that it might well refer also to the animal world. We have noted above that the eagle showers love and affection on its young and in return the young are respectful and obedient to the old, and hence grow up to enjoy longevity.

In an entirely different context the Book of Proverbs bids us not to covet riches, *for riches certainly make themselves wings, like an eagle that flies toward heaven* (Proverbs 23:5). The metaphor teaches us that as the eagle rises higher and higher till it is almost out of sight, so are riches, the wheel of fortune may suddenly turn and we have lost all our wealth.

In one instance we have a reference to the bearded vulture: *Enlarge your baldness as the vulture* (Micah 1:16). It appears that the vulture moults its feathers sooner than other birds and consequently it gives the semblance of baldness.

So far we have discussed "nesher" incorporating the griffon vulture. There are, however, two other species of this family which are specifically named in the Torah; they are *peres* (פֶּרֶס) and *ozniyah* (עֲזוּיָה) and they follow *nesher* in Leviticus 11:13 and Deuteronomy 14:12. The authorised and revised versions of the English Bible render this as gier-eagle but the JPS calls it bearded vulture. The Hebrew *peres* is derived from a root meaning to *divide, break into pieces*, hence the Latin name *ossifrag*, the bone-crusher. This characterises the practice

of this bird which at times snatches animals which they carry high and then cast them against the rocks, crushing their bones.

The Rabbis assert that both the *peres* and *ozniyah* are not found in inhabited settlements (Hullin 62a).

The *ozniyah* is rendered as vulture or osprey. Some call it a sea-eagle because it seizes the fish near the surface of the water with its strong talons. It is a powerful bird and is known in the Mishnah as "oz", meaning mighty and strong. The Rabbis inform us that implements plated with metal were made from its powerful wings (Kelim 14:14). The derivation of *ozniyah* is unknown.

In antiquity the eagle was the chief standard of the Roman legions and the word *nesher* symbolised Rome. Thus we learn that scholars arrived from Tiberias who had been captured by an eagle (that is a Roman) (Sanhedrin 12a) and in another instance we read that an oath was taken "by the Roman eagle" (Pesahim 87b). In post-Talmudic literature Rabbi Nathan Adler of Frankfurt (1741–1800) was called the Great Eagle, a title of distinction. However, this was probably due to a play of words: Edler (gentle) and Adler (eagle).

Incidentally, in ancient days a cure against abortion was the use of a preserving stone known as getit or eagles stone (Shabbat 66b).

Proverbial Sayings

Though you make your nests as high as eagles and though you set it among the stars I will bring you down from thence, says the Lord (Obadiah 1:4).

The eagle is the king of the birds (Hagigah 13b).

Let the eagles fly to their nests (an allusion to students) (Eruvin 53b).

One of the five temples of idol-worship is nishtra which is in Arabia (nishtra is an Arabian deity meaning eagle) (Avodah Zara 11b).

As the eagle has no additional toe, so all birds like him are unclean (Hullin 60b).

It is a disgrace for an eagle to perish in its gilded cage (Z. Shneur).

BOOK REVIEW

BY LEVI SHALIT

IDENTITY AND ETHOS, A Festschrift for Sol Liptzin on the occasion of his 85th birthday. Edited by Mark H. Gelber, published by Peter Lang, Berne, 1986, pp.412.

The conception which Jews have of a תלמיד חכם Talmid Chacham and which they always treasured is difficult to translate. The two words are seemingly contradictory, since Talmid designates a pupil who aims at attaining to wisdom, while Chacham designates an individual who is already wise. In Jewish usage, however, the contradiction disappears. A Talmid Chacham is a person who is both learned and continually learning, a person so wise as to appreciate the need for ceaseless study. Professor Sol Liptzin is such a person. The talmudic saying that the older scholars get, the greater their wisdom, undoubtedly applies to him. The Festschrift which has now appeared on the occasion of his eighty-fifth birthday, serves as fitting tribute to a man who devoted his life to learning and to sharing his knowledge with others.

The Festschrift was presented to him by some of his many friends, admirers, colleagues and pupils. In the Foreword to the handsomely produced volume, the editor, Dr. Mark Gelber, introduces the celebrator with a short biography and a résumé of his many qualifications.

Twenty three contributors offer profound essays on themes and topics which occupied and were firmly established within the spiritual orbit of Sol Liptzin.

The first part of the Festschrift consists of five discourses dealing with Yiddish, its literary and cultural achievements. They are: *On Yiddish, And For Yiddish: Five Hundred Years Of Yiddish Scholarship* by David Katz; *Kabbalistic Ideas In The Women's Yiddish Prayer Book "Tkheenes"* by Zelda Kahan Newman; *Naphtali Herz Imber As A Yiddish Poet* by Jakob Kabakoff; *The Yiddish Theatre As A Species Of Folk Art*: Lateiner's *"The Jewish Heart"* (1908) by Dinnah Pladot, and Sholem Aleikhem's *"Stantsye Baranowitsh"* by Jonathan Boyarin.

Liptzin was the first scholar in the United States to show comprehensive appreciation of Yiddish. As chairman of the department of Germanic and Slavic literatures, at the New York City College, he initiated the introduction of courses

in Yiddish language and literature, in giving it status and recognition. Today, in spite of the annihilation of the Jewish masses, or perhaps because of it, there exists a positive attitude toward Yiddish in Israel. H. Leivik once said that Yiddish left the humble dwellings to reach the high stratum of intellectual circles. There are, nowadays, in existence Yiddish courses at many universities, a phenomenon that had no place in the not so distant past. Sol Liptzin published a number of cultural, historical essays on Yiddish, its writers and its influence. He did so in his own, unique, intellectual way, without resorting to any propaganda methods. Then came his immense work, *A History Of Yiddish Literature*, which helped both non-Jewish and Jewish readers whose language was English to understand and evaluate a literature which might otherwise have remained foreign to them. Until this day, Liptzin follows all new books published in Yiddish, and often writes introductions and reviews them. He became the teacher, mentor and patron of Yiddish writers and is looked up to by them with affection and reverence.

The topics of the eight essays in the second and third parts of the Festschrift, were possibly those of most concern to professor Liptzin, throughout his years as teacher, scholar and author. They deal with Jewish literary figures in German writing. His book *Germany's Stepchildren* is a classic in its own right. It was such when it first appeared and it certainly is so now, after the Holocaust, when burning and destruction of all German books by Jewish writers was the order of the day. In hindsight, the title strikes us as having been an intuitive prediction.

The eight essays on this theme are: *Sholem Asch, Joseph Leftwich, and Stefan Zweig's "Der Begrabene Leuchter"* by Mark H. Gelber; *The Unpublished Letters By Beer-Hofmann To Hermann Bahr* by Jeffrey B. Berlin; *Adalbert Wogelein's Justice, Allegorical Justice, And Justice In Schnitzler's "Die Frau des Richters"* by Richard H. Lawson; *Neglected Nineteenth Century German-Jewish Historical Fiction* by Lothar Kahn; *Wilhelm Raabe And His Reputation Among Jews And Anti-Semites* by Jeffrey L. Sammons; *Franz Rozenzweig In Perspective: Reflections On His Last Diaries* by Stephane Moses; *A Dual Voice: Mary Shelley And Bettina Von Arnim* by Nancy A. Kaiser and *The Changing Image Of The Jew: Nathan The Wise And Shylock* by Ludwig W. Kahn.

Sol Liptzin's field of interest comprises numerous subjects. He has many cultural and literary strings to his bow. He continually followed the developments, performance and accomplishments of Jewish writers in the

English language as well as those of non-Jewish writers on Jewish themes. The fourth part of the celebratory volume is devoted to this sphere.

Five essays make up this section: *The Austro-American Jewish Poet Ernst Waldinger* by Harry Zohn; *Bialik On America: The Transformation Of An Inner Experience* by Ephraim Shmueli; *The Beginnings Of Hebrew Literature In America* by Gershon Shaked; *Of History, Literature And Charles Reznikoff (1894–1976)* by Milton Hindus and *Cynthia Ozick And The Jewish Fantastic* by Joseph Lowin.

For one with deep roots in Judaism, it was natural for Sol Liptzin to give so much attention to "Sefer Ha'sfarim" (The Book of Books), the Bible. Like all other themes and topics that have occupied him, he treated it in his own, inimitable way, evoking the Biblical figures through their literary images. These essays, most of which appeared previously in "*Dor le Dor*" were later published in book form as *Biblical Themes In World Literature*. Besides portraying the figures of the Bible in their literary guise, they also enumerate the existing interpretations in fiction poetry, drama and music and are written with erudition and love. A critic called this work rightly a "Midrash Liptzin".

The five closing essays, in this field, form a suitable finale to the Festschrift: *Ranter Sexual Politics: Canticles In the England of 1650* by Noam Flinker; *Biblical Realism In "Silas Marner"* by Harold Fisch; *The Representation Of Biblical Women In Israeli Narrative Fiction; Some Transformations And Continuities* by Esther Fuchs; *Jonah In The Belly Of The Whale: The Iconography Of A Passage Rite* by Tsili Dolève-Gandelman and Claude Gandelman; *Israel Salanter And The Musar Movement* by Levi Shalit.

All in all, a praiseworthy tribute to a praiseworthy "Talmid Chacham."

REFLECTIONS OF READERS

THE MYSTERY OF THE RED HEIFER

BY ROBERT KUNIN

Dedicated to the memory of Rabbi Joshua Kohn, former member of the Editorial Board of Dor le Dor, and to honor his wife, Priva תבדל לחיים ארוכים.

The most fascinating portion of Numbers concerns itself with the Ritual of the Red Heifer (Numbers 19:1-22). This portion of Numbers ties together water treatment in biblical and modern times. The ritual pertains to the defilement of the High Priest and others after having contacted the dead. It is of interest to examine this ritual in detail.

According to the biblical text, the ritual of the Red Heifer was to be used only for the most severe cases of defilement such as contact with the dead. In such cases, the person who had become unclean had to be subjected to the ritual which involved the use of water prepared in a specific manner. The following passages from Numbers

describe the important phases of the ritual:

And the heifer (red and unblemished) shall be burnt in his (Eleazar the priest) presence (Numbers: 19:5).

And the priest shall take cedar wood, hyssop, and scarlet and cast it into the midst of the burning heifer (Numbers: 19:6).

And for the unclean they shall take of ashes of the burning of the purification from sin, and running water shall be put thereto in a vessel. (Numbers: 19:17).

As mysterious as this ritual seems, it redounds with symbols of purity which are quite understandable since purity is the antithesis of uncleanness.

* Maimonides (1135-1204) — renowned rabbi, physician and scientist in Spain and Egypt.

Dr. Kunin is a research chemist, with a Ph.D. degree from Rutgers University. He is a water consultant, formerly with the Tennessee Valley Authority, Mellon Institute, and the Rohm and Waas Company. He has three books and 250 articles to his credit.

Although the Ritual of the Red Heifer is rather obscure, Maimonides* devoted a considerable amount of attention to the ritual. In Chapters 1 and 2 of his Code, Maimonides describes the rules for the selection of the heifer and, in Chapter 3, he describes in detail the preparation of the ashes. For example, Maimonides states that the heifer and the wood were to be burnt completely to ashes and the ashes were to be screened with a sieve in order to assure completeness of burning and ashing. In Chapter 1, Maimonides describes the care to be used in selecting the water and the use of the ritual ashes and specified the care to assure the use of sufficient ashes and a precaution to abstain from reusing the ashes.

If one now carefully analyzes the ritual as described in Numbers and by Maimonides, one will discover instructions for preparing a mixed adsorbent that corresponds to adsorbents still used to this day throughout the civilized areas of the world for purifying contaminated waters. The ashes formed by the Ritual of the Red Heifer are identical to our present day bone chars, activated charcoals, and blood charcoals now used in water purification. In fact, the biblical procedure differs little in principle from our modern

processes. Further, the precaution cited by Maimonides demonstrates that our Sages understood that the chars served to remove impurities in water.

In fact, these passages indicate quite clearly that Maimonides was an excellent chemist as well as an eminent and respected physician and rabbi. From the literature, it would appear that the Ritual of the Heifer was practiced for a few centuries after the last fall of the Temple.

What is so fascinating about the Ritual of the Red Heifer? It tells us that our biblical ancestors were well aware of water pollution and were also aware of technology capable of treating such polluted water. Let us examine the ritual. One takes the sacrificed unblemished red heifer and places it on a pile of wood of the hyssop and cedar trees on top of the altar. One then burns the wood and the red heifer to ashes. The ashes are then mixed and used to treat the water before the water is used to wash the defiled high priest to render him clean again. If a chemist analyzes this ritual carefully, he soon realizes that the mixture of ashes is a mixture of granular and powdered activated carbon and bone char — a mixture of virgin car-

* The Code of Maimonides, Book X, the *Book of Cleanness*, Treatise II.

bonaceous adsorbents capable of removing practically all known toxins, viruses, and pollutants, including radioactivity (Natural Academy of Sciences). It should be noted that the components of the ash and the basic method of treating water as described in Numbers is essentially the only method currently approved by the U.S. Government (Safe Drinking Water Act).

Of course, the U.S. Government does not specifically suggest that one use the Ritual of the Red Heifer as written in the Book of Numbers. Further, one need not start with an unblemished red heifer; however, the Ritual of the Red Heifer and the teachings of Maimonides are specifically recognized by the U.S. Academy of Sciences and the National Research Council through their Safe Drinking Water Committee.

The Book of Joshua and modern archeology give us another view of the Israelites dealing with the water problems during the biblical period. When Joshua and the Israelites entered Canaan, the Israelites complained that the Canaanites and Philistines were

strongly entrenched in the fertile lowlands. The Israelites could only occupy the hilly highlands and immediately were faced by two major problems — available arable land and an adequate water supply. By hand, they solved the problem of the terrain by developing terracing and construction of retaining walls. The water problems were solved by constructing cisterns, damming flood waters, etc. The engineering powers of the Israelites emerged by their developing an ingenious water system for Jerusalem using aqueducts, tunnels, cisterns and reservoirs.

It is obvious that the Bible affords us an excellent view of water practices during biblical times. Two interesting conclusions emerge. First, we are currently using or considering the implementation of biblical water treatment practices for purifying our water supplies. Second, the Israelites are currently employing biblical agricultural practices for their arid areas, practices that conserve water. Apparently, the quotation in Ecclesiastes, "There is nothing new under the sun" is still apropos today.

WHAT ABOUT THE TREE OF LIFE?

BY ALLEN S. MALLER

"What about the Tree of Life?" Most commentators concentrate their attention on the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil. This is correct because it is the central symbol of the Garden of Eden allegory. But what about the Tree of Life? Why didn't Adam eat of the Tree of Life which was not prohibited to him? Adam did not want Eve to be equal to him. He remembered all the trouble he had with his first wife, Lilith. Since the woman was younger than Adam, he was afraid that if they both ate of the Tree of Life, neither of them would age, and therefore over the centuries he would lose his favorite argument; that he knew best because he was older and more experienced.

Thus Adam encouraged the woman to eat frequently of the Tree of Life, while he only took a few nibbles. The woman ate of the Tree of Life and retained her youthful vigor and charm. But as the decades went by, she became increasingly frustrated by her failure to conceive. She desperately

wanted to become pregnant and to bear a child. To be a life giver was her very essence. Finally, the woman went for advice to the creature who had the reputation for being the most subtle of all the creatures in the field (Gen. 3:1). The serpent explained that the reason she could not conceive was due to her eating of the fruit of the Tree of Life.

Hadn't she noticed that in the area around the Tree of Life there were no little trees growing? The big trees blocked out all the sunlight from reaching the floor of the forest. Since none of the old trees died, there was never any opening where the sunlight could come in and nourish a seedling. Unless some of the old trees died, there would never be any room for new trees to grow.

Not only that, but the old trees didn't look very good. Since no one ever pruned them, they kept growing more and more straggly. There was life in them, but it was of lower quality. The only way for woman to achieve the fertility and creativity which was her

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desire, the serpent told her, would be to accept the value of death in the scheme of life.

It was then that the serpent encouraged woman to eat of the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil. She did so because she wanted the wisdom to understand both the meaning of birth and creativity, as well as the meaning and function of death, in the scheme of life. This is why she is referred to as "the woman" all during the story; only after she had eaten of the fruit of the Knowledge of Good and Evil (Gen. 3:6), and after God had promised her that she would bring forth children (Gen. 3:16), did Adam call her Eve (Gen. 3:20). Thus, the verse following the statement that they were driven out of the Garden of Eden relates how Eve conceived and bore a child. Once woman made the choice for birth and death, moral values and responsibilities, God acted to expel mankind from the Garden, before Adam could regress by eating heavily of the Tree of Life (Gen. 3:22). God placed before the Garden a flaming

sword to prevent us from trying to eliminate or stave off death temporarily in the future; a warning to those doctors whose efforts to keep alive patients who should be allowed to die, is a prolonging of death rather than a restoring of health.

Woman is thus the Tree of Life outside the Garden of Eden. To this day the sons of Adam usually prefer to marry women who are younger than they are, and the daughters of Eve say that they are younger than they really are. Since Eve ate much more from the Tree of Life than Adam did, women tend to live longer than men.

The best evidence that Eve ate of the Tree of Life is found in the Biblical witness that the early generations of her children lived seven to nine hundred years. As the potency of the fruit of the Tree of Life was dissipated, the ages of her descendants declined: Abraham's father died at the age of 205; Joseph died at the age of 110; and thereafter everyone lived a normal life span of seventy, and in strength, eighty (Ps. 90:10)

WORDS OF TORAH

Samson Raphael Hirsch's Commentary on the Torah (Pentateuch),

translated into English by his grandson Isaac Levy

SELECTED AND ARRANGED BY JOSEPH HALPERN

On Genesis 26:12: Thou art become much too strong for us לך מעמנו כי עצמה קנאה. There may be profound truth in the statement that קנאה, envy of the nations may be a stage on the way to the ultimate goal of ages. Unfriendly קנאה — the envy and jealousy of the nations who find the Jews well-to-do in the Isaac-stage of the Galut, and say to them לך מעמנו כי עצמה וגו' — get out of our countries — may form not the least of God's method for our salvation. Who can tell how easily Isaac, in the hustle and bustle of managing his great wealth, and in the prominent, civic position he won through it, might not have given himself up to it more than would be seemly for the son of Abraham and the bearer of his spiritual heritage, had not the jealousy of the Philistines driven him again into isolation, and their repulsing קנאה saved him from it. Certain it is that his more modern emancipated sons, working themselves up to his wealthy status, have always been thrown back on themselves by the haughty scorn of all the repulsing קנאה. Thereby this קנאה may have been no unimportant medicine added to their good fortune to work against its tempting attractions, and to admonish them again and again to their real Jewish calling.

On Genesis 43:30: for his feelings towards his brother were stirred up נכמר רחמי. נכמר signifies deep emotion, excitement כמר is the pagan priest, נכמר — being deeply affected by one's feelings. Pagan priests are called כמרים in contrast to כהנים. The Jewish כהן does not depend so much on devoutness, feelings. Jewish Divine Service is not designed to excite dark mysterious feelings. The Jewish Sanctuary makes an appeal primarily to the mind, the intelligence rather than to feelings. The כמר, the pagan, reckons on exciting feelings. But the כהן is to be כן to himself, and מכין to others, give them a firm clear basis on which to stand, a direction where to go. In heathenism feelings are worked on, thereby to enchain the intelligence. But feelings are a clock without hands, a "movement" which in itself knows not whence or whither, which one can use in any way one likes.

SELECTED ADDRESSES

BY

DR. ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN

Rabban Gamliel of Yavneh

SERMON DELIVERED AT THE JEWISH THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
OF AMERICA*
NEW YORK, NOVEMBER 27, 1915

It is becoming more and more evident that Judaism in America is losing its significance for the Jewish people, especially for those who have become acclimated to American life. It does not play the part in their lives that it played, for instance, in the lives of the Jews in Eastern Europe. Those Jews could truly have said *כי הם חיינו ואורך ימינו* for the Jewish laws: "They are our life and the length of our days." Their religion was their life. They ate as Jews, they thought as Jews, they conducted their business affairs as Jews.

What a contrast to that are conditions here! Judaism means so little in the life of our Americanized Jews. It is anything but vital to them, it is anything but a part of their existence. At best, it is a formal garb worn on Sabbaths and holidays, and for the rest of the year securely stored away.

But to nod one's head in feeble resignation is to acknowledge that the situation is hopeless. Let us, instead, try to locate the causes and perhaps suggest a remedy. To what, then, shall we ascribe this devitalized condition of Judaism in this country? There may be many small contributing factors, but the one major cause is the change of environment.

The bulk of the Jews in America has come from the parts of Europe where the Ghetto placed its stamp upon everything within its walls. It is no wonder that the life there was intensely and exclusively Jewish. It could hardly have been otherwise, for contact between Jew and Gentile

* Prepared for delivery as the author's first student sermon on November 17, 1915, and subsequently chosen by the JTS faculty as a memorial tribute to Professor Solomon Schechter.

The following articles are reprints from Israel Goldstein, *"Jewish Perspectives,"* Keter Publishing House, Jerusalem, 1985.

was restricted, and the intolerance of the Gentile made the Jew all the more conscious of himself and of his group. Therefore, his whole life was a Jewish life.

That self-conscious Jew comes to this country, where conditions are totally different, where intercourse between Jew and non-Jew is free and unrestricted. To a great extent, this intercourse is even necessary: it is his business, his livelihood depends upon it. The transition from business intercourse to social intercourse is a natural one that is easily made. The previously self-conscious Jew is thrown together with people of all nationalities and creeds. He mingles with them in his business and in his labor; they are his colleagues in the educational institutions, and they are with him in his pleasures and amusements. The Jew begins to lose his sense of identity. Does he remain a Jew? A great many do not, and that is the problem which faces us today.

It is a problem that has been brought about by the change in the conditions of Jewish life. From the one extreme of a narrow circumscribed Jewish life, which was imposed upon him in his old environment, the Jew in his new environment swings to the opposite extreme, that of becoming entirely cosmopolitan. Perhaps, in the course of time, when the new environment will have become old, and out of the turbulent conditions of Jewish life a precipitate will settle, perhaps then this condition, too, will change. We must remember that Judaism in America today is in a turmoil, and that a reorganization of Jewish life, a readjustment of conditions, must follow.

In considering the present problem, it might be of benefit to reflect upon periods in the Jewish past when the prevailing conditions had something in common with those in our time. Such a period, in order to afford a parallel to our own, must be one which is characterized by a change of environment. The greatest change which our nation ever experienced, the change which initiated our present Diaspora life, was the one which followed the destruction of the Jewish state; and at that time, more than eighteen centuries ago, the reorganization of Jewish life under the new conditions then obtaining was effected by Rabban Gamliel II. A study of his life might indicate what qualities of leadership are necessary in such a period of reorganization.

While he was yet a child, the annihilation of the Jewish state at the hands of Rome took place. The disastrous results of that struggle came with such a crushing force on the remnant of the Jews that they felt utterly at a loss as to what they should do. Whence should the Jewish communities draw their inspiration and their laws, now that their

Temple and capital were in ruins? The Jewish nation appeared to be in imminent danger of stagnating or of disintegration.

The threatened decay was averted by Rabbi Johanan ben Zakkai, who had obtained permission from the Roman conqueror to establish an Academy at Yavneh, a town twenty-eight miles from Jerusalem. Thither he transferred the Sanhedrin, the legislative body of the Jews, and there he planned to establish a religious national center for the dispersed communities. But it remained for his successor, Rabban Gamliel II, more commonly known as Gamliel of Yavneh, to carry out this plan to its fullest extent, and to transform a hope into reality.

History could not have bestowed upon this great character a more fitting title than Rabban Gamliel of Yavneh, for it was the motivating purpose of his life to reorganize the conditions of the new Diaspora, so as to make Yavneh the recognized religious center, and the decisions of the Academy at Yavneh the recognized law. To this high resolve he dedicated his powerful mind and his indefatigable energy, and for it he sacrificed every personal inclination.

By nature he was tender and kind. His private life was a living example of his motto, *כל המרחם על הבריות מרחמים עליו מן השמים* — "Whoever shows compassion to man will receive compassion from Heaven." At a time when a Gentile slave was regarded in Jewish law as little more than a piece of property, Gamliel displayed the greatest tenderness to his slave, Tabi, whom he would willingly have set free, could he have done so; and at the death of his slave, he accepted condolences for him as for a departed member of his family. No less noteworthy than his tenderness was his personal modesty, concerning which it is said that once, at a wedding feast, he, the Patriarch of Israel, served the guests himself. To him it was no humiliation, but a privilege.

Yet the outstanding feature in this leader's personality was his national devotion. The memory of the Destruction made a deep impress on him. Once, in the still of night, he heard a woman bemoaning the death of her son, her dearest treasure. In the sensitive mind of Rabban Gamliel, the thought of his nation's calamity immediately flashed up, and he gave way to tears as he thought of the loss of Israel's dearest treasure. At another time, when he was on a journey to Rome, he heard at a distance the noise and bustle of the great metropolis which had laid Jerusalem low, and he exclaimed, "How can I keep from weeping, when the idol-worshippers are happy and prosperous, while the house of God is a heap of ruins, and Jerusalem a lodging place for wild beasts?" He was so absorbed in the thought of his nation that he could think of

nothing else; and he wanted the people also to live, as he did himself, in the memory of the past, and in the hope for the future. With that end in view, he had the שמנה עשרה, the Eighteen Benedictions, arranged as a prayer to be said three times a day. The institution of this prayer kept alive in the hearts of the people the hope for a brighter future, and served as a common bond between the scattered forces of Israel.

And yet, with all his ardor for his religion and for his nation, Rabban Gamliel did not find it incompatible to hold unconstrained intercourse with non-Jews. Very often we find him in the midst of Gentiles, engaging either in friendly conversation or in polemical discussion. His attitude toward the secular subjects of the day was remarkably liberal. His knowledge of mathematics and astronomy was so profound that it enabled him to compute the calendar, and his sympathy for Greek culture in general is attested by his son, who remarked that "many children in [his] father's house were taught Greek wisdom."

In this attitude, Rabban Gamliel was not only in advance of his own times but far in advance of many in our own day who seem to think that secular knowledge, worldly culture, and good Jewishness cannot dwell harmoniously under one roof. Rabban Gamliel was able, by virtue of his worldly wisdom and broad sympathies, to gain among the ruling classes of Rome recognition for his office and his people.

At the present time, we, too, need recognition for our people and for our religion. Jews need no longer keep their faith in the dark. It should be brought out into the broad daylight, to the full view of the Gentiles. They are interested to know about our religion, our history, our literature. Let us tell them, but when telling them we must speak in a way intelligible to them. We must ourselves have a good understanding of secular knowledge and culture; we must be educated in the history of the world, in the literature of the nations, in order to present our message to the world clearly and comprehensibly. A great many prejudices against us can be removed if we only enlighten our neighbors about ourselves. Would that our spokesmen were men like Rabban Gamliel, not only devout Jews, but also cultured, worldly Jews. Such men can get for us the proper recognition.

On the other hand, there are a great many of our people who have outstripped Rabban Gamliel in their zeal to modify their Judaism. Since they have begun to grow out of their shells and to become men of the world, the Jew in them has suffered. They constitute one of our great problems. These Jews have lost their identity to such an extent that they regard it as a mark of distinction to throw off their Jewish garb

and "turn after other gods" such as Ethical Culture, Christian Science, or other fads of the day. The personality of Rabban Gamliel has a lesson for them, as well as for their brethren of the other extreme. They can learn that it is perfectly possible to be a good, pious Jew and a modern man at the same time, for Rabban Gamliel, the champion of Israel in his day, was all the more successful a champion because he did combine both qualities.

But far different from Rabban Gamliel's personal traits was his official character. If, on the personal side, he was mild and tender, as the Patriarch he was harsh, indeed almost tyrannical. Perhaps it was necessary to be so; he surely thought it was. His rule as the official head of the Jewish people occurred in a very troubled time, both within and without. Today, we complain that numerous divisions in the Jewish ranks are fazing Judaism, but the disruptions at that time were threatening Jewish existence.

From without, the Judeo-Christians, on the one side, were beginning to spread their doctrines and, on the other, the Samaritans, in whom the old hatred against the Jews flared up anew, were vilifying the Jews before the Roman authorities. To combat these sinister elements, there was a need for solid unity within the Jewish fold, but instead there was dissension between the followers of Hillel and the followers of Shammai. The adherents of the school of Hillel were moderate, quiet, peace-loving men, accommodating themselves to the circumstances of the times. The Shammaites, however, were like the originator of their school — stern, unbending and extremely stringent in religious prohibitions. Misunderstandings and feuds arose very frequently. Especially after the destruction of the Temple, quarrels broke out afresh and the more severely, since the unifying influence which proceeded from the Temple now no longer existed.

Naturally, Jewish religious life was disorganized — just as badly, perhaps, as it is in our own time, with this one difference, however, that the religious life that did exist then was more intense. There was, however, no central authority. Under this new condition, with the spiritual center gone, each man followed whichever authority he chose, and religious practise became heterogeneous.

Under such circumstances, with hostile sects lurking on the outside and, what was far more dangerous, bitter dissension within, Judaism was in a serious plight. To remedy the more urgent problem within, to reorganize conditions so as to establish unity in Israel, was the life task of Rabban Gamliel.

To accomplish this aim, he needed in the Academy men whose sincerity was unquestioned. Working on his principle that כל חלמיר שאין תוכו כבדו אל יכנס לבית המדרש — "Every scholar who was not what he pretended to be should not be admitted," he purged the Academy of those who were there not in order to serve the people, but who regarded their office as עטרה להתגדל בה — "a crown with which to magnify himself."

Rabban Gamliel conceived public office not as a means of attaining prestige, but as a public trust. It is related that he once offered important positions to two poor but brilliant rabbis, who hesitated to accept, feeling overawed by the status which such positions would confer. Rabban Gamliel then said to them, "You think I am giving you authority? — I am imposing service upon you!"

The world of today is in need of awakening to this conception of public office. The Jewish problem on our hands would be greatly ameliorated if our leaders recognized and practised this principle expounded by Rabban Gamliel more than 1800 years ago.

When, however, it was a question of his position in the Academy, the Patriarch of Israel did not hesitate to make the power of his office felt, for he believed that in that way he was serving his people best. He permitted free discussion on all questions, but once the vote was taken and the decision had been announced, he tolerated no dissent; for unity was at stake, and he would forgo his naturally mild and gentle disposition in his determination to maintain that unity. Not even family ties were allowed to stand in the way. His own brother-in-law, Rabbi Eliezer ben Horkenos, a man of powerful intellect and vast knowledge, suffered the penalty of excommunication at his hands because he once dissented from a majority decision.

It is related that later, when Rabban Gamliel happened to be on a journey, a threatening wave rose up against him. It occurred to him that this must be a sign of Divine displeasure at his severe treatment of his brother-in-law and he exclaimed, גלוי וידוע לפניך, רבונו של עולם, שלא לכבודי עשיתי ולא לכבוד בית אבי אלא לכבודך, שלא תרבינה מחלוקות בישראל — "Lord of the Universe! It is manifest and known to Thee that I have not done it for my own honor, nor for the honor of my house, but for Thine honor, that factions may not increase in Israel." Not for his own honor, but for God's, that factions might not increase in Israel.

It was the same motive which actuated him to humiliate Rabbi Joshua ben Hananiah, perhaps the greatest intellect and most genial character of the age. He once ordered Rabbi Joshua to appear before

him in traveler's garb on the day which, according to Rabbi Joshua's computation, should have been the Day of Atonement. Rabban Gamliel, who computed it differently, would suffer no contradiction, for the unity that he was aiming to establish depended upon his authority as Patriarch. He showed Rabbi Joshua, after he did appear, that with him it was only a matter of principle; for rising and kissing Joshua on the head, he greeted him with the words, "Welcome, my master and my pupil! — My master in learning, my pupil in obedience." Indeed, it was not for his honor, but for the honor of God and the unity of Israel.

His great devotion and unselfishness appeared most plainly on the day that he again offended Rabbi Joshua ben Hananiah, in consequence of a new dispute, and thereby so aroused the displeasure of the Assembly that he was deposed. Instead, however, of retiring in anger, as many of our leaders of today would do under similar circumstances, he continued to take part in the deliberations of the Assembly. He was soon reinstated, due to the efforts of Rabbi Joshua ben Hananiah, no less, whose pardon he had asked and received. It was his determination to mould a unified Israel that led him to demand obedience, and it was this self-same determination which prompted him to bend his pride and yield his right when insistence on his right threatened that very unity for which he was striving.

It was this very sincerity and self-sacrifice, this loftiness of purpose, which won for him the universal respect and admiration of Rome, no less than of his own people. It was this attitude which commanded the submission and deference of his friends and enemies, and thus made it possible for him to accomplish his aim, that of making Yavneh the religious national center of the Jews. In his day, the decisions of the Assembly at Yavneh were accepted in all Jewish communities. Pilgrimages were made to Yavneh three times a year. In a word, Yavneh supplanted Jerusalem as the spiritual center of the nation.

Rabban Gamliel's high-mindedness and devotion made a lasting impression on his age. גמליאל כיהן ברוח הקודש — "Gamliel was endowed with a Divine spirit" was the tribute that was paid to his memory. "Gamliel was endowed with a Divine spirit." Indeed, he was imbued with the spirit of the Prophets, for he had the inspiration of an Ezekiel, the fearlessness of an Isaiah, and like Jeremiah he sacrificed his inner inclinations to his mission.

There is a crying need for such leaders in our time. Moreover, present-day Jewish life in America is disorganized. We cannot hope to establish in this country the kind of unity that Rabban Gamliel of

Yavneh established in his day. We cannot hope to have here such an institution as the Assembly of Yavneh, an institution exercising not only religious but also civil authority over all classes of Jews. Conditions here make such a plan unfeasible. But we can dare to hope for leaders of Gamliel's caliber, and we need such leaders to give strength to Judaism in America, leaders who are both Jewish and modern, leaders who are ready to sacrifice their personal ambitions for the sake of the cause; leaders who can also be followers, who will not hesitate to retire from leadership when the circumstances require it, yet continue to take part in the councils of their people; leaders who will work not for their own honor, but for the honor of God and the welfare of Israel . . . as did Rabban Gamliel of Yavneh. Amen.

Jewish Aspects of the 500th Anniversary of Printing

FROM ADDRESS DELIVERED ON THE OCCASION OF
JEWISH BOOK WEEK*
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS, DECEMBER 26, 1940

When, around the year 1440, a method of printing from movable blocks was invented — or at least pioneered — by Johann Gutenberg in Mainz, Germany, a cultural revolution of far-reaching effect was set in motion. Gutenberg's crude wooden press was as different from the modern press, with its 60,000 component parts, as the oxcart is different from the airplane. That difference is one of degree only, however, for the new technique of 500 years ago, facilitating the mass production of books, was a revolutionary invention. Thanks to it, culture and learning ceased to be the privilege of the wealthy few and soon became accessible to thousands of men. The best literary classics were revived and, in the words of Carlyle, "the ten silent centuries known as the Middle Ages came to an end."

The invention of printing, therefore, was the first momentous step in widening the scope of education. True, even printed books still remained a comparative luxury and the spread of literacy throughout Europe was a gradual process, but printing nevertheless broke the cultural monopoly exercised by the clergy and the rich nobility who, for centuries past, had alone been able to collect and study manuscripts in churches and private libraries.

Along with this expanded access to books, and the now broader contact with source material, the Bible as well as secular literature,

* In the light of more recent investigation and research, certain details contained in the original address have been updated and corrected.

came a far greater measure of independent judgment and a more critical attitude toward persons and institutions exercising authority. Men could study the Bible for themselves and develop their own opinions, instead of having to rely on what the clergy chose to transmit. Thus, the grip of superstition, as well as ignorance, was considerably weakened. In both religious and political life, the forces of liberalism gained fresh momentum. One can easily understand how it was that the invention of printing played a major part in the gathering revolt against the Church of Rome, which reached its climax in the Protestant Reformation, as well as in later protests against the tyranny of the State which culminated in the revolutionary movements of the 18th and 19th centuries.

European Jewry, in the 15th–17th centuries, was culturally (if not economically) isolated from the mainstream of general life. And since literacy among Jews was far more widespread than among non-Jews, the printing press could not be expected to have the same cultural impact on Jewish society as it did on Christendom. In time, however, from the era of Moses Mendelssohn — when his translation of the Hebrew Bible paradoxically served to acquaint many Jews with literary German — Western culture began to infiltrate Jewish life. Both the German Haskalah, with the trend toward assimilationism which it promoted in the 18th and 19th centuries, and the later Haskalah movement in Eastern Europe owed much to the spread of the printed word.

Nor should we overlook the fact that the Jewish woman was a beneficiary of the printing press, substantiating the thesis that this invention had a liberalizing effect on the community. The influence of the *Teitsch-Khumash*, which gave the Jewish housewife and the untutored Jewish man access to the Pentateuch, is not to be underestimated.

While our knowledge of the early years of printing is still far from complete, we do know that the Bible — in Jerome's Latin version, the Vulgate — was the first work to be printed. Gutenberg was responsible for this *editio princeps*, which appeared in Mainz between 1454 and 1456, and a Psalter printed there one year later bears his name, as well as the place and date of issue. Thus, Israel's Book of Books afforded the first substantial tasks to which the new invention was applied. Interestingly enough, pages of the Gutenberg Bible contained initial letters illuminated by hand to give the effect of a manuscript work — for reasons best known to the printer himself. Of the nearly 300 copies

which rolled off his press, a mere forty-five are known to exist at the present time.

Jews were not slow to make use of the new technique. Abraham ben Hayyim dei Tintori ("the Dyer"), an Italian Jew, is said to have been among the very first to establish a Hebrew printing press and to cut Hebrew type. In 1477, barely twenty years after Gutenberg's Bible made its appearance, Abraham dei Tintori printed Rabbi Jacob ben Asher's famous *Tur*, a compendium of *Halakhah*, which established his reputation in Ferrara. This same Jewish printer may have issued an edition of the *Tehillim* (Psalms), together with the commentary of Rabbi David Kimhi, which was also published in 1477. It must be borne in mind that while Italy was not the only — nor the foremost — center of Jewish culture at the time, economic and political conditions were more favorable then in Italy than in Spain, France or Germany. Hebrew printing did enjoy a brief period of glory in Spain and Portugal at this early stage, but both those countries were subject to reactionary Church influences which ultimately led to the expulsion of the Jews in the last decade of the 15th century.

One of the first Hebrew works to be printed was, as might be surmised, the Pentateuch. Outstanding among these incunabula was the *Hummash*, accompanied by Rashi's commentary, which appeared in Reggio di Calabria in 1475, to be followed by a similar (Bologna) edition in 1482. This latter *Hummash* was produced by our old friend, Abraham "the Dyer." To Jews of that time, as to most literate Jews of today, a *Hummash* without Rashi was no more conceivable than a spoon without a handle. I make deliberate use of that simile, as a tribute to the great Jewish Bible commentator whose 900th anniversary we are celebrating this year.*

When discussing the history of Jewish printing in Italy, we cannot fail to give pride of place to the Soncino family. Joshua Solomon Soncino was the chief architect of Italy's Hebrew press. He printed tractates

* Rashi (Rabbi Solomon ben Isaac of Troyes, 1040-1105), who also wrote a commentary on most of the Babylonian Talmud, was a major influence on the 14th-century French exegete, Nicholas de Lyra, whose Christian Bible commentary's literal approach in turn inspired Martin Luther. This threefold indebtedness was overlooked by the derisive (Latin) Catholic jingle, *Si Lyra non lyrasset, Luther non saltasset* ("Had De Lyra not lyred, Luther would never have danced").

of the Talmud, some philosophical works, one of the first editions of the *Haggadah* (1485), and prayer books for both the Italian ("Roman") and Ashkenazi rites. His greatest claim to fame, however, rests upon the first complete Hebrew Bible, which he issued in 1488. Joshua's nephew and successor, Gershom ben Moses Soncino, has been called "the Jewish Gutenberg." Probably the most successful Hebrew printer of his day, he was certainly the most enterprising and the many books which he published were noteworthy for their advanced technique and artistic quality, standards attained by the type, ink and paper employed and by the use of ornamentation.

Hebrew printing made enormous strides during the early decades of the 16th century. An eminent non-Jewish pioneer in this field, Daniel Bomberg of Venice, encouraged several rabbis to work with him on the production of some outstanding Hebrew books. Thus, the Soncino Bible was eclipsed by the *Mikra'ot Gedolot*, the first Rabbinic Bible complete with major commentaries, which rolled off Bomberg's Venetian press in 1517-18. Such was its popularity that two further editions were also printed. Still more epoch-making was Bomberg's edition of the complete Talmud, published in 1520-23; its format and pagination have been followed by all the later editions of *Shas*.

Throughout the 16th century, Venice was a leading center of the printing and publishing trades — perhaps *the* leading center on the continent of Europe. It achieved this status and reputation on account of the excellence of the materials used, the skill of the Venetian Republic's typographers, and the artistic and cultural prestige of its environment. Venice also became the focus of books and publications in Hebrew. Many outstanding Jewish scholars came to work there as editors and proofreaders, while a number of Jewish typographers from Germany, Spain and Portugal also gravitated to the city of the lagoons. Its ruling Doges permitted Jews to work at the printing trade, but only local patrician families had the right to establish presses. Several Christian publishers took especial pride in their Hebrew books and invested heavily in their production.

Other Italian cities, notably Rome, Pieve di Sacco, Reggio, Mantua, Bologna, Ferrara and Naples, also gained distinction as early centers of Hebrew printing. At Riva di Trento, the establishment of a Hebrew press in 1558 was made possible through interreligious cooperation between a well-disposed cardinal, a scholarly rabbi and a Jewish printer-physician. Defying the anti-Jewish fanaticism of Pope Paul IV, who had banned publication of the Talmud in Italy, this unusual part-

nership resulted in the issue of compendiums by Isaac Alfasi and Jacob ben Asher which, though Talmudic in substance, evaded the Papal restriction.

Thus, although Hebrew printing soon found other congenial havens elsewhere, the "holy craft" passed much of its infancy in Renaissance Italy.

Some remarks by the 19th-century German Jewish historian and Reform leader, Isaac Marcus Jost, aptly summarize what the new technique came to mean in Jewish life:

No religious community has, proportionately, made such extensive use of the printing press, immediately after its invention, as the Jewish community. From the advent of the printing press, the possession of the religious sources was no more dependent upon riches, their faultlessness no more conditioned by the skill, knowledge and reliableness of the copyist, and their existence no more hazarded by the casualties of water and fire, or by malicious destruction . . . Now they were even within reach of the poorer classes.

On every Jew devolved the duty not only to listen to the Reading of the Law and to practice the same, but to read it himself and to be conversant with its sources. This had been possible, till then, only at great expense, but now almost everyone could enjoy the reading of the Scriptures, which became the links connecting the dispersed Jews.

A period of 250 years was sufficient for the dissemination of more than 600 printed books, some of them voluminous works, among a scattered community numbering no more than three to four million souls — most of them poor and despised, eking out a scanty subsistence, and surrounded by entirely ignorant people.

"Old Testament" scholarship among Christians, incidentally, owes much to Rabbinic commentaries on the Bible, and far more than some Christian scholars are willing to acknowledge. The printing press afforded scholarly Christians who knew Hebrew ready access to the great medieval Jewish Bible commentators, and thereby established traditions of Scriptural exegesis which are still in vogue.

That such modern "Higher Criticism" owes a very great deal to Jewish *Parshanut* of the 10th–14th centuries can be validated by a comparative study of any of the Biblical books. A case in point is the Book of Job, on which the following *Mefarashim* (among others) have

been quoted by modern Christian scholars: Sa'adiah Gaon, Rashi, Abraham Ibn Ezra, Levi ben Gershom (Gersonides or Ralbag), Joseph and Moses Kimḥi, and David Kimḥi (Radak). Probably the best modern commentary on Job is Dillman's, where we find no less than eighty citations from classical Jewish exegesis; forty of these have been adopted and followed by other moderns. In these instances, the Rabbinic sources and interpretations are specifically acknowledged, but there must be several times that number of borrowings which, unconsciously or deliberately, have not received proper mention.

The line of transmission can easily be traced. With the onset of the Reformation, many a Christian scholar was impelled to study not only the Bible in its original Hebrew form, but Jewish Bible commentary as well, as soon as it became accessible. These scholarly researches and conclusions were then transmitted to another generation of Christian exegetes. Referring to the influence of men like Rashi and David Kimḥi upon 16th-century translations of the Bible, "the bedrock of the Reformation," Dr. Cecil Roth of Oxford University has observed:

Lyra's writings were furnished with an important supplement (likewise used by Luther) by Paul de Santa Maria, Bishop of Burgos, who had formerly been Rabbi Solomon Levi, and naturally derived to a great extent from Jewish sources. Kimḥi's commentary was similarly used in a large degree by successive generations of Christian exegetes — particularly in the preparation of the English "Authorised Version" of 1611. To such an extent was this so, indeed, that (as has been aptly said) though no Jews were tolerated in England at the time when this magnificent achievement was being produced, Rabbi David Kimḥi was present at Westminster in spirit.*

Here, a parenthetical word or two about early Hebrew studies in New England may be appropriate before this Boston meeting. Although very few of the American colonists could be described as Hebrew scholars in any real sense, more New England clergymen than one might imagine were conversant with the Hebrew language and were able to study the "Old Testament" in its original tongue. This tradition was maintained down to the last century in colleges such as Harvard, Yale, Columbia and Princeton. It is deserving of notice that the first book of substance

* *The Jewish Contribution to Civilisation* (London, 1938), new edition, p. 53.

printed in North America was an English translation of the Psalms, worked out from the Hebrew, by Richard Mather and other Puritan clergymen. This *Bay Psalm Book*, which issued from the new press in Cambridge, Massachusetts, appeared in 1640.

Another point of interest is the fact that the earliest Hebrew grammar published in North America was also printed in Cambridge, in 1735. This quaint "*Dickdook Leshon Gnebreet*" emanated from Judah Monis, an apostate Italian "rabbi," who taught Hebrew at Harvard College. Apparently, while Hebrew type had been imported from England about ten years earlier, the sets available for use in Monis's time were incomplete.

The story of Hebrew printing has, of course, many ramifications which I cannot hope to cover this evening. At various stages, over the past five centuries, its focus has shifted from one Jewish community to another and from one land to the next — from Spain and Portugal to Italy and the Low Countries, and even for a while to Brazil; from the Netherlands and Germany to England and North America; from Western and Central Europe to Russia, Poland and the Balkans; from Eastern Europe to South Africa; and from Italy, Russia and Turkey to Palestine. Biblical and Rabbinic literature, the foundations of Jewish life and the original pattern of Jewish culture, dominated Hebrew printing and publishing until the 19th century; but then, as Jewish cultural horizons broadened, the Hebrew book registered and perhaps fostered that development by entering the new secular fields of science, philosophy, romance, poetry and *belles-lettres*. With the recent advances of purely Jewish scholarship and research, however, a certain balance between the realms of Torah and secular writing has been achieved and this now finds its reflection in contemporary Hebrew publishing.

The most thriving center of Hebrew printing today is, as it should be, in Palestine, Eretz Yisrael. The reason should not be sought in production costs, technical skills or the availability of materials, but in the plain fact that Palestine Jewry most eagerly looks for the printed Hebrew word. The following comparative statistics are impressive and illuminating. In proportion to the total population, twenty times more books are published in Eretz Yisrael than in the United States, despite the far higher economic level of the average American family. I am speaking of books in general and of Americans of every religious affiliation. Furthermore, whereas the average book published in Palestine sells 1,300 copies in a Yishuv numbering about half a million, the

average book published in the U.S. sells 1,100 copies in a population at least 200 times as large as Palestine's!

This phenomenon, one aspect of the Hebrew cultural renaissance in and through the Jewish National Home, is not the least important demonstration of Zionism's value for our time.

With the destruction and disappearance of almost every major center of Jewish culture in Nazi-occupied Europe, the greatest potential replacement — next to Palestine — must be American Jewry, which now faces a challenge without precedent in its history. We have the manpower and the economic resources to make good what the Jewish people has surely lost under Hitler, to foster Jewish scholarship and Jewish culture, to support the Rabbinical seminaries and teachers' institutes where Jewish learning is imparted, and to give our patronage to the Jewish Publication Society of America whose chief concern is the printing of Jewish books. Hebrew, of course, has a vital role to play in these cultural tasks.

I believe that the American Jewish community's entire attitude needs to be revolutionized. In the long run, a people gets the kind of books it deserves; and if, thus far, relatively few new books of Jewish significance have appeared on the American Jewish scene, that is because of the vacuous and vapid attitude of the average American Jew.

A great and historic responsibility now devolves upon the world's largest and freest Jewish community. It will require all the energy, resourcefulness and moral power of our Jewish leadership to educate Jews here in the United States, so that they may begin to understand their obligations and thus be true to their own true selves. In rekindling the torch of Jewish culture, we shall be responsive to the Divine imperative, "Let there be light!"

Maimonides' Approach to the Bible

LECTURE SPONSORED BY THE WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS
AND JEWISH AGENCY*
NEW YORK, MAY 1955

Maimonides is one of the great links among the Jewish people across space and time. I suppose that it is natural for every student of Maimonides to approach the subject from a particular angle of interest, depending upon the student's own personality and predilections. Some are interested in the Rambam chiefly as a philosopher, others are interested in him chiefly as a halakhist, others are interested in the metaphysician, and still others because of his practical work in administering his own community and in furthering, with a deep sense of concern, the well-being of Jewish communities in the world of his time, trying to give them a little encouragement and also a great deal of enlightenment and guidance.

My own aspect of special interest in Maimonides is his approach to the Bible. As a rabbi, I am of course deeply concerned with the whole problem of the Bible and Bible interpretation. His approach — that of seeking the deeper levels of the Bible's meaning — marked him, I believe, as a modernist in some senses, although it is not unusual for Jewish tradition to seek those deeper levels in the Bible. But in this case he was trying to reconcile the Bible with the science of his time. He tried to establish the equation: the Bible is true; Aristotle represents

* Reprinted from *Maimonides: His Teachings and Personality*, published jointly by the Cultural Department of the World Jewish Congress and the Torah Culture Department of the Jewish Agency in New York, to mark the 750th anniversary of the Rambam's death.

scientific truth; therefore, somehow it must be possible to discover the Aristotelian concept of the universe in the Bible, if you dig deeply enough. And so he wrote his *Guide to the Perplexed* for the benefit, really, of his star pupil, Jacob ibn Akin, in order to help him in that quest for a reconciliation between the Bible and the intellectual standards of the era in which Maimonides lived.

It is, therefore, understandable that many rabbis of his time criticized him and some condemned him, both during his lifetime and after his death. Perhaps they might be called the "fundamentalists" in a certain sense, or the traditionalists, to whom his approach came as something of a shock. The reason I have been intrigued with his approach is that in every age there are intellectuals who discard the Bible, discount it completely. And there are also intellectuals, fortunately, who try to find in the Bible, by the process of interpretation, the reconciliation, the harmonization between their intellectual outlook on the world and the Bible itself. In my own humble judgment, such an approach has done more to save the Bible than the approach of those who insist upon accepting every word of the Bible as literally true.

I often wonder whether *The Guide to the Perplexed* by Maimonides could offer the guidance today which it offered to the perplexed intellectuals of his time. After all, we have seen the Aristotelian concept of the universe outmoded; we have seen the Newtonian concept of the universe, to a large degree, outmoded; and perhaps Einstein's concept of the universe will be outmoded a thousand years hence. Therefore, a fundamental question arises in my mind as to whether, perhaps, it is not necessary to find another approach to the Bible, different even from that of Maimonides, and to give up our hope of interpreting the Bible so as to make it fit the scientific concept of our times. Perhaps such an approach to the Bible might seek to ascertain what the Bible's essential message is.

For example, the essential message of the first chapters of Genesis, the Creation story, might be the Maimonidean first creed: I believe in a Creator. Maybe that is all we can hope to gather from these first chapters of Genesis — the fundamental idea that the universe is not an accident but the result of a creative process. And the subsequent chapters might be interpreted to mean, perhaps, that the God of the universe, the God of nature, is also the God of history; that disobedience to God's word, to God's law, brings its own retribution; and that Israel, chosen through a process of selection which began even as far back as Noah and then with Abraham, is destined to carry God's law.

In other words, the problem is to differentiate between what is local and temporal and what is universal and therefore Divine in the Bible, between the message and the language in which the message is clothed, a language inevitably limited by the intellectual concept of the times. I merely offer this as my own meditation on Maimonides' approach to the interpretation of the Bible — a pioneering approach for which, I think, he will have the timeless admiration of Jewish intellectuals everywhere.

I think of Maimonides as a modernist in other respects too — as a 12th-century modernist — because, while defending and advocating Judaism, he nevertheless was able to see some positive values also in Christianity and in Islam. He regarded these two religious systems as having a sort of auxiliary place alongside Judaism, in helping to cultivate the minds and feelings of humanity toward an understanding of God and toward the better days between man and man.

Now when you consider that Maimonides himself witnessed and even suffered — once in Spain and once in Egypt — a measure of Muslim intolerance at the hands of fanatical sects of Islam; and when you consider that he was well aware of the Christian intolerance and persecution which characterized other countries in his day; then I think that he stands out all the more remarkably for his broadmindedness and great tolerance. It occurs to me that perhaps, since we talk so much about the "Judeo-Christian tradition," we might add another dimension to it and speak of the Judeo-Christian-Muslim tradition as belonging to one fundamental stock of which Judaism has been the mother, and which represents in many respects certain common lines of outlook on life.

To me, it has been a source of amazement in studying Maimonides' career to see the diversity of his interests. He must have been a universal genius to do all that he did; and to do all those things well — superbly, as a matter of fact — is, of course, a gift of Heaven. Often some of us who do not possess even an infinitesimal fraction of his gifts feel torn between desires to be useful in more than one direction. A great problem for many an American rabbi — here I can make a confession in the presence of laymen — is how to do all the challenging things that need to be done. What to choose and where to choose, between contending claims upon one's time, is a serious and a distressing perplexity. One can only wish that one might possess a fraction of the talent of a Rambam, to be able to solve this kind of dilemma, but for that we need a latterday *moreh nevukhim*, somebody to guide the

confused who would like to be rabbis, scholars, community leaders. — all three together — in our difficult times.

Permit me to make one final observation of a different character. About twenty years ago, when the 800th anniversary of the birth of Maimonides was celebrated, I took occasion to invite a prominent Arab, one resident in this city, to come to my synagogue and deliver an evaluation of Maimonides from his point of view. This friend of mine too was a philosopher, a scholar and a physician. He came and delivered a very fine message, which added a dimension to our celebration. That was twenty years ago. Today, I don't know whether he would come. I wonder how many Arab scholars, philosophers or physicians would participate in a symposium of this kind. Perhaps we should have tested it out. Relations have become strained only because of a transitory situation in the Middle East. I believe that the strain between Arabs and Jews today in the Middle East is an artificial one. Maimonides, for the greater part of his life, lived in an Islamic civilization which was friendly and congenial and under which the Jewish genius was able to flourish and to enrich the surrounding culture. Nor need there be a strain economically in the Middle East. On the contrary, trade relations and cultural relations should be most natural between Israel and its Arab neighbors. I can only hope, therefore, that it will take much less than twenty years to ease the strain which now exists and somehow to bring back what was a Golden Age for both Muslim and Jewish civilization, so that men of learning, men of science, men of philosophy will work together in the common interest of civilization.

A World Jewish Bible Center in Jerusalem

ADDRESS DELIVERED BEFORE FIRST INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
OF THE WORLD JEWISH BIBLE SOCIETY
BEN-ZVI INSTITUTE, JERUSALEM, MAY 9, 1973

כבוד נשיא ישראל, כבוד מר דוד בן-גוריון, כבוד חברי הנשיאות, מורי ורבותי.
כמו כל אחד מכם המשתתף בוועידה זו, חש אני את טעמה של הזכות להיות חלק של
הוועידה העולמית הראשונה לתנ"ך. זהו מאורע מיוחד במינו. אין זו הפעם הראשונה
שחוקרי תנ"ך מקיימים ועידה עולמית, אבל זוהי הפעם הראשונה שנפגשים בצוותא
חוקרי תנ"ך מקצועיים, לומדים חובבים של התנ"ך וידידים הרוצים לקדם את לימוד
התנ"ך — גם אם הם עצמם אינם מומחים בנושא.
אנו נפגשים יחד לא רק על מנת ללמוד תורה, כי אם על מנת לקדם את ענין לימוד
התורה.

הפצת ידיעת התורה מהווה תרומה לא רק לעם היהודי, כי אם לתרבות העולמית
כולה, אשר מבוססת במידה רבה על התנ"ך שלנו.
הרשו נא לי להמשיך דברי באנגלית — בשביל אלה אשר אינם עדיין בני בית בשפה
העברית ואשר תמיכתם חשובה להגשמת מטרתנו.

Like all of you, I feel the sense of privilege in being part of the first international conference to be held by our World Jewish Bible Society. This is, indeed, a unique event. World conferences of Bible scholars have taken place before now, but this is the first time that professional Bible scholars, amateur students of the Bible and *amici curiae* wishing to promote Bible study, but not claiming expertise in the field, have met together at such an assembly.

We are gathered here not only to learn Torah but also to promote the cause of Torah. We believe that, in spreading a knowledge of the *Tanakh*, we are making a contribution not only to the Jewish people but also to world culture, which, in large measure, is based on our Bible.

May I dwell for a moment on the Bible's place in American life and culture? The Pilgrim Fathers, who came to the New World in 1620, brought with them many social and legal concepts rooted in the "Old Testament" as well as considerable familiarity with the Hebrew language. I have in my library a copy of the *Tanakh* printed in Antwerp in 1573, which was brought to New England by one of the Pilgrim Fathers who sailed on the *Mayflower*. The print in this Bible is unpunctuated and tiny, indicating that its owner felt quite at home in the Hebrew text. Yet even where the *Tanakh* was not studied in Hebrew, its culture in English translation had a powerful impact on the lives of those men and women who founded the civilization of New England, just as the same culture had and has continued to influence both England itself and Western civilization in general.

Needless to say, our Bible could never have meant to any other people what it has meant to the Jews. The late Dr. Solomon Schechter made apt reference to this matter when, in the context of "Higher Criticism," he wrote: "Our grandmothers and grandfathers, who read the Psalms and had a good cry over them, understood them better than all the professors."*

Once, long ago, when I had more time to study than in later years, I made a point of comparing modern Christian exegesis — that of Delitzsch, Ewald, Wellhausen and others — with the great medieval Jewish commentaries. Apart from the fact that such moderns had the advantage of archaeological discoveries and of Semitic philology, I found that when it came to *peshat*, the basic interpretation of Biblical texts, what Goethe said is irrefutably correct — namely, that "love is the key to understanding."

How appropriate it is that this World Jewish Bible Conference should be held in the Land of the Bible, in Jerusalem, its capital, and during the year marking the 25th anniversary of Medinat Yisrael!

It is for Bible scholars to comment on the progress that has been made here in the field of Bible study during the years of Israel's statehood, partly as a result of archaeological investigations and discoveries. One does not have to be an expert, however, in order to note the coincidence that the man who, more than any other, was responsible for the establishment of Medinat Yisrael also happens to be the man who, more than anyone else, has given an impetus to the study of

* *Seminary Addresses*, p. 4.

Tanakh as a layman's pursuit — the president of our Society, David Ben-Gurion.

I have been asked to speak about a significant new project sponsored by the World Jewish Bible Society and the Israel Society for Biblical Research, under whose combined auspices this international conference is being held. The project, which enjoys Mr. Ben-Gurion's enthusiastic patronage, is Bet ha-Tanakh ha-Olami, the "House of the Bible" or World Bible Center in Jerusalem. Bet ha-Tanakh will house everything that has been written on the Bible in every language. It will contain and display the most important available editions of the Hebrew Bible, as well as books, studies and periodicals dealing with Biblical scholarship and research. As such, Bet ha-Tanakh will provide scholars of all faiths with unique facilities and a center for their work.

The plan calls for displays illustrating archaeological finds that shed light on the Bible, exhibits of daily life in Biblical times and collections of literary, artistic and musical works which the Bible has inspired down the ages. Special attention will be paid to the architecture of this building and to the landscaping of its grounds, where there will be a garden of Biblical fauna and flora.*

Since the Bible has been the great common denominator of Judaism, Christianity and Islam, this "House of the Bible" will serve as a spiritual link between the adherents of these great religions and will also promote greater understanding among different faiths and peoples.

Like many great ideas, this one seems so obvious and appropriate that you might well ask, "Why wasn't it thought of before?" The answer to that question is, perhaps, that it needed a sponsor in the shape of our World Jewish Bible Society, which feels able to promote the scheme and see it through to fruition with the help of Jews and non-Jews the world over.

I am convinced that everyone who will have a share in translating this great project into reality will be everlastingly grateful for the privilege of having helped to build Bet ha-Tanakh.

* An area of land in West Jerusalem, facing Mount Zion, was originally set aside for Bet ha-Tanakh, but this was recently exchanged for the old Rothschild Hospital and an adjoining structure in the Jewish Quarter of the Old City.

“I BELIEVE”

*Address by Dr. Israel Goldstein before the Institute
Of Adult Jewish Studies, Congregation B'nai Jeshurun
New York, January 4, 1960*

The first thing I would like to say is that I believe that in Judaism what you do is more important than what you believe, and therefore the emphasis of Judaism is upon the deed rather than upon the creed. Many texts could be quoted.

The deed means not only the Ten Commandments. The Ten Commandments do not quite spell out the whole content of Jewish deeds. There is also the *Pirke Abot*, the Ethics of the Fathers, there is the whole system of the Torah. There is the whole catalogue of the practical *mitzvot*. The observances are the vehicles of the ideas. Judaism has been a practical religion. From the beginning, in God's covenant with Abraham it was said, "In order that your offspring may know that I am God who does justice". Doing is more important than believing.

Actually, in life, the formulation of a set of beliefs usually comes as an afterthought. If you analyze your own development as human beings, you will realize that you began as children trained by parents in certain patterns of action, and that only in the years of maturity were you able to contemplate the principles, the beliefs that motivate the pattern of life. This pattern of habits was inculcated by those under whose wing you grew to maturity.

Because Judaism is a religion of life, it shows these characteristics. You may find in the Books of the Torah, interspersed references to the nature of God, the nature of man, the nature of the universe, references to nations and to international society. It was a rather late development in Judaism, when a set of beliefs, of creeds, was fixed. As in life itself, these came only after Judaism had matured.

Even if one makes a deviation from tradition, tradition is the basis. What right then, have I to come along with a set of *anee maamin*, "I believe", when there is such a wonderful set of *anee maamin* in our tradition which has become classic, namely, the set of beliefs drawn up by Moses Maimonides eight and a half centuries ago.

This is really the text around which I am going to build the discourse this even-

ing. After all, it is much more important for you to know what Maimonides thinks than what Goldstein thinks.

Maimonides, when he set down these Creeds had in mind Christianity and Islam, of which he knew a great deal, for both Christianity and Mohammedanism were the environmental religions of the world in which Jews lived. Maimonides was a great expert on these religions, especially on Islam.

The first Creed of Maimonides is: "I believe with a perfect faith that the Creator, blessed be His Name, is the Author and Guide of everything that has been created, and that He alone has made, does make and will make all things." In this first Creed, Maimonides begins with the beginning, a belief in God as the Creator, as fundamental to Judaism. Unless you begin there you begin nowhere. Some scientists have acknowledged the existence of God and others have denied it. The majority have gone along as believers, so that no one who believes in God need apologize to science. It is quite consistent with the twentieth century, as it was with the twelfth century, as it was at the very beginning when the Book of Genesis was formulated, to assert, "In the beginning God created..."

Here is one oft-used argument for the existence of God. A man comes out into the desert. He has never seen a watch in his life. He picks up a watch, he examines it. He sees how its minute parts are fitted one into the other so precisely, so delicately, so purposefully. Is it conceivable that this man would believe that this watch came about accidentally? Is it not more likely that he would be sure that a mind thought it out, planned it, put it together? It would be just as absurd then, says the argument, as one beholds the universe, a million times more intricate than the most intricate watch, the stars in their orbits, the manner in which everything fits into the scheme of things with perfect precision, to say that this is all accidental — that no mind planned it, that no God created it. This is the first Creed.

The second Creed says: "I believe with a perfect faith that the Creator, Blessed be His Name, is a Unity — One, that there is no unity in any manner like unto His and that He alone is our God, who was, is and will be." The *Shema Yisrael*, the Confession of our Faith, emphasizes this concept of *Echad* — One. And here Maimonides, between the lines, is arguing not only against polytheism but also against the trinitarian doctrine of Christianity.

The third Creed says: "I believe with a perfect faith that the Creator, Blessed be His Name, is not a body but is free from all accidents of matter, that he has

not any form whatsoever." It seems obvious, axiomatic to us, but it did not seem that way to the ancient world, the pagan beliefs which conceived the gods to be glorified men and women.

The fourth Creed says: "I believe with a perfect faith that the Creator, Blessed be His Name, is the first and last". Obviously, when you say God, you mean first and last.

The fifth Creed says: "I believe with a perfect faith that to the Creator, Blessed be His Name, and to Him alone it is right to pray, and it is not right to pray to any being besides Him." There Maimonides is addressing himself between the lines not only to paganism with its prayers to all the assistant gods and goddesses, but also to Christian prayer through Jesus to God, and prayer through the saints to Jesus and to God. We Jews are always reminded that even the grave of Moses was hidden from human sight so that it should not become a shrine. Not even Moses could be the intermediary between the Jew and his God. It is a direct relationship.

Then the Creeds go on to deal with Revelation, the way in which God became known to man. For He is not only the God of nature. He is also the God of history. There is a moral gravitation in the laws of history so that any challenge to these moral laws is, in the long run, doomed. It may take a long time but that process of doom is inevitable. The wicked may flourish for a day only to be doomed in the range of eternity.

The next Creed says: "I believe with a perfect faith that all the words of the prophets are true." Who is a prophet? A prophet is one who is extraordinarily sensitive and perceptive with regard to the moral law of God. A prophet speaks the truth. What he says holds true not only for one generation but for all generations. It is not only timely but timeless. Therefore, the prophets have been the real statesmen of the world whose words are still invoked today as the projection for the kind of future wherein lies humanity's salvation. Thus, the prophecy of Isaiah and Micah envisioning the day when swords would be beaten into plowshares, and nations should learn war no more, — is up-to-date as this year 1960.

The next creed says: "The prophecy of Moses our teacher was true and he was the chief of all the prophets." Maimonides believed that Moses spoke directly with God, whereas in the case of the other prophets of the Hebrew tradition, God appeared to them in dreams and visions. It is difficult for a twentieth century mind to accept the formulation of Maimonides with reference to Moses speaking

directly with God. What Maimonides meant was that God spoke directly with Moses. While this concept may be difficult to accept literally, yet I can accept Moses as the chief of the prophets beyond the peradventure of a doubt, because he laid the foundations for everything which followed.

The Books of Moses have been maligned and distorted, especially by exponents of Christianity, who have drawn an artificial distinction between the "love" theme in the New Testament and the "hate" theme, the "vengeance" theme of the Old Testament. It is absurd to draw such distinction. All one has to do is read the paragraph of *Shema*, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, with all thy might." All you have to do is remember that timeless verse from the Book of Leviticus, Chapter XIX, "Love thy neighbor as thyself." Both of these quotations were used as quotations by Jesus in the New Testament. They are Old Testament texts. The Books of Moses and the entire Old Testament are just as full of love as they are of the sterner qualities, for both are necessary parts of human life and human relations.

Parents know that the upbringing of children needs not only love and compassion but also stern qualities of caution, in order to properly prepare them for the responsibilities of life, and this was the pedagogy of the Law of Moses. The legalism of which the Books of Moses are accused is merely the translation of ideas into a pattern of practice. Without a pattern of practice, ideas in themselves lead nowhere. Ideas, thrown around in the stratosphere and not rooted in the soil of everyday reality, cannot serve as guides to life. The Books of Moses are a guide to life because their ideas are rooted in real situations. Hence the characters of the Old Testament appeal to the dramatists. They are of the lifeblood of reality. Maimonides had all that in mind, no doubt, when he said that Moses is the chief of all the prophets as distinguished from Jesus, who is regarded by Christianity as having supplanted Moses, and also as distinguished from Mohammed, who is regarded in the tradition of Islam as the seal, the climax of prophecy.

The next Creed says: "I believe that the whole Law now in our possession is the same that was given to Moses, our teacher." This raises an important question. Is the Torah really the same that was given to Moses? When we read of variant texts that are sometimes found — where the text in one manuscript differs from the text in another manuscript — how can we say that this Torah is the same as was given to Moses? The entire concept of *Torah min-ha-Shamayim*,

the Torah handed down from heaven, is one which requires a good deal of interpretation. I take the view of the Rabbi of the Talmud who said that the Torah speaks in the language of men. Just as parents speak to a child of five in language that he will understand, different from the language which they will employ in speaking to a child of fifteen, so the Torah in addressing itself to a people in the early stages of civilization spoke in language which they could understand. From my point of view, the divinity of the Torah is not the language but the message, not the outer garb but the personality, not the form, but the essence...

Let us look at the whole story of Genesis, Adam and Eve in the garden of Eden, and all the rest that follows. It is questioned whether there was a Garden of Eden, and the rest. The divinity of these texts is in the message, the lesson. The lesson is, that man was given a moral law, and when he transgressed the moral law, he incurred the inevitable punishment, for the transgression of every moral law brings its inevitable retribution. The lesson is that the human race was a disappointment to God, and therefore He kept selecting out of it a strain that would justify the original act of Creation, so the flood came about to destroy the evil-doers, and out of it Noah and his family were saved. And then again there was retrogression into evil, and Abraham was selected. Out of Abraham's children, one, Isaac, was selected, and out of Isaac's children one, Jacob, was selected. That selection process went on until the Jewish people as a whole was selected from all the peoples as the people to witness, to body forth God's moral Law. When that people forfeited its mandate, it was punished. That people had no warrant to the Promised Land, except the warrant of the Torah. When that warrant was violated, the people were exiled. This process of selection has gone down the course of history. This is the divinity of the Bible, the message and not the language.

The next Creed goes on to say: "I believe this Law will not be changed and there will never be any other Law from the Creator, Blessed be His Name." In the same sense, referring to the essence of the message of the Torah, the Torah will never change. It is timeless in its value. The Talmud was an attempt to bring the spirit of the Torah into the newly developed laws in accordance with the changing times. Anyone who says the Talmud is a reactionary document, a rigid strait-jacket of Orthodoxy, doesn't know what he is talking about, because the Talmud is exactly the opposite. It attempts to bring law up-to-date, to accommodate law to life. And it does this in the same way Americans are doing it with

the Constitution of the United States. We are always making new laws, but the laws have to be constitutional, and when the Supreme Court finds a law to be unconstitutional, that is, not in the spirit of the Constitution, that law is invalidated. The process of the Talmud was the process of making new laws to regulate the lives of the people, but in the spirit of the Jewish people which is the Torah. Hence the Rabbis developed a very highly complex set of intellectual gymnastics to prove that a proposed law was constitutional — *Min ha-Torah*, "according to the spirit of the Torah." They might take two verses from the Torah which begin with the same letter and say that because they begin with the same letter they have the same purport. Talmudic hermeneutics were a highly technical system of logic, for the purpose of maintaining the authority of the Torah, yet making possible the development of law to meet changing conditions. Sometimes you call such a process legal fiction. Every legal system in the world has its legal fictions. The purpose of legal fictions is to protect the authority of the law with a capital "L" and at the same time make possible the development of new laws to take care of new and changing methods of living. The difficulty today is that the Talmudic process has stopped. We don't have any more such gatherings of Rabbis who conferred together and took decisions by a majority vote as does the Congress of the United States. There are a few daring spirits in Israel like Rabbi Maimon, a sort of Maimonides in our time, who says, "let's reconstitute a *Sanhedrin*, let's resume this process of law-making." I believe that they are on the right track, which will serve the authority of the Jewish Law, and accommodate Jewish Law to modern times.

The next Creed says: "God knows every deed of the children of men and all their thoughts, as it is said, it is He that fashioneth the hearts of all, that giveth heed to all their deeds." This may be taken for granted. God does know, God does penetrate, God does search the inner regions of the heart and there is no hiding from Him what goes on in the inner recesses of the human soul.

The next Creed says: "I believe that God rewards those that keep His Commandments and punishes those that transgress them". I join in that belief wholeheartedly, but not in the sense that some people take it. If you believe that the doing of good brings its reward immediately in tangible terms, then your level of thinking is not as high as it should be. If you believe that life is a slot machine where you put in a coin of good deeds or prayers and expect to get out a package

of good things, then you are not worthy of belonging to the tradition of Judaism. Reward and punishment have to be considered on a higher level. *Mitzvah*, the doing of a good deed, brings its own satisfaction, and therefore its own reward. The reward of doing good is that you are the kind of person capable of doing that act. Reward and punishment mean that in the long range you get your reward and your punishment in a conscience that is either free of guilt or is burdened with guilt. It means that you must not be impatient in judging the justice of God by using as criterion only that which is happening this very moment.

The next Creed speaks about the Messiah: "I believe in the coming of the Messiah, and though he tarry, I will wait daily for his coming." This doctrine, therefore, may be sublimated into the acceptance of the belief in a Messianic age. That means belief in human progress. "I will wait though he tarry" — though this human progress tarry, I will wait, hoping that it will gradually come about.

We have to be patient with man's progress and there has been great progress. Compare the status of woman today with what it was a thousand years ago, a hundred years ago; the status of labor; the dignity of the human spirit. You are bound to admit that there has been great progress, and this progress will go on because there is in the human being the seed of perfectability. This is the belief in the Messianic Age. The Jewish concept ties in the redemption of Israel with the redemption of humanity, for the fate of Israel has always been a "co-sign" of the condition of humanity, and when humanity becomes what it should be, then Israel's lot will become what it should be.

The next Creed, the last one, says: "I believe that there will be a resurrection of the dead when it shall please the Creator." I would like to sublimate that Creed into a belief in the immortality of the soul, a belief that there is a soul in man which never dies, because it is imperishable. It is not of physical substance. We are sure that there is a soul in man because there is more to his life than mere animal existence. Ideals are real. Men die for ideals. Man conceive thoughts, men create music, all these are in the realm of the spirit. All these are achievements of which the animal kingdom is incapable. When the body disintegrates, I cannot believe that all that spiritual part of human life perishes.

The relationship between all this and the human body is something like the relationship between music and the violin. The violin consists of wood and catgut and the bow of horse's hair, and these are an instrument to produce music. The music, the composition, is something of the spirit — a mind, a soul has produced

it. When the violin ceases to exist, the music goes on. We do not know where or how, and we are bidden by Judaism not to probe too closely. For by preoccupying ourselves with the mysteries of what happens beyond life, we become eccentric, off center. It does no good to go to the cults that have drawn men and women away from the problems of life, and have made them recluses and eccentrics. It is enough to believe that life goes on.

Now I have tried to give you the summation of the Thirteen Creeds with few nuances of amendments here and there. Permit me to add just two or three formulations. Israel is a chosen people. This concept may be implicit in the Thirteen Creeds, but it is not explicit. Anyone who tries to deny this doctrine of the chosen people, I believe, is taking the guts out of Judaism. This concept is reiterated in the blessing recited at the Torah, in the Kiddush and throughout our prayers. It is fundamental to Judaism.

Our chosen people doctrine is not a chauvinistic doctrine. It all depends on the answer to the question, "chosen for what?" Hitler believed in the master race chosen for domination and for the extermination of others. The white man's burden in the days of colonialism at its height was the idea of a chosen people, the white man, the chosen race to exploit other races. The Jewish idea of the chosen people, however, is that we are chosen to follow the Torah, to serve God. Israel is the suffering servant, Israel is the redeemed and the redeemer. The chosen people idea thus becomes the reflection of a sense of responsibility, a divinely ingrained sense of responsibility. If the ancient Greek had said that he was chosen for art, the world would have accepted it. If a great poet or painter today says that he has a divine gift, I accept this. And if the Jew says that he was chosen to teach morality, to exemplify the moral mandates of history, it can be accepted, because in fact this is what the Jewish people has done, and the world admits it. Moral sensitivity has been our genius. This is the mission of the Jew as a people. That is where Zionism comes in. Israel in its own homeland is the corporate demonstration before the world of the quality of the Jews. For Zionists like myself it is not enough for Israel to be another little state upon the Levantine map. It is important that Israel shall be a special kind of State, "a light unto the nations", as the prophets urged ages ago.

This puts into proper perspective the place of Israel and the place of the Jewish people, Medinat Israel as a means, as an instrument for Jewish survival. It is no reflection upon the environment in which we live, it is no reflec-

tion upon American democracy to say that it is *Galut*. To be in *Galut* means to be in the minority, to have to accommodate oneself to the majority, to be worried what the majority thinks, "what will the *goyim* say", to step gingerly, always worried what impression one is making on the majority. This status of minority creates certain psychological conditions, inferiority complexes, and also superiority complexes, two sides of the same coin. Hence, the only place where the Jew can feel normal, can fulfill himself completely as a Jew, is, of course, Israel, where Jews are in the majority. This is no reflection upon American democracy or the democracy of any other country. It is merely the reflection of the status of a minority people.

I say, contrary to those who have remarked, "It is tough to be a Jew", "It is wonderful to be a Jew." It is tough, and therefore, it is wonderful. Because it is tough, you have constantly to find within yourself the forces of resistance, you become a more vital, a more vibrant, a more energetic personality. The Jew must be better than his neighbor in order to get to the same place. I am sure that being a Jew makes a person a more worthwhile human being and therefore a greater contributor to humanity, to civilization, by virtue of his being a Jew.

I am convinced that Judaism is the greatest of all religions. Unlike Christianity, it does not regard this world as a vale of tears, it does not stress the hereafter more than the here, it does not look upon marriage as a concession but as a duty. Unlike Buddhism, it does not stultify the *status quo*; it does not condone poverty and iniquity; it does not look upon *Nirvana* as the ideal, the escape from all sensation. Judaism looks for the Kingdom of God to be established on earth, "to improve the world under the Kingdom of God." Unlike Hellenism and all other pagan religions, it does not countenance the belief in the pantheism of the deities. Unlike Hinduism, it eschews deities with many arms and many eyes — arms which don't help and eyes which don't see. Unlike Mohammedism, it does not vulgarize the concept of the hereafter. It is "a tree of life to those who lay hold of it."

FIFTH TRIENNIAL INDEX

Fall 1984 through Summer 1987

Arranged by Chaim Abramowitz

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From: Joshua J. Adler, Managing Editor, Dor le Dor*

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TRIENNIAL BIBLE READING CALENDAR

May-June 1987

סיח תשמ"ז

F	Numbers 14:20	במדבר	29	א
שבת	Haftarah: Hosea 2:1-22	הפטרה: הושע ב', איכב	30	ב
S	Ruth 1	רות א'	31	ג
June				
M	Ruth 2	רות ב'	1	ד
T	Ruth 3-4	רות ג'ד'	2	ה
W	Exodus 19:20	שבועות שמות י"טכ'	3	ו
	Haftarah: Ezekiel 1	הפטרה: יחזקאל א'		
Th	Deuteronomy 14:22-16:17*	שבועות דברים י"ד, כבי"ט"ז, יז'	4	ז
	Haftarah Habakkuk 2:20-3	הפטרה: חבקוק ב' כ"ג'		
F	Numbers 4:21-7	נשא	5	ח
שבת	Haftarah: Judges 13:2-25	הפטרה: שופטים י"ג, ביכה	6	ט
S	Psalms 5	תהילים ה'	7	י
M	Psalms 6	תהילים ו'	8	יא
T	Psalms 7	תהילים ז'	9	יב
W	Psalms 8	תהילים ח'	10	יג
Th	Psalms 9	תהילים ט'	11	יד
F	Numbers 8-12	בהעלותך	12	טו
שבת	Haftarah: Zechariah 2:14-4:7	הפטרה: זכריה ב', יד'ד' ז	13	טז
S	Psalms 10	תהילים י'	14	יז
M	Psalms 11	תהילים י"א	15	יח
T	Psalms 12-13	תהילים י"ב י"ג	16	יט
W	Psalms 14	תהילים י"ד	17	כ
Th	Psalms 15-16	תהילים ט"ו ט"ז	18	כא
F	Numbers 13-15	שלח	19	כב
שבת	Haftarah: Joshua 2:1-24	הפטרה: יהושע ב', איכב	20	כג
S	Psalms 17	תהילים י"ז	21	כד
M	Psalms 18	תהילים י"ח	22	כה
T	Psalms 19	תהילים י"ט	23	כו
W	Psalms 20	תהילים כ'	24	כז
Th	Psalms 21	תהילים כ"א	25	כח
F	Numbers 16-18	קרח	26	כט
שבת	Haftarah: Isaiah 66	הפטרה: ישעיהו ט"ו	27	ל

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June-July 1987

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S	Psalms 22	28	א	תהילים כ"ב
M	Psalms 23-24	29	ב	תהילים כ"ג-כ"ד
T	Psalms 25	30	ג	תהילים כ"ה
July				
W	Psalms 26	1	ד	תהילים כ"ו
Th	Psalms 27	2	ה	תהילים כ"ז
F	Numbers 19-22:11	3	ו	חקת
שבת	Haftarah: Judges 11:1-33	4	ז	הפטרה: שופטים י"א, א'לג
S	Psalms 28	5	ח	תהילים כ"ח
M	Psalms 29	6	ט	תהילים כ"ט
T	Psalms 30	7	י	תהילים ל'
W	Psalms 31	8	יא	תהילים ל"א
Th	Psalms 32	9	יב	תהילים ל"ב
F	Numbers 22:12-25:9	10	יג	בלק
שבת	Haftarah: Micah 5:1-6:8	11	יד	הפטרה מיכה ה', א'ו', ח
S	Psalms 33	12	טו	תהילים ל"ג
M	Psalms 34	13	טז	תהילים ל"ד
T	Psalms 35	14	יז	תהילים ל"ה
W	Psalms 36	15	יח	תהילים ל"ו
Th	Psalms 37	16	יט	תהילים ל"ז
F	Numbers 25:10-30:1	17	כ	פינחס
שבת	Haftarah: I Kings 18:41-19:21	18	כא	הפטרה: מלכים א' י"ח, מאד"ט, כא
S	Psalms 38	19	כב	תהילים ל"ח
M	Psalms 39	20	כג	תהילים ל"ט
T	Psalms 40	21	כד	תהילים מ'
W	Psalms 41	22	כה	תהילים מ"א
Th	Psalms 42-43	23	כו	תהילים מ"ב-מ"ג
F	Numbers 30:2-36	24	כז	מטות ומסעי
שבת	Haftarah: Jeremiah 2:4-28	25	כח	הפטרה: ירמיהו ב', ד"כח
S	Psalms 44	26	כט	תהילים מ"ד

July-August 1987

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M	Psalms 45	27	א	תהילים מ"ה
T	Psalms 46	28	ב	תהילים מ"ו
W	Psalms 47-48	29	ג	תהילים מ"ז-מ"ח
Th	Lamentations 1	30	ד	איכה א'
F	Deuteronomy 1-3:22	31	ה	דברים
August				
שבת	Haftarah: Isaiah 1:1-27	1	ו	הפטרה: ישעיה א', איכו
S	Lamentations 2	2	ז	איכה ב'
M	Lamentations 3	3	ח	איכה ג'
T	Lamentations 4-5	4	ט	תשעה באב איכה ד'ה'
W	Psalms 49	5	י	תהילים מ"ט
Th	Psalms 50	6	יא	תהילים נ'
F	Deuteronomy 3:23-7:11	7	יב	ואתחנן
שבת	Haftarah: Isaiah 4:1-26	8	יג	הפטרה: ישעיה ד', איכו
S	Psalms 51	9	יד	תהילים נ"א
M	Psalms 52	10	טו	תהילים נ"ב
T	Psalms 53	11	טז	תהילים נ"ג
W	Psalms 54-55	12	יז	תהילים נ"ד-נ"ה
Th	Psalms 56	13	יח	תהילים נ"ו
F	Deuteronomy 7:12-11:25	14	יט	עקב
שבת	Haftarah: Isaiah 49:14-51:3	15	כ	הפטרה: ישעיה מ"ט, יד-נ"א, ג
S	Psalms 57	16	כא	תהילים נ"ז
M	Psalms 58	17	כב	תהילים נ"ח
T	Psalms 59	18	כג	תהילים נ"ט
W	Psalms 60	19	כד	תהילים ס'
Th	Psalms 61	20	כה	תהילים ס"א
F	Deuteronomy 11:26-16:17	21	כו	ראה
שבת	Haftarah: Isaiah 54:11-55:5	22	כז	הפטרה: ישעיה נ"ד, יא-נ"ה, ה
S	Psalms 62	23	כח	תהילים ס"ב
M	Psalms 63	24	כט	תהילים ס"ג
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