

A
T H E S I S

on

*"Orhot
Zaddikim"*



SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL
FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE
DEGREE of RABBI.



by

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1934.

FOR
PROFESSOR
SAMUEL COHON,
Teacher and
Friend.

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of this thesis

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INTRODUCTION

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ONE TEST of any good book lies in observing whether, - after one has subjected it to all manner of dissection and critical analysis, (not, then, for the primary purpose of delving into, and enjoying, its contents ~~oneself~~, but for the more inclusive aim of extracting facts and theories, relevant to a set task), - the book still retains a freshness and an "alive"-ness for him.

ORHOT ZADDIKIM measures up to this test. This delightful 701H book still "talks" to its reader, even after much "toiling and moiling" with its content. Though informal in its personal tone, it has a restrained dignity, creating a permanent respect in the reader; and though simple, it impresses with its pious erudition.

Research into this book is made the more engaging by the facts: that its author is unknown, its date is unknown, and even

its title, (original with the author), and its place of origin are unknown. Still, the author becomes a persuasive personality in the mind of the receptive reader; and, although the flavor of the Middle Ages holds sway, the earnest moral admonitions will find echoes, in surprisingly sizeable volumes, in any day and place, - even in modern life-moods.

ORHOT ZADDIKIM is a MUSOR book. 'Musor' is a word which carries a flavor all its own, - it may be variously translated: ethical instruction (hence the German: 'Sittenlehrer'), admonition, chastising, moralizing, et alia. In the Judaeo-German vernacular, it was, as often as not, used as a verb, - indeed the peculiar quality of the word as well as its frequent daily use should be applied after the Judaeo-German (YIDDISH) had definitely veered away into its own direction (after the sixteenth century), when indeed the very 'pioneer' Judaeo-German musor-book to be printed was none other than the Judaeo-German version of

N.B. TOIN, - more accurately:
MUSAR; but more
familiarily: MUSOR

cf. Zunz: Gottesdienst-
lichen Vorträge
p. 428

vide: Waxman: History
of Jewish Lit., Vol. II
p. 614, for discussion of
conflicting opinion, -
younger scholars main-
taining: the 17th century

3
this book (under the title: SEFER MIDDOT,
BOOK OF ETHICS or VIRTUES; ISNY, 1542),
- this premier edition to be followed by
frequent other Judaeo-versions of this
'musor' book. That its popularity was
ever consistent through the centuries, among
the pious Jewish masses, is indicated by
the 47 editions, both in Hebrew and
Judaeo-German (and, in one partial edition
of the work, in German itself), that have
been issued from a variety of different
points.

cf. *infra*: p. 73

cf. EDITIONS: p. 88

vide: *ibid.*

cf. Edition: 1899, p. III

The aim of all 'musor' books, in
general, and of ORHOT ZADDIKIM in
particular, is "entirely a practical one,
namely to instruct man how to train
the forces of his soul.... in such a way
that his actions tend towards the good."

- Waxman, *ibid.*, p. 280

- BUT let this book itself introduce
the initiate reader into the ways of
MUSOR :-

MUSOR has a double function: 1st,
By means of divine chastening, one's sins
are forgiven; 2nd, in order that one may be

safely brought back from evil ways:

תַּעֲזֹב מִתְּעֵבָל בִּי מוֹסֵר הַעֵץ בִּיָּה, שֶׁהוּא מֵיִסֵּר אֶת הָאֵם, הוּא עוֹשֶׂה
לְהֵטִיב לוֹ בְּטוֹבוֹת הָא' לְכַבֵּר חֲטָאֵיו, כְּמוֹ שֶׁנֶּאֱמַר: הִנֵּה כִּפִּי
לְבוֹכִיחוֹ וּלְהַשְׁכִּימוֹ מִבְּרִכְיוֹ הַרְעִים, כְּמוֹ שֶׁנֶּאֱמַר, אֲךָ תִּקְחוּ אֹתִי תִקְחוּ מוֹסֵר.

MUSOR from wise men should
be heeded, - for thus will one repent of
his evil doings, and thereby earn great
reward and merit:

כֹּאשֶׁר יֵשֶׁנָּה מוֹסֵר הַחֲכָמִים וַיִּשְׁמַע הַמּוֹכִיחִים אוֹתוֹ וְגַם יַעֲזֹר לָבוֹ לְחַזֵּק
בַּתְּשׁוּבָה וַיִּקְרָא אֵלָיו כֹּל בְּבָרֵי הַתּוֹכַחָה, וְאַחֲרֵי שִׁיקָלָא, אֵלָּה זָכָה גַּם
הָאִישׁ זָכוֹת גָּדוֹל, וּבַשְּׂעָה קִטְנָה יֵצֵא מֵאִפְּלֵיכָה לְאוֹר גָּדוֹל, וַיֵּשׁ לוֹ
שֶׂכֶר וְזָכוֹת עַל כֹּל מַעֲשֵׂהוּ וְעַל כֹּל הַמוֹסְרִים, כִּיּוֹן שֶׁנֶּאֱמַר בַּחֲשֻׁבָּתוֹ
לִקְרָא עָלָיו, וְאַשְׁכִּי לְגַם הַמִּקְרָא מַעֲשֵׂה קָדָה.

MUSOR should be accepted graci-
ously and with good will, - "if one does evil
and another admonishes him therefore, and
he willingly abandons the evil way, he thereby
gains rest of spirit, both for himself and for
all that are associated with him, - even as
Solomon has enjoined: 'Give ear to the coun-
sel of the wise':

כֹּהוּא אוֹתָהּ בַּשְּׂעָה הַרַע וְהָא מְבִינָה לְבוֹכִיחוֹ הוּא מַתְרַנֵּה מִיָּה לְעֵצָה
הַרַע וְחוֹזֵר לְמוֹטָה (מֵצֵא שֵׁשׁ לוֹ נַחַת רוּחַ בְּעֵצָתוֹ כִּשְׁפּוֹא מוֹדָה
וְעוֹזֵק בְּרִכְיָם הַרְעִים וְגַם יֵשׁ נַחַת רוּחַ לְחַבְרֵיו הַמַּתְפָּרִים אֹתוֹ, וְכֵן אֵמַר
שְׁמָחָה: שְׂמֹעַ לְעֵצָה חֲכָמָה.

[33 B bottom]

N.B. All references
to pages in the
text of ORHOT
ZADDIKIM
are in terms
of the 1879
(תר"מ) Warsaw
Edition.

[34 A upper]
לְגַם בַּשְּׂעָה

[17 B bottom]
לְגַם בַּשְּׂעָה

Contrariwise, one should not act perversely or be stiffnecked in the matter of taking admonishment of one who seeks to show him the right way:

כִּלְכִּיל שֶׁל בָּסֵר: לֹא יִתְעַקֵּשׁ אָדָם וְלֹא יִקְשֶׁה עֲרֵב וְלֹא יִקְשֶׁה אֲוִיחִיו וְלֹא
אִי שְׂמֹרֶה לֹא בֶרֶק יִשְׂרָאֵל, אֲךָ יִתְרַבֵּה לֵבָא וְיִקְרָא בְּבִיבֵּשׁ בְּרִבּוֹן
לְבָבוֹ, כִּי עַל הַעֲקָשִׁים נִאֻמָּה צִיּוֹן בְּחִים בְּבֶרֶק עֲקָשׁ, גִּמְלוֹת (כֹּה)
יִרְחֹק מֵהֶם, וְנִאֻמָּה עֲקָשׁ לֹא יִנָּצֵחַ טָלָה, וְכִכְתִּיב מִקְוִיּוֹת (שְׂמֵחָה)
הַחֲפִצִּים לְאַחֵם אֶל בְּרִי תוֹרָה בְּכִתְיָבִים אֶל בְּתוֹרַת ה' הַפְּצוּ וְלֹא
וְכִתְיָב וּבִיב כִּדְלָה שֶׁל פֶּלֶא' מִיָּם וְגו', וְכִתְיָב.....

[18A middle]
ענין הקניין

ONE IS DUTY-BOUND to 'musor' those who do wrong. Even MEEKNESS ceases to be a virtue, if it is taken to mean passive submission to the wicked, - rather one "should stand up against the wicked like a roaring lion, and should teach fellow-men worship of God, and should admonish people with all his might, according to his wisdom."

וְיִשְׁמַר דְּלִיבָא... וְיִירָא בְּיָדָא עֲבִירָה בְּקִבְלָהּ וְיִוְכִיחֶהּ בְּכָל בְּחוֹ.....

[6B middle]
ענין: קניין

HOW TO 'MUSOR' OTHERS: "One should first admonish another ^(a)privately and ^(b)gently. But if one chastises in public right away, thereby disgracing a person, one has committed a sin." And "if gentle admonition does not succeed, (though in

privacy given), then however one should not hesitate in shaming the wicked offending person."

תוכיח מתחלה בסתר ובנחת, אבל אם תוכיח מתחלה ברבים,

ותביישהו את תקרא עליו חטא...

בתחלה בנחת. אם לא יעזוב יכאיב...

[7B lower]
על: דר. קדושת

[6B middle]
על: דר. קדושה

A very serious offense it is, however, when one upbraids a formerly wicked man who has repented, to chastise him for past sins, - such chastisement is not in the class of MUSOR, - it is rather: SLANDER. אם הוא כבר תשובה, ואסור עליו חזרה

ראשונים, קשה יש לו חזרה אחר כי הלא חזרונות עלו (עליו)

כעכיות, וזה חזרונות ראשונים ראשונים

[29A lower]
על: דר. קדושה

MUSOR, then, is more than merely ETHICS. A MUSOR-BOOK, "though permeated with the spirit of piety and DIVINE devotion, is yet wider, in its scope, and embraces also other forms of life besides the purely religious.... In its aim to teach man the conduct of life as a whole, it necessarily must embrace also the social and the secular phases of it." - But a 'musor'-book goes even farther than this, - for it not only seeks to admonish and instruct by precepts and

Waxman, ibid, p. 643

injunctions, (it must have more warmth, - more flesh, as it were, than merely a skeletal body of admonitions), - ~~but~~ it seeks also to keep the reader interested, - and even amused, - by illustrating, with parables, and other narrative and anecdotal matter, at frequent intervals. All this, given in the form of advice to the reader and made so palatable, explains the mass popularity of 'musor' literature, - "it's so practical, and full of stories", people would say.

AND SO, one is not surprised, in attempting to find the original source of what developed into MUSOR literature in later generations, to discover the beginnings of MUSOR in the age-old PROVERB, enlarged into the שנ (MASHAL), even in ancient times. Thus if we should wish to trace -

A HISTORICAL LINE DEVELOPMENT OF JEWISH ETHICS

culminating in MUSOR of the type to be observed in a book like ORHOT ZADDIKIM, we should take our point of departure in drawing such a line
from:-

A LIST OF MAIN ETHICAL WORKS UP TO THE
PERIOD IN WHICH ORHOT ZADDIKIM
WAS WRITTEN

[A] ETHICAL-RELIGIOUS AGADA (developed around

the סֵפֶר הַמֶּשָׁל as a nucleus: "the 'Mashal' includes the EPIGRAM, ELEGANT SENTENCE MAXIM, the pointed PROVERB, FABLE, & PARABLE"). Early collections of such:-

Waxman: ibid: Vol. I
p. 79

- ① PROVERBS of SIRACH (Hebrew and Aramaic)
- ② ALPHA-BETH of Ben SIRA (proverbs: Aramaic
(much later than Proverbs of Sirach))
- ③ MEGILLATH SETORIM ('Secret scroll': often quoted in the Mishnah; extensive collection of maxims)

[B] SAYINGS OF THE FATHERS (מִשְׁנֵי אֲבוֹת)

- ④ itself, (intended as a supplement to the MISHNA), a more or less coordinated view of JEWISH ETHICS, namely that kind of ETHICS practised by the fathers of the Jewish tradition. Teachings are in 2 divisions:
 - a) Relating to TORAH and religious principles
 - b) Concerning the conduct of the individual and society.

- ⑤ ABOTH di Rabbi NATHAN
(contemporary of Rabbi Judah HaNasi)

[C] COLLECTIONS of FABLES and PARABLES

- ⑥ a) "300 FABLES" (?) by Rabbi Meir
 - b) FOX'S FABLES
 - c) FABLES of KUBSIN
 - d) the many FABLES, PARABLES, PROVERBS, & MAXIMS SCATTERED THROUGHOUT THE TALMUD

[D] AGADIC COLLECTIONS OF ETHICAL TEACHINGS:

- ⑦ CHAPTERS OF RABBI ELIEZER
(54 chapters; much extraneous matter)
- ⑧ TANNA DIBE ELIAHU
(2 parts: Eliahu Rabba; Eliahu Zutta)

[E] PHILOSOPHICAL ETHICAL WORKS

- ⑨ Ibn GABIROL : Improvement of the
MORAL QUALITIES
(אֲדָרָתָא נִיחָא נִיחָא)

(N.B. This book forms the point of departure for the structure of ORHOT ZADDIKIM)

cf. infra: p. 67

- ⑩ BACHYA : DUTIES of THE HEART
(חֻבְּרֵית הַלֵּב)

[F] SEFER HASIDIM : פִּינְיוֹן הַסֵּדֶר

- ⑪ by Judah (Hasid) ben Samuel of Regensburg (c. 1200). Begins, and is the classic of, non-philosophic type of ethical works.

- [H] { ⑫ THE REFLECTION of the SOUL : Abraham
(Last three sections) bar Hiyya
SMALLER TREATISES

- ⑬ MAIMONIDES : EIGHT CHAPTERS

- ⑭ Parts of : REKACH : Eleazar of Worms

- ⑮ ... : BOOK of the GOD-FEARING : Eliezer
of Metz

- ⑯ Medicine of the Soul : TAB-AL NAFUS
by Joseph ibn Aknin.

[I] ETHICAL WILLS & TESTAMENTS

-(traces in the BIBLE

a) Advice of David to Solomon
I Kings: Chap. 2: 1-10

b) Instructions of Jonadab, son
of Rechab; Jeremiah: 35: 5-8

-(in the APOCRYPHA: Testaments of the
TWELVE PATRIARCHS

-(in the TALMUD

- ⑰ ORHOT CHAIM : Eleazar b. Isaac
of Worms
(1050)

- ⑮ MUSAR AB (A Father's Admonition)
by Judah ibn Tibbon (1190)

- ⑯ PORTALS of INSTRUCTION
ascribed to Maimonides.

[J] ETHICAL LITERATURE FROM 13th to 16th
CENTURIES.

- ⑳ GATES of REPENTANCE: שַׁעַר הַתְּשׁוּבָה
by Rabbi Jonah Gerondi
(d. 1263)

also wrote 2 other ethical treatises

(a) Letter on Penitence
שֵׁנֵי שְׁעָרֵי הַתְּשׁוּבָה

(b) Book of Reverence
סֵפֶר הַיִּיָּשׁוּב

- ㉑ KAD ha-KEMAH: Bachya ben Asher.
(end of 13th century)

- ㉒ BOOK of the RIGHTEOUS: סֵפֶר הַצְּדִיקִים
by Zerayah ha-Y'vani
(1394)

- ㉓ LAMP of ILLUMINATION (מִנְיָן מְאִיר)
by Israel ibn Al-Nakawa (Toledo)
(end of 14th century)

- ㉔ ORHOT ZADDIKIM

DATE: ?
AUTHOR: ?
PLACE: ?
ORIGINAL TITLE: ?

*

N.B. This list is
based largely upon
a perusal of
Waxman, *ibid.*
Volume I & II.

Thus, we have listed the main ethical
works leading up through the many centur-
ies from the beginnings of ethical agada,
based on the פֶּתַח as the usual nucleus,

and have arrived at the ethical work which we have taken for our particular study.

With the advent of printing, at ISNY, in 1542, there appeared the first ethical work in Judaeo-German, - it was a translation of the ORHOT ZADDIKIM (but titled: מִצְוֹת צְדִיקִים).

It is our task in this THESIS, to treat the ORHOT ZADDIKIM from the aspects of both the Hebrew and the Judaeo-German editions.



We divide the thesis into the discussion, consecutively, of the following phases: the structure and organization of the contents, the style, the problems of title, date, place, author, sources used by the author, the Judaeo-German initial edition of ORHOT ZADDIKIM (under the title SEFER MIDDOT), the data concerning the various editions of the book, reflections, - socially, economically, and culturally, - of the age, and its theological concepts.

ARRANGEMENT OF
THE 'GATES'
(פ'ת'ת'
IN
ORHOT ZADDIKIM

	פ'ת'ת'	PREFACE	
	ת'ת'	TITLE of 'GATE'	
	*	*	
I	א'ת'	PRIDE	(7)
II	ה'ת'	MEEKNESS	(6)
III	ת'ת'	SHAME	(7)
IV	ת'ת'	IMPUDENCE	(1)
V	א'ת'	LOVE	(8)
VI	ה'ת'	HATE	(2)
VII	פ'ת'	MERCY	(2)
VIII	א'ת'	CRUELTY	(4)
IX	ה'ת'	JOYFULNESS	(14)
X	ה'ת'	WORRY	(3)
XI	ה'ת'	REMORSE	(1)
XII	ה'ת'	ANGER	(4)
XIII	ה'ת'	GOOD WILL	(3)
XIV	ה'ת'	ENVY	(4)
XV	ה'ת'	ZEAL	(3)
XVI	ה'ת'	LAZINESS	(3)
XVII	ה'ת'	GENEROSITY	(3)
XVIII	ה'ת'	MISERLINESS	(1)
XIX	ה'ת'	MEMORY	(7)
XX	ה'ת'	FORGETFULNESS	(1)
XXI	ה'ת'	SILENCE	(6)
(a) XXII	ה'ת'	RIDICULE	
XXIII	ה'ת'	FALSEHOOD	(3)
XXIV	ה'ת'	TRUTH	(3)
XXV	ה'ת'	HYPOCRISY	(6)
XXVI	ה'ת'	SLANDER	(7)
XXVII	ה'ת'	REPENTANCE	(24)
XXVIII	ה'ת'	TORAH	(8)
XXIX	ה'ת'	FEAR of GOD	(11)

- ORHOT ZADDIKIM -

STRUCTURE AND ORGANIZATION OF CONTENTS

*

The contents of ORHOT ZADDIKIM are organized into 28 chapters or 'GATES' (P'ITG), prefaced by a INTRODUCTION. A complete list of these 'GATES' will be found upon a separate page (p. 12). [A semi-literal translation of the INTRODUCTION and these 28 chapters will be found comprising SECTION in this paper].

A well-defined structural scheme is apparent, regulating the arrangement of the material of the book, as well as the material of each chapter in the book:

STRUCTURAL SCHEME OF THE BOOK AS A WHOLE:

After the INTRODUCTION, in which the author stresses:

- a) the final good is the fear of God,
- b) this fear of God may be reached thru the proper cultivation of the 5 senses in man, which are the sources of:

- c) all the middoth (NESH) or qualities in man, both good and evil,

and in which the author states the purpose and aim of this book is:

d) to help improve and regulate the good

middoth [מִדּוֹת / מִדּוֹת],

he proceeds in the rest of the book proper, "to [3A⁶]
make known the roots of the middoth, and their
branches, and their usefulness, and their detri-
ments," along the following structural scheme:-

(A) The first 25 chapters deal with the var-
ious virtues and vices, resident in man. These virtues
and vices are grouped, for the major part, in pairs: thus-
Gates I-II: Pride and Meekness; Gates III-IV: Shame vs.
Impudence; Gates V-VI: Love vs. Hate; Gates VII-VIII:
Mercy vs. Cruelty; Gates IX-X: Joyfulness vs. Worry;
[Gates XI and XII are treated singly]; Gates XIII-XIV:
Good will vs. Envy; Gates XV-XVI: Zeal vs. Laziness;
Gates XVII-XVIII: Generosity vs. Miserliness; Gates XIX-XX:
Memory vs. Forgetfulness.

In the case of Gates XXI-XXV, it is ap-
parent, (judging from the testimony of the author himself) that
the antithesis of Gate XXI, (SILENCE), is treated, not in
a single chapter, but under four headings, (each a com-
ponent part of an unnamed general quality which is
the antithesis of SILENCE). These headings, (which together,
therefore, comprise the second part of the pair SILENCE
vs. Opposite of SILENCE), are 1) RIDICULE; 2) FALSEHOOD; 3) HY-
POCRISY and 4) SLANDER. That it was the author's

conscious intention thus to devote a separate 'GATE' to each of these headings, is made plain by the author himself in the course of his chapter XX on

Silence, in which he says:

[24B⁷] ... כאן ליצנות חניפות ועקרים ומסכר לשון הרע. ואם אלו הם יס
לכבוד אשר לכל אחד בפני עצמו וקמא.

And, indeed, subsequently, in the chapter, he repeats:

[25A⁷] ... אתה יו לך אפרס ד' שדריס ע' כמות שאינך מקביל סני
הסניפה. כת ליצנות דכתיב... כת דאדרי שקרים דכתיב... כת חניפים דכתיב
... כת מסכר לשון הרע דכתיב...

and immediately thereafter he proceeds to launch into the discussion of RIDICULE (ליצנות), but as part of Gate XXI, not beginning a separate 'GATE'. Thus in the chapter-headings of the book, the GATE of RIDICULE does not actually appear, (though we have included RIDICULE in the list of the 'GATES' on page 12, of this paper, under the designation XXI(a)). The other component parts of the opposite of SILENCE, VIZ., FALSEHOOD, HYPOCRISY and SLANDER, appear as separate 'GATES': GATES XXII, XXIV, and XXV. As an afterthought, the author, perceiving GATE XXII to be FALSEHOOD, inserted, as a separate gate, TRUTH, as GATE XXIII, to make another pair: GATES XXII - XXIII: Falsehood vs. Truth.

cf. infra. p. 18 (footnote)

Among the first 25 chapters, then, all the virtues and vices are paired off, except GATE XI: Remorse, and GATE XII: Anger, (and for strict accuracy's sake, possibly GATE XIII: Good-will, and GATE XIV: Envy, should be considered not as a pair, since they are not directly contrasted within the text of either GATE). As for the two

GATES XI and XII, - REMORSE is presented as essentially a virtue, bound up with REPENTANCE (GATE XXVI); and [16B²] ANGER is presented as a "sickness of the soul" (עֲוֹן הַנֶּפֶשׁ) [16B¹⁰⁰] promoting impudence (GATE IX) and pride (GATE I) and cruelty (GATE III). One who repels ANGER acquires the middoth: [17A¹⁰⁰] meekness (GATE II) and mercy (GATE VII), whereas one who cannot [17B⁷] control his anger cannot possibly encounter love (GATE I) or [17B⁷] be joyful (GATE IX). ANGER may be overcome thru SILENCE (GATE [17B⁷] XXI). Thus, ANGER is intimately bound up with many of the middoth, even though a separate GATE is not devoted to its opposite (which is implicit in the term, -פִּדְיוֹן - פְּדִיָּה). [17B⁷]

(B) The last 3 chapters of the book are devoted to the three great middoth that truly ennoble mankind: GATE XXVI: REPENTANCE; GATE XXVII: TORAH, (or LEARNING); and GATE XXVIII: FEAR of GOD, which is the final good. As, indeed, the author begins the book with the Key-note of the FEAR of GOD, so he closes the book with an entire GATE devoted to the FEAR of GOD. (In the earliest printed edition of the book, however, [as we shall have occasion to discuss later, again] the book closes with of. infra, p. 76 GATE XXVII: TORAH, - the substance of the chapter on the FEAR of GOD not being omitted, but inserted, rather, in the body of the מִדְּוָיָהּ. or INTRODUCTION).

These 28 chapters are of varying length. By far the longest 'GATE' is GATE XXVI: REPENTANCE. The shortest 'GATES', each approximately the same in length, are GATES: IV: IMPUDENCE; XI: REMORSE; XVIII: MISERLINESS, and XI: FORGETFULNESS. [Assuming any of these as a unit of measurement, we have, for the sake of passing interest, noted down, in parentheses besides each GATE on the LIST of GATES (in p.), the comparative space devoted by the author to the treatment of each middoth.]

Next in length to the GATE of REPENTANCE (but approximately only half its length), is GATE IX: JOYFULNESS. In subsequent order, according to length, are GATE XXVIII: FEAR of GOD, and GATE XXVII: TORAH, (the remaining two of the final three 'GATES' in the book); and among the longer of the remaining 'GATES', are GATE V: LOVE; GATE I: PRIDE; GATE XIX: MEMORY, GATE XXV: SLANDER; and GATE III: SHAME.

Viewing the chapters in their groups, - of one middoth vs. its opposite, - the pairs of middoth which receive the largest share of attention at the hands of the author, are, in order: GATE XXI: SILENCE vs. its opposite: GATES XXII, XXIV and XXV; GATES IX-X: JOYFULNESS vs. WORRY; GATES I-II: PRIDE vs. MEEKNESS; and GATES V-VI: LOVE vs. HATE.

In the case of several of the 'gates' the structure is more complicated. In the first 'gate', PRIDE, a primary division is first made into two general types of pride, - each of which is treated at length (as to examples of each, evil results of each, yet each having possibilities of operating, not as an evil middah, but rather as a virtue); - however the standard framework is easily discernable. In the GATE IX: JOYFULNESS, although the general scheme is followed, the author digresses to a great degree into discussions of other themes (which are rather thinly allied to the topic of joyfulness, e.g. drinking of wine is dealt with at length, as are the themes: faith, and corollaries from faith: man's duties in this world, the future world, the messianic era, etcetera); so far afield does the author find himself, that, after devoting perhaps the major part of this exceedingly long 'gate' to subordinate themes, he returns, with a jerk, to the theme of joyfulness ([חנן] [שם] [שם]), - thereafter, however, [ISA"] faithfully following the standard outline! In GATE XIX: MEMORY, the major space is devoted to a recitation of thirty things every man must remember, dwarfing the other elements of the standard framework, which nevertheless can be recognized by close examination. The end of the chapter refers the reader to the subsequent GATE XXVII:

TORAH: מִן הַיּוֹם וְעַד הַיּוֹם וְעַד הַיּוֹם /יג, - thus ending abruptly, instead of ^{with} the usual hortatory sentence. Likewise, GATE XXI: SILENCE ends by introducing a section devoted to RIDICULE [וְעַד הַיּוֹם], which, as we explained above, is really to be considered as a separate 'gate', and which exhibits, (though in apocopated form), the standard framework of a 'gate', [five degrees of RIDICULE, the evil results (leading to apostasy and inclining others to sin) that emanate ^{from} that nonetheless RIDICULE is at times a virtue (when directed versus the wicked, etc.)].

GATE XXVI: REPENTANCE, (a theme which the author treats at greater length than any other), by virtue of its comparatively enormous length and the exceeding importance attached to this 'gate', is constructed along lines sufficiently at variance from the standard framework as to be regarded as having a scheme peculiarly its own:-

1. Begins with a preliminary eulogy of Repentance: (its glory extends to the heavens, it preceded creation, etc., illustrated by rabbinic agada)
2. SEVEN REASONS why one should repent in one's youth, and not tarry until old age.
3. SEVEN THINGS NECESSARY for COMPLETE Repentance, which one must REALIZE, PRELIMINARY to

embarking upon the way to REPENTANCE.

4. TWENTY PRINCIPLES, FUNDAMENTAL FOR REPENTANCE.

5. TWENTY-FOUR THINGS WHICH OBSTRUCT

- REPENTANCE:
- (a) FOUR of these constitute major sins, and the offenders are not afforded even the means of Repentance.
 - (b) FIVE of these practically shut off the ways of Repentance.
 - (c) FIVE of these make it impossible for one to repent completely.
 - (d) FIVE of these render him powerless to repent because the world at large does not regard them very seriously, so that he remains a sinner without appearing so.
 - (e) FIVE of these are habits which he cannot shake off and which plague him recurrently.

Although these obstruct repentance, they do not prevent repentance; and if one succeeds in repenting of these, he is still eligible for a portion in the world to come.

6. Two classifications of SINS.

- (a) SINS between man and God.....
- (b) SINS between man and man.....

7. FOUR TYPES of MEN who REPENT.

8. SIX COERENT REASONS DRIVING A MAN TO REPENT.

9. FOUR GENERAL METHODS (TECHNIQUES) of REPENTANCE.

- a) אָפּקאָם b) צוהר c) גענוג d) צוהר

10. SPECIFIC PENANCES for SPECIFIC SINS:

(cites eighteen or more such penances, emphasizing especially $\pi\epsilon\eta$ $\eta\iota\sigma\tau\alpha$ and the penance therefor).

11. SUMMARY OF ELEMENTS NECESSARY FOR TRUE REPENTANCE.

(emphasizes the need to
a) confess, b) fast,
and cites the rewards and the efficacy of REPENTANCE).

12. FINAL GENERAL EXHORTATION (with appropriate verse)

In this long 'gate' on REPENTANCE, moreover, we find the formula: $\gamma\alpha\rho$ η $\iota\sigma\tau\alpha$ twice. In his anxiety, [33A^{low}; 36B^{low}] moreover, to bring to bear upon this theme of Repentance, all possible opinions, on the subject, from various sources, the author further complicates the 'gate', -duplicating several ideas, interpolating quotations from one source within the body of a longer quotation from another source, etc.

cf. infra p. 31; p. 69

GATE XXVII: TORAH and GATE XXVIII: FEAR

of GOD also do not adopt the structural plan of the first 25 chapters. GATE XXVII: TORAH, after beginning with a eulogy of LEARNING of TORAH, (as being the greatest of all mitzvot, etc.), consists, for the greater part, of a historical sketch of the progress of LEARNING among the

Jews, from the time that the TORAH 'was written by [37B ^{bottom} quoting from Maimonides] Moses, before he died, in his own handwriting', down to the author's day (in the fifteenth century); and ends this simply constructed 'gate' with a lengthy and bitter diatribe against the scholars of his day and the sad state of contemporary LEARNING among his Jewish countrymen. (Indeed, in the earliest printed edition of the book, which, [as we shall have occasion to discuss later], was a Judaeo-German translation from a previous Hebrew manuscript, the bitter parts of this 'gate' are omitted by the translator) cf. infra, p. 41 cf. infra, p. 42 cf. infra, p. 73

In GATE XXVIII: FEAR OF GOD, the author presents his philosophy of man in the universe. After an introductory eulogy of FEAR OF GOD, [as "the foundation of all things," the axis about which all things revolve; (יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ)], three types of FEAR OF GOD are presented, followed by philosophic dissertations on Man's SOUL (in its divisional aspects of נַפְשׁ, רִחוּ, + מַחְשָׁבָה), MAN'S KNOWLEDGE, FREEDOM OF THE WILL, COSMOS and the concept of MAN as an OLAM KOTON (which the author treats in much detail), REWARD and PUNISHMENT, PROPHECY, THE EVIL YEZER, etc., - all these bringing to bear on the great need for man to fear God, and upon this note, the 'gate' (and the book as a whole), ends:

כֹּאֵלָה וְכֹאֵלָה תִּחְשַׁד, וְתִהְיֶה צְנִי' וְסֵפֶל רִחוּ וְיִרְאָה מִיָּד:

STYLE

*

Being a book of MUSOR, Orhot Zaddikim shares, with the majority of such literature, the stylistic characteristics of persuasive tone, warm intimacy with the reader, and a homely simplicity of vocabulary and expression. The Hebrew is easy-flowing and pleasant to read. Permeated, as the author is, by piety and divine devotion, he is verbose and extravagant in rehearsing the praises and benefits of those things which he deems good, and equally so in denouncing the things he considers evil. At times he becomes rhapsodic and ecstatic, losing himself in descriptions of virtues, so that well-nigh every good quality tends to become the superlative among all the 'middoth'; and conversely, each evil 'middoh' is, in its turn, charged with being the worst evil possible. Thus in the very first few lines of GATE I, PRIDE is charged with being the most mischievous of all the 'middoth':

e.g. descriptions of
wisdom [חוכמה]
the soul [נפש]
(not elsewhere
at random).

וְאֵלָּא הָיָה כִּי יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה לְעַצְמוֹ כִּי יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה לְעַצְמוֹ

[3B¹⁰]

but this does not hinder the author from denouncing
the love of doing evil as:

כִּי יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה לְעַצְמוֹ כִּי יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה לְעַצְמוֹ כִּי יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה לְעַצְמוֹ [8A¹⁰⁰]

And in describing some of the other evil 'middoth', the author waxes indignant, charging this or that 'middoh' with dire consequences, that the reader receives the impression that each quality is worse than the preceding. In the case of the positive virtues, this tendency on the part of the author is even more pronounced: thus meekness is extravagantly credited: ...טוב [5A bottom] and in the very next 'GATE', shame is elevated to the superlative rank, so that the reader is urged that:

...תהיה קטניו חסדו מעט מקומו כי זה יאס אל דה חסדות. [5A top]

So^{ly} Subsequently, LOVE (GATE V) is made to *the mistress:

האבה כולל מעט רב יותר מכל החסות... ואין מעלה קדוה [5A top]

העזרה יותר; while in GATE XIII, GOOD WILL

is regarded as all-embracing that: ...היה אלה [8A top]

כל הפורה כללה. ^{10 yet} ~~There~~, GATE XIX opens with the

solemn notice that...היה יכלו להק"פ [22A top]

Of REPENTANCE, it is said that it reaches to the very throne of God (היה כסא הכבוד), and that it preceded [30B top]

creation. TORAH is of course hailed as the highest [30B top] of mitzvot (היה תורה) [37A top]

However, if the reader is at a loss, it may be safely assumed that, in the author's eyes, it is the 'middoh' of FEAR of GOD that occupies the highest place; the most august, the end of all things, - this FEAR of

God is the everlasting axis about which all things re-
 volute: [39A¹⁰]
 הכן תורה ביצאת שמים וכל בתורה אינה מועלת לאדם אלא: שטות
 ביצאת שמים, והוא יתב גהכל תלוי בה, והוא לבדה מועלת
 פ. לעולמי עולמים. The book begins with the Keynote of:
 "סוף כל דבר הוא יצאת ה"
 the words -: פ'נל' (17)...

The author is likewise much given over to the profuse illustration of his material by means of parables and moral stories, culled from a numerous variety of sources. These are to be found on every page of the book, (and, indeed, several of the Yiddish (Jidaco-German) translations of the book are merely the parables and stories, with but a minimum of the rest of the book]. It is of. *infra*, p. 77(2), p. 108(2)

not our purpose to list even a portion of these delightful parables and bits of legend, as they appear in too great abundance, (- we have included a semi-literal translation of them, however, in the body of the texts of the several 'GATES' in SECTION of this paper). Some of them are familiar and their sources easily ascertained or recognized; of. *infra* ^{SECTION III} pp. 10, 22, etc.

some are original with the author. Among the latter, a formula most commonly adopted is the familiar one of "a King and his servant(s)"; and innumerable e.g. *infra*, *ibid.*, p. 10

instances may be found, throughout the book, where the

author uses this same "king: servant" formula, for purposes of similes and other forms of comparing God's relation to mankind according to this favorite formula. e.g. *ibid.*, *ibid.*, p. 22 *top*

At times, the author merely refers to more familiar stories or parables, without actually recounting these

e.g. 12B *top*
16B *top*
15B *m*
16A *top*
etc., at random
through the book.

e.g. *נחום גמ' ז'ו* (Nachum Gam Zu); or merely sums [15B] *ק"י*

up a story in a phrase or two: e.g. *כא הווא מלכא קמך* [17A] *ק"י*

or (on the same page, at which the edition before us is opened at random):

וכבר ידעת מהלך (שמאן שמאן) אהן הו' לרס: קבדנותו על שמאי בקבא [17A] *ק"י*
לכדונו הו' מן העולם, שנותנתו על הו' קרבנו תחת כנפי העבירה.

(and likewise on the same page, before us, are several other examples).

The parables, stories, or similes, etc., are introduced by diverse formulæ. The most common introductory phrases are, naturally:

וכן...; מה דמיה; ומעשה ק...; למשל; etc.

For example, we turn to a page [15B-16A] *ק"י*

in the edition which is before us and we perceive, on the one page, - such stories, etc., with introductions as:

- 1) ומעשה קמך בני אדם שפלו לעבד דספינה. האחד ישר קוף דקלון, וגו' (וכן...)
- 2) מה דמיה למלך אורחוס וכו' (וכן...)
- 3) מה דמיה למלך אורחוס וכו' (וכן...)
- 4) ומעשה קמך בני אדם שפלו לעבד דספינה. האחד ישר קוף דקלון, וגו' (וכן...)
- 5) ומעשה קמך בני אדם שפלו לעבד דספינה. האחד ישר קוף דקלון, וגו' (וכן...)
- 6) ומעשה קמך בני אדם שפלו לעבד דספינה. האחד ישר קוף דקלון, וגו' (וכן...)
- 7) ומעשה קמך בני אדם שפלו לעבד דספינה. האחד ישר קוף דקלון, וגו' (וכן...)

These examples will incidentally indicate the frequency with which these stories and parables, etc., appear. In the course of the book, morals and anecdotes are

drawn from the very beginnings of (Jewish) history down to contemporary times in which the author lived. The Paradise story of Adam and Eve is rehearsed to explain the origin of SHAME (GATE III), but likewise the obscured legend that Adam once fasted for 130 years, [35A^m] is to found in the course of the author's delightful excursions into illustrative material for his dissertations upon the virtues. King David and Elijah [6B^{40t}] are favorite characters frequently encountered among the stories and parables; so also Moses, and even Melchizedek; and, indeed, it were difficult to find a Biblical personality whom the author has overlooked. Likewise the rabbis of the Talmud provide much material for the author to draw upon for stories, etc.

Elijah [118^{40t}]
[16B^{40t}]
David [340^m]
[35A^m]
etc.

The similes and metaphors are oftentimes quite striking, (and those that are grounded in the daily life of the author have a value in indicating and reflecting the ideas, customs, etc. of this period). Just to mention one or two at ran-

of. infra: p. 112

dom: [29B^{40t}]
הוא כח (הרע) מחפש מוחי בני אדם, והוא דומה לעובדים
שהם יניחו לעולם על מקום האכילתם. אם יש באדם שחין. העובדים
מניחין כל האור וישבו על שחין. וכך הוא כח להרע מניח כל האור
באדם ומחפש מן הרע

(quite characteristically following this with a parable to illustrate further: from Bachya: שם הכניסה ב"י: ...)
אדם שכל מעשיו טובים ומתפלל בהם להתקרב דומה לתקשור חסד אחד ...
... ומחפש אצל האש עד שיבוא מקדים ומסרים עד שלא שוק לאכול מחמת חסירות
עריבת האש, כך האדם המתבטל במעשים ומקדים ומסרים במחשבו קמטין בטובים.

[4A^{40t}]

Thus PRIDE is like a coin [38^{40t}]; a new born babe is a tabula rasa [3A^m];

Perhaps more immediately noticeable, (than even the matters of the author's style in presentation of his material which we have already noted so far) is the propensity to quote, at every possible juncture, no matter how small, - whether it be from the Scriptures or from the Rabbis. Almost ⁱⁿ every other line, so it seems, appears a *וְכֵן יָאָמַר*, or a *וְכֵן יָאָמַר*, or *וְכֵן יָאָמַר*. Every statement apparently, in the eyes of the author, must needs be backed up with a verse from Scripture, the Talmud or the Midrash.

The combined effect of the interfusion of constant quoting, and recounting, of stories and parables makes for a most colorful style. The reading never becomes dull. Moreover the author's set framework for presentation of his material in each 'gate' affects his style: thus the reader becomes accustomed to, (and, after the first few 'gates', even begins to look for), such regularly recurrent phrases as *וְכֵן יָאָמַר*, *וְכֵן יָאָמַר*, *וְכֵן יָאָמַר*, and other such formulae incidental to his method of presentation. In this connection, especially noticeable is the tendency to end the 'gate' with a final *וְכֵן יָאָמַר*, (or less frequently, *וְכֵן יָאָמַר* or *וְכֵן יָאָמַר*) Just as the parables, stories, similes and quotations set the tone of the whole book, so these recur-

rent formulaary phrases contribute the beat, and the rhythm, to the reading of the book.

Another very significant characteristic in the author's writing, however, is not noticed by the reader under ordinary circumstances, and it is only when brought to the reader's attention that its influence on the author's style is really seen. The author has a definite weakness for borrowing, heavily, whole passages from the writings of others, inserting these, quasi-organically, in the body of his own ideas. (We shall treat of these many sources, from which he draws, later). At this point, it is merely our purpose to make note of how skillful the author is in providing smooth transition from his own words directly into the swing of the passage borrowed. Very rarely indeed does he inform the reader when he is quoting from another's work, so that the reader may, as like as not, be thinking that he is reading the author's ideas, whereas in actuality he has been reading a page extracted, more or less bodily, from Maimonides or Eleazar of Worms. Yet, ^{he}so maneuvers, that the reader does not perceive the skipping over to a passage from another ^{work}_A - at times such adroitness is impossible, and then

cf. infra p. 60

cf. infra p. 65

the author does not hesitate to twist expressions and adapt the language of the borrowed passage to suit his own purposes and his own style. That is why, often, the reader, in the midst of a borrowed passage, encounters the familiar formulae, characteristic of the author himself. Just to cite one example, almost the whole 'gate'

XXV: SLANDER, is but a long passage from the [begin. 28 B ^{bottom} - 30 B ^{top}]
 Gates of Repentance by Rabbi Jonah, - however, cf. infra. p. 66 (8.)
 the language has been adapted and changed in places. This same passage, cited, provides the opportunity for pointing out another characteristic, incidental to this proclivity for inserting borrowed passages: the author never hesitates to interpolate, in the midst of a borrowed passage, another (shorter) passage borrowed elsewhere. Thus, in the course of this long adaptation from the Gates of Repentance, the author has interpolated two passages (from Maimonides' Mishneh Torah, and [29 B⁻]
 Bachya's Duties of the Heart), likewise giving the reader [29 B^{bot}]
 no inkling that any of these passages are borrowed.

This habit of the author makes it difficult for the critical reader to estimate the author's own style in many respects. For instance, (above), we have cited a 'typical' simile which likens

a slanderer to a swarm of flies. This simile [29 B^{line}] appears in the adapted passage from Rabbi Jonah we have cited above, so that one cannot know whether it is the author's or not, unless one has made a close study of the book.

The same habit of frequent insertions of passages, (without announcing their source), also serves to render the book repetitive and redundant in places. To cite one example: In GATE XVII: GENEROSITY, the author, having made the point that a truly generous person gives before he is asked, inserts two passages consecutively (from Maimonides' Commentary on the Mishnah and Mishneh Torah) ^{cf. infra p. 69 (22, 23)} in order to return to the point or to make the return-transition more smooth, must needs repeat: "and it were well that he give ere he is asked." The impression one receives of repetitiveness is all the more accentuated by the excessive citing of verses from Scripture and the Rabbinical sayings, - for in the case of these also, rarely does the author cite his source (and only infrequently specifies the particular rabbi he is citing), so that the reader finds himself reading a sentence, with the following clause a verse, or saying, couched in the same phraseology.

This tendency to repetitiveness does not extend, however, to the repetition of one part of the book in another part, despite the intertwined, dovetailed nature of the material. To avoid such repetition of ideas, the author adopts the stylistic formula, for purposes of cross-reference: ... וכבר ידעת. For example:

[17B^m] הכעס נוטה מאוד אל בגאון ואין הכוונה (משל) מן הגאון, וכבר ידעת כדעת הגאון, וראוי ומו'.

Or, another example: (speaking of CRUELTY):

[11A^m] ואל המערה הזאת (מזאת) קסמי פנים כדכתיב על פנים אשר לא ירא פנים אדם ונשר לא יחול, וכבר ידעת כדעת מרוב (אין) העצמות.

[22A^m] etc., ... וכבר ביארנו ענין הכוונה בשר הבושה. Or, in Gate XXVI:

However, the author has organized his material so

well that instances of this are rare. - And only two

or three times does he "continue" a subject in another

'gate', (e.g. end of GATE XIX: MEMORY refers the reader

to GATE XXVII: TORAH, for the completion of this theme).

[23B^m]

cf. also: מלחמה::

[4A^m]

cf. also: תורה::

[23B^b]

The style of the author is further charact-

erized by other recurrent bits of phrase and

formuli of which he is fond. Especially, ^{frequent} among

these is the constant exhortation to do this or

that good thing in order that one should merit

a portion in the world to come, and the pages of the

book are fairly dotted with the abbreviations: וְהָיָה

and וְהָיָה, beginning with the very first page of the

הענין כפי יגיע לפרס הגון וכו' :- thus:- הַקְדָּמָה

Indeed quite a number of the 'GATES' open with an

introductory description as: [2A^m]
 וְהָיָה הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה אֶחָד... וְכֵן יִהְיֶה
 אֶל מַעֲשֵׂי רַבּוֹת קְדוּתָהּ וְקִדְּוֶתָהּ.
[20B^s] (הַדְּעָלוֹת הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה כִּי... עֲנִיּוֹ מְקוֹלָקוֹס מֵאַחַד הַדְּעָלוֹת וְכֵן.

Likewise frequently there appears the formula [38A]
 קְדוּתוֹת הַדְּעָלוֹת (in the GATE ~~XXVII~~ - TORAH), and other ex-

ceedingly common expressions (^{especially} קְדוּתָהּ, etc.) which are no
 index to the author's particular stylistic mannerisms.

On the contrary, a phrase like קְדוּתָהּ never appears
 (except, perhaps, in a Judaea-German version now + ⁴⁴⁴¹²⁶ [38A^m]
 them), the Gentiles usually termed אֵינוֹ יְהוּדִי. [In the [26A^m; 26A^m; 36A^m; etc.]

case of one passage, however, which is deleted in many
 editions, (in the beginning of GATE I: PRIDE), and which is, [cf. S. 1794 A. 5A^m]

moreover, a borrowed passage (from Maimonides: Mishneh Tor-
 ah), the author has permitted a phrase like קְדוּתָהּ].

Nor is the author given over to devices like Ge-
 matria in his writing. The one case of such is
 found at the beginning of GATE ~~XXIII~~ - TRUTH (where
 God is made equivalent to TRUTH since the total of
 אֱלֹהִים multiplied by itself, - אֱלֹהִים אֱלֹהִים אֱלֹהִים, corresponds
 to 1111). is not the author's as this whole 'gate' is
one borrowed passage. of infir.

In general, it may be said that the
 author wrote carefully and painstakingly, as re-
 flected by the various elements in his style as we
 have demonstrated. Such care was necessary because
 of his careful organization and constant quoting

and borrowing from other works. Only rarely does he become guilty of inaccuracy, - e.g. at the end of GATE XIX: MEMORY, he makes some reference to:-

וְכִינֹכַח הַמִּשְׁכָּן הַזֶּה הָיָה יְהוָה בְּרַחֲמָיו [230⁴⁶]

which פִּינ'ס one is at a loss to find in the מִשְׁכָּן.

[However this whole passage at the end of GATE: XIX is unusual and unlike the author (cf. peculiar end), so that the author may not have written this]. cf. infra p. 30 (N.O.)

Another curious inaccuracy is to be noted in GATE XII: ANGER, where the author refers the reader to a GATE: STRIFE (מִלְחָמָה) which nowhere appears in the book, which he may have intended to include, (and had failed to change this passage after deciding not to include such a GATE).

וְכִינֹכַח הַמִּשְׁכָּן הַזֶּה הָיָה יְהוָה בְּרַחֲמָיו [17A⁴⁷]

~~[However, here again, an explanation might be seen in the fact that this is found in a borrowed passage adapted by the author to his own use. In either case, however, this is due to inaccuracy in editing of the book on the part of the author].~~ cf. infra p.

On the whole, however, these isolated instances (together with the loose structure in connection with the GATE: RIDICULE, to be found as part of GATE cf. p. 14 supra. XXI: SILENCE), form the only exceptions to otherwise exceeding careful and painstaking writing.

TITLE, DATE, AND PLACE

*

TITLE:

We do not have the original Hebrew manuscript of the author, but all the evidence, internal and external, point to the conclusion that the original title of the book was not אורחות צדיקים, but rather SEFER HAMIDDOTH, BOOK OF MORAL QUALITIES: סֵפֶר הַמִּדּוֹת

INTERNAL EVIDENCE: In the course of the text, the author refers to the book, as a whole, five times, -as follows:-

1) In the INTRODUCTION, (near the end): [א"א]

זה סֵפֶר הַמִּדּוֹת נכתב ונחתם בטבת ה'תתכ"ח אלול ה'תתכ"ח...

2) In GATE XIX: MEMORY (near the end):

יְהוָה רָגַל לְחַזֵּק זֶה הַסֵּפֶר וְאֵץ יַעֲזֹר בָּן הַמִּדּוֹת וְיִסְמַח, וְלֹא הִפְחוּת [א"ב 23]
וְחַזֵּר אֵלֶיךָ שֶׁכָּן אֵת כָּל שְׂמוֹת, וְיִסְמַח כָּל שֵׁן הַמִּדּוֹת הַכְּתוּבִים
בְּתוֹכָם הַסֵּפֶר יַחֲזִיר בָּן שֶׁכָּן

3) In GATE XVI: REPENTANCE: 3 times:

... וְאֵל הַמִּדּוֹת הַמְּאֻדּוֹת הַסֵּפֶר הַזֶּה: [א"ג 31]

... לֹא מִי שֶׁנִּדְּבַר לָבוֹ לַעֲשׂוֹת תְּשׁוּבָה לְיָמֵהּ יִהְיֶה [א"ד 33]
רָגַל לְהַגִּיד הַסֵּפֶר אֲוֶרְחוֹת צְדִיקִים בְּצֶדֶק וְכִי יִרְאֶה טְעוּתוֹ
... וְגַם יִהְיֶה רָגַל הַסֵּפֶר הַמִּדּוֹת לְהַגִּיד בּוֹ וְלִהְיוֹן בָּן מְבֹרָךְ.....

וְאֵל הַחֹטֵא הַבָּא לַעֲשׂוֹת תְּשׁוּבָה הוּא אֵלֶּם שְׁמִי [א"ה 35]
יִכּוֹן לְחַזֵּק אוֹ שְׂמוֹת מְטוֹבִים אוֹ שְׂמוֹת זָרִים אוֹ שְׂמוֹת אֲחֵרִים אֶל אֵלֶּם
יִכּוֹן לְחַזֵּק לְשׁוֹר אוֹת דְּבָרֵי הַסֵּפֶר הַזֶּה לֹא אֵלֶּם יִשְׁמַח.....

Thus, only once in the whole book is mentioned the

name ORHOT ZADDIKIM, a circumstance which inclines
one to believe that these words אורחות צדיקים were insert-
ed by a later copyist.

N.B. This supposition is concurred in by Jacob Reifman
[whose article: אורחות צדיקים in two installments, in
the supplements to הכרמל, issues #33 and #34 of the year
תרנ"ב, we shall have frequent occasion to mention later] -
who notes in this connection:

קריש אהרן כי מל: אורחות צדיקים הוא הוסב איש משתיק אל אהרן
וכי המהבז עשה לו כתב רק. קססר הנה, ככתוב קססר הנה כירק

But likewise, in the case of the specific
mention of the title: אורחות צדיקים in the הקדמה of the
book, it is equally to be suspected that neither
this was written by the author himself, who cer-
tainly would never have written in such self-
laudatory terms. Rather, these last few sentences
of the INTRODUCTION were undoubtedly written by the
sponsor of the recommendation (הממליץ) that all per-
sons should read the book. Really, therefore, the
lines, in which this title: אורחות צדיקים appears,
should preface the whole book, (INTRODUCTION and
all), and not appear in the הקדמה at all.

cf. Reifman, *ibid.*
p. 278

The three remaining passages of the book
which refer to אורחות צדיקים, specify no particular
name for the book, so that we conclude that,
insofar as internal evidence is concerned, there
is no proof for any specific title; but that, in
view of the frequent mention of the MIDDOTH
in the text, the probable title was the general

one of "The Book of the Middoth", - מִדּוֹת 720.

N.B. Indeed, it would take no great effort to persuade one that even these passages, which merely refer to מִדּוֹת 720, are themselves spurious, and not by the author, who probably, in consonance with his humility of soul, never would mention the book as a book, it being his sole desire to set forth the middoth by which man should live. The calling attention to the importance of constant reference to "this book" as a "weekly habit" was probably the work also of later copyists. We are reinforced in this suspicion by the fact that, (assuming the INTRODUCTION passage to be indeed the "recommendation" of a "sponsor" and thus not of the text), three of the four passages, in the text, occur in the single 'gate' on Repentance; and that the fourth passage, (from the end of MEMORY), we have already noticed as being unlike the author, (in another connection): Aside from the reasons we stated (in that connection), we are inclined to regard the MEMORY passage as not original with the author since this passage reads differently in the Isny Judaeo-German version as quoted by Perles (and which we shall refer to, later). As for the three passages in Repentance, - we have already noted that this 'gate' is constructed differently and in a hodge-podge framework peculiarly its own, [yet retaining such elements of the standard framework of other chapters as the formulaי 720 12 15 (twice: 33A¹⁰⁰ and 36B¹⁰⁰) and the final hortatory - 720 12 15; likewise it is referred to in the text of GATE: PRIDE [4A¹⁰⁰], so that we reject the notion that the entire 'gate' is a later addition and not by our author], and we suspect that this 'gate' has been tampered with by later copyists to an extraordinary degree. This suspicion is veritably substantiated, for example, when we note what liberties the Isny Judaeo-German version takes with this chapter: cf. Isny edition [91^{ab}] as cited by Perles and [ibid. edition 76^a] likewise cited by Perles (as we note below) cf. infra p. 40 (5.) wherein the Judaeo-German translator admits he has taken the liberty of introducing extraneous matter into the text of "Sefer HaMiddoth".

vide: supra 35

vide: infra: p. 40 (3)

cf: supra, p. 20

vide Perles: p. 175

cf: infra p. 40 (5.)

It is our own conclusion, therefore, that probably our pious and meek author never referred to his own exposition of the middoth as "this book", or "my book", that he did not regard it as a book and gave it no title; but that, as it became a popular work, it became known by the natural but non-distinctive common title: Book of the Middoth, until one more creatively-minded copyist or publisher decided to give it a name worthy of its contents, and named it פִּי' 73 מִדּוֹת.

EXTERNAL EVIDENCE:

That the title: ספר מידות was unknown at least until after the first printed edition (in Judaeo-German translation of the Hebrew) appeared in 1542 at Isny, is proven conclusively from the fact that this edition makes absolutely no mention of ספר מידות, but does make repeated reference to the book as ספר (ה) דבורה specifically, both in the text itself and in the introduction, as well as the title itself being so printed: SEFER MIDDOTH.

These specific references are as follows: 1) The title itself, which reads thus:-

ספר מידות: (שם סאננות בטוחות וראננות כן כבורה דת מלך פנימה ודבשה מליא (sic) זימה דספר זה תקרא באינה תוסין חכמה ותרבה יראה

vide Perles: Beiträge p. 174 ff. [quoted by him to prove another point which cf. infra: p. 74].

2) In the INTRODUCTION (translated :-)

Therefore we have written down the ספר מידות in (Judaeo) German, so that all may understand it..... God, Blessed be He, who has raised me from my youth, may He help me with love to write down the Book of Virtue, which in the Holy Speech (הקדמה) is entitled: ספר מידות.

and in the closing words:- (addressed to the lady to whom the Isny edition was dedicated):

"Unto God Almighty alone is honor. Unto all ladies and young women we present heartfelt GREETINGS! and pre-eminently to that honorable and chaste among women, Lady Murada (מוראדא), Doctor of the Fine Art of Apothecary, residing at Günzburg. Dear Lady! After I understood that you have a love and high regard for the book (ספר מידות) of middoth, I undertook with the help of God, (to translate it) and have brought it to pass And

though I ought not undertake such a task, yet we find written in the Perakim: '151 E'K P'K E P'P'P'.

3) In GATE XIX: MEMOR^y (near the end) [56^b]:

"... one should (accustom himself to) read the SEFER MIDDOTH (MIDDOTH) at least once a week... and learn good middoth as they are written in SEFER MIDDOTH.

cf. supra p. 36: a)

4) In GATE XXVI: REPENTANCE [Isng: 76^b]:

"... The next few (items) I [that is, the translator of this Edition] have found in another book on the subject of the Yezer Hara, and have herewith copied over and included in the MIDDOTH.

5) In GATE XXVI: REPENTANCE [Isng: 91^b]:

"These few (items) which are written here do not belong in the MIDDOTH; they were taken from another book and herewith written: Profaning of God's name is of different sorts... [continues for a space (relating to Gentile-Jewish relations), and then concludes the passage with the words:]... From here on, it belongs again to the MIDDOTH."

cf. p. 127 (N.B.) infra.

There is no doubt, then, that, by the time the first printed edition of the book was issued, the book had become a very well-known and popular work, and familiar to the public already by the title: SEFER MIDDOTH. The 1581 (Prague) edition was in Hebrew and, by that date, the title: ORHOTH ZADDIKIM had somehow been acquired. Thereafter most editions carried MIDDOTH as a sub-title, the main title being P'P'P' MIDDOTH.

cf. Sect. VIII: EDITIONS infra. p. 28 ff.

BIBLIOGRAPHY RE TITLE:

Reifman: Article in HaSharon p. 228-24	} merely confirm. in passing that original title: MIDDOTH
Perles: Beiträge zur Geschichte, 174 ff.	
Zunz: Zur Geschichte ... p. 129	
Eldagen: Sittenlehre, p. 46	
Kauterbach: Jew. Encyclopedia	
Gedemann: Kultur der Juden	
Fortnate: p. 223	

DATE:

The exact date of the original work is unknown. The first printed edition appeared in 1542 (followed by the first Hebrew edition in 1581). However this 1542 edition, printed at Sion, was a Judaea-German free translation from a previously written Hebrew manuscript; and, indeed, by this date (1542), the book must have attained a wide popularity in order to have warranted the honor of being the first ethical book in Judaea-German to be printed, - so that the date of the first printed edition has no significance in determining the date of the original work.

cf. EDITIONS, *infra* p. 91
cf. *infra* p. 74
acc. Wapman: Vol. II, Sect. 164.

The evidence at our disposal, both internal and external, points to the original book having been written in the early fifteenth century, in south Germany, most probably during the generation following the expulsion of the Jews from France (1394):

cf. *infra*: PLACE, p. 49

INTERNAL EVIDENCE:

[I]. The author makes mention of his own day and generation eight times in the course of the book, - as follows:-

1) In GATE XXIV - HYPOCRISY. (near the end):

[28B^ט] .. וענין ההיא תקלה קצת חכמי הפור הפך הם רובים ליהנות
מ'הם, ד' כן יחניפו להם כדי שחזיקו אותם כחזקת גבולה
וא' די שאינם מוכיחים אותם על ענינם אלא מתוך שהם מחנכים להם
הם עצמם אומרים מעצמם ונמשכים אחריהם
(and continues with a quotation from Maimonides to end the 'gate').

2) In GATE XXVI : REPENTANCE :

[35A^ט] ועתה קדורות האור אשר ב'א חלשים מאוד בגופם ואין להם
כח כראשונה

3) In GATE XXVII : TORAH [6 times] :-

[38B^ט] ועכשיו אין הם אדם שהוא חוצר דבר כזה יותר לו פחד אחד (sic)
או ב' פחדים

[41B^ט] ועוד קדור הפך נשט בתורה מחמת כי
האומרים הללו סבורים לעשות כמו הראשונים, ואינם דומים ל....

[ibid] .. אבל עכשיו אינם יודעים כן אלא מקבלים
זה את זה ומקטלין רוב היום ועוסקין ביותו לימוד בחז' וק'
שהם ארסי בארסי (chance) והביטול קבץ.

[ibid^ט] כל זה אינם עושים עתה כי כל אחד חצה
ללמוד תוספות וכל חיבושים וחיבושי דחיבושים קובץ שיע'
דורת התלמוד. א"כ איך יצליחו כיון שעושה להיפך מה ש....

[ibid^ט] אבל עתה מרוב טורח הפממה נעזית עליהם
ההלכה כמשה כבד ולא יוכלו עוד להבין בה ומתוך כך עוסקים
במגזין וקליצנות מקבלין ומקטלין ועוסקים בחיני תחבולות ואין בהם
יכאת למד.

[39A^ט] ובן עתה רוב התלמידים מוכים בדעתן שאין
לומדים כהוגן ויודעים שאינם לומדים דרך הישר

Throughout almost the entire book, there-
fore, the author maintains a complete silence
about his contemporary age and scene. Except
for the slip in GATE XXIV - HYPOCRISY, where he pauses
to rebuke sychophancy among the scholars of his
day, he carefully refrains from attacking his con-
temporaries until he comes to GATE XXVII - TORAH:

(except for the innocuous reference in GATE XXVI); in the TORAH chapter, however, judging from these passages we have quoted, he opens up his barrage of criticism against the state of learning of his day. Apparently, he had no favorable comment to make concerning his contemporary scholars, and restrained himself, during the exposition of the middoth (proper, - i.e. the first 25 chapters) from revealing a bitterness of feeling which would be incongruous with the general saintly and gentle tone of the book otherwise.

WE CONCLUDE then, first of all, -

(A) That the author lived and wrote his book during a period when Jewish learning was at a low ebb in his country, and in which he esteemed himself superior to his contemporaries, and disdaining and reproaching them for their shallow and pilpulistic pseudo-scholarship.

[II]. In GATE XXVII: TORAH, the author gives an extensive detailed sketch of the history of Hebrew scholarship from earliest times, through the centuries, and tracing it up to his own day. The latest historical event which he

mentions in this sketch is the expulsion of the Jews from France, (which took place in 1394). Of this event in particular, however, he makes repeated mention, - in all, five times, as follows:

1) ועדיין בימי הרב פיו בקיאוס בבל התלמוד [38A]

והיו יודעים המצות מתוך התלמוד עצ שנתפלה שנתפלה קצרות שהיו מחזיקים בתורה והיו לומדים בספר גדול בשני שש רשונים כימי חכמי התלמוד שהיה עיקר לימודם לתור...

- and continues to remark in the fine spirit of scholarship in the days of the Rabbis citing passages, (specifying his Talmudic sources, a thing he otherwise rarely does in the rest of the book), - from Hagiga, Taanit and Megillah (the Megillah passage is omitted by the later Judaea-German versions). Directly after these few lines of comment about the old Rabbis, he continues: "Whereas now...."

ועדיין אין בין אדם שהוא חוצר דבר כזה יותר מן אדם אחד אולי... [38B]

continuing as we have quoted above.

Two lines later he continues with:

וקנה הענין היו לומדים ג"כ קצרות עד שהגיעו [ibid]

לחלות רבות ולישיבה גדולה ולא הוצרכו לספרים פוסקים כי היו יודעים המצות מתוך התלמוד והתוספות

and, without a break, continuing with:

3) אבל מיום שנתגרשו קצרות (תמצית) הלימוד [ibid]

מאד ומאד! ועוד פחד בינה (שכח התורה מחמת כי... continuing as we have quoted above)

4) ואינם רומים לחכמי קצרות כלל וכלל לא כי אדם [ibid]

היה פתח כחולס ותורתם היה (שז) אומנתם והיו עוסקים בה יומם וליילה לכן השיג וידעו בפולחם, אבל עכשיו אינם יודעים כלל, אלא...

(continuing as we have quoted above)

[38C]

5) וכן בארץ קצרות היו עוסקים בספר גדול וטוב [ibid]

רב והיו... etc... כל זה אינם עושים עתה כי כל אחד רוצה... (continuing as we have quoted above)

- and, after each mention, in laudatory manner, of the Jews in France, - as if by direct

contrast, regularly he compares the Jews of his own generation.

From the fact that he mentions the Expulsion from France (and the French Jewry of that time) repeatedly, in a sketch of history which otherwise touches upon every step but once, -

From the fact that, once he makes reference to this Expulsion, he makes no mention of any subsequent events, but stops his historical sketch with this event, -

From the fact that he consistently alternates in contrasting the generation of French Jews preceding the Expulsion with his own generation, (intimately therefore that his own generation was closely proximate in time and general conditions, so that it should and could have emulated that pre-Expulsion culture among French Jewry), -

WE CONCLUDE then, secondly, -

(B) That the author wrote his book within a generation, or a generation and a half, after the Expulsion of the Jews from France in 1394

N.B. 1. No later than a generation and a half, -

otherwise, he would not ^{speak} so repeatedly and so personally warmly, - almost affectionately, of the French scholars of the pre-Expulsion, as though he were sufficiently close to them in point of time and kinship of spirit.

2. No earlier than at least a decade or two decades after the date of the Expulsion, 1394, - otherwise he could not have had the perspective or interval of time with which to judge the effect of the Expulsion and so enable him to write (the third quotation we have cited above) that "after the Expulsion from France, learning dwindled to a mere nothing."

WE derive, therefore, from internal evidence, these two conclusions separately concerning the date of the book:

- (A) at a time when learning was at a low ebb in the author's country;
- (B) specifically, within a generation (or so) after 1394.

Assuming ^{that} (which we shall prove presently), that the author lived in Germany, we should inquire: Does the period, following 1394, in Germany, actually present the aspect of inferior levels of learning and Jewish scholarship? That

infra. next section: p. 49

this indeed is true, we find supported by
(what we may therefore include as):-

EXTERNAL EVIDENCE:

[I]. M. Guedemann, in connection with Guedemann: Cultur der Juden p. 224
a discussion of Yom Tob LIPMANN of Mühlhausen,
(hero of the Pesach - Peter persecution of the
Jews in Prague 1394 - 1400, i.e. the approximate
period of which we are interested to hear),
says: "The Bible commentaries, which we possess (translated from the German)
by German rabbis of this generation, reveal,
both by the poor material contained therein, as
well as by the ambiguity of contents, that the
Bible was not made a subject of serious and
independent study, and that, in the realm of
general knowledge (science), the Jews were as far
removed as the Christians"

[II]. Graetz, in describing the Expulsion Graetz: History of the Jews Vol. II, p. 177
from France, advises us that many of the exiled
French Jews found their way into Germany;-
hence our author may well have come in con-
tact with them ^{or their children}, and cultivated a warm im-
mediate regard for their culture, - which may
strengthen the explanation for his praise of the
French Jews in the text of his book.

That the original work could not possibly have been written after the fifteenth century is vouchsafed by:

[III]. At least two manuscripts, in Hebrew, exist, which antedate the printed (Judeo-German) edition by several decades.

Waxman lists these manuscripts as 1) Leningrad, 15th century; 2) Hamburg, 1503

Waxman:
Vol. II, p. 644
(Section 164)

OUR TOTAL CONCLUSION, then, is that the original of what is now termed: ORHOT ZADDIKIM was composed in the early fifteenth century; that it circulated for a long time in manuscripts; and that, with the advent of printing, the Judeo-German Isny edition was made, from one of these manuscripts, in 1542.

BIBLIOGRAPHY RE DATE:

- Godemann: *Cultur der Juden* p. 224
Waxman: *History of Jewish Literature*: II: Section 164
Zunz, *Elbogen* (Sittenlehre p. 46), *Winter & Wünsche* III. p. 640,
and *Jew. Encyclopedia* merely assume 15th century
J. Reifman: *Ha Shema* 2:271 #33. #32 10/16 p. 322
opens his article with an enthusiastic
proof that ORHOT ZADDIKIM could not
possibly have been written by Maimon-
ides' father's teacher Ibn Megas, as the
title page of some editions (e.g. 1879, Warsaw,
et alia) would have us believe; and that it was
as ascribed to Ibn Megas in the title page
#32 #33 #34 #35 #36 #37 #38
to attract the eye of a prospective buyer.

PLACE:

The exact place where the text was written is unknown, but the internal evidence indicates that it must have been written in Germany, probably South Germany. (There is no external direct evidence).

vide: Zunz, *Zur Geschichte*
p. 129

INTERNAL EVIDENCE:

The only European country mentioned in the book, at all, is France (1273); this is mentioned only in GATE XXVII: TORAH, and in such manner as carries no doubt whatsoever that the author, (contrasting the French scholars with those of his own milieu, as he does), could not possibly have dwelt in France.

It could not possibly have been SPAIN, since, as Graetz points out, "since the Massacres of 1391, that country had become a purgatory to the native Jews," and this would undoubtedly have been reflected in the text, - which it is not! (Nor yet could it have been ^{Spanish} HOLLAND, as the author does convey, by his bitter criticisms of his Jewish countrymen, that he dwelt in one of the bigger countries, where Jewish culture should have equalled that of France).

Graetz: *History of the Jews*
Vol. II, p. 177

This leaves Germany or ITALY. As between these, let M. Gidemann (discussing the reasons for the author's anxiety to conceal his name) decide. To quote Gidemann:

Gidemann: *Cultur der Juden*
p. 224

(Translated from the German)

"Since he speaks concerning the methods of the scholarship of the Jews in France only in praises thereof, at the same time criticizing the method of study in his own homeland, without naming the latter, we have every ground to assume that this is GERMANY. For, were it an Italian who was writing, he would have had no hesitation in naming GERMANY, whereas our author purposely, so it appears, keeps silent regarding the name of the country and his own name. He has ample cause for such procedure when we consider that he accuses his countrymen not only of disrespectful, palpable ('spitzfindige') treatment of the TALMUD, but likewise of negligence in the study of BIBLE, and even throws up to them their ignorance of any knowledge whatsoever ('jedweder Wissenschaft', being a translation of אִשְׁתִּי אֵין אֵין which appears at the end of Gate XXXI TORAH [39A²⁹]). Under such circumstances, he who would undertake to censure these conditions, would indeed do well to conceal his identity."

cf. *ibid.* footnote 2
expatiating on why
an Italian would
not avoid mentioning
Germany, (whereas if
the author were German,
he would not have any
occasion to mention
Italy, - removed from
the horizon of his
praising of the French).

WE CONCLUDE then that the book
was written in Germany.

BIBLIOGRAPHY re PLACE

Same as for Date, none of the books
offering any comment beyond (e.g. Zanzig)
"vermutlich in südlichen Deutschland",
except Gidemann (quoted above).

AUTHOR

*

The author is unknown. The publishers and translators of the majority of the editions were comparatively indifferent, - at any rate, they do not refer to the author on their title-pages. Some editions make mention of the fact that the author is anonymous but that he must have been "of the great men of his generation." A few editions make the absurd assertion that the author was Joseph ibn Meqas' rabbi (ר' יוסף בן מקאס), for the purpose, probably, to catch the eye of the prospective customer for the edition. One edition ventures the opinion that Jonah of Gerona (d. 1263) may have written the book.

vide infra: SECTION VIII.
"EDITIONS"
p. 72

cf. infra: ר' יוסף בן מקאס (sic)
both 1877 editions: 185: L'Anon
pp. 104, 105, 106

cf. infra: Edition: 1840: Josefow
pp. 103, 113 1879: Warsaw

cf. infra: Edition: 1877 F. & M.
p. 11.
(also cf. Ed. 178 F. & M.)

The only plausible theory that has been advanced is that it was written by Yom Tob LIPMAN of Mühlhausen, - a theory set forth by M. Güdemann; - ~~even he, however, admitting that~~

vide: Güdemann: Cultur der Jud.
p. 225 1892

~~this name is little more than a guess, - as he says: "assumptions to which we can, and should, under the existing circumstances, attribute no higher value than a mere guess." (Vermuthung).~~

(Translated from the German)

[End]

N.B.
These
lines
(crossed
out)
are
correct
and
should
be
read

or refer to Gideemann's suggestion [Elbogen: Sittenlehre, p. 46, (who does not take stock in the theory, as he says: "Dass er mit dem durch seine Abwehr christliche Exegese bekannten Lipman aus Mühlhausen identisch ist, lässt sich nicht beweisen"); Winter und Winge: Jüdische Literatur, p. 639. (merely cites Gideemann's theory, without further comment; so likewise:) Lauterbach (in the Jewish Encycl.) Reifman (in p. 202: 232, 234) does not contribute any discussion.

We proceed to evaluate this theory, of authorship by Lipman Mühlhausen, as follows:

WHAT ARE THE FACTORS of time, place, background, characteristics, etc., which the author must answer to? - Of these factors, we have discussed and concluded:

- I. Time and Place: After 1394, in Germany.
Background: A period of inferior culture.
- II. Characteristics of the author:
 - a) He was severely critical of the low quality of scholarship among his contemporaries.

What was the quality of his own scholarship, Jewish and secular? Of this, we may collect some glimpses by a perusal of the text:-

b) He was exceptionally well-versed in Jewish learning, and apparently had a considerable fund of secular knowledge (and a great respect and desire for both):-

① The author's JEWISH learning: his vast erudition is evinced by the unlimited quotations, citations, and references to Biblical, Rabbinic and Midrashic literature, as well as to

the many Jewish philosophers (which we have listed, and otherwise treated, in another section of this paper). The historical survey of Jewish literature in GATE XXVII: TORAH indicates a comprehensive perspective of the whole of Jewish history and learning; while the exposition of the philosophic concepts, of soul, knowledge, free will, cosmos, evil, prophecy, etc., in GATE XXVIII: FEAR OF GOD, as well as in other parts of the book (Emunah (faith), in GATE IX: JOYFULNESS, etc.), reveals a genuine at-homeness in Jewish philosophy.

② The author's SECULAR knowledge: In the course of the last two 'gates' of the book, he evinces an extensive knowledge of anatomy and astronomy, as well as an enthusiasm for medicine (whatever his actual acquaintance with medicine may have been).

ANATOMY: This he shows a detailed knowledge of, in his extensive dissertation in GATE XXVIII upon how man is a microcosmos ($\mu\kappa\rho\kappa\omicron\sigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$), drawing analogies unto the minutest detail between the organs, etc., of man's body and the phenomena of nature and the composition of the universe.

[40B~41B~]

ASTRONOMY: He refers to astronomy, and implies a knowledge of the stars, in several places, especially in GATE XXVIII, where (a) in one place, enlarging upon the great uses of man's God-given wisdom, he tells how "wisdom gives a knowledge and an understanding of the heavenly bodies, and of the firmaments, the courses of the stars, and the measurement of

[40A^{low}]

These are the facts that afford us a clue to the authorship as regards his learning.

III. A third factor, entering the question of authorship of the book, may be found in a comparative study of the characteristics of style and contents and reflected ideas in ORHOT ZADDIKIM and those of another book, extant and by the presumptive author of both books. Thus, in testing the authorship by Lipman Mühlhausen, such a study of his NIZZACHON compared with ORHOT ZADDIKIM should be made.

HOW DOES LIPMAN MÜHLHAUSEN FIT
these FACTORS?

I. Time, place, and background: these, of course, fit Lipman axiomatically, - this period, as we have shown, being indeed one of inferior Jewish scholarship.

II Characteristics:

a) Attitude to his contemporaries:

In Lipman's NIZZACHON, section §124, he refers to his own day as "this sad generation", - viz., "How much worse is it in this sad generation, when people direct their attention only to that part of

N.B. A truer procedure in this test of Lipman's authorship should call for an exhaustive research into the life of this rabbi. The study, as here made, is therefore not complete. Secondary sources tell no significant details of value re

the Torah, which deals with prohibitions and non-prohibitions and with those things which pertain to the material life, - not, however, to the knowledge of God....

vide: Gudemann: *ibid.* p. 244

N.B. It should be remembered, however, that this book NIZZACHON is a polemic, (its task being "to justify the Old Testament and rabbinic traditions over against Christian and other attacks,") and therefore there would be little occasion if any to criticize his own Jewish countrymen. It is only because "Lipman here and there takes occasion to express his opinions regarding the ethics ('Sittenlehre') of Judaism in a sort of collective presentation ('zusammenfassender Darstellung')," that there is some value in a comparative study of NIZZACHON and ORHOT ZADDIKIM for our expressed purposes. In our study therefore, we restrict ourselves to these "Sittenlehre" passages in the NIZZACHON. Therefore, the fact that Lipman makes but one reference to his own generation, (and that one by no means one of direct significance), is not to be surprised at, in a polemic directed against the Gentile world [The NIZZACHON was composed in 1410, ten years after his narrow escape from the Prague imprisonment in connection with which 11 Jews were executed on August 22, 1400 and, three weeks later, three more were burnt at the stake].

Gudemann: *ibid.* p. 240

ibid. p. 242

vide: Gudemann: *ibid.*
pages 242-245

cf. Margolis & Marx: *History of Jewish People* p. 411
Gratz: *Hist. of the Jews*.
Vol. IX p. 178

b) Author's Jewish and Secular Learning:

Lipman's high qualifications of scholarship we have rehearsed (above) in Gudemann's statement concerning him. Gratz describes Lipman as:

supra, p. 51 A

Gratz: *ibid.* p. 178, Vol. IX

"the foremost and, perhaps, only learned German Jew of the Middle Ages a scholar accomplished alike in Biblical and Talmudical lore, who had read not only Karaite authors, but also the New Testament in a Latin version."

It would seem, then, the author of ORHOT ZADDIKIM convincing, as he does, almost all the as-

pects, certainly, of Jewish learning, as well as (as we have shown) a more or less acquaintance of secular branches of knowledge, must almost of necessity be the one German rabbi who, we are thus told, could possibly have these attainments - namely, Lipman.

III A Comparative Study of the Style and Contents of ORHOT ZADDIKIM and the 'Sittenlehre' portions of Lipman's NIZZACHON:-

STYLE: Quite naturally, one writer may possibly have a change of style according whether he is writing a book of ethical instruction and moralizing (e.g. ORHOT ZADDIKIM) or not such a book, but, instead, a polemic (e.g. NIZZACHON). Hence, it may perhaps be of lesser significance, for the purpose of identifying both books as the work of one author, to investigate similarities of style, or differences. For example, the NIZZACHON does 'read' differently, - there is not the warm persuasiveness and, as regards the tendency to cite verses, the NIZZACHON passages exhibit but a single instance (of Isaiah XXIX:13), in §124; nor is the repetitiveness, nor the many parables, etc. to be found. Yet such aspects indicate

nothing of significance, - one would not expect persuasiveness in a polemic which attempts a 'persuasiveness' of another sort; nor a tendency to cite verses in answering an attack on the Old Testament; nor repetitiveness in a argumentative polished work; nor indeed parables and stories such as are to be expected in a MUSOR book. In short, one gathers no evidence indicating a similarity of style, but this does not act as unfavorable evidence.

CONTENTS: We find a rather startling similarity, in several respects, between the INTRODUCTION (הקדמה) and GATE I: PRIDE, of ORHOT ZADDIKIM, on the one hand, and section 9317 of Lipman's NIZZACHON, on the other, - the similarities being, in great measure, due to the fact that both passages borrow much from Maimonides. The significance lies in the coincidence that both passages borrow the same items, more or less. As Gudemann puts it:

"This paragraph betokens so well his tendency, similar to that...in the INTRODUCTION and first chapter of ORHOT ZADDIKIM, that it confirms the assumption...that Lipman Mühlhausen is the author of the latter. Both passages are, in general, and for the greater part, but literal excerpts from Maimonides, Hilch. Deoth. I-III. However this coincidence serves rather to strengthen than to weaken our assumption."

Gudemann: ibid.
 2.242 footnote
 (translated from the
 German)

In order to demonstrate these similarities,
we will set down the major portion of the
HIZZACHON passage:-

§317. Withal the virtues, by which the pious
man should live, as in LOVE, JOYFULNESS, and
others, nonetheless he should not go to extremes.
... For indeed there is even a time to hate, and
when STRIFE is commanded. Thus, our wise men
have enjoined the middle path. One should be
neither unrestrained nor melancholy. Thus wrote
also Maimonides: ^{Even as} ~~whereas~~ there is a sickness in
which the person longs for things damaging (to his
health), like earth and coal, yet despises things
conducive (to his recovery), like bread and meat, so
there are to be found people with sick souls, who
are inclined to evil thoughts and hate the good (way).
These should wend their way to physicians of the
soul, who will apply the following remedies: He
who is wild, (with no self-control) should take the
opposite way, and spend a long period in sorrow
until the evil spirit will be utterly eradicated
from him. Thus he will arrive, and remain, on the
Middle way. Therefore [our Rabbis say passion and
ambition destroy a man], no one must ever allow
him to say: I will eat no meat, nor drink wine,
have no relations with women, nor dwell in a
pleasant house, and wear only hairy clothes, as
do the monks (AIZH 'AND; in Maimonides: P'ID 'JDD),
for this is an evil quality. It destroys a man's
sanctity.... Rather, one should go always in the middle
course. But there are some qualities in which one
should not maintain a middle course but go to the
very extreme, e.g. SILENCE and TRUTH. Likewise,
one must never deceive people, whether they be
Jews or Non-Jews, nor flatter, beguile and speak
other than one thinks, but depart from truth only
in the cause of peace or where charity is at stake.

Translated from the
passage as cited
by Gudemann, *ibid.*
p. 242-243

cf. infra 1)
p. 60

cf. infra 2)
p. 60

cf. infra 3)
p. 60

cf. infra p. 62 N.O. 3.

cf. infra p. 62 N.O. 2.

cf. infra p. 62 N.O. 1.

cf. infra p. 62 N.O. 2.

The upright man with falsehood will have nothing to do, either in thought or deed or in business, but indeed learn to cherish the truth. There are also qualities from which one should distance himself as far as possible, e.g. ANGER. One must not get angry even where he is justified in his cause; rather, if he should desire to put fear into another and punish the other, let him appear to be angry, but within himself remain calm. Likewise, a man should depart afar, to the extreme limit, from PRIDE.

cf. infra p. 62 N.B. 1 (4)

cf. infra 4)
p. 60cf. infra 5)
p. 60

A comparison-analysis of this passage with ORHOT ZADDIKIM renders the following:-

a) Both have no less than five excerpts, from Maimonides, in common, viz., compare the following passages from ORHOT ZADDIKIM with corresponding parts of the NIZZACHON passage:

- 1) [2B¹⁴] ים מן החולות מתאווים לאוכל באוני סוכין וישנו מאכל הטוב... כך ים קני אדם שפסותיהם חולות ואוהבים הרעות ורועים בך (הטובה) וכו' אצל החסידים הם רופאי הנפשות שמתאווים אולם הם גוססים לדבר טוב
- 2) [5A¹⁴] וכן מ' שהוא בעל חמה וכעס הרבה, בתחלה ינהיג עצמו... וילך בדרכי מ' מן מרובה עד שיצטרך שורש הגמורה אחי ואז יחזור וילך בדרכי המאמץ וילך קצת ימים... מתחלה יתרחק ממנה עד שלא יוכל להתנוקח יותר וינהיג קצת זמן מזה, ואולם יחזור ויתפוש בדרכי הבינוני.
- 3) [7B¹⁴] שמוע ואמר אדם שלא יאכל קצת ולא ישתה "וְלֹא יִשָּׂא אִשָּׁה וְלֹא יִשָּׂא בְּרִיחַ מְנוּחָה וְלֹא יִלְבֵּשׁ אֶת־שָׂרָא אֶל־הָעֵץ הַזֶּה וְקָרְעוּ..."
- 4) [7B¹⁴] כיצד יעשה, יראה עצמו קפניקס שהוא טעם כדי לומרם ותבא דעתו מיושבת מלי קינו וקין וכו'.
- 5) [5A¹⁴] צריך להתרחק מן הקפנות עד קצה האחרון.

b) The coincidence is rendered the more striking since four of the passages appear likewise close together (in the נחמד and GATE I) of ORHOT ZADDIKIM. The remaining passage (of the five), appears at the end of GATE XII: ANGER, and immediately preceding it is a discussion in which several middoth are mentioned specifically. It is noticed that the following are mentioned (within the few [170*] lines) LOVE and JOYFULNESS (together), SILENCE, and PRIDE, and, finally, ANGER, - (STRIFE is mentioned on the previous page). There may be more or less significance in the fact that in the NIZZACHON passage there appear LOVE, JOYFULNESS (together), HATE, STRIFE, SILENCE, TRUTH, ANGER & PRIDE. The most that could be inferred from this fact is that the author of NIZZACHON did think in terms of middoth (and, moreover, having a train of thought, in specifying some of these, similar to the author of ORHOT ZADDIKIM).

c) Both stress the Maimonidean concept of the MIDDLE PATH. (This again merely indicates that the authors could be identical, but proves nothing conclusive in this direction).

Güdemann bases his positive evidence,

that both books had Lipman as their common author, upon this similarity in the two passages.

N.B. 1. We might also note further similarities of lesser moment, in the two works, - not that these point to anything positively conclusive, but for the sake of showing that ideas reflected in the one book are not in conflict with ideas in the other. -

(a) ATTITUDE TO GENTILES. In the NIZZACHON passage cited, non-Jews are to be treated on a par with Jews. This same thought is re-echoed (as we record in another section in this paper) seven times in ORHOT ZADDIKIM. The fact that, in the NIZZACHON, the term "Christian" is used [in §114; not in the passage we have cited, where "non-Jews" is the term used], whereas ORHOT ZADDIKIM utilizes invariably the term נְשִׂימָא דְיָהוּדָא, or נְשִׂימָא דְכְּנִיעָא, is of no significance since the same author would avoid using the term "Christian" in a musar book for Jewish readers, whereas there is no reason for avoiding the use of that term in a polemic for Christian readers.

see infra: p. 125

(b) HONESTY IN BUSINESS PRACTICE, which is specifically cited in the NIZZACHON passage is also specifically mentioned innumerable times in ORHOT ZADDIKIM (as we record in another section in this paper)

see infra: p. 122

N.B. 2. The fact that, in the NIZZACHON passage, the author stresses that in the case of SILENCE and TRUTH, one should "go to the extreme", without compromise or the "middle way", - whereas, in ORHOT ZADDIKIM, we have: ...וְהַיְשָׁרִים הֵם הַדֶּרֶךְ הַיָּשָׁר (i.e. there is the 'middle path' here also), is of no significance (re- indicating conflicting ideas in the 2 books), such statements being more a matter of style. E.g. in the NIZZACHON passage, a few lines later, there is a 'middle way' for truth implied very clearly: "depart from truth only in the cause of peace or where charity is at stake". And, indeed, in ORHOT ZADDIKIM, TRUTH is the only middah in the book (among the first 25 'gates'), where the reader misses the formula: "But at times this virtue operates as an evil" (see supra p. 18; item 6).

[24 Blau]

N.B. 3. The fact that, - in the ORHOT ZADDIKIM citing of the Maimonidean passage #3), (supra p.), - allusion to the monks is omitted, whereas the author of the NIZZACHON does include the monks, likewise is of no significance, since the NIZZACHON is a polemical work, whereas the musar book would instinctively omit the unnecessary reference.

[38 bat]

Güdemann also professes to see a similarity of content between GATES XXVII: TORAH, and XXVIII: FEAR of GOD, of ORHOT ZADDIKIM AND sections §§ 2, 136 and 124 of NIZZACHON [which we referred to (above) (as Lipman's opinion that he lived in a "sad generation")]. cf. supra p. 55:II: a)

N.B. The significant passage in NIZZACHON which causes Güdemann to see resemblance with the ORHOT ZADDIKIM's last two chapters is the following (31:4: NIZZACHON):-

"The great mass of people who merely concern themselves with TORAH and practice its mitzvot, but do not strive for greater knowledge ... Indeed they receive their reward. But the contrast, between these, and the class of people who have a knowledge of TRUTH, is as great as that between the highest heavens and the center of the earth. On the contrary, seekers of truth, who are striving to arrive at the highest conception of the divine, should not let themselves go astray, saying: It is sufficient to have attained the highest realms of knowledge, and we have no need to fulfil the commands of the Torah. Rather they should do so, and, indeed, serve as examples to others."

(translated from
Güdemann's citation
ibid. p. 244)

However, a perusal of Gates: XXVII and XXVIII, fails to reveal any striking similarity, either in tone or in content, with this passage, as Güdemann seems to perceive.

OUR TOTAL CONCLUSION must, after the careful sifting of possible evidence, be the same as Güdemann's statement in admitting that Lipman's authorship of ORHOT ZADDIKIM is, at best, only the best assumption, - but, a guess at best.

SOURCES USED BY THE AUTHOR

*

N.B. 1. References, in this section, to pages in the text of ORHOT ZADDIKIM, are according to the pagination of the EDITION of 1879 (H'79) of WARSAW. As none of the many editions of the text supply references to the sources, any text is as good as any other; however, because of clarity of the actual printing and other factors making for convenient use, we recommend that the reader use either this 1879-80 Warsaw Edition which we use here (if the Rashi-type letters are preferred), or the 1859 Pressburg (Schlesinger) small edition (if the square-type lettering and smaller size page please the reader more).

N.B. 2. Most of the material in this section is based on an article entitled: פירוש ספר חסידים לר' יעקב רייפמן, by JACOB REIFMAN, in 2 installments, appearing in Numbers 33 and 34 of ספר חסידים [in the 1747 supplements] of the year 1862 (ת'62). There is no further bibliography on this subject. We have, in this section, enlarged on Reifman's article, making several additions, supplying the exact references in the body of the text (where Reifman contents himself with supplying the chapter headings); and in regard to tracking down the exact sources (of the given parts of our book), instead of simply translating Reifman's data, we have pursued a different plan of presentation, (with an eye for practical use of this data by the reader in the process of reading the book): Instead of listing a given source and giving all the parts in ORHOT ZADDIKIM borrowed from that source (as does Reifman in his treatment of the subject), we have listed the various 'GATES' of the text in which appear parts borrowed by the author, and we present these parts, with the information concerning the exact source of these parts. Thus the reader can refer to these data as he reads along in the book. Supplementing this, however, we have set down collective lists of the titles of all sources used; and of all names of Jewish writers and Jewish works specifically named or referred to in the text, as supplied by Reifman, (but with the exact pagination, or location in the text, added).

The author of ORHOT ZADDIKIM, besides quoting, or referring to, passages from the BIBLE, TALMUD, and MIDRASHIC writings with great frequency throughout the book, borrows very freely from a number of sources, beginning with Solomon ibn GABIROL up to Rabbi Jonah of Gerona. The two interesting features of the author's relation to these sources utilized by him are: 1st, only in two cases (out of fifty or more obvious 'borrowings' from these writings), does he take the trouble to advise the reader that what follows is taken from another source, let alone to specify this source; 2nd, he adapts the wording of his source to his own usage, changing the phraseology, so that in great measure, his borrowings are those of ideas, rather than of actual wording. And we may consider, as a third feature worthy of notice, a frequent tendency to interpolate a smaller borrowed idea within the bounds of a larger quotation or borrowing. [These features we have discussed at greater length, with illustrations, and we merely summarize them here, - cf. *supra*, p. 30].

The works from which the author chiefly borrows so unceremoniously are as follows:

viz. ① cf. Maimonides [120^{low}]
 ② cf. Rabad [340^{mid}]
 also possibly
 ③ cf. Maimonides [140⁷]
 which is omitted from some editions (e.g. 1794 F.a. Oden), and in our edition (1879 War saw) is enclosed in parentheses (the only parentheses in the book).

CHIEF SOURCES DIRECTLY USED BY THE
AUTHOR OF ORHOT ZADDIKIM.

*

1. Ibn GABRIOL : רבן גבריאל

(especially the titles and arrangement of a majority of the middoth, and in the אנקד of the book).

2. BAHYA : מרבה מרבה

(at least six times in the course of the book, as we shall indicate presently:

Gate I: 2x; Gate V: 2x; Gate XIV: 1x; and in Gate XXVI: several times scattered).

3. MAIMONIDES : מרבה מרבה

(two times: Gate XVII and in Gate XXI)

4. MAIMONIDES : מרבה מרבה

(at least twenty-five times: in the

INTRODUCTION: 2; Gate I: 4; Gate V: 5;

Gate VII: 1; Gate VIII: 1; Gate IX: 1; Gate XII: 1;

Gate XVII: 1; Gate XXIV: 2; Gate XXV: 2;

Gate XXVI: 3; Gate XXVII: 3).

5. MAIMONIDES : מרבה מרבה

(one time: in Gate IX).

6. RABAD : רבן רבן

(one time: in Gate XXVI).

7. RABAD : מרבה מרבה
מרבה מרבה

(one time: in Gate XXVI)

8. Rabbi JONAH : מרבה מרבה

(eight times: Gate XXI: 1; Gate XXII: 1;
Gate XXIV: 1; Gate XXV: 1; Gate XXVI: 4).

SOURCE OF ORHOT ZADDIKIM'S
ARRANGEMENT
and
TITLES
of its
"GATES"

*

A glance at the classification of the qualities of the soul as found in Ibn Gabirol's: ענין נשמה יפין betrays the source of most of the 'gates' of ORHOT ZADDIKIM, insofar as their titles and arrangement up to GATE XIX. Ibn Gabirol classifies the 'middoth' as follows: (cf. likewise the statement, in the opening words of ORHOT ZADDIKIM, regarding the FIVE SENSES IN MAN with the following Table) -

SIGHT	HEARING	SMELL	TASTE	TOUCH
Pride	Love	Anger	Joy	Miserliness
Meekness	Hate	Good-will	Grief (worry)	Generosity
Shame	Mercy	Envy	Peace	Courage
Impudence	Cruelty	Zeal	Remorse	Cowardice

Of these twenty, ORHOT ZADDIKIM dropped PEACE, COURAGE and COWARDICE, added another couplet: MEMORY and FORGETFULNESS, and then the SILENCE: group, and finally the 3 last 'gates'.

[i.e. This Waxman's explanation of the 'gates' is not correct. See Vol. II, page 251, Hist. of Jewish Lit.]

A LIST
of
PASSAGES in ORHOT ZADDIKIM SHOWING
THEIR SOURCES.

*
(arranged as these passages appear in the text).

	REMARKS	THE SOURCE		QUOTATION ENDS... Begins	PAGE		GATE	
		PLACE in the source	TITLE		ENDS	Begins	NAME	No
1		הלכות קדושת בית (הלכה ה' ו'ד')	משנה תורה	כיצד יש אדם... ...מחשבת עולתה בקטן	2A ^{הל}	2A ^{הל}	הקדמה	
2		הלכות קדושת בית (הלכה א')	"	וכמו שכתובי בגמ'... מוסר אורחיים קטן	2B ^{קט}	2B ^{קט}		
3		-	תקון מצות הנפש	General Remarks about תקון המדות	3A ^{קט}	2B ^{הל}		
4	omitted in many editions, e.g. in 1879 (our text used here)	הלכות פ"ג, פ"ד (הלכה א')	משנה תורה	ודל מ' הוהבדנן... ...אמנם מן השמים	-	3B ^{mid}	גאולה	I
5		הלכות קדושת בית (הלכה א')	משנה תורה	שלא יאמר אדם... ...וזהו אמר תשובה	4A ^{קט}	3B ^{הל}		
6		הלכות קדושת בית (הלכה ט')	"	כיצד יקבל קצת... ...בבגדי גסי הרוח	4A ^{קט}	4A ^{קט}		
7		חוקות הנבקות על יחוד השם פ"ה	חוקות הנבקות	באחד מן החסידים... ...במחשבות גדולות	4A ^{הל}	4A ^{הל}		
8		עשר יחוד השם פ"ה	"	אח"כ יסיתק היצר... ...ועבודת וקדושת השם	4B ^{הל}	4B ^{קט}		
9		הלכות קדושת בית (הלכה ד')	משנה תורה	צדיק לבדו... ...שלא יכלה אדם רשות	5A ^{mid}	5A ^{mid}		
10		הלכות יסודי הגוף פ"ה (הלכה י"א)	"	ואם ידקדק וידבק... ...אשר יק' את פארו	9A ^{mid}	9A ^{mid}	אהבה	V
11		הלכות קדושת בית (הלכה ד' ו')	"	צדיק הוזהר שיכין... ...אחד אלקיון בואק	9B ^{קט}	9B ^{קט}		
12		עשר הבריאות פ"ה	חוקות הנבקות	עוד יק' אשר תאמין... ...הוא מרוב ופחדים אמר	9B ^{mid}	9B ^{קט}		
13		הלכות קדושת בית (הלכה ג' ו')	משנה תורה	הנשוא אשר יחזק... ...בחסדו בן צדיק דעתו	9B ^{הל}	9B ^{mid}		
14		עשר אהבה (במח השער ופ"א)	חוקות הנבקות	והרבה שמחים מקדים... ...אור גדולה וכן קנפם	9B ^{הל}	9B ^{הל}		
15		הלכות תשובה פ"ו (הלכה ג' ו' ו')	משנה תורה	הדוקדק מזהבה... ...אשר ירא השם ב"ה	10A ^{הל}	10A ^{קט}		
16		הלכות יסודי הגוף פ"ה (הלכה ב')	"	והקדים אליו נאמר... ...end of the gate	10A ^{הל}	10A ^{הל}		

REMARKS	PLACE in the source	SOURCE TITLE	QUOTATION ENDS... Begins	ENDS	Begins	GATE	No.
17	באבות דעוה פ"ו (הלכה ב')	משנה תורה	מכאן להקדמות לזו... ואין צורך בדברים אלו	11A	11A	רחמים VII	VII
18	האבות שבעים (פ"ט) (הלכה ח')	"	ואם נגד דברים אלו... אל יד גדרתה ואי	11B	11B	אבריות VIII	VIII
19	ח"ג	תורה נבוכים	הקדוש על השמייה... נכח השי כאפיס	12B	12B	שמחה IX	IX
20	האבות יסודי המצא פ"ט (הלכה ב')	משנה תורה	ואין הפנינה זורה... ותחי עליו רוח אלקים	15A	15A		
21	האבות דעוה פ"ב (הלכה ג')	"	ומי מדובר לעצור... End of the gate...	17B	17B	כנס XII	XII
22	אבות פ"ג (משנה י"ב)	פירוש המשניות	מצא בנימוק תלוי... אשר לו פי המצא	21A	21A	נדיבות XVII	XVII
23	האבות משנות פנים פ"ו (הלכה ג', ו')	משנה תורה	כל המדלים עניו... הסבר פנים יפות	21A	21A		
24	just the idea of it אבות פ"א (משנה ט')	פירוש המשניות	אבל יש חכמי תורה... משנת לפי דברי חכמים	24B	24A	שתיקה XXI	XXI
25	-	שערי התשובה	הצינונית נחקר לה חלקים... הצינונית עד מקרה	25B	25A	(צינונית) Z	Z
26	-	"	ועי' בענין המקרה ה' חלקים... עד סוף חלק שקר	26A	25B	שקר XXII	XXII
27	-	"	Beginning of gate... שם מחנים מן המדני	28A	27A	חניפות XXIV	XXIV
28	האבות דעוה פ"ו (הלכה ו')	משנה תורה	דוק כדיתו של אדם... End of the gate	28B	28B		
29	האבות דעוה פ"ב (הלכה פ"א)	"	מהל' הג'... אמרנו מי אומר לנו	28B	28B	של הרע XXV	XXV
30	interpolated within this passage are the next two:	-	ידבר זה חכם אחד... almost the end of gate	30A	28B		
31	interpolated in the previous passage	האבות דעוה פ"ב (הלכה פ"א)	יש אחר זה"ר כגון... יותר יד כי משום זה"ר	29B	29B		
32	interpolated	חובות האבות עד הכניסה פ"ו	מצא האדם אחד מאחד... הזהר העמוד	30A	29B		
33	-	שערי התשובה	שקור עברה דברים יקרים... יכשרה בחזק כחו	31A	30B	תשובה XXVI	XXVI
34	with emendations, additions and deletions	"	דברים דיניים עם... ולא משאלין אלא יוסף	32B	31B		
35	interpolated within this passage in the next passage	האבות תשובה פ"ב (האבות)	כ"ה דברים המעבירים... יש לו חלק אברהם	33A	32B		
36	interpolated in the previous passage	האבות תשובה פ"ב ה' החמשים	וי"א שם כל' לאו... יחזק עלי אצל נאמן	33A	33A		
37	-	שערי התשובה	האבה הגדולה שהטיה... וי"א אץ כח אצונת	33B	33B		
38	condensed	"	י' דברים יסודיים לב... לפי האלקים גם רגש	34B	33B		
39	Reifman also notes re this "gate": -	שער הקדושה	כתב הואיל על וואני ארכומי... נמצאו אצלו במור	35A	34B		
40	דברים נכונים אלו נעדר המעשה הם	האבות תשובה פ"א (הלכה א')	כל מצודה שמעורה... היה זה מעובה	36B	36B		
41	אבות חמשים מס' חסדים האבות: שער התשובה כ"א פ"ו	האבות תשובה פ"א ש"ך באבד ממ'	ואין וחזק קול תפילה... לא אנוני חיי אלה דמיון	37A	36B		

REMARKS	PLACE in the Texts	SOURCE	QUOTATION ENDS... .. Begins	ENDS	Begins	GATE	No.
42	הלכות תלמוד מועד פ"ג (הלכות א' ד' ו')	משנה תורה	... הלכות תלמוד מועד... ... הלכות תלמוד מועד...	37A ^{mid}	37A ^{mid}	תורה	XXVII
43	הלכות תלמוד מועד פ"ג (הלכות ו' א' ו')	"	... הלכות תלמוד מועד... ... הלכות תלמוד מועד...	37A ^{low}	37A ^{low}		
44	from the Intro- duction.	"	... הלכות תלמוד מועד... ... הלכות תלמוד מועד...	38A ^{low}	37B ^{low}		
APPEARING ONLY IN SOME EDITIONS							
only parenthesis in the 1879 Edition		Maimonides	... הלכות תלמוד מועד... ... הלכות תלמוד מועד...	14B ^{up}	14B ^{up}	תורה	IX

A LIST
of
BOOKS SPECIFICALLY MENTIONED
or referred to, in the
text of Orhot Zaddikim.

*
(in the order in which the Books are mentioned)

	Name of the Book	Page (Edition: 1879)	'GATE'	REMARKS
	Aboth of R. Nathan	9A mid.	GATE I: LOVE	
	Midrash	15A ^{up}	GATE II: JOYFULNESS	also 37B ^{mid}
	Tanna d'Be Eliahu	16A bot	GATE III: WORRY	
1)	"רסויון וסו" 26A ^{mid}	26A ^{mid}	GATE XII : FALSEHOOD	
	(Talmud) Yerushalmi	27A ^{up}	GATE XIII : TRUTH	also 35A ^{mid} ; 36B ^{low}
2)	"סו" 37A ^{bot}	33A ^{bot}	GATE XVI : REPENTANCE	unmistakably that of Maimonide
3)	"קורן" 35A ^{mid}	35A ^{mid}	"	again on 38A ^{low}
	Talmud, &c.	35A ^{mid}	"	also several times on 38A
specifically, on this page are also 1) יסו"ס 2) סו"ס (i.e. 4) סו"ס 3) סו"ס 4) סו"ס				
and on page 37B are specified: 1) סו"ס 2) סו"ס 3) סו"ס 4) סו"ס				
4)	"סו"ס 38A ^{low}	38A ^{low}	GATE XVII : TORAH	i.e. the סו"ס [סו"ס]
5)	"סו"ס 38A ^{low}	38A ^{low}	"	i.e. the סו"ס
6)	"סו"ס 38A ^{low}	38A ^{low}	"	i.e. סו"ס
7)	"סו"ס 38A ^{low}	38A ^{low}	"	"
8)	"סו"ס 38A ^{low}	38A ^{low}	"	"
9)	"סו"ס 38A ^{low}	38A ^{low}	"	i.e. סו"ס
10)	"סו"ס 38A ^{low}	38A ^{low}	"	"
and on page 38B ^{up} are specified: 1) סו"ס 2) סו"ס 3) סו"ס 4) סו"ס				
several times; also specifies 1) סו"ס 2) סו"ס 3) סו"ס 4) סו"ס				

N.B. The more significant (by virtue of date) books are written in Hebrew with quotation marks and are numbered.

A LIST
of
JEWISH WRITERS SPECIFICALLY MENTIONED
in the Text of Orat Zaddikim.

*
(in the order in which they are mentioned)

1. Maimonides: ימ"ן ז"ל ז"ל in GATE IX: JOYFULNESS 128^{low}
(in some editions also on 143^{low} in parentheses, e.g. Edition 1879: Warsaw)
and mentioned a second time in GATE XXVII: TORAH, in that the Mishneh Torah
is styled on 38A^{low} as: ימ"ן ז"ל
2. RABAD: ר"ב ז"ל in GATE XXVI: REPENTANCE 348^{mid}
(Rabbi Abraham
Ab. Beth. Din)
3. Rabbi HANANEL: ר"ן " " " 36A^{low}
4. Moses of Coucy: מו"ק ז"ל ז"ל in GATE XXVII: TORAH 38A^{low}
5. ELIEZER of METZ: פ"מ ז"ל ז"ל " " " "
6. RASHI: ר"י " " " "
7. Rabbenu TAM: ר"ם " " " "
8. Rabbi ISAAC, the Tosafist: תוס' ז"ל " " " "
9. Rabbi SAMSON of SENES: ש"ם ז"ל " " " "

THE FIRST PRINTED EDITION
OF ORHOT ZADDIKIM.

SECTION VII

THE JUDAEO-GERMAN EDITION

לִּבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל

ISNY, 1542.

*

Judaeo-German and Yiddish translations of ORHOT ZADDIKIM appeared frequently in the career of this work, and the first printed edition of the book, [under the title: SEFER MIDDOTH], was in Judaeo-German, published in 1542 in Isny, (Swabia). It was only in 1591, in Prague, that the first HEBREW edition was issued, so that it was believed somewhat prevalently, by some scholars, that indeed the work was originally in this Judaeo-German version, and that the Hebrew is a translation from the Judaeo-German, of Isny, 1542. We shall begin our discussion by proving that the book must ORIGINALLY have been written in HEBREW, and NOT IN JUDAEO-GERMAN; and follow this proof by discussions of the other aspects of the ISNY EDITION: CHARACTERISTICS, - STRUCTURAL, LINGUISTIC, STYLISTIC, - (with comparisons of these with characteristics of the HEBREW TEXT); and the difficult question of the

SEE: EDITIONS p. 803gg.

cf. supra: p. 76

e.g. cf. Zedner, #623
British Museum Catalogue
of Steinschneider,
in Cat. Bodl. #521-522
of Ben Jakob, in
Ozer HaSforim, also
makes no mention of
precedence of the
Hebrew, listing the 16th
(=15th/16th) edition of
1542, etc. with no comment

identity of the TRANSLATOR-EDITOR of the Isny EDITION, (in connection with which we shall have occasion to refer to the person to whom this translation is DEDICATED).

PROOFS THAT ORHOT ZADDIKIM (אִשְׁתָּה 720) WAS WRITTEN
IN HEBREW, AND NOT IN JUDEO-GERMAN,
ORIGINALLY.

Although it would be sufficient, perhaps, to consider this proved merely by virtue of the conclusions we have arrived at with regard to the date and author's characteristics (e.g. probably a century before 1542, author's evident great Hebrew scholarship, etc.), it is, for purposes of exhaustive dispelling of all doubts, worthwhile to prove this by more immediate means, both by internal and ~~external~~ ^{external} evidence, directly.

INTERNAL EVIDENCE: That the 1542 edition was a translation from a Hebrew text is most sharply betrayed by the passage (in the INTRODUCTION of the Isny Edition) which we have quoted in another place.

"Therefore we have written down the SEFER MIDDOTH (אִשְׁתָּה 720) (sic!) in German, so that all may understand it.... God, 'H, who has raised me, may He help me... to write down the Book of Virtue, WHICH, IN THE אִשְׁתָּה 720, אִשְׁתָּה 720 [sic] is named."

cf. *supra*: p. 39: 4)

and the translator refers again to his "undertaking [i.e. of translating] the אִשְׁתָּה 720 (sic!), and bringing it to pass".

cf. *supra*: p. 39 bottom

in the concluding words, addressed to the lady to whom the edition was being dedicated, [and as we have likewise quoted (*Supra*, p. 39) in another connection].

These statements in themselves prove the original to have been in Hebrew, even if the fact of: solely the title (Hebrew): אִשְׂרָאֵל יִצְחָק being used by the translator, (who frequently charges his readers to become versed in the אִשְׂרָאֵל יִצְחָק, with the certain implication therefore that the original was in Hebrew), is deemed not conclusive enough, [in that possibly the author of an original Judaeo-German text could utilize Hebrew words for his title, (and Hebrew words, here and there, in his Judaeo-German, which are found frequently in the 1542 Isny text, e.g. אֶתְּהַבְנִי לְךָ; וְכִי יִצְחָק, יִצְחָק, אֶתְּהַבְנִי, קָדֹם; שָׁמַיִם - שָׁמַיִם; פִּסְטִּים; אֲנִי הוּא; אִשְׂרָאֵל; מִן הָאֱלֹהִים), such Hebrew common words to be regarded as adopted into the Judaeo-German vernacular]. The complete title of the Isny Edition is in Hebrew¹⁰⁹⁷ (as we quoted in full in another place: *supra*: p. 39), as is also the EPIGRAM, (*cf. infra*:

e.g. 9/2, 6. (in Ismy Edit)
quoted in part.
supra: p. 40: 3)

cf. likewise: Steinschneider
in *SERMES*, year 18
p. 132 ff.
(cited in Perle, p. 1)

EXTERNAL EVIDENCE: Assuming, for the moment, that the original work was in Judeo-German, and even antedating the 1542 Isny

Judaeo-German version, (which itself would be a printed edition from an original Judaeo-German manuscript), it should be expected that the later, but initial, Hebrew edition of 1581 would follow the 'genuine' Judaeo-German version (as it would be faithfully reproduced in the Isny text. However, this is not the case; rather the 1581 Hebrew edition does follow the texts of two Hebrew manuscripts, (to which we called attention in another connection), both of which antedate the Isny edition (yet neither is the original manuscript, which itself, as we have concluded, circulated for almost a century before it was finally printed in the Isny Judaeo-German translation, which took liberties, and as a result is quite different, in places, from the Hebrew original.)

vide: *supra*: p. 48-III
vide: *supra*: p. 74
vide: *infra*: p. 77 (2)

*
CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ISNY EDITION
— * —

- I. STRUCTURALLY: The arrangement of the various 'gates' is the same as in the Hebrew text,
- (a) except that the final GATE XXVIII ^{FEAR OF GOD,} is entirely missing from the end of the book, its contents, however, essentially introduced in the INTRODUCTION; and
- (b) those parts of GATE XXVII TORAH, which criticize

and reproach the pilpulistic excesses among scholars is omitted also. Many liberties have been taken in the matter of content also, much being omitted and other ideas, parables and stories being added.

2. CHANGES IN CONTENT, compared to the Hebrew text. IN GENERAL, the translation is free, not literal. The translator has adapted his version to the character of his readers. SPECIFICALLY, he has (a) abbreviated, or omitted entirely, the more difficult Talmudic quotations; (b) he has enlarged on the narrative portions of the original, supplying details and descriptions in stories and parables merely referred to in the text of the original; (c) here and there, he has actually added other parables and snatches of Jewish-German poetry, probably his own; and, so, other changes have been made "to give the book a popular and folk character." In this connection it should be noted that the book was mainly intended, in this version, to appeal to women, - as is indicated in the title: (as quoted in full in another place: *supra*: p. 39-40)

cf. Waxman
Vol. II - sect. 164
(quoted in part)

cf. Waxman, *ibid.*

cf. also in the epigraph of the translation which we quote
Safir: p. 80-81

3. LANGUAGE CHARACTERISTICS: - The German of the Isny edition is "oberdeutsch", and is not distinguishable from the language used in Christ. can writings of that period which were composed

acc. to H. Gidemann
Cultur des Judentum
p. 225

likewise in this dialect. Nor is the orthography different." At the end of the book are appended rules for Judaeo-German (YIDDISH) orthography "which shows that both the translator and the publisher were anxious to train the Jewish masses to read the newly printed book"

Gödemann: *ibid*

vide: Waxman, ibid.

N.B. Gödemann has a long essay on the subject of "die jüdisch-deutsche Schriftsprache" in his *Cultur der Juden*, pages: 280 to 294, in which he goes into a minute study of this subject. In his general conclusions in which he characterizes the orthography of the Isny text, he writes:

"There is no doubt that German Jews have always written GERMAN in HEBREW characters. We find such words in RASHI, who had such an orthography before him. MAHARIL speaks of such Judaeo-German prayers. The editor of one such prayerbook, published at Ichenhausen in 1544, had before him several copies which were even older.

Translated from the German, Gödemann, *Cultur der Juden*, p. 225-226

"The orthography of our Sittenbuche, which is common to all Judaeo-German writings of this time, testifies, to the smallest detail, of a very intimate familiarity with old German writings and speech....

"Our translator has his own orthography, which he describes, but knows not how to explain... he commits many grammatical irregularities....

"The interwoven Hebrew expressions found in the book, and which were understandable to the women for whom the book was written, are explained (by the translator), and similarly pertinent parallels are drawn from the contemporary Christian writings.

cf. supra: p. 75

cf. supra: p. 39: 1)

4. STYLE: The translator wrote in a popular and easy style, after the folk-manner. We have already noted his enlargement of parable and story.

cf. infra: p. 77

-telling, at the expense of the moralizing ('muser') (which is the prominent emphasis of the Hebrew). The purpose was "not only to instruct, but to amuse, - i.e. to inculcate moral teachings, not by injunctions, but by means of stories, parables and illustrations."

vide: Waxman: ibid

5. COMPARED TO THE HEBREW, in general: the Judaeo-German is not as abstract as the Hebrew; it is 'thoroughly saturated with phrases of actual life and goes into detail in depicting conditions and circumstances of conduct; and we feel the actual pulsations of life as lived by the Jewish masses in the ghetto a few centuries ago'.

cf. Waxman: ibid.

IDENTITY of the TRANSLATOR of 1542 EDITION

The Isny Edition translator, or editor, is unknown. Two theories, both speculative, have been suggested:

THEORY I. The Isny edition was published by PAULUS FAGIUS, the Christian minister, pupil of Elijah Levita (1469-1549).

Both theories are discussed below: pp. 82; 84.

THEORY II: The Isny edition was issued, rather, by a converted Jew, PAULUS AEMILIUS, in association with Chajim Schwarz (Schachor), a well-

Known printer, to whom Aemilius had been introduced by Isaac of Günzburg "for the purpose that both together should repair to Ferrara, there to 'print'."

Perles: Beiträge,
p. 172

N.B. "In Ferrara, (Italy), the Jews of this period were enjoying, under the rule of Herzog Ercole von Este, a very tolerant treatment, and were able to pursue, unhindered, their ideas of printing their liturgic and religious works." E.g. works were printed by Samuel ibn Ashkarah⁽¹⁵⁵⁸⁾, Abraham Usque (1559). "Rabbi Isaac Günzburg apparently had the plan to have printed, under the aegis of this tolerant monarch of Ferrara, an issue of the Talmud.... by Paulus Aemilius and Chajim Schwarz."

ibid.

ibid.

However, these plans in Ferrara "led to nought, and after an eight-months absence (in Ferrara), Aemilius returned to Germany."

ibid.

Before proceeding to evaluate both of these theories, in the light of the arguments advanced by the proponents of each, it will be useful to set down the items, of salient significance to the problem, which we can gather from the body of the Isny text. (Some such features we have already noted, and we shall merely refer to these *ad hoc*):-

a) The EPIGRAPH of the book refers on-

ly anonymously to the editor; it reads:

נאמן סגור מברות בעצרת יושב תהלות. אף וצער אף חסידים
וחסידות הדברים כיוסדים וזקתות. נאמן בעיר איוצ'א
על ידי פלון אלמוןי אף ש"ה א"ת.

b) DEDICATION of the book: The Isny edition is dedicated a lady of the name קִיָּה , "who lives in Gunzburg", and is called "Doctor of the Liberal Art of Medicine."

N.B. We have quoted the text of this Dedication in another connection, *supra* p. 39; and we have already discussed the following, also, so that we merely refer briefly to:-

c) The Isny edition omits Gate XXVIII and the distichs portions of Gate XXVII cf. *supra*: p. 76

d) The Isny edition is designed primarily for women readers, (hence emphasizing parables, etc). cf. *supra*: p. 39-1)

e) Many Hebrew expressions are interwoven into the book, and "pertinent parallels are drawn from the contemporary Christian writings." Regarding these Hebrew expressions however, they "are not to be confused as being Hebraisms or Judaisms, because for such we look in vain," in the Isny translation. Withal, the whole tone of the book is one of complete piety and "we feel the pulsations of Jewish ghetto life." cf. *supra*: p. 78: N.B.

vide: Budemann, -
Cultur der Juden,
p. 226

cf. *supra*: p. 79: 5)
(Explaining this anomalous
condition of non-Jewish, yet
Jewish, vide: *infra*: p. 86: 9)

Guided by these data of internal evidence to be applied to any theory regarding the authorship, etc. of the Isny translation, we may proceed to discuss the two theories so far advanced:-

EVALUATION of PAULUS FAGIUS THEORY:

This theory has been advanced by I. M. Jost. The arguments made in substantiation of this suggestion are:-

1) Fagius is the only one known to have established a Hebrew printing press in Isny, by 1542

2) He knew Hebrew, although he was Christian, having been taught by Elijah Levita; so, also, he could have been persuaded by Levita to have the book published.

The arguments presented in opposition to this theory are:

1) In all books published by Paulus Fagius, his name appears in Hebrew letters, and likewise his well-known book (trade)-mark: פ"פ always appears in the margin. These are missing in the Isny edition of SEFER MIDDOTH.

2) The word Isny is always transcribed into Hebrew as יסניק by Paulus Fagius; in SEFER MIDDOTH, it is (as we have cited above, in the EPIGRAPH): יסניק

3) Fagius would hardly be willing to be publisher of a book designed almost exclusively for female Jewish readers; (there is no evidence of his knowing the lady Murada, to whom the

(Isaac Marcus Jost)
[1793-1860]

cf. Wolf: Bibl. Hebr. III p. 1177
The theory is cited by Waxman (Vol. II Hist. Jew. Lit. Section 169); also is cited by Perles: Beiträge, p. 176 (but in order to refute it).

cf. Elijah Levita, vide Grätz: History II p. 471.
cf. Margolin: Mark: p. 462-3 for Fagius being pupil of Levita.

cf. Perles, ibid, p. 176

cf. Perles, ibid.

cf. ibid.

cf. ibid.

edition is dedicated, to supply such a motive indirectly).

4. Unexplained are the reasons for omitting the Gate XXVIII and parts of Gate XXVII (although, once the motive for writing for women is clarified, this could be explained by the inappropriateness of the subject matter in these sections to a women-audience; the omission of the diatribe portions may be explained, in any case, by the interval of years since the original Hebrew ^{text's} author died, so that the criticisms voiced in GATE XXVII of the Hebrew original, were esteemed outdated by the editor of the translation).

5. Unexplained is the reason for the anonymity of both publisher and translator, (in case these be not identical).

N.B. Forestalling the attributing of the translation to Elijah Levita himself; -(besides the query raised for the reason of anonymity in the part of the translator, and the lack of evidence for dedicating the book to the lady Murada, etc.) it should be remembered that Levita was essentially a grammarian, and had immediate association with Pauline Jagers, publisher, only for four years; and during his long association with his Christian friends, Levita was not regarded as being overly pious. Gratz says: "Levita was little liked by his brother Jews, and associated more with learned Christians, who brought much blame from the over-pious, and produced evil consequences for his descendants."

Gratz: History. III: p. 473

EVALUATION of PAULUS AEMILIUS THEORY:

This theory has been advanced by Joseph Perles. The arguments made in substantiation of this theory are:

(Joseph Perles, Rabbi of Munich)
"Perles: Beiträge der Hebräischen und Aramäischen Studien, pag. 174 (footnote), 176-177.

- 1) It explains, with a degree of probability, the dedication of the book to the lady Murada:
- (a) - We know, (as we pointed out already), that a business association had been developed between the Jewish book-printer Chajjim Schwarz and Paulus Aemilius thru the mediation of Rabbi Isaac of Günzburg. This would explain the contacts of these partners, if such they were, with Günzburg. Günzburg was the place where the lady Murada lived, (as specified in the epigraph dedication of the Isny Edition, in the concluding words of the Introduction).
- (b) - The towns ISNY and GÜNZBURG are not far distant from one another in Swabia, Germany.

quoted supra, p. 39.

N.B. Perles, in a long note, discourses on the probable identity of this "lady MURADA" (מורדא), concluding with the most probable assumption that she was the very talented "Olympia Fulvia Morata", born in 1526 in Ferrara, where she was brought up by her father, who was tutor of the royal children at the court of Ercole (Hercules) von Este. She married Andreas Grunthler, who was studying for Doctor of Medicine at Ferrara, and went with him back to his native city in Swabia (Schwaben). There she became converted to Protestantism, and was received with great distinction at Augsburg. She died in 1555 at Heidelberg.

"Now since Chajjim Schwarz and Paulus Aemilius, as we have indicated above, had had connections with Ferrara, then the assumption that these men knew her, and that she would be interested in a Jewish moral book, is easily

cf. Perles, *ibid.*, p. 174-175

(translated from the German, *ibid.*)

cf. *supra* p. 60 (N.B.)

cf. *supra* p. 60

cf. *supra* p. 31

conceivable and highly probable."

Unfortunately, for this assumption, Perles goes on to say, is the fact that "she did not come to Swabia before 1548; and before her marriage she could not have been styled by her husband's title: Doctor of the Liberal Art of Medicine..." What is more, she confesses herself in a letter [Schweinfurth VII. Calend. Junii 1553 an Mathaeum Flaccius Illyricus], which is but two years before her death, that she still was not altogether master of the German tongue, viz: "nam ego Germanorum linguam nondum intelligo." (She was a great latin and greek scholar).

Perles, *ibid.*, p. 175

ibid.

Nonetheless, whatever her identity may have been, what we have stated in our argument is consistent, since the dedication does specify this lady's residence in Grunzburg, and Paulus Amilius and Chajim Schwarz did have relations with Grunzburg.

2) It explains, [as a corollary to their deep admiration, (as expressed in the dedication for Lady Murada)], why the book should be designed for women readers.

3) It explains the desire for anonymity on the part of Amilius and Schwarz, - i.e. since the book was designed for Jewish circles (Amilius having chosen the book to be translated because he knew Lady Murada to "have a love and high regard": ["dass Ihr Lust und Begehr habet zu dem neuen buch"] for the book), and since one of them, Paulus Amilius, was a baptized Jew, they considered it inadvisable to mention names, and "contented themselves with the general inscription (יחסי יחסי)

vide *supra*, p. 39:2)

cf. Perles, *ibid.*, p. 176

P'loni Almoni, through which, it will be noticed, the anagram of Paulus Aemilius shimmers through. cf. *ibid.* p. 176-177

4) It explains, after a fashion, anomalies in the book such as Christian expressions in a book pulsating with Jewish life, - because of its having as its editor a baptized Jew, Aemilius. cf. *supra* p. 81: c)

5) It explains [as a corollary of the fact of the book being designed for women readers] why Gate XXVIII and part of Gate XXVII would be omitted, these sections either being of no interest to women (e.g. philosophic concepts of Gate XXVIII) or being out-dated (the diatribes of Gate XXVII), [even as we have intimated in the case of the Paulus Jaggiss theory, which however could not explain the motive for writing for a women-audience]. cf. *supra* p. 82: 3, u)

N.B. 1. Perles gives, as an additional support of his theory, the fact that "the book fits into the framework of the 'sonst bekannten Verlagsartikel von Chajim Schwarz'; but we have not been able to determine what this well-known 'Verlagsartikel' by Schwarz is; so that we do not include this argument above.

N.B. 2. Yet another argument advanced by Perles in support of this theory: "It may also be mentioned that the editor speaks with great regard for the ITALIAN Jews, praising their knowledge of Hebrew Grammar and considering their pronunciation of Hebrew praiseworthy. 'The Germans read the *hatef-Kametz* not as the *schlecht-Kametz*; this the Italians make fun of, for they are well versed in Grammar (p. 13, p. 3)'. (page 100 near the end of the *Tony Edition*). This observation also fits Paulus Aemilius who had been in Italy."

Perles, *ibid.*, p. 177
(translated from the German)

cf. *supra* p. 80: N.B.

PERLES' theory concerning Paulus Aemilius, however, is challenged by M. Gidemann, (who terms this theory "eine gewagte Vermuthung").

note: Gidemann:
Cultur der Juden
p. 225, footnote.

Gidemann's argument against the theory are:

1) Only a pious Jew could have been actuated to omit the violent attacks, in Gate XXVII, against pilpul. "Similarly the last philosophic 'gate': XXVIII, on the Fear of God was omitted. Paulus Aemilius would not have preferred such an inconsiderate castration. This could only have been done by a pious Jew."

ibid.

N.B. However, as we have suggested above, this omission could be explained under any of the theories on the ground that the omissions were due to an audience "of women," a long time after the original author lived, being addressed by the translation.

cf. supra p. 86: 5)
and p. 88: 4)

OUR TOTAL CONCLUSION, concerning the identity of the translator or editor or publisher of the Isny Edition of 1542, is that, on the basis of evidence at hand, no satisfactory theory has been presented which leaves no room for doubts, but that the Paulus Aemilius-Chajim Schwarz theory is the most probable solution so far offered.

EDITIONS

*

A varied career for ORHOT ZADDIKIM thru the years is betokened by the forty-seven editions which are listed below, and attest to the esteem in which the book has been held in different parts of Europe.

The following list of the EDITIONS was compiled from an examination of all the editions found in the HEBREW UNION COLLEGE LIBRARY, with the addition of all editions listed by:

(A) BET EKED SEFARIM : FRIEDBERG

(B) BEN JACOB'S : OZER SEFARIM

(C) [the 1931 / BERLIN / WELT-VERLAG edition (in Latin) of:

STEINSCHNEIDER:	CATALOGUS
	LIBRORUM
	HEBRAEORUM
	in
Pages 522-523	Bibliotheca
Items 3411-3422	Bodleiana

*

The procedure will be as follows: According to the obvious and self-evident format,

information is presented as to the PLACE, DATE, SIZE, NUMBER of PAGES, and whether or not the given edition is mentioned by any or all of the three catalogues, BET EKOD SEFARIM, BEN JACOB'S OZER SEFARIM, or STEINSCHNEIDER (in the LATIN EDITION noted above), with appropriate comment. In the cases of editions found in the Hebrew Union College Library, additional information is presented, pointing out differentiated characteristics of the copy examined and generally stating the following facts about the edition: nature of TITLE PAGE and any revealing information on this page; the nature of the get-up of the book: attractiveness, type of print [Rashi, or (ר'י'י'י'י'י') the square letters], appendices in the back, special features of its contents, etc. We likewise give the "number" of the editions as they appear in the BET EKOD SEFARIM, which is the most complete of the catalogues; the BET EKOD lists 43 editions, whereas 47 editions are listed below. The four additional editions listed are ① the 1542 ISNY Edition which BET EKOD, beginning his list with the

1581 Hebrew Edition of Prague, omits; ② the 1859 PRESSOURG Hebrew edition, which he omits; ③ the 1879 - Warsaw and ^④the 1899 (partial) edition in German (Kolomea), the latter two editions likewise not appearing in the GET EKOZ, which stops at 1874 in its list.

We have indicated the Judeo-German editions by so noting them in the margin. We have likewise specified if a given edition is to be found in the Hebrew Union College Library.

None of the many editions vary in the arrangement of the 'gates' (except the curious Lemberg 1862 Judeo-German edition), although some have internal changes.

None of the many editors have introduced references into the body of the text (except a partial attempt in the recent 1899 German edition in giving some Biblical verses up thru the ninth 'GATE').

(We shall not deal with the 1542 Edition, since we have devoted a special section of this paper to a study of its significant place among the editions, etc.).

(For ISNY EDITION: 1942,
see SECTION, supra).

1581

PLACE: Prague

DATE: K'NR

4° ; 58 pages

BET EKOD: listed as Edition (1).

BEN JACOB: listed (date = k'sp'n)

STEINSCHNEIDER: "ap. Mard. Kohen et
(#3413) fill. Bezalet et Salerno"

*

1687

PLACE: Frankf. am Main

DATE: 5'NJ

in H.U.C. Library

2° (also 4°) ; 32 pages

BET EKOD: listed as Edition (2)

BEN JACOB: listed.

STEINSCHNEIDER: #3414 ; #3414A

TITLE PAGE: ספר אורחות צדיקים החיבור הקטן | הנה נח
הכמות ורג האופות הוא ספר אורחות צדיקים
ולצות הנם
המיוסר אורחות ואבטל אל לר הנה | ונבטל
אורחות אבטל אל לר ונבטל

(and continues to say: (transl.)

"and to lead him in the good path without
stumbling, that man should not sin, to his shame
and disgrace. Now since it has not been published
in our times, therefore it has occurred to us to
strive to publish it to enable the public to read and
study it until they become steeped therein, in order that
the learning thereof may lead to translating it into
action. Then will it be seemly to him, and he will
secure everlasting life and the great good that is
stored away, etc.

Date: 5'NJ

OTHER CHARACTERISTICS - see next page: (continued).

(1581 - Prague: continued)

OTHER CHARACTERISTICS: A beautifully decorated edition, -
designs are few but elaborate; fancy cover. The copy
before us (the very old), yet the printing is uniform and
clear; the pages are wide, double columns, Rashi type.

*

1688

PLACE: SULZBACH

DATE: 1711

in H.U.C. Library

=(1691)

12" 268 pages

BET EKOD: listed as Edition (3)

(does not list the 1691 reissue)

BEN JACOB: listed, also the reissue (1691)

STEINSCHNEIDER: #3415 (omits the reissue)

TITLE PAGE: Same formula-statement as 1687 edition (up to
עוֹלָם אֱלֹהִים) and continues with list of appendices
in the back of this edition (prayers, confessional, etc.)
(The edition-copy before us is the 1691 reissue, so that)
הַיְיט הַזֶּה נִדְפַּס בְּסוּלְצְבַּח בְּהַרְגוֹת הַמֶּלֶךְ
בְּרֻדֵּן כְּרִיסְטִיאַנֻס אֶקְוִיסְטָה ... בְּיַד הַפְּרִינְטֶר
מָאָס בֶּן מֵרִי שֶׁ בְּלֹךְ
Date: 1711

OTHER CHARACTERISTICS: Tiny size pages, bound in leather, and
well preserved Square type letters Appendices in the back.

*

1692

PLACE: FURTH (1711)

DATE: 1711

12" 358 pages

BET EKOD: listed as Edition (4)

1

BEN JACOB: omitted

STEINSCHNEIDER: #3417

mentions that the text is prefixed by
Prayers for the whole year The printer
was "defuncti Jos. Schneier"

*

PLACE: Frankf. am Main

1697

(with Judaeo-German)

DATE: 571

4°

BET EKOD: listed as Edition (34) ע'נ"ס
(i.e. translated also into Judaeo-
German, in this edition)
Mentions 8°; and 12° אמת 200 פ"י
על הענין ופוסק א"ר יצחק מלכו

BEN JACOB: listed

STEINSCHNEIDER: #3421 *German. ex. Hebr.
for anonym. * sponsored with the recom-
mendation of Meir b. Abr. b. B. Oppenheim
und Herz b. Jacob Schwelau.

Date: 771 אמת 250 פ"י א"ר יצחק
על הענין ופוסק א"ר יצחק מלכו

*

PLACE: Frankf. am Main

1700

DATE: 071

12°

BET EKOD: listed as Edition (5)

BEN JACOB: listed. mentions a "more or
less connection with a book:
117 י"ס". Also: 0107 פ"י א"ר יצחק
(Frankf. am M.) but instead gives
the letters 7°NK (Amsterdam)?

STEINSCHNEIDER: #3416: and amplifies on
the Ben Jacob statement by
advising that "parts have
been omitted, and parts of the
book Portae Zionis (i.e. 113-106)
by Nathan b. Mos. Hannover
have been added (accedunt).
Steinschneider likewise sets
the place as Frankf. am M.
with a question-mark (?).

*

PLACE: Frankf. a. ODER

1705

DATE: ת"ת

12°

BET EKOD: listed as Edition (6)

BEN JACOB: omitted

STEINSCHNEIDER: #3418 "jussu et
impensis Gerson Weiner"

Date: תר"ה (1705)

*

PLACE: Frankf. am Main

1710

DATE: ת"ת

BET EKOD: listed as Edition (7)

BEN JACOB: omitted

STEINSCHNEIDER: omitted

*

PLACE: HANAU

1710

DATE: ת"ת

in H.U.C. Library

(Judaeo-German)

4° 56 pages

BET EKOD: listed as Edition (36)

BEN JACOB: listed

STEINSCHNEIDER: #3422

TITLE PAGE: (in our copy, is torn out except one corner which indicates a detailed type of title-page: sponsor, sovereign, etc.)

OTHER CHARACTERISTICS: Given a TABLE of CONTENTS, both in Hebrew and Judaeo-German. Large size pages have double columns; peculiar type of print. At the end, praises the printer. STRUCTURALUY: Gives his own Introduction in addition to the aspp of the text. TRANSLATION is very literal. Style: If the Hebrew is untranslated, as is very frequent, he encloses such in parentheses.

*

PLACE: Frankf. a. Main

DATE: 2181

12°

1715

BET EKOD: listed as Edition (8)

BEN JACOB: listed but as 16° and
with the date 2181, 1718 (?)
(Perhaps a reissue). Mentions
that accompanied by the
responsum of Rabbi Israel
Gerondi.

STEINSCHNEIDER: # 3419; together
with Jona Gerondi: *Epistola poenitentie*.

Date: 2181

"Hr. Anton Heinscheit, per Salomon
London"

*

PLACE: Cothen 167

DATE:

In H.U.C. Library

12°

135 pages

1718

BET EKOD: listed as Edition (9)

BEN JACOB: listed.

STEINSCHNEIDER: omitted

TITLE PAGE: Same formula statement as 1687 edition (up to
סוף דברי יצחק), and continues with list of appendices
in the back of this edition (various Blessings).
"Published here in the city of Cothen, under the rule
of our Lord, his Majesty, Leopold; issued by Israel
ben Abraham.

Date: 2216 1327 5787 2582

OTHER CHARACTERISTICS: Very well preserved is our copy, - clear
and uniform print, Rashi type letters. The text is preceded
by some דברי יצחק 1722, in which the publisher points out the
excellency of this book in that it renders accessible
to the public digests of books by Maimonides, Bachya, etc;
and urges all to buy the book. He also eulogizes the
sponsor of the financing of the edition "who has made possible
this book to reach rich and poor alike," who is so very
modest, etc., etc., forbidding the Publisher to reveal his name

*

1725

PLACE: FURTH

DATE: א"ת 21

16° 165 pages

BET EKOD: listed as Edition (10)

BEN JACOB: omitted

STEINSCHNEIDER: omitted

*

1734

PLACE: SALONICA

DATE: א"ת 23

BET EKOD: listed as Edition (11)

BEN JACOB: omitted

STEINSCHNEIDER: omitted

*

1735

PLACE: AMSTERDAM

DATE: א"ת 23

IN H.U.C. Library (3 copies)

with Judeo-
German translation

4° 110 pages

BET EKOD: listed as Edition (35)
א"ת 23 / א"ת 23 / א"ת 23BEN JACOB: listed: "apparently (572)
translated by R. Solomon London
in Amsterdam.

STEINSCHNEIDER: #3420

TITLE PAGE: "This volume is choice silver, the speech of a
righteous man, to admonish mankind in love.
His words are sweet and pleasant. Certainly they
will become endeared to all who will read
them. It is likewise seemly and necessary that
they never be forsaken. I am certain that,
by them, a man be as meritorious as old wine,

(continue: next page)

and will become of the selected righteous ones and be called 'friend and beloved of God'.

And now for the benefit of the public, in my old age, my friends have importuned me to translate the book into German, a language fluent in the mouths of my dear ones, brothers, and friends who lack the means of understanding פ'נודס ארז (i.e. the Hebrew).—And in any case, also for such as have grace, this book will be found worthy to be read for all times in order that they can serve (ג'דס obviously should be ג'דס) God with a whole heart. For in reward, they shall merit to dwell among the other wholly righteous and pious.

יְיָ יִשְׁמַר אֶת יִשְׂרָאֵל מִכָּל צָרָה בְּכָל עֵת. אָמֵן

May the Lord save Israel from all trouble at all times. Amen."

DATE: י"ח אדר א' תרל"ה

OTHER CHARACTERISTICS: This edition is full of decorative effects, varying the type of print for titles, subtitles and to emphasize specific words. Large size page has top in Hebrew, with the lower half in the German (peculiar type of Hebrew letters). Devotes much space to publicize the נדפס, which laud the book with flowery terms. Regarding the translation itself, the פ'נודס of the Sephardic Congregation say: "although the book has already been translated into German, he (Londan) has completed wherein the former translators were inadequate". The edition enjoys נדפס from both the Ashkenaz and Sephard groups in Amsterdam. As usual, with the נדפס, is included protection of the translator's rights for a specified number of years (in this case, six years). Londan ends the book with a flourish, calling divine blessings upon all who helped publish the work.

PLACE: SOLKIEW

1737

DATE: 537

8°

BET EKOD: listed as Edition (12)

BEN JACOB: listed.

STEINSCHNEIDER: omitted.

*

PLACE: Frankf. a. Main

1743

DATE: 1743

Judaeo-German

8° 79 pages

BET EKOD: listed as Edition # (37)

BEN JACOB: omitted

STEINSCHNEIDER: omitted

*

PLACE: SOLKIEW

1750

DATE: 1750

in H.U.C. library

BET EKOD: listed as Edition (13)

BEN JACOB: omitted

STEINSCHNEIDER: omitted

TITLE PAGE: The simple formulaary statement (as in other editions):

המפורסם והנכבד רבי משה
הגדול זצ"ל ורבי יוסף קארו

During "the reign of the lord Duke Wawrski (Wawrski) of Vilna of the Kingdom of Lithuania, KARL STANISLAW RADZIWIL", and mentions the names of several rabbis. DATE: 1750

OTHER CHARACTERISTICS: Very crude, unclear, change of types of printing here and there. Rashi type letters.

*

PLACE: Amsterdam (א'מס)

DATE: 6577

8°

1769

Judaea-German
(2nd issue of
the 1542 Edition)

BET EKOD: listed as Edition (14)

BEN JACOB: listed: as the second
issue of the 1542 edition
(cf. also: 1791 Edition)

STEINSCHNEIDER: omitted

*

PLACE: SKLOV

DATE: 1785

4° 50 pages

1785

BET EKOD: listed as Edition (15)

BEN JACOB: omitted

STEINSCHNEIDER: omitted

*

PLACE: SALONICA

DATE: 1791

8°

1791

Judaea-German
(3rd issue of the
1542 edition)

BET EKOD: listed as Edition (33)

BEN JACOB: listed as the third
issue of the 1542 edition
(cf. also the 1769 edition)
"by the brothers, some of the author
of the 1542 edition"

STEINSCHNEIDER: omitted

*

PLACE: Frankf. a. ODER

1793

DATE: ה'תקצ"ג

in H.U.C. Library

(1794)

12° 108 pages

BET EKOD: listed as Edition (16)

BEN JACOB: omitted

STEINSCHNEIDER: omitted

TITLE PAGE: The formulary statement as in Edition: 1750

... list of appendices (various blessings, etc.),

... under the reign of ... Frederick William II

... published by the right Doctor Professor Gribow

DATE: ה'תקצ"ג תר"ב פ"ק' 23 1711 (1794)

OTHER CHARACTERISTICS: Simple format, printing has become somewhat faded and worn. Has quite a number of appendices for daily worship and blessings

*

PLACE: Polonia

1802

DATE: ה'תק"ף

BET EKOD: listed as Edition (17)

BEN JACOB: omitted

STEINSCHNEIDER: omitted.

*

PLACE: LEMBERG (212f)

1816

DATE: ה'תק"ף

in H.U.C. Library (2 copies)

BET EKOD: listed as Edition (18)

BEN JACOB: omitted

STEINSCHNEIDER: omitted

TITLE PAGE: Merely the simple formulary statement as in Edition: 1750.
Gives names of publisher: Grossman, etc.

OTHER CHARACTERISTICS: Crude edition, though print is clear, Rashi type letters. The preface is by Jacob Orenstein who praises the book ("like fresh waters"), granting a ...

PLACE: LEMBERG (ppp)

1816

DATE: 1877

Judeo-German

BET EKOD: listed as Edition (38)

BEN JACOB: omitted

STEINSCHNEIDER: omitted

*

PLACE: LEMBERG

1824

DATE: 2877

Judeo-German

40 pages

BET EKOD: listed as Edition (39)

BEN JACOB: omitted

STEINSCHNEIDER: omitted

*

PLACE: Wilna

1830

DATE: 977

70 pages

BET EKOD: listed as Edition (40)

BEN JACOB: omitted

STEINSCHNEIDER: omitted

*

PLACE: Zdikow (2167120)

1835

DATE: 1877

in H.U.C. Library

8*

74 pages

BET EKOD: listed as Edition (19)

BEN JACOB: omitted

STEINSCHNEIDER: omitted

Title page: (next page)

1835: Zdikow (continued)

TITLE PAGE: Has the formula as in 1750 (minus the words
אין אלה) and continues: ("This little volume...
...Orhot Zaddikim) Published many years ago,
The name of the author is unknown to us.
And in view of his great love, in that all
his ways are of service unto the Highest of
the Highest, we sought to learn the name
of this righteous and wholly upright author,
or, and finally we discovered a mention of
him in the אלהים 100, which quotes his golden
words, viz., "The book of the ORHOT ZADDIKIM,
which is the SEFER HAMIDOTH, and speaks
regarding the FIVE SENSES in MAN; and
Maimonides (PAA) quotes him in Chapter 4 of
his AGOTH." And according to report, the author
is the teacher of Rabbi Joseph ibn Megaz
who was the teacher of Maimonides."

see supra, p. 51

(Also on the title page continues with note.)

"And behold, in the פתח אל 158 with which
the author ends, we will begin, and present
there at the end of the book a letter by
R. Moses ben Nachman (פאנא נחמן) which he
sent to his son in regard to fear and
humility. And in order to enlighten the
public, we have published it ... May God grant
us to see the rebuilding of Jerusalem ...

OTHER CHARACTERISTICS: The אלה at the end of the book
is a series of admonishments re fear and
Humility, which is commanded to be read
once a week. Except:

אם אתה לא תיראה לא תהיה נאמן
אם אתה לא תיראה לא תהיה נאמן
אם אתה לא תיראה לא תהיה נאמן
אם אתה לא תיראה לא תהיה נאמן
אם אתה לא תיראה לא תהיה נאמן

Constantly repeats the word: אלה

Crudely printed, poor paper and make-up.
Rashi type letters. The copy before us has
the censor's remarks in Polish, dated May
26, 1835.

The pages are large and have two columns.
Varies between types of print

Very interesting to note: the last paragraph
of the text's אלה is shifted from its
position at the beginning of the book, to the
end of the book, just preceding the אלה
referred to above. (Regarding this, see
also supra: p.)

PLACE: Wilna (קראקא ווילנא)

1836

DATE: 1377

Judeo-German

4° 42 pages

BET EKOD: listed as Edition (41)

BEN JACOB: omitted

STEINSCHNEIDER: omitted

*

PLACE: ZOLKIEW

1838

DATE: 1377

BET EKOD: listed as Edition (20)

BEN JACOB: omitted

STEINSCHNEIDER: omitted

*

PLACE: ZITOMIR

(1840: cf. 1849)

1847

DATE: 1377

165 pages

BET EKOD: listed as Edition (21)

BEN JACOB: omitted

STEINSCHNEIDER: omitted

*

PLACE: JOSEFOW

1849

DATE: 1377

in H.U.C. Library (2 issues: 1840; 1851)

BET EKOD: listed as Edition (22)

BEN JACOB: omitted

Title Page: (next page)

STEINSCHNEIDER: omitted

1849: Josefow (continued)

TITLE PAGE: Same as the (long) 1835: 2dilkow title page; also refers to the פֿאַרשטאַנד (and prints this letter in the back of the book).

OTHER CHARACTERISTICS: The H.U.C. Library has 2 copies (2 editions): 1840 and 1851. Both have the censor's seal (1851: signed: Warsaw, 1846, "J. Tugendhult, Censor"; discrepancy in the dates to be noted?). The 1840 edition is Rashi type of letters; the 1851 edition has the square letters. Both very crude editions.

*

PLACE: Koenigsberg

1851

DATE: 1871

in H.U.C. Library

90 pages

BET EKOD: listed as Edition (23)

BEN JACOB: omitted

STEINSCHNEIDER: omitted

TITLE PAGE:

720
פֿאַרשטאַנד
1871
אֶרֶץ צוֹר

from which one measures the right conduct of men... and although the name of the author is unknown to us, yet by his deeds is he recognized to have been of the great men of his generation... We are reissuing this book anew without omitting any of its previous contents, but we have removed all the פֿאַרשטאַנד which covered its pages before... May God, etc...

DATE: פֿאַרשטאַנד 1871
720

OTHER CHARACTERISTICS: Plain with no embellishments, fairly clear; type: mostly Rashi (except אֶרֶץ צוֹר and initial sentence of GATE I)

*

PLACE: Wilna (וילנא)

1851

DATE: כ"ג

Judeo-German

8°

BET EKOD: listed as Edition (42)

BEN JACOB: omitted

STEINSCHNEIDER: omitted

*

PLACE: Wilna

1853

DATE: ג'ג

12°

148 pages

BET EKOD: listed as Edition (24)

BEN JACOB: omitted

STEINSCHNEIDER: omitted

*

PLACE: Koenigsberg

1859

DATE: ג'ג

in H.U.C. Library

96 pages

BET EKOD: listed as Edition (25)

BEN JACOB: omitted

STEINSCHNEIDER: omitted

TITLE PAGE: Identical with that of the 1851: Koenigsberg Edit.

except the date is: פ'ר'י'ג'ג' (1859)

Printed by Gruber and Lohegrin

OTHER CHARACTERISTICS: Very clear type, - Rashi type except in Introduction and first sentence of GATE I

PLACE: Pressburg

1859

DATE: 6° 175

in H.U.C. Library

16°

BET EKOD: omitted

BEN JACOB: listed

STEINSCHNEIDER: omitted

TITLE PAGE: identical with that of the 1851: Koenigsberg;
(and Publisher listed as Joseph Schlesinger).

OTHER CHARACTERISTICS: Probably the best of all the editions
insofar as clarity of print, paper and general
readability are considered. Likewise the text is
critically prepared, the parentheses-brackets
system used for alternative readings. Very neat
square letter type.

*

PLACE: Pressburg

1859

DATE: 6° 175

in H.U.C. Library

Judaeo-German

4° 52 pages

BET EKOD: listed as Edition (43)

BEN JACOB: omitted

STEINSCHNEIDER: omitted

TITLE PAGE: (Mixed Hebrew and Judaeo-German:) "This holy
Book ORHOT ZADDIKIM is composed by a great
wise Pious me and great man of his generation.
Out of consideration for his piety and goodness,
the composer was unwilling to reveal his name,
for he was averse to be praised for his wisdom.
We gather, from this holy book, that the composer
was a great pi33. In view of the fact that this
holy book was never translated into the German
tongue, we have thus translated it. It is easy
to understand, -for every class of people to learn
the good attributes and the fear of God. Thereby
shall wisdom be increased and we shall merit

(continued next page)

1857. Pressburg. Judaeo-German (continued)

to see the countenance of the Redeemer of Right-
eousness and consolation of Zion, Jerusalem,
speedily in our day, Amen.

[To indicate how he mixes Hebrew with the Judaeo-

German: (Hebrew words are inserted by him parenthetically)

וְהָיָה עִירָא דְּבִרְיָא דְּמִלְכָּא (דְּמִלְכָּא) אִיזְרָאֵל
[... (דְּמִלְכָּא) אִיזְרָאֵל דְּבִרְיָא]

"Translated into light German by Menaschem Mendel
Rosenthal of Warasdin, תרמ"ט...

Published by Joseph (Pressburg) Schlesinger Bookshop.

OTHER CHARACTERISTICS: This is the Judaeo-German edition used

as the standard Judaeo-German text in this thesis,

- it is very clear, excellently arranged, large-page
double columns. The two prominent features are

1) the retention of Hebrew words, untranslated, in
parentheses, usually proper names or well known
words like מלכים, חכמה, ידוע, etc. Eg.
the opening sentence of Gate I is as follows:

דִּין (הַלְלוּ) אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֵין (אֵין) וְהָיָה עִירָא דְּבִרְיָא דְּמִלְכָּא
(הַלְלוּ) אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֵין (אֵין) וְהָיָה עִירָא דְּבִרְיָא דְּמִלְכָּא

Sometimes he adds the German meaning after the
Hebrew e.g. (הַלְלוּ) (הַלְלוּ)

2) At the end of each of first few chapters, he has
a concluding Hebrew sentence (absent in most Heb-
rew texts). Eg. End of Gate I:

וְהָיָה עִירָא דְּבִרְיָא דְּמִלְכָּא (הַלְלוּ) אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֵין (אֵין)

*

PLACE: LEMBERG

DATE: תר"ק

BET EKOD: listed as Edition (26)

BEN JACOB: omitted

STEINSCHNEIDER: omitted

*

1860

PLACE: LEMBERG

1862

DATE: פ'תר

In H.U.C. Library

Judeo-German

8°

BET EKOD: listed as Edition (27)

BEN JACOB: omitted

STEINSCHNEIDER: omitted.

TITLE PAGE: of simple statements (in Judeo-German): 'This holy book teaches man how to conduct himself. It shows him.... It reinforces its statements with testimonies from the Gemara and from the Midrash. Whoever will heed, etc....'

OTHER CHARACTERISTICS: This translator-editor takes great liberties with the text and in so drastic a fashion that this edition is really a condensation-adaptation, rather than translation. The salient points noticed are:

- 1) He shortens and digests the various chapters to a small fraction of the original size.
- 2) He is interested mostly in the parables and stories of the original, and even adds additional such.
- 3) He omits the regular הקדמה of the book altogether and substitutes a short introduction of his own, in which he stresses the dangers of the דבר הזה... Hence the need for such a book, and so he ends his introduction by explaining:
אבער ווילן דאס דער אלטער דריקן זיין גאנצן
אלס זאלן דאס ווער קיין אלס דאס ווער
דריין (1), דאס האט אלס אלס אלס אלס
אז איבער דאס ווער אלס אלס אלס אלס
4) Changes in the 'gates', etc. of the text: 24p
to and including GATE XV: דרייזיג, he main-
tains at least the sequence of the 'gates'.
but thereafter the chapters are as follows:

GATE XVI: דרייזיג	הכנסת התשובה
XVII: דרייזיג	על, רמז; י"ז, י"ז
XVIII: דרייזיג	תורה
XIX: דרייזיג	ידאט שטיין
XX: דרייזיג	גדול בנין
XXI: דרייזיג	הכנסת שבת
XXII: דרייזיג	הכנסת ביאור אהבה
	הכנסת צדקה

(continued: next page)

1862. Lemberg (continued)

Thus are omitted the GATES of נ"ס
 נ"ס
 נ"ס
 נ"ס

and the curious separate GATE XXIV as well as the four final new extraneous "gates" are added.

- 5) By the carelessness of the printer, several chapters are omitted, - from the latter part of GATE 10 thru the first part of GATE 14, - at least in the copy before us.
- 6) The printing is clear and readable.

*

PLACE: ZITOMIR

DATE: ג"ס

12° 150 pages

1867

BET EKOD: listed as Edition (28)

BEN JACOB: omitted

STEINSCHNEIDER: omitted

*

PLACE: Warsaw

DATE: ק"ס

1871

BET EKOD: listed as Edition (29)

BEN JACOB: omitted

STEINSCHNEIDER: omitted

*

PLACE: Warsaw

DATE: א"ס

1874

BET EKOD: listed as Edition (30)

BEN JACOB: omitted

STEINSCHNEIDER: omitted

*

PLACE: LUBLIN

1874

DATE: א"ת 573

BET EKOD: listed as Edition (31)

BEN JACOB: omitted

STEINSCHNEIDER: omitted

*

PLACE: LEMBERG

1874

DATE: א"ת 573

BET EKOD: listed as Edition (32)

BEN JACOB: omitted

STEINSCHNEIDER: omitted

*

PLACE: WARSAW

1879

DATE: א"ת 573

(1880)
in H.U.C. Library (2 copies)

41 pages

BET EKOD: omitted

BEN JACOB: omitted

STEINSCHNEIDER: omitted

TITLE PAGE: Same as the Zdikow: 1835 Edition (minus the
mention of the ~~first~~ ^{first} ~~edition~~ ^{however}) Published by:
"ה'תרי"ט (1879) | "ה'תרי"ט (1879) | "ה'תרי"ט (1879)

OTHER CHARACTERISTICS: This is the standard edition in
the writing of this thesis, (whose references
are in terms of the pages of this edition). It
is unadorned, but clear Rashi-type print.
(Perhaps it is a reissue of the 1871 or 1874 editions
of Warsaw, - BET EKOD (29) or (30). There is no
indication, however, in the copy before us).

*

PLACE: KOLOMEA

1899

DATE: 1899

in H.U.C. Library

This is a German edition (latin letters) of the first nine 'GATES'. It is unlisted in the standard Bibliographies.

TITLE PAGE: פִּינְיָא מִינְיָא

Die Pfade der Gerechten
ein ethisches Werk

- zur Beleuchtung und Veredlung der menschlichen Eigenschaften ... von einer Autor, der, obschon eine eminente Grösse jeglicher Art, aus purer Bescheidenheit seinem Namen verschwieg. - Muthmasslichen Angaben zufolge soll der Weltberühmte Rabenu Jona es verfasst haben. Aus dem Hebräischen übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen versehen

von

HENSEL ADLER

Printed by J. Bruck & Comp.

Dedicated to W^m Karl Baron Rothschild of
Frankfurt am Main.

*

SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, AND CULTURAL REFLECTIONS OF THE AGE

IN WHICH ORHOT ZADDIKIM WAS
ORIGINALLY WRITTEN.

*

The general tone of ORHOT ZADDIKIM indicates a background, of the times in which the book was written, only in glimpse, but the outlines of a number of phases of social customs and attitudes can be reconstructed after a fashion, - and likewise, certain aspects in the daily economic and cultural life of the Jewish community are indirectly evidenced.

The author had no fond allusions as to the quality of his generation. As we have seen, he refrains from vigorous attacks upon the scholarship of the leaders of the period (except near the end of the book in GATE xxvii), yet he leaves no doubts of his low opinion of the vitality of the people, in his time, both physically and in their piety:-

Supra: p. 42-43

ועתה בקורות האלו אשר בני אדם חלשים מאוד בגופם ואין להם
כח כבדאונם מה ידעו אדם עמלא כל ימיו... קבל המצות כולן
ולא נהנה כל ימיו בגופי המצות מנחת שמו לאה אדם יפה
ק"י אורו שילמוד ממני [35A]

His own sober pessimism reflects a period in which the Jews were a subdued, passive generation lacking initiative of spirit, - a generation conquered by their conditions of life. They were not a "noble generation".

From the admonitions, and general illustrations from everyday life used by the book, one may observe a vague picture of the everyday life of the people. Thus we find references two or three times to the Rabbi, the Parnos (פּאַרנאָס), the Dayyan, the Gab- [17 B middle]
baim of the charity funds (גאָבאַים); the min- [27 B low]
yan of ten people (אַמנאָן דערה : necessary to make [28 A bot]
a public apology); the custom of securing a heter [33 B top]; [36 A top]
(היתר) from the rabbi to release one from a pro- [26 B mid]
mise or vow. There is no indication of com-
plex social classes, - people were either "rich"
or "poor", - and the rich were not regarded un-
sympathetically by the author: one should even
give gifts occasionally to the rich:

וּבְאוֹיֵז בְּרַק יָגִיד הַבָּשָׂם לְמַעַתַּת כֹּל אָדָם ... עֵינֶיךָ אֵלַי אֶלֶף הָאֵלֶּיךָ
וְהָאֵלֶּיךָ וְיִלְרֵחַ כְּעֶבְרָה ... שִׁילֹחַ לְעֵשֶׂר כֶּסֶף הַצֶּטְרוֹ אֶחָד
וְכֵן לְעַנִּי יֵלֶךְ ... וְכֵן יִבְקֶשׁוּ כֶּסֶף כֶּסֶף וְלִקְצֵת עֲתִים יֵלֶךְ
מִנּוֹת וּבְדִמְיוֹת אֶל אֶשְׁרִיכִים.

Occasionally, the *gedolim* are referred to, the "leaders"

of the day", but the author apparently applies this term to the rabbis and all those who, by their behaviour, should set a good example to others, but do not do so:

אברהם ים בבל מצות ענינים שאפילו גבולי הדבור אינן (לדבריו) מוחמא
 לאינם פירם על לך מוחמא אינם לוחמים המצות והעצבות והטובות [32A^{low}]
 [again, on 32A^{low}]

In daily life, although failure to fulfil mitzvot is condemned, extreme asceticism is frowned upon. e.g. even in the course of repentance,

אל יתענה אדם עינוי נפש, בן יחלש לבו ויתעורר במוחו ויהיה בסכנה
 מרובה משכרו, כי יבטל מן התורה שילך באל מן החולשות... לא יוכל
 לסביל העניינים אפי' שאין תורה נקנית אלא מחוק ממה... [35 A^{top}]

so that, as long as "his eyes are open against the entree of the evil Yezer," he should enjoy the things of life. From the necessity of the author to mention such a caution, one may surmise a common tendency among the people to fast. Within bounds, controlling one's actions by a degree of ascetism is enjoined and recommended in the book, especially in disciplining oneself after doing wrong. Fasting, unless grossly exaggerated by the author, was a popular feature in the life of the pious Jew of the day, who was anxious to keep his slate clean of unpardoned sins.

All individuals are enjoined, in the book, to join into the life and activities of the community: [35B] ויטרו לזכות הרבים ולמנוח חסדים לפני אדם. He who separates himself from the group is condemned: [32B^{low}] הבורח מן הזכור... אומר: אליו לא יבא חסדו. "such a one will not share in the merit" of those who act in the community's behalf. For the individual's relations with his fellows, the 'golden rule' is the standard to be followed by all:

ויאמר רישיו וסאך כל בני אדם אהבה אליהם וקיים מה שנאמר: ואהבת לרעך כמוך וזהו כלל גדול בתורה: "דעו כי אתה רבין או תלמיד"

From these and similar remarks, the distinct impression is drawn that the congregation was the social center of the community's life, and, although the author had no high regard for the type of scholarship studied in his day, he implies the custom of feeding and supporting indigent students, as well as it befitted everyone to feed and clothe the poor:

יברנס אחרים וילבש עניים ויאכילם ויחזיק במחנניו לומדי תורה... [38B]

How much of actual conditions and practice these injunctions imply, is, of course, speculative. Concerning the attitudes of the people, not as the author would wish these

to be, but as they actually were, it is difficult to learn from this book of 'musor.' Regarding matters in individual personal lives, the author spends much space in speaking of the use of liquor and wine, which gives a concrete impression that drinking played a common role in every-day life: It is in order to drink wine in moderation, or at fixed times, - "on Sabbath, Yom Tov, and Purim", one [15B²] is even enjoined to "drink wine in order to [ibid] rejoice the heart", and praise, for wine used on occasion, is repeatedly sounded.

[12B¹] אומן שנית היין טוב מאד קצתן שבתה על חנה המעבילים כדרך
מאד מאד יתנו שבר לאור וין אחי נס' יתה ויסכר ישו ודמיו לא
יכור עה. ואור נאמר על היין. פשוט אלקים ואנשים. וכתב ין יתה לכה
אנש... מכל אור נס' שם היין כפוא בפסל החכמים ופחותים כפוא
יגדר הסכר על היין ולא יגדר היין על הסכר... etc., etc.

Nonetheless warning is equally emphatically given against the misuse of wine and liquor drinking.

[ibid] היין גורם להיות מתולבב וליות רוחה וסל בברים וכל אורג בו לא יתה
סכסח: כתב רבינו מהר מיימוני (the sole direct reference to Maimonides)
הקבול על השניה האסכרת ראוי מיהוב אכלך יורג חכמה מתקפץ אלפיה
עלומים מקולס הערה, והאכרות הוא מתדבק הדדה כי הוא מפסיד הסכר
אור נס' היס' באופן.

Cleanliness in personal habits is stressed, [20A¹P]

both in connection with body, and body-functions, and with clothes, giving minute details to il-

illustrate absolute scrupulousness in this matter.
(An interesting sidelight, - one of these illustrative details, - is the custom of washing one's hands, in addition to the blessing, upon seeing lightning or hearing thunder).

In respect to personal attitudes towards cultural education in general, the purchase and reading of books is reflected in such encouraging advice as:

יִיבֵה נָבִיב בַּחֲנוּנֵי אֶחָד וְאֶתְנִית סִפְרִים, וְאֶחָדִים לִי מִן הַסִּפְרִים... [ibid.]
יִיבֵה וְתֵרֵן בְּמֶה אֵלֶּה יָמוּשׁ אִם יִתְקַלְלוּ הַסִּפְרִים עֲבוּר שְׁמוֹנִים בָּהֶם... [ibid.]
וְצִיָּק צְרִיכוֹת אֶחָד סִפְרִים אֵלֶּה הֵיוּ צִיָּק לְאִוֶּד מֵהֶם...

thus it is implied that many people did strive after the cultural paths. In receiving instruction from his teacher, one is reminded of the rabbinical injunctions "never to be ashamed to ask concerning what is not clear to him." [ibid.]

The attitude toward the wicked and the dishonest people of society is revealed to be so bitter that "one should even revenge oneself against the wicked if one has the opportunity".

יִכּוֹלֵת בִּיבֹו יִתְקַן מִן הַרְעָסִים לְבָבֹו דָּהֵם, וּיִחְזִיק מִכּוֹחַ בְּנֶהֱם
וּיִשְׁמֹעַ עֲלֵיהֶם כְּאִרְי נִהָם לְבָבֹו בְּנֶהֱם מִיָּד הַגִּזְלָן

[6B mid: omitted in this edition (of 1874) and others; included e.g. 1794 Edition page 11 B top]

The wicked may even be dealt with hypocritically if there is danger otherwise of being harmed by

their machinations :

[28A4] לא בותר לכה הרעים אלא נחמת מורא שירא שיציק לו הרע
 ויגרם לו הפסד בזמן שיד הרעים תקיפה... אחריו נציץ: מותר
 להחניק את הרעים בעולם הזה.

The age had its petty dishonesty common in everyday business dealings also, - one ought to be cautious lest he himself be classed among the thieves:

כי יש גזלנים הרבה שאין יודעין שהם גזלנים, כגון מי שקורא
 חקירו לפני דמו ויודע שאין חייב מאומה אלא הוא מתכוון להקניטו
 ולפסדו ולפסדו שיפזר נשותיו וזה הדבר אין מזהר דאסו שהוא גזל.

In all considerations concerning everyday conduct, the principle of the גדר, - "making a fence" was a paramount consideration and mechanism to govern the righteous man of the age; the formula: כפי' אלמול גדר, should be in the thinking and acting of everyone as he progressed thru the day's activities.

[e.g. 32^{low} 7A^{bx}
 5A^{mid}, etc.
 these examples
 selected at ran-
 dom].

(Most extensive description
 of the גדר concept in
 operation is in 34B^{mid},
 quoting the RABAD)

To complete the fragmentary picture of the daily social, economic, and cultural life as can be drawn from the pages of ORHOT ZADDIKIM, we should consider the reflections of the age as cast from the book's remarks concerning

a) RELATIONS WITH WOMEN,

b) ATTITUDES IN BUSINESS AND MONEY MATTERS,

& c) RELATIONS WITH GENTILES.

Regarding RELATIONS with WOMEN:

(References in text: 38^{low}, 7B^{top}, 8B^{mid}, 15B^{up}, 31A^{mid},
32A^{up}, 32A^{mid}, 32A^{low}, 33A^{up}, 34B^{mid}, 18A^{up}, 8A^{low},...)

In general, one should distance himself as much as possible from associating with women. Glancing, and idle conversation, directed to women. Kind are warned against, - these surely will lead to immorality. This danger is inherent in most of the evil middoth; for example, pride of body surely brings on lewdness: "Whoever adorns his body in order to bear himself the more proudly, thereby.... will behold that he attracts women, and will be drawn to them and engage in chatter and frivolity." [3B^{low}]

So, likewise, women who adorn themselves before men, "will kindle amorous desires in them. The Rabbis have even forbidden looking at feminine garments hanging on the wall, - how much the more so if worn by the woman herself." [ibid.]

One who avoids sporting with women is, on the hand, to be praised: "There is another type of man who possesses (the virtue of) shame: the one who refrains from sins indulged in by the usual run of men, for example, bantering with women; and people may embarrass such a one, and make

sport of him, because he does not follow their lead. In this case, great effort is required to bear this shame."

[7B²⁰]

The third of the seven types of evil loves is the love of women, if this be misdirected into wrong channels:

"If one loves a bad woman, who is proud or who causes him to stray from fulfilling mitzvot, but draws him after her; and if, because of excessive love for her, he does not turn away from her resolutely, but brings his ears to hearken unto her counsel, then will evil days come upon him.

"From excessive love for women, he will regard them constantly, and will come to speak foully (נבלות) and finally end up in adultery."

[8A¹⁰⁰]

One must not think that, in order to be considered an actual transgressor in relations with women, one must commit a major offense,

(כאב ק"א סבורים שאין אדם נקרא בשר תשובה ואלו א"כ בו ע"ל אהא א"ע.) [31 A¹⁰⁰]

for sins arise out of slight beginnings:

שמע כי רוב העלם אין (עברים מבררים בטאים ומלכותם) הנשים והלכות
זאתם לא לצורך... כי המעשה אחר קצו: אין קצב כלום ענין אחר וכי
בזאת או קרבה, ובזאת אין יודע גזאת הסין עון גדול שיהא ארומה לגופן על העריות. [31 A¹⁰⁰]
[33 A¹⁰⁰]

Hence, one of the 20 principles underlying all repent-

ance, (#13), is that: יהא העקריות הקלים (שם) פחותה בעיני
כתובות, כגון הסתכלות נשים וברשות סתם עברים או עבריים בטאים... [32 A¹⁰⁰]

Therefore the invoking of the pragmatic "fence" principle (הפסקה) in matters of relations with women

is of paramount importance:

לא יראה שחוק נשים וקטנות ולא אשה קטנה או זן קטנה,
ואולי באמת צריך שלא לזה (תשובת השר) speaking of [34 B mid]

Indeed, even in groups, men should be separated from the women, not only on festive occasions but even in times of mourning, for being in mixed groups brings on levity:

ואם שמחת אנשים ונשים יחדיו כי זאת השמחה היא קלות ראש,
אולי קצת הכסף והאכל אתוין אנשים לבד ונשים לבד, כ"ל
קצת השמחה

How then shall one regard, properly, womankind? - After this wise: that one should consider one's wife as his salvation against moral sinfulness and mother of his children, and that she indirectly aids him in fulfilling God's mitzvah by her management of the household.

ואהבת נשים על דרך זה יושב ע"פ מצותו מן החטא ומחוקתו
מן הניאוף וזה מקיים פיה ודבירה והיא מקדשת את בנה והיא
עוזרת לו כל ימיו ומבינה לו מאכליו ושאר צרכי הבית, ומתקן
יהיה פניו אל פני תורה ולסוד קדוה והיא עוזרת לו לעבודת הקד"ה [18 B mid]

This then is the status of womankind in the scheme of things. - And when one is planning to marry, one should heed the advice of parents and be guided by them in the selection

of a mate: ובן מבינו ביעקב אבינו שנברכה... לשמוע אל אביו ואמו
ואם אמו ודקה אשה על פייה, לכן צרכי ויציאו ממנו י"ב דברים [18 A P]

BUSINESS ETHICS :

(AND ATTITUDE TOWARDS MONEY & MONEY-LENDING)

Uprightness in business dealings, and the principle that possession of money is a privilege, - bestowed by God and not to be abused, but to be utilized for doing good, - are ideas stressed in numerous references in the book to money matters. Usury is forbidden, and men are enjoined to give to the poor, and lend even to the rich who are temporarily embarrassed. Such, and related matters, are brought into the discussions of the various 'gates' by all manner of means and arguments, - under almost all the headings in the book, - under LOVE and REPENTANCE, as well as FAITH and TRUTH. In order to obtain a general idea, in terms of the author's own ideas (and modes of presenting his ^{ideas} ~~own~~ on this subject), we are setting down, in summary fashion, the majority, if not all, of the author's references to ethics in business and money-matters, as these appear consecutively in the different 'gates':

In GATE I: PRIDE, one of the evils of pride is that "pride leads to the pursuit of money for the purpose that one may 'lord' it over his fellows." Altho these are times when pride is a virtue, e.g. one

(beginning of 'gate')

ought not yield even an inch before the wicked, yet "in matters of business however, one should yield promptly in every case, and settle the matter according to the law. This is an important mitzvah in itself."

(end of 'gate')

In GATE II: MEEKNESS, the good fortune of having wealth is due to three reasons: it is 1) a gift of grace from God, 2) a test for the man, to see if he will use it properly and generously, 3) as a trap, for money can be a source of evil for which he will be punished.

(middle of 'gate')

In GATE III: SHAME, "as in matters of learning, so also in business dealings, one should never shame his companion."

(end of 'gate')

In GATE IV: LOVE; one of the seven loves, that are damaging if misdirected, is the love of Money, if "because of his excessive striving to attain wealth, he is not upright in his business dealings, but is greedy, oppressive and robs in order to increase his stores, withholding his hands from charity, etc. Among the ways of true love: "if one has money he should support students of the Law and give more time to study." Among the ways to attain the love of fellow-men: "he should help all with his money, - the rich, in time of need, as well as the poor.... He should deal honestly and never become angry in business dealings over trifles. Let him see that his companion profits from him, but let him not strive to profit too much from his companion."

(beginning of 'gate')

(middle of 'gate')

In GATE: XVII: GENEROSITY: one of the three types of generosity is "to be generous with money" (even "as was Abraham"), and... "let him be generous in business matters, and never become petty (papa) over a small matter. If he measures out wine, or oil, etc., let him not be skimpy (p3a31)."

(beginning of 'gate')

(near end of 'gate')

In GATE: XVIII: MISERLINESS, - one of the ^{three} evils of the 'close eye' (p. 18 23) is miserliness in business and money matters

(beginning of 'gate')

In Gate XIX: MEMORY, one of the things in daily life to be remembered is "to be careful in the matter of borrowing and lending." And in the list of thirty principal things to remember, #19: "Remember and consider that, if he has money, it is a trust in his hands, that, if God so desires, He can take it away and entrust it in the hands of another. He must not shame a poor man because of his poverty, and he should not say that, because of merit in himself, he has attained his wealth, etc..."

(beginning of 'gate')

(middle of 'gate')

In Gate XX: FORGETTING, the 'gate' is opened with the admonition that "if he borrows or lends, he should note down everything - even if he borrows one Peruta (1/180), for people will be ashamed to remind him."

(beginning of 'gate')

In Gate XXI: FALSEHOOD, the first of the nine divisions of falsehood is "in denying his companion's loan or trust or in bearing false witness, he is punished twice: a) for the falsehood itself, b) for the damage done to his companion."... "One should be meticulous in all one's affairs so as not to falsify in business, and not cause others to falsify..."

(beginning of 'gate')

(end of 'gate')

In Gate XXII: TRUTH: "The early pious men of our people, when they had something to sell, would give it to the purchaser at the price they had decided to sell it, even if the buyer was willing to give more."... "A truthful man in business of buying, selling, and lending, will ever be trusted by others, that whatever he will say, he will neither change his mind, or add, or subtract. 'Place truth before thee always,' means: let one make concrete signs for himself, e.g. in doing business, etc..." (Regarding business dealings with Gentiles, see our discussion on "attitude towards Gentiles").

(middle of 'gate')

(end of 'gate')

In Gate XXVI: REPENTANCE: Among the "five things of which it is not in his own power to repent thereof because they are considered lightly by the public" is #2: "making use of the pledge of a poor man"... Among the twenty odd specific sins and their penalties listed is: "if he stole or took usury, he should seek forgiveness, fast for 40 days, and be cautious of receiving trusts. He who takes usury should cease, and not take usury even from a non-Jew."

(middle of 'gate')

(latter half of 'gate')

forbidding false dealing with Gentile and Jew alike:-

[36 A¹] וְזֶה אֲרָצָא אֲסוּר לַעֲנוֹךְ בִּשְׁמֵי הַבְּרִיּוֹת, וְאֶפְיוֹן בִּשְׁמֵי הַיְּהוּדִים

[26 A¹] וְיֵשׁ בְּסֵפֶר חֲסִידִים אֶפְיוֹן בָּא אֵינוֹ יְהוּדִי (ibid) 4)
לְבִית יְהוּדִי יִקָּח לְהַלְוֹת מַעֲוֹת וְיֵשׁ לְיְהוּדִי מַעֲוֹת וְאִין בִּשְׁמֵי הַיְּהוּדִים
לְהַלְוֹת לוֹ אֵל יִשְׁעֵר לוֹ אֵין לִי מַעֲוֹת אֵין יִשְׁעֵר לוֹ אֵין מִיָּד אֵין מִיָּד קִי
עֲקָרִים

5) In GATE XXIII: TRUTH (in 2 places):-

[27 A¹] וְאֵל יִשְׁרָאֵל לֹא לִשְׁרָאֵל וְלֹא לְאֵינוֹ יְהוּדִי

as cites a story of Rabbi Simon b. Shetach to illustrate.

[27 A¹] וְכֵן יֵשׁ בִּירוּשָׁלַיִם חֲמִישִׁים הַעֲקָרִים קִינוּ חֲלִים (ibid) 6)
מִן אֵינוֹם יִשְׂרָאֵלִים וּמִנְהוּם בִּי צִוּר לֹא מִחַת וְהַחֲמִירוֹ לֹא

7) In GATE XXVI: REPENTANCE (in forbidding the practice of usury, Gentiles are to be treated in the same way as Jews):

[36 A¹] לֹא יִטֹּל רֵבִית אֶפְיוֹן מִן אֵינוֹ יְהוּדִי

SOME EDITIONS contain also these additional

Ed. 1794 J. a. Oder
1859 Pressburg, Jud. Simon

references to Gentiles striking a different note:

1) In GATE I: PRIDE (near the beginning) mostly a quotation from Maimonides (who is not mentioned):

[5 A¹] 1794 Ed. [5 A¹] מִלִּקְחֵי נִכְרֵי וְזֶה הַזִּכְרוֹן בְּתוֹרַת מֹשֶׁה שֶׁנֶּאֱמַר לֹא תִלָּךְ בְּחֻקֹּת הַגּוֹיִם, וּבְתוֹרַת בְּחֻקֹּתֵיהֶם לֹא תִלָּךְ וְנֶאֱמַר הַשָּׂרֵר בֶּן תִּנְקֵשׁ אַחֲרֵיהֶם
בְּכָל בְּדִנָּיִן אֲחֵרָהּ הוּא, מִגְּדִיל גִּיבּוֹן יִשְׂרָאֵל מִחֻקֵּי בְּחֻקֵּי
וּבְחֻקֵּי וּבְחֻקֵּי מִנְהֻגֵי מִן הַעֲבֻרִים, וְכֵן בּוֹא אֲחֵרָהּ וְאֲחֵרָהּ וְאֲחֵרָהּ מִן הַעֲבֻרִים

2) In GATE XXVI: REPENTANCE (listing sins), prohibits sex relations with Gentiles:

[66 B¹] 1794 Ed. [66 B¹] מִן רֵדָה מִסְקִירוֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל בָּאֵין מִן גִּיבּוֹן בֶּן עֲבֻרִים אִם אֲחֵרָהּ אֵינוֹ...

Apparently these 'separatistic' passages were deleted from some editions; or perhaps more likely, (in view of the otherwise non-use of the term פְּדוּת elsewhere in ORHOT ZADDIKIM; so also the term נִכְרִי is again found only in one instance [14 A¹] in GATE IX in general association with the term עֲרָב)

they were added, in these editions, to the original.

All in all, the book enjoins that, whatever is wrongful in the case of Jews, is equally wrongful to do to Christians; and that the so eagerly anticipated arrival of the Messiah is not to herald a day when Jews shall rule the world but is to spell the dawn of a happier era for all mankind, Jew and Gentile alike.

N.B. The Isny Judeo-German Translation, published approximately one hundred years (1842) after the original was written, adds [and advises the reader that he is consciously doing so], from an extraneous source, another passage affording us a glimpse of Jewish-Gentile interactions. After a few opening words (which we have quoted in another connection) to advise that the passage did not belong in the Hebrew original of ORHOT ZADDIKIM, he says:

see page 40:5, supra

"One who deals falsely with a Gentile in money matters, and the Gentile becomes aware of the fact, - this is also a פסד שוין, for the Gentile (פ'יב) says: As the Jews are dishonest in money matters in doing business with people, so they probably are in their religion. Also when Gentiles (פ'יב) come into our synagogues (פ'יז) and they hear and see how we talk and babble with each other, - this is likewise a פסד שוין. For when the Gentiles behold such levity, they say: the Jews themselves do not think much of their prayers. Could there be a greater פסד שוין than this? The same applies to all the mitzvot. When the Gentiles see that we do not correctly obey our mitzvot, they say that we do not regard our faith any too highly, this is to be termed פסד שוין. If, however, the

Translated from the
Judeo-German as
cited in Perles:
Beiträge, p. 175
In the Isny Edition,
(1842) it appears on
page 91ab

125
Gentiles observe that we are upright and pious,
then they will praise us and say: The Jews are
more upright in their Belief than we Gentiles are.
Then we are Sanctifiers of the Name of God and
the Name of the Creator is made holy."

THEOLOGICAL CONCEPTS

2nd
TEACHINGS
in
ORHOT ZADDIKIM.



One should not expect a 'misor'-book to deal didactically and formally with an exposition of philosophic and theological systems, and ORHOT ZADDIKIM thus has but one 'gate' devoted directly to the discussion of

1. Man's soul : a) עו"ל; b) נפש; c) רוח
2. Man's Knowledge
3. Freedom of the Will
4. Man as a microcosmos (ק"פ פ"ב)
5. Reward and Punishment
6. Prophecy
7. The Evil 'Yezer'

and other concepts in less detail. This 'gate' is the last of the book, GATE XXVII: FEAR OF GOD. As degressive material and in a more or less homiletical style, a major part of the GATE IX: JOYFULNESS is devoted to expositions of 1. Faith (אמונה); 2) Man's duties in this world; 3) the world to come (א"ת פ"ב); 4) the messianic era, - all, however, being eulogies of the joys to be found in these, rather than original demonstrations of their validity and characteristics.

Nonetheless the author, in the course of the various gates, reflects the book's convictions and ideas on both these concepts and on others, e.g. superstitions, resurrection, etc.; but the general point remains true: that the book is explaining these, (when it does see fit to explain at all), not for the purpose of objective presentation so as to convince, but rather to illustrate his admonitions. Even the predominantly 'philosophical' chapter: GATE XXVIII: FEAR OF GOD, is elucidated for the purpose of exhortation on the theme of PINQ NIG?.

There is little, if any, of original teaching in all these theological and philosophical references, that is not borrowed from Gabirol's: ענין מצינו לפי, Bachya's: מצינו מצינו, or from Maimonides' works especially, - so that there is little purpose in reviewing the ideas and concepts of these Jewish philosophers in this thesis. Were we to digress, (- for such it would be), - into a discussion of these familiar topics, not only would this discussion take up more space than its relevancy and significance would

warrant, but it would give a distorted impression as to the proportionately minor interest, that the author had, to inform his readers didactically concerning these abstract principles. The book refers to these concepts only insofar they impinge upon the daily lives of people. Thus, it is understandable why:

- a) the author placed his philosophical chapter at the end, (- as an afterthought, relatively),
- b) the Isny initial edition of the book omitted this whole section of the book, (- introducing the general content of it in the Introduction).

cf. *supra*: p. 76: 1)

We shall therefore confine ourselves to advising the reader, (who is interested in tracing the mention or discussions of these concepts); the various parts of the book which refer to them; and we shall comment only on such phases as are in peculiar consonance with the particular character of

A
GUIDE
TO THOSE PARTS
OF
ORHOT ZADDIKIM
referring to, or reflecting
THEOLOGICAL TEACHINGS
*

I: THE FUTURE WORLD and IMMORTALITY:

The OLAM HABA (עולם הבא) is mentioned almost on every page of the book, mostly in connection with citing the reward for doing mitzvot properly. On the very first page, he strikes this Keynote:

[2 Amid]

העולם הזה יגיע לעולם הבא וזוהי
giving us the proof for this claim the support of Psalm 31:20
וכבר נתאוו בזה לעגיד אלה העולם הבא כאמרו.
מה רב טובך אשר צבנת ליראיך.

"This reward will be extended only to those fit for it.

העולם הזה לא תגיע אל הבראו' כי כחו קטן, מי יגור בהולך
ומי יעבדו כבוד קדשן הולך תמים וכו' וזוהי הנהיגה.

[ibid]

and subsequently reminds the reader of this at every opportunity. In GATE IX: JOYFULNESS, a glorious picture is drawn of the future world:

"It is impossible to describe the beauty of it. [14B mid]
the eye cannot behold the splendor of the glory of the Righteous there. There is no eating or drinking there. For it is as the bird cannot understand the pleasures of the fish who swims in the sea, so in the future world, we cannot understand (being in this world) the pleasures not of the body...."

Concerning the IMMORTALITY of the SOUL, we are told:

[11 Amid]

ואתה ק' אדם תרחם (שמתקן המתקיימת)
לעצמי ע' עבדיך אל תענה מוסר אלהי
ואתה ע'...

The 25th of "the 30 things that one should remember at least twice every day and engrave upon one's heart"

[22A mid]

שיכור תמים (שיחור עובד ויזיאו אהבת עובד' חלבו ויגידו אהבת עובד'
בקרבן כפר אחר א' חסידים כמו שאין חסידים קטלי א', כן
לא יתחבר קרב המאמי' עובד' וזוהי הבא ולא יאכזר עולם הזה אלא אמת
לעולם הזה יקח צידה לעולם הבא

Besides these choice passages which we have selected, some other references, among many, are: 8B^{top}, 9A^{low}, 20B^{top}, 21A mid; 25A^{top}; 33A mid; 35A mid; 36B^{top}; 37B mid; and the glorious entry of the soul into heaven (on page 39B mid).

II. the MESSIAH, - the 'hope'; the 'era':

14B¹⁴: the 7th of the 8 articles of faith:

שיבטח כל אדם מלכי המלכים... שיקרא שימיו תשועה ויפנה דיושלים
 ...But the purpose will not be merely pleasure... שימיו תשועה
 ...ואם תהיה כונת בטחוני כדי להיות קטלוב גדולה כאלה היה שימיו
 ההם לאכול הפירות הטובות ולשתות יין עדים (ולא יסבם דברי הרמק"פ
 ז"ל: שלא נתאווי החכמים ופנביואים ימות הפצעים, לא כדי גילטלו קין
 ונאמר על גב הדור, ולא כדי שיכדו בעמים, ולא כדי שינראו אדם
 העמים). אך תהיה כונת בטחוני שיהיה שימיו ההם כדי לעבוד הקדש

parenthesis: only in some editions, e.g. 1879: Warsauer

And continues to picture the messianic day: 'In those days He will cast out the evil yezzer from the heart of His people, and all, - big and small, - will know the Lord; and He will deny them nothing, - nor will there be famine, war or confusion. And he finishes this picture: פניו וכלו ישיגו: הכלה אכולה קיצינת הקורא יתכן וישיגו ההם תרבה הרבה ככנסת
 כי חלם האור קדם את ה' כמים לים מכסים.

OTHER REFERENCES: 30B^{mid} (seven things preceded the CREATION: one was the name of the Messiah); 36B^{low}: quoting Maimonides: that Israel will be redeemed only thru Repentance. וכלו הקלימה תורה שלל ישרא' אשר תשובה קדש
 גלותו ומוצא ה' לא יאמין.

VII. FREE WILL and PREDESTINATION:

In the הקדמה, the author tells us: - 2A^{low}:

יבחר בל כחו בחסות הטובות, כיון שיש לו ברירה: יצרוק הפסולת ויקח סולת.

But man's choice is not altogether free, 138^{bot}:
 הבטחון והנחמה: שישלים נפשו ויחסור עצמו על רחמי הגדולים, וידע שזו
 לו עצה והנהגה אלו ברשותו וקבלתו, ואז יש לו קראת אקריז ומצד
 ימיו קשורים קגצירת הבוהא מ"מ יש לאדם לבתגלגל להבויח כל
 צורכו ולהציל נפשו ולתקן או הרפואות... ואל יאמר אדם: הווא ואני
 קשור קגצירת הבוהא ית', אלא קברכי.....

The dilemma is vaguely bridged in 40 B^{bot}: "since man was chosen, because of his greater wisdom, to be master over all other creatures...

... 130 סימן מוקדם, לומר שבה נפשו צרכה קצור הח"י א"ס.
 and the א"ס is important: "if he fulfils the Torah
 ... and is careful in serving God." Within the limits
 of the Torah, etc., man is free... Cf. the Yezer:

VIII: THE YEZER

Mention of the Yezer HaRa is made almost on every page of the book, - references are too numerous even to include an appreciable proportion. A few outstanding references are:- 4A^{low}; 26A^{low}; 32A^{bot}; 34B^{bot}; 40B^{low}, etc.

The two main aspects stressed are:

1st: the Yezer is ever-lurking in ambush, always ready

to do mischief: e.g. 26 A^{1st}: כי יצר לַעֲמַל הוּא אוֹרֵךְ

לַעֲמַל לַהֲסִילוֹ בְּרַשְׁתּוֹ

and likewise: 4 A^{1st}: כי הַיֵּצֶר אוֹרֵךְ לוֹ וּמַקִּיא טַעֲנוֹת וּרְאוּיֹת

לַהֲבִיא בָּאֵפֶס לְיָדֵי אֱלֹהִים, וְתַהֲיֶה כִּכְמַתּוֹ לְטַרְדּוֹ מִן הַדּוֹלָם. לִכְן

אֵל יַעֲדֵל מֵאַנְחָה הַיֵּצֶר יוֹם יוֹם וְצֶה נִקְרָא מֵאַחַר גְּדוּלָּה

2nd, - how the Yezer operates, - his method usually consists of persuading one to commit a slight fault, and after the victim had accustomed himself to regard it no longer as a fault, to practice again his art of cunning persuasion:

כי בְּרַק הַיֵּצֶר כְּשֶׁהוּא נִצְחָה בְּדַבְרֵי קָל אֵץ יִנָּח בְּדַבְרֵי חֲמֹר [32 A^{1st}]

The process is explained in more detail in 34 B^{1st}:

וַיֵּדַע כֹּל חַי שֶׁאֵין בְּרַק לַיֵּצֶר אֶלֶּא בְּרַק הַסֶּתֶר: מִתְחַלֵּף מַסִּיוֹ

אֵל הַמִּטָּה אֶלֶּא תַּאֲוָתוֹ, וְאֵחָד שֶׁהוֹרָג לֹאֵל מֵן הַבֵּיתוֹ, וְהוֹדֵעַ

נֶפֶשׁ לְהַיּוֹת שׁוֹקֵקָה בֶּטֶל עֲשֵׂה לִמְלָאוֹת וּמִלּוֹת, אֵץ מַסִּיוֹת אֵל

אִיסוֹר הַקָּל, וְאֵין הַקָּל אֵל הַחֲמֹר. עַל כֵּן ...

Why was the Yezer created in the first place?

הַיּוֹסֵף בַּקִּבְלָה יִצְהֵר לְטוֹבָתוֹ וּלְרַעְיוֹ כִּדִּי לְבַחֵן וּלְנַסּוֹ בֵּין

טוֹב וְרָע ... וְאֵץ לֹא הָיָה הַיֵּצֶר שֶׁבִּין אֵימַת הַמִּטָּה

לֹא הָיָה עוֹסֵק בְּכַרְיָה וּרְבִיב וְאֵין הָיָה בֵּין בֵּין וְלֹאֵהִי

מִתְאַוֶּה לְקִנְיֹת מִקְנֵה יִקְנִין וְלֹא הָיָה נֹטֵם וְאֵין הָיָה צָרוֹ [34 B^{1st}]

"and", he continues, "so, if a man will subdue, by his good Yezer, the endeavors of the evil Yezer, so that he sin not before his Maker, - for

he will make use of the evil Yezer to^{do} all in accordance with God's fear that is within him, and with sin or transgression, this will be his goodness, - Happy is he, and happy is his mother. [ibid].

IV: ANGELS, DEMONS, ASTROLOGY, ETC.

References: 16A^{mid}, 26B^{low}, 26B^{high}, 40B^{high},

41A^{high} E.g. some of his naive beliefs were:

[41A^{high}] מעלות גדולות והחזקים בכוכבים ונצדים מהם עתידות

[40B^{high}] האדם כדור אבן ינוח ויפול אלמסוק קדמלו... אין יראה

החזון עתידות ויכאח דמות המתים ומקומות שלהן ראה, ואדם שלא ראה, ונצדים תמוהים גזולים...

[26B^{high}] מלאכים הפליגים הם צורתם אמת ואינם בגופים...

[לעיל] והחלומות ע"י מלאך המלואה ואדם ואפי' אין כל החלומות

אמת ע"כ אין כל החלומות אמת ומי שמרגיש עצמו גופו כל מחשבותיו אמת גם כן יראה מראות אמת ויפד עתידות

כמו המלאכים

[16A^{mid}] אין כח בלילה כלאדם קם (לחור) לו ירא מלכים בקומו מחטא

Other pragmatic concepts referred to, are
(X): the importance of confession (וידי) in every-day life [32A, 36B^{low}]; (XI): the soul [39B^{high}; 15A^{mid}; etc.], (XII): PROPHECY [15A^{low}; 40B^{mid}]; MOSAIC AUTHORSHIP of the BIBLE [37B^{high}: cf. supra: A.].

The author drops hints here and there of such attitudes as:

SUICIDE is worse than murder:

[14 A^{top}]: - מִיִּתְּנוּ עוֹנֵשׁ קִדּוֹל מִיִּתְּנוּ לְמַמְיֵת אֲחֵרִים -

APOSTASY is generally a result of ridiculing the mitzvot [25 A^{bot}; 25 B^{bot}]

Man begins life as a TABULA RASA.

לֹא בִּמְעַלְמָה לָלוֹחַ שְׂפֹא מוֹכֵן לְכַתּוּב עָלָיו, אִם הָלוֹחַ הָיָה בֵּינֵינוּ
טִיפֵשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל עָלָיו שְׂרִיטוֹת הַבָּאִים עַד שִׁוְרֵי קֶלֶךְ וְאֵל יִבִּיב בּוֹ
תּוֹעֵלֶת עוֹד, אֶקַּל הַחֶכֶם יִכְתּוּב עָלָיו סֵפֶר עֲנִינָיו וְעֲרֻכָּיו
וְחֻקוֹתָיו וְתוֹק הָלוֹחַ יִלְכֵּךְ וְיִסְרֹם בָּנָיו וְיִגִּיד לְתוֹעֵלֶת קִבּוֹל [25 A^{bot}]

Infancy is the 'seedtime of character'.

וְעַד כִּי כֵן מֵבִיט הַדּוֹדֵס אַחֵר תְּרַאֲהֶנּוּ... הֵם בָּנוּ בְּיָמֵי הַיָּלּוּד
וּפְעֻלָּתוֹת אֵין בָּנָם הֵבִיא לֹא בִיב בּוֹ כֵּן לִפְנֵימֹנִים
וְלִפְנֵימֹנִים לִיבֵי הַדּוֹדֵס [25 A^{bot}]

A bit of present day "Christian Science":

לֹא לֹא הִיָּה אִדָּם בּוֹטֵחַ בְּאֱלֹהִים וְעַד עַתָּה חֲזָקִיה מֵאֵל וְהוֹדָה
סֵפֶר הַרְפּוּאוֹת כִּפִּי שִׁבְטֵי הַחַיִּים בְּאֱלֹהִים יֵת וְלֹא בְּרִפּוּאוֹת. [25 B^{bot}]

An early approval of 'reform' Judaism:

וְעוֹד חִיבֵנו הַלְכּוֹת פְּסוּקוֹת בְּעֵינֵינוּ הַאֲוִיסוֹר וְהוֹמֵר וְהַפְּסוּק
וְהַחֲזִיק בְּפִסְקֵי אֶפְסֶסָה צְרִיכָה לִכְךָ שִׁיְהִיו קְרוֹבִים
לְהִשָּׁג וְיִשְׁעוֹת הַמִּצְוָה לֹא שֶׁאֵין יָכוֹל לִירֵד בְּחֻמְקָהּ
תְּלִמּוֹד.

AN

ANALYSIS

*
being a
Semi-Literal
TRANSLATION
of
*

ORHOT
ZADDIKIM

* *
an early fifteenth century ethical
MUSOR BOOK
originally
titled by its anony-
mous author as:

SEFER HAMIDDOTH.

*

הַיְּהוָה יִתְּנָה

P R E F A C E

סוף דבר הכל נשמע את האלהים יראו ואת מצותיו שמור
כי זה כל האדם

"THE END OF THE MATTER, ALL THINGS HAVING BEEN
HEARD: FEAR GOD, AND KEEP HIS COMMANDMENTS;
FOR THIS IS THE WHOLE MAN" Ecclesiastes: Chap. ~~III~~ : 13.

Solomon, wisest among men, and a monarch to boot, after he had beheld all the doings of man, and had tried all things, and had proclaimed all his wisdom, - in the end sealed his words by saying: The end of all things is the FEAR OF GOD.

Thus he opened his Book of Proverbs: "The beginning of wisdom is the FEAR of the LORD"; and closed the Book: "A woman that feareth the Lord, she shall be praised."

[continues by citing Moses and David as emphasizing the primal importance of fearing God.

The fear of God is especially incumbent on man, who is the highest of God's creatures].

There are five powers (senses) in man:

- 1) Hearing 2) Sight 3) Smell
- 4) Taste 5) Touch

These five senses bring to man's heart every matter, and every deed, all thoughts and all ideas; e.g. pride, humility, memory, forgetfulness, worry, joy, shame, arrogance, etc. These all derive their strength from the senses, - e.g. the blind man is not likely to be as proud-hearted as one who can see

Every man should strive toward good ends, for if he attains a good goal, he will find himself longing for even a better, and will thus strive until he will

reach the final good, and will attain the eternal reward, which is the world to come. Thus David yearned for the good of the world to come when he said: How great is Thy Goodness which Thou hast stored away for those who fear Thee. Only the seemly shall attain this good, as it is said: who shall dwell in Thy tent, and who shall live on the mount of Thy holiness, - they who walk uprightly, do charity, etc.

And now that we have rehearsed the advantages of virtue in man, we must carefully consider the pros and the cons, the good and the bad, - so that the wise man shall have set before him the right way to arrive at the gate of the King; And let his soul, with all its might, choose the good middoth (virtues). - For he has in his power the choice, so let him scatter the inferior but retain the fine flour.

How? For example, we find men who are constant... ...אדם ע' 73'2
 by angry, others who are even-tempered; some who are exceedingly proud, others who are humble in spirit; some who are lustful, others who are temperate in their desires or are even ascetic. Some are ambitious, some are backward; some are miserly, others generous; some cruel, others merciful, etc.

[These qualities are of three general sorts:

- a) - a man is born with
- b) " a man is naturally inclined or prone to (more than to other qualities)
- c) qualities he has been taught by others, or has come upon himself by experience)

Some middoth should be brought into play often, - others rather infrequently. (Compare cooking of foods: different foods require different ingredients in varying amounts. Salt is necessary, but, in excess, will render the food inedible, etc). Some middoth are needed in abundance (e.g. humility, modesty, etc); some middoth must

from
Maimonides:
Mishneh
Torah

1252 ונכח...

N.B. For exact page of the source quoted, see supra: pp. 68-70

be avoided, (e.g. pride, arrogance, cruelty, etc.) One must then seek the right proportion of each middah. One who inclines too much to evil qualities, lays himself open to the danger of spoiling good middoth.

As pain and chastisements are ills of the body, so are evil qualities sicknesses of the soul:

Just as body-sickness sometimes causes bitter to taste sweet, and sweet, bitter; and as sick people often long for things to eat which are not good for them, - so, many men whose souls lust after evil and hate the right paths (cites: Isaiah): Alas, to those who recognize their evil ways, and do not remedy them..... 142
(cites Proverbs...)

From
ibid.
142

There are ever so many men who long to follow the good, but do not know what is good for them; and try ever so hard to attain the higher good, but never succeed. This is due to two things: 1) He does not recognize his faults and does not test his ways. He is like Reuben who seeks Simeon, whom he does not know. Even if he look all day, he will not find him. 2) He recognizes bad qualities, but he is too lazy to grasp good and surely middoth. He is like Reuben who seeks Simeon, whom he knows well, but does not find him because he does not seek him in the proper way. For it is important not only to recognize good and evil..., one must try with all his might to abandon the stupid....

There is another type of man, - who reforms his ways, but is variable and is forever acquiring a hold on a quality, then abandoning it to attach himself to another, etc.....

Men steeped in vanities are to be pitied. It is needful to guide them in paths leading to the greatest good of all, - the FEAR of GOD, which is the end of all deeds and in the question directed by God to

all mankind, as it is said: What doth the Lord require of thee except that ye fear God? No deed is worthy unless actuated by pure fear of God; hence, one should advise all, who wish to bring their soul to attain good middoth, of the necessity of mingling the Fear of God with every single quality, for: FEAR of God is the bond which joins the middoth into one harmonious whole, and is like the thread which holds together a string of pearls. The moment you loosen the thread, the pearls scatter. Likewise if you are lax in the matter of the fear of God, the middoth will become ineffective. And if you do not possess good middoth, you cannot possess Torah and mitzvot, for the whole of the TORAH is dependent upon the regulation of the good qualities (וּמִצְוֹת וְתוֹרָה).

Middoth can be good and bad. The wise man can transform the bad into good, whereas the fool makes good middoth into bad. One who walks in darkness and does not exercise himself in the וּמִצְוֹת וְתוֹרָה, may possibly possess one quality which will nullify all his merits (וְיִצְחָק). E.g. one who boasts of his accomplishments, glorifies himself at the expense of his fellows, - and even experiences satisfaction thru the discomfiture of his fellows: he is like a man who has a barrel full of wonderful wine, but the bottom of the barrel has a small hole. - There is no doubt but that all the wine will be lost, however small the hole may be. Likewise, the boaster, though he be full of Torah, will lose all, due to this one evil middoth, if he neglects to correct it.

There are but few in the world who can recognize the truth. yet, even as one who is amputated of both his legs cannot climb a ladder, so no one without understanding, can climb to the rung of wisdom.

Man is warned that the Yetzer Hara is always ready to reinforce any tendency which weakens man's character. Man is like one who finds himself in a wilderness full of evil beasts, - bears, lions, tigers, wolves. To save himself, he must keep his eyes open, ready to fight

each and every one, lest, if he close his eyes for but a moment, they would tear him apart. So man, exposed to evil middoth, e.g. lust, pride, hate, anger, and the like, which torment him constantly, -if he shut his eyes for but an instant from the light of truth, he is lost. Thus it is written: I have set the Lord before me at all times.

Man, at birth, is the weakest and most helpless of all creatures, whereas other animals can walk and eat and maintain themselves. So, in the case of man's soul, it is imperative to train man in ways of wisdom and goodness, for man without teaching is like a beast.

A man's heart is like a clean tablet, ready to be written upon. If such a tablet be placed in the hands of a stupid person, he will scribble inane vanities until he completely spoils it, that it will be of no use thereafter. But the wise man will write down his affairs, needs and duties in orderly fashion, so that, supported by the tablet, he will be able, properly, to sustain and nourish his children, and attain a high degree of usefulness. Thus, fools are they who inscribe and fill their hearts with vain and empty thoughts, whereas the wise write upon their hearts the writing of God, which is the basis of Torah and mitzvot, and wisdom of the middoth, until, verily, their souls shine like the brightness of the firmament. This was the thought in Solomon's mind, when he said: Bind them about thy fingers and inscribe them upon the tablet of thy heart.

Solomon further said: By a boy's actions may he be recognized as being pure and upright. This verse was directed to the fact that, from the middoth exercised in one's youth, (can one forecast the middoth of the mature man): For all middoth in a man have been engendered within him in days of childhood and infancy, even though during childhood, he had not the power to exhibit such middoth or express them in action...

It is difficult to reform long-developed ugly traits, for, although easy to acquire, such qualities have not the power of wisdom in them that one may flee from them even under the influence of Musor (צוה).

This book of the middoth (יִדְּוֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל) has been written and sealed with the stamp of wisdom, to teach man wisdom. Let this book be in the hands of every man as an artist's tool, to regulate thereby his middoth and his deeds, - for the artist who has the tool of his artcraft can do his work properly, whereas, without his tool, he can do nothing.

Therefore, hearken to the Musor (מוֹסֵר), and take in hand the tool of your art and regulate with it your middoth. (Comparison is drawn to a coin, - one should always note, however, to make sure that the coin has been legally coined.....)

And now it is our desire to make known the roots of the middoth and their branches, and their usefulnesses and their detriments. It is our earnest intent to bring man away from the ways of folly (יִסְלִי) unto the love of musor, so that the simple may strive to behold the true nature of the ways of the wise. And we beseech God that He reveal to us the good ways, and the paths of righteousness, that we may instruct the tribes of Yeshurun in the middoth of grace (חֶסֶד).

P R I D E (I)

What can be more appropriate than that we should first of all, before the rest of the chapters (p. 784), occupy ourselves with נִקְיָה, inasmuch as it is a prime duty of all men to stay clear of this vice. For PRIDE is the gateway to many evils. Among all the middoth, we witness none more mischievous. Therefore it is incumbent upon men to take counsel with themselves, and to conduct themselves with PRIDE only in a seemly manner, and thrust it aside in a place where it is unseenly... (quotes some verses, likening pride to a coin).

PRIDE ranges itself along two aspects:

I) נִקְיָה בְּהַקְדָּמָה : PRIDE of BODY

II) נִקְיָה בְּהַקְדָּמָה : PRIDE of wisdom & deeds.

I) PRIDE of BODY

(A) PRIDE of BODY that is EVIL

If a man possesses this, he is governed by it from the top of his head to the soles of his feet: (Gives verses to prove this: for head and tongue; hands and feet (cf. the case of the daughter of Haman b. Teradion who was consigned to the institution for lewd women, because once she overheard some Roman officers pass a remark about how prettily she walked, and thereafter accentuated her mincing steps); eyes; nostrils). The righteous man should eradicate pride from his speech, from his habits of eating and drinking, and from his manner of apparel, lest they betoken pride.

Regarding the mode of dress of the Gentiles, the Torah admonishes us in that it says: Do not walk in the ways of the Gentiles... and it is further written Beware lest ye be ensnared in their ways. These are an admonition to us that Israel should be different (פָּזִין) in their clothes, their speech and in all their ways from the Gentiles. Thus it is written: I shall separate ye from the nations.

MORAL STORY

from
ibid.
↓
פִּנְסָה

The proud are mean in the sight of the Lord (cf. Proverbs), even if their pride not be expressed toward others or in their speech, but is kept hidden in their hearts.

Pride leads to the pursuit of (Mammon) money in order to lord it over other men.

According to our Rabbis, pride is equivalent to the idolatry (proven by a l'p analogy). Also equivalent to lewdness. God and pride cannot abide together in one world, as it is said: The proud-hearted I cannot endure.

And it is well known what happened to Korah and his followers because of his pride, which led to strife, which in turn brought on jealousy and hatred.

Whoever adorns his body, in order to bear himself the more proudly, thereby ignores the Lord, will not be concerned about mitzvot, and will not pursue good deeds, since all his intent is upon himself, to adorn his body (whose end is worms). And by adorning his body, he exposes himself to lewdness, since he will behold that he attracts women, and will be drawn to them and engage in chatter and frivolity. Likewise the woman, who adorns herself before men, will kindle amorous desires in them. The rabbis have even forbidden looking at colored feminine garments hanging on the wall, how much the more so if worn by the woman.

Pride leads likewise to greed, since one will long for fine clothes and dainty foods. Often this will lead in turn to stealing and burglary, since "he will not rejoice in his portion".

Pride breeds intolerance. The proud man will be unwilling to bear the yoke of human beings; and it is unnecessary to expatiate upon the detriments of intolerance.

(B) PRIDE of BODY that is a virtue:

Let not a man say, since pride is an evil middah, therefore will I depart from it to an exaggerated degree, to such an extent that I shall eat no meat nor drink wine nor marry a woman, nor dwell in a pretty home, and wear only old and torn clothes, nor keep clean, etc. Such a man is a sinner (a nazirite was termed a sinner, how much the more so such a man).

The correct way is for a man to be clean-cut in all his affairs.

How should a man dress? in medium-priced garments, inconspicuous but neat and according to one's station. ...אֲדָמָה וְשִׁיטָה...

Likewise should his table-board be simple, according to his means. And so in other matters, he should be clean-cut. He should bathe regularly (p. 108) (cites Hillel, who cited Scripture: God made man in His image, - hence man should be clean at all times, - it is a mitzvah).

II) PRIDE of WISDOM and DEEDS

(A) PRIDE of wisdom and deeds that is EVIL:

- In that he belittles other men and flatters himself that he is greater in wisdom. Consequently often he will not admit the truth. Therefore Solomon said: Let a stranger, not thine own mouth, utter thy praises.

A man proud of his own deeds will not study laboriously in Torah, (nor will he be concerned with the glory of God), except insofar as he can be reputed wise and good by mankind. He will thus find himself rejoicing in the discomfiture of his colleagues and their intellectual deficiencies, and will perceive honor to himself to be associated with the shame of his fellows. Such an attitude is one of the twenty-four things which hinder Repentance.

A man all of whose deeds are good, but who glories in them is likened to cooked food (which is of great merit up to the point where it does not begin to burn, - after which point, its merits are negated by its being burnt). Even worse is the man who takes pride in wisdom and deeds which actually he does not possess at all. Therefore the rabbis say: If people praise a man that he knows two tractates, whereas he really knows but one, he should say that he knows neither the one nor the other, so that he mislead not the world in rating him higher than he deserves. We must strive to do our good deeds with no eye toward possible praise from mankind, but only for the sake of God, who peers into the heart of man.

vide infra 21:2
Supra

If a man does not studiously and scrupulously purge himself of pride, - even though he may possess Torah and good deeds, yet he shall inherit Gehinnom, for the Yezer Hara lies in ambush, ready with arguments and evidence to deliver the man into the power of pride, so that his wisdom hath served but to drive him from the world. Therefore a man should at no time desist from subduing the Yezer Hara from day to day, - and it is indeed a great battle to be constantly fought, even as we find in the case of the Chasid who met some men returning victors from a battle. He said to them: Ye return now from a lesser battle, only to face a greater battle. They asked: What is this battle, and he replied: The battle vs. the Yezer Hara and his hosts. Your enemies you need overcome but once, or twice, or three times, but the Yezer Hara never lets go of you even if he be vanquished one hundred times, as our Rabbis say: Do not believe in thyself until the day of thy death.

THE Jewish Theological Seminary
MANUSCRIPT begins at this
junction with words: פ"י פ"י

PARABLE
from
Bachya
אבות אבות
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אבות אבות אבות אבות...

[HOW THE YEZER HARA operates]: The Yezer numbs the conscience of man, so that he comes to a point where he no longer considers an evil thing to be evil at all. One must therefore beware of the voice of the Yezer in his ear, whispering: you deserve the encomiums of men, take pleasure in having your good deeds made known..... The Yezer will say: publicize your good deeds, and will argue that thereby other men may know of such good deeds and be prompted to do likewise. This argument is rationalized (פני) thinking, since we have observed that our great rabbis told of their good deeds (for illustrative purposes) only to the limited circle of their disciples, and directly for the sole purpose of training them to live the good life, - yea! even in these cases, they never emphasized the "I, I did this", or "I know that." In general, then, one ought not to reveal one's good deeds publicly.

אבות אבות אבות אבות
אבות אבות אבות אבות

From
ibid
(Bachya)

Ans, further, the Yezer Hara, even if you truly walk in humility, and pray at length, and study constantly, will cajole you after this wise: Your good deeds will not truly be established unless you depress them all the way out of sight, - e.g.

you must disguise your good deeds, you should pray briefly, and if you wish to study, study alone, so that no man shall know of your good work except God, give the impression of being not over-zealous in your good deeds, lest your reward be impaired, - thus, do not use tefillin, mezuzah or tsitsis. Rather live like those all around you and walk in their ways, and mingle with them in their feasts and pleasures and abundant frivolity.

pine 21721...

Anyone who succumbs thus (to the Yezer) under the guise of exceeding solicitude for the mitzvah, his loss is ten thousand times greater than his reward. He is to be compared to one who flees from a small fire into a really great conflagration. For the right way is to pray with intentness and at length, etc... and if, because of his righteous conduct, he be highly esteemed by men, his reward is in no degree impaired, since this was not his purpose in doing the good deed. (The text is to be found): in the moment that you perform the good deed, ask yourself: from what source do you hope for reward, if at all? If from God, it is proper; if from mankind, it is not acceptable. Also, would you do the same thing in the privacy of your inner chamber, that now you are performing in public?

Be warned, that what we have had to say in admonition against the Yezer Hara is but a drop in the ocean, compared to the size of the danger... He who is wise will understand and hasten to uproot the Yezer from within himself. He who is clean of hands gathers increasing strength.

(B) PRIDE of WISDOM and DEEDS that is a virtue:

There is a type of pride that does not impair humility, but fortifies it, causing a man to rejoice in his good deeds, and to rejoice in the honorable estate of his fellow-men, and to be zealous for their honor. For example, the type of pride toward the wicked, pride that causes a man to belabor and chastise the evil-doers, rather than to defer or bow to them, - admonishing and warning them. Even though the world may accuse this man of

acting highhandedly, yet it is praiseworthy. ~~And~~ let him not kneel to the wicked, even as Mordecai would not bow down before Haman. And wherever he has a commandment to fulfil, he should not forsake the good by yielding to the wicked.

It requires (common-sense) wisdom to know when to appear thus haughty toward the wicked, (lest, in withstanding them, in connection with a mitzvah, he impair one hundred other mitzvot). Therefore, the wise man must consider the time and the particular case, and, with this in view, so adjust his conduct; for sometimes it is the part of wisdom to retreat (פליא דניסא), at other times, he should not budge from his position under any conditions, but, instead, withstand the wicked with all his body and might.

All this, (it must be remembered), is in behalf of a mitzvah. But in the matters of business dealings, he ought to yield readily in every case and settle the matter according to the law. This is an important mitzvah itself.

[RECAPITULATION AND CONCLUSION]: One who possesses the middah of pride should strive to rid himself of it because it is disgraceful, the damage from it is great, it is ever-present, and the good that it performs is meagre. (Cites the bad ends that were encountered by proud characters in history: Pharaoh, Goliath, Sennacherib, and Nebuchadnezzar, quoting them wherein they were too proud).

And since we have thus spoken at length concerning pride, hearken to the words of the Rabbis... (and cites several aphorisms about pride, including also a parable of a King who elevated the humblest attendant in his court). If a man feels that the middah of pride is prevailing over him, he should ponder over things that terrify the heart, e.g. whence he came from and that he must needs return to dust and worms... and face the Judgement Day before the King of Kings, - and consider what benefit his pride will

yield to him then. And not only should he banish pride from his mind, but he should build a fence, and distance himself, far away from pride and other evil middoth. He should go to the other extreme. For example: a man who has been accustomed to dress lavishly, and who wishes to change this habit, should go to the other extreme, not even dressing in medium-quality clothes, until such a time when he finds his pride has become uprooted. Similarly, a man of evil temper and wrathful, at first should contain himself, even in matters where the ordinary person could justifiably become angry. He should continue thus until his pride is wholly eradicated, and then he may return to the middle path. Thus are all other evil middoth to be treated.

...מבטח

From
Maimonides'
Mishneh
Torah

...כח נחמ

(This is the way to serve God, as it is written:

(Psalm 50:23) עבדך יהוה

יחל

ה | י | ח | ה

MEEKNESS (II)

Meekness is a good middah, the opposite of PRIDE. Whoever possesses this virtue thereby rescues himself from ever so many vices, performs a mitzvah, and receives his reward in accordance with the extent of his meekness.

Meekness is the root of service before God; - a small good deed with meekness is a hundred times more acceptable to God than a great deed motivated by pride (cite Scriptural verses)

(The definition of Meekness): Meekness is characterized by humility (anegut) and humbleness of spirit, considering oneself as naught. A man is duty-bound at all times to be lowly in his own eyes, soft of heart, and of broken spirit.

(The Source of Meekness): The source of meekness is found in the acknowledgement that all riches and gifts and glory come from God. This fact should be recognized in good times, not only in periods of stress. One should say: All the good deeds that I am able to do, are but a drop in the ocean compared to what I am bound to do. One should therefore perform all his good deeds for the glory of God, and not to curry favor with mankind, nor for profit. Rather, one should do everything for the sake of His great name, - this is the root of meekness.

(TYPES of MEEKNESS):

The essence of real meekness is to be seen in one's relations with his subordinates, - e.g. servants, family, poor dependents upon his bounty. He is not bound to such, he has nothing to fear from them. If he shares their troubles and their burdens, if he takes insults without resort, his humility is great.

Another type of meekness is the humbleness of spirit in the presence of a Rabbi or a wise and righteous man.

Meekness toward one's pupils: as exemplified in patience in teaching, explaining a topic as frequently as necessary. (Cites reward of Rabbi Peredah, who repeated an explanation four hundred times to his pupil). (Cites verses such as: וְיָשַׁן בֵּן יוֹסֵף אֶת אֲבִיָּהּ וְאֶת אֶתְמָן וְאֶת אֶתְרָא וְאֶת אֶתְרָא וְאֶת אֶתְרָא)

MORAL STORY

Reward for Meekness: in that other men will strive to imitate him. So, also, every man will bless his own son saying: May he grow to be like so-and-so. Such a man likewise sanctifies God's name. Contrast the proud-hearted man who desecrates the name of God and causes others to sin. It is to be compared to a carcass, rotting in the open market place, - the passers-by place their fingers to their nostrils until they are safely past the foul odor. So the proud of heart uglifies the Torah, and causes would-be disciples to remain distant from the Torah, saying: What can be the virtue of the Torah, whose proponents are so wicked?

Meekness can be recognized in a man by six things: 1) What measure of control he possesses over his anger: E.g. If he is grievously insulted by word or deed, and within his power is opportunity for vengeance, nevertheless he masters his ~~temper~~ temper and is forgiving, - for the sake of God. This is a token of meekness. (Yet, often it is forbidden to forgive, e.g. in the case of a wise man of repute, the one who insults him in public should not be forgiven until the culprit apologizes).

2) How he meets great catastrophes, such as deaths in his family: If he bows in humbleness before the inscrutable will of God, this is another token of meekness.

3) When the world praises him for his wisdom and good deeds, his heart does not rejoice, but he rather reflects how far are his good deeds compared to what he is duty-bound to do!

And how much the more does his heart not rejoice if good deeds are ascribed to him which he did not perform! in which case, he is even troubled in his heart.

And if reports are spread abroad of his evil deeds:

a) If these be true, he should not seek to becloud the truth

the man (i.e. how will he use his money? will it keep him in constant state of anxiety (7176) over his affairs, or will he give charity, and be generous to the poor, etc.)...

c) for vengeance, since money may be given to a man as a trap. Therefore, if he be wise and discerning, he will do only good with his wealth, and, withal, increase in meekness, and not exalt his heart.

5) If he has done wrong to a man by word or deed, and, although he has no need of favors from this man, nonetheless, voluntarily and with no outside persuasion, asks pardon of the man, humbles himself and remedies the wrong. This is also a token of meekness.

6) If he never indulges in harsh language, heeding that which is written: A soft answer turneth away wrath.

Meekness is a ladder by which to ascend to the pathways of God, as is written: 1272 P'1J8 2N'11... and thereby to attain the fear of God, as is written: 1010 1171 11J8. The Shechinah rests on the meek (cite verses...)

Many good branches sprout forth from the root of meekness:

The humble man has likewise the gift of patience, and with patience comes peace. With humility he stills the anger of the wrathful man and makes peace among others. The meek man finds favor in the eyes of all people. The prayers of the meek are accepted by God (cite: Akiba and the 1151 1171). The meek man will become wise since he humbles himself before the wise and sits in the dust at their feet, and 'he who walks with the wise, will himself become wise'. Mercy is extended to the meek from above. The humble man flees from greatness and honor; real humility (110J3) depends upon this, as it is written: 111 post 1131. The meek man rejoices in his portion, whether great or small,

and thereby his heart is set at rest from the turmoil of this world, and directed to the Torah. The meek man judges all men favorably (1135 Ps). A parable is told of a chasid, who was asked: Wherefore were you merited to become so distinguished in your generation? He replied: Because I esteemed each person to be better than I. If he was wiser than I, I said: he is likewise more God-fearing than I because of his greater wisdom. If he was less in wisdom I said: He sins through error, whereas I sin consciously. If he was older than he, I said: His sins are less numerous than mine. If he was my equal in wisdom and age, I said: His heart is good and directed toward God more than my heart, since I know the sins which I have committed and do not know the sins which he has committed. If he was richer than I, I said: it is because he is a greater door of righteousness than I. And for these reasons, I honored all mankind and was meek.

PARABLE

The failings of the meek man are forgotten because the world takes delight in his honor; and those who desire to aid him are many.

It is told about a certain King who, though sleeping among many of his subjects one night, personally arose to rekindle the lamp lest it become extinguished during the night. Upon being queried: Why did you not command one of us to do this task, -he replied: Has my Kingdom become diminished thereby? I arose from my couch a King and I returned a King. And all his entourage exclaimed: For many of his good qualities others may envy him, but for his virtue of meekness, no one can envy him. Thus is it remarked: One who is lowly in his own right, is great in the eyes of others.

PARABLE

(MEEKNESS as an EVIL Middah):

In one case, however, one ought not to be meek, -namely, one ought not to be humble and submissive to the wicked. On this point, it is written: As a sour fountain and a diseased well, so is a righteous man who stoops before the wicked. [Indeed, if the righteous man is able to do

so, he should take vengeance for the sake of God], he should stand up against the wicked [like a "roaring lion, ..."]

The righteous should teach mankind the worship (by service) of the Lord, and should admonish the people with all his might according to the extent of his wisdom, - at first with gentleness, and, if this is of no avail he should put them to shame.

There is a type of meekness that is as evil as PRIDE itself, viz., if the meek man is sycophantic. E.g., false prophets who clothe themselves in the guise of true prophets, in order that their lives and falsehoods shall be received... Such men desecrate God's name more than any other type of man. They cause all men to lose faith in the good in the world, and make man suspicious of good people, saying: They must be like all the other (hypocrites). If you recognize such a hypocrite, it is your duty to unmask him and proclaim him for what he really is.

It is foolish to say: Behold, how well the proud fare in the world; I shall do likewise, and if I shall be punished in the world to come, I shall be in much company. This is to be compared with one who is almost blind; and when told how he can improve his sight, says - I shall do nothing of the kind, - if I am blind, what of it? so many others are blind too!

(Concluding statement): Therefore, look well to your soul, and strive with all your power not to regard those ~~which are~~ ^{who are} of higher or lower estate than yourself in wisdom or in service of God, for thereby you will fall short in service and in wisdom. Rather, cast your eyes heavenward, and strive to pursue wisdom and serve God with all your power, (cite Hosea: 6:3: וְנִחַם אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֶת כָּל עֲוֹנוֹתֵינוּ)

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תלמוד

SHAME (III)

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The rabbis have said: Intelligence is shame, and shame is intelligence. Thus Adam and Eve were both naked and were unashamed; yet, when they knew not the meaning of modesty, they (likewise) could not understand between good or evil. After they ate of the tree of knowledge, their eyes were opened. Thus it is (similarly) with all living animals except man, they have no shame nor^{do} they have intelligence.

It is therefore seemly for a man to conduct himself by this worthy middoh, and to adhere to it until it shall become fixed in his soul; and he should strengthen it in every aspect, so that it become more esteemed than the rest of his middoth, for by means of it, he attains most of the virtues and abandons transgressions and all ugly middoth. Shame is a fence, and a bar of iron against all sins, since a man is liable to commit sins in secret which he would be ashamed were it to become known to other men, (for he fears lest he be disgraced in their eyes). So the rabbis tell of Rabbi Johanan b. Zakkai, who, upon his death-bed, was asked by his disciples to bless them. He said: May the fear of heaven be upon you as the fear of mankind. They said: Is that all you have to bless us with. He said: Oh that you may really know the significance of this blessing: for a man sins in secret, saying: No man has seen me; whereas a man who fears lest he be brought to shame, will repent of his sins, because of his shame before mankind.

But the highest virtue is the shame before God (cite verse), so that man is ashamed even if no one sees him.

There are four degrees of shame:-

1) One who is ashamed to commit a sin openly, yet will commit it secretly. He is a thief, in that he steals, as it were, the knowledge of God, in that he is ashamed before mankind and not before God. His wickedness is very great.

2) One who is ashamed before mankind and is likewise careful not to sin in secret, lest it be revealed and because he is ashamed before God. Regarding this man, it is said: וְנֶלֶק קִי, וְנֶלֶק יִלְכֵּךְ פִּינָן.

3) One who considers: How can I commit this sin of which I would be ashamed before a servant more than I would be before his Master? and therefore he avoids the sin. This is a good quality.

4) If a man is just as much ashamed in secret, before God alone, as he is openly, - No virtue is greater than this virtue.

Sayings of the Rabbis about shame:

One who does wrong and is ashamed of it,
- all his sins are forgiven.

Shame is the face of Paradise

Shame and trustfulness are bound up, one with the other, for the person who is ashamed will be faithful. He who has no faith, has no shame.

One should accustom oneself never to do anything that will embarrass his friend into being ashamed (in such situations) as protracting a visit so long that his friend is embarrassed to tell him to depart; or e.g. do not borrow books lest your friend be ashamed to ask you not to borrow or to return them.

~~You~~ should cultivate the acquaintance of people who need you more than you need them, and you should go out of your way to ask them to do you little favors, that really may not be necessary, so that they will not feel constrained or abashed before you.

There is another type of man who is ashamed: one who refrains from sins indulged in by the usual run of men, e.g. bantering with women, etc.; and people may embarrass such a one and make sport of him because he does not follow their lead. In this case, great effort is required to bear this shame.

There is also the man who performs mitzvot which most men do not concern themselves with. He is like the King's

servant who must not depart from the commands of his King even though the world puts him to shame therefor. One who thus succumbs to the scoffing of the mob, and ceases fulfilling mitzvot, and departs from good paths because of being ashamed, - such a one transgresses.

There is also the man who is ashamed to admit the truth, - this is likewise an ill disease.

It is likewise if one feels too ashamed to admonish and urge men to be virtuous.

So it is also if one sits in the presence of his teacher and is ashamed to ask concerning that which is not clear to him, whether a small point or a major question, - this is ugly indeed, (cites the verses in Proverbs, and Psalms: $\text{לֹא יִשְׁתָּחֲוֶה אִישׁ לְאִישׁ} \text{ וְלֹא יִשְׁתָּחֲוֶה אִישׁ לְאִישׁ}$). The rabbis: $\text{לֹא יִשְׁתָּחֲוֶה אִישׁ לְאִישׁ}$ like $\text{לֹא יִשְׁתָּחֲוֶה אִישׁ לְאִישׁ}$ like $\text{לֹא יִשְׁתָּחֲוֶה אִישׁ לְאִישׁ}$

A pious man (צדיק) is termed a "man of shame", eg. the targum ... of צדיק is $\text{אִישׁ שֶׁנֶּחֱשָׁה}$, i.e. the pious man must bear shame in order to fulfil the Torah. Also, by this means, a pious man arrives at prophecy, as it is written $\text{וְיָבוֹאוּ אֲנִי וְיָבוֹאוּ אֲנִי}$ - And so, through shame, one attains the fear of God, as it is written: $\text{וְיָבוֹאוּ אֲנִי וְיָבוֹאוּ אֲנִי}$, - for what sort of fear is visible on the countenance? this is shame.

One must beware of shaming anyone, for the rabbis say: $\text{לֹא יִשְׁתָּחֲוֶה אִישׁ לְאִישׁ}$ if $\text{לֹא יִשְׁתָּחֲוֶה אִישׁ לְאִישׁ}$

Putting another to shame is also to be compared to murder.

Let a man rather cast himself into a fiery furnace than put anyone to shame in public. We can learn from the example of Tamar who, though they even led her forth to be burnt at the stake, refused to shame Judah (until he himself felt constrained to announce: she is more righteous than I).

Even in the case of admonishing others, ... you should admonish at first in private and with patience. But if you chastise first publicly and shame a person thereby, you have committed a sin. - How much the more so, where no admonition is involved.

Because of shame, Jerusalem was destroyed.

As in matters of learning, so also in business dealings one should never shame his friend.

Thus if his friend make an error, he should not say: "You made a mistake", or "you do not understand", lest he be made ashamed. Rather one should pretend that he himself does not quite understand.

So, one should not dub his friend by any nickname, lest he be ashamed.

Likewise, a man should never say in public or even among a small group, that "so-and-so had desired to give me his daughter, but I wasn't willing", since thereby he gives esteem to himself and shames his friend.

In general, let a man be cautious lest, from anything in his speech, his friend shall feel ashamed. Let a man ever be among the humble, and not among the oppressors of fellow-men...

From the acquisition of the middoh of shame, one arrives at meekness, also to humility, since one will be ashamed of doing evil openly.

The rabbis say: In the case of righteous people, shame is seen upon their countenances. He who possesses shame thereby signifies that he is of the seed of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob.

The rabbis say: Shame is revealed in times of anger. And they say: Better is the ^{hate} anger of a man who possesses shame, than the love of the fool.

The rabbis say: this middoh is a virtue of the over-soul, and makes for the well-being of the body. Whoever possesses shame, his virtue increases mightily. The more that you practise shame, the more you will perceive its greatness.

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IMPUDENCE (IV)

Impudence is the opposite of Shame. The person who possesses shame is of a forgiving nature, but one who is impudent is ashamed of nobody, but is arrogant toward all and commits all manners of evil. Instead of being ashamed, he is strengthened in his wickedness and becomes hardened in sin, as it is written: *וְלֹא יִשְׁתָּבֵשׁ*,

Jeremiah 5²

All the finer qualities associated with the middle of
Shame are non-existent in impudence. The more encrusted a
man is in this middle, the more he is loathed by mankind,
even though he ~~was~~^{be} a learned man.

Many evils follow in the wake of impudence:

The impudent man never is free from strife, or from hate, or from envy. He denies the unity of God. He does not show proper honor to his elders or to worthy people. All the mitzvot of the Torah are lightly esteemed by him.

Of such it is said: "The impudent are destined for Gehinnom," (say the rabbis).

The impudent are termed wicked, as it is written:

11907 782 214 482. The wicked are ugly and to be scorned Proverbs 21²⁹
in the sight of the Lord, and their name is worthy of de-
struction, as it is written: 2771 P 782 PL Proverbs 10⁷

Regarding the person possessing the middle of shame,
it is written: 1272 P. 1178 3851.

Regarding the important person, however, it is written: Psalm 146⁹
 וְיִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה לְפָנָיו

Furthermore, the impudent person will commit ever
so many sins, and without esteem himself a righteous
man (p. 23) [These (in our prayers) we recite: אלהינו יי אלהינו
אלהינו יי אלהינו
אלהינו יי אלהינו
The path of impudence is far removed from the ways of repentance.]

once. (Cite Proverbs)

Proverbs 7¹³

Sometimes, on the other hand, this middoh is praiseworthy, - namely in one's relations to evil counsellors. One should be arrogant toward the counsel of the wicked and not admit of their falseness and waywardness, nor to cater to them. Such arrogance is necessary even though (the wicked) sneer at you for it.

TORAH (XXVII)

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Israel is blessed with three crowns:

- 1) TORAH 2) PRIESTHOOD 3) SOVEREIGNTY

...הוא כבוד

The 3rd was merited by DAVID; the 2nd was merited by AARON (cites verses), but the crown of TORAH can be acquired by anyone, as it is said: *לכל ישראלי יראת ה' יעשה*

From
Maimonides
דרכי משה

The crown of the Torah is greater than the others. It is even said that a excellent student (חכם תלמיד), who is a bastard (זנוה), takes precedence over a high priest, who is an ignoramus (פשוט).

...הוא כבוד

Talmud-torah is the greatest of all mitzvot, - especially Talmud-torah for its own sake

(How) to attain the crown of TORAH: one should not let his mind rest on idle things, and should not set his heart to acquire learning in luxurious manner. But this is the way of Torah: A piece of bread with salt you shall eat, water by the measure you shall drink, on the ground shall you sleep, a life of trouble you shall live. And if you say, I shall first accumulate wealth, and then shall read (scripture = Torah) and learn (Talmud = Talmud), - you do not merit the crown of Torah. Rather (אך פאר זיך), make thy learning a fixed duty.

It is written: It is not in heaven! This proves that Torah is not to be found in the proud and haughty of spirit. It is written: It is not to be found across the seas. This proves that it is not to be found in business men, i.e. who go across the sea to sell.

הוא כבוד
הוא כבוד

If a man study joyfully the Torah, his two kidneys become as two wells of understanding (cites example of Abraham). Such folk learn the inner secrets, which nobody can teach them. (Cites:) In the case of Rabbi Eliezer HaBodol, things were revealed to him which were not revealed even to Moses.

In ETHICS of the FATHERS, the rabbis enumerate forty-eight qualities by which TORAH can be acquired. And whosoever wishes to merit the path of TORAH, must strive to fulfil these forty-eight

things. He must be industrious, for the work of the Torah is not like other works, for in the case of the latter, he may stay apart from them, yet not forget them, but a scholar of Torah, who does not restudy continually, will forget directly; and if his mind is not intent upon his study, he can study 100 times, yet all is forgotten, whereas in the case of other works, the worker need not have his heart in these.

Torah leads to good deeds. since if you study concerning punishments contrasted with rewards for good deeds, we will be careful. (like verse). Study while walking by the way, when sitting down (etc. the Shema formula). Rabbi Meir says: One who busies himself with Torah for its own sake merits many things. (Cited: Rabbi Samuel in the Midrash on the verse: "Their mother became a loose woman": a scholar who sits and studies: "Thou shalt not turn aside judgement; but he does!" or: "Thou shalt not take a bribe; but he does!" - in such case the Torah is made loose.

One should study Torah for the sake of heaven. Witness the example of Elisha b. Abua! ~~some~~: We read in Chagiga Yerushalmi and in Seder Kohleth, that upon the occasion of his circumcision, his father prepared a feast for the wise men, inviting R. Eliezer, R. Joshua, and others. They sat at the banquet, conversing about the Torah, until the fire grew strong all about them. The father of Elisha b. Abua came and said: Rabbis, have you come here to burn down the house? They replied: It is but because we have interweaving words of Torah, that were handed down from the fire on Mount Sinai. Said the father of Elisha b. Abua: since I observe that such the power of the Torah, I shall devote my son to the Torah. Since his intent, however, was for glory, and not for the sake of heaven, his son became a heretic.

Nevertheless, a man should study even not for its own sake, for from this, he may perhaps learn to study for indeed its own sake.

And now let us discourse concerning some matters of Study and Mitzvot:

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APPENDIX "A"

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THE JEWISH THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY LIBRARY MANUSCRIPT of Orhot Zaddikim.

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The manuscript is numbered: J.T.S. Library: #2037
The TITLE-PAGE and the opening pages of the mss. are missing. The first page in the mss. is page 10 of ORHOT ZADDIKIM'S text. The first words in the mss. are "...PI' PI'", of the GATE I: PRIDE, (which, in the 1879 WARSAW Edition, may be found on page 4A^{lower}). Thus the INTRODUCTION and approximately one-half of GATE I: PRIDE are absent. The mss. goes to the end intact. The last sentence of the text ends with the words: 'NID Gel,; (cf. e.g. the 1879 text adds: "P'NR K'Y!"). The sequence of the 'gates' is identical with the standard. For some reason, however, the scribe has written the numeral: N'S about one page before the end of GATE XXVII, alongside the words: '823102 'S |'SW' JK |K N822 "JT |K |'231 (which, in the 1879 text may be found on 38B^{last line}); subsequently, at the beginning of GATE XXVIII: FEAR OF GOD, he has written the numeral: 6'S.

The mss. has one hundred and twenty-two parchment sheets, each page being exactly the same size, 11" x 11". They are quite stained and worn. The mss. has a hard leathery binding; the cover is very worn; the double clasp to lock the mss. is broken. The margin of each page is maintained straight, except for infrequent extensions into the marginal space; the largest of these extensions is on page 40A (GATE IX: JOYFULNESS). In GATE XXI: SILENCE, near the end the paragraph beginning "פִּקְלִין הֵן פִּקְלִין וַיְבָרֵךְ" is slightly indented from the margin (indicating, doubtless, that what amounts to a separate 'gate' begins here). In GATE XXVI: REPENTANCE, the word: "נִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה" in the phrase-subtitle: "אֵלֶינוּ נִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה" (which, in the 1879 Edition may be found on 34B^{middle}) is written in larger size letters. There are many, many marginal notes and comments, written by at least two readers of the mss., in both the side margins as well as the upper and lower page-margins. At the top of the first page of the mss. is written: "פִּקְלִין הֵן פִּקְלִין וַיְבָרֵךְ וַיְבָרֵךְ וַיְבָרֵךְ". At the top of pages 50A and 49B is written: "וַיְבָרֵךְ וַיְבָרֵךְ וַיְבָרֵךְ", both not in the handwriting of

the mss. There is no notations in the back of the mss. to help reveal the date, place, etc. of the mss. (In the front of the mss., apparently a J.T.S. Librarian has written in pencil: "Prague". The mss. penmanship is difficult for a non-expert to read. The penmanship of the marginal comments is even more difficult to decipher. A few passages selected at random, when compared word for word with a modern text revealed no variations.

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[also: A MANUSCRIPT of ORHOT ZADDIKIM in the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York, MSS. Number 2037].

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