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THE TALMUDIC
APPRAISAL OF OCCUPATIONS

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PART I

FAVORABLE APPRAISALS

"Man goeth forth unto his work,
And to his labour until the evening.
How manifold are thy works, O Lord!
In wisdom hast Thou made them all."¹

The ideal life, according to the finest that is in the Bible, is to dwell in peace and to work away contentedly.² That ideal is not lost sight of during the many years and accompanying changes that reach into the centuries during which the Talmudic literature was created. To live a full life, write the rabbis of the Talmud, one must occupy himself with some form of labor. Without a vocation, one is incomplete. He lacks an element essential to his well-being. Indeed, one who is not engaged in an occupation is as a vineyard, which, left without the protection of a fence, is exposed to the ravages of cattle and beast.³ In commenting on the Talmudic statement, "Love work, and hate office", the author of Binyan Yehoshua goes even further to state that indolence induces idiocy.⁴ Especially clear on this point is the Mishnah,⁵ when enumerating the things a woman is under obligation to do for her husband: the grinding, baking, washing, cooking, nursing the children, making the bed, and spinning wool. With the number of servants that she can afford, her duties are correspondingly reduced. To which R. Eliezar adds the significant remark that even if the wife brings into her home a hundred maids, she should be forced, at least, to spin wool, "for unemployment leads to mental aberration". "No work, however offensive, is so degrading as idleness".

Labor being essential for the integrity of one's personality,

the Talmud points to the duty of the parent to teach his son a trade. "As it is a father's duty to teach his son Torah, or to find him a wife, so must he instruct him in an occupation".⁶ For, as R. Judah explains, "one who does not teach his son a trade teaches him thievery."⁷

How great is labor! It exceeds the bounds of individual needs; the whole world depends upon it. "There is no occupation that can be dispensed with; society needs the perfumer as well as the tanner".⁸ God has therefore so ordered things that each one's work is desirable to him - even the tanner's work; "so that no trade should disappear from the world".⁹ Here we can see in what high esteem the rabbis hold labor, when they attribute to it a divine origin. According to their Haggadic interpretation of the Creation Story. God from the very beginning taught Adam all occupations.¹⁰ "When the Lord announced to Adam", they explain, "'thorns and thistles shall sprout for you', tears streamed from his eyes. 'O Lord of the World', he implored, 'shall I and the ass eat from one trough?' But when the Almighty added, 'through the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread', Adam was calmed".¹¹ For Adam realized that labor exalted him above the lowly position of the ass. Not alone with individuals, but with a whole nation, does the Divine establish labor as a covenant. "Not until Israel performed work did the Holy One grace it with his Shekinah."¹² In fact, following the Biblical precedent,¹³ the rabbis of the Talmud speak of God himself as a laborer.¹⁴ He forms the world; He creates man; daily does He renew His works of creation.

What exalted views the rabbis express concerning the dignity of labor. It amounts to performing God's work on earth - "imitatio dei". It therefore follows that to labor is to pray. This the Talmud iterates in the significant phrase: "He who benefits by the toil of

his hand is greater than one who is in awe of Heaven".¹⁵ It is only in our own day that we have come to grasp thoroughly what is implied in, "laborare est orare". Prayers that excell those of the lips are performed by the surgeon with his hands, by the artisan through his skill, by the sage through his mind. All is prayer that aids in the divine purpose of re-creating an ever better world.

A further theological implication of labor is to be understood in the Midrashic statement that "though a man learn only two laws in the morning and two in the evening, the fact that he busies himself with his work all day compensates to the extent as though he had done justice to the entire body of Jewish Law".¹⁶ Labor is thus put on a level with Torah. Torah, however, cannot displace labor. One without the other is incomplete. Mere study that is not associated with some occupation, in the end is void and is likely to lead to error.¹⁷ We are here confronted with a bit of sound psychology. Unless one live as those about him, and work as do his fellows, it is impossible accurately to study, analyze, and provide for, the needs of his group. A true to life picture can be sketched only when one is immersed in that life. So human knowledge grows out of human experiences.

Considering these exalted views of labor, it is not surprising to find in the Talmud passage upon passage urging the dignity of work. "Love work!"¹⁸ exhort the rabbis. "Labor lends dignity to man".¹⁹ "Let no one say, 'I am a man of great distinction, and work is objectionable to me'".²⁰ Follow the example of holy men, who divide their day into three parts: one for prayer, one for work, and one for Torah.²¹ And at night, "sweet is the sleep of the worker".²²

The dignity of labor surpasses mere pedigree²³ and empty honor. Rabbi Judah, for instance, though a scholar of first rank and an idol

of the people, does not consider it in the least undignified to make a habit of carrying his own chair with him to school.²⁴ For he adds: "Great is work! It honors one".²⁵ No calling is so insignificant that a man cannot be proud of it. Nothing in an honest effort to make a living is degrading.²⁶ R. Johanan b. Matya, for example, instructs his son that one cannot be too good to workmen: "Even if you arrange for them a feast as sumptuous as that of King Solomon, you have not done enough for them; for they are the scion of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob".²⁷ In general, the Talmud considers the rights of workers at least the equal of those of the leisure class.²⁸ They are eligible to the highest offices of the commonwealth. This is understood from the Talmudic passage which, excluding from the offices of king and high priest certain objectionable callings such as leech, etc., implies that those engaged in all other pursuits are admitted to these offices.²⁹

Further evidence of the rabbinic consideration for laborers is to be found in the admonitions and rules protecting them. Most important is promptness in the paying of wages. Amplifying the prohibition in Leviticus 19:13 - "the wages of a hired servant shall not abide with thee all night until the morning" - and of Deuteronomy 24:15 - "In the same day shalt thou give him his hire, neither shall the sun go down upon it; for he is poor, and setteth his heart upon it; lest he cry against thee unto the Lord, and it be sin in thee" - the Talmud calls such delay a five-fold violation, designating it as "gezel" and "oshek", plunder and tyranny.³⁰ As cruel as one who, upon purchasing a sheaf, tantalizes a donkey into chasing after the sheaf for quite a distance (with the hope of winning it), finally rewards the donkey by tying the sheaf way out of its reach, precisely so is

an employer who works his laborers all day, without paying them in the end.³¹ And to what dangers a workman exposes himself for his wages! "Why does he climb embankments, why does he suspend himself from trees, why does he take his life into his hands, if not for his earnings? Therefore he who holds back his wages takes, as it were, his very life from him."³² To which R. Huna adds that the inconsiderate employer thus endangers his own life as well, for God will requite him. Likewise Rav expresses his opinion that the property of men of means undergoes confiscation primarily because they rob and hold back the wages of hired laborers.³³ Specifically, it is told that R. Huna's wine soured because he failed to leave the twigs of his orchard to his steward. When he had regretted this and duly performed his duty, the vinegar became sweetened into wine.³⁴ Similar is the story of Jose of Jogeret who, having cursed his son and daughter to death, is released from this curse by a striking instance of consideration and courtesy in behalf of his laborers. The son, upon learning that his father's failure to pay the wages on time was forcing the workers to hunger, put God to the trouble of hastening the maturity of figs, that these workmen might eat.³⁵ With such emphasis the rabbis seek to protect the humble laborer. In some instances they even stretch a point, as in the ruling which does not hold an unskilled worker responsible for an article which he may have spoiled in the course of his employment,³⁶ even if his work was not done right or successfully, the laborer is to be paid for his time.³⁷ These bits of consideration for the worker are prompted largely by the realization that he must sell his labor to keep from starvation.

In the case of an artisan who does not work on the wage basis, and whose pay, therefore, must not be given promptly (which is not so

with the wage-earner), the Talmudic law protects him by granting him the right to the full produce of his labor. This point is made in the passage³⁸ which discusses whether an artisan is or is not a wage laborer. To prove that he is not, it is maintained that the entire of the increased value becomes his own property, and that the money he receives from his patron is not wage money but purchase money. Likewise one who improves an inherited estate may resort to a legal formula, securing to himself the values which he has created.³⁹ For the attitude of the Talmud regarding inheritance, as in other matters, is against one benefitting from the proceeds of another's work.⁴⁰

One need not go further to recognize the respect with which the rabbis look upon labor. To their way of thinking, work is not only necessary but dignified and ennobling; yea, divine. Therefore the rights of the worker must be guarded. Indeed, there is no surer proof of the Talmudic esteem for labor than the fact that the rabbis themselves are workmen. Only through hard toil do they earn their livelihood; for them the Torah may not be used as a spade to dig with.⁴¹ In this connection, the argument between Rabbis Ishmael and Simon b. Yochai is illuminating.⁴² The former claims that we should work willingly, according to the Biblical injunction. Each, work and study, has its proper time and place. R. Simeon feels that the necessity of pursuing some employment leaves little or no time for Torah; therefore, when Israel will do the will of God, others will perform for them the manual labor that interfered with study. Rabbi Abaya, however, records the result of a practical test of these two opinions: those who acted in accordance with Ishmael's teaching succeeded both in work and in study. Thereupon Raba requested of his disciples that he be excused from teaching during the month of Nisan

when they were busy with the harvest, and during the month of Tishri when they were occupied pressing wine and oil.⁴³ It is the same respect for the importance of labor that prompted the authorities to ordain that workers need not interrupt their tasks to ^{English} rise out of reverence for a scholar.⁴⁴

It is logical to assume that a certain dignity was attached to those occupations in which the rabbis themselves were engaged. A scanning of the Talmudic records indicates the following callings. Most of the Babylonian rabbis worked at farming and agriculture.⁴⁵ When, for instance, Abayi complained that because he had to water the fields in the evening, he could not give instruction, Simi b. Asi his disciple, replied: "I shall water it for you during the day, and you sit us down at night to learn".⁴⁶ Shepherding is represented in R. Adda S'bulaa.⁴⁷

Maimonides asserts that quite a number of rabbis were wood-choppers, water-carriers, field-diggers, etc.⁴⁸ As wood-choppers, we find R. Akiba, and Hillel I.⁴⁹ R. Huna was a water-drawer,⁵⁰ and R. Abba Chilkiah, a field-digger.⁵¹ The sons of Tebariah were common laborers.⁵² Abba Saul was a grave-digger.⁵³ The son of Amora (אמורא) would dive for pearls and sponges.⁵⁴ Ada and Jose were fishermen.⁵⁵

In the artisan class of employments were: Shanmai,⁵⁶ and Pinehas⁵⁷ (who became High Priest in the Second Temple), masons; Joshua⁵⁸ and Isaac,⁵⁹ and smiths; Jose b. Chalafta⁶⁰ and R. Johanan⁶¹ and Ushaya and Chanina,⁶² workers in leather and shoe-makers; Jose b. Chananiah tanner; Abba and R. Joseph,⁶³ millers; R. Judah,⁶⁴ baker; Karna,⁶⁵ wine-taster; Father of R. Zachariah,⁶⁶ butcher; Jose b. Ilai, cooper; R. Sheshet,⁶⁷ carpenter or carrier of beams; R. Eliezer,⁶⁸ cap-maker; Simeon,⁶⁹ rope-twiner; R. Jose⁷⁰ and R. Levi,⁷¹ net-makers; Abba bar

Zmina,⁷² tailor; R. Adda,⁷³ surveyor; Abba Joseph,⁷⁴ architect; Abba Hoshaya of Tarya,⁷⁵ dyer and fuller; R. Chana,⁷⁶ money-changer; and R. Papa,⁷⁷ and R. Hisda⁷⁸ and R. Saffa,⁷⁹ wealthy brewers as well as liquor dealers.

Among the merchants and shopkeepers were: Eleaser b. Azariah,⁸⁰ dealer in wines and oils; Ushaya b. Judah,⁸¹ perfume dealer; Simeon (who is reputed to have originated the Shemoneh Esreh),⁸² flax dealer R. Abdimi,⁸³ dealer in sailor's outfits (or dealer in salt); etc.

In the professions were: Todos⁸⁴ and Tobia and R. Chanina of Sepphoris⁸⁵ and Theodorus⁸⁶ and Ben Achiya,⁸⁷ physicians; Samuel,⁸⁸ astronomer; R. Abba,⁸⁹ blood-letter; and Abba bar Jacob⁹⁰ and Bar Chebo⁹¹ and R. Meir⁹² were scribes.

A further method of ascertaining the esteem in which some occupations were held, is to examine their social standing. Thus Franz Delitzsch writes:⁹³ "In the early period of Christianity trade was so developed and so highly esteemed that many places were named after any particular business which was carried on then with peculiar skill and success; thus Arbel from its ropewalks, and Kefar Chananja and Sichin from their potteries. Some actually took the names of such trades, as Magdala the Dyer, etc". Similarly, it stands to reason that those trades which are mentioned as having had separate quarters in the great Alexandrian Synagogue⁹⁴ were of high repute. In this light is to be judged such information as that the workers of metallic cloth had a Synagogue of their own.⁹⁵ Whatever may be said against muleteers⁹⁶ and seamen,⁹⁶ it must be noted that they formed associations of mutual assurance, which undertook to replace a beast or a ship that had been lost without negligence on the part of the owner.⁹⁷

Moreover, the types of employment which met the real needs of

society were regarded favorably. When Raba exempted his pupils from attending his lectures during the months of Nisan and Tishri, to enable them to work on the farms, he indicated that was necessary in order to provide sustenance.⁹⁸ Because society required the services of the tailor and shoemaker, to mention only one or two of many instances, they were allowed to work overtime on the Eve of Passover, which would otherwise have been culpable.⁹⁹ In spite of the protests from shop-keepers, peddlers were given permission to tour from town to town to hawk the wares that were urgently needed.¹⁰⁰

The high regard in which the physician was held (excepting one statement¹⁰¹) was largely because of a realization of the extreme value of his services to society. Every city, in fact, was required to have at least one physician. To live in a city which had none was deemed hazardous.¹⁰² The Beth Din, too, employed a physician. He would give expert testimony in criminal cases, as, for example, his opinion of the damage done in cases of personal assault.¹⁰³ Under his supervision corporal punishment was inflicted.¹⁰⁴ So important was the profession, that no physician was permitted to practice without a license from the local Beth Din.¹⁰⁵ In obstetrical cases the physician was assisted by the midwife. She too had to be licensed.¹⁰⁶ She, too, held an honorable position.¹⁰⁷ Even the Sabbath could not interfere with her duties.¹⁰⁸

Also on esthetic grounds were certain callings preferred. While it was repulsive to supply the dung for tanning, it was considered pleasant to prepare perfumes and spices. "Happy is he whose work is with perfumes".¹⁰⁹ This same attitude may be taken to apply to all employments agreeable to the senses.

An important basis of Talmudic appraisal was the ethical consid-

eration: Is the work carried on honestly? If it is not, we are sure to find some statement to that effect. No dishonest practice could escape the attention and subsequent comment of the hundreds of rabbis who contributed to the Talmudic literature. Because of this emphasis, the office of the market-overseer was highly respected.¹¹⁰ His was the responsibility of maintaining a high standard of ethics in business and trade.¹¹¹ He would control the sale of necessities, safeguard the purity of foods, keep prices normal, and inspect weights and measures.

In addition to evaluating occupations as esteemed and dignified, the Talmud refers to certain callings as advantageous for various reasons. The rabbis place especial emphasis on financial profitability. They deem it a praiseworthy mode of self-support, "if one has fifty Zuzim, to apply it to some commercial enterprise".¹¹² Surely, fifty Zuzim invested are better than two hundred lying idle.¹¹³ There is nothing improper in buying at a low price and selling at a high price. In fact, because of the propriety of such gains it is held a commendable form of charity to set a poor person on his feet by establishing him in some enterprise.¹¹⁴ There surely is no reflection on the probity of earning profit in the observation that sometimes in youth one buys goods and sells at a loss, but when mature he may sell at a gain.¹¹⁵

Interesting evidence of the worthiness of profit-making at trading is found in the record of a number of dream stories.¹¹⁶ One narrates a dream shared by Abaya and Raba, witnessing the killing of an ox. Both consult a dream-interpreter. Raba (because he has not paid for the reading, a commentator adds) is told that he will not be able to eat for sorrow because, unable to make profit, his trading prospects will go to ruin. Abaya (who has paid for the interpreter)

learns that he too will be unable to eat, but because of joy at the profits that he will reap.

In such high regard is this calling held that even on the Sabbath it is not forbidden to talk business, to the extent of remarking: "so many laborers have I put to work on this field; so many Dinarim have I put aside for that dwelling".¹¹⁷ Even nature favors tradesmen. "When it rains everything benefits: business is benefited, and traders gain".¹¹⁸

The Talmudic interest in financial enterprise extends even to offering business advice. In the first place, it cautions to keep away from those businesses which are unprofitable.¹¹⁹ A change of name or of locality will improve slack business. A sound policy is "to have ready cash ever on hand. One should properly distribute his money: one third invested in land; one third in merchandise; and one third kept as cash on hand".¹²⁰ Thus Rab counseled his son Aybo:¹²¹ "I tried to teach you Torah, but you did not succeed. Come and I shall advise you in secular matters. While the sand is still on your feet, sell promptly (to benefit from a quick turnover and be in a position to buy again). Sell all things (quickly) and allow it to grieve you, excepting wine which should never grieve you (since it may sour). First collect the money and put it in your pocketbook; then deliver the goods. It is better to earn one small measure right in front of you than much more in far away places (because of the greater certainty and less risk). If you have dates in your basket, hasten with them directly to the brewery (because of profit to be made from beer). Witness what Rav Chisda said: "If I had not made beer, I would not have become wealthy". Other bits of trade advice are: "When the trumpet is

sounded in Rome (that figs are being bought), if your father is not at home sell his figs immediately¹²² (Demand and supply). "If an article becomes cheap, buy it up in a hurry"¹²³ "Listen, mule-driver, when you open the door and find rain, lay down your sack, and sleep"¹²⁴ (because, adds the commentary, if it rains, produce will be plentiful and no one will buy from you. Or: you will be unable to travel because the rain will continue all day).

As to the relative profitableness of trading and agriculture, there is quite a debate.¹²⁵ R. Elazar claims that no occupation is worse than farming. It pays so little, he asseverates, that to get anything out of the land one must plough across the entire length, even that is less inferior to business. Rab adds that no matter how many stalks of corn you may raise, business is better. Whereupon Raba declares that 100 Zuzim invested in business during the day brings meat and wine to the table. But with a 100 zuzim invested in land one can afford to eat only salt and grass. And such a nuisance as farming that one must practically sleep on the plot of land, and one is eventually drawn into quarrels over the land. Another passage commending the desirability of higher profits advises that one purchase even goats, but never a field.¹²⁶

We have here represented the displacement of agriculture from its premier position. At the time of the Bible agriculture was the ideal calling.¹²⁷ But now commercial enterprise was proving more profitable. Still, agriculture persisted in holding on. R. Papa in its defense says: "Grow your produce but do not buy it, although the cost may be equal, there is an advantage in farming. Hurry and buy Land."¹²⁸ Similarly is the caution that, excepting cases of extreme

need land should not be sold. In no event should more be sold than is absolutely necessary.¹²⁹ so good an investment is it. Soon everyone will work on the field. A man who has no land is not a man. Hurry and buy land! Not quite so enthusiastic is the suggestion that while the cultivation of one farm may be profitable, that is not true with more than one.¹³⁰ "He eats pigeons who hires one garden, but the birds devour him who hires many gardens".

Although cattle raising was not extensive because of the limited land and the limited meat diet of the Orient, the herding of small stock was considered quite profitable. It is recommended as one way to become rich.¹³¹ The prohibition against raising small cattle applies only to the populated sections of Palestine, but there is no objection to raising them in the wild places.¹³² They were advantageous as a source for food in the form of dairy products, and in the use of wool for clothing. In addition, oxen were very important.¹³³ They were valuable not only for the heavy farm work, but also as means of transportation through the poor and narrow paths.¹³⁴

As for the callings that are not mentioned specifically in the way of an economic evaluation, we may imagine that, in the very least, they offered a livelihood. To them we may apply the Talmudic generalization: Each occupation has its ups and downs, its wealth and poverty.¹³⁵ At the worst, one manages to scrape up a living out of them.¹³⁶

The rabbis recognize also the physical advantage of labor. One must work to eat and live. In fact, tradition has it that even "Adam did not eat a thing until he had labored".¹³⁷ This esteem of the practical value of labor is further reflected in the observa-

tion that during the seven years when there was hunger, the laborers were not affected.¹³⁸ Likewise because of the practical necessity of labor, The Talmud contains special provisions that men at work might duly perform their religious devotions and duties without interfering with their tasks.¹³⁹

In the group of favorable appraisals on the grounds of supernatural advantages, we meet again with agriculture. The Midrash, interpreting Gen. 2:8, predicts that in the happy future, when Israel will enter the Holy Land, they will turn to farming, even as God was occupied with plants.¹⁴⁰ In general, there seems to be an attachment to the land, the very soil of Palestine. In Rav Papa's counsel that one should cultivate his own garden, although no money is saved thereby, the commentary injects the thought that it is because the farmer is directly dependent on God (for rain, etc.) and is therefore more religious.¹⁴¹ This may be the explanation of the Talmudic statements that the imprecations of Dt. 28:66¹⁴² Lament. 1:14¹⁴³ apply to one who does not grow his own provisions.

Although the work of a scribe is poorly paid, it is theologically commendable. The Talmud relates that when a young man once presented himself before R. Ishmael, the latter asked: "My son, what is your occupation?" "I am a scribe", replied the youth. "Then be thou conscientious my son", returned the rabbi, for thy work is Godlike".¹⁴⁴

Some callings enjoyed ritual advantages. Because baking had been important in the Temple ritual, which included meal-offerings, it developed into a highly respected employment. So intricate was the knack of baking show-bread ¹⁴⁵ that only one family,

the Garmee, was considered sufficiently expert in the art. Consequently, its members charged high prices.¹⁴⁶ Also waiting on tables was ritualistically important. The school of Shammai holds that the waiter should, and that of Hillel that he must, be a learned man;¹⁴⁷ for he must take great care with the laws of Kashrus.¹⁴⁸

Simeon of Sichnin, the celebrated well-digger of Jerusalem, likewise believed his work ritualistically important. He is reported as saying to R. Johanan b. Zakkai, the dean of his generation: "I am as great a man as thou. I, no less than thou, supply the wants of the community. If a man comes to thee and inquires for Levitically pure water, you tell him: 'Drink of yonder fountain, for its water is pure and cool'. Or, if a woman inquire concerning a good bathing place, you say: 'Bathe in this cistern, for its waters wash away uncleanness'".¹⁴⁹ To which, apparently, R. Johanan b. Zakkai consents.

This brief survey serves to indicate the grounds on which the rabbis evaluate occupations. They recognize the advantages of various types of employments: ethical, financial, physical, supernatural, and ritual advantages. They appraise favorably those callings which are dignified because of their social value, or because of their esthetic nature, or because of their standing in the community. Indeed, the rabbis themselves lend dignity to occupations by their participation. United with the masses, they insist upon the dignity of labor, and urge utmost consideration for the rights of workers. And yet, beneath it all, one may sense a feeling of dissatisfaction with the necessity of constant toil. The very need

of regulations to protect the worker leads one to surmise that labor is not without its drawbacks. What these are may well interest us.

PART II

UNFAVORABLE APPRAISALS

The Talmud records that each day, upon leaving the Academy, R. Nehunja b. Hakana would pray: "I thank thee, O Lord my God, that thou hast given me my portion among those who frequent the House of Instruction, and not among those who are busy at the street corners (i.e., gossiping tradesmen; as Rashi explains). I rise early, and they rise early: I apply myself early to the Torah; but they, to vain work. I work and they work: I work and receive my reward; they work, and receive none. I run and they run: I run after eternal life; but they, to the pit"¹

In this pronouncement is reflected the rabbinic opinion of the inferiority of work to learning. Rabbi Nehorai bases his preference for a scholastic career for his son on more practical grounds. "When a worker becomes incapacitated by illness or old age or misfortune", he argues, "he stargers, being unable to practice his trade".² But not so with the scholar. He is taken care of, at all events. In this particular R. Nehorai supports his opinion with no better proof than the dextrous manipulation of Bible verses from which he deduces special providential provision for the student. That, however, does not necessarily prove his observation inaccurate. The rabbis have a way of attaching verses quite frequently wholly irrelevant, to their opinion, as so-called proof. A psychologist would possibly term this, rationalization. Although scholarship, in Talmudic days, was not remunerative or even permitted to be so, nevertheless in cases of emergency the student of the Torah was allowed first claim to communal support.³ The sage was recognized and was not allowed to suffer privation. To this does R. Nehorai refer. Rab, it seems, feels

the same way about a learned career, when he remarks to his son: "I see that you can't grasp scholarship, then I shall teach you worldly things"⁴

At the same time, the rabbis fully realize that one must do something to earn a living. By some, an employment outside of Torah is looked upon as a necessary evil. It is deplorable, states the Mekhilta, that study must be interrupted by bread-winning toil.⁵ Along with this comes the warning from Pirke Aboth: "The less trading, the more Torah"⁶. Torah, indeed, is the ideal. Work is an imposition. To this effect R. Simeon b. Eleazar argues: "Hast thou all thy life long seen a beast or bird which has a trade? Still, they are nourished, and that with anxious care, although they are created only to serve me. But I am created to serve my Creator, and if they that are created to serve me are nourished without anxious care, shall I not also, who have been created to serve my Creator, be able to be nourished without anxious care? Certainly; only if I have been evil in my deeds, I forfeit my support"⁷. The obligation to win a livelihood is the consequence of evil-doing. Not a salutary opinion of labor, by any means.

Despite the many statements concerning the dignity of labor, several specific references indicate that some types of work are considered undignified. To this effect is the conversation which takes place, according to Talmudic records, when R. Hana b. Hanilai seeks to relieve R. Huna of carrying a shovel. "If in your city it is proper for you to carry a shovel", R. Huna replies, "you may carry this. But if not, then I prefer not to be honored through your disgrace"⁸. How interesting that it should be considered a bit indignified for a sage of one locality to carry a shovel, whereas another, none less

than R. Judah,⁹ goes out of his way to carry a chair to school in order to impress the lesson that there is nothing disgraceful in physical labor. The above conversation suggests that not all of the rabbis look upon work as dignified, or even desirable.

The author of the statement, "hire laborers, but don't associate with them"¹⁰ expresses an opinion not at all complimentary to workmen. The objection might be raised that the utterance למי

אמר ר' יהודה really means: "hire laborers, but do not supervise them". Even so, the thought is that if you leave ox-drivers to themselves, you will lose money - which disparages them none the less.

Further evidence that a certain degradation is attached to some forms of labor is to be found in the regulation that exempts a Hebrew servant from "humiliating duties", such as, carrying the master's garment to the bath, or removing his shoes, etc.¹¹ Of a similar nature is the observation: "If a man be only a watchman, his wife is nevertheless content, and does not want (the luxury of) lentels for her pot. Though a man be only a comber of wool, his wife calls him before the threshold, and seats herself beside him."¹² One's calling may be despicable, but his wife is satisfied.

Moreover, a certain degradation is attached to those types of labor which are unesthetic in character. Outstanding is the observation which is repeated several times in various sections of both the Babylonian and the Palæstinian Talmuds. "No occupation may be dispensed with, (that is true; nevertheless,) happy is he who sees his parents in a worthwhile calling; woe unto him who sees his parents engaged in an inferior occupation. Indeed, the world cannot get along without both the perfumer as well as the tanner; still, happy is he whose trade is perfuming rather than tanning".¹³

Again, the rabbinic admonition - "flay a carcass in public and receive pay, but say not, 'work is objectionable to me'" - would have no point did the rabbis not realize that some callings are disagreeable. Although this statement holds all labor uniformly excellent, the truth is that such is not the accepted opinion. The rabbis,¹⁴ for example, permit a woman to separate from her husband if he be a gatherer of dog's dung, who supplies the tanner with his ingredients of tan. Even a miner, because he becomes filthy through continual digging, may be forsaken by his wife. Likewise against a dealer of grease is an esthetic objection implied in the statement of R. Ilai:¹⁵ "If not for the prayer of David (Ps. 9:21), all of Israel would be grease merchants." Also the fuller's work is esthetically objectionable. On account of the offensive smells, given off by the chemicals used for cleaning, the fuller's shops had to be located outside the city, in the vicinity of large ponds and springs.¹⁶

In the group of disparagements for esthetic reasons may be included an explanation for the denunciation of the butcher - "The worthiest of the butchers is a companion to Amalek".¹⁷ The commentary אשכנז suggests that what instigated the remark were the filthy surroundings of the meat shop; the butcher's clothes were always soiled with blood, and he spoke insultingly, even as Amalek spoke disagreeably of the Jews.

The denunciation of those who raise small cattle in Palestine and chopped down good trees constitutes a further esthetic objection. As Rashi elaborates, goats running loose and chewing up everything in sight, and men indiscriminately chopping down beautiful trees, spoil God's lovely landscape.¹⁸

In addition to appraising unfavorably the callings of an undignified or unesthetic character, the rabbis recognize various drawbacks which are associated with sundry employments. Predominant is the ethical criterion. By far, the greatest number of reflections cast upon occupations calls into question the moral standards and temptations that are involved. Even those evaluations which are apparently based on other grounds seem somehow connected with ethics, as applied broadly. This relationship will become clear in the subsequent treatment.

Those activities which involve an evident breach of the accepted code of morals provoke the whole-hearted disapproval of the rabbis. First, there are those practices which are in and of themselves, dishonest. Alone in this group is gambling, in all its forms, whether with dice or draughts or pigeon-racing, or any other game of chance.¹⁹ The objection to gambling is twofold. Although not quite actual robbery (since robbery is defined in the Jewish law as the act of violently appropriating something belonging to another against his will²⁰), it practically amounts to it. The Midrash²¹ speaks of gamblers as "those that play at dice, who calculate with their left hand, and press with their right, and rob and wrong one another". This first reason for the disparagement of the gambler is upheld by Rabbi Rami b. Chana. R. Sheshis, with his social outlook, deems the gambler despicable because he wastes his time, and is not interested in the welfare of humanity.²² So complete is the objection to gambling, that those who indulge in it exclusively are disqualified as witnesses.²³

Those practices, such as, robbery, theft, larceny, plunder, etc., which are considered actual crimes, need not be considered in this study. It is doubtful whether they can be classed as occupations.

Moreover, the Talmudic attitude toward these offences is quite obvious.

We come, then, to that large class of employments which, though not intrinsically unethical, are appraised adversely because of the temptations which they hold out for dishonest dealings. Not alone the temptations, but the fact that almost all of the participants in these occupations actually practice dishonesty, incurs the ill-will of the rabbis. This underlies the oft-quoted statement: "A man should not train his son to become a muleteer, a camel-driver, a wagon-carrier (porter), a sailor, a shepherd, or a shop-keeper, - for their work involves theft."²⁴

It is difficult to see how occupations of such diverse natures can be thus grouped together in one utterance, if we are to judge from the economic organization which prevails in our day. An understanding of the status of these callings in Talmudic times, however, makes quite clear what the rabbis object to. It was then a common temptation for those engaged in transporting goods, particularly produce, on the backs of donkeys and camels, or on wagons, carts, and rafts, to filch articles here and there that they pass in transitu. This being work that required great endurance and brute strength, the likelihood is that the great number of these carriers were recruited from among the crude and less scrupulous elements of the population. Thus, it was not infrequent, add the commentaries, for them to pilfer even from the shipments which were placed in their charge.²⁵

A similar charge is levelled against unscrupulous shop-keepers. They, too, are rebuked because of "listus", as Rashi puts it. They are accused of practicing deceptions of all sorts: falsifying weights, misrepresenting articles, and the diluting and adulterating food-

products.²⁶ The rabbinic stipulations that articles sold are to be explicitly mentioned,²⁷ weights and measures properly supervised,²⁸ that there is no overcharging,²⁹ that provision is to be made for the return of merchandise³⁰ - provide grounds for our surmise that whatever objection the rabbis registered against merchants were induced by dishonesty. It has been pointed out that in all of the sixty-three tracts of the Talmud there is scarcely a word of approval for business.³¹

Reflecting this disparagement of trading is the statement attributed to Rab that, trade, along with eating, cohabitation, and ambition, will be absent in the perfect world hereafter.³² This thought is again presented in the reference to the effects of the W Yetser Hara. "Were it not for the Yetser Hara" - the desire for physical comforts, the ambition for success - "there would be no business."³³ But since the Yetser is an integral part of the human makeup, trading must continue. This state of affairs, however, is not the most desirable.

Concerning the shepherd, the Talmudic disparagement is unusually emphatic. "No work is so despicable as that of the shepherd,"³⁴ it is claimed. In fact, were it not that David was following Jacob's precedent (of Gen. 49:24), he would never have called God a shepherd (in Ps. 23:1).³⁵ According to Raba, the shepherds of both big and small cattle are unqualified to serve as witnesses.³⁶ His reason is that shepherds are always encroaching upon the property of others. They are dishonest; they do not respect property rights. They allow the cattle to make use of, and even destroy the fields of others. The goat, for example, is called "listis m'zuyan" - an armed robber³⁷ - who consumes everything that he comes upon. So contemptible is shepherding, that one must ultimately abandon it to satisfy the demands of

ethics.³⁸

Equally despised is the work of the tax-gatherers. They are notorious for their rapacity.³⁹ Especially what rendered this class of officials hateful was their taking advantage of the indefiniteness of the tariffs to overcharge the taxpayer. In addition, it seems that it was not uncommon for them to pocket some of the money which they collected as taxes. Hence we find the stringent Jewish legislation which classifies them with robbers. For example, it is forbidden to take change in coin from the treasury of the tax-collector or to receive alms from it, because of the suspicion that the money was acquired dishonestly.⁴⁰ Not only they are disqualified to serve as judge or witness,⁴¹ but all members of a family related to a tax-gatherer may be rendered ineligible for the giving of testimony.⁴²

So scrupulous is the Talmud in designation of ethical drawbacks of occupations, that it draws a line not only in the matter of stealing goods or money but extends it even to the proper amount of energy that a man must give for his wage. "A laborer is not permitted to work for himself at night, and then hire out his services during the day. That would amount to robbing the employer."⁴³ Rather should a day laborer feel the responsibility to perform his tasks honestly. That this is too much for one to expect from such workers as ox-drivers is indicated in the observation that workmen cannot be trusted. "If you have been left an inheritance", remarks the sage, and want to get rid of it in a hurry, just allow your laborers (ox-drivers) to work unsupervised.⁴⁴ Thus dishonesty, even in common labor, is discountenanced.

Related to the emphasis on honesty is the Talmudic disapproval of occupations which indulge in opportunist practices. They condemn specifically both speculative and artificially created monopolies:

"In the nature of things, it is of necessity that produce rots; otherwise unscrupulous merchants would buy it up and store it away, with the hope of raising prices".⁴⁵ To avoid such artificial stimulation for market prices, the rabbis laid down definite prohibitions.⁴⁶ Likewise, to prevent undeserved profits, they ruled against dealing in "futures".⁴⁷ Thus the rabbis look askance at the way artisans have of over-charging during the busy season. Of this, it seems that the barber is charged specifically.⁴⁸ When a commodity is needed, the rabbis feel, it should be made available for poor and rich alike.

This leads us to a consideration of professional ethics. A very unusual statement is made that "the best of the physicians will go to Gehenna".⁴⁹ Why so? Is not their work needed? Is not their work ethical? The Talmud gives no reason. The commentary, Tosefos Yom Tob, offers to explain that this remark was prompted by the unwillingness of physicians to serve the poor, who could not afford to pay as handsomely as the affluent. The saying - a physician who takes nothing is worth nothing⁵⁰ - indicates that it was customary for them to charge large fees. Thus, by thinking of money first, the physicians are responsible for the death of the poor because of lack of attention. Another reason that is given, also ethical, is proposed by מבין - טוב "tov" - מדרש"א and עץ וקף and תפארת ישראל. They stress the word "tov" - best. That is, if a physician considers himself "the best", and therefore refuses to consult others, he will surely make a mistake and thus ruin lives. Therefore he deserves to end up in Gehenna.. Still other reasons are given; but since they cannot be classed as ethical, they will be taken up later.

Following the Mishnaic expression ^{about} following the physician is a similar one disparaging the butcher: "The worthiest of the butchers

is a companion to Amalek⁵¹. This statement, too, leaves us in doubt as to motivation. The commentators *שם אר"י* and *ר"י* suggest that here the underlying drawback is ethical. Through the continual shedding of blood, in the process of slaughtering animals, the butcher becomes inured to cruelty, and so he is made cruel. The point made in the comparison with Amalek, they explain, is that Amalek attacked Israel solely out of a cruel disposition, having had no gain in view. If we are to accept this explanation, we can generalize that the rabbi's view unfavorably any occupations which renders one hard-hearted.

What may appear strange to a twentieth century mind is the Talmudic appraisal of the callings which bring one, more or less, in contact with the opposite sex: "Every man whose trade is with women, has bad leaven in him";⁵² or he would not have chosen such a trade. Having deliberately selected the type of work which brings him into temptation, argument goes, that man is not quite measuring up to the standard of moral purity. Thus the Talmud mentions specifically those who fill the women with jewelry, those who clean women's clothes, those who sharpen millstones for housewives, those who peddle perfumes and trinkets, weavers, launderers, the blood-letter, the bath-keeper, and the tanner: - the work of all of these is reprehensible. One of the occupations included in this group is *אֶרְבֵּי*, the meaning of which is disputed. It may well refer to ladies' hair-dressers; an added objection being that they were situated so far as we can tell, in or near the bath house.⁵³ Rashi believes that the term refers to barbers, and that the moral temptation lies in the practice of women taking children to the barber. Equally well can the *אֶרְבֵּי* apply to teachers of children, since we are told that no unmarried man or woman should conduct a school. The former would be likely to be visited by the mothers, and the latter by the fathers, of the pupils.

The weavers in particular seem to incur the dislike of the rabbis. The reason is probably intimated in the report that ribald songs to which no decent man would listen, were called weaver's ditties.⁵⁵ But still worse is the appraisal of the leech. What charges are levelled against him? He is haughty, gluttonous, greedy, lascivious, etc.⁵⁶ And why? Because the nature of his work leads him to contacts with women that are too familiar. The disapproval of the physician may be accounted for on these grounds, considering that the performance of a physician's services likewise involve a sexual temptation. Because the denunciation of sexual offences was usually coupled with the expression to Gehenna,⁵⁷ the disparagement, "the best of the physicians are fit for Gehenna", would intimate a sexual reason.

The disparagement of those employed in money-lending is based on an ethical drawback, which is bound up with the economic order. That interest-taking is discountenanced is, of course, an open fact. "Come", the rabbis observe, "come and see the blinding of the eyes of those that take interest".⁵⁸ But why should they object to charging interest? On the ethical side, the Talmud compares usurers to murderers.⁵⁹ "A's murderers cannot undo their deed - i.e., bring the murdered back to life, - so when one is made poor by interest he cannot be salvaged". But we cannot be satisfied with this explanation. Usury, according to Biblical and Talmudic usage, is merely a regular rate of interest charged for the use of money, but not necessarily exorbitant interest. Hence why should there be any objection to it? This question is a vast one. The answer might be found in the economic organization of those days. To them it seemed unfair that one man should benefit from another's effort.⁶⁰ Each must work for what he

earns. Financing is not considered genuine work. This is made clear in the contrast: "Far better is it to be a laborer than a usurer, for in the world to come, usurers, wailing and gnashing their teeth, will say, 'Oh, that we had been laborers and had worked with our shoulders; oh, that we had been servants!'"⁶¹ The same idea prevails in the attitude toward the banker.⁶² Because he accepts fees for money-changing,⁶³ and for examining coins for genuineness,⁶⁴ etc., his position is not the most elevated.⁶⁵

Coming to the evaluations more essentially economic, we find a number of callings deprecated as inprofitable.⁶⁶ The list begins with mention of the earnings of a wife. Rashi explains that this refers to a woman who goes to the market with a pair of scales, where she accepts a paltry sum for weighing articles. The commentary Tosaphoth, however, believes that the references to a woman who spins to earn some side money. Both commentaries agree, though, that the earnings are meagre and the work a bit unseemly. The list continues with one who rents out millstones, a dealer in reeds in pots, a peddler, a breeder of small cattle, a tree-chopper, a scribe of Torah, or Tefillin, or Mezuzoth, etc., an interpreter, one who serves as trustee for the money of orphans, one engaged in maritime pursuits, etc.

The interesting thing to notice here is that although the reason for deprecation is quite obviously economic - the small income-, an additional ethical interpretation is injected by the commentators. In all these instances, they say, the worst feature is not that the incomes are small. Poverty is no disgrace. What makes these callings undesirable is the fact that they appear lucrative, although they really are not, and thus cause an "Ayin Hara" - עין הרע .

Merely appearances induce spectators to begrudge the meagre earnings of those poor workers. That is the sin. The peddler in the streets, for instance, seems to thrive in a hubbub of business; but in the end, what has he? The prosperity of the dealer in reeds and pots is misrepresented by the large stock which he displays, but the value is little; and then there is the matter of breakage. Breeding small cattle is reputed as very profitable. Yes, in the vast fields it is. But in congested areas, the goats do more harm than good. In this light a number of the listed callings may be understood. What lends particular strength to this analysis, is the Talmudic statement that there are rich and poor in every trade.⁶⁷ But these, in addition to leaving one poor, render him an object of public envy, - adding insult to injury.

Regarding the scribe, the tradition is recorded by R. Joshua b. Levi that the men of the Great Synagogue fasted and prayed for twenty-four days that scribes should not become wealthy; else, they would not do their work, which must be done. The record not only proves that scribes were poor, and why so, but also the efficacy of prayer. At all events, those who found some other means of support usually abandoned the business of being a scribe.⁶⁸

There is quite a debate in the Talmud as to whether agriculture is objectionable on financial grounds. That seems to be the case, judging from a remark, such as: "You can find no employment worse than agriculture";⁶⁹ you become a slave to the soil, - only strong men can do that work.⁷⁰ If you invest a hundred Zuzim in trade, you will be able to eat meat and wine daily; but if you invest a hundred Zuzim in earth, you will eat only salt and grass.

The above statement intimates, in addition, the physical drawbacks of some callings. There are dangers and risks and privations

that must be endured. The continual denunciation by the rabbis of employers who refuse to pay wages on time indicates that not infrequently workmen are forced to face starvation because of the irregularity of wages. "A laborer tires and troubles himself all day, looking forward to his wage, but meeting with disappointment."⁷¹ This, surely, is a physical disadvantage of labor; not of labor itself possibly, but surely of a laborer's lot. Where the rabbis seek to bespeak the rights of labor, they indicate, in the reasons which they adduce, the hardships of labor. It is, for instance, difficult to imagine them considering favorably the lot of one who must climb embankments and ever take his life into his hands in order to win his daily bread.⁷² Building likewise calls for exertion and danger. "He who builds is impoverished."⁷³ There are dangers and hardships and responsibilities that are to be taken into account. R. Nehorai suggest further physical drawbacks of labor.⁷⁴

Although for the ancient Jew ethics and practical religion were inseparable, we may, for purposes of analysis, isolate those evaluations which are based primarily on supernatural and ritual grounds. Indicative of the supernatural disadvantages of certain types of work is the daily prayer of R. Nehunya b. Hakana,⁷⁵ in which he contrasts gossiping and idle tradesmen with study. They who are at the street corners receive no reward, whereas he is rewarded for studying Torah continually; while he is destined for eternal life, they are doomed to the pit. We must be cautious, however, not to take this expression of private opinion too seriously. Psychoanalysis may possibly reveal a defense complex manifesting itself in this prayer.

The unusual Mishnaic slur on the physician is explained by Rashi on supernatural grounds. The physician, he holds, not being afraid of illness - since he knows what is best to eat - loses his fear for God, thinking that he has the powers of the Divine. Another possible objection is that God is the physician: no one must interfere with his plans.⁷⁶ Yet, the rule is that when one is injured, the injurer must provide the physician.⁷⁷ Jewish tradition reconciles this conflict with the statement that an angel of God accompanies the physician and effects the cure. (Those who feel that the divine becomes manifest in the skill and service of society may find a reflection of the same view in this opinion).

The ritual disadvantage of certain callings centers about the rabbinic prohibition of art in the form of painting or sculpture or etching or sketching.⁷⁸ Referring to the second commandment, the Talmud rules out all art that involves designs and figures, lest it be considered idolatrous. Because tatooing, which is likewise forbidden by law,⁷⁹ seems logically to have been part of the barber's regular services, this provides an additional reason for objecting to the barber. In this connection may be mentioned the rabbinic concern over those customers who would tarry in the barber's shop, with the result of neglecting their prayers.⁸⁰

A mild rebuke is coupled with the callings of scribe, interpreter, a dealer of *ḥeḳḳ*, Tefilin, etc. "All those who engage in religious work for profit, do not benefit therefrom".⁸¹ Besides the unprofitableness, the Talmud does not approve of making religion work and the Torah "a spade to dig with". Moreover, the Meturgaman, the interpreter, takes wages for work done on the Sabbath and Holidays and thus suffers a ritual disadvantage.

Also for the slighting comparison of the butcher with Amalek, Rashi offers a ritualistic reason. When the Kashrus of some meat is in doubt, the butcher does not scruple to declare it Kosher, because he is interested essentially in his financial gain.

A theological implication is to be found in the passage which declares that, among others, those who raise small cattle, especially goats, in Palestine and chop down good trees are responsible for the eclipse, a supposed sign of evil.⁸² The point is that they are thus disfiguring the Holy Land.

This completes a consideration of the unfavorable appraisal of various callings. The same grounds on which the Talmud approves of occupations, it likewise expresses its disapproval. While admitting the dignity of labor, a number of rabbis consider it inferior to learning. They point specifically to the undignified and unesthetic character of some types of work. Especially do they call attention to the ethical drawbacks of numerous employments. Further disadvantages are financial, physical, supernatural, and ritual. In the failure to find a negative opinion concerning specific types of occupations, we are fairly safe in assuming that it is because the rabbis have no objections to register. Their silence indicates consent. (So legal constructions interpret silence.) It is understood, of course, that this standard of judgment is not free from the possibility of error. But in the absence of further data, it must be accepted.

PART III

SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

The great contribution of the scientific method is its insistence on the importance of analyzing data. Knowing the Talmudic appraisal of occupations, without delving into the factors of sociological causation, constitutes very limited knowledge. To make such a thoroughgoing study of the rabbinic statements and opinions, one must possess adequate records of the social order extant during the period of the Talmud, in addition to being expert in the technique of psychoanalysis. Lacking both of these requisites, it will be possible in this paper to do no more than point out, more or less haphazardly, the directions which such an analysis might take.

It might be well to begin with the most disputed utterance, the disparagement of the physician. The Talmud itself offering no reason, we turn to the accepted commentaries, in whose light the mass of Jewry understands the Talmud. Among the suggested reasons are: the exorbitant charges and consequent discrimination favoring the wealthy, the irreverence of the physician, his interference with the Divine plan, the prejudice that he kills the sick, etc. Psychoanalysis, however, may demonstrate that when the Tanna speaks against the physician, he does so out of a realization that the doctor makes a living on his illness. Therefore he exclaims - to Gehenna with the best of the physicians! - When there will be no physicians, possibly illness too will disappear. Yet he realizes that the doctor is needed: the Talmud, in fact, requires one for every town. There may be some connection between this reflection and our own way of exclaiming: to Hell with hospitals! - the devil take undertakers! Still,

we fail not for an instant to realize what valuable services they render to society. Other possible objections to physicians are: their charges, their disagreeable medicines and appliances, their futility, their uncanniness.

The objections to the tax dealer may likewise be explained sociologically, as a sentiment growing out of a particular political situation. Under the government of Palestine by the Syrian kings the taxes were collected by the state officials. The Romans left to the governors or procurators the collection of the regular taxes: land-tax, poll-tax; but leased the customs duties, the market tolls, and similar special imports.¹ The lessees were generally Roman knights; but there were among the Jews also. The facts that these Jews were helping the Romans in the execution of the heavy taxes imposed upon the Jews rendered this class of officials hateful. Worst of all, he was the representative of the foreign power, the oppressor. Hence the Jewish hatred of the Roman tyranny was heaped upon the tax-gatherer. Similarly is to be understood the Talmudic prejudice against all occupations which involve dealings with foreign peoples.

Another instance of the importance of sentiment in explaining unfavorable appraisals is the cases of weavers and spinners, etc. In earlier times this work was done only by women. And even in the time of the Talmud this was considered the ideal work for a woman. "No other employment is becoming to a woman than the distaff", R. Eliezer said.² Hence it was thought effeminate for a man to make a living out of womanly trades. In consequence of which the weavers occupied a very low social position.³

Another interesting item for analysis is the great emphasis of the rabbis on sexual aloofness. One is prompted to question whether the Talmud is not merely preaching in this instance. Mr. Morris Loeb, in his lecture on Artisans in Ancient Israel, delivered some years ago at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, poses the same query over the disparagement of trades simply because of female customers.⁴ "Do you not think that the rabbis tried to emphasize the warning to avoid temptation; by paradoxically deprecating the value of highly esteemed professions, solely on account of possible pitfalls?" Though one cannot tell for certain yet this seems probable. For the fact of the matter is that some outstanding Talmudic personalities were engaged in these trades. One passage,⁵ to be exact, declares that one may indulge in one of those callings and overcome the sexual temptation through strict self-control, as did R. Chanina and R. Oshaya. They were employed making shoes in a place notorious for its dissoluteness, but nevertheless kept pure, because they never lifted their eyes to look upon the girls for whom they made shoes. Even the disreputable is praised when he exercises sexual restraint. It is related⁶ that R. Abba, a blood-letter, would receive the heavenly greeting each morning. Abaya, a teacher, received it only on the Eve of Sabbath. And Raba, a teacher, received it solely on the Eve of Atonement. The latter two were disgruntled that they were greeted less than the leech, R. Abba. Whereupon a heavenly voice replied: "It is because you cannot do the things he does". And the Bath Kol continued to relate of R. Abba's extreme care of sexual modesty while performing operations. Not only that he is also charitable, and is even reluctant to accept pay from the poor.

Quite interesting is the problem of ascertaining the sociological causation that underlies the commendation of trading for profit as contrasted with the discountenanced practice of lending money for profit. The answer is not simple.⁷ It may be that financial enterprise was especially favored, in the first place, because there was nothing in it esthetically or theologically or ethically objectionable. Still, it had enough actual work attached to it to distinguish it from money-lending on interest. In the very passage in which interest is condemned, business is commended: "Preferable is the lot of him who uses ten gold pieces to make a living out of trading to that of the man who lends it out on interest. As the adage goes, 'One who lends with interest loses both his and the other man's money; his only satisfaction is that he is called a merchant.'⁸ It seems that to the rabbinic way of thinking, one who lends money sits idly while someone works to pay the interest. Not so with the tradesman; the very term that refers to him - *תלמי חנוכה* - means "give and take", implying actual effort expended in the earning of his profit. Such a casual observation, of course, is not wholly satisfactory. So involved and disputed is this point that it requires a separate study.

Finally, there is the question of the dignity of labor. We have seen that, as a whole, there is relatively little in the Talmud that appraises it negatively. What there is, is slight. When we bear in mind that what the rabbis had to say they usually addressed to their immediate disciples, and not to the population at large, we can understand what prompted such admonitions as: Torah is supreme; let your occupation not interfere with your study; indeed, it is a pity that we must forsake our study to labor. Those teachers who interpreted life ego-centrally could vision no goal other than Torah.

But the majority of rabbis, forced to rub shoulders with their fellowmen in the common occupations, came to see the advantages, and the dignity, of labor. Speaking from the wealth of personal experience, the Teachers of Jamnia declared: "I am a creature of God, and my fellowman is no less so. I have my calling in the town, and he has his in the field. As he is not made proud by his labor, I am not boastful of mine. If you think that I am busied by great matters, and he with small, remember that true work, whether great or small, leads to the same end, provided that the state of the heart be right.⁹" What serious objections they articulated against any particular calling was directed, in most cases, not against the work itself, but against certain practices of the worker. "A man's place does not honor him; rather does he honor his position."¹⁰

At the same time, it must be said that maxims as: "Great is work; it honors one"¹¹ -- "Great is work; it warms one"¹² -- appear a bit too ^{English} emphatic to pass by without further analysis. This constant stressing of the one idea - don't be too proud to work; no work is objectionable - leads one to suspect that such exhortation may have been very much needed. Surely, An insistent repetition of "don't, don't, don't", induces one to suspect that what is preached against is being practiced. Thus, in all probability, the rabbis were defending against public opinion the poor workers of lowly trades. They comforted the tanner: your work may be disagreeable; but know you, the world depends upon you. The lowly day laborer they solace with the words: you think that your work is not worthwhile, inasmuch as no skill is required; ah, but it is worthwhile; God has handed down every sort of occupation to man; your work, being divinely imposed will never disappear from the world. Behind all this can be discerned the motivating

principle; a supreme respect for personality. One's outward employment, provided that it is honest, is, after all, only secondary - a means. The real end is the attainment of the conviction of oneself as a member of the spiritual universe - a child of God. It is to this end that the Talmud stresses the dignity of labor.

Pursuing this analysis one step further, one might ask why the rabbis hold this exalted opinion of labor. Here, indeed, is room for psychoanalytic study. May it not be that because they themselves were not free from the necessity of earning a livelihood they were favorably disposed toward the workingman? The Jewish sage, the rabbi, of Talmudic days received no salary or tuition fee for his services. He was forced, in addition to his scholarly pursuits, to engage in some paying occupation. Thus tradition records that most of the Babylonian rabbis made a living out of tilling the soil.¹³ Few were the callings that could not claim a Talmudic rabbi.¹⁴ If we are to apply what psychology teaches concerning the consciousness of kind and class sympathy, we must conclude that the Talmudic expression of sentiments in favor of labor grows out of the social and economic status of the rabbis. This may also explain the contrast between this Jewish attitude and the Greek disdain of manual labor. An interesting suggestion¹⁵ is that: "the Hebrews were neither as successful in war as to acquire skilled servants by force, nor so rich as to be able to purchase them from more predatory nations. The relative proportion of slaves to free artisans was, therefore, very much less in Jerusalem than in Athens and Rome; consequently, a free citizen practicing a manual trade was not performing servile labor in the estimation of his neighbors".

Whatever may have been the underlying cause, it is quite apparent that it was no disgrace to work at common labor. The professional worker or the artisan, working under the direct observation of his neighbors, was respected for his skill. More desirable, however, was the simple honest life of the farmer. But most profitable of all was commercial enterprise. Provided that honest dealings were enforced, business was, after all, the least arduous, while the most gainful, occupation. Honesty - ethics - that must be respected above all else. For, "at all events, one manages to make a living".¹⁶

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PART I**Number - Reference** (Abbreviations as of Jastrow's Dictionary)

1. Ps. 104:23-24.
2. I K 5:5; Is. 32:20; Jer. 31:24; Mic. 4:3-4.
3. Tosef. Kid., Perek א: לכרם למה הוא דומה לכרם: א' שאין מוקף אדר [ולחריץ] שאין מוקף סייג [לכרם פרוץ שבהמה וחיה נכנסין בתוכה]
4. Ab. d'R. N. 11:1 (Keth. 59b) אהוב את המלאכה ושנא את הרבנות
- which commentary interprets: אפילו יש לו במה להתפרנס... יהושע
ח"ב לעסוק במלאכה שהבטלה מביא לידי שצמח
5. Keth. 5:5
6. Kid. 30b Commenting on Mishnah: ללמד אומנות
— מנלן אמר חזקיה כשם שח"ב להשיאו אשה כך ח"ב ללמדו אומנות
כשם שח"ב ללמדו תורה כך ח"ב ללמדו אומנות
7. Kid. 29a ר' יהודה אומר כל שאינו מלמד את בנו אומנות כאילו מלמדו ליסעות
8. Kid. 82 a b אין לך אומנות שצוברת מן העולם אי אפשר לעולם בלא בועס ובלא בורסקי
9. Ber. 43b Interpretation of את הכל עשה יפה בצתו
ends כדי שלא יחסר העולם כל אומנות
10. Gen. R. 24:7 כל אומנות אדם הראשון למד
11. Pes. 118a and Ab. d'R. N. 1:8 (ל) בשעה שאמר הקב"ה לאדם קוץ ודרדר
תצמיח לך קללגו צינו דמעות אמר לפניו רבונו של עולם אני וחמורי נאכל
באבוס אחד כיון שאמר לו בזעת אפריך תאכל לחם נתקריה דעתו
12. Ab. d'R. N. 11:1 הקב"ה לא השרה שכינתו על ישראל עד שעשו מלאכה
13. Gen. Chaps. 1, 2
14. Ex. R. 41:1 In God, as it were, laborer and capitalist are one.
Whereas in the human realm, the tenant of a farm does all the
work, but shares the produce, in the Divine order, God does
all the work (מוריד גשמים מפריד טללים), and man, the tenant, gives
only one-tenth.
15. Ber. 8a גדול הנהנה מיגיע כפו יותר מן הראש
16. Mekh. B'shall. Wayassa 2 שמע אדם שתי הלכות בשחרית ושתים בערבית ועוסק במלאכתו כל היום
מעלין עליו כאילו קיים כל התורה כולה
17. Ab. 2:2 כל תורה שאין עמה מלאכה סופה בטלה וגוררת עון
18. Ab. 1:10

19. Ned. 49b גדולה מלאכה שמכבדת את בעליה
20. B. Bath. 110a נשיש נבילתא בשוקא ושקול אגרג ולא תימא גבנא רבא אנא
21. Midr. R. to Eccles. 9:9 Sidra 3:7
22. Eccles. 5:11
23. Gen. R. 74: 16
24. Ned. 49b ל' יהודה כד אזיל לבי מדרשא שקיל גולפא על כתפיה
(Variant reading: רבי שמעון שקיל זנא על כתפיה)
אמר גדולה מלאכה שמכבדה בעליה
25. op. cit.
26. To B. Bath. 110a לעשות מלאכה להתפרנס אין Rashi adds: (נשיש נבילתא וכו') כאן גנאי
27. B. Mets. 7:1 (B. Mets. 49a; 83a) בני אכילו אם אתה עושה להם כסעודה
שלמה בשעתו לא יצתה ידי חובתך עמקן ושהן בני אברהם יצחק ויעקב
28. B. Mets. 10a יד פועל כיד בעל הבית
29. Kid. 82a - אין מעמידין מהם לא סלך ולא כהן גדול
30. B. Mets. 111a כל הכובש שכר שכיר עובר בה' שמות לא תעשוק את רעך
ולא תגזל ולא תלין ולא תעשוק וכו'
31. Ex. R. 31:7 discoursing on Ex. 22:25
ב'ימיו תמן שכרו (Dt 24:15) כגון שהיה מהלך והחמור אחריו מכרו לו אלמה אחת
ונתנה בכתפו והחמור בא בדרך אמר האלומה ומקוה לאכלה מה עשה לו אדוני
קשר לו האלומה למעלה הימנו אמר לו רשע כל הדרך רץ בשבילה ולא נתתה
בפניו כך שכיר צמל ומצטער כל היום שהוא סקוה לשכרו ומוציאן ביקם
32. B. Mets. 112a of Dt. 24:15, says: commenting on נפשו
ספני מה עליה זה בכבש ונתלה באילן ומסר את עצמו למיתה לא על שכרו
כל הכובש שכר שכיר כאילו נוטל נפשו מחנו רב הונא ורב חסדא חר
אמר נפשו של גזלן וחד אמר נפשו של גזלן
33. Succ. 22a b אמר רב בשביל ארבעה דברים נכסי בעלי בתים יוצאין לטמיון
על כובשי שכר שכיר ועל עושי שכר שכיר וכו'
34. Ber. 5b Variant opinion states that instead of the vinegar's
becoming sweetened, there came an advantageous rise in price
of vinegar.
35. Taan. 24 begins with יומי דמן יוקרת
36. B. Mets. 82a; B. Kam. 84b 9:3 Tos. B. Mets. 7:6
37. Tos. B. Mets. 7:6
38. B. Mets. 112a (also B. Kam. 89a)
אומן קונה בשבח כלי והלואה היא או אין אומן קונה בשבח כלי ושכירות היא

V.

If an article is loaned to a worker, the owner does not have to pay wages in specified time, because the owner has to pay for the increased value. But if the article is fixed for wages only, the owner has to pay as specified (promptly), because the work is done according to wages, and not increased value. (Thus owner benefits).

39. B. Kam. 9:3

40. B. Bath. 124a בכור נוטל פי שנים בשבח ששבוו נכסים לאחר מיתת אביו
אבל לא בשבח שהשבוו יתומים לאחר מיתת אביו

41. Ab. 4:7

42. Ber. 35b

43. op. cit. Literally, Raba's remark is: אמר רבא לרבנן במטותא
מיניכו ביומי נסן וביומי תשרי לא תתקון קמאי כי היכי דלא תטרדו במזוניכו הילא שתא

44. Kid. 33a (also Hul. 54b) אין בעלי אומנות נשאלין לעמוד מפני תלמידיו חכמים בשעה שעוסקין במלאכתן
Rashi: This applies only when he is working for someone else, so as not to waste the employer's time.
Tosafos: When he works for himself he has a choice, and need not arise.

45. Hul. 108a

46. Git. 60b

47. B. Mets. 93b

48. Hilkhoth Matnoth Aniyim 10:18

49. Yoma 35a

50. Keth. 105a - from statement דדלי לי

51. Taan. 23a עודר בשדה is interpreted as עורר בדברא

52. Erub. 88a

53. Mid. 24b

54. Rosh H. 23a

55. M. K. 11a; Y. Ber. 4,3

56. Sabb. 31a בנאי

57. Sifra, Parasha אמור, verse גדול (והכה) - is called הקתת
(also Lev. R. 26 near end)

58. Ber. 28a called נכחא

59. B. Kam. 60b; Git. 29b; Ber. 41a
60. Sabb. 49b שלחא
61. Ber. 22a הסנדלר
62. Pes. 113b אושכפי
63. Git. 67b רב יוסף איצק בריחיא
64. B. Bath. 132b ר' יהודה הנחתום
65. Keth. 105a תהיבאמבנא דחמרא
66. Ed. 8:2 זכריה בן הקצב
67. Git. 67b לשאת קורות ומשאות. Rashi says: רב ששת איצק בכשורי
68. Ab. d'R. N. 8 ; Ber. 41a לא הקפר
69. Dem. 4:1 (Interpretation of appellative שזור)
70. Men. 37a, called החונים; Y. Ber. 4 , called פידנא
71. Yoma 85a קרד
72. Y. Snh. 3:6
73. B. Mets. 107b; Erub. 65a משוחאה
74. Midr. R. on Ex. 13
75. Y. B. Kam. 10,7c איש כובס
76. Hul. 54b
77. Ber. 44b קורני
78. Pes. 113a
79. B. Bath. 144a
80. B. Bath. 91a
81. Hul. 55b; Tosef. Shebu. Ch. 5
82. Ber. 28b (Meg. 17 Rashi) הפקול
83. Y. B. Mets. 4 end, 9d מלחא
84. Bekh. 4:4
85. Krauss vol. I, p. 265
86. Nazir 52a

87. Shek. 5:1 Temple Physician
88. B. Mets. 85b
89. Taan. 21b
90. B. Bath. 14a
91. Ber. 53b; B. Mets. 29b
92. Erub. 13a; Git. 61a לְבַלֵּן
93. Jewish Artisan Life p. 27
94. ^{Suk.} ~~Shek.~~ 51a
95. Meg. 26a ^{בבית הכנסת של טורס}
(Rashi says that ^{אגורס} does not refer to city of Tarsis.)
96. vide infra p. 22
97. B. Kam. 116b
98. Ber. 35b
99. Tosef. Pes. 2:18
100. M. Kam. 82a
101. ~~Snh.~~-17b Vide infra p. 25
102. Snh. 17b
103. Snh. 78a; Git. 12b
104. ~~Mak.~~ 22b
105. B. Bath. 21a; Mak. 20b (See Krauss: T.A.)
106. B. Bath. 21a
107. Krauss: T.A. vol. II p. 5, 6
108. B. Kam. 59a; Ab. Zorah 26a
109. B. Bath. 16b; Snh. 100b; Kid. 72b; Pes. 65a; etc.
110. Krauss: T.A. vol LL p. 373
111. Y. Dem. 2:22c; B. Bath. 89a
was called ^{אגורס} - ^{בבית הכנסת} - ^{רבי שוק}
112. Peah 8:8
113. Bertinoro comment to above (also Y. Peah 30a) says:
^{דחמשי' עבדי' מבי' כמאת' דל' עבדי'}

In Sabb. 63a, Rashi comments on מטיל בכימו:

מצות ומלאי להשתכר בהן למחצית שכר

114. Shulchan Aruch: Yoreh Deah: Hilkhoth Zedakah 25:3:11
115. Eccles. R. 7:18, on Eccles. 7:8
116. Ber. 56a; 57a
117. Sabb. 150a כך וכך פועלים הוצאתי על שדה זה וכך וכך ד'גריין הוצאתי על דירה זו
118. Gen. R. 16 end, on Gen. 2:26
119. Pes. 50b
120. B. Mets. 42a
121. Pes. 113a
122. Ber. 62b קרנא קריא בכומי בר מזבין תאני תאני דאבוך זבין
123. Ber. 63a זאת קבוצ [קסוץ] קנה מינה
124. Taan. 6b במפתח בבי משרא בר חמרא מוך שקיך וגני
125. Yeb. 63a: אמר ל' אלעזר אין לך אומנות פחותה מן הקרקע ל' אלעזר חזיא לההיא ארעא דשדיב' כרבא לפותיא אל' איתשד"ה לאורכך הפוכי בעיסקא טב מינך רב על לביני שבילי חזנהו דקא ג"פן אמר להו ג' נ"פת איתנופי הפוכי בעיסקא טב מינך אמר רבא מאה זוזי בארעא מילחא וחספורה ולא צור אלא מגניא ליה אארעא ומרמיא ליה תיגר
126. Hul. 84a לצולם יטכור אדם שדה ויקח עתודים ואל ימכר אדם עתודים ויקח שדה
127. I K. 4:25; Mic. 4:4; Is. 32:20; Jer. 31:24
128. Yeb. 63a ארעא ולא תזבין אף על גב דכי הדדי ננהו הני מברכיין... קסוץ זבין ארעא
129. Sifra: Behar 5:1
130. Lev. R. 3:1 טוב מי שיש לו גינה ומזבלה ומעדרה ומתפרנס ממנה ממי שהוא נוטל גנות של אחרים במחצה במתלא אמרין דאגר גינה אכל פיפרין דאגר גינן צפרין אכלין ליה
131. Hul. 84a b הכוזה שיתעשר יעקוק בבהמה דקה
132. B. Kam. 7:7
133. B. Mets. 86b מובחר שבבהמה שור
134. Krauss: T.A. vol. I p. 138
135. Kid. 4:13 שאין אומנות שאין בה עניות ועשירות

ix.

136. Y. Kid. 41a מקל מקום אדם מתפרנס
137. Ab. d'R. N. 11 אדם הראשון לא טעם כלום
עד שעשה סלאכה
138. Snh. 29a שני. שני הוה כסנא ואבבא אומנא לא חליף
139. Ber. 16a Note: It may be that the rabbis would not take the laborer away from his duties, because his working time belongs to his employer.
140. Lev. R. 25:3
141. Rashi to Yeb. 63a
142. Men. 103b; Esther R. 1:1
143. Yeb. 63b
144. Sotah 20a
145. Men. 9:1; Men. 94a
146. Yoma 38b
147. Ber. 52b
148. cf. Ber. 45a, 50b
149. Eccles. R. 4:18 - to Eccles. 4:17

PART II

1. Ber. 28b
2. Kid. 4:14 ל' נהראי אומר מניח אני כל אומנות שבכולם ואני מלמד את בני'
אלא תורה שאדם בא לידי חולי או לידי זקנה או לידי יסורין ואינו יכול לעסוק
במלאכתו הרי' (according to some, נהראי is an appellation for R. Meir) הוא בא ברעב
3. B. Bath. 8a
4. Pes. 113a
5. Mekhiltam Beshallah: Wayassa 21 שונה אדם שתי הלכות בשמירת ושתים
בערבית וצומק במלאכתו כל היום מעלין עליו כאילו קיים כל התורה כולה
Note: Not that work and study are of equal holiness, but that
Heaven is gracious, conceding such favors as only study
may rightly win even when, under pressure of necessity,
something is done that is not quite as good as study.
6. Ab. 2:5
7. Kid. 4:14
8. Meg. 28a אמר ר' הונא לר' חנא בר חנילאי אי רגילת דדריה במאת'ך דר' ואילאן
אמ' קורי אנא בגילותא דידך לא ניחא לי
9. Vide supra p. 4
10. Hul. 84b שכור פועלים ואל ישוב עמהם
11. Torath Kohanim Sedra Behar אמר להעבדיו בעבודה בזיה שלא יטול באמריך בלוגשיא ולא
יטול לסכך כלים למרחץ ולא ינעול לו מנעליו וכל עבודה של גמא וביין
12. Yeb. 118b, end of page
13. Kid. 82b; Y. Kid. 41a; B. Bath. 16b; B. Bath. 110a; Pes. 65a;
Snh. 100b. רבי מאיר אומר אין לך אומנות שעוברת מן העולם
אשרי מי שרואה את הוריו באומנות מצולה אוי לו למי שרואה את הוריו באומנות
פגומה... אי אפשר לעולם בלא בטם ובלא בורסקי אשרי מי שאומנתו בטם ואוי לו
מי שאומנתו בורסקי
14. Keth. 7:10
15. Sotah 49a (Ps. 9:21) אמר ר' אילעא בל' ברכיה אלמלא תפילת של דוד
היו כל ישראל מוכרי רבב שנאמר שית' ה' מורה להם
16. Zeb. 88b (See Tosef. Kid. 5:14)
17. Kid. 4:14
18. Suk. 29a
19. Snh. 24b, 25b Forms of gambling are: מכרית' יונים וכ'
20. B. Kam. 79b
21. Midr. R. to Ps. 26:10

22. Snh. 24b משחק בקוביא בזמן שאין לו אומנות אלא היא פקול לעדות
לפי שאינו עוסק בשיבוש של עולם
23. Snh. 24b; Snh. 3:3
24. Kid. 4:13 לא ילמד אדם את בנו חמר גמל "ספר" ספן רוצה וחנוני
שאומונות אומנות לסטים
Note: ספר seems to be a corrupt reading, which the Gemara
changes to קדר, which Rashi interprets as בעל קרנות,
those that transport articles on wagons.
The statement concludes with: טוב שברופאים לגיהנם
25. op. cit. Talmudic commentaries.
26. Krauss: T.A. vol. II p.369
27. B. Bath. 5:1-5
28. B. Bath. 5:10-11; B. Mets. 3:7,8
29. B. Mets. 4:4-10,12
30. B. Mets. 4:3,6
31. Edersheim "Sketches of Jewish Social Life" p. 205
32. Ber. 17a
33. Gen. R. 9:9
34. Midr. R. to Ps. 23:1 (also Yalkut to Ps. 23)
אתה מוצא שאין אומנות בזויה מן הרועה
35. op. cit. continuation
36. Snh. 25b
37. B. Kam. 80a
38. B. Kam. 80a רוצה שעשה תשובה אין מח"בין אותו למכור מיד אלא מוכר על יד
39. B. Kam. 10:2
40. B. Kam. 10:1
41. Snh. 25b
42. Sheb. 39a
43. אין הפועל רשאי לעשות מלאכתו בלילה להשכיר את עצמו ביום
מפני גזל מלאכתו של בנה הבית
מי שהניח אביו מצות ורוצה לא בדם
44. B. Mets. 29b (also Hul. 84b), beginning:
45. Pes. 54b On על התבואה שתיקב
Rashi says: היו בעלי בתים מאצרים אותה ומביאים רעבון לעולם

46. Taan. 2:9; B. Bath. 8b
47. B. Mets. 5:7
48. Kid. 4:13
If קפר is taken as the original reading in this passage,
in place of קדר. This explanation is given by תפארת ישראל
49. Kid. 4:14 טוב שברופאים לגיהנם
50. ~~Kid. 4:14~~ B. Kam. 85 85a
51. Kid. 4:14 הכשר שבטבחים שותף עמלק
52. Kid. 4:14; 82a כל שעסקו עם הנשים סורו רע כגון הצורפים והסריקים
והנקורות והרוכלין והגרדים והספרים והכובסים והגרע והבלן והבורסקי
זיל אומנותיהו
(is translated according to Jastrow)
53. Krauss: T.A. vol. I p. 196, based on Kil. 9:3
54. Bertinoro to סופר of Kid. 4:13
55. Sotah 43a
56. Kid. 82a
57. Sot. 4b
58. B. Mets. 71a
59. B. Mets. 61b הוקשו מלוי רבית לשופכי דמים מה שופכי דמים לא ניתנו להשבין
אף מלוי רבית לא ניתנו להשבין
60. e.g., B. Bath. 124a b בכור נוטל פי שנים בשבת וכו'
61. Ex. R. 31:4
62. Various called פתאגאה, טרפסיטיס, שלחני
63. Tosef. Shek. 1:8
64. Tosef. B. Kam. 10:10
65. Tosef. Sabb. 1:8 He is cautioned not to parade about on the
Sabbath with the signs of his trade.
66. Pes. 50b contains the entire list. Likewise the commentaries.
67. Kid. 4:13
68. Tosef. Bikk. 2:15; Sotah 20a
69. Yeb. 63a
70. Snh. 58b

71. Ex. R. 31:7 end (comment on 22:26) שכיר צמל ומצטער כל היום שהוא מקוה לשכרו ומוציאו כ'קם
72. Vide supra p. 5 of. also Sab. 127b, beginning with מצטער באדם אחד Giving an example of דנין לכף זכות, the passage tells of a workman's charitable construction of his employer's failure to pay his wage. From this we see that such failure is a grave dereliction.
Vide supra, also, Story of Jose of Jogeret
73. Yeb. 63a
74. Kid. 4:13
75. Ber. 28b
- 76.
77. Ex. 21:19
78. Ab. Zar. Chap. 3 (espec. 43a)
79. Makkot 3:6 (See also Krauss I p. 196)
80. Sabb. 7 1:2
81. Pes. 50b
82. Suk. 29a בשביל איבער דברים מאורות לוקין בארץ ישראל ועל קוצי אילנות טובות על מגדלי בהמה דקה

PART III

1. Facts from J.E. - article Tax-gatherers.
2. Yoma 66b
3. Tos. Ed. 1:3
4. Menorah vol. 40, p.134
5. Pes. 113b
6. Taan. 21b
7. cf. Werner Sombart "Die Juden und das Wirtschaftsleben".
8. Lev. R. 3:1
9. Ber. 17a
10. Taan. 21b
11. Ned. 49b גדול מלאכה שמכבדה בעליה
12. Git. 67b גדול מלאכה שמחממת את בעליה
13. Vide supra
14. Vide supra
15. Morris Loeb, in Menorah vol. 40, p.134
16. Y. Kid. 41a מקלל מקום אדם מתפרנס