
THE

JEWISH BIBLE QUARTERLY

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THE MESSIANIC IDEA THE REAL AND THE HIDDEN SON-OF-DAVID¹

YEHEZKEL KAUFMANN

The prophet Nathan was the first to prophesy that the dynasty of David shall reign over Israel for ever (II Sam. 7:16). Furthermore, David was told that if a descendant of his royal family will "commit iniquity" God will punish him severely, but God's mercy will not depart from the house of David. Unlike King Saul, David is promised a royal dynasty.

In this prophetic vision no mention is made of a distinctive and particular "Son-of-David." Here we find no outstanding king who will open up a new era in the history of the royal house of David.

An important change occurred after the death of King Solomon, when the ten northern tribes split from the Davidic kingdom and established their own state under Jeroboam. But Judea in the south remained loyal to Solomon's son King Rehoboam, and the schism did not impair the faith in Nathan's prophecy of the everlasting kingdom of the house of David. The schism was regarded as a passing phenomenon. Ahijah the Shilonite, the prophet who brought the message of the schism to Jeroboam, made this clear in a pithy sentence: *And I will for this afflict the seed of David, but not forever* (I Kg. 11:39).

In Judea the hope for unity was kept alive, and this unity was understood by all as a united kingdom of Israel ruled by a king of the dynasty of David. The prophet Amos spoke of "that day" when God will *raise up the tabernacle of David that is fallen and build it as in the days*

1 This is an edited and abbreviated text of an essay issued by the World Jewish Bible Society and The Israel Society for Biblical Research (1961).

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of old (Amos 9:11). The prophet Hosea prophesied that north and south shall be united *and they shall appoint themselves one head* (Hosea 2:2), and there will come a time when the people will *seek the Lord their God and David their king* (3:5).

Even after the destruction of the northern kingdom of the ten tribes the people continued to believe in the restoration of the united kingdom under the reign of the house of David. This belief became an integral part of faith in the redemption. Both Jeremiah and Ezekiel prophesied the restoration of the united kingdom,² and this belief found expression also in later literature.

SON-OF-DAVID — THE IDEAL KING

Isaiah was the first prophet to speak about an image of the Son-of-David when he prophesied that *there shall come forth a shoot out of the stock of Jesse* (Is. 11:1-10). He spoke of a new era, of a new kingdom of David that will rise upon the ruins of the idolatrous kingdom. And the king of this new kingdom will not be merely one of the descendants of the house of David. He will stand out as a king who will be unlike other kings. The spirit of God will rest upon him, and he will be blessed with great spiritual gifts: wisdom and understanding, counsel and might, knowledge and fear of God. He will judge with righteousness and equity, and destroy all wickedness. The land will be filled with justice and the knowledge of God.

In later times this prophecy was interpreted to refer to the King Messiah and some scholars define this passage as a "messianic" prophecy. But in point of fact, Isaiah did not bestow the title "Messiah" on the future king, and in this prophecy he did not assign to the king the title "redeemer." The tasks of the king, as seen by Isaiah, are not those of a redeemer but of an ideal king: he is a judge, defends justice, fights

² Jeremiah 30:4-20, 31:1-11, 33:14-17, 23-18, 50:4-5; Ezekiel 37:15-25, 45:1-17, 47:13, 48:35.

wickedness, establishes peace on earth. He is an outstanding and exceptional king, guided by the spirit of God.

Yet, although this ideal king is not a redeemer he nonetheless heralds a new age in the history of Israel and also in the history of mankind: the age of the kingdom of righteousness. The new king will found a new royal house, a dynasty of kings upon whom will rest the spirit of God.

AFTER THE DESTRUCTION OF THE TEMPLE

After the destruction of the First Temple this faith in the Son-of-David became stronger than ever. The long chain of the Davidic dynasty was broken, and the new kingdom to be established by the grace of God would usher in a new era. The new king who will sit on the ancient throne of David will be a uniquely chosen ruler, a just and God-inspired king, as portrayed by Isaiah.

Jeremiah coined the phrase *I will raise unto David a righteous shoot*. This became a symbol of the vision of redemption: "a shoot of David" [*Tzemach David*] — the equivalent of Isaiah's "shoot and twig." The righteous shoot of the house of David will become the king of justice and righteousness. *In his days Judah shall be saved, and Israel shall dwell safely* (Jer. 23:5-6, 33:15-16). A similar phrase was used by Ezekiel.

ZERUBBABEL, THE REAL AND HIDDEN SON-OF-DAVID

We know of only one historical personality who was actually identified with the vision of the Son-of-David. This was Zerubbabel, the grandson of King Jehoiachin. In the early stage of the return to Zion (after the destruction of the First Temple) the people entertained the hope that Zerubbabel was destined to sit on the throne of David in the new kingdom. He was looked upon as the Son-of-David. The prophet Haggai prophesied the downfall of the idolatrous kingdoms and Zerubbabel was "chosen" by God to establish a new kingdom. Another contemporary prophet, Zechariah, was even more emphatic. He used

the familiar word "shoot" and he prophesied that Zerubbabel will *sit and rule upon his throne*.³

Zerubbabel was the legal heir to the throne of the house of David. He was the son of Shealtiel who was the son of King Jehoiachin. From this point of view Zerubbabel was certainly a real Son-of-David. But the hope that was placed upon him was prophetic. He was the subject of a prophetic vision of redemption. Zerubbabel was meant to be a *shoot of David, a servant of God, filled with the spirit of God*. But this Zerubbabel did not yet exist in reality. The prophetic Zerubbabel was an image of the *hidden* Son-of-David.

At that time the two Sons-of-David, the real and the hidden, were united in one person. The people hoped that the real Son-of-David will be "brought forth" as the hidden Son-of-David, upon whom God bestows His grace. They hoped that the legal heir will be the ideal king.

In the course of time this faith was subject to a radical change.

THE PERIOD OF THE SECOND TEMPLE

Zerubbabel was the last person of whom it is known that he was a member of the house of David. In the genealogical list of the house of David that has come down to us in the Book of Chronicles (chapter 3), we have names of several generations after Zerubbabel, and some of these persons lived apparently as late as the fourth century B.C.E. But this list merely mentions names. We know nothing of them.

We can assume that after the death of Zerubbabel the nation continued to cherish the Davidic genealogy. It did not necessarily imply that the people were intent upon raising the banner of revolt and restore the monarchy by force of arms. It was merely a natural expression of the people's faith in the redemption of Israel and the restoration of the kingdom. But we have no information as to how long this belief was kept up. We have no knowledge of the history of the house of David during the Second Temple, and no list of names has come down to us.

3 Haggai 2:21-23; Zechariah 3:8, 6:12-13.

Yet, throughout this period we have evidence that the people continued to believe in the restoration of the kingdom of the house of David. The Book of Chronicles is a presentation of Israelite history from the point of view of faith in the everlasting kingdom of David, and Ben-Sira (in the Book of Ecclesiasticus) expresses the popular faith in the covenant between God and David that promises everlasting kingdom to the house of David.⁴ This hope existed also in the days of the Hasmonean kingdom. The author of the First Book of Maccabees, who praised the Hasmonean kingdom, expressed this faith in the Davidic kingdom (2:51) and told that Simeon the Hasmonean was elected by the people to be Prince and High Priest "until such time as there will arise a true prophet" (14:41) — namely, until the time of redemption when prophecy will be restored to Israel (see also 4:41). It is clear that the Hasmonean kingdom was regarded as a temporary kingdom that would disappear with the final redemption in the days to come.

How long was the faith in the Davidic kingdom connected with a real and legal heir to the throne, as in the case of Zerubbabel? We cannot answer this question, since we have no information about Davidic personalities after Zerubbabel. But there is another question that we should ask: How long was this faith connected with a real Davidic family? How long did there exist in Israel a family (or families) who were regarded as descendants of the house of David and who could be the object of the national hope for a restoration of the Davidic monarchy?

There is good evidence in mishnaic literature (Tractate Ta'anit) that there was a family of the house of David. In addition there was a tradition that the families of a Prince of Israel [*Nasi*], of which the most prominent was Judah, the editor of the Mishnah, and the Exilarch in Babylonia were both descended from the house of David.

4 Ecclesiasticus 45:24-25, 47:11-22. At the end of the book there is a psalm of thanksgiving to "He who causeth the strength [horn] of the house of David to flourish."

THE MESSIANIC HOPE AND THE HIDDEN SON-OF-DAVID

Yet it is significant that the messianic aspirations and movements that sprung up before and after the destruction of the Second Temple were not connected with those families. Their Davidic genealogy provided them with the authority to reign in the present, but it did not give them the title of redeemer and restorer of the kingdom to come. There was during this period no person like Zerubbabel. No single person was accepted as the agreed legal heir to the Davidic throne. There was no real Son-of-David who was destined to become the ideal "shoot of David" [*Tzemach David*].

During this period there was a firm belief in the Son-of-David. But this belief was that the Son-of-David will *appear*, that he will become revealed. No member of the Davidic families made the claim that he was the Son-of-David. Even Rabbi Judah the Prince, who looked upon himself as a ruling monarch of the Jewish nation, never thought of himself in messianic terms.⁵ The Messiahs that appeared in those times staked their claims in their own right. Of course, they and their followers believed implicitly that they were Sons-of-David, but their genealogy was not a condition of their messianism. They were Messiahs not because they were descended from David, but were Sons-of-David because they were Messiahs.

Yet the Messiah was related to the Davidic family in a real genealogical manner. Being a child of the house of David, was never understood as a mere phrase or a mystical symbol of the eschatological redemption. It was meant to convey a real flesh-and-blood relationship. In the course of history the people had lost track of all the children of the Davidic dynasty, and as a result there were families in the line of

5 In the Jerusalem Talmud Shabbath 18:1 his pupils apply to him the verse: *the breath of our nostril, the anointed of the Lord* (Lam. 4:20). But this was meant only to proclaim his importance and royal descent. Rabbi Judah hoped, like all his contemporaries, that the Messiah will come from somewhere. See Babylonian Talmud Baba Metziah 85b and Sanhedrin 38a, where it appears clearly that the messianic hope was entirely divorced from the Davidic families of the time.

royalty although no one was aware of it. The revelation of the Messiah revealed also this lost genealogical information.

Jesus the Nazarene was regarded by his followers as a Son-of-David, and no doubt he believed in this himself. But there is no evidence to indicate that his family was known as a Davidic family. Whoever believed that Jesus was Messiah automatically believed that he was a child of the house of David.

Nowhere do we find an explicit statement that Bar Kokhba belonged to a Davidic family. Some scholars concluded from this that Rabbi Akiba believed in Bar Kokhba's messianism despite the knowledge that he was not of the house of David.⁶ But this view is contradicted by a passage in the Jerusalem Talmud (Taanit 4:8), in which Rabbi Yohanan ben Totatha says to Rabbi Akiba: "Akiba, grass will grow through your jaws [you shall be dead and buried] and the Son-of-David shall not yet have appeared." This clearly shows that Rabbi Akiba regarded Bar Kokhba as the Son-of-David. Bar Kokhba's family was not known as Davidic, but his revelation as Messiah at once revealed that he was a descendant of David.

In those days the belief spread that the Son-of-David existed somewhere hidden from the people until the time of his revelation. He had a name, *Menahem* [Comforter], and strong winds took him up and placed him in an unknown spot where he sits in the gate of the city amongst the poor and the sick.⁷ In these popular stories the Son-of-David was hidden, and could not be traced to those families who were known for their Davidic descent.

THE IDEA OF THE KING-REDEEMER

What caused this change since the days of Zerubbabel? The reason is that the idea of a messianic and redeeming Son-of-David grew during this period.

⁶ See I. H. Weiss, *Dor Dor Ve'dorshav I* (Hebrew), p. 218, and J. Klausner, *The Messianic Idea in Israel* (Hebrew), pp. 145, 231.

⁷ Jer. Ber. 5a; Lam. Rab. 1:51; Sanhedrin 98a.

Despite the widespread opinion that this idea dates back to the prophets, it is a fact that prophetic literature knows only of a king of the future but nowhere mentions a king-redeemer. To the prophets, and this is equally true of the Psalms, the redeemer is God. In the Bible we do not find the word "Messiah" [anointed] as a title of the king of the future. This word has no eschatological significance in the Bible; it is used to describe a real and live king who actually sits on the throne and reigns over the people. The idea of Messiah-redeemer does not occur even in the Book of Daniel. Indeed, this idea did not exist before the Hasmonean period. It is not mentioned in the books of the Apocrypha,⁸ and the expression "Son-of-David" is nowhere to be found in this literature.

The idea of the king-redeemer occurs for the first time in the Psalms of Solomon, whose date is the period of the decline of Hasmonean kingdom. In Psalm 17 we read of the Son-of-David in connection with the title "Messiah" and the image of the king-redeemer. The author used ancient motifs but he gives them a new messianic meaning. In particular he interprets Isaiah's prophecy about "the shoot of the stock of Jesse" into a prophecy about the Messiah-redeemer. The Son-of-David will be a king who will conquer the oppressor-nations, purify Jerusalem, gather in the exiles, judge Israel and the nations and praise God. This is the beginning of the real messianic literature and also the beginning of the messianic Midrash (homiletic interpretation) of the Holy Scriptures.

THE DISAPPOINTMENT WITH THE HASMONEAN DYNASTY

The growth of the idea of a Messiah-redeemer was no doubt connected with the people's disappointment with the Hasmonean king-

⁸ In Ecclesiasticus (36:1-22, 35:22-25, 45:24-25, 47:11-22, 51:12) the redeemer and restorer of Jerusalem is God. He shall make the "shoot of David" grow forth. In the Book of Enoch the word "Messiah" occurs twice (48:10 and 52:4). Dilmann emended the word in both places. However, the redeemer mentioned there is a divine "son-of-man" and not a king.

dom. The author of the Psalms of Solomon branded the Hasmonean kingdom as a kingdom of sinners. The Hasmoneans took by force what did not belong to them by right, for kingdom was given to the house of David and now the Hasmoneans usurped the Davidic throne. The decline of the Hasmonean kingdom and the subjection to Rome were the divine punishment for the sins of King Janai and his successors.

The criticism of the Hasmonean kings and the new idea of the Messiah-redeemer could not have been the author's original opinion. The author gave vent to the ideas that were abroad at that time, and in particular he expressed the people's yearning for redemption. The decline of the Hasmoneans caused bitter disappointment, and correspondingly the people yearned for the real redemption, the restoration of the ideal kingdom as envisioned by the prophets. They hoped for a kingdom in which there would be no falsehood or sin.

The king-redeemer as visualized by the author of the Psalms of Solomon is (not unlike the Hasmoneans) a fighting and heroic king but he is also the redeemer. Through him God will carry out the prophecy of redemption. He will succeed where the Hasmoneans failed because he is a Son-of-David. He is the true and legal heir to the throne of David.

The title "Messiah" distinguished between the Hasmonean king and the ideal king-redeemer. For during the period of the Second Temple there was no oil of anointment in the Temple.⁹ The Hasmoneans wore crowns, but they were not anointed. A king who would be Messiah — anointed with oil — will be different from the Hasmonean usurpers. He will be truly the Son-of-David.

After that the new idea of the Messiah-redeemer became the official view in Jewish eschatology. It suited the trends of the times when people wished to elevate the Divine from the earthly life and see it as

⁹ The oil of anointment was one of the things that were hidden at the destruction of the First Temple. See Keritoth 5a-b, where it is said that this oil was made only once — by Moses. Apparently in the Second Temple nobody knew how to prepare the oil according to the precise formula as instructed in the Bible (Ex. 30:22-25). In the days to come the prophet will reveal the hidden oil or will teach how to prepare the oil.

hidden and mysterious. But this conception of Messianism made superfluous the question of the Davidic descent of the Messiah. For the important thing is that the Messiah is a redeemer. Should he succeed in carrying out the redemption, then he would prove conclusively that he is indeed the Son-of-David.

This is the story of the development of the hope for the coming of the Son-of-David. In the days of Zerubbabel genealogy was decisive. Only a known child of the house of David could become a claimant to the throne of David. But with the growth of the belief in a redeemer-Son-of-David, the flesh and blood relationship became less relevant until it finally lost all importance. The actual work of redemption was a sign of the redeemer's genealogical credentials.

CHECKMATE: THE KING IS DEAD

P. J. BERLYN

For Dodah Rebecca Berlin

Until war became mechanized it was an occasion for the combatants to display themselves in finery, the higher the rank the more splendid the accoutrements. In the ancient Near East, kings went forth to battle bedecked in crowns and ornamental robes, their horses beplumed. An Assyrian monarch even had a eunuch holding a parasol over him, exposed to slings and arrows but not to sunburn.

However, there was a time when a royal warrior put aside his regalia and took on the guise of a common one. It was 853/52 B.C.E., and Ahab ben-Omri reigned in Samaria over the Kingdom of Israel. Some four years earlier,

Ben-hadad, king of Aram [Syria] gathered all his host ... and horses and chariots, and went up and besieged Samaria and made war against it (I Kg. 20:1).

With quite superfluous braggadocio he flaunted his certainty of reducing Ahab to abject submission, but the king of Israel, with a much smaller and hastily assembled host, struck so smashing a counterblow that the Aramaean force was demolished and its equipment abandoned. Ben-hadad, who made an undignified flight back to Damascus, was advised by his counselors,

Number yourself a host, like the host you lost, horse for horse and chariot for chariot ...' (20:25).

He replaced the lost corps accordingly and after one year essayed a second assault on Israel. It fared so badly that Ben-hadad went

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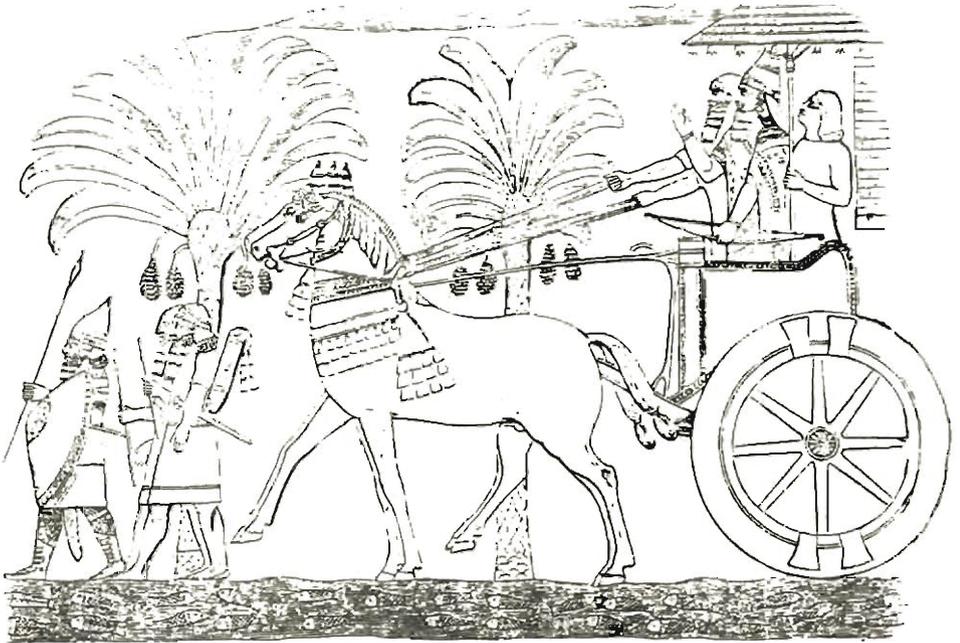
into hiding, then emerged in suppliant's garb to make a groveling surrender to Ahab (20:26-30).

The king of Israel now had at his mercy a prisoner who had twice taunted and insulted, threatened and attacked him. He chose to treat him with remarkable if not excessive courtesy and generosity, called him "brother," took him up into his own chariot. The text here quotes an offer, *The cities which my father took from thy father I will restore*' and a response, *I will let thee go with this covenant*' (20:34). So a recidivist aggressor, having yielded only a promise, went back to his capital with his capacity for mischief renewed. Presumably, Ahab had some reason that seemed sound to him at the time, but an unnamed prophet admonished him, *'... therefore thy life shall go for his life, and thy people for his people'* (20:42).

About three years after this accord, Ahab and Ben-hadad fought again, but as confederates rather than adversaries. It was on an occasion of major import for the entire region yet, inexplicably, there is not a word about it in the biblical record. This episode in the history of Israel was altogether lost until 1861 C.E., some 2,700 years after the event. Then a contemporary source, known as The Monolith Inscription, was found inscribed in cuneiform on a stone stele erected in a region once part of the Assyrian Empire.¹

Assyria was without parallel in the ancient world in its iron might, its dedicated ferocity and the range of its conquests. Around 875, Assurnasirpal II raided all the way to the Mediterranean coast, leaving behind the memory of entire populations slaughtered or carried off captive, towns looted and razed to ruin heaps. In 858 his son Shalmaneser III succeeded him and set off a new series of incursions west of the Euphrates. By 853, his annual foray brought him to Hamath, an Aramaean kingdom north of Damascus. If he advanced, Damascus came next on his path, and then Israel.

1 The Monolith Inscription was found near Kurkh in modern Turkey. For the text see *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, ed. James J. Pritchard (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), p. 276.



ROYAL WAR-CHARIOT, ASSYRIA — NINTH CENTURY B.C.E.

Now a league of princes, resolved to save their lands from the horrors of Assyrian invasion, stood together and gave combat at Qarqara, within the territory of Hamath. This league is known only from the accounts of Shalmaneser, who was its *raison d'être*. He described the battle as a glorious victory — Assyrian kings did not describe battles any other way — but after the engagement he marched no farther, withdrew from the region and did not return for five years.

On the Monolith stele, one of his monuments to himself, he preserved the composition of the coalition, in a list headed by the three members most immediately endangered and the most heavily committed: Hadadezer [Ben-hadad] of Damascus² — 1,200 chariots,

² Ben-hadad died, apparently murdered by his successor Hazael, during the reign of Jehoram ben-Ahab, c. 852-42 (II Kg. 8:16). The Assyrian annals c. 844 note the strange demise of Hadadezer and the succession of Hazael. This virtually establishes the equation: Ben-hadad-Hadadezer.

1,200 cavalry, 20,000 infantry; Irhuleni of Hamath — 700 chariots, 700 cavalry, 10,000 infantry; Ahab of Israel — 2,000 chariots, 10,000 infantry. Another eight states or rulers follow, with more modest contributions.

Israel ranks here among the strongest of the alliance, especially in the chariotry that was the most formidable military wing of the age, and especially effective on the flat terrain of Qarqara. Its corps of 2,000 was more than half the total for the entire league, and about equal to Shalmaneser's. The enemy probably had a heavy advantage in infantry and cavalry, so it may well be that with Israel's chariots the coalition drew a line Assyria could not pass.

War-chariots and the strong, schooled steeds to power them were costly to acquire and maintain. Each king of Israel or Judah since Solomon kept a chariot-corps, but it is curious that Ahab, with only half of Solomon's realm, should have parity with the master of the Assyrian empire. It has been proposed that the figure of 2,000 was a slip of the chisel, which is improbable, or that the number attributed to Ahab included a contingent sent by King Jehoshaphat of Judah, which is altogether speculative. A more certain contribution is clearly set down in I Kings 20: Ben-hadad gathered a great force of chariots for his first invasion of Israel and lost them all, including his own. He replaced each horse and each vehicle for the second invasion and lost them as well. Chariots and horses were highly valued prizes for victors, and those that were not destroyed — perhaps the bulk of them — would have ended in Ahab's stalls and stables. Thus the king of Israel could well have taken the field at Qarqara with chariotry and other matériel his "ally" the king of Aram had recently amassed to conquer him.

Ahab and Ben-hadad had made common cause in the face of common peril;³ now, with the shadow of Assyria lifted for the time

3 Some analysts speculate that Ahab adopted his conciliatory policy toward Ben-hadad because he perceived the need for the local rulers to unite against the menace from Assyria.

being, they could turn back to their own projects. Ahab's project was to regain the fortress of Ramoth-gilead, in the uplands of Israel's territory east of the Jordan River. It stood on The King's Highway, the vital north-south route for caravans and war-trains, sited to guard against incursions from Aram, Ammon or Moab. This strategic citadel had at some time been seized by the Aramaeans and was perhaps one of the cities the beaten Ben-hadad had sworn to restore. If so, he had reneged.

The First and Second Aramaean Wars would have enhanced Ahab's military assets, but The Battle of Qarqara would have been costly. Though Shalmaneser's boasts of the massive casualties he inflicted were hyperbolic,⁴ it can scarcely be hoped that all of Israel's men, horses and chariots came safely home. Whether or not that was one of the reasons, Ahab sought to augment his own strength with that of a comrade before undertaking an expedition to Ramoth-gilead.

He secured the comrade when King Jehoshaphat, to whom he was related by marriage, made a state visit from Jerusalem to Samaria. The guest had substantial resources and high international prestige and, in contrast to the host, was also credited with piety and righteousness (II Chr. 17). The meeting is depicted in both I Kings, a dual history of Judah and Israel, and II Chronicles, a history of The House of David in which a ruler of Israel appears only when he interacts with his contemporary of Judah. The versions are so similar they must derive from a common source, with each shaped to its particular interest.

The Chronicler starts out by stressing the honor shown to Jehoshaphat, then notes: *Ahab ... persuaded him to go up with him to Ramoth-gilead* (18:2). In I Kings, the subject is broached by way of a rhetorical question omitted in II Chronicles:

4 In the Monolith text Shalmaneser claimed the league suffered 14,000 casualties (out of an estimated total of 75,000 men). In a later text he raised it to 20,500, and later still to 25,000.

And the king of Israel said unto his servants, 'Know ye that Ramoth-gilead is ours, and we are still, and take it not out of the hand of the king of Aram?' (22:3).

If the restitution of Ramoth-gilead had indeed been a promise made and broken by Ben-hadad, a tone of indignation may be read into these words.

The kings, arrayed in full regal costume, sat on thrones in an open plaza at the gateway to Samaria, a place to accommodate a goodly assembly of Israelites and visiting Judaeans to witness Jehoshaphat's courteous commitment:

And he said unto Jehoshaphat, 'Wilt thou go with me to battle to Ramoth-gilead?' And Jehoshaphat said to the king of Israel, 'I am as thou art, my people as thy people, my horses as thy horses [II Chr. 18:3 adds: and we will be with you in the war]' (22:4).

Kings liked to precede a campaign with mantic assurances of divine approval, and Ahab himself had been spurred to his two improbable victories over Aram by prophetic promises (20:13-14, 22). So when Jehoshaphat requested, *Inquire, I pray thee, at the word of the Lord today,* his colleague was not likely to demur. The court prophets of Samaria may even have been waiting in the wings for Ahab's summons and question, *'Shall I [Chr.: we] go against Ramoth-gilead to battle or shall I forbear?'* The response was unanimous: *'Go up, for the Lord [Chr.: God] will deliver it into the hand of the king'* (22:5-6).

The king of Judah was not persuaded, for he asked whether there was not another prophet to consult. Ahab reluctantly obliged and sent for Micaiah ben-Imlah, while complaining, *I hate him, for he doth not prophesy good concerning me, but evil'* (22:7-8). The audience was then treated to rival performances by Zedekiah ben-Chenaanah, the head court prophet, and Micaiah, who throughout flaunted sarcastic contempt for his sovereign.

First Zedekiah, acting out the common metaphor of horned bull as a symbol of power, *made him horns of iron and said, 'Thus saith the Lord: With these shalt thou gore the Aramaeans, until they be*

consumed' (22:11). Micaiah countered with another common metaphor, of king as shepherd:

I saw all Israel scattered on the mountains, as sheep that have no shepherd; and The Lord said: These have no master; let them return every man to his house in peace' (22:17).

The show continued with his "visions" of a death-trap for Ahab, and concluded with a farcical slanging and slapping match between Zedekiah and Micaiah.

Ahab, undeterred, went right on with his plans. Ramoth-gilead was a fortified city, but the narrative now tells not of a siege but of a chariot battle, perhaps precipitated by an Aramaean move to intercept the Israelite-Judaeen force. The reigning "king of Aram" at this time is never named, but unless the Ben-hadad of I Kings 20 had recently been succeeded by a namesake, this is the neighbor who a few years back twice invaded Israel to subjugate Ahab, twice was trounced by him against the odds, and then had found the victor as gracious and lenient as he himself had been insolent and aggressive — a sequence that can inspire a bitter personal animus.

These two antagonists and brief allies were entering into The Third Aramaean War, and this time Ben-hadad meant to be rid of Ahab once and for all. He devised a chess-like tactic with the king as the key piece on which the game is won or lost; a tactic based on the conviction, or at least the hope, that should the man who conceived the campaign topple, so would the campaign.

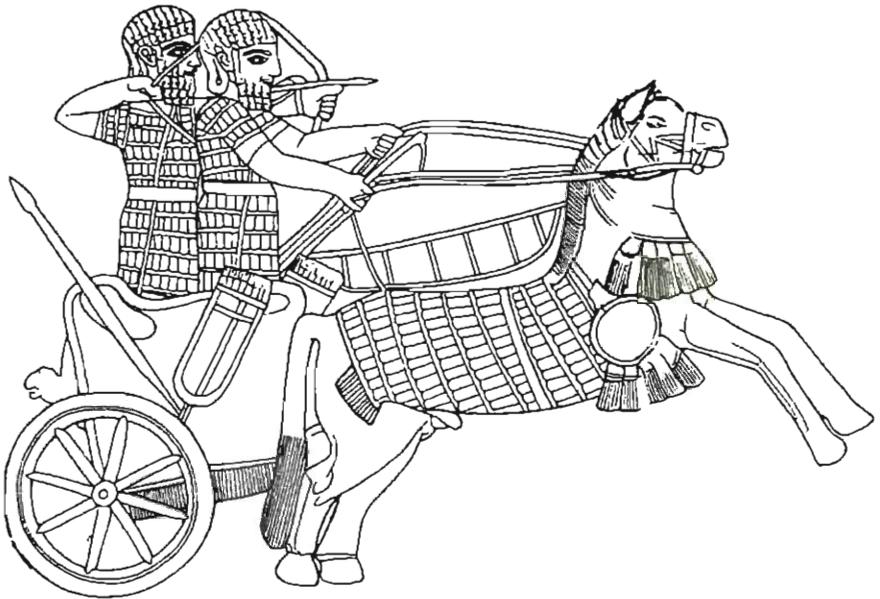
Now the king of Aram had commanded the ... captains of his chariots, saying: 'Fight neither with small nor great, save only with the king of Israel' (22:31).

It need not be supposed that the entire Aramaean chariotry was to bypass all but a single target; rather, this would be a crack cadre selected for the special assignment. But the prey himself confused them in their purpose:

And the king of Israel said unto Jehoshaphat: 'I will disguise myself, and go into the battle; but put thou on thy

robes.' And the king of Israel disguised himself and they went into battle (22:28-30).⁵

Departing from style and custom, he would put aside the high headdress and embroidered fringed garments of a royal commander and don the chariot-man's kilt, conical helmet and "fishscale" mail of overlapping metal plaques sewn onto leather.



CHARIOT WARRIORS, EARLY FIRST MILLENIUM B.C.E.

In the order of the narrative, the announcement of intended disguise comes after Micaiah's prophecy of Ahab's doom (22:19-28) and directly before the king of Aram's command (22:31). The motive for the incognito is traditionally found in the preceding passages: Micaiah's augury impelled Ahab to fight as one of the

⁵ The term here rendered "I will disguise myself" is literally just "disguise." Cf. King Josiah of Judah (II Chr. 35:22).

sheep rather than as the shepherd. This is the interpretation of Josephus: "... by this trick they thought to escape the fate foretold by Micaiah."⁶ Modern analyses run along the same line: "He disguised himself in the belief that a change of royal robes to those of a commoner would make him less conspicuous, and ward off the evil decreed against him"⁷; "... Ahab was suggesting that if there was any truth in Micaiah's prediction, he would try to contravene Fate by disguising himself"⁸; "The purpose of Ahab's disguise was ... for the avoidance of fate"⁹; "The change of status and robes ... may have been designed to avert the fate that had been prophesied by Micaiah."¹⁰

In this view it can be further inferred that since the king of Judah had not figured in Micaiah's script, he was in no more than ordinary peril and need take no more than ordinary care.

This tack has the king of Israel acting on the superstition that Death can be fooled by a change of appearance, name or locale. Yet any participant in battle, regardless of rank or gear, places his life at risk. If Ahab meant to negate the prophecy that he would die on the field, he would have to stay off of it. To conceal his identity was a partial precaution at best.

The fifteenth-century statesman and scholar Don Isaac Abravanel, after dealing with Micaiah's forecast and its effect, suggested that Ahab had practical reasons for altering his appearance: "... in order that Aram should not recognize him," and because "Ahab knew that the host of Aram hated him and not Jehoshaphat," and so he could make a reconnaissance.¹¹

⁶ *Antiquities of the Jews*, VIII:411.

⁷ I. W. Slotaki, *Kings* (London: Soncino Press, 1950) p. 161.

⁸ Leo D. Honor, *Book of Kings I* (N.Y.: UAHC, 1955) p. 321.

⁹ James A. Montgomery and Henry Snyder Gehman, *A Critical and Exegetical Comment on the Book of Kings*, International Critical Commentary (Edinburgh: J. & T. Clarke, 1951) p. 340.

¹⁰ John Gray, *I and II Kings — A Commentary* (London: SCM Press, 1964) pp. 404-8.

¹¹ Isaac Abravanel, *Perush al Hanevlim Harishonim*.

There is indeed no explicit statement in the text that the prophecy and the disguise are cause and effect. Link the king's decision back to the earlier passages, and it is a response to the scene in Samaria. Link it forward to the following passage, and it becomes a response to the king of Aram's strategy. The order to the chariot-captains would logically and grammatically¹² precede the resolution on the masquerade. If the king of Israel was aware that there was to be a massive assault upon him, he would simply not be recognized as the king of Israel.

It is specific in the text that Ahab heard Micaiah's words. That he may have heard of Ben-hadad's words is merely hypothetical but not therefore implausible. The arts of espionage were by then already old. Joseph accused his brothers of coming to Egypt as spies (Gen. 42:9); Moses (Num. 13:1-3) and Joshua (Josh. 2) sent scouts into Canaan; monarchs had agents gathering intelligence at foreign courts and behind enemy lines. Most relevant, the next king of Aram was so certain that one of his own staff was passing military plans from Damascus to Samaria that he demanded, *'Will ye not tell me which of us is for the king of Israel?'* (II Kg. 6:11).

It would not be unfeasible for Ahab to have spies among the Aramaeans. On the contrary, it would have been remiss not to. (In reverse, if the king of Aram had his man in Samaria, he was informed of Micaiah's public announcement of Ahab's fate.) Ben-hadad's orders, issued to a substantial corps of officers, could not have been a closely guarded secret. The very words of the orders are quoted in the biblical text, so unless they are simulated they must at some time have been revealed to the Israelites.

Perhaps, then, the king of Israel's disguise was a ploy to evade an ordained doom. Perhaps it was a device to foil the foe's strategy. Perhaps it was both.

¹² C. F. Burney, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Kings* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903) p. 188, defines such a construction as "wishing to narrate an event anterior to that described in the previous verse."

The captains did their duty with such single-mindedness that they forfeited a chance to kill or capture an opponent king because he was not the one designated.

... when the captains of the chariots saw Jehoshaphat ... they said: 'Surely it is the king of Israel'; and they turned aside to fight against him; and Jehoshaphat cried out [Chr. adds: and the Lord helped him; and God moved them to depart from him]. ... when the captains of the chariots saw that it was not the king of Israel ... they turned back from pursuing him (22:32-33).

The officers spotted a regal figure and assumed this was "surely" the king of Israel. (Their own intelligence service was very faulty if they did not even know there were two monarchs on the field.) The pious Chronicler believed Jehoshaphat's "cry" was a prayer that was answered, but the earlier account in I Kings is vague. He might have summoned his men to his aid with a distinctively Judaeen battle-call. If he cried out his identity, he must have known they were searching for Ahab — a possibility to support the possibility that the allies were aware of Ben-hadad's plan. By the most literal reading, they "saw" this was not the right man — if there was some conspicuous difference in age or looks, or if some of them had encountered Ahab before.

In the end, not the commands of the king of Aram nor the zeal with which they were obeyed nor the resort to disguise served any purpose. An anonymous Aramaean archer simply loosed his arrows into the enemy ranks and struck an anonymous Israelite warrior just where his gear did not protect him.

And a certain man drew his bow at a venture [lit.: in his innocence] and smote the king of Israel between the lower armor and the breastplate; wherefore he said unto the driver of his chariot: 'Turn thy hand and carry me out of the host, for I have been sore wounded [lit.: made ill].'
And the battle increased that day and the king was stayed up [Chr.: stayed himself up] in his chariot against the

Aramaeans, and died at even; and the blood ran out of the wound into the bottom of the chariot.

And there went a cry throughout the host about the going down of the sun, saying: 'Every man to his city, and every man to his country' [LXX adds: 'for the king is dead'] (22:34-36).

There is considerable ambiguity here. Was "ill" a standard euphemism for "wounded,"¹³ or did Ahab use it to try conceal his plight? The king ordered the charioteer to drive out of the **מחנה** [battlefield, encampment], but is still in the fray thereafter. In I Kings he **היה מעמיד** [was stayed up], as though somehow supported, by his own wish or not; in II Chronicles he **היה מעמיד** [stayed himself up], as though an effort of will by a man resolved to meet death facing the foe.

The blood in the chariot is a link in a narrative chain: Because Ahab had condoned and profited by his wife Jezebel's murder of Naboth (I Kg. 21), Elijah had passed upon him the sentence: *In the place where dogs licked the blood of Naboth, dogs will lick your blood, yours also*' (21:19). When the king's body is taken to Samaria the prophecy is partly fulfilled, in event though not in site, when the unswabbed chariot is washed in a pool and *dogs licked up his blood* (22:38). Chronicles has no mention of Naboth or Elijah, and therefore no mention of the gore in the chariot.

When the king of Israel expired under the last rays of the setting sun retreat was sounded, whether a spontaneous call from man to man or by order of the next in authority. Disheartened by the loss of the commander or released from obligation to him, the host abandoned the field. As the unnamed prophet had warned after the accord with Ben-hadad, Ahab had paid the fatal price for his misplaced trust.

As for the king of Judah, he came safely home to Jerusalem to be scolded by one of his own prophets for making alliance with the late wicked monarch of the North (II Chr. 19:1-2).

13 Cf. Josiah (II Chr. 35:23).

THE NUMBER 40 IN THE BIBLE

ARON PINKER

*(I am indebted to Prof. Larry Zalcman
for his constructive remarks and suggestions)*

The reader of the Bible cannot fail to note the recurrent references to the number 40 and feel that some special significance and meaning is implied. Forty is not the only number that appears to be imbued with ancient symbolism, nor is it the most frequently mentioned in the Bible.¹ But it seems that among the various special numbers, such as 3, 4, 7, 10, etc. it is the one that most reflects the human condition. What is the real meaning and significance of 40 in the Bible?

Roscher,² in an extensive paper published more than eight decades ago, discusses the role of 40 among the Hebrews, Babylonians, Mandaeans, Arabs and other Muslim nations. It appears that the Hebrew literature is the richest in references to the number 40 and has perhaps preserved at least some of the nuances in meaning that were attached to 40 in antiquity.

In Roscher's opinion, of all the 40-day periods that are mentioned in the Bible none leaves an impression of greater antiquity than that

1 Merrill C. Tenney and Steven Barabas, *The Zondervan Pictorial Encyclopedia of the Bible* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Pub. House, 1980) p. 457. Tenney and Barabas give the following distribution of the first ten cardinal numbers in the Bible,

Number	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Frequency	960	788	480	250	340	289	390	109	30	500

We counted 66 occurrences of 40, including only those cases where it has a meaning and stands by itself, i.e., not in, say, 340.

2 W.H. Roscher, *Die Zahl 40 in Glauben, Brauch und Schriftum der Semiten*, (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1909).

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associated with a woman's uncleanness after giving birth. We read in Leviticus 12:1-7:

The Lord spoke to Moses saying: Speak to the Israelite people thus: When a woman at childbirth bears a male, she shall be unclean seven days; she shall be unclean as at the time of her menstrual infirmity. On the eighth day the flesh of his foreskin shall be circumcised. She shall remain in a state of blood purification for thirty-three days: she shall not touch any consecrated thing, nor enter the sanctuary until her period of purification is completed. If she bears a female, she shall be unclean two weeks as during her menstruation, and she shall remain in a state of blood purification for sixty-six days.³

At the completion of her period of purification, for either son or daughter, she shall bring to the priest, at the entrance of the Tent of Meeting, a lamb in its first year for a burnt offering, and a pigeon or a turtledove for a sin offering. He shall offer it before the Lord and make expiation on her behalf; she shall then be clean from her flow of blood. Such are the rituals concerning her who bears a child, male or female.

The purification after the birth of a male requires $7+33=40$ days, and after the birth of a female the purification period is $14+66=80=2 \times 40$ days. These multiples of 40 were apparently related to the period of normal pregnancy $7 \times 40=280$ days; i.e. both pregnancy and subsequent purification were calculated in units of 40 days.

Similar purification customs were widely practiced in the ancient Middle East and far beyond; it is found among the Mandaeans, Arabs, Copts, Persians and others. For instance, among the Ethiopian Jews, this custom was strictly followed to recent times. Obviously, the prescribed sacrifices could not be offered, but the woman was isolated in a special hut outside her regular domicile.

That the custom of 40 or 80 days of purification is very ancient also follows from the absence of a reasonably satisfactory explanation for

³ C.F. Kiel and F. Delitzsch, *Commentary on the Old Testament in Ten Volumes*, Vol. I, (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Pub., 1981) p. 375.

the difference in the length of the purification periods for a male birth and a female birth and the need for a sin-offering.

If Roscher is right in his opinion that the root of significance of 40 stems from the period of uncleanness that follows a birth, then we are at loss to explain such biblical uses of 40 as, for instance, in the following verses:

He arose and ate and drank; and with the strength from that meal he walked forty days and forty nights as far as the mountain of God (I Kg. 19:8).

He may be given up to forty lashes, but not more, lest being flogged to excess, your brother be degraded before your eyes (Deut. 25:3).

Clearly, these verses and many others in the Bible that contain the number 40, have nothing to do with uncleanness of birth, but rather with the implications of a largeness of a measure.

Roscher provides many examples in which 40 is used in a variety of contexts in the cultures of the Middle East. He fails, however, to derive a basic meaning from which these variations could have developed. We feel that the root of the meaning of 40 is in Babylonian culture and that from the basic role of 40 in that culture all subsequent meanings and nuances were derived. Though the Babylonian sources in which 40 is mentioned are few, the significance of 40 in that culture cannot elude notice. In a Babylonian inscription the number 40 (*ni-mi-in*) appears together with the explanatory word *kissatum* which means: the aggregate, the whole, universe, set, fullness, or entirety. The number 40 was apparently as holy as the numbers 7 and 50 which also have the explanatory word *kissatu* or *kissatum* attached to them. The numbers 7 and 50 are in a way expressions of fullness; 7 follows (or exceeds) 6 that was the basis for the Babylonian numerical system, and 50 follows (or exceeds) 7×7 .

Forty also appears as "the number attribute" of Ea, the god of water in ancient Babylon. Similarly, 60 is the number attribute of the god Anu, 50 is that of Bel, 30 of the moon-god Sin, 20 of the sun-god Shamash, 6 of the thunder-god Adad, 11 of Marduk. Whether these numbers had some deep meaning is difficult to ascertain. An echo of

number-association with gods can be found in ancient Greece, where 7 is associated with Apollo, 8 with Poseidon. In Greece these numbers were the monthly fast days for the respective deities. In Babylon, at least some of the numbers represented a natural periodicity which reflected the characteristics of the respective gods. Thus, 30 was associated with the moon-god because the length of the lunar month was 30 days. Forty was associated with the water-god Ea because the rainy season (or winter) in Babylon lasted 40 days.

The deep connection between 40 and water is reflected in its Babylonian parallel *ni-mi-in*, the last part of which echoes the Hebrew word *mayim*. This connection is strengthened by an analysis of ancient Hebrew or Phoenician alphabets. It is now generally agreed that the invention of the alphabet was based on the acrophonic principle; that is, each sign was a pictograph representing an object, the name of which began with the letter that the sign was meant to represent. For instance, the letter *mem* in the Phoenician alphabet, from which the Hebrew alphabet was derived, is *mayim* (meaning "water" in Hebrew); in the ancient Hebrew alphabet the m-sound was represented by a little squiggled line , which looks like waves on a water surface. We have to remember that the Canaanite alphabet arose in an area where two important writing systems overlapped in use: Mesopotamian cuneiforms with their elaborate syllabary, and Egyptian writing with its complex set of pictographs. It is not inconceivable that the Babylonian *ni-mi-in*, associated with water, was absorbed into the Phoenician and Hebrew alphabets as a pictograph of water (*mayim*) representing the m-sound.

TABLE OF ALPHABETIC NUMBERS

												
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	20	30	40

Though we do not have direct evidence, it is reasonable to assume that the Hebrews in their written calculations used the letters of their alphabet as numbers. We have conclusive evidence in the Maccabean coins that they did so in post-Babylonian times. It is highly likely that this was the case also in earlier times, considering internal evidence, such as some biblical inconsistencies, and the practice of the Greeks, who borrowed this convenience with their earliest alphabet from the Phoenicians (which was, with some slight variations, the same as that of the Jews and Samaritans). Some of the biblical inconsistencies can be explained by assuming that many of the numbers were originally written as alphabetic letters and later transliterated into phonetic spellings. For instance, in II Kings 24:8 Jehoiachin is said to have been 18 years old, but in II Chronicles 36:9 the number given is 8; as if originally the number was 8 , then it was copied as 7 , and finally the two numbers were written out as words. This example and several others,⁴ indicate that the alphabet may have been used as a number system. If that is the case, then the numerical value of *mem* (i.e., water) would be 40.

It now seems clear that water and the number 40 are intimately connected.

Water, rain, fertility and, in particular, having a full measure (*kissatum* or *kissatu*) of the rainy season were vital to the agriculture of ancient Babylon. Thus, it would not be surprising that the language incorporated such phrases as "a full measure of 40 days of rain" or "a full measure of 40," and used 40 as a full measure associated with water.

4 William Smith, *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. III, (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1981) p. 2193. Some other examples are:

a. I Sam. 8:9 has 50,070 but the Syriac and Arabic versions have 5,070.

b. In I Kg. 4:26 Solomon had 40,000 stalls for chariot horses, but only 4,000 in I Chr. 9:25.

c. The letters *vau* (6) and *zayin* (7) appear to have been interchanged in Gen. 2:2; i.e., God finished his creation on the sixth day not on the seventh.

Perhaps the story about the flood in Genesis reflects this linguistic association. We read in Genesis 7:4: *For in seven days' time I will make it rain upon the earth, forty days and forty nights, and I will blot out from the earth all existence that I created.* Further, in 7:17, the flood continued forty days on the earth, and the waters increased and raised the ark so that it rose above the earth. The flood story, apparently of very ancient origin, has all the primeval elements associated with 40: rain, water and excess or abundance or full measure of rain. However, our story also injects a new nuance into the meaning of 40, that of a period of cleansing — the cleansing of the world from all the evil that developed.

The association between water and a subsequent period of 40 days of cleansing is also found in the case of a woman who gives birth. We would like to suggest that in this case the critical element is the breaking of the water which starts the process of births, just as the rainy season is followed by the earth's giving birth to its fruits. The breaking of water in the birth process may have been perceived as a kind of flooding requiring a period of 40 days for placating Ea because of the pain, blood and the risk of death, for both the woman giving birth and the new-born child, during the period immediately following the birth.

Could it be that the birth of the Jewish nation, on a much grander scale, parallels that of the birth of a male child; the breaking of the waters at the Sea of Reeds, the birth at Mount Sinai, and then 40 years of cleansing in the desert? We read in Numbers 14:33-34: *While your children roam the wilderness for forty years, suffering for your faithlessness until the last of your carcasses shall drop in the wilderness. You shall bear your punishment for forty years, corresponding to the number of days — forty days — that you scouted the land: a year for each day.* The link between 40 days of touring the land by the spies and wandering in the desert for 40 years appears here to be tenuous, at best. The stated guilt is *whoredom* and *iniquities*, but these crimes were not committed by the spies nor the Israelites in the episode of sending the spies or immediately after. The real reason seems to be the requisite *suffering for your whoredom*, a euphemism for suffering that follows a

birth. The new-born nation needs to cleanse itself and prove its viability just as a new-born child.

As a period of 40 days of rain led to life sprouting from the watered soil, so the absence of rain for 40 days led to starvation and death. From this anti-parallelism probably grew the notion that deprivation of food and drink for 40 days would result in death. Only extraordinarily holy persons could survive such long periods of abstinence. We read in Deuteronomy 9:9 about Moses: *I had ascended the mountain to receive the tablets of stone, the Tablets of the Covenant that the Lord had made with you, and I stayed on the mountain forty days and forty nights...* Similarly, the high level of holiness that was attained by Elijah is expressed in I Kings 19:18 in terms of his ability to function, indeed to go on an arduous trek for 40 days and 40 nights, after eating some bread and water. A complete fast for 40 days and nights thus became a characteristic of the supernatural and the extraordinary, the hallmark of the most holy.

The Bible repeatedly points to the fact that some important events occurred to a personality when he was 40 years of age. Isaac married Rebekah at the age of 40 (Gen. 26:34); Esau married Judith at this age; Joshua was 40 when he was sent to spy the Promised Land (Josh. 14:7); and Ish-boshet, Saul's son, was 40 when he began to reign (II Sam. 2:10). While it is possible that these indications of age reflect the reality, one cannot escape the impression that they intend to make a statement, implying that the person referred to was at the "threshold of a new beginning" when that particular event occurred. How did this notion of a "new beginning" become associated with the number 40?

In light of the previously described associations of 40 with the rainy season in Babylon, it is likely that the age of 40 became linked with the idea of a new start in life by virtue of the fact that the end of the rainy season signaled the beginning of the soil's fruitfulness. If this surmise is correct, then the previously mentioned cases of "age 40" statements in the Bible should be interpreted as meaning that after reaching the age of 40 the person was ready to "bear fruit" as the soil was ready after a rain-period of 40 days.

Roscher suggests that the age of 40 was considered the acme of a man's life. If we are correct, then 40 was considered the beginning of a person's fruitful life, or a new start, but by no means its peak. Perhaps this notion of 40 guided the author of Acts, in the New Testament, to ascribe to Moses the age of 40 when he came from Pharaoh's court to his brethren and killed the two Egyptians (Acts 7:23) while the Torah does not mention Moses' age.

Thinking in terms of units of 40, for the people in ancient times the age of 40 meant prospects for another 40 years of fruitful life. We read in Psalms 90:10: *The span of our life is seventy years, or given the strength, eighty years....* These were probably Barzillai's feelings when David invited him to stay with him in Jerusalem as a reward for his help during Absalom's insurrection. He says: *I am now eighty years old. Can I tell the difference between good and bad? Can your servant taste what he eats and drinks? Can I still listen to the singing of men and women? Why then should your servant continue to be a burden to my lord the king?* (II Sam. 20:35). If 80 years was considered to be advanced old age, it is not surprising that $120=40 \times 3$ was seen as the limit of human life: *The Lord said, My spirit shall not shield man forever, since he is but flesh; let the days allowed him be one hundred and twenty years* (Gen. 6:3). This meaning of 120 gives, we believe, a more realistic interpretation of Moses' punishment. Though Moses was punished by not being allowed to enter the Promised Land, the point is made that this was actually a symbolic punishment because he lived to the prescribed limit of human life in good health: *Moses was a hundred and twenty years old when he died; his eyes were undimmed and his vigor unabated* (Dt. 34:7).

We can sum up these observations by saying that the termination of the rainy season in Babylon and the subsequent regeneration of the soil led to the notion that 40 was the right age for significant beginnings. From this evolved the concept of 40×2 as the length of human life, and 40×3 as the utmost length of human life. It seems that the ancient man liked to measure in units of 40.

It is clearly possible that the spectrum of meanings implied by 40 has not been exhausted in the relatively small number of cases in which

40 was used in the Bible. Some uses of 40 persisted in the cultural tradition, but over time their true meaning was lost. Later generations continued with the tradition but had no explanation for it, often relegating it to the unquestionable realms of *Halakha le Moshe miSinai*; i.e., it is an edict given to Moses at Mount Sinai. In this category probably falls the amount of water required for purification in a ritual bath. We read in Tractate Menachot (103b): "All the measures that the sages prescribed are precise: In 40 seah has the niddah to immerse, however, if a kortov [i.e. 1/64 of a log] is missing then she cannot immerse." In this case we have water and cleansing associated with the number 40, but it is not clear why and wherefore these precise numbers.

The Midrash Bereshith Rabba, (on Gen. 50:14) says: "Six pairs were of the same age: Rebekah — Kehat, Levi—Amram, Joseph — Joshua, Samuel — Solomon, Moses — Hillel the Elder, and Rabban Johanan ben Zakkai — Rabbi Akiba. Moses stayed in Pharaoh's house for 40 years, 40 years he was in Midian, and 40 years he served the Israelites. Rabban Johanan was for 40 years occupied with trade, 40 years did he study Torah, and 40 years did he serve the Israelites. Rabbi Akiba was for 40 years unschooled, 40 years did he study, and 40 years did he serve the Israelites." Why were only the activities of those who lived a multiple of 40 years detailed and broken down into periods of 40?

Because of the role that 40 plays in the Bible it was unavoidable that it will find a hold in the language and customs of much later days. For instance, in the English law a widow of a man dying seized of land had the privilege of remaining in her husband's mansion for a period of 40 days; during this time her dower was assigned. A vessel arriving from an infected port, or being suspected of carrying a contagious disease on board, was detained in port in strict isolation for 40 days quarantine. An old proverb states: Whom the gods want to destroy they send 40 years of success. These are only a few of probably many such references to 40 in various languages and cultures. In most of such cases the reason for the specific use of 40 is not clear; they are an echo from a very far past the meaning of which cannot be reconstituted.

We have tried to explain some of the occurrences of 40 in the Bible as derivatives of a single root, that of the Babylonian god of water and rain Ea and the 40-day rainy season. We obviously cannot be sure that all the nuances of 40 are represented in the Bible, or later writings. Moreover, the meanings of 40 need not have stemmed from a single root and be thematically associated. If nothing else, this paper shows that numbers in the Bible have a significance beyond their numerical value; often they imply meanings the understanding of which enriches our appreciation of the biblical text.

Now, having gone through this lengthy recitation, I guess that we are entitled to "catch 40 winks." Why 40?

BOOK OF RUTH

CONTINUED FROM P. 185

scholars, ancient and modern, have produced. I have noted here only a few of the ideas and counter-ideas with which the scholars endeavored to solve what they considered to be incongruities in the text. Scholars have refuted each other's theories in order to promote their own, even as Beattie does. My understanding of the book makes all their efforts unnecessary. Without these fictions created by the narrator the story of David's genealogy might as well have remained in the Book of Chronicles.

THE NATURE OF THE DECALOGUE

JEFFREY M. COHEN

The Decalogue, notwithstanding the brevity of its formulation, has challenged, inspired and civilized mankind while serving as the core value-system for nearly all the major religions whose rituals and principles are but a reinforcement and application of that revelation. And it is not surprising that it should have been borrowed by other religions and venerated by them, because, majestically and delicately, it fuses and synthesizes man's obligations to God with their concomitant: man's obligations to fellow-man created in the image of God. A religion which separates these — and stresses only transcendental divinity — is no religion, because it assumes that the God who created man is prepared to step back from concern and responsibility for His handiwork, and leave him to the potentially cruel and capricious whim of his fellow-man.

Although we popularly refer to the contents of the Decalogue as the Ten Commandments, this is an inaccurate term. They are nowhere referred to as commandments, but rather as *Aseret Ha-devarim* — The Ten Statements. Nowhere does it say that God commanded Moses to relate them or Israel to observe them. It does not say, as it does with most of the other disclosures of Torah laws, 'Command [tzav] the children of Israel.' Rather, they are consistently referred to merely as *devarim* (words or "statements"). This is underlined by the words used by the Israelites to Moses when they requested him to relay the rest of the Decalogue to them himself, as the Voice of God was proving too traumatic: *And they said to Moses, You speak with us, and let not God speak with us, lest we die* (Ex. 20:16). They do not refer to commandments, but merely to a conversation, a communication, a dialogue, a

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speaking with. And later on, Moses is very careful to employ the identical term in Deuteronomy 5, when he repeats the Ten Words to Israel before his death.

But why are they not commandments? One reason is that just as there is natural justice which suggests itself logically, without the need of expert legislators, so is there natural religion, which suggests itself as a self-evident corollary of a belief in a God who is the Creator and guardian of the world in general and of man in particular.

One cannot command another to believe in God. It should flow naturally into the mind of any sensitive and perceptive observer of the drama of life, the complexity and glory of man and the unfolding of history. It is a statement, not a commandment; a fact, not a theory. One who accepts that statement will naturally accept that idolatry must therefore be false. We do not require to be commanded about rejecting it. Similarly, the holiness of God automatically militates against "taking His name in vain." Even a statement to that effect would seem to be unnecessary, how much less a commandment.

And even the opening word of the statement *Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy* underscores the fact that it is not a commandment, since the Israelites had already been commanded about the Sabbath when they were given the manna, as recorded in Exodus 16:23: ... *and he said unto them 'this is that which the Lord hath spoken: To-morrow is a solemn rest, a holy sabbath unto the Lord.'* So, its inclusion in the Ten Commandments is, in effect, a re-statement, not a new command. And the same applies to *Honour thy father and mother*. Does one require to be commanded about that? Should not natural feeling and gratitude induce such an emotional bond of love and honor?

And is that not also the case with murder, adultery, theft, false witness and coveting? Is it not obvious that, in any civilized society, human life, freedom and property must be inviolable? Did the Israelites, who assuredly knew the stories of their own Patriarchs and founding fathers, need to be commanded about such things? They knew how heinous a crime murder was from the story of Cain and Abel, and how God punished Cain so severely. Adultery they also knew from the

resolute effort that ancestor Joseph had made to escape the adulterous seduction attempts of the wife of Potiphar. And could not theft be inferred from the story of the alleged theft of Joseph's cup by his brother Benjamin, and the harsh punishment suggested? And so on. There was not a single new concept in the *Aseret Ha-dibrot* that could not have been inferred by observation of the general principles that they already knew to be essential to an ordered society.

Jewish medieval philosophers distinguish between two kinds of commandments: *mitzvoth sikhliyyot* (rational laws), which our own logic, nature, and needs would have ultimately prompted us to promulgate; and *mitzvoth shimmiyyot* (revelatory or traditional laws), which we would never have thought of without a divine revelation — laws such as the separation of meat and milk, prohibition of diverse species, laws governing the Sanctuary, Sabbath and festivals.¹ The Ten Commandments may, in the light of the above, be construed as mainly *sikhliyyot*, logical laws, obvious foundations of any civilized social order. And yet the Bible records that God chose not to leave it to man to evolve, but even to declare them in the context of a revelation on Mount Sinai.

Why so? Because Judaism wished to stress that religion is not merely a question of man's dialogue with God in the spiritual context of prayer, ritual and the study of sacred texts. God's will is just as involved when it comes to the way we order His world, organize our society, treat His children, respect our parents, our neighbor's possessions, his integrity, the sanctity of his life and limb, his home-life, and his wife and children. And it is logical also, because of man's spiritual standing as *only slightly lower than the angels* [lit. God] (Ps. 8:6). Man is the reflection of God. He possesses the spark of the divine. And if we do not respect the visible and manifest trace of divinity in our midst, as reflected in our relationship with our fellow-man, how can we ever respect and adore the divinity that is hidden from us in His eternal celestial concealment?

1 For a survey of these two categories of laws, see I. Husik, *A History of Medieval Jewish Philosophy* (IPSA, 1946) pp. 38f, 147, 194, 233ff, 294ff, 382.

We referred above to the subtle fusion of the laws that refer to our relationship with God (*ben adam la-makom*) and those that deal with our social — or anti-social — interaction with man (*ben adam lahavero*). And this seems to have been the reason why the tablets were usually divided into two: the first five dealing with God-man issues; the second five with social issues. However, we have suggested that notwithstanding that distinction, they are a unity. And this, according to Rashi (on Ex. 31:18) is why when it refers to God handing over the tablets to Moses it spells the word *luchot* (tablets), defectively, so as to suggest the singular word *luchot* (tablet of), as *one* object rather than *two*. For this reason we never depict the tablets separately, but always joined together, a fact confirmed by talmudic tradition which, in giving the dimensions of the tablets, describes them conjointly as *tetroga* (square). Each separate tablet measured six handbreadths in height by three handbreadths in breadth. Only conjointly was perfect symmetry (six-by-six) achieved.²

The Mekhilta,³ indeed, attempts to underscore this by demonstrating the sequential correspondence and interrelationship between the commandments or statements on the first tablet with those on the second, so that the first statement is elucidated by the sixth; the second by the seventh; the third by the eighth, and so on.

We will demonstrate below this correspondence between the statements on each tablet, allowing ourselves some small measure of licence in applying the insight of the Mekhilta.

I am the Lord thy God (I) - Thou shalt not murder (VI). Murder diminishes the divinity that is within us all. It is an attack upon God who created us and breathed of Himself into us all.

Thou shalt have no other gods before Me (II) - Thou shalt not commit adultery (VII). It is the willful abandonment of, and disloyalty to, one's

2 See Tal. Men. 89a (and Tosaph. D. Melammed); also Pal. Tal. Shekalim 6:1 (25a). For a description of the place of the Tablets as a Synagogue symbol, see J.M. Cohen, *Horizons of Jewish Prayer* (London, 1988), 250-2.

3 Mekhilta on Yitro, Ch. 8.

consecrated partner, by going after another partner. The Bible frequently describes the covenantal relationship between God and Israel in terms of a marriage relationship between husband and wife.⁴

Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain (III) - Thou shalt not steal (VIII). Taking God's name in vain — utilizing it for a secular, vain or false purpose — is an act of misappropriation, just as theft is misappropriation of the property of another, and kidnaping (the talmudic explanation of this law) is misappropriation of the liberty of another.

Remember the sabbath day (IV) - Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour (IX). Sabbath is Israel's testimony to the fact that God is the Creator, and that He rested on the seventh day. If we, at the same time, give false testimony in other matters, then we impair our reliability as witnesses to God as Creator, and invalidate that sacred testimony.

Honour thy father and mother (V) - Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house or his wife (X).

Both of these serve to promote the identical end. The honor of parents is the key to the stability of the home, its harmony and the psychological and emotional strength of all its members. By honoring parents, by allowing them to become our role-models, by extending to them loyalty and duty, and by recognizing their supreme importance as builders of the home, we are less likely to give way to coveting and destroying the unity and harmony of our neighbor's home, and impairing thereby the love and loyalty which characterizes the relationship between man and wife — co-builders of that home. Thus, we can see how inextricably interrelated are the laws governing our relationship with God, on the first half of the tablets, and those governing our relationship with man on the second.

4 This concept underlies the symbolism of Hosea Ch. 1. The imagery of the prophet's wife Gomer's unfaithfulness is a symbol of Israel's faithlessness to God.

A PROBLEM IN THE BOOK OF RUTH

JOSIAH DERBY

The new JPS translation of Ruth 4:4 reads: *Now this was formerly done in Israel in cases of redemption or exchange: to validate any transaction, one man would take off his sandal and hand it to the other. Such was the practice in Israel.* The text implies that the narrator is describing for his readers a legal procedure which was no longer in use and which had long been forgotten.¹ In fact, it would appear that the narrator was the only person in his time who knew about this ancient custom.

None of the classic Jewish commentaries questions the veracity of the narrator's assertion. Indeed, a number of modern scholars look to Ruth as the source for family and inheritance laws that prevailed in pre-monarchic Israel. A closer study of this verse and of the rest of Chapter 4 will lead us to a different conclusion. It will be helpful to the reader to review the story briefly.

After the death in Moab of her husband, Elimelekh, and of her two married sons, Mahlon and Khilyon, Naomi decides to return to her native Bethlehem in Judah. Of her two Moabite daughters-in-law, both of whom are childless, Orpah decides to remain in Moab but Ruth insists upon linking her life and destiny to Naomi's and goes with her.

Elimelekh has two kinsmen in Bethlehem. One is named Boaz; the other's name is not recorded in the text and he is referred to simply as *ploni almoni* which is the equivalent of "so-and-so." Nor does the text

1 D.R.G. Beattie, "The Book of Ruth as Evidence for Israelite Legal Practice," *Vetus Testamentum*, 24 (1974) pp. 251-287. He presents an excellent summary of a number of views by other scholars, with most of which he disagrees. He nevertheless accepts the text as being historically true. It is astonishing that this simple little book has attracted a considerable body of analysis.

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indicate the relationship of these two men to Elimelekh.² We are only told at the end of the book that Boaz was the son of Shalmon, who was the son of Nahshon ben-Aminadav, chief of the tribe of Judah during the wilderness period.³

Naomi and Ruth arrive in Bethlehem at the beginning of the barley harvest. Because they are poor, Ruth, with Naomi's approval, goes out to the fields to glean behind the reapers. By chance — some say by divine guidance — she finds herself in the field of Boaz. Boaz sees her and is favorably impressed by her appearance, her demeanor and her speech. He is especially pleased to learn who she is. Boaz, not married,⁴ may have begun to have thoughts of marrying her. These thoughts take on a realistic form after his encounter with Ruth on the threshing-floor on the night when Boaz is celebrating the conclusion of the harvest season.

He shares his intentions with Ruth, but cautions her that there might be a problem because there is a *go'el*, a redeemer of closer family relationship who would have priority over him. He will attend to it the next day.

And so he does. The following day Boaz goes to the gate of the city and sits there. (The city gate was where all public transactions take place). At that point, by chance — some say by divine guidance — Mr. So-and-So, the prior redeemer, passes by. Boaz invites him to sit with him, which he does. Then Boaz assembles ten elders to join them.

In the presence of the elders, Boaz informs the redeemer that Naomi sold the field that had belonged to their kinsman Elimelekh.⁵ Since he

2 The tradition differs on this matter. In the Midrash *Ruth Rabbah* (N.Y.: Ktav) [Hebrew] Ch. 6, par. 5, the unnamed kinsman is called Tov. According to one opinion, he, Boaz and Elimelekh are brothers, while another believes that Shalman, Elimelekh and Tov are brothers, so that Boaz would be Tov's nephew.

3 So in I Chronicles 2:11. Elimelekh is mentioned only in Ruth, and Tov is mentioned nowhere in the Bible.

4 According to the Midrash, he was a childless widower, his wife having died shortly before Naomi's arrival.

5 The verb used in the text, *mathrah* = sold, has spawned a great deal of halakhic discussion. No one, neither among the early Jewish commentaries nor the modern, accepts it literally, i.e., as a past tense. For a long discussion, see *Iggeret Shmuel*, an extended commentary on Ruth found in the *Mikraot Gedolot* (Warsaw, 1861). The verb is taken by some to mean "intends to sell." The new JPS translates "must sell."

is the next of kin, it is up to him to redeem the field (so that it remains in the family). The redeemer readily agrees.⁶ Boaz then points out to him that Ruth goes with the field; that in acquiring the field he also acquires the wife of the deceased so as to perpetuate the name of the deceased upon his estate. Hearing this, the redeemer quickly changes his mind. He will have neither the widow nor the field. Boaz, as the next in line, can have both if he wishes. This is, of course, what Boaz had hoped for.⁷

At this point in the story (v. 8) the *go'el* says to Boaz, 'You buy it' and then *he pulled off his shoe*. This "he" appears to refer back to the *go'el*, but Boaz is mentioned closer to the verb "he pulled off," and Hebrew syntax would allow us to assume that the "he" is Boaz.

Why has the author of the story created this ambiguity for the reader? He could just as well have made it quite clear which one removed his shoe. But the author had left the reader with the same ambiguity in verse 7, for there too, in describing the ancient custom, the author does not tell us who removes the shoe, the seller or the buyer. Moreover, the verse makes it clear that the transaction is finalized not just by the removal of the shoe but by its transference to the other party. Why, then, is there no word in verse 8 of handing over or accepting the shoe?

But this is not the only problem that the narrator leaves to us. There is the question of Elimelekh's property. When he dies his two sons, Mahlon and Khilyon, inherit it. But who became the rightful owner when they died childless? From the statement (v. 3) that Naomi had sold it, it would appear that she came into possession of the property. But by what right? Beattie⁸ and others conclude that this text teaches us that in ancient Israel wives could inherit from their husbands; and

⁶ Under the circumstances the redeemer buys the property at a substantially lower price than what it would go for on the open market.

⁷ Reading the text carefully one cannot escape the impression that this entire scene had been deliberately staged by Boaz.

⁸ *op. cit.*, p. 268.

this, in spite of the fact that nowhere in the Torah is such a law mentioned.

There is yet a third problem posed by the plot of the story which impinges upon our understanding of verse 7. Boaz reminds the *go'el* that he cannot redeem Elimelekh's field unless he marries Ruth, thereby *establishing her deceased husband's name*. That is to say, that the childless widow is somehow indissolubly linked to the property. Beattie and all the commentators accept this linkage to have been the law in the era of the Judges. I have found only one Jewish commentary that raises some questions as to whether such a law was ever in effect. The *Iggeret Shmuel*⁹ is the only one that, after a lengthy discussion of the laws of the redemption of property in Leviticus 25:25-28 and in the Mishnah, questions how Boaz could make the redemption of the property dependent upon the marriage to Ruth. There is much "twisting of the thumb" by classic commentators on the question of the ownership of the property. In Chapter 4:5, Boaz seems to say that the redeemer is buying the field from Naomi, but goes on to say that he is buying it from Ruth. (One modern commentary explains the text to mean that by buying the field from Naomi, the redeemer had also bought the *duty from Ruth* to establish the name of the deceased!)

The fact is that the removal of the sandal and its transference to another person is nowhere mentioned in Leviticus or elsewhere in the Torah, neither in connection with the redemption of property nor in the purchase of property. (The removal of the sandal is mentioned in connection with levirate marriage, but we shall come to that further on.) Since, according to the author, this was the method of validation, one could expect to find it in Leviticus 25:25-28, which deals with the laws of the *go'el*. There is no mention of this procedure when Abraham purchases the Cave of Makhpelah nor when Jacob purchases a piece

⁹ The author of *Iggeret Shmuel* is Rabbi Samuel di Ozida, a 17th-century scion of Spanish Jewry who lived first in Safed and later in Constantinople. For a summary of the efforts by the Jewish medieval rabbis and by a number of contemporary scholars to solve the apparent problems raised especially in Ch. 4, see note 5.

of land in Shekhem, although the purchase price in both instances is recorded. And these events occurred centuries before the era of the Judges.

The likelihood is that there was no such mention in ancient Israel nor anywhere else in the Middle East. There is no reference to such a method of validation in the thousands of cuneiform tablets recording the sale of property. In the only case in the Bible of a redemption of property (Jer. 32) there is a detailed description of the writing, witnessing and sealing of a deed, but nothing about a shoe ceremony. It may be argued that this procedure was, indeed, in effect in pre-monarchical days but was abandoned and replaced with other forms, and the author takes this opportunity of reminding the reader how it was done in earlier times. This argument fails, because there is ample evidence in the Torah that if an ancient custom was no longer serviceable, it was not expunged from the tradition but was transformed into a somewhat similar custom more in keeping with the times.

There is only one legal situation mentioned in the Bible that involves the removal of a shoe, and this is in the law of the levirate marriage (Deut. 25:5-10). In this law the levir (brother-in-law) is required to marry his deceased brother's childless widow in order to perpetuate the deceased's name. Should he refuse, then the widow appears before the elders at the gate of the city (as Boaz did), and in their presence removes the levir's sandal (*halitzah*) and spits. The levir, henceforth, becomes known as "the unsandaled one," a title of opprobrium. In this case, the removal of the shoe is a disgracing act, a symbol of the refusal to perform an act of compassion. There is no indication in this context that the removal of the shoe has anything to do with the transfer of property or of the widow herself for that matter. Furthermore, if the widow's status were linked to the property that her deceased husband would have inherited, surely the text would have noted it. But from the Book of Ruth it would appear that the redemption of the property is primary and that the fate of Ruth is only ancillary to it. Yet Leviticus does not even hint at such a linkage.

That the author has — for purposes we shall see momentarily — fused the law of *halitzah* with the law of redemption of property becomes further apparent when we ask the question: Why does the *go'el* (or Boaz) remove the shoe? If it is for the purpose of relinquishing his rights to Elimelekh's (or Naomi's) property, Leviticus provides no indication such a ritual was required. Mr. So-and-So could not transfer the property to Boaz because it was not his, hence it was not done for this purpose. Was he, then, giving up his duty to marry Ruth?¹⁰ If so, why didn't she remove his sandal in accordance with the law of *halitzah*, thereby freeing her to marry Boaz? In Ruth there is no hint of a stigma attached to the *go'el*, if it was indeed his sandal that was removed.

There is yet another point of confusion in this story. The law of the levirate marriage applies only to brothers and to no other family members, however close.¹¹ Why, then, is the *go'el* (or Boaz) required to marry Ruth? There was no law in the Torah which prevented Boaz from marrying her at the outset! Elimelekh had no other sons who might have refused to marry Ruth and go through the procedure of *halitzah* in order for Ruth to be free to marry whomever she desired.

That the sages were troubled by the scenario that Boaz had put together is reflected in their disagreement over the relationship of Boaz to Elimelekh. First of all, it is surprising that the sages did not agree on a genealogy.¹² Having disagreed, what is the thinking behind each opinion? The sages wanted to bring both Boaz and *ploni almoni* (Tov) as close to Ruth as possible by making them brothers of Elimelekh, as if the law of the levirate marriage applied to them as well. On the other hand, R. Joshua ben Levi makes Tov a nephew of Boaz, perhaps

10 See note 2. The *go'el* (*ploni almoni*) is named Tov, meaning "good" — a symbolic name like all the others in the story — presumably because he deferred to Boaz, giving up his right both to a piece of property and to a beautiful woman.

11 Some modern scholars argue that originally the law of levirate marriage applied to other close relatives, even to the father-in-law of the childless widow as, they maintain, in the case of Judah and Tamar. Most scholars reject this view. See Beattie, *op. cit.*

12 See note 2.

because, in his mind, it would be improper and highly unlikely for Boaz to say to a brother, "Come here, Mr. So-and-So."

There is one other glaring question that demands an answer: When told by Boaz that the property (Naomi's? Ruth's?) was available to him for redemption, was he not aware of the law enunciated by Boaz in his second statement, that by redeeming the property he would have to marry Ruth? If that was the law, he must surely have known about it, for how could a landowner not be familiar with such a basic law? How, then, could he initially agree to redeem the land? Some medieval commentators answer this question by suggesting that the *go'el's* refusal to accept the deal was because Boaz pointedly reminds him that Ruth is a Moabite (v. 5), and that the *go'el* had not yet heard, as Boaz had, that the prohibition against marrying Moabites and Ammonites (Deut. 23:4) applied only to males and not to females. But if Boaz at that moment knew that it was permissible to marry Ruth, why did he conceal this fact from the *go'el*?

Why all these uncertainties, ambiguities and confusions in what Goethe called "the loveliest little epic and idyllic whole ... that has been preserved for us among the epics and idylls"? In my opinion none of the answers that has been proposed is satisfactory; some of them are quite far-fetched. This essay is an attempt to offer a new solution.

According to the Talmud (Baba Batra 14b) it was Samuel the prophet who wrote the Book of Ruth. *The Encyclopedia Judaica* assigns its authorship to the Davidic era. I am inclined to the view held by some scholars that the book is post-exilic and was written to promote the acceptance of converts. What would be a more powerful argument than to show that King David himself was a descendant of a converted woman, and even of the unconverted Canaanite woman Tamar (Gen. 38). The author took the genealogy of King David as found in I Chronicles, focused on Boaz and composed this exquisite story,¹³ linking it to the

¹³ The orthodox, of course, accept Ruth as historic truth in every detail. Modern Bible scholars assume that it is essentially historical fiction, a novella constructed on a skeleton of a few historical facts, among which are the customs described in Ch. 4:7.

story of Judah and Tamar which he had before him. (Many scholars have noted the parallels between the two.) In order to create an atmosphere of antiquity he employs simple archaic language (perhaps the easiest Hebrew text in the Bible next to Jonah), as one might expect in a narrative of fiction. According to M. Garsiel¹⁴ Ruth is a carefully constructed drama by a writer of great literary talent, who causes the emotions of the reader to fluctuate between hope and despair until the very end when what began with multiple tragedies comes to a triumphant and happy conclusion. Of the scene with Boaz and the *go'el*, Beattie says: "It should be observed that the entire episode has been created by the author purely to provide a dramatic climax to his story."¹⁵ What Beattie fails to add is that the law which the author states to have been in force in ancient times has as little historical validity as the climactic scene itself. The author had to invent a *go'el* other than Boaz in order to increase the tension in the story, and did not even bother to give him a name.

Living in the fifth or fourth century B.C.E., this talented writer took the law of the property-*go'el* and the law of the levir and cleverly put them together to create a drama that would hold the reader's interest. In order not to cause his contemporaries to raise eyebrows when reading this — for they were surely as familiar with these laws as he was — he carefully began with "In days of yore." In the age in which he wrote this story, some seven or eight centuries after its time-set, the pre-monarchical period was already known as the era of the Judges, as he begins with: *In the days when the Judges judged*. One cannot escape the feeling that he was telling his readers that these events happened long ago, so very long ago that they had customs in those days that we no longer remember.

This solution to the problems which the text seems to pose does away with all the fanciful constructions which the fertile imaginations of

CONTINUED ON P. 172

14 M. Garsiel, "The Development of the Plot and the Author's Purpose in The Book of Ruth," (Hebrew) *Beit Mikra* (1979), pp. 66-83.

15 Beattie, *op. cit.*, p. 265.

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MILK AND HONEY

ABRAHAM H. GOTTESMAN

In Exodus 3, Moses encounters God at the burning bush and in the course of their conversation, God says, '*. . . and I am come down to deliver them out of the hand of the Egyptians, and to bring them up out of that land unto a good land and large, unto a land flowing with milk and honey; unto the place of the Canaanite, and the Hittite, and the Emorite, and the Perizzite, and the Hivite and the Jebusite*' (Ex. 3:8).

Although the inclusion of the Canaanites inhabiting the land is disquieting, the rest of the verse *a good land and large ... flowing with milk and honey* is most appealing; for it awakens in the imagination thoughts and feelings that the promised land is a kind of Garden of Eden.

In the Bible the verse is repeated fifteen times. Why this frequent reference? The aim of this brief paper is not to peruse these verses in their contexts in depth. Rather, it is a more modest aim of presenting a viewpoint on the phrase "milk and honey."

Most scholarly interpretations are that "milk and honey" means that the land is bountiful, a region "rich in cattle and food" (Sforno) and in "fruits that exude sweet juices" (Nahmanides). Rashi simply states that milk is goat's milk, and honey is date honey.

In his fascinating book, *Nature in Our Biblical Heritage*, Nogah Haraveni offers a most interesting, realistic explanation. He declares that the ancient hillside of the land of Israel was an uninhabited, forested region, filled with lush vegetation; containing excellent fodder for foraging goats (milk) and abundant nectar from flowers for bees (honey). When the Israelites were shepherds in Goshen, the land there also afforded excellent pasturage for cattle as well as abundant date trees for honey.

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A reference to such rich land in Egypt was angrily expressed to Moses by Dathan and Abiram, supporters of Korah in his rebellion: *'Is it a small thing that thou hast brought us up out of a land flowing with milk and honey to kill us in the wilderness?'* (Num. 16:13).

All the above comments seem invalid. What I wish to contribute here is more in the nature of a psychological explanation which may account for the universal appeal of the words "milk and honey."

Consciously, the human mammalian breast is highly regarded as most attractive and appealing. And a special quality of such breasts is that from them flow a rich, sweet milk for the suckling infant. This quality of sweetness is quite unlike the milk of cattle which has one-half the sugar content. This is why lactose or other sugars are added to cows' or goats milk' in infant formulas. Thus, "milk and honey" can refer to human milk and its container, the breast.

In ancient days, nursing lasted for about three years, which is still the custom in Arab countries today. In the Bible, one possible indication of such duration of nursing may be derived from the story of Hannah, who offers her son, Samuel, to serve God after the child had been weaned. Three years would permit the child to gain a sense of his personal identity, be less dependent in regard to his needs, more verbal and more amenable to education.

This "coming of age" after weaning was celebrated in ancient times as a joyous occasion: Genesis 21:8 states: *the child grew and was weaned. And Abraham made a great feast on the day that Isaac was weaned.*

Such happy occasions could readily awaken appealing memories of the wonderful experience of nursing, either directly or indirectly in a more derivative form, and especially so with disgruntled and complaining people who were discontent with having only manna to eat.

What appears as an interesting coincidence is that in Exodus 16:31 it is told, *and the house of Israel called the name thereof, Manna, and it was like coriander seed, white; and the taste of it was like wafers made with honey.*

However in Numbers 11:8 we read that the manna "*tasted like rich cream*¹ — *כמו חלב*. The association of the manna with honey, cream and *חלב* [breast] is suggestive that manna was like milk and honey being provided by God.

Rashi translates the latter part of the verse (Num. 11:8) as cakes made with oil. But he is clearly puzzled. He reports, "and our rabbis translated it [*l'shad*] as denoting breasts [*shadayim*]." Then he protests: "But there is no relationship between breasts and oil." Perhaps, Rashi might not have been so perplexed had he thought of the oil as mother's milk.

In Numbers 11:10 Moses heard the people weeping and he complained to God about the burden of these people on him. He says, *'Have I conceived all these people? Have I brought them forth, that Thou should say unto me: Carry them in thy bosom, as a nursing-father carrieth the suckling child, unto the land which Thou did swear unto their fathers?'* (Num. 11:12).

These references mentioned in this paper are surely more than coincidental. We therefore venture to say that in the conscious or unconscious memories of breast-feeding in the joyous early childhood of the ancient Israelites, the promise of "the land flowing with milk and honey," was an attractive and powerful promise of security and sustenance.

1 New JPS translation.

NEW TORAH DIALOGUES

HAYYIM HALPERN

Several years ago a series entitled "Torah Dialogues" appeared in *Dor Le-Dor*, forerunner of *The Jewish Bible Quarterly*. Many rabbis, especially those who engage their congregations in dialogues on the weekly Torah portion, found these useful. Educators and families utilized these dialogues to review the weekly Bible reading.

With this issue of *JBQ* we inaugurate an entirely new series of such dialogues. Because of the abundance of material published on the Torah portion, these questions will generally attempt to focus more attention on the haftarah, the prophetic reading for the week.

These dialogues are intended to be discussion-starters and not definitive responses to the questions that they raise. Readers are encouraged to submit answers other than those suggested by the author. Such answers will be considered for publication.

QUESTIONS

BERESHIT (GEN. 1:1-6:8)

What does לשמרה — to guard it (2:15) (New JPS: to tend it) imply? What additional significance can be attached to that instruction in modern times?

HAFTARAH (ISA. 42:5-43:10)

How does the haftarah complement the episode on the creation of man in the Torah reading?

Hayyim Halpern is past president of the Bergen County, N.J. Board of Rabbis. These "Torah Dialogues" grew out of discussions between the rabbi and his congregants in synagogues Beth Tikvah, New Milford, N.J. and Gates of Zion, N.Y.

NOAH (GEN. 6:9-11:32)

In this parashah God decided to destroy mankind but to save Noah and his family as well as animals. Why do you think God does not make a fresh start altogether?

HAFTARAH (ISA. 54:1-55:5)

The biblical prophets utilize allegory liberally. What audacious metaphor does this haftarah use in describing the God-Israel relationship? Where else in the Bible do we encounter such imagery?

LEKH LEKHA (GEN. 12:1-17:27)

God instructs Abraham to leave his land, his kindred and his father's house (12:1 Old JPS). Which is most difficult of the three?

HAFTARAH (ISA. 40:27-41:16)

Find the striking simile and metaphor that the prophet utilizes to bolster those Israelites of wavering faith.

VAYERA (GEN. 18:1-22:24)

Find and explain the discrepancy between what Sarah says and how God reports her words to Abraham (18:12f).

HAFTARAH (II KG. 4:1-37)

There are a number of subtle parallel themes in the Torah reading and the haftarah. See if you can find at least three.

HAYYE SARAH (GEN. 23:1-25:18)

In the charming description of Rebekah's arrival in the Negev (24:62-67) someone is conspicuously absent. Who and why?

HAFTARAH (I KG. 1:1-31)

In the haftarah three primary versions of the events surrounding the succession to David's throne are presented. Find the subtle differences between the facts as presented by the text and the same events as they

are depicted by Bathsheba and then by Nathan. (Suggested by Prof. Nehamah Leibowitz).

TOLEDOT (GEN. 25:19-28:9)

What indications are there in Chapter 27 that Isaac strongly suspects that Jacob, not Esau, has come to receive his blessing?

HAFTARAH (MAL. 1:2-7)

Malachi insists that Israel reform its worship of God. He demands purity and sincerity towards a loving God. What surprising exemplar does the prophet point to for Israel?

VAYETZE (GEN. 28:10-32:3)

Often immigrants to Israel are questioned about their motives for Aliyah. What reasons does the Torah list in this parashah for Jacob and his family to depart for Eretz Israel?

HAFTARAH (HOSEA 12:13-14:10)

How does Hosea sum up Ephraim's (Northern Israel's) distortion of values in just four Hebrew words (six English words in the Old JPS translation)?

RESPONSES

BERESHIT

Medieval commentators interpret the term to refer to guarding against wild beasts (Ibn Ezra). Abrabanel, noting that the term refers to a feminine object, connects it to Adam's נשמה (soul). Many modern readers see in the word a call to nature conservation.

HAFTARAH

God's ultimate goal in creating humanity, according to the haftarah (42:10), is its spontaneous desire to worship Him. To achieve this, God

has chosen Israel to lead the way and to be a "light to the nations" (42:6).

NOAH

Noah and his family were to serve as witnesses and examples of the moral that corruption and evil lead to destruction.

HAFTARAH

The divine kinship with Israel is allegorized as a husband-wife relationship (54:5ff). This allegory is common among the prophets and is carried to daring extremes by Hosea (see for example 2:9). The Song of Songs is viewed by the Midrash as a metaphor of God the lover and Israel the beloved. Dr. Gerson Cohen pointed out, however, that this divine love is never consummated and God remains transcendent.

LEKH LEKHA

According to Nahmanides and Or Hayyim (*ad loc.*) the three are given in ascending difficulty. The question is appropriately asked of immigrants from the "old country" in our time.

HAFTARAH

The simile is in 40:31 known by its beautiful translation: *They ... shall mount up [or: soar] with wings as eagles* (Old JPS). It is also variously translated: *They ... shall renew their strength as eagles grow new plumes* (New JPS) and *They ... grow wings like eagles* (New English Bible). The metaphor is in 41:14 where most translate: "O worm Jacob." Worm is not pejorative. Rather it describes a weak and diminutive Israel in contrast to its mighty enemies.

VAYERA

Sarah speaks of her own inability to bear children and of her husband's old age. When God speaks to Abraham He delicately omits the latter. See Rashi on verse 13 for an explanation.

HAFTARAH

Beginning with verse 8 the haftarah has themes that parallel the Torah reading as follows: hospitality (Abraham and later Lot), a skeptical barren woman with an ageing husband, the birth of a son predicted and fulfilled, threat of death for the son and the divine rescue of the child.

HAYYE SARAH

Abraham. In fact, the servant now refers to Isaac as "my master" (v. 65) whereas he had used that term throughout this chapter for Abraham. The servant is also said to report to Isaac, not Abraham (v. 66). Apparently Abraham has been succeeded as head of the sect or tribe because of age. The events recounted in 25:1-6 are usually explained as a report of a much earlier period. (See Rashi [*ad loc.*] but cf. Talmud B.K. and comments in Torah Temimah).

HAFTARAH

In her report to the king (1:17-21) Bathsheba quotes David verbatim, emphasizing that he had vowed in God's name to have her son Solomon succeed his father. She reports that Adonijah already reigns and even feasts while the king is ill. Moreover, he has invited some of his father's enemies and avoided his friends. She omits mention of "all the king's courtiers of Judah" (cited in v. 9) being invited. Her reference to **סוֹסֵי** (sinners, v. 20) probably refers to her adultery with David. She implies that Adonijah will publicize this sin and use it as a pretext to execute her and Solomon.

Nathan deftly rouses the king to action (vv. 22-27). Prof. Nehamah Leibowitz quotes Malbim (19th-century Bible exegete) who describes Nathan's approach to David as one of shock: "Did you authorize Adonijah's action!" The prophet also describes the feast as lavish (cf. vv. 19 and 25 with v. 9). He asks why prominent courtiers have not been invited if this is an authorized accession to the throne. King David then acts promptly and decisively. (see Abrabanel *ad loc.*)

TOLEDOT

After just one word from Jacob, Isaac asks "Who are you?" and later he repeats, "Are you Esau?" He states that "the voice is the voice of Jacob ...". Also, does goat meat resemble venison? (Based on W. G. Plaut: *The Torah* p. 190.) It would seem that he went along with the ruse.

HAFTARAH

In 1:11 Malachi holds up "the nations" as examples of pure worship of the God of Israel. Rashi accepts this as meaning that the heathens worship the true God but Radak hedges on the intent of the verse.

VAYETZE

In the first verses of chapter 31 the Torah lists the reasons for the Aliyah of Jacob and his family:

Verse 1 — Complaints by Laban's sons that they suffer economically because of Jacob.

Verse 2 — Laban seemed to be giving him dirty looks lately.

Verse 3 — God told Jacob that the time had come to return to the land in which he belonged.

Verse 14 — After a review of events and attitudes, Rachel and Leah agree that they no longer belong in Aram.

HAFTARAH

They that sacrifice men kiss calves (13:2). There is some question about the precise meaning of the text but the words have come to stand for people who pervert ideals.

REFLECTIONS OF READERS

A 'YOD' IN TEIASSEH — (EXODUS 25:31)

HERIBERTO HABER

And you shalt make a candlestick of pure gold; of beaten work shall the candlestick be made (Ex. 25:31). The little word *teiasseh* (shall be made of) in this biblical text caused concern for Abraham Ibn Ezra (1092-1167), one of the most important classical commentators on the Tanakh, and perhaps the first one to apply modern systems and ideas in his biblical studies.

In the traditional text this word *teiasseh* is written with five Hebrew letters: tav-yod-ayin-sin-he. The second letter, the yod, contravenes all the rules of biblical Hebrew grammar: *teiasseh* really has to be written *te'asseh* — without the yod — as it appears in several other verses of the Bible (Ex. 35:2; Lev. 2:7).

Only today, eight or nine centuries after Ibn Ezra, Hebrew newspapers and books in Israel allow themselves to write *teiasseh* with a yod when they are printed without vowels, in order to distinguish this word from the identically written *ta'asseh*, "you (or: she) will make." So this biblical *teiasseh* of the Menorah, with its yod, is to some extent a precursor of our modern Hebrew system of *ktiv malé*, where letters are written instead of the lacking vowels.

Let us quote Ibn Ezra in his commentary to the quoted text of Exodus 25:31:

I saw books [Torah-scrolls] that were inspected by the sages of Tiberias, and fifteen of their elders swore that they looked three times at every word and at every dot [of the text] and at every ma-

Heriberto Haber served as director at several Jewish schools in South America, gaining his title "Professor en Letras" from the University of Buenos Aires. He is the author of Fiestas y Tendiciones Judías, dealing with Jewish holidays. He made aliyah to Israel in 1971.

lé [a word where the vowel is indicated by a letter] *and at every hasser* [a word where such a letter is lacking], *and there was written a yod in the word teiasséh; but I didn't find it so in the [Torah] books of Spain and France and beyond the sea* [meaning surely North Africa, beyond the Mediterranean Sea].

From this commentary we learn that in Ibn Ezra's times there were Torah scrolls written with this yod and others without it. (In the modern official version of the Hebrew Bible — the Jerusalem Tanakh of 5713/1953 — this yod is written.) And though the presence or the lack of the yod does not modify the meaning of the word or of the whole sentence, this variation in the text demolishes a belief that was firmly sustained by the entire Jewish world since the time of the Masoretes (sixth-tenth centuries), viz., the uniformity of the text of the Torah since Moses' times who received it at Mount Sinai, and through all the generations of Jews afterwards.

This discovery shocked Ibn Ezra. The oath of fifteen elders of Tiberias convinced him that the scrolls he knew from Spain and France — where he was born and lived before coming to Eretz Israel — were not identical with the text authenticated by the Masoretes in Tiberias.

Maybe this shock led Ibn Ezra to some interpretations of Scripture considered heretical in his times.

THE ANNUAL BIBLE CONTEST

JOSHUA J. ADLER

To encourage young people to study the Bible the Department of Jewish Education and Culture in the Diaspora urges all Jewish schools around the world to organize and train some of their students for regional Bible contests. The regional winners then come to Israel for two weeks, where they are given opportunities to see the places about which they had studied and meet important personages such as the President, Prime Minister, Speaker of the Knesset and Chief Rabbis of Israel.

Despite their busy schedule, the leaders of Israel understand the importance of encouraging young people to study the Tanakh and visit the various sites mentioned in the Hebrew Scriptures. This year 46 young people came to Israel from 29 countries, setting the all-time record for participants and countries represented. Some countries such as Latvia, Italy and Switzerland participated for the first time. Belgium, that had not taken part for nearly a decade, sent three young people.

Prior to the Israel Independence Day International Bible Contest for Youth, which takes place in Jerusalem and is broadcast on both radio and television, Israeli and Diaspora students engaged in separate contests, the former in Or Yehuda and the latter at the Weizmann Institute. After the written exams and the oral competitions, the top twelve Diaspora contestants and the top four Israeli participated in the Jerusalem contest. The winner this year in the Diaspora contest was Yoreh Zemach of Canada followed by Shalom Holtz and Yonatan Rozman of the United States. On Independence Day, Tal Politis from Gush Katif came in first and was crowned the International Bible Champ.

The themes of this Thirty-First Annual Contest were peace and ecology. Prime Minister Rabin, who earlier had spent over an hour with the contestants, also took great pleasure in asking the final and most complicated of the quiz questions.

In the audience and on the platform were many honored guests including former President Ephraim Katzir, Mr. Yehiel Leket, chairman of the Jewish Agency-WZO, Rabbi Yosef Wernick, head of WZO Education Department, Mr. Moshe Rivlin, head of the Jewish National Fund, and Minister Shimon Shetreet, himself a former Bible contest winner.

During the two weeks the Diaspora contestants spend in Israel, they meet fellow Jews from all over the world as well as their Israeli brothers and sisters. Whether they win or lose, they all receive many small gifts and souvenirs, and the most prized souvenir is the experience itself. It is to be hoped that more educators will see the value in encouraging their students to participate in this annual program which is also the central event of Israel Independence Day.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

CONTINUED FROM P. 202

Ya'allaq (marked **חַר סִינַי**), roughly corresponding to the location of our *Seder* in the wilderness. For obvious reasons, it was a necessarily hurried affair, but even the most "secular" participants joined in the prescribed rituals and the singing with great enthusiasm.

The geographical locale, its association with the "going out from Egypt" and the star-studded expanse above made that unique night a watch night that can never be forgotten.

Gabriel Sivan
Jerusalem

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Sir,

Somewhat belatedly I have just read the article by Stuart A. West on the "*Lex Talionis* in the Torah" (Vol. XXI, No. 3).

It appears that the main theme, as advanced by the writer, is that a crime can be atoned for by a monetary fine as punishment, with the exclusion of certain heinous offenses such as murder, idolatry and other clearly defined non-atoneable misdeeds.

Whilst it is undoubtedly correct that punishment does not have to be identical to the offense committed, it would appear to me that the main thrust of this law, namely its humanity compared to laws of punishment in general use at the time and for that matter until fairly recently, needs to be stressed and underlined.

As explained in the article, there were the odd enlightened enclaves. However, by and large, punishment for transgressions was usually much more vicious than the crime itself and, furthermore, was selective, depending upon the victim's station in society. There are innumerable examples of this throughout history. Thus, according to the Code of Hammurabi, if an ordinary citizen offended against a nobleman the punishment affected the former's whole family and possessions, whilst vice versa the crime was of minor importance. Referring to fairly recent times, for relatively minor crimes a person would be hanged, condemned to the galleys, tortured or, from England, deported to the Colonies; whilst in the USA, even in the middle of the last century, the murder of a slave by a free person was considered damage to property.

The conclusion which is of overriding significance is that the *Lex Talionis* in the Torah is perhaps the first time in recorded history that a people has legislated that everyone is equal before the law irrespective of the social station of the offender or the victim.

Bernhard Lazarus
Durban, South Africa

Sir,

In his article, "The Old and New JPS Translations," (Vol. XXII, No. 1, 85 January 1994) Rabbi Leeman commented that he wished the translators had found a better translation for the word *Shema* than "Hear." Although "Hear" does not truly convey the import of the Hebrew word, it is essential that the translation relate in some way to the aural sense. Let me explain.

Many years ago, I had the privilege of participating in a small prayer group with the late Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel, on one of his summer visits to Los Angeles. The Torah reading was *Va-Ethanan*, and after the service Rabbi Heschel questioned why the Torah did not use as the first word of the *Shema*, "Behold" or "See," as it sometimes does. A discussion ensued, and one of the participants, Dr. Victor Goodhill, a renowned ontologist and a learned Jew, suggested that *Shema* may have been used since the sense of hearing provides a more penetrating means of communication than the sense of sight. He explained that testing of blind and deaf children at the time revealed that the sightless youngsters were more emotionally affected by an oral description of suffering than were the deaf children who viewed photographs of suffering.

I later found a statement by psychoanalyst Theodor Reik in his work, *Mystery on the Mountain* (1959) as follows: "... purely optical impressions without words by themselves would be insufficient for the establishment of ethical judgments. For the preliminary stages of superego formation, language audibly perceived is indispensable" (p. 168).

It appeared to me then that the vital message of God's unity had to be perceived by hearing, and that the translation should endorse that notion.

Earl Klein
Los Angeles, CA

Sir,

Professor David Faiman's article, "From Horeb to Kadesh Barnea in Eleven Days" (*JBQ* XXII:2, April 1994), has brought back memories of a "Now It Can Be Told" experience that may be of interest to other readers.

Almost exactly twenty years ago, in the spring of 1974, I was one of numerous Jerusalem Brigade servicemen called up for another month's reserve duty in the Sinai peninsula. On an earlier occasion, at Hanukkah time, some of us had hitch-hiked to the Suez Canal, made our way over one of the pontoon bridges, and reached the IDF outpost at Fayid. There we found ourselves in "Africa," perhaps even in the biblical Land of Goshen, within arm's reach of *Yam Suf*, the Sea of Reeds.

This time, however, after the usual wearisome bus journey, we disembarked at a mountainous spot over 1,000 metres above sea level, to guard an IDF security emplacement bristling with antennas. Half-way between Mitzpeh Ramon and Ismailia, this height — situated about 40 kilometers to the east of Bir Gifgafa, an Egyptian air base which the Israel Defense Forces had taken over and imaginatively renamed "Refidim" — commanded an extensive view of the whole area. It was, of course, Jebel Ya'allaq, one of the peaks identified with Mount Horeb.

That year Passover also began on Saturday night and we drew lots for an extended weekend's leave. Those of us who remained on the base helped to make the kitchen and utensils fit for Passover use, but once this task had been performed the IDG Chaplaincy Corps reservists left to continue their work elsewhere. In the end, having been chosen to fill the vacancy, I had the rare privilege of conducting not one but two *Seder* services in rapid succession, thus allowing nearly everyone going on or off watch to participate.

We used a newly issued, improved edition of the IDF *Haggadah*, which included a map of the various suggested routes of the Exodus. My copy shows one such route passing through an unidentified Jebel

CONTINUED ON P. 199

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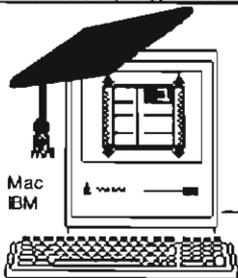
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THE TRIENNIAL BIBLE READING CALENDAR

DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF
CHAIM ABRAMOWITZ

Aug 1994

1	M	II Chronicles 20:20-36
2	T	II Chronicles 21
3	W	II Chronicles 22
4	Th	II Chronicles 23
5	F	Deuteronomy 29:9-30:20
7	S	II Chronicles 24
8	M	II Chronicles 25
9	T	II Chronicles 26
10	W	II Chronicles 27
11	Th	II Chronicles 28
12	F	Deuteronomy 31:1-31:30
14	S	II Chronicles 29:1-19
15	M	II Chronicles 29:20-36
16	T	II Chronicles 30:1-12
17	W	II Chronicles 30:13-27
18	Th	II Chronicles 31
19	F	Deuteronomy 32:1-32:52
21	S	II Chronicles 32:1-15
22	M	II Chronicles 32:16-33
23	T	II Chronicles 33
24	W	II Chronicles 34:1-21
25	Th	II Chronicles 34:22-33
26	F	Deuteronomy 33:1-33:12
28	S	II Chronicles 35:1-15
29	M	II Chronicles 35:16-27
30	T	II Chronicles 36:1-10
31	W	II Chronicles 36:11-26

Sept 1994

1	Th	Genesis 1:1-2:3
2	F	Genesis 2:4-3:21
4	S	Genesis 3:22-4:26
5	M	Genesis 5:1-6:8
6	T	Rosh Hashanah
7	W	Rosh Hashanah
8	Th	Genesis 6:9-7:24
9	F	Genesis 8:1-8:15
11	S	Genesis 8:16-9:17
12	M	Genesis 9:18-10:32
13	T	Genesis 11:1-11:32
14	W	Yom Kippur Eve
15	Th	Yom Kippur
16	F	Genesis 12:1-13:18
18	S	Genesis 14:1-14:24
19	M	Genesis 15:1-15:21
20	T	Genesis 16:1-16:16
21	W	Genesis 17:1-17:27
22	Th	Genesis 18:1-18:33
23	F	Genesis 19:1-19:38
25	S	Genesis 20:1-20:18
26	M	Genesis 21:1-21:34
27	T	Genesis 22:1-23:20
28	W	Genesis 24:1-24:41
29	Th	Genesis 24:42-24:67
30	F	Genesis 25:1-25:18

Oct 1994

2	S	Genesis 25:19-26:35
3	M	Genesis 27:1-27:27
4	T	Genesis 27:28-28:9
5	W	Genesis 28:10-29:30
6	Th	Genesis 29:31-30:21
7	F	Genesis 30:22-31:2
9	S	Genesis 31:3-32:2
10	M	Genesis 32:3-33:17
11	T	Genesis 33:18-34:8
12	W	Genesis 34:9-36:43
13	Th	Genesis 37:1-37:36
14	F	Genesis 38:1-38:30
16	S	Genesis 39:1-40:23
17	M	Genesis 41:1-41:37
18	T	Genesis 41:38-42:16
19	W	Genesis 42:17-43:13
20	Th	Genesis 43:14-44:17
21	F	Genesis 44:18-46:27
23	S	Genesis 46:28-47:31
24	M	Genesis 48:1-48:22
25	T	Genesis 49:1-50:26
26	W	Exodus 1:1-2:26
27	Th	Exodus 3:1-4:17
28	F	Exodus 4:18-6:1
30	S	Exodus 6:2-7:7
31	M	Exodus 7:8-8:15

Nov 1994

1	T	Exodus 8:16-9:35
2	W	Exodus 10:1-10:29
3	Th	Exodus 11:1-12:28
4	F	Exodus 12:29-13:1
6	S	Exodus 13:2-14:14
7	M	Exodus 14:15-16:3
8	T	Exodus 16:4-16:27
9	W	Exodus 16:28-17:16
10	Th	Exodus 18:1-19:5
11	F	Exodus 19:6-20:23
13	S	Exodus 21:1-22:23
14	M	Exodus 22:24-24:18
15	T	Exodus 25:1-25:40
16	W	Exodus 26:1-26:30
17	Th	Exodus 26:31-27:19
18	F	Exodus 27:20-28:43
20	S	Exodus 29:1-29:46
21	M	Exodus 30:1-30:38
22	T	Exodus 31:1-32:14
23	W	Exodus 32:15-34:26
24	Th	Exodus 34:27-36:38
25	F	Exodus 37:1-38:20
27	S	Exodus 38:21-39:32
28	M	Exodus 39:33-40:38
29	T	Leviticus 1:1-3:17
30	W	Leviticus 4:1-6:11

THE JEWISH BIBLE QUARTERLY

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