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Submitted in partial fulfillment
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Master of Hebrew Letters Degree

THESIS

THE HOMILIES OF RABBI JOSHUA BEN LEVI

Rabbi Joshua ben Levi, a Tanna of the Mishnah, lived most
of his life in Lydda. There he served as a scholar, preacher and teacher. In
his later days he left Lydda for Jerusalem to go to live with his son Joseph.

Martin Katzenstein

always in accord with the policies of the Government, he enjoyed a position
of great respect in the community, and, consequently, represented the Jews
in matters of national importance at the courts in Rome.

Having studied the Homilies of Rabbi Joshua ben Levi, he decided to
submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the
Master of Hebrew Letters degree.
his dissertation which is his thesis. He was a very able preacher, and
as such, with the exceptions, all the forms of verbal expression and homiletical
development peculiar to his time. His preaching was most articulate re-
garding the theology, God, Messiah, the end and purpose, restricting him-
self strictly to the affairs of mankind. He was a man of considerable justice
and intellectual resources, and these qualities were constantly compared with
the standards of justice. Even to him who is unfavourable towards, but has
admired himself as David, Nathan and Solomon of all the prophets.

Referee: Dr. Israel Bettan

January 2, 1950

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SUMMARY

Rabbi Joshua ben Levi, a Third Century Palestinian Amora, lived most of his life in Lydda. There he directed a school, preached and taught. In his later days he left Lydda for Sepphoris to go to live with his son Joseph who was married to the daughter of Judah the Prince. Although he was not always in accord with the policies of the Patriarchate, he enjoyed a position of great respect in the community, and, occasionally, represented the Jews in matters of national importance at the courts in Rome.

Having studied with the most learned men of his time, he carried on the tradition of scholarship in Jewish life and gave frequent evidence of his extraordinary ability in his homilies. He was a versatile preacher, and he used, with few exceptions, all the forms of textual exegesis and homiletical development popular during his time. Our preacher was most articulate regarding his theology. God, to him, was kind and generous, manifesting Himself directly in the affairs of mankind; He was a God of unalterable justice and inexorable vengeance, but these qualities were constantly tempered with His attribute of grace. Bound to man with an unbreakable covenant, God has dedicated Himself as Guard, Helper and Protector of all His creatures.

The Torah was God's special gift to Israel, and was, without doubt, the most important single religious artifice in Israel's culture. It bound Israel to God and made of her God's peculiar people, indispensable to world history and blessed with a mission. Although the nature of this mission might be a bit vague in the homilies of R. JEL, he obviously concluded that the

well-being of all the world was directly proportionate to Israel's position in it. This alone, the task of acting as an example for the other nations, is mission enough for any people.

Since R. JEL was somewhat of a mystic, acquainted with the occult and the hidden sciences, it is natural that he should evidence a driving interest in the life after death and in the problem of the Messiah. He expressed an impelling belief in both these concepts and looked at them as the only logical panacea to the inequalities prevalent in daily living. His theological views were liberally invested with vivid descriptions of the part that angels play in the determination of human destiny. He felt that the angels possessed many powers beyond those of mankind, but they, nonetheless, were bound by the laws of justice and morality in all their dealings with humanity. Man could acquiesce to the forces of evil of his own volition, but, under no circumstances, could he be compelled to do so.

It is not surprising that a man as sensitive as was R. JEL should possess a profound appreciation of the ethical values that lay behind all human activity. He seized every opportunity to stress these elements in his sermons and constantly demonstrated that simple obedience to the law was meaningless if not accompanied by compelling ethical convictions.

R. JEL played so important a role during his time and did so much to color the evolving tradition of Judaism that he has been immortalized in legend. In Rabbinic stories, it is said of him that, while yet alive, he visited Paradise and Gehenna and returned to give a report of that which he found there. As late as the Nineteenth Century, in distant America, a great poet saw fit to mention him again and to tell of his exploits. This is only fitting, however, for he was a giant on the earth and certainly worthy, in

his own right, of the merit that was accredited to him.

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January 3, 1950
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INTRODUCTION

There is a certain charm in the ancient, in the wisdom of those who, in a sense, laid the earliest foundations of our present civilization. All too often, unfortunately, our considerations fail to attain an appreciation of this charm in its most genuine form. We are prone either to stop short of it in our slavish devotion to the cold outline of history, or else, less frequently, we become too involved in the aesthetic aspects of our subject and flit off on a most pleasant tangent that is rooted in surmise and proceeds with great abandon into limitless conjectures, losing all sense of proportion and all recognition of origins.

These two poles of criticism have become, for many, the norm of biblical exegesis, and renown is often measured by the degree to which the particular exegete has been able to adhere to the principles of his school. Traditional biblical criticism, as it is evidenced by the exegetes of our day, suffers badly from the first malady, and the enlightened criticism of the world of detached modern biblical scholarship is apt to suffer from the second. But, although poles apart in their origins and in their presentations, they are equally Fredricks in their own right, exhibiting unswerving loyalty to their duty as they see it.

In that branch of criticism that involves the consideration of the Rabbinic period, one finds less of these two extremes. The reasons for this are obvious: There is a greater expanse of information upon which we can base our studies, and, far more important, the very subjects themselves were flexible personalities, their greatness resting in their malleability rather than in their rigidity. These elements, therefore, have tended to create a relatively fraternal atmosphere in the schools of Mishnaic, Talmudic and Midrashic criticism, perhaps^a more mature atmosphere, and certainly one that tends to produce a greater receptiveness in the mind of the student. This may well be a pitfall, however, for because of the flexibility of its presentation it is easy for one to allow his principles of scholarship to fall prey to the lure of meaningless rhetoric.

It is the task of the author to make a careful study of the sermons and the homiletical techniques of a truly great preacher and to arrive at an appreciation of his particular reaction to contemporary stresses. Included in the latter must be his theology, his secular philosophy, his sociology and his politics. This, to be sure, is a gigantic task, for it presupposes an equally thorough knowledge of every facet of the personality of his community and the wellsprings from which these influences flowed. The author is fortunate inasmuch as his subject was unusually articulate in the great majority of his pronouncements,

but there will remain, unfortunately, a considerable area that will not be treated adequately within the confines of this dissertation. In a work such as this, one acknowledges sadly, in an apologetic tone, that individuals do not rise out of a vacuum to exert themselves upon their fellows. Their wisdom is little more than the conglomerate of the past, and the contribution of the personality is minute when considered against the vastness of that of his predecessors. This unique contribution, however limited, is of utmost importance, for it is this that stamps a man as a single contributive entity.

The truly great man does not require that his name be appended to his statements, for his thoughts paint a far clearer picture than can any accident of nomenclature. It is with such a man that we deal in this dissertation, and there can be no better ending to a prefatory word than a most formal introduction to our subject and his work: "Rebbi Joshua b. Levi has taught...."

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THE LIFE OF RABBI JOSHUA BEN LEVI

The period following the revolt of Bar Cochba might well be termed "the period of resignation," for it was during these years that the Jews of Palestine again came to the dire realization that it had been decreed for them that their communal life be organized on the basis of a colonial existence. At the beginning of the Third Century the fall of the Second Temple to the Romans had already assumed the aura of the historical, being some one hundred and fifty years removed from contemporary life. The revolt against Hadrian and the martyrdom of Akiba were closer to the experience of the people, but these expressions of an exalted type of nationalism were rapidly growing dim in the memory of the population beneath the overwhelming power of Roman domination. The first years of subservience had been difficult; they were fraught with unparalleled national indignities, arbitrary reprisals, and the harsh economic measures that inevitably accompany defeat in battle and occupation.

As the years wore on, however, and the Roman administration changed, the stringency of the policy of the conqueror gave way to gradual alleviation and the institution of more liberal political pronouncements. There was a method in this Roman madness, to be sure, for Septimus Severus, a contestant for the Imperial position in Rome, was engaged in his Parthian campaign and sorely needed ~~the~~

the good-will of the Jews of Palestine in order that he might not fear the opposition of their brethren in Babylonia. His reward for this support was a proclamation allowing the Jews of Palestine to hold honorary civic offices in so far as they did not conflict with their religious obligations (c. 193/194). Some twenty years later, by act of the emperor Caracalla (c. 212), "the Jews, along with all free inhabitants of the Empire, became full Roman citizens; the hardships, consisting of additional burdens of taxation, affected but the wealthier classes and were outweighed by the advantage of being placed on a footing of political and legal equality with the non-Jews." (1)

Notwithstanding this obvious improvement in political status, however, one finds that the conditions prevalent during this period were not favorable to the development of learning. "Taxes were heavy, and the economic situation of the Jews became worse from year to year. Under the circumstances, the number of schools was diminished, those of Judaea, were closed in a short time, and the entire intellectual activity centered in one place, in the Academy at Tiberias, in Galilee, where the court of the Patriarch had its seat, moving thither from Sepphoris." (2) Subsequently, it grew necessary for the Patriarchs to begin to draw their revenue from the larger Jewish community, as Palestine, under the yoke of Roman economic demands, soon became impoverished. The price that Palestine had paid

for citizenship in the Roman Empire might be considered prohibitive in the light of the disabilities that followed in its wake.

There was activity, nonetheless, and when one surveys the extent of the production of the period, one cannot help but wonder what added greatness would have evidenced itself had the situation been such as to nurture and encourage academic pursuits. One of the number whose activities left their stamp upon this particular era was R. Joshua b. Levi. Born in the wake of this most eventful Second Century, (3) he was destined to rise above ~~his~~ encumbering nature and become a leader of those who expounded upon the Mishnah, who taught and preached, who devoted their lives to the improvement of man's relationships with his community and with his God.

There is some doubt in the minds of scholars as to the significance of his name. Some consider him to be the son of the Amora Levi b. Sisi, but this is doubtful. (4) Of one thing we can be quite certain, however, he was a member of the tribe of Levi, for we find proof of this in his statement: "In all my life I have never made a blessing (over the Torah) before the Priest, nor have I ever allowed an Israelite to make a blessing before me." (5)

In his early life, this particular scholar studied with the greatest teachers of his time. Among them were such scholars as bar Kapara, (6) with whose "Mishnah" he was quite familiar, (7) Judah b. Podaiyah, (8) whom he felt

to be one of the founders of halacha and to whom he gave the title: "Rabbi," (9) R. Hiyya b. Abba, whose pietistic influence did much to color his thinking, (10) and R. Phineas b. Jair, whose appreciation of the occult was devoured by his student and became one of the foundations of his teachings. (11)

The company of sages in which he moved during the course of his lifetime is truly overwhelming, for it includes the names of the most prominent students of halacha and agada of all times, the names of those who left a most indelible imprint upon the literature that mirrors the untold intellectual growth and communal advancement of this most creative period in Jewish history. Among these are Hanina b. Hama, (12) one of the closest of R. JBL's colleagues, Johanan b. Napaha (13) and Resh Lakish, (14) who were joint heads of the Yeshiba in Tiberias, Samuel b. Nahmani, (15) a distinguished pupil of R. Jonathan b. Elazar, (16) Hiyya b. Abba. (17) an old neighbor of R. JBL in Tiberias, and Elazar b. Peras. (18)

The roster of those who studied with him as his pupils and transmitted his teachings to the generations that were to follow is equally impressive. It includes such names as Mar Ukba (R. Simi b. Ukba) whose only responsibility was to arrange the agadot of his teacher, (19) R. Shimon b. Pazzai, often considered to be the most important of those who handed down the teachings of R. JBL, (20) R. Tanhum b. Hanilai, who later was to become famous

because of the great number of agadot ascribed to him, (21) R. Jehuda b. R. Shimon, (22) R. Alexander, (23) R. Ami (24) R. Shimon, the brother of R. Hiyya b. Abba who is mentioned above, (25) R. Jacob b. Idi, (26) treasurer of the money box for the poor, (27) R. Jose b. Abin, (28) and R. Aha. (29)

R. JBL married the daughter of another illustrious scholar, R. Joseph b. Patros, (30) and it was in his honor that he named his ^{son} "Joseph." (31) A good husband and patient father, he, himself, taught all his children and grandchildren Torah, for he applied the statement: "He who teaches his son Torah, Scripture considers him as if he has received his wisdom direct from Horeb. As it is stated in Dt. 4.9: 'You shall teach it to your sons and your grandsons.... on the day that you stood before the Lord at Horeb'". (33) His devotion to his children and the traditional principles of education led him to the point where it was an unbroken custom for him to hear the portion of the week read each Erev Shabbat by his grandson. (34)

R. JBL, who lived in the South of Palestine, was not confined in his relationships to the sages of Galilee. He was also a man of great influence in the court of the Patriarch, for his son, R. Joseph, had married the daughter of Judah, the Prince. In the face of this close association, however, R. JBL was often in conflict with the Patriarch, the most pointed area of difference being the problem of the conferring of semicha, the degree of ordination. According to the law of the land, this was only

to be done with the permission of the Patriarch, but, respecting the wisdom of the sages more than that of the Patriarch in matters of halacha, R. JBL proceeded to bestow it upon his pupils without consulting the proper authorities. (35) It is unlikely that this was a matter of too great importance to Judah, for R. JBL's influence grew both in the court and in the community, and he was soon to become the unofficial spokesman for Palestinian Jewry, (36) Journeying to Rome (37) and Caesarea (38) as the personal envoy of the Patriarch.

As the head of the Academy at Lydda, he became part of a triumvirate of Amoraim with Johannan b. Napacha (c. 199-279) and Resh Lakish (c. 200-275) and devoted most of his time to the elucidation of the Mishnah. R. Johannan and R. JBL were considered equals as authorities in halacha. (39) His study of the Mishnah was so meticulous that its style is unmistakably reflected in the brevity of his own halachot. As economic conditions in Lydda grew progressively worse, it became necessary for R. JBL to move his house to Tiberias, there to live with his son during his declining years. (40) It was in Tiberias that his work came to an end some time in the last quarter of the Third Century. (41)

THE EXEGESIS OF RABBI JOSHUA BEN LEVI

During the third century there were two major outlets for the creation of the homilist: the synagogue and the bet ha-midrash. In a study of the early homilies, it is most difficult to ascertain the surroundings of which they were a part, for there is nothing definite in their form that points to their particular function at the moment when they were delivered. It can be stated, however, that their purpose, in either instance, was singular: the homily can well be described as the most common and most effective means of instruction, concerning itself mainly with the interpretation of Scriptural phrases or the explanation and adaptation of legal statements.

"The constant parts of the synagogue service were prayer, the reading of the lessons from Scripture, followed, if a competent person were present, by a homily." (42) We cannot accurately state when the homily first ^{appeared} ~~few~~ into the form in which we know it. It can be traced, however, to the years immediately following the turn of the era, for Philo mentions it in his descriptions of the program of the Hellenistic synagogues, and Paul, in his missionary expeditions, took constant advantage of the discourse to introduce his gospel to the Jews, proselytes and Gentiles who came to the synagogue. It is quite evident that there was no professional group monopolizing the preaching, but we can readily assume that those whose lives had been devoted to study were found to be in greater demand for instruction than unschooled men, and those who possessed the gift of interesting and edifying discourse to

be more popular than those who excelled only in their ability to define the law.

The homily was the only part of the service that granted any freedom of expression; its style was freely altered to meet the changing needs of the times. Nowhere do we find any attempt to regulate either its manner or its method, but there are several elements that are constant throughout all the discourses of the early period.

1 There is a great deal of quotation, not only from the Torah and the Prophets, but also from the Hagiographa.

2 The language used in the synagogal homily was usually the "mother tongue" - Aramaic, for it was necessary that it be understood even by the untutored.

3 In the schools, however, since the address was delivered to students and scholars, the "language of the learned" - Hebrew, was probably employed. This was certainly true in the schools of Palestine, and probably the custom in most of the schools in the diaspora. .

4 The earliest homilies were little more than ingenious alternate translations of single words or phrases.

5 The later homilies brought in the use of extraneous verses from the Hagiographa to introduce the text from the Torah, their artistry stemming from the apparently distant relationship between the verses and the imagination of the darshan in establishing an obvious and meaningful connection.

A careful study of the preaching of this period has led one scholar to the conclusion that there were five general types

of homiletical exegesis employed and seven major classes of homilies resulting from these. (43) Since it is the purpose of this study, in part, to demonstrate how R. JBL fitted into the pattern of the preaching of his time, the writer will utilize these categories in classifying his work from the point of view of its form.

The simplest type of text application is the transparent text. In this the preacher employs that which is both clear and obvious and yet is capable of much wider interpretation. R. JBL's interpretations of such texts fall into three general forms. In some instances he enlarges upon the text by the use of a play on words. In these, he chooses a significant word in the text, and, with or without effecting a change in the form of the word, compares it with another of similar sound but of different meaning, thus casting new light on the original verse and applying it more directly to life's experiences.

- 1 What is written in Dt. 4.44? "This is the code which Moses put נז before the Israelites."
A worthy one (Rashi: - "one who studies in it for its own sake to establish it") will make of it a medicine נז of life. If he does not apply it properly it will become a deadly poison נז for him." (44)
- 2 Ps. 50.23: "And to him who heeds נז the way, I will show God's deliverance."
He who calculates נז his way (weighs the consequences of his doings) will be allowed to see the salvation of God (in the hereafter). (45) (It is interesting to note that the Syriac and the Greek Texts make the same emendation)
- 3 Ps. 50.23: "He who offers thanksgiving נז honors Me."

He who offers up his evil inclination and makes public confession חַטָּאת regarding it, Scripture regards him as if he has honored God in both worlds, this one and the world to come. (46)

- 4 Jer. 3.10: "How would I rank אֶשְׂכֶּנְךָ you among the sons?"

I used to teach in defense of you, but you have brought it upon yourselves to condemn yourselves. For the term "I would rank you" is only used in the ~~sense~~ of condemnation, as is stated in Ex. 21.30: "If only a fine is imposed נָשַׁל upon him." (47)

- 5 Prov. 8.21: "Endowing my friends with wealth וְעָשָׂה."

In the future, God will declare 310 וְעָשָׂה worlds to be the possession of every man who is righteous. (48)

Another application of the transparent text is observed in this preacher's use of extraneous verses involving well-known historical experiences or examples from everyday life that lend themselves to a practical exemplification of its meaning.

- 1 Ps. 27.2: "When evil doers pressed in upon me to eat up my flesh, my adversaries and my foes fell."

"When evil doers pressed in upon me" refers to the Amalakites as it is stated in I. Sam. 30.1: "And the Amalakites had made a raid upon the Negeb and upon Ziklag."

"To eat up my flesh" is explained in I. Sam. 30.5: "And David's two wives were taken captive."

"My adversaries and my foes fell" is explained in I. Sam. 30.17: "and David smote them from the twilight until the evening of the next day." (49)

- 2 Gen. 40.10: "And on the vine there were three branches; as soon as it budded, its blossoms shot up, its clusters ripened into grapes."

"The vine," this is the Torah;

"Three branches," these refer to the well, the pillar of cloud and the Manna;

"As soon as it budded its blossoms shot up,"
these are the first fruits;

"Its clusters ripened into grapes," these are
the vessels of the Temple." (50)

The third form of interpretation of the transparent text is that in which it acts as a basis for some part of the cultural pattern of the day or a phase of the legal pattern of the community.

- 1 Ps. 128.6: "And may you look upon your children's children. Peace be unto Israel."

It is a sign that peace is upon Israel when your children have children, for it means that the women have not had to resort to the institutions of halitza and yibum (due to the fact that they had lost their husbands in war). (51)

- 2 Dt. 7.11: "So be careful to observe the charge, the statutes and ordinances that I am enjoining on you today."

Today you are to do them, and tomorrow you will receive their reward. (52)

- 3 Is. 6.3: "The whole earth is full of His glory."

No man is allowed to walk more than four Amahs with a proud carriage. (53)

- 4 II Sam. 1.11: "And David ~~stayed~~ his garments and tore them."

One can ~~stay~~ nothing smaller than a handkerchief; "and tore them" proves for us that it is necessary to make a complete division. (54)

- 5 Ex. 34.24: "No one shall covet your land when you go up to visit your God three times a year."

He who possesses no property is relieved of the responsibility of appearing in the Temple. (55)

The use of an obscure text grows out of some linguistic, logical, theological or ethical difficulty within the verse.

aspect?

Operating on the principle that the Torah was divinely revealed, there could be no errors, duplications or omissions in the text. When, in the course of instruction, or perhaps during the explanation of the weekly portion in the synagogue, the preacher would come upon something that was apparently amiss, he would seize the opportunity to smooth over the difficulty and, at the same time, point up some moral or legal issue.

- 1 Man must never utter a reprehensible word, for, behold, Scripture circumlocutes eight letters in order not to give voice to an indelicate expression, as is seen in Gen. 7.2: "of the cattle that are clean and of those that are not clean." (Rashi: the text does not state "unclean.") (56)
- 2 Dt. 7.10: "and requites anyone who hates him immediately לְעוֹלָם"

But for the fact that this is written in Scripture it would be impossible to say it. For it would be the equivalent of a man who was carrying a burden upon himself לְעוֹלָם and wished to cast it off, לְעוֹלָם. This is to let us know that He must requite him who hates Him, but He will not requite those who are just in all respects. (57)

- 3 Ex. 17.14 states: "I will certainly blot out the memory of Amalek" and Dt. 25.19 states: "You will blot out the memory of Amalek."

How can we reconcile these two passages? Since the Amalekites (Rome) have not attacked the throne כְּדָבָר which is the equivalent of Jerusalem, as we read in Jer. 3.17:

"At that time Jerusalem will be called the throne of God," you will destroy them, but, if they ever attack Jerusalem, I will destroy them. (58)

- 4 Is. 60.22: "I, the Lord, will hasten it in its proper time."

This means that though mankind did not merit redemption at that particular time, it merited that it be hastened. (59)

Not clear

- 5 II Sam. 24.9: "And Israel consisted of 800,000 able-bodied men who drew swords, and the men of Judah were 470,000."

I. Chron. 21.5: "All Israel were 1,000,000 men who drew swords, and Judah were 470,000 men who drew swords."

Do not the accounts appear inconsistent? No. What they failed to mention (in the account in I. Sam. 24.9) is the number of men who died at that time. (60)

- 6 I. Chron. 2.6: "And the sons of Zerack were Zimri, etc."

Zimri is the name given here to Achan. Why is Achan referred to as Zimri? Because he acted in the manner of Zimri. (61)

- 7 Why is "that it was good" not written in connection with the second day of Creation? This may be compared to a king who had a very stern legion, and said: "Since the legion is so stern, let it not bear my name."

Thus the Holy One, blessed be He, said: "Since the generation of Enoch, the generation of the Flood and the generation of the separation of the races (Gen. 11.1-9) were punished through them (the waters), let 'for it was good' not be written in connection therewith." (62)

One of the most pleasing types of homiletical exegesis is that which stems from the allegorical text. In this form of the sermon the imagination of the preacher plays a great part, and, if artfully employed, results in that which the congregation would have enjoyed doing for itself had it the ability. It, more than any other form, explains the basic text in crystal clear terms, but the pitfalls inherent in it are likewise in the extreme, for the preacher must constantly guard against "stretching his analogy" and thus overworking the imaginations of those who would listen and learn from him. That R. JBL aptly avoided this is conclusively demonstrated in

the following examples:

- 1 Cant. 6.11: "I went down into the garden of nuts."

Israel are compared to a nut tree. Just as when a nut tree is pruned it is for its own good, since it renews its branches like hair that grows more quickly for being shorn, and like nails that grow more quickly for being pared, so whenever Israel are shorn of the fruits of their labor to give to those that labor in Torah, they are shorn for their own good, and it is soon replaced, and their wealth is increased in this world and their reward in the world to come. (63)

- 2 Jer. 11.16: "The Lord called you a green olive tree."

Why is Israel compared to a green olive tree? In order to tell you that just as a green olive tree has no eagles sitting on it, either on hot days or on rainy days, so it is that Israel will never countenance idleness, neither in this world nor in the world to come. (64)

- 3 Cant. 1.13: "A bundle of myrrh is my beloved unto me. It shall lie between my breasts."

The congregation of Israel said to God: "O Master of the World, when Thou distressest me and painest me, even then art Thou my beloved." (65)

- 4 Isa. 47.2: "Take millstones and grind meal."

Everyone grinds wheat, and you say "take millstones and grind meal." (Surely meal does not need grinding) What is meant is that Jerusalem spoke thus to the daughter of Babylon: "Had they not fought against me from heaven, couldst thou have prevailed against me? Had He not sent a fire in my bones, couldst thou have prevailed against me? In truth, thou didst grind meal already ground, thou didst slay a dead lion, thou didst burn a house already burnt." (66)

A great degree of Biblical erudition is displayed in the use of the relative text as a type of homiletical exegesis. The homiletical significance of the original text appears in full force only when it is viewed in relation to another verse found elsewhere in Scripture. This, of course, demands a

complete command of the text and is easily rendered meaningless by a faulty application of the supplementary verse.

- 1 Repentance effects complete atonement, but prayer only effects half atonement. Whence do we know this?

Jer. 22.30: "It was decreed that Jechonia should die childless, but he repented and had children."
(67)

Dt. 9.20: "The Lord was very angry with Aaron and threatened to destroy him לְהַשְׁמִיךְ."
R. Joshua b. Siknin says that לְהַשְׁמִיךְ (68) means "extinction of offspring"

"When Moses prayed on Aaron's behalf, half the decree was annulled, two sons died (69) and two remained." (70)

- 2 He who said "And the number of Israel shall be" (Hos. 2.1) goes on to say "which cannot be measured or numbered" (Hos. 2.11). This has reference to the evil ones only, e.g. "And the son of an Israelite woman went out and blasphemed the name" (Lev. 24.10f), "And Achan, son of Carmi, was taken" (Josh. 7.18).

"Now the name of the man of Israel that was slain was Zimri, son of Salu" (Num. 25.14).

It is such as these wicked in Israel that can be numbered. To the righteous applies the text:
"Which cannot be measured ~~nor~~ numbered." (71)

- 3 II Kings 19.35: "The angel of the Lord went forth and smote in the camp of the Assyrians." How many survived out of the army of Senacharrib? Five men, as is stated in Is. 17.6: "two (and) three berries in the top of the uppermost bough." (72)

The most elaborate type of exegesis is to be found in the use of the pictorial text. The thought here revolves around some particularly graphic word or phrase which it is the aim of the preacher to translate in vivid colors and with impressive effect. When R. JBL employs a pictorial text one notices clear evidence of restraint that adds im-

measurably to the inherent charm of the homily. Here, too, it would be quite simple for the preacher to allow his imaginings to run rampant and lose himself in a maze of figures and elaborate descriptions, but such is rarely the case with so mature an artist.

- 1 Ps. 19.11: "The droppings of the honey-comb."
צופים

What does this mean? This is the honey that comes from the comb, from the inner portion of the cells מן הצופיה. It is as clear as the call of the watchmen הצופים from the high mountains. (73)

- 2 Ps. 65.14: "The pastures are clothed with flocks."

When rain falls the cattle long to rut. What is the proof? "The rams כרים clothe the flocks." The males go up to the ewes, "pastures" being a more refined expression. (74)

- 3 Cant. 5.13: "His cheeks are like a bed of spices."

Each word that came forth out of the mouth of God filled the world as spices would. But, when the first word had filled the world as would spices, what happened to the second word? God brought forth a wind from His storehouse, and it brought the first word over first, as it states: "His lips are hyacinths, dropping flowing myrrh." Do not read "hyacinths" שושנים, but rather "were different" ששונים. Each word that went forth from the mouth of God carried with it the soul of Israel, as is said in Cant. 5.6: "My soul went forth with each word." But after their soul went forth with the first word, how did they receive the second word? God sent dew to the earth that the dead might be revived with it, and it revived them, as is said in Ps. 68.13: "A copious rain did Thou pour down, O God; Thine exhausted and worn-out land didst Thou reestablish." (75)

- 4 The boils that the Holy One, Blessed be He, brought upon the Egyptians were moist on the outside and dry on the inside, as is stated in Ex. 9.10: "And it produced sores that break into postules." (Rashi: in its breaking out, when it comes outside it bubbles, and this bubbling is wet, leaving the inside dry.) (76)

So much for the varying methods used by R. JBL in his treatment of Biblical texts. The variety of examples that has been ~~demonstrated~~ ^{PRESENTED} bears testimony to the fact that his artistry was of sufficient stature to enable him to handle the most difficult and the most remote of Biblical statements in his homilies. At no time did he succumb to the wiles of a lesser man by stretching his analogies or exhausting his allegories. Each homily is clear and concise; each text is fully utilized, and all of this is accomplished with a certain naturalness and charm that belie the pains and struggling for precision that went into their writing.

From the aforementioned five types of homiletical exegesis have emerged some seven or more major categories of homilies that were normally preached during the period contemporary to the time of R. JBL. The preacher might have employed any one of the types of exegesis noted above in the formation of his homily, but his decision as to how he was to utilize this particular approach determined the overall nature of the homily. In his desire to transmit a particular message to his listeners, it was first incumbent upon him to decide whether he chose to do so through the means of an example, an analogy, a proverb, a parable, an allegory, a fable or a legend. Our preacher does not make use of all of them; as an artist in his field, he had certain predispositions toward specific homiletical forms, favoring, for the most part, the proverb. In this study of his technique, however, the writer will strive to demonstrate instances in which he has utilized each of the forms, and, in doing so, will attempt to present a more well-rounded appreciation of

his homiletical ability.

The simplest form of the homily is the example, for in it the preacher takes a relatively simple verse from the text and expands it by way of parallelisms, analogies and word-plays to the point where it bears definite reference to some historical experience within the life of his people. The function of the example is two-fold: it offers the preacher an opportunity to attribute meaning to a somewhat irrelevant text, irrelevant from the standpoint of the larger homily that will grow out of its use, and it also plays an important part in the general philosophy of Biblical literature ^{which} ~~that~~ maintains that there is a transcendent bond running through the entire Bible tying all the events depicted therein into a dissoluble whole. Whether or not a message is to be drawn from this particular analogy or parallel is unimportant, for it plays but an expositional part in the general development of the homily. Its greatest significance lies in the fact that it renders that preacher an opportunity to teach, thus increasing his people's understanding of its literature.

If we suppose that R. JBL was dealing with the portion Va-Yetze, and ^{that} ~~it~~ was his purpose to preach at that particular time on the Exile, deriving his idea from the first word of the section, he would then attempt to demonstrate how the entire verse, not only the first word, had direct relevance to his subject.

Gen. 2811-12: "And Jacob went out from Beer-Sheba, and went toward Haran. He lighted upon the place and tarried there all night because the sun was set; he took one of the stones of the place and put

it under his head, and he lay down in that place to sleep. He dreamed and beheld a ladder set up on the earth; the top of it reached to heaven, and behold, the angels of God were ascending and descending on it."

We will now see how R. JBL referred this passage to the Exile, and it will become quite apparent that this particular incident in Jacob's life was symbolic to him of the exile of the children of Israel.

"And Jacob went out from Beer Sheba": This is to be understood as in the verse in Jer. 15.1: "Cast them out of My sight and let them go forth."

"And went toward Haran": This refers to Lam. 1.12: "Wherewith the Lord hath afflicted me in the day of His fierce anger." (77)

"And he lighted upon the place": This refers to Isa. 5.8: "Till there be no room." (78)

"And he tarried there all night because the sun was set": This refers to Jer. 15.9: "She that hath born seven languisheth; her spirit droopeth; her sun is set."

"And he took one of the stones of the place": This refers to Lam. 4.1: "The hallowed stones are poured out at the head of every street."

"And put it under his head": This refers to Jer. 13.18: "For your head tires are come down." (79)

"And lay down in that place to sleep": This refers to Jer. 3.25: "Let us lie down in our shame, and let our confusion cover us."

"He dreamed and beheld a ladder": This refers to the image (80) of Nebuchadnezzar.

"Set up on the earth": This refers to Dan. 3.1: "He set it up in the plain of Dura."

"And the top of it reached to heaven": This also refers to Dan. 3.1: "Whose height was threescore cubits."

"And behold, the angels of God": This refers to Hannaniah, Mishael and Azariah.

"Were ascending and descending on it": This refers to the fact that they were exalting him and debasing him, dancing, leaping and maligning him (Israel) as

demonstrated in Dan. 3.18: "Be it known unto thee, O King, that we will not serve thy gods." (81)

Another homily that can be classed in the category of the example is perhaps a bit simpler in its allusions and more definite in its references. Using Ps. 27.2 as his text, the preacher proceeds to demonstrate its clear connections with the historical instance of David and his relations with the Amalakites.

Ps. 27.2 "When evil doers pressed in upon me to eat up my flesh, my adversaries and my foes were mine."

"When evil doers pressed in upon me" is explained through I. Sam. 30.1: "And the Amalakites had made a raid upon the Negeb and upon Ziklag."

"To eat up my flesh" alludes to I. Sam. 30.5: "And David's two wives were taken captive."

"My adversaries and my foes were mine" alludes to I. Sam. 30.17: "And David smote them from the twilight until the evening of the next day." (82)

R. JBL obviously felt that since the Psalm could be attributed directly to the authorship of David, the allusion was clear inasmuch as it referred to his experience to the Amalakites.

There are many other such example-homilies that can be attributed to the authorship of R. JBL (83) but the two instances noted above will suffice to demonstrate his technique in handling this particular form. There is a certain mechanical aspect to the example-homily that deprives it of the grace of the other forms; perhaps this is the reason why R. JBL did not preach in this fashion more often. It might also be said that

its validity as a homiletical mechanism is subject to criticism, for it is quite apparent that the sermon does not grow logically out of the texts, but, on the contrary, the texts are ferreted out of the larger body of the literature to fit the purposes ordained for them.

The analogy, on the other hand, is a far more artistic means of exposition. In an effort to clarify the relationship between two distant ideas, the preacher brings one remote principle close to his audience by identifying it with another that is familiar to all. A very short, but pointed, example of this form of sermonizing is found in R. JBL's statement on the basis for the injunction that a man should be humble in all his dealings with his fellow-man. He takes the Rabbinic principle "No man is allowed to walk four Amahs with a proud carriage" and applies to it the Biblical statement in ISA 6.3: "For the whole earth is full of His glory." (84) The first principle is relatively dictatorial in its nature and is not readily accepted unless accompanied by a more familiar notion that renders a basis for it. The quotation from Isaiah accomplishes this task and gives meaning to the somewhat unrelated original statement. A man should practice humility on earth because he must be humble before his Creator, and, since the earth is filled with images of the Creator, man should exercise care that he be not pompous at any time. This can best be accomplished if the general rule is accepted that no man should allow himself to walk the shortest distance with a proud carriage.

One finds an equally clear expression of this form in the following statement regarding the reward for the performance of a mitzvah:

Whence do we know that if one performs a mitzvah, it is as if he has received the Shechina? From Ex. 23.17: "Three times a year all your males must visit the Lord, God." (85)

This analogy is a bit more complicated for it involves a word play. The Hebrew for "must visit the Lord, God," with a slight change in the vocalization, can be translated as "he will see the face of God." (86) However, with an understanding of the word-play, it is quite evident that the reward involved in the performance of a mitzvah, a theoretical concept at best, is a personal contact with God. The mitzvah, of course, in this case is the observance of the commandment to make three pilgrimages to the Temple at the time of the Pilgrimage Festivals - Pesach, Succot and Shebuoth.

There is a halachic principle mentioned in the Talmud involving attendance at the Pilgrimage Festivals. Its function is obvious inasmuch as it establishes an excuse for those who cannot afford either the time or money involved to make this trip that was, for many, a definite hardship. Although it is undoubtedly fair in its intention, it is simple to see that it might arouse some criticism on the part of those who are forced to attend. R. JBL allays these criticisms and justifies the detached principle by applying a familiar Biblical phrase that he considers to be adequate basis for its existence.

He who possesses no property is relieved of the responsibility of appearing in the Temple. Whence

do we know this? As it is stated in Ex. 34.24: "No one shall covet your land when you go up to visit your God three times a year." (87)

Since the verse in Exodus assumes that a man who makes a pilgrimage possesses land, the preacher makes the logical deduction that if a man has no land he is not required to make the journey. Thus, by applying the familiar, a verse from the Sacred Literature known to all, the preacher brings this remote injunction close to the experience of the people and renders it valid in an experiential sense as well as a legal expression. The function of the analogy is two-fold, therefore, in that it gives an authority for a statement at the same time that it brings the statement close to the lives of the people through the medium of its familiar literature.

One of the most common of our contemporary literary forms is the proverb. Its value was appreciated in the lives of our early antecedents and was often used to deepen the impression of a statement. Its beauty lies in its terseness and in its all-encompassing nature. As an expression of an ethical, legal or moral conclusion it has entered the thought patterns of every civilization and is scattered liberally throughout all literatures. It was the most popular single medium in the days of our preacher, and his sermons are permeated with such short cogent declarations. Because of their frequency in the homilies of R.JBL, the writer will quote a number of them in order to demonstrate the various forms in which they appeared..

- 1 Ps. 50.23: "And to him who heeds the way, I will show God's deliverance."

He who calculates his way (weighs the consequences of his doings) will be allowed to see the salvation of the Lord (in the hereafter). (88)

- 2 Ps. 50.23: "He who offers thanksgiving honors Me."

He who offers up his evil inclination and makes public confession regarding it, Scripture regards him as if he has honored God in both worlds, this one and the one to come. (89)

- 3 Dt. 4.44: "This is the code which Moses put before the Israelites."

A worthy one (90) will make of it a medicine of life. If one does not apply it properly, it will become a deadly poison for him. (91)

- 4 We must not rise for prayer in any other but a humble position. Whence do we know this? From the verse in Ps. 29.2: "Worship the Lord in the glory of the sanctuary." We must not read "in the glory of the sanctuary" but rather "in the fear of the sanctuary." (92)

- 5 A man who does not labor in the study of Torah is rebuked, as is stated in Prov. 11.22: "It is as a gold ring in the nose of a pig or a beautiful woman lacking in taste." (93)

No man can really be free unless he studies Torah, as is stated in Ex. 32.16: "And the writing was the writing of God graven upon the tablets." One should not read "graven" but rather "free." (94)

Any man who studies Torah constantly is exalted, as it is stated in Num. 21.19: "From Nahaliel to Bamoth." (95)

The proverbs noted above all demonstrate the use of the play-on-words to accomplish the desired interpretation of the Biblical verse brought into play in order to provide authority for the statement. There is another form of the proverb in the sermons of R. JBL that does not utilize this medium. The Biblical verse is still mentioned to add weight to the declara-

tion, but the maxim grows out of a normal interpretation of the text.

- 1 Repentance effects complete atonement, but prayer only effects half atonement. Whence do we know this? From the verses in Jer. 22.30 and Dt. 9.20:

Jer. 22.30: "It was decreed that Jehoniah should die childless, but he repented and had children." (96)

Dt. 9.20: "The Lord was very angry with Aaron and threatened to destroy him." (R. Joshua d'Siknin explained this reference by demonstrating that "to destroy" a man implies the extinction of his offspring, as is seen in Amos 2.9.) When Moses prayed on Aaron's behalf, half the decree was annulled; two sons died, and two sons remained alive, as is demonstrated in Lev. 10.2. (97)

- 2 Everyone who is accustomed to give charity is worthy of having sons who are wealthy men, men of wisdom and men skilled in agada.

"Men of wisdom" is derived from that which is written in Prov. 21.21: "He who follows after justice will find life, prosperity and honor." Finding life is the equivalent of finding wisdom, because of that which Rashi says: "All who find Me find life."

"Men of wealth" is derived from the fact that the verse also mentions prosperity.

"Men skilled in agada" is derived from the fact that the verse mentions honor, which Rashi explains by saying: "In their preaching and drawing out of the the heart, all who honor them." (98)

- 3 He who is born on the first day of the week shall be a man without one thing in him, without one thing in his favor (because in the beginning all was void and empty). He who is born on the second day of the week will be quarrelsome, because the waters were divided thereon. He who is born on the third day of the week will be rich, because herbs were created thereon. He who is born on the fourth day of the week will be wise and enlightened, because the lights were suspended thereon, and the Torah is a light. He who is born on the fifth day of the week will be charitable, because the fish and the birds were created thereon, and they are fed by God's loving-kindness. He who is born on the sixth day of the week will be zealous in the execution of his religious duties

(because God blessed all that He created on the sixth day). He who is born on the Sabbath will die on the Sabbath, because for his sake did they profane the Sabbath. (99)

The facility and artistry of the preacher is obvious when one takes note of the precision of his proverbs. Using as little verbiage as is possible, he captures a complicated thought and then renders it even more effective by supplying authority for it from the Scriptures. In doing this, the homilist demonstrates his own maturity as well as the maturity of the form.

One notices a common factor running through all the preceding categories of the homily. Although great ingenuity and imagination are displayed in the selection and relating of texts, in the creation of word-plays and in the formation of the terse pithy sayings that we have chosen to call Proverbs, nowhere *superfluous choice* is the independent creative ability of the homilist called into play. There is no original composition involved; one finds only masterful interpretations of texts in the light of other texts and an equally masterful demonstration of the subtleties of the language. The parable, however, demands of the preacher that he invent situations, for we find in it a description of an imaginary, but not impossible, situation in the light of which a text assumes new meaning and lustre.

R. JBL was not particularly predisposed to this form of preaching. We have examples, to be sure, but they go to make up a distinct minority of the greater body of his collected works.

Why he vied away from the parable is a mystery. It is a common

Biblical form, and the rabbinic literature is fraught with such literary expressions. Perhaps the parable was too indirect in its method for so positive a preacher. Perhaps the fact that he spoke mainly before audiences of scholars colored his style and discouraged the expansiveness of the parable. R. JBL was an economic preacher, never allowing a single word to be wasted in a sermon. This tendency, on his part, might well be the reason for the paucity of parables in the evidences of his techniques that have been preserved for our study.

His use of the parable, nonetheless, was most orthodox, and when he sought to express himself through this medium he did so with great alacrity. The following examples will demonstrate this fact:

- 1 Why is "that it was good" not written in connection with the second day? This is similar to a king who had a very stern and forboding legion and said: "Since the legion is so stern, let it not bear my name." Thus the Holy One, Blessed be He, said: "Since the generation of Enoch, the generation of the flood, and the generation of the separation of the races (Gen. 11.1-9) were punished through them (the waters that were created on the second day) let 'for it was good' not be written in connection therewith." (100)
- 2 It is reported that when Hananiah, Mishael and Azariah went up from the midst of the fiery furnace, they are no longer mentioned. They changed their locality and went to Joshua, the son of Jehozadak, to study Torah. This is what is meant by the verse in Zech. 3.8: "Hear now, O Joshua, the High Priest, thou and thy fellows that sit before thee, for they are a sign." (101)
- 3 What is written in Cant. 5.13? "His cheeks are like a bed of spices." Each word that came forth from the mouth of God filled the world as spices would. When the first word had filled the world as would spices,

what happened to the second word? God brought forth a wind from His storehouse and it brought the first word over first, as it states: "His lips are hyacinths, dropping flowing myrrh." Do not read "hyacinths" but rather "were different." (102)

Each word that went forth from the mouth of God carried with it the soul of Israel, as is said in Cant. 5.6: "My soul went forth with each word." But after their soul went forth with the first word, how then did they receive the second word? God sent dew to the earth that the dead might be revived with it, and it revived them, as it is said in Ps. 68.10 "A copious rain didst Thou pour down; Thine ~~and~~ exhausted and worn-out land didst Thou reestablish!." (103)

- 4 There is a parable regarding a king who gave a feast. He invited guests and seated them at the doorway of his palace. They saw that dogs were coming out of the door with pheasants in the mouths, the upper parts of onions, the heads of heifers, and they commented: "If such is the food for the dogs, how much better will our food be!" The nations of the world can be compared to these dogs, as is stated in Isa. 56.11: "The dogs are greedy," and they shall dwell in peace in this world. If such is so, will not Israel, who is not greedy, dwell in peace in the world to come? This is stated in Ps. 4.8: "Thou hast put joy in my heart, more than in the time that their grain and wine increase." (104)
- 5 There was a king who had two daughters, an elder and a younger, whom he neglected to marry. He left them for many years and went abroad. The daughters, thereupon, took the law into their own hands and found husbands, each one taking from her husband his signature (on the marriage document) and his seal. When the king returned home he heard tales that his daughters had misconducted themselves, so he issued a proclamation that all the people should assemble in the stadium, and he, himself, would come and conduct court there. He said to his daughters: "Have you really acted thus and misconducted yourselves?" Forthwith, each one produced the signature and seal of her husband. He summoned his son-in-law and asked him whom he had married. He replied: "I am your first son-in-law, the husband of your elder daughter." "What is this?" he said to him. "This," the son-in-law replied, "is my seal, and this is my ring." The king did similarly with the second and thereupon said: "My daughters have guarded themselves against immorality; do you malign and abuse them? I swear that I will punish you." So

do the heathen nations taunt Israel, saying that they are children of the Egyptians. "If the Egyptians could rule over their souls," they say, "could they not also rule over their wives?" Thereupon the Holy One, Blessed be He, testified against them saying (Cant. 4.12) "A garden shut up is My sister, My bride." What is meant by a "garden shut up?" This means a sealed fountain - a virgin.
(105)

So it was that R. JBL would preach in a parable. Slavishly he adhered to the limitations of his text and his figure. Using the last parable as an example of his integrity of form, one might interpret it in the following manner. The king is God; the two daughters - Israel and Judah; the two husbands - their respective kings; the seal and the signature of their marriage contract - the Torah and the Tabernacle; the tale-bearers - the heathen nations who have sought to win Israel and Judah over to the worship of idols and have failed, who, as a consequence, seek to intimidate them in the eyes of their God; the punishment - their disappearance in history. Although its format is as delicate and intricate as fine lace, there is no stress or strain; every allusion is clear. As a part of academic procedure, however, the parable is cumbersome, demanding much of the preacher and giving little but the beauty of a fertile imagination in return. The very last section would have been sufficient to explain the verse in Canticles most thoroughly. Perhaps this is why we do not find the parable in greater frequency in the writings of R. JBL.

As the parable is an extended simile, so is the allegory an extended metaphor. When a preacher utilizes the allegorical

form, he seeks, by means of a person or object of sense, to render concreteness or dramatic intensity to an abstract truth. The allegory, possessing the same intrinsic beauty of form as does the parable, poses the same problems to the preacher who is delivering a sermon to a well-educated audience. It, too, is burdening; it, too, involves a complicated structure, a circumvention of the salient point, sacrificing definiteness and terseness to grace and beauty of expression. R. JBL had no greater predisposition for the allegory than he did for the parable and used the form rarely. The examples that are extant, however, demonstrate the same finished literary technique, the same discipline and the same exactness of reference. Several examples will suffice to show R. JBL's flare for allegory, but the fact that such expressions are so few in number are a constant reminder to us that this particular form was not considered as being particularly desirable by our preacher.

- 1 Cant. 6.11: "I went down into the garden of nuts."

Israel is compared to a nut tree. Just as when a nut tree is pruned it is for its own good since it renews its branches like hair that grows more quickly for being shorn and like nails that grow more quickly for being pared, so - whenever the Israelites are shorn of the fruits of their labor in the Torah, they are shorn for their own good, and it is soon replaced, and their wealth is increased in this world and their reward in the world to come. (106)

- 2 Jer. 11.6: "The Lord called you a green olive tree."

Why is Israel here compared to a green olive tree? In order to tell you that just as an olive tree has no eagles sitting on it either on hot days or on rainy days, so it is that Israel will never countenance idleness, neither in this world, nor in the world to come. (107)

The fable can be described as a modified allegory, restricted in its choice of characters, however, to animals. A careful survey of all of the sermons of R. JBL has failed to produce a single instance of such a homiletical style. We have no idea as to the reasons for R. JBL's refusal to use this form. It was certainly prevalent in his time and was a most common preaching technique among his contemporaries. It must suffice, at this point, to state that there is not a single instance of the fable-form in the sermons of our preacher.

The legend, the final example in the categories of the homily, is another of the rarely utilized forms of sermonic expression to be found in the writings of R. JBL. Being quite expansive in nature, it can be included in the very general classification of elaborate homilies along with the parable and the allegory. Since none of these are found in any appreciable number among the sermons of our preacher, perhaps it is now safe to assume that he purposefully avoided these complicated forms. Normally, the legend can be divided into two classes: 1) those that spring from the text and are vitally related to it, and 2) those that do not come from the text, but - effected by the preacher, - they become linked with the text and clearly are illustrative of his thought. (At a later point in this dissertation the writer will have an opportunity to examine this second group of legends, for there are many that have been written about R. JBL by others.) At this time, however, we must content ourselves with the one example of the legend that is found in

the collected sermons of our subject. It stands alone but is still of interest to us as an expression of R. JBL's homiletical technique. It is long and imaginative; it draws on the Bible for texts to substantiate and clarify the issues involved; its is built around a historical character in the life of the Jewish people; it utilizes word-plays, verse comparisons and eschatological material, and, finally, it involves a principle that has always been an important part of the life of the people, and it seeks to substantiate this principle through historical references.

When Israel stood before Mt. Sinai, since they had participated in the act (of making the golden calf), Moses left no piece of ground on the mountain upon which he did not prostrate himself and beg mercy for Israel, but he was not answered, and five destroying angels attached themselves to him, viz. "wrath," "destruction," "annihilation," "anger" and "hot displeasure." Moses was at once afraid of them, so what did he do? He had recourse to the deeds of the Patriarchs, and he immediately recalled them and said: "Remember Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, Thy servants" (Ex. 37.13). God, then, spoke to him and said: "Moses, what claim have the Patriarchs of old upon Me? If I come to examine them, I have grievances against them: against Abraham for saying 'Whereby shall I know that I shall inherit it?' (Gen. 15.8); against Isaac, as it is stated: 'Now Isaac loved Esau, whereas I hated him.' (Gen. 25.28) This is substantiated in Mal. 1.3: 'But Esau I hated.' Against Jacob for saying: 'My way is hid from the Lord' (Isa. 40.27)." When, however, Moses said: "To whom Thou didst swear by Thine Ownself," (Ex. 32.13) the Holy One, Blessed be He, was filled with compassion for them, as it is stated: "The Lord repented of the evil which He said He would do unto His people" (Ex. 3.14). Forthwith, three of the destroying angels departed from him, and two were left, viz. "anger" and "hot displeasure," as it is written: "For I was in dread of anger and hot displeasure" (Dt. 9.19). Moses then said to God: "Lord of the Universe, can I stand before two of them? Do Thou tackle one, and I the other." That is written in Ps. 7.7: "Arise, O Lord, against Thine anger." Whence is it known that Moses stood against one? He stood against the angel "hot displeasure," as

it is stated in Ps. 106.23: "Therefore He said that He would destroy them, but not Moses, His chosen one, stood before Him in the breach to turn back His hot displeasure lest it should destroy them." Concerning that time, Ecc. 4.2 declares: "Wherefore I praised the dead that are already dead more than the living that are yet alive." (The merit of the dead Patriarchs was able to secure mercy for Israel, whereas Moses had been unsuccessful.) (108)

Thus we see, through a careful consideration of the various homiletical techniques of R. JBL, that he might well be placed among the preachers par excellence. With a single insignificant exception, he made use of all the homiletical forms extant at his time. Nowhere has he fallen short of our expectations regarding his exceptional ability. It is little wonder that he is one of the most frequently quoted scholars in rabbinic literature. His style was impeccable, his artistic integrity beyond any doubt.

If we, however, were to consider him only from the point of view of his ^esthetic achievement, we would be doing the man a grave injustice. No personality could have achieved his popularity on the basis of such a superficial accomplishment. The man, obviously, had something to say. He was not a cold outline bereft of substance. On the contrary, he possessed one of the most fertile minds of his generation - a rare combination of the philosophical, theological and sociological evaluations of his civilization. He was a man, above all, who responded to contemporary stresses splendidly. As we proceed with this dissertation we will attempt to define his opinions and to describe his reactions through the medium of his

homilies. We will strive to paint as clear a picture of R. JBL, the personality, as we have of R. JBL, the preacher and teacher.

THE THEOLOGY OF RABBI JOSHUA BEN LEVI

Implicit in the title given it is the fact that the Talmudic Period in Jewish history was not one of dogma or limited religious doctrine. That glorious era was, in truth, Israel in its adolescence. The set patterns of its infancy, established in the exciting, provoking and inspiring proclamations of the prophets had taken hold, but, in the centuries following the turn of the era, they first began to drive the Jewish people toward the creation of a definite personality. The writings of the Tannaim occupied a most important place in the life of the people; they regulated their daily existences and provided a legal system by which they might establish a well-ordered communal life, but, in all their complexity, they were to be considered elementary when compared to the products of the age that was to follow. The Bible and the Mishnah might well be placed in the same relationship to the growth of Israel as parental influences apply themselves in the growth of a child. ?

The child Israel, however, had finally reached the moment of questioning. No more was its life one of accepting authority as the untutored accepts the wisdom of his elders, and, in direct proportion to his willingness to be accommodating, abides by it or rebels against it. In the second, third and fourth centuries of this era, Israel evaluated its heritage; its sages tested the wisdom of tradition, meticulously argued the validity of the minutia that confronted them, and set about systematically to create a definite pattern that would meet the needs of a fast

maturing group, that would adjust the contributions of its history to the rapidly changing demands of communal living. As a result of this, there was no "theology" that came out of the Talmudic Period, no single ordered concept of God, no clearly defined program for the spiritual life. There were mystics and rationalists alike in the ranks of those who weighed and reweighed Judaism as a way of life. There were assimilationists who mirrored the salient points of neighboring cultures in their opinions, and there were ardent nationalists who strove frantically to preserve the uniqueness of the culture of their own people. All had their followers, their schools that echoed their teachings, but only a few possessed the greatness to outlast the vicissitudes of so revolutionary a period in Jewish life. Our Talmud is filled with insignificant names and even more insignificant references that are of historical interest alone, but there are but a precious few whose words emerge to us today clothed in even greater intensity than they possessed at the time of their utterance.

R. JBL is one of these giants, and, when we think in terms of his theology, we must think of a man who labored in the midst of this great period of change. His writings are filled with polemics against the opposing forces of his time. Rome was in its decline, Christianity was on the rise, the destiny of Israel was uncertain, each individual had social and political interests to maintain; all of these factors must be considered when one seeks to understand the creations of a thoughtful man who was destined to live during this period of history. There

is no doubt that R. JBL had a theology, but, when one looks at it to be as well-ordered as that of our modern theologians, only disappointment can follow in the wake of the search.

There will be many problems on which he expresses no opinion; his conclusions will be colored by his particular spiritual bent, but his contributions are magnificent, and we shall proceed to survey them. For purposes of convenience, we will divide his conclusions into six major categories: God, Torah, Israel, Immortality, Eschatology, Prayer and Ritual.

SECTION I: GOD

If there has been any change in the science of theology since its birth it can be attributed to the fact that there has been a constant striving against the natural limitations of the theologian to describe God in phenomenological terms. This, of course, has been true of every science, and one need only look to mathematics, as it is considered today, to understand this point in all its implications. Whereas the earliest mathematics was a tortured study of the numerical relationships of crude objects that could readily be observed by the senses, modern mathematics and physics, a natural by-product, concern themselves almost exclusively today with the most remote concept of the integer and extend themselves into the realm of absolute space relationship. The progress in theology is somewhat analogous, and when one enters into a study of the theological views of a scholar who appeared early in the history of his people he cannot expect to find statements comparable to those of a Soren Kirkegaard, Karl Barth or Emil Brunner. There was little or no objectivity in the earliest theologies. God was considered only in terms of his relationships with humanity and the physical manifestations of the world which He created. So it was with R. JBL when he proceeded to describe and discuss the nature of his God.

God, for this scholar was, first of all, great, mighty and awe-inspiring. (109) Great and mighty was He, to be certain, beyond the imaginings of man, but, nonetheless, His attributes

were all to be considered in a frame of reference relative to human attainments. In addition to this, God evidenced human reactions. He ~~mourned~~ mourned for Israel during the exile as a father does for a lost child.

The Holy One, blessed be He, summoned the ministering angels and said to them: "If a human king has a son who died and mourns for him, what is it customary for him to do?" They replied: "He hangs sackcloth over his door." He said to them: "I will do likewise," and it is written in Isa. 50.3: "I clothe the heavens with blackness and I make sackcloth their covering." He again asked them: "What does a human king do when mourning?" They replied, "He extinguishes the lamps." He said to them: "I will do likewise," as it is said in Joel 2.10: "The sun and the moon are become black and the stars withdrawn their shining." "What does a human king do?" They replied: "He overturns his couch." He said to them: "I will do likewise," as is said in Dan. 7.9: "Till thrones were cast down, and one that was ancient of days did sit," if it is possible to say so, they were overturned. "What does a human king do?" "He walks barefoot." He said to them: "I will do likewise," as it is stated in Nahum 1.3: "The Lord, in the whirlwind and in the storm is His way, and the clouds are the dust of His feet." "What does a human king do?" They replied: "He rends his purple robes." He replied: "I will do likewise," as it is written in Lam. 2.17: "The Lord hath done that which He devised, He hath performed His word." (R. Jacob of Kefar-Hanan explained: "What means נָרַח ? "He rent his purple..." (110) — "What does a human king do?" "He sits in silence." He said to them: "I will do likewise," as it is stated in Lam, 3.28: "He sitteth alone and keepeth silence." (111)

According to this parable, God not only mourned in the fashion of His creatures, but He meticulously observed all the intricacies of the ritual. So great was His sorrow at having to punish His children that He went out of His way to seek additional ways to demonstrate His sadness. The above example is the most anthropomorphic of all of R. JBL's descriptions of God. Were it from the pen of another preacher one might think this to be a

mere extension into the realm of fantasy, but, as we shall see from subsequent homilies, R. JHL thought of God constantly in these terms and exhibits and almost child-like intimacy with his Creator and the Master of the World. He was a pious man, considered a Hassid in his time; he believed in his powers to bring on rain through prayer (112), and he was constantly encouraged by his followers in his ecstaticism. In the light of these factors, it is not difficult to understand his allusions to God in this vein.

But what of God's other attributes? He was not only to be considered as the harsh but repentant parent who had been forced to punish a rebellious child; He also possessed the sublime quality of forgiveness. When He saw fit to forgive wrongdoing, His act was final and complete. No longer could there be any reason for the sinner to suffer shame after his repentance had touched God successfully.

Ps. 31.2: "In Thee, O Lord, I have taken refuge, let me never more be put to shame; through Thy justification deliver me."

The book of Ezekiel was written for the sake of this one verse: Ez. 16.63: "That you might never remember and feel ashamed, and never again open your mouth for shame when I forgive you for all that you have done" this is sufficient. (113)

God's grace was not only manifested in the magnificence of His forgiveness; He was also the essence of sympathy and understanding and constantly extended Himself to those who could offer but little in return. We possess an eloquent homily that deals with this aspect of God's nature. In the following illustration we see, most clearly, a practical application

of the Prophetic idea of sacrifice; we see how God joyfully accepts true humility as a substitute for the most elaborate offerings, how he who is lowly of spirit is recognized by God as if he has offered up innumerable sacrifices on the altar of the Temple.

Come and see how great are the lowly of spirit in the esteem of God. At the time when the Temple was established, if a man were to bring a burnt offering he would receive credit for having brought it; if he would bring a meal offering he would receive credit for having brought it. But as for him who is lowly of spirit, Scripture regards him as if he had offered up all the offerings. This is stated in Ps. 51.19: "The sacrifice of God is a broken spirit", and this requires that his prayer be not despised, for it goes on to say: "A broken and a contrite heart, O God, Thou wilt not despise." (114)

This benign parent, who asked only for the true love of His children was forced, at time, to encourage such expressions; Israel was often rebellious, the created ones shamefully neglected the Creator. This forced God to exercise His power in history so that He might bring them to a point where they would come to Him, looking for aid and counsel. He caused trouble for Israel just so that they would have an opportunity to cry out to Him, for this was the relationship that He desired: Israel was to have complete faith in its God as helper and guide. (115)

Ex. 14.15: "And the Lord said unto Moses: 'Wherefore criest thou unto Me?'"

It is like a king's friend who was concerned about a matter and came crying to the king. The king said: "Why do you cry? You have only to decree and I will perform it." So did God speak unto Moses: "Wherefore criest thou unto Me? Speak, and I will perform thy will." (116)

Out of this Father-son, Guardian-ward relationship, however, came a more important factor. God could succumb to human emotions, this is true, but beyond such feelings there was an inevitable realization, a

truly Divine sense of justice that set Him apart from mankind and reinforced His godliness. Moses, His chosen one, could question God, could try God, and this he did:

Moses spoke thus: "Lord of the Universe, were the Patriarchs of the world righteous or wicked? Do make a distinction between one case and the other; if they were wicked, then Thou art fully justified in doing thus to Thy children, because their ancestors have no good deeds to their credit with Thee, but, if they were righteous, grant Israel the reward of their ancestors' deeds." (117)

But when the spies, however, questioned God's wisdom in giving Israel the land of Canaan as an inheritance, they were punished and never allowed to view it. (118) His justice was inexorable. The wicked are hampered in their actions to achieve prominence so that the righteous might have an opportunity to assume their rightful place. (119) Jerusalem had to fall to the Romans because of the waywardness of Israel, and God would not even allow the Shechina to aid in its defense. (120) God refused to bargain with Abraham when he sought to convince Him, on behalf of Sodom and Gémorrah, that the conglomerate good of a community might outweigh the evil of any single member thereof. (121) God's vengeance against Babylon was unimpeachable; not even Daniel, in all his greatness, was allowed to counsel Nebuchadnezzar that he might avoid God's wrath. Neither was Daniel allowed to pray for Babylon that God's anger might be assuaged. (122) There was no intimacy in R. JBL's concept of God's justice. This was considered on a very clearly defined level and was at no time to be tampered with.

Such was our preacher's understanding of God: human in many respects, but Divine in His wisdom and His justice. He worked directly in the affairs of men. His vengeance was inexorable against those who angered Him, but His grace and generosity were unending to those who truly loved Him, even though they might occasionally slip from the path that He had laid out for them. It was inevitable that He should receive the prayer of His people, that He should accept their repentance. The One who had created man was not totally beyond him, but no man could tamper with His criteria of righteousness. This was a God who demanded reverence and respect in His transcendence, but who, in His immanence, was constantly at the beck and call of each of His creatures.

SECTION 2: TORAH

If the root of the faith of R.JBL was in God, then its flower was the Torah, the breathtaking culmination of the spiritual life of his people. Tangible evidence of the everlasting covenant between God and Israel, it occupied a position in the thinking of the Jew second to none. The study of Torah was the great imperative in the tradition of Israel, and, to live in accordance with its teachings, the sine qua non of the good life.

In order to stress the magnitude of this instrument of Divine revelation, R. JBL recounts a legend regarding the reaction in Heaven to God's giving the Torah to Moses. As will be pointed out in the following, there was a belief current

in R. JBL's time that the Torah, before it was given to man at Sinai, was the prized possession of the angels, a trust placed in their hands by God for safekeeping.

When Moses climbed the height, the ministering angels said to God: "What is this mortal, born of woman, doing among us?" God answered: "He has come to receive the Law." They said: "Can it be that You wish to take this code of law that has been reserved for You for nine hundred and seventy-four generations, and give it to a mere mortal? It is said in the Book of Psalms: (Ps. 8.5) 'What is man that Thou shouldst think of him, and the son of man that Thou shouldst care for him?' It further states: (Ps. 8.3) 'O Lord, our Lord, how glorious is Thy name in all the earth; Thou whose praise is sung to the heavens.'" Then God said to Moses: "Can you answer them?" Moses replied to God: "O Master of the World, I am afraid lest they destroy me with the vanity of their speech." God said: "Sieve the throne of My glory and refute their argument," as it is said in Job. 26.9: "He enclosed the front of His throne, spreading out His cloud over it." Moses answered: "O Master of the World, what is written in this Torah that You are about to give me? You begin by saying: 'I am the Lord your God who brought you out of the Land of Egypt'; did You take the angels to Egypt, did You enslave them to Pharaoh? (to the angels) What meaning has this Torah for you? Again, what is written in it: 'You shall not worship other Gods'. Do you dwell among people who worship idols? And more: 'Remember the Sabbath day'; do any of you work that you might need a day of rest? 'Thou shalt not bear false witness.' Are any of you engaged in business? 'Honor thy father and thy mother.' Have you fathers and mothers? 'Thou shalt not murder, thou shalt not commit adultery, thou shalt not steal.' Is there any envy among you? Is there even the slightest intimation of the presence of an evil inclination in your eyes?" Immediately the angels began to praise God saying: "O Lord our Lord, how glorious is Thy name in all the earth." (123)

This legend points out several facts regarding R. JBL's concept of the Torah and its function. It was written long before it was given to Moses at Sinai, and it was considered as a most prized possession by the angels. It was an exalted

expression of social conduct and was intended to meet the needs of a man living in a community. Before it could be given to man, God had to be certain that man realized its importance and its function, that man would be willing to jeopardize his life to attain and retain possession of it. It was a gift given by God of His own volition; He was not compelled by His covenant with Israel to entrust it to them.

Such was the nature of this great gift of God to Moses. It assumed a position so important in Jewish life that it became the distinctive mark of an Israelite to have a profound respect for the study of Torah and a deep-seated love for the House of Study that grew up around it.

II Sam. 17.25 states: "Ithra the Jesraelite" and II Chron. 2.17 states: "Jether the Israelite." R. Samuel b. Nachmani said: "He was an Ishmaelite, and yet you call him Israelite. He entered the House of Study and found Jesse there expounding the verse: 'Look unto Me, and be ye saved, all the ends of the earth' Isa. 45.22. Immediately he became converted, and Jesse gave him his daughter for a wife." The Rabbis say: "He was an Israelite, and yet you call him an Ishmaelite. He was an Israelite, and yet he girded on his sword like an Ishmaelite and stuck it in the middle of the House of Study and exclaimed: 'Either I will slay or be slain until I establish this law publicly: Ammonite but not Ammonitess, Moabite but not Moabitess.'" (124)

This man, Ithra, or Jether, of dubious national affiliation, was considered an Israelite when he honored the Torah and the House of Study, but, as soon as he demonstrated a lack of respect for its sanctity, he was denied membership among the Israelites and relegated to the descendants of Esau - the Ishmaelites. Such was the significance of the love of Torah and study in Jewish life.

Such a love, even though it was a minimal requirement, was not to go unrewarded.

This matter is written in the Torah, a second time in the Prophets and a third time in the Hagiographa: "Any man who works in Torah will become very prosperous."

Dt. 29.8: "Be careful then to observe the terms of this covenant that you may succeed in everything that you undertake."

Josh. 1.8: "This book of the law must never be off your lips, but you must muse over it day and night, that you may be careful to comply with all that is written in it; for then you shall make your life prosperous, and you shall succeed."

Ps. 1.2-3: "For his delight is in the law of the Lord, and in His law does he meditate day and night. For he is like a tree planted by streams of water, that yields its fruit in its season, and whose leaf does not wither, and whatever it bears comes to maturity (and whatsoever he doeth shall prosper)" (125)

The love of Torah, however, often brought pain in its wake as well as reward. It was not a simple matter for a man to think and live as a Jew in the early centuries of this era. There were many factors in his community that militated against such an existence. Less than a century before R. JBL's time men had been burned at the stake, punished and tortured in a most inhuman fashion, all because they had refused to relinquish their right to study God's word. Such experiences plague the memory and remain with a people long after the smoke of the pyre has disappeared. The trials need not be so severe to point up the difficulties involved in the preservation of a culture. The mere fact that men were often called upon to sacrifice of their wealth and their external comforts to foster the study of Torah was sufficient to give rise to much thought on the

matter.

Cant, 6.11: "I went down into the garden of nuts"

Israel are compared to a nut tree. Just as when a nut tree is pruned, it is for its own good since it renews its branches like hair that grows more quickly for being shorn and like nails that grow more quickly for being pared, so whenever Israel are shorn of the fruits of their labor to give to those who labor in Torah, they are shorn for their own good, and it is soon replaced, and their wealth is increased in this world, and their reward in the next. (126)

Such sacrifices as those mentioned in the above homily were called "chastizements of Divine love." The true chastizement of God was of such a nature that it caused a man to neglect the study of the Torah.

Any trouble that comes upon a man that causes him to neglect the study of Torah is considered as a chastizement by God, but those troubles that come upon men and do not cause them to neglect the study of Torah are considered chastizements of love, for it is said in Prov. 3.12: "Whom the Lord loveth, He correcteth." (127)

The reason for this differentiation is obvious. The Torah is the physical representation of the covenant that exists between God and Israel. If a man neglected the Torah he, in effect, neglected the provisions of the covenant. Legend had it that every day a bat kol came forth from Mt. Horeb saying "Woe be unto those who insult the Torah." (128) Such a thing was necessary, for the only occasion for God's weeping was over the abrogation of the Torah.

Lam. 1.13: "For all these things I weep."

This bears reference to the abrogation of the Torah, regarding which it is said: "These are the statutes and the commandments." (Dt. 12.1) (129)

One may readily conclude from this that the Torah occupied

a central place in the thinking of R. JBL. It was, without any doubt, the most important single religious artifice in the culture of Israel. As such, our preacher rendered it great respect and demanded that all know it and love it as he did. The Torah was God's special gift to Israel; the love of it brought magnificent reward, and its neglect incurred the severest of punishments.

SECTION 3. ISRAEL

One of the keystones of R. JBL's theology is his concept of the personality of Israel. His considerations are two-fold, for they include both the historical aspects of Israel's growth and the peculiar relationship that Israel experienced with God. One finds, included in the second factor, the explanations for the various contacts that Israel had with other nations of the world, for they cannot be understood as normal within the framework of history. They responded to constant divine control and intervention; they were the direct result of God's interest in Israel, and not, as some may think, the chance products of an unguided historical process.

Even though R. JBL observed that the relationship between God and Israel was most intimate, that "an iron curtain would not be able to separate Israel from its Father in heaven," (130) he remarked that, at first, "Israel" the name given to the people, was just like all the names of the other nations. When they accepted the Torah, however, God finally decided to call them "My people."

Ps. 50.7: "Hear, O My people, and let Me speak"

In the past, "Israel" was your name because you had not received My Torah; it was like the names of the other nations: Seba, Havilah, Sabtah, Raamah and Sabeteca. (Gen 10.7) As soon as you received My Torah, however, you became known as "My people."
(131)

This historical explanation of the principle of the covenantal relationship between Israel and God at first appears to be an over-simplification of the phenomenon, but, fortunately or unfortunately, this was the extent of the covenant to R. JBL. Although he felt Israel to be absolutely necessary for the existence of the world,

Zech. 3.10: "For like the four winds of the heavens I will make you fly."

It does not say "with the four winds," but rather "like the four winds," which is to tell you that just as it is impossible for there to be a world without winds, so would it also be impossible for there to be a world without Israel. (132)

at no time does he speak in terms of the "servant" idea of Isaiah or of the usual prophetic dynamic interpretations of the "mission of Israel." A proof based on an omission could hardly be considered valid; it would be tantamount to saying that there was radio in Biblical times because the archaeologists have failed to discover any wires in their expeditions, but the writer would like to indulge himself at this moment and offer his belief that, because of the stress of the times and the prolonged trauma that succeeded the devastation of Palestine by the Romans in 70 C.E. and the subsequent persecution, suppression and pillage that took place under the armies of Hadrian, there would have been but little room for the "mission idea" in the sermons of contemporary preachers. Perhaps, in

this way, we can explain this obvious lapse in the succession of R. JBL's thoughts concerning Israel's part in the formation of the destiny of the world. There is a vague intimation of such a thesis in the following homily, but one readily notices that it lacks the vitality and the positiveness of the message of the prophets.

Why is Israel compared to a female in Cant. 1.5: "I am black but comely?" Because just as a female receives a burden and discharges it, receives and discharges it, and then receives no more (becomes pregnant and gives birth until she becomes too old for child bearing), so Israel are enslaved and delivered, enslaved and delivered and then enslaved no more. (133)

It is only fitting, however, that God should cling to Israel, --

Ex. 19.5: "You shall be My ל very own."

In the word ל, the ל is the largest of the letters and the . is the smallest. It is fitting that the great should cling to the small, as we see in Ps. 147.5: "Great is our Lord and abounding in strength," and then again in Dt. 7.7: "For you were the smallest of all the people." (134)

and as a token of the insoluble union, God brought the Shechina down from heaven and spread it over the earth especially for Israel.

What is the meaning of the verse in Zech 2.9: "And I will be the splendor within her?" It is to teach you that for those of Israel, out of all those who dwell in the world, did God bring down His Shechina from the highest heavens and spread it out over the earth. (135)

This was done to protect Israel from those who would malign her or endanger her well-being. But, R. JBL adds, if Israel would be victorious over those who threaten her, ^{her people} ~~she~~ must always band together and face them as a united group.

Ex. 1.10-12: "See the Israelites have become too strong for us, etc."

Nearly eight times did Israel band together in brotherhood against Egypt. And ^{what} were the reasons? The Egyptians said: "Come, let us take precautions against them 17". And then, in the midst of this, God gathered them together and saved them, as it is said in Ex. 3.8: "And I shall go down and save them 17'xh7 from Egypt. (136)

It is apparent that our preacher was troubled with the problem of assimilation in his time. In a sense, he was more liberal than his predecessors, for he realized that it was possible for Israel to gain a great deal from the cultures round about it, but he carried high the banner of isolationism and seriously berated those who took for themselves the unwholesome practices of their neighbors.

It states in Ez. 5.7: "You have not even conformed to the ordinances of the nations round about you." It says later, however, in Ez. 11.12: "You have conformed to the practices of the nations that are round about you." This means that Israel had not assimilated ~~ed~~ the worthwhile aspects of the culture of its neighbors, but had assimilated their follies. (137)

He strengthened his position on this problem by referring back to the matter of idol worship in Biblical times and demonstrated how God went out of His way to emphasize the prohibition against worshipping other gods.

God said: "Seeing that the penalty for idol worship is so severe, I must forewarn Israel against it so that they should not later on say: 'Had we been warned, we would have kept away from it.'" God then said to Isaiah: "Do not think that I have not warned Israel against idol worship long ago. Already, long before they came to Sinai to receive the Torah, I warned them against idolatry." For so it is written (Isa. 48.5): "Therefore I have declared it to thee from of old; before thou camest, I announced it to thee." God continued: "Before you came to Sinai have I caused you to hear the blessings and the curses. (Lev. 26) Why? Lest you should say: 'Mine idol hath done them, and my graven image and my molten image hath commanded them' (Isa. 48.5) Therefore, have I forewarned them concerning idolatry, as it is through Moses My servant

have I forewarned them." Whence do we know this? From what is written in the text of Dt. 4. 22ff: "When thou shalt beget children and children's children and grow old in the land, if you act perniciously by carving an image in the shape of anything at all, and do what is evil in the sight of the Lord, your God, thus provoking Him to jealousy, I call heaven and earth to witness against you this day, that you shall perish completely from the land which you are about to cross the Jordan to occupy." (138)

For the most part, the nations of the world had militated against Israel in its history, and it was quite understandable that R. JBL did not consider it particularly desirable for the Israelites to adopt their practices.

Had the nations of the world known that when Israel sinned, they, too, would be punished, they would have appointed two guards that they might guard each and every Israelite (to keep them from sinning). But it was not enough for them that they had failed to guard Israel (from sinning); they went so far as to deter them from carrying out the commandments. Therefore, when Israel sins all the world suffers, as is stated in Hag. 1.10: "Therefore the heavens above you withheld their dew, and the earth withholds its increase." But, when they do not sin, all the world is blessed because of them, as it is said in Gen. 28.4: "All the nations of the earth will invoke blessings on one another through your descendants" (139)

If, nevertheless, a nation should work or pray for the good of Israel, God will bring them happiness.

The Holy One, Blessed be He, said: "You have finished destroying My House and exiling My children. Ask after its peace (Jerusalem's), and I will forgive you." What does this mean? Ps. 122.6: "Pray for the peace of Jerusalem; they will prosper who love you." (140)

In conclusion, our preacher felt that Israel was bound intimately to God through the Torah, and its primary task was to preserve this relationship by adhering to the statutes of Divine law. Israel was God's particular people, indispensable

to world history, and must guard its peculiar heritage against the infiltration of foreign influences. Whether it had a mission to perform on earth or not is not brought out in the homilies, but one thing was certain: the well-being of all the world was directly proportionate to Israel's position in it.

SECTION 4: IMMORTALITY AND THE MESSIANIC ERA

It is quite possible that there might have been a strong Messianic movement afoot during the lifetime of R. JBL. At a later point in this essay, the writer will discuss the part that he may or may not have played in it according to the reports handed down to us through legends or the Gaonic Period. Let it suffice to say at this instant, however, that considerations of the life after death, of the Messianic Era, of ultimate reward and punishment and of resurrection were most common and quite clearly defined in the thinking of his time, and he was as articulate as any in his expressions on these problems. We cannot separate the element of immortality from the concept of the Messiah and the Messianic Era, for they run hand in hand throughout his sermons. They blend together to create a larger picture of all that awaits man beyond this world. Under the influence of Phinehas ben Jair, R. JBL considered himself, in some respects, to be like the Essenes, always prepared for the coming of the Messiah and the life after death. (141) Living in a period of such great stress, the reasons for R. JBL's particular position regarding the Messiah and the life after death are quite obvious. We are confronted

by with a similar phenomenon today in Christianity, for the burden of living in a sorely troubled world has turned the minds of many men from thoughts of the exigencies of everyday living to those that center about the world that awaits men after death. This is a normal reaction to strain, and, if approached in a mature fashion, can produce great contributions to contemporary thought. Such was the case with our preacher. Although he was most vivid and thorough in his descriptions of the after-life, although he expressed an unswerving faith in the promise of immortality and the Messiah, he did not neglect problems of this world. His theology evidences a carefully thought out synthesis of both elements, stressing the important factors inherent in each but not losing its precious sense of balance in favor of either.

Considering the sermons of R. JBL against the background of their time, we find, first, a word of hope regarding the coming of the Messiah. Although he felt it futile to attempt to estimate the time of the coming of the Messiah (142), and although he realized that man could do nothing that would directly hasten the coming of the Messiah (142), it was possible that, through righteousness, man might merit God's considering the speeding up of the advent of this great moment in the life of the people.

Isa. 60.22: "I, the Lord, will hasten it in its proper time."

"I will hasten it" means that, even though the people did not merit redemption at that particular time, by their righteousness they merited that it be hastened. (143)

Evidently, R. JBL felt that the Biblical account of the Messianic Era, as cryptic as it might be, and the Rabbinic accounts commonly recited during his time, were sufficient in their descriptiveness. He offers no colorful pictures of this era, nor does he present any speculations as to the nature of life in a true theocracy. He does state some of his views on immortality, however, on the nature of the life after death. He voiced the opinion that it is possible to interpret immortality as the reward granted for righteousness that manifests itself in the memories of those who live on. A father, for example, is rendered immortal in the image that remains after his death in the lives of his sons.

Any man who has no sons is considered as dead, as it says in Gen. 30.1: "Give me children or else I die." (144)

It is told of R. JBL that it was his custom to go and comfort mourners, but he only went to comfort those whose relatives had died without having any children, on the basis of the verse in Jer. 23.10: "Weep ye not for him that is dead, nor bemoan him, but weep bitterly for him that goes away, for he shall return no more nor see his native land." "For he shall return no more" is interpreted to mean that, having no children who will live on after him, his memory could not be kept alive. (145) Such a concept of immortality, however, is not common in the sermons of our preacher, for he believed in resurrection and was much more definite in this than in the former thoughts on the nature of the after-life.

Whence do we know that resurrection is from the Torah?

From the verse in Ps. 84.5: "Happy are they who dwell in Thy house; they will forever praise Thee." The verse does not say "they have praised Thee" (using the past tense), but rather "they will forever praise Thee" (using the future tense to convey continuous action). From this one can surmise that resurrection is decreed in the Torah. (146)

Tied hand in hand with resurrection are reward and punishment.

Every man, if he is willing to lead a righteous life, is deserving of the reward laid up for him in the world-to-come. Righteousness, however, as the sine qua non of this reward, is not something that can be put off till a later date in the life of man. As soon as he reaches the point in his thinking where he is convinced that there is either a reward or a punishment laid up for him in the future, he must determine his course of action, for he will only be rewarded in the hereafter if he agrees to obey God's ordinances immediately.

Dt. 7.11: "So be careful to observe the charge, the statutes and the ordinances that I am enjoining on you today."

Today are you to do them, and tomorrow you will receive their reward. (147)

This promise is all-encompassing in its nature, for every good deed that Israel does in this world will be for its own benefit in the world-to-come. Righteousness will never go unrewarded.

Every good deed that Israel does in this world comes and gives testimony in their favor in the world-to-come. This is stated in Isa. 43.9: "Let them bring their witnesses to prove them in the right." This refers to Israel. "To hear their plea and to say that it is true": this refers to the other nations. (148)

The reference at the end of the above homily to the other nations is of particular interest to us at this point. We learn directly from

this that R. JBL did not feel that reward and punishment were the sole possessions of Israel. The mere fact that the other nations are present in the life after death to testify in behalf of Israel on the day of judgment infers that they, too, are to be included in this ultimate evaluation of the human personality. When talking of the Messianic Era, R. JBL is careful to mention that when the Messiah comes there will be no death for Israel or the other nations. He based his supposition on the verse in Isa. 25.8: "And the Lord will wipe away tears from all faces." (149) This expression adds to the already present universalistic concept of God and demonstrates that, even though Israel has a peculiar relationship with God that is ⁵not intimate in its nature, the other nations are included in the sphere of influence attributed to God and also fall under the power of His inexorable justice.

How will this justice manifest itself in the world to come?

What is the reward for righteousness in the life after death?

In the future, God will declare three hundred and ten worlds to be the possession of every man who is righteous. This is stated in Prov. 8.21: "Endowing my friends with wealth." (The Hebrew word for "wealth" has, as its numerical equivalent - 310. R. JBL interprets the verse to mean that the righteous will inherit three hundred and ten worlds, each of which possesses all the glories imaginable that God lays up for those who are just in all their ways and worship Him with a full heart.) (150)

From this we see that R. JBL felt that the righteous would certainly be rewarded, but he, in his day, realized the importance of the problem of theodicy in the thinking of mankind and offered the following expression to allay their fears on this account:

What is the meaning of the verse in Zech. 14.6: "There shall be neither heat nor cold nor frost?" This refers to the mortals who are weighty (because of their wealth) in this world, and who will be light (disregarded) in the world to come. (151)

This could logically be expanded to include the evil-doers. They, too, will have will be accounted for in the life after death, but they will have no share in its blessings. There is a destiny laid up for them, however, and R. JBL demonstrated that all the names used in the Bible to denote the ultimate in despair are, in reality, synonyms for Gehinnom, the assigned dwelling for the evil-doer after death. (152)

It is quite clear, therefore, that R. JBL evidenced a definite belief in the Messiah and an understanding of the elements of the life after death. The Messianic Era was to be an evidence of God's grace and could not be brought about by man's efforts alone. He could, however, influence God to hasten its coming by evidencing the ideals of righteousness in his daily living. Immortality is God's promise to all mankind, and, in the hereafter, the nature of which is not too nebulous, all the seeming inequalities of life in this world would be counter-balanced by magnificent rewards for the righteous and the most severe punishments for those who have flaunted God's commandments.

SECTION 5: ANGELOLOGY

A man such as R. JBL who was interested in the occult, in the hidden sciences, who expressed his faith in dreams and in visions which he tells about himself and his dealings with Elijah,

the Prophet, was certainly a man who had given a great deal of thought to the problem of angelology and the general field of eschatology. This interest found its way into his sermons, and we find several instances upon which he chose to interpret historical events and to color the past of his people with the use of the most common angelological figures of his time. As we have already seen, it was only after a frightening tryst with the angels that Moses was able to wrest the Torah from their hands and to bring it down to the Israelites at Mount Sinai. (153) Even after this traumatic event in Moses' life, however, he was forced to protect the Torah from Satan who desired to take it away from man.

When Moses came down from before the presence of God, Satan came and said to Him: "O Master of the World, what has happened to the Torah? God answered: "I put it on earth." Satan then went to Earth and asked it of the Torah's whereabouts. Earth answered, saying: "God understands its way and knows its location" (Job 28.23). He then went and asked the Sea, but the Sea answered that it did not have it. He then went to the Deeps, but the Deeps told him that they did not have it, as is said in Job 28.14,22: "The Abyss says: 'It is not in me,' and the sea says: 'It is not with me'Abaddon and Death say: 'With our ears we have heard but the report of it.'" Satan then returned to God and said: "Master of the World, I have searched the entire earth but have been unable to find the Torah." God answered: "Go to the son of Amram." Then Satan went to Moses and said to him: "Where is the Torah that God has given you?" Moses answered: "What am I that God should have given me the Torah?" God then said to Moses: "You are certainly Moses." Moses replied: "Master of the World, a reserved treasure (the law) is Yours in which You enjoy Yourself each day. Shall I claim the credit for myself?" God answered: "Since you have minimized your own importance, the law (as a reward to you) shall be called by your name," as it is said in Mal. 3.22: "Remember the law of Moses, My servant." (154)

Thus was the Torah saved from the hands of Satan through Moses' humility. This factor will be of interest to us in another

phase of our study of R. JBL, but that which is important for us at present is the thought that it was possible for Satan to threaten the security of the Torah, and, in doing so, the security of Israel. Our preacher adds a bit to his description of the character of Satan in another short homily.

R. JBL said that "enemies" in Prov. 16.7: "When a man's ways please the Lord, He maketh even his enemies to be at peace with him," refers to Satan. Generally speaking, if one is brought up with another for two or three years he becomes closely attached to him; but The Tempter grows with man from his youth until old age, and yet, if he could, he would strike him down even when he is seventy or eighty. (155)

Along with Satan, one must take into consideration the ten destroying Angels who are always eager to fulfill their function and do away with Israel. R. JBL told of one of these instances that grew as a consequence of the shameful worship of the Golden Calf. (156) The description of them is most vivid, and it is apparent from this that these angels of destruction played a very real role in the thinking of the times.

The most colorful of all these references to angels and contacts with the dead, however, are those stories that our preacher told of his contacts with Elijah, the Prophet. It was commonly believed that Elijah was constantly abroad in the land, mingling in the life of the people, so it is not surprising to us that we find a homily in which our Rabbi tells of an instance when he spoke to the Prophet and when his life was directly affected by intervention from another sphere.

Ulla bar Kushab was fleeing from Rome, and he came to Lydda to visit R. JBL. The Roman troops followed him to Lydda, and they said to the people of the town:

"If you refuse to hand him over to us, we will destroy your village." R. JBL went and convinced Ulla to give himself up. As a result of this, Elijah, who was in the habit of revealing himself to R. JBL, stopped doing so. He fasted greatly, and finally Elijah revealed himself and said: "Why have you done this harsh thing? Should I reveal myself to an informer?" R. JBL answered: "Was not my act decreed in the Mishnah?" Elijah replied: "Yes, but was it The Mishnah of the Pious? Perhaps you would do this to another, but would you do it to yourself?" (157) 7

R. JBL also makes mention of the Yetzer ha-Ra and carefully delineates the names given him in Biblical tradition.

The Yetzer ha-Ra has seven names. God calls it "evil," as is said in Gen. 8.21: "The bent of a man's mind may be evil from his very youth;" Moses called it "foreskin," as is said in Dt. 10.16: "And ye shall circumsize the foreskin of your heart;" David called it "uncleanness" as is said in Ps. 51.12: "Create for me a clean heart, O God," from this it follows that it (the Yetzer ha-Ra) is unclean; Solomon called it "enemy" as is said in Prov. 25.21: "If your enemy be hungry, give him bread to eatand the Lord will reward you." Do not read "reward you" but rather "will make an end to him for you." Isaiah called him "obstacle" as is said in Isa. 57.14: "Grade up, grade up and clear the way; remove every obstacle from the way of My people;" Exekiel called it "stone" as is said in Ez. 36.26: "I will remove the heart of stone out of your flesh and will give you a heart of flesh;" Joel called it "Northerner" as is said in Joel 2.20: "And the Northerner will I remove from you." (158) 8

From the previous examples one might conclude that the consideration given supernatural beings in the homilies of R. JBL, although these be not too frequent, is indicative of the fact that they played a very real part in his thinking. Not only did he feel that these other-wordly creatures exercised an influence on humanity from their abodes, either in heaven or in the nether world, but he evidenced a belief in the fact that they

were able to circulate among men and to effect their destinies directly. They seemed to have powers beyond those of ordinary human beings, but it was within their nature and a part of their definition that they were required by God to deal with humanity on the human level. If this were not the case, why was it necessary for Satan to make inquiries regarding the hiding place of the Torah on earth? The fact that the Yetzer ha-Ra is given seven names in the Bible, all of which echo human experience, would indicate that it manifests itself within the realm of human experience and is limited by the will of men. There is not the slightest intimation that mankind should be resigned to the dominance of the evil spirits in his every day living. On the contrary, it will only be necessary for man to suffer the punishments brought about by associations with evil if man partakes of this association willingly. God is constantly man's ally in the battle against Satan and the Yetzer ha-Ra and is happy to grant him victory if He is convinced that man's motives are just.

SECTION 6: PRAYER AND RITUAL

We might consider ourselves particularly fortunate in this branch of our study of the life and contributions of R. JBL, for we are confronted by a surprising number of homilies in which he voices his observations and opinions regarding the nature of prayer and ritual in his time. By the end of the Second Century, the Synagogue had already become an established factor in the religious life of the community in Palestine.

The adjustment made necessary in the liturgy by the evolution of a new system of worship that arose in the institution that was to replace the Temple was well on its way. A liturgy was established, new prayers had been added and the people seemed firmly entrenched in their new mode of worship. Our preacher's remarks could well have been rendered by a modern theologian; they are uttered with the nonchalance that accompanies a thorough acquaintance with the subject, and they assume a popular knowledge of the various elements that would indicate that the liturgy had already become a common experience in the life of the people.

Our subject had no problems regarding the efficacy of prayer. This was a basic assumption that ran through all his pronouncements. "If one's lips are fluent in prayer," our preacher said, "he may rest assured that his words will be heard." (159) From the verse in Joel 2:13: "And rend your hearts, not your garments," he concluded that if a man would lend his heart with repentance, it would not be necessary for him to rend his garments. (160) He not only felt that prayer could effect the future; it could also alter the destinies of those who had lived in the past. When Hannah prayed (I. Sam. 2.6): "He brings down to Sheol and raises up," she was praying for Korah, Dathan and Abiram, that God should take them down to Sheol for their evil deeds but eventually bring them up again. through her prayer, It is said that, she saved this company from further suffering. (161) He was careful, however, to add that prayer was not the ultimate means of man's effecting a change

in God's will. Repentance was far more forceful a way of convincing God of one's intentions than was prayer.

Repentance effects complete atonement, but prayer only effects half atonement. Whence do we know this?

Jer. 22.30: "It was decreed that Jechoniah should die childless, but he repented and had children." (162)

Dt. 9.20: "The Lord was very angry with Aaron and threatened to destroy him." (R. Joshua d'Siknin explained this reference by demonstrating that "to destroy" a man implies the extinction of his offspring, as is seen in Amos 2.9.) When Moses prayed on Aaron's behalf, half the decree was annulled; two sons died and two sons remained alive, as is shown in Lev. 10.2. (163)

R. JBL also made statements regarding the history of prayer and the mechanics of the liturgy. He felt that, generally, the common divisions of prayer went all the way back to the time of the Patriarchs. (164)

The Morning Prayer came from Abraham, our father, as is stated in Gen. 19.27: "And Abraham rose early in the morning and went to the place where he stood with the Lord." The word "standing" is used only with reference to prayer, as is said in Ps. 106.30: "Phinehas stood up and prayed." The Afternoon Prayer comes from Isaac, our father, as is stated in Gen. 24.63: "And Isaac went out to meditate in the field." The word "meditation" is used only with reference to prayer, as is stated in Ps. 102.1: "A prayer of the afflicted when he is overwhelmed and pours out his complaint (meditation) before God." The Evening Prayer comes from Jacob, our father, as is stated in Gen. 21.11: "He reached the place." The word "reached" is only used with reference to prayer, as is stated in Jer. 7.16: "Do not lift up cry or prayer in their behalf, nor plead with Me." (165)

The following are some of his conclusions regarding the order of prayer:

- 1 In the morning one makes two benedictions before the Shema and one after it. In the evening one makes two benedictions before it and two after it. We do this because of the verse in Ps. 119.164: "Seven times daily I praise Thee." (166) Even though a man says the Shema in the Synagogue, he is required to say it again before going to bed. (167)

- 2 It is necessary to remember in the recitation of the Emet ve-yatsib to say the entire prayer. (This means that one should always include the mention of "the coming out of Egypt," "the plagues," "the splitting of the Red Sea," and "the slaying of the first born," all of which are included in the Ezrat Abotenu.) It is also necessary to say: "O Rock of Israel and its Redeemer." (168)
- 3 He who prepared the Amidah prepared it in its present order. The first three blessings and the last three blessings glorify God, and the middle ones tell of the needs of his creatures. (169) There are eighteen benedictions because of the eighteen discs of the backbone. Therefore it is necessary to bow down so that each disc may be loosened.
- 4 The Torah portion should be read twice before coming to the Synagogue and once in translation. After this it is proper for man to read the portion along with the congregation. (171)
- 5 If one is to read from the Prophets, he must first read from the Torah. One cannot read from the Prophets until the Sefer Torah has been rolled up. The congregation is not allowed to leave until the Sefer Torah has been taken away and put in its place. (172)

In the homilies we also find certain set patterns of conduct for the worshipper in the Synagogue:

- 1 The Musaf service cannot be read after 2:00 P.M.
All who utter the Musaf prayer after the seventh hour, Scripture says of him: "I will gather up those who smite you and those bringing reproach upon you" (Zeph. 3.17). "Those who smite you" refers to those who would alter the appointed time of prayer. (173)
- 2 A man must go to the Synagogue morning and evening.
R. JBL said to his sons: "Go morning and evening to the Synagogue in order that thy days might be lengthened." (174)
- 3 A man must be humble in the Synagogue.
Ps. 101.7: "He shall not dwell within my house who practices deceit. He who tells lies shall not be established before My eyes." It is necessary that each man must be humble in his own house; how much the more so in God's house. (175)

- 4 We must always be humble when we rise for prayer.

We must not rise for prayer in any other than a humble position. How do we know this? From the verse in Ps. 29.2: "Worship the Lord in the glory of the Sanctuary." We must not read "in the glory of the Sanctuary," but rather "in the fear of the Sanctuary." (176)

- 5 When a man prays he must face the site of the Temple.

I. Kings 6.17: "that is, the Temple proper." This verse refers to The Temple to which each face turns in prayer. (177)

- 6 There can be no partition between those who are praying and the wall.

When a minyan gathers to pray there should not be anything that acts as a partition between it and the wall. This is stated in Isa. 38.2: "Then Hezekiah turned his face to the wall and prayed to the Lord." (178)

- 7 After prayer, one should take three steps backwards before relaxing.

After one has finished his prayer, he should take three steps backward, and, after that, he may relax. (179)

- 8 One must wait an hour after prayer before leaving the Synagogue.

After one has finished praying he should wait an hour in the Synagogue as is said in Ps. 140.14: "Surely the righteous shall give thanks to Thy name. The upright shall dwell in Thy presence." (180)

- 9 One should avoid passing behind a Synagogue while the congregation is as prayer lest others think that he is shirking his responsibility.

A man is forbidden to pass behind the Synagogue while the congregation is praying. (Rashi: It might appear that he is trying to escape his duty of worship.) (181)

R. JBL also makes several comments regarding factors in the service on the High Holydays:

- 1 The man who leads the congregation in the recitation of the Musaf service --

Why is it said in Mishnah Rosh Ha-shanah 4.7:
 "When a man passes before the Ark (to lead the prayer) on a festival day of the New Year, (not he but) the second blows the Shofar."? R. Alexander said in R. JBL's name: "We learn it from the verse in Ps. 17.1: 'Hear the right, O Lord,' this refers to the reading of the Shema; 'Give heed to my cry,' this refers to the joy of Torah reading; 'Listen to my prayer,' this refers to the reading of the prayer; 'which is not from deceitful lips,' this refers to the Musaf Service. What is written after this? 'From Thy presence may My judgment proceed.' This refers to the blowing of the Shofar." (182)

- 2 It is truly God's will that the Priestly Benedictions be recited.

Whence do we know that God desires the recitation of the Priestly Blessing? As is stated in Num. 6.27: "So shall they invoke My name in behalf of the Israelites, and I will bless them." Each Priest who pronounces the benediction is, himself, blessed, and he who does not pronounce the benediction is not blessed, as is said in Gen. 12.3: "And I shall bless those who bless you." Any Priest who fails to go up to the stage (from which the Priests pronounce the benedictions) commits a threefold transgression: 1) Num. 6.22: "Thus shall ye bless;" 2) Num. 6.22: "Say unto them;" 3) Num. 6.27: "So shall they envoke My name." (183)

There are two homilies involving the order of the service on the Shalosh Regalim.

- 1 He who had no property did not have to make the pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

He who has no property is relieved of the responsibility of appearing in the Temple. This is stated in Ex. 34.24: "No one shall covet your land when you go up to visit your God three times a year." (184)

- 2 The following is the order and the purpose of the waving of the Lulab.

Lev. 23.11: "You shall wave the sheaf before the Lord." One waves it sideways in honor of Him who possesses the world. One waves it up and down in honor of Him who owns the heavens and the nether-world. (185)

Several of R. JBL's statements on Purim:

- 1 Women are required to enter into the reading of the Megillah.

Women are required to partake of the reading of the Megillah for they, too, were involved in the miracle. (Rashi: Haman had decreed that the women and children should also be killed.) (186)

- 2 Even though the Megillah is read at night, one must review it the next day.

It is incumbent upon one to read the Megillah at night and to review it during the day. (Rashi: In memory of the miracle at which time they cried out their troubles both day and night.) This is said in Ps. 22.3: "My god, I cry by day, but Thou dost not answer, and by night and get no rest." (Rashi: This is written as "A Psalm for the Director at the Rising of the Sun" as is said in Yoma 29a regarding Esther's recitation of it.) (187)

The position of women in the celebration of the festivals of Passover and Hannukah:

- 1 Women are also required to drink four cups of wine at the Seder for they, too, were included in the miracle of the Exodus. (188)
- 2 Women are required to partake in the ceremony of the lighting of the Hannukah lights for they, too, were included in the miracle of deliverance. (189)

Some statements regarding Circumcision:

- 1 Circumcision is carried on whether it involves danger to life or not.

Ps. 44.23: "But because of thee we are slain the whole day long." This has reference to a Brit Milah that takes place on the eighth day (in which there is danger to life, yet it is carried out despite this). (190)

- 2 A blessing that can be rendered at the Brit Milah:

R. JBL explained that it was the custom in Israel that the congregation used to bless the infant who was being circumcized with the following blessing: "May you be a brother to seven and a father of eight." "A father of eight" refers to Abraham who was the father of eight - Isaac, Ishmael and the six sons of Keturah; "a brother of seven" refers to Isaac who was a brother of seven - Ishmael and the six sons of Keturah. (191)

Descriptions of the customs of mourning:

- 1 K'riah can be performed on nothing smaller than a handkerchief.

II Sam. 1.11: "And David ~~st~~azed his garments and tore them." One can ~~st~~aze nothing smaller than a handkerchief. "And tore them"; from this we infer that it is necessary to make a complete division. (192)

- 2 The following customs of mourning were common in R. JBL's time from the information contained in a lengthy parable contained elsewhere in the essay. (193)

The heaping of sackcloth over the door of the house, the prohibition against the use of any kind of illumination, the prohibition against sleeping on an ordinary bed, walking barefoot, the tearing of clothing, and sitting in silence. (194)

In addition to the above-mentioned expressions of the nature of the ritual of his time, R. JBL has left us several homilies dealing with various ritualistic experiences throughout the course of the year that do not fall into any particular category.

- 1 The following prayers should be recited at the following occasions:

He who sees a river in a dream should rise in the morning and say the verse in Isa. 66.12: Behold I am extending to her prosperity like a river." It would be possible to precede this with another verse, Isa. 59.10: "For he shall come like a pent-up stream."

He who sees a bird in a dream should rise and say the verse in Isa. 31.5: "Like hovering birds, so will the Lord of Hosts protect Jerusalem." This might be preceded by Prov. 27.8: "Like a bird that strays from her nest."

He who sees a pot in a dream should rise and say the verse in Isa. 26.14: "O Lord, establish peace for us." This may be preceded with the verse from Ez. 24.3: "Set on the pot, set it on."

He who sees grapes in a dream should rise and say the verse in Hos. 9.10: "Like grapes in the wilderness, I found Israel." This may be preceded by the verse in Dt. 32.32: Their grapes are poisonous grapes."

He who sees a mountain in a dream should rise and say the verse in Isa. 52.7: "How beautiful are the feet of the messengers upon the mountains." He might precede this verse with another from Jer. 9.9: "Over mountains raise weeping and wailing."

He who sees a Shofar in a dream should rise and say the verse in Isa. 27.13: "On that day a blast will be blown on the trumpet." He might precede this verse with another from Hos. 5.8: "Blow the Shofar in Gibeon."

He who sees a dog in a dream should rise and say the verse in Ex. 11.7: "But against none of the Israelites shall even a dog bark." He might precede this verse with another from Isa. 56.11: "The dogs are greedy."

He who sees a lion in a dream should rise and say the verse in Amos 3.8: "If a lion roars, who is not afraid?" He might precede this verse with another from Jer. 4.7: "A lion has gone up from his thicket."

He who sees hair-cutting in a dream should rise and say the verse in Gen. 4.14: "He shaved and changed his clothes." He might precede this verse with another from Jud. 16.17: "If I were to be shaved, my strength would leave me."

He who sees a well in a dream should rise and say the verse from Cant. 4.15: "A well of fresh water." He might precede this verse with another from Jer. 6.7: "As a fountain wells up its waters."

He who sees a reed in a dream should rise and say the verse in Isa. 42.3: "A bent reed shall not break." He might precede this verse with another from I Kings 18.21: "You have put on trust, evidently, in the staff of this broken reed."

He who sees an ox in a dream should rise and say the verse from Dt. 33.17: "As his firstling bull, may majesty be his." He might precede this with another from Ex. 21.28: "If an ox gores a man or a woman to death." (195)

He who sees the sky in its restored brightness says: "Blessed is He who has accomplished the act of creation." (196)

Mishnah Shabbat 11.47: "A man is required to say blessings over three things on Erev Shabbat as the darkness comes: the tithes of the first fruits, the Sabbath boundaries and the Sabbath lights." (R. JBL brings proof for this statement from Scripture) (197)

The homilies themselves, or the short excerpts from homilies, that are quoted above tell us a great deal about the nature of prayer and ritualistic practices in the time of our preacher. They are of value only in this respect, for we can learn nothing from them as they stand. In order for them to have genuine meaning in a study of any individual it would be necessary to effect a comparative study between this preacher's statements on prayer and ritual and those of his contemporaries. Since such a study is far beyond the scope of this dissertation, we must content ourselves with the historical information that they ^{give} ~~render~~ us. It must suffice to say, at this time, that R. JBL had complete faith in the effectiveness of prayer as a means of communing with God; he also felt that prayers should be said at many occasions during the daily life of an individual in order that he might constantly think in terms of his Creator.

THE SOCIAL ETHIC OF RABBI JOSHUA BEN LEVI

The most definite indication of the degree of the maturity of a community is the nature of its social ethic. A society that is relatively young is normally weighed down by an expansive series of legal pronouncements that attempt to include every exigency of communal living. But no matter how complete this body of dogma might be, it will stand alone as a measuring rod for the people's conduct. In its harshness and its coldness it will take into account the great majority of the problems that rise out of human associations on a material level. The social scientist cannot look for anything beyond this until the community has reached a point in its development when it can boast of a personality of its own. At this moment in history, a system of ethics begins to take form, a system in which law is gently refined to the point where it encompasses those factors in the life of man that do not directly revolve about his immediate needs. This system might well be called a social ethic. A breach of ethics, however, is not a legal problem; it is not punishable by law. On the contrary, the ethics of a community grow out of its religious consciousness, out of that facet of the human personality that transcends the rigid requirements of daily living and busies itself with the elevation of the spirit and with the gentle refinement of the individual and the group.

When we apply this definition of The Social Ethic to the Jewish community, we meet an imposing problem. Law, in Judaism, was divinely revealed and assumed certain ethical dicta without

which it could have no meaning. The statement in Exodus that demands of an individual that he honor his father and his mother requires of him that he render this respect to his parents in every phase of his experience. There is no dual standard of conduct in the Jewish community. A matter cannot be unethical and yet legal in the final analysis. These two factors are so closely interwoven in Jewish life that it is impossible to separate them and to study each one as a phenomenon in itself. We must guard ourselves, however, at this point against falling prey to the common misconception that the development of Jewish law came to a decisive end with the conclusion of the Bible. The oral tradition that followed was just as much an expression of divine revelation as the written tradition had been. Judaism prides itself on being an evolutionary faith that can constantly adjust to the changing needs of a rapidly maturing world community. This uni-dimensional way of life, therefore, this insoluble integration of the legal and the ethical, has persisted down through the ages, and Jewish law today, although it is the product of centuries of growth, still maintains its predominantly ethical nature. Thus, when one speaks of The Social Ethic of the Jewish community, he is, in reality, speaking of that phase of Jewish law that has been classified as the "ethical" by the non-Jewish world.

Such a conflict can be easily resolved with a reference to a statement by R. JBL regarding humility. We read: "No man is allowed to go four amahs with a proud carriage, for it says in Isa. 6:3: 'The whole earth is full of His glory.'" (198)

The first statement is definitely ethical in nature. Is there a community in the world today that would punish a man for walking proudly? Yet, this is expected of a man if he is to be a positive factor in the lives of those who live about him. Where does R. JBL derive the authority for this statement? He derives it from the concept in Judaism that all men are created in the image of God, and that every man should receive the respect that one would ordinarily bestow upon God. His source for this is the verse in Isaiah: "The whole earth is full of His glory." True, there is no provision in Jewish law to punish a man for walking with a proud carriage, but Judaism supposes an additional reckoning that is beyond the scope of human proclamations and human strivings for justice. It is to this reckoning that the proud man will be held accountable, and there is an even greater inevitability involved in this judgment than there is in earthly judgment. The ethical, therefore, is not that which Judaism hopes for in man, over and above the minimal requirements of the community; ethical conduct is required of man to as great an extent as is legal conduct and is considered an equally grave and serious responsibility. From this it is evident that human morality and civil law are one at their outset and remain one in the Jewish evaluation of a way of life. If they are apart at any point, it can only be at the point of judgment. In all other respects they are alike as factors that determine the Jew's approach to life; at no time is either one any more exalted than the other.

With this understanding of the position that The Social

Ethic occupies in the Jewish community, we may proceed to study the ethical pronouncements that R. JBL derived from his tradition and perhaps gain from such a study an insight into the man and his times. For purposes of convenience, the writer will divide these statements of R. JBL into two groups: the first will deal with that which is incumbent upon the individual because of his nature as a man, the second group will deal with norms of human conduct that rise from the exigencies of societal living.

SECTION 1: THE INDIVIDUAL

One of the basic requirements for righteousness is a sense of shame. If a man is unwilling to admit guilt to himself after having committed an unsocial act he will never be able to readjust himself in his relationship with God and his fellowman. On the other hand, if a man has sinned and is genuinely ashamed of his deed, the doors of God's mercy are open to him.

Why is it that Ahaz is reckoned in the category of righteous kings? (Isa. 1.1) Because he was not devoid of shame. In what instance was he not devoid of shame? When the Prophet came to rebuke him, he went out to a place of uncleanness and hid his face there, for he knew that the Shechina would not dwell in a place of uncleanness. (199)

Self-interest always brings pain in its wake. If a man refuses to extend himself to others and constantly busies himself with his own needs, he will be sorely punished.

Ecc. 5.12: "Wealth kept by its owner to his own hurt."

This refers to Lot (who waited around and tried to save his own wealth, and, because of this, his wife died). If Lot had left immediately, he would not have been forbidden to look behind him, and, having done this, he would not have provided any reason for his punishment or that of his wife. (200)

Cheerfulness on this earth is a means of being assured a portion in the world to come. A man who goes about with a smile on his face performs a service to his fellowman for which he will ultimately be rewarded.

Anyone who sings a song on this earth is worthy of singing it in the world to come, as is said in Ps. 84.5: "Happy are they who dwell in Thy house, for they are forever praising Thee." (201)

Happiness, however, is the direct result of possessing a great deal of foresight.

Prov. 15.15: "For the miserable man, every day is unhappy, but the cheerful man enjoys a perpetual feast."

The miserable man is the one who has no foresight (Rashi: "He who is narrow-minded and impetuous and is not wise regarding himself and others.") The cheerful man is the man who possesses a great deal of foresight." (202)

If a man is troubled, however, and he remains cheerful despite his trials, his is even a greater service, for in doing so he brings a blessing to all mankind.

Anyone who rejoices in the midst of the troubles that come upon him brings salvation to the world, as is said in Isa. 64.4: "Upon them have we stayed of old that we might be saved." (203)

R. JBL once stated that if a word was worth a sela, then silence was certainly worth two selayim. (204) He obviously meant that there are many things that might very well be left unsaid. Among these are the words of those who carry evil reports:

Five times is the word "law" used with reference to leprosy:

- 1) "This is the law of the plague of leprosy." (Lev. 13.59)
- 2) "This shall be the law of the leper." (14.2)
- 3) "This is the law of him in whom is the plague of leprosy." (14.32)
- 4) "This is the law for all manner of the plague of leprosy." (14.54)
- 5) "This is the law of leprosy." (14.57)

"This shall be the law of the leper" means that this shall be the law of him who utters evil reports. (205) The five-fold repetition of the word "Torah" in this matter is intended to teach you that if one indulges in calumny, it is as if he transgresses the five books of the Torah. (206)

Another group of words that meet with general disapproval are those that go to make up a deceitful statement.

He who speaks deceitfully should not speak again until he has atoned for the matter. This is stated in Ps. 50.20: "You sit down and speak against your brother, against the son of your mother do you utter slander." What does it say further on? "What right have you to recount My statutes? (50.16) "I will correct you and set it forth in your sight." (50.21) "Consider this, then, O ye who forget God, lest I rend and there be no one to rescue." (50.22) (207)

A third type of speech in which a man should never partake is that which involves the utterance of reprehensible words.

Man must never utter a reprehensible word, for, behold, Scripture circumlocutes eight letters in order not to utter an indelicate expression, as is said in Gen. 7.2: "Of the cattle that are clean and of those that are not clean." (Rashi: "The text does not state 'unclean.'") (208)

Generosity is another attribute that is required of the individual if he is to engage in the ethical life.

One can never use the wine cup to bless unless he is of a generous disposition. This is stated in Prov. 22.9: "The man of kindly eye will be blessed for he gives of his bread to the poor." One should not read "will be blessed" but rather "will bless." (209)

Just as generosity is required of him who would engage in ritual activities, so is it stated that everyone should guard themselves against having any social relationships with one who might be described as being envious or narrow-minded.

How do we know that even birds recognize envy (and disdain it)? This is stated in Prov. 1.17: "As the net is baited in vain in the eyes of any bird, so are the ways of anyone who is greedy of gain." (Rashi: "For even when the trappers see the birds

in the nets, they cannot enjoy their meals.")
 Anyone who accepts hospitality of men of niggardly spirit transgresses a prohibitory law, as is said in Prov. 23. 6: "Dine not with a miserly man." (210)

The ethical personality is also to be known as a diligent man, for such a life will surely bring a reward.

Prov. 13.27: "The slothful man will not secure his prey."

Esau spent the whole day catching deer and trussing them, but an angel came and freed them; he also tied birds together, but an angel came and liberated them. Why was this? Because it is written: "But the diligent man wins precious wealth." This refers to Jacob who was the glory of the world. The angels made it possible for him to come and receive the blessing that had been determined as his from the beginning of the world. (211)

Even though, in this instance, the angels made it possible for Jacob to assume his rightful place in history by frustrating the attempts of Esau to fulfill his father's wishes, our preacher admonishes ^{ALL THE} ~~each~~ members of his congregation to rely upon their own merit if they seek to accomplish anything and not to depend on help from the outside that might be brought about because of the merit of their fathers.

Isa. 38.17: "Lo, it was for my welfare that I had great bitterness."

Even when God guaranteed Hezekiah peace, it was bitter with him (because the matter depended on the merit of his fathers and not on his own merit) since he requested: "Remember, I pray, how I used to walk before You, in truth and in sincerity of heart." (Isa. 38.3) (212)

SECTION 2: THE COMMUNITY

Ethical pronouncements concerning the conduct of an individual within the confines of his private life would have little meaning if they could not withstand the test of being expanded into communal terms. The statements that our preacher

renders regarding the ethical way in which a man must direct his life in a societal sense are just such extentions. They deal with many different problems, but there is a common theme running through them all: the entire community is a reflection of God's glory on earth, and it is incumbent upon man to spend his days striving to create an atmosphere in this community that would most closely approximate its tenor if God, Himself, were a member of the group.

Social welfare and charity were very important parts of the communal structure in R. JBL's time. Believing that when God blesses, He does so in great measure, and that when He curses, He does so to an even greater extent, (213) the principle evolved that it is a religious duty to help the poor, and this, above all other duties, was not to be forgotten.

Let not the religious duty connected with the poor ever seem unimportant in your eyes, for the loss of it entails twenty-four curses, and the reward given for performing it entails twenty-four rewards. That the loss of it entails twenty-four curses is seen in Ps. 109.8: "Set thou a wicked man over him," and the entire content of this particular Psalm. Why all of this? Because of the statement in Ps. 109.16: "Because he hath remembered not to do kindness. That the reward given for performing it entails twenty-four blessings is proved by the text in Isa. 58.7: "It is not to deal thy bread to the hungry." (The word used here for "deal" is the same word used for "reward.") (214)

Another expression of the reward granted to him who gives to charity is found in the following homily:

Everyone who accustomed to the giving of charity will have sons who are wealthy men, men of wisdom and men skilled in Agada. His sons will be men of wisdom because of that which is written in Prov. 21.21: "He who follows after justice and kindness will find life prosperity and honor."

Finding life is the equivalent of finding wisdom, because of that which Rashi says: "All who find Me find life." His sons will be men of wealth because the verse mentions prosperity. His sons will be skilled in Agada because the verse mentions honor. (Rashi: "In their preaching and drawing out of the heart, all will honor them.") (215)

If a man subscribes to charity and fails to carry out his responsibility the sin is greater than it would be had he never committed himself.

Ecc. 5:5: "Let not your mouth bring you into sin, and say not before the messenger: 'It was a mistake.'"

This refers to those who publicly undertake to subscribe to charity and do not pay. (216)

Licentiousness, in the sexual sense, is one of the community's greatest evils; the civic minded individual should take every precaution to prevent it. This includes all forms of sexual immorality for each such instance tends to destroy the communal structure.

Why is the talmudic tractate regarding consanguineous relationships placed next to the tractate dealing with holiness? Only to teach you that in every case where you find a fence against sexual immorality you also find sanctity. (217)

In more specific terms, a man is cautioned regarding three things if it is to be his desire to protect his family from the temptations of sexual immorality.

R. JBL said three things in the name of the men of Jerusalem: Do not frequent the roofs because of the example of the past (Rashi: "David and Bathsheba"). Has thy daughter come of age? Set thy slave free and give him to her as a husband. Be very careful regarding your wife and her first husband. (218)

A man's sexual life is a sacred thing and is not to be bandied about in conversational tones. If this is true of an ordinary man, how much the more so of a scholar.

Anyone who discusses the sexual life of a scholar in public will fall into Hell. This is stated in Ps. 125.5: "And those who make their ways crooked, may the Lord make them go with the malefactors. Peace be unto Israel!" Even when Israel is at peace, God will make such people go with the malefactors to Hell. (219)

Since man calls upon God to bless his marriage vows, this bond is one of the most sanctified contracts in which a man can engage. Being of such a nature it makes certain requirements of the individual that ordinary contracts would not make. The wife is considered the equivalent of peace to a man (220) and must be treated with the utmost respect.

Any man who compels his wife to have intercourse with him for the sake of the commandment will have degenerate children. (221)

If a man is married to a righteous woman and does not have intercourse with her, he is considered as a sinner. (222)

In conclusion one might well say that it is necessary for every man to guard himself against transgression for his own welfare and for the general welfare of the community, but, implicit in every one of the above statements, is the thought that a man's responsibility to his community does not stop with this; it must extend itself to the point where each individual will become a one-man police force dedicated to guarding the entire community from sinning. This is the ideal of the social ethic.

Lam. 1.6: "Her princes are become like harts, and they are gone without strength before the pursuer."

Just as harts turn their faces, one beneath the other, in time of intense heat, so the eminent men of Israel would see a transgression committed but turn their faces away from it. God said to them: "A time will come when I will do the same to you." (When they went into captivity, they were like pastureless harts, but God turned His face from them.) (223)

SUMMARY

Rabbi Joshua ben Levi, a Third Century Palestinian Amora, lived most of his life in Lydda. There he directed a school, preached and taught. In his later days he left Lydda for Sepphoris to go to live with his son Joseph who was married to the daughter of Judah the Prince. Although he was not always in accord with the policies of the Patriarchate, he enjoyed a position of great respect in the community and, occasionally, represented the Jews in matters of national importance at the courts in Rome.

Having studied with the most learned men of his time, he carried on the tradition of scholarship in Jewish life and gave frequent evidence of his extraordinary ability in his homilies. He was a versatile preacher, and he used, with few exceptions, all the forms of textual exegesis and homiletical development popular during his time. Our preacher was most articulate regarding his theology. God, to him, was kind and generous, manifesting Himself directly in the affairs of mankind; He was a God of unalterable justice and inexorable vengeance, but these qualities were constantly tempered with His attribute of grace. Bound to man with an unbreakable covenant, God has dedicated Himself as Guard, Helper and Protector of all His creatures.

The Torah was God's special gift to Israel and was, without doubt, the most important single religious artifice in Israel's culture. It bound Israel to God and made of her God's

peculiar people, indispensable to world history and blessed with a mission. Although the nature of this mission might be a bit vague in the homilies of R. JBL, he obviously concluded that the well-being of all the world was directly proportionate to Israel's position in it. This alone, the task of acting as an example for the other nations, is mission enough for any people.

Since R. JBL was somewhat of a mystic, acquainted with the occult and the hidden sciences, it is natural that he should evidence a driving interest in the life after death and in the problem of the Messiah. He expressed an impelling belief in both these concepts and looked at them as the only logical panacea to the inequalities prevalent in daily living. His theological views were liberally invested with vivid descriptions of the part that angels play in the determination of human destiny. He felt that the angels possessed many powers beyond those of mankind, but they, nonetheless, were bound by the laws of justice and morality in all their dealings with humanity. Man could acquiesce to the forces of evil of his own volition, but, under no circumstances, could he be compelled to do so.

It is not surprising that a man as sensitive as was R. JBL should possess a profound appreciation of the ethical values that lay behind all human activity. He seized every opportunity to stress these elements in his sermons and constantly demonstrated that simple obedience to the law was meaningless if not accompanied by compelling ethical convictions.

R. JBL played so important a role during his time and did so much to color the evolving tradition of Judaism that he has

been immortalized in legend. In Rabbinic stories it is said of him that, while yet alive, he visited Paradise and Gehenna and returned to give a report on that which he found there. As late as the Nineteenth Century, in distant America, a great poet saw fit to mention him again and to tell of his exploits. This is only fitting, however, for he was a giant on the earth and certainly worthy, in his own right, of the merit that was accredited to him.

APPENDIX

RABBI JOSHUA BEN LEVI IN LEGEND

The legends extant regarding R. JBL deal mainly with the events that took place in his associations with Elijah, the Prophet, and with the Angel of Death. This first group of legends is quite similar to the rest of the Agadas that were making the rounds of the schools of Babylon and Palestine regarding the sages in general and this ancient prophet who was constantly visiting earth. This intense consideration was born during the earliest moments of Israel's history, i.e., that Elijah, the Prophet was not dead, and that he was the source of many visions in which the experiences of meeting with him were recounted so that this concept might be fortified and clarified. It is not surprising, therefore, that quite a number of legends should have grown up about R. JBL's associations with Elijah; this is all the more understandable when one takes into consideration the fact that he was a man who spent much time delving into the occult and who made quite a reputation for himself as one who was well-acquainted with the hidden sciences.

The zeal with which the followers of R. JBL followed him, and the fantasy inherent in the thinking of the men of his generation and that which followed immediately afterwards established these tales of the meetings with Elijah, the Prophet, his periodic visits to the synagogue, and the instruction which they received from him and incorporated into their tradition. Thus, they rose and became the most popular Agadas of this type, of the

of the anecdotes regarding the association of the Tannaim and the Amoraim with Elijah.

The following are typical of these legends:

- 1 R.JBL was standing with Elijah on Mt.Carmel. He said to him: "Aren't you going to show me the chalcedony stones?" (224) Elijah answered "Yes," and he showed them to him through a miracle. There is a story of a ship that was crossing a great sea. A crushing wind hit it, and it was cast about. There was a young Hebrew boy aboard, and Elijah revealed himself to him. He said to the boy: "If you will be my messenger I will save this ship because of you." The boy agreed. Then he said to him: "Go and show these chalcedony stones to R.JBL. He lives in the town of Lydda, but do not show them to him there; rather bring him to the cave of Lydda and then show him the stones." The boy left and said to R.JBL: "Come with me." When they reached the cave he showed him the stones, and immediately all of Lydda became bright with their light. (235)
- 2 R. JBL met Elijah while he was standing at the door of the cave of R. Shimon b. Yochai. He said to him: "Shall I enter the life to come?" Elijah replied: "If it so please God." R. JBL then said: "Twice I have seen the Messiah, and three times I have heard his voice. When will he come?" Elijah answered: "Go and ask him." "But where is he?" "At the gates of Rome." "And what is his mark?" "He sits among the wretched who are laden with sicknesses; all the others uncover their wounds and then bind them up again, but he uncovers and binds up each one separately, for he thinks: 'Lest I should be summoned and be detained,'" Then R.JBL went and said to him: "Peace be with thee, Master and Rabbi." "Peace be with you, son of Levi." He asked: "When is the Master coming?" and the Messiah replied: "Today." R.JBL returned to Elijah who asked: "What did he say to you?" R.JBL answered: "Peace be with you, son of Levi." Elijah then said: "In doing this be assured to you and your father a portion of the world to come." R.JBL said: "He spoke falsely to me for he said he would come today, and he has not come." Elijah replied: "He meant today, 'if ye hearken to My voice.'" (Ps. 93.7) (236)
- 3 Elijah and R.JBL sat teaching. The voice of R. Shimon b. Yochai reached them from heaven as he passed by.

They said: "Behold, the master of tradition comes. Let us rise and ask him a question. They rose and spoke to him. He said to Elijah: "Who is this man with you?" Elijah answered: "He is R. JBL, one of the most famous men of this generation." R. Shimon replied: "Has a rainbow appeared in his lifetime?" R. JBL answered: "Yes." "If this is so," R. Shimon b. Yochai replied, "he will not be privileged to see my face, for if a rainbow has appeared during his lifetime, it is a sign that his merit is not sufficient to invalidate the edict of the flood. This did not happen in my time because there was no need for it." (327)

The following is a legend concerning a conversation that R.JBL held with the Angel of Death:

R.JBL was ill, and he called to the Angel of Death: "Come, may His will be done." When the Angel of Death appeared to him, R.JBL asked: "Show me my place in Paradise." The Angel of Death agreed to do so. R.JBL then said: "Give me your knife lest you frighten me on the way." The Angel of Death gave it to him. When they arrived the Angel of Death lifted R. JBL up on the wall and showed him his place. R.JBL ran and fell to the other side of the wall of Paradise. The Angel of Death then seized the edge of his garment and said to him: "You did not keep your oath." R.JBL exclaimed: "I swear I will not go back." God then intervened and said: "If he ever had an oath of his annulled he must return, but if not, he need not return." Still R.JBL would not return the knife. A Bat Kol then came and said: "Return the knife to him for it is required for the mortals." Then did he return the knife. Elijah then heralded him proclaiming: "Make room for the son of Levi, make room for the son of Levi." As he proceeded on his way he found R. Shimon b. Yochai sitting on thirteen stools of gold. "Are you," the latter asked him, "the son of Levi?" "Yes," he replied. "Has a rainbow ever appeared in your lifetime?" "Yes," he replied again. "Then you are not the son of Levi." The fact of the matter is that there was no such thing in his lifetime, but R.JBL thought: "I must take no credit for myself." (228)

This has been a story concerning R.JBL's visit to Paradise, for certainly he merited seeing it before his death. A review of scattered Agadic sources, however, quotes this legend in

in different form:

The Angel of Death came to Rabban Gamliel to bring charges against R.JBL. Rabban Gamliel mentioned matters that justified R.JBL to him and then appointed him to go and seek out this sage, take him to Paradise, and then allow him to return that he might bring back with him an accurate account of life there. He was particularly interested in knowing whether there were any Jews there or in Gehenna. R.JBL travelled the length and breadth of Paradise and also wanted to go to Gehenna, but he was not given permission to do so; he was only allowed to stand at the door and look in. He then returned and rendered an account to Rabban Gamliel. (239)

The following two descriptive passages are R.JBL's account of what he found in Paradise and in Gehenna.

Tractate "Gan Eden"
(230)

"R.JBL said: 'There are two gates made of chalcedony at the entrance to Paradise, and, upon them, stand sixty myriads of ministering angels. The lustre on the faces of each one of them is as the brilliance shining in the firmament. Whenever a righteous man comes among them his clothing is stripped from him, for it is as if he stands among them in the grave. They clothe him with eight garments made of the clouds of glory, and they put two crowns under his head - one is of precious stones and pearls, and the other is of Parvayim gold. They place eight myrtle branches in his hands, and they do honor unto him saying: "May you eat your bread in joy." (Ecc. 9.7) They then escort him into the place of the rivers of water that is surrounded by eight hundred rose bushes and myrtle trees. Each one of them is covered with a canopy, and out of each one stems four rivers:

one of fine oil, one of balsamum, one of wine and one of honey. Above each one of them is a golden vine with thirty pearls hanging upon it, each one of them shining as the brilliance of splendor. Each canopy contains a table of precious stones and pearls, and there are sixty angels standing before each righteous man, saying to him: "Go, eat honey in joy, as one finds in the Torah when it says: 'And it is sweeter than honey' (Ps. 19.11), and drink the wine that is preserved in its grapes from the six days of creation, for work in the Torah is compared to wine, as is said in Cant. 8.2: 'That I might give you some spiced wine to drink.'" (231)

"The most repulsive among these angels has a face that is like that of Joseph, son of R.Johannan, like the flowers of a silver pomegranet that is left before the sun and for which there is no night, as is said in Prov. 4.18: "The path of the righteous is like the light of the dawn," and it renews itself upon them during the three watches. During the first watch, he is brought into the children's court where he enjoys childish pleasures; during the second watch, he is made into a young man and is brought into the young men's court, there to enjoy the pleasures of youth; during the third watch he is made into an old man and is brought into the court of the elders where he is given an opportunity to experience the pleasures of the aged.

"There are eight myriads of different kinds of trees in each corner of Paradise. The least of these is more exalted than all the trees in heaven. In each corner there are sixty

myriads of ministering angels singing in beautiful voices. The Tree of Life is in the center, and its branches cover the whole of Paradise. This tree has six hundred thousand different appearances, no one of which is anything like any other; no one smell can be compared to any other. Seven clouds of glory are above it, and four winds support it; its smell travels from one end of the earth to the other. Beneath it sit the Sages explaining the Torah, and each one of them has two canopies above him, one of stars and one of the sun and moon. Between each canopy there is a curtain made of the clouds of glory.

"Within Paradise is Eden, in which ^here are three hundred and ten worlds. These worlds are distributed among the seven categories of righteous men. The first category is composed of the martyrs such as R. Akibah and his compatriots; the second category includes those who have been drowned in the sea; the third contains R. Johannah b. Zakkai, his colleagues and his pupils; the fourth category is made up of the men whom a cloud has come down and covered; the fifth includes those who have repented; the sixth group is made up of the pure ones who, in all their life, have never tasted sin; the seventh category is made up of those who are humble and lowly, who possess a knowledge of the Bible, the Mishnah and the ways of living graciously, and of whom Scripture says: "All who take refuge in Thee may rejoice." (Ps. 5.12)

"God dwells among these and teaches them the Torah, as is stated: "My eye is upon the faithful in the land that they may

dwell with me." (Ps. 101.6) Regarding them, Scripture also says: "No eye has seen any other god than Thee who works for those who wait for Him." (Isa. 64.3)

Amen. '"

Tractate "Gehenna"
(232)

"North of the Universe is Gehenna, the North Wind; the lands of Babylonia and Chaldea are outside the settlement. Behind them lie the storehouses of the fire, the snow, the hail, the smoke, the hoarfrost, the darkness and the whirlwind of Gehenna. This establishment is one thousand seven hundred and five years old and is a distance of five years journey. It is the dwelling place of the ghosts, the shades and the imprisoned spirits.

"This is the true Gehenna. It is a distance of twenty-one hundred years away, and the function of its seven sections is the judgment of the evil-doers. This is the department headed by Sammael for whom the North wind is not covered, as is stated in Job 28.7: 'He stretches out the North Wind over empty space.' There is a division between the section of the ghosts and that of the North Wind, for if this were not so they would destroy the entire universe.

"Kipud is the name of the Prince of Gehenna; the second in command is Nagdasgiel, and the third is Sammael. These three guard the three great gates: the first leads to the wilderness

where Korah and his followers were thrown down to Sheol to be guarded by Nagdasgiel; the second gate is like beryl, and on it is inscribed the verse from Jonah 2.3: 'From the womb of Sheol did I cry out.' This gate is guarded by Kipud. The third gate leads to the Valley of Vanities opposite Zion and Jerusalem, as is stated in Mal. 3.19: 'For behold, the day cometh; it burneth as a furnace.'

"There are seven categories in Gehenna, and these are their names:

1. Sheol - a distance of three hundred years away, where Korah and his group are judged like flesh on a stalk in the twelfth month.
2. Abbadon - a distance of three hundred years, where the souls of the evil perish.
3. Beer Shabat - a distance of three hundred years where the doers of violence for a price, the robbers and the thieves are judged.
4. There are two pits; the first is constantly being filled and emptied into the second. The first is never empty, and the second is never full.
5. Tit ha-Yavan - a distance of three hundred years where those who commit the prohibited sexual acts are judged. They sink deep, never to rise again to this world.
6. The slanderers are judged in a place some three hundred years distant from here. They are hung by their tongues, and they are sentenced to every

death and punishment that might burden them so that the eyes of the scholars will no longer be troubled with them.

7. The Pit of Destruction - this is the lower depths, some three hundred years away here. Here the Jews who deceived the scholars sink into darkness, as is said in Ps. 55.24: 'Thou, O God, will bring them down into the nethermost pit.'

"The following are further descriptions of the seven categories of Gehenna.

1. The First Category - There are open pits with lions of fire standing there. When mortals fall, they immediately devour them. After they have eaten them, the fire returns them to their previous state, and they devour them again.
2. The Second Category - Here are ten thousand myriads of those who did not receive the Torah. Absalom is placed over them to judge them, and a Bat Kol says to him: 'Leave them to me because of the merit of their fathers,' but a strange angel stands there and whips these appointed ones with rods of fire. His name is Kushiell. Absalom is exempt from judgment because of the merit of David. This is the reward that he receives because of his forefathers who stood at Mt. Sinai and said: 'We will do and we will hearken.' The evil are judged twice a day.
3. The Third Category - The ten thousand myriads of evil people who are condemned with a rod of fire according to the first commandment are judged here. An angel is

appointed over them whose name is Shaftiel. Korah is also appointed over them; he and his fathers are exempt from judgment because of the merit of R. Levi b. Jacob and his followers who were also exempt because of the merit of their forefathers who stood at Mt. Sinai and said: 'We will do and we will hearken.'

4. The Fourth Category - Here the ten thousand myriads of evil-doers are judged with a rod of fire. Jereboam b. Nebat is appointed over them. The angel who smites them is Matniel. Jereboam is exempt from punishment because of the merit of Ephriam b. Joseph who was completely righteous, and also because of the merit of his forefathers who stood at Mt. Sinai and said: 'We will do and we will hearken.'
5. The Fifth Category - Here are the ten thousand myriads of evil people who have been condemned and who are judged every day. Ahab is among them, and the Angel who is appointed to smite them is Uniel. Ahab is spared punishment because of the merit of his forefathers who stood at Mt. Sinai and said: 'We will do and we will hearken.'
6. The Sixth Category - Here, as are the former, ten thousand myriads are judged each day, and Micah is among them. The angel who smites them is Hadriel. Micah is spared because of the merit of his forefathers who stood at the foot of Mt. Sinai and said: 'We will do and we will hearken.'

7. The Seventh Category - Here, as are the former, ten thousand myriads of evil-doers are judged each day. Among them is Elisha b. Abuyah. The angel who guards them is Ruziel. Elisha b. Abuyah is judged right along with them.

Amen."

The magnificence of R. JBL as a legendary figure has valiantly withstood the test of time. The poet, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, as far removed from his influence as the American scene of the Nineteenth Century, still found him to be of great interest and gave testimony to this fact in the short poem that follows.

The Legend of Rabbi ben Levi
(233)

Rabbi Ben Levi on the Sabbath read
A volume of the Law, in which it is said
"No man shall look upon My face and live."
And as he read he prayed that God would give
His faithful servant grace with mortal eye
To look upon His face and yet not die.

Then fell a sudden shadow on the page,
And, lifting up his eyes, grown dim with age,
He saw the Angel of Death before him stand,
Holding a naked sword in his right hand.
Rabbi Ben Levi was a righteous man,
Yet through his veins a chill terror ran.
With trembling voice he said, "What wilt thou here?"
The Angel answered, "LO! The time draws near
When thou must die; yet, first, by God's decree,
Whate'er thou askest shall be granted thee."
Replied the Rabbi, "Let these living eyes
First look upon my place in Paradise."

Then said the Angel, "Come with me and look."
Rabbi Ben Levi closed the sacred book,
And rising and uplifting his gray head,
"Give me the sword," he to the Angel said,

"Lest thou shouldst fall upon me by the way."
The Angel smiled and hastened to obey,
Then led him forth to the Celestial Town,
And set him on the wall, whence, gazing down,
Rabbi Ben Levi, with his living eyes,
Might look upon his place in Paradise.

Then straight into the city of the Lord
The Rabbi leaped with the Death-Angel's sword,
And through the streets there swept a sudden breath
Of something there unknown, which men call death.
Meanwhile the Angel stayed without and cried,
"Come back!" To which the Rabbi's voice replied,
"NO! In the name of God whom I adore,
I swear that hence I will depart no more!"

Then all the Angels cried, "O Holy One,
See what the son of Levi here hath done!
The Kingdom of Heaven he takes by violence,
And in Thy name refuses to go hence!"
The Lord replied, "My Angels, be not wroth;
Did e'er the son of Levi break his oath?
Let him remain; for he with mortal eye
Shall look upon My face and yet not die."

Beyond the outer wall the Angel of Death
Heard the great voice, and said, with panting breath,
"Give back the sword and let me go my way."
Whereat the Rabbi paused and answered, "Nay!
Anguish enough already hath it caused
Among the sons of men." And while he paused
He heard the awful mandate of the Lord
Resounding through the air, "Give back the sword!"

The Rabbi bowed his head in silent prayer;
Then said he to the dreadful Angel, "Swear
No human eye shall look on it again;
But when thou takest away the souls of men,
Thyself unseen, and with an unseen sword,
Thou wilt perform the bidding of the Lord."
The Angel took the sword again, and swore,
And walks on earth unseen forevermore.

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NOTES

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2. Waxman, Meyer, A HISTORY OF JEWISH LITERATURE, Bloch Publishing Co., New York, 1938, I: 121-122
3. UNIVERSAL JEWISH ENCYCLOPEDIA, Universal Jewish Encyclopedia Inc., New York, 1942, VI: 208-209 (written by Hirschel Revel) This scholar maintains that R. JBL was born near the end of the Second Century.

THE JEWISH ENCYCLOPEDIA, Funk and Wagnalls, New York, 1904, VII: 293-294 (written by Herman Abromawitz) This scholar maintains that R. JBL was born during the first half of the Third Century.
4. UJE, loc. cit. I. H. Weiss, in his DOR DOR VE-DORSHAV, 1876, VIII:60 says that this is definitely not the case.
5. Y. Ber. 10.5
6. Y. M. K. 3.1
7. ~~Y. Ber. 10.5~~ Gen. R. 94.9
8. Ex. R. 6.2
9. UJE, loc. cit.
10. Lam. R. 3.17
11. Bacher, B., AGADOT AMORAHAY ERETZ-ISRAEL, D'vir Publishing Co., Tel Aviv, 1924, I:124
12. Y. Taan. 3.4
13. B. B. 116a, Meg. 27a, Shebu. 18b
14. Gen. R. 94.5
15. B. B. 116a, Meg. 27a, Shebu. 18b
16. Y. Yoma 8.1
17. Y. Shab. 1.1
18. Ber. 19a
19. Ber. 10a
20. Strack, H., INTRODUCTION TO THE TALMUD AND MIDRASH, The Jewish Publication Society, Philadelphia, 1931, p. 125

21. Bacher, B., Op. Cit., p. 129; B. K. 55a
22. Bacher, B., Op. Cit., p. 129
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid., p. 130
25. Ibid.
26. Ber. 5b
27. Y. Shek. 49a
28. Y. Ber. 1.8
29. Y. Ber. 4d
30. Bacher, B., AGADOT HA-TANNAIM, I:175, Note 73
31. Kid. 33b
32. Ber. 21b
33. Kid. 30a
34. Y. Shab. Y. Ber. 8.2
35. Y. Hag. 1.8, Ned. 42b
36. Kid. 33b
37. Gen. R. 33.1
38. Y. Ber. 9a
39. Y. Ned. 8.2
40. Y. Shab. 4a
41. Mielziner, M. INTRODUCTION TO THE TALMUD, Bloch Publishing Co., New York, 1925, p. 41
42. Moore, George Foot, JUDAISM IN THE FIRST CENTURIES OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA, THE AGE OF THE TANNAIM, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1946, p. 291
43. Bettan, Israel, STUDIES IN JEWISH PREACHING, Hebrew Union College Press, Cincinnati, 1939, Introduction
44. Yoma 72b
45. M. K. 5a, Sota 5b

46. San. 43b
47. Tan., "Mishpatim," 17
48. Uk. 3.13
49. Lev. R. 21.3
50. Hul. 92a
51. Ket. 50a
52. Er. 22a
53. Kid. 31a
54. M. K. 22b
55. Y. Peah 3.2 (17d)
56. Pes. 3a; אשר איננה סהורה (thirteen letters) appears rather than הססאה (five letters)
57. Er. 22a
58. Tan., "Ki Tetze," 17; cf. Jer. 3.17
59. San. 98a
60. Pesik. XI, 44a
61. Lev. R. 9; cf. Num. 25.14. Zimri acted immorally with a Midianite woman. This homily has reference to the deed of Achan, Josh. 7.20-22.
62. Gen. R. 4.6
63. Cant. R. 6.11
64. Men. 53b
65. Shab. 28b
66. Cant. R. 3.5
67. cf. I. Chron 3.17
68. cf. Amos 2.9
69. cf. Lev. 10.2
70. Lev. R. 10
71. Num. R. 2.18

72. Lam. R., Intro. 30
73. Sota 48b
74. Gen. R. 13.6
75. Shab. 88b
76. B. K. 80b
77. Note word play between חרן and חרון
78. Until the Jews have no room in their country, being exiled from it
79. Note word play between מראשתי and מראשתי.
80. The word סמל, meaning "image," is identical with the word סלם, meaning "ladder," except for the arrangement of the letters.
81. Gen. R. 68.14
82. Lev. R. 21.3
83. cf. R. H. 27a, Shab. 89a, Cant. R. 6.10, Hul. 92a, Gen. R. 92.3 and Lev. R. 21.3
84. Kid. 31a
85. Y. Hag. 1.1
86. יִרְאָה אֶל פְּנֵי הָאֲדוֹן and יִרְאָה אֶל פְּנֵי הָאֲדוֹן
87. Y. Peah 17d
88. Sota 5b, M. K. 5a; Note word play between שם, meaning "heed" and שם, meaning "calculate." It is interesting to note that the Greek and Syriac versions of Psalms also make this emendation.
89. San. 43b; Note word play between תודה, meaning "thanksgiving," and מתודה, meaning "making public confession."
90. Rashi: "One who studies it for its own sake"
91. Yoma 72b; Note word play between שם, meaning "put," סם, meaning "medicine" and סם, meaning "poison."
92. Ber. 30b; Note word play between הדרת, meaning "glory," and חררת, meaning "fear."
93. Note word play between נזוף, meaning "rebuked," and נזם באף, meaning "a gold ring in the nose."
94. Note word play between חרות, meaning "engraven" and חרות, meaning "free."

95. Ab. 6.2; Note use of נחליאל which can be broken down into the components נחל (ה) אל. "The portion of God" could refer to the Torah, thus rendering the verse: "From the Torah to the high place."
96. cf. I Chron. 3.17
97. Lev. R. 10
98. B. B. 96 (end)
99. Shab. 156a
100. Gen. R. 4.6
101. Gen. R. 56 (end)
102. Note word play between שושנים, meaning "hyacinths" and ששונים, meaning "were different."
103. Shab. 88b
104. Midr. Teh. 4.8; Note use of קל וחומר and לא כל שכן.
105. Cant. R. 4.12; Note use of לא כל שכן.
106. Cant. R. 6.11
107. Men. 53b
108. Ecc. R. 4.2. For another reference to "The Merit of the Patriarchs," cf. Ecc. R. 44.2
109. Yoma 69b
110. The verb is connected to בצע, meaning "to tear," and the noun is read אמרנו, meaning "His state robe." Here it alludes to the curtain before the Holy of Holies which God allowed Titus to rend.
111. Lam. R. 1.1
112. Y. Taan. 3.4
113. Pesik. XXXI
114. Sota 5b
115. Tan., "Shoftim," 14
116. Ex. R. 21.2
117. Ex. R. 44.9
118. Num. R. 16.7

119. Gen. R. 67.2
120. Dt. R. 1.16
121. Gen. R. 49.9
122. Cant. R. 3.5
123. Shab. 88b-89a
124. Ruth R. 4.1; cf. Dt. 23.4
125. Ab. Zarah 19b
126. Cant. R. 6.11
127. Gen. R. 93.1
128. Lam. R., Intro. 2
129. Lam. R. 1.16
130. Pesik. R. 85b
131. Ex. R. 47.1
132. Taan. 3b
133. Cant. R. 1.5
134. Pesik. XI, 46b
135. Pesik. XXXV, 160b
136. Pesik, R. K. 117b; Where one would ordinarily find plural forms, the Bible renders singular forms to stress that the many have banded together and have appeared as one against the foe.
137. San. 39b
138. Dt. R. 2.18
139. Tan., "Behukotai," 2
140. Derech Eretz, Perek "ha-Shalom"
141. UJE, loc. cit.
142. Midr. Teh. 84.5
143. Sanh. 98a
144. Ned. 64b
145. M. K. 27b

146. Sanh. 91b. Note word play between ה'לללל and ה'ללל.
147. Er. 22a
148. Ab. Zarah 2a, 4b
149. Gen. R. 26.2
150. Uk. 3.12
151. Pes. 50a
152. Er. 19a. The names to which R. JBL refers are the following:
1) Sheol, Jonah 2.3; 2) Abbadon, Ps. 88.12; 3) Beer Shehat, Ps. 16.10; 4) Bor Sheon, Ps. 40.3; 5) Tit Yavan, Ps. 40.3; 6) Tsalmavet, Ps. 107.10; 7) Eretz Tahtit, Ez. 3.18.
153. See above, p. 47
154. Shab. 89a
155. Gen. R. 54.1
156. See above, p. 35
Gen. R. 14.9
157. ~~Pesik. XXXII, 14a.~~ "The Mishnah of the Pious" mentioned in this Homily is the work that was written by bar Kapara.
158. Suk. 52a. Note word play between ה'לללל and ה'לללל.
159. Lev. R. 16
160. Pesik. 161b
161. Gen. R. 98
162. cf. I Chron. 3.17
163. Lev. R. 10
164. Y. Ber. 4
165. Ber. 26b. Note word play between ה'ללל and ה'לללל.
166. Y. Ber. 3c
167. Even though a man says the Shema in the Synagogue, he is required to say it again before he goes to bed. (Ber. 4b)
168. Y. Ber. 3d
169. Y. Ber. 4d
170. Ber. 28b

171. Ber. 18a
172. Sota 39b
173. Ber. 28a
174. Ber. 8a
175. Midr. Teh. 101.7
176. Ber. 30b. For explanation of the word play see Note 92.
177. Cant. R. 4.4
178. Ber. 5b
179. Yoma 53b
180. Ber. 32b
181. Ber. 8b
182. Pesik.~~R~~.XL, 167b
183. Sota 38b
184. Y. Peah 17d
185. Pesik.~~R~~.XVIII, 92a
186. Meg. 4a
187. Meg. 4a
188. Pes. 108b
189. Shab. 23a
190. Git. 57b
191. Midr. Teh. 5
192. M. K. 23b
193. See above p~~a~~ ~~35-36~~ 42
194. Lam. R. 1.1
195. Ber. 56b
196. Ber. 59a
197. Shab. 34a
198. Yid. 31a

199. Lev. R. 36
200. Gen. R. 50
201. San. 91b
202. B. B. 145b
203. Taan. 8a
204. Lev. R. 16. This is based on Abot 1.17.
205. Note word play between מצורע and מוציא רע.
206. Lev. R. 16.6
207. Y. Peah 16a
208. Pes. 3a. The phrase "that are not clean" is made up of thirteen letters, while the word "unclean" contains only five letters.
209. Sota 38b
210. Ibid.
211. Gen. R. 67
212. Ber. 10b
213. Gen. R. 33.1
214. Lev. R. 34.1
215. B. B. 9b
216. Ecc. R. 5.5
217. Lev. R. 24.6
218. Pes. 113a
219. Ber. 19a
220. Gen. R. 17
221. Er. 100b
222. Yeb. 62b
223. Lam. R. 1.6
224. cf. Isa. 54.12
225. Pesik XXXII, 148b

226. San. 98a
227. Y. Ber. 9.3. The rainbow was a token of the covenant between God and Israel (Gen. 9.12) by which Israel might be assured that even if the people deserved destruction "the waters shall no more become a flood to destroy all flesh." (Gen. 9.15) Such a token should not appear during the lifetime of a saint, for his merit alone should be sufficient to save the world from destruction.
228. Ket. 77b
229. Jellinek, A.D., BET HA-MIDRASH, Bruder Winter vorm. Herzfeld & Bauer, Vienna, 1873, Vol. II, pp. 48-51
230. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 52
231. cf. Ber. 34b. The wine preserved in its grapes from the six days of creation is the reward laid up for scholars.
232. Jellinek, A. D., Op. Cit., Vol. V, pp. 30-31
233. Longfellow, H. W., LONGFELLOW'S POETICAL WORKS, The John C. Winston Co., Chicago

GUIDE TO THE HOMILIES OF RABBI JOSHUA BEN LEVI

Babylonian Talmud

Abodah Zarah:

2a
4b
19a
19b
25a

Abot:

6.2

Arakin:

16b

Baba Batra:

4a
9b
116a
145b

Baba Yama:

55a
80b

Bekorot:

44b

Berakot:

4b 10a 30b
5b 10b 32b
6b 19a 56b
7a 21b 59a
8a 26b
8b 28a

Hagigah:

26a

Hullin:

7b
91a
93a

Erubin:

19a
22a
54a
100b

Gittin:

57b
88a

Ketubot:

19b
50a
77b
96a

Kiddushin:

31a
33b
71a

Makkot:

10a
23b

Megillah:

4a
12b
27a
28b

Menahot:

53b

Moed Katan:

5a
23b

Nedarim:

41a
64b

Pesahim:

3a 108b
50a 113a
50b 117a
85b 118a

Rosh ha-Shanah:

11a
27a

Shabbat:

23a 89a
34a 119b
88b 156a

Sanhedrin:

7b 39b 98a
10b 43b 98b
14a 91b 99b
26b 94b

Shebuot:

18b

Sotah:

5b 39b
11a 46b
38b 48b
39a

Sukkah:

52a

Taanit:

3b
8a
25a
81a

Uktzin:

3.12

Yebamot:

62b
86b

Yomah:

19b
53b
69b
72b
78a

Jerusalem Talmud

Abodah Zarah:

42a

Berakot:

3c 8b

3d 9c

4d 13a

Hagigah:

1.1

1.8

76b

Erubin:

24c

24d

Horayot:

48b

Kilayim:

31d

Megillah:

70a 73b

2.5 3.1

Moed Katan:

3.1

Nedarim:

8.2

Peah:

17a 16.1

17d

Rosh ha-Shanah:

57a

59a

Shabbat:

1.1

Sanhedrin:

18b 30b

20c

Shebiit:

31d

Shekalim:

49a

Sukkah:

54a

55a

Taanit:

64a 66c

3.4

Terumot:

46b

Yomah:

40c 8.1

44b

Rabbot

Genesis:

4.6 27.4 68.2

8.3 28.8 68.14

10.5 33.1 74

13.6 40 82.13

15.7 44.21 83.2

16.4 49.2 84.2

17 49.9 85.2

20.9 50 88.5

21.7 54.1 92.3

23.2 56.2 93.7

26.2 57 94

26.7 67.13 98

Exodus:

1.31 10.2 44.2

3.4 20 44.9

5.16 21.2 44.10

6.2 23.9 47

7.7 42.8

Leviticus:

1.3 16.6 21.10

1.11 16.9 24.6

3.2 18.2 26.2

4.7 19.5 28.6

9 20.4 34.1

10 21.3 36

Numbers:

2.18 4.11 12.6

3.2 12.2 16.7

Deuteronomy:

1.10 2.18

1.16 7.10

Lamentations:

Int. 5.5 1.6 3.1

Int. 30 1.16 5.20

1.1 2.13 5.22

2.14

Ezra:

3.11

Canticles:

Int. (end) 3.5 5.5

1.1 4.4 6.10

1.2 4.7 6.11

1.4 4.8 7.2

1.5 4.12 8.12

Ruth:

1.1 2.1 4.1

1.2 3.13

Ecclesiastes:

Int. 4.2 7.7

1.1 5.5 9.11

4.1 7.1 12.9

Rabbot (Con't.)

<u>Psalms: (Shohar Tob)</u>		
4.8	18.41	31.2
5.1	19.2	55.19
7.1	19.5	74.3
7.4	19.7	78.52
7.18	22.4	90.1
14.7	22.7	92.1
17.7	25.6	101.7
18.37	28.5	122.2

Miscellaneous Collections of Homilies

Agadat Bereshit:

3

Derech Eretz

5

Derech Eretz Zutah:

2.31	5.43
2.48	11 (end)
2.51	

Midrash Samuel:

1.1

Pesikta d'Rab Kahanah

25b	104a
52b	117b
87b	161b

Pesikta Rabati:

3 (10b)	18 (70b, 92a)
5 (15b)	32 (148b)
11 (46b)	35 (160b)
12 (49b)	40 (167b)

Pesikta Echah Rabati:

2

Tanhumah:

"Bo" (2)
"Mishpatim" (17)
"Ki Tissah" (6)
"Pekuday" (7)
"Behukotai" (1)
"Shoftim" (14)
"Ki Tabo" (11)

Tanhumah Bet ha-Midrash
(Jellinek):

11.52
V.30-31
VI.93