

The Return of the
Repressed:
Pirque de-Rabbi Eliezer
and the
Pseudepigrapha

RACHEL ADELMAN

BRILL

Supplements
to the
Journal for the Study
of Judaism

Editor

Hindy Najman

Department and Centre for the Study of Religion at the University of Toronto

Associate Editors

Florentino García Martínez

Qumran Institute, University of Groningen

Benjamin G. Wright III

Department of Religion Studies, Lehigh University

Advisory Board

J.J. COLLINS – J. DUHAIME – P.W. VAN DER HORST –

A. KLOSTERGAARD PETERSEN –

J.T.A.G.M. VAN RUITEN – J. SIEVERS – G. STEMBERGER

E.J.C. TIGCHELAAR – J. TROMP

VOLUME 140

The Return of the Repressed:
Pirque de-Rabbi Eliezer and the
Pseudepigrapha

By
Rachel Adelman



BRILL

LEIDEN • BOSTON
2009

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Adelman, Rachel.

The return of the repressed : Pirke de-Rabbi Eliezer and the Pseudepigrapha / by Rachel Adelman.

p. cm. — (Supplements to the Journal for the study of Judaism ; v. 140)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-90-04-17049-0 (hardback : alk. paper)

1. Pirkei de-Rabbi Eliezer. 2. Bible. O.T. Genesis—Commentaries. 3. Bible. O.T. Exodus—Commentaries. 4. Rabbinical literature—History and criticism. I. Title. II. Series.

BM517.P73A34 2009

296.1'4—dc22

2009030000

ISSN 1384-2161

ISBN 978 90 04 17049 0

Copyright 2009 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands.
Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Hotei Publishing,
IDC Publishers, Martinus Nijhoff Publishers and VSP.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Koninklijke Brill NV provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910, Danvers, MA 01923, USA.
Fees are subject to change.

CONTENTS

Acknowledgments	ix
-----------------------	----

PART I: INTRODUCTION TO *PIRQE DE-RABBI ELIEZER* – GENRE, AUTHOR, PROVENANCE, AND DATING

Chapter One: Genre: <i>Pirqe de-Rabbi Eliezer</i> as Narrative Midrash	3
Chapter Two: The Author-ity of <i>Pirqe de-Rabbi Eliezer</i>	23
The Integrity of the Composition	23
<i>Pirqe de-Rabbi Eliezer</i> as Pseudepigraphy	25
Chapter Three: The Historical Context	35
The Historical Context of PRE – Dating and Provenance ...	35
Editions of PRE and the Version Cited in the Body of this Work	42
The Plan of the Book	44

PART II: THE PERSONIFICATION OF EVIL

Chapter Four: The Problem of the Origin of Evil	49
The Personification of Evil in PRE	61
The Role of Satan in the Bible	63
The Lost Legend of the Fallen Angel in the Bible	66
Chapter Five: Adam, Eve and the Serpent – the First Version of the Fall (PRE 13)	71
Adam as the Envy of the Angels	72
Samael as Chief of the Angelic Order	78
Samael Parasitic on the Primordial Serpent	82
The Parable of the Seduction of Eve	84
The Conversation between the Serpent and Eve – “The Perverted Message”	91

Eve's Jealousy and the Downfall of Adam	95
Was Eve really Seduced? The Conception of Cain (Miscegenation #1)	98
The Gnostic Parallels	103
Conclusion	107
 Chapter Six: The Myth of the Fallen Angels	 109
Enigmas in the Biblical Source – Genesis 6:1–4	110
The Narrative Expansion on the Origin of the Flood	112
Who are the <i>bnei 'elohim</i> ? The Repression of Myth in Genesis Rabbah and “the Return of the Repressed” in PRE	114
A Comparison with the Ethiopic Book of Enoch and Jubilees: Who seduces whom?	118
Samael/Azazel and the Scapegoat Offering on the Day of Atonement	124
The Relationship between PRE and Pseudepigrapha	132
Conclusion: The Recycling of Samael in the Midrashic Narrative	135
 PART III: MYTH AND PRAXIS IN <i>PIRQE DE-RABBI ELIEZER</i>	
 Chapter Seven: Introduction to the Etiological Narratives in PRE	 141
Defining the Relationship between Myth and Praxis	146
 Chapter Eight: The Jewish Myth of Prometheus, or The First Havdalah	 151
Idiosyncrasies in <i>Hilkhot Havdalah</i>	158
Comparing the Greek Myth and the Midrash	162
 Chapter Nine: Rosh Ḥodesh as a Women's Holiday – The Origin of a Minhag	 169
 Chapter Ten: Why is Elijah invited to the <i>Brit Milah</i> ?	 185
Introduction: Elijah as a Liminal Figure	185
From Zealot to Guardian of the Covenant, PRE 29	186
Elijah as Phinehas (PRE 47) and the Extrabiblical Sources	193

The Controversy over Elijah's Genealogy	199
Elijah <i>Redivivus</i> as Harbinger of the Messianic Era (PRE 43)	205
Conclusion: Between Myth and Praxis	206

PART IV: A LITERARY ANALYSIS OF *PIRQE DE-RABBI ELIEZER*

CHAPTER 10

Chapter Eleven: Jonah's Sojourn in the Netherworld	211
Introduction	211
The Ironic Basis to the Midrashic Reading of Jonah	213
The Reason for Jonah's flight from the Presence of God ...	217
The Descent to the Sea	224
The Sea as the Presumed Realm of God's Absence	225
Jonah Finds a Ship	228
The Sailors as Foils to the Reluctant Prophet	229
The Sojourn in the Belly of the Fish	237
Portrait of the Prophet as a Young Boy	237
The Journey through the Netherworld (Part 1)	240
The Confrontation with the Leviathan	243
The Journey through the Netherworld (Part 2)	247
The Inspiration of Korah's Sons	253
The Motif of Three Days and Three Nights	255
Conclusion	257
Conclusion	259
Appendix A: The Relationship between PRE and Liturgy	265
Appendix B: A Diplomatic Edition of PRE 1 and 2 The Biography of Eliezer ben Hyrcanus	269
Appendix C: A Diplomatic Edition of PRE 30 The Banishment of Ishmael and Hagar (Abraham's Penultimate Trial)	275
Appendix D: A Diplomatic Version of Chapter 13 Adam, Eve, and Samael in the Garden of Eden	281
Appendix E: A Diplomatic Version of Chapter 22 The Fallen Angels	285
Appendix F: A Diplomatic Version of PRE Chapter 20 The Banishment from Eden and the First Havdalah	289

Appendix G: A Diplomatic Version of a Selection from PRE 29 The Covenant of Circumcision	293
Appendix H: A Diplomatic Version of a Selection from PRE 47 The Zeal of Phinehas	295
Appendix I: A Diplomatic Version of PRE Chapter 10 Jonah's Sojourn in the Netherworld	299
Short Forms and Editions of Texts	303
Bibliography	311
Indices	
Index of Modern Authors	335
Index of Ancient Jewish and Christian Sources	338

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This book is based on my doctoral dissertation, “The Poetics of Time and Space in the Midrashic Narrative: The Case of *Pirkei deRabbi Eliezer*” (2008), written under the supervision of Jacob Elbaum at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. I am indebted to Prof. Elbaum for his encouragement, his thorough comments, and his depth of insight into this marvelous midrashic text. Prof. Avigdor Shinan also lent a guiding hand, especially in the chapter on “Jonah’s Sojourn in the Netherworld”. In the final stages of the dissertation, Prof. Joshua Levinson also contributed his keen editorial eye to the dissertation, and many of his comments have been integrated into the final stages of the book.

Last year, I was fortunate to be the Ray D. Wolfe post-doctoral fellow in Jewish Studies at the University of Toronto, where I received the support and encouragement of Prof. Derek Penslar and Prof. Hindy Najman. I am most grateful for their critical guidance and support.

The Judaica Reading Room at the National Library in Jerusalem, with its efficient, friendly staff, also provided warmth, a rigorous work atmosphere, and a wonderful collection of resources.

To my husband, Yehuda Berlinger, I owe my deepest love and gratitude. He meticulously proof-read the final drafts of the manuscript in progress, collating, and formatting and checking for inconsistencies. Through the final stages, in preparation for *Pesah* 2009, he was loving and patient and supportive. He made it a true *ḥag ḥerut*, a celebration of freedom, for us.

PART I

INTRODUCTION TO *PIRQE DE-RABBI ELIEZER* – GENRE,
AUTHOR, PROVENANCE, AND DATING

CHAPTER ONE

GENRE: *PIRQE DE-RABBI ELIEZER* AS NARRATIVE MIDRASH

The composition known as *Pirqe de-Rabbi Eliezer* (from hereon PRE)¹ has always been a widely popular midrash, cited by such diverse sages as the Rab Amram Gaon, Rashi, Nachmanides, and Radak.² Written sometime in the early medieval period, it was falsely ascribed to the tannaitic scholar R. Eliezer ben Hyrcanus. When cited by the medieval exegetes, the title of the composition is sometimes elided altogether and the interpretive passage mistakenly attributed to R. Eliezer himself.³ Due to its putative authorship, the midrash assumed a central position within the collective rabbinic imagination, belying the controversial nature of its content. Maimonides, well aware of the fanciful (and for him problematic) aspect of the midrash, introduces it as follows: “In the famous chapters known as the Chapters of Rabbi Eliezer, I find R. Eliezer the Great saying something more extraordinary than I have ever seen in the utterances of any believer in the Law of Moses.”⁴ The “extraordinary” nature of the midrash lies in its distinctly mythic hue, audaciously drawing from the apocryphal works of the Second

¹ Also known as *Baraita de Rabbi Eliezer* (*Arukh*, Rashi), *Mishnah de-Rabbi Eliezer*, and *Haggadah de-Rabbi Eliezer* (Stemberger 1996: 328).

² See Stein 2004:1, note 3, and Ta-Shma 1985: 303. For citations of the work in medieval literature see R. David Luria’s Introduction to his edition of PRE, sections 6 and 7, 1852: 13; cf. M. Rabinowitz 1979: 100; Zunz-Albeck 1947: 417, n. 12. See also Albeck’s introduction to, *Midrash Breshit Rabbati* 1966/7: 18 n. 2.

³ For example, see Nachmanides’ comment on Gen. 28:12, referring to a passage in PRE 35.

⁴ Maimonides was alarmed at the anthropomorphic description of the creation of the Heavens from the light of God’s garment in PRE 3 (based on Ps. 104:1), (*Guide for the Perplexed* 2: 26, ed. Freidländer 1956: 200). See Stein 2004: 1–2. Nachmanides takes up Maimonides’ challenge in his commentary on Gen. 1:8.

Temple period⁵ that had been explicitly banned by the Tannaim and Amoraim.⁶

According to Joseph Heinemann, the midrash even models itself after the genre of these earlier compositions, known as the ‘Rewritten Bible’ [המקרא המשובתב].⁷ Geza Vermes characterizes many of the non-canonical texts of the Second Temple Period, such as *Jubilees*, Josephus’ *Jewish Antiquities*, and *Biblical Antiquities* (L.A.B., or Pseudo-Philo), as well the late midrashic composition *Sefer HaYashar* (circa 11th century C.E.), as belonging to this genre.⁸ He briefly defines the form as “a narrative that follows Scripture but includes a substantial amount of supplements and interpretative developments.”⁹ In addition to a formal resemblance, PRE also draws on similar eschatological ideas that were expressed in the Pseudepigrapha.¹⁰ Many of the earlier Second Temple compositions were inspired by the sense of living in an epoch on the verge of the messianic era, when “the foundations of life quake beneath our feet.”¹¹ Frank Kermode characterizes this literature as being shaped by *Kairos* – “the point in time filled with significance, charged with a meaning derived from its relation to the end” – in contrast with simple *Chronos*, “passing time” or “waiting time.”¹² Both PRE and these earlier works reshape biblical passages

⁵ Zunz notes the parallels in style and content to the extra-canonical texts (*Sefarim Hitzonim*) of the Second Temple Period. Jubilees, in particular, overlaps with PRE both in style and content, especially in the tendency to ascribe halachic practice retroactively to the patriarchs (Zunz-Albeck 1947: 136–137). See Gerald Friedlander’s very thorough list of parallels (Friedlander 1981: xxvii–li). For a critique of his “alleged parallels” see Urowitz-Freudenstein 1994: 35–53. She points out that these motifs were so pervasive in the rabbinic, as well as the Second Temple, literature that the precise mode of their transmission and preservation proved to be insignificant. Yet her critique is full of oversights. For example, she suggests that exegesis on the divine beings [*bnei ha-elohim*] (Gen. 6:2), which developed into a myth of ‘Fallen Angels’ in PRE 22, was “present in rabbinic sources” but she does not support this claim (Urowitz-Freudenstein 1994: 46). See the thorough discussion of this myth in ch. 6.

⁶ See *M. Sanhedrin* 10:1, *y. Sanhedrin* 10:1 50a, *b. Sanhedrin* 100b, and *Eccl. Rab.* 12:12 (11).

⁷ J. Heinemann 1974a: 181. Joseph Dan also makes this general observation about rabbinic literature of the medieval period (Dan 1974: 133–144).

⁸ Vermes 1973: 67–126 and 228–229. I define this genre in greater detail further on.

⁹ Vermes in Schürer 1986: 326. This definition may apply to many narrative expansions on the Bible in midrashic composition of the classical period, but in PRE the emphasis is on *one* continuous story line, as I show later.

¹⁰ For a thorough analysis of many of the eschatological passages in PRE, see Elbaum 1996: 245–266.

¹¹ Kermode 1996: 47.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 47.

in the light of their apocalyptic sensibility, rewriting them to conform to a mythic narrative pattern. By myth I mean sacred narratives of origin, which entail a return to the Beginning of Time, or what Eliade calls *in illo tempore ab origine*, before history began at the “dawn of the universe,” when “the gods” or archetypes (of the Bible) abound.¹³ Often the stories have an etiological motive; they account for why the world is as it is or why one practices a given ritual or religious practice. By resurrecting myths found only in vestigial forms in the Bible and tracing these motifs from Creation (*Ma’aseh Breshit*) to their recapitulation in the End of Days, the author establishes a concord between origins and the eschaton. The audacity to rewrite the biblical narrative is driven by a messianic re-visioning of history. In this case, the form follows function; the genre allows the author to retell the biblical story in light of the End.

How does PRE differ from these earlier works? Why was this genre excluded from the rabbinic canon? What made this period in Jewish history ripe for its renewal? I will explore two different genres that might apply to PRE – the earlier so-called ‘Rewritten Bible’ [המקראת המשוכתב], and the later rabbinic genre, or ‘the expanded exegetical narrative’ [הסיפור הדרשני המורחב].¹⁴ Over the course of the discussion, I will outline what is unique about the poetics of this composition, and describe the historical context, when mythic structures of narrative were resurfacing in many apocalyptic works of the 8th and 9th century.¹⁵ I will define the role of myth in the midrashic narrative.

¹³ Eliade 1965: 4. In later chapters, I will expand this definition of myth to include Fishbane’s notion of “rabbinic mythmaking” or mythopoesis. See Fishbane 1998: 41–55, and also Fishbane 2003. In ch. 7, I will adopt a definition of the relationship between mythic narrative and ritual, drawing upon the theories of Eliade 1963 and Ricoeur 1967. For further discussion on the relationship between myth and ritual, see Gruenewald 2004: 15–52 and Garb 2004: 53–74, and the discussion to follow in ch. 7.

¹⁴ On the significance of genre, see Bakhtin on chronotope, 1981: 130–131, and Todorov 1984: 80–85. See also Stein’s comments on the genre of PRE and her review of the literature (Stein 2004: 27–32).

¹⁵ Such as *The Apocalypse of Zerubbabel* [ספר זרובבל], published in *Midreshei Ge’ulah*, ed. Kaufmann 1963: 55–88, see also Himmelfarb’s translation and commentary, 1990: 67–90; *Mysteries of Shimon Ben Yoḥai* [נסתרות רשב"י], published in *Beit ha-Midrash*, ed. Jellinek 1938 3: 78–82; *Midrash on the Ten Kings* [עשרת המלכים], in *Beit 'Eked*, ed. S. Horovitz 1892: 38–55; and *The Prayer of Rabbi Shimon Ben Yoḥai* [תפילה רשב"י], also in *Beit ha-Midrash*, ed. Jellinek 1938 4: 117–126. For a description of the historical background to these compositions, see Gil 1992: 61–64, and Kaufmann’s introduction to *Midreshei Ge’ulah*, 1954: 54–55. See the discussion in Graetz, who argued that the *Mysteries of Shimon Ben Yoḥai* provided the source for PRE (Graetz 1905–06, 5: 441, 446). The theory of Graetz was challenged by Steinschneider

Over the course of the book, I will also address areas of influence upon the composition from the canonical rabbinic sources, such as the Palestinian Talmud and *Breshit Rabbah* (*Gen. Rab.*), to the more controversial material found in the Pseudepigrapha and Apocrypha, considering especially those sources which were excluded from the rabbinic canon when the two traditions diverge. I will also examine the role of liturgical poetry (*piyut*)¹⁶ and homilies (*petihta'ot*, or proems) from the early synagogue tradition, as well as the role of the Aramaic Targum in shaping the genre. As scholars before me have clearly demonstrated, I will consistently argue that the innovative Targum Pseudo-Jonathan (*Tg. Ps.-J.*), a paraphrastic Aramaic translation of the Pentateuch, is either directly dependent on PRE or they share a common source.¹⁷

CHARACTERIZING THE GENRE OF PRE AS “NARRATIVE MIDRASH”

There are two main types of midrashic collections that arose out of the classical period; PRE *does not* conform to either of them. The first, and probably chronologically earlier, compilation has been characterized as “Exegetical Midrash,” following a line-by-line interpretation of a particular book of the Pentateuch. This type includes *Breshit Rabbah*

in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlaendischen Gesellschaft* 28:645 (cited in Friedlander 1981: 222, n. 3).

¹⁶ See Mirsky's introduction to *Piyutei Yossi ben Yossi*. He traces the parallels between the *Avodot* (the liturgical poetry for Yom Kippur) and PRE, particularly on subject of *Ma'aseh Breshit*. Mirsky describes PRE rightly as ‘Narrative Midrash’ [ערוך רצוף של סיפור רצוף], but mistakenly assumes that the poet imitates the form and content of the midrash, though Yossi ben Yossi clearly predates PRE by over a century (Mirsky 1977: 35–40). Yahalom modifies Mirsky's position, arguing that the midrash draws from the world of liturgical poetry, and even suggests that the allusions to the apocryphal works in PRE are filtered through what has been preserved by the *paytan* (Yahalom 1996: 46–54). This claim may hold for the parallels between PRE 11 and the *piyut*, “*az be-'ayn kol*,” as Yahalom shows (1996: 181), but much more work would need to be done on the relationship between the early liturgical poetry, PRE, and the Pseudepigrapha to support the generalization behind this statement.

¹⁷ For a discussion on the relationship between the Targum Pseudo-Jonathan (*Tg. Ps.-J.*) and PRE, see Gottlieb 1944: 26–34; Ohana 1975: 367–387; Shinan 1992: 176–185; and Hayward 1989: 77–93 and 1991: 215–146. See also the extensive list of parallels in Fernández' introduction to the Spanish translation of PRE, *Los Capítulos de Rabbi Eliezer*, 1984: 31–36, as well as Fernández 1986: 471–487 and 1987: 39–55. All the scholars, with the exception of Hayward, argue that *Tg. Ps.-J.* is most likely dependent on PRE, or at least written in a similar milieu after the rise of Islam.

(*Gen. Rab.*), as well as the so-called “halakhic midrashim” of the Tannaim (circa 2nd–3rd c. C.E.), compositions such as the two versions of *Mekhilta*, the *Sifra* (on Leviticus), and the *Sifre* (on Numbers and Deuteronomy). The second type of composition, known as “Homiletical Midrash,” is based on oral sermons that arose out of the Palestinian triennial cycle; these compositions revolve around the opening verses of the Torah reading of the week.¹⁸ Their organization is often thematic rather than exegetical, and they have a distinct literary pattern. Major midrashic works that conform to this genre include *VaYikra Rabbah* (*Lev. Rab.*) and *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* (*P.R.K.*). David Stern points out that “the distinction between the two genres of midrash is partly heuristic.”¹⁹ Many of the compositions classified as Exegetical Midrash may include homilies (in the form of *petihta’ot*, proems), while the Homiletical Midrashim most certainly include exegetical material. As Joseph Heinemann notes, PRE combines both the classical models of homily and exegesis, as a kind of ‘transition genre’ between verse-by-verse commentary and one continuous story.²⁰ Jacob Elbaum observes that the narrative expansions on the Bible in PRE, unlike Exegetical Midrash, are more often built around a theme, and only loosely follow the biblical narrative.²¹ The biblical story is re-told with quotes from the original text interwoven into a new narrative rendition. Rather than a composite of different rabbinic interpretations, as in *Gen. Rab.*, the author creates an integrated narrative, blurring the boundary between interpretation and primary source, as in the genre of the so-called ‘Rewritten Bible’.

Philip Alexander establishes nine criteria upon which to admit or exclude any given composition from this genre, the ‘Rewritten Bible’;²² these provide a litmus test for PRE. And, as I will show, PRE fails to conform on many levels, compelling us to define a new genre. Alexander’s study is based on an examination of four Second Temple compositions: *Jubilees*, the *Genesis Apocryphon* (from Qumran), *Pseudo-Philo* (otherwise known as *Biblical Antiquities*, or *L.A.B.*), and Josephus’

¹⁸ For an analysis of the relationship between homiletical midrash and the triennial cycle, see Mann, 2 vols, 1967–1971, J. Heinemann 1968: 41–48, and Bregman 1981: 74–84.

¹⁹ Stern 1996: 107.

²⁰ J. Heinemann 1974a: 181.

²¹ Elbaum 1992: 103. He calls this “thematic systemization [מערכות נושאיות]”

²² Alexander 1988: 99–121.

Jewish Antiquities. Recent studies present a critique of the category ‘Rewritten Bible’ from the standpoint of Qumran research, and suggest that the use of the term ‘Bible’ is anachronistic, given no consensus existed on the canonized ‘sacred text’ in the late Second Temple period. Brooke therefore amends the genre characteristic of this literary corpus as “rewritten scriptural texts.”²³ For the author of PRE, however, the Masoretic Text (MT) was a given, and the text does not presume to be a “revelatory replacement or successor.”²⁴ The following are Alexander’s criteria (in some cases, paraphrased), with brief comments in parantheses. I will later show how they may be modified in the light of the influence of classic rabbinic literature on this genre:

- 1) [Alexander’s “a”] Rewritten Bible texts are narratives, which follow a sequential chronological order. Their framework is an account of events, and so they may be described broadly as histories...
- 2) [“b”] They are, on the face of it, free-standing compositions which replicate the form of the biblical books on which they are based... Unlike rabbinic midrash, the actual words of Scripture do not remain highlighted within the body of the text, either in the form of lemmata, or by use of citation formulae... [This is clearly not applicable to PRE].
- 3) [“c”] Despite the superficial independence of form, these texts are not intended to replace, or to supersede the Bible... [they] were addressed to an audience who knew the originals well, and who were expected to call the originals to mind as they read these works.
- 4) [“d”] Rewritten Bible texts cover a substantial portion of the Bible... Rewritten Bible texts are centripetal: they come back to the Bible again and again... The Rewritten Bible texts make use of the legendary material, but by placing that material within an extended biblical narrative (in association with passages of more or less literal retelling of the Bible), they clamp the legends firmly to the biblical framework, and reintegrate them into the biblical history. The single legendary expansions constitute a separate genre.
- 5) [“e”] Rewritten Bible texts follow the Bible serially, in proper order, but they are highly selective in what they represent. Some passages are reproduced more or less literally, some are omitted altogether, some abbreviated, some expanded. There are few omissions which

²³ See Brooke 2002: 31–41 and 2000 2: 777–781; and Najman’s critique of the term in *Seconding Sinai*, 2003: 7–8 (especially n. 14). Both Moshe Bernstein and Michael Segal defend the term as useful but emphasize its narrowness – that it excludes books like *1 Enoch* and *The Books of Adam and Eve (Vita and ApMos)*, and that a distinction must be made between the genres of rewritten biblical compositions and biblical manuscripts themselves. See Moshe Bernstein 2005: 169–196 and Michael Segal 2005a: 10–28. Most recently, see the discussion in Fraade 2006: 59–78.

²⁴ Fraade’s wording (2006: 61).

would create a serious chronological hiatus, and in the end all the texts contain a reasonably balanced proportion of straightforward retelling and expansion. A proper balance between the 'literal' and the 'non-literal' sections is probably of fundamental importance to the genre.

- 6) ["f"] The intention of the texts is to produce an interpretative reading of Scripture. They offer 'a fuller, smoother and a doctrinally more advanced form of the sacred narrative'.²⁵ They constitute a kind of commentary. The commentary is, however, indirect, and its full significance can only be grasped if the original is borne constantly in mind. They carry on an intense, if silent, dialectic with the original.
- 7) ["g"] The narrative form of the texts means, in effect, that they can impose only a single interpretation on the original. The original can be treated only as monovalent. By way of contrast, the commentary form adopted by rabbis and by Philo allows them to offer multiple interpretations of the same passage of Scripture, and to treat the underlying text as polyvalent.
- 8) ["h"] The limitations of the narrative form also preclude making clear the exegetical reasoning. The Rewritten Bible texts read the Bible with close attention, noting obscurities, inconsistencies, and narrative lacunae. The methods by which they solve the problems of the original are essentially midrashic, i.e. similar to those found in the rabbinic midrashim. But unlike the midrashim (or Philo) they cannot make explicit their midrashic working.
- 9) ["i"] Rewritten Bible texts make use of non-biblical tradition and draw on non-biblical sources, where oral or written. As already noted, they use legendary material, which... bears little resemblance to the biblical text, and certainly cannot be derived from it exegetically. In certain cases we can be sure the legendary material pre-existed its incorporation into the texts. By fusing this material with the biblical narrative, the Rewritten Bible texts appear to be aiming at a synthesis of the whole tradition (both biblical and extra-biblical) within a biblical framework; they seek to unify the tradition on a biblical base. Though they accord the Bible priority in the synthesis, they have a high regard for non-biblical tradition... So their intention may be seen as both exegetical and eisegetical; they seek to draw out the sense of Scripture and to solve its problems, and at the same time to read non-biblical material into Scripture, thereby validating it and preventing the fragmentation of the tradition.²⁶

Alexander's first criterion entails the conformity of the 'Rewritten Bible' to "sequential, chronological order," but, in this regard, the author of

²⁵ Vermes in Schürer 1986: 305.

²⁶ Alexander 1988: 116–118.

PRE proves to be a non-conformist. Overall, the composition moves from the story of Creation (PRE 3–9) to the Exodus and the Israelites' sojourn in the desert (PRE 54 of the printed edition). However there are many flights of fancy diverging from the time-line. After four chapters on the Garden of Eden, for example, chapter 15 introduces “the two ways,”²⁷ essentially a theological treatise on the consequences of eating from the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil (based on Deut. 30:15 – “good” identified with life and adherence to the Torah, and “evil” with death and disobedience). The composition then takes a long tangent (two chapters) on the virtues of charity [*tzedaqah*] and “the service of loving-kindness [*gemilut ḥasadim*].” Only then does the midrash return to the story of Adam. PRE 33 and 34 explore the biblical sources on the resurrection of the dead and its manifestation in the End of Days (inspired by image of the dew in Isaac's blessing to Jacob at the end of PRE 32). The series of stories on the models of repentance in PRE 43 diverge from the narrative on the desert sojourn and may be read as a homily on repentance.²⁸ PRE 49, on the injunction to destroy Amalek, breaks up the narrative on the Exodus and leads into the narrative expansion on the Book of Esther.²⁹ All of these tangents are more akin to the homilies of *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* (*P.R.K.*) than the ‘Rewritten Bible’.³⁰ Even within a given chapter there are chrono-

²⁷ Friedlander's title 1981: 102.

²⁸ The examples are: Ahab, David, Menashe son of Hezekiah, Reish Lakish, Pharaoh, and the Ninevites. Perhaps this tangent appears in PRE 43 because Pharaoh is said to be the only Egyptian survivor from the splitting of the Reed Sea (PRE 42), or it may provide a lead *into* the story on the Golden Calf (PRE 45).

²⁹ Perhaps this chapter is based on a sermon for *Parashat Zakhor* (read on the Sabbath before Purim). PRE 44, 49, and 50 are roughly parallel to *P.R.K.*, Piska 3, drawing intertextual links between the original episode in the Torah in Exod. 17:8–16 and the injunction “to remember” in Deut. 25:17–19 (the *maftir* of *Parashat Zakhor*), 1 Sam. 15 (the Haftarah of that Shabbat), and *Esther*. The chapters do not appear in PRE in sequence because the Amalek incident (PRE 44) is linked to the complaint narratives in the desert sojourn (PRE 44–47).

³⁰ Gerald Friedlander suggests that the following chapters may have originally been composed as homilies: 1) PRE 11 (end), “The Midrash on the Ten Kings” as a homily for the Sabbath before the 9th of Av; 2) PRE 42, on the crossing of the Reed Sea, for *Shabbat Shira* or for the 7th Day of Passover; 3) PRE 41, on the giving of the Torah at Har Sinai, for Shavuot; 4) selections from PRE 4, on the Cherubim and the Throne of Glory, for Sukkot (the Haftarah being Ezek. 1); 5) PRE 33, for the Shabbat of Passover (the Haftarah being Ezek 37); 6) PRE 49, establishing the relationship between Amalek and the Book Esther, for *Shabbat Zakhor*; and 7) both PRE 31 (on the *Aqedah*) and PRE 33 as homilies for *Parashat Vayera*, since the latter draws from the Haftarah of 2 Kings 4 (Friedlander 1981: xxi). Friedlander also suggests that PRE 10 may have

logical leaps, drawing parallels between biblical passages on a thematic basis – the use of *herem* (the ban), for example (PRE 38),³¹ or the treaties established between the patriarchs and the natives of the land (PRE 36).³² In each of these examples, the thematic context defines the genre more than exegesis on the biblical narrative. One could argue, then, that PRE is really a composite of genres.

Alexander's fourth criterion – the return again and again to the biblical text – most definitely applies to PRE. The midrash also integrates “legendary expansions” into the biblical text. However, the selective inclusion and exclusion of biblical material in PRE does not demonstrate a “balance” between the “literal” and “non-literal,” as Alexander describes the ‘Rewritten Bible’. Rather, there is considerable blurring between the “literal” and “non-literal,” between the realistic and the fantastic, raising the question as to whether the distinction was significant to the author at all. The midrash also does not present a reasonable balance between “retelling” and “expansion.” The tendency to follow the chronology of the biblical narrative is loose; PRE is replete with deviations from chronology and wild tangents that obscure the time-line, as I pointed out.

With respect to Alexander's eighth criterion, the exegetical reasoning behind the rewrite in PRE is not always hidden. Often the author highlights verses from the Bible as prooftexts. Sometimes exegetical questions are even posed directly – “Why did Jonah flee?” on Jon. 1:2 (PRE 10), for example, “Why a ‘sin offering for the Lord’?” on Num

been composed as a homily for Yom Kippur (cf. also Treitel 2001: 14–15). But, as I will later argue, it is questionable whether this Haftarah was associated with *Minḥa* on Yom Kippur in Palestine as early as the 8th century. See ch. 11, footnote 18. On the relationship between PRE 26–31 and the homily for Rosh Hashanah, see Barth 1987: 1–48. Barth claims that this may well represent a version of the ten trials predating PRE, while Elbaum argues that this homily most likely draws from PRE (oral communication).

³¹ A parallel is made between the oath requiring a quorum of ten (*herem*), in the story of the sale of Joseph (Gen. 37), Akhan's abrogation of the *herem* (Josh. 7), Saul's banning the consumption of food during the battle and Jonathan's abrogation of that oath (1 Sam. 14), and Ezra's injunction not to marry among the Cutheans (*Kutim*, i.e. the Samaritans) (PRE 38). See Barth 1997: 625–640.

³² A link is made between Abraham's purchase of *Me'arat ha-Makhpelah* (lit. “the double-cave”) from the Jebusites in the midrash (not the Hittites as the Bible records), Isaac's covenant with the Philistines (Gen. 26:27), Jacob's covenant with the Arameans, i.e. Laban (Gen. 31:52), and how David overcomes these treaties [ברית שבועה] in order to possess the land (PRE 36).

23:16 (PRE 51), and “From where [מניין] do we learn that Abraham was privy to a divine vision?” (PRE 28). As I pointed out, PRE is sometimes overtly exegetical but more often the “midrashic workings” are not explicit, as in the ‘Rewritten Bible’. The reading of non-biblical material into Scripture (Alexander’s ninth criterion) is most definitely true of PRE. Yet, questions remain: whose tradition is being integrated into Scripture? To what purpose is it given legitimacy? As I will show, it is not always material that would have been sanctioned by the classical rabbinic establishment.

Nevertheless, the bulk of the midrash reads as a continuous narrative, which combines both, as Alexander phrased it, an exegetic and eisegetic approach to the biblical text – it solves gaps and discrepancies while introjecting new, primarily mythic, material into the rewriting. This form is very similar to what Ofra Meir describes as “the exegetical narrative” [*ha-sippur ha-darshani*]³³ found in the classical midrashic texts.³⁴ Here the exegetical process runs almost seamlessly alongside the original text in the interests of weaving a new story line. In defining the genre, Meir establishes five basic characteristics³⁵ and suggested various permutations as manifest in late midrash – the *Tanḥuma* in particular.³⁶ She calls the later form “the *expanded* exegetical narrative” [*ha-sippur ha-darshani ha-murḥav*], which proves to be very similar to the narrative expansions on the Bible in PRE. I paraphrase these criteria, in English, as follows: 1) There is a broadening and re-contextualizing of the scope of the story. 2) Often a kind of fluency in rewriting the story will be achieved by not calling attention to the exegetical process. Phrases such as “Rabbi X said in the name of Y” are rare, and disagreement between interpretations all but disappears. The line between the quote and the rewrite is blurred. The biblical verse, however, may still function as a proof-text [אסמכתא], introduced by lemmatta such as: “שנאמר” or “לפי”, or “דכתיב” and so forth. Two forms of proof-text are used – the “remote verse,” which may open a *petiḥta* (homily or proem), or the verse drawn from the original biblical context being interpreted. 3) There is an expansion of the original narrative and sometimes a divergence from, or overt elision of,

³³ This is Joshua Levinson’s suggested translation, Levinson 2004: 497–528.

³⁴ Meir 1987. Her analysis of the genre is expanded by Jonah Fraenkel, who points to the common folk aspect behind “exegetical narrative” (Fraenkel 1991 1: 287–322).

³⁵ She establishes five characteristics of this earlier form in 1987: 66–69.

³⁶ Meir 1980: 246–266.

sections from the original biblical text. 4) A new idea or agenda is introduced. 5) A rhetorical and aesthetic appeal is made to the reader/audience.³⁷ In a terse footnote, Meir anticipates our discussion here when she suggests that “the reconstructed biblical narratives” [סיפורי המקרא המשוחזרים] (by which she may have been alluding to PRE) are continuous with “the expanded exegetical narrative” [הסיפור הרחב] as found in the *Tanḥuma*. However, she mistakenly suggests that one could date the *Tanḥuma* (in her view, an earlier form) based on this developmental perspective. According to Meir, “the expanded exegetical narrative” is an earlier, “less developed” form, than the later “Rewritten Bible.”³⁸

The most important aspect of this genre is the tension created between exegesis and the art of story telling. In Levinson’s analysis of “the exegetical narrative,” he points to an inevitable dialectic between the process of interpretation – to reveal what the text conceals – and its new narrative rendition – to say something new in a story form, with its own lyricism and logic. Drawing on Mikhail Bakhtin’s conceptualization, Levinson calls this process a “dialogic reading.”³⁹

The exegetical narrative is composed of a story which simultaneously represents and interprets its biblical counterpart. As a hermeneutical reading of the biblical story presented in narrative form, its defining characteristic lies precisely in this synergy of narrative and exegesis.⁴⁰ As exegesis, it creates new meanings from the biblical verses, and as narrative, it represents those meanings by means of the biblical world. As exegesis, it is subservient to the biblical narrative, but as a story in its own right, it creates a narrated world which is different from its biblical shadow. It is obvious that the combination of these two elements creates

³⁷ This paraphrase is based on Meir’s analysis, 1980: 260–266. On the relationship between the homilist (*darshan*) and his audience, see Fraenkel 1991 1: 16–43; Hirshman 1988: 138–65 and 1991: 108–114; and Fraade 1987: 178–194.

³⁸ Meir 1980: 261, n. 17. For a thorough analysis of the *Tanḥuma*’s rendition of the *‘Aqedah* and the blurring between the eisegetical and exegetical approach to the text, see Elbaum 1986a: 97–116. On PRE’s rendition of the *‘Aqedah*, see Elbaum 1986b: 341–356.

³⁹ Levinson adopts Bakhtin’s description of Dostoyevsky’s unique voice, the innovator of the “polyphonic novel,” in which “a plurality of consciousnesses, with equal rights and each with his own world, combine but are not merged in the unity of events” (Bakhtin 1984: 6). Levinson defines the dialogic principle in exegetical narrative as “the coexistence in a single utterance of two intentionally distinct, identifiable voices” (Levinson 2004: 502–503).

⁴⁰ Levinson notes that David Stern was the first to explore the importance of this synergy for understanding the hermeneutics of rabbinic discourse (1991: 67 and 238). See also Meir 1987: 63 and 70.

a certain dissonance. Narrative and exegesis are two very different methods of persuasion, based upon divergent, if not opposing, presuppositions of “author-ity.” It is specifically this tension between sameness and difference, subservience and creativity, which establishes the genre’s identity.⁴¹

As a composition, PRE differs from the “exegetical narrative” in undermining this very tension. The author overtly subjugates the original biblical text to the new story line. The new narrative is often an audacious rewrite, not beholden to the plain sense of Scripture at all. On many occasions the sequence of the original biblical account is radically realigned. The original biblical verse, as Elbaum points out, serves as a pretext rather than a context for the new narrative rendition. While the author may quote a “remote verse” from Psalms or Job, these citations seldom serve as prooftexts, but are used, rather, to enrich the lyricism and the visual imagery in the midrash.⁴² Furthermore, the original biblical narrative is often reshaped into a “mytheme,”⁴³ based on the author’s eschatological vision of history.⁴⁴ The narrative may be greatly expanded, ballooning or blossoming out of the context, without necessarily returning to its biblical source.

I will illustrate this narrative shape – the ballooning out from an initially *exegetical* narrative into an eschatological one – through an analysis of two prevalent phenomena within the composition. The first phenomenon is introduced as a leitmotif in the middle of the chapter within the context of a narrative expansion on the Bible, and the second is found usually towards the end of a chapter, retrospectively redefining its shape and overall theme. In the scene of Esau’s sale of the birthright, for example, the lentil stew is identified as the paradigmatic

⁴¹ Levinson 2004: 498.

⁴² Elbaum 1992: 103.

⁴³ I have borrowed this term from Claude Lévi-Strauss, and define it as the irreducible unchanging element in myth that may be shared with other, related mythemes and reassembled in various ways – “bundled” as the anthropologist describes it (Lévi-Strauss 1955: 428–444).

⁴⁴ The eschatological tendency has also been observed in the form of the “peroration,” the concluding homily of the classical Homiletical Midrash such as *Lev. Rab.* and *P.R.K.* As Bregman notes, “this peroration serves to close the homily with a ‘happy ending’, generally by mentioning the promise of the coming messianic redemption” (Bregman 1981: 75). See also E. Stein 1931–32: 353–371. David Stern also notes this tendency in the use of *mashal* in *Lev. Rab.* as a shift from a “narrative of praise... to a narrative of consolation” (1996: 49–52).

‘meal of mourning and sorrow’ – Jacob mourning for the misplaced birthright as well as the death of his grandfather, Abraham (PRE 35).

PIRQE DE-RABBI ELIEZER, CHAPTER 35⁴⁵

3. R. Eliezer says: Lentils are the food of mourning and sorrow. Know this is true, for when Abel was killed, his parents ate, in mourning for him, a meal of lentils in mourning and sorrow. {And when it was decreed against the generation of the Flood, Lemekh and Noah ate a meal of lentils in mourning and sorrow, for on that same day Methuselah died}.⁴⁶ And when Haran was burnt in the furnace of the Chaldeans, they ate, in mourning for him, a meal of lentils in sorrow and mourning. And Jacob ate a meal of lentils in mourning and sorrow {for the rule of the kingship and the privilege of the first born belonged to Esau},⁴⁷ and on that same day Abraham our father, his grandfather, died. And Israel eats a meal of lentils in mourning and sorrow to mourn for the Temple and the exile of Israel. From here one learns that Esau will not fall until a remnant of Jacob comes and gives Esau a meal of lentils in mourning and sorrow and assumes the rule of kingship and the privilege of the first born, which had been acquired by oath, as it says: “And Jacob said, ‘Swear to me.’ So he swore to him, and sold his birthright to Jacob” (Gen. 25:33).

The author lists a series of mourning feasts, including an allusion to the meal held in commemoration of the destruction of the Temple on the 9th of Av, known as the *se’udah mafseqet*, when it is customary to eat something round, either lentils and/or a hard-boiled egg.⁴⁸ The identification of the lentil meal as a sign of “mourning and sorrow,” is a retrojection of this minhag into the biblical text – creating a resonance between Abraham’s death, the sale of the birthright, and the destruction of the Temple. The passage ends with a prophetic injunction that Esau’s dominion will not fall unless that ritual meal is reenacted and shared with the descendants of Esau; only then will Israel assume possession of the kingdom and birthright, which Jacob had acquired by oath.⁴⁹ History proved that the purchase of the birthright

⁴⁵ This translation is based on the 1st ed., checked against Börner-Klein 2004: 427–429, supplemented the printed edition with reference to four manuscripts, as well as Radal’s edition (Warsaw 1852).

⁴⁶ This incident is *only* recorded in the Leh manuscript.

⁴⁷ Added on the basis of Radal’s ed. and En866.

⁴⁸ *Shulhan Arukh, Oraḥ Haim* 552:5. The lentil stew as a food of mourning, made by Jacob upon the death of Abraham, is first mentioned in *b. Bava Batra* 16b. Rashi also mentions the significance of the lentil meal in his comment on Gen. 25:30.

⁴⁹ The author repeats this prophetic declaration about the eternal conflict between Jacob and Esau and its resolution in the End of Days on two other occasions – in PRE 32 and PRE 37.

had never been rightfully fulfilled; Esau (Edom = the Roman Empire = Christianity) had until then held supremacy over Jacob (Judaism).⁵⁰ The author thus reweaves the narrative in Genesis into an etiological account of the present historical condition, as well as an exhortation towards its final dissolution. While PRE was clearly written after the rise of Islam, the author was still contending with Christianity in his polemics.⁵¹ In yet another narrative expansion in PRE, Esau turns to Ishmael after the death of Isaac and proposes that he claim his right to the inheritance from Abraham, through the possession of the Land of Israel, while he himself takes the remaining land as the first born (PRE 38).⁵² This, too, is a retrojection of the author's historical reality into the biblical context – when Islam ruled in Palestine and Byzantine/Christianity ruled much of the rest of the Mediterranean world. Believing he lived during the “birth pangs of the messianic era,” the author gave ample and imaginative renditions of the signs of the times in rewriting the biblical text.⁵³

The second phenomenon exemplifying the eschatological principle in the midrashic narrative occurs most often towards the close of a chapter. One of the most pronounced of the sixteen examples⁵⁴

⁵⁰ The identification of Esau/Edom as Rome and then Christianity was common in early medieval exegesis; see G. D. Cohen 1968: 19–48.

⁵¹ I will give several examples of this over the course of this book – the understanding of “original sin” (ch. 4–5), the role of Elijah as harbinger of the Messiah (ch. 10), and the re-reading of “the Sign of Jonah” (ch. 11). Daniel Lasker argues that many of the Muslim critiques of Christianity were absorbed into Jewish anti-Christian polemics, especially in the 12th c. works *Milhamot ha-Shem* by Jacob ben Reuben, and *Sefer ha-Brit* by R. Joseph Kimhi (Lasker 2000: 53–65). Yet it is questionable whether these critiques were integrated into the Jewish sources as early as the 8th century.

⁵² According to PRE, this geographical division never plays itself out, since Jacob claims the Land of Israel for himself. Nevertheless the ‘hint’ of such a division serves as a kind of ‘retroactive exegetical prophecy.’

⁵³ In the same chapter, PRE introduces an allegorical reading of the angels ascending and descending the ladder, symbolizing the rise and fall of the imperial powers ruling over the Jewish people (Babylon, Medea (usually inclusive of Persia), Greece, and Edom (= Rome) – Islam is conspicuously missing, although it appears as one of the Four Kingdoms in PRE 28 and 29. See Elbaum's very thorough analysis of the “Four Kingdoms” motif and his date for the “End [qetz]” according to PRE (Elbaum 1996: 249–252). The descent of the angel representing Edom (i.e. Christianity) is never witnessed, and the passage ends with a similar apocalyptic statement: “Should you [Edom] nest as high as the eagle, from there I will pull you down” (Jer. 49:16). A similar passage is found in *Lev. Rab.* 29:2 and *P.R.K.* 23:2 (ed. Mandelbaum 1962: 334–335). See other parallels cited by Margulies 1993 3: 669.

⁵⁴ I note the pattern in the following chapters: 1) PRE 3, “Pre-mundane Creation and the First Day,” there is a promise that in the End, the third temple would be build with “wisdom, understanding, and knowledge” [חכמה, תבונה, ודעת], three

appears in the context of the creation of Adam. While the impetus for this tangent was the inauguration of God as king by Adam on the Sixth Day of Creation (based on Ps. 93:1),⁵⁵ the author spins off on a tangent about ten kings who would rule “from one end of the Earth to the other” over the course of history. The eschatological reference to the rule of kings is based on Dan. 2:21; the author’s agenda, however, is not to engage in exegesis but rather to impose an over-arching spiral shape to history, a progression through time which will entail a *return to the Beginnings* – the first and last king being the Holy One, blessed be He:⁵⁶

characteristics granted to Israel; 2) PRE 11 (see the discussion to follow); 3) PRE 19, the Exegetical Midrash on Psalms 92, introduces the role of “Messiah of the tribe of Joseph,” named Menaḥem ben Amiel, as the Warrior Messiah who dies in battle yet ushers in the Davidic Messiah (see ch. 3, footnote 12, and ch. 11, footnote 3); 4) PRE 28, the 7th trial, on “the Covenant between the Pieces,” the Four Kingdoms (cf. Elbaum 1996: 249–252); 5) The Fourth Kingdom is also alluded to in PRE 29 and concludes with Elijah’s role at circumcision, foreshadowing his role at the End of Days (see discussion in ch. 10); 6) PRE 30, on Abraham’s penultimate trial, “The Banishment of Hagar and Ishmael.” The chapter ends with a list of fifteen stages of Islamic rule, which will eventually lead to the Messiah. I will discuss this chapter in the context of historical context of PRE; 7) PRE 31, on the *‘Aqedah*, the role of the ram’s horn in ushering the messianic era; 8) PRE 32, Isaac’s blessings to Jacob, where the dew of the blessing anticipates the dew of the resurrection of the dead in the End of Days; 9) PRE 33 ends with image of the ingathering of the exiles, before the resurrection of the dead; 10) PRE 34 concludes with the image of the healing of the Earth and the resurrection of the dead, through the dew; 11) PRE 37 prophesies the final overturn of Esau’s supremacy; 12) PRE 40, the fifth divine descent, the burning bush symbolizes the survival of Israel through the vicissitudes of foreign rule. The phrase taught to Moses, “אֱהִיָּה אֲשֶׁר אֱהִיָּה,” is deemed to be the “secret of the ineffable name” (an allusion to secret lore, cf. *b. Qiddushin* 71a). 13) PRE 42, on the splitting of the Reed Sea, after the Exodus Moses would ‘plant’ the people temporarily in their land; in the Future to Come, God will plant them there permanently; 14) PRE 43, on Repentance, ends with Elijah and the collective mass repentance of the Israelites before the coming of the Messiah (see discussion in ch. 10); 15) PRE 44, on Amalek, all the enemy nations (including Amalek, the Assyrians, the ten Canaanite tribes, Moab, and the Ishmaelites) would fall at the hand of Messiah ben David in the End of Days; 16) PRE 51, on the renewal of the Earth in the End of Days, the whole chapter may be read as eschatological (see Elbaum 1996: 263–265).

⁵⁵ This Psalm serves as the central liturgical piece for Rosh HaShana, for the inauguration of the ‘King of kings’. According to *b. Rosh HaShanah* 31a it was recited on the sixth day of the week in the Temple, and the custom still holds today. In this narrative expansion “On the Sixth Day of Creation” (PRE 11), the midrash attempts to establish a synchronicity between *Ma’aseh Breshit* and contemporary ritual (see chapter seven, on the relationship between *halakhah/minhag* and the mythic narrative).

⁵⁶ The second being Nimrod (cf. Gen. 10:10), the third Joseph (cf. Gen. 41:57), the fourth Solomon (cf. 1 Kgs. 4:21 and 10:25), the fifth Ahab (cf. I Kgs. 18:10 and 20:15), the sixth Nebuchadnezzar (cf. Dan. 2:38), the seventh Cyrus (cf. 2 Chron. 26:28, Ahasuerus

PIRQE DE-RABBI ELIEZER, CHAPTER 11⁵⁷

... The ninth king is the Messianic King who will reign from one end of the Earth to the other, as it says: "And the stone that struck the statue became a great mountain and filled the whole Earth" (Dan. 2:35). And [regarding the] tenth king, the sovereignty of his rule will return [such that] He who was the first king will be the last, as it says: "I am the first and I am the last, and there is no god but Me" (Isa. 44:6). And it is written: "And the Lord shall be king over all the Earth" (Zech. 14:9). And the Kingdom shall return to its heirs, and then "As for idols, they shall vanish completely" (Isa. 2:18), "None but the Lord shall be exalted in that day" (v. 11). And He will shepherd his flock and let them lie down as it is written: "I Myself will graze My flock, and I Myself will let them lie down" (Ezek. 34:15). And He will appear face-to-face [lit. eye-to-eye, עֵין בְּעֵין] as it is written: "For every eye shall behold the Lord's return to Zion" (Isa. 52:8).

The kings are depicted as world emperors in the Bible and rabbinic tradition, but the attempt to systematize them into a list is characteristic of PRE's penchant for lists.⁵⁸ In this eschatological closure, there is a plethora of prooftexts. Similarly, most of the sixteen chapters close on a quote from Prophets (especially from Isaiah or Ezekiel), and the discussion does not usually return to the exegetical context. The structure of the chapter resembles an inversion of the *petiḥta*, which begins with a 'remote verse' and winds its way back to the opening lectionary-verse of the Torah reading.⁵⁹ Here, the chapter begins as exegesis on the biblical passage and then shifts to an altogether different time zone – for the author, the imminent End of Days.

I have shown that PRE does not conform strictly to any of the definitions of well-known midrashic genres and so I would like to propose a new term for this genre – "Narrative Midrash" (in Hebrew: מִדְרָשׁ סִיפּוּרִי). Similarly, Hermann Strack suggests categorizing PRE as "Narrative Haggadah," but this term could easily be applied to the aggadic passages in the Talmud and it fails to account for the inter-

is the second contender, cf. Esth 1:1), the eighth Alexander of Macedonia (cf. Dan. 8:5 and 11:4), the ninth the Messianic King.

⁵⁷ This translation is based on the 1st ed., checked against Börner-Klein 2004: 121. See *Tg. Esth. I, II* 1:1, *b. Erubin* 53a, and *b. Megillah* 11a. Friedlander claims that "Midrash on the Ten Kings" draws on PRE (1981: 80 n. 4; cf. Horovitz' comment in his edition of this midrash in *Beit 'Eked* 1892: 39).

⁵⁸ For an itemization of PRE's systematic lists, see Elbaum 1992: 119 n. 46.

⁵⁹ The *petiḥta* (proem) form is all but absent in PRE. See my comments to PRE 3 in ch. 2, footnote 18.

pretive aspect of PRE *qua* midrash.⁶⁰ The ‘narrative’ component of the term for this genre refers to the artful story telling of the composition; ‘midrash’ to its exegetical aspect, the dependence on its biblical progenitor. Coining a new term will allow us to explore its continuity with previous traditions while acknowledging the innovations of the form. Ostensibly, an alternative narrative is created, parasitic on the original (biblical) one, in which a new coherence is created in line with the author’s eschatological vision.

I will adopt Eagleton’s psychoanalytic model for this kind of hermeneutics, following Levinson and Boyarin’s lead:⁶¹

...with an eye to these aspects of the novel, we are constructing what may be called a ‘sub-text’ for the work – a text which runs within it, visible at certain ‘symptomatic’ points of ambiguity, evasion or overemphasis, and which we as readers are able to ‘write’ even if the novel itself does not. All literary works contain one or more such sub-texts, and there is a sense in which they may be spoken of as the ‘unconscious’ of the work itself. The work’s insights, as with all writing, are deeply related to its blindnesses: what it does not say, and *how* it does not say it, may be as important as what it articulates; what seems absent, marginal or ambivalent about it may provide a central clue to its meanings.⁶²

Eagleton writes about the reading of fiction – the blindspots, the ‘sub-texts’, all that which is *not* said but implied, as ‘the unconscious’ level of the composition. One might apply the same principle to Narrative Midrash, wherein the new rendition constitutes the ‘subtext’, the ‘unconscious work’ of the Bible, hinging on certain ‘symptomatic’ points that both Levinson and Boyarin identified as the pretext for exegesis. As in the psychoanalytic process, the ‘repressed’ stories are brought to the surface over the course of the re-telling, and, in the midrash, formulated in terms that resonate with the author’s world view. This psychoanalytic model is merely a heuristic device – one need not claim that the ‘unconscious level’ is inherent in the text itself, for one would then be culpable of “intentional fallacy,” making the assumption that the author of the midrash (who is the rewriter/reader of the Bible) assumes his own reading is imbedded in the biblical text.⁶³

⁶⁰ See Strack 1969: 225–26.

⁶¹ See Boyarin 1990: 93–104 and Levinson 2005: 36.

⁶² Eagleton 1996: 155.

⁶³ In Wimsatt and Beardsley’s seminal essay, “The Intentional Fallacy,” they claim that “the design or intention of author is neither available nor desirable as a standard for judging the success of a work of literary art” (Wimsatt and Beardsley 1954: 3–18).

Yet the author of PRE did not necessarily assume his interpretation lay in the hidden recesses of Scripture, and that he was merely revealing what the text concealed. Rather, there is a keen sense, on the part of the reader, that the author is self-consciously engaged in the writing of fiction. It is highly unlikely that he believed Ishmael had two wives, named 'A'isha and Fatima respectively, or that the ram, sacrificed at the *'Aqedah*, was resurrected, each one of its horns to be blasted at Har Sinai and at the coming of the Messiah. While the midrash is dependent on the biblical text for its sustenance, its *realia*, the author is dependent on our suspension of disbelief in embellishing the original source with the 'extraordinary.'

Later, I adopt the terms 'repression' and 'return of the repressed' to describe the relationship between the cosmogonic content in the Bible, the 'repressed' pagan mythic content it draws from, and its revival in the mythic narratives of midrash. Daniel Boyarin argues that the midrashic sources revive ancient legends, found in the Ancient Near Eastern Mesopotamian sources that were never totally lost from oral tradition. Passages on the conflict between God and the Sea, as described in the *Mekhilta* at the Reed Sea, typify "in very important ways the conflict in Jewish culture between the pagan past and its monotheistic present. Putting this in psychic terms, the midrash makes manifest the repressed mythic material in the Bible's 'textual subconscious.'"⁶⁴ What we find in the midrashic tradition is a 'return of the repressed', wherein the mythic universe is revived while its pagan content is simultaneously neutralized. One need not assume that there is a direct continuity between these ancient near-eastern legends and the much later midrashic appropriation of this material. It could be, as Loewenstamm suggests, that the Rabbis actually reconstruct and revive the mythical material from their close reading of the Bible itself.⁶⁵ Boyarin discusses this phenomenon in the early Exegetical Midrash, the *Mekhilta*, but it proves to be much more pervasive in the later Narrative Midrash, as Jeffrey Rubenstein points out.⁶⁶ I will apply this principle to the personification of evil (section II), and to

I will not go so far as to adopt this stance unequivocally, for I do not think that the author's intention is irrelevant, since the historical context is so critical to the understanding of PRE.

⁶⁴ Boyarin 1990: 89.

⁶⁵ Loewenstamm 1987: 187, cited in Boyarin 1990: 151.

⁶⁶ Rubenstein 1996: 131–159.

my analysis of role of the Sea and the Leviathan as symbols of unbridled power and chaos in Jonah's sojourn (chapter eleven). In chapter four, on "The Problem of the Origin of Evil," I suggest how this narrative pattern of *Urzeit wird Endzeit* aligns with the author's sense of "apocalyptic eschatology," believing he lived in an epoch that was on the verge of the messianic era, when "the foundations of life quaked beneath [his] feet."⁶⁷ In the next chapter, I will discuss just *who* this author may have been and what *author-ity* he draws upon in writing under the pseudonym of Eliezer ben Hyrcanus, "the Great."

⁶⁷ Kermode 1996: 47.

CHAPTER TWO

THE AUTHOR-ITY OF *PIRQE DE-RABBI ELIEZER*

THE INTEGRITY OF THE COMPOSITION

Jacob Elbaum demonstrates unequivocally that PRE was written by one author, based on its tendency towards systematization and thematic shaping, its repetition of motifs, its recycling of images, and its reiteration of unique phrases.¹ There are various organizational motifs that establish an underlying sense of unity to the midrash; the author had a distinct penchant for lists, as I showed with the ten kings. Eight of the chapters of PRE, for example, concern one of the ‘Ten Descents’ of God into the machinations of history, the list first introduced in PRE 14.² The chapters may also be organized around motifs, such as

¹ Elbaum 1992: 99–126. Most modern scholars agree that PRE was written by a single author, in which case the Rabbis who are cited over the course of the composition are meant to enhance its pose as a tannaitic source. See Stein 2004: 2. Isaak Heinemann, however, assumes PRE did not have a single author (I. Heinemann 1970: 9–10). Treitel also argues that PRE is a composite of sources, not written by one author (Treitel 2001: 12–13 and 15–16). Steven Sacks (forthcoming) claims that the attributions to various rabbinic figures are genuine, and refers to PRE’s “expositors.”

² The list of the ten descents appears in PRE 14 (albeit flawed in the printed edition). Here is a translation of the list, checked against Börner-Klein 2004: 141, with corrections from the manuscripts: “God descended to the world in ten descents, as follows: 1) in the Garden of Eden, 2) during the generation of the dispersion [Tower of Babel], 3) in Sodom, 4) in the burning bush, 5) in Egypt, 6) at Mount Sinai, 7) in the cleft of the rock [after the Sin of the Golden Calf], 8) and 9) twice in the Tabernacle, 10) and in the Future to Come.” The narrative expansions on each of the respective descents appear in PRE 14 (#1), PRE 24 (#2), PRE 25 (#3), PRE 39 (#4), PRE 40 (#5), PRE 41 (#6), end of PRE 46 (#7), and PRE 54 (#8). For an alternative list of the ten descents see: *Mek. Yitro* 3, *Sifre Num.* 93, *ARNa* 34 (Goldin 1955: 140–141), and *ARNb* 37 (Saldarini 1975: 219–221). Saldarini provides a systematic comparison between versions *ARNa* and *ARNb* (1975: 219). Ish Shalom claims that the last seven chapters *Seder Elyahu Zuta* are roughly parallel to the first three chapters of PRE, and should be entitled “*Pirqe de-Rabbi Eliezer*” (Ish Shalom’s addendum to *S.E.R.* 1969: 26–50). Albeck mistakenly corroborates this claim, in *Zunz-Albeck* 1947: 417, n. 12, and in his introduction to *Midrash Breshit Rabbati*, 1967/8: 104, n. 24). But this weak allegiance is due to the opening lines of each of these chapters, and Treitel justifiably disagrees with this assessment (Treitel 2001: 8–9). However, the chapters *Pirqe Yeridot*, published as an addendum to *S.E.R.* 1969: 50–56, do seem to draw from PRE 39–41, though not verbatim.

“ten things created at twilight on the Sixth Day” (PRE 19),³ or narrative themes, such as the “ten trials of Abraham” (PRE 26–31). Zunz⁴ and later Friedlander, identify a closing formula for many of the chapters in the latter part of the composition, associating a particular biblical figure with one of the blessings of the ‘*Amidah*. Friedlander calls these closing formulas “fragments of the Midrash on the *Shemoneh ‘Esreh*,”⁵ but whether such an independent midrash existed is questionable. Rather, the closing doxology, often voiced by the angels on High, may reflect the influence of the *Qerovot* tradition (liturgical poetry, written for the repetition of the ‘*Amidah*) associated with the early Palestinian triennial Torah reading cycle.⁶ In Appendix A, I outline twelve links between PRE and the Palestinian liturgical tradition – eleven associated with the blessings of the ‘*Amidah*. According to Zunz, the absence of allusions to the later blessings, in addition to the missing ninth and tenth divine descent, suggests that the composition was never completed.⁷ However, based on a study of the manuscripts and alternative editions of the text, it seems that PRE really does conclude with a narrative expansion on Miriam’s sin of slander and the story of the copper serpents. In some manuscripts, as well as the 3rd edition (Sabbionetta 1567), the composition ends with an allusion to the eighth blessing of the ‘*Amidah* – God as the Healer of all flesh,⁸

³ The list appears in PRE 19, but many of the items are re woven into the midrashic narrative throughout the composition – the well (PRE 30, 35, and 51), Isaac’s ram (31), Moses’ staff (PRE 40 and 48), the First Clothing (PRE 20 and 24, which is not included in the original list in PRE 19, but is mentioned in *b. Sanhedrin* 54b, as one of the twilight items), and the Tablets of the covenant (*Luhot*, PRE 45 and 46). See the discussion of these motifs in Stein 2004: 189–190, and my own discussion in Adelman forthcoming.

⁴ Zunz-Albeck 1947: 134–135 and 417, n. 6–8.

⁵ Friedlander 1981: xvii–xviii.

⁶ See, for example, the link between PRE 35 and Yannai’s liturgical poem for *VaYetzei* (ed. Rabinowitz 1985 1: 361–363).

⁷ Zunz even claims that the last chapter breaks off mid-sentence, since a proof-text was never provided (PRE 54, based on the printed editions) (Zunz-Albeck 1947: 134–135 and 417, n. 10). Radal also suggests that PRE was never completed (see the introduction to his Warsaw edition 1852: 13). Though Zunz’ *Ha-drashot be-Yisrael* was published 20 years before Radal’s edition, Radal does not acknowledge the scholarship of *Wissenschaft des Judentums*. See the discussion in Treitel 2001: 7–8.

⁸ The closing formula appears in En866 as: “All praise You and bless You and say to you: Blessed are You, Healer of all those who are unwell among His nation, Israel [הכל מקלסין אותך ומברכין אותך ואומרין לך ב’א יי רופא חולי עמו ישראל].” The completed final chapter of PRE was published in *Batei Midrashot*, ed. Whertheimer 1980 1: 239–243. Whertheimer, however, did not indicate on which manuscript he

with a flourishing final phrase: “The end and completion, with praise to the Helper, Amen [תם ונשלם תהלה לעוזר אמן].”⁹

PIRQE DE-RABBI ELIEZER AS PSEUDEPIGRAPHY

Where PRE differs from classical midrash, as Elbaum points out, is in the use of the verse as a *pretext* for the new narrative, a kind a jump-start. The exegetical motive takes second place to the eisegetical one – the thematic unity of the chapter, the halachic agenda, or the eschatological narrative design. As a hermeneutic enterprise, the later midrash differs from earlier forms insofar as it does not draw attention to the exegetical process. As Alexander points out, one of the main distinctions between the so-called ‘Rewritten Bible’ and the classical midrash is that, in the former, “the original [biblical text] can be treated only as monovalent” – reflecting a single interpretation.¹⁰ PRE only *appears* to be a polyvalent reading of the biblical text, in imitation of tannaitic sources: “R. Eliezer ben Hyrcanus opened...” (PRE 1), “Rabbi Tarfon says...R. Meir says...” (PRE 10) and so forth, but in truth there are very few alternative readings of the text at all. The citations in the name of certain Tannaim sometimes even function as ‘decorative pseudepigraphy’¹¹ – R. Meir, for example, is the one to identify the lamp within the belly of the Great Fish as lighting Jonah’s sojourn like the sun of midday. The monovalence of PRE, in turn, is a

based the publication, and his chapter 52 is the equivalent of chapters 53 and 54 in the printed editions. Many of the manuscripts corroborate this ending (En866, for example, Higger’s edition, and the manuscript used as the basis for Friedlander’s edition). A fragment of this ending appears in the 3rd edition, Sabbionetta 1567 (see the JNUL database, <http://jnul.huji.ac.il/dl/books/djvu/2048138/index.djvu>). See also Appendix A on the relationship to the 8th blessing of the ‘*Amidah*, on healing.

⁹ Higger’s edition, based on Ca2858, is very similar to the Epstein manuscript, upon which Friedlander’s English translation is based (Friedlander 1981: 437). En866, cited above, ends with an explicit reference to the 8th blessing, and Whertheimer’s chapter simply ends with the word: “תם” (The End).

¹⁰ Alexander 1988: 117.

¹¹ See Bernstein 1999: 25. This claim to tannaitic status, through pseudepigraphy, exposes the author’s “fraud.” For example, opinions in the name of R. Tanḥum (PRE 49), Shemaiah (PRE 23), Ze’ira (PRE 21 and 29), and Shila (PRE 42 and 44), all talmudic authorities from the 3rd century who post-date R. Eliezer ben Hyrcanus, are quoted. See Radal’s comments in his Introduction, where he attempts to make sense of the discrepancies by identifying all the sages cited in PRE (Radal 1852: 14a–15b).

biprodut of the composition's single authorship, a relatively new phenomenon for Jewish texts.¹² I suggest, then, that PRE does not present a new form of hermeneutics but rather refurbishes an older genre, the so-called 'Rewritten Bible' as Narrative Midrash, and then camouflages it as a tannaitic composition in order to muster authority.¹³

Like many of the Second Temple compositions included in the Pseudepigrapha, the author of PRE writes under a false name. Yet, while most of these compositions of the Second Temple period assume the voice of a character of great antiquity such as Enoch, Abraham, Joseph, or Baruch in order to enhance their authority and validity, the author of PRE chooses as his 'cover' R. Eliezer "the Great [*hagadol*]."¹⁴ Moshe Bernstein characterizes the earlier compositions, such as *I Enoch*, *3 Baruch*, and *Testament of Abraham* for example, as "strong" or "authoritative" pseudepigraphy, with the author claiming prophetic status in order to promulgate sometimes controversial halachic claims.¹⁵ In PRE, however, the putative author is not a patriarch or prophet; there is no claim to revelation. Rather, its pseudepigraphic status derives from one of the most controversial tannaitic figures of the first century, who, towards the end of his life, was excommunicated for his dogmatic assertion of his own opinion against the majority, as told in the famous story of "the oven of 'Akhnai."¹⁶ In PRE, the authorship may be a weak attribution, an artifact of the title and content of the first two chapters – concerned with the biography of the putative author. Some scholars argue that the biography was tacked on by a later scribal hand, is not integral to the composition at all,¹⁷ and

¹² See Stein 2004: 2, n. 7.

¹³ *Avot de-Rabbi Natan* (a and b) makes a similar impression of being pseudotannaitic because it serves as a kind of commentary on *M. Avot*. Rather than a narrative rewrite of the biblical text, the genre derives naturally from its springboard; it is not so much an imposition of one interpretation on the biblical text, as an expansion on a series of rabbinic adages, drawing on the biblical sources for support. See the discussion in Kister 1998: 117–123. See also Stein on the role of the proverbial saying (*meimra*) in PRE 2004: 25–53.

¹⁴ Cf. *T. 'Orlah* 8, *b. Berakhot* 6a and 32a, *b. Sotah* 13b, 48b, 49a.

¹⁵ See Moshe Bernstein's review of the literature, 199: 5, n. 7.

¹⁶ See *b. Bava Metzi'a* 49a–b, *b. Berakhot* 19a, 52a, *y. Mo'ed Qatan* 3:1.

¹⁷ Friedlander claims that the opening chapters were an addition and not integral to the composition as a whole, because the MS in the British Museum begins at ch. 3 (1981: xvi–xvii). Friedlander's claim is based on a single manuscript, which may no longer be extant (see Barth 1999: 19, n. 15). Treitel, on the basis of his groundwork towards a critical edition, found that all of the complete manuscripts and most of the partial twenty ones, including the Genizah fragments, which he surveyed, include the

that PRE acquires its name from the opening line to chapter three: “R. Eliezer ben Hyracanus opened [*patah*]...”¹⁸ R. Eliezer neither speaks in first person nor does he function as a persona over the course of the composition, and the genre “the deeds of the sages [מעשי חכמים],” characteristic of PRE 1–2, hardly resurfaces again.¹⁹ Furthermore, the opening chapters are almost identical with chapter 13 of ARNb and may very well have been introduced either by the real author, or an audacious scribe in the early stages of its recension. Whether the first two chapters were initially integral to the compositions or not, its *reception* as having been written by R. Eliezer has been critical to the composition’s acceptance by the collective ‘rabbinic mind.’ Like the ancient Pseudepigrapha, the pseudonym gives the composition tremendous authority on the one hand, and wide latitude on the other, for the author can invent or introduce innovative ideas and attribute them to the opinions of illustrious tannaitic sages.

Why would the author choose the controversial figure of “Eliezer, the Great” as his mouthpiece? The same question has been asked of the Zohar, falsely ascribed to R. Shimon bar Yoḥai, who lived over a millennium before its composition.²⁰ While, in the Zohar, there is a clear consonance between R. Shimon’s reputation as a miracle worker and mystic in the classical rabbinic works and his persona in the later text,²¹ the image of R. Eliezer in the biographical sketch of the first two chapters of PRE seems at odds with his reputation as the custodian of the *mesorah* (the oral tradition from Sinai). According to the Talmud, he

first two chapters. The numbering of the chapters, which varies, in all cases implies the inclusion of the first two chapters. Treitel nevertheless claims that the two chapters were introduced by a scribe in the very early stages of its transcription, based on a list of books found in the Genizah, published by Mann, in which PRE (in Judeo-Arabic) is said to begin “... רב אליעזר פתח מי ימלל...” (that is, with ch. 3). Also, one of the manuscripts, Petersburg, EVR I 249, indicates that the first two chapters were a later addition, the title appearing at the beginning of ch. 3 (cf. Treitel 2001: 16–17). However, this scant evidence is not wholly convincing.

¹⁸ The expression “Rabbi X opened [פתח]” is unique to the genre of the *petihta*, and is rare in PRE. In addition to this context, it is only found in PRE 48, on the relationship between the Covenant between the Pieces (Gen. 15) and the Exodus from Egypt. This chapter reads very much like a homily on Passover, perhaps given over on *Shabbat Ha-Gadol*. Elbaum argues that the *petihta*-form is all but absent in PRE (1992: 126). The opening of ch. 3 was most likely an imitation of this earlier form to reinforce PRE’s attribution to R. Eliezer.

¹⁹ For a description of this genre see Fraenkel 1991 1: 235–285.

²⁰ See Scholem 1961: 156–243 and Tishby 1989: 30–55.

²¹ See Liebes 1993b: 1–84.

once claimed: “I never said a *halakhah* which I did not hear from my teacher” (*b. Sukkah* 28a). In *M. Avot* (2:8) he is compared to “a plastered cistern, which loses not a drop.” Even in the story recounting the reason for his excommunication, R. Eliezer’s opinion is endorsed by a series of miracles, culminating in a voice that echoes from Heaven (*bat kol*) rebuking the Rabbis: “Why do you dispute with R. Eliezer, seeing that in all matters the law agrees with him!”²² In the scholarly analysis of his teachings and the biographical sketches scattered throughout the Talmud and midrashic compositions, the sage has been variously labeled an “intransigent rationalist,”²³ a conservative,²⁴ a patrician,²⁵ and a Shammaite.²⁶ In PRE, however, the author expresses wild, fanciful ideas, which were often overtly condemned by the rabbinic establishment.²⁷ Radal (Rabbi David Luria, 1798–1855), who wrote the most comprehensive commentary on PRE, was keenly aware of the contrast between Eliezer’s reputation in the rabbinic literature and the artistic genius behind PRE, and invested a good part of his introduction to the Warsaw edition (1852) trying to reconcile the two personas.²⁸

In order to gain insight as to *why* the author (or scribe), living sometime in the 8th century, would wish to attribute the composition to R. Eliezer, I will explore the metaphors deployed in the opening narrative and analyze them as key to his hermeneutics. These two chapters really belong to the genre of ‘the deeds of the sages [מעשי חכמים],’ stories of coming of age, a *bildungsroman*, or, as Dina Stein calls it: “a ritual

²² *b. Bava Metzi’a* 59b: מה לכם אצל רבי אליעזר שהלכה: מאתה בת קול ואמרה: מה לכם אצל רבי אליעזר שהלכה: במותו בכל מקום. See footnote 16 for parallels.

²³ Derenbourg 1975: 323–325.

²⁴ See Broyde’s article in *JE*, 1903 5: 113–115.

²⁵ Finkelstein 1981: 97–100, 122.

²⁶ Gilat 1968. For a current analysis of his halachic views, in the light of Qumran texts (which are deemed to be akin to the halachic approach of *Beit Shammai*), see Noam 2006: 125–144. For a thorough review of the secondary literature see Neuser 1973 2: 249–286. He argues that the link between R. Eliezer and Beit Shammai is an invention of later generations, claiming (instead) that the tannaitic scholar reflects an earlier ‘more authentic’ Pharisaic tradition.

²⁷ The most obvious example being the narrative expansion on the consequences of the sexual relations between divine beings (*bnei ha-elohim*) and the daughters of Adam/man (PRE 22 on Gen. 6:1–4) – the author identifies the former as angels, contrary to R. Shimon b. Yohai’s edict (in *Gen. Rab.* 26:5, Theodor-Albeck 1965: 247). See my discussion on the Fallen Angels and the controversial nature of PRE’s reading in ch. 6.

²⁸ For Radal’s comments on the authorship of PRE, see his introduction “קונטרס” “קונטרס אליעזר” שם האחד אליעזר, 1852: 10–18. For a summary of all the sources on R. Eliezer from the Mishnah to the Zohar, justifying why he must be the author of this midrash and why he is called Eliezer, ‘the Great’, see part ii, “קונטרס בית צדיק”, *ibid.* 19–25.

of initiation” [טקס החניכה של היחיד].²⁹ Behind the following interchange between teacher and student, lies an Oedipal drama. Eliezer left his farm and his wealthy father, Hyrcanus, who had discouraged him from becoming a scholar, and instead followed the advice of Elijah, the prophet, to go and learn Torah in Jerusalem with R. Yoḥanan. Hyrcanus arrived on the scene ostensibly to disown his son:

PIRQE DE-RABBI ELIEZER, CHAPTER 2³⁰

3) Just then the people told R. Yoḥanan that the father of R. Eliezer had come.

He told them: Make room for him and seat him by you.

They made room for him and sat him near them.

4a) (R. Yoḥanan) fixed his gaze on R. Eliezer.

He said to him: My son, tell us something from the Torah.

(R. Eliezer) answered: Rabbi! I will tell you a parable. To what am I like? To this [well] {cistern},³¹ which cannot yield more water than that which it contains; likewise I am unable to speak more words of Torah than what I received from you.

4b) (R. Yoḥanan) said to him: I will tell you a parable. To what is the matter like? To this well-spring, which flows and draws water, with the strength to bring forth more water than it contains; likewise you can speak more words of the Torah than what (you learnt) {Moses received at Sinai}.³²

4c) [R. Yoḥanan] continued: My son, perhaps you are embarrassed? Behold, I will stand up and take my leave of you. Immediately, Rabban Yoḥanan ben Zakkai stood up and went outside.

5) R. Eliezer then sat down and interpreted [*doresh*] the words of Torah. His face shone like the light of the sun and like the dawn rising, and that day his radiance beamed forth like that of Moses, so that no one knew whether it was day or night.

²⁹ Stein 2004: 141.

³⁰ This translation is based on En866, with amendments from alternative manuscripts and the printed editions. See Appendix B for a semi-critical edition of the Hebrew text. Parallels include *Gen. Rab.* 41:14 (Theodor-Albeck 1965: 397–98, or 42:1 of printed ed.), *TanḥumaB. Lekh Lekha* 10, *ARNa* 6 (Goldin, 1955: 41–42), and *ARNb* 13 (Saldarini 1975: 98–104). For further parallels, see Albeck’s notes on *Gen. Rab.* 1965: 397. For a thorough analysis of this chapter in PRE, comparing the other versions of this story, see Stein 2004: 115–168. See also Kagan’s article, in which she argues that the *TanḥumaB.*, *ARNb*, and PRE 1–2 belong to one consistent literary tradition which is later than *ARNa* and *Gen. Rab.* (Kagan 1971: 151–170).

³¹ Emendation based on Higger (Ca2858) and the printed eds.

³² Emendation based on Higger (Ca2858). The printed editions read: “more than what they received at Sinai.”

6) Then Rabban Yoḥanan ben Zakkai stood up and kissed him on his head, saying to him: [Praised be Eliezer. There are those of whom it is said, he interprets well, but does not fulfill (the Torah). There are those of whom it is said, he fulfills (the Torah) well, but cannot interpret. Eliezer ben ‘Arakh [?] fulfills and interprets (the Torah) well].³³ Blessed are you, Abraham, our father, since this one has issued forth from his loins.

Hyrkanos said: Of whom do you speak?

He answered: Of Eliezer, your son.

He said to him: Did you have to say, ‘praised be Abraham since this one has issued forth from his loins’? {Should you not have said, “Blessed am I because this one has issued forth from *my* loins!”}³⁴

Over the course of the drama, the young man, earlier characterized as a weeping ignoramus who starves himself out of an ardent desire to learn Torah, is transformed into a brilliant teacher (*darshan*). Hyrcanus’ resistance to his son’s learning leads to his displacement and substitution by a ‘spiritual/intellectual father’ – R. Yoḥanan. The great sage twice addresses Eliezer as “son.” The first time (ironically) when he first meets him, inquiring: “My son, whose son are you?” Upon discovering his parentage, he exclaims: “Are you not the son of one of the great (i.e. rich) men?” (PRE 1). The second time R. Yoḥanan addresses him indirectly as the son of the *forefathers*, when he praises him after speaking, “praised be Abraham since this one has issued forth from his loins,” undermining his real father, Hyrcanus, who is within earshot. His father, when he discovers it is his own son who is being praised, is (of course) duly offended, as if to say: “Should you not praise me?” He seems insensible to the implied rebuke. As Stein points out, there is a question as to who the father figure is here:

Who then is the father of Eliezer: Hyrcanus, his biological father? R. Yoḥanan b. Zakkai – the substitute father figure, the spiritual founder of his period? Moses – whose spiritual tradition he continues (or breaches)? Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob – the nation’s patriarchs?³⁵

³³ This praise only appears in En866, not in Higger’s edition or in the printed editions. In his analysis of ARNa 6 and ARNb 13, Kister suggests that this chapter was originally written about R. Elazar ben Arakh, expostulating on *Ma’aseh Merkavah* (the secrets of the chariot). It is Elazar b. Azariah, in *M. Avot* 2:8, who is likened to a well-spring [מעין המתגבר]. In this later version of the story, the name has changed (because of Elazar’s association with heretics), and Eliezer ben Hyrcanus assumes the role of the *darshan* associated with the well-spring, and the topic of the sermon is no longer esoteric (Kister 1998: 215–216). This manuscript testifies to that alternative, perhaps earlier, tradition.

³⁴ Addition from Higger and the printed eds.

³⁵ Stein 2004: 145.

Beneath the play on the father-son motif lies an Oedipal struggle on three levels – between biological father and son (Hyrcanus and Eliezer), between the ‘intellectual father’ and son (R. Yoḥanan and Eliezer), and between the ‘ultimate Father’ (represented by Moses, or Sinai) and the recipient of the Torah, Eliezer. In order to metamorphose into a brilliant scholar, the son, Eliezer, must not only surpass his biological father, but also the authority of his ‘intellectual father’, R. Yoḥanan. His teacher even adjures him to go further – he is not a cistern [בור], but a well-spring, [מעין], relaying more Torah than what was received at Sinai.³⁶ Herein lies the parallel between the tradition of rabbinic authority and the psychological paradigm upon which the Freudian model is based. In the family drama, the father must overcome the anxiety of being surpassed by the son and vice versa; Hyrcanus, the father, must abandon the stricture by which he limits his burgeoning Torah-scholar son, while the son must overcome his father’s will. (He goes to Jerusalem *despite* his father’s lack of support; and teaches, not knowing Hyrcanus is present). Likewise, on the intellectual plane, the son (Eliezer) must “overcome the anxiety of influence”³⁷ that he feels keenly in the presence of R. Yoḥanan. He must believe in himself as one who could go beyond his (substitute) father – a well-spring, not merely a cistern-that-doesn’t-lose-a-drop. In the world of Torah-learning, the Oedipal drama is undermined, for it is specifically the father figure, R. Yoḥanan, who encourages this surpassing. Furthermore, as a source of originality (*ḥidush*), Eliezer must go beyond not only his teacher, but also beyond *Torah from Sinai*. This is borne out by the metaphor describing Eliezer’s aura as he gives his homily. The content of the homily is conspicuously missing,³⁸ but the description of its effect is amply and poetically elaborated: “His face shone like the sun, like the rising dawn, as radiant as Moses’ face when he descended from the mountain and no one knew whether it was day or night.” This passage presents the surpassing of the ‘ultimate Father’ in

³⁶ According to the printed version and Higger; ARNb 13 adds: “than what was said to Moses at Sinai.” The Enelow manuscript downplays it considerably, simply: “[I cannot say] more words of Torah than what I learned.”

³⁷ I have borrowed the expression from Harold Bloom 1973.

³⁸ In the parallel sources, the *TanḥumaB Lekh Lekha* 10 and *Gen. Rab.* 41:14, the content of the teaching [*drash*] plays a more central role, based on *Gen.* 14:1 “And it came to pass in the days of Amraphel...”. It reads as a *petiḥta*, the remote opening verse being *Ps.* 37:14, with the phrase: “R. Yehoshua in the name of R. Levi opened (*patah*)...”

highly laudable terms; the father who is out-done represented by none other than Moses, the unalloyed conduit of God's word. The rays of R. Eliezer's face [קרני פניו] (an allusion to Exod. 34:29), extend beyond the received Torah at Sinai.

Metaphors likening R. Eliezer to "*Torah of Sinai*" are also borne out in earlier sources. According to the Talmud, when the scholars come to visit R. Eliezer as he lies on his deathbed, he rebukes them for not having come earlier to learn from him (despite his excommunication): "He folded his arms over his heart and cried out, 'Woe to you, two arms of mine, that have been like two Scrolls of the Law that are rolled up [and not read]. Much Torah have I studied, and much have I taught. Much Torah have I learnt, yet I have just skimmed from the knowledge of my teachers as much as a dog lapping from the sea. Much Torah have I taught, yet my disciples have only drawn from me as much as a painting brush from its tube'" (*b. Sanhedrin* 68a).³⁹ In a similar passage in *Cant. Rab.* (1:3): "R. Eliezer said, 'If all the seas were ink and all the reeds pens and the Heaven and Earth scrolls, and all mankind scribes, they would not suffice to write the Torah which I have learnt, and I have abstracted no more from it than a man would take by dipping his pen in the sea.'" Later in the same passage, the stone upon which R. Eliezer sat is compared to Sinai and the sage, himself, likened to the Ark of the Covenant. The poignancy of the metaphors lies in the tremendous loss to which they gesture. Due to his excommunication, R. Eliezer, as custodian of the *Mesorah*, was excluded from giving over the sea of oral tradition *from Sinai* to the Academy.

The metaphor of R. Eliezer as a well-spring (באר or מעיץ) contrasts starkly with how he describes himself in the passage in PRE, and his reputation in the earlier rabbinic corpus – "a plastered cistern that does not lose a drop [בור סיד שאינו מאבד טיפה]." Perhaps the author adopts this pseudonym and introduces the story of Eliezer's initiation in order to advance the claim that the apparent contradiction between the cistern and the well-spring is resolved, paradoxically, in this composition.⁴⁰ That is, R. Eliezer, or rather our putative author, can be

³⁹ Parallel sources: *y. Shabbat* 2:7, *Kallah Rabbati* 53b, *Derekh Eretz Rabbah* 56b, *ARNa* 25 (Goldin 1955: 107–110), *ARNa* 20 (*ibid.*, p. 94), *Cant. Rab.* 1:3, 1.

⁴⁰ Kister claims that this story was originally written about Elazar ben Arakh (see footnote 33 of this chapter). His claim may hold for the latter part of the story, but certainly not for the first part where the status of R. Eliezer's father, Hyrcanus, as a

both a source of originality – creative exegesis – and tradition.⁴¹ The author (or later editorial hand) was well aware of R. Eliezer’s reputation, and by assuming this pseudonym, he subtly links the composition to the unbroken chain of oral tradition, the *mesorah*, on par with Torah from Sinai. While, according to legend, the great sage is characterized merely as a conduit of tradition, in this midrashic composition he proves to be a source of imaginative innovation (*hidush*), as PRE’s alleged author.

wealthy man is so important to the plot. Kister suggests that the context shifts in ARN from an esoteric homily [*derashah*] (in ARNa 6) to an exoteric public one in ARNb 13; but this does not account for the recontextualizing in PRE, nor does it account for the parallels with the *Tanhumab Lekh Lekha* 10 and *Gen. Rab.* 41:14, where the homily is clearly attributed to R. Eliezer, and the metaphor of the well-spring [מעין] is absent. See also Stein’s comment on Kister’s reading, 2004: 153, n. 105.

⁴¹ I am grateful to the insights of Susan Handelman for this reading (oral communication). See her forthcoming book, where she draws on these chapters (PRE 1–2) for her insights into the mentor-disciple relationship.

CHAPTER THREE

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF PRE – DATING AND PROVENANCE

There is still much controversy surrounding the dating of the composition of PRE, although all academic scholars concur that it was written in Palestine after the rise of Islam.¹ By the late 19th century, Zunz already identified PRE as a post-Islamic composition, dating it no later than the 2nd half of the 8th century.² It alludes to formulas of prayer and customs prevalent in Palestine at the beginning of the Gaonic era.³ It is quoted both in *Pirqoi ben Baboi* (circa 8th–9th c.),⁴ and the tractate *Soferim* (of the mid. 8th or early 9th c.).⁵ Most significantly, the text frequently alludes to Arab rule, under the guise of the narrative expansions on Ishmael. For example, the ‘two lads’ in the ‘*Aqedah*’ passage (PRE 31) are named Eliezer and Ishmael (in contrast, they remain anonymous in *Gen. Rab.*).⁶ In PRE 32, the author

¹ See Barth’s note on all the sources dating PRE to the early Islamic period, in 1987: 4, n. 16.

² His speculations are based on the calculation of “the End,” c. 729 C.E. (cf. Zunz-Albeck 1947: 136 and 420, n. 270). See the discussion to follow.

³ Zunz lists the following references to halachic practice or *minhag* in Palestine and the centrality of the land: calendrical calculations (PRE 6–7), the intercalation of years [*ibur ha-shana*] (PRE 8), Shabbat (PRE 18), Havdalah (PRE 20), Yom Kippur (PRE 46), Repentance (PRE 43), circumcision (PRE 29), comforting mourners (PRE 17), excommunication (PRE 38), and resurrection of the dead in the land of Israel (PRE 33 and 34) (Zunz-Albeck 1947: 135).

⁴ PRE 3 is quoted in the *Iggeret* of Pirkoi ben Baboi, the late 8th/early 9th c. apologist who polemicized against Palestinian religious practices to promote the Babylonian Talmud. See the article on Pirkoi ben Baboi in *EJ* by Herr 1971b 13: 561–562. On citations of PRE in the gaonic sources, see Radal’s introduction to PRE 1852: 13, n. 7; Ginzberg 1929 2: 544; Zunz-Albeck 1947: 135 and 417, n. 12; Albeck’s introduction to *Midrash Breshit Rabbati* 1966/67: 18, n. 2; Barth 1999: 21, n. 41.

⁵ *M. Soferim* 19:9 on charity (*gemilut hasadim*) quotes PRE 17 almost verbatim, ascribing the opinion to R. Eliezer ben Hyrcanus (though the *halakhah* is given over anonymously in the original). See the article in *JE* by Blau who suggests mid-8th c. as the dating of *M. Soferim* (Blau 1905 11: 426–428).

⁶ *Gen. Rab.* 56:1 (Theodor-Albeck 1965: 595–596); likewise in *Tanḥuma Vayera* 23 they remain anonymous. However, in *Lev. Rab.* 20:2 and *Tg. Ps.-J.* on Gen. 22:3 they are named as in PRE 31. See J. Heinemann’s comment on this passage in 1974a:

lists six auspicious acts of pre-natal naming in the Bible, including Ishmael, this one signifying the violent destiny of Islam against the Jewish people.⁷ After the banishment of Ishmael, Abraham visits his son in the wilderness of Paran (PRE 30).⁸ While the visit is recorded in the *Hadith* (the exegesis on the Quran and Muslim Law),⁹ Aviva Schussman argues that the Islamic folklore draws from PRE and not the other way around. Both Schussman and Heinemann point to the ambivalent attitude towards Islam in PRE, where Ishmael is portrayed in both apologetic and polemic terms.¹⁰ In that same passage, Ishmael's wives are named 'A'isha and Fatima, after the names of Mohammed's favorite wife and daughter respectively (PRE 30). Their characterization is highly significant – 'A'isha depicted as the mean, inhospitable one (whom Abraham advises Ishmael to divorce), Fatima the generous, kind one, on account of whom Ishmael's household is blessed. This may indicate the proto-Shi'ite milieu in which PRE was composed.¹¹ According to Gordon Newby, Fatima is portrayed in a favorable light because she is not only the daughter of Mohammed and wife of 'Ali, but also the mother of the line of Shi'ite Muslims. He suggests

186–189, and Elbaum 1986b: 350–351. Gordon Newby claims that this passage was written as an anti-Islamic polemic – Ishmael and Eliezer are 'disqualified' from the sacrifice because they do not see the glory of the *Shekhinah* on top of Mount Moriah. Accordingly, this passage serves as a polemic against the Muslim tradition treating Ishmael as the son elected by God to be the intended sacrificial victim (Newby 2000b: 22). However, the rabbinic tradition identifying one of the lads as Ishmael pre-dates the rise of Islam. Furthermore, the tradition identifying Ishmael, rather than Isaac, as the designated sacrifice (based on Sura 37:101) is relatively later in the *Hadith*, most likely post-dating PRE (see Firestone 2001 1: 10).

⁷ See my discussion on this passage in Adelman forthcoming and Elbaum's comment on this passage in 1996: 253.

⁸ See Appendix C for a semi-critical edition of the Hebrew text.

⁹ The stories of "Hagar's Banishment" and "Abraham's visit to Ishmael" are recounted in the *Hadith*, and are attributed to Ibn Abbas (d. 687), Ali (d. 660), and Mujahid (d. 722), though the legends may have been written much later. See Firestone 1990: 63–71 and 76–79. Firestone notes the parallels to PRE but does not comment on whether the midrash drew upon the Islamic sources or not. For an analysis claiming the Jewish sources constitute a polemic against the Islamic versions, see Grünbaum 1893: 124–131; Heller 1925: 47–54; and Schwarzbaum 1971: 1–24. Schussman argues that the story of "Abraham's visit to Ishmael" is an original Hebrew composition, an exegetical narrative on Gen. 21, and was written with both apologetic and polemic intent. Later the composition made its way into the *Hadith* with some major changes – Ishmael's wives, for example, are not named in most of the Islamic sources (Schussman 1980: 325–345).

¹⁰ J. Heinemann 1974a: 181–182 and 242, n. 4, and Schussman *ibid*.

¹¹ Newby 2000a: 83–96.

that the author of PRE identified closely with the messianic movement known as the *'Isawiyya*, which had close ties with the *ghulât*, the proto-Shi'ite extremists and propagandists.¹² Further research on the relationship between this messianic sect and the values reflected in the narrative expansions in PRE needs to be pursued to corroborate such a claim, since the provenance of the two did not overlap, nor are the halachic practices of the *'Isawiyya* and their syncretistic views reflected in this composition.

Other 'hard' evidence for PRE's historical context is found in the same chapter, as well as in PRE 35.¹³ In the latter, the author alludes to the Dome of the Rock (*Kubbat al-Şakhra*), which was completed under the rule of 'Abd al-Malik, in 692 C.E.¹⁴ Likewise, in PRE 28 on Abraham's vision at the 'Covenant between the Pieces', the subjugation of Israel to the 'Four Kingdoms' includes Ishmael.¹⁵ Altogether the period of foreign rule for each of the kingdoms was to last a thousand years (the equivalent of one day, in divine terms, cf. Ps. 90:4). Then the messianic era was to begin. Based on PRE's anticipation of the End of Days (*ha-qetz*) and the advent of the new era, the date of the composition has variously been calculated to be around 729 (Zunz),¹⁶ 639 (Kaufmann),¹⁷

¹² Newby 2000b: 24. For a historical analysis of the *'Isawiyya*, the Jewish sect that followed the messianic pretender Abu 'Isa al-Isfahani (also called Ovadiah, or '*eved Elohim*'), see Wasserstrom 1995: 47–89. The description of Abu 'Isa, according to Arab chronologist Shahrastani, is strikingly similar to the description of Messiah ben Joseph, named Menahem ben 'Amiel in PRE 19. The name also appears in *The Apocalypse of Zerubbabel* [ספר זרובבל], in *Midreshei Ge'ulah*, ed. Kaufmann 1963: 107. See also Yahalom, on the *piyut* "אותו היום" in 1979: 131, l. 46–47. See also Elbaum 1996: 261, n. 41, and my discussion in ch. 11, footnote 3.

¹³ See my discussion on the "Foundation Stone" in Adelman forthcoming.

¹⁴ While the inscription of the Dome bears the year 691–692, construction must have begun earlier during the more stable reign of the Caliph Mu'awiya. See the article on the "Kubbat al-Şakhra" in *EI*, Goitein 1999 5: 125–126.

¹⁵ *Gen. Rab.* 44:17 names the 'Four Kingdoms' as: Babylonia, Medea, Greece, and Edom (i.e. Rome). Elbaum suggests that this allegorical reading of Gen. 15:12 is actually transformed into 'Five Kingdoms' in PRE 28: Edom, Greece, Persia and Medea, Babylon, and Ishmael (Elbaum 1996: 248–252).

¹⁶ See Albeck's note in Zunz-Albeck 1947: 420, n. 27.

¹⁷ Kaufmann, in *Midreshei Geulah*, 1963: 66 n. 66, points out that, according to PRE 28 and 35 (on the reign of the Four Kings), Babylon was to last 70 years, Medea 52, and Greece 180 (altogether 300), which would then leave 700 years for the rule of Edom (i.e. Rome/Byzantium), which began in 62 B.C.E.; the date for the advent of the messianic era would have been in 638 C.E. (*ibid.*, pp. 144–147 and 169). He suggests that the latter section in PRE 30 is based on the remnants of a *piyut* written after the Islamic conquest of Jerusalem in 638; the Islamic victory, then, was seen as the advent of the messianic era.

648 (Silver),¹⁸ and 832 (Friedlander, based on Graetz),¹⁹ depending on the *terminus a quo* (the limit from which the End is calculated). Further clues are found at the end of PRE 30, where fifteen stages of Islamic rule are described that will eventually lead to the rise of Messiah ben David. It is worth quoting the text, in full, as it is key to dating of PRE:

*PIRQE DE-RABBI ELIEZER, CHAPTER 30*²⁰

8a. R. Yishmael said: The sons of Ishmael will do the following things, in the future at the End of Days, and these are:

- 1) They will measure the Land with ropes;
- 2) And make cemeteries (places for) the lodging of flocks and (for) trash-heaps;
- 3) And they will measure from them and by them on the mountains;
- 4) Deceit will increase;
- 5) Truth will be (served) [תגש] {hidden [נגזר]}²¹
- 6) Law will be distant from Israel;
- 7) And transgressions will proliferate in Israel;
- 8) {They will mix [ויתערבו]}²² scarlet-dye of the worm in wool;
- 9) And paper and pen will decay;
- 10) The ruling kingdom will withdraw coinage;
- 11) They will refurbish the destroyed cities and clear the roads;
- 12) They will plant gardens and orchards;²³

¹⁸ According to Silver, the *terminus a quo* is calculated from the rebuilding of the Temple, in the year 352 B.C.E.; the end of the last kingdom would therefore be 648 C.E. (Silver 1959: 39).

¹⁹ Friedlander 1981: 200, n. 6. He begins his calculations from the rule of Antiochus Epiphanes, in 168 B.C.E. The end of the hostile rule of the Kingdoms would then be about 832 C.E. See also Graetz 1972 3: 176–181.

²⁰ This translation is based on the 1st ed., checked against Börner-Klein 2004: 349–351, with supplements from four different manuscripts. See Appendix C for a semi-critical edition of the Hebrew text. This whole section is missing from Radal's edition, probably due to censorship. The English translation is partially influenced by the diplomatic version of the end of PRE 30, put together by J. C. Reeves, see <http://www.religiousstudies.uncc.edu/jcreeves/pre30text.html>.

²¹ Emendation based on Higger's ed., En866 and Ci75.

²² Emendation based on En866 and Ci75. Friedlander translates this expression as: “worm crimson will be in the wool” (1981: 221). Reeves suggests: “They will confuse scarlet-dye and worm” – perhaps not knowing the the expression “תולעת שני” refers to the source of the red-dye – a special worm. I suspect the expression is a metaphor for red of blood-shed that will stain people's clothing, which distinguished the reign of the Caliph, Abu al-Abbas al-Saffah (750–754), also known as “Alshafah” (= the ‘slaughterer’).

²³ In J. C. Reeves' translation, he suggests that this phrase is a quote from Eccl. 2:5, “גנות ופרדסים.” Rather than a direct quote, the author employs this hendiadys, indicative of his return to biblical language [*leshon ha-mikra*].

- 13) And repair the holes in the walls of the Temple;
 14) They will build a structure at (the site of the) sanctuary;
 15) Two brothers will arise over them as leaders.²⁴ In their days the son of David will sprout up [בן דוד יצמח],²⁵ as it says “and in the time of those kings the God of Heaven will establish a kingdom [that shall never be destroyed, a kingdom that shall not be transferred to another people]...” (Dan 2:44).

8b. R. Ishmael also said: The Ishmaelites will fight three great battles on the Earth at the End of Days, as it says “for they fled from swords” (Isa. 21:15), and the expression ‘swords’ refers to none other than “battles.” One (will be) in the forest of Arabia – “Before the whether sword” (ibid.); one (will be) on the sea – “Before the drawn bow” (ibid.); and one (will be) at the great city of Rome, which (will be) more fierce than the (preceding) two, as it says “Before the stress of war” (ibid.).

8c. From there (i.e., Rome) the son of David will sprout up, and from there he will come to the Land of Israel, as it says “Who is this coming from Edom, in crimsoned garments from Bozrah. Who is this, majestic in attire, pressing forward in His great might? ‘It is I, who contends victoriously, powerful to give triumph.’” (Isa. 63:1).

Various events are alluded to that have correlates in historical reality. The first one (#10) points to the year 695 C.E., when the first Muslim dinars were minted.²⁶ A second refers to the building on the site of the Temple Mount [ויבנו בנין בהיכל] (#14), an allusion to the so-called ‘mosque of Umar’, completed in 692 C.E. The Byzantines had turned the Temple Mount into Jerusalem’s refuse dump from the time of Queen Helena, the mother of Constantine (circa 4th c.).²⁷ When the Holy Roman Empire adopted Christianity as the official religion, the neglect of the Temple Mount became symbolic of the debasement of

²⁴ Börner-Klein identified them as Harun al-Rasid (809) and his brother Muhammed al-Amin, following Graetz and Friedlander’s interpretation (ibid., p. 350).

²⁵ The expression for the Messiah – “צמח בן דוד” – stems from Zech. 3:8, and 6:12, Jer. 23:5. See also Ben Sira 51: 28 [הודו למצמיח קרן לבית דוד], and the 15th blessing of the *‘Amidah*. However this is the latest of the 18 blessings integrated into the *‘Amidah*, and according to Elbogen no allusion to “צמח דוד” in the *‘Amidah* is found in the Palestinian tradition (1993: 49). On the origin of the expression “the descendant of David will sprout (צמח) [בן דוד יצמח] from the gates of Rome...and come to the Land of Israel” in PRE 30 and its use in later sources, see Elbaum 1996: 255, n. 24 and Goitein 1979: 51.

²⁶ See the chronology in Gil 1992: 840.

²⁷ Gil describes how Byzantine women would send their menstrual cloths to Jerusalem to be thrown on the rock – presumably the place that the Jews deemed to be the ‘Foundation Stone’ – and later the Muslims would claim as the *Şakhra* (ibid., p. 67).

the Jewish people. After the Arab conquest of Jerusalem in 638, the edict forbidding Jews to enter the city was lifted. According to Moshe Gil, Jews and Arabs cooperated in disposing of the refuse on the Temple Mount under Umar's supervision, and many Jews were appointed as officials in the clean up.²⁸ The Muslims later appropriated many of the Jewish legends surrounding the Temple Mount as their own.²⁹

The third reference is found in the 'rule of two brothers' (#15), but a debate still wages among the scholars as to whom this refers. Graetz suggests that this passage in PRE refers to the two sons of Harun al-Rashid – al-Amin and al-Ma'mun – who ruled over Islam in the first half of the 9th century.³⁰ Herr, however, suggests the two brothers refer to two Caliphs who rule in the early 8th century, at the end of the Umayyad Caliphate, before the rise of the Abbasids.³¹ A. H. Silver ascribes the earliest date to the composition, suggesting that the two brothers refer to Ziyad, bastard son of Abu Sofian, father of Mu'awiya (Umayyad Caliph from 661–680). After an initial rivalry, Mu'awiya acknowledged Ziyad as his brother, and later appointed him ruler of Iraq and the eastern provinces in 665. On this basis, Silver argues that the author of PRE expected the coming of the Messiah in latter half of 7th century.³² Singer's genealogy, however, is rather spurious. The fourth evidence concerns the great battles waged by Islam – in the forests of Arabia, the Sea and the great city (כּרֶד, Rome).³³

²⁸ According to a Jewish chronicle found amongst the Cairo Geniza hoard, "Umar watched them all the time. Whenever a remnant was revealed, he would ask the elders of the Jews about the rock, namely the Foundation Stone [*even shtiyah*], and one of the sages would mark out the boundaries of the place until it was uncovered..." (quoted in Gil, *ibid.*, p. 71).

²⁹ See the discussion of the Foundation Stone (*even shtiyah*) and Jacob's night vision in Adelman forthcoming.

³⁰ See Graetz 1905–6: 197, and his article in Frankel's *Monatsschrift* 1859: 112 (cited in Friedlander 1981: 221, n. 7). Börner-Klein follows Graetz's lead 2004: 350, n. 1. Harun al-Rashid is the 5th Abbasid Caliph (786–809), followed by his son al-Amin (809–813) and then al-Ma'mun (813–833), his brother. For a fuller historical account and the civil war between his sons, see the article in *EI* 1999 1: 18.

³¹ Herr did not name the rulers, but he was probably referring to Yazid b. 'Abd al-Malik, who ruled as the Umayyad Caliph from 720 (d. 724) and was succeeded by his brother, Hisham (see Herr's article in *EJ*, 1971a 13: 559).

³² Silver 1959: 41. This identification of Ziyad b. Abihi (lit. son of his father, b. 622) is not substantiated in the historical sources; he was considered to be the half-brother of Abu Bakra and Shibl b. Ma'bad al Bajali, simply because he was born "on the bed of 'Ubayd;" his biological father remained unknown (see *EI* 1999 11: 519–521).

³³ Cf. *b. Sanhedrin* 98b, and *Midrash Aggadat Breshit* (ed. Buber, 1997: 47) on the Messiah who will sprout from the gates of Rome [נצמח משערי רומי]. See footnote 25.

Singer claims that the first great battle refers to the conquest of Arabia, completed by Abu Bakr, Mohammed's successor (d. 634). The second refers to the naval clashes between Byzantine and Mohammedan forces, between 650 and 655. And the war waged in 'the great city' may refer to the conquest of Alexandria by 'Umar's general in 641 C.E. Alternatively, the wars may refer to the conquest of Arabia, of Spain, and of Rome (circa 830 C.E.).³⁴ Thus we have a range of nearly two hundred years as to the dating of the composition.

Jacob Elbaum settles the dispute, somewhat, with an analysis of the broader context of the apocalyptic literature. Both he and Bernard Lewis suggest that the early stage of the Abbasid caliphate forms the background to the rise of these compositions.³⁵ The two brothers are none other than Abu al-Abbas al-Saffāh (750–754), who was known as "Alshafah" (= the 'slaughterer'), and his brother Abu Ja'far, or 'al-Mantzur' by title (754–775).³⁶ Written around the same period, *The Secrets of Shimon bar Yoḥai* reflects the same tendency to interpret the Islamic conquest as indicative of the advent of the messianic era. In the beginning of this apocalyptic text, there is (as in PRE 30) a homily based on Balaam's prophecy, "And he looked on the Kenites" (Num. 24:21) – the Kenites identified as descendants of Ishmael:

As soon as he saw the Kingdom of Ishmael was coming, he began to say: "Was it not enough that we had to suffer under the wicked Kingdom of Edom; now [there comes] also the Kingdom of Ishmael?" Immediately Metatron, the *sar ha'penim* [lit. 'Minister of the Presence'], answered him, saying, "Fear not, son of man, for the Holy One, blessed be He, established the kingdom of Ishmael for the sole purpose of redeeming you from this wicked one [i.e. the kingdom of the Edom]. God gave them a prophet [i.e. Mohammed] according to His Will, and this prophet will conquer the Land from them; they will restore it to its grandeur; and a great fear will befall the children of Esau."³⁷

³⁴ See, for example, S. Ochser's article on "Pirke deRabbi Eli'ezer" in *JE* 1905 10: 58–60. This very dated article provides the basis for the popular Wikipedia entry.

³⁵ Elbaum 1996: 256, and 247–248, and Lewis 1988: 194–214.

³⁶ The Abbasid dynasty takes its name from its ancestor, al-Abbās b. Abd al-Muttalib b. HaShim the uncle of the Prophet. On al-Mantzur's reign see *EI* 1999 1: 14–21 (under 'Abbasids) and 6: 427–428 (Manṣūr).

³⁷ Quoted in Gil 1992: 62, with minor modifications (see n. 65 for his sources). See the midrash in Jellinek, *Beit haMidrash*, 1938 3: 78, based on the Salonika edition of 1743, re-edited by Kaufmann, *Midreshei Geulah* 1954: 187. See also Jellinek, *Tefilat R. Shimon bar Yoḥai, Beit haMidrash*, 1938 5: 117, and Kaufmann, *ibid.*, p. 268. The liturgical poet, R. El'azar b. Qilir, also expressed similar messianic hopes in his monumental *Silluq* for Tish'ah be-Av, written around 630 C.E. soon after the Arab invasion

The rise of eschatological compositions was due to the influence of Islam, which at its inception was an apocalyptic movement. In addition, the extreme oppression and rampant bloodshed under al-Mantzur's rule, and the famine, plagues, and earthquakes that wracked Palestine at the time, all contributed to the sense of living through the 'birth pangs of the Messiah'. Following the Islamic conquest, a significant number of Jews belonging to the Rabbanite Jewish sect "Mourners for Zion" [אבלי ציון] returned to the Land, and devoted themselves to a life of asceticism, practicing voluntary poverty and pious devotions in anticipation of the promised coming of the Messiah.³⁸ The author of PRE may very well have associated with this sect, for the composition reflects strong ascetic values, as Dina Stein points out.³⁹

EDITIONS OF PRE AND THE VERSION CITED IN THE BODY OF THIS WORK

Unfortunately, there is, as yet, no critical edition of PRE, though Eliezer Treitel has done the groundwork and is in the process of completing a synoptic edition of the text (in partial fulfillment of his doctorate at Hebrew University of Jerusalem, under the supervision of Menachem Kister).⁴⁰ The task is daunting, for there are, according to Lewis Barth, eighteen complete or nearly complete manuscripts dating from the 14th to the 19th century and thirty-one partial manuscripts.⁴¹ According to H. J. Haag's study, *Magisterarbeit*, there have been forty-three printed editions, beginning with the first edition (from hereon 1st ed., Constantinople 1514) through the Jerusalem edition in 1972.⁴² This fact

of Palestine (Fleischer 1985: 383–427, cf. 418, line 111). See also *Shiv'ata* of the liturgical poet Hadutahu, also known as Haduta or Hedvat'a (Fleischer 1974: 71–96).

³⁸ Grossman 1983: 174–187.

³⁹ Stein 2004: 164–168.

⁴⁰ Eliezer Treitel has been very helpful in resolving questions around the manuscript tradition and issues concerning the most authoritative formulation (*nusah*), though we disagree on some fundamental questions – the status of PRE as pseudepigrapha, for instance, and the single authorship of the work.

⁴¹ Barth 1999: 3. He catalogued the manuscripts based initially on the card catalogue of microfilms of PRE manuscripts in the *Machon le'tatzlumei kitvei yad*, at the National Library in Jerusalem. Eliezer Treitel has edited this list and has weeded out the wheat from the chaff, determining which manuscripts are really useful for scholarship purposes and which are merely copies of the printed editions.

⁴² This latest edition refers to the so-called critical edition put together by Horowitz. See H. J. Haag, *Magisterarbeit, Pirkei deRabbi Elie'ezer Kap 43: Aufbau und Traditions-*

alone points to the composition's widespread popularity. In addition, Haag lists twenty-three commentaries, of which Radal (Rabbi David Luria, 1798–1855) is the most important. Even to this day, Radal's text (Warsaw 1852) is the most frequently cited, but also the most highly censored.⁴³ The work towards a critical edition began in the 19th century by Chaim Meir Horowitz (1855–1905).⁴⁴ In the 1940s, Michael Higger (1892–1952) published the copy, which Horowitz had prepared, based on a comparison of three manuscripts from the Casanatensa collection in Rome.⁴⁵ His base text (Ca2858 or 1'ק"ב in my system), is the source for the electronic edition found in the Bar Ilan Database, but, as Barth points out, it is an edition 'at third remove' (a copy of Horowitz's copy of the manuscript), and thus, for scholarly purposes, rather problematic. Dr. Zeev Gottlieb (1910–1983) also prepared an eclectic edition of PRE, using as his base manuscript JTS Lehman 300 (in my system Leh, or 1'ב"י),⁴⁶ with reference to several manuscripts in the footnotes. The edition was to be published by *Mosad ha-Rav Kook*, but Gottlieb unfortunately died before its completion. Most recently, Dagmar Börner-Klein published a bilingual German-Hebrew version of PRE based on the 1st edition, highlighting the changes made in the later 2nd ed. (Venice 1544) and Radal's ed. (Warsaw 1852). She also supplements, on occasion, with reference to Higger's version.⁴⁷ Her

geschichtliche Analyse, M.A. dissertation, University of Köln, 1978. Most recently, Börner-Klein reprints his list in her introduction to the German-Hebrew bilingual edition, 2004: xix–xxiv.

⁴³ The censorship was most likely introduced by Radal himself. See Barth 1999: 4, and I. H. Weiss' study in *Dor Dor V'Dorshav*, 1924 3: 293, n. 24, and Haag 1978: 96. See also Y. Spiegel 1975: 146–156.

⁴⁴ Published posthumously in facsimile form, as "A complete critical Edition as Prepared by C. M. Horowitz, but never published," facsimile edition of editor's original MS, Jerusalem 1972.

⁴⁵ According to Higger, Horowitz copies one manuscript from chapter 4 onward, placing variants from the two other manuscripts between the lines. Chapter 1–3, is laid out synoptically, in parallel columns. Higger also uses a fourth, unknown manuscript for chapter 6 (see Barth 1999: 5).

⁴⁶ Barth mistakenly identified the base text as Enelow 866, and thus recommended this manuscript to the Academy of the Hebrew Language for their electronic edition. After a careful study of Gottlieb's manuscript on chapter 10 and 35, Treitel identifies the base text as JTS Lehman 300. I am exceedingly grateful to both Barth and Treitel for their help in wading through the maze of very technical details concerning the manuscripts of PRE.

⁴⁷ For example, the final chapter, which is cut off in the printed edition, is completed on the basis of Higger's manuscript, 1'ק (Ca2858).

judgment is sound, since the printed edition is no more problematic than the manuscripts in many cases.

The text most often used in the body of this book is the 1st ed.. When an ambiguity arises, I refer to alternative editions (Radal's or Higger's) as well as the manuscripts to which I have had access. When analyzing a complete chapter, I put together a diplomatic version of the text, using the manuscript for the electronic edition of the Academy of the Hebrew Language – Enelow 866 – with reference to six others as well as the printed editions in the footnotes.⁴⁸ The Hebrew semi-critical edition of these chapters is provided in the Appendices. In the body of the discussion, I draw on my own English translation of the chapters, following Gottlieb's division of paragraphs and punctuation.⁴⁹

THE PLAN OF THE BOOK

In this introduction, I defined the genre Narrative Midrash, and demonstrated how it differs from the classic understanding of the 'Rewritten Bible' of the Second Temple Period. Narrative Midrash demonstrates its dependence on the biblical text, as exegesis, while blurring the line between received scripture and its interpretive retelling. In the second chapter, I explored the reason why the author wrote under the pseudonym of Eliezer ben Hyrcanus, calling upon his authority as a *tanna*, and his unique status as the custodian of the unalloyed Sinaitic tradition. I also described the historical context and provenance in which the midrash was composed. In the following chapters, I illustrate how the author deploys this new genre in his creative retelling of the biblical stories.

In Part II, "the Personification of Evil," I explore the myth of the origin of evil through a study of the characterization of the archangel Samael (roughly parallel to Satan) in the midrashic narrative. First I trace the historical development of the personification of moral evil and its origins, from the Hebrew Bible to the non-canonical sources

⁴⁸ Based on Treitel's analysis of the genealogy of the scribal tradition, I chose a manuscript from each branch in order to point out significant variant readings.

⁴⁹ I am grateful to Avivah Zornberg, Dr. Gottlieb's daughter, who has also been my teacher for many years, for making his manuscript available to me. I hope the publication of a diplomatic version of PRE, drawing on the insights from his manuscript, will somewhat heal the loss of his untimely passing, by making his unpublished work indirectly accessible to future readers.

in the Second Temple and the classic rabbinic period. In PRE, evil is projected outward onto Samael, who is not only held responsible for the ‘original sin’ in the Garden of Eden, but also spawns Cain through the seduction of Eve; I trace the Gnostic origins to this myth, as well as the Christian and rabbinic counterparts. In addition, Samael assumes the role of leader of the Fallen Angels who are, in turn, seduced by the daughters of men; they then became the progenitors of the ‘*Anakim*, the giants who bring about the destruction of the world in the Great Flood. The author thus traces a ‘genetic’ component to the two central myths concerned with the corruption of mankind – ‘the Fall’ from the Garden of Eden and the origin of the Flood. These mythic accounts were repressed in the rabbinic literature but were widespread in the pseudepigraphic compositions of the Second Temple period. In addition to exploring the ‘re-mythologizing’ of the Bible in PRE, I ‘trace the threads’ back to the sources of the midrash and speculate on how the author may have had access to these apocryphal works.

In Part III, “Myth and Praxis in *Pirqe de-Rabbi Eliezer*,” I apply the patterns in the author’s Cosmogony and Eschatology to etiological narratives on ritual – Havdalah (the ritual differentiating between the Sabbath and the mundane days of the week), Rosh Hodesh (Festival of the New Moon), and the tradition of Elijah’s chair at *brit milah* (ritual circumcision). The author identifies Elijah with Phinehas, resurrecting a tradition that can be traced back to Pseudo-Philo (*L.A.B.*). This association may have been repressed in the rabbinic tradition because of the early Christian equation of the prophet with John the Baptist, as forerunner of the Christian Messiah. In the final section (chapter eleven), I apply many of the principles that have been examined in a modular fashion to the analysis of a whole chapter – “Jonah’s Sojourn in the Netherworld – A Literary Analysis of *Pirqe de-Rabbi Eliezer* Chapter Ten.” The journey in the belly of the whale is described as a descent into the Underworld and a resurrection, conforming to a narrative pattern unique to the apocalyptic literature of the Second Temple. I adopt, with qualification, Yehuda Liebes’ suggestion that Jonah is being characterized as a messianic figure, and suggest that the author of PRE may have been motivated by a polemic against Christian appropriation of Jonah as a ‘sign’, a precursor to the Resurrection of Jesus. In PRE, both Jonah and Elijah *redivivus* are portrayed in highly particularistic terms as prophets who zealously guard the interests of the Israelite nation, as distinct from their roles in the Christian tradition.

In the conclusion, I re-evaluate classic concepts of myth in the light of midrashic studies. Embedded in a dialogue with the biblical text, the midrash interprets as it re-enforces the halachic practice and theological beliefs of the era in which it is composed. PRE, as apocalyptic eschatology, rewrites the biblical stories from Creation to the Exodus from Egypt, with a “sense of an ending.” In this case, the form (Narrative Midrash) follows function – the need to construe theophany in biblical history as blueprints for the history of the Jewish people culminating in the Messianic age. Myth, then, is not antithetical to history but rather lends it contours and purpose.

PART II

THE PERSONIFICATION OF EVIL

The reason Milton wrote in fetters when he wrote of Angels & God, and at liberty when of Devils & Hell, is because he was a true Poet and of the Devil's party without knowing it.

—William Blake, from *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* (ca. 1790–93)

CHAPTER FOUR

THE PROBLEM OF THE ORIGIN OF EVIL

The problem of evil, known as theodicy (lit. “the justification of God”), has haunted the Judeo-Christian tradition since the introduction of ethical monotheism into the world. It has been construed by the medieval philosophers in terms of the paradox between God’s absolute omnipotence, on the one hand, and His role as arbiter of the good, on the other.¹ If God, indeed, is all-powerful and benevolent, how could evil persist in the world? By evil, I do not mean death, disease, and the many natural disasters that afflict this world, but rather the problem of moral evil that seems coiled around the heart of human nature. For this post-Holocaust generation, the question has become all the more urgent. Several approaches to solving the paradox seem to run consistently through the musings of the philosophers and theologians. Either God is responsible for the creation of evil in the world² and withdraws from history at some point to allow an ultimate good to emerge, which (at present) eludes us. Or the source of moral evil lies with humans, to whom God granted free choice. Alternatively, God did not create evil or even the possibility for evil at all; rather it emerges as an external force to the divine. I will outline four models for addressing the problem of theodicy and then present how the personification of evil in Pirque de-Rabbi Eliezer does not conform to a rabbinic model but more closely to a model found in the non-canonical writings of ancient Judaism (the *Sefarim Hitzonim*, lit. the “outside books”) in the Second Temple period. The question is: what conditions, both in the literary tradition and socio-historical context, underly the rejection of

¹ The paradox is first articulated in Saadia Gaon’s *Emunot ve-Deot* [The Book of Beliefs and Opinions], and later reframed and popularized by Harold Kushner in *Why do Bad Things Happen to Good People* (1980). For a review of the problem, see the Mackie’s article, “Evil and Omnipotence” (1955: 200–212, reprinted in Adams and Adams 1990: 25–37). While one must be cautious about adopting medieval theological categories and projecting them *into* the texts of late antiquity, they can be useful in distinguishing between different schools of thought.

² See Isa. 45:6–7, Amos 3:6, Lam. 3:38.

the rabbinic model and the infiltration of these ideas as a “return of the repressed”³ into early medieval midrash?

The theological explanation for evil, based on God’s withdrawal from history, forms the first two models: either it is an expression of divine retribution, consonant with the rabbinic notion of the eclipse of God (*hester panim*, lit. “hidden face”),⁴ or it is built into the unfolding of history (as in the kabbalistic idea of *tzimtzum*).⁵ As Hans Jonas points out, in both these models, “we can have divine omnipotence together with divine goodness only at the price of complete divine inscrutability” (1987: 9). In the third model, God may be rational, even good insofar as He provides moral guidelines for human beings through the Revelation of the Law. But ultimately the potential for both good and evil is built into human nature from the start and free will remains unfettered. While the wicked may seemingly be rewarded in this world and the good suffer unduly, this is the price paid for the gift of free will; the individual is ultimately held responsible for the consequences of

³ The expression is Freud’s, borrowed by Boyarin, to explain the relationship between the biblical text and certain trends in midrashic exegesis, “which makes manifest the repressed mythic material in the Bible’s ‘textual subconscious’” (Boyarin 1990: 94).

⁴ See *y. Sanhedrin* 10:2 (28b), based on Deut. 31:18 and Isa. 8:17. Cf. *b. Hagigah* 5a, *Gen. Rab.* 41:3 (Theodor-Albeck 1965: 402). For a review of the rabbinic sources on the retributive model of theodicy, see Urbach 1975: 511–523. Modern applications of this idea to the problem of theodicy after the Holocaust are to be found in Martin Buber, *Eclipse of God* (1988); Emil Fackenheim, *God’s Presence in History* (1970); and Eliezer Berkovitz, *Faith after the Holocaust* (1973), to name a few. For a thorough review of the modern secondary literature on the issue, see Wolpe 1997: 25–56.

⁵ While Yehezkel Kaufmann characterizes the God of the Israelites in terms of absolute omnipotence, “where there is no realm above or beside YHWH to limit his absolute sovereignty” (1972: 60), Jon Levenson suggests that evil, in the Hebrew Bible, is portrayed in terms of the persistence of chaos in the face of a fragile imposition of order upon the Cosmos (1988: 4–50). That is, God’s so-called omnipotence is curtailed, although this “semiotiose deity... can still be aroused... can still respond to the anguished cry of his cultic community to effect together a new victory” (*ibid.*, 50). The eschatological combat myth, absent in the Pentateuch, but prevalent in vestigial form in the Prophets and the Hagiography, is developed into a full mythic narrative in later Jewish and Christian apocalyptic literature. According to these later sources, the problem of evil will only be resolved in the End of Days – a theme that will be discussed at great length over the course of this book. Like Levenson, Hans Jonas calls for a rejection of the principle of divine omnipotence, adopting the kabbalistic notion of *tzimtzum* (lit. divine contraction) in grappling with the question of theodicy (Jonas 1987: 1–13). David Halivni, in *Breaking the Tablets: Jewish Theology after the Holocaust* (2008), similarly understands the horror of the Holocaust *not* in terms of *hester panim* (which assumes a retributive model of justice), but in terms of *tzimtzum* – describing it as the nadir of God’s gradual withdrawal from the Jewish people over history.

his or her own actions.⁶ In the fourth model, neither God nor human beings are responsible for the presence evil in the world; rather, there is some alternative, external, perhaps even Satanic source of evil prevalent in the world. God's 'hands are tied', so to speak, having granted that force (or those forces) free rein in the world. This paradigm is most pronounced in the apocalyptic writings of the Second Temple period, the Qumran scrolls (though not uniformly), as well as early Christian and Gnostic sources.⁷

In this section, I will outline a development approach to the problem of evil, from biblical to post-biblical sources, and examine especially the narrative expansions on the story of the Garden of Eden in Genesis.⁸ Around the Second Temple period, the theological tenets were at their formative stages, with much 'ideological ink' spilled in Gnostic, early Christian, and rabbinic circles over how to interpret the etiological stories on the origin of evil in Genesis. The primary distinction between the classic rabbinic texts⁹ and the *Sefarim Hitzonim* hinges on whether evil was conjectured to be inherent in Creation or externalized as an independent force with a discrete point of entry into the primordial events of history. Like the apocalyptic literature, as well as early Christian and Gnostic sources, Pirque de-Rabbi Eliezer

⁶ This construct is not in conflict with the principle of divine withdrawal, necessarily, rather the responsibility for evil here, instead of being projected onto God, is shifted to the human domain. See Heschel's discussion of "The Hiding God" in *Man is Not Alone* (1951a: 151–157) and Levinas, "To Love the Torah more than God" (1990: 142–145).

⁷ See the review of the sources in Thompson 1977: 37–47. Rosen-Zvi characterizes four different theories on the origin of evil: Ben Sira's naïve free will, Qumranic cosmological dualism, Paul's "Adamic Fall," and Fourth Ezra's "evil heart" (2008: 2). I have sketched a rather different configuration, based on a model highlighting the internalization/externalization nexus, as well as the human versus divine (or some other supernatural power) as a source of evil.

⁸ According to anthropologists, the original biblical account served as an etiological tale for the transition from a hunter-gatherer society to an agrarian-based economy, as it says, "from the sweat of your brow, you shall eat bread..." (Gen. 3:10) (See the discussion in Kugel 2007: 54–56, and 701, n. 11). Later exegetes, both Jewish and Christian, construe the story as an account of the origin of death and the loss of immortality (see Kugel 1998: 94–144 and Anderson 2001b). In the former paradigm, the ideal "Garden" was free of the toils of agriculture and the pain of childbirth, while, in the latter, the ideal human was free of death. With their banishment, the first human cannot "also take from the tree of [eternal] life and eat and live forever" (Gen. 3:22). Yet, the Jewish and Christian sources differ in linking the Garden to the origin of sin.

⁹ From the 1st to the 5th centuries C.E., including Tannaitic sources, the Babylonian and Palestinian Talmud, as well as Genesis Rabbah, Leviticus Rabbah, and other Palestinian Amoraic midrashim.

belongs to the fourth model, where evil is externalized – personified in the figure Samael, commonly known as Satan, who appears, for the first time, in the Garden of Eden narrative. The rabbinic tradition, however, is notably mute about Satan’s role in Eden; the Serpent plays a critical part, but is *not* identified with Satan. In fact, the Garden of Eden narrative is not construed in terms of a ‘the Fall of Man’ in rabbinic sources; it does *not* account for the origin of sin. Rather evil, according to the classical midrashim and the Talmud, is inherent in the creation of the world, most often ascribed to an internal struggle within the human psyche. In its naïve formulation, articulated in Ben Sira, the potential for sin resides in the divine gift of free will, manifest as the very choice man was granted upon being planted in Eden to obey or disobey the divine command *not* to eat of the Tree of Knowledge Good and Evil (Sir. 15:14–20).¹⁰

In the later rabbinic formulation, the struggle is rather more complex, construed as a conflict between two inclinations, between the evil *yetzer*¹¹ [*yetzer hara*] and the aspiration towards the good, the godly, and the transcendent.¹² The Rabbis make a point of suggesting that this “evil inclination in the heart of man [*yetzer lev ha-’adam*]” (Gen. 8:21)

¹⁰ See John Collins’ discussion of the naïve formulation of the origin of evil in Ben Sira (Collins 1997: 80–96).

¹¹ The term *yetzer*, based on the Hebrew root *yod.tsade.res*h., is derived from the condemnation of man before the Flood: “The Lord saw how great was man’s wickedness on Earth, and how every plan devised by his mind [*ve-khol yetzer mahshevot libo*] was nothing but evil all the time” (Gen. 6:5, cf. Gen. 8:21, Deut. 31:21). Various translations of the term have been advanced: “inclination,” “instinct,” “tendency,” even “desire” (Boyarin 1993). I follow Ishay Rosen-Zvi’s decision *not* to translate the term and to allow the meaning to emerge from the aggadic contexts in which it is discussed. I have also adopted his critique of the assumption that the Rabbis posited two inclinations, a good *yetzer* and a bad one, and therefore restrict my discussion to the *yetzer* or evil *yetzer*. As he points out, with the exception of few sources, the Tannaitic and Amoraic texts for the most part speak of only one *yetzer* (Rosen-Zvi 2008: 513–539). For an alternative view, based on the idea of two *yetzerim*, see Porter 1901: 108–135, Schechter 1961: 242–292, and Moore 1924, 1: 479–496.

¹² See *b. Berakhot* 61a, *Gen. Rab.* 9:7, and *Gen. Rab.* 34:10, and the discussion of these sources to follow. The evil *yetzer* finds its analogue in the concept of the “evil heart” in Fourth Ezra (3:20–26, “evil seed” in 4:30). See discussion in Thompson 1977: 334–340 and Stone 1990: 63–65. The difference, however, between the rabbinic sources on the *yetzer* and Fourth Ezra lies in the means by which the source of evil is resolved. According to the former, God gave humans the means of ruling over their *yetzer* through the Torah (see footnote 28); according to the latter, the problem of the “evil heart” is resolved by divine grace in the End of Days (4 Ezra 7:116–122, Thompson 1977: 340–342 and Hayman 1976: 461–476). Some rabbinic sources, however, also suggest that struggle with the evil *yetzer* will cease in the messianic era (Schechter 1961: 290–291).

is not the consequence of eating of the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge and ‘the Fall of Man’ from the Garden of Eden, but inherent in man’s creation. The Talmud aphoristically comments on man’s paradoxical nature: “Woe is me on account of my Creator; woe is me on account of my creatureliness [*Oy li mi-yotzri; Oy li mi-yitzri*]” (*b. Berakhot* 61a). That is, man is torn between two inclinations, expressed by the two “oys,” and orthographically represented by the doubling of the *yod* in the verb *va-yyitzer*: “And the Lord God formed [אָדָם] the Man from the dust of the Earth and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life...” (Gen. 2:7).¹³ According to the aggadic sources, human beings from their very inception are caught between their base desires and the consciousness of having been created in the image and likeness of God – for Adam was composed both of the dust of the Earth and the spirit of a divine exhalation (Gen. 2:7).¹⁴ The ambivalence between the divine *ruah*, spirit, and creaturely desire, *yetzer*, within human beings was thus inherent in Adam’s creation. Using the same exegetical device (the doubling of a consonant), the Mishnah similarly comments on the injunction to love and serve God “with all your heart [*levavekha*] and all your soul” (Deut. 11:13). The Rabbis understand this as a command to serve God with both *yetzarim* – the good and the bad (*m. Berakhot* 9:5).¹⁵ Both these sources directly challenge the notion that evil was introduced with ‘the Fall of Man’ from the Garden and also undermine the fatalism that concept often entails: that humans are haplessly and inevitably evil at their very core.

The most compelling midrash supporting the claim that the evil *yetzer* was inherent in man even before the sin is found in the commentary on God’s affirmation of man’s creation on the Sixth Day:

“Behold [*vehine*], it was very good” (Gen. 1:31): refers to the good *yetzer*; and “Behold it was very good [*tov me’od*]” refers to the evil *yetzer*. Can then the evil *yetzer* be good, I wonder [*etmaha*]? But without the evil *yetzer* no man would build a house, take a wife, or beget children and

¹³ Contrast this with the creation of the animals Gen. 2:19, where only one *yod* is used.

¹⁴ See also Gen. 1:27, 5:1. In Gen. 9:6, Noah is first *told* that he was created in the image of God, perhaps as a means of contending with the inclination towards evil [*yetzer hara*]. See *m. Avot* 3:14.

¹⁵ Cf. *Sifre* 73a, *ARN* 47(a and b), *b. Berakhot* 61b.

thus Solomon says: “(I have also noted that all labor and skillful enterprise) come from man’s rivalry with his neighbor” (Eccl. 4:4).¹⁶

According to *Genesis Rabbah*, the unique addition of “*me’od*”¹⁷ (very good) to the divine assessment of the Sixth Day accounts for God’s affirmation of both *yetzarim*: the “good” and the “evil *yetzer*” imbedded in the creation of man and woman, here deemed good because it is necessary for any constructive or reproductive activity. The *yetzer hara’*, associated with sexuality and procreation, is imbedded in human nature at the outset. The paradox lies in God’s ironic exclamation – if it is “evil” how could it possibly be “very good”? Daniel Boyarin comments on this homily: “My hypothesis is that the Rabbis inherited the term ‘Evil Instinct’ from the first century Hellenistic Judaism [identified with Platonic thought and Philo]. Much more averse to sexuality than they were, and unable to dispense with it, they ironized the term – ‘the evil instinct is very good’” (1995: 63).¹⁸ Not only are the Rabbis critical of the characterization of the *yetzer* as evil, but also construe it as imbedded in the creation of human beings at the outset. Thus desire, the inclination to sin, and sexuality (all associated with the *yetzer*) are *not* phenomena that emerge as a result of ‘original sin’. The Rabbis recognize no ‘original sin’ in the Christian sense of the term. It was not the Serpent (possessed by Satan) who introduced evil into the world by deceiving Eve. Rather, the Rabbis make a distinction between the biblical account of the first transgression, as recounted in Genesis

¹⁶ *Gen. Rab.* 9:7 (Theodor-Albeck 1965: 71–72, translation from Rosen-Zvi (2008: 22). Similarly, the midrash affirms both the “good” and “evil” *yetzer*: “*And God Created (vayyitzer): Two yetzarim, the good yetzer and the evil yetzer. For if an animal had two yetzarim it would die of anticipation [מושחרת ומתה] upon seeing a man holding a knife to kill it*” (*Gen. Rab.* 14:4, Theodor-Albeck 1965: 128, cf. *b. Berakhot* 61a). The words “מושחרת ומתה” (in the Munich manuscript), appears as “מפחדת ומתה” [fears and dies] in the printed edition, but the implications are similar. The term “מושחרת” is related to desire, the capacity for forethought (cf. *Isa.* 47:11). Pseudo-Rashi paraphrases thus: “[the animal] would anticipate what was to come and kill itself in agony.” Thus, the *two yetzarim*, together, are configured as a source of desire, anticipation, or forethought that man, with the animal kingdom, uniquely possesses.

¹⁷ While God affirms his Creation, seeing it as “good” [וירא כי טוב] on Day 1 (*Gen.* 1:5), Day 3 (v. 12), Day 4 (v. 18), Day 5 (v. 21), the expression “והנה טוב מאוד” is not found in these previous verses.

¹⁸ See Van der Horst critique of Boyarin (2006: 64) and Ishai Rosen-Zvi’s defense (2008:15–16).

(chapter 3), and the ongoing existential struggle with evil within the conscience of each individual.¹⁹

In *The Symbolism of Evil*, by contrast, Paul Ricoeur presents the ‘Adamic Myth’ as an idealization of man’s original state; the story of ‘the Fall of Man’ from the Garden of Eden recounts that moment at which evil entered the world:

The myth of the fall is thus the myth of the first appearance of evil in a creation already completed and good. By thus dividing the Origin into an origin of goodness of the created and origin of the wickedness in history, the myth tends to satisfy the two fold confession of the Jewish believer, who acknowledges, on the one hand, the absolute perfection of God and, on the other hand, the radical wickedness of man. This twofold confession is the very essence of his repentance. (Ricoeur 1967: 243)

According to Ricoeur’s understanding of the myth, evil is not inherent in Creation, either as a primordial force or imbedded within human nature as the *yetzer*; rather it emerges as a consequence of the events in the Garden. His understanding of the “Jewish believer” seems oddly Christian in this reading, consonant with Paul’s notion of original sin and the eschatological characterization of Jesus, the “Second Adam,” as the source of reparation for the original offense through divine grace (Rom. 5:12–21, 1 Cor. 15:21–22).²⁰ Paul presents a distinctly eschatological view of ‘original sin’, the consequence being Adam’s (and therefore all his descendants’) death, whose resolution of ‘eternal life’ is provided through Jesus, as it says: “For as in Adam all die, so

¹⁹ This is not to say that the *yetzer hara’* is not, itself, personified. As Ishai Rosen-Zvi recently demonstrated in a paper delivered at the AJS conference 2007 on the “*yetzer ha-ra’*” – over the course of rabbinic literature the *yetzer* becomes increasingly associated with sexuality and reified as a source of evil external to the individual. Nevertheless it is *dissociated* from the myth on the origin of evil; no link is made to the story of the Garden of Eden.

²⁰ Rom. 5:12–21, 1 Cor. 15:21–22. This is not to say that there is *not* a concept of ‘original sin’ in rabbinic sources (see footnote 28); however the consequences of the sin associated with the Serpent’s deception of Eve and the eating of the forbidden tree was supposedly ‘annulled’ (at least for the Israelites) at Sinai. According to Augustine, influenced by the deterministic views of Manichaean Gnosticism, the ingestion of the fruit resulted in the loss of free will and the individual’s power to rule over his or her evil impulse, which, in turn, became a *hereditary trait* passed from Adam to his descendants, cf. *Confessions* 1:11; *City of God* 13–14; *On Original Sin* 31. See the discussion in Cohon 1948: 292–293, Urbach 1987: 420–446. More specifically on the question of sexuality in the Garden, see Pagels’ comparison of John Chryostom and Augustine’s interpretation, 1985: 67–95. See also Anderson’s critique of Pagels and his discussion of Augustine’s *Peccatum Originale* (‘original sin’), 2001b: 64–73.

also in Christ shall all be made alive” (1 Cor. 15:22). This follows the mythic pattern of *Urzeit wird Endzeit*, where events in the Beginning of Time are recapitulated or, rather, redeemed in the End of Time – Adam and his descendants, born of matter (dust of the Earth), are redeemed by belief in Jesus, the “Second Adam,” conceived this time by ‘the Word’ [*Logos*] (John 1:1–4, 3:17–18).²¹ Without explaining the exact mechanics of the heredity, two principles are characteristic of the Pauline doctrine of ‘original sin’: 1) the liability to sin was *introduced* by Adam and Eve’s transgression, which became a hereditary trait; 2) mortality and “the thousand natural shocks that flesh is *heir* to”²² were introduced by ‘the Fall’. Most of the rabbinic sources would not disagree with the latter statement. The first statement, however, is up for contention. Furthermore, to ‘correct’ the introduction of sin, the Pauline texts construe a dependence on Christ as a source of redemption, which, in turn, entails a rejection of Law (cf. 1 Cor. 15:56).²³

The Pauline notion that sin entered the world through Adam’s (or Eve’s) disobedience finds its origins in Jewish sources. Ben Sira, for example, blames woman for human mortality and sin: “Woman is the origin of sin and it is through her that we all die” (Sir. 25:24 NEB).²⁴ Nevertheless, the onus is upon each individual to shun transgression, choose “life” and obedience to the Law, and in so doing transcend the “death” that Eve brought to humanity: “Before man are life and death, whichever he chooses will be given to him” (Sir. 15:17, echoing Deut. 30:19). That is, while the author of Ben Sira may claim that sin originates in the Garden of Eden, the remedy for that first transgression is clearly the life of Torah, which is not the case in the Pauline sources. The Wis-

²¹ The notion of the virgin birth – Jesus conceived through the Spirit of God [*pneuma*] rather than the seed of man – reinforces his characterization as the source of inversion of ‘original sin’. That is, Jesus is uniquely inoculated against sin since he was not conceived of the seed of man, and therefore did not receive the hereditary taint of Adam. This reversal is most developed in the writings of Iraneus (circa 130–200 C.E.). See Pelikan’s discussion in “The Second Eve and the Guarantee of Christ’s Humanity,” 1996: 39–52, and Anderson 2001b: 75–97.

²² Hamlet III i:69–70.

²³ See the discussion in Cohon 1948: 290–293. For a history of the doctrine of ‘original sin’ as a hereditary stain with which humans are born on account of their origin and descent from Adam, see the article in the Catholic Encyclopedia: <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/11312a.htm>.

²⁴ This translation already betrays an infiltration of the notion of ‘original sin’ (or here ‘origin of sin’) into the Jewish sources, whereas the Hebrew merely suggests the beginning of sin: “מאשה תחלת עון ובגללה גוענו יחד” (v. 28, Moshe Segal 1958: 155).

dom of Solomon, similarly, identifies death as the consequence of the sin, but projects the cause onto the Devil: “But God created man for immortality and made him in the image of his own eternal self; it was the devil’s spite that brought death into the world, and the experience of it is reserved for those who take his side” (Wis. 2:23–24, NEB). A comparable notion is found in Fourth Ezra: “And thou didst lay upon him one commandment; but he transgressed it, and immediately thou didst appoint death for him and for his descendants... Yet thou didst not take away from them their evil heart, so that thy Law might bring forth fruit in them. For the first Adam, burdened with an evil heart, transgressed and was overcome, as were also all who were descended from him. Thus the disease became permanent; the Torah was in the people’s heart along with the evil root, but what was good departed, and the evil remained” (4 Ezra 3:7–23, Stone 1990: 58–59).²⁵ Here, there is an assumption that the very nature of man (Adam and his descendants) was transformed as a result of eating the forbidden fruit – now the “evil heart” (or “evil seed,” cf. 4 Ezra 4:30) takes root and becomes endemic, eclipsing the potential for good. And yet, Fourth Ezra is more akin to the rabbinic concept of the *yetzer* than the Pauline notion of ‘original sin’ because Adam was *already* “burdened with an evil heart” before eating of the tree. Furthermore, because free will is intractable, the giving of the Law (Torah) is meant to counterbalance the capacity for evil. In all these early Jewish sources, as Urbach points out, it is *death* that is introduced into the world by Adam (and Eve), not evil or sin itself.²⁶ This is closer to the biblical account, which merely explains the origin of *physical* evil – pain in child-bearing and the toil necessary to eke out a living from the soil (Gen. 3:16–19, Kugel 2007: 54–56). As an etiological story, the story of the Garden of Eden

²⁵ Thompson argues for a congruity between the evil *yetzer* and Fourth Ezra’s evil heart – both account for *why* Adam sinned, as the cause not the consequence of the sin. Accordingly, the author “failed to successfully link the Adamic fall tradition and the evil *yetzer* tradition” (Thompson 1977: 334–335).

²⁶ Urbach 1975, 420–436. *Avot de-Rabbi Natan*, version b, 42:7, *Gen. Rab.* 2:5. See also Cohon 1948: 275. However, it is questionable whether the Tannaim held that Adam brought mortality upon the world. The biblical texts asserts that humans die because of the nature of their origins, “for dust you are and to dust you shall return” (Gen. 3:19). Furthermore, God banishes Adam and Eve lest they eat of the fruit of the Tree of Life and gain immortality (v. 22) – this seems to imply that they were *not* created immortal, merely excluded from that possibility after the transgression. See Ramban’s commentary to Gen. 2:17, and the discussion in Thompson 1977, 7–14 and 69.

does not account for the origin of *moral* evil – why humans have a propensity to sin.²⁷

While the Rabbis and the sources in the Apocrypha do concur with the Pauline notion that Adam introduced death into the world, the question remains whether there are hints of a *hereditary* trait, a transformation as a result of the sin of Adam, which is passed on congenitally to his descendants. In a saying attributed to R. Yochanan in the Talmud, the hereditary consequences, caused by the Serpent injecting his poison into Eve [הטיל בה זוהמא], were annulled when the Israelites accepted the Torah at Sinai – but idolaters, not present at Sinai, would still be affected; for them “the poison was never cancelled.”²⁸ The Rabbis, here, are engaged in a direct polemic against Paul’s rejection of the Law. According to Pauline doctrine, the source of redemption resides in the “free gift” of “righteousness unto eternal life” (Rom. 5:21), contingent on God’s grace and the belief in the incarnation or resurrection of Jesus Christ;²⁹ for the Rabbis it is contingent on the Revelation of the Law. The story of the Garden of Eden, accordingly, is not an account of the origin of sin for the rabbinic sages. Albeit there is a ‘primal sin’, a first transgression, but it does not account for the cause of all sin henceforth and any hereditary traits are cancelled by the adherence to the covenant at Sinai.

The difference between the rabbinic and Christian ideas on the source of evil may be characterized as a shift of onus from God, who made it inherent in man’s creation, to Adam (and Eve) as the ones who *introduced* evil into the world. Ironically, as Adam was held responsible for ‘original sin’ there was a concomitant *shift* back onto God as the source for redemption from sin, through the characterization of Jesus as the “Second Adam.” Where in the rabbinic paradigm the *yetzer*, internal

²⁷ There is an ambiguity in Fourth Ezra as to whether moral evil is actually introduced at this point, or merely comes to dominate human nature. As Stone points out, “neither in 3:21 nor in 4:30... does the writer make the origin of the evil heart clear” (1990: 63). It seems to pre-date the sin, but the text is careful not to attribute it directly to God. By contrast, the rabbinic sources explicitly attribute the creation of the evil *yetzer* to God (see Urbach 1987: 472 and the list of sources there).

²⁸ *b. Yavamot* 103b and *b. Avodah Zarah* 22b, and *b. Shabbat* 145b–146a (where the opinion is anonymous).

תלמוד בבלי מסכת עבודה זרה דף כב עמוד ב
 דא”ר יוחנן: בשעה שבא נחש על חוה הטיל בה זוהמא. אי הכי, ישראל נמי! ישראל שעמדו על הר סיני – פסקה זוהמתן, עובדי כוכבים שלא עמדו על הר סיני – לא פסקה זוהמתן.

²⁹ Cf. 1 Cor. 15:20–22, 42–49 and Rom. 5:12–21.

and inherent in Adam's creation, leads to the transgression in the Garden and proliferation of the potential for moral evil in the world, in the Christian sources, 'the Fall' itself is responsible for the propagation of evil within humankind. The latter implies that evil has a discrete point of entry and is not inherent in God's creation. Evil is *introduced* from the outside, consistent with the radical dualism of the Gnostic world-view.³⁰ The externalization of the source of evil is also reflected in sources from the Qumran,³¹ as well as the Pseudepigrapha – Jubilees, 1 Enoch (in particular, "The Book of Watchers," chapters 1–36), the Books of Adam and Eve (*ApMos* and *Vita*), and passages from the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs.³² The external source of *both* moral and physical evil is projected onto a figure or figures – the Fallen Angels,³³

³⁰ Hans Jonas, in *The Gnostic Religion*, characterizes the origins of Gnosticism as the marriage between the dualism of Hellenistic philosophy – with its hierarchy of spirit/mind/intellect *over* matter – and Persian mythological constructs. He speaks of "the division of the oriental spirit into a surface and sub-surface stream, a public and a secret tradition." Three principles are characteristic of the Gnostic sources: 1) a doctrine of salvation; 2) a concept of a transcendent (transmundane) God; and 3) radical dualism – God vs. the world; spirit vs. matter; soul vs. body; light vs. dark; good vs. evil; life vs. death (Jonas 1963: 31–32). For problems in defining Gnosticism see Yamauchi 1973: 13–28.

³¹ The Qumran sect also reflects a dualistic worldview, where the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness struggle over custody of the world, especially as reflected in the *Community Rule* (1QS), the *War Scroll*, and 4QBerakhot (4Q286–287). Many of the Qumran scrolls also reflect a concept of the *yetzer* similar to the rabbinic sources, see Murphy 1958: 334–44, Holm-Nielsen 1960: 27, 92, 132, and 230, and Newsom 2004: 191–96. Rosen-Zvi speculates on why the members of the community, who adhere to a concept of the *yetzer* and consider themselves under the jurisdiction of the forces of light, nonetheless feel deficient and in constant need of divine help. According to Rosen-Zvi, "The Rule of the Community (1QS III 22–23) solves this flaw by assuming that Belial, the prince of darkness, works his powers on the sect's members as well" (2008: 17). At least in this source, the *yetzer* and the concept of an externalized source of evil co-exist. This is not true, however, of the Thanksgiving Scroll where it is men's own *yetzer* that leads them to sin (cf. Licht 1996: 33–35).

³² As "Beliar" in *T. Reuben* 4:8, 11, and *T. Levi* 18:12 and 19:1, *T. Judah* 25:3, and *T. Dan* 5:10–11.

³³ See Jubilees 4:22, 5:1–7, 7:21, 10:9–12 and 1 Enoch (ch. 8, 10 and 19), *T. Reuben* 5:6. The story of the "Fallen Angels" also appears, in terse form, in the Qumran scrolls in the *Genesis Apocryphon* (1Q Gen. 2:1). The myth of the Fallen Angels also appears in Christian sources: (1 Pet. 3:19–20) the *Second Apology of Justin Martyr* 5[4]:3, and in the Clementine literature (Ps.-Clem., *Homilies* 8:12–13). For a review of the sources see E. Eshel 1999: 59–76, Reed 2005: 84–159, Michael Segal 2007: 103–143, and the detailed discussion of some of these primary sources in ch. 6.

Satan,³⁴ Mastema,³⁵ Belial (or Beliar)³⁶ – as personifications of evil. In PRE, this figure assumes the name Samael, an appellation most likely derived from Gnostic sources.³⁷ But where the Gnostic sources identify Samael with “the blind God” of Creation (the *'Elohim* of Hebrew Bible), PRE identifies him with the archangel who takes possession of the Primordial Serpent. I will argue that the externalization of the source of evil in all these sources, as in the Pauline notion, is based on an eschatological vision for the resolution of evil in the End of Days.

The sources differ, however, in determining the point at which evil enters the world – either it is introduced to human nature in the Garden of Eden, with the ingestion of the forbidden fruit, or it originates with the Fallen Angels (Genesis 6) before the deluge. In the Books of Adam and Evil, the introduction of evil is prompted by Satan’s envy of Adam; in Jubilees and Enoch, the corruption of humankind is attributed to the “Watchers” [עִירִיזִין] (cf. Dan. 4:14), otherwise known as the Fallen Angels. PRE is unique in that it presents *both* myths on the origin of evil and attempts to reconcile the two – where Samael is in cahoots with the heavenly beings in plotting ‘the Fall of Man’. I will trace the biblical sources of this myth of a Fallen Angel or Fallen Angels back to the biblical sources, and consider the influence of the Ancient Mesopotamian background (in particular, the Atrahasis myth) upon the transformation of this myth into metaphor in the Hebrew Bible.

³⁴ Wis. 2:24, 1 *Enoch* 60:6, *ApMos* 16:4 and 17:4, 4 *Macc.* 18:7–8, 2 *Enoch* 31:4–6, *Rev.* 12:9, 20:2, 3 *Baruch* (Slavonic) 4:8 and 3 *Baruch* (Greek) 9:7, Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho* 103, *Apocalypse of Sedrach* 4:5, *Testimony of Truth* 47:3–6, and *Tg. Ps.-J.* on Gen. 3:6 (see Kugel 1997: 72–75) – all of these sources are found *outside* the rabbinic canon, with the exception of *Tg. Ps.-J.* on Gen. 3:6 (a late source, influenced by PRE).

³⁵ The name Mastema (lit. ‘hostility’, cf. Hos. 9:7, 8) is based on the verb *sin.tet.mem.* [שׂטַט] meaning ‘to despise’ or ‘to harbour enmity’ (cf. Gen. 27:41, 49:23, 50:15, and Ps. 28:21, see B.D.B. entry 9404 and 9405). In Jubilees, the archangel functions as the primary personification of evil – he is given jurisdiction over a tenth of the demons responsible for evil in the world (Jub 10:8–9), tempts humans to commit idolatry (11:4–6), prompts God to try Abraham at the *'Aqedah* (17:16), threatens Moses’ life on his way down to Egypt (48:2–3), thwarts Moses in Egypt (48: 9–10, 12), and is responsible for the slaying of the First Born (49:2).

³⁶ The name Belial means lit. “without worth [בְּלִי עֵיל].” For a review of the sources on Belial (or Beliar) in the Qumran and other Second Temple literature, see C. Martone “*Belial*” 2004: 115–127, and A. Steudel “God and Belial” 2000: 332–333 and Michael Segal 2007: 251–256.

³⁷ *Hyp. Arch.* 87:3–4; 94:25–26, and *Orig. World* 100:1–2, and the Pseudo-Clementine *Homilies* 3:39. See the very detailed footnote to follow.

This will lay the groundwork for the later stage in midrashic development, where the metaphor once again assumes a narrative form.

THE PERSONIFICATION OF EVIL IN PRE

The personification of evil, through the figure Satan or Samael, can be traced to the literature of the Second Temple, but *Pirqe de-Rabbi Eliezer* is the first midrash in the rabbinic tradition to create a 'biography' of the archangel. Samael's story begins on High, with his position as chief of all the angelic advisors in the heavenly court, and ends with his degradation, banished to the bad-lands where, propitiated with the scapegoat offering on the Day of Atonement (Yom Kippur), he will turn a 'blind eye' to the sins of the Israelites. In fact, the name Samael is derived from the word **שַׂמַּאֵל**, meaning either "god of the blind" or the "blind god."³⁸ As I trace the character of Samael in this composition,

³⁸ According to Gershom Scholem, the name first appears in the angelology of the Ethiopic Book of Enoch 6, where the cognate is **שַׂמַּאֵל**. The Greek versions of the lost Hebrew text contain the form *Σαμμωνή* (Sammone) and *Σεμιέλ* (Semiel) (see his article on "Samael" in *EJ* 1971, 14: 719–722 and 1974: 385–388). Forsyth understands the name Samael to mean the "god of the blind," and relates it to 2 Cor. 4:4: "Their unbelieving minds are so blinded by the god of this passing age..." (Forsyth 1987: 209). He also cites *T. Judah* 19:4, where the phrase "*ho archōn tēs planēs*" is translated as "The prince of error blinded me, and I was ignorant" (trans. by H. C. Kee, in Charlesworth *OTP* 1983 1: 800). Stroumsa points to Gnostic sources. When the chief of the Archons (or Rulers) sinned by declaring he was God and there was no other, a voice came out "from incorruptibility, saying, 'Your are mistaken, Samael' – which is 'god of the blind.'" (*Hyp. Arch.* 87:1–3; cf. 94:25–26, *Orig. World* 100:1–2, *Ap. John* 18:16–21, and Pseudo-Clementine *Homilies* 3:39). According to other Gnostic sources, when Adam was created in the image of the biblical God of Creation (identified also as Jaldabaoth), he was born blind (Stroumsa 1984: 44). Kohut relates the name Samael to the bitter venom from on High **שַׂמַּאֵל עֵלְיוֹן**, i.e. death, because this archangel introduced mortality to man. Alternatively, the name may be based on the word **שַׂמַּאֵל**, the chief or the chosen one, perhaps also suggesting a word-play with **אשמה** (guilt), since he was once the chief of all the angels and fell as a result of his role in the sin of the Garden of Eden (Kohut 1926 6: 68). Joseph Dan argues that Samael, in the classic Amoraic literature (of the Talmud and *Gen. Rab.*) did not personify evil, had no independent theological status, but played a role similar to the 'Adversary' in the heavenly court (cf. *Gen. Rab.* 56:4 on Samael's role in the *'Aqedah*). In later midrashic compositions, *Exod. Rab.* (18:5 and 27:5), *Deut. Rab.* (11:9), *Midrash Konen*, and *Breshit Rabbati*, Samael becomes increasingly identified with Satan and the Angel of Death, as chief of the demonic forces (Dan 1998: 257–276). But, where Joseph Dan argues that "no definite Gnostic motif can be discerned" and "the process of Samael's ascendancy in Hebrew texts does not reflect in any way the impact of particular Gnostic myths and ideas" (1998: 263), I will demonstrate otherwise.

from the Garden of Eden to the scapegoat ritual on Yom Kippur, I will show that his role differs from the biblical account of Satan.³⁹ In Job and Zechariah, the Satan is an agent of God, posing as the prosecutor of man in the heavenly court, while in the midrash, this character is an adversary who thwarts God's beneficence towards man on Earth. Drawing on ancient legends of the Fallen Angel or Angels, of which only hints remain in the biblical text, the author revives the myth and brings it back into the mainstream of rabbinic thought.

PRE constructs two distinct accounts on the origin of Samael's fall – the first account relates to his position as the covetous angel in Eden, who plots the fall of man through the seduction of his wife, while the second serves as a narrative expansion on the biblical passage in which the angels, *bnei 'elohim*, cohabit with the daughters of Adam/man (Gen. 6:1–4). The two accounts can be traced back to the Pseudepigrapha – in particular, the Books of Adam and Eve and the Ethiopic Book of Enoch and Jubilees. PRE is unique in the attempt to reconcile the two versions of the fall, and link it, irrevocably, to the origin of sin in humankind. I will trace, briefly, the evolution of the characterization of the Satan/Samael from the Hebrew Bible to rabbinic literature, and then analyze the shift 'back to the Garden' of Eden, which the author of PRE initiates. In addition, I will gesture at some of the theological issues implied by the personification of evil, arising out of the influence of Gnostic and other early Christian sources. I argue that, while there is a notion of 'original sin' imbedded in the midrashic account, the author challenges, directly or indirectly, the Pauline doctrine on the origin of evil and its resolution in the End of Days.

³⁹ Samael appears in the Garden of Eden (PRE 13), and is cast from Heaven along with his angelic order (PRE 14 and 27). He conceives, through Eve, Cain (PRE 21), whose female descendants, *benot Adam*, seduce the Fallen Angels, *bnei 'elohim* (PRE 22); Samael also tries to thwart the ram from serving as the substitute sacrifice for Isaac (PRE 31). He also causes the death of Sarah, telling her about the binding of Isaac without the redemptive ending (PRE 32). In the scene of the Golden Calf, Samael enlivens the molten idol in order to cause the Israelites to sin (PRE 45). And on Yom Kippur, Samael as *qategor* (prosecutor in the divine court), is placated with the Scapegoat offering (PRE 46). Incidentally, Samael also appears in the scene of the 'Aqedah in *Gen. Rab.* 56:7–8 (Theodor-Albeck 1965: 598–599), but in a very different capacity, more akin to role of the Satan (Adversary) in Job than the progenitor of evil. I am not going to analyze *all* the passages in which Samael appears, for I am primarily interested in how the author of the midrashic narrative accounts for the origin of evil and reconstructs the biblical account in terms of his eschatology.

THE ROLE OF SATAN IN THE BIBLE

In the Hebrew Bible, the figure of Satan is not linked to the Primordial Serpent in the Garden or the myth of the Fallen Angels. The so-called character of the Satan [*ha-satan*] does not play a rebellious role towards God at all. In fact, the Hebrew term *satan* is not a proper name since in many instances it appears with a definite article.⁴⁰ Rather than a character, *ha-satan* refers to a functionary, related to the root *sin.tet.nun*. [שטן] meaning “to oppose, or obstruct, or act as adversary,” and so *ha-satan* assumes the role of prosecutor in the heavenly court. In Zechariah, *ha-satan* stands to the right of God’s throne during a heavenly tribunal. Presumably, after the Accuser has claimed that the defendant, Joshua the high priest, is unfit for office, the angel (as the ‘council for the defense’) calls on God to rebuke him: “The Lord rebuke you, O Accuser [*ha-satan*]; may the Lord who has chosen Jerusalem rebuke you! For this is a brand plucked from the fire” (Zech. 3:2). Similarly, in the folk-tale prologue to the Book of Job, *ha-satan* plays the Adversary in the heavenly court. After God boasts of Job’s righteousness, *ha-satan* cajoles God into trying him: “The Adversary [*ha-satan*] answered the Lord, ‘Does Job not have good reason to fear God? Why, it is You who have fenced him round, him and his household and all that he has. You have blessed his efforts so that his possessions spread out in the land. But lay Your hand upon all that he has and he will surely blaspheme You to Your face’” (Job 1:9–11). God grants the Adversary the right to afflict Job, as long as he does not touch his body. When Job does not cast reproach on God, *ha-satan* provokes yet a harsher trial, “Skin for skin – all that a man has he will give up for his life. But lay a hand on his bones and his flesh, and he will surely blaspheme You to Your face” (Job 2: 4–5). The Adversary is then given the right to afflict Job to his very bones, as long as he does not take his life. Based on these instances, Tur-Sinai claims that *ha-satan* refers to a specific office, the *qategor* (prosecutor) in the heavenly Court, akin to the District Attorney’s office in America. He also points

⁴⁰ The term *satan* [שטן] appears with a definite article in Zech. 3:1–2, Job 1:6–12 and 2:1–7. In Psalms, *satan* is deployed without the definite article: “Appoint a wicked man over him; may an accuser [*ve-satan*] stand at his right side [הַפְּקֵד עָלָיו רָשָׁע וְשָׂטָן]” (Ps. 109:6 NJPS), an allusion to the *satan*’s role as prosecutor. Yet, in I Chron. 21:1, the term *satan* appears to be used as a proper name. This is indicative of the late dating of this passage, when Satan has already acquired an independent personality. See the discussion to follow.

to a word play between *satan* [שָׂטָן] and *lashut* [לְשׁוּט, root: שׁוּט/שִׁיט, with *shin*], meaning “to go to and fro,” The Satan in Job returns “from his roaming across the Earth [וּמִהֲתֵהָלֵךְ בָּהָרָה]” (Job 1:7, 2:2), suggesting that the Adversary’s role was to scout out transgressors across the face of the Earth, as a kind of biblical KGB agent.⁴¹ The term *satan* (in the generic sense) can also refer to an earthly adversary in the political and military arena. Both Hadad of Edom and Rezon of Aram are set up by God as enemies to King Solomon [שָׂטָן לְשִׁלְמֹה] (1 Kgs. 11:14, 23).⁴²

Yet the role of the Satan is not necessarily malevolent, since the term *satan* is clearly neutral in its first occurrence in the Bible. In Numbers, chapter 22, an angel stands before Balaam’s ass to thwart his passage to curse the Israelites: “so an angel of the Lord placed himself in his way as an adversary [*le-satan*]⁴³ against him [וַיִּתְיַצֵּב מִלְּפָנָיו ה' בְּדֶרֶךְ]” (Num. 22:22). After being obstructed in his path, forced to turn down a narrow lane, all the while beating the animal, the ass finally collapses under him and speaks. And the angel corroborates her defense with his own declaration: “It is I who came out as an adversary [*le-satan*], for the errand is obnoxious to me” (v. 32). It is clear that the role of *satan*, adversary, is played by the angel of the Lord, who was dispatched because Balaam provoked divine wrath by embarking on a journey against God’s will. As a *satan* to him, the angel’s role is to literally obstruct and turn [לְשִׁטּוֹת]⁴⁴ him aside from his path. As Forsyth says of this neutral use of the term ‘*satan*’: “If the path is bad, then obstruction is good” (Forsyth 1987: 114).

On this basis, Rivkah Kluger claims that “the Hebrew Bible knows no Satan,” no rebel angel who challenges the authority of God and

⁴¹ Tur-Sinai 1967: 38–45. Peggy Lynne Day, however, challenges him on his “spurious etymology,” and claims that there was no office of prosecutor in Ancient Israel, Egypt, or Mesopotamia. Rather, any member of the royal court could assume the role of accuser (P. Day 1988: 69–106). See also Forsyth, 1987: 107 and Pagels 1995: 39. They both argue that, indeed, the Satan functioned as “a roving intelligence agent,” known as “the King’s Eye” or “the King’s Ear” in Persia, who set out to find dissidents in the kingdom (Pagels 1995: 41, and Forsyth 1987: 114).

⁴² Cf. 1 Sam. 29:4 and 2 Sam. 18:23, 1 Kgs. 5:18, 11:14, 23, 25.

⁴³ This term may be based on the verb *sin.tet.mem.* [שָׂטַם] meaning ‘to despise’ or ‘to harbour enmity’ (see footnote 35 on “Mastema”), but here it is used attributively, as a noun, to mean adversary. See B.D.B. entry 9407, and Baruch Levine’s commentary to Numbers (Levine 2000: 155).

⁴⁴ Based on the root *sin.tet.heh.* [שָׂטָה], meaning to turn aside or stray (B.D.B. entry 9403).

tempts man (Kluger 1967: 159 and P. Day 1988: 135). Nevertheless the passages, which refer to a celestial Satan, point to a progressive development of this figure in the Hebrew Bible. Rivkah Kluger suggests that, over time, one can detect a process of “cleansing Yahweh of his dark side.” That is, from Job to Zechariah to the book of Chronicles, there is a notable shift from the source of provocation being a functionary on behalf, perhaps even as an aspect of God, to a projection of malevolence onto *the other*, Satan (as accuser in the Higher court). For example, in the book of Samuel, it is God who incites King David to take the census, leading to the punishment of a three-day plague, which would take the lives of 70,000 Israelites (2 Sam. 24:1). However, in the parallel versions of the story in Chronicles, it is Satan (without the definite article), who provokes the king to take the census (1 Chron 21:1). It seems that Satan has become a full-fledged character, acting independently of God as an “*agent provocateur*, who incites men to commit offenses, in order to deliver them afterwards into the hands of justice” (Tur-Sinai 1967: 43).⁴⁵

The projection, over time, of God’s darker side onto the other, Satan, or in rabbinic literature, Samael, has vast theological implications. Forsyth, in his exhaustive study, *The Old Enemy*, summarizes the theological shift thus:

For the first time, then, we find in the Chronicler a Satan who acts independently of divine permission. In this simpleminded theodicy, Satan substitutes for God as the *agent provocateur* in human affairs; indeed he ceases to be an agent of God at all and acts on his own initiative. He has in fact replaced God. We are fortunate that the sources of the story is extant in 2 Samuel for it reveals both the change that had come over the Hebrew tradition in the new context of Judaism and the reason why Satan’s role became necessary – the ethical desire to free God from blame (Forsyth 1987: 121).

⁴⁵ However, it could be, as Day maintains, that the term *satan* in Chronicles is still used as reference to a role and not as a proper name; the use of the ‘Adversary’ in Chronicles would then function to dissociate God from a blight on King David’s reputation, who is idealized by the Chronicler (P. Day 1988: 136–137). Forsyth argues very much the same thing but maintains that Satan here operates as an independent character: “David, the otherwise spotless ruler [according to Chronicles], is therefore ‘provoked’ by Satan to sin, and thus God’s treatment of him is justified. God himself had nothing to do with the sin, and it is even a sign of David’s magnanimity that he should accept responsibility for a sin to which Satan had provoked him” (Forsyth 1987: 121).

In the midrashic text, Samael retains the biblical role of Adversary, or “*agent provocateur*,” but, as in Chronicles, he acts independently and may even attempt to thwart God’s will. The midrash traces this independence on the part of the Adversary to a radical demotion – the angel, once the chief of all the Ministering Angels, was thrust from his office on High. The midrashic sources thus mark a similar shift to the one reflected in the Hebrew Bible, over time, from the provocation to sin being an aspect within the divine to one that has been externalized as an independent force. Instead of placing the conflict within the heavenly court, the forces are deployed on Earth. In the classic rabbinic texts examined so far, the source evil was construed as something internal to man as the *yetzer*, just as “the Adversary” [*ha-satan*] was depicted as a functionary of God. *Imitatio dei*, as evil, or the provocation to evil, is configured as outside God’s jurisdiction – so too is it imagined as external to man, and projected onto a figure such as Samael. The myth of the Fallen Angel then accounts for how the cosmogonic battle was transferred from the heavenly court to the earthly realm of the human conscience. I now turn to explore the biblical sources of this legend and its ancient Near-Eastern parallels, and then suggest why the author of PRE adopts this myth on the origin of evil, placing it at the Beginning of Time in the Genesis narrative.

THE LOST LEGEND OF THE FALLEN ANGEL IN THE BIBLE

In addition to the terse narrative at the beginning of chapter 6, in Genesis, there are allusions to the ancient myth of fallen deities (or angels) in the prophecies of Isaiah (14:12–15) and Ezekiel (28:2–19), and in Psalms (82:6–7).⁴⁶ In the first instance, the prophet Isaiah warns the King of Babylon, that he who presumed to reach the heavenly stars would be brought as low as Sheol:

How are you fallen from heaven,
O Shining One, son of Dawn [*Helel ben Shahar*]⁴⁷

⁴⁶ In Chapter 28, Ezekiel prophesies against the city Tyre, invoking the mythological language of the fallen rebel angel and the Flood. Though I won’t discuss this passage or the verses in Psalms now, I will refer to the Ezekiel passage in my discussion of the story of the Fallen Angels (PRE 22) in ch. 6.

⁴⁷ A character, whose mythological origin has been lost. The name *Helel* is related to light [אור] as in: “The stars and constellations of heaven shall not give off [*yehalu*] their light [להו אורם]” (Isa. 13:10).

How are you felled to earth,
 O vanquisher of nations!
 Once you thought in your heart,
 "I will climb to the sky;
 Higher than the stars of El
 I will set my throne.
 I will sit in the mount of assembly,
 On the summit of Zaphon:
 I will mount the back of a cloud –
 I will match the Most High."
 Instead, you are brought down to Sheol,
 To the bottom of the Pit.
 (Isa. 14:12–14 NJPS)

The prophet uses mythopoeic language and imagery, likening the downfall of Babylon to a shooting star. The inspiration for this image may have been the rise of Venus, the morning star, and its fast fading at the break of day.⁴⁸ *Shahar* (lit. morning), in the name *Helel ben Shahar* (v. 12), is probably a reference to the goddess associated with the morning star – Astarte/Ishtar/Venus. The Septuagint makes this explicit, in translating the phrase as "*Ho Heosphoros*, [*Ἑωσφόρος*] *ho proi anatellon*" – bringer of the dawn, or the one who makes the dawn to rise. The Latin Vulgate renders the name as "*Lucifer, qui mane oriebaris* – Lucifer, you who will rise in the morning."⁴⁹ The name 'Lucifer', lit. carrier of light, has been associated with the Rebel Angel ever since. The myth of the Fallen Angel lives on in the New Testament (cf. Luke 10:18, 2 Pet. 2:4), later to be transformed into epic poetry by Dante and Milton. In *Paradise Lost*, Milton apparently drew extensively from the characterization of Samael in PRE, based on a Latin translation of the text by Willem Vorstius (*Capitula R. Elieser*, 1644).⁵⁰

The original myth of the Fallen Angel in the Hebrew Bible appears only in vestigial form in the verses of Isaiah, Ezekiel, and Psalms. Joseph Blenkinsopp, in his commentary on Isaiah, suggests that the

⁴⁸ Childs argues that the poem dates to the sixth-century, during the post-exilic era when the downfall of Babylon would have been in the author's interest, the 'fallen deity' referring perhaps to Nebuchadnezzar II (c. 562 B.C.E.) (Childs 1959: 196).

⁴⁹ LXX on Isa. 14:12 (1982: 849).

⁵⁰ Golda Werman makes a very convincing argument that Milton, influenced by the thought of Jacobus Aminius (1560–1609), drew on the Latin translations of Jewish texts, in particular Vorstius' translation of PRE, having rejected the interpretation of Scripture by the Church Fathers associated with the founding dogmas of the Catholic Church (Werman 1995: 42–74). See also Jason Rosenblatt's discussion of the influence of John Selden (1584–1654) on the works of Milton (Rosenblatt 2006: 74–111).

closest parallel is found in the Greek myth of “Phaeton son of Helios (the sun),⁵¹ or of Eos (the dawn) who came to grief when attempting to drive the chariot of the sun. He lost control of the vehicle and was struck by one of Zeus’ thunderbolts.” (Blenkinsopp 2000: 282). Forsyth, on the other hand, traces the origins of this passage to ancient Near-Eastern sources, in particular to the Akkadian Atrahasis epic, categorizing it as the myth of “The Adversary (Satan) as Rebel” (Forsyth 1987: 124–146).⁵² He points to a striking parallel, found in the Canaanite Baal-Mot cycle, with fascinating links between the Hebrew and Greek allomorphs:

Athtar the Rebel went up to the reaches of *Zaphon*,
 He sits enthroned on the throne of *Aliyan Baal*.
 His feet did not reach the footstool,
 His head did not reach the top.
 And Athtar the Rebel said,
 “I will not reign on the reaches of *Zaphon*.”
 Athtar the Rebel *came down*.
 He came down from the throne of *Aliyan Baal*.
 And he reigned over the whole of the vast earth.”⁵³ (emphasis added)

In the Isaiah passage, the myth has been historicized – the figure *Helel ben Shahar* (a demi-god, guilty of overweening pride) refers to a historical personage (the Assyrian or Babylonian king), and the mythic imagery becomes solely symbolic.⁵⁴

While myth becomes metaphor in the service of history in the Bible, the return to myth in midrash entails a repression of history in favor of cosmology or eschatology. As rabbinic literature moves from a record of events-past in the Bible to the world of the imagination in aggadah, there is a resurgence of mythic tropes and a turn away from narratives imbedded in historical time.⁵⁵ Isaak Heinemann writes that “metaphor is none other than a reduced myth.”⁵⁶ The midrash trans-

⁵¹ This story has also been transformed and re-told as the “myth of the fall of Icarus,” recounted in Apollodorus (E 1.12–1.13).

⁵² The Babylonian epic “Atrahasis,” appears in *Enuma Elish*, ANET, Tablet I, 1–77 and Tablet IV, lines 13–18. See also Lambert and Millard (eds.) 1999: 66–67, 72–73, and 106–107.

⁵³ The only form in which the passage survives in the Ugaritic is truncated, cf. CTA 6:1 and ANET 140, cited in Forsyth 1987: 130.

⁵⁴ For other Ancient Near Eastern parallels to the myth of the Fallen Angel, see Hanson 1977: 195–233.

⁵⁵ See the discussion in H. Yerushalmi 1982: 16–26.

⁵⁶ I. Heinemann 1970: 19 and 203, n. 45.

forms those metaphors back into myth, regenerating or re-creating their original narrative content. Hanson described a similar move, in biblical and post-biblical literature, from “prophetic” to “apocalyptic eschatology”:

As historical and sociological conditions made it increasingly difficult to identify contemporary individuals and structure with divine agents and end-time realities, as the elect increasingly were deprived of power within social and religious institutions, and as the vision of ancient myth began to offer world-weary individuals a means of resolving the tension between brilliant hopes and bleak realities, the perspective of prophetic eschatology yielded to that of apocalyptic eschatology. Gradually God’s final saving acts came to be conceived of not as the fulfillment of promises within political structures and historical event, but as deliverance out of the present order into a new transformed order: “For behold, I create a new heavens and a new earth; and the former things shall not be remembered or come to mind” (Isa. 65:17) (Hanson 1976: 30).

In another discussion, Hanson refers to the turn away “from the contingencies of the politico-historical realm” towards “the idiom of the cosmic realm of the divine warrior and his council” (Hanson 1975: 11–12). His analysis applies to the context for biblical and post-biblical apocalyptic texts, but it could equally apply to the one in which our midrash was composed. While PRE cannot be considered an “apocalypse” as the genre has been defined by Collins,⁵⁷ the composition certainly resonates with “apocalyptic eschatology,” in reflecting a turn away from history towards cosmogony, placing hopes once again in divine salvation in the End of Days. The author appropriates apocalyptic imagery from the Bible, whose original mythic content was repressed in the service of metaphor, and revives these metaphors back into story-form. While passages in Isaiah and Ezekiel draw upon the myth of the Fallen Star/Angel to symbolize a historical figure –

⁵⁷ Collins suggests that apocalypse, as a genre, must be distinguished from Apocalypticism as a sociological movement or belief. He proposes the following definition: “a genre of revelatory literature with a narrative framework, in which a revelation is mediated by an otherworldly being to a human recipient disclosing a transcendent reality which is both temporal, insofar as it envisages eschatological salvation, and spatial insofar as it involves another supernatural world” (Collins 1988: 5, his italics). Apocalypticism has the following features: the acute expectation of the fulfillment of divine promises; cosmic catastrophe; a relationship between the time of the end and preceding human and cosmic history; angelology and demonology; salvation beyond catastrophe; salvation proceeding from God; a future saviour figure with royal characteristics; a future state characterized by the catchword ‘glory’ (based on Koch 1972: 28–33, cited in Stone 1983: 393).

the Prince of Tyre or King of Babylon – the narrative expansions of the midrash ‘resurrect’ the figure, now identified as Samael, in a new mythic narrative. The Fallen Angel is given flesh, so to speak, once more.

CHAPTER FIVE

ADAM, EVE AND THE SERPENT – THE FIRST VERSION OF THE FALL (PRE 13)

Who first seduc'd them to that fowl revolt?
Th' infernal Serpent; he it was, whose guile
Stird up with Envy and Revenge, deceiv'd
The Mother of Mankind, what time his Pride
Had cast him out from Heav'n, with all his Host
Of Rebel Angels... (John Milton, *Paradise Lost*, I.34–39)

The retelling of the events in the Garden of Eden in PRE constitutes an etiological myth on the origin of evil in the world. According to certain trends in Second Temple literature, the tendency towards sin could not have been attributed to God, deemed all-good and all-powerful. Rather, it must have been the result of a tragic error committed by the first parents of the human race, and the primary figure held culpable for introducing sin was God's Adversary – Satan or Samael. This tenet is most pronounced in pre-rabbinic and early Christian sources, as well as passages from the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, while it seems to be systematically rejected by later Jewish sources, which favor, instead, the explanation that Adam was initially created with an evil inclination [*yetzer hara*']. Like the non-canonical writings of ancient Judaism (the *Sefarim Hitzonim*), PRE constructs a model based on an externalized source, wherein evil is introduced, through 'original sin', in the Primeval events of history. But the flaw that now mars human nature is *not* associated either with lust or sexuality, but rather with 'a bad seed' introduced into the genetic descendants of Eve. Sexuality in PRE is deemed to be an integral part of the Garden of Eden experience *before* the sin and not a consequence of 'the Fall'. Conceived through Adam prior to eating of the Tree, Abel is not predisposed to evil, whereas Cain, the product of Samael's seduction of Eve, is. I will explore some of the sources – Gnostic, Islamic, and Christian – that may have provided the inspiration for this account, all drawing on the legend of the Fallen Angel. In my analysis of the role of Samael in the Garden, I will also compare our text with other midrashic accounts – *Avot de-Rabbi Natan* and *Breshit Rabbah* in

particular – and attempt to reconstruct a theological basis for the differences. PRE, uniquely, detaches the story of Satan’s fall from the creation of Man, and links it, instead, to the drama of the Garden of Eden and the seduction of Eve.

ADAM AS THE ENVY OF THE ANGELS

The author, in the opening statement of Chapter 13 of PRE, alludes to the triangle dynamic between Adam, Eve, and the Serpent/Samael, drawing on *Pirque ’Avot* (2:10): “Envy, desire, and pride take man out of the world [i.e. cause his downfall].” Dina Stein points out that this aphorism functions as a title, defining the main theme of the chapter.¹ Of the three characters in our drama, however, only Adam is exempt from these cardinal sins; it is Samael and Eve who collaborate in bringing about man’s downfall. Yet, even before being introduced to Samael, the scene is set by an entourage of angels envious of man:

PIRQE DE-RABBI ELIEZER, CHAPTER 13²

1a. “Envy, desire, and pride remove man from the world.”³

¹ Dina Stein points out that this is one of seven aphorisms identical or similar to ones found in *M Pirque ’Avot*, Stein 2005: 68, n. 157. She suggests that PRE, like ARN, may function as a series of narrative expansions on moral aphorism taken from *’Avot*, in which there are two levels of reading: a) the level of Scripture in the distant past, and b) the level of the aphorism (*meimra*), alluding to the relevant present. PRE attempts to reconstruct a reading of the biblical text *through* the use of these aphorisms. ARN, on the other hand, employs narrative expansions of the biblical text as well as stories about the Rabbis to illustrate the moral aphorisms in *’Avot*. Stein lays the emphasis on the aphorism, while I’d like to shift the emphasis back to PRE’s exegetical reading of the Bible.

² This translation is based on the 1st ed., checked against Börner-Klein 2004: 133–141. See Appendix D for the semi-critical edition of the Hebrew text. Here, I have added punctuation and references to the exact citations from the Bible. I have also supplemented the printed edition with reference to four manuscripts, as well as Radal’s edition (Warsaw 1852) and the 2nd ed. (Venice 1514).

³ I translate the phrase as “Envy, desire, and pride remove man from the world,” whereas Friedlander translates the three sins as: “envy, cupidity, and ambition” (1981: 91), but the Hebrew terms are broader than the English – *ta’avah* [תַּאוּוּה], for example, may be neutral (it was the first affect Eve felt when she looked at the tree, following the words of the Serpent, “And it was desirable to the eyes [לְעֵינַיִם]” (Gen. 3: 6), and *kavod* [כְּבוֹד] simply means ‘honor’ (perhaps implying the desire for honor/ambition). In the Latin translation by Vorstius (*Capitula R. Elieser*, 1644) the terms were translated as: *invidia* [revenge], *concupiscentia* [sexual lust], and *superbia* [pride]. Milton draws upon Vortius’ language in his account of the motivation behind Satan’s plot in causing the downfall of Man:

1b. The Ministering Angels spoke to the Holy One, blessed be He: Master of all the Worlds, “What is man that you should care about (*teda’ehu*, lit. know) him” (Ps. 144:3), “Man is like breath” (v. 4), “Is he not likened to dust?” (Job 41:25).⁴

1c. He said to them: While you {all}⁵ sing my praises on high, he professes [My unity] {My name}⁶ below.

1d. Not only that, but can you stand up and call the animals by name?

They stood up but they could not. Immediately Adam stood up and named all the animals. As it says, “And then the man gave names to all the cattle (and to the birds of the sky and to all the wild beasts...)” (Gen. 2:20).

1e. When the ministering angels saw this, {they retreated} and spoke {amongst themselves}:⁷ If we cannot come up with a plot⁸ against Adam such that he sins before his Creator, we will not be able to overcome⁹ him.

The angels question why God favors Adam over them, quoting from Psalms and Job. In the biblical context, the verse from Psalms functions as a rhetorical question in praise of man but in the midrash it is transformed into a genuine query. Notably, the author of the midrash does not quote from Psalms 8 where there is a similar litany of rhetorical questions: “What is man that You are mindful of him? / Mortal man that You have taken note of him? / That You have made him little

Who first seduc'd them to that fowl revolt?
Th' infernal Serpent; he it was, whose guile
Stird up with **Envy** and **Revenge**, deceiv'd
The Mother of Mankinde, what time his **Pride**
Had cast him out from Heav'n, with all his Host
Of Rebel Angels...” (John Milton, *Paradise Lost*, I, 34–39)

See the discussion in Werman 1995: 51.

⁴ I have tried to adapt the translation of the verse to the midrashic reading, though the NJPS translates this verse quite differently: “There is no one on land who can dominate him, made as he is without fear [תַּתְּ לְבַלְיָ חַת]” (Job 41:25). The midrash transforms this praise of ‘Man’ (Adam), in the biblical context, into a denigration in the mouths of the angels. The midrash seems to read the statement as a question, changing “משלו” (meaning, ‘rule over him’) into its rabbinic sense: likened to the dust of the ground, an allusion to Adam’s mortality: “for dust you are and to dust you shall return [כִּי עֹפֵר אֶתָּה וְאֵל עֹפֵר תִּשׁוּב]” (Gen. 3:19).

⁵ An addition from En866 and Higger.

⁶ In Hebrew the 1st edition reads: הוּא מִיַּחַד אוֹתִי [he unites/unifies Me]; En866, Higger: הוּא מִיַּחַד אֶת שְׁמִי [he unifies My name].

⁷ An addition from Higger.

⁸ Ci75 adds “בְּעֵיצָה וּבַעֲלִילָה” [by cunning and plot].

⁹ Ci75 and Ci2043: אֵין אָנוּ יְכוּלִים לַעֲמוּד בּוֹ [lit. we cannot stand before him, i.e. overcome him].

less than the divine beings [*me-’elohim*] / And adorned him with glory and majesty” (Ps. 8:5–6).¹⁰ The term *’elohim* here refers to the angels,¹¹ implying they have a higher status than man. In avoiding Psalm 8, citing Ps. 144 and Job 41 instead, our author presents *man* as superior to the angels. In fact, in the chapter on “Adam’s Creation” (PRE 11), the animals all prostrate themselves before Adam for he was adorned in the image of the Creator [היה מתואר כדמות אלהים];¹² he then teaches them to give all the honor and glory to God, their true Creator. In PRE 12, the angels are also compelled to serve Adam and Eve as *shushbinim* (friends to the groom) at their wedding. From the outset, Adam is granted superiority over the angels. Furthermore, the angelic rebellion is not instigated at his creation (as in many of the other sources to be discussed), but rather after Adam has already played a significant role as a namer, a world-maker through language.

In this chapter, we are not told what prompts the angels’ initial envy of man.¹³ Their opposition to his creation, however, is well known in rabbinic sources,¹⁴ and, in the Pseudepigrapha, is associated with the

¹⁰ Anderson suggests reading the passage in Psalm 8:5 as addressing the elevation of Adam: “In this reading, the Psalm would describe both the elevation of Adam over the angels (*you crowned him with glory and honor... everything you put under his feet*) and the angels’ protest against his elevation (*what is man... you made him little less than the angels!*)” (his emphasis, Anderson 1997: 122). But, as Anderson admits, there is little evidence that the rabbinic sources read the Psalm in this way.

¹¹ Based on the Aramaic Targumim, the LXX and the Vulgate on Ps. 8:6.

¹² See also Tanhuma *Pequdei* 3 (based on PRE 11), *Sefer Hasidim* (ed. Wistinetzky, 1989: 290). In *Gen. Rab.* 8:10, the angels also mistake Adam, after his creation, for God before whom they wish to say Domine [קדושה] (for list of parallels, see Theodor-Albeck 1965: 63, n. 5). R. Hoshaya, in this midrash, suggests that this is the reason why a deep sleep was imposed on Adam – to demonstrate his mortality/vulnerability. The same scenario is reflected in the *Cave of Treasures* and the mosaic floor from Huarte (in Syria) (See Anderson 1997: 115–117). Altmann argues: “Where the Adam Books tell us that the angels were commanded to worship Adam, the Midrashim, with the one apocryphal exception mentioned, alter the motif by saying that it was due to a mistake that the angels wished to adore Adam” (Altmann 1981: 11).

¹³ Unless, of course, one claims that the actual ability to name is cause for envy (with regard to naming the animals – in PRE 13; or himself, animals, and even God – as in *Gen. Rab.* 17:4, Theodor-Albeck 1965: 155–156). The *Cave of Treasures* (2:10–24) connects the animals’ obeisance and the angels’ envy to Adam naming the animals (see the discussion to follow, and Anderson 1997: 110–111). Ephrem in his *Commentary on Genesis* also links the animals’ prostration scene not to Adam’s creation but to the naming (Brock 1990: 207). In PRE 13, however, the angels’ envy precedes God’s demonstration of Adam’s linguistic superiority and the plot to foil Adam follows.

¹⁴ The opposition of the angels to the creation of man is mentioned in a tannaitic source (*T. Sotah* 6:5), and is frequently alluded to in talmudic and midrashic litera-

fall of the chief Adversary.¹⁵ In the *Vita* (the Latin version of the Books of Adam and Eve), the angels had maintained the highest status of all the creatures until Adam was created, and when they refused to worship the image of God in him they were radically demoted, along with their leader, Satan.¹⁶ According to Altmann, the Rabbis offer a truncated version of this myth on the angels' objection to the creation of Adam, quoting, significantly, from Psalm 8:

R. Yehudah said in the name of Rav: When the Holy One, blessed be He, wished to create Adam, He [first] created a company of ministering angels and said: "Shall we create Adam in our image [נַעֲשֶׂה אֱדָם] בְּצַלְמֵנוּ?" (Gen. 1:16). They answered: Lord of the Universe, what is the nature of his deeds? He replied: Such and such will be his deeds. They said: Lord of the Universe, "What is man that You are mindful of him? Mortal man that You have taken note of him?" (Ps. 8:5) God then stretched out His little finger among them and burned them up. The same thing happened with a second band of angels. But the third band said to Him: Lord of the Universe, the former [angels] that spoke as they did before You – what did it avail them? The whole world is Yours, and whatever you wish to do in Your world, go ahead and do. But when it came to the people of the Flood [Gen. 6] and the people of the Dispersal [i.e. the Tower of Babel, Gen. 11], whose deeds were so corrupt, they said to Him: Lord of the Universe, did not the first [company of angels] speak well before You? He answered: "Until old age I am He, even until I am gray I will bear with them" (Isa. 46:4). [*b. Sanhedrin* 38b]¹⁷

According to this aggadah, the angels are drawn into consultation with God as to whether Adam should be created, based on the perplexing first person plural in Gen. 1:26 – "Let *us* make man in our image, after our likeness" – which is then transformed into a query: "Shall we make man (Adam)...?" In fact, this is a consistent exegetical motif. According to Nahum Sarna, wherever God seems to speak to himself in the first person plural (cf. Gen. 3:26 and 11:7), this Bible presents it "the Israelite version of the polytheistic assemblies of the pantheon – monotheized and depaganized" (Sarna 1989: 11). It is difficult to

ture: *P.R.K.* 4, 34a; *Pes.R.* 14, 59b; *Tanhuma Vayera* 18 and *Hukat* 6; *Gen. Rab.* 19. 3; *Ecc. Rab.* 7. 23; *Midr. Pss.* 8, 73. See also the non-canonical Jewish sources cited by Ginzberg 1947 5: 69–70, n. 12.

¹⁵ The story of the fall of Satan is found in the Latin, Armenian, and Georgian version of the Books of Adam and Eve. See the discussion to follow and footnote 30.

¹⁶ We will discuss this sources later in the context of "Samael as Chief of the Angelic Order."

¹⁷ My own translation. Compare with Anderson's translation (1997: 112).

determine whether the hints of these polytheistic assemblies were successfully repressed or whether they remain as vestigial reminders of the Ancient Mesopotamian background to the Bible. The Rabbis, however, were certainly adamant about suppressing any ‘polymorphously perverse’ elements, reading this “we/us” as a divine consultation with ministering angels in a celestial court.¹⁸ In this case, the consultation seems to be a setup, since God has already determined the answer – man will be made irrespective of their answer. The angels are just foils – posing as adversaries (like *ha-satan*) who stress the fallibility of humans, while God displays His supreme benevolence, even forbearance, despite the deeds of the generation of the Flood and of the Dispersion.

In a parallel version of the midrash,¹⁹ the ministering angels form into four different sects – Mercy, Righteousness, Peace, and Truth (based on Ps. 85:11) – the former two in favor of the creation of man, the latter two against. In order to break the tie, God casts Truth to the ground, as it says, “Let truth spring up from the Earth” (Ps. 85:2). The angels represent hypostasized aspects of God – where one aspect, Truth (associated with the principle of strict justice in opposition to Mercy) – must be excluded from the vote.²⁰ This midrash,

¹⁸ See Ibn Ezra on Gen. 3:22 (who refers also to 3:5) and 11:7. For images of the celestial court, cf. 1 Kgs. 22:19–22; Isa. 6:8; Ps. 29:1–2; 82; 89:6–7; Job 1:6; 2:1. In Job 38:7, the divine beings are present at Creation. On Gen. 1:26, see *Gen. Rab.* 8:5 (to be discussed), on Gen. 3:26, see *Gen. Rab.* 21:5 (“אחד ממנו כאחד ממלאכי השרת” – parallels noted in Albeck 1965: 200, n. 6). On Gen. 11:7, commenting on “let us go down and confound [הבה נרדה ונבלה] their language” – the midrash, in *Gen. Rab.* 38:8, suggests the language is faulty and should read “I will go down and confound [ארדה ואבלה].” For list of parallels see Theodor-Albeck 1965: 357, n. 10.

¹⁹ *Gen. Rab.* 8:5, Theodor-Albeck 1965: 60. See the parallel in *T. Sotah* 6:5, where the ministering angels, who formed a conspiracy with ‘the Adversary’ against the creation of man [שקשרו קטיגור לפני הקב"ה בשעה שברא הקב"ה אדם הראשון], testify to the Israelites song at the Sea. Altmann understands the term “קשרו” as “fetter,” i.e. they bound the *qategor* (Satan/Samael) when he was deposed from his heavenly position. This is an allusion to the Adam Books (Altmann 1981: 3). However, the Tosefta is making an *a fortiori* argument – even those angels who conspired [שקשרו] with the Prosecutor or Adversary against the creation of man, felt compelled to praise the Israelites at the Sea of Reeds.

²⁰ Peter Schäfer argues, similarly, that the angels in these stories represent the struggle within the Godhead between the principles of Divine Justice and Mercy. The angels (the attribute of God’s justice or righteousness) are criticized since they challenge Mercy and the possibility of human repentance, upon which the continuity of humankind is based. Thus ‘Truth’ is cast to the ground, or the company of angels, which challenge the creation of Adam, is burned (Schäfer, *Rivalität* 1975: 221, cited in Anderson 1997: 125, n. 36).

like the Talmudic passage, represents a vestigial form of the myth of the Fallen Angel. As Alexander Altmann points out: "Like Satan in the Adam legends, Truth is cast down from Heaven" (1935: 375). He argues that "the enmity of Satan towards Adam has its source in Gnostic myth" (ibid., 378) – but the Rabbis, either reluctant to endorse the glorification of primordial Adam (*Adam ha-Kadmon*)²¹ or wary of appropriating the Gnostic myth of 'the Fall of Man' and origin of evil,²² elide over the elevation of Adam. Gary Anderson, on the other hand, suggests that the story of the angels' envy is about the *elevation and election* of Adam, a motif rejected by the Rabbis, not because of its Gnostic hue, but on internal grounds: "The status of election can only accrue to Israel, or by extension to the Patriachal forbearers: Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Election was not a category that applies to those who lived before Abraham [i.e. Adam, or Enoch/Metatron]²³ and certainly not to those of the ante-diluvian period, for the figures of this latter period were consistently portrayed in a less than favorable manner"²⁴ (Anderson 1997: 134).

The author of PRE, however, does not hesitate to elevate Adam over the angels, nor is he wary of appropriating the Gnostic legend on 'the Fall' and origin of sin, as I will show – though there is no heavenly ascent or deification of Primordial Man. The motif of Adam's elevation *over* the angels, absent in the traditional rabbinic sources, is set out in bold in PRE. Furthermore, the fall of the angels is *delayed* – displaced either from Adam's creation (Gen. 1:26, where the *Vita* places it), or from the context of naming (2:19–20, where the *Cave of Treasures* places it), and is attached instead to the consequences of the

²¹ Bacher argues that R. Hoshaya's Midrash (*Gen. Rab.* 8:9) is a protest against "the deification of man in Christian dogma" or "more probably against the Divine honors conferred upon the Roman emperors" (1892: 102, cited in Altmann 1981: 11), while Altmann claims it the midrashim polemicize against the Gnostic deification of Primordial Man.

²² In the Gnostic myth, Adam ceases to be *Adam ha-Kadmon* when he is first put to sleep – the state of being unconscious considered antithetical to *Gnosis*. In the Iranian myth, Ohrmuzd causes sleep to fall upon Gayomard, the first man, thus robbing him of his supernatural stature: "Before the adversary (*Ahrimona*) came to *Gayomard* (and kills him), *Ohrmuzd* cause sleep to fall upon *Gayomard*... When he woke up from his sleep, he saw the corporeal world being dark as the night..." (quoted in Altmann 1981: 12). Rabbinic tradition, however, places the diminishment of Adam's stature after the sin in the Garden (see footnote 67).

²³ On the tradition of Enoch's elevation, see Alexander's introduction to 3 Enoch, in Charlesworth *OTP* 1983 1: 225–239, Idel 1990: 220–240, and Deutsch 1999: 48–77.

²⁴ Anderson draws on Fraade 1978 as his source for this idea.

sin in the Garden of Eden. I will trace the sources of the development of this motif, from the *Vita*, the *Koran*, and *The Cave of Treasures*, and suggest why PRE might have made the shift. Before doing so, let us return to our midrash to determine the nature of Samael's original status.

SAMAEAL AS CHIEF OF THE ANGELIC ORDER

2a. Samael was the highest minister in Heaven. The *Ḥayot* had four wings, the *Seraphim* had six wings, and Samael had twelve wings.²⁵

2b. He took his followers and descended [to Earth].²⁶ He saw all the creatures which the Holy One, blessed be He, had created, but found none more cunning for an evil purpose than the Serpent, as it says, "The serpent (was) the most cunning of the wild beasts..." (Gen. 3:1).

2c. And (the Serpent) resembled a camel, and so (Samael) mounted, riding upon it.²⁷

2d. And the Torah cried out, saying: Samael, the world has just been created and is it now time to rebel against [the Omnipresent, *ha-makom*] {the one on High, *ba-marom*}?²⁸ "(Is it) time to soar on high [*ba-marom*]" (Job 39:18), Master of the Worlds, "She [i.e. the Torah] scorns the horse and its rider" (ibid.).²⁹

In PRE, Samael instigates 'the Fall' by descending to Earth along with his entourage and becoming parasitic on the Primordial Serpent. By

²⁵ On the description of the 'seraphim' see Isa. 6:2, and the *Ḥayot* (of the Chariot) see Ezek. 1:5, 13–14.

²⁶ The descent of Samael, here, will be echoed again in the descent of the angels in PRE 22.

²⁷ With regard to the original serpent having the form of a camel, see *Gen. Rab.* 19:1 (Theodor-Albeck 1965: 171), *b. Eruvin* 18a, *Deut. Rab.* 5:10, and sources listed in Ginzberg 1947 5: 94–95, n. 60, 61. According to the *ARNb* and *ARNa* 1 and b. Sanhedrin 59b, the Serpent would have served as the ideal servant to man before its involvement in the sin and consequent curse (see Saldirini's footnote, *ARNb* 1975: 32–33, n. 32).

²⁸ An emendation from Higger, En866, Ci75 and Ci2043, based on the original verse from Job 39:18.

²⁹ The NJPS translation does not reflect the midrashic use of the verse: "Else she would soar on high, Scoffing at the horse and its rider" (Job 39:18). Instead, the first half of the verse is read as the Torah's voice, a question posed to the archangel: "Is it the time to rebel on High?," and the latter as her scoffing at the horse, the Serpent, and its rider, Samael.

contrast, according to the *Vita*, Satan falls, along with his entourage, because he is unwilling to revere Adam, created in the image of God:

The Devil answered, “Adam, what are you saying to me? On account of you, I was cast out from heaven. When you were formed, I was cast out from the face of God and was sent forth from the company of the angels. When God blew into you the breath of life and your countenance and likeness were made *in the image of God*, Michael led you and made me worship you in the sight of God. The Lord God then said: ‘Behold Adam! I have made you in our image and likeness.’ Having gone forth Michael called all the angels saying: “Worship the image of the Lord God, just as the Lord God has commanded.” I answered: “I do not have it within me to worship Adam.” When Michael compelled me to worship, I said to him: “Why do you compel me? I will not worship him who is lower and later than me. I am prior to that creature. Before he was made, I had already been made. He ought to worship me.” Hearing this, other angels who were under me were unwilling to worship him. (*Vita*, 13:1–15:1, emphasis added)³⁰

Because Satan rebels against the worship of “the image of God” in Adam, presuming to place himself above the divine likeness, he is cast from his glory along with his followers, from Heaven to Earth. According to Gary Anderson, the *Vita* frames the rivalry between Satan and Adam in terms of the ubiquitous biblical theme of ‘the reversal of primogeniture’³¹ – rightfully Adam should pay obeisance

³⁰ Translated from the Latin by Gary Anderson (Anderson and Stone 1999: 16E–17E). The *Life of Adam and Eve* (c. 1st century C.E.), has several versions – the Latin (*Vita Adam et Eva*, or *Vita* in short), the Greek Apocalypse of Moses (*ApMos*), the Georgian, the Armenian, and the Slavonic; the latter three are most likely witness to an independent form of a Greek text which has been lost. Both the Latin and the Greek probably derive from an original Hebrew text no longer extant. The account of Satan’s desire for revenge does not appear in the *ApMos*, although the sin of covetousness associated with the fallen archangel does (*ApMos* 19:3). Johnson, in his commentary on the *Vita* suggests that this may be the earliest witness for the legend of the fallen archangel, perhaps arising as a midrash on Isa. 14:12–14, (in Charlesworth, *OTP* 1985 2: 262, n. 12; there he also provides parallel sources for the myth of the Fallen Angel in the Christian Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, and the Church Fathers). Anderson, however, argues that the redactor of the Latin version appended the allusion to Isaiah 14 in order to “re-biblicize” it (1997: 106, n. 5).

³¹ Anderson 1997: 107–109. This is made even more explicit in the Coptic text known as “The Enthronement of Michael.” When God demanded that the archangel pay obeisance to Adam, “the *firstborn* answered, ‘I will not worship, for he is a man and I am earlier than he, and I am greater than every angel,’ When the *firstborn* said, ‘I will not worship him,’ he immediately seduced many other angels and kept them from worshipping Adam” (cited in Anderson 1997: 108, his emphasis). In PRE 4, the archangels are presented as Michael, Gabriel, Uriel, and Raphael (Samael is conspicuously missing). Based on the narrative of Samael’s fall (PRE 13 and 14), as well as a

to Satan, being the elder. But God, ‘the father’, favors the younger, contrary to natural law yet typical of the Genesis narratives – Cain and Abel, Ishmael and Isaac, Esau and Jacob, Menasseh and Ephraim. “In the *Vita*, the reverse primogeniture is pushed one step back in time, from the era of the Patriarchs to that of the creation of Adam himself. In what Eliade called the prestige of origins, the myth of election is imprinted in the very order of creation itself” (Anderson 1997: 109). Having been demoted from his position in Heaven and forced to wander the Earth, Satan then plots to thwart Adam in the Garden as an act of vengeance.

Similarly in the Islamic tradition, the Fall of the Angels and the rebellion of Samael (or of Iblis) occurs around the creation of man. When God made man, He commanded the angels to bow down and pay homage to him. And all the angels adored man, and bowed themselves down before him. Iblis alone refused to bow down to this mortal “created from malleable clay” (*Surah XV*, 30–33; *XVII*, 61). Thereupon he was cast out of Heaven and cursed until the Day of Doom (*Surah XV*, 33–34). In response to his request, however, the punishment is deferred until the Day of Judgment and he is given jurisdiction to lead astray all those who are not faithful servants to God.³² By contrast, in PRE Samael descends to Earth of his own volition, and is thrust from Heaven as a result of his role in tricking Adam (and Eve) into eating the forbidden fruit in the Garden.

The Cave of Treasures, an early Christian Syriac text,³³ provides the version of the fall of Satan closest to the narrative in our midrash:

The wild and domestic animals and birds were assembled and passed before Adam and he gave them names (Gen. 2:19). They bowed their heads and prostrated [*sagdin*] themselves before him. The angels heard the voice of God, which said: “I have made you king . . . and ruler over all that I have created.” [And when the heavenly host heard this voice they all blessed him and prostrated before him.] And when the chief of the

later passage (PRE 27), it seems that Michael supercedes Samael as chief archangel, true to the account in the Books of Adam:

פִּרְדָּא פִּרְק כּו (ד'2): שְׁבַשְׁעָה שֶׁהִפִּיל הַקְּב"ה אֶת סַמְאֵל וְכַת שְׁלוֹ מִמְקוֹם קְדוּשְׁתּוֹ, אַחַז בְּכַנְפוֹ שֶׁל מִיכָאֵל לְהוֹרִידוֹ וְלִהְפִּילוֹ, וּפְלִטוֹ הַקְּב"ה מִיָּדוֹ.

³² See *EI* on “Iblis,” 1999 3: 668–670, and Patai 1966: 59.

³³ Though falsely ascribed to Ephrem the Syrian (d. 373 C.E.), the text in its present form most likely dates to the 6th c., C.E. This version is from Su-Min Ri, *La Caverne des Trésors. Les Deux Recensions Syriaques*, 1987: 486–87, cited in Anderson 1997: 110. For a bibliography on the *Cave of Treasures* see Stone 1992: 90–95 and for a commentary on this passage see Su-Min Ri 2000: 198–201.

lower order saw that great dominion had been given to Adam, he was envious of him from that day and did not wish to prostrate before him with the angels and said to his host: “Don’t prostrate before him or give him praise with the angels. It would be [more] proper that he prostrate before me for I am made of fire and spirit. I cannot prostrate before dust which is made from soil.” And the Rebel would not render obedience to God, and of his own free will he asserted his independence and separated himself from God. But he was swept away out of heaven and fell, and the fall of himself and of all his company from heaven took place on the Sixth Day, at the second hour of the day. And the apparel of their glorious state was stripped off them. And his name was called “Sâtânâ” because he turned aside [from the right way], and “Shêdâ” because he was cast out, and “Daiwâ” because he lost the apparel of his glory (*Cave of Treasures* 2:10–3:6).

The account of the fall of Satan in the *Cave of Treasures* is very similar to the *Vita*, though the context of the rebellion and the reason for his refusal to worship Adam differ somewhat. As in PRE 11, the animals *revere* Adam as they are being named and, in that context, the angels hear God inaugurating the First Man into office as king. The first company of angels then bow down, while Satan and his host refuse; the reason given here, as in the Koran: man is made of mere dust (an allusion to Adam’s creation, Gen. 2:7, and his condemnation to mortality in Gen. 3:19). The author of PRE may very well have drawn from some early version of this source. The animals’ obeisance to Adam at their naming, mistaking him for their king or the Creator (PRE 11),³⁴ the refusal of Satan (Samael) to worship Adam (PRE 13), fire as the angels’ substance as opposed to the dust of human matter, and even the stripping of the archangel of his original glory (PRE 14) are all motifs shared with the *Cave of Treasures*. Nevertheless, PRE still differs as to the placement of the archangel’s fall.

In PRE 13, Samael, like the “chief of the lower order” in the *Cave*, is composed of fire,³⁵ and so must assume a bodily form by becoming parasitic upon the Serpent, the most cunning of all the creatures (Gen. 3:1). The question also arises in PRE 22 as to how the angels cohabit with women without burning their bodies, as they are made of

³⁴ In PRE 11, the animals’ worshipping Adam is clearly a mistake, whereas the *Cave* implies that Adam was actually inaugurated as king, high priest, and prophet upon his creation, and thus *should be* worshipped. As Anderson has argued, the former is consistent with the rabbinic view which downplays the elevation of Adam. See the discussion in footnote 12.

³⁵ According to PRE’s angelology (chapter 4), all angels are composed of fire.

“a flaming fire” (citing Ps. 104:4). The midrash explains that when they fell (presumably after their role in the Garden of Eden), they became corporeal, made of clods of earth like man, as it says in Job “my flesh is clothed with worms and clods of dust” (Job 7:5). Initially however, the archangel, Samael, must inhabit another creature. The midrash provides an allegorical reading of the verse from Job: “Is it time to rebel on High [בְּכַעַת בְּמָרוֹם תִּמְרִיא]? She scoffs at horse and rider [תִּשְׁחַק [תִּשְׁחַק] וְלִרְכָבוֹ וְלִסּוֹס וְלִרְכָבוֹ]!” (39:18). The “rider” (רוכב) is Samael, the “horse” is the Serpent, and the one calling out in scorn represents the Torah (note the feminine form of the verb תִּשְׁחַק). Later the tree cries out a warning, as the Serpent touches it, in his attempt to trick Eve into eating the fruit. Both the Tree and the Torah play the role of Greek chorus, the conscience of the play, crying out against the unraveling of ineluctable fate; yet their warnings fall upon deaf ears. The midrash may also be hinting at the identification of the Tree *with* the Torah (as in Prov. 3:18). In order to illustrate the relationship between the Serpent and his rider, נחש, רוכב נחש,³⁶ the author turns to a parable, relatively rare in this composition (although, significantly, he uses the technique *twice* in this chapter). A concept of the origin of sin as an *externalized* force outside of the human psyche forms the core of this parable, a radically different model than the rabbinic *yetzer*.

SAMAEL PARASITIC ON THE PRIMORDIAL SERPENT

3a. This is like a man who is possessed with an evil spirit, and all the actions that he does, do they come from his conscious will? And all the words that he speaks, do they really come from him? Does he not act as a result of the evil spirit, which possesses him?

3b. Similarly with respect to the Serpent – all his actions, which he did, and all his words, which he spoke, he spoke and did *only* compelled by Samael’s will, and with regard to this it says, “The wicked is driven in his wickedness” (Prov. 14:32).

It is clear that the Serpent does not act of his own free will, but like a man possessed by madness [רוח רעה], is driven to act out the will of Samael. Unprecedented in rabbinic sources, the midrash exonerates

³⁶ In PRE 21, Samael is referred to as “רוכב נחש,” with reference to the conception of Cain.

the Serpent of real responsibility. In the Book of Genesis, the animal suffers severe consequences for having tricked Eve (Gen. 3:14–15), and PRE 14 even elaborates upon those consequences. But if the Serpent is merely possessed by the archangel, why are *both* the animal and Samael held culpable for ‘the Fall of Man’? The author reconstructs the biblical narrative in order to link the ancient myth of the Fallen Angel (hinted at the Isaiah passage on *Helel ben Shahar*) with the Garden of Eden. I suggest that the differentiation between the archangel and the Serpent must be established in order to connect that myth back to Primeval biblical history. The author thus reinforces the pattern that all deep impressions in history are established in the Beginning of Time, *in illo tempore ab origine*. The Serpent does not have the mythical resonance, nor the status of an Archangel with a dozen wings, but it may serve as a conduit for this divine being, being the “most cunning of all the beasts.” Milton, in *Paradise Lost*, drawing on the Latin translation of PRE (Vorstius, *Capitula R. Elieser*, 1644), made the same claim almost a millennium later:³⁷

Thus the Orb he roam’d
 With narrow search; and with inspection deep
 Consider’d every Creature, which of all
 Most opportune might serve his Wiles, and found
 The Serpent subtlest Beast of all the Field...
 Fit Vessel, fittest Imp of fraud, in whom
 To enter, and his dark suggestion hide
 From sharpest sight; for in the wiley Snake,
 Whatever sleights none would suspicious mark,
 As from his wit and native subtly
 Proceeding, which in other Beasts observ’d
 Doubt might beget of Diabolic pow’r.
 (John Milton, *Paradise Lost*, 9: 82–95)

Milton’s Satan then enters the beast, disguising his diabolical power in the cunning “subtlety” of the Serpent. According to PRE, the serpent, once four-limbed, had the shape of a camel, the ultimate beast of burden who could endure long stretches of desert and serve ungrudgingly. Now that Samael has taken possession of this most cunning of all beasts, he can strike up a conversation with Eve. The midrashic text introduces the conversation with a *mashal*, a parable, without any exegetical preamble.

³⁷ See ch. 4, footnote 50, and footnote 3 in this chapter.

THE PARABLE OF THE SEDUCTION OF EVE

4a. It is like a King, who married a woman and gave her control over all that he had (all the precious stones and pearls).³⁸ He said to her: All that I have is yours, except for this jar, which is full of scorpions.

4b. Along came an old man, entering [the house] as if to beg vinegar³⁹ from her. He inquired, “How does the king treat you?”

She told him: “All that belongs to him, he left in my hands except for this jar which is full of scorpions.”

He said: “Are not all the king’s precious jewels⁴⁰ in that jar? But he did not tell you because he is looking to marry another woman and give them to her.”

4c. Similarly the King is Adam, and the woman is Eve, and the old man asking for vinegar is the Serpent, and with regard to them, it says “There lie the evildoers, fallen” (Ps. 36:13).

The text deviates from the standard formula of the *mashal*, as outlined by David Stern, in that no verse is used as a pretext for the parable (the “illustrand”). We don’t know what exegetical problem the allegory comes to explain. Instead, we must infer the questions retroactively from the next paragraph: why did the Serpent choose Eve? How did he trick her? What motivated her to defy the original order not to eat of the tree? Though other scholars have covered this terrain before me,⁴¹ I would like to present a comparison of the variations on the *mashal* of

³⁸ A phrase added in the printed editions that does not appear in the manuscripts.

³⁹ The term could be understood as either vinegar [חומץ] or sour dough (yeast) [חמץ]. Radal comments that the poor used to dip their bread in vinegar (PRE 13 1852: 32a, n. 25). In ARNa 20 (Schechter 1997: 36) it states that “he who lacks everything means that he does not even have vinegar for his bread” (cf. Ruth 2:14, and Friedlander 1981: 93, n. 6). If vinegar is a symbol of poverty, the Serpent/Samael is then posing as a beggar. Lachs, however, suggests that the term should *not* be pointed as *hometz*, vinegar, but as *hametz*, yeast or leaven (Lachs, 1974: 344). This suggestion is supported by one of the variants of the *Gen. Rab.* text, where in חמץ the term appears as שאור, yeast (*Gen. Rab.* 19:9, Theodor-Albeck 1965: 179). Yeast is commonly associated with the evil inclination [yetzer har’a] by Hazal (cf. *y. Berakhot* 7d, *b. Berakhot* 17a, *Lev. Rab.* 16:8, *Gen. Rab.* 34: 10, *Yalkut* Ruth 601). His argument that “vinegar” should be read as “yeast,” here, could very well be based in *realia*, for in ancient times, yeast dough was always made from a sour dough starter, known as חומץ or חמץ, so if a woman ran out of sour dough, she would most likely call on her neighbor to borrow some, thus inviting neighborly chat (See Arukh 1926 3: 430).

⁴⁰ The term קוזמדיא or קוזמדין means jewelry, and appears as קוזמדין in *Gen. Rab.* 19:10 (Theodor-Albeck 1965: 179–180 on Gen. 3:19), קוזמין in *Deut. Rab.* 2, and *Yalkut* Num. 732). The term קוזמדיא, jewels derives from the Greek κόσμοδια, (cf. *y. Nedarim* 4, 38e, Jastrow 1903: 1325–1326).

⁴¹ Kagan 1967: 130–135, Lachs 1974: 341–345, and Boyarin 1993: 84–88.

the “beggar of vinegar” to the Greek myth of “Pandora’s Box.” I do so here, again, in order to highlight how the onus of responsibility for the transgression in the Garden of Eden shifts in each case. I have divided the parables according to David Stern’s formula: 1) the “illustrand,” 2) the introductory formula, 3) the *mashal*-proper, 4) the “explanandum,” which often includes a *nimshal* and proof-text.⁴²

Gen. Rab. 19:10 (Theodor-Albeck 1965: 179–180)	Avot de-Rabbi Natan (a) 1 (Schechter 1997: 6) ⁴³	Avot de-Rabbi Natan (b) 1 (Schechter 1997: 7–8) ⁴⁴	PRE 13 (as above)
<p>Illustrand: “He replied, “I heard the sound of You [and] I was afraid for I was naked and I hid. And He said, who told you [that] you are naked?...” (Gen. 3:9–10)</p>	<p>Illustrand: “He drove the man out...” (Gen. 3:24) and “Man does not abide in honor; he is like the beasts that perish” (Ps. 49:3).</p>	<p>Illustrand: “Make a fence about the Torah” (<i>M. Avot</i> 1:1); [contrast the original command (Gen. 2:16–17) to what Eve tells the Serpent 3:2–3]</p>	None
<p>R. Levi said to [what is this like...]</p>	<p>R. Shimon b. Yoḥai said: I will tell you a parable – to what may <i>Adam</i> be compared?</p>	<p>Rabbi said, to what can <i>Eve</i> be likened at that moment [when she distorted the original command]?</p>	
<p>... [to] a woman who, wanting to borrow vinegar, entered the house of the wife of a friend. She [the borrower] asked her [the wife]: How does your husband treat you? She [the wife] answered: Everything he does for me is good, except that there is this jar, which is full of snakes and scorpions, which he does not let me control. She [the visitor] said: All his jewels are in there. And he plans to marry another woman and give them to her.</p>	<p>To one who had a wife at home. What did the man do? He went and brought a jar, placing all kinds of figs and nuts in it, and put a scorpion in the mouth of the jar. He then sealed the jar with a tight-fitting lid and put it in a corner. He said to her: My daughter, everything I have in this house is in your hands, except this jar which you may not touch at all. What did the woman do? As soon as her husband left for market, she arose and opened the jar, and stuck her hand into it – and the</p>	<p>To a king that married a woman and gave her jurisdiction over all the silver and gold and all that he had in his house, and said: All is in your hands except this jar which is full of scorpions. An old woman came in as if to beg for vinegar. She [the visitor] inquired: How does the king treat you? She [the wife] told her: He treats me very well for he has give me control over all the silver and gold and all that belongs to him, for he said to</p>	<p>It is like a king, who married a woman and gave her control over all that he had (all the precious stones and pearls). He said to her: All that I have is yours, except for this jar, which is full of scorpions. Along came an old man, and entered as if to beg vinegar from her. He inquired: How does the king treat you?</p>

⁴² Stern 1991: 24.

⁴³ This is my own translation. Compare Goldin 1955: 12–13.

⁴⁴ This is my own translation. Compare Saldarini 1975: 35–36.

Table (cont.)

Gen. Rab. 19:10 (Theodor-Albeck 1965: 179–180)	Avot de-Rabbi Natan (a) 1 (Schechter 1997: 6)	Avot de-Rabbi Natan (b) 1 (Schechter 1997: 7–8)	PRE 13 (as above)
<p>What did she [the wife] do? She stretched out her hand into the jar. They began to bite her. When her husband came, he heard her voice crying out, and said: Perhaps you touched that jar?</p>	<p>scorpion stung her. She started back and fell on her couch. When her husband returned from market, he asked: What's this? [She answered]: I put my hand in the jar and a scorpion stung me and now I am dying.</p>	<p>me, 'All is in your hands except this jar which is full of scorpions.' She [the visitor] said: Are not all his jewels in there? He really wants to marry another and give them to her. She [the wife] thrust out</p>	<p>She told him: All that belongs to him, he left in my hands except for this jar which is full of scorpions. He said: Are not all the king's precious jewels in that jar?</p>
<p>So too, "Did you eat of the tree...?" (Gen. 3:10).</p>	<p>He said: Did I not tell you from the start: Everything is in your hands except for this jar which you may not touch?" Forthwith, being angry with her, he sent her away.</p>	<p>her hand and opened the jar, and the scorpions bit her and she died.</p>	<p>But he did not tell you because he is looking to marry another woman and give them to her.</p>
<p><u>Explenandum:</u> So too, "Did you eat of the tree...?" (Gen. 3:10). <u>Analysis:</u> Tree = jar full of snakes and scorpions Serpent = woman beggar of vinegar Man is to wife as God is to Adam</p>	<p><u>Explenandum:</u> This is like the First Man, when the Holy One, blessed be He, said: "Of every tree in the garden you are free to eat. But as for the Tree of Knowledge of good and evil you must not eat of it, for as soon as you eat of it, you shall die" (Gen. 2:16–17). When he ate of it, he was banished; confirming what is said, "Man does not abide in honor; he is like the beasts that perish" (Ps. 49:3). <u>Analysis:</u> Tree = jar full of figs and nuts, with scorpion topping Man is to wife as God is to Adam There is <i>no third party!</i></p>	<p><u>Explenandum:</u> The king is Adam, the woman, Eve, and the beggar of vinegar is the Serpent, as it says, "The serpent was the most cunning of all the beasts of the field" (Gen. 3:1). And why so? Man could not even uphold one easy precept which God had commanded him. <u>Analysis:</u> Tree = jar full of snakes and scorpions king is to wife as God is to Adam (ambiguous!)</p>	<p><u>Explenandum:</u> Similarly the king is Adam, and the woman is Eve, and the old man asking for vinegar is the Serpent, and with regard to them, it says "There lie the evildoers, fallen" (Ps. 36:13). <u>Analysis:</u> Tree = jar full of snakes and scorpions king is to wife as Adam is to Eve (unambiguous!)</p>

The parables all draw from a similar mythic source, most likely the famous Greek myth of Pandora's box.⁴⁵ In the original story, Zeus plots to subvert the gift of fire, stolen from Olympus by Prometheus, by sending a woman, named Pandora (meaning "all the gifts" or "gifts from all") to Epimetheus. The lame-god, Hephaestus, fashions her out of clay and commands the gods to bestow upon her all their choicest gifts (beauty, skill in the arts of handicraft, charm). He then decks her in finery, but "Hermes the Messenger put in her breast / Lies and persuasive words and cunning ways."⁴⁶ Though his brother Prometheus (lit. "forethought") warns him not to accept any gift from Zeus, Epimetheus accepts the gift, only to regret his mistake in retrospect (true to the meaning of his name – "afterthought"). While Epimetheus is away, she opens the lid to the cask which he had, supposedly, forbidden her to do:

Before this time men lived upon the earth
 Apart from sorrow and from painful work,
 Free from disease, which brings the Death-gods in,
 And scattered pains and evils among men.
 Inside the cask's hard walls remained one thing,
 Hope,⁴⁷ only, which did not fly through the door.
 The lid stopped her, but all the others flew,
 Thousands of troubles, wandering the earth.⁴⁸

There is an obvious parallel between Eve, called the "mother of all life [אם כל חיי]" (Gen. 3:20) and Pandora – "from her [came] the race of woman and female kind."⁴⁹ Unlike Eve, however, who is given to

⁴⁵ A popular version of the myth is recorded by Hesiod, in *Theogony* II, 570–590, and *Works and Days* II, 57–101. It is classified by Stith Thompson, in *Motif Index of Folk-Literature*: C321 Taboo: Looking into box (Pandora); C915.1: Troubles escape when forbidden casket is opened. See footnote 41 for references to the secondary literature.

⁴⁶ *Works and Days*, l. 60. In *Theogony*, it is Zeus who makes her a "hopeless trap, deadly to men," l. 588 (Hesiod, ed. Wender, 1973: 42). In both the *Theogony* l. 561–584, and *Works and Days* l. 60–68, Hephaestus creates woman, but in the latter source Hermes guarantees that she is a curse to the first man. The story of Pandora's box actually takes place between Epimetheus and the woman, however, and not "the first man;" the correlate to Adam is then Epimetheus (Prometheus' brother) and to Eve – Pandora.

⁴⁷ D. Wender, the translator, comments: "Hesiod leaves it ambiguous as to whether Hope is the one solace left for men in the now troubled world, or simply one more of the troubles brought by woman. The Greeks did not generally speak well of hope: her constant epithet is *tuphlos* – 'blind' (Hesiod, ed. Wender 1973: 155).

⁴⁸ Hesiod, *Works and Days*, l. 90–98, 1973: 61–62.

⁴⁹ Hesiod, *Theogony*, l. 590.

Adam to alleviate his sense of solitude (Gen. 2:18, 20), Pandora serves as a source of punishment for the gift of fire to man; Epimetheus is Adam's 'stand-in.' Tempted by curiosity to open the jar, she is held responsible for bringing calamity to the world. Both the biblical story and the Greek myth serve as etiological narratives to account for human mortality and the afflictions of disease, sorrow, and pain that all mortal flesh is heir to. Yet, surprisingly, the rabbinic sources are not unanimous in how the parable of the jar is used in the context of the exegesis on Genesis 3, for the woman in the parable (at least, in *Gen. Rab.* and *ARNa*) is likened to *Adam*, not to *Eve*.

In each of the above *meshalim*, the exegetical purpose, identified by David Stern as the "illustrand," differs. In addition, there is quite a striking shift in the *dramatis personae*. The passage in *Gen. Rab.* is concerned with the way Adam shirks any admission that he ate of the tree and God's rebuke, "Who told you that you were naked? Did you eat of the tree..." (Gen. 3:11). It is Adam who becomes the focal point of the transgression; he is the one likened to the Pandora-figure. God's accusation is compared to the husband who, having heard his wife's cries, charges her: "Perhaps you have touched the jar [שָׁמָא בְּאוֹתָהָ]!" And just as the woman is bitten by the scorpion and presumably lies languishing at home when her husband returns, Adam suffers shame, sewing fig leaves and hiding, having eaten of the tree. Boyarin points out, "Just as in that story the husband accused the wife because he knew that her crying out meant she had disobeyed him, so God accused Adam because he knew that Adam's being ashamed and afraid meant he had disobeyed God" (1993: 86). The *dramatis personae*, in the "explanandum," are limited to God and Adam – the husband and his wife; the role of the third party, the one who begs for vinegar is ignored. Furthermore, in *Gen. Rab.*, there is no setup in the story – no warning on the part of the husband – the jar is only incidentally pointed out, when the visitor comes to beg for vinegar; and it proves to be the one thing over which the wife has no control. Similarly, in the Greek myth Epimetheus happens to have a jar full of noxious ills in his home. However, in contrast to the Greek myth, there is a parodic inversion of gender in *Gen. Rab.* and *ARNa* – the wife is not *Eve*, the frail one, "light-minded," vulnerable to the seduction of the cunning Serpent, but *Adam* himself. Thus, in the "explanandum" (the *nimshal*), the man is to his wife as God is to Adam. Daniel Boyarin notes, "by shifting the Pandora figure from the woman to the man, at the same time that the midrash is disabling a reading that 'puts the blame' on

Eve, it renders her agency in the story entirely invisible” (1993: 87). That is, responsibility for the transgression does not fall on Eve at all; rather Adam becomes the focal point of the act of disobedience, while she is completely occluded.⁵⁰

While the basic “explanandum” is similar in *Gen. Rab.* and *ARNa*, the exegetical purpose differs slightly, for the parable in the latter serves as an explanation for Adam’s banishment. There is no third party who arouses the wife’s jealousy; in fact, the version in *ARNa* (perhaps the one closest to the Greek myth) omits the beggar altogether. Furthermore, the setup is critical to the drama in *ARNa*. The husband’s instructions to his wife are clearly staged as a source of temptation since the jar, like the tree of knowledge, is full of potentially good things to eat – nuts and figs. The husband deliberately plants a scorpion at the opening of the jar to test the wife, just as the tree is set up to test Adam (and Eve)’s obedience. The emphasis is on *not* touching the jar [שלא בה תגעו], echoing Eve’s misquote of original command: “You shall not eat of it and you shall not touch it [לא תאכלו ממנו ולא תגעו בו] lest you die” (Gen. 3:2–3). The ultimate consequence of eating of the tree is Adam’s banishment from the Garden: “He drove the man out [ויגרש את האדם]” (Gen. 3:24), just as the consequences of the wife’s betrayal is divorce: “Forthwith, being angry with her, he sent her away [מיד בעס עליה והוציאה].” The *mashal* then serves as a paradigm for the consequences of disobedience – the banishment from the Garden – not as an etiological story for the origin of all ills.

By contrast, the version of the *mashal* in *ARNb* and *PRE* are *almost* verbatim.⁵¹ In both these texts, there is a notable shift in the *dramatis personae*, and the setup is considerably more elaborate. Both adopt a stereotyping technique, which David Stern identifies as characteristic of later versions of the *mashal* in midrash. Where the protagonist in the earlier *mashal* is merely a man [איש] (in *ARNa*) or friend [חבר]

⁵⁰ Boyarin claims this is “typical” of rabbinic gender relations, which marginalize women. I beg to differ since both *ARNb* and *PRE* place great emphasis on the role of the woman.,

⁵¹ It seems that of the two versions of *ARN*, *PRE* draws directly from “b,” rather than “a,” in several instances. The biography of Eliezer ben Hyrcanus (chapters 1 and 2 of *PRE*), for example, is almost identical to *ARNb* 13 (and considerably different from the passage in *ARNa* 6). The list of the 10 things created at twilight, and the 10 punishments meted out to Adam, Eve, and the Serpent (in *PRE* 14 it is nine curses and death), are also comparable to *ARNb* 42. See Börner-Klein for a list of parallels, 2004: 779.

in *Gen. Rab.*,⁵² in *ARNb* and PRE, the husband is ‘promoted’ to king.⁵³ The discrepancies in gender are ironed out in the later versions and God is absent altogether from the triangle: Adam is the husband, Eve, the wife, and the Serpent, the beggar of vinegar. *ARNb* preserves the image of the Serpent as an old woman (as in *Gen. Rab.*), perhaps because old women (as neighbors) were more likely to knock on one another’s door. The Serpent in PRE modulates into an old man, identified with the *male* rider, Samael, bent on seduction.

There is a significant difference between *ARNb* and PRE in the “explanandum” that can be traced back to how the exegetical problem is set up (or not set up) in both texts. In *ARNb*, the “illustrand” is based on the question: how was the Serpent able to trick Eve into eating of the fruit? The exegetical pretext is imbedded in Eve’s misquote of God’s original command, adding “you shall not touch it” (Gen. 3:2–3, compared to Gen. 2:16–17). But the midrash blames *Adam* for misrepresenting the original command; he had distorted it, rather paternalistically, “adding a fence to the Torah” (*M. Avot* 1:1), since she had not yet been created when the command was given. Therefore, while the identification of the *dramatis personae* in *ARNb* is similar to those in PRE (Adam = the king, Eve = wife, and the Serpent = the beggar), the homiletical message is altogether different. In the “explanandum,” it is Adam, not Eve or the Serpent, who is held responsible for not being able to keep even a minor command [שלא שמוך להיה אדם יכול לעמוד במצוה קלה שפקדו המקום].⁵⁴ He is held culpable for Eve’s seduction; she listened to the Snake *because* she had never heard the words directly from God. Her husband had been the media-

⁵² In *Gen. Rab.* the wife is introduced as “wife of the friend [אשת חבר]” of the beggar, and the beggar refers to him as “her husband [בעלה].”

⁵³ David Stern traces this shift from tannaitic to amoraic versions, 1991: 31. I am not claiming that, solely on this basis, the versions in *Gen. Rab.* and *ARNa* are earlier than *ARNb* – the ‘king’ *mashal* is prominent throughout *Gen. Rab.* But through the attempts to ‘iron out’ the discrepancies between the *mashal* and *nimshal*, and the stereotypic elaborations, one can argue that one version is probably an earlier or more basic version than the others. I suggest the following chronology: *Gen. Rab.*, *ARNa*, *ARNb*, PRE 13, and Midrash Hallel (in Jellinek, *Beit ha-Midrash* 1938 5: 90).

⁵⁴ The minor command [מצוה קלה] may be an allusion to the prohibition not to “add to the words of the Torah, and thereby diminish them [כל המוסיף גורע].” In the Talmud and *Gen. Rab.*, the prooftext to this principle is Gen. 3:3 (*Gen. Rab.* 19:4, Theodor-Albeck 1965: 172, and *b. Sanhedrin* 29a, based on Deut. 4:2). While these sources hold Eve responsible for the transgression (having changed the original command), *ARN* (in both versions a and b) is unique in that *Adam* is blamed for adding to the words of Torah. See Adelman, “Recreating Eve,” 2003: 161–172.

tor, the arbiter of the Torah, *for her*. In PRE, by contrast, Eve alone is to blame.

In each case, I have shown how the exegetical question determines how the *mashal* is to be interpreted. In contrast to *Gen. Rab.* and *ARNa* and *b*, PRE, places the onus of responsibility for the sin on Eve (and the Serpent); Adam, seemingly, is exonerated. Furthermore, the triangle includes Adam, Eve, and the Serpent – God is conspicuously excluded from the use of the *mashal* here. In PRE, the parable serves merely to explain the dynamic between the three – in the classic paradigm of a couple and *the other* “man” – and does not serve an overt exegetical purpose. In addition, our author seems to iron out the discrepancy in *ARNb* between the characters’ roles in the drama (where Eve, the wife, transgresses the command) and the over-arching moral message that implicates Adam. In PRE, Eve is unambiguously the transgressor and the Serpent the wily tempter. The passage that follows the parable explains why the Serpent addressed Eve instead of Adam: not because Adam, as an over-protective husband, changed the wording of the original command, but because women, in general, are “light-minded.” The author of PRE thus reverts back to the original misogynist tone of the Greek myth. Around the core of the story, the Serpent and his rider lie coiled, represented by the figure of the Fallen Angel, Samael. The scene is reconstructed as a drama of seduction, where the old man plants the seeds of desire and envy in the woman’s mind – the yeast⁵⁵ by which the dough of doubt would rise and expand.

THE CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE SERPENT AND EVE –
“THE PERVERTED MESSAGE”⁵⁶

“...look on mee,/ Mee who have touch’d and tasted, yet...live”
(John Milton, *Paradise Lost*, 9.687–688)

5a. The Serpent deliberated to himself and said: If I go and speak to the man, I know he will not listen to me, for man is stubborn about his opinions.

⁵⁵ According to Lachs, the term *hometz*, vinegar, should be read as *hametz*, yeast. See footnote 39.

⁵⁶ Frazer used this expression to refer to stories (including the story of Eve and the Serpent in the Garden of Eden) in which “the message of eternal life” is falsified by the messenger (Frazer 1918 1: 74).

5b. But if I go and speak to the woman, who is easy to influence (lit. light-minded), I know she will listen to me, for women listen to all creatures, as it says, “Women are naïve (*peti’ot*, lit. can be seduced), and know not...” (Prov. 9:13).

5c. So the Serpent went and said to the woman, “Is it true that you have also been commanded with regard to this tree?” “Yes,” she answered, as it says, “But of the fruit of the tree that is in the midst of the garden (God said, ‘You shall not eat of it, and you shall not touch it, lest you die’)” (Gen. 3:3).

5d. Within her words, the Serpent found a loophole (lit. an opening) through which to enter.

5e. “This command is nothing but stinginess (lit. the evil eye),⁵⁷ for when you eat of it you will be like God. Just as He creates worlds (and destroys worlds), so you will be able to create worlds (and destroy worlds).⁵⁸ Just as He causes death and creates life, so you shall be able to cause death and create life,⁵⁹ as it is said, “For God knows that on the day that you eat of it, your eyes will be opened (and you will be like God knowing good and evil)” (v. 5).

5f. He then went and touched the tree. And it cried out, “Evil one, do not touch me,” as it is said, “Let not the foot of pride come against me, (and let not the hand of the wicked drive me away)]. There lie the evildoers, fallen...” (Ps. 36:12–13).

5g. He then went and said: “See I touched the tree and did not die, so when you touch it you won’t die.”

While the midrash labels the woman as “light-minded,” gullible, “listening to all creatures,” it does not spell-out the loophole that the Serpent found in her words (lit. the opening through which to enter). In fact, in most of the manuscripts the quote (or rather misquote) is incomplete, eliding over the additional words: “You shall not eat of it, and you *shall not touch it*, lest you die.” (Gen. 3:3). In elaborating

⁵⁷ The expression “the evil eye” [עין רעה] is roughly parallel to צרות עין (lit. narrowness of sight), and denotes lack of generosity, jealousy, or envy, cf. *M. Avot* 2:11. But it also suggests an envious glance that brings harm or bewitchment to the person looked upon (*b. Bava Metzi’a* 107b, *Gen. Rab.* 91:6, Jastrow 1903: 1071). The author in PRE, here, most likely intends the former meaning, lack of generosity, as suggested by the parable. The beggar, who asks for vinegar/sour dough, suggests to the women that the king has been hoarding his jewels in the jar (demonstrating, עין רעה, stinginess), with the intention of finding a new bride.

⁵⁸ The phrase “and destroy worlds” does not appear in any of the manuscripts I examined.

⁵⁹ This may be an allusion to the common hendiadys, cf. Deut. 32:39 [אני אמות ואחיה] and 1 Sam. 2:6 [ה' ממית ומחיה].

on the original command, she provides the inspiration for the Serpent's masterplan – to touch the tree and prove the fallacy behind her words.

The author, characteristic of the genre of Narrative Midrash,⁶⁰ subverts the exegetical impetus in favor of characterization. The Serpent's rather complex opening statement in the Bible: "Did God indeed say, 'You shall not eat of all of the trees of the garden?'" (Gen. 3:2) is simplified in the midrash. His second statement, on the other hand, is highly embellished. The original reads: "You are not going to die, but God knows that as soon as you eat of it your eyes will be opened and you will be like God knowing good and evil." (Gen. 3:5). The author of PRE then spells out what the Serpent implies by being "like God" – it entails the ability to create and destroy worlds, the ability to bestow life and cause death. Perhaps the midrash is alluding to the two phrases imbedded the Serpent's claim: 1) You will be like God [וְהִייתָם כְּאֱלֹהִים בֹּרֵא עוֹלָמוֹת וּמַחְרִיב] as either a Creator and Destroyer [בֹּרֵא עוֹלָמוֹת]; 2) knowing good and evil [יִדְעֵי טוֹב וְרָע], in defying the limits of mortality [מִמִּית וּמַחִיָּה]. Ironically, by eating of the fruit they *lose* access to the very tree which would have granted them eternal life, for man is banished from the Garden "lest he stretch out his hand and take also from the Tree of Life and eat, and live forever" (Gen. 3:22). The Serpent/Samael expresses his demonic will to undermine the relationship between God and his favored creature by accusing Him of an "evil eye" [עֵין רָעָה] – stinginess or envy – the very emotion Samael harbours towards Adam. By projecting that attribute onto God and Adam (to arouse Eve's jealousy), the archangel robs the humans of their immortal status, and (most significantly) undermines the fidelity in relations between Adam and his helpmate, Eve.

The Serpent's words are also accompanied by action – he touches the tree with impunity, but *does not eat*, thereby undermining Eve's claim that touching the tree would incur death. The tree rends the sky with a plaintive, like the voice of the Torah when Samael first descended to Earth, but the words are seemingly never heard. In the parallel version of the story, in *ARNb*, the tree cries out as the Serpent takes the fruit of the tree *to eat*:⁶¹

⁶⁰ This genre is described in detail in the Introduction, to be contrasted with the so-called "Re-written Bible" of the Second Temple Period.

⁶¹ In *ARNa* 1 (ed. Schechter 1997: 4), however, the Serpent actually shakes the tree until its leaves and fruit fall.

AVOT DE-RABBI NATAN B, CHAPTER 1 (ED. SCHECHTER 1997: 5–6)
(The Serpent) went and took of the (tree’s) fruit and ate.

Some say that when the tree saw the Serpent approach, it said: “You wicked man! Don’t touch me! ‘Let not the foot of pride come against me, and let not the hand of the wicked drive me away’” (Ps. 36:11). As it says, “There lie the evildoers, fallen...” (ibid.).

He went and said to her: See, I touched it and did not die, so too if you touch it, you will not die. {He then pushed her and she touched it and did not die. He then said to her}:⁶² Now you know that this was none other than the evil eye, so too, when you eat of it. Just as He can create a world, so you too can {create a world. Just as He can cause death and create life, so you can} cause death and create life, as it says, “God knows that as soon as you eat of it...” (Gen. 3:5).

The gap between “touching” and “eating,” in Eve’s statement, is breached in *ARNb* as soon as the Serpent *tastes* of the fruit. The touching/eating precedes the talking, for through *that act* she is duped. In addition, the Serpent pushes her, since it is apparently insufficient to demonstrate the lack of consequences on his own reptilian skin.⁶³ In *ARNb*, the paraphrase on the Serpent’s promise, “you will be like God knowing good and evil” (i.e. become a progenitor of worlds) then follows the eating and/or touching, and pushing. In PRE, however, the words *precede* the Serpent’s action because the onus, the initiative in ‘the Fall of Man’ hinges on *her* gullibility – she, “light-minded,” listens to everyone; she is the one who distorted the original command (by implication), not Adam. She even touches the tree of her own volition. She is not pushed (as in *Gen. Rab.* and *ARNb*), but duped with words.

EVE’S JEALOUSY AND THE DOWNFALL OF ADAM

“...but what if God have seen,
And Death ensue? Then I shall be no more,
And *Adam* wedded to another *Eve*,
Shall live with her enjoying, I extinct.”
(John Milton, *Paradise Lost*, 9. 826–29)

⁶² In Schechter’s edition this sentence is added, based on an alternative manuscript (Schechter 1997: 5–6, n. 35).

⁶³ *Gen. Rab.* 19:3 (on Gen. 3:3–4) also implies it is *Eve’s* touching the tree with impunity, which convinces her, and there, too, it is the Serpent who pushes her (Theodor-Albeck 1965: 172): כיון שראה אותה שבדת נטלה ודחפה עליו, אמר לה הא מיתת... מיתת

Even after she has touched the tree, there is a series of delay tactics to enhance the suspense before Adam and Eve ever partake of the fruit:

6a. The woman went and touched the tree and saw the Angel of Death approach her. She said: Woe to me, who touched the tree, for now I am dying and the Holy One, blessed be He, will make him another woman and give her to Adam.

6b. But I will cause him to eat along with me. If I die, we both die and if I live, we both live. She took and ate from the fruits of the tree and also gave some of the fruit to her husband, who ate along with her, as it says, “And she took of its fruit and ate. She also gave some to her husband” (3:6).

6c. When he ate of the fruit of the tree he saw himself naked and his eyes were opened and his teeth were blunted.⁶⁴ He said to her: “What is this that you fed me such that my eyes were opened and my teeth were blunted? Just as my teeth have been blunted, so the teeth of all the generations will be blunted.”

In contrast to *ARNb* and *Gen. Rab.*, the woman, herself, touches the tree in PRE, yet she is sent a mysterious warning; the Angel of Death appears to her *before* she tastes the fruit.⁶⁵ Like the cloaked man who plays chess with the knight in Bergman’s film “The Seventh Seal,” she interprets the Angel’s appearance as check, foreshadowing her death. Yet the Angel may have been warning her, just as the Torah did in crying out against Samael’s first descent to Earth. Why did she not heed the ominous sign?

⁶⁴ The expression “his teeth were blunted” [וְקָרְהוּ שִׁנָּיו], is used quite literally in *Gen. Rab.* 78:9 and *Gen. Rab.* 31:12. As a euphemism, it might suggest someone who has become wearied or benumbed, cf. Midrash Sam. 16, *y. Yoma* 8:44d, *y. Berakhot* 2; 5b (cited in Jastrow 1992: 1321). Friedlander suggests that the expression, which he translates as his “teeth were set on edge,” means “paying the penalty” (Friedlander 1981: 96, n. 1). In the Haggadah of Passover, with respect to the wicked son, the expression “and you shall blunt his teeth” is clearly reference to rebuke. See the discussion to follow on Radal’s comment and the allusion to Ezek. 18:2. The proverb is explained, in the biblical passage, in terms of an image of the children having to pay the penalty for their fathers’ transgressions (cf. also Jer. 31:29, *b. Sanhedrin* 39a and Rashi there).

⁶⁵ *Tg. Ps.-J.* on Gen. 3:6 identifies the Angel of Death with Samael, which implies that just before she eats she sees the real diabolical power behind the Serpent’s guise, and *despite that*, she reaches out her hand. See the discussion in Martínéz 2004: 19–41.

As the opening epigram of the chapter stated: “Envy, desire, and pride remove man [הָאָדָם] from the world.” And woman, too. Ironically with respect to the epigram, Adam [הָרִאשׁוֹן] “הָאָדָם” is the only one not prone to envy, desire, or pride in the whole triangular drama of the man, the woman, and the Serpent in the Garden. Assuming she is condemned, Eve feels compelled to eat and feed him the fruit in order to postpone the inevitable: “’til Death do us part.” As in the parable of the king and his rebellious wife, the Serpent/beggar planted the seed of envy in her heart. She cannot bear the thought of being succeeded by another wife and takes the risk, to either live or die together. Contrary to the biblical account where she takes the fruit, eats, and then gives it to him (cf. Gen. 3:6), in the midrashic re-telling they eat of the fruit simultaneously – she knowingly, he in ignorance. Only after he senses the consequence does he realize what he has done. The author remains faithful to the biblical text in mentioning the first two consequences: the opening of the eyes and the consciousness of their nakedness (cf. v. 7). But he also adds the peculiar expression: “and his teeth were blunted.” According to Radal, the expression is an allusion to the proverb in Ezek. 18:2: “The fathers have eaten sour (or unripe) grapes and the children’s teeth will be blunted [וְשָׁנֵי הַבָּנִים תִּקְהֶינָה].” The expression means simply that the children will suffer the consequences of their parents’ sins,⁶⁶ just as the descendants of Adam and Eve suffer the consequences of *their* transgression, having eaten of the fruit of the forbidden tree. Adam (and not Eve) is aware that this act of defiance has changed the shape of humanity forever. He confronts her, “What is this that you fed me such that my eyes were opened and my teeth were blunted?”. He omits one of the three consequences – the awareness of his nakedness. Clearly the two visceral reactions – opening the eyes and blunting the teeth – are essentially concretized metaphors that express pangs of remorse. Even before Eve has a chance to reply to his question, Adam answers in a prophetic voice: “Just as my teeth have been blunted, so will the teeth of all the (future) generations be blunted.” This is the first time he speaks; until now his role has been passive. The Serpent/Samael and Eve collude in ‘the Fall of Man’; and he, the inadvertent victim, ominously articulates the outcome. While

⁶⁶ Actually, in the original biblical context, the prophet quotes the proverb and makes an argument *against* the children suffering for their parents’ transgressions.

his role is negligible in the Garden, once exiled he will be the one to model the path of return, *teshuvah* (PRE 20).

The author characterizes the sin as irrevocably shaping the nature of humankind. Before eating of the Tree, he was adorned in the image of God [מתואר כדמות אלהים], a man of tremendous stature whose height stretched from one end of the Earth to the other [והיתה קומתו] (PRE 11).⁶⁷ After the sin, Adam (and the woman, and the Serpent) all suffer nine curses and death. His strength greatly diminished, his frame shrunk, suffering now from the impurity of sexual relations and the “sweat of the brow,” he – and his descendants – are altogether different creatures.⁶⁸ The author clearly frames the story of the Garden of Eden as an etiological myth on the origin of man’s mortality and suffering. The myth of ‘the Fall of Man’, or ‘original sin’, is not alien to rabbinic literature, but the difference lies in the *source of atonement*. According to the Talmud, the repair for this ‘sin’, which originated with the seduction of Eve by the Serpent (“he injected his poison into her [הטיל בה זוהמא]”⁶⁹ is effected through the Revelation at Sinai, the acceptance of the covenantal Law, and (indirectly) through maintaining loyalty to that covenant. The author of PRE makes use of the “Adamic Myth” (Ricoeur’s term) not to reinforce the inevitability of sin within human nature, but to pave a path leading back to the Garden. Free will is never renounced through Adam’s sin, as in Augustine’s characterization of ‘the Fall of Man’.⁷⁰ Rather, the human being is adjured to return to the ways of God. Two full chapters in PRE are devoted to the theme of *teshuvah* – chapter 20, which deals with Adam’s Repentance and chapter 43, which reinterprets various biblical stories as narratives of Repentance.⁷¹ The sin of Adam in the midrashic

⁶⁷ On the original stature of Adam see *Gen. Rab.* 8:1; 21:3 and 24:2; *b. Hagigah* 12a, *ARNb* 8 (Schechter 1997: 22–23), and *Midr. Pss.* 139, 539, *Tanhuma Tazri’a* 8 and *TanhumaB Tazri’a* 10. See the sources listed in Ginzberg and his discussion there on the image of the original man (*Adam ha-Kadmon*) in Gnostic texts (Ginzberg 1947 5: 79, n. 22).

⁶⁸ פרקי דרבי אליעזר פרק יד (ד’)
והוציא לאדם וגזר עליו תשע קללות ומות: (1) וקצר כחו, (2) [ב]וטומאת קרי, (3) וקצר קומתו, (4) [ב]וטומאת תשמיש המטה, (5) זורע חטים, (6) וקוצר קוצים, (7) ומאכלו עשב הארץ כבהמה, (8) לחמו בדאגה, (9) מזונו בזיע, ואחר כל אלו המות.

⁶⁹ *b. Shabbat* 145b–146a, *b. Yevamot* 103b, *b. ‘Avodah Zarah* 22b. See the discussion of these sources in ch. 4, and footnote 28 there.

⁷⁰ For a discussion on the Christian notion of ‘original sin’ see the discussion in ch. 4, and footnotes 20–21.

⁷¹ Models of repentance in PRE 43 include Ahab after Elijah’s rebuke, David after the census of the Israelites, King Menashe son of Hezekiah, R. Shimon ben Lakish, and Pharaoh who, in a keen twist of irony, is ‘reincarnated’ into the King of Nineveh.

text, in contrast to the Bible, is presented as a story of disobedience, punishment, and return. Adam's role in the sin was not conscious (in rabbinic terms, it would be considered inadvertent [*beshogeg*]); Eve, on the other hand, was fully aware of what fruit she ate and offered her husband. Her path of return is riddled with thorns and thistles, for she (as representative of womankind) is still vulnerable to the wily ways of the Serpent. I now turn to the second stage of the myth – the ultimate consequences of the seduction for Eve.

WAS EVE REALLY SEDUCED? THE CONCEPTION OF CAIN
(MISCEGENATION #1)

The classic midrashic literature seems engaged in a polemic against the Christian association of the first transgression with sexuality.⁷² The Talmud, *Gen. Rab.*, and *ARN* (both versions) all claim that Adam and Eve had relations and conceived *before* the Serpent seduced Eve into eating the fruit. PRE also claims that sexuality was pre-lapsarian, as laid out by the list of events that occurred within the first twelve hours of Adam's existence:

PIRQE DE-RABBI ELIEZER, CHAPTER 11⁷³

The day had twelve hours; in the first hour He collected the dust of Adam, in the second (hour) He formed it into a mass, in the third (hour) He wove him, in the fourth (hour) injected breath into him, in the fifth (hour) He stood him on his feet, in the sixth (hour) he called the (animals by their) names, in the seventh (hour) Eve coupled with him [עָלוּ לַמַּטָּה שְׁנַיִם וַיִּרְדּוּ שִׁבְעָה],⁷⁴ in the eighth (hour) they were commanded concerning the fruits of the tree, in the ninth (hour) they went up to bed as two

⁷² There are nine rabbinic sources that list the events during twelve hours of the Sixth Day – *Lev. Rab.* 29:1 (ed. Margulies 1993: 669), Pes. R. 46:2, *Tanhuma Shmini* 8; *TanhumaB Breshit* (ed. Buber 1885: 18), and *VaYikra* (ed. Buber 1885: 30). *ARNA* 1 (Schechter 1997: 5, Goldin 1955: 11) and *ARNb* 1 (Schechter 1997: 8, Saldarini 1975: 37), and *ARNb* 42. Most do not have the phrase: “and two ‘went up’ and four ‘came down’ (out of bed),” with the exception of PRE 11 and *b. Sanhedrin* 38b; in *Gen. Rab.* 22:2 it reads: “two went up and seven came down [עָלוּ לַמַּטָּה שְׁנַיִם וַיִּרְדּוּ שִׁבְעָה]” (Theodor-Albeck 1965: 205). Radal claims that the order of the hours of the day in which Adam was created is a gloss added by a copyist who knew the legends of the Talmud (PRE 11, n. 34). For a thorough comparison of the Jewish and Christian sources on sexuality in the Garden, see Anderson 1989: 121–148.

⁷³ This translation is based on the 1st ed., checked against Börner-Klein 2004: 111–113, supplemented with reference to Higger's edition.

⁷⁴ In Higger's version – “Eve was present to him [עָלוּ לַמַּטָּה לְוָי].”

and descended as four, in the tenth (hour) He placed [him] (them) in the Garden [לגן עדן הכניסו]⁷⁵ and they transgressed His commandment, in the eleventh (hour) they were judged, in the twelfth (hour) they were banished, as it is said, “He banished the man...” (Gen. 3:24).

In the ninth hour, Adam and Eve have sexual relations and, almost immediately, she gives birth to twins (presumably Cain and Abel); only in the tenth hour do they transgress. Yet in Chapter 21, the retelling of the story of Cain and Abel, Cain is identified as the product of the Samael/Serpent and Eve, while Abel is conceived from Adam. That is, the Serpent/Samael’s *sexual seduction* in the Garden was concomitant with the transgression, while many of the classic rabbinic sources state that sexual relations, at least between Adam and Eve, occurred *prior* to the eating of the fruit. The contradiction arises from the awkward marriage between the traditional sources (on the events of the Sixth Day) and a new (or rather resurrection of an old) idea – that evil, in particular the first murder, was the direct outcome of the Serpent’s seduction of Eve. Cain, the ‘bad seed’, had been genetically encoded with violence and sexual licentiousness:

PIRQE DE-RABBI ELIEZER, CHAPTER 21⁷⁶

It is written, “But of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the garden...” (Gen. 3:3). It was taught in a Baraita, Rabbi Ze’era said: “Of the fruit of the tree” – “tree” is none other than Adam (man), who is compared to the tree, as it is said, “For man [*ha-Adam*] is the *tree* of the field” (Deut. 20:19). “Which is in the midst of the garden” – “in the midst of the garden,” here “the garden” is none other than the woman, who is compared to a garden, as it is said, “A locked garden is my sister, a bride” (Song of Songs 4:12). {It says “the garden” and not “the woman” as a euphemism [לשון נקיה]}.⁷⁷ Just as with this garden, whatever is sown therein, it produces and brings forth, so (with) this woman, what seed she receives, she conceives and bears as a result of sexual intercourse.

The Serpent’s rider (i.e. Samael) came to her and she conceived Cain.⁷⁸ Afterwards, Adam came to her, and she conceived Abel, as it is said, “And Adam knew Eve, his wife” (Gen. 4:1). What is the meaning of

⁷⁵ The first and second edition has the phrase, ‘and he was brought into the garden [לגן] הכניסו’ in the tenth hour, though it is found neither in Higger’s edition nor in the manuscript which Friedlander uses as the basis for his English translation.

⁷⁶ This translation is based on the 1st ed., checked against Börner-Klein 2004: 221–225, supplemented with reference to Higger’s edition.

⁷⁷ Addition from Higger’s text, which reads: ואמר הגן ולא אמר אשה תפש לשון נקיה.

⁷⁸ The printed edition reads: בא אליה רוכב נחש ועברה את קין; but En866 reads: בבעילה קרב אליה רוכב נחש ועיברה את קין.

“knew”? (He knew) that she had conceived. And she saw his likeness that it was not of the lower beings, but of the heavenly beings, and she saw and said: “I have acquired a man by the Lord” (ibid.).

{Rabbi Ishmael said: from Seth arose the lineages of all the righteous generations, and from Cain arose all the lineages of the wicked generations that rebelled and sinned against the Almighty.}79

The chapter opens with an allegorical reading of Eve’s paraphrase of God’s command:⁸⁰ “(it is only of) the fruit of the tree *in the midst of the garden* (that God said...)” (Gen. 3:3). The “tree” is Adam, and “the Garden,” Eve, in which the tree is planted – and the “fruit of the tree,” the progeny, which may turn out to be good or evil depending on the source of the seed. The assumption here is that nature (and not nurture) determines the moral character of the descendants. Does the midrash also imply that sexuality in general is tainted, or that a certain kind of (serpent-like) sexuality is problematic?

According to Lachs, the Serpent is characterized as a lecherous and sensual creature that once assumed the shape of a man.⁸¹ This understanding is based on the nature of the curse – condemned, after the sin, to crawl on his belly (Gen. 3:14), it must have once stood upright;⁸² that it once ate delicacies derives from the fact that it is henceforth condemned to eat dust (v. 14); that it was the seducer of woman is based on the enmity God placed between it and her (v. 15). In the Talmud, however, the seduction hinges on the understanding of Eve’s disclaimer: “The Serpent beguiled me and I ate [הנחש והאוכל]” (Gen. 3:14): – the Serpent set his eyes on what he did not deserve. Therefore that which he wanted he was deprived of,

⁷⁹ This paragraph does not appear in all the manuscripts – neither in Enelow, nor the Epstein manuscript (the basis for Friedlander’s translation), nor in Higer’s version. It will be repeated, however, in PRE 22 in all the printed editions and manuscripts.

⁸⁰ The Zohar (Gen. 35b) also adopts this allegorical interpretation of the Eden narrative.

⁸¹ Lachs 1965: 167–184, see especially n. 114 and n. 115. For Christian sources, see Ephrem’s *Commentary on Genesis*, in which Ephrem paraphrases the curse thus: “You shall go about on your belly because you brought pangs upon womankind... And I will place enmity between you and the woman and between your seed and her seed because by your *fraudulent show of love* you deceived and subjected both her and her children to death” (emphasis added, Brock 1990: 219); see also 2 *Enoch* 31:6. The legend was most probably known to Paul, who refers to the Serpent as having “beguiled Eve in his craftiness;” see 2 Cor. 11:3, and 1 Tim. 2:14–15; and *Prot. Jas.* 13:5, and 4 *Macc.* 18:8 (cf. Friedlander 1981: 150–151, n. 5).

⁸² *Gen. Rab.* 19:1 (Theodor-Albeck 1965: 171).

and what he had (in hand) was taken from him” (*b. Sotah* 9b).⁸³ The first phrase is understood – that the Serpent desired/lusted after what was not rightfully his, but the second phrase, Rashi interpolates: “the Primordial Serpent set his eyes on Eve and went into her, as it is said, ‘The Snake *beguiled* me...,’ which is the language of sexual relations and marriage.”⁸⁴ According to Rashi, the Serpent consummated his desire.

That the Serpent *desired* Eve as a sexual partner is also found in *Gen. Rab.:*

GENESIS RABBAH 18:5 (THEODOR-ALBECK 1965: 168–169)

“And they were not ashamed...” (Gen. 2:21), “And the Snake was the most cunning...” (Gen. 3:1). Would it not have been appropriate for Scripture to say, “And the Lord God made for Adam and his wife [garments of skin]...” (Gen. 3:21)? R. Yehoshu’a ben Korha said: this is to inform you of the sin⁸⁵ that inspired the Wicked One to leap – for he saw them engaged in sexual relations and desired her.

The midrash, however, does not imply that the Serpent had relations with Eve, but only points to the reason why (being aroused) he approached her. Similarly, on the question of “where was Adam?” (during the conversation between Eve and the Serpent): “they had just had relations and Adam rolled over to sleep” (*Gen. Rab.* 19:3, Theodor-Albeck 1965: 171–172).⁸⁶ Likewise, in explaining the exclusive enmity between the Serpent and *her*, and *her* seed in the curse, the midrash comments: “‘More cursed shall you be’ (Gen. 3:14), you had wanted to kill Adam and marry his wife, therefore ‘I will put enmity between you and the woman’ (v. 14)” (*Gen. Rab.* 20:5, Theodor-Albeck 1965: 187).⁸⁷ It is clear that the Serpent desired Eve, but *Gen. Rab.* does not refer to an actual seduction, though a veiled reference to the Serpent’s “injection

⁸³ The original Hebrew reads: ניתן לו ומה שהיה בידו ינטלוהו הנחש נתן עניו במה שלא ראוי לו לפי משהו ביקש לא ממנו נחש הקדמוני נתן עניו בחווה ובא עליה והיינו דכתיב:

⁸⁴ The original Hebrew reads: “הנחש השיאני” לשון תשמיש ונשואין הוא.

⁸⁵ In Hebrew: יהושע בן קרח: להודיעך מאי זו חטיה קפץ עליהם אותו הרשע. The phrase might be literally translated: To tell you what ‘sin’ caused this Evil One (i.e. the Serpent) to pounce on them? The use of the word “חטיה” to refer to the sexual act (other manuscripts: חטא or חטיא) is problematic since Adam and Eve have not yet eaten of the Tree (see Theodor-Albeck 1965: 168, n. 7). Rashi on Gen. 3:1 “corrects” this in his paraphrase of the midrash: “...מאיזו עצה קפץ הנחש עליהם.”

⁸⁶ In Hebrew: היכן היה אדם באותה השיחה? אבא חלפון בר קוריה אמר נתעסק: “(בדרך ארץ וישן לו

⁸⁷ In Hebrew: ארור אתה וכו’ אתה ביקשתה להרוג את אדם ולישא אשתו וזאיבה אשית וכו’”

of poison” into Eve does appear in the Talmud.⁸⁸ PRE is the first midrash within Jewish circles to make sexual relations between the Serpent and Eve explicit, extending the implications even further than the classic sources. The author even suggests that the introduction of evil into the World, through ‘the Fall’, not only became a metaphysical but also a physical reality.

According to PRE 21, the understanding that Cain was the progeny of Samael (unnamed, but euphemistically called the Serpent’s rider [רוכב נחש]), is based on an interpretation of the opening verse in Gen. 4:1: “Now the man knew his wife Eve, and she conceived and bore Cain, saying, ‘I have acquired a male child by the Lord [וְהָאָדָם יָדַע אֶת חַוָּה אִשְׁתּוֹ וַתְּהַר וַתֵּלֶד אֶת קַיִן וַתֹּאמֶר קָנִיתִי אִישׁ אֶת ה’]’.” The midrash understands the phrase “Adam knew [וְהָאָדָם יָדַע],” not in the biblical sense of sexual *knowing*, but that Adam knew he had been cuckolded by the Serpent. Her strange claim of having conceived a male-child (איש) through “God” (the Tetragrammaton),⁸⁹ is interpreted to mean that she recognized he was from a ‘heavenly being’ [מִן הָעֲלִיּוֹנִים], sired by the archangel Samael. The Targum Pseudo-Jonathan makes the genetic association between Cain and Samael even more explicit (probably based on PRE’s initiative), in his paraphrase of the verse Gen. 4:1: “And Adam knew his wife Eve, who had conceived from Samma’el, the angel of the Lord [וְאָדָם יָדַע אֶת חַוָּה אִתְּתִיָּה דֵהֵיא]” (Clarke 1984: 5, Martinez’ trans. 2004: 21).⁹⁰ A hint of this tradition is also found in *Gen. Rab.:*

GENESIS RABBAH 22:2 (THEODOR-ALBECK 1965: 204–25)

And Adam knew... (Gen. 4:1)... R. Huna and R. Jacob in the name of R. Abba: he knew what his serpent [חַוָּיָה] (an allusion to Eve, חַוָּה, his

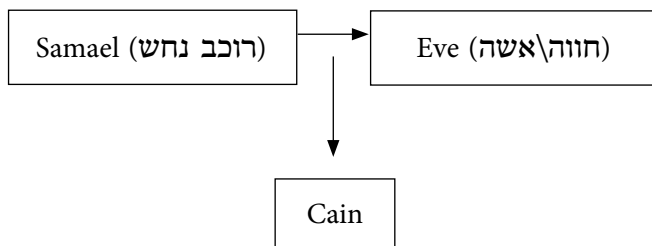
⁸⁸ See the discussion in ch. 4, esp. footnote 28.

⁸⁹ Targum Onqelos suggests the following gloss in his Aramaic translation: “קניתי גוברא מן קדם” (I have acquired a man in the *presence* of God). The Septuagint stays closer to the original: *δια τού θεού*, through/by way of God.

⁹⁰ Clarke’s edition of *Tg. Ps.-J.* is based on the only surviving manuscript, in the British Museum, Ms. 27031. The first printed edition (1591) provides a fuller paraphrase, in that it does not elide over Eve’s exclamation: “וְאָדָם יָדַע יֵת חַוָּה אִתְּתִיָּה וְהֵיא מִתְעַבְרָא מִיָּן סַמְאֵל וְאֵעֲדִיָּת וְיִלְדַת יֵת קַיִן וְאִמְרַת קִנִּיתִי דֵהֵיא חַמִּידָה לְמַלְאָכָא וְהֵיא מִתְעַבְרָא מִיָּן סַמְאֵל וְאֵעֲדִיָּת וְיִלְדַת יֵת קַיִן וְאִמְרַת קִנִּיתִי לְגַבְרָא יֵת מַלְאָכָא דֵהֵיא.” “And Adam knew his wife, who had desired the angel, and she conceived from Samma’el, and bore Cain; and she said, ‘I have acquired as a man [i.e. husband] an angel of the Lord.’” (emphasis added, Martinez’ trans., 2004: 21). See the discussion in Martínéz 2004: 19–41. While I ultimately agree with his conclusions – that Pseudo-Jonathan (like PRE) is preoccupied with the question of the origin of evil – the debt of the Targum to PRE is underestimated in his analysis. See my discussion of the relationship between PRE and this late Aramaic Targum, ch. 1, footnote 17.

tempter) had done to him. R. Aha added: The serpent was your serpent and you were Adam's serpent [חַוִּיָּה חוּוּיָּה וְאַתְּ חוּוּיָּה דְאַדָּם].⁹¹

The allusion to a sexual liason is only covert in this source – with the play on words between *Havah* (Eve) and *Hiviah* (serpent/tempter). PRE is the first rabbinic source (*Tg. Ps.-J.* following suit) to state explicitly what Adam knew about the foibles of Eve. Altmann suggests that the author might have been influenced by Gnostic sources that date back to the Second Temple period, drawing upon repressed midrashic traditions that resurface later in PRE.⁹² In fact, he traces many of the rabbinic traditions on the enmity of Satan (or Samael) towards Adam and his glorification by the angels to Gnostic Myth. I have followed the same route in outlining PRE's use of the Fallen Angel motif, and would now like to trace the idea of Eve's seduction back to its Gnostic sources. This first miscegenation, admixture of the 'pure' and 'impure' genetic material, may be summarized as follows:



THE Gnostic PARALLELS

Stroumsa linked the above passage in PRE 21 to the Sethian branch of Gnosticism,⁹³ where Adam's son, Seth, is identified as the only true offspring of man made in the divine image: "he begot a son in his likeness after his image [וְיוֹלֵד בְּדַמוֹתוֹ כְּצַלְמוֹ]" (Gen. 5:3);⁹⁴ Cain and his descendants, on the other hand, were not of his image but from the

⁹¹ This is Stroumsa's translation (*Another Seed*, 1984: 47), which clarifies the analogies being made.

⁹² Altmann 1981: 1–16.

⁹³ Stroumsa 1984: 38–53. On the peculiar form of Sethian Gnosticism, which PRE seems to draw from, see Turner, "The Gnostic Seth," 1998: 33–58.

⁹⁴ The same tradition is brought down in the *Tg. Ps.-J.* 5:1–3.

'bad seed'. Hints of this tradition can be traced back to the Pseudepigrapha, where the etiology of Seth's name is linked to his unique genetic status: "God has given me *another offspring* [זרע אחר, lit. "a different seed"] in place of Abel" (in Gen. 4:25); the phrase זרע אחר is translated, quite literally, as *sperma eteron* in the Septuagint. The *Vita* only hints at Cain's angelic paternity, based on Gen. 4:1–2: "She brought forth a son who *shone brilliantly*. At once the infant stood up, ran out, and brought some grass⁹⁵ with his own hands, and gave it to his mother. His name was called Cain" (*Vita* 21:3).⁹⁶ The light that emanates from Cain may allude to his angelic genetic origins. According to the Sethian Gnostic tradition, when Eve uses the Tetragrammaton in naming her son, she refers to the lesser deity or the demiurge – Samael (or Ialdabaoth). The antinomian Cainites, on the other hand, grant Cain divine ancestry.⁹⁷ There are four Gnostic permutations on the myth of Cain and Seth's ancestry, which Stroumsa analyzes (Stroumsa 1984: 35–70). PRE seems to draw from the Sethian tradition, identifying Samael as Cain's progenitor.

The tryst between Eve and the First Archon (Ialdabaoth/Samael)⁹⁸ in the Gnostic sources provides the earliest and closest model for the narrative expansion in PRE. The relations, however, are not presented as a seduction, but rather as a *rape* of Eve by the chief ruler (*Ap. John* 24:16–25, Layton 1987: 47), or even a *gang rape* by the blind Archons (parallel to the Fallen Angels, *Hyp. Arch.* 89:18–29, Layton 1987: 71). Eve (Zoë) manages to subvert the rape by transforming herself into a tree (an allusion to the Tree of Life), leaving behind only the shadow

⁹⁵ The Greek term is *herbam*, perhaps from the Hebrew קנה.

⁹⁶ Anderson's translation, 1999: 24E. The expression "shone brilliantly" (Latin: *erat lucidus*, lit. full of light) may be related to the term Lucifer, "carrier of light" (cf. LXX and Vulgate on Isa. 14:12). See the parallel in the Greek *ApMos* 1:3 "And Eve conceived and bore two sons, Diophotos, who is called Cain, and Amilabes, who is called Abel" (Anderson 1999: 26E). According to Johnson, the name Qayin, "Cain," is related to *kiyun* (Kaiwan = the planet Saturn), which gave rise to the legend about the shining face of Cain found in PRE 21 and *Tg. Ps.-J.* on Gen. 4:1. He suggests that these two sources, in the *Vita* and the *ApMos*, point to Hebrew as the original text behind the Greek and Latin translations (in Charlesworth *OTP* 1985 2: 267, n. 2).

⁹⁷ Stroumsa 1984: 51; he cites Irenaeus, c. 2nd century C.E., *Adv. Haer.* (Against Heresies) I.31:1.

⁹⁸ On the identification of Samael with Ialdabaoth (or Yaldabaoth/Yaltabaoth) see *Ap. John* 18: 16–21 (Layton 1987: 36–37): "Now the archon who is weak has three names. The first name is Yaltabaoth, the second is Saklas, and the third is Samael." Cf. *Hyp. Arch.* (also known as "The Reality of the Rulers") 86:27–87:3 (Layton 1987: 67), and *Trim. Prot.* (or "First Thought in Three Forms") 39:20–25 (Layton 1987:93).

of herself, her animate body without the spiritual element. The fullest and most lucid presentation of this Gnostic myth is found in the Apocryphon of John:

And the chief archon saw the virgin who stood by Adam, and that the luminous Epinoia of life had appeared in her. And Yaltabaoth was full of ignorance. And when the foreknowledge of the All noticed (it), she sent some and they snatched life out of Eve.

And the chief archon seduced her and he begot in her two sons; the first and the second (are) Eloim and Yave.... And these he called with the names Cain and Abel with a view to deceive.

Now up to the present day, sexual intercourse continued due to the chief archon. And he planted sexual desire in her who belongs to Adam. And he produced through intercourse the copies of the bodies, and he inspired them with his counterfeit spirit.⁹⁹

Thus Cain, according to this Gnostic source, is the product of Samael/Yaltabaoth and the carnal Eve, sexual desire engendered as a consequence the rape.¹⁰⁰ Only *after* the sexual encounter do Adam and Eve transgress, eating the fruit of the tree (*Hyp. Arch.* 90: 1–16, Layton 1987: 71).¹⁰¹ In this early formulation of the Christian notion of ‘original sin’, body/sexuality (as distinct from spirit/intellect)¹⁰² is associated with ‘the Fall’, yet strangely independent of the Tree of Knowledge.

There are also traces of Cain’s unique genealogy in the early Christian tradition. In the First Letter of John, Cain’s sin is also attributed to miscegenation, the mixing of the ‘bad seed’ with the human: “That is the distinction between the children of God and the children of the devil: no one who does not do right is God’s child, nor is anyone who does not love his brother. For the message which you have heard from the beginning is this: that we should love one another, unlike

⁹⁹ Translated by Frederik Wisse in Robinson (1997: 112). *The Apocryphon of John* is commonly referenced by two other names: *The Secret Book of John* and *The Secret Revelation of John*. The text is found in four surviving Coptic manuscripts: two shorter versions found in the Berlin Codex; and Nag Hammadi Codex III, and two longer versions, found in Nag Hammadi Codex II and IV. For parallel accounts of the rape of Eve see *Hyp. Arch.* 89:18–29 and 34:27–31 (Layton 1987: 71, 73) and *Orig. World* 116:13–19, 25–29; 123:4–11 (Robinson 1997: 182–183, 186).

¹⁰⁰ Martínéz (2004: 27, n. 13) points to the following secondary sources on Cain’s origins: Goldberg (1969: 2–3–221, reprinted 1997: 275–288). See also Kugel 1997: 86–87.

¹⁰¹ The account of the biblical transgression (eating the fruit) is missing in the *Apocryphon of John*.

¹⁰² See Boyarin’s discussion of the Pauline Christian views on sexuality as influenced by Platonic and neo-Platonic dualism, in *Carnal Israel* (Boyarin 1993: 31–60).

Cain, who was a child of the evil one, and murdered his brother. And why did he murder him? Because his own actions were wrong, and his brother's right" (3:10–12).¹⁰³ This passage does not reduce sin to a genetic explanation for the origin of evil, but rather uses the genetic allusion as a *metaphor* for the "children of God" (being righteous) and the "children of Satan" (being evil). By contrast, this metaphor constitutes the core thesis in PRE's explanation for the origin of evil in the world. It is metaphor metamorphosed into myth.

In addition to the opening passage in PRE 21, the account of the Fallen Angels begins with an allusion to the problematic conception of Cain. Only Seth, not Abel, is identified as being in the image of his father (based on Gen. 5:3):

PIRQE DE-RABBI ELIEZER, CHAPTER 22¹⁰⁴

1. It is written, "When Adam had lived a hundred and thirty years, he begot a son in his likeness after his image (and he named him Seth)" (Gen. 5:3). From here you learn that Cain was not of Adam's seed, nor in his image, [and his deeds were not like the deeds of Abel his brother],¹⁰⁵ until Seth was born, who was of his seed and image, [and whose deed *were* similar to the deeds of Abel his brother],¹⁰⁶ "he begot a son in his likeness after his image" (ibid.).

2. Rabbi Ishmael¹⁰⁷ said: From Seth all the generations of the righteous descended. From Cain all the generations of the wicked descended, the

¹⁰³ Translation of the New English Bible, Oxford University Press, 1970 (2nd ed.). In the Gnostic Gospel of Phillip "First adultery came into being, afterward murder. And he [Cain] was begotten in adultery for he was the child of the serpent. So he became a murderer, just like his father, and he killed his brother." (*Gos. Phil.* 61:5–10). But this tradition is not unique to Gnostic sources. See the Church Father Tertullian: "Having been made pregnant by the seed of the devil... she brought forth a son." (*On Patience*, 5:15). Likewise, in the Christian source 4 Maccabees 18:7–8 [A heroic mother recalls]: I was a pure virgin and did not go outside my father's house; I guarded the rib that [Eve] was built [from]... nor did the Destroyer, the deceitful serpent, defile the purity of my virginity." These sources are cited in Kugel 1997: 86–87. Stroumsa, in his analysis of the Gospel of Phillip, suggests that Mary plays the role of the anti-Eve, "the virgin whom no power defiled" (*Gos. Phil.* 55:27–31, cited in Stroumsa 1984: 46).

¹⁰⁴ This translation is based on the 1st ed., checked against Börner-Klein 2004: 235–237. See Appendix E for a semi-critical edition of the Hebrew text. Here, I have added punctuation and references to the exact citations from the Tanakh. I have also supplemented the printed edition with reference to four manuscripts, as well as Radal's edition (Warsaw 1852) and the first edition.

¹⁰⁵ This phrase appears in the printed edition but not in the manuscripts.

¹⁰⁶ This phrase appears in the printed edition but not in the manuscripts.

¹⁰⁷ Rabbi Shimon in Higger's edition and in the Epstein manuscript (the basis for Friedlander's English translation).

criminals and the rebels, who rebelled against [the omnipresent, *ha-makom*] {their Creator},¹⁰⁸ saying: We do not need the drops of Your rain, nor to walk in Your ways, as it is said, “They say to God, Leave us alone. (We do not want to learn Your ways)” (Job 21:14).

The degeneration that happened during the generation of the Flood is attributed to this first miscegenation. The descendants of Cain (and by proxy, of Eve and Samael) rebel against their Creator, denying the need for “a drop of His rain” and the need to know/follow in His ways. Of course, poetic justice would dictate that these heretics should be doused with the substance they denied being dependant upon – rain, and in buckets. But this raises an important theological question: in linking the sins of back to the ‘bad seed’, does the midrash exonerate this generation of responsibility? Is sin being characterized merely as a congenital disease, a state one is born into and over which one cannot exercise free will? If the author of PRE is indeed drawing on Pseudepigraphic and Gnostic sources, is he also inadvertently reflecting controversial values, which would have been rejected by the traditional rabbinic establishment?¹⁰⁹

CONCLUSION

As I have argued, PRE conforms to the genre “Narrative Midrash” – a fairly new mode of biblical interpretation in traditional Jewish circles, but typical of many texts of the Second Temple literature. In this composition, freer of form than exegetical midrash, the author subverts the interpretive enterprise to the storyline. In the rewrite of chapter 3 of Genesis, the author makes one very bold move – connecting the myth of the Fallen Angel to the myth of ‘the Fall of Man’, with woman at the nexus. In the Adamic Books (the *Vita*, in particular, and its later permutations), the demotion of Satan is connected with Adam’s creation, while in PRE it occurs after the transgression in the Garden of Eden. The author is primarily concerned with the origin of evil, but he gives it a distinctly biological basis – Samael/the Serpent is identified as the progenitor of the ‘bad seed’, through Cain, and subsequently

¹⁰⁸ An amendment based on Higger.

¹⁰⁹ For a thorough discussion of the tension between Gnosticism and ‘traditional’ rabbinic Judaism see Alan F. Segal’s book *Two Powers in Heaven*, 1977.

linked to the corrupt generation of the Flood to follow – descendants of the daughters of *Cain* and the Fallen Angels. Though there are several hints in the classic rabbinic sources of a seduction of Eve by the Serpent, PRE is the first to make that explicit. Here, it seems that the author draws from a myth associated with Sethian Gnosticism. The question remains as to why the author so audaciously resurrects these motifs that were hushed up in more conventional Jewish circles. Less a theologian and philosopher than a story-teller, the writer adopts an eschatological view of myth which posits an original evil, external to God yet introduced into in Primeval history, *in illo tempore ab origine*. Because the source of evil is external to both human nature and God, it has the potential to be resolved *externally* in the End of Days. The progenitor of that evil is none other than Samael, and his cohorts, the Fallen Angels. Human beings (and especially women) are still held culpable in their involvement with the corrupted archangels, but the power that drives evil is seen as something *greater* than humankind, because the resolution to that evil, “on that great and terrible day,” will also be *greater* than humankind. I now turn to the myth of the Fallen Angels (PRE 22) and compare it with the original story in the Book of Enoch and Jubilees. PRE will prove to be an interesting amalgam of the Pseudepigraphic and rabbinic exegetical sources.

CHAPTER SIX

THE MYTH OF THE FALLEN ANGELS (PRE 22)

From the high neighbouring Hills, which was thir Seat,
Down to the Plain descended: by thir guise
Just men¹ they seemd, and all thir study bent
To worship God aright, and know his works
Not hid, nor those things lost which might preserve
Freedom and Peace to men: they on the Plain
Long had not walkt, when from the Tents behold
A Beavie of fair Women, richly gay
In Gems and wanton dress; to the Harp they sung
Soft amorous Ditties, and in dance came on:
The Men though grave, ey'd them, and let thir eyes
Rove without rein, till in the amorous Net
Fast caught, they lik'd, and each his liking chose;
(John Milton, *Paradise Lost*, XI. 585–87)

The story of the Fallen Angels and their cohabitation with the “daughters of man/Adam (*benot ha-Adam*)” is a direct continuation of the Eden myth in PRE, for the angels are the very same ones who were led by Samael in rebellion against Adam. As a punishment for their collusion in ‘the Fall of Man’: “God cast Samael and his entourage from their holy place in Heaven [והפיל את סמאל ואת הכת שלו ממקום]” (PRE 14). The women, half-breed descendants of Eve and Samael through Cain, play the role of the seducers this time, and become the progenitors of giants, called the *Nephilim* (based on Gen. 6:4). In this analysis of the first half of Chapter 22 in PRE, I will demonstrate the phenomenon of the “return of the repressed,” where the mythic content latent in the biblical text is given full narrative form in the midrash. In contrast to the classic rabbinic sources (namely *Gen. Rab.*), our midrash goes where “angels fear to tread,” by interpreting *bnei ’elohim* as angelic beings. I will trace PRE back to

¹ Milton, in his presentation of the story, seems to identify the males as aristocracy or nobles (“just men”) rather than angels, following the interpretation of *Gen. Rab.* 26:5, which understands *bnei ’elohim* as sons of nobles or judges [בני דיניא]. See the discussion that follows.

the Pseudepigraphic sources of the Second Temple Period, and show that our author uniquely sets up a continuity between this story and the narrative in the Garden of Eden. In the end, I will make a link to the Eschaton, or redemptive time, through the role of the Scapegoat offering – sent out to Samael/Azazel, bound hand-and-foot in the Bad-Lands for his role in ‘the Fall of Man’.

In the biblical account (chapter 6 of Genesis), two separate stories are told: the first a relic of an ancient mythological saga concerned with the relations between the *bnei ha-'elohim* (lit. “the sons of God,” divine beings), and *benot ha-adam* (lit. “the daughters of man/Adam”) (6:1–4),² and the second concerned with the corruption of the people before the Flood and the selection of Noah as the new progenitor of humankind (vv. 5–22).

ENIGMAS IN THE BIBLICAL SOURCE – GENESIS 6:1–4

In the biblical account, it is the *bnei 'elohim* who are entranced by the women first:

When men began to increase on earth and daughters were born to them, the divine beings [lit. “the sons of God,” *bnei ha-'elohim*] saw how beautiful the daughters of men [lit. “daughters of the man/Adam,” *benot ha-Adam*] were and took wives from among those that pleased them. – The Lord said, “My breath shall not abide in man forever, since he too is flesh; let the days allowed him be one hundred and twenty years.” – It was then, and later too, that the Nephilim appeared on earth – when the divine beings cohabited with the daughters of men, who bore them offspring. They were the heroes of old, the men of renown. (Gen. 6:1–4, NJPS trans.).

This passage points to the blurring of boundaries between the heavenly and the earthly realms by means of the sexual union between these

² The term *bnei ha-'elohim* [בני האלהים], the divine beings, in the biblical text (Gen. 4:2) is set up in contrast to *benot ha-adam* [בנות האדם], the daughters of man (i.e. mortal beings). The classic rabbinic interpretations attempt to repress the idea that they were angels, basing their reading of *'elohim* as a reference to judges (cf. Exod. 21:6, 21:7–8, 27; 1 Sam. 14:17, 20, and 19:28). However, the expression *bnei 'elohim* in the Hebrew Bible *unambiguously* refers to divine beings (cf. Ps. 29:1, 89:7 as בני אלים, and in Job 1:6 and 2:1 as בני האלהים, and 38:7 as בני אלהים). In another passage in Psalms, the term *'elohim* is used synonymously with *bnei 'elyon*, sons of the Most High (Ps. 82:6); vv. 6–7, there, reads as a terse paraphrase of the myth on the Fallen Angels (see the discussion in ch. 4, and footnote 46 there).

divine beings and women. But, as James Kugel points out, the biblical text does *not* make a direct connection between the angels' descent to "tawdry lusts" and the events that led to the Flood (Kugel 2007: 71). Nor does it assume that the Nephilim are the hybrid product of this union; they may merely have been around at the same time. The ancient exegetes, however, conjecture that the flood was, directly or indirectly, either i) the consequence of this sexual breach of boundaries between the angelic and human realm, or ii) the result of a new race of beings (the Nephilim) born of the angels and women, or iii) derived from the acquisition of illicit knowledge from the angels. Cassuto argues that the biblical passage functions as an etiological story on the existence of Giants (Nephilim), born to the divine beings and the daughters of men. Their name, derivative of the verb *nafal* [נָפַל], meaning "to fall, descend",³ testifies to the demotion of their ancestors, the angels. Among the Greeks and the Canaanites, many mythic tales of the sexual relations between the gods and mortal women were told, in which the product of these unions were regarded as demi-gods and or heroes of the Golden Age. In Greek myth, for example, Perseus and Heracles were both born of the union between Zeus and mortal women – Danaë and Alcmene respectively. Those heroes are comparable to the Nephilim, identified as "the heroes of old, men of renown" (Gen. 6:4). According to Cassuto, however, the biblical account...

...compresses its words into a few sentences, as though it wished to convey that it finds the entire topic wholly uncongenial, and that the subject is mentioned not for its own sake but in order to disabuse the reader's mind of certain notions. The declaration in v. 3, "My spirit shall not abide in man, etc..." implies: Do not believe the heathen tales about human beings of divine origin, who were rendered immortal; this is untrue, for in the end every man must die, "in as much as he too is flesh." The sons that were born from the intercourse of the sons of God with the daughters of men were in truth, gigantic and mighty,

³ The understanding that the Nephilim refers to giants is an intra-biblical midrashic tradition (cf. Num. 13:33); the assumption that they are also the progeny of the miscegenation between the Fallen Angels and women is found in the parabiblical sources (1 Enoch 7:2, Jub. 7:22–23 and others). That the Nephilim are one and the same as the "mighty ones [*giborim*]" is an ancient exegetical tradition that dates back to the Septuagint, where both terms are translated as οἱ γίγαντες ("the giants"). In the Damascus Document of the Cairo Genizah, the verb "נָפַל" is attached to both the watchers and their progeny (CD 2:18–19). See Nickelsburg 2001: 184–185. See also footnote 20 for a brief history on the exegesis of the term *bnei 'elohim*. For a comprehensive review of the Targumim and early exegesis, see Alexander 1972: 61–71.

yet they did not live forever [לעולם], but had long ago [מעולם] become extinct... the Torah's intention [then] is to *counteract* the pagan legends and to reduce to a minimum the content of the ancient traditions concerning the giants (Cassuto 1961: 300).⁴

THE NARRATIVE EXPANSION ON THE ORIGIN OF THE FLOOD

PRE, like earlier sources from the Second Temple period, links the stories of the relations between the women and angels, their giant hybrid progeny, and the antecedents to the flood, suggesting that the first transgression of boundaries led to others. While the biblical text rather generically identifies the sins of that generation as the corruption of the Earth and proliferation of violence (Gen. 6:11–12), the midrash attributes four sins to the generation of the Flood [*dor ha-mabul*], culminating in the Deluge:

PIRQE DE-RABBI ELIEZER, CHAPTER 22⁵

3. Rabbi Meir said: The descendants of Cain went about naked, the men and the women like beasts,⁶ and they defiled themselves with all kinds of sexual licentiousness: a man with his mother, or his daughter, or his brother's wife, {or his neighbor's wife},⁷ in public and in the streets, following the evil inclination [and] {of}⁸ their hearts' intentions, as it says, "The Lord saw how great was man's wickedness on Earth, (and how every plan devised by his mind was nothing but evil all the time)" (Gen. 6:5).

⁴ Gerhard von Rad, in his commentary on Genesis, also suggests that this etiological story is concerned with how the heroes were reduced to mere mortals... and the "ancient myth cannot move forward after that 'demythologization'" (von Rad, 1972: 110). R. Hendel, on the other hand, argues that this story is a "mythological fragment, displaced from its original traditional context and integrated by the Yahwist into the structural and thematic framework of the Primeval Cycle" (1987: 25–26).

⁵ This translation is based on the 1st ed., checked against Börner-Klein 2004: 237–239, supplemented with reference to four different manuscripts. The first two paragraphs of this passage were discussed in the previous chapter. For the original Hebrew, see Appendix E.

⁶ The phrase, "like beasts [כבהמה]," does not appear in either Higger's manuscript or in En866.

⁷ Added from the four manuscripts examined – Ca2858, En866, Ci75, and Ci2043.

⁸ Corrected on the basis of the 1st ed., Ca2858 and En866.

4. Rabbi said: The angels who *had fallen*⁹ from their holy place in heaven saw the daughters of Cain (*benot Kayin*) walking about naked, with their eyes made-up like whores, and they went astray after them, and took wives from among them, as it says, “the divine beings (*bnei ha’elohim*) saw how beautiful the daughters of men (*benot ha-adam*) were (and took wives from among those that pleased them)” (ibid. 2).

5. Rabbi Yehoshua ben Korchah said: The angels are fiery flames, as it is said, “fiery flames are His servants” (Ps. 104:4). And (is it not possible that) fire, when joined in sexual relations with flesh and blood, would burn the body? Rather, when they fell from heaven, from their holy place, their strength and stature (became) like that of humans, and they acquired the clothing of clods of earth, as it says, “My flesh is covered with maggots and clods of earth” (Job 7:5).

6. Rabbi Tzadok said: From them the giants (*ha-‘Anakim*) were born, who walked about haughtily (בגובה קומה),¹⁰ and engaged in all (kinds of) robbery and violence, and bloodshed. {And how do we know that the giants (*ha-‘Anakim*) were born of them?}¹¹ As it says, “We saw the Nephilim there – (the Anakites are part of the Nephilim – and we looked like grasshoppers to ourselves, and so we must have looked to them)” (Num. 13: 33); and it says, “It was then, that the Nephilim appeared on earth...” (Gen. 6:4).

The four sins are identified as: 1) humans parading about naked [גלוי ערוה] and/or engaging in forbidden sexual relations [גלוי עריות] (paragraph 3); 2) the Fallen Angels allured by the women (descendants of Cain), engaging in relations with them (paragraph 4); 3) the giants [*ha-‘Anakim* or *Nephilim*], born of those unions, perpetrating robbery, violence, and murder [והיו משלחים ידם בגזל ובחמס ובשפיכות דמים] (paragraph 6); and 4) both the humans and giants demonstrating a defiant attitude towards God. The giants assumed they were immune to the flood (paragraph 8),¹² and, along the same lines, the descendants

⁹ I chose to translate this phrase in the past perfect (in contrast to Friedlander) in order to make the connection between this chapter and the story in PRE 13 and 14 explicit. See footnote 23 on the identity of these Fallen Angels.

¹⁰ In En866 and Ci75, the manuscripts read: “in a lascivious and haughty manner” [בזנות בגובה קומה]. Friedlander’s manuscript resembles Higger’s edition: “who walked with pride in their heart” [בשרירות לבם ובגובה קומתם]. In *The Wisdom of Solomon*, the sin of the giants is attributed to pride: “Even in the beginning, when the proud race of giants was being brought to an end, the hope of mankind escaped in a raft...” (Wis. 14:6).

¹¹ Addition from En866 and Ci75.

¹² I will not look at this paragraph in depth, since my concern is with Samael and his relationship to the Fallen Angels, not the behavior of the *Nephilim*. See Appendix E for the Hebrew text.

of Cain rebelled, claiming “not to need a drop of rain,” and refusing “to walk in the ways of God” (paragragph 2, discussed in the previous chapter).¹³ The midrash functions as a narrative expansion on Gen. 6:1–4, yet note how the order of events has been changed in the re-telling. First there is the corruption of men’s ways through all kinds of sexual licentiousness, and only then are the (already Fallen) Angels entrapped (in Milton’s language) by a “beavie of fair women,” lewdly prancing about naked with their eyes painted. The seduction of the Fallen Angels is initiated by those identified as “the daughters of Cain” (*not* the daughters of man/Adam) this time.

WHO ARE THE *BNEI ’ELOHIM*? THE REPRESSION OF MYTH IN
GENESIS RABBAH AND “THE RETURN OF THE REPRESSED” IN PRE

If, indeed, this story conforms to an anti-mythic tendency in the Pentateuch, as Cassuto argues, the midrashic approach is to *unpack* the original mythic content. One can only appreciate the audacity on the part of the author of PRE in de-compressing the biblical text, when one contrasts his reading with the classic exegetical midrash:

GEN. RAB. 26:5 (THEODOR-ALBECK, 1965: 247–248)

“And *bnei ha’elohim* saw...” (Gen. 4:2), R. Shimon ben Yoḥai called them the “sons of nobles,” and declared: cursed be anyone who calls them angels [בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים, lit. the sons of God]. Said R. Shimon ben Yoḥai: any breach (of boundaries) [פְּרִיעָה],¹⁴ which is not from men of stature [מְגִדּוּלִים], is no breach.... “...how beautiful [טוֹבוֹת *tovoṭ*] the daughters of men [were]...” (Gen. 4:2). R. Yudan said: It is written “*tovat*” [i.e. without the *vav*]¹⁵ – when a bride was made beautiful for her husband, the chief [of these nobles] entered and had relations with her first. Hence it is written, “how beautiful,” which refers to the virgins; “And they took wives [*nashim*]” refers to the married women; “from among those that pleased them” refers to males and beasts.

¹³ For other lists and descriptions of the sins of the generation of the Flood, see *Gen. Rab.* 18:5, 26:5, 36:1, *Lev. Rab.* 5:1, *b. Sanhedrin* 58a, *b. Yevamot* 63b, *y. Yevamot* 11: 1. 11d, and *Sifra Qedoshim* 10:11.

¹⁴ The term “פְּרִיעָה” means breach or break, but may also imply a depraved act or dissolute conduct (cf. *b. Ketubbot* 2a, *b. Sotah* 7a, *y. Ketubbot* 1, 25a, *b. Gittin* 46a, *Lev. Rab.* 32:5 as “פְּרוֹץ עֲרוּהָ”). Interestingly, the term is usually ascribed to women as the antonym of modest behavior. Cf. Jastrow 1903:1237).

¹⁵ That is, the word (without the *vav*) could be read either in the singular – a single woman (i.e. bride) was taken by more than one man – or as a verb-construct “made beautiful,” instead of an adjective.

Here, the *bnei 'elohim* are identified as the aristocracy, “the sons of nobles” (where the term *'elohim* is read as a euphemism for “leaders” or “elders of the law”).¹⁶ Rabbi Shimon ben Yoḥai (Rashbi) declares a curse against all those who read *bnei 'elohim* in its literal sense as “divine beings.” Consistent with Rashbi’s reading, the next passage in *Gen. Rab.*, on the phrase “how beautiful the daughters of men were [*ki tovot hena*]” (Gen. 6:2), understands the cohabitation of these men with the “daughters of Adam” in terms of the practice of “the right of the first night” (otherwise known as “*droit du seigneur*” or “*ius primae noctis*”) – an opinion attributed to R. Yudan. Cognizant of the Pseudepigraphic sources,¹⁷ Rashbi and R. Yudan seem invested in *suppressing* the mythic background behind the biblical text. Perhaps the myth too closely resembles the legend of the virgin birth, where an angel (Gabriel) impregnates Mary with the Holy Spirit, and Jesus is conceived as the son of God (Matt. 1:18, Luke 1:26–35).¹⁸ The rabbinic establishment may have felt compelled to distance itself from legends recording the intermingling between mortals and heavenly beings, be it angels or God. R. Yudan favored, instead, a reading that served as a kind of protest against the practice of the Roman regime at the time, the demeaning “*ius primae noctis*.”¹⁹ The Aramaic *Targumim* and classical medieval exegetes then follow the rabbinic party line.²⁰ Why would

¹⁶ See footnote 2. This was suggested by Pseudo-Rashi’s commentary on this passage in *Gen. Rab.*, 26:5 and Albeck’s comments there, 1965: 247, n. 6.

¹⁷ 1 Enoch (chapters 6–7), T. Reuben (chapter 5), Jubilees 5:1–5, 7:20–24, and 10, *Apocalypse of Baruch* (2 Baruch) 56:10–16. See also Josephus’ *Antiquities of the Jews*, Book 1, 3:1.

¹⁸ R. Shimon bar Yoḥai, who lived through the destruction of the Temple (c. 70 C.E.), was roughly contemporaneous with authors of these Gospels (c. 80–90 C.E.). Alexander (1972) cites another example which conforms to a similar anti-Christian polemic. In *y. Shabbat* 6, 8d, R. Reuben (a 2nd generation Palestinian Amora) claims that as soon as the messengers of Nebuchadnezzar identified the “fourth person” in the fiery furnace as being literally like the “son of God – [דַּמָּה לְבֶר-אֱלֹהִים]” (Dan. 3:25), an angel swept down and struck him on the mouth. But Alexander dismisses the idea that there may be an anti-Christian polemic behind Rashbi’s statement in *Gen. Rab.* (Alexander 1972: 61–63).

¹⁹ While “the right of the first night” (*ius primae noctis*) was a common practice in medieval Europe, it is actually questionable whether this was a Roman practice in the tannaitic period. There is a discussion of the danger in *b. Ketubbot* 3b, *y. Ketubbot* 1, 5 [25c], and *T. Ketubbot* 1:1. See Saul Lieberman’s comment in *Tosefta ki-feshuta* (1962 6: 186–187), and M. D. Herr 1972: 101, n. 56.

²⁰ The Aramaic translations render *bnei 'elohim* as nobles [בְּנֵי רַבְרַבִּינָא] (cf. Onqelos and *Tg. Ps.-J.* on Gen. 6:2), the Neofiti as nobles or judges [בְּנֵי דִינִינָא]. The LXX, faithful to the plain meaning, renders the phrase as “οἱ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ,” angels of God, but the expression *bnei 'elohim* (in v. 4), as “οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ,” the sons of God;

classic rabbinic exegesis so blatantly undermine the simple reading of the text? Philip Alexander maintains that the Rabbis, from the 2nd century onward, “make constant and pointed efforts to keep angels in a position of subordination... setting themselves against a group which assigned to angels excessive importance and powers” (Alexander 1972: 68–69).²¹ The belief in the angels’ descent to Earth, where they are held responsible for sin and perhaps also salvation, conflicts with the rabbinic conception of the salvation of Israel through obedi-

Josephus, *Ant.* 1:73 also presents them as “angels,” the Samaritan (Syriac) text also retains the original *bnei ’elohim* [בני אלהים]. For a review of the Targumim and early exegesis, see Alexander 1972: 61–71.

Among the later exegetes, Saadia Gaon suggests “the sons of princes [בני הנשיאים];” Rashi paraphrases *Gen. Rab.*: “the sons of princes and judges [בני השרים והשופטים].” Ibn Ezra, Ramban, and Radak follow suit. Ibn Ezra, however, also links the *bnei ’elohim* to the righteous sons of Seth, who have superior knowledge [דעת עליון], which may reflect the influence of Christian exegesis. This interpretation is first applied to *Gen.* 6:1–4 by the early Church Fathers, beginning with Julius Africanus (c. 160–240 C.E., see Ginzberg 1947 5: 172, n. 14).

The exception to this trend, identifying “*bnei ’elohim*” with mortal men in Jewish circles, is first found in PRE 22, and later in the 10th century midrash, *Midrash Breshit Rabbati* (ed. Albeck, 1966/7: 29–31). In the former, the *bnei ’elohim* are unnamed angels, and in the latter, they are called Shamhazai and Azael. *Tg. Ps.-J.* on *Gen.* 6:4 also identifies the “*Nephilim*” as Shamhazai and ‘Uziel who fell from Heaven, “שמחזאי” “ועוזיאל הינון נפלו מן שמיים” – influenced perhaps by the later midrash. The *Yalkut Gen.* 44 and the *Chronicles of Yerahmiel* (Jellinek, *Beit ha-Midrash* 1938 4: 127) also mention the legend of the fall of the two archangels, Shamhazai and Azael.

There are exceptions to the repression of the legend in the classic rabbinic literature. In *b. Niddah* 61a, Sihon and Og are said to be descended from *Shamhazai*; *b. Yoma* 67b also mentions two names, ‘*Uzza* and ‘*Aza’el*, with respect to the Scapegoat offering (*seir la-’Azaz’el* of *Lev.* 16:5–10), but the reference is dissociated from the myth of the Fallen Angels. This passage ventures two interpretations of the term *Azaz’el*: the first, that it refers to a geographical region of treacherous mountain and cliffs, the “cut-off land – ארץ גזרה –” (*Lev.* 16:22); the other that it “atones for the deed of, ‘*Uzza* and ‘*Aza’el* [עוזאל - שמכפר על מעשה עוזא ועוזאל].” Dimant suggests a morphological explanation for the change in the name, from *Shamhazai*, in the Pseudepigraphic literature and *b. Niddah*, to ‘*Uzza*, in *b. Yoma* (Dimant 1974: 175).

Ramban in his commentary on the term “*Nephilim*” (on *Gen.* 6:4), initially cites Rashi, “those who caused the downfall of mankind – על שם שנפלו והפילו את העולם,” and Radak and Ibn Ezra, “those men of stature who tyrannized others – שיפול לב – אדם עליו מפחדם.” But he also cites PRE 22, and suggests that this midrash on the Fallen Angels is alluded to in the Talmudic source (above) on ‘*Uzza* and ‘*Aza’el*, and that “the secret of the matter needs to be expanded upon further.”

²¹ He suggests that such a group or groups are found among the scholars engaged in studying and transmitting Gnostic doctrine. For a description of this sect, see Odeberg’s commentary on 3 *Enoch* (Odeberg 1973: 39–40, 145. Altmann also claims that PRE was deeply influenced by Gnosticism (1981: 1–16).

ence to tradition imbedded in the written and oral Law, and the belief in the unqualified unity of God.²²

PRE seems to be the first rabbinic source to overtly defy Rashbi's injunction, drawing on the Pseudepigrapha where the *bnei 'elohim* are explicitly identified as angels.²³ The midrash, though, differs from the Pseudepigraphic sources in linking the Fallen Angels with those who had been in cahoots with Samael in the Garden. Furthermore, it suggests that the women were not "daughters of Adam/man" at all, but the descendants of Cain, and therefore of the 'bad seed'. Both through the matrilineal and patrilineal line, this admixture of genes in the genesis of the Nephilim is linked to 'the Fall of Man'. On the one hand, the passage in PRE 22 heightens the mythic background to the biblical passage, as preserved in the Pseudepigrapha, yet it also adopts the rabbinic emphasis on sexual licentiousness. There seems to be a blurring of terms in the opening of our midrash, where "גלויי בשר ערוה" (lit. "the exposure of the nakedness of flesh") modulates into "גלוי עריות", the sins of incest or forbidden sexual relations.²⁴ In the midrash, we are

²² See the discussion in Odeberg 1973: 79–146. Alexander points out that many of the later proponents of mystical Judaism, who adopt the Merkavah angelology of the 2nd Temple literature rejected by the rabbinic establishment, ironically claim R. Shimon b. Yohai – the great rationalist and skeptic on angelology – to be the author of the Zohar (1972: 69, n. 42).

²³ The Fallen Angels of Enoch have a vestigial life in *b. Niddah* 61a, where the giants Sihon and Og are identified as the sons of Ahijah the son of Semihazai or Shamhazai (שמחזאי). The passage however does not point to a genealogy derived from the Fallen Angels. In *b. Yoma* 67b "Uzza and 'Aza'el" (see footnote 20) are also mentioned, but the passage is too terse to support any direct connection between the Enochic and talmudic traditions. Milik, in his commentary on the Aramaic *Enoch*, suggests that the earliest rabbinic source identifying *bnei 'elohim* with the Fallen Angels is found in *Midrash Breshit Rabbati*, composed by Moshe ha-Darshan of Narbonne (in the 1st half of the 11th c., C.E.; see Albeck's introduction to this midrash). Milik suggests that the story was widely known at the popular level by the 7th century. He even ventures to claim that because the author of the midrash on Shamhazai and Azael is ascribed to R. Joseph bar Hiyya (d. 333 C.E.), the Jewish adaptation of the story may date back to the Amoraim (Milik 1976: 339). However, one need not maintain that there was a continuous tradition from the Tannaitic period until R. Moshe ha-Darshan. The later exegete from Provence may have drawn from translations of the Pseudepigraphic work of the Second Temple period. See the discussion in Himmelfarb 1984: 55–78 and 1994: 115–141 and the discussion to follow.

²⁴ Cf. The expression "לגלות ערוה" is used throughout Leviticus 18 and 20. In a verbal communication, Shani (Berrin) Tzoref points out that the passage in Jubilees 3:31–32, referring to God's act of clothing Adam and Eve, is presented in terms of an injunction to "cover their shame," and may serve as a "midrash *halakhah*" on the Leviticus passages, blurring the terms "גלוי ערוה" and "גלוי עריות." Cana Werman makes a similar argument on the exposure and cover of Noah's nakedness by his sons.

told of the sexual corruption of man *before* we are told of the seduction of the angels; responsibility thus hinges on the lewd behavior of these women, the daughters of Cain.²⁵ In the Pseudepigraphic sources, it is the angels (dissociated from Satan's role in the Garden) who initiate contact with the women; the angels only abandon their heavenly status when possessed by desire.

A COMPARISON WITH THE ETHIOPIC BOOK OF ENOCH AND JUBILEES: WHO SEDUCES WHOM?

I will examine the Enoch story first, though it seems to present two different versions on the legend of the Fallen Angels. In the first instance (chapter 6–7), Semyaz (or Semihaza) leads the angels to cohabit with the “daughters of man.” Later (in chapter 8), Azazel serves as their leader, teaching the men the art of weaponry (through metallurgy) and the women the art of seduction (through the making of jewelry and the painting of the eyes):

When Ham “saw his father’s nakedness,” and then Shem and Japheth covered their father’s nakedness, “ויכסו את ערות אביהם” (Gen. 9:23), in the biblical passage, this is understood to imply an illicit sexual act [גלוי עריות] on the part of Ham or Canaan in the Pseudepigraphic and midrashic literature (C. Werman 1995: 122–123). In PRE 23, Canaan actually castrates his grandfather while he is in a drunken stupor; Ham also fails to enact the honor to which his father is due, while the other two sons cover him. Two separate interpretations of the sin, then, are implied with an awkward attempt at harmonizing them. In PRE 22, the blurring between illicit relations [גלוי עריות] and nakedness [גלוי ערוה] suggests both a *literal* understanding of the former expression and a causal connection between the two. The women’s prancing about naked led to sexual licentiousness.

²⁵ The *Testament of Reuben* also places the onus for the sin of the angels on the women, through a strange vicarious model of conception: “For it was thus that they [the women] charmed the Watchers, who were before the Flood. As they continued looking at the women, they were filled with desire for them and perpetrated the act in their minds. Then they were transformed into human males and, while the women were cohabiting with their husbands, they appeared to them. Since the women’s minds were filled with lust for these apparitions, they gave birth to giants. For the Watchers were disclosed to them as being as high as the heavens” (*T. Reuben* 5:6, trans. by Kee, in Charlesworth *OTP* 1983 1: 784). See the discussion of this passage in Forsyth 1987: 213–216.

I ENOCH – THE BOOK OF WATCHERS²⁶ CHAPTER 6

1. And it came to pass, when the children of men had multiplied, it happened that there were born unto them handsome and beautiful daughters. 2. And the angels, the children of the heaven, saw them and desired them, and they said to one another: “Come, let us choose wives for ourselves from among the daughters²⁷ of man and beget us children.” 3. And **Semyaz** [or Semihaza],²⁸ being their leader, said unto them: “I fear that perhaps you will not indeed agree to do this deed, and I alone will become (responsible) for this great sin.” 4. But they all responded to him, “Let us all swear an oath and bind everyone among us by a curse not to abandon this plan but to do the deed.” Then they all swore together and bound one another by (the curse).²⁹ (Isaac’s trans., in Charlesworth *OTP*, 1983 1: 15).

Two hundred angels then bind themselves by oath on Mount Hermon (a play on the verb *herem* meaning “to ban, or consecrate on oath”),³⁰ and the twenty leaders, “chiefs of tens,” are named, including As’el

²⁶ The First Book of Enoch is a composite of various sources, that date from the second century B.C.E. to the first century C.E. The myth of the Fallen Angels is found in the composition known as “The Book of Watchers” (chapters 1–36), probably belonging to the earliest strata of this composition. This edition has been translated from the Ethiopic by E. Isaac (in Charlesworth *OTP*, 1983 1: 13–29). The passages will be compared with Milik’s edition of Aramaic fragments from Qumran Cave 4 (Milik 1976). I will also draw upon Knibb’s critical edition of the text, along with his translation and commentary (Knibb 1978 2: 67–75), as well as Nickelsburg’s commentary on the Greek recension (Nickelsburg 2001). But I have used the more popular edition in Charlesworth *OTP*, and footnoted where there may be significant differences of interpretation in the translation. Forsyth suggests that the term “Watchers,” as applied to these angels, is consistent with the image of Satan in the Bible, whose role was to travel about the Earth as the roving “Eye of the King” (1987: 166). In Jubilees, it is clear that the angels’ role as “Watchers” was initially benevolent (Jub. 4:15). See the discussion on Jubilees to follow. The term “Watchers” may be traced back to the Aramaic word for the angels in Nebuchadnezzar’s dream in Daniel 4:10, 20, “עיר”, in the plural “עירין” (v. 14). Kugel suggests that the term is connected to the Aramaic *ir*, meaning awake, “understood as reflecting the fact that the tireless angels never sleep” (Kugel 2007: 703–704; he cites Sokolow 2002: 860). For a history of the “Fallen Angels” motif, see Bamberger 1952, Dimant 1974, Michael Segal 2007: 103–143, and the very thorough study by Reed 2005.

²⁷ Lit. “the children.”

²⁸ “Semyaza” according to Knibb 1978 2: 67.

²⁹ Lit. “by it.”

³⁰ In biblical Hebrew, the term refers to objects that are proscribed (declared *herem*), as in Lev. 27:28, 29, Num. 18:14, Ezek. 44:2, 9 (B.D.B. entry 3452). Based on Ezra 10:8, the term assumes the connotation of proscribing someone’s property (“רחם כל רכוש”) for the sake of a ban, or excommunication in rabbinic literature (*b. Berakhot* 19a). See *EJ* 1971 8: 344–355. Nickelsburg comments, “There is perhaps an intended irony in the idea of the Watchers binding themselves with a curse. By avoiding that curse (i.e. by carrying out the deed), they fall under the terrible curse of God’s eternal punishment” (Nickelsburg 2001: 177).

(perhaps akin to Azazel in I Enoch 8:1). In the following chapter the angels take wives and teach them the art of charms and enchantments, and the cutting of roots. They then beget giants, who begin consuming humankind and all their possessions, devouring one another, and drinking blood. The sequence of the plot follows thus: first the angels lust after women, causing the transgression of the boundary between divine and mortal beings – the hybrid giants the result of their union; in turn, humans acquire forbidden knowledge and the giants perpetrate outrageous acts of brutality; this leads the corruption of the Earth and the Flood.

In Chapter 8, a different sequence follows and this time it is Azazel³¹ who leads the Angels and the corruption of humankind:

1. And **Azazel** taught the people (the art of) making swords, and knives, and shields, and breastplates; and he showed to their chosen ones³² bracelets, decorations, (shadowing of the eye) with antimony, ornamentation, the beautifying of the eyelids, all kinds of precious stones, and all coloring tinctures and alchemy.³³ 2. And there were many wicked ones, and they committed adultery, and erred, and all their conduct became corrupt. 3. Amaras³⁴ taught incantation and the cutting of roots; and Armaros the resolving of incantations; Baraqiyal astrology, Kokarer'el (the knowledge of) the signs, and Tam'el taught the seeing of the stars, and Asder'el taught the course of the moon as well as the deception of man.³⁵ 4. And the people cried and their voice reached unto heaven ... (Isaac's trans., in Charlesworth, *OTP* 1983 1: 16).³⁶

³¹ In the biblical text, the name Azazel comes up in reference to the Scapegoat offering in Lev. 16. Milik points out that Azazel (or Asa'el) supplants Semihaza as chief of the Fallen Angels in Enoch. In the Qumran text (4Q180 I, 22), it states: [ו] פשר על עזזאל והמלאכים אש[ר באו על בנות אדם] [ו]י[לדו להם גברים]. The biblical orthography appears as “עזזאל,” but in the Qumran text he is named “עזזאל,” “God is powerful” (Milik 1976: 314). I will discuss PRE's understanding of the scapegoat offering, as the author merges the identity of Samael and Azazel in Chapter 46. See footnotes 20 and 23 for the talmudic sources on 'Uzza and 'Aza'el.

³² Knibb: “And he showed them the things after these, and the art of making them: bracelets and ornament, and the art of making up the eyes and of beautifying the eyelids...” (Knibb 1978 2: 80–81).

³³ Lit. “and their heights.” Knibbs suggests “And the world was changed.” See his detailed footnote there (Knibb 1978 2: 81).

³⁴ Knibb: “Amezarak,” lit. meaning: “toil,” “labor” (ibid.).

³⁵ Note how the names of the angels are related to the knowledge they teach. Knibb: “Armaros the release of spells, Baraqiel astrologers, Kokabel portents, and Tamiel taught astrology, and Asradel taught the path of the moon” (ibid.).

³⁶ Compare to Knibb 1978 2: 79–84.

In this chapter the onus is on the corruption which knowledge entails – from weaponry to the arts of seduction, incantations, and astrology. Knowledge, in itself, is presented as tainted. Nickelsburg, in reconstructing the two accounts in Enoch, sees two distinct approaches to the proliferation of sin before the Flood. While in chapter 6, the Semihaza material focuses on the Watcher’s sexual sins with women and the violence caused by their offspring, chapter 8 posits the revelation of forbidden knowledge as the cause for the corruption of humankind before the Flood.³⁷ However, as Annette Yoshiko Reed points out, the Watchers transmit knowledge, which is inherently corrupt in both accounts. They teach what is explicitly forbidden according by the Torah (cf. Deut. 18:9–14). In 1 Enoch 7:1, for instance, Semihaza, Hermoni, and other Watchers teach their wives “charms [or sorcery]³⁸ and spells, and showed them the cutting of roots and trees.”³⁹ Likewise, Azazel introduces metalworking and cosmetics (8:1) – the former leads to the forging of weapons and violence among men (parallel to the bloodshed caused by the Giants in 7:3–5), and the latter leads to sexual promiscuity (parallel to the Watcher’s lust for the women and their defilement). According to Reed, knowledge in both strata of the composition is portrayed as *inherently corrupt*.⁴⁰

In the Book of Jubilees, the angels descend to Earth as benevolent teachers of wisdom, *before* they become corrupted by relations with women. As it states, during the time of Jared: “The angels of the Lord, who were called Watchers, came down to Earth in order to teach the sons of man, and perform judgment and uprightness upon the Earth” (*Jub.* 4:15).⁴¹ Barker argues that there are two different approaches to knowledge and the genesis of sin in Jubilees and Enoch. In the former, knowledge is considered good initially but abused, while, in Enoch, the knowledge taught by the Fallen Angels leads to the proliferation of evil.⁴² I would like to take this one step further and suggest that the source of the corruption of knowledge in Jubilees stems from the

³⁷ See Nickelsburg 2001: 171, where he argues that the Azazel material is a later accretion to the original core material. See also Dimant 1978: 324, 326, and 328. For a contrasting opinion see Reed 2004: 51–96.

³⁸ “חַרְשָׁה” (sorcery) in 4Q2011 iii:15 and “לַחֹר[וֹר] שְׂתָא” in 4Q202 1 ii9.

³⁹ Based on Knibb 1978 2: 77.

⁴⁰ Reed 2004: 55.

⁴¹ In Charlesworth *OTP* 1985 2: 62, VanderKam 1989: 25. Jared [יָרֵד] is so named after the descent of the angels [“אֲשֶׁר יָרְדוּ”].

⁴² Barker 1980: 14–15.

angels *lusting* after the women; pure knowledge (free of covetousness) is sullied by sexual knowledge, with the physical blurring of boundaries between the mortal and the divine realms.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES⁴³ CHAPTER 5

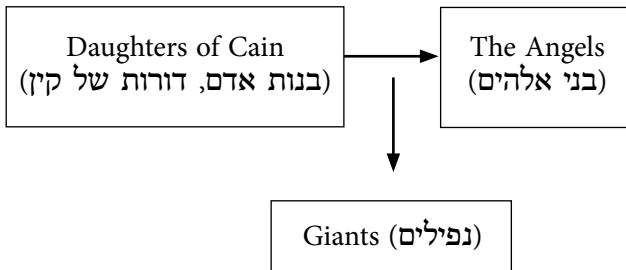
1. And when the children of men began to multiply on the surface of the Earth and daughters were born to them, that the angels of the Lord saw in a certain year of that jubilee, that they were good to look at; and they took wives for themselves from all those whom they chose, and they bore children for them; and they were giants. And injustice increased upon the earth, and all flesh corrupted its way; man and cattle and beasts and birds and everything which walks on the earth. And they all corrupted their way and their ordinances, and they began to eat one another. 2. And injustice grew upon the Earth and every imagination of the thoughts of all mankind was thus continually evil. 3. And the Lord saw the Earth, and behold it was corrupted, and all flesh had corrupted its order, and all who were on the Earth had done every sort of evil in His sight. 4. And He said, "I will wipe out man and all flesh which I have created from upon the surface of the Earth." 5. But Noah alone found favor in the sight of the Lord. 6. And against His angels whom He had sent to the Earth, He was very angry. He commanded that they be uprooted from all their dominion, and He told us to bind them in the depths of the Earth...⁴⁴ 10. And subsequently they were bound in the depths of the Earth forever, until the day of great judgment in order for judgment to be executed upon all of those who corrupted their ways and their deeds before the Lord. 11. And he wiped out every one from their places and not one of them remained who He did not judge according to all his wickedness 12. And he made for all his works a new and righteous nature so that they might not sin in all their nature forever, and so that they might all be righteous, each in his kind, always. (Wintermute's trans., in Charlesworth *OTP* 1985 2: 64–65).

According to Jubilees, the solution to the corruption of the Earth, a consequence of the cohabitation of the angels and women, is to create a new breed of man from Noah, the descendant of Seth, "another seed"

⁴³ The Book of Jubilees has been dated to the second century B.C.E. I used Wintermute's translation of the Ethiopic, probably based on an original Hebrew text no longer extant, in Charlesworth *OTP* 1985 2: 52–142. The Greek version derives from the Ethiopic. While I chose the more popular version, I will compare the text with VanderKam's critical edition and translation (1989).

⁴⁴ After the command to bind the Fallen Angels in the depths of the Earth, their children (the giants) were condemned to live for 110 years and began to kill one another until they were wiped out from the Earth., while their parents (i.e. the angels) watched (*Jub.* 5:7–9, cf. VanderKam 1989: 33). Perhaps this account provides an alternative etiology for the term "Watchers."

(cf. Gen. 4:25, or as in LXX's *sperma eteron*), the alternative to the descendants of Cain. PRE seems to follow the same basic sequence as Jubilees, but amplifies the role of the women as *femmes fatales* for the Angels. Their knowledge (of sexual immorality and the arts of seduction) – the “uncovering of their nakedness [גלויות בשר ערוה],” and “their eyes made-up like whores [ומכחלות עיניהן בזונות]” (PRE 22) – leads to the angels’ desire for them, and so the divine beings ‘metamorphose’ from flame into flesh (or rather into ‘clods of earth’, cf. Job 7:5). The origin of evil, in Jubilees and in PRE, is really the inverse of the pattern established in the Garden of Eden:



In the first Fall, the archangel Samael approaches the “light-minded” Eve and convinces her to partake of the fruit of Knowledge; we only surmise, retroactively, that there must have been sexual relations between them because of the parentage ascribed to Cain in Chapter 21. In the second Fall (of the Angels), it is (in Milton’s words) “a Beavie of fair Women, richly gay / In Gems and wanton dress” who seduce the angels. They have privileged knowledge – the arts of sexual seduction – and they give birth to the Giants (*Nephilim*), who are party to the corruption of humankind before the Flood. The solution, in PRE as in Jubilees, is to wipe out the *genetic* line that led to this moral corruption, by dissolving them in the Deluge.⁴⁵

If the source of evil, presented as a kind of congenital disease, is destroyed, the question remains as to how the author of PRE portrays the ongoing struggle with evil, and the problem of sin and punishment. Samael is *not* drowned along with the Giants and the descendants of

⁴⁵ There is also an allusion to this divinely ordained genocide of Cain’s descendants (related to the Kenites) in PRE 30, paragraph 6c (see Appendix C, for a semi-critical edition of this chapter).

Cain. He appears in this composition on several other occasions – namely in the scene of the *‘Aqedah* (PRE 31), at the death of Sarah (PRE 32), and the Sin of the Golden Calf (PRE 45) – as one who attempts to thwart human beings, either through temptation or by obstructing God’s will.⁴⁶ On the Day of Atonement (Yom Kippur), he poses as “the Accuser” (*qator*), setting people up for judgment (PRE 46), like *ha-Satan* among the heavenly assembly in Job and in Zechariah. I will next explore PRE 46 in detail. The chapter describes how Samael is “blinded” (true to his namesake) to the sins of the Israelites on Yom Kippur. Bribed by the Scapegoat offering (*se‘ir le-‘Aza’zel*), he is compelled to give Testimony on their behalf, comparing them to the Ministering Angels. An identification is made obliquely between Samael, the Fallen Angel, and Azazel from the Book of Enoch. The sources in the Pseudepigrapha help provide the missing link, which PRE never bridges. After exploring this chapter, I will be able to address two questions: how does PRE grant the Fallen Angel continued jurisdiction over humankind once his wings are clipped and he has been cast from Heaven? How are his powers curtailed and overcome? I will then discuss the ultimate purpose behind the recycling of Samael as a character in the overarching plan of PRE.

SAMAEL/AZAZEL AND THE SCAPEGOAT OFFERING ON THE DAY OF ATONEMENT

The passage describing the ritual of the Scapegoat offering, known as “*Seder ha-‘Avodah*” (Leviticus 16), constitutes the centerpiece of PRE chapter 46, which may have originally been composed as a homily for Yom Kippur.⁴⁷ In the biblical pericope, the priest designates by lot one he-goat for God and one for *‘Aza’zel*; he then lays his hands on the latter animal and confesses all the sins of the Israelites, symbolically transferring their sins onto it. The first goat is slaughtered, burned, and its blood sprinkled about the altar to make atonement, while the live goat is sent out, along with the iniquities of the people, “to a barren land [גזרה, ארץ גזרה, lit. cut-off land]” (Lev. 16:22). The sanctuary,

⁴⁶ See ch. 4, footnote 39.

⁴⁷ See the discussion in the Introduction on the relationship between certain chapters of PRE and the genre of Homiletical Midrash. Friedlander does not mention this chapter as one of the homiletical ones (1981: xxi).

the priests, and the people are then purged. For rabbinic sources, the problem is how to make sense of the term *'Aza'zel* – does it refer to the place name, related to “the cut-off land [ארץ גזרה],” or to a demon that requires placating?⁴⁸ The Rabbis were hesitant to admit that the Hebrew Bible testified to some sort of demonic power independent of God. And yet Ibn Ezra and Ramban (in their commentary on Lev. 16:8), cognizant of the content of PRE 46 (most likely assuming it was a tannaitic midrash written by R. Eliezer the Great), hint to such a claim. The origin of the idea, of course, stems from the Pseudepigrapha – Azazel is the Fallen Angel who led the others in the corruption of humankind before the flood (I Enoch 8:1). The origin of evil, ascribed to these Fallen Angels and external to God’s initial Creation, suggests a dualistic theology – that there are forces outside divine jurisdiction that are responsible for evil in the world. This concept, along with the apocalyptic content, may be why such books were excluded from the rabbinic canon. PRE draws on these heretical ideas but qualifies them in somewhat fantastic, perhaps even humorous, terms:

PIRQE DE-RABBI ELIEZER, CHAPTER 46⁴⁹

1. On the day the Torah was given,⁵⁰ Samael⁵¹ said before the Holy One, blessed be He, “Master of the World! Yo u have given me jurisdiction over all the nations of the world,⁵² but over Israel do you not give me jurisdiction?” He replied, “Here, you have jurisdiction over them on the Day of Atonement if you find sin amongst them, and if not, you have no jurisdiction.”

2. Therefore they would bribe him on the Day of Atonement, in order that Israel’s offering should not be canceled,⁵³ as it says, “(and he shall place lots upon the two goats,) one marked for the Lord and the other

⁴⁸ For an excellent philological analysis of the word *'Aza'zel*, see Tawil 1980: 43–59.

⁴⁹ This translation is based on the 1st ed., checked against Börner-Klein 2004: 626–629, supplemented with reference to four different manuscripts and the printed editions.

⁵⁰ These opening words do not appear in En866 or in Higger’s edition, but are found in Ci75 and all the printed editions.

⁵¹ Radal (in the Warsaw 1852 printed edition) continually ‘amends’ the name “Samael” to “Satan.”

⁵² Radal censors this phrase – whenever the text refers to “nations of the world [אומות העולם],” it is written “the wicked [רשעים],” and whenever it says “Israel,” it is written “the righteous [צדיקים].”

⁵³ Radal’s suggests the following emendation: “so that he should not come to accuse them.”

marked for ‘Aza’zel’⁵⁴ (Lev. 16:8). The lot for the Holy One, blessed be He, was for a burnt offering and the lot for ‘Aza’zel for a goat-sin offering, and all the sins of Israel were upon it, as it says, “Thus the goat shall carry on it all their iniquities to a cut-off land; [and the goat shall be set free in the wilderness]” (Lev. 16:22).

3. Samael saw that there was no sin to be found amongst Israel on the Day of Atonement, and he declared, “You have one nation in the world that is like the Ministering Angels. Just as the angels have no joints, so Israel stand on their feet on the Day of Atonement.

4. Just as the angels have no eating or drinking, so Israel has no eating or drinking on the Day of Atonement.

5. {Just as the angels are barefoot, so Israel on the Day of Atonement are barefoot.}⁵⁵

6. Just as the angels are pure of all sin, so Israel is pure of all sin on the Day of Atonement.

7. Just as the angels have peace reign between them, so peace reigns between the people of Israel on the Day of Atonement.”

8. The Holy One, blessed be He, heard testimony about Israel⁵⁶ from their Prosecutor, and made atonement on the altar and on the priests and on the people, young and old, as it says “He shall purge the innermost Shrine; (he shall purge the Tent of Meeting and the altar; and he shall make expiation for the priests and for all the people of the congregation)” (Lev. 16:33).

Samael, true to his biblical role, plays the *qategor* in this passage, but he loses his jurisdiction over Israel as a result of the Scapegoat offering on Yom Kippur. The “goat-sin offering” to ‘Aza’zel serves as bribery (שׁוּדָה), so that he will turn a blind eye to the Israelites’ sins. Furthermore, the Israelites are camouflaged, posing as angels – no bending of the knees, no eating or drinking, no shoes, peace reigning between them, pure of all sin. One might be compelled to ask: why does Samael accept God’s terms, allowing them to be tried only on the holiest day of the year (Yom Kippur)? Furthermore, does the Adversary really accept bribes and mistake people for angels? Here is where the humor

⁵⁴ Though this is a quote from Scripture, En866 changes the order of the letters: “le-‘Azaz’el [לעזזאל],” close to the orthography in the Aramaic Enoch (see footnote 31).

⁵⁵ An addition from Higger and En866.

⁵⁶ Ci75 and Higger’s manuscript, as well as Friedlander’s translation: “hears the prayers [עתירתן] of Israel rather than (the charges brought by) their accuser” (Friedlander 1981: 364).

plays itself out. Samael accepts the terms because he understands his role is curtailed with the chosen people (in contrast to the nations of the world [אומות העולם]). After all, he opens his appeal to God with a question of jurisdiction: “You have given me jurisdiction over all the nations of the world, but over Israel do you not give me jurisdiction [ועל ישראל אין אתה נותן לי רשות]?”; to which the midrashic imagination answers: God grants him the semblance of jurisdiction.

In the biblical text, the sins are carried off by the Scapegoat: “Thus the goat shall carry on it all their iniquities to an inaccessible region; and the goat shall be set free in the wilderness [וְנִשָּׂא הַשְּׂעִיר עָלָיו אֶת] וְנָשָׂא הַשְּׂעִיר עָלָיו אֶת הַשְּׂעִיר בַּמִּדְבָּר [כָּל עֲוֹנוֹתֵם אֶל אֶרֶץ גְּזֵרָה וְשָׁלַח אֶת הַשְּׂעִיר בַּמִּדְבָּר]” (Lev. 16:22). Sir James Frazer, in his monumental work on comparative religion, *The Golden Bough*, points out the ubiquity of the Scapegoat ritual.⁵⁷ But rarely has it been portrayed from the point of view of the demonic force being paid off. The author of PRE ventures into this rocky terrain, this wilderness of wild goats and demons. In the midrash, the purpose of the Scapegoat offering is to guarantee that the sacrifices of Israel are not canceled [“שלא לבטל קרבן של ישראל”] (a rhyming couplet, in Hebrew). The reference is presumably to the burnt offering to God, which atones for their sins. Through the bribe, the Adversary (Samael) is transformed from his role as prosecutor to the role of attorney for the defense. Similarly, in an aggadic passage in the Talmud, the high priest bears witness to God’s prayer on the Day of Atonement – that His anger may be overcome by His attribute of mercy, and that he will stop short of strict justice (*b. Berakhot 7a*). A similar image is used in *Exod. Rab.* (43:1), where (following the sin of the Golden Calf) Satan accuses the Israelites, as the *qategor*, and Moshe defends them, as their *sanegor*. In the earlier aggadic sources, the deliberation between strict judgment (*din*) and mercy (*rahamim*) is an *internal* battle within the divine nature; it is God who alternates between the throne of justice and the throne of mercy.⁵⁸ In the later midrash (*Exod. Rab.* and PRE), the deliberation is externalized onto a prosecutor (personified as Samael/Satan) and an attorney for the defense.

Does this reflect a theological shift, or merely a literary trope? In *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, Gershom Scholem describes the increasing tendency towards the anthropomorphization of God in kab-

⁵⁷ Frazer 1951 6: 224–228.

⁵⁸ See *b. Sanhedrin* 38b and *P.R.K.* 23:3.

balistic literature as “the revenge of myth upon its conqueror” (Scholem 1941: 35). For the philosopher or rationalist, evil is meaningless in itself. As Herman Cohen emphatically asserts “Evil is non-existent. It is nothing but a concept derived from the concept of freedom. A *power of evil exists only in myth*.”⁵⁹ Where philosophy failed to adequately address the paradoxes and urgent questions of life, mysticism took up the reins. The personification of evil, in the image of Samael or the Serpent, is a manifestation of this phenomenon. According to Scholem, “to most kabbalists, as true seal-bearers of the world of myth, the existence of evil is, at any rate, one of the most pressing problems, and one which keeps them continuously occupied with attempts to solve it” (1941: 36). The early medieval midrash also exemplifies this trend. As a proto-kabbalistic source, PRE presents a vivid model of this struggle with the forces of evil. It entails a return to myth and an appropriation of Gnostic ideas.

In PRE, the theological tenets are underscored by an over-arching sense that the end is nigh, where motifs in cosmogony are recapitulated in the End of Time throughout the narrative. The author deploys the figure Samael as the personification of evil, but his role as *qategor* on Yom Kippur is undermined by the Scapegoat ritual. In order to understand the connection between Samael’s role at the Beginning of Time, and the religious ritual, a window into the End of Time,⁶⁰ I must turn, once again, to the Pseudepigraphic sources, which make the link explicit. As in PRE, I Enoch hints at the destiny of Azazel (Samael) as the one banished to the Bad Lands, to whom one must ascribe all sin. The source for the fate of Azazel is described in chapter 10 of I Enoch, where the son of Lamech, Asuryal (parallel to the biblical Noah), is told about the coming Deluge and advised that he should sequester himself away to become the sole survivor. Then the punishment for the angels is designated.⁶¹

⁵⁹ H. Cohen, *Ethik des reinen Willens*, 2nd ed., 1907: 452, quote in Scholem 1941: 36.

⁶⁰ It is written, in the coda to PRE 43, that Elijah will usher in the messianic era with the sincere, collective atonement of Israel (based on Mal. 3:23–24). That “awesome, fearful day” is the ultimate Day of Atonement. See the discussion of this passage in ch. 10.

⁶¹ Note that in the Enoch text there are two narratives on the punishment of the Fallen Angels – one refers to Semihaza, and the other to Azazel. In I Enoch 10:11, the archangel Michael is told to bind Semihaza and his associates, the Fallen Angels who had relations with women (Charlesworth *OTP* 1983 1: 18). I will not analyze this passage, since it is not directly related to my claim that Azazel, here in Enoch, is related to *se’ir le-’Aza’zel*, and one and the same figure as Samael in PRE. For the claim that

I ENOCH, CHAPTER 10

4 And secondly the Lord said to Raphael: “Bind **Azazel** hand and foot (and) throw him into the darkness!” And he made a hole in the desert, which was in Duda’el⁶² and cast him there; 5 he threw on top of him rugged and sharp rocks. 6 And he covered his face in order that he may not see light; and in order that he may be sent into the fire on the great day of judgment. 7 And give life to the Earth which the angels have corrupted. And he will proclaim life for the Earth; that he is giving life to her. And all the children of the people will not perish through all the secrets (of the angels), which they taught to their sons.⁶³ 8 And the whole Earth has been corrupted by Azazel’s teaching of his (own) actions; and write upon him all sin. (Isaac’s trans., Charlesworth *OTP* 1983 1: 18)⁶⁴

Azazel is none other than the demon-prince (or, in Enoch, the Fallen Angel) to whom the *se’ir le-‘Aza’zel*, the Scapegoat offering, is sent (according to Lev. 16). As an apocalyptic composition, all of the visions of Enoch lend themselves to an eschatological narrative where “*Urzeit wird Endzeit*” – the Beginning of time will be recapitulated in the End of time. The problem of Evil in the world, originally brought about by the Fallen Angels, will not be resolved until the messianic era, as it says:

And to Michael, God said, “Make known to Semyaza and the others who are with him, who fornicated with the women, that they will die together with them in all their defilement. And when they and all their children have battled with each other, and when they have seen the destruction of their beloved ones, bind them for seventy generations underneath the rocks of the ground until the the day of their judgment and of their consummation, until the eternal judgment is concluded. In those days they will lead them into the bottom of the fire – and in torment – in the

two different sources, the Semihazah narrative and the later Azazel narrative, form the basis for the 1 Enoch 6–11, see Hanson 1977: 220–227 and Dimant 1974: 23–72.

⁶² The place “Dudael” may be a portmanteau of two words: **דודא אל** (“cauldron of God”). Charles connects the term with *beit ha-durei* [בית הדורי], mentioned in the *Tg. Ps.-J.* on Lev. 16:21, the place to which the Scapegoat was led. Milik, on the other hand, suggests that the name derives from **חדודי אל** (“the jagged mountains of God”), for the goat is sent to the “cut-off land [גזרה]” (Lev. 16:22), and according to the Mishnah, the goat is thrown onto the jagged and sharp stones, called “Beit Hiddudo” in the *M. Yoma* 6:8 (cf. *M. Yoma* 6:4–8, Milik 1951: 395). See also Knibb’s detailed footnote on 10:4, 1978: 87.

⁶³ Knibb suggests: “through the mystery of everything which the Watchers *made known* and taught to their sons” (1978: 88).

⁶⁴ Knibb translates this whole passage as God’s instructions to Raphael. Perhaps this archangel, here, is employed to carry out the job because this will (in the eschatological view) eventually lead to the healing, [רפואה] of the Earth.

prison (where) they will be locked up forever. (1 Enoch 10:11–12, Isaac’s trans., in Charlesworth *OTP* 1983 1: 18).

Similarly, in Jubilees all the Fallen Angels are bound hand and foot “in the depths of the Earth forever, until the day of great judgment in order for judgment to be executed upon all of those who corrupted their ways and their deeds before the Lord” (*Jub.* 5:10). But, as I pointed out earlier, the evil imbedded in human beings, deemed to be a kind of congenital condition in Jubilees, was wiped out in the flood. The post-deluvian source for evil remains enigmatic since no one survived of that corrupted race. A new personage arises out of the woodwork, which poses as the counterpart to Samael – Mastema.⁶⁵ This Accuser exacts a promise from God to release a tenth of the demons so that humans might be subject to his will, through their agency (i.e. as the surviving Fallen Angels):⁶⁶

JUBILEES CHAPTER 10

And the Lord our God spoke to us so that we might bind all of them. And the chief of the spirits, Mastema, came and he said, “O Lord, Creator, leave some of them before me, and let them obey my voice. And let them do everything which I tell them, because if some of them are not left for me, I will not be able to exercise the authority of my will among the children of men because they are (intended) to corrupt and lead astray before my judgment, because the evil of the sons of men is great.”⁶⁷ And he said, “Let a tenth part of them remain before him, but let nine parts go down into the place of judgment.” . . . All the evil ones, who were cruel, we bound in the place of judgment, but a tenth of them we let remain so that they might be subject to Satan upon the Earth. (*Jub.* 10:7–11, Wintermute’s trans., Charlesworth *OTP* 1985 2: 76).

The role of Mastema and his lackeys continues after their fall and after most of them are bound in the “place of judgment,” the Bad Lands. The survivors become responsible for the continuation of evil in the world.

⁶⁵ The name is most likely based on the root “*.מ.ט.ש.*,” meaning “to bear a grudge, to hate, or to cherish animosity towards” (cf. *Gen.* 27:41, 49:23, 50:15, and *Ps.* 54:4, B.D.B. entry 9404, also see ch. 4, footnote 35).

⁶⁶ Later, in *Jub.* 10:11, he is called “Satan,” Syncellus uses the appellation “*ὁ διάβαλος*” (lit. “the Accuser”) for this leader of the demons. For a full list of references to Mastema, see Charles’ translation and commentary on Jubilees 1902: 80.

⁶⁷ VanderKam suggests: “For they are meant for (the purposes of) destroying and misleading before my punishment because the evil of mankind is great” (VanderKam 1989: 59–60).

I'd like to summarize the differences between these three legends on the origin of evil, in Enoch, in Jubilees, and in PRE. The author(s) of I Enoch (Chapters 6–11) ascribe evil to the acquisition of forbidden knowledge through the teachings of Azazel, who was party to the plot of the Fallen Angels in the seducing the women. Despite their defeat, bound in the Bad Lands, the world would not be rid of their corrupt influence for another “seventy generations,” with the advent of the End of Days. Because the knowledge persists, the source of evil persists. The author (or redactor) of Jubilees, on the other hand, does not ascribe evil to knowledge, but rather to a genetic admixture of corrupted Angels and women. Some of these Fallen Angels survive the flood (at the behest of Mastema) and become the demons, the servants of Satan on Earth, and thus continue to have a role in tempting humankind to sin. Pirque de-Rabbi Eliezer follows the genetic model of Jubilees, but seems to suggest that the women (descendants of Cain) were ultimately responsible for the seduction. And yet was not Samael the progenitor of Cain, through Eve? And was he not the one who led the Angels to their fall, inciting them to plot against Adam in the Garden? As it says in Enoch: “To him ascribe all sin” (I Enoch 10:8). Similarly, the Israelite people use Samael as the projection for their sins: “and all the sins of Israel were upon it [עֲוֹנוֹתֵיהֶם שֶׁל יִשְׂרָאֵל]” (PRE 46). Does this exonerate the individual of responsibility or absolve him of having to atone for his sins? Not necessarily.

PRE creates an etiological account for the Scapegoat offering. Unlike Enoch, the myth does not conform to an eschatological pattern, but rather justifies halachic practice, or (in this case) a religious ritual, described in the Bible and dating back to the Temple period. Ricoeur describes the use of myth:

Myth... [is not] a false explanation by means of images and fables, but a traditional narration which relates to events that happened at the beginning of time and which has the purpose of providing grounds for the ritual actions of men of today, and in a general manner, establishing all the forms of action and thought by which man understands himself in his world (Ricoeur 1967: 5).

In PRE, the narrative of the role of the Fallen Angel, Azazel/Samael, on the Day of Atonement becomes a *symbolic source* for the wholesale forgiveness of the Jewish people. The power of the myth lies in its irony: the one who is responsible for ‘the Fall of Man’ is the very one who will testify for the Israelites as their advocate (*sanegor*) and

prompt God to forgiveness.⁶⁸ It is not an etiological myth, in the classic sense of having “explanatory power.” The author clearly understands that he is writing in the realm of fiction (highlighted by the touch of humour, and the element of the fantastic). Nevertheless, the myth has the power, in Ricoeur’s terms, for “providing grounds for the ritual actions of men of today.” The Scapegoat ritual, though not practiced since the destruction of the Temple, is still read on Yom Kippur. The author connects the origin of evil, *in illo tempore ab origine*, to its symbolic dissolution on the Day of Atonement as the payoff of Samael. In the next chapter, I will further explore the relationship between narrative and ritual in PRE, drawing on Paul Ricoeur’s theories, as well as the work of Michael Fishbane and Ittamar Gruenwald. In this chapter I have limited myself to a character study of Samael. The Fallen Angel is held responsible for the origin of evil, both in the seduction of Eve and in his role as the leader of the *bnei ’elohim*. The midrashic tradition traces his fate to an ultimate defeat, when Samael is forced to abandon his role as Accuser and become Prosecutor for the Defense on behalf of Israel on Yom Kippur.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PRE AND PSEUDEPIGRAPHA

Questions remain as to what extent and how the author of PRE had access to these Pseudepigraphic works. Does he draw directly from an original Hebrew or Aramaic version, or from their Greek or Latin rescensions, or possibly a later Semitic translation of these recensions, now lost to us? The discovery of manuscripts among the Cairo Genizah collection of parallel works from the Qumran caves – the *Damascus Document* and the *Aramaic Levi*, for example – raises several questions about the relationship between canonical and non-canonical works within the late rabbinic corpus. Is it possible that the injunction against the *Sefarim Hitzonim*⁶⁹ did not unanimously hold sway over the Jewish Community at all times? Is it possible to trace a ‘continuous trail’ from literature of the Second Temple to its later manifestations? Or, as Reeves phrases it, “did works like these re-renter Jewish intellec-

⁶⁸ This contradicts the rabbinic dictum: “the Prosecutor cannot become the Attorney for the Defense [שאיין קטיגור נעשה סניגור]” (*b. Rosh ha-Shanah* 26a).

⁶⁹ See *M. Sanhedrin* 10:1, *y. Sanhedrin* 10:1, 50a, and *b. Sanhedrin* 100b, and *Eccl. Rab.* 12:12 (11).

tual life after a long hiatus, due to a fortuitous manuscript discovery or a simple borrowing of intriguing material from neighboring religious communities?" (Reeves 1994: 148)

The link between late rabbinic literature and the Pseudepigrapha recently drew considerable scholarly attention. Albeck, in his introduction to *Breshit Rabbati*, points out that this midrash, an 11th c. work written by R. Moshe HaDarshan of Narbonne, reflects knowledge of texts of the Second Temple Period (Albeck 1966/7: 17–18). Michael Stone traces several passages in this midrash back to the *Testament of Naphtali*, demonstrating that the version from which R. Moshe drew is closer to the Qumran source (4QTestNaph) than its Greek rescension (Stone 1996a: 311–321 and 1996b: 20–36). The evidence points to an original Aramaic or Hebrew manuscript, no longer extant, to which R. Moshe had access. Martha Himmelfarb similarly analyzes parallels between *Breshit Rabbati* and other passages from *The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs* (Himmelfarb 1984: 55–78). After close examination, she suggests that the ‘borrowing’ does not stem from the Greek *Testaments*, which, in itself, is full of Christian interpolations of the originally Jewish text. It is unlikely that R. Moshe knew Greek; rather he may have drawn from a Hebrew translation of the Greek work, ‘borrowed back’ from the Christians. She hypothesizes ‘a reader/scribe/translator’, who may have lived in Byzantine Italy, with close contact to Christian scholars. This ‘reader’ may well have decided to translate particularly fascinating passages from the *Testament* into Hebrew. From there, the re-appropriated text may have landed in Provence, in the hands of R. Moshe, since there was considerable interchange between the Jews of Rome and those of Southern France. The dubious origins of the text, though, may have been lost or forgotten. The relationship between Jubilees and R. Moshe’s work is more complex, since there is no evidence that the Greek version was still in circulation in the 11th c. Based on an analysis of the several parallels between Jubilees and *Midrash Aggadah*,⁷⁰ Himmelfarb suggests that the author may have had access to excerpts from this Pseudepigraphic work through the Christian chronographers (Himmelfarb 1994: 115–141). Likewise, Yoshiko Reed suggests that the Semihaza and Azazel

⁷⁰ *Midrash Aggadah*, published by Buber, Vienna 1894, is largely derivative of *Breshit Rabbati*. See Albeck’s introduction to the latter work, 1966/7: 5–10. Three of Himmelfarb’s examples are mentioned in Albeck’s list (Albeck 1966/7: 17–18).

tradition from Enoch may have followed a similar pattern of 'back-borrowing' from the Christian chronographers, where this somewhat controversial material slips, inadvertently, into mainstream later Jewish exegesis (Reed 2005: 269–277).⁷¹

In the case of PRE, the author may have been engaged in a process of 'back-borrowing' from Christian works. Or he may have had access to original manuscripts, either from caves, like the Judean caves in which the Qumran scrolls were preserved, or through those who maintained a continuous tradition with those sources, preserving texts similar to those recovered in the Cairo Genizah.⁷² Moshe Gil records an event that took place around the year 805 C.E, perhaps half a century after PRE was composed, wherein writings of the Judean Desert sect were found in a cave near Jericho.⁷³ The story is corroborated by a letter from Timothy I, the patriarch of Silvekia (726–819), written in Syriac, who records that a group of Jews came to him with the intention of converting to Christianity and told him of an incident that had happened ten years earlier (c. 786). An Arab, chasing after his dog, had come upon manuscripts in a cave in Jericho. When the Jews found out, they went out in droves to dig in the caves. According to Timothy, the Jews found books of Scripture and other texts written in Hebrew. One of the Jews told him that there were more than 200 Psalms that David had composed. The patriarch then wrote to Christian clerics in Palestine and in Syria urging them to buy the manuscripts from the Jews. His appeal (a copy of which was found in the Cairo Genizah) may very well have been successful, for five of these extra-canonical Psalms, recently found among the Qumran scrolls, were translated by

⁷¹ Her position stands in contrast to Ta Shma's, who claims that the author was well aware of these traditions being marked as "non-rabbinic" and of being dangerously dualistic (1985: 188–201).

⁷² These two theories of origin still surround the manuscripts of the *Damascus Document* and *Aramaic Levi* found among the Genizah hoard. The second theory, held by Geiger and his followers, suggests that there were sectarian cells that survived the destruction and exile, only to flourish again in the 9th century as the Karaite movement – the Zadokites of the Second Temple period deemed to be continuous with this later sect (for a review of this literature; see Reeves 1994: 156–159). Other evidence in support of the second theory may be found in the records surrounding a Jewish sect called the Maghariyya, the "Cave Men," "so called because their writings were found in a cave" (Reeves 1994: 161–162). They may have preserved the Qumran sources in some form or other, which eventually led to their rediscovery among the Genizah manuscripts.

⁷³ In Gil's list of chronological events (Gil 1992: 843).

Timothy from Hebrew into Syriac.⁷⁴ If scrolls were found in the caves of the Judean desert twelve hundred years ago, what would preclude the possibility that the author of PRE may have had direct access to an original Hebrew or Aramaic version of Jubilees or Enoch?

A third possibility, however, must be entertained. As Reeves points out, it is not incidental that the rise of Second Temple sources evident in early medieval midrash follows the advent of Islam. Genizah documents suggest that transcontinental travel and trade, in which the Jewish community was widely engaged, brought about the dissemination and cross-fertilization of folklore and perhaps even the exchange of textual traditions between Arabs, Jews, and Byzantine Christians. For example, the 9th century Arab Chronicle of al-Yaqubi includes a paraphrase of the apocryphal Psalm 151, in the context of recounting the history of King David (Reeves 1994: 165). Reuven Firestone points to parallels between the Biblicist and rabbinic traditions and the Hadith, in the narratives surrounding Abraham and Ishmael.⁷⁵ More relevant to our present discussion, Menachem Kister reviews early cosmological traditions, preserved in the *Tafsir* and *Hadith*, which eventually became central to Sufi traditions. Azazel, in many of the earlier Muslim traditions, is known as Iblis after his fall from Heaven.⁷⁶ Undoubtedly, much more research on the relationship between PRE and the Islamic sources must be done;⁷⁷ such a study may provide the key to unlocking the connection between the earlier Second Temple literature and its introduction into medieval midrash.

CONCLUSION: THE RECYCLING OF SAMAEL IN THE MIDRASHIC NARRATIVE

The biography of Samael does not strictly conform to the principle of “the conservation of personalities” (Heinemann’s *rikuz ha-giborim*, otherwise known as “the flight from anonymity”), since he is a demiurge, one of the archangels (albeit in a state of disgrace). He is recycled

⁷⁴ The story is told by Hanan Eshel 2003: 40–41.

⁷⁵ Firestone 1990. For a discussion on the relationship between PRE 30 and the Abraham’s visit to Ishmael, after his banishment, see ch. 3, footnote 9, and Schussman 1980: 325–345.

⁷⁶ Kister 1988: 82–114, see especially 90–91.

⁷⁷ See Wasserstrom 1994: 87–114, especially 101–103.

because of his immortal status, not subject to the natural law of flesh and blood. In his debut, the archangel becomes parasitic on the Primordial Serpent, descending to Earth as the rival of *Adam ha-Rishon* to seduce Eve (based on Genesis 3), a role only gestured at in the earlier rabbinic literature. Evil, then, in this first mythic rendition, is linked to a perversion of sexuality, what I have called “miscegenation #1” – the mixing of a heavenly and earthly being. As the progenitor of Cain, the source of evil is genetically embodied, linked to a ‘bad seed’. The second myth ascribes the source of evil to the Fallen Angels and the seduction of the daughters of Cain (based on Genesis 6:1–4). Again the midrash attributes a genetic component to the origin of evil, what I have called “miscegenation #2”, leading to the destruction, in the Flood, of humankind or, rather, the race of hybrid angel-human beings, the giants. The terse biblical narratives on the origin of *human mortality* – the Garden of Eden story and the account of events before the Flood – in PRE, are expanded into coherent narratives on the *origin of evil*. Despite what would have been considered theologically controversial in rabbinic circles, the author draws extensively from non-canonical sources of the Pseudepigrapha and Gnostic texts, inadvertently integrating dualistic ideas into his apocalyptic eschatology.

But Samael’s role as the leader of the Fallen Angels does not end with the narratives on the origin of evil in PRE. As the personification of evil, he appears at the scene of the ‘*Aqedah* along the Ram’s path, entangling it in the thicket in order to thwart the substitute sacrifice (PRE 31). As the Accuser, he also tells Sarah of the near-sacrifice of Isaac, causing her untimely death (PRE 32). And he also takes possession of the Golden Calf, lowing as it emerges from the fire (PRE 45). After all, Samael, the one to whom the Israelites must ultimately ascribe all sin on the Day of Atonement (PRE 46), is identified as Azazel (in Lev. 16:8), the recipient of the scapegoat offering. True to his namesake, he is blinded by this bribe and transformed into the *sane-gor*. While in the earlier rabbinic literature it is God, in the role of King, who shifts position from the throne of mercy to the throne of compassion on the Day of Atonement, in PRE it is Samael whose role is transformed from the Prosecutor to the Attorney for the Defense. This is consistent with the change in the characterization of evil, from the biblical text to later midrashic works, wherein evil is increasingly projected outward, onto *another* and away from God. Yom Kippur, in PRE, renders a window into the resolution of evil, wherein the division

in roles between arbiter of evil/judgment and good/compassion will be dissolved in the End of Days.

The character Samael is not the only figure linking that ideal time, *in illo tempore ab origine*, to the ultimate Redemption. In addition, Elijah, the zealot who prophesied during the reign of Ahab (1 Kgs. 17–21), is linked with Phinehas, the High Priest, granted the “covenant of peace” for avenging the sins of Baal Peor (Num. 25, PRE 29 and 47). He will also serve as the harbinger of the Messiah in the End of Days (PRE 43). I will discuss this character-link in the next chapter when I explore the relationship between myth and praxis, Elijah being the guest of honor at the Brit Milah ceremony. Rather than a character study, as I have done with Samael, I will explore how the legends surrounding a personality, in this case Elijah, can serve also as an etiological narrative on ritual. The author of PRE deploys a limited set of characters – Samael and his cohorts (the Fallen Angels), as well as the archangels and Elijah – in constructing an integral relationship between ‘the Fall of Man’, with the genesis of evil, and the ‘narrative of Return,’ through atonement.

PART III

MYTH AND PRAXIS IN *PIRQE DE-RABBI ELIEZER*

CHAPTER SEVEN

INTRODUCTION TO THE ETIOLOGICAL NARRATIVES IN PRE

In this section, I explore the relationship between etiological narratives – stories that come to explain how things came to be the way they are – and legal practices, or customs, found in PRE.¹ The midrashic composition retroactively reads these practices back into the period of the patriarchs, or even earlier to Noah or Adam, to account for their origins. These etiological narratives oscillate almost seamlessly between two time zones: the precedent setting time of the Bible and the contemporary time of the narrative’s composition, often highlighted by specific discourse markers. For a biblical example of this phenomenon, the precept not to eat the sinew of the thigh or hip joint is given in the context of Jacob’s mysterious wrestling match with an angel. Jacob gains a new name, and presumably a blessing, but walks into the dawn limping. The biblical narrative then extrapolates: “*That is why the children of Israel to this day do not eat the*

¹ M. P. Nilsson defines ‘etiological narrative’ as a story “which seeks to explain why something has come to be, or why it has become such and such” (1941, 1: 25, quoted in Long, 1968: 1). While Long’s study is limited to an analysis of patterns of etiological narratives in the Bible, his diagnostic tools are helpful in the study of midrash. Many biblical etiological narratives conclude with a clause, introduced by discourse markers, such as “That is why... [על-כן],” or “And he/she named him/her/ the place... [... המקום שם/שמה/את שמו/ותקרא... [ויקרא/ותקרא];” in these cases, the stories come to account for why a certain personage or place is called by that name. In the case of the origins of the rainbow (after the Flood), the ritual of circumcision, or the Sabbath, the term “sign [אות]” serves as the discourse marker (Gen. 9:17, 17:11, Exod. 31:13, 17). Etiological narratives are often associated with the naming of a place or a person, but, as Kugel points out, “institutions or practice, such as the hereditary priesthood, or the division of the nation into twelve tribes, are likewise explained as having come about because of this or that incident in the distant past” (Kugel 2007: 62). The most prominent biblical scholar to explain biblical narratives in these terms was the 19th century German protestant theologian, Herman Gunkel. In my analysis of etiological narratives in midrash, I will focus on passages marked as etiological by expressions like “So it became customary for the Israelites... נוהגים... [כך היו ישראל נוהגים];” or “From where/whom do we learn...? [... למדין/למדיו];” “On this basis, the sages said... [מכאן אמרו חכמים];” though not all of the etiological narratives in PRE are singled out by discourse markers.

sinew of the thigh that is on the socket of the hip, since Jacob's hip socket was wrenched at the thigh muscle" (Gen. 32:33).² The discourse marker "that is why... to this day" allows a shift from one time zone to another, a transition from the distant past, in this case the era of the patriarchs in Genesis, to the present perspective (the time of the story's composition). The etiological narratives in PRE share similar basic characteristics with these etiological narratives found in Scripture: a biblical story is re-told, in which a ritual, custom, or *halakhah* is first enacted in that remote past (the biblical context), and then a shift is made to contemporary practice, justified as sacred because it was consecrated in that distant past. Thus Adam upon his banishment from Eden, in PRE, was the first to engage in the Havdalah ritual, differentiating between the Sabbath and the mundane days of the week (PRE 20). Cain and Abel set the precedent for the law of *shatnez*, not to mix wool and linen (made of flax),³ since Abel's offering of flax was accepted by God while Cain's offering of wool was rejected (PRE 21). And Elijah, because of his vigilante behavior during the reign of Ahab, must return to Earth for every circumcision ceremony in order to bear witness to the nation's fidelity to the covenant (PRE 29).

This integration of myth and *nomos*, story telling and legal discourse in PRE, marks another divergence from classic rabbinic literature, where, for the most part, the halakhic and aggadic literature during the period of the Amoraic and Gaonic periods developed in disparate directions, often as separate compositions. The merging of these modes of discourse in PRE may be a result, in part, of the transformation of midrash from biblical exegesis into a creative genre of story telling in its own right.⁴ It may also reflect the influence of the apocryphal works of the Second Temple period, the *Sefarim Hitzonim*, upon early medieval midrash. Over a century ago, Zunz pointed to traces of the Pseudepigrapha found in PRE, in particular the Book of Jubilees (circa 2nd c., B.C.E.).⁵ Presenting itself as an angelic revelation to

² For the narrative expansions on this passage in aggadah, see *b. Hulin* 89b–100b (the section known as "*gid ha-nasheh*"), *b. Pesahim* 22a, *Gen. Rab.* 78:6, and PRE 37.

³ Cf. Lev. 19:19 and Deut. 22:11.

⁴ See Dan 1974: 1, Elbaum 1986: 97–117 and 1991–92: 99–126; and Meir 1980: 246–66.

⁵ Zunz-Albeck 1947: 139. He mentions similarities between PRE and the Book of Jubilees, pointing to "*sod 'ibur ha-shanah*," the secret of the intercalation of years as an example (PRE 8 and Jubilees 4:17–18), although the relationship between the two passages is rather sketchy – since the former justifies the lunar while the latter justifies

Moses from the heavenly tablets, *Jubilees* reweaves legal motifs into its new narrative rendition of stories from *Genesis* and *Exodus*, structured accord to the fifty-year jubilee cycle. Not only does PRE resemble the genre of Jubilees,⁶ but like that apocryphal work, the midrash weaves halakhic precepts into the narrative rewrite of biblical passages. As Steven Fraade points out, Jubilees “asserts that the early patriarchs knew and observed, as if according to a predetermined cosmic plan, the Torah’s laws long before their more public revelation at Mt. Sinai” (Fraade 2005: 85). PRE provides the same type of assertions.

Furthermore, similar to Jubilees, and unlike the rabbinic *Midrash Halakhah* (so-called because they constitute a commentary primarily on the legal sections of the Bible),⁷ PRE does *not* take either the verse or the precept as its starting point. These earlier tannaitic works, such as the *Mekhilta de-Rabbi Yishmael* or the *Sifra*, maintain the boundary line between received scripture and its interpretive retelling. But, as Fraade points out, from the tannaitic period onward with the codification of law, there is a “consequent dis-integration of legal and narrative modes of discourse” (Fraade 2005: 91), though many passages express a tendency to undermine this distinction.⁸ PRE, on the other hand,

the solar calendar. Albeck points to Friedlander’s list of parallels between the Pseudepigrapha and PRE (in Zunz-Albeck 1947: 422, n. 42). See also ch. 1, footnote 5.

⁶ On the relationship between Jubilees and *halakhah*, see Michael Segal’s article 2005b: 203–228. Segal’s ultimate motive is to explain the contradictions between the legal passages and the exegesis embedded in the rewritten narrative sections in terms of source criticism. His description of Jubilees is pertinent to our discussion on PRE: “The pentateuchal legends are thus transformed into etiological narratives, designed to impart legal lessons to the reader of the work. The patriarchs lend their authority to the antiquity of the laws, and the observance of the laws testifies to the religiosity of the patriarchs” (ibid., p. 204). The same is true of the etiological narratives in PRE.

⁷ For a thorough discussion of the status of midrash and *halakhah* in the halakhic midrashim, see Azzan Yadin’s article 2006: 35–58. He differentiates between R. Ishmael’s and R. Aqiva’s exegetical approaches to *halakhah*. R. Ishmael accords “absolute priority to Scripture: it determines what verses are to be interpreted, the legitimate canons of interpretation, and serves as a model interpreter for the rabbinic reader, alongside explicit statements that marginalize the role of extra-scriptural traditions, almost to the point of irrelevance” (ibid., p. 55). Rabbi Aqiva, on the other hand, is lauded for linking existing extra-scriptural *halakhot* with biblical verses. In both traditions, there is a tendency to ground *halakhah* in Scripture; PRE, in contrast, takes the biblical text as a *pretext* for introducing innovations in *halakhah* and *minhag*, without necessarily grounding it in exegesis. This is a natural consequence of the genre, Narrative Midrash, which does not allow for differing opinions and blurs the line between the re-write and the original passage.

⁸ For a more nuanced reading between nomos and narrative see Fraade’s 2006: 58–70. He makes the very important point that the dis-integration between the two modes of discourse from the Bible onward was reinforced by Christianity’s dichotomy

takes as its starting point the story. That is, in the rewriting of a biblical episode, the author establishes a precedent for law or *minhag*, literally as a *pre*-text for his halakhic innovation. Dina Stein, in her formative study of PRE in the light of folklore scholarship, suggests that PRE's attempt to ground the midrashic narrative in ritual often accounted for digressions in the composition from the chronological order of the biblical narrative, which was 'led astray' by ventures into parallel examples of such practice in Scripture.⁹ Yet only a few of these passages justifying a legal precedent constitute true digressions. In fact, many of the examples of *halakhah* or *minhag* imbedded in the narrative rewrite are not tangential at all. In categorizing them as digressions, Stein underestimates the pervasive dialectic between the narrative and legal discourse in the composition as a whole. I argue that the references to *halakhah*, *minhag*, or ritual do not so much constitute digressions as focal points for many of the narratives.

In the introduction, I analyzed PRE in terms of the genre "Narrative Midrash." I would now like to go on to explore how this genre influences how custom (*minhag*) and legal precept (*halakhah*) are construed. The scholarly literature on the distinction between *halakhah* and *minhag* is vast; suffice it to say that *halakhah*, from the verb *halakh* ("to go"), refers to a religiously binding practice sanctioned on the basis of the written law (*de-orayta*, of Sinaitic authority), or following the oral interpretive tradition (*de-rabbanan*, of rabbinic authority).¹⁰ *Minhag*, on the other hand, is not religiously binding in the same way, yet may still be binding to the same degree as *halakhah*; it usually refers to either customs that are introduced by popular practice and consensus –

between Old Testament Law and New Testament Spirit: "It is precisely this terminological dis-integration of the laws and narratives of the Bible that permitted the former to be largely abrogated while the latter to be typologized in what came to be the dominant, supersessionist narrative of Christianity" (*ibid.*, p. 4).

⁹ Admittedly, the exposition on the "two ways" (PRE 15–17) into biblical examples of *gemilut hasadim* (the service of loving kindness) digresses from the Garden of Eden narrative (beginning with PRE 10 and closing with PRE 21). These chapters include a discussion of the seven-day wedding feast (observed by Adam and Eve, Jacob in Laban's house, Rebecca, and Shimshon in PRE 16), and the traditions honoring the mourner (observed by the wicked Jezebel, and for the sake of Aaron and Jacob in PRE 17) (Stein 2005: 282). But it seems misguided to claim that *most* of the legal passages within the midrash constitute digressions on the basis these chapters. In fact, in terms of genre, they seem to be anomalous, imitative of homiletical midrash. They do not constitute typical narrative expansions on the biblical text, within which *halakhah* or *minhag* is imbedded. See my discussion of the genre of these chapters in ch. 1.

¹⁰ See the article on "Halakha" in *EJ* (1971 7: 1156–1166).

for example, the refusal of Ashkenazim to eat *kitniyot* – legumes and rice – over Passover. Alternatively, *minhag* may refer to customs that are practiced by a particular community (*minhag ha-makom*) but not universally binding on all or even a selection of Jewish communities – as in the tradition, maintained by the Yemenites, of reading the Torah in the synagogue in both Hebrew and the Aramaic Targum.¹¹ PRE is innovative both in the area of *halakhah* and *minhag*, insofar as it grounds the former in the biblical narrative often in an unprecedented manner, and also introduces new expressions of custom that find no parallel in other compositions of the Gaonic period. I will situate the present discussion within the anthropological discourse on myth, ritual, and ceremony,¹² though *minhag* and *halakhah* are both narrower and broader than the latter categories in some ways. While rituals constitute expressions of “religious behavior associated with social transitions,” and ceremonies “religious behavior associated with social states” (Turner 1967: 95), many *minhagim* and *halakhot* are associated with neither social states nor social transitions, and, conversely, some contemporary rituals and ceremonies have no accompanying definition within *halakhah* or custom.¹³ Nevertheless, anthropological categories prove useful in deepening our reading of the midrash, especially when we engage in comparative analysis with similar rituals or “rites of passage” in other cultures. For the sake of simplicity, I will refer to these concrete expressions of legal norms as “praxis” – expressive of a feedback between theory and practice in the true Marxist sense of the term – wherein the practice of *minhag* or *halakhah* reflects an ideology imbedded in the narrative, and the practice, in turn, sanctions the authority of the story. As Robert Cover avers, “no set of legal institutions

¹¹ See the article on “Minhag” in *EJ* (1971 12:5–26).

¹² Dina Stein, in the final chapter, surveys the literature on myth and ritual, from anthropologists such as Sir James Frazer and Lévi-Strauss, to modern rabbinic scholars such as Hasan-Rokem and Boyarin (2005: 268–288).

¹³ The singing of *Hatikvah*, for example, at the initiation ceremony into the IDF; here, there is certainly Jewish content without halakhic definition. Gruenwald discusses the need to separate the definition of ritual from the religious context, not necessarily to include the secular one, but in order to avoid the discussion of the theological framework underlying ritual. He claims that “rituals create their own meanings... [they] do not represent a meaning or truth, outside of their own performative dimensions” (Gruenwald 2003: 3). However the debate over whether rituals belong to religious/theological discourse is not relevant to our discussion, since the focus is upon narrative as the basis for legal precedent (*halakhah* and *minhag*), not theology *per se*.

or prescriptions exists apart from the narratives that locate it and give it meaning” (Cover 1982: 4). In the following chapters, I will explore how particular etiological narratives in PRE emerge out of the rabbinic and non-canonical exegetical traditions, what socio-historical context influences the innovations introduced, and what impact this midrash leaves on the literature in its wake.

DEFINING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MYTH AND PRAXIS

Mircea Eliade’s definition of myth, in relation to ritual, is seminal to our discussion:

In general it can be said that myth, as experienced by archaic societies, 1) constitutes the History of the acts of the Supernaturals; 2) that this History is considered to be absolutely *true* (because it is concerned with realities) and *sacred* (because it is the work of the Supernaturals); 3) that myth is always related to a “creation,” it tells how something came into existence, or how a pattern of behavior, an institution, a manner of working were established; this is why myths constitute the paradigms for all significant human acts; 4) that by knowing the myth one knows the “origin” of things and hence can control and manipulate them at will; this is not an “external,” “abstract” knowledge but a knowledge that one “experiences” ritually, either by ceremonially recounting the myth or by performing the ritual for which it is the justification; and 5) that in one way or another one “lives” the myth, in the sense that one is seized by the sacred, exalting power of the events recollected or re-enacted (Eliade 1963: 18–19).

With regard to Eliade’s first criterion, it is not necessarily the “Supernaturals” that consecrate the event in the midrashic etiological narratives, but rather formidable biblical personages like the First Man (Adam), Elijah, the prophet, or the patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Those who establish the precedent for a given practice may even be a group. The “Righteous Women of the Exodus,” for example, establish Rosh Hodesh as ‘sacred time’ for Jewish women in general.¹⁴ Michael Fishbane similarly understands myth as “*accounts of deeds and personalities of the gods and heroes during the formative events of primordial times, or during the subsequent historical interventions or*

¹⁴ Based on PRE 45, see the discussion to follow in ch. 9.

actions of these figures which are constitutive for the founding of a given culture and its rituals" (Fishbane 2003: 11, his italics).

Eliade's understanding of myth, as a form of knowledge that "one 'experiences' ritually," is most significant in terms of our analysis of the etiological narratives in PRE; that is, the way the author lends the narrative import is by grounding it in practice, creating a nexus between myth and *nomos*.¹⁵ Yet Eliade's insistence on the belief in the veracity of myth – that "this History is considered to be absolutely true" – and his cyclical understanding of "mythic time"¹⁶ are both problematic concepts that require qualification. With respect to the former, in rabbinic discourse the adherence to *halakhah* does not require belief in the etiological narrative since there may be conflicting accounts of who, what, and when the precedent for the practice was established in any given exegetical tradition. Furthermore, even as fiction, myth may enhance the meaning of a religious act. One need not *believe* that Adam was given fire at the completion of the first Sabbath to sense the significance of the Havdalah ritual as a reenactment of that original transition from holy to profane time in the story. That is, in reading PRE, we are consciously engaged in a "suspension of disbelief" – at certain points, the author even jolts us out of this suspension, by calling attention to the fact that he is self-consciously engaged in the writing of fiction with his wild (often far-fetched) anachronisms. Admittedly, whether the author *believed* he was writing fiction or not is a moot point; we certainly read it as such. In a provocative extended essay, *Did the Greeks believe in their Myths*, Paul Veyne reframes the question of the 'truth' of myth in terms of the constitutive imagination, wherein events are determined to be true *not* on the basis of modern, objective criteria of historicity (open to verification or falsifiability), but as alive and meaningful because they are generated by the creative mind. They represent *truths* in the same way that literature or works

¹⁵ Gruenwald, similarly, presents a phenomenological approach to ritual – that "rituals create meaning in the very act of doing" (2003: 11). However, the midrashic composition lends rituals a life of their own, independent of whether that particular custom is observed in a contemporary context or particular community, through grounding the ritual/*halakha/minhag* in the exegetical narrative on the biblical text.

¹⁶ In particular, see Eliade 1959: 111–112, and Jeffrey Rubenstein's article "Mythic Time and the Festival Cycle," where he attempts to reconcile Eliade's notion of "mythic time" as "cyclical and recoverable" with respect to the events in cosmogony through ritual, with the historical (i.e. linear) consciousness imbedded in the Bible (Rubenstein 1997: 159). I will address the seeming conflict between mythic and historical time in the conclusion.

of art do.¹⁷ To quote Theodor Gaster, “Insofar as the mythopoeic process is concerned, it is, of course completely unimportant whether or not an alleged historical event really took place; it is sufficient if it be imagined to have done so. For the basic Mythic Idea is part of the *conception*, not the *actuality*, of an event” (Gaster 1984: 119).

In exploring the myth imbedded in the literary text and analyzing its relationship to ritual, we aim to uncover its symbolic value rather than its truth-value. As Paul Ricoeur, in *The Symbolism of Evil*, points out:

[In the modern era] myth can no longer be an explanation: to exclude its etiological intention is the theme of all necessary demythologization. But in losing its explanatory pretensions the myth reveals its exploratory significance and its contribution to understanding, which we shall later call its symbolic function – that is to say, its power of discovering and revealing the bond between man and what he considers sacred (Ricoeur 1967: 5).

That is, while our analysis of the etiological narratives in PRE will draw on a qualified version of Eliade’s definition of myth, we will focus primarily on their symbolic dimension, and *not* on the motivation behind their genesis.¹⁸ I will explore this symbolic function, the bond between the Jewish people and what they consider sacred, through a study of three examples of etiological narratives in PRE, all of them quite different in terms of their biblical context, contemporary significance, and purpose or polemic. The first example conforms most strongly to the mythic paradigm – the gift of fire to Adam, and its re-enactment in the ritual of Havdalah. I will compare this story to other myths on the origin of fire, in particular the Greek myth of Prometheus, drawing

¹⁷ Veayne comments on truth and fiction: “Let us say that a work of art is accepted as true in its way, even when it passes for fiction. For truth is a homonym that should be used only in the plural. There are only different programs of truth...” (Veayne 1988: 20–21).

¹⁸ Many Classical anthropologists, such as Sir James Frazer, analyze myth in terms of their explanatory power – how they come to explain historical events, names, or natural phenomenon. The biblical story of the tower of Babel (in Genesis 11), for example, comes to explain the origins of the plethora of nations and languages in the world (Frazer 1919 3: 362–387). Myth, likewise, may provide an extended metaphorical explanation for natural phenomenon (Tylor 1958 [1871] 2:68–416). The defeat of the Sea prince Yam (as recounted in *b. Bava Batra* 74b) could be understood in terms of the rising and receding tide. A structural or symbolic approach entails an understanding of how myth constitutes a cultural means of representing the world, what Fishbane calls “mythopoesis.” For a synopsis of various approaches to the study of myth see P. Cohen 1969: 337–353.

on Lévi-Strauss structural anthropology to deepen our understanding of the symbolism underlying the midrash. The second example recounts a more historical narrative, the Sin of the Golden Calf, where the women refused to participate in idolatry. For this, all women are rewarded with the exemption from work, *melakhah*, on Rosh Ḥodesh. The significance of their relationship to the New Moon is framed, in PRE, both in halakhic and eschatological terms. The last example, perhaps the most complex of all since it extends over several chapters, concerns the origin of Elijah's chair at the ritual of circumcision.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE JEWISH MYTH OF PROMETHEUS, OR THE FIRST HAVDALAH

The discovery of fire and its powers marks the distinction between primitive and civilized man, since fire enables man to defend himself against the elements – the cold and the darkness of night; to fashion tools, and to cook raw meat and thus preserve it. In his study, *The Raw and the Cooked*, Claude Lévi-Strauss compares myths concerned with the discovery of fire and, by proxy, of cooking, among the indigenous tribes of South America. He suggests that the pivotal event in the transition from Nature, the state of primitive man living in harmony with the World, to Culture, the state of civilized man bound by social norms, is symbolized by the theft of fire from the sky by a terrestrial hero. Almost ubiquitous across many cultures, the legends recount the acquisition of fire from the gods, or some mythic creature, through an act of stealth.¹ This theft brings into play an opposition between Nature and Culture, between primordial man and his civilized counterpart, which Lévi-Strauss characterizes as essential to mythic thought.² In Judeo-Christian terms, the transition from Nature to Culture is represented by the story of the banishment from Eden. But, unlike the indigenous tribes of South America, the exile from that ideal state of man-in-harmony-with-nature is not symbolized by the stealing of *fire*, but by a far more amorphous transgression – the stealing of the *fruit* from the Tree of Knowledge. By contrast, in the aggadic literature, fire is acquired as a *gift* from God upon man's exile from the Garden.

¹ Stith Thompson, *Motifs*, A1415. See also Sir James Frazer 1963 2: 207–226. According to the Chukchansi Yokuts, a Native American tribe, fire was stolen by Coyote from the Great Turtle (http://www.mythofcreation.co.uk/Reunion_Text/2/Reunion2_1text.htm). The Ge of South America recount the legend of the stealing of fire from a jaguar (Lévi-Strauss 1969: 66–78).

² According to Lévi-Strauss, the legends recorded among the Ge, the Tupi, and the Bororo are built around a set of two sets of binary opposites – the raw and cooked, on the one hand, representing the transition to Culture, and the fresh and the rotten, representing the return to Nature (Lévi-Strauss 1969).

In the classic exegetical midrash, *Genesis Rabbah*, the story of the gift of fire appears rather anomalously in a discussion on the blessings of the Sabbath day. According to the Rabbis, the first Sabbath was blessed with the Pristine Light of Creation,³ in accord with R. Levi, who maintained that this light serviced man for thirty-six hours:

GENESIS RABBAH 11:1 (THEODOR-ALBECK 1965: 88–89)

R. Levi said in the name of the son of Nezirah: that light served for thirty six hours: twelve on the eve of the Sabbath [i.e. Friday], twelve during the night of the Sabbath, and twelve for the Sabbath itself. When the sun set upon the outgoing of the Sabbath, the darkness became palpable [*memashmesh u-ba*]. The First Man [*Adam ha-rishon*] was terrified, “surely darkness comes to bruise me [*yeshufeni*]” (Ps. 139:11), perhaps the one of whom it is said, “he shall bruise [*yeshufkha*] your head (and you shall bruise [*teshufenu*] his heel)” (Gen. 3:15), will come to attack me!?!⁴ What did the Holy One, blessed be He, do? He presented him with two flints, which he struck together and light came forth and he blessed it, as it is written, “the night was light about me [*be’adani*, or for my sake]” (Ps., *ibid.*).

When man is banished from the Garden, darkness was felt as tangible for the first time. The expression “the darkness became palpable [*החושך ממשמש ובא*]” alludes to the description of the penultimate three-day plague of darkness in Egypt: “that there may be darkness over the land of Egypt, a darkness to be felt [*וַיְהִי חֹשֶׁךְ עַל אֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם*]” (Exod. 10:21),⁵ – a darkness that bodes doom and death.

³ The legend of the loss of the Pristine Light of Creation is told in *Gen. Rab.* 11:1 and in *Gen. Rab.* 12:6 (Theodor-Albeck, 1965: 101–105), and also in greater detail in *Gen. Rab.* 3:1 (Theodor-Albeck 1965: 21–22). See also *Pes. R.* 5 and 46 and *b. Hagigah* 12a. For further parallels, see Albeck 1965: 21, n. 5. Most of the sources draw on the eschatological reference to the return of the Pristine Light of Creation in Isa. 30:26.

⁴ The term for attack, in Hebrew, appears as “להדווג ל” which usually implies to be joined or matched as a couple (*y. Yoma* 6, 43c, *b. Bava Metzi’a* 90b, *b. Sotah* 2a), and sometimes alludes to the sexual act but not exclusively. It is not that Adam fears being coupled (i.e. raped) by the snake, but rather fears being joined (i.e. attacked) in a hostile sense as in *Exod. Rab.* 1:8 and *Lev. Rab.* 11:7 (cf. Jastrow 1903: 383 and *Arukh* 4: 277).

⁵ In biblical Hebrew, the root *mem.shin.shin*. [משש], means to feel or to grope (as in Gen. 27:12, 31:34); in Exodus the verb appears in the hiphil, referring to the penultimate plague, “a darkness to be felt [*וַיִּמַּשׁ חֹשֶׁךְ*]” (Exod. 10:21). The verb is also found in the *piel* – to feel without seeing, as in the grope of the blind, e.g. Gen. 31:34, Deut. 28:29, Job 5:14, 12:25 (B.D.B., entry 5787). In rabbinic Hebrew the term “משמש” connotes the same – to touch, to feel, to handle; also to examine and search (Jastrow 1903: 856 and *Arukh* 5: 277–278). In the parallel versions, *Pes. R.* 46 and *y. Shabbat* 8, 12b, the expression appears as “התחיל החשך משמש ובא” which I translate as “darkness fell and became palpable” (reversing the order of the verbs).

With its descent, Adam is seized by anxiety over the Serpent who, like the darkness, may bruise him or strike him by surprise out of the unknown. In describing the darkness as *bruising*, the midrash draws upon imagery from Psalms, “surely darkness comes to bruise me [אך חושך ישופני]” (Ps. 139:11),⁶ and refers to the curse of the snake: “he shall bruise your head and you shall bruise his heel [הוא יִשׁוּפֶךָ רֹאשׁ וְאַתָּה תִּשׁוּפְנֵוּ עֲקֵב]” (Gen. 3:15). In associating the experience of darkness with the Serpent, through the resonance between the terms “*yeshufeni*” and “*yeshufkha/teshufenu*,” darkness is linked with the perpetrator of the banishment from Eden; the gift of fire, compensation for the consequences.

To allay his anxiety upon leaving the Garden, God gives Adam fire, or more precisely shows him the skill of creating a spark through striking together two flint-stones [רעפים]. Sir James Frazer, in his monumental work *The Golden Bough*, writes on this ubiquitous technique associated with the genesis of fire and dubs it “the fire drill”:

In its simplest form the fire drill...consists of two sticks, the one furnished with a point and the other with a hole. The point of the one stick is inserted into the hole of the other, which is laid flat on the ground while the operator holds the pointed stick upright in position and twirls it rapidly between his hands till the rubbing of the two sticks against each other produces sparks and at last a flame (Frazer 1963 2:208).

In our text, however, it is two *stones* not two sticks that are associated with the acquisition of fire. In the parallel version in *Midr. Pss.* the stones are actually named, “Deep-Darkness” and “Shadow-Death” [אופל וצלמות].⁷ In the midrash, the stones become eponymous for the very gloom they banish:

⁶ The NJPS translates the phrase as “Surely darkness will conceal me” (cf. Rashi and Ibn Ezra), but the semantic field of .כ.ו.ש (as conveyed in the midrash) is narrower, yet deeper than that, as it connotes chafing, rubbing, or even striking. Thus it is really a bruising darkness, being the first darkness experienced by man. The verb is quite rare in the Hebrew Bible, and is derived from the Aramaic, שוף or שפף, meaning to rub off or away, to grind, as in Exod. 32:20, synonymous with טחן (to grind). The B.D.B. (entry 9802) cites only three examples of this usage in the imperfect – Gen. 3:15, Ps. 139:11 (as cited in the midrash), and Job 9:17: “for He bruises me in a storm [or by a hair], and wounds me much for naught [אֲשֶׁר בִּשְׁעָרָה יִשׁוּפְנִי וְהִרְבֵּה פָצְעֵי הַנֶּזֶם].” Likewise: “and his bones are rubbed away till they are invisible [וְשָׁפוּ עֲצָמוֹתָיו לֹא]” (Job 33:21).

⁷ Perhaps the Hebrew name “*ofel*” (lit. darkness) is an allusion to the opal gem (also known as “the Firestone”), whose name derives from Sanskrit “*upala*,” meaning “valuable stone,” or the Greek, “*opallios*,” meaning “color change.”

MIDRASH ON PSALMS (ED. BUBER) 92:4

What did the Holy One, blessed be He then do? He presented Adam with two stones, one of Deep-Darkness and the other of Shadow-Death, for it is said, “Man put an end to darkness, and searches out to the farthest bound the ore of Deep-Darkness and Shadow-Death [חֹקֵר [אֶבֶן אֶפֶל וְצִלְמוֹת]” (Job 28:3).⁸ Adam took up the stones and struck them together until fire came forth from them, whereupon he enacted Havdalah, [saying] “Blessed art Thou... who creates the light of the fire.” Hence, at the close of the Sabbath, we enact Havdalah [*mavdilim*] over light.⁹

Midr. Pss. then links the first gift of fire to Havdalah as an etiological narrative for why we bless the Creator of firelight on the outgoing of the Sabbath, with the blessing “who creates the *lights* of fire [בורא מאורי האש].” The connection between the weekly ritual and the event in primordial time is not made explicit in the *Genesis Rabbah* text above,¹⁰ since the blessing Adam utters is simply the continuation of the quote on the bruising darkness and its dissolution in Psalms 139 – “And the night was light for my sake [ועלילה אור בערני]” (Ps. 139:11). By contrast, the Palestinian Talmud, like *Midr. Pss.*, refers to the Havdalah blessing explicitly:

Y. *BERAKHOT* 8:6, 12B

R. Levi said: At this moment the Holy One, blessed be He, presented him with two flintstones and he struck them together and made fire; that is what is said, “Now the night is light for me” (Ps. 139:11), and he blessed it, “(Blessed art Thou...) Creator of the lights/flames of the fire.” Samuel said: Therefore we make a blessing over fire at the end of Sabbath because that was when it was first created.

This aggadic passage plays on the ambiguity imbedded in the sanctification of God as either “Creator of the flames of fire [בורא מאורי]

⁸ The NJPS translation suggests: “He sets bounds for darkness; / to every limit man probes / To rocks in deepest darkness.” (Job 28:3). Yet there is a deliberate misreading, in the midrash, of the quote from Job; instead of the stone, enveloped in deepest darkness serving as the object of the verb, “to search out [חֹקֵר],” it is the stones themselves which probe and dispel the dark, their first spark “put an end to darkness [תְּקַץ שָׁם לַחֹשֶׁךְ]” (Job 28:3).

⁹ This is my own translation, compare with Braude 1959 2:113).

¹⁰ This is not true for all the manuscripts on *Gen. Rab.* 11:1. Vatican 60 makes the connection between Adam’s banishment, the gift of fire, and the Havdalah ritual explicit, adding: “ויצא מן אור ובירך אליה ברוך מאורי האש.” The continuation of the discussion in *Gen. Rab.* (all versions), in the name of Shmuel, suggests that the reason we bless fire at the outset of Sabbath is because that time marks the moment of its creation (cf. *Gen. Rab.* 11:1, Theodor-Albeck 1965: 89–90).

”האש]” or “Creator of the *lights* of fire [בורא מאורי האש].” We bless fire at the outgoing of the Sabbath because this is when its use was inaugurated in Primordial Time, during the first days of Creation.¹¹

This is paradigmatic of what Mircea Eliade calls the “Myth of Eternal Return,” the re-enactment through ritual of the events in primordial time, *in illo tempore ab origine*. In his book *Myth and Reality*, Eliade elaborates on the relationship between ritual and myth, as a means of allowing the sacred to break through to the real world:

... as the rite always consists in the repetition of an archetypal action performed *in illo tempore* (before “history” began) by ancestors or by gods, man is trying, by means of the hierophany, to give “being” to even his most ordinary and insignificant acts. By its repetition, the act coincides with its archetype, and time is abolished. We are witnessing, so to speak, the same act that was performed *in illo tempore*, at the dawn of the universe. Thus, by transforming all his physiological acts into ceremonies, primitive man strove to “pass beyond”, to thrust himself out of time (and change) into eternity. (Eliade 1958: 31–32)

Through the story of the First Havdalah, a link is made between contemporary halakhic practice – differentiating the “holy from the profane [המבריל בין קודש לחול]” – and the gift of fire to the First Man. The Jew re-enacts that original banishment from Eden and God’s act of compensation by blessing the flame at the end of the Sabbath. The myth is thus given a performative function, signifying that time before history began. However, the assumption that linear time is somehow transcended through ritual, that history is “abolished” in mythic, cyclical time (an assumption prevalent throughout Eliade’s writings), is fundamentally at odds with the significance of the ceremony.¹² Rather, the dialectic between the Sabbath and Havdalah, represented by the transition from Garden of Eden into the post-lapsarian world, is a way of imbedding the eternal *within* time and history. The move into mundane time, which Lévi-Strauss identifies as the transition from Nature to Culture, is marked by the blessing over the flames or the lights of fire, re-enacted again and again on a weekly basis. It recalls the gift given in compensation for the act of banishment (from Nature),

¹¹ In a passage in *b. Pesahim* 54a, there are two items identified as having been “thought up” [עלו במחשבה] during the Six Days of Creation, yet their creation was delayed until end of the Sabbath, fire being one of them.

¹² See Rubenstein 1997: 157–183, Fishbane’s discussion of the “mythicization of history and the historicization of myth,” 1979: 136–140, and Ricoeur on “Myth and History,” 1986–87 10: 273–282.

marked by the first experience of darkness and the fear of the Primordial Serpent. Historically measured time stands in constant cyclical and dialectic relationship with eternal time. The Sabbath, as Abraham Joshua Heschel so eloquently writes, “is a day on which we are called upon to share in what is eternal in time, to turn from the results of creation to the mystery of creation; from the world of creation to the creation of the world” (Heschel 1951b:10).

The narrative in PRE 20 elaborates even further on the relationship between the ritual of Havdalah and the gift of fire:

PIRQE DE-RABBI ELIEZER, CHAPTER 20¹³

2. R. Yehuda says: The Holy One, blessed be He, kept the Sabbath first among the Higher Beings and Adam kept the Sabbath first among the Lower ones, and the Sabbath day would preserve him from all evil and comfort him from {all}¹⁴ the anxieties [מסערפון] of his mind, “When I am filled with anxious thoughts [סרעפי], Your comforts delight my soul.” (Ps. 94:19).

3. R. Yehoshua ben Korḥa says: From the tree behind¹⁵ which they hid, they took leaves and sewed (them), as it says, “And they sewed together fig leaves” (Gen. 3:7).

4. R. Eliezer¹⁶ says: From the skin which the snake sloughed off, the Holy One, blessed be He, made garments of glory [כתנות כבוד]¹⁷ for Adam and his helper, as it says, “And the Lord God made garments of skins for Adam and his wife, and clothed them” (Gen. 3:21).

5. At twilight of the Sabbath (evening), Adam was ruminating in his mind, saying: ‘Woe to me, lest the Snake, which had deceived me, comes out in the evening and strikes me in the heel, “Surely darkness strikes me, and yet night is light [for my sake]”’ (Ps. 139:11)¹⁸ {“And you shall

¹³ This translation is based on the Enelow manuscript (En866). See Appendix F for a semi-critical edition of the Hebrew text. I have added punctuation and references to the exact citations from the Bible. I also supplemented this edition with reference to four other manuscripts, as well as Radal’s edition (Warsaw 1852), the 1st ed. (Constantinople 1514, checked against Börner-Klein 2004: 211–221), and the 2nd ed. (Venice 1544).

¹⁴ An addition from Higger (Ca2858), Ci75, the 1st ed., and Radal, where the spelling of “שרעפי” (anxious thoughts) appears with the *sin*, not the *samekh*: ומנחמו מכל וּמְנַחְמוּ בְּרַב שְׂרַעְפֵי בְּקִרְבֵי תְּנַחֲמוּמִיהָ יִשְׁעִשְׂעוּ נַפְשִׁי שְׂרַעְפֵי לְבוֹ שְׂרַעְפֵי, as in the original biblical text: שְׂרַעְפֵי לְבוֹ שְׂרַעְפֵי, which NJPS translates as : When I am filled with cares, Your assurance soothes my soul” (Ps. 94:19).

¹⁵ En886 uses the expression “תחתיו” (lit. under it); the printed editions add the word “there” [שם תחתיו].

¹⁶ In Higger and Ci75, the interpretation is attributed to R. Ilā’i.

¹⁷ Higger and Ci75: “garments of skin [כתנות עור];” the other manuscripts and printed editions are similar to En866: כתנות כבוד.

¹⁸ In Higger and Ci75, Ps. 139 is not quoted at all.

strike him in the heel” (Gen. 3:15)}.¹⁹ And so He sent him a pillar of fire to give light all about him and to keep him from all evil, and Adam saw the pillar of fire and rejoiced in his heart, and stretched out his hands to the light of the fire and said, “Blessed are You, Lord, Creator of the lights of fire.” And when he withdrew his hands from the light of the fire, he said, “Now I know that the holy day is differentiated from the profane. Why? Because one does not transfer {or kindle}²⁰ fire on the Sabbath.” At the same time, he said: “Blessed are You, Lord, Who differentiates the holy from the profane.”

Adam is characterized, rather anachronistically, as the first Sabbath observer on Earth, and God the observer on High. The Sabbath guards him from his anxious thoughts, *sar'afim* [שרעפים or סרעפים], suggesting a subtle reference to the burning of fire, *serefah* [שריפה], and the Serpent, *seraf* [שרף].²¹ Measure for measure, God answers his anxiety [שְׂרַעְפִּי] with the clothing made from the Serpent's skin and a pillar of fire. The anxious thoughts, perhaps the pangs of conscience, are a direct consequence of the Serpent's trickery in Eden; the gifts serve as a kind of immunization against the wily reptile and the anxiety he generated. Fire and clothing provide the antidote to the snake's bite.

There are several differences between this text and the earlier midrashic account, in *Gen. Rab.* Most significantly, the context of the discussion differs. In *Gen. Rab.*, the debate centers on the loss of the Pristine Light of the Six Days, prompted by the question “With what did God bless the Sabbath?” (based on Gen. 2:3) In PRE, on the other hand, the focus is on Adam's existential state after his banishment and God's ambivalent response, which seems to be both punitive and compassionate. On the one hand, God condemns man to the dust

¹⁹ En866 does not include the quote of the curse against the Snake (Gen. 3:15), merely paraphrases. The original quote, of course, is addressed to the Primordial Serpent: “you will strike *him* in the heel [תשופנו עקב]” but the 1st and 2nd printed eds. alter the statement to be uttered by man – the 1st ed. reads “תשופני עקב”, the 2nd ed. reads “וישופני” – he/it will strike *me* in the heel.

²⁰ En866, Higger, and Ci2043 all read להעביר אש (transfer fire), whereas the printed editions read לבער אש (kindle fire).

²¹ The Hebrew term for cares or anxieties, שרעפים, is drawn from the quote, Ps. 94:19 (above). B.D.B. suggests that the term שרעף, “disquieting thoughts” (cf. Ps. 94:19, 139:23) is a variation of שעה, disquietings, as in Job 4:13 and 20:2 (B.D.B. entry 9484). But it is not incidental that the author quotes this verse. The term, שרף, alludes to poisonous (“fiery”) snakes of the desert (Num. 21:6, 8, Deut. 8:15, Isa. 14:29 and 30:6) and may be linked to the verb *saraf* [שרף], meaning to burn (B.D.B., entries 9549 and 9550) – fire recalls the burning effect of the snake's venom and, metaphorically, the pangs of conscience.

from which he was taken, and on the other, He clothes him and grants him the gift of fire. While *Gen. Rab.* links the experience of darkness with the loss of the Pristine Light, no such reckoning appears in PRE. Furthermore, in the earlier midrash God provides man with the means of kindling fire through the two flint-stones, while in PRE, the fire appears as a pillar, a miraculous antidote to the darkness. The image, in the later text, creates a resonance between this exile – Adam from the Garden – and another – the Israelites’ sojourn in the wilderness. Just as God’s indwelling, the *Shekhinah*, is represented by the pillar of fire [עמוד האש] through the people’s wandering in the desert,²² so too this pillar of fire represents God’s abiding with man, despite his state of disgrace. Unlike the Talmudic and parallel midrashic passages (*Gen. Rab.* and *Midr. Pss.*), Adam enacts almost the full Havdalah ritual – spontaneously stretching out his hands (a gesture of praise) and blessing God as “Creator of the lights/flames of fire [בורא מאורי] האש,” and then, as he withdraws his hands, he lauds the differentiation between the holy and the profane [ברוך המבדיל בין קודש לחול]. The midrash conjectures a radical anachronism, characterizing the First Man as a pious Jew who keeps the Sabbath and enacts Havdalah. According to PRE, Adam only realized that the holy was now differentiated from the profane *because* he knew fire could not be transferred on the Sabbath – an edict introduced to the Israelites only after the Revelation at Sinai. In a leap of the absurd, the First Man uses *halakhah* to learn, retroactively, about the original demarcation between sacred and profane time.

IDIOSYNCRASIES IN *HILKHOT HAVDALAH*

The midrash then leads very naturally into a digression on the customs of the Havdalah ritual, presented as a series of statements ascribed to Rabbi Mana (or Mani), a Palestinian teacher of the fourth century.²³ These customs are unprecedented elsewhere in the halakhic literature prior to the Geonim.²⁴

²² Exod. 13:21–22, 14:24, and Num. 14:14.

²³ The name also appears as מני or מוּנָא, and is short for מנחם. See Bacher 1899 3: 443 and 457, note 4, and Finesinger 1938: 348, n. 6 and 7.

²⁴ See *Seder Rab Amram*, 59a-b. See also *Ravia*, ed. Aptowitz, p. 131, and *Or Zaru'a* 2: 24d, 93 (as cited in Friedlander 1981: 145, n. 4, as well as Finesinger 1938: 350–362).

6a. Rabbi Mana says: How must one do Havdalah?²⁵ On a cup of wine and by the light of fire, saying, “Blessed are You, Lord, Creator of the lights of fire.” And when he withdraws his hands from the light of the fire, he says: “Blessed are You, Lord, Who differentiates between the holy and the profane.”

6b. And if there is no wine, he stretches out his hands to the light and looks at his fingernails which are whiter than the body and says: [“Blessed are You, Lord, Who differentiates between the holy and the profane”] {“Blessed are You, Lord God, King of the Universe, Creator of the lights of fire”}.²⁶ And when he withdraws²⁷ his hands from the fire, he says: “Blessed are You, Lord, who differentiates between the holy and the profane.”

6c. And if he is traveling,²⁸ he stretches out his hand to the light of the stars, which are made of fire, and says: “Blessed are You, Lord, Creator of the lights of fire.” And if the sky has darkened with clouds, he takes up²⁹ a stone and says: “Blessed are You, Lord God, King of the Universe, Who differentiates the holy from the profane.”

The context of the halakhic discussion, of course, exemplifies the tendency to ascribe all halakhic practice *retroactively* back to the patriarchs, or (in this case) the First Man. I will not go into a detailed comparison between the medieval halakhic responsa with the practice recounted in PRE, since Sol Finesinger covers this terrain, tracing the earliest recorded reference of the custom to PRE 20 (Finesinger 1937–38: 347–365). Dov Noy, drawing on Finesinger’s article, argues that the author of PRE uses the etiological narrative to justify a practice that directly contradicted the accepted norm at the time (Noy 1964: 166–173). They both claim that the reason why the custom of gazing at the fingernails was rejected by the Geonim and replaced by gazing at the palms of the hands (as recorded in the *Seder* of Rab Amram, circa 875 C.E.), had to do with the supposed association of the former practice (nail gazing) with the oil magic, common in Babylonia at the

²⁵ In the printed editions, the expression is “how must one *bless* [כיצד חייב לברך].” Cf. *y. Brakhot* 8:6, *b. Brakhot* 33b, 52b, and *b. Shabbat* 150b.

²⁶ Emendation suggests on the basis of the 1st, 2nd, and Radal’s eds., as well as Higger, Ci75 and Ci2043.

²⁷ The printed editions read: כשמחזיר (when he withdraws or retrieves his hands).

²⁸ The printed editions read: אם אין לו אש (if he has no fire); whereas Higger, Ci2043 and Ci75 read, as does En 866: אם היה בדרך (if he was traveling, lit. on the road).

²⁹ Radal reads: תולש (picks up, uproots), while Ci75, the 1st and 2nd eds., and Higger, like En866 read: תולה (takes up); Ci2043 reads: מגביה (raises).

time. Despite their thorough analysis of the literature,³⁰ I ultimately disagree with their conclusions.³¹

Rather, I suggest that the Geonim were not motivated by a rationalist perspective on ritual – a need to dissociate halakhic practice from forms of divination – but that the original significance of gazing at the fingernails [הצפורניים] was lost on them. The image of the reflected light in one's nails is a mythic symbol of the original clothing in the midrash, described as a skin of fingernails that covered Adam in the Garden of Eden, as it says in chapter 14: “What was the (original) clothing of the First Man? A skin of fingernails [עור של צפורן] and a cloud of glory covered him.”³² The injunction to gaze at the fingernails evokes that ideal pre-lapsarian state when man and woman shimmered in their chain-mail (fingernail) skins, while God's glory hovered over them. Furthermore, the author of PRE proposes looking at the fingernails only if there is no wine – the reflection of the light serving as a substitute of the sanctity granted by wine. Yet, in contemporary halakhic practice, one does so even when there is wine, as it says in the *Shulhan Arukh*: “It is customary to look at the palms of the hands and the fingernails,” without qualification.³³ In the halakhic literature, gazing at the palms or the fingernails was deemed necessary because one may not pronounce a blessing from the light unless one has derived benefit from it.³⁴ The original context of the image in the

³⁰ Dov Noy suggests that there is a reference to this divination ritual in Radak's commentary on Ezek. 21:26, though Radak lived several hundred years after the Geonim. He (and Finesinger) also associate the practice with “oil magic” common in Babylonian circles, based on the studies of S. Daiches, “Babylonian Oil Magic in the Talmud and in Later Jewish Literature,” London: Oxford University Press, 1913; the practice goes by the name: “שרי בוהן.” See also Yosef Dan's article (1963: 359–369). Friedlander also refers to Daiches' research, 1981: 98, note 6.

³¹ Not only is the tradition of gazing at the *fingernails* not mentioned at all in the Talmud, but there is no *oil* mentioned or act of divination implied in the first source, PRE 20, where it *is* mentioned. Furthermore it is questionable whether the author of PRE was even familiar with the sources in the Babylonian Talmud on oil magic – given the probable provenance of the work (8th c., Palestine). Rab Amram, on the other hand, may have inadvertently made the association though there is no hint of it in his text; and, though he mentions the *minhag* of gazing at the nails (in PRE), he simply states: אין רגילין חכמים בכך (the sages do not hold by this custom).

³² Friedlander also makes the connection between the original clothing and the peculiar practice of gazing at the fingernails at Havdalah (Friedlander 1981: 98, n. 6).

³³ *Shulhan Arukh, Yoreh De'ah* 193:3.

³⁴ Cf. *M. Brakhot* 8:6 and *b. Brakhot* 53b. Another explanation is suggested by *y. Brakhot* 8:5, linking the blessing of light at the outgoing of the Sabbath with the end of Yom Kippur. Since fire may not be kindled on either of these days, one demonstrates

Garden of Eden narrative completely lost significance, for the legal codifiers were not engaged in the mythic basis for ritual; aggadah and *halakhah* remained strictly separate genres for most halakhic compendiums.³⁵

In PRE, the transition from the holy to the profane in mundane time resonates, most significantly, with the banishment of Adam from the Garden in primordial time. When one raises one's fingernails to gaze at the reflection of the firelight in them during Havdalah, the midrash suggests it signifies the skins-of-light, Adam and Eve's original clothing that once covered their entire bodies. Idiosyncratically, the author of PRE also suggests that if there is no fire one can say the blessing on the stars, perhaps an allusion to the original vessels of the Pristine Light of Creation prior to being dimmed,³⁶ and if the sky has darkened, one can say the blessing on a stone – recalling, again, Sir James Frazer's description of the "fire-drill," which in the midrash assumes the form of two flint-stones with which God first demonstrated the genesis of fire (as recounted in *Gen. Rab.* and *Midr. Pss.*).³⁷ All three of these seeming idiosyncrasies – gazing at the fingernails, the stars, or the stone in the ritual of Havdalah – are related to PRE's mythic perspective on halakhic practice. The ritual re-enacts the loss of the Pristine Light, either in the vessels of the stars or the loss of the primordial clothing of Adam and Eve; the original divine gift of fire functions as compensation for that loss. Through the ritual, the transition from Eden to Exile is translated into temporal terms within the real world – Eden has its analogue in the Sabbath, and exile in outgoing of the Sabbath.

the transition from holy to profane time by lighting fire (whereas it is not done in the transition from other holiday to the other mundane days of the week, during which the use of fire is permitted). See the article in *JE* 6: 118.

³⁵ This is true for the most part, with the exception of the literature that emerged out of the German pietist movement, *Hassidei Ashkenaz* – compositions like the *'Or Zaru'a*, the *Rokeah*, and *Sefer ha-Hassidim*. See the discussion in Soloveitchik 1976: 311–357. We will discuss some of these sources in ch. 9, on the topic of Rosh Hodesh.

³⁶ For sources on "the Pristine Light of Creation" and "the dimming of the vessels of light" see footnote 3.

³⁷ In fact, Friedlander conjectures that the stone (or stones) were lifted from the ground in order to obtain "a spark by striking the two stones together" (Friedlander 1981: 168, n. 31).

COMPARING THE GREEK MYTH AND THE MIDRASH

“Fire was born when Heaven and Earth separated”
(from a Mongolian nuptial prayer)

In my opening discussion, I pointed out that legends on the acquisition of fire most often entail a terrestrial hero stealing a flame or spark from the gods or another supernal creature. The most famous of all these myths is recounted by Greeks – the tale of Prometheus, the great benefactor of mankind, who stole fire from the Olympian gods, against the will of Zeus. At this point, I would like to compare this myth with the midrashim on the *gift* of fire to Adam following his banishment from the Garden of Eden.³⁸ Though there are many versions of the Greek legend, Hesiod’s rendition is the most thorough and perhaps the oldest of all the recorded ones (dating back to the 5th c., B.C.E.). The version in *Theogony* serves as our primary source, but I will refer to *Works and Days* to complement that account, as well as to Apollodorus’ version of the myth.³⁹ The story opens with an explanation as to why Zeus withheld fire from mankind. The Titan, Prometheus (meaning “forethought”), had created man by molding him out of water and clay. However, his brother, Epimetheus (meaning “after-thought”), had been so generous with his gifts to all the animals that he no gifts remaining for man, which left him vulnerable to the vicissitudes of the seasons and inclement weather. And so Prometheus was compelled to steal fire as compensation for the vulnerability of mortal man. But knowledge of fire was withheld from man because Prometheus had once tricked Zeus with a paltry offering of “white bones of the ox, arranged with skill hidden in shining fat”:

... From that time
He bore the trick in mind, and would not give
To wretched men who live on earth, the power

³⁸ On the Prometheus myth and its influence on Midrash, see Jellinek, “Adam-Prometheus” (German), in his introduction to *Beit haMidrash*, 1939 5: xlviii–xlix; and Ginzberg 1928 5: 112–13, n. 104. Ginzberg suggests that “we recognize in the legends about Adam certain features of the Prometheus myth. Like Prometheus, Adam produces fire from flint and also like him, he is made to be the founder of human culture” (Ginzberg 1937: 7).

³⁹ Apollodorus (circa 1st c., B.C.E.), trans. by Sir James Frazer, 1921: 50–53. I will refer to Hesiod’s version of the myth in *Works and Days* and *Theogony*. Other versions of the myth appear in Plato, *Protagoras*, 11, and Aeschylus’ tragedy, *Prometheus Bound*.

Of fire, which never wearies. The brave son
 Of Iapetos deceived him, and he stole
 The ray, far-seeing, of unwearied fire,
 Hid in the hollow fennel stalk,⁴⁰ and Zeus
 Who thunders in the heavens ate his heart,
 And raged within to see the ray of fire
 Far-seeing, among men. Immediately
 He found a price for men to pay for fire,
 An evil: for the famous Limping God [Hephaestus]
 Moulded, from earth, the image of a girl
 A modest virgin, through the plans of Zeus.
 (Hesiod, *Theogony*, l. 540, 1973: 41–42)

Zeus then commanded the creation of Pandora (lit. “gifted with all”), the first woman – “a modest virgin” who was graced with sumptuous robes, golden jewels, as well as goddess-like beauty and powers of seduction. She then becomes the means of retribution for the stealing of fire, presented as a gift to Epimetheus, who, precipitous of thought (true to his name), accepted her despite his brother’s warnings. (Of course, Prometheus had foreseen the consequences, true to *his* name). In the previous section, I compared the legend of Pandora’s Box with the allegory of the “beggar of vinegar” in the midrashic account of the sin in the Garden of Eden. Here I am primarily interested in why fire was withheld from man and then stolen by the Titan, and its analogue in the midrashic literature.

In the Greek myth, the consequences for Prometheus are disastrous – he is bound on Mount Caucasus, exposed to the pelting rains and the blistering sun. By day an eagle consumes the lobes of his liver, only to grow back by night for renewed torture on the following day. Among the Romantics, Byron and Shelley in particular,⁴¹ the myth of Prometheus (representative of the poet or artist) becomes paradigmatic

⁴⁰ According to Virgil, *The Aeneid*, vi. 42, Prometheus stole fire by applying a torch to the sun’s wheel. In Hesiod’s version, Prometheus hides the fire in a fennel stock, commonly identified as the giant fennel, *ferula communis* (Hebrew: שׁוּמֵר תְּרִבּוֹתֵי). Tournefort describes it thus: “five feet tall, and three inches thick, with knots and branches at intervals of about ten inches, the whole being covered with tolerably hard rind. This stalk is filled with a white pith, which, being very dry, catches fire just like a wick; the fire keeps alight perfectly in the stalk and consumes the pith only gradually, without damaging the rind; hence people use this plant to carry fire from one place to another...” (P. de Tournefort, *Relation d’un Voyage du Levant*, Amsterdam, 1718 l: 93, quoted in Frazer’s notes to Apollodorus, 1921: 52, n. 4).

⁴¹ Lord Byron, “Prometheus,” 1816, and Percy Bysshe Shelley’s epic “Prometheus Unbound,” 1820, inspired by Aeschylus’ tragic drama, *Prometheus Bound*.

for the hero's struggle against repressive forces, sacrificing himself for creativity. The poets assume an inherent tension between human creativity and initiative, upheld by the Titan thief of flame, and the external divine authority of Zeus, "who thunders in heaven."

As we explore the theological ramifications of this myth in the midrashic sources, we must also ask whether the same tension exists between human initiative and creativity and the will of "the gods" (as represented by the One God). In Lévi-Strauss' terms, does the midrash demonstrate a similar opposition between Nature and Culture, as played out in the Greek myth through the rivalry between Zeus and the great benefactor of humankind? Jellinek suggests, in his terse analysis of the legend in *Gen. Rab.* and PRE, a fascinating comparison between the two mythic traditions.⁴² In the course of appropriating the Greek myth, the *dramatis personae* undergo a transformation in order to conform to monotheistic tenets – the Titan, Prometheus, shrinks down to mortal proportions and the figure of Zeus is projected onto the one God. Contrary to one's intuition, Jellinek does not identify Prometheus with God who *grants* the gift of fire, but with Adam, the prototype of Man, "*Urtypus des Menschen*."⁴³ Yet Prometheus must *steal* "the power of fire which never wearies" from on High *against the will of Zeus*, while Adam is freely given fire by God. No tension seems to exist between the divine realm and the human one in the Jewish tradition, unless, as I suggest, one recognizes the analogue of stealing fire to be the stealing-the-fruit-of-the-tree-of-Knowledge. The sequence of events for both Prometheus and Adam are then parallel. After stealing fire, the Titan is punished by being bound on Mount Caucasus. In Adam's case, after he eats of the Tree, he is punished with banishment from the Garden. In both legends, there is an amelioration to the consequences of the sin. Prometheus is eventually unbound, when Heracles shoots the eagle with an arrow, putting an end to the horror of the ever-consumed-and-renewed-liver.⁴⁴ In same chapter (PRE 20), Adam, too, does penance by soaking in the Gihon River for seven

⁴² Jellinek, "Adam-Prometheus" (German), in his introduction to *Beit haMidrash*, 1939 5: xlviii–xlix.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. xlviii.

⁴⁴ Prometheus was released from being bound on Mount Caucasus when Heracles shot the eagle, and the Titan then resumed his position on High. Chiron, though immortal, consented to die in his stead and Prometheus then bore the olive as a wreath about his head as a remembrance of his being bound (as recounted in Apollodorus, *The Library*, II, 1. 11, cf. Hesiod, *Theogony*, l. 531–538, 1973: 40).

weeks; he is also granted compensation – clothing and the gift of fire upon his exile from Eden.

In a fascinating twist, the sin marking the violation of the boundary between Heaven and Earth, in the Greek myth, becomes the source of reparation in the Jewish myth. In Hesiod's version of the story, the gods, possessive over their privileges, "desire to keep the stuff of life hidden from us" (Hesiod, *Works and Days*, l. 43, 1973: 60). By contrast, in the Jewish legend, God is partisan to the acquisition of craftsmanship and knowledge as represented by the gift of fire.⁴⁵ There is, however, a deep ambivalence in the divine stance, for God *does* command Adam not to eat of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil. And, as the Serpent claims, in withholding the fruit, a desire for an absolute distinction between the divine and human realms of knowledge is asserted: "For God knows that as soon as you eat of it your eyes will be opened and you will be *like God* (or divine beings), knowing good and evil [באלהים יודעי טוב ורע]" (Gen. 3:5). God seems to shift His position in the midrashic narrative. The balance of powers, realigned by the transgression of the boundary between Heaven and Earth, changes once again when knowledge (represented by fire) is freely given.

A summary of the comparison between the Greek and the Jewish myth is presented in the following chart:

	Greek	Jewish
Principle Characters	Prometheus, " <i>Urtypus des Menschen</i> " (Jellinek's term) Zeus	<i>Adam ha-Rishon</i> God
Transgression	Primary: Prometheus' paltry offering to Zeus (the glistening fat covering the bones); therefore fire is withheld Secondary: stealing fire	Eating the forbidden fruit

⁴⁵ This is also true of God's role in Genesis, chapter one, when He tells Adam and Eve (before "the Fall") to "be fertile and increase, fill the Earth and master it; and rule the fish of the sea, the birds of the sky, and all the living things that creep on Earth" (Gen. 1:28).

Table (cont.)

	Greek	Jewish
Consequences	1) Prometheus Bound on Mount Caucasus 2) The gift of Pandora, the first woman, who brings all kinds of evils to humankind ⁴⁶	1) Banishment from the Garden (PRE 20) 2) 9 Curses + Death for Adam, Eve, and Samael/Serpent (PRE 14)
Repentance/Penance	– Suffering – Prometheus does penance	Suffering, banishment, and repentance (<i>teshuvah</i>), in the waters of Gihon (PRE 20)
Amelioration	– Prometheus Unbound when Hercules kills the eagle, gains immortality; the olive wreath/the ring as the symbol/substitute of ‘bondage’	1) The Gift of Fire 2) God clothes man in snakeskin (PRE 20)

The story of Prometheus, like the story of “the Fall,” posits a tension between the forbidden knowledge of the gods (or God) and the realm of human jurisdiction. Gaston Bachelard, in his remarkable book *The Psychoanalysis of Fire*, characterizes this tension in psychological terms:

We propose then to place together under the name of the *Prometheus complex* all those tendencies which impel us to know as much as our fathers, more than our fathers, as much as our teachers, more than our teachers. . . . If pure intellectuality is exceptional, it is nonetheless very characteristic of a specifically human evolution. The Prometheus complex is the Oedipus complex of the life of the intellect (Bachelard 1964: 12).

Like the Oedipal myth, in which the son enacts the unconscious will to *outdo* his father, the myth of Prometheus recounts the will to outdo the gods through the acquisition of forbidden knowledge, symbolized

⁴⁶ Through Pandora, who opens the jar and releases all the ills known to man (Hesiod, *Works and Days*, l. 90–98, and *Theogony*, l. 590. See the discussion in ch. 5, comparing Eve to Pandora.

by the theft of fire and its consequences. In the Greek myth, man is condemned to mortality, yet a sense of dignity is gained through that first act of defiance. The acquisition of fire marks the beginning of human civilization, when man begins to transcend the limits of Nature. In Lévi-Strauss' terms, this transition to Culture is necessarily fraught with opposition; it entails a projection of *resistance* onto the gods who do not yield knowledge freely. The embodiment of this resistance, in the Greek tradition, is Zeus; in the Judeo-Christian tradition, it is the One God. Yet in the midrash the stealing of the fruit and the acquisition fire, the sin and the amelioration of its consequences, are really two sides of the same coin. God surprisingly, at the moment of man's banishment, blessed his first step into civilization with the gift of fire. The midrash does not restrict His role to a wrathful, jealous deity, but allows Him to "steal the show" (so to speak) by co-opting both the role of Zeus, the punitive god "who thunders in Heaven," and the role of Prometheus, the Titan who is so magnanimous towards man. Despite the banishment, God cannot bear to leave Adam to his cursed existence without a stitch of clothing or a burning coal by which to warm his food. In monotheism, the symbol of the gift of fire marks a shift in the divine stance; the boundary between Heaven and Earth is once again breached, but this time with good will.

CHAPTER NINE

ROSH ḤODESH AS A WOMEN'S HOLIDAY – THE ORIGIN OF A MINHAG

In this chapter, I explore yet another transition from profane to sacred time, related to the lunar cycle as represented by the Rosh Ḥodesh festival. This transition is only sacred for a limited segment of the Jewish people – the women, who, according to PRE, should be exempt from work (*melakhah*) on Rosh Ḥodesh. The practice has gone, for the most part, by the wayside but the association between women and Rosh Ḥodesh is well known, though the story of its origins may have been forgotten. The first record of the tradition appears in the Palestinian Talmud, with no explanation as to the origins of the gender bias.¹ The author of PRE (chapter 45), provides an etiological narrative for the tradition. Because the women did not contribute their jewelry in the making of the Golden Calf, they were rewarded with the festival of Rosh Ḥodesh. The connection between the two – their piety and God's gift – is tenuous; the halakhic responsa thus conjecture a reason behind the minhag. First I will examine the source in PRE, engaging in a comparison with parallel midrashic passages, and then move on to the halakhic literature.

The midrash sketches a scene intended to exonerate Aaron of responsibility in the sin of Golden Calf. His apparent complicity in the biblical text – asking them to contribute their jewelry (Exod. 32:2), making the mold for the molten calf (v. 3), building an altar (v. 5), and declaring a “Festival to the Lord” for the next day (v. 5) – is reformulated in the midrash as a series of delay tactics.² He had just witnessed

¹ *y. Pesahim* 4, 1. 30d; *y. Ta'anit* 1, 6. 64c. The minhag is not recorded in the Babylonian Talmud, which reinforces (as Friedlander suggests) the scholarly consensus on the provenance of PRE (Friedlander 1981: liv, and JE, 1905 10:59a). In *b. Megillah* 22b and *b. Hagigah* 18a, it is stated explicitly that *melakhah* is permissible on Rosh Ḥodesh, without qualification. But see the ‘addition’ to Rashi on *b. Megillah* 22b, and the Tosafot on loc. cit., which mention the exemption made for the women but not the men – probably based on the tradition recorded in PRE. See also the *Tur* and the *Shulḥan Arukh, Oraḥ Haim* 417, to be discussed later.

² The midrash (*Lev. Rab.* 10:3) fills in the picture more fully as to what Aaron

the murder of Hur, who had been rebuking the Israelites for hankering after idolatry. Instead of dissuading them directly, which would cost him his life, Aaron prevaricates:

PIRQE DE-RABBI ELIEZER, CHAPTER 45³

1. Aaron deliberated, saying to himself: If I say to them ‘give me your silver and gold’, they will immediately bring it to me. But if I say give me the rings of your wives, your sons,⁴ and your daughters, the whole project will fail, as it says, “And Aaron said: ‘Take off the gold rings [that are on the ears of your wives, your sons, and your daughters...]’” (Exod. 32:2).⁵

2. The women heard and refused, unwilling to give over their rings to their husband. Instead they rebuked them, saying, “To make a calf and an abomination [העגל ותועבה],⁶ that has no power to save!⁷ No we will not heed you [לא נשמע לכם].”

3. And the Holy One, blessed be He, gave them their reward in this world, for they are to observe the New Moon (celebrations) more than the men. And He gave them a reward in the World to Come,⁸ for they

saw. With a play on words, the verse: “And Aaron saw (וירא) and built an altar (יבן מזבח)” (Exod. 32:5), is reread as: “Since he heard, so he feared... and understood from the slaughter (מן הזבוח) before him [i.e. the murder of Hur].” See also *b. Sanhedrin* 7a, *Tanhuma Tetzaveh* 10, *Ki Tissa* 19, *Be-ha’alotekha* 14, *Exod. Rab.* 41:7, *Num. Rab.* 15, PRE 45, and *Yalkut Exod.* 391. Radal on PRE suggests that the drash deliberately misreads the term “he saw (וירא),” as “he feared (וירא)” (PRE 45, n. 17).

³ This translation is based on the 1st ed., checked against Börner-Klein, 2004: 607–609, supplemented with reference to the other printed editions and manuscripts; parallel sources: *Tanhuma Ki Tissa* 19, and *Zohar*, Exod. 192a.

⁴ Radal’s edition, as well as the En866 manuscript, are both missing “your sons,” though it is found in the biblical text as well as in the printed and Higger’s editions (based on Ca2858), as well as Ci75.

⁵ The printed editions, as well as Ci75, truncate the quote; likewise, En866 only selectively quotes: “And Aaron said to them: take off the gold rings on the ears of your wives...” Higger’s edition (Ca2858) does not provide a prooftext at all, but paraphrases: אלא הריני אומ’ להם תנו לי גומי נשיכם וגומי בניכם ובנותיכם והיה הדבר בטל ממנו.

⁶ The phrase in the 1st ed., as well as Higger’s, Radal’s, and Ci75 reads: “an abhorrence and an abomination (שקוץ ותועבה)” (common euphemisms for idolatry), rather than “a calf and an abomination (עגל ותועבה);” Friedlander (based on the Epstein manuscript) translates the whole phrase as: “Ye desire to make a graven image and a molten image” (Friedlander 1981: 354), a common hendiadys (cf. Deut. 27:15, Judg. 17: 3, 4; Nah. 1:14); it is the same phrase found in Rashi’s comment to *b. Megillah* 22b: “פסל ומסכה,” and is certainly closer to the original biblical text – “molten calf עגל מסכה” (Exod. 32:4).

⁷ Based on Ezek. 7:19. See Radal’s comment to PRE 45, n. 21.

⁸ In the En866 manuscript, the phrase “World to Come” is missing; only the messianic “Future” is mentioned: “In the Future to Come, the Holy One, blessed be He,

will be renewed in the Future [עֲתִידִין]⁹ like the New Moon, as it says, “He satisfies you with good things in your finery/prime of life [עֲדִיף] [so that your youth is renewed like the eagle’s]” (Ps. 103:5).

4. When the men understood that the women would not heed them in handing over their rings to their husbands, what did they do? At that time, they wore rings in their ears as was the Egyptian custom and the Arab custom.¹⁰ And they broke off their rings that were in their ears and gave them to Aaron, as it says: “And all the people (i.e. men) took off the gold rings that were in their ears [בְּאָזְנוֹתָם]” (Exod. 33:3). It is not written, “that were in their *wives* ears,” but “in *their* ears [בְּאָזְנוֹתָם].”

In the retelling, the author has changed the order of events – first Aaron saw [וַיִּרְא אֶהָרִון] (v. 5), or was afraid [וַיִּירָא] on account of the murder of Ḥur, and then he ordered the men to “take off the gold rings that were on the ears of [their] wives, [their] sons, and [their] daughters, and bring them to [him]” (v. 2); while in the biblical account, Aaron first orders the men to gather the rings from their families and then he “saw” (v. 5), that is he understood that they had identified the molten calf with the God of Israel who had brought them out of Egypt (v. 4). The reordering of the sequence of events is common in this genre of Narrative Midrash. Here we are given no explanation for Aaron’s motive.

One might suppose that he was counting on the women’s non-compliance, anticipating that they would be possessive over their jewelry; but the parallel midrashic sources suggest that the refusal to contribute to the Golden Calf stemmed from their greater sense of piety. They can be identified with the “Righteous Women of the Exodus.”¹¹ In the Tanhuma’s version of the tale, Aaron first asked for the women’s rings because he knew they’d resist, having uniquely witnessed God’s hand in history:

will renew them like the New Moon (כְּמוֹ רֵאשִׁי מִחֻדֵּשׁ אוֹתָן כְּמוֹ רֵאשִׁי) וְלֵעֵת לְבוֹא הַקֶּבֶה מִחֻדֵּשׁ אוֹתָן כְּמוֹ רֵאשִׁי (חדשים).”

⁹ Radal and the 1st edition read: עֲתִידוֹת.

¹⁰ Perhaps the Arab custom [מַעֲשֵׂה עֲרָבִים] is to be identified with Ishmaelite practice (cf. Judg. 8:24); see Radal’s comment to PRE 45, n. 23.

¹¹ Radal points out that, in general, the women of the wilderness sojourn were more righteous than the men, cf. *Lev. Rab.* 2:1, *Cant. Rab.* 4:1 and 6:1. He argues that the reason they did not contribute their jewelry to the making of the Golden Calf could not have been because they were possessive over it, because they generously contributed towards the making of the Tabernacle (cf. Exod. 35:22, Radal’s commentary to PRE 45, n. 19–20).

TANHUMA (WARSAW) KI TISSA 19

“And the nation saw that Moses was delayed” (Exod. 32:1)... Aaron said to them, “Take off the gold rings that are on the ears of your wives, your sons, and your daughters...” (Exod. 32:2). He demanded something difficult of them, for the women would delay, having seen the wonders and miracles (הנסים והגבורות) that the Holy One, blessed be He, had done for them in Egypt, at the Sea, and at Sinai...

The “wonders and miracles (הנסים והגבורות)” perhaps allude to the divine involvement in the Israelites’ uncanny fertility, in which the women played no small part. According to the well-known aggadah in the Talmud, the women resisted the Egyptian decrees intended to discourage their procreation, and met their husbands in the fields, seducing them there. Later, they returned to the fields to give birth, where God played the midwife and nursemaid to the foundlings. On this basis, R. ‘Avira taught: “On account of the Righteous Women of the Exodus, the Israelites were redeemed from Egypt.”¹²

Does the author of PRE reflect a similar belief that the women of the Exodus were *essentially* more reverent than the men? In PRE, the story of the righteous women is not told, but their greater piety is implied in the narrative expansion on Matan Torah:

PIRQE DE-RABBI ELIEZER, CHAPTER 41¹³

Rabbi Pinḥas says: On the eve of the Sabbath Israel stood at Har Sinai arrayed in rows, the men alone and the women alone. The Holy One, blessed be He, said to Moses: Go, and speak to the daughters of Israel. Ask them whether they will accept the Torah, for it is customary for men to follow the opinion of their wives, as it says “Thus shall you say to the house of Jacob (*beit Ya‘akov*)” (Exod. 19:3), that is the women, “and declare to the children of Israel (*bnei Yisrael*)” (ibid.), that is the men. They (the women) all answered with one voice, “All that God said we will do and we will hear (*na‘aseh ve-nishm‘a*) (Exod. 24:7). {It says: “Singers and dancers alike say: ‘All my sources [*ma‘ayani*] are in You” (Ps. 87:7).}”¹⁴

The exegetical hook, in this context, is based on the double designation of those preparing to receive the Torah: “the house of Jacob (*beit*

¹² Cf. *b. Sotah* 11b, *Tanhuma Pequdei* 9 (on Exod. 38:8), and *Exod. Rab.* 1:12 (here, the drash is given in the name of R. Aqiva). In PRE 42, the finale to this aggadic passage appears, without reference to the role of the women; instead the foundlings are identified as the infants thrown into the Nile; God then saves them and nurses them on honey from the rock (cf. Deut. 32:13).

¹³ This translation is based on the 1st ed., checked against Börner-Klein 2004: 545.

¹⁴ This additional quote is not found in En866 or Ci75.

Ya'akov),” referring to the women, and “the children of Israel (*bnei Yisrael*),” referring to the men (Exod. 19:3). The women were offered the Torah first because God knew they would accept, and the men would follow their wives’ initiative. Contrast this with the generalization made by the Serpent before approaching Eve: “But if I go and speak to the woman, who is easy to influence (דעתה קלה עליה, lit. light-minded), I know she will listen to me, for women listen to all creatures, as it says, ‘Women are naïve and know not...’ (Prov. 9:13)” (PRE 13).¹⁵ The Serpent succeeds in his seduction of Eve because women “listen to all creatures;” men, on the other hand, are set in their opinions. Yet, in the narrative on Matan Torah, it is the men who are supposedly influenced by the women. We can address this discrepancy in two ways: by pointing out Eve’s unique circumstance (where the author does not necessarily concur with the Serpent’s opinion of all women), or by suggesting that the generation of “the Righteous women of the Exodus” was unique.

Drawing on alternative midrashic readings (namely ARNa 1), the vulnerability of the First Woman did not necessarily lie in her essentially weak character, in being “light-minded,” but in her exclusion from the original command not to eat of the tree (Gen. 2:17), which allowed for the superfluous stricture “not to touch it” (*ibid.*, 3:3), and the Serpent’s consequent trickery.¹⁶ In a parallel version of this midrash on Matan Torah, God initially offers the Torah to the women as an amendment of this oversight in the Garden of Eden:

EXOD. RAB. (PRINTED ED.) 28:2

Said R. Taḥlif’a of Caesarea: the Holy One, blessed be He, when he created the world commanded the First Man alone [with regard to the tree of Knowledge], and only later was Eve informed, and she transgressed and ruined the world. Now if I do not appeal to the women first, they may undermine the Torah, and so it says: “Thus shall you say to the house of Jacob (*beit Ya'akov*)...” (Exod. 19:3).

God calls on the women first because He knows that if they are not party to the decision to accept the Torah from the start, all will go awry.

Let us return to the narrative expansion on the sin of the Golden Calf. In this scene, the men certainly *do not* follow their wives’ initiative,

¹⁵ See the discussion of this passage in ch. 5.

¹⁶ See the discussion of this source ch. 5, and my article: “Re-creating Eve” (Adelman 2003: 161–172).

nor do they listen to their direct rebuke: “To make a calf and an abomination that has no power to save! No, we will not heed you”¹⁷ (PRE 45). Instead, the men are compelled to draw from their own earrings, which they still wore in the Egyptian or Arab custom. The proof for this exclusively male contribution hangs by a thread, the enclitic (the masculine possessive pronoun) attached to the word: “in their ears [בְּאָזְנוֹתֵיהֶם]” (Exod. 32:3). One would expect, then, that the divine reward would somehow be commensurate with the expression of the women’s piety, but the connection between the women’s act and Rosh Ḥodesh remains elusive. I suggest that our understanding of the reward in this world – “to observe the New Moon (celebrations) more than the men,” hinges on our understanding of the rejuvenation promised in the “World to Come:” that they “will be renewed in the Future like the New Moon” (PRE 45). The Taz and the Beit Yosef, on the *Shulḥan Arukh* (*Oraḥ Ḥaim* 417:1, drawing on PRE 45), suggest that Rosh Ḥodesh was originally intended as a holiday (*yom tov*) for both men and women, but because the men sinned, the women exclusively retained the exemption from *melakhah*. The special status of Rosh Ḥodesh for women, then, was granted not as reward to them but rather as a punishment for the men. In this reading, no essentialistic perspective on the women’s greater piety is implied; furthermore there is no intrinsic relationship between women and the New Moon.

The *’Or Zaru’a*¹⁸ suggests that women have an essential connection with the waxing and waning moon, because of their own cyclical relationship with their bodies. (The term “menses,” stems from the Latin *mensis* meaning month or moon). He quotes from PRE 45, almost verbatim, and then adds:

... every month the woman immerses, is renewed and returns to her husband as beloved as on her wedding day. As the moon is renewed each month and they yearn to see her, so the woman is renewed every month for her husband and he yearns for her as if she were new, and that is why the day of the New Moon is a holiday for women” (*’Or Zaru’a, Hilkhoh Rosh Hodesh* 454, trans. by Liebes 1993a: 51).

¹⁷ Based on Ezek. 7:19. See Radal’s comment to PRE 45, n. 21.

¹⁸ The halakhic commentary of R. Yitzhak ben Moshe of Vienna, who belonged to the circle known as *Hasidei Ashkenaz* (the German pietists) of the late 12th to mid-13th c. For other halakhic response see: Jarchi, *Sefer haManhig, Hilkhoh Halel* 43 (מהדורת ״ רפאל, עמ׳ רסה).

Yet R. Isaac's insight elides over the eschatological allusion to "the Future" (the End of Days) in PRE, emphasizing instead how women are *like the moon* in their observance of the laws of family purity,¹⁹ where husband and wife are physically separated by the taboo of menstruation, and erotically reunite after the woman's immersion in the Mikvah. This rather creative understanding of the *halakhah* may have its origin in the teachings of Rabbi Yehudah *he-Ḥasid* (1150–1217), author of *Sefer Ḥasidim* and father of *Ḥasidei Ashkenaz*, the German pietist movement that flourished in the 13th century.²⁰ In his major opus, Rabbi Yehudah writes:

When Jews are forced to convert to Christianity, the moon is in eclipse. [Figuratively, the moon is in mourning. The moon is likened to the matriarch, Rachel], about whom it says, "Rachel is weeping for her children" (Jer. 31:14). Why is womanhood compared to the moon? Just as the moon waxes for half a month and for the other half wanes, so for half a month a woman is with her husband for a period and, for the other half, is isolated from him during her *Niddah* (menstrual) period. And like the moon, she is present for him at night, "And in the evening, she comes..." (Esth. 2:14).²¹

Yehuda Liebes points out that this passage is exemplary of a link in the chain between the rabbinic sources and kabbalistic writing. Here, Rachel weeping for her children represents the fate of the Jewish people [*Knesset Yisrael*], who, in their 'diminishment', are linked to the moon; like women, in their the cycle of distance and intimacy with their husbands, the people are isolated from or drawn close to God. The kabbalistic literature, as Liebes notes, would take it one step further in identifying the waning moon and the wound to *Knesset Yisrael* with

¹⁹ See Puterkovsky's essay, who adopts this explanation for the women's unique privileged with respect to the New Moon festival (Puterkovsky 2003:217–249). Her understanding of the custom, however, hinges on the divine reward in the World to Come – that the women will be renewed like the New Moon, as the midrash states (PRE 45). In addition, according to Puterkovsky, all women will somehow develop synchronous menstrual cycles in the End of Days, though no hint of this miracle appears in either PRE or in the commentary of the *'Or Zaru'a*.

²⁰ For a study of this composition, see Soloveitchik 1976: 311–357.

²¹ R. Yehuda *he-Ḥasid Sefer Ḥasidim* 1148 (quoted also in Liebes 1993a: 50, but I have used my own translation). Compare to *Exod. Rab.* 15:6: "If you'd like to claim that Esther is similar to the moon, just as the moon is born anew every thirty days, so too was Esther..." (quoted in Liebes 1993a: 165, n. 120). R. Isaac' relationship to the mystical tendencies of *Ḥasidei Ashkenaz* is discussed at length in Kanarfogel 2000: 221–249.

the withdrawal of the *Shekhinah* from the World.²² The *'Or Zaru'a*, however, takes a step back from this elaboration of symbols, grounding the association between women and the moon in halakhic practice by simply explaining the analogy in the midrash that links Rosh Hodesh to women in terms of the nature of the feminine cycle and erotic relations between husband and wife. His rather andro-centric commentary makes no connection between the etiological narrative – the women's refusal to participate in the sin of the Golden Calf – and their reward. Instead, she is “like the New Moon” because she is renewed *in desire* on a monthly basis for her husband – an analogy which excludes all those women whose biological rhythm does not revolve around marital relations.

There is, however, an intrinsic connection between PRE's eschatological vision and contemporary halakhic practice, key to the author's mythic understanding of ritual. A kind of synchronicity is created between primordial time (in this case, the Israelites' Exodus and sojourn in the desert) and the End of Days, by braiding together the past, present, and future through the etiological narrative, like ribbons along the maypole axis of time. In this case, the renewal of the luminaries is connected with the women's righteousness at the scene of the Golden Calf and the reward of the Rosh Hodesh festival. Women's privileged status is a memorial, a re-enactment in ritual of their special status gained *in illo tempore ab origine*. I will return, later, to discuss the connection to the End of Days, with an exploration of the imagery of “the renewal of the Heavens and the Earth” in PRE 51. At this point, the association between the women's resistance at the scene of the Golden calf and their exemption from *melakhah* on Rosh Hodesh has yet to be resolved.

I suggest that the link, in PRE 45, hinges on the use of paronomasia and poetic imagery in the verse from Psalms, which serves as a proof-texts for the women's renewal in the midrash:

And He gave them a reward in the World to Come, for they will be renewed in the Future like the New Moon, as it says, “He satisfies you with good things in your finery/prime of life [בְּטוֹב עֲדָיִךְ] [so that your youth is renewed like the eagle's]” (Ps. 103:5).

²² See Zohar III, 79a–b, and Liebes' discussion 1993a: 51–54.

The term “בְּטוֹב עֲרִיךְ” (Ps. 103:5) is translated by NJPS as “with good things in the prime of life,” but the midrash intends a double entendre – the term “your finery/prime [עֲרִיךְ]” serves as an allusion both to “*ed* [עַד],” the woman’s ‘time’, her fertile youth,²³ and to her ornaments or finery, “*adi* [עָדִי].”²⁴ The same word-play is operative in Ezekiel, chapter 16, where a young woman is drawn into erotic relations with a man, as Israel is bound in a covenantal relationship with God. In that context, there is an overt word play on the term “*ed* [עַד]” (i.e. menses)²⁵ and “*adi* [עָדִי]” (i.e. finery/adornment), where the term may allude *both* to her burgeoning womanhood and her adornments: “and you developed the loveliest of adornments (וַתִּבְאֵי בַעֲדֵי עָדִיִּים) – your breasts were well formed and your hair had sprouted...” (Ezek. 16:7, Greenberg’s trans., 1983: 271), and “I decked you with adornments (וַאֲעַדְךָ עָדִי)” (ibid., v. 11). In this allegory, the woman attains maturity and is adorned by God simultaneously.

The same term, “*adi* [עָדִי],” is used to describe the bestowal of grace at Sinai and its loss following the sin of the Golden Calf. According to the midrash, the women refused to comply when Aaron commanded their husbands to “take off the gold rings that are on the ears of your wives...” (Exod. 32:2). Later, in a state of mourning as a response to consequences of the sin of the Golden Calf, “the people *stripped off their adornments* from Mount Horeb (וַיִּתְנַצְּלוּ בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶת עֲדֵימָהָר) (חֹזֵרֵב)” (Exod. 33:6). According to the rabbinic tradition, these adornments (“עָדִיִּים”) refer to the crowns that the Israelites were granted upon declaring, at Sinai, “we will do and (then) we will hear (*na’aseh*

²³ The term “עָדִי” most often refers to women’s ornaments, as in Isa. 49:18, Ezek. 16:11, Exod. 33:4, 5, and 2 Sam. 1:24. But it may also be an allusion to menses, the woman’s time of maturation “עַד”, as in Ezek. 16:7, Ps. 103:5 (B.D.B., entry 5716, pp. 725–726). Moshe Greenberg dismisses this double entendre because menses is not considered to be one of the signs of puberty in Jewish sources; nor would their mention suit the erotic context in Ezekiel (Greenberg 1983: 276–277). I beg to differ. A similar double entendre is implied in the term “עֲדָנָה” in Gen. 18:12 (“בתלוצתי היתה”) as an allusion to the menstrual cycle (cf. Rashi loc. cit.), although many commentaries (including the B.D.B., entry 5730) claim that it refers to sexual pleasure. The RSV, NJPS, and KJV all seem to follow that trend, translating the whole phrase as “when I have ceased to have pleasure.”

²⁴ Cf. Exod. 33:4–6.

²⁵ There is a direct reference to the blood of menses – “In your blood live! In your blood live...” (Ezek. 16:6), perhaps also an allusion to the after birth of the infant (the nation Israel).

ve-nishm'a).²⁶ The author of PRE, well aware of the motif of the Israelites' loss of their finery (identified, in PRE 47, as "the crown of the Ineffable Name"), suggests that only the Israelite *men* were crowned and, thus, only they lost those jewels of faith.²⁷ The women, in not having participated in the sin of idolatry, retained their finery (נְעֻמָּוֹת), representing their loyalty to the original theophany at Sinai. Because the women did not contribute their jewels, "the golden rings in their noses," to the making of the molten calf, they were rewarded with Rosh Hodesh, in "this World" – symbolic of steadfast faith, despite the vicissitudes of time. The moon, with its waxing and waning, is the ultimate symbol of continuity in nature, the possibility of growth again after diminution, of spiritual return after banishment, of intimacy following exile. The gift is an expression of the women's unique relationship to cyclical time as sacred, marked by celebrating the New Moon. The significance of the reward is reinforced by the image of the molting of the eagles' plumage.²⁸ Here, the "stripping" of the finery is not a sign of deprivation or mourning, but a symbol of reclaimed youth.

In the "World to Come," God promises that women will be renewed like the New Moon.²⁹ Does this imply that a woman would wane, then wax, and, like a Phoenix rising, regain her youthful figure? The image, of course, is both more profound and more cosmic than the woman's return to the beauty of her bloom. The understanding of this renewal is contingent on the transformation of the vessels of light in the End of Days. In one of the final chapters of PRE, the apotheosis of the composition as a whole, the author describes "the renewal of the Heavens

²⁶ *b. Shabbat* 88a, *Sifre Deut.* 356, *Exod. Rab.* 46:4 and 51:8, *Lam. Rab.* 24, *Pes. R. Ki Tissa* 10, and *Tanhuma Shelah* 13, and others.

²⁷ The opening of PRE 47 reads: "Rabbi El'azar ben 'Arakh said: When the Holy One, blessed be He, descended to give His Torah to Israel, sixty myriads of ministering angels descended with Him, corresponding to the sixty myriads of the mighty men of Israel, and in their hands were swords and crowns, and they [the angels] crowned the Israelites with the Ineffable Name." The passage implies that the gender of the recipients of the crowns was male – only the men were counted (constituent of the 600,000) as the "mighty men of Israel (גבורי ישראל)." Later, in the midrash, they were praised for being "like angels" – for they did not go to their women, like other mortal men. But when they did that "deed" (המעשה), the sin of the Golden Calf, the same angels descended to forcibly strip them of their adornment. One must surmise that the women were *not* given the crowns nor were the crowns taken from them.

²⁸ See also Isa. 40:31.

²⁹ Friedlander has translated the phrase in the midrash as plural (as it is in Hebrew): "They are destined to be renewed like the New moons – שהן עתידין להתחדש כמו" (Friedlander 1981: 354). Though the moon is renewed monthly, there is still only one moon, so I have maintained the singular in my translation.

and the Earth” in the messianic era. Here, all the people of Israel will be renewed like the New Moon:

PIRQE DE-RABBI ELIEZER, CHAPTER 51³⁰

Rabban Gamliel says: Just as the New Moon is [sanctified and renewed] {renewed and sanctified}³¹ in this world, so too Israel will be [sanctified and renewed]{renewed and sanctified}³² in the Future to Come, as it says “Speak to the whole Israelite community and say to them: You shall be holy, for I, the Lord your God, am holy” (Lev. 19:2)...

Rabbi El'azar³³ said: All the host of Heaven in the future will (be passed over) {pass away}³⁴ and will be renewed. What is written about them? “All the host of Heaven shall molder, (the heavens shall be rolled up like a scroll), and all their host shall wither like a leaf withering on the vine, (or shriveled fruit on a fig tree)” (Isa. 34:4)... Just as the leaves whither from the vine and the fig tree, and yet remain standing like a dry tree, and again they blossom afresh and bear buds and grow and produce new leaves, likewise, in the future, all the host of Heaven will fade away, then return, blossom afresh, bud, grow, and be renewed in their place, to make known that He causes all to be destroyed. And there shall be no more hunger and no more disease {nor any new misfortunes},³⁵ as it is says, “For behold! I am creating a new Heaven and a new Earth; (The former things shall not be remembered, they shall never come to mind)” (Isa. 65:17)...

In the Future to Come, the Holy One, blessed be He, will renew (the vessels of light) and enhance their light sevenfold, like the light of the Seven Days, as it says, “And the light of the moon shall become like the light of the sun, (and the light of the sun shall become sevenfold, like the light of the seven days...)”.³⁶ (Isa. 30:26). {On which day? On the day of the Redemption of Israel, as it says: “when the Lord binds up His people's wounds (and heals the injuries it has suffered)” (ibid.)}³⁷

³⁰ This translation is based on the 1st ed., checked against Börner-Klein 2004: 709–713. For parallel passages see Adereth in his Responsa I, 9, and Rabbenu Bah'ya's commentary on Gen. 1:22. Elbaum also discusses this passage at length in 1986: 264–265.

³¹ Higger's ed. reverses the order: “renewed and sanctified (ומתקדשים ומתחדשים)”; En866 mentions only renewal: [מתחדשין].

³² Again Higger's version reverses the order: מתחדשים ומתקדשים; En866 omits the phrase, and jumps directly into the simile “so too will Israel, in the Future to come, be like the New Moon (כך יהיו ישראל לבוא כמות ראשי חדש)”.
³³ Rada's version (Warsaw 1852) reads: R. Eli'ezer.

³⁴ In the printed eds: לעבר ולהתחדש; amendment based on Higger: לעבור ולהתחדש; En866: לעבר ולחדש

³⁵ This phrase (“ואין עוד צרות חדשות”) is added in Rada's ed.

³⁶ The printed editions do not complete the quote.

³⁷ Supplemented from Higger's ed., Friedlander's manuscript also includes this addition, which he translates: “Like which day? In the day of the redemption of Israel, as it is said, “In the day that the Lord bindeth up the hurt of his people” (Friedlander 1981: 412).

The passage opens with a teaching based on a simile, given in the name of Rabban Gamliel. Here, Israel's sanctification and renewal in the *Future* to come [לעתיד לבוא] may be compared either to the renewal and sanctification of the New Moon in the *present*,³⁸ or the return of the Moon to its pristine glory in the eschaton. In PRE 45, the same ambiguity with regard to the women's renewal in the "World to Come" is implied by the elliptical syntax: "And He gave them a reward in the World to Come, for they will be renewed in the Future [עתידין] like the New Moon." What does the renewal of the new moon in the End of Days entail? In PRE 51, the author describes the nature of the renewal of the vessels of light in the End of Days through an extended metaphor, based on Isa. 34:4. The "host of heaven," that is the vessels of light, will shrivel up and be renewed like the withering leaves on the vine or fig tree, which fade away, then blossom, bud and grow anew. And when the luminaries are renewed, [ופורחין ונוצצין וצומחין], [ומתחדשין במקומן], they'll shine in an intensified way, as it says: "And the light of the moon shall become like the light of the sun, [and the light of the sun shall become sevenfold, like the light of the Seven Days...]"³⁹ (Isa. 30:26). That is, there will be a return of the First Light of Creation.⁴⁰ This image is paradigmatic of the mythic pattern "*Urzeit wird Endzeit*" (the Beginning, *Ma'aseh Breshit*, is recapitulated in the End of Days). The pattern is repeated on several levels: in the renewal of the luminaries, in the Return of the *Shekhinah*, and in the renewal of the women's youth in the End of Days. The author weaves those ribbons around the axis of time, from the Beginning, *Urzeit*, through 'historic time', to *Endzeit*, the messianic era, through the imagery of the vessels of light and their symbolic function.

³⁸ In Sir James Frazer's essay, "The Fall of Man," many legends associate the renewal of the moon with the original immortality to which man would have been privy had there not been a "perverted message." He writes: "Like many other savages (*sic.*), the Namaquas or Hottentots associate the phases of the moon with the idea of immortality, the apparent waning and waxing of the luminary being understood by them as a real process of alternate disintegration and reintegration, of decay and growth repeated perpetually" (1919 1: 52).

³⁹ The printed editions do not complete the quote, nor do they add the comment on the ultimate healing of the wounds and injuries of the people, Israel; this is an addition from Higger's manuscript (ב"י ק'). Friedlander's manuscript also includes this addition, and he translates: "Like which day? In the day of the redemption of Israel, as it is said, "In the day that the Lord bindeth up the hurt of his people" (*ibid.*) (Friedlander 1981: 412).

⁴⁰ See ch. 8, footnote 3 on the "Pristine Light of Creation."

In a later paragraph in PRE 51, the author tells an etiological tale on the source of the moon's smaller stature in relation to the sun, and the reason for its waxing and waning.⁴¹ Originally the sun and the moon had been created equal, "God made two great lights" (Gen. 1:16), but because of the ensuing rivalry, God decided to make the sun bigger than the moon ("the greater light to dominate the day and the lesser light to dominate the night"), whereupon the latter stubbornly refused to be diminished.⁴² Ever after, it is incumbent upon Israel to give a sin offering on behalf God for having diminished the moon, as it says with regard to the Rosh Ḥodesh sacrifice: "And there shall be one goat as a sin offering to the Lord [וְשַׁעִיר עִזִּים אֶחָד לַחֲטָאתָ לַיהוָה]" (Num. 28:55). In real (i.e. historic) time, there is the fading and renewal of the moon every month, deemed by the midrash to have been the result of a necessary compromise on the part of God (which 'now' demands a sin offering); but in the End of Days, the moon will flourish and be sustained, time itself having come to an end. The famous myth about moon, according to Yehuda Liebes, suggests that its waning becomes "the cause and symbol of Israel's misfortunes" (Liebes 1993a: 48).⁴³ Just as Israel is subject to the oppression of the rise and fall of civilizations throughout history and remains "small," so too does the moon.

In the eschatological passage in Isaiah (30:26), the moon resumes its former stature as *equal* to the sun; and the Pristine Light comes to abide in the latter, drawing on the simile in the proof-text – "like the light of the sun" and "like the light of the Seven Days." In the midrash, there is an extension of this simile into a full-fledged personification in the narrative. As Boyarin characterizes the personification of the Sea in the Mekhilta, the midrash makes use of a literary trope known as *prosopopeia*. Quoting Murray Krieger, *prosopopeia* is defined as "a form of personification which gives a voice to that which does not speak and

⁴¹ The midrash is a condensed version of the longer aggadah in *b. Hulin* 60b.

⁴² In the Talmud's version of this aggadah, when God made the two great luminaries in the Heavens (Gen. 1:14), the moon complained, "Can two kings wear the same crown?" God then commanded the moon to diminish itself, while granting compensation; it would rule by night, Israel would measure the days and years according to the moon, the righteous would be named after it (i.e. 'the small – הַקָּטָן'), and finally God would make atonement through Israel's sin offering (*b. Hulin* 60b, cf. also Midrash Koneh 1, PRE 6, *Gen. Rab.* 6:3, *Tg. Ps.-J.* on Gen. 1:16).

⁴³ He quotes from the more elaborate version of this myth in *b. Hulin* 60b, and points to various other parallels between Israel and the moon – namely *b. Sanhedrin* 42a, and the connection with King David, being 'the smallest/youngest', who is named after the moon (cf. Rashi on Ps. 89:38).

thereby gives presence to that which is absent... Here then are words invoking a visible presence, though, of course, to ‘the eyes of the mind’ alone. Though God’s may be a figurative entrance through His personified creatures, the poet makes us, ‘as it were’, see this entrance. He is there, in His living creation, and absent no longer.”⁴⁴ In adapting this idea, the personifications of the moon, the sun, and the stars do not represent natural entities at all, but serve as a “poetic means of making the reader see the coming into the world of the unrepresentable God by evoking the reaction of imaginary witnesses to this event” (Boyarin 1994: 97). The renewal of the luminaries and return of the Pristine Light represent the return of God’s abiding presence, the *Shekhinah*, in the world in the End of Days.⁴⁵

In PRE 45, this renewal of the vessels of light, the moon in particular, will be reflected in the rekindling of women’s youth, as the quote from Psalms suggests: “so that your youth is renewed like the eagle’s” (Ps. 103:5). The eagle was thought to regain its youth by the molting of its feathers (cf. Isa. 40:31).⁴⁶ Women, in the End of Days, will be rejuvenated, return to Eve’s pre-lapsarian state in the Garden of Eden, when she was free of withering skin, fading eye-sight, and brittle bones, all the shackles of mortality that flesh is heir to. Then she donned the clouds of glory and a shimmering skin of nails, before being subject to nine curses and death (PRE 14). The consequences of her sin for all woman-kind include such biologically-bound phenomena as menstruation, the burden of pregnancy and pain in childbirth, travails in raising children, and subjugation to one’s husband (PRE 14, based on Gen. 3:16). Following the simile to its full extension, woman will be renewed like the moon in the End of Days when it will be *equal* in size to the sun; she will no longer be subject to the vicissitudes of time and male supremacy. Her relationship to the

⁴⁴ Based on Sir Philip Sidney’s interpretation of Psalm 114, Krieger 1979: 601–602 (quoted in Boyarin 1994: 97). For the sources of Krieger’s definition of “prosopopeia,” see Whitman 1987: 269.

⁴⁵ Liebes analyzes the kabbalistic usage of this myth, in *Sefer Hasidim*. He points to a combined link between the moon and the women with the link between the moon and Israel, “the waning of the moon and the impurity of the woman were thus united with the destiny of Israel.” But he claims that the same parallel is not extended to the *Shekhinah* until the Zohar (Liebes 1993a: 51).

⁴⁶ See Rashi on Ps. 103:5. Sir James Frazer links this phenomenon with the motif of ‘casting off the animal’s skin’ to renew its youth. The bird referred to in this passage, נֶשֶׁר, is not the eagle but the great griffon-vulture, common to Palestine (Frazer 1919 1: 50, n. 2).

New Moon, then, like the image of the return of the Pristine Light, entails the recapitulation of first days of Creation (*Ma'aseh Breshit*) in the End of Days – the reward: reclaiming eternal Eve before the wily Serpent's seduction. The midrash has ingeniously laid out a series of poetic associations. Because the women refused to give up their jewels for the sake of idolatry in 'real time' (history/biblical time), they were rewarded with the celebration of the New Moon *in present time* "in this World," and also beyond time, in "the World to Come." Then they will be renewed with a return to their pristine state, repossessing the original finery – Eve shuffling off her mortal coil, "in the glory of [her] finery/prime of life, [her] youth renewed like an eagle" (Ps. 103:5). She, like the moon, will radiate anew, when "the light of the moon shall become like the light of the sun" (Isa. 30:26) with the renewal of the Heavens and the Earth. The author of PRE has thus aligned biblical time, *in illo tempore ab origine*, along the axis of present time, through praxis (the celebration of the New Moon festival), and eschatological time, with the renewal of women and the moon in the End of Days. I now turn to our final model of myth and praxis in the midrash – the role of Elijah in the *brit milah* ceremony. Again, the author engages in exegesis of the biblical text as well as eschatology to justify his unique characterization of the prophet.

CHAPTER TEN

WHY IS ELIJAH INVITED TO THE *BRIT MILAH*?

INTRODUCTION: ELIJAH AS A LIMINAL FIGURE

According to Harold Fisch, Elijah embodies the ‘wanderer archetype’, “who does marvellous deeds – to annul evil decrees, to save individuals in distress, to heal the sick, succour the poor, and in general perform useful social services” (Fisch 1980: 125). A liminal figure, “betwixt and between,” he is found at the crossroads of time in the liturgy and rituals of the Jewish people (Stein 2004: 145).¹ As the harbinger of the messianic era, he is invoked in the blessings following the Haftarah reading and grace after meals, his name singled out among the prophets with the wish that ‘he come soon’ or ‘bring us good tidings’.² At the Passover Seder, the fifth glass of wine is designated for Elijah to signify his task as the prophet of redemption,³ and he ‘visits’ every circumcision as the guardian of the covenant (*malakh ha-brit*), with a special seat assigned to him. He is also invoked at the Havdalah ritual, with a closing ditty on the coming of Elijah, expressive of his role in ushering in the final redemption.⁴ These rituals in time are markers of transition – imbedded in the narrative of the Jewish people’s movement from slavery to freedom, the intiation of the infant into the covenant, or, in the case of Havdalah, in the ceremony distinguishing the Sabbath from the mundane days of the week. Yet this characteristic of Elijah

¹ Dina Stein examines Elijah’s role in the introductory chapter to PRE (Stein 2004: 150–151). In addition to his role in the biography of Eliezer ben Hyrcanus (PRE 1, not in the parallel account in ARNb 13), Elijah also plays a pivotal role in R. Aqiva’s transformation (*b. Nedarim* 50a). See Margulies 1960: 79–100 on examples of Elijah’s appearance in the genre “tales of the sages.”

² See Wiener 1978: 132–133, and Fairstein 1981: 85. The scholarly consensus is that the blessings on the Haftarah indicating Elijah’s role as forerunner of the Messiah were already recited in the Second Temple period. See also J. Heinemann 1966: 143–144.

³ See also Noy 1960: 110–116 and the discussion to follow.

⁴ This tradition is based on the assumption that Elijah will not come on the Sabbath or Holy Days themselves (*b. Eruvin* 43b, and *b. Pesahim* 13a). See Wiener 1978: 64 and 133–134.

redivivus as a liminal figure, a wise, old pariah wandering in exile, offering the promise of redemption, is a far cry from the biblical image of the zealous prophet who, during the reign of Ahab, declared a devastating drought upon the land (1 Kgs. 17:1) and single-handedly slaughtered the prophets of Baal (1 Kgs. 18:40). How did this zealot for monotheism metamorphose into the kindly, old man of aggadic lore?

Two biblical passages attest to the source of his eternal life: the ascension to Heaven in a fiery chariot in the presence of Elisha, his disciple (2 Kgs. 2:11–12), and his identification with the “messenger/guardian of the covenant” (*malakh ha-brit*), who will bring about reconciliation between parents and children before “the coming of the awesome, fearful day of the Lord” (Mal. 3:1, 23–24). That is, Elijah returns to Earth as forerunner of the eschaton having never actually died according to the biblical account. The narrative expansions in PRE (chapters 29, 43 and 47), by linking him with the zealot Phinehas, conjecture an alternative reason for the prophet’s immortality and his transformation from zealot to herald of the End of Days.⁵ In this chapter, I will trace the sources of his transformation and conjecture how the midrash reconciles his image as zealous prophet, in the Bible, with his redemptive role in rabbinic lore.

FROM ZEALOT TO GUARDIAN OF THE COVENANT, PRE 29

The author introduces the story of Elijah’s role as guardian of the covenant in the context of Abraham’s eighth trial – the patriarch’s circumcision at the ripe old age of ninety nine (Gen. 19), which becomes the springboard for several homiletical passages on the significance of circumcision in PRE 29. Given the context, we are primed for a very concrete understanding of Elijah’s role as “guardian of the covenant (*malakh ha-brit*),” the covenant here understood to be a reference to *brit milah*. The prophet is introduced in a paraphrase of the theophany at Mount Horeb (1 Kgs. 19), following a discussion of

⁵ The earliest source for Elijah *redivivus* is found in Malachi (Mal. 3:24–25; LXX 4:5–6), circa 500 B.C.E., which describes Elijah’s role as herald of God’s fury and the inauguration of the messianic age. Ben Sirach follows this tradition (Sir. 48:10). The Christian tradition identifies Elijah as a prefiguration of John the Baptist (Matt. 11:7–15), the messianic kingdom of Heaven heralded by Jesus of Nazareth (Mark 1:2–8, Luke 1:16–17; Matt. 11:1–6), cf. Hill 1998: 50. I will discuss these sources at length over the course of this chapter.

the collective initiation ceremony in Joshua (5:2–3) and the practice of covering the foreskin and blood with the dust of the Earth.⁶ The midrash claims that circumcision was observed in this way until the division of the United Kingdom, under the reign of Jeroboam (of the tribe of Ephraim). While the Bible deems idolatry to have been the primary sin of the Northern Kingdom, PRE 29 suggests that Elijah's zealotry was motivated by a policy on the part of the king to prevent circumcision.⁷

PIRQE DE-RABBI ELIEZER, CHAPTER 29⁸

1. So this is how the Israelites practiced circumcision until the two kingdoms were divided.

2. The Kingdom of Ephraim prevented them (from doing) circumcision, and Elijah, may he be remembered for good, arose and was exceedingly zealous, and swore by the Heavens that there would be no dew or rain upon the land (cf. 1 Kgs. 17:1). And Jezebel heard and sought to kill him.

3a. Elijah arose and prayed before the Holy One, blessed be He. The Holy One, blessed be He, said to him, "Are you better than your forefathers? Flee!"...⁹

4. Elijah arose and fled from the land of Israel and escaped, as it says, "He arose and ate and drank; (and with the strength from that meal he walked forty days and forty nights as far as the mountain of God at Horeb)" (1 Kgs. 19:8).

5a. The Holy One, blessed be He, appeared to him and said, "Why are you here, Elijah?" (ibid., v. 9).

⁶ On this custom, Friedlander remarks: "The Babylonian Jews appear to have used water to cover the blood at the circumcision, whereas the Palestinian Jews used earth to cover the blood and the foreskin after the circumcision." See *Sha'arei Zedek* V. 10; Tur, *Yoreh De'ah*, 265; Zohar, Gen. 95a.; Menorath Ha-Maor 80 (sources cited in Friedlander 1981: 212, n. 3).

⁷ The author seems to be projecting back onto the biblical context a practice which was prevalent during times of oppression under foreign rule, as in the persecutions under Antiochus Epiphanes IV from 168–164 B.C.E. (see 1 Maccabees 1:48), and under the Roman ruler, Hadrian (c. 96 C.E.), see Herr 1972: 98, n. 51. The author himself probably did not live in a time when circumcision was forbidden since the Muslims themselves practiced it. On the date and provenance of PRE – most likely, Palestine, during the 8th c., C.E. under Islamic rule – see the discussion in ch. 3.

⁸ This translation is based on the 1st ed., checked against Börner-Klein, 2004: 331–335, supplemented with reference to alternative manuscripts; parallel sources include: Tanhuma *Ki Tissa* 19, and Zohar, Exod. 192a. For a semi-critical edition of the Hebrew text see Appendix G.

⁹ Herein ensues a digression of all those who fled for their life – Jacob, Moses David – and were saved.

He answered Him, “I have been exceedingly zealous [*kano kineti*] (for the Lord, the God of Hosts, for the Israelites have forsaken Your covenant, torn down Your altars, and put Your prophets to the sword. I alone am left, and they are out to take my life)” (*ibid.*, v. 10).

5b. The Holy One, blessed be He, said to him, “You are always zealous. You were zealous in Shittim over sexual immorality, as it says, “Phinehas, son of Eleazar (son of Aaron the priest, has turned back My wrath from the Israelites by displaying among them his zealotry for Me [*be-kano et kinati*], so that I did not wipe out the Israelite people in my jealousy [*be-kinati*]” (Num. 25:11). And here you are zealous. By your life [*hayekha*], Israel will not make the covenant of circumcision until you see it with your very own eyes.

6. Here the sages instituted (the custom) that there would be a seat of honor for the messenger of the covenant, {for Elijah is called ‘the messenger of the covenant’},¹⁰ as it says, “...As for the messenger of the covenant that you desire, he is already coming” (Mal. 3:1).

7. [May the God of Israel, hurry and bring in our lifetime the Messiah to comfort us and renew our hearts, as it says “He shall return the hearts of the fathers to their sons...” (Mal. 3:24)].¹¹

This passage is constructed as an etiological narrative, accounting for why Elijah is invited as a witness to every circumcision ceremony, and constitutes the earliest evidence and aggadic support for the tradition of Elijah’s chair.¹² It presents a contrast between the Israelites of the Northern Kingdom and Jews in the present (contemporary with the author of PRE), in which God plays the advocate of the Jewish people, the role Elijah *should have* taken up. God is ostensibly saying: “During the reign of Ahab, the Israelites did not circumcise their sons, but “by your life (*hayekha*),” they do now! And you are invited to see it with your very eyes.” The oath serves to *ameliorate* Elijah’s critique of the people – both as a promise of their transformation and a condemnation of Elijah. God then causes him to wander forever, bearing witness to Israel’s fidelity to the covenant. Yet the midrash, in linking Elijah with Phinehas, seems equivocal about the nature of the prophet’s zealotry.

¹⁰ This phrase appears in En866 and Higger’s edition.

¹¹ This paragraph only appears in the printed editions, not in any of the manuscripts, and is probably an addition of a later scribal hand.

¹² The tradition is first recorded in PRE 29. See Wiener 1978: 58–59. Rubin claims that this is the earliest source on the tradition of “Elijah’s chair.” The commentary of the Biur ha-Gra, on the *Shulhan Arukh* (*Yoreh De’ah* 265:11), cites PRE as the source (Rubin 1995: 95–96).

In this paraphrase of Elijah's history, so much is conspicuously left out. We are told only very briefly what action the prophet refers to when he avows to "have been exceedingly zealous (for the Lord, the God of Hosts...)" (1 Kgs. 19:10, 14). His zealotry, here, is linked to the declaration, seemingly without a prompt from God, that no rain or dew would fall except by his word (1 Kgs. 17:1). Yet, one might ascribe zealotry to Elijah on a number of other accounts in the biblical narrative. After the contest at Mount Carmel, Elijah single-handedly slaughters all the four hundred and fifty prophets of Baal at the Wadi Kishon (1 Kgs. 18:40). Following the incident of the murder of Navoth for the sake of his vineyard, the prophet pronounces a gruesome doom toll against the House of Ahab (1 Kgs. 21:21–22). During the reign of Ahaziah, he calls for fire to descend from Heaven to incinerate two captains of fifty and their men alive (2 Kgs. 1:10–12). Yet none of these incidents are mentioned in relation to the prophet's zealotry in PRE. Is the author trying to soft-pedal the implied rebuke of Elijah's zealotry?

While the critique remains *implicit* in the biblical text, many rabbinic sources make it explicit by suggesting that Elijah's next mission, to appoint Elisha as his replacement, indicates that he failed in his prophetic office. At Mount Horeb, twice God poses the question: "What are you doing here Elijah? [*mah lekha poh, Eliyahu*]" (vv. 9 and 13). The question is posed either as an accusation or a test of inner reflection. In between the two questions, God stages a phenomenal display as Elijah is positioned in a cave – a mountain-shattering wind, an earthquake, and a fire – but the Lord was not in the wind, the earthquake, or the fire. Finally, God plays him the "the still small voice (*kol demama dakah*)," the sound-of-silence. The prophet responds with the same statement: "I have been exceedingly zealous (*kano kineti*) for the Lord, the God of Hosts, for the Israelites have forsaken Your covenant, torn down Your altars, and put Your prophets to the sword. I alone am left, and they are out to take my life" (vv. 10 and 14), both before and after the intervening fireworks display. In his repeated answer, he reflects a consistent *disappointment* with the Israelites, a consciousness of the pariah-status he earned for his zealotry, the despair born of his solitary mission. This staunch position reflects a lack of inner movement, a refusal to hearken to the internal voice of conscience carried by the "*kol demama dakah*," prompting the prophet to assume a different stance with regard to the people – to become a supplicant on their behalf rather than a thundering voice of condemnation. *Eliyahu*

Zuta, for example, claims that the prophet was deliberately led along the same path as Moses, subject to the same forty days and forty nights of fasting, and brought to the same destination: Horeb, the Mountain of God, scene of the original theophany at Sinai and the stage upon which Moses pleaded for forgiveness on behalf of his people after the Sin of the Golden Calf.¹³ According to the Talmud, the cave where Elijah stood was the very same cleft in the rock from which Moses saw the back of God but not his Face and was privy to the recital of God's thirteen attributes of mercy (Exod. 33:22, 34:6–7).¹⁴ In the *Mekhilta*, he is categorized as “claimant on behalf of the father's honor (*tove'a kavod ha-'av*) and not the son's,” and this type of prophet is impossible (“*sh-'i 'ifshi be-nevuatekha*”).¹⁵ That is, Elijah, in his defense of God, does not play the role of intercessor in pleading for mercy on behalf of his people¹⁶ as Moses did after the Sin of the Golden Calf. Instead the prophet re-asserts his role as zealot (“jealous for God”), and because he refuses to shift his ground from harsh zealot to advocate of mercy, he is ostensibly fired.

In PRE's paraphrase of the biblical passage, however, the question and answer are posed only once, and the series of wonders are missing altogether, as if to elide over the implied rebuke. The midrash then draws on two sources for why the prophet, as a zealot, must return to Earth (as Elijah *redivivus*). He is projected forward, identified with the “guardian of the covenant (*malakh ha-brit*)” in Malachi, where Elijah is, quite literally, designated as the *guardian* of *brit milah*. He is also projected back to Phinehas, high priest and grandson to Aaron, who lived through the Israelite sojourn in the desert and into the period of Judges (cf. Judg. 20:28). The connection is based on a verbal echo between Elijah's claim that he “had been exceedingly zealous (*kano kineti*) for the Lord, God of hosts” (I Kgs. 19:10, 14), and the divine praise of the prophet's predecessor: “he was jealous with my jealousy

¹³ S.E.Z. 8, ed. Ish Shalom 1969: 185–186.

¹⁴ Rashi, on I Kgs. 19:11 identifies Elijah's cave (המערה), with Moses' “cleft in the rock” (Exod. 33:22), cf. *b. Megillah* 19b, *y. Sanhedrin* 10:2 (28b); in *b. Pesahim* 54a, and the *Mek. BeShallah* 5 (ed. Horovitz-Rabin 1960: 171), the cave is identified as one of the items created at twilight of the Sixth Day.

¹⁵ *Mek. Bo* 1 (ed. Horovitz-Rabin 1960: 4).

¹⁶ These midrashim are consistent with the general rabbinic consensus critical of Elijah's zealotry (cf. S.E.Z. 8, *Cant. Rab.* 1:29, *P.R.K.* 17:1, *Mek. Bo* 1 (ed. Horovitz-Rabin 1960: 4), cf. *ARNb* 47 (ed. Schechter 1887: 85). For an analysis of Hazal's attitude to Elijah's zealotry see Yisraeli 2003: 103–124.

(*be-kano et kinati*) among them, so that I did not consume the people of Israel in my jealousy (*be-kinati*)” (Num. 25:11). These are the only two figures in the Hebrew Bible explicitly identified with zealotry for God. The verb **ק.ג.א.** means “to be jealous”¹⁷ or “zealous” (that is jealous on behalf of another).¹⁸ God, Himself, is described as a “jealous God (**אֵל קָנָא**)”,¹⁹ in demanding the exclusive service of the Israelites. Both Phinehas and Elijah act out God’s jealousy (or zealotry for God) against the errant Israelites engaged in idolatry. The midrash then, following the principle of ‘the conservation of biblical personalities’, identifies them as one and the same. With the exception of Targum Pseudo-Jonathan, whose dating is quite controversial, this is the first rabbinic source to make that identification.²⁰

In what way does this ‘reincarnation’ contribute to PRE’s overall narrative design? What is implied by Elijah’s assignment as “guardian of the covenant”? Later, in my analysis of PRE 47, I will discuss Phinehas/Elijah’s role in the incident at Baal-peor (Num. 25). In this chapter (PRE 29), however, his role as Elijan *redivivus* hinges on our understanding of the expression “by your life [*hayekha*],” which punctuates the divine oath: “By your life [*hayekha*], Israel will not make the

¹⁷ Cf. Num. 5:14, 30, or as a noun, in the latter half of the verse, Num. 25:11: “ולא יבליתי את בני-ישראל בקנאתי.” See B.D.B., p. 888.

¹⁸ Cf. Num. 11:29, Num. 25:11, 13, and Zech. 1:14, and 1 Kgs. 19:10, 14.

¹⁹ Cf. Exod. 20:5, and 34:14, and Deut. 4:24, 5:9.

²⁰ See Ish Shalom’s essay on “The Greatness of Elijah (גדלות אליהו),” which includes an analysis of the prophet’s genealogy in *S.E.R.* (Ish Shalom 1969: 2–13). Elijah is identified as Phinehas also in *Tg. Ps.-J.* on Exod. 4:13, 6:18, 40:10 and Deut. 30:4. This identification also appears among the Church Fathers. Origen, at the end of the 2nd c., refers to it as Jewish tradition: “I know not what is the motive of the Jewish tradition that Phinehas the son of Eleazar, who admittedly lived through the days of many of the Judges, is the same as Elias, and that immortality was promised to him in Numbers (25:12).” (Origen, on John 6:7; Petrus Damascus (Migne’s edition CXLV, 382B); cf. Ps-Jerome on 1 Sam. 2:27, cited in Ginzberg 1928 6: 316–317, n. 3). The identification is also implied by the choice of Haftarah for Parashat Phinehas (as 1 Kgs. 19) in our contemporary annual Torah reading cycle, but this may already be based on the late midrashic sources. Büchler also points to the association in the Triennial Torah reading cycle between the passage in Numbers and Malachi, where the “covenant of peace (ברית שלום)” granted to Phinehas is associated with the phrase “my covenant of life and well-being (וְהַשְׁלוֹם)” (Mal. 2:5). According to Büchler, “it is the selection of this Haftarah for Num. xxv. 10 which gave rise to the Aggada connecting Elijah with Phinehas” (Büchler 1894: 37). In addition, based on the Genizah fragments of the 11th or 12th c. found in Fostat, Adler points to the Haftarah of the triennial cycle for Num. 25:1–10, portions from Joel and Amos ending with the phrase: “Phinehas son of Ele’azar in the Twelve minor prophets – פְּנַחָס בֶּן אֱלֵעָזָר – בְּתַרְי עֶשֶׂר” and the verse from Mal. 2:5 (Adler 1896: 527–528). See the discussion on PRE 47, later in the body of this chapter, as to how this association was established.

covenant of circumcision until you see it with your very own eyes.” Is Elijah compelled to be present at every circumcision because Israel must prove its loyalty to the covenant before the zealous prophet? Or must Elijah engage in a *tikun*, a reversal of his biblical role, in bearing witness to their commitment? That is, does the divine oath, punctuated by the emphatic “by your life [*ḥayekha*],” imply a rebuke or a reward?²¹ At this point, PRE identifies Elijah with the “messenger (or guardian) of the covenant (*malakh ha-brit*)” in Malachi (3:1), though the prophet’s name does not appear in this book of the Prophets until the final verses (Mal. 3:23–24, LXX 4:5–6). Elijah is thus transformed into a kind of angel (*qua* messenger of God) – whose life is suspended between Heaven and Earth. As Segal avers: “it is his task to make man the ladder upon which earth mounts into heaven and heaven comes down upon earth” (Segal 1935: 8–9). In Kings, Elijah rises in a whirlwind to Heaven carried by a fiery chariot and leaves behind his mantle for his successor, Elisha (2 Kgs. 2:11–12). From that apotheosis, the prophet is transformed into the mythic figure of Elijah *redivivus* who plays the harbinger of the redemption in so many transitional rituals in the Jewish tradition. I suggest that, like the Ancient Mariner with his “long grey beard and glittering eye” who “... stoppeth one of three,”²² the prophet is compelled by ‘unfinished business’, perhaps

²¹ The expression, “ך״ח” lit. ‘by your life’ in the Bible (cf. 2 Sam. 11:11), is simply an emphatic expression, denoting an oath something like “By Jove!” in English. But in PRE, the use of the expression is not neutral; it connotes a rebuke, even a punishment embodied in the oath, where retribution will follow the principle of measure for measure – as you transgressed so you will be condemned. In PRE 37, for example, God swears that Jacob shall be subservient to Esau in this world for calling himself “the servant” of Esau (Gen. 32:5). Similarly, in PRE 43, because Moses didn’t include himself in the praise of the Promised Land (Exod. 15:16), so he would never enter it; in PRE 48, because Abraham asked how he would know whether he would inherit the land (Gen. 15:8), God swore “by your life,” that he would surely know that his seed would be condemned to exile under the foreign kingdoms. All these examples suggest that the oath is punitive. However, there is one exception, where the oath introduces a reward (PRE 15). It is also neutral in PRE 25 and 30, as paraphrases of biblical verses (found only in the printed editions, not in the manuscripts). The phrase is used neutrally in PRE 1, but some scholars do not consider this chapter integral to the composition as a whole. In that context, R. Yohanan swears that Eliezer ben Hyrcanus shall dine with him that very day (PRE 1). In PRE 30, as a paraphrase of the biblical text (Gen. 21:1), Radal suggests that the expression should be read as “ך״חך – in your lifetime,” not as an oath (PRE 30, n. 7).

²² Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*, l. 1–2. Fisch suggests that Coleridge’s “Ancient Mariner” is modeled on the legend of the “Wandering Jew” of Christian folklore (Fisch 1980: 131). See the discussion of the image of the “Wandering Jew” in Romantic Poetry in Rosenberg 1961: 320–324.

even a troubled conscience, to wander the face of the Earth serving out a kind of penance. He, uniquely, must bear witness to the faithfulness to the covenant because he once condemned the Israelites for having forsaken it (1 Kgs. 19:10, 14).²³ Although this is not *the exclusive* understanding of Elijah's mysterious meanderings on Earth,²⁴ I suggest that PRE is consistent with the midrashic tradition critical of his zealotry.²⁵ His immortality is not necessarily a reward for his proverbial zealotry but rather a means of amending, or reframing, his image in terms of atonement, *teshuvah*, for his nation. In chapter 29, God answers Elijah's zeal with an oath, "By your life [*hayekha*], Israel will not make the covenant of circumcision until you see it with your very own eyes." The midrash then modulates into an etiological narrative on Elijah's chair. The prophet's historical and mythic role is consecrated by a seat of honor, establishing continuity between his biblical personality and his 'resurrection' throughout aggadic lore.

ELIJAH AS PHINEHAS (PRE 47) AND THE EXTRABIBLICAL SOURCES

Also in chapter 47, Phinehas is identified with Elijah for different yet complementary reasons – the 'exegetical hook' being the reward of the "covenant of peace (ברית שלום)" granted to Phinehas and his association with "the guardian of the covenant (מלאך הברית)" (*qua* Elijah) in Malachi. At the scene of Phinehas' debut in Shittim, the Israelite men and the Moabite women engage in a form of ritual prostitution entailing idolatry, known as Baal-peor (Num. 25:1–2).²⁶ A plague breaks out

²³ Even God 'corrects' the prophet in his claim that he alone remains of the faithful – after the destruction and exile of the Northern Kingdom seven thousand will remain – all those who did not bow down to Baal (1 Kgs. 19:18). In the Bible, however, the faithlessness of the people is linked to idolatry not the abandonment of the practice of circumcision (as it is in PRE).

²⁴ There are those who entered Paradise alive (i.e. they never died), which is considered by the rabbinic Sages to be a reward – Serah bat Asher, Enoch, Batya, and so forth (cf. *Tg. Ps.-J.* on Gen. 46:17 and *P.R.K.* 10:86a–87a). However, in this case, the oath language with regard to Elijah seems to carry with it a condemnation.

²⁵ See footnote 26.

²⁶ The terms 'harlotry' and 'idolatry' are associated with the cult of Baal throughout the Hebrew Bible because of the role of ritual prostitution in Baal worship (cf. Hos. 5:3–5, 6:10, 7:4, Jer. 2:20, 3:2–4 and 9:1, Ezek. 16 and 23). See *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, 1992 1: 485–486 and 547–548. In PRE 47 (printed eds.) the transgression is compared to the idolatry of the Golden Calf, and the women's seductive behavior

in the camp, and God commands Moses to hang the leaders of the rebellion in order to stay the wrath of the Lord (v. 4). But when the head of the Simeonite tribe engages in relations with a Midianite princess, they all sit at the entrance of their tents and weep (v. 6). Phinehas, vigilante-like, seizes a lance, enters the tent, and spears the couple in the act of coitus, thereby halting the plague. God then rewards him with the “covenant of peace” (Num. 25:12–13). The author of PRE ‘renames’ Phinehas as Elijah, not because of the resonance between the term “jealous (or zealous, קנא)” (as in PRE 29), but because both Phinehas and Elijah enact atonement on behalf of the nation. I will explore this role further in my discussion of PRE 43.²⁷ For now, I will analyze the narrative expansion on Phinehas’ zealotry at Shittim and the extrabiblical sources, which may have led to the identification of Phinehas with Elijah.

PIRQE DE-RABBI ELIEZER, CHAPTER 47²⁸

4c. And the Holy One, blessed be He, saw what Phinehas had done and that he had stopped the plague upon Israel, as it says, “and the plague ceased” (Num. 25:8 and Ps. 106:30).

5a. The Holy One, blessed be He, considered the name of Phinehas (the same) as the name of Elijah,²⁹ may he be remembered for good, of the residents of Gilead who caused Israel to repent in the land of Gilead, as it says, “I had with him a covenant of life and well-being, (which I gave

is described in very similar terms to the seduction of the Fallen Angels in PRE 22. Radal also notes the parallel in his comment on PRE 47, n. 18, and PRE 22, n. 19, quoting from Hos. 4:12: “My people inquire of a thing of wood, and their staff gives them oracles. For a spirit of harlotry has led them astray, and they have left their God to play the harlot.” Harlotry is often invoked as a metaphor for idolatry in Ezekiel and Hoseah, but in this biblical passage in Numbers, the two transgressions merge. See also footnote 39.

²⁷ Phinehas’ relationship to atonement is made explicit in the biblical text: “for he made atonement for the people of Israel (ויכפר על בני ישראל)” (Num. 25:13). In PRE 47, Elijah’s relationship to *teshuvah* (repentance), and thus atonement, is grounded in the expression “Of the inhabitants of Gilead (מתושבי גלעד, read: *teshuvei Gil’ad*)” (1 Kgs. 17:1), understood in the midrash not as a geographic or tribal link, but as an allusion to the repentance of the people of the Northern Kingdom (see Radal’s comment on PRE 47, n. 39).

²⁸ This translation is based on the 1st ed., checked against Börner-Klein 2004: 641, supplemented with reference to alternative manuscripts; for a semi-critical edition of the Hebrew text see Appendix H.

²⁹ Friedlander suggests (based on the Epstein manuscript): “He called the name of Phinehas by the name of Elijah.” This is similar to Higger’s version (Ca2858): קרא שמו של פנחס בשמו אליה.

to him, and of reverence, which he showed Me. For he stood in awe of My name)” (Mal. 2:5).

5b. And He gave him eternal life in this world and in the world to come.

5c. And he gave him and his sons a good reward among the righteous for the sake of the eternal priesthood, as it says “It shall be for him and his descendants after him a pact of priesthood for all time” (Num. 25:13).

The identification between the two zealots here hinges on the assumption that the gift of the “covenant of peace (ברית שלום)” (Num. 25:12–13) is one and the same as the “covenant of life and well-being (בריתי היתה אתו החיים והשלום)” in Malachi (2:5).³⁰ Through associative logic, a link is made between Elijah as the “guardian of the covenant (מלאך הברית)” (Mal. 3:1) and the “angel of the Lord of hosts (מלאך ה’ צבאות)” (Mal. 2:7), identifying the prophet as the unequivocal recipient of this covenant.³¹ The covenant of peace offered to Phinehas (ברית שלום) is then understood to mean eternal life.³² This same tradition is conveyed by *Tg. Ps.-J.* on Num. 25:12, without naming Elijah explicitly:

TARGUM PSEUDO-JONATHAN ON NUM. 25:12

With an oath, say to him from My Name: Behold I decree from him My covenant of peace. And I will make him the messenger of the covenant, and he shall live forever to proclaim the news of redemption at the end of days.... (Hayward’s translation, 1978: 23)³³

The author of PRE makes a compelling link between Elijah’s status as “guardian/messenger of the covenant (מלאך הברית)” (Mal. 3:1), and “the covenant of peace (ברית שלום)” granted to Phinehas (Num. 25:12) in the incident of Baal-peor.

³⁰ Rashi and Radak assume that this verse is an allusion to Phinehas, but not Elijah.

³¹ According to rabbinic sources, the “angel of God מלאך ה’” in Judg. 2:1 is also identified as Phinehas, establishing yet another link with the passage in Malachi (cf. *Lev. Rab.* 1:1, *Num. Rab.* 16:1, *Tanhuma Shelah* 1, *Midr. Pss.* 103).

³² The expression “Phinehas still exists (ועדיין פנחס קיים)” – based on the intertextual link between Num. 25:12 and Mal. 2:5 – also appears in *Sifre* Num. 131, *Tg. Ps.-J.* on Num. 25:12, *Tanhuma Pinhas* 1 and *Num. Rab.* 21:3. With respect to Elijah, the expression ‘ועדיין הוא קיים’ or ‘ועדיין קיים’ also appears in *S.O.R.* 1, *b. Bava Batra* 121b, where ‘seven overlap the entire [history] of the world’. It is worth noting, here, that Amram (Moses’ father) sees Ahiya, but Phinehas *does not* encounter Elijah. Perhaps a conscious ‘oversight’ is made in these classic rabbinic sources detaching Phinehas from Elijah. See the discussion to follow in the body of this chapter.

³³ This translation has been checked against Clarke 1984: 192 (based on the British Museum Manuscript Add. 27031).

Let us now look at the passage in Malachi, which constitutes the primary source for the image of Elijah *redivivus* in the rabbinic tradition:

MALACHI 3:1, 23–24

Behold, I am sending My messenger [מְלַאֲכִי] to clear the way before Me, and the Lord whom you seek [הָאֲדֹנָי אֲשֶׁר אַתֶּם מְבַקְשִׁים] shall come to His Temple suddenly. As for the angel of the covenant [וּמְלַאֲכֵי הַבְּרִית] that you desire, he is already coming.²³ Lo, I will send the prophet Elijah to you before the coming of the awesome, fearful day of the Lord.²⁴ He shall reconcile parents with children and children with their parents [וְהִשִּׁיב לֵב אָבוֹת עַל בְּנִים וְלֵב בְּנִים עַל אָבוֹתָם], so that, when I come, I do not strike the whole land with utter destruction. Lo, I will send the prophet Elijah to you before the coming of the awesome, fearful day of the Lord. (Mal. 3:23–24 NJPS, Christian canon, based on LXX, Mal. 4:5–6)

While three figures are mentioned “My angel, or messenger (מְלַאֲכִי),” “the Lord whom you seek (הָאֲדֹנָי אֲשֶׁר אַתֶּם מְבַקְשִׁים),” and “the messenger/guardian of the covenant whom you desire (וּמְלַאֲכֵי הַבְּרִית אֲשֶׁר אַתֶּם הַפְּצִים),” in PRE 29, the latter is identified unequivocally as Elijah, though in the biblical text he remains unnamed until v. 23.³⁴ In contrast to his zealous role as Phinehas in Numbers, and as prophet in the Book of Kings, the messenger here will bring about *reconciliation* between the generations before the End of Days (v. 23) and before God strikes the land in his wrath (v. 24). This constitutes the primary source for his beneficent role in the rabbinic tradition.

The image of Elijah as the one who reconciles the people to God appears in the post-biblical sources as early as Ben Sirach (2nd c., B.C.E.), in the context of the great eulogy on the prophet (ch. 48).³⁵ The verse presents an interesting paraphrase of the passage in Malachi:

³⁴ Both Radak and Rashi imply that the “messenger/guardian of the covenant (*malakh ha-brit*)” will avenge the neglect of the covenant, but do not mention Elijah as the one to do so. Ibn Ezra claims that the “messenger” is probably an allusion to Messiah descendant of Joseph. Metsudat David on Mal. 3:1, citing PRE 29, makes the connection with Elijah overt.

³⁵ Klausner argues that this is the earliest evidence of the idea of “Elijah as the forerunner of the Messiah” (Klausner 1955: 257), accordingly the prophet/priest will also anoint the Messiah, as he restores “the flask of oil for anointing” (*Mekhilta VaYassa* 6, ed. Friedman 51b, and other sources, Klausner 1955: 455, n. 20). But Faierstein insists that there is no reference to the Messiah, as a personage here in Sirach, rather the allusion is to the messianic era (Faierstein 1981: 78).

THE WISDOM OF BEN SIRACH (ECCLESIASTICUS) 48:10

“You who are ready at the appointed time, it is written, to calm the wrath of God *before* it breaks out in fury, to turn the heart of the father to the son, and *to restore the tribes of Jacob.*” (RSV trans., italics added)³⁶

He is not only the one who bridges the gap between the generations but he will bring about the return of the dispersed tribes of Israel, as well. The author of PRE adopts this image of Elijah, as harbinger of the redemption and agent of reconciliation between father and son, in an attempt to harmonize the three biblical sources (1 Kgs. 19, Num. 25 and Mal. 3). Following Rubin’s and Wiener’s lead, I suggest that the *malakh ha-brit* in PRE functions as guardian, the one who guarantees that the covenant is kept, like the angel who traveled in the midst of Israel during their sojourn through the desert (Exod. 23:20–23, Judg. 2:1–5).³⁷ Elijah plays this role of “guardian of the covenant” both on the horizontal and vertical axes. On the horizontal, that is human, axis, he reconciles the children unto their fathers and the fathers unto the children [וְהָשִׁיב לֵב אָבוֹת עַל בְּנִים וְלֵב בְּנִים עַל אָבוֹתָם], before the advent of that “fearful day of the Lord” (Mal. 3:23), “so that, when I come, I do not strike the whole land with utter destruction.” (v. 24). Likewise, on the vertical axis, between man and God, Phinehas, “turned back [God’s] wrath from the Israelites by being exceedingly zealous for [Him], so that [God] did not wipe out the Israelite people in [His] jealousy” (Num. 25:11). And Elijah similarly, according to PRE, guarantees the preservation of covenant at every *brit milah*, as the “guardian of the covenant (*malakh ha-brit*).” Accordingly, he who functioned as the advocate of the covenant in biblical/historical time, during the reign of Ahab, will also be the agent of reconciliation in the End of Days (according to Malachi), consistent with his role in the present (through ritual), invited as the guest of honor at every circumcision.

In PRE, Elijah’s means of reconciliation, lit. “to turn the hearts of the fathers unto the sons [וְהָשִׁיב לֵב אָבוֹת עַל בְּנִים]” (Mal. 3:24), is brought about through circumcision and *teshuvah*, as I will show in my analysis of PRE 43. Wiener, in his examination of Elijah’s association with *brit milah*, presents us with an anthropological perspective.

³⁶ Cf. also Sir. 45:24, 50:24–26. In the Hebrew version, edited by Moshe Segal (1958: 230), the text reads: להשיב לב אבות על בנים להכין ש[בטי] / ישראל / אשר ראך ומ[ת] כי א[ף] [הוא חיה יחי]ה.

³⁷ Based on the discussion in Rubin 1995: 95–96 and Wiener 1978: 58.

He suggests that Judaism's shift of the age of circumcision from puberty to eight days

... no longer appears as paternal castration – in contrast to pubertal initiation rites of primitive tribes. Nor can the biblical command to circumcise be regarded as the intervention of God seen only as the father who wants to bring the newly born into his power. On the basis of his research into circumcision rites in New Guinea, the anthropologist and psychoanalyst Géza Róheim reached the conclusion: 'The penis in the foreskin is the child in the mother, and it is separated from her through the circumcision.' Compare the report of Richard Thurnwald that in some East African tribes the father tells his son, after he has circumcised him: 'My son, now you have left the wrapper of your mother.' Thurnwald sees this as the psycho-social transformation of the boy (Wiener 1978: 58–59).³⁸

In Malachi, Elijah is imputed to be an agent of reconciliation between the *fathers* and the *sons*; in PRE 29, this is understood to be a strictly *male* rite of initiation. The covenant of circumcision becomes metonymic for the struggle for the supremacy of patriarchal monotheism over Jezebel's more female-centered idolatry, in the worship of Baal and Asherah.³⁹ The guardian of that covenant, Elijah, demands that the people abandon their idolatrous ways (in the Bible), represented by the neglect of circumcision (in the midrash). Similarly, Phinehas, by catching the couple Zimri and Cozbi in the act of coitus by his spear, disengages the Israelites from the ritual prostitution with the Moabite women (also female-centered). In so doing, Elijah/Phinehas, like the father in the African tribe, demands that "the son," the Israelites, leave "the wrapper of [their] mother." These acts of zealotry constitute pivotal points in the psycho-social transformation of the nation.

³⁸ Wiener draws on the following sources: G. Róheim, *The Eternal Ones of the Dream*, 1946: 68, 72–73; Richard Thurwald, "Primitive Initiations – und Wiedergeburtstiten" in *Eranos-Jahrbuch*, 1939: 390–391, and also K. Kholer, *Jewish Theology*, 1943: 49 (Wiener 1978: 58–59).

³⁹ The Asherah refers both to the Canaanite goddess, equivalent to Astarte and consort to El (or Baal in the Hebrew Bible), and to the wooden cult objects that were her symbol. Jezebel, daughter of the priest-king of the Sidonians, Ethbaal, introduced the worship of Baal and Asherah as the official practice in the Northern Kingdom. In I Kgs. 18:19 we read of the four hundred and fifty prophets of Baal and the four hundred prophets of Asherah, who eat at Jezebel's table, whom Elijah is to confront at Mount Carmel. See the pairing of Baal and Asherah in Judg. 3:7, 6:25–32, 1 Kgs. 16:32–33, 2 Kgs. 17:16 and 21:2. See footnote 26 on the pairing of 'idolatry' and 'harlotry'.

THE CONTROVERSY OVER ELIJAH'S GENEALOGY

The identification of Elijah with Phinehas operates on a deeper level than mere linguistic parallels. According to the Tanhuma, the "covenant of peace" (Num. 25:12) entailed not only the gift of the High Priesthood to Phinehas,⁴⁰ but also eternal life, a claim perhaps based on his longevity in the Hebrew Bible; he served as the High Priest until the end of the Book of Judges, where he was mediator between God and the Israelites in the context of the civil war against the tribe of Benjamin (Judg. 20:28).⁴¹ As I mentioned earlier, Elijah's longevity, or rather 'immortality', may also be traced to his mysterious ascension to Heaven in a chariot of fire (2 Kgs. 2:11).⁴² Phinehas, however, is not identified explicitly with Elijah the prophet in rabbinic sources until later,⁴³ as recorded in PRE (27 and 43) and *Tg. Ps.-J.*,⁴⁴ though

⁴⁰ Phinehas is granted the high priesthood (*brit kehunat 'olam*) while Eleazar (his father) is still alive, and presumably when he has other children, so the high priesthood essentially skips a generation (cf. Num. 25:13). In the Talmud, there is a tradition that until the incident with Baal-peor he had not yet been made a priest (*b. Zevachim* 101b).

⁴¹ This implies that Phinehas had lived for over three hundred years (see Radak on Mal. 2:5). Likewise, in the book of Joshua, there is a scene where the two and a half tribes erect an altar on the other side of the Jordan and a civil war almost ensues, until a guarantee is exacted that they will continue to make the trip to serve at the Tabernacle in Shiloh; Phinehas plays a critical role, like the "guardian of the covenant," in guaranteeing their loyalty (Josh. 22:13, 30, 31, 32; also Josh. 24:33). In the midrash, he also plays a critical role in the story of Jephthah and his daughter (cf. Judg. 11:30–40), where (as high priest) he refuses to annul the fatal vow (*Gen. Rab.* 60:3, *Lev. Rab.* 37:2). For a review of Phinehas' zealotry in the biblical and post-biblical sources see Mack [in Hebrew] 1982: 122–129.

⁴² He is one of the nine people to whom eternal life is granted, cf. *Derekh Eretz* 1:18. See also *b. Bava Batra* 121b., Josephus, *Ant.* 9.29, *b. Mo'ed Qatan* 26a. See also the discussion in Wiener 1978: 50–51.

⁴³ A long legacy of debate surrounds Elijah's genealogy as recorded in *Gen. Rab.* 71:11 (Theodor-Albeck, 1965: 833–834), *S.E.R.* 18 (Ish Shalom 1969: 87) and *S.E.Z.* 15 (Ish Shalom 1969: 199). According to one opinion, he is a descendant of Leah, from the tribe of Gad, "of Tishbe in Gilead" (1 Kgs. 17:1) where Gilead is understood as Gad's territory (Josh. 13:25). In Leah's naming, the expression "גַּד נָדָה" (*Gen.* 49:18) is then an allusion to his messianic role in the End of Days (cf. *Gen. Rab.* 71:9). According to another opinion, he is a descendant of Rachel, from the tribe of Benjamin (cf. *Chron.* 8:27); גַּלְעָד = גַּלְעָד, is then an allusion to the Chamber of Hewn Stone (לְשֹׁכֵת הַהֲגִיזִית) in the Temple, which was partially situated in Benjamin's territory (cf. Josh. 18:28). See Albeck's notes on *Gen. Rab.* 71: 11, 1965: 834, n. 3. In my study, I concentrate on his association with Phinehas, the high priest. For a systematic comparison of all the versions on Elijah's lineage, see Wiener 1978: 44–45, Ish Shalom's introduction to *S.E.R.* 1960: 11–12, Margulies 1960: 12–19, as well as Ayali 1994: 43–66 and Yisraeli 2003: 103–124.

⁴⁴ See footnote 32.

hints of the prophet's identification with the priesthood, without naming Phinehas, are found in the Talmud and later rabbinic sources.⁴⁵ It seems that the tradition surrounding the allusion to Elijah's and/or Phinehas' priestly office and messianic role was quite popular in the Second Temple period, as suggested by sources in the Apocrypha,⁴⁶ the Pseudepigrapha,⁴⁷ and the New Testament (where Elijah is identified with John the Baptist). The question is whether the tradition on the identification of Phinehas with Elijah was conscientiously "repressed" by the rabbinic establishment, only to resurface later, in PRE.⁴⁸ I will now trace the evolution of Elijah's association with the priesthood, and more specifically with Phinehas, in order to explore when and why this tradition may have gone underground.

According to Aptowitz, the identification of Phinehas with Elijah dates back to a Hasmonean tradition.⁴⁹ His evidence is based on the

⁴⁵ See *b. Bava Metzi'a* 114b, *Tg. Ps.-J.* on Exod. 6:18 (*et al.* see above), and *Midr. Prov.* 9:3, *Yalkut* on Proverbs 944 (תתקמד). See also *Pes. R.* 4:2, based on Hos. 12:14, where the two prophets of the tribe of Levi, Moses, and Elijah, are compared (parallel to PRE 40). There is a hint in *S.E.R.* 18 that Elijah was thought to be a priest because he demanded of the widow of Zarephath to break bread first (1 Kgs. 17:13), but Elijah himself appears to resolve the dispute among the Rabbis, declaring that he is a descendant of Rachel. See also Ish Shalom's discussion on the relationship between Elijah and "Meshiah ben Yosef" in his introduction to *S.E.R.* 1969: 11–12, and the discussion on the messianic role of Jonah in ch. 11, especially footnote 3.

⁴⁶ See *Sir.* 48:10. In the Book of Maccabees, Mattathias, in his zealotry, is compared to Phinehas, with a claim of direct descent from him: "Phinehas, our father, never flagged in his zeal, and his was the everlasting priesthood" (2:54, cf. 2:26).

⁴⁷ See *The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*, where two messianic figures, one from Levi, a priest, sometimes characterized as a zealot for war, and another from Judah, are mentioned: *T. Levi* 18:1, *T. Reub.* 6:6, *T. Sim.* 7:1–3, *T. Dan* 5:10, and *T. Jos.* 19:11. See the discussion of these sources in Ayali 1994: 56–57, notes 60–62. See also *L.A.B.* 48:1 and the discussion to follow in the body of this paper.

⁴⁸ I am not the first to conjecture that there must have been a rejection or repression of this tradition. See Faierstein 1981: 75–86, Ayali 1994: 57–58, and Yisraeli 2003: 106–108.

⁴⁹ See Aptowitz 1927: 95, cited in Hayward 1978:24. Ginzberg, in his study, *Fragments of a Zadokite Work*, identifies the "Teacher of Truth" ("מורה צדק", 1, 5–11, and 6,10) with Elijah. The Talmud adopts a similar phrase: "עד יבוא ויורה צדק", based on Hos. 10:12, as a reference to the prophet's messianic role as arbiter of all unresolved halakhic disputes in the End of Days (cf. *M. Eduyot* 8:7; for a complete list of sources, see Ginzberg 1976: 212, n. 14). According to Ginzberg, Elijah is linked to the priesthood through Phinehas, but *L.A.B.* is his earliest source for this link, which post-dates *Fragments* (circa 70 C.E.). Klausner suggests that Elijah will serve as the High Priest who anoints the Messiah, based on the writings of Justin Martyr ("Dialogue with Trypho the Jew," ch. 8 near the end; ch. 9 beginning). According to Justin (circa 2nd c., C.E.), Trypho claimed that the anointing of the Messiah by Elijah (Elias) was a well-established tenet in Jewish circles and therefore an argument against the messianic status of Jesus (see Klausner 1955: 456, n. 22). However, this

attempt to link the descent of Mattathias to Phinehas in the book of Maccabees, as well as allusions to the messianic role of the High Priest in the End of Days in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha.⁵⁰ This tradition was repressed later by the rabbinic establishment, in order to dissociate the messianic role of Elijah from the political alliance between the king and the priesthood, with the corruption of the Hasmonean dynasty during the Second Temple Period – as it says, “one does not anoint priests as kings.”⁵¹ Yet, as both Ayali and Yisraeli point out, by the time the rabbinic sages (circa 3rd to 5th C.E.) began attributing Elijah’s genealogy to the tribe of Benjamin or Gad,⁵² as if to divert it away from the priesthood, the anti-Hasmonean agenda was no longer relevant.⁵³ Hayward, likewise, argues that the equation of Phinehas with Elijah dates back to the Hasmonean period, among circles favorable to John Hyrcanus (c. 135 B.C.E.). On the basis of *Tg. Ps.-J.* on Deut. 33:11, where Johanan the high priest is mentioned in the light of Elijah’s zealotry against Ahab, Hayward claims that “John Hyrcanus I brings Elijah and Phinehas together.”⁵⁴ However, his evidence for the early date to this identification hinges almost entirely on this example from *Tg. Ps.-J.*, which many scholars argue is a much *later* source.⁵⁵ In all the examples where Phinehas is identified with Elijah,⁵⁶ it is highly likely that the Targum draws from PRE.⁵⁷

The earliest source on the identification of Phinehas with Elijah is recorded in Pseudo-Philo’s *Biblical Antiquities*, known by its Latin title as *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* (*L.A.B.*).⁵⁸ *L.A.B.* belongs to the

early Christian source already betrays the influence of the Gospels and only reinforces my argument that the rabbinic establishment *did not* make this oral tradition explicit in the aggadic writings, despite its popularity, *because* of the Christian identification of Elijah as John the Baptist.

⁵⁰ See footnotes 46 and 47.

⁵¹ Cf. *y. Horayot* 3, 47c, *y. Sheqalim* 6, 49d, *y. Sotah* 8, 22c, in Hebrew: “אין מושחין מלכים כהנים”.

⁵² See footnote 43.

⁵³ Yisraeli 2003: 108, Ayali 1994: 57.

⁵⁴ Hayward 1978: 31.

⁵⁵ For a discussion on the relationship between the *Tg. Ps.-J.* and PRE see ch. 1, footnote 17. Hayward clearly has an early dating for *Tg. Ps.-J.* as his agenda.

⁵⁶ See footnote 20.

⁵⁷ See Shinan’s critique of Hayward’s analysis in Shinan 1992: 195, n. 10. See also Syrén 1986: 171–178, esp. n. 367.

⁵⁸ *L.A.B.* was probably originally written in Hebrew between the 1st and 2nd c., C.E., but the only extant version available is in Latin (translated from the Greek). It is called “Pseudo-Philo” because it consistently appeared alongside the Latin translation of Philo’s works, though the philosopher is clearly not the author of the composition.

genre of “Rewritten Bible”⁵⁹ – an imaginative retelling of the Hebrew Bible from Adam to King David.

L.A.B. CHAPTER 48 “THE ASCENSION OF PHINEHAS”

1. And in that time also Phinehas laid himself down to die, and the Lord said to him: Behold you have passed the 120 years that have been established for every man. And now rise up and go from here and dwell Danaben on the mountain and dwell there many years, and I will command my eagle and he will nourish you there, and you will not come down to mankind until the time arrives and you be tested in that time. And you will shut up the heavens then, and by your mouth it will be opened up. And afterward you will be lifted up into the place where those who were before you were lifted up and you will be there until I remember the world. And then I will make you all come and you will taste what is death.” 2. And Phinehas went up and did all that the Lord commanded him. 3. Now in the days when he appointed Eli⁶⁰ as priest, he anointed him in Shiloh (trans. Harrington, in Charlesworth *OTP* 1985 2: 362).

Several elements link this theophany with events in Elijah’s life, although the chronological order has been altered radically from the biblical narrative. The command to rise and dwell in the mountains alludes to God’s command to Elijah (1 Kgs. 19:8); the promise that he would be fed by an eagle anticipates Elijah’s story of being fed by ravens, while in hiding from Jezebel (1 Kgs. 17:4). Elijah’s decree that there shall be no rain or dew except by his word (1 Kgs. 17:1) is, here, euphemistically called “shutting up the heavens.” And the prophet’s ascension in a chariot of fire (2 Kgs. 2:11) is described as a lifting “up to the place where those before you were lifted up.” The text then introduces the eschaton as “when I remember the world,” suggesting that only then would he die (perhaps because the resurrection

It has been dated to the 2nd c., C.E., but may be as late as the 2nd c. C.E. See the discussion in Leopold Cohen 1898: 277–332 and M. R. James 1971: 29–33.

⁵⁹ For the term ‘Rewritten Bible’, see the discussion on the genre of PRE in the introduction (description and definition in Vermes 1973, Nicklesburg 1984, Harrington 1986, Alexander 1988, Michael Segal 2005a, Bernstein 2005). Cana Werman (1995: 368–372) also discusses the categorization of *Jubilees* as ‘Rewritten Bible’ in the light of Alexander’s definition of the term (cf. Segal 2007: 4, n. 6).

⁶⁰ Harrington’s note on 48, b: The mss. have “him” (*eum*), but in the light of *L.A.B.* 50:3 and 52:2, Eli seems to be implied (ed. Charlesworth *OTP* 1985 2: 362). Hayward argues that Phinehas’ anointing of Eli here is most likely a polemic against the Samaritans, who regarded Eli as the heretic who led Israel away from the true place of the sanctuary, Mount Gerizim, in establishing the Tabernacle in Shiloh (1978: 28, an argument on based on Spiro 1953: 103).

of the dead would then be immanent); yet here it does not specify Phinehas'/Elijah's role in the End of Days. Furthermore, no exegetical impetus for the link between the two zealots is made, in contrast to PRE 29 and 47. Like PRE, Phinehas' zealotry at Baal-peor is described in laudatory terms in *L.A.B.*, in the context of the condemnation of Micah's idol: "For I remember in my youth when Jambres sinned in the days of Moses your servant, and I went and entered in and was possessed with jealousy in my soul, and I hoisted both of them up on my sword."⁶¹ The Rabbis may very well have been aware of this source, or the oral tradition behind this source, yet conscientiously repressed the tradition identifying Phinehas with Elijah. While upholding the significance of Elijah's role in the End of Days, they wished to distance the prophet from Phinehas' violent expression of zealotry. In the Talmud, for example, the Rabbis carefully circumscribe Phinehas' vigilante behavior as being divinely sanctioned only because it conformed to a set of very narrow criteria.⁶²

But the most substantial basis for the rabbinic tradition of *dissociating* Elijah's genealogy from the tribe of Levi may be found in the link made between Elijah and John the Baptist in the Gospels.⁶³ In Luke, we are privy to an elaborate annunciation scene of the birth of John the Baptist, son of Zechariah, the priest. In a fascinating paraphrase of the Malachi passage, the angel tells Zechariah that his son, as yet to be conceived, "will turn many of the sons of Israel to the Lord their God, and he will go before him in the spirit and power of Elijah, to turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the disobedient to the wisdom of the just, to make ready for the Lord a people prepared" (Luke 1:16–18, RSV trans.).⁶⁴ While in the Gospel of Mark (9:12–13) the identification is only implied, in Matthew it is made explicit:

⁶¹ *L.A.B.* 47:41 (Charlesworth *OTP* 1985 2: 361), cf. 28:2, 4. The Egyptian magicians are not named in Exod. 7:11, but are called Jannes and Jambres in the Jewish tradition (b. *Sotah* 11a, b. *Sanhedrin* 106a, b. *Menahot* 95a.), as well as the early Christian tradition (2 Tim. 3:8). They are also identified as advisors to Balaam in *Tg. Ps.-J.* to Num. 22:22, hence their association with Baal-peor here (cf. Num. 31:16, where Balaam is the one who advised Balak to defeat the Israelites in this way).

⁶² b. *Sanhedrin* 44a–b. For a thorough analysis of the rabbinic critique of Phinehas' zealotry, see Mack 1992: 124–127.

⁶³ Ayali also cursorily makes this suggestion, 1994: 57.

⁶⁴ It must be noted, however, that here John the Baptist is not identified explicitly as Elijah, but, rather, that he will come "in the spirit and power" of Elijah.

The disciples put a question to him: ‘Why then do our teachers say that Elijah must come first?’ He replied, ‘Yes, Elijah will come and set everything right. But I tell you that Elijah has already come, and they failed to recognize him, and worked their will upon him; and in the same way the Son of Man is to suffer at their hands.’ Then the disciples understood that he meant John the Baptist (Matt. 17:10–13, RSV trans.).

In addition, John is described as wearing a hairy mantle and a leather girdle about his waist like Elijah (2 Kgs. 1:8, Matt. 3:4).⁶⁵ And as Jesus is dying on the cross, the bystanders conjecture that he calls upon Elijah (Matt. 27:49, Mark 15:35), because the prophet, according to Malachi, was deemed to be the harbinger of the Messianic era.⁶⁶ In a comprehensive study on this subject, Wink claims that “by making John’s role unmistakably clear, Matthew introduces an element of certainty which admits of no ambiguity: John is the prophesied Elijah. By this means the elevation and assimilation of John does not endanger the unique significance of Jesus for salvation. In addition, other Christological safeguards were added to make clear John-the-Elijah’s subordination to Jesus-the-Messiah.”⁶⁷ The identification hinges on the image of Elijah’s eschatological role, as recorded in Malachi. But, as Faierstein cogently argues, the passage in the Hebrew Bible refers to the messianic era as a time period, “the coming of the great and terrible day” (Mal. 3:23), not to the Messiah as a personage (Faierstein 1981: 77). Following a review of the literature, he concludes that the “Elijah as forerunner of the Messiah” hypothesis was generated in Christian, not Jewish, circles. Furthermore, within rabbinic circles there was a strong impetus to dissociate Elijah from the priesthood, not because of an anti-Hasmonean polemic, but because of John the Baptist’s imputed role, *qua* Elijah, as forerunner of the ‘false’ Messiah.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ Cf. also Luke 7:24–27.

⁶⁶ This is probably because the bystanders misinterpret Jesus’ plea on the cross as a call to Elijah: “My God, My God [*Eli, Eli*], why have you forsaken me,” most probably quoting Ps. 22:2: “אֱלֹהֵי, אֱלֹהֵי, לָמָּה עִזַּבְתָּנִי” (cf. Matt. 27:46 and Mark 15:33).

⁶⁷ Wink 1968: 40. There is some conjecture that Jesus himself was Elijah (Luke 9:8 and Matt. 16:14), but in the disciples’ speculations, most often John the Baptist was linked to Elijah. In the Gospel of John, however, he apparently disavowed the role (John 1:21). For a recent analysis of the strong dissociation of John the Baptist from Elijah in the Gospel of John, see Martyn 1976: 181–219.

⁶⁸ According to Martyn, the view that Elijah was “the forerunner of the Messiah, may be paradoxically indebted somehow to an early Christian syllogism: Jesus is the Messiah; John the Baptist was Elijah; Elijah is therefore the forerunner of the Messiah” (Martyn 1976: 190).

ELIJAH *REDIVIVUS* AS HARBINGER OF THE
MESSIANIC ERA (PRE 43)

How, then, does the author of our midrash reconcile the complex image of Elijah as priest, zealot, and herald of the messianic era? I suggest that the eschatological role of the prophet takes on a particularistic focus in the midrash. He is portrayed as “guardian of the covenant [מלאך מלואד],” understood emphatically as a reference to circumcision (PRE 29). In addition, he is associated with Phinehas, who was praised, in his zealotry, for *turning back* the wrath of God [“השיב אתחמתו”], so that Israel was not further consumed in the plague (Num. 22:11), and, accordingly, rewarded with the *brit shalom* (understood as eternal life in PRE 47). Furthermore, in PRE 43, he advocates for the repentance of the Israelites as the agent of reconciliation between the generations. This chapter presents a series of narratives of repentance, mini-biographies of well-known *ba’alei teshuvah*, and ends, like so many chapters in PRE, with an eschatological allusion and a closure from the blessings of the *‘Amidah*. Elijah appears, in this context, in his role as the harbinger of the “Great Repentance”:

PIRQE DE-RABBI ELIEZER, CHAPTER 43⁶⁹

Rabbi Jehudah said: If Israel does repent, they will not be redeemed. But Israel will not repent except out of (conditions) of distress, of oppression, of wandering, and out of lack of sustenance.

And Israel will not commit to the Great Repentance [תשובה גדולה] (i.e. that will usher in the Messianic era) until Elijah comes,⁷⁰ {ז"ל – may he be remembered for good},⁷¹ as it says, “Lo, I will send the prophet Elijah to you before the coming of the awesome, fearful day of the Lord. He shall reconcile parents with children and children with their parents...” (Mal. 3:23–24).

Blessed are You, O Lord, Who desires repentance.⁷²

Consistent with his role in the incident at Shittim, where Phinehas (*qua Elijah*) *turned back* the wrath of God in the plague (Num. 25:11), here

⁶⁹ This translation is based on the 1st ed., checked against Börner-Klein 2004: 594, supplemented with reference to alternative manuscripts.

⁷⁰ Higger’s edition adds “the prophet.”

⁷¹ Addition based on the 2nd ed., Radal, Ene866, Ci75.

⁷² This is the 5th blessing of the *‘Amidah*. Perhaps the author, here, wishes to associate it with Elijah (as Abraham is associated with the 1st, in PRE 27; Isaac with the 2nd in PRE 31; Jacob with the third in PRE 35; and Moses with the 4th in PRE 40). See Appendix A.

Elijah *turns* the hearts of the parents and the children towards each other and averts God's wrath. In quoting from the last verses of Malachi, the author implies a word play between repentance [תשובה] and reconciliation (lit. the *turning of the hearts*, השבת לב, of the fathers to the children and the children to the father). As I have shown in many other instances, the author of our midrash continually *re-appropriates* traditions that had been prevalent in the Second Temple period and popularized in Christian or Islamic circles. In this instance, he gives the image of Elijah/Phinehas – High Priest, prophet, and zealot – a new lease on his afterlife by suggesting that, rather than harbinger of the Christian Messiah, he would be harbinger of the messianic era, contingent on the repentance of Israel. Here, Elijah is construed as a peacemaker between the generations, as well as the agent who will restore the children of Israel to the presence the divine father. Likewise, Ben Sirach (or Ecclesiasticus), in paraphrasing this quote, asserts that Elijah will “*restore the tribes of Jacob*” (48:10), in gathering the dispersed from the four corners of the Earth. In both Sirach and PRE, the image of Elijah differs from the Christian understanding of Elijah as John the Baptist; the emphasis in the Jewish sources, instead, is placed on Elijah's role as harbinger of the messianic *era*, framing it in exclusively national terms.

CONCLUSION: BETWEEN MYTH AND PRAXIS

In the rabbinic tradition, Elijah is elevated to the level of a ‘Supernatural’ (to borrow Eliade's term), with his presence in many rituals marking the transitions from the sacred to the profane time or vice versa. Most of the aggadic sources *detach* the image of Elijah *redivivus* from his biblical persona. The narrative expansions in PRE are unique, however, in maintaining continuity between his role in the biblical text as zealot, and his rabbinic role as the beneficent eternal wanderer. This continuity is affirmed in two concrete ways: by the seat of honor held for Elijah at every *brit milah*, where he is to testify to the people's fidelity to the covenant, and through his role in the End of Days, where he is to facilitate a reconciliation between the generations and the ultimate repentance of Israel. In Eliade's terms, Elijah's role in ritual “recollects or re-enacts the power of events in primordial time,” events consecrated in the biblical era. Yet, in the rabbinic mind, these events also become a source of *tikun*, ‘spiritual repair’, which

facilitate the move to the final messianic era. They are therefore not mere replays, in which mythic time is superimposed upon history to the point of annulling chronology altogether, but rather re-enactments with a redemptive goal that spiral towards the End of Time. In the following chart, I outline the relationship between the different images of Elijah through alternative ‘time zones’ – the biblical, the aggadic, and the eschatological – in order to highlight this pattern:

Chart Comparing the Three Time Zones of Elijah’s Role

Time Zone	Persona	Task or Role	Symbol/Ritual
Biblical Time ‘pre-history’, <i>in illo tempore ab origine</i> (PRE 47 and section from PRE 29)	Elijah qua Phinehas as zealot for God; Elijah as prophetic adversary to Ahab in the northern kingdom	Claimant on behalf of the Father against the son (תובע כבוד האב)	Reward the ברית שלום (Num. 25:12), the High Priesthood and eternal life בריתי היתה אתו החיים וזה שלום (Mal. 2:5)
Transition: <i>en media res</i> (the aggadic image in the end of PRE 29)	Elijah as the “Eternal Wanderer”	מלאך הברית Guardian of the covenant (Mal. 3:1), returns to Earth as penance for his excessive zealotry	Elijah’s chair at the brit milah
End of Time (eschatology)	Elijah as harbinger of the messianic era	Brings about reconciliation between the generations and the ultimate <i>Teshuvah</i> before that “fearful day of the Lord” (Mal. 3:23–24) תובע כבוד הבן	Rituals of Liminality: – the 5th cup at the Passover Seder – Havdalah – Birkat HaMazon, and the blessings of the Haftarah etc...

Over the course of this analysis, I demonstrated a transformation of Elijah’s biblical image as harsh zealot in ‘historic time’, to the ‘wanderer archetype’ of the aggadic corpus. In his attempt to harmonize the rabbinic tradition with biblical exegesis, the author of PRE formulates

Elijah's task to return to Earth as a means of penance for his severe judgment of Israel. The link between the two time zones – the precedent-setting time zone in the Hebrew Bible (what Eliade calls '*in illo tempore ab origine*') and the contemporary or rather transcendent time zone in the rabbinic sources – is established by ritual itself. In the case of Elijah, the seat of honor at the *brit milah* constitutes a portal where the prophet may move between the two realms and enact a *tikun*, spiritual repair, in testifying to the preservation of the covenant. This, in turn, opens a third portal – along the eschatological axis – where Elijah is completely transformed, from claimant “for the father's honor” to “claimant for the son,”⁷³ as the agent of the final redemption. The same pattern of three connected time zones holds for women and Rosh Ḥodesh. In the biblical context – ‘historic time’ – the women demonstrated a greater piety by withholding their jewelry from the making of the Golden Calf, remaining faithful to their stance at Matan Torah; they thereby set a precedent of continuity, symbolized by the waxing and waning moon, and are granted the Rosh Ḥodesh festival, transporting all Jewish women through that portal into contemporary, or, rather, transcendent time. This, in turn, resonates with an ultimate Return, when women will shed their skins of mortality as the eagle molts its plumage, and reclaim the idyll of Eden. In this chapter, I have shown how the midrashic chronotope, described by Bakhtin as “somewhere at the other end of the world, east of the sun and west of the moon,” can operate as well in the etiogical narratives on *halakhah* and *minhag* in PRE. The “legends re-align the ideals, which are to be fulfilled in ‘real time’” [through halakhic practice or ritual] “along a transcendent axis,”⁷⁴ where the precedents of the Bible presage the ideals of the messianic age.

⁷³ Phrase borrowed from *Mek. Bo* 1 (ed. Horovitz-Rabin, 1960: 4).

⁷⁴ Bakhtin 1981: 148.

PART IV

A LITERARY ANALYSIS OF *PIRQE DE-RABBI ELIEZER*
CHAPTER TEN

CHAPTER ELEVEN

JONAH'S SOJOURN IN THE NETHERWORLD

INTRODUCTION

In this study, many of the principles deployed in modular fashion in previous chapters will be applied to a literary analysis of PRE 10. Initially, the author sets out to address the central conundrum in the Book of Jonah: Why does the prophet flee from the presence of God? Commanded to rise up and go to Nineveh [“... קום לך אל ננוה...”], Jonah defies the divine command, resolutely sailing westward, sea-bound to Tarshish, rather than eastward and overland to Nineveh. Instead of ‘rising up’, he undergoes a series of descents – to Joppa, into the recesses of the ship, and into a deep slumber, and then into the sea and the belly of a great fish. The classic exegetical question about this “strange book of the Bible”¹ is framed in terms the challenge to divine omniscience: how could the prophet presume to evade God’s gaze? The author of PRE, however, ignores the theological issue and essentially re-frames the question in terms of Jonah’s ideological resistance to his mission. In a surprising twist, the midrash alludes to an alternative mission for the prophet, to which he is exposed solely through this series of descents. He goes deeper and deeper *down* and *away* in order to be brought to even greater heights as God’s emissary. The journey in the belly of the great fish is described as a descent into the underworld and a resurrection. In this chapter, Jonah is deployed as “a sign,” pre-figuration of the messiah, as in the Christian Gospels. The tone of the midrash, however, is essentially satirical, and the image of the prophet as a messianic figure, like Elijah, is described in highly particularistic terms; both Jonah and Elijah are lauded as prophets who zealously guard the interests of the Israelite nation.

As a narrative expansion on the first two chapters of the Book of Jonah, the midrash seems to divide itself along two distinct lines – two approaches to the biblical figure, expressed in quite different genres.

¹ Bickerman’s term (Bickerman 1967).

At first, the author engages in biblical exegesis, filling in the gaps and highlighting the ironies in the original biblical story. But in the second half of the midrash, from the moment Jonah enters the fish, the tone changes significantly to the realm of fantasy.² At first, Jonah is presented as a buffoon who becomes more preoccupied with his own reputation than his mission to convey the word of God, having been accused of being a false prophet by the Israelites. Yet the prophet is *not* condemned for questioning divine omnipotence or omniscience, as in earlier midrash. No theological debate is waged in PRE about whether it is possible to evade the gaze of God. Rather a comic drama is crafted to pit the prophet's rebellion against the simple compassion and faith of the sailors. In my discussion of the first section of the midrash, I draw on literary theory concerned with irony and satire, and compare PRE to the earlier exegetical midrash (*Mek. Bo* 1, ed. Horovitz-Rabin 1960: 3–4). In the second section, based on Jonah's strange psalm within the belly of the great fish (ch. 2), PRE molds Jonah, the buffoon, anti-prophet on his anti-mission, into a messianic figure.³ The prophet's three day sojourn in the belly of the fish comes to resemble the adventures of Sinbad the sailor more than a dungeon-sentence in the smelly, cavernous belly of the great fish. From the sanctuary of the fish he confronts the Leviathan, and is privy to a glimpse of the wonders of the underworld.⁴ At the end of his three-day sojourn, he finally

² In fact, David Stern includes this chapter in his collection of *Rabbinic Fantasies* (Stern 1990: 9–10 and 59–66).

³ In a fascinating article, Yehuda Liebes suggests that Jonah, in PRE, may be figured as the "Messiah of the tribe of Joseph" (Liebes 1983/4: 269–311). See also Ginzberg. 1928 4:351, note 38. According to *S.E.R.* 18, Jonah is associated with the Messiah, descendant of Joseph (cf. Ish Shalom's introduction to *S.E.R.*, 1969: 11–12). There are several such hints as to Jonah's messianic status in PRE 1) Jonah is identified as the son of the widow of Zarephath, whom Elijah brings back to life (PRE 33, based on 1 Kgs. 17:17–19), who is identified as the "Messiah of the tribe of Joseph" in *S.E.R.* 18 (Ish Shalom 1969: 97–98). 2) He makes an oath to sacrifice the Leviathan in the End of Days, for the feast of the righteous. However, Liebes' identification of Jonah in PRE with the tribe of Joseph is problematic, since the Palestinian tradition suggests that Jonah is either a descendant of Zebulun or Asher (coastal tribes), not of Benjamin at all. In *y. Sukkah* 5:1 (55a), and *Gen. Rab.* 98:13 (Theodor-Albeck 1965: 1261), Jonah is also identified as the widow of Zarephath's son, without reference to his messianic status. Furthermore, in PRE 19 the messianic figure is named "Menahem ben Amiel ben Yosef" not Jonah. In principle, I agree with Liebes that Jonah, while he may not be "the Messiah of the tribe of Joseph," serves as a messianic prototype along the lines of Elijah *redivivus*.

⁴ He is privy to a vision of the great river of Oceanus, the paths of the Sea of Reeds, the origin of the waves and the breakers, the depths of Sheol and Gehenna, the base of

prays, but his prayer sounds more like a command than a plea: "I have reached death, now raise me up, bring me back to life!" Yet he is only spewed out onto dry ground when he recalls his promise to offer the Leviathan as a sacrifice in the End of Days. The prophet essentially undergoes a resurrection; he has been privy to a kind of mystical after-life experience, and returns to his body an exalted soul. The journey, as presented by the midrash, is full of eschatological references. The question is why the author of PRE uses the unlikely figure of Jonah, that reluctant emissary of God's word, as his messianic prototype. The overriding tone of the midrash is essentially satirical, where the sacred and the fantastic, the absurd and the exalted, intertwine.

THE IRONIC BASIS TO THE MIDRASHIC READING OF JONAH

In order to understand the satirical stance of the midrash, we must unravel the ironic core that lies coiled at the heart of the biblical story. The Book of Jonah typifies what Meir Sternberg calls the "Drama of Knowledge," wherein the character assumes a privileged position with respect to the reader, "propelling the reader from initial ignorance (or at best mystification) to ultimate surprise."⁵ According to Sternberg, "...the narrative lures us into a false impression about a character or event and then springs the truth at the least expected moment. The model for this strategy is the tale of Jonah, which starts by opposing a compassionate Jonah to a wrathful God and ends by switching their portraits around."⁶ Irony is enhanced by withholding, at the outset, both the content of the message and the reason for the prophet's rebellion. The reader hears only a seemingly truncated command: "Arise, go to Nineveh, that great city, and call upon it..." (Jonah 1:2). Call what? The prophetic message is missing altogether. Jonah's flight is thwarted at first by a divinely engineered storm, and later by a great fish appointed to swallow him. Only after he has been spewed out onto dry land are we told the message, filtered through Jonah's own proclamation: "In another forty days, Nineveh shall be overthrown!"

the pillars supporting the earth, and ultimately the Foundation Stone (*'even shtiyah*) below the Temple Mount.

⁵ Sternberg 1987: 165. See also Ackerman 1981: 213–246, Good 1965: 630–645, Eagleton 1990: 231–36, and Pardes 2002: 13–20.

⁶ Sternberg 1987: 56.

(3:4). It is as if the reader cannot hear the original message until Jonah acquiesces, until he, as the arbiter of knowledge, relents and addresses the Ninevites' ears. And only once the mission is accomplished, are we told the reason for Jonah's flight (4:2). According to Sternberg, the narrator stages an epiphany for the reader, by withholding the motivation of the characters (God and Jonah). Initially we assume Jonah refuses his mission out of a sense of compassion for the people of Nineveh who are most certainly destined for destruction, and it is God who is the ruthless taskmaster, the harbinger of harsh judgments. By the end of the third chapter, we are finally informed that God had every intention of reversing his edict against the great city if the residents repented; it is Jonah who is the staunch advocate of irreversible judgments. The implied reader, over the course of the drama, undergoes an "ordeal of understanding" and then comes to "place [his] allegiance on the right side"⁷ – on the side of the omniscient and omnipotent, but merciful God, against the advocate of consistency or 'truth', represented by the prophet.

In great dismay, the prophet claims knowledge of God's intentions to have been his privileged position all along, and asks to die: "He prayed to the Lord, saying, 'O Lord! Isn't this just what I said when I was still in my own country? That is why I fled beforehand to Tarshish. For I know that You are a compassionate and gracious God, slow to anger, abounding in kindness, renouncing punishment. Please, Lord, take my life, for I would rather die than live'" (Jonah 4:2–3, NJPS).⁸ His recitation of God's attributes differs significantly from Moses' invocation of the attributes of mercy after the sin of the Golden Calf (Exod. 34:6). The one attribute Jonah conspicuously leaves out is "truth," and he adds "forgiving evil [נָחַם עַל הַרְעָה]." He cannot come to terms with a God who is *both* truthful and forgiving. For Jonah, the two are contradictory, irreconcilable aspects of the divine. Accordingly, God should act on his edicts, or not have them proclaimed at all. As Elias Bickerman described the cause of the prophet's fury: "[it is]

⁷ Sternberg 1987: 56.

⁸ The so-called "thirteen attributes" of God's mercy actually vary considerably depending on the context of the invocation. So, for example, the Psalmist in distress will emphasize God's mercy (Ps. 103:8), while Nahum, in condemning Nineveh, will stress the limits to God's forgiveness (Nah. 1:3). Jonah, here, quotes Joel's invocation almost verbatim, wherein the prophet cries out to the Israelites, assuring them that if they repent, God would surely forgive them (Joel 2:13). Accordingly, it is precisely this inevitable outcome which Jonah wished to avoid in his flight from the mission!

God's almost mechanical reciprocity between man's repentance and God's changing His mind that rouses the anger of the prophet."⁹

Furthermore, Jonah is the only one in the whole drama to claim knowledge of how the course of events will play itself out. His foils, the sailors, try everything to save the ship in the storm because *they don't know* what may be effective (Jonah 1:6). Jonah, on the other hand, insists that they throw him because he *knows*, unequivocally, the storm is raging because of him (v. 12). The King of Nineveh leads his people to repentance because he *doesn't know* whether the judgment of destruction is inevitable. Jonah admonishes God, explaining that he fled from the mission because he *knew* that the edict would be rescinded (Jonah 4:2). In this "Drama of Knowledge," Jonah is presented as the all-knowing, advocate of 'truth', loyal to his namesake, *Yonah ben Amitai* (lit., "dove, man of truth").

Rashi makes an attempt to reconcile the prophet's doom toll and its failure to materialize with the principle of truth, but his reading only highlights the irony which runs consistently through the book. The term "overthrown [נהפכת]," in Jonah's doom toll – "In another forty days, Nineveh will be overthrown [נהפכת]" (Jonah 3:4) contains a *double entendre* – to be destroyed or to be transformed.¹⁰ The reversal of state may be brought on either externally, through divine wrath, or internally, through repentance. The prophetic statement then implies a conditional, "If you continue your ways Nineveh will be 'overthrow [נהפכת]', that is destroyed, but if you repent, Nineveh will be 'transformed [נהפכת]' though repentance."¹¹

In Jonah's insistence on the irreconcilable attributes of mercy and truth, he clings to his role as the prophet whose declarations are irreversible, and denies ambiguity of meaning. All statements must have one, unequivocal intention. In a rather tongue-in-cheek article, the literary critic Terry Eagleton analyzes prophetic statements in terms of Austin's theory of speech-acts. "All prophetic utterances are 'constative' (descriptive of some real or possible state of affairs) only in what one might call their surface grammar; as far as their 'deep structure'

⁹ Bickerman 1967: 41.

¹⁰ Rashi's analysis of the word "overturn [הפך]" reflects the breadth of its semantic field in the Hebrew Bible. In its negative sense, it implies total destruction, as in the overthrow of Sodom (Gen. 19:25, 29, cf. also Amos 4:11 and Isa. 1:7). But it can also be positive or neutral (in *kal*: cf. Zeph. 3:9, 1 Sam. 10:9, Jer. 13:23, Neh. 13:2; and Jonah 3:4, or in the *nifal*: cf. Hos. 11:8, Exod. 14:5, and Esth. 9:22).

¹¹ My paraphrase of Rashi's commentary on Jonah 3:4.

goes they actually belongs to Austin's class of 'performatives,' linguistic acts which get something done."¹² That is on the 'constative' level, Nineveh is destined to be destroyed in forty days (נהפכת *qua* destroyed), but on the level of 'deep structure' a condition is implied, "but if you repent, the edict of destruction will be rescinded" (נהפכת *qua* transformed). According to Eagleton, "the only successful prophet is an ineffectual one, one whose warnings fail to materialize," because they, ideally, would prompt the repentance of the people.¹³ On the linguistic level, the ability to read ambiguity into the term "overturned [נהפכת]" hinges on a fissure between the grammatical and the rhetorical dimension of language. It is this fissure that Jonah refuses to acknowledge. He is a logical positivist, adhering to the belief that when the people repent and the edict is rescinded, the statement – "in another forty days, Nineveh will be destroyed" – loses its truth value, and the prophet becomes a 'false' one.¹⁴ He initially refuses his mission because he does not want to join forces with all those 'successful' prophets, deemed by Eagleton to be "self-deconstructing fools."¹⁵

We are still left wondering why Jonah would so misconstrue his role as prophet. This is precisely where the author of PRE fills in a critical gap, reading the story from its ironic tilt. He pits the character of the know-it-all prophet against the all-powerful, yet merciful God and exaggerates them to the point of the satire. Northrop Frye's definition of satire will serve as particularly useful over the course of my analysis:

The chief distinction between irony and satire is that satire is militant irony: its moral norms are relatively clear, and it assumes standards against which the grotesque and absurd are measured... [While] irony is consistent both with complete realism of content and with the suppression of attitude on the part of the author, satire demands at least a token fantasy, a content which the reader recognizes as grotesque, and at least an implicit moral standard, the latter being essential in a militant attitude to experience... Hence satire is irony which is structurally close

¹² Eagleton 1990: 235.

¹³ This model of prophecy is found in Jeremiah's famous speech in the potter's house, Jer. 18:6–8.

¹⁴ This notion of false prophecy is based on the narrow understanding of "prophecies that do not come to pass," as outlined in Deut. 18:21–22.

¹⁵ Eagleton 1990: 235.

to the comic: the comic struggle of two societies, one normal and the other absurd, is reflected in its double focus of morality and fantasy.¹⁶

In Frye's terms, "the content which the reader recognizes as grotesque" is expressed by the mythical elements within the midrash: the uncanny storm, the sailors representative of the seventy nations of the world, their idolatry and sudden conversion, the great fish appointed from the Six Days of Creation to swallow Jonah, the confrontation with the Leviathan, and then the fantastic journey through the underworld. "The implicit moral standard" consists of the precedence that repentance and forgiveness assumes over consistency or 'truth', in our drama. Two other essential elements to satire will be integrated into my analysis – one being "wit or humor founded on fantasy or a sense of the grotesque or absurd,"¹⁷ and the other is a subject of attack. The use of humor in the midrashic text is clear, but the subject of the author's satire requires some conjecture. While it was clear that Jonathan Swift was satirizing eighteenth century English morays in *Gulliver's travels*, the subject of PRE's attack is considerably less obvious, since we are far removed from the historical context in which the author was writing.

THE REASON FOR JONAH'S FLIGHT FROM THE PRESENCE OF GOD

The story of Jonah is found in the midst of the chapters on *Ma'aseh Breshit* (PRE 3–12), and follows the midrashic expansion on the fifth day of Creation (PRE 9). While it may seem out of place, many of the motifs in the Jonah chapter are covertly related to creation on the fifth day (Gen. 1:20–22), when all living creatures swarmed forth from the waters, including fish and the great sea monsters (*taninim*), linked by midrashic lore to the Leviathan. Many scholars have read the alliance with the fifth day as a pretext for the insertion of a homily originally composed for *minḥah* of the Day of Atonement.¹⁸ But there

¹⁶ Frye 1971: 234–235.

¹⁷ Frye 1971: 234.

¹⁸ See Friedlander 1981: xi, and Treitel 2001: 14–15. It is questionable whether the Book of Jonah was associated with the Day of Atonement as early as the 8th century in Palestine, though the tradition is recorded in the Babylonian Talmud (*b. Megillah* 31a). Ezra Fleischer, based on a study of liturgical poetry in the classic period, claimed that the *piyutim* refer to Elijah's revelation at Har Carmel (1 Kgs. 18:36 ff.) as the Haftarah

are deeper associations that the author wished to weave into the Jonah narrative. In PRE 9, for example, the fifth day is the day on which the waters of Egypt turn to blood, the day of the Exodus itself, the day the Jordan River stood still to allow the Israelites to pass over into the land, and the day Hezekiah dammed the watercourse of the Gihon (cf. 2 Chron. 32:30). In the opening statement to PRE 10, the fifth day is identified as the day Jonah fled from the presence of God and was swallowed by the great fish, anticipating the role Jonah plays, both as ‘victim’ (swallowed by the great fish) and ‘vanquisher’ (of the Leviathan) in his encounter with the Sea. I have identified this phenomenon as the mythological sense of historical time, characteristic of PRE. In Mircea Eliade’s formulation, religion identifies an archetypal pattern that echoes through history, harking back to a time situated *before* history in *illo tempore ab origine*. In classical myth, history is freed from chronology subject to a circular movement, rather than a linear one. In rabbinic myth, however, time is not strictly circular but rather moves in a spiral pattern towards a *telos*, the messianic end. Events are repeated under a new guise, and are transformed. The Leviathan, for example, symbolic of unbridled appetite and power, in the End of Days will be transformed, served up as a delicacy for the righteous. The echo of the fifth day throughout history, then, marks the transformation from chaos to an ultimate order. Jonah’s journey is linked to the fifth day precisely because this was the day the Leviathan was created and the fateful day it met its vanquisher.¹⁹ I will return to this legend

reading, and *not* to the Book of Jonah (Fleischer 1990: 246). He surmised that the choice *not* to read the Book of Jonah may have been a response to the use of “the sign of Jonah” and “the repentance of the Ninevites” in the Gospels and early Christian exegesis as a means of condemning the Jews. As Urbach argued in his seminal article “*Teshuvat Anshei Nineveh*,” Palestine was under the shadow of Christianity in late antiquity and the Palestinian sources on the repentance of the Ninevites reflect a strong anti-Christian polemic; the Jews of Babylon, on the other hand, were largely indifferent to the Christian sources (Urbach 1949: 118–122, cf. also Shinan 2005: 189 and 195, notes 40–41). I will discuss this anti-Christian polemic in greater depth later. Suffice it to say that the Book of Jonah was most likely *not* associated with the Day of Atonement in Palestine in the 8th c., and therefore PRE 10 should not be read as a homiletical midrash, inserted (perhaps) by a later editorial hand in the context of the chapters on the first six days of Creation. In fact, the theme of repentance is peripheral to the chapter as a whole.

¹⁹ PRE, cf. *b. Bava Batra* 74b–75a. For a discussion of the mythic motif of *Urzeit wird Endzeit* see Fishbane 1998: 41–55. I will discuss the eschatological role of the Leviathan in the Jonah narrative in greater depth later. See also Dina Stein’s discussion on the placement of the Jonah story on the fifth day of creation, Stein 2004: 276 and 282.

when I discuss Jonah's confrontation with the Leviathan as a hint of his alternative mission later in the chapter.

Jonah's resistance to his original mission, according to PRE, does not present a denial of God's omniscience or omnipotence, but simply challenges the purpose of the prophecy in the first place:

PIRQE DE-RABBI ELIEZER, CHAPTER 10²⁰

1a) The fifth day of the week was also the day on which Jonah fled from God's presence. And why did he flee? Because the first time, He (God) sent him to restore the borders of Israel and his words were fulfilled, as it says: "It was he (Jeroboam) who restored the territory of Israel from Lebo-hamath to the sea of the Arabah, in accordance with the promise that the Lord, the God of Israel, had made through His servant the prophet Jonah son of Amitai from Gath-hepher" (2 Kgs. 14:25).

1b) The second time, the Holy One blessed be He sent him to Jerusalem to destroy it, {but because they repented}²¹ God took pity on them, and changed His mind about the decree of doom and did not destroy it. And the Israelites called Jonah a false prophet.

1c) The third time, he was sent to Nineveh to destroy it. Jonah deliberated to himself, "I know that these gentiles are close to repenting. Now when they repent, the Holy One, Blessed be He, will be filled with mercy towards them and transfer His fury [onto the enemies of Israel] {onto Israel}.²² Is it not enough that the Israelites call me a false prophet, must the nations of the earth call me a false prophet as well?"

Two answers are provided, indicative of two distinct exegetical traditions. The narrative presents the reason for Jonah's flight as a two-fold defense: 1) of his own nation, lest the wrath of God be transferred to

²⁰ This translation is based on the En866 manuscript, supplemented with reference to the printed editions and six alternative manuscripts. In the printed editions and most manuscripts, the chapter is the tenth, while in Ca2858 (Higger's), P, and W it is the ninth. See Appendix I for a semi-critical edition of the Hebrew text. The midrash is copied, almost verbatim, in *Tanḥuma Vayikra* 8. In fact, the Mantova version cites PRE in the margins. It also appears as part of *Midrash Yonah* (in Jellinek's *Beit Midrash* 1939 1: 96–105), and *Yalkut Shimoni* on Jonah. Tamar Kedari (2002: 67–84) cogently argued that *Midrash Teshuvat Yonah HaNavi* (composed between the 9th and 10th century) shares no overlap with our text, though one section (8b) has slipped into a few of the manuscripts of PRE 10 (En866 and Lehman, for example), probably by way of the *Yalkut Shimoni*. Upon examining the manuscripts, it is clear that this section is a scribal addition and not integral to the original text.

²¹ Added from the Ci75 and the printed editions.

²² Our manuscript uses couched language (*lashon sagin nahor*) – "transfer His fury onto the enemies of Israel." The literal meaning is that Israel will 'take the brunt' of God's wrath when the gentiles repent. This is reflected in the printed editions and many of the manuscripts which simply read: "transfer His fury onto Israel."

Israel, and 2) of his own ego, lest he be called a false prophet. The first explanation represents an earlier layer of exegesis,²³ which the author of PRE seems to find inadequate, perhaps because of its proximity to the Christian sources where the repentance of the Ninevites is used to condemn the Jews.²⁴ He therefore concocts a second explanation for Jonah's flight – the false prophecy hypothesis.²⁵ The prophet's resistance is presented as hinging on past experience, having been sent on two prior missions, though only one appears in the biblical text. Jonah, son of Amitai, from Gath-hepher in the Galilee, was the one who prophesied the expansion of the borders of Israel during the reign of Jeroboam II (2 Kgs. 14:25). Accordingly, his words came true, though the Israelite king “did what was displeasing to the Lord,” following in the ways of Jeroboam son of Nebat (v. 24). Radal suggests that the reason his prophecy was fulfilled was because it was of a *positive* nature, and therefore could not be reversed, whereas Jonah's cry – “in another forty days, Nineveh will be overturned” (Jonah 3:4) – was a doom-toll, and therefore open to reversal, contingent on the repentance of the people.²⁶ His second mission to Jerusalem is not found in the biblical text, though, according to Radal, it is hinted at in Jonah's statement of rage after God rescinds his edict against the Ninevites: “Isn't this just what I said when I was still in my own ground [עַד הַיְוֹתַי עַל אֲדָמָתִי]?” (Jonah 4:2). The term “my own ground [אֲדָמָתִי],” according to Radal, is an allusion to holy ground – the Temple Mount. At that point, he was sent to cry out Jerusalem's destruction but the prophecy met the same fate as his cry unto the people of Nineveh would – effectively undermined by God's compassion.²⁷ The citizens' response, however, highlights how absurd the mission was in the first place. Having been

²³ This is the primary claim in the *Mek. Bo* 1 (Horovitz-Rabin 1960: 3–4). See the discussion to follow.

²⁴ As expressed in the Gospels and the homilies of Jerome (c. 342–c. 420) and Ephrem Syrus (306–373) (Simon 1999: viii–ix). See the discussion to follow.

²⁵ This later theory was first introduced by PRE, and was adopted by many later exegetes: Daniel al-Kumissi the Karaite, Saadiah Gaon (*Beliefs and Opinions* 3,5), Rashi, Joseph Kara, David Kimhi, Abraham bar Hiyya, Abravanel, and many modern scholars (Simon 1999: x).

²⁶ Radal on PRE 10, note 3.

²⁷ Roughly half of the manuscripts (Ci75, Ci2043, and Warsaw) account for *why* God rescinds his edict, “because they repented,” the other half (En866, Paris and Ca2858), give the impression that God's mercy was unconditional. But one could argue that their prompt atonement in response to the doom toll is implied by Jonah's anticipation of a similar scenario with the Ninevites on the verge of repentance.

spared, they accuse Jonah of being a “false prophet.” betraying their misunderstanding of the original prophecy of destruction and, inadvertently, making a farce of their sudden atonement.²⁸ That is, they assume the prophecy of doom *not to be* conditional on their repentance, and essentially dub the prophet “a self-deconstructing fool” (Eagleton’s term). Jonah then, based on these first experiences, comes to misunderstand the nature of prophecy. Harbinger of unequivocally predictive statements, he takes their accusation of false prophecy to heart and flees, fearing further blemish on his reputation.

The midrash conjectures another motive for Jonah’s flight, which reflects an earlier, seemingly contradictory, exegetical tradition found in the *Mekhilta de-Rabbi Ishmael*. If the prophecy is not fulfilled upon the people of Nineveh it will be transferred onto his own nation.²⁹ Yet unlike the earlier midrashic tradition, the prophet in PRE is not avoiding a blemish on the Israelites’ reputation in comparison with the gentiles. Rather, consonant with the prophet’s stance as a logical positivist, the doom toll – “in another forty days, Nineveh will be overthrown” – can only maintain its truth value if God finds an object for his wrath once the edict against the Ninevites has been rescinded. The *Mekhilta*, deploying the same basic idea, articulates a significantly different point – that the repentance of the Ninevites makes the stiff-necked Israelites look bad by comparison.³⁰ Drawing on a filial analogy, the *Mekhilta* elaborates on Jonah’s protective instincts; he is the claimant on behalf of the son (Israel) not the father (God). He would rather cast himself into the sea than allow the repentant Ninevites to expose the Israelites

²⁸ Radal points to a tradition that Jonah was one of the prophets sent by Elisha to privately anoint Jehu as king (S.O.R. 19). Rashi and Radak also draw on this tradition in their commentary on 2 Kgs. 9:11–12. Radal suggests that Jonah is also deemed, in this instance, to be a false prophet because when he goes to anoint Jehu, he is called a “mad man [*meshuga*]” (2 Kgs. 9:11–12). See Radal’s comment to PRE 10, note 5.

²⁹ Jonah assumes that an edict must be irrespectively upheld, recalling the absurd irreversibility of Ahasuerus’ edicts in Esth. 8:8.

³⁰ In the manuscripts, all the texts show that Jonah assumes that the decree of the destruction of Nineveh would fall upon the Israelites. In two manuscripts, however (En866 and Lehman), the scribe/author does not allude to the punishment of the Israelites directly (see footnote 22), but rather “[he will] transfer his wrath unto the *enemies* of Israel.” Though couched language (*lashon sagin nahor*, it suggests an alternative possibility; perhaps the punishment *really could* be transferred to their enemies. The use of censored language makes an ironic comment on the semiotic power of prophetic speech. That the wrath of God may be transferred “unto the enemies of the Israelites” over-rides the literal intent, reversing the impact of the decree through wishful thinking.

for what they really are – unrepentant. Accordingly, Jonah flees abroad, outside the land of Israel, where the divine presence [*Shekhinah*] is not revealed, to prevent the transfer-of-punishment-by-contrast which the success of his prophecy would entail:

MEKHILTA DE-RABBI ISHMAEL, BO (TRACTATE *PASSHA* 1, HOROVITZ-RABIN 1960: 3–4)

You can learn from the following that the *shekhinah* does not reveal itself outside of the Land (of Israel): “But Jonah started out to flee to Tarshish from the presence of the Lord” (Jonah 1:3). Could he presume to flee from the presence of God? Has it not been said: “Where can I escape from Your spirit? Or where can I flee from Your presence?” (Ps. 139:7)... But Jonah thought: I will go outside of the land, where the *Shekhinah* does not reveal itself. For, since the Gentiles are more inclined to repent, I might be causing Israel to be condemned...

But the Holy One, blessed be He, said to him: “I have other agents to send out against you,” as it is said: “But the Lord cast a mighty wind upon the sea” (Jonah 1:4). Thus you find that there were three types of prophets. One insisted upon the honor due the Father as well as the honor due the son; one insisted upon the honor due the Father without insisting upon the honor due the son; and one insisted upon the honor due the son without insisting upon the honor due the Father...

Jonah insisted upon the honor due the son but did not insist upon the honor due the Father, as it is said: “But Jonah started out to flee to Tarshish from the presence of the Lord” (Jonah 1:3). What is written about him? “And the word of the Lord came to Jonah a second time” (ibid. 3:1). He spoke with him a second time, but did not speak with him a third time. R. Nathan says: Jonah made his voyage only in order to drown himself in the sea, for thus it is said: “And he said to them: Heave me overboard into the sea...” (Jonah 1:12).

And so you also find that the patriarchs and the prophets offered their lives on behalf of Israel.³¹

The *Mekhilta* essentially presents a defense of Jonah’s particularistic stance and does not assume an ironic perspective on Jonah’s understanding of the nature of prophecy; instead, he is praised as being on par with the patriarchs and other prophets, willing to sacrifice themselves for the sake of the Israelite nation.³²

³¹ My translation. Compare with Lauterbach 1933 1: 6–10.

³² According to Uriel Simon, God intends to remedy Jonah’s particularism: “the forceful blocking of his flight... is meant to point us toward the true meaning of election: Israel was chosen to serve as the carrier of faith in order to disseminate it among all nations. To demonstrate that this awesome mission can be realized, the humble

PRE, by contrast, seems to mock Jonah. In an attempt to reconcile the two exegetical approaches, a fault line can be detected. On the one hand, the prophet expresses fear of success in bringing about repentance (and the condemnation of Israel, by contrast); on the other hand, he anticipates failure in being deemed a "false prophet." Is this a clumsy attempt at harmonizing two interpretative traditions, or an ironic reflection on Jonah's attitude to prophecy? Later, in the account of the Ninevites' ultimate fate (PRE 43), what actually occurs is a delay in the decree – instead of the Ninevites being destroyed "in another forty days," the destruction occurs forty years later (perhaps alluding to the fate of Nineveh as prophesied in Nahum and Micah).³³ In this passage, which I discuss later in greater depth as a polemic against the Christian use of "the sign of Jonah,"³⁴ the repentance of the Ninevites is portrayed as a superficial, false one. As Ephraim Urbach points out, in his seminal essay "*Teshuvat Anshei Nineveh*," this is consistent with the Palestinian exegetical tradition.³⁵ Yet, in pointing to the inevitable destruction of Nineveh, perhaps the author of PRE reveals a greater sympathy for Jonah's notions about the irreversibility of prophecy. Note, however, that the ultimate fulfillment of the prophecy is through a *non-literal* understanding of language; "forty days" becomes "forty years" in this idiomatic understanding. Willy nilly, Jonah must be wrenched from his insistence on the surface meaning of his words. The means of correcting the prophet's hubris is presented as a deeper descent into the other world, and a revelation of his ultimate eschatological purpose in the End of Days. He is thereby transformed from a logical positivist into a mystic of sorts.

spirit and open heart of the gentiles aboard the ship and in Nineveh are juxtaposed with the arrogance of the prophet who rejects his mission." (Simon 1999: ix). The tone in the *Mekhilta*, however, is not condemning towards Jonah. Similarly, in PRE, Jonah (like Elijah) is praised for his zealotry and protective stance towards Israel.

³³ Cf. Mic. 5:4–5 and Nah. 2:4–3:19.

³⁴ Based on Matt. 12:39–41 and Luke 11:29–32. See the discussion on these sources in: "The Sailors as Foils to the Reluctant Prophet."

³⁵ See *y. Ta'anit* 2:2, 65b and *P.R.K.* 1, and Midrash Yonah (*Beit haMidrash*, ed. Jellinek 1939 1: 100–102). The tannaitic sources and the Babylonian tradition, on the other hand, use the Ninevites as paradigmatic examples of repentance: *M. Ta'anit* 2:1, *b. Ta'anit* 16a. See Urbach 1949: 118–119.

THE DESCENT TO THE SEA

PIRQE DE-RABBI ELIEZER, CHAPTER 10 CONT...

2) “Rather, I will get up and flee from His Presence to the Sea, to the place where His Glory is not said to be. But not to the Heavens! {About the Heavens it is said, “His glory is above the Heavens” (Ps. 113:4)}.³⁶ And about the Earth it is said, “His presence fills all the Earth” (Isa. 6:3). No, I shall flee to the Sea, where His Presence is not said to be.”

Note how very cautious the author of PRE is in presenting Jonah’s statement about where God is *said to be*, again highlighting the role of how language informs the prophet’s idiosyncratic behavior. The manuscripts differ as to how to characterize this neutral zone, this no-God’s-land. Either it is “where God’s glory does not appear [שלא שם נראה כבודו שם]” (as in Ca2858) or “where His Glory is not *said* to be [שלא נאמר כבודו שם]” (En866, Ci75, Ci2043). One could read the latter manuscript tradition as a disclaimer on Jonah’s stance. That is, the midrash does not state that God is *actually* absent from any given space on Earth, but only that Jonah sets himself the challenge of finding a space unclaimed by the Bible as God’s realm. Psalms (113:4) testifies to God’s presence in Heaven (or the skies). And yet why would Jonah entertain the idea of escaping to the Heavens, for is that not God’s unique abode (cf. Pss. 115:16)? In many of the manuscripts, a proof text for this claim is not even provided.³⁷ Isaiah testifies to the divine presence on Earth (Isa. 6:3). So Jonah then surmises: “there is no proof-text to be found for His Presence at Sea.” Either Jonah did not know his Psalms well, or the midrash is drawing on a mythic conception of God’s relationship with the watery realm.³⁸

The *Mekhilta* (cited above) comes to a very different conclusion about Jonah’s chosen destination, re-framing the question about his flight in terms of a challenge to God’s omniscience. The midrash brings

³⁶ Text added from Ci2043, Ca2858, P, W, and L.

³⁷ As in En866 and Ci75.

³⁸ In fact, the midrashic passage in *Lev. Rab.* 22:3 presents an inversion of this question about God’s ‘presumed absence’ at Sea. Titus, after conquering Jerusalem and pillaging the Temple, challenges God to defeat him through the only medium where the tyrant claims that the God of Israel cannot display His punitive power – through water. In the end, Titus is defeated by a *yonah* (dove), metamorphosed from a gnat who enters his ear, an allusion to the very prophet who proved God’s jurisdiction over the Sea. Galit Hasan-Rokem suggests that the book of Jonah serves as the sub-text for this midrash (Hasan-Rokem 1993: 5–12).

a series of proof-texts to affirm the ubiquity of the divine presence,³⁹ and resolves the difficulty by suggesting that Jonah's flight is *not* from God's roving eye, the mind that plumbs the depths of the human heart, but a flight from the *shekhinah*, who is responsible for sending prophets on their mission. The *Mekhilta* then locates the space of this presumed absence outside the Land of Israel. PRE, by contrast, locates the presumed 'no-God's-land' at Sea. The *Tanḥuma* (*VaYikra* 8) follows PRE almost verbatim, but suggests that the trial of the storm is set up precisely to teach Jonah otherwise – that God's Presence, indeed, circulates across the Sea.⁴⁰

THE SEA AS THE PRESUMED REALM OF GOD'S ABSENCE

At the source of Jonah's choice lie strong mythological currents about the sea as a primordial realm, the progenitor of chaos and darkness. Before the creation of the world, only the watery abyss existed: "And the Earth was unformed and void, with darkness over the face of the deep, and the Spirit of God hovered over the face of the water..." (Gen. 1:2). It is to this watery void that God returns the world with the Flood, "All the fountains of the great deep burst apart, and the floodgates of the sky broke open" (7:11). Pre-creation or chaos [*tohu va-vohu*], is associated with water whereas the act of Creation, through God's ten statements, involves a process of differentiation [*havdalah*], anathema to the mode of water, which flows and dissolves boundaries.

Umberto Cassuto suggests that there was once an ancient Israelite epic about a mythic battle between God and the Sea, which was lost or deliberately excised from the tradition because of theological antagonism, probably during the time of Ezra and Nehemiah.⁴¹ Remnants of the epic are to be found in the poetic passages, alluding to the repression of the waters, necessary when God began the process of Creation: "The Earth was founded upon the oceans, set out on the nether streams" (Ps. 24:2, cf. Ps. 136:6, Ps. 104:5). Sometimes it takes the form of a battle: "Was Your wrath against the rivers [*neharim*], O Lord, or Your indignation against the sea [*yam*]?" (Hab. 3:8). Over

³⁹ Ps. 139:6–10, Zech. 4:10, Prov. 15:3, Amos 9:2–4, and Job 34:22.

⁴⁰ See the discussion to follow under the heading "Jonah finds a ship."

⁴¹ Cassuto 1975 2:102.

the course of the battle, the waters were intimidated, and withdrew: “The waters saw You, O God, the waters saw You and were convulsed; the very deep [*tehom*] quaked as well” (Ps. 77:17). Occasionally the sea is personified as a demon called *Rahab* or *Yam*, who was crushed (Isa. 51:9, Ps. 89:11, Job 9:13 and 26:12). Once the battle was won, a boundary had to be placed so that the unruly waters would not cross over to cover the Earth again (Jer. 5:22, Ps. 104:9, Prov. 8:27–29, and Job 7:12).

Parallels to this mythic struggle between the supreme god and the waters are found throughout Ancient Near Eastern sources, as in the classic Babylonian epic, *Enuma Elish*, which begins with the mating of the primordial sea-gods, Apsu and Tiamat.⁴² The noisy commotion of their offspring lead to a series of squabbles, ultimately pitting Marduk against Tiamat and her horde (IV:20–32). Marduk, in the end, vanquishes her (IV:33–12), and splits her watery hulk to establish the upper and the lower realms (parallel to the establishment of the upper and lower waters in Gen. 1:7). Marduk then set a limit to the waters of Tiamat, in addition to a bar and watchmen, so that her waters should not flow out from the place allotted them (IV:139–140). Descriptions of a similar battle between God and the Prince of the Sea, or the waters themselves are found throughout the midrashic lore, as Cassuto points out: “In the rabbinic myths we find not merely allusions, but actual narratives, even though they are of extreme brevity and lacking in detail.”⁴³ He conjectures that during the growth of post-biblical literature, idolatry no longer presented a threat, and therefore exegetical tradition could be freer with its use of myth. According to Cassuto, this may be a combined process of exegesis and resuscitation:

For in part it is but the product of later development, or of the midrashic interpretation applied by the Rabbis to Biblical passages; but in part it undoubtedly preserves ancient elements retained by the memory of the people even after the original poems have sunk into complete oblivion.⁴⁴

In PRE 5, this legend is recounted and given poetic details:

⁴² Tiamat is linguistically linked to the waters of the great deep, *tehom* or *tehomot* (cf. Gen. 1:1, Ps. 77:17, Hab. 3:9). See Cassuto 1975 2: 83–84 (note 21). All sources for the legend *Enuma Elish* (the Akkadian Creation Epic) trans. by E. A. Speiser, are taken from Pritchard’s *ANET* 1969: 60–99.

⁴³ Cassuto 1975 2:82. See *b. Hagigah* 12a, *b. Bava Batra* 74b, *Exod. Rab.* 15:22.

⁴⁴ Cassuto 1975 2:82.

PIRQE DE-RABBI ELIEZER, CHAPTER 5⁴⁵

On the third day, the earth was flat like a valley, and water covered the face of the whole earth. And when the word left the mouth of the Almighty, "Let the waters (below the sky) be gathered..." (Gen. 1:9), the mountains and hills, they rose up from the ends of the earth, and spread across the face of the earth, and valleys were made in the center of the earth, and the water rolled and gather into the depths, as it says: "And the gathering of waters He called Seas" (v. 10). Immediately, the waters grew proud and rose up to cover the earth as in the beginning until the Holy One, blessed be He, rebuked them, subdued them, and placed them under the soles of his feet, limiting them by his step that they should neither increase nor decrease. He then placed the sand as the border of the sea as a man makes a fence for his vineyard. And when they rise up and see the sand before them, they turn back, as it says: "Should you not revere Me – says the Lord – should you not tremble before Me, Who set the sand as a boundary to the sea...?" (Jer. 5:22).

Now Jonah flees to the watery realm, precisely because it represents chaos, the abode where Gods presence is "not said to be" – or where the 'saying' with which Creation was called into being is absent. The sea represents the realm of silence, the closing of prophetic channels.

For Jonah, psychologically, going *down* to the sea represents a descent into the unconscious, a descent into the inner, lower worlds, where surface meanings are left far behind. There are four stages of descent sketched in the opening verses of the biblical text – to the port in Joppa, onto the ship, down into its inner recesses, and then into a deep sleep. The key word "go down/descend [י.ר.ד.]" appears twice in v.3: "He went down to Joppa [וירד יפו] and found a ship... and went aboard [וירד בה]...", and once in v. 5: "Jonah, meanwhile, had gone down [ירד] into the inner recesses of the ship [ירכתי הספינה]"⁴⁶ where he lay down and fell into a deep sleep [וירדם]." But it is also imbedded, so to speak, in his sleep [וירדם]. The verb [ר.ד.מ.] is also expressed in

⁴⁵ This translation is based on the 1st ed., checked against Börner-Klein 2004: 37–39. See the parallel in the Ethiopic Enoch 69:18: "By that oath, the sea was created; and he put down for it a foundation of sand which cannot be transgressed at a time of its anger, from the beginning of creation and forever!" (OTP 1:48). This version of PRE 5 is preserved in *Midr. Pss.* 93:5, and *Midrash Konen* 1; compare with *Tanḥuma Hukat* 1, and *b. Bava Batra* 74b.

⁴⁶ Ackerman understands the term "the inner recesses of the ship [ירכתי הספינה]" to be an allusion to the expression "ירכתי צפון" (cf. Job 26:6–9 and Isa. 14:12–15), representative of both the heights and the base of the sacred mountains, extending to the underworld (Ackerman 1981: 230), which is where, according to the midrash, the journey of flight takes him.

nominal form as “deep slumber [תַּרְדֵּמָה],” the induced sleep which is found in three other significant contexts. It is imposed on Adam (Gen. 2:21), as the first anesthesia before the creation of woman, on Abraham (Gen. 15:12) as a vehicle for revelation, and on Saul and his men (1 Sam. 26:12), when the kingship is symbolically wrenched from him.⁴⁷ Jan Fokkelman points out that this deep slumber [תַּרְדֵּמָה] “denotes letting oneself be controlled by the subconscious” in all of the above cases, including the case of our reluctant prophet.⁴⁸ For Jonah, the deep sleep is an extension of his flight from God’s presence. It is not only a retreat from consciousness, but also, as Ackerman points out, “an unconscious pursuit of death,”⁴⁹ and, according to the midrash, an inadvertent discovery of an alternative prophesy.

JONAH FINDS A SHIP

PIRQE DE-RABBI ELIEZER, CHAPTER 10 CONT...

3) Jonah went down to Joppa, but he could not find a ship to board. The ship that he eventually boarded was already at sea, a two-day distance away, in order to test Jonah. What did the Holy One, blessed be He, do? He brought upon it a stormy wind, and forced it to return to Joppa. When Jonah saw the ship, he rejoiced, saying to himself, “Now I know that my path is justified before me.”

4) “Let me embark with you onto the ship,” Jonah said to the sailors. “But we are going to the islands of the sea, to Tarshish,” they replied. “I’ll go with you!” he said.

Now it is customary on all ships that when a passenger disembarks, he pays his fare, but Jonah was so thrilled that he paid his fare in advance, as it says: “...so he paid the fare and went aboard” (Jonah 1:3).

On the one hand, God assists Jonah in his flight, by churning up a gale to bring the vessel back to port. The ship must cover a distance of two days expeditiously. On the other hand, once on board, He whips up an even more ferocious storm, to shake the prophet out of his complacency. Why would God encourage him in his flight by providing him with a vessel? To test him? How so? Jonah is certainly misled by the ready disposal of a ship, sent back to port for his sojourn, for “when

⁴⁷ Cf. also Job 4:13 and 33:15.

⁴⁸ Fokkelman 1986: 539.

⁴⁹ Ackerman 1981: 230.

Jonah saw the ship, he rejoiced.” The selection of the ship prefigures the great fish, appointed since the Six Days of Creation to save him from drowning. Jonah misinterprets the sign as an affirmation of the ‘straightness of his path’: “Now I know that my path is justified before me [עכשיו אני יודע שדרכי מיושרת לפני]” (while, in truth, it is a very wayward one). His journey will prove to be anything *but* straight as he is taken on a roller-coaster ride, first at sea, and then in the underworld. PRE is conspicuously vague as to the nature of the test, though the *Tanhuma* (*VaYikra* 8) adds the following explanation. Jonah was filled with a false self-confidence, “for he did not know that the Holy One Blessed be He had circumnavigated it, in order to teach him that *there* [at sea] His presence also resides.” But perhaps the test is not about proving to Jonah *where* God’s presence resides, but rather a test of Jonah’s character in a world inverted, turned topsy-turvy. As I pointed out, the author of our midrash does *not* engage in a theological debate about God’s omnipresence.

The second part of this section in the midrash calls for very little comment, except to point out its exegetical purpose. Why does the biblical text mention he paid his fare as he embarked on the ship? According to the midrash, it is customary to pay when one leaves; the pre-payment is an expression of Jonah’s enthusiasm for his *anti-mission* for they are going in exactly the opposite direction of Nineveh, to the islands of the sea, to Tarshish.

THE SAILORS AS FOILS TO THE RELUCTANT PROPHET

PIRQE DE-RABBI ELIEZER, CHAPTER 10 CONT...

5a) They had sailed the course of a day’s journey, when a tempest struck them at sea, {raging upon their left and upon their right};⁵⁰ but the ships travelling to and fro around them sailed upon calm seas. The ship onto which Jonah had descended was in dire straits, about to break up, as it says: “The ship was in danger of breaking up” (Jonah 1:4).

5b) R. Ḥananyah said: There were representatives of each of the seventy languages, each with his god in his hand, bowing down to it. They said, “Each man shall call to his god, and the god who answers and saves us from these dire straits, that one is *the* God.” They all stood up and called in the name of their gods, but to no avail.

⁵⁰ Added from Ci75, Ci2043, Ca2858, P, W, and the printed editions.

5c) Meanwhile, Jonah, in his own distress, had fallen into a deep sleep. The captain of the ship said to him, “Look, we’re hanging between life and death and you lie down and fall asleep! From what nation are you?”

“I am a Hebrew,” he answered them.

“Haven’t we heard that the God of the Hebrews is greater than all the gods? Get up and call to your God, perhaps He will work miracles for us as He did for the Israelites at the Sea of Reeds.”

He told them, “This storm has come about because of me. ‘Pick me up and heave me overboard, and the sea will calm down from its raging around you’” (Jonah 1:12).

6) R. Simeon said: The men refused to throw Jonah into the sea. Instead, they took all their baggage that was aboard and cast it into the sea to no avail. Then they tried to row back to shore, as it says: “The men rowed hard to regain the shore, but they could not” (Jonah 1:13). What did they do then? They took Jonah and placed him on the bow of the ship, and declared, “O God! Lord of the Universe, do not hold us culpable for shedding innocent blood, for we do not know the nature of this man, and he claims that these dire straits that have befallen us are on account of him.” They cast him in up to his ankles, and the sea ceased its raging. But when they drew him back, the sea raged around them once again. They cast him in up to his knees, and the sea ceased its raging, but when they brought him back to them, it raged around them once again. They cast him in up to his navel, and the sea ceased its raging, but when they brought him back to them, the sea raged around them once again. They cast him in up to his neck, and the sea ceased its raging, but when they brought him back to them, the sea raged around them once again. Until they finally cast the whole of him into the sea, and immediately the sea ceased its raging, as it says: “And they lifted Jonah up, and heaved him overboard...” (Jonah 1:15).

PRE presents the ship as a microcosm of the nations of the world, with one representative of each of the seventy languages – a kind of primitive United Nations pitted against the elements.⁵¹ Jacob Elbaum points out that the cry of the sailors, each to his own idol, is modeled on the prophets of Baal, calling upon their god at Mount Carmel (1 Kgs. 18:26–29).⁵² The dialogue between the sailors and Jonah then becomes a test of the true religion, but it is *they* that set up the series

⁵¹ The motif of the “seventy nations” is prevalent throughout PRE. See PRE 24, the narrative expansion on the Tower of Babel, where seventy angels are appointed to divide the people into seventy languages/nations.

⁵² He also points to the parallel between Elijah’s death wish in 1 Kgs. 19:4–5, and the phrase “[he], in his own distress, had fallen into a deep sleep [בצרת נפשו נרדם]” in PRE 10, perhaps allusions to their respective messianic roles (Elbaum 1992: 107–108, n. 16).

of tests – praying to their idols, throwing the baggage overboard, furiously trying to row to shore, beseeching Jonah to call upon *his* God while he refuses to comply. God then uses Jonah as His pawn, despite the prophet's recalcitrance, to prove that He is the one true God. The drama at sea is presented as an inversion of the splitting of the Reed Sea. The storm churned up, “upon their left and upon their right,” is a veiled reference to the water, which stood like a wall for the Israelites, “on their right and on their left” (Exod. 14:29).⁵³ Yet the sailors are tossed on the high waters, their lives in peril, whereas the Israelites walk on firm ground, towards their salvation. When Jonah tells them he is a Hebrew, they urge him to call upon His God to enact miracles like the one at the Sea of Reeds. The splitting of the Reed Sea is emblematic, in the eyes of the gentiles, of God's presence in history and his selection of the Israelites as his chosen people as Rahab and Jethro testify (cf. Exod. 18:11 and Josh. 2:10). Yet Jonah refuses to pray to “the God of the Hebrews,” insisting, rather, that the sailors throw him overboard.

Their piety (albeit, each to his own idol) lies in stark contrast to Jonah's intransigence, epitomized by his descent into the “inner recesses of the ship,” and into a deep sleep. Rather than casting *himself* into the sea, he insists on being thrown. They initially refuse to bear the burden of the sacrifice, even though he admits to being responsible for the storm. He, in his stubborn stupor, risks all their lives. In refusing to either pray to God or cast himself overboard, he thrusts the responsibility of the sacrifice on them.

Gerald Friedlander, in his commentary on PRE, suggests that “the ship is a type of world, which can only find its salvation through the willing martyrdom of the Hebrew, who although he be inoffensive in his conduct with this fellow-men of all nationalities, is nevertheless quite willing to allow himself to be doomed to destruction in order to relieve his fellow-men of their threatened ruin.”⁵⁴ Yet Jonah is anything but a real martyr since he is the one responsible for risking their lives, and only confesses to being responsible once he's been woken from his sleep by the captain of the ship (Jonah 1:6), and is caught out by the casting of lots (v. 7). Even after he confesses, the sailors do

⁵³ The motif of the splitting of the Reed Sea will return in the eschatological section when Jonah is privy to a vision of the twelve paths along which the Israelites walked.

⁵⁴ Friedlander 1981: 67, n. 10.

not want to be held responsible for the shedding of “innocent blood” (v. 14), uttering a prayer to that effect before casting him into the sea. He is, if anything, a spoof on the martyr willing to sacrifice his life for the salvation of the collective. Jonah would simply rather sleep. The midrash also exaggerates the sailors’ compassion by changing the order of the events in the original narrative. In the biblical account, they attempt to stay the storm by initially praying to their gods, then throwing their baggage overboard, then drawing lots to determine who is responsible for the tempest; all these events precede Jonah’s confession. Even after he urges them to throw him overboard, they resist and attempt to return to shore. PRE, however, elaborates on their resistance; only after Jonah confesses to being responsible for the storm, do they draw lots,⁵⁵ perhaps to confirm his admission of responsibility. Then they throw their baggage overboard to no avail, followed by a furious attempt to row back to shore. They then plead to God not to hold them responsible for Jonah’s death since they are doing so only upon his insistence, and they are, as yet, unconvinced as to his culpability, avowing: “we do not know the nature of this man.”

In addition, the midrash emphasizes their righteousness through the rather elaborate dipping exercise, testing the water, so to speak. It reads like a mock baptism in the tempestuous seas, conducted in two to five stages. Again the manuscripts differ as to how elaborate the ‘dipping exercise’ is, but in all the texts the passage is rife with humor, reinforcing the parodic dimensions of the narrative. Clearly the author (or the scribe who may have elaborated on the extent of the dipping), is titillated by the comic image of the prophet as ‘tamer of the violent seas’ – Jonah depicted as a cork-man, bobbing at the end of a rope. He is dropped in, at first, up to his ankles; the sea becomes flat as glass. But once drawn up again, the sea surges in a hungry rage, the boat thrown into a tumult again. Then he is dipped up to his knees, then to his navel, then to his neck, with the same pattern repeating itself, and finally completely submerged. Are the sailors, on their part, testing the elements throughout the ordeal, to determine whether Jonah is *really* responsible for the storm as he professes to be? Apparently compassion for the prophet provides an excuse for a scientific experiment!

⁵⁵ Though this is missing in En866, many of the manuscript traditions include the drawing of lots: Ca2858, Ci2043, Paris and Warsaw.

The author uses the repetitive, mechanical image of a man bobbing in and out of the surface of a raging sea to provoke laughter. In Henri Bergson's definition, "*The attitudes, gestures and movements of the human body are laughable in exact proportion as that body reminds us of a mere machine...* The deflection of life towards the mechanical is the real cause of laughter."⁵⁶ The humor, in the text, enhances the satire, what Northrop Frye calls "militant irony." The sailors, with their exaggerated compassion, serve as foils to Jonah in his anti-mission. They pity the prophet (to the point of litmus testing his own declaration of culpability), while Jonah, wishing to abort the salvation of the Ninevites in refusing to carry out God's command, risks all his shipmates' lives in the storm.

Death is what the sailors assume Jonah's fate to be – to drown in the stormy sea. But he doesn't die because a great fish had been appointed during the Six Days of Creation to swallow him. Instead of devouring him, the sea monster proves to be his lifeboat. Apparently, the sailors witness Jonah's salvation and are inspired to convert to Judaism. In the original biblical text, it is "because the sea ceased from its raging" that "the men feared the Lord exceedingly, and offered a sacrifice to the Lord, and made vows" (Jonah 2:16).⁵⁷ PRE however delays the moment of the sailors' transformation to follow Jonah's ejection onto the shore, in the last section of our midrash:

PIRQE DE-RABBI ELIEZER, CHAPTER 10 CONT...

10) And the sailors saw all the wonders and the miracles which the Holy One blessed be He did for Jonah, and each man cast his god [into the sea], as it says: "They who cling to folly forsake their own welfare" (Jonah 2:9). Then they returned to Joppa and went up to Jerusalem where they

⁵⁶ Henri Bergson 1956: 79 and 82 (his italics).

⁵⁷ Among the medieval commentators, the expression that someone "fears God" is often understood to be an act of conversion. This is true of the sailors (Jonah 1:16), the midwives (Exod. 1:17), Rahab (Josh. 2:11), and a vision of the universal transformation of all mankind at the End of Days (Isa. 59:19, Ps. 40:4, Ps. 64:10 and Ps. 102:16). PRE, however, claims that the sailors must have converted because no gentile was allowed to offer sacrifices at the Temple. The allusion to offering "sacrifice [זִבְחָ]" (Jonah 1:16) is then understood to be an allusion to circumcision. Historical sources indicate, however, that sacrifices were accepted from gentiles during the Second Temple Period. The Talmudic sources do not refer to a prohibition against gentile sacrifices. Israel Knohl argues that both the Karaite commentary on Leviticus, by Daniel b. Moses al Kumisis, and PRE reflect the influence of sectarian sources from the Second Temple period (Knohl 1979: 341–345).

had themselves circumcised, as it says: “The men feared God greatly; they offered a sacrifice to the Lord and they made vows” (Jonah 1:16). But how could they offer sacrifices? {Is it not true that sacrifices brought by gentiles are not accepted?}.⁵⁸ Rather, this [the “sacrifice”] refers to the blood of circumcision, which is like the blood of sacrifice. And each vowed to bring his wife and children to appear before the God of Jonah. And they vowed and fulfilled (their vow) [ונדרו ושלמו].⁵⁹ And because of them, we pray for the welfare of the righteous converts.⁶⁰

The author of PRE, picking up on the incongruous allusion to idolaters in Jonah’s psalm, presents the sailors as foils to the reluctant prophet. When they offer sacrifices and make vows (v. 16), it is understood as a conversion. The midrashic narrative then assumes that the verse – “they who cling to empty folly forsake their own welfare” (2:9) – is a reference to the sailors’ repentance, a willingness to give up “the empty folly” of their idols. They undergo a transformation, while Jonah maintains his role as the advocate of ‘truth’.

On yet another level, the conversion of the sailors may be an appropriation of the Christian allusion to Jonah in the Gospels. Jonah, ‘resurrected’ after three days in the belly of the great fish, prefigures the resurrection of Jesus (Matt. 12:39–41 and Luke 11:29–32), a miracle intended to inspire all to convert to Christianity:

But he answered them, “An evil and adulterous generation asks for a sign, but no sign will be given to it except the sign of the prophet Jonah. For just as Jonah was three days and three nights in the belly of the sea monster, so for three days and three nights the Son of Man will be in the heart of the earth. The people of Nineveh will rise up at the judgment with this generation and condemn it, because they repented at the proclamation of Jonah, and see, something greater than Jonah is here!” (Matt. 12:39–41, NRSV)

An *a fortiori* argument is proposed: Jonah, as a foreshadowing or “sign” of the resurrection, inspired the Ninevites, why then could the resurrection of Jesus Christ, who is “greater than Jonah,” not inspire the Jews? But PRE does understand Jonah as an ‘inspiration’ or ‘sign’, suggesting that he inspired the pagan sailors to convert – not to Christianity but to Judaism.

⁵⁸ Added from Ci75, Ca2858, and P.

⁵⁹ Based on Isa. 19:21.

⁶⁰ This is an allusion to the thirteenth blessing of the ‘*Amidah*’. See Appendix A.

Furthermore, as I pointed out earlier, the repentance of Nineveh is peripheral to the narrative expansion in the midrash. In fact, PRE 10 ends half-way through the biblical drama (at the end of chapter two, when Jonah is spewed out onto dry ground). It does not go on to tell of Jonah's prophecy of doom and the Ninevites' instant repentance, as if to say it is merely a minor detour in the history of his career. Rather, the chapter veers off into a vivid elaboration of his journey inside the belly of the fish. The Jonah narrative is taken up again in the extraordinary chapter on Repentance, in which Pharaoh, the sole Egyptian survivor of the drowning at the Sea of Reeds, repents and metamorphoses into the King of Nineveh (PRE 43).⁶¹ He dons sackcloth and ash, and orders them to fast in penitence (threatening that otherwise he would have them burnt by fire). The elaborate choreography of their repentance, including the separation of suckling infants from their nursing mothers, produces a frenzy of wailing, which prompts God's pity.⁶² Needless to say, their sudden piety is short-lived:

PIRQE DE-RABBI ELIEZER, CHAPTER 43⁶³

8) For forty years the Holy One, blessed be He, was slow to anger with them, corresponding to the forty days, which He said to Jonah: "In another forty days, Nineveh shall be overthrown!" (Jonah 3:4). After forty years, they returned to their many evil deeds, more so than their former ones, and they were swallowed up like the dead, in the lowest Sheol, as it says: "Men groan in the city; (the souls of the dead cry out)" (Job 24:12), "between their terraces they press out oil; (they tread the wine presses, but suffer thirst)" (ibid., v. 11), "When the wind has passed and cleared them" (ibid. 37:21).⁶⁴

⁶¹ PRE 42 in Higger's edition. See the Radal's comment on PRE 43, note 58. He cites the Gaon of Vilna's commentary on *Tikunei ha-Zohar* (*tikun* 21), in which Pharaoh is compared to the sea monsters [*taninim*] – where the female was slaughtered (symbolic of Egypt), and the male was castrated (symbolic of Pharaoh) and left alive as a source of divine retribution.

⁶² The description on their penitence is rife with humor. A similar scene is described in *P.R.K.* 24, where the separation of the cows from their calves sets up such a cacophony of lowing that God is compelled to have mercy on them (alluded to in Jonah 4:11, a "great many cattle"). The passage in *P.R.K.* 24, while it mocks the repentance of Nineveh, does not include a scene of their damnation.

⁶³ This translation is based on En886, and supplemented with reference to other manuscripts and the printed editions. See the discussion of PRE 43 in ch. 10. This may very well be based on a homiletical midrash (like *P.R.K.* 24) on *Shabbat Shuvah*, the Haftarah including Hos. 14:2–10 (quoted later in PRE 43), as Friedlander contends (1981: 343, n. 10).

⁶⁴ The latter two prooftexts do not appear in any of the other manuscripts or printed editions.

As I pointed out earlier, when the author of the midrash resumes the story of Jonah's mission, he casts the prophet's doom toll into absolute terms of destruction, fulfilled not forty days later but forty years later. A contrast, here, is then set up between the superficial repentance of the Ninevites, who subsequently return to evil ways,⁶⁵ and Israel's full repentance, when Elijah will usher in the messianic era.⁶⁶ This statement reverses Luke's assertion: "The men of Nineveh will appear at the Judgment when this generation is on trial, and ensure its condemnation, for they repented at the preaching of Jonah; and what is here is greater than Jonah" (Luke 11:32). Ephrem, the Syrian (306–373 C.E.), like many of the early Church Fathers, uses the repentance of Nineveh as fodder for a virulent critique of the Jews. At the conclusion of his homily on the repentance of Nineveh, he has them say, "Praise be to God, who mortified the Jews by means of the gentiles."⁶⁷ In PRE, not only do the people of Nineveh not condemn the Israelites by contrast, but they constitute an *exemplum* of a nation's absolute and ultimate damnation, "the souls of the dead crying out" (Job 24:12). The Israelites, after a period of oppression and exile, will fully repent when Elijah ushers in the new era. The author of PRE, both in the chapter on Repentance and in the chapter on Jonah, is engaged in an anti-Christian polemic. He sets up the sailors as a counterpoint to that image of the Jews that refuse to accept Christ in the Gospels, that "adulterous generation" (Matt. 12:39), for they are inspired to convert to Judaism, not Christianity. The author uses the mode of satire to veil his purpose, presenting a critique of Jesus as the messianic figure. In the discussion of the last section, the incongruous choice of Jonah as a proto-messianic figure will become clear – not merely as a parody of the "sign," the foreshadowing of Jesus' resurrection, but also as one worthy of the tour underworld in his own right.

⁶⁵ In PRE 43, the evil of the Ninevites is described in typological terms similar to the generation of the flood (PRE 24), and to the people of Sodom (PRE 25): the Ninevites guilty of "fraud, everyone robbed his neighbor, and they committed sodomy" (PRE 43).

⁶⁶ See the discussion in ch. 10 of this passage.

⁶⁷ Ephrem the Syrian (in Latin: Ephraem Syrus), *De Poenitentia Ninivitarum* (The Penance of the Ninevites) 373, II Opp. Syr. Lat. (quoted in Urbach 1949: 121). The Church Fathers also use the repentance of the Ninevites to fuel their polemic against the Jews, cf. Justin Martyr *Dialogue with Trypho* 107 and Jerome Epist. 53.

THE SOJOURN IN THE BELLY OF THE FISH

Thus is Man that great and true *Amphibium*, whose nature is disposed to live, not only like other creatures in divers elements, but in divided and distinguished worlds: for though there be but one to sense, there are two to reason, the one visible, the other invisible. . . .

(Sir Thomas Browne *The Religio Medici*)⁶⁸

This last half of the chapter is perhaps the most poetic and fantastical of all the narrative expansions on the Hebrew Bible in this composition. It is also the most elusive, for the author seems to be alluding to messianic ideas contemporary to his context, but there is little external evidence to corroborate this reading. Certainly, the passage is replete with eschatological references, suggesting that Jonah plays a far more significant role than he has been playing until now. Why does this recalcitrant prophet, who refuses to carry out a mission of compassion for God, become privy to this magical mystery tour of the underworld? This seeming buffoon is linked to the righteous who are uniquely privy to the Pristine Light of Creation; he vanquishes the Leviathan and is resurrected, inspiring the conversion of the sailors. Perhaps the other world is meant to cure him of being a literalist, a logical positivist who insists on absolutes. Alternatively the other world may very well be familiar territory for the arch advocate of ‘truth’.

PORTRAIT OF THE PROPHET AS A YOUNG BOY

There is a prequel to the whole drama, wherein Jonah is identified as the son of the widow of Zarephath (PRE 33),⁶⁹ and, according to Yehuda Liebes, the prime candidate for the position of Messiah of the tribe of Joseph.⁷⁰ In the biblical story, Elijah finds refuge (while hiding from the wrath of Ahab), with the widow of Zarephath in Sidon, who

⁶⁸ I am grateful to Avivah Gottlieb Zornberg for pointing out this literary source (lectures on “Yonah-The Amphibious Man,” 1998–2003, oral communication). See also her article, “Jonah: A Fantasy of Flight” in her most recent collection of essays 2009: 77–105.

⁶⁹ In Higger’s version PRE 42.

⁷⁰ For a list of secondary sources for this idea, and the primary sources tracing Jonah’s lineage to the widow of Zarephath, see footnote 3 in this chapter. See also the parallel aggadic sources on Elijah’s role with regard to the Messiah in *b. Bava Metzi’a* 114b and *Pes. R.* 4, PRE 47; see especially ch. 10, footnote 35.

feeds him. Her child later falls fatally ill and dies. The prophet then revives him, by stretching himself out over the child three times, while crying out: “O Lord, my God, let this child’s life return to his body!” (I Kgs 17: 21). When he presents the boy to the widow, she proclaims her faith in Elijah as a man of God. This is Pirque de-Rabbi Eliezer’s rendition of the story:

PIRQUE DE-RABBI ELIEZER, CHAPTER 33⁷¹

Rabbi Shimon says: Owing to the power of charity, the dead will be revived in the Future. From where do we learn this? From Elijah the Tishbite, for he travelled from mountain to mountain, from cave to cave. He came to Zarephath, and a woman, a widow, took him in with great honor. She was the mother of Jonah, and they ate and drank from her bread and her oil – (Elijah), her, and her son, as it says: “She and he and her household had food for a long time” (1 Kgs. 17:15). Rabbi Levi said: It is written “he and she” (*ktiv*), but it is read “she and he” (*kri*) – by the merit of Elijah they ate. After a while, the son of the woman fell sick and died, as it says: “After a while, the son of the mistress of the house fell sick, (and his illness grew worse, until he had no breath left in him)” (v. 17). The woman said to him [Elijah], “Because you came to me for sexual relations,⁷² and you have recalled my sin upon me, and my son has died, now you must take away what you have brought me and give me back my son.” Elijah stood up and prayed before the Holy One Blessed be He, and said before Him, “Master of the world, is it not enough that all these calamities have befallen me, but (will you also allow) this woman, whom I know has spoken out of grievance for her son, to abuse me [לעשקני]?⁷³ Now, may the future generations learn that there is resurrection of the dead! Return the soul of this child!” And He responded to his plea, as it says: “The Lord heard Elijah’s plea” (v. 22).

In PRE the link between Jonah and the son of the widow may derive from the geographical association of Jonah with Gath-hefer (2 Kgs. 14:24–25), within the territory of Zebulun on the coast, south of Sidon (cf. Gen. 49:13).⁷⁴ The Zohar however, links Jonah *ben Amitai* to the son of the widow through her final words: “Now I know that you

⁷¹ This translation is based the 1st ed., compared to Börner-Klein 2004: 385.

⁷² Her accusation, here, is quite striking – and seems later to be denied by Elijah. It is a paraphrase of her ambiguous accusation in the biblical text: “What harm have I done you, O man of God, that you should come here to recall *my sin* and cause the death of my son? [מָה לִי וְלָךְ אִישׁ הָאֱלֹהִים בָּאתָ אֵלַי לְהִזְכִּיר אֶת עֲוֹנִי וְלְהִמִּית אֶת בְּנִי]” (I Kgs. 17:19).

⁷³ In the 2nd ed., the word is: “stubborn to me? [לעקשני],” which is not a transitive verb, whereas the 1st ed. reads: “abuse [לעשקני].”

⁷⁴ As in *y. Sukkah* 5:1 and *Gen. Rab.* 98:11. See footnote 3 of this chapter on the genealogy of Jonah.

are a man of God and that the word of the Lord in your mouth is true [אמת]” (1 Kgs. 17:24).⁷⁵ Jonah is imprinted with this word, “true.” Having once died and returned from the other world, the world of the infinite and the uncompromising truth, he then becomes its emissary. In his primary role, in the biblical text, he is the one who insists on consistency or truth, and opposes God’s compassion, which allows for the reversal of prophetic decrees in response to repentance. But the midrash reasserts the priority of truth, and in his secondary role (and perhaps higher mission) Jonah becomes an advocate of that world of absolutes.

Jonah’s insistence on truth goes further than his own role as prophet, for he expresses it through a relentless death wish, a desire to return to that world, that “undiscovered country from whose bourn no traveler returns” (Hamlet III;i).⁷⁶ Like Jonah, the Prince of Denmark contemplates death: “To die, to sleep; to sleep: perchance to dream: ay, there’s the rub; for in that sleep of death what dreams may come when we have shuffled off this mortal coil, must give us pause.” But Hamlet does not act on his death wish because he fears the unknown, and would “rather bear those ills... than fly to others [he knows] not of.” Jonah, on the other hand, having returned once from death, does not fear its uncharted waters, but seeks again and again its stark lines, its irreversible truths. In the biblical account, his resistance to his mission verges on suicidal, as he is subject to a violent storm and then swallowed by the great fish (a kind of tomb). His prayer is full of allusions to a near-death experience: “From the belly of Sheol I cried out” (Jonah 2:3), “yet You brought my life up from the pit, O lord my God! When my life was ebbing away...” (2:7). Later he articulates a death wish, after the withdrawal of God’s decree to destroy Nineveh: “and, now, Lord, take my life from me, for better my death than my life” (4:3). He again expresses a will to die, after the withering of the gourd (*kikayon*): “better my death than my life” (4:8). The resurrection motif in the midrash, then, plays itself out both in Jonah’s personal history, as recounted in the Bible, and in his role as a prophet of the ultimate, messianic mission in the midrash. The revival of Jonah, as a child, according to PRE 43, becomes the precedent for the possibility for the

⁷⁵ Zohar 2:197a.

⁷⁶ The ‘Abode of the Dead’ is referred to in Akkadian Ancient Near-Eastern Sources as “the land of no return” (*māt la târi*); see Lewis 1992 2: 102.

revival of the dead in the messianic era, and he himself experiences a revival again as he resists his mission to Nineveh in PRE 10. Jonah also becomes an advocate for resurrection in his *alternative* mission, privy to the wonders of the underworld, because, in some way, he has already experienced them, having journeyed to that “undiscovered country” and returned.

In the midrash, Jonah travels to that other world in order to be transformed into the advocate of ‘truth’, and returns to *this* world to testify to the possibility of surviving it. Yet, in doing so, he never really relinquishes that world. He is truly representative of “man that great and true amphibium,” in Sir Thomas Browne’s words, who lives “not only...in diverse elements, but [also] in divided and distinguished worlds.” He traverses land and sea, the living and the dead, mission and anti-mission, only to discover his ultimate mission.

THE JOURNEY THROUGH THE NETHERWORLD (PART 1)

PIRQE DE-RABBI ELIEZER, CHAPTER 10 CONT...

7) R. Tarfon said: the fish had been appointed to swallow Jonah since the Six Days of Creation {as it says: “And God appointed a huge fish to swallow Jonah” (Jonah 2:1)}. He entered its mouth like a man entering a great synagogue, and stood. The eyes of the fish were like shuttered windows [אפמיות],⁷⁷ which shone, and he could see all that was in the sea and the underworld.

R. Meir said: there was a pearl which hung from within the belly of the fish that lit up all that was in the seas and in the underworld, and of this it says, “Light is sown for the Righteous” (Ps. 97: 11).⁷⁸

⁷⁷ The Hebrew term “אפמיות,” differs in almost each of the manuscripts. David Stern suggests: “the eyes of the fish shone down upon him like two skylights” (Stern 1990: 64). Friedlander translates אפמיות הלונות as “windows of glass” based on Jastrow’s conjecture that *ampumeth* is related to the Greek word *obsianus*, meaning obsidian – a stone used in glass (*Tanḥuma Nasso* 23, *Yalkut Pss.* 842), but while obsidian may be used in glass, it is never a stone that grants transparency on its own. It is much more likely to be related to the term אפוטניות (*afutaniot*) where (through scribal error) it was likely that the *tet* and *nun* merged into a *mem*. The term אפוטני (pl. אפוטניות) refers to an enclosure surrounding a well, or protected cistern, perhaps the flaps or shutters covering the well that can be opened and closed (Jastrow 1992: 100). See PRE 23 (1st ed): “And there were five shutters (אפוטניות) on the right side of the ark, and five on the left side, in order to draw a measure of water, which could be opened or closed” (my translation).

⁷⁸ Following this paragraph, in En866 and Lehman, there is an addition which is found in *Teshuvat Yonah ha-navi* and the *Yalkut*, but it is clearly not integral to the original midrash. See footnote 20 in this chapter.

The fish said to Jonah, "Don't you know that my day has come to be swallowed by the jaws [lit. mouth] of the Leviathan?"

Jonah said, "Take me to him and I shall save you, as well as myself, from his jaws."

He [the fish] took him [Jonah] to him [the Leviathan].

He [Jonah] said to the Leviathan, "It was for you that I descended to see your abode [in the sea], and I will descend again, in the future, to place a rope through your tongue, and haul you up to sacrifice you for the great feast of the Righteous in the Days to Come." As it says: "Can you draw out the Leviathan by a fishhook? Can you press down his tongue by a rope?" (Job 40:25). And, not only that, but look at this seal of our forefather Abraham. 'Look to the covenant (*brit*) and flee!'"

And the Leviathan saw the seal of Abraham our forefather and fled from the presence of Jonah a distance of two days.

Like the miraculous items created at twilight on the Sixth Day, such as the mouth of the earth [פִּי הָאָרֶץ], the itinerant well [פִּי הַבְּאֵר], and the talking donkey [פִּי הָאֵתוֹן],⁷⁹ the huge fish was appointed to swallow Jonah from the Six Days of Creation. Here is yet another portal to the twilight zone, appointed by God as either a source of punishment or salvation. These miraculous objects wait, like actors backstage, for their cue to enter the stage of history. Since the sixth day, God withdrew from his role as Creator *ex nihilo*, and these creations were 'slipped in' at the last moment, as 'loopholes' to allow for disruption in the natural order of the world. With regard to the great fish, the midrash bases its conjecture on the verb *ב.ג.ה.*, meaning 'to appoint' or 'to designate.'⁸⁰ In our narrative, the opening statement links us with the fifth day of Creation, in which the fish, and in particular the sea monsters [*taninim*], associated with the Leviathan, were made (Gen. 1:21).⁸¹ This great fish had been lying in wait to swallow Jonah not only for the sake of his *salvation*, but also to set him up as the one

⁷⁹ *M. 'Avot* 5:6 and PRE 19. See the discussion of these motifs in Stein 2004: 189–190, and my article "Midrash, Myth, and Bakhtin's Chronotope: The Foundation Stone and the Itinerant Well in *Pirqe de-Rabbi Eliezer*" (JJTP, forthcoming).

⁸⁰ This unusual verb appears four times over the course of the Book of Jonah, with reference to the great fish (2:1), the *kikayon* (4:6), the worm (4:7) and the east wind (4:8).

⁸¹ The sea monsters [*taninim*] are associated with the Leviathan by a series of intertextual links (Gen. 1:21, Ps. 44:20, 74:13–14, 89:9–12, Job 3:8, 7:12 and 26:13; Isa. 27:1 and 51:9–10). PRE 9, however, associates them with the great fish (Jonah's being one of them), which are used to *feed* the Leviathan. For an analysis of the transformation of the Leviathan from the biblical to the Talmudic literature see Fishbane 1998: 41–55, and for an analysis of the image of the Leviathan in the kabbalistic literature see Idel 2004: 145–186.

who would vanquish the Leviathan and subsequently take the prophet on the tour of the netherworld.

Jonah's entrance into the fish's cavernous belly is compared to one who enters a great synagogue,⁸² in a mood of awe, ostensibly to pray. The midrash seems to be addressing an exegetical problem imbedded in the text: why does Jonah's prayer, uttered from within the belly of the fish, sound like praise rather than plea (Jonah 2:2–10), even when he is still far from the security of dry shores?⁸³ Because, the fish is designated to save him, and Jonah's journey within its belly becomes a privilege not a punishment. The midrash then recasts the original prayer in the biblical text as a series of hints as to what lies in the netherworld. The author also composes a new prayer, which reveals the significance of his ultimate mission. He demands to be resurrected and recalls his oath to offer up the Leviathan. Only then is he spewed onto dry land. The cavern of the great fish resembles a great synagogue *because* it becomes the sanctuary for the ultimate prayer, uttered by the one who will usher in the messianic era, as alluded to in his reference to the feast of the Righteous and his embodiment of the quickening of the dead.

The source of light for his journey is provided either by the shuttered eyes of the fish, which open for Jonah like windows onto the underworld, or, according to R. Meir,⁸⁴ by a single pearl, hanging as a chandelier in the fish's belly. Through the phrase, "light is sown for the

⁸² Friedlander translates the phrase as "*the* great synagogue," with a definite article, though not all the manuscript traditions consistently reflect that reading. Friedlander suggests that this might be a reference to the famous "Great Synagogue" in Alexandria. Whether or not the author alludes to a particular synagogue is less important than the sense of awe the image intends to evoke.

⁸³ Rashi simply understands the prayer as a plea of deliverance, ignoring the past tense of the verbs and overall tone of the Psalm. Ibn Ezra, on the other hand, acknowledges that it expresses thanksgiving for a boon already granted, suggesting the prayer combines a genuine plea for deliverance with an awareness of its immanent fulfillment, what might be considered the "prophetic past." See Uriel Simon's discussion of the history of exegesis on Jonah's prayer, 1999: xxvii–xxviii. He cogently argues that the prayer is not integral to the book, but was a later accretion (1999: 14). Our midrash, however, transforms the prayer into an expression of gratitude or praise. Ackerman, on the other hand, sees Jonah's prayer as consistent with the satirical tone of the book, highlighting the discrepancy between Jonah's self-perception and his reality (Ackerman 1981: 222).

⁸⁴ The image, in both cases, is ascribed to R. Meir, (lit. 'teacher of light') yet another example of "decorative pseudepigraphy."

Righteous [אֹר זָרוּעַ לְצַדִּיק]” (Ps. 97:11), PRE links this light with the Pristine Light of Creation, which was buried for the End of Days, only to be revealed for the righteous. Initially, it enabled primordial Adam to see from one end of the Earth to the other.⁸⁵ It is the same source of light, which illuminates the ark for Noah, throughout the flood (PRE 23). Both Jonah and Noah are water-bound, enveloped in Chaos and gloom. To dispel the darkness for them, God sets up a pearl, itself formed within the obscurity of a clam’s shell in the recesses of the sea. That lamp is akin to the light that radiates from that “awesome crystal” (Ezek. 1:22) at the base of God’s throne of glory, which will illuminate the world at the End of Days.⁸⁶ It is as if, because Jonah has rejected the compromises of external reality in *this world*, he is given an alternative light to live by – the light of a pure pearl, representative of a wholly internal, other world. The prophet now enters a *time beyond time*, the realm of the End of Days, the world of the drowned and the saved.

THE CONFRONTATION WITH THE LEVIATHAN

As soon as Jonah enters the fish’s belly, his host warns him that this is his designated day to be eaten by the Leviathan. But the prophet averts disaster by challenging the monster with his ultimate mission. According to Jonah’s boast, this is why he was thrown into the sea in the first place, to determine the whereabouts of the Leviathan’s abode so that when the time came, he would know where to go fishing. Until now, the reader might have presumed that the prophet was cast into the sea and swallowed by the fish in order to be set back on his mission to cry unto the Ninevites (Jonah 3:4). It turns out that the prophet’s thwarted anti-mission is really a cover for his *true* mission – to confront the Leviathan and vow to offer him up as a sacrifice in the End of Days.

⁸⁵ See ch. 8 footnote 3 for the sources on this motif.

⁸⁶ In the midrash, the description of the “awesome crystal” (Ezek. 1:22) is also likened to “precious stones and pearls, illuminating the heavens like a lamp in the house, and like the sun which shines with such intensity at noonday . . .” (PRE 4). According to this same passage, this is the characteristic of the light which will shine at the End of Days (Dan. 12:2). See Elbaum’s discussion of this motif 1992: 109–110.

The Leviathan, in the Bible and midrashic lore, epitomizes unbridled appetite, destruction and chaos, which no mere mortal could defeat.⁸⁷ The prophet, in PRE, challenges the Leviathan's invincibility, answering the seemingly rhetorical question posed in the Book of Job: "Can you draw out the Leviathan by a fishhook? Can you press down his tongue by a rope?" (Job 40:25), with a definitive: "Why, yes I can." He threatens: "It was for you that I descended to see your abode [in the sea], and I will descend again, in the future, to place a rope through your tongue, and haul you up to sacrifice you for the great feast of the Righteous in the Days to Come." In so doing, Jonah allies himself again *with* the Almighty and becomes the emissary who defeats the power of unbridled chaos and evil.

The rabbinic tradition, for the most part, identifies the great sea monsters [הַתַּנִּינִים הַגְּדֹלִים] (Gen. 1:21), with the Leviathan based on the verse in Isaiah: "On that day, the Lord will punish with His great, cruel, mighty sword Leviathan the Elusive Serpent [לְוִיָּתָן נָחֵשׁ בָּרַחַח] – Leviathan the Twisting Serpent [לְוִיָּתָן נָחֵשׁ עֶקְלָתוֹן]; He shall slay the Dragon [הַתַּנִּינִן] of the sea" (Isa. 27:1, NJPS); according to the classic rabbinic sources, all these terms refer to the same creature.⁸⁸ The author of PRE in the previous chapter however, makes a distinction between the Leviathan and the *taninim*, which actually serve as food for the sea monster:

PIRQE DE-RABBI ELIEZER, CHAPTER 9⁸⁹

On the fifth day, [God] caused the Leviathan, the Elusive Serpent, to crawl from the waters. Its dwelling is in the lowest waters and, between its two fins, rests the foundation hinge [הַבְּרִיחַ הַתִּיכוֹן] of the universe.⁹⁰ All the great sea monsters [הַתַּנִּינִים הַגְּדֹלִים] in the oceans are food for the Leviathan. The Holy One, blessed be He, plays with him daily. He opens his mouth and the sea monster, whose designated day has come to be eaten, (tries to) escaped and flee, but enters the Leviathan's mouth. The Holy One, blessed be He, plays with it, as it says: "(this is) the Leviathan that You formed to sport with" (Ps. 104:26).

⁸⁷ Cf. Job 40:19–32 and Ps. 104:26. See footnote 81.

⁸⁸ See *b. Bava Batra* 74a–b which follows, and the parallel in *Gen. Rab.* 7:4 (Theodor-Albeck 1965: 52). In the latter source, R. Pinhas in the name of R. Idi states that neither the Leviathan nor Behemoth had a 'partner'; they were not allowed to procreate for fear they would destroy the world. According to Resh Lakish, the Behemoth had a mate but was deprived of a sex drive (based on Job 40:17).

⁸⁹ This translation is based the 1st ed., compared to Börner-Klein 2004: 89.

⁹⁰ This place is similar to the pillars of the earth [עַמּוּדֵי אָרֶץ בְּמִכּוֹנֵן] to which the great fish later takes Jonah on his sojourn in the underworld.

The Leviathan, in this chapter is introduced to us by his second name, “the Elusive Serpent [נחש בריח].” Many medieval commentators interpret “בריה” to mean “stretching from one end of the sea to the other,”⁹¹ but the NJPS has rendered the term as “Elusive Serpent,” based on the verb ב.ר.ח. – to flee. The midrash gives two etiological explanations behind the name: the monster spurs others, in this case the sea monsters [התנינים הגדולים], to flee, while also eluding the spears of the harpoonist (cf. Job 40:29). Secondly, the term alludes to the Leviathan’s role of holding “the foundation hinge [הבריח התיכון] of the universe” between its two fins. In addition, I suggest that Elusive Serpent serves as a mirror of Jonah himself, who “rose up to flee [ויקם יונה לברוח] from the presence of God” (Jonah 1:3), only to discover the hinge [בריה] of the universe in his alternative mission.

Jonah is given the opportunity to confront the Leviathan, since it is the day this great fish, one of the *taninim*, was designated to be swallowed. In the confrontation, the prophet refers to the Leviathan’s eschatological purpose – to be hooked by a rope through his tongue (cf. Job 40:25), and served up for the righteous in the End of Days. In an expanded version of this legend in the Talmud (b. *Bava Batra* 74b),⁹² the Righteous, in addition to feasting on its flesh, will use the skin of the Leviathan as a *sukkah*.⁹³ The remainder of the skin will be spread over the walls of Jerusalem, and its light will radiate from one end of the world to the other. Jonah alludes to the Leviathan’s purpose in the End of Days, manifest through the light with which he now sees. The Leviathan seems undaunted. What, in the end, intimidates the monster? Jonah drops his pants and shows him the sign: “Look to the covenant (*brit*)”⁹⁴ and flee!” It then flees from the presence of Jonah [וברח מלפני יונה], a distance of two days [מהלך שני ימים], the very same distance the ship had to travel when God brought it expeditiously back to port for Jonah’s escape. The prophet who attempts to escape God’s presence [לברוח מלפני ה’], in his anti-mission, is the one who causes the Elusive Serpent to escape [וברח מלפני יונה], when he is shown his ultimate purpose.

⁹¹ See Ibn Ezra and Radak on Isa. 27:1.

⁹² See the discussion of this passage in Fishbane 1998: 41–55.

⁹³ Based on Job 40:3.

⁹⁴ The expression “look to the covenant (*habet la-brit*)” (Ps. 74:20), is understood, here, literally. Jonah displays his mark of *brit milah*, circumcision, to intimidate the Leviathan.

Michael Fishbane analyzed the aggadic passage in the Talmud (*b. Bava Batra* 74a–b) on the defeat of the Leviathan as a classic example of *Urzeit wird Endzeit* (the primeval time is recapitulated in the End of Time).⁹⁵ Drawing on this same rabbinic tradition, the author of PRE suggests that Jonah is the Leviathan’s true adversary. The original ancient Mesopotamian myth, from which the passage in Isaiah draws its imagery, describes the defeat of the Sea’s ally, the twisting serpent (*Litan* in Ugaritic), by the Canaanite god or goddess.⁹⁶ In the Bible, the original pagan content of the myth was repressed or neutralized, transforming the myth into metaphor in the service of history – a phenomenon that I discussed earlier in the context of the lost legend of the Fallen Angel (chapter six). Daniel Boyarin argues that the midrashic sources revive these ancient legends, which were never totally lost from oral tradition. Passages like the one in *Bava Batra* typify “in very important ways the conflict in Jewish culture between the pagan past and its monotheistic present. Putting this in psychic terms, the midrash makes manifest the repressed mythic material in the Bible’s ‘textual subconscious.’”⁹⁷ What we find, in the midrashic tradition, is a “return of the repressed,” wherein the mythic universe is revived, while the allusion to the pagan gods and supernatural forces are neutralized or excised.⁹⁸

Yet, according to Jon Levenson, the remnants of this mythic struggle in the Bible suggest that the forces of chaos and evil are *not* neutralized altogether, but continue to present a challenge, leaving ample room for the exegetical imagination:

The survival of Leviathan in captivity parallels the psalmist’s earlier statement that God set bounds that the primeval waters must not dare to cross.⁹⁹ In each case the confinement of chaos rather than its elimina-

⁹⁵ Fishbane 1998: 41–55.

⁹⁶ On the Leviathan in the “ancient Israelite epic” see the discussion in Cassuto 1975 2: 87–97. See also the article on “Leviathan” by John Day 1992 4: 295. For an expanded analysis, see Day’s chapter “The Eschatologization of the Divine conflict with the Dragon and the Sea” in 1985: 145–151.

⁹⁷ Boyarin 1990: 89.

⁹⁸ One need not assume that there is a direct continuity between these ancient near-eastern legends and the much later midrashic appropriation of this material. It could be, as Loewenstamm suggests, that the Rabbis actually reconstruct and revive the mythical material from their close reading of the Bible itself (cf. Loewenstamm 1987: 187, Boyarin 1990: 151).

⁹⁹ Ps. 104:6–9. See my discussion of this motif in “The Sea as the Presumed Realm of God’s Absence” in this chapter.

tion is the essence of creation and the survival of ordered reality hangs only upon God's vigilance in ensuring that those cosmic dikes do not fail, that the bars and doors of the Sea's jail cell do not give way, that the great fish does not slip his hook.¹⁰⁰

The myth surrounding the conflict between the Canaanite god and the Sea, or its agent, the Leviathan, may have originally been stirred by man's anxiety about sea monsters, the surging rhythm of the sea, the encroachment of tides, the threat of flood and drought, all that is embodied in the "wild and wasteful ocean."¹⁰¹ In the midrash, however, the legends lose their pagan force, where evil or chaos was once projected onto nature. Instead, the same imagery is deployed in the drama between man and God, and plays itself out within the individual psyche. In this case, the prophet is pitted against his own will to thwart the divine command. His mission to sacrifice the Leviathan re-asserts his role as God's emissary, albeit in a different light and with an altered time scheme, pointing to the End of Days. In midrash, we see an expansion of those "reduced metaphors" back into mythic narratives in the service of eschatology. The agent of that transformation in PRE is the character Jonah himself.

THE JOURNEY THROUGH THE NETHERWORLD (PART 2)

Full fathom five thy father lies;
 Of his bones are coral made;
 Those pearls that were his eyes;
 Nothing of him that doth fade
 But doth suffer a sea-change
 Into something rich and strange.
 Sea nymphs hourly ring his knell:
 [Burthen] Ding dong.
 Hark! Now I hear them – ding-dong bell.
 (Ariel's song, *The Tempest* I:ii).

As a reward for saving him from the Leviathan, Jonah now demands that the great fish take him on a journey to see everything hidden in the depths of the ocean. The trip is based on images contained within Jonah's prayer from within the belly of the fish (Jonah 2:3–10). The

¹⁰⁰ Levenson 1988: 17.

¹⁰¹ Shakespeare, *King Henry V* III;i.

terms in the psalm – “the depths [מצולה or תהום],” “the heart of the seas [לבב ימים],” “the floods [נהר],” “the waters closed in over me [מים שעד נפש],” “weeds/reeds [סוף]” – all seem to refer to a man in a state close to drowning, floundering in the depths, struggling to surface. The past tense of the verb suggests that the prayer was uttered from within the belly of the fish in gratitude for having been saved from drowning. Yet, as Uriel Simon points out: “We should ask... why his prayer resembles a hymn of thanksgiving for deliverance rather than a psalm of entreaty, as we might expect. An even greater difficulty is that the psalm concludes with a ceremonial promise to fulfill his vow and offer thanksgiving sacrifices in the Temple, while totally omitting the main point – an entreaty to be forgiven for his flight and a promise to repent and undertake his mission to Nineveh.”¹⁰² Ackerman argues that the incongruity of this prayer of thanksgiving reinforces the satirical tone of the book and highlights the discrepancy between Jonah’s self-perception and the reader’s.¹⁰³ Being cast “into the heart of the seas” (v. 4) and being “brought up from the pit” (v. 7) – all figurative expressions for psychic distress in Psalms – are, here, concretized, reinforcing the parodic element in the Book of Jonah. “When metaphor is given a literal context, one moves toward the absurd; and the effect is a parodying of that which in its normal setting would have a totally different meaning.”¹⁰⁴ There is no hint of obeisance in Jonah’s psalm, no regret for having fled from his mission, yet he is still, physically, in dire straits within the intestines of the great fish. His gratitude seems fraught with self-delusion.

The midrash, however, understands the prayer from the entrails of the fish as a song from the another world – like Ariel’s in “The Tempest.” The metaphor of calling from the belly of Sheol (v. 3), being cast into the depths (v. 4) and so forth, entails the transformation of metaphor into concrete terms in the narrative *not* as an expression of parody but as a description of the phenomenology of death and resurrection. Sheol, here, really is the “land of no return.” The prayer then becomes *consistent with* his death wish, in that Jonah has really died.

¹⁰² Simon 1999: 14. For a concise review of the classic and modern commentary on Jonah’s prayer, see footnote 83.

¹⁰³ Ackerman actually falsely assumes that there are two prayers – one a plea, which he argues is reflected in the reflexive form of the verb “Jonah prayed [וַיִּתְפַּלֵּל] to the Lord” (Jonah 2:2) and the other, of thanksgiving (2:3–10) (Ackerman 1981: 214). But the reflexive of פָּלַל can equally function as an expression of praise (cf. 1 Sam. 2:1).

¹⁰⁴ Ackerman 1981: 226, drawing on Miles 1974–75: 165–181.

Being swallowed by the fish is only a confirmation of his entrance into the 'twilight zone', the final station in a series of descents. I pointed out earlier that his willingness to be thrown into the sea by the sailors was not a sacrificial act, but a further stage in the pursuit of death, expressed as a series of descents: from Joppa (v. 3), to the ship (v. 3), to the boat's bowels, where he fell into a deep sleep (v. 6). Erich Fromm suggests that this downward spiral represents a withdrawal from consciousness, from life, a return to a state prior to birth:

We find a sequence of symbols which follow one another: going into the ship, going into the ship's belly, falling asleep, being in the ocean, and being in the fish's belly. All these symbols stand for the same inner experience: for a condition of being protected and isolated, of safe withdrawal from communication with other human beings. They represent what could be represented in another symbol, the fetus in the mother's womb. Different as the ship's belly, deep sleep, the ocean, and a fish's belly are realistically, they are expressive of the same inner experience, of the blending between protection and isolation.¹⁰⁵

While the psychic dimension of Jonah's journey is not explicit in the midrash, the imagery implies a dream-like, inner-world experience, that leads to an alternative revelation. The imagery of the descent to Sheol in the biblical text becomes the *pretext*, or should I say *subtext*, for the prophet's true reason for surfacing; Jonah's (second) resurrection foreshadows the quickening of the dead in the Messianic Era.

The author of PRE presents a close reading of the verses, transforming the perplexing "hymn of thanksgiving for deliverance" into a prayer of praise at the wonders of the underworld:

PIRQE DE-RABBI ELIEZER, CHAPTER 10 CONT...

8) Jonah then said to the fish, "Well, I saved you from the jaws of the Leviathan, so now show me everything in the seas and the depths." It showed him the paths along the bottom of the Sea of Reeds [*yam suf*], which the Israelites had walked upon, as it says: "...the weeds [*suf*] entwined around my head" (Jonah 2:6). It showed him the Great River [*nahar*] of Oceanus, as it says: "...the floods [*nahar*] engulfed me" (v. 4). It showed him the place where the breakers of the sea and its waves emerge from, as it says: "...all Your breakers and billows swept over me" (v. 4). It showed him Gehenna, as it says: "From the belly of Sheol I cried out" (v. 3). And it showed him the nethermost underworld of Sheol, as it says: "You brought my life up from the pit, O Lord my God" (v. 7). It showed him the foundation pillars of the earth, as it says: "I sank to the

¹⁰⁵ Fromm 1951, cited in Ackerman 1981: 231.

base of the mountains” (v. 7). From this verse, one learns that Jerusalem stands upon seven mountains. There, it showed him the Foundation Stone, set in the depths, and he saw, there, the sons of Korah standing and praying, and he knew he was below the Temple of God.

Each of the seven or eight wonders to which Jonah is privy has a proof-text, though the journey does not follow the sequence of the biblical psalm verse by verse. Instead a new order is presented, with some variation among the manuscripts, beginning with the paths of the Sea of Reeds and ending with the prayers of the sons of Korah below the Temple mount. Is there any significance to the ordering of the wonders? Certainly, the journey leads to an epiphany – Jonah’s realization that he is at the Center of the Universe, symbolized by the Foundation Stone, below the Temple, and must now pray. Before he reaches that height, the base of seven mountains upon which Jerusalem stands, he must go deep into the lowest level of Sheol, as Jonah later avers: “Master of all the Worlds, Whom we call He-who-casts-down and He-who-raises-up. I have gone down, now raise me up!” Indeed, the final ascent requires a descent to the lowest level in the *underworld*.

The wonders, themselves, seem rather arbitrary, except that they are all places which are inaccessible to mortal man, stations characteristic of that “undiscovered country from whose bourn no traveler returns.” The first wonder in the sequence (according to most manuscript traditions), is the great river of Oceanus, alluded to in verse 5, “the river/floods engulfed me [נהר יסבבני].” This is the great river that surrounds the Earth, mentioned in the apocryphal literature of the Second Temple period.¹⁰⁶ The second wonder, the paths along the bottom of the Reed Sea, wrenches the reference to reeds/weeds [סוף] “entwined around [his] head” (v. 6) far from the plain sense. But the midrash is also picking up on a motif prevalent in the section on the ‘trouble at sea’ – the allusion to the splitting of the Reed Sea. This time Jonah sees the mirror reflection of his travails at sea, where the storm raged on his “left and on his right;” now he sees the storm from below, from the sanctuary of twelve well-trodden paths, memory of his people’s redemption, where the water stood up as a wall “on their left and on their right” (Exod. 14:29). The third station is the origin of

¹⁰⁶ Friedlander directs us to the following sources: *3 Bar.* 2:1, *1 En.* 17:5, and *T. Ab.* 8 (Friedlander 1981: 70, n. 7). See also Ephrem’s commentary on Genesis 2:6 (ed. and trans. Brock 1990: 200–201).

the Sea's waves and breakers, where v. 4 serves as the prooftext. Yet an interesting scribal error appears in one manuscript, Ci75, citing the 'wrong' verse: "Deep calls unto deep at the noise of Your waterfalls, (all Your waves and billows have gone over me) [תהום אל תהום קורא] " [לקל צנורך כל משבריך וגליך עלי עברו] (Ps. 42:8 NJPS, a *maskil* of the sons of Korah). The parallel between Jonah's psalm and this psalm, attributed to the sons of Korah, are striking – imagery of drowning, a plea to surface and be revived. This verse (Ps. 42:8), in particular, resonates with Jonah's prayer: "You cast me into the depths, into the heart of the sea, the floods engulfed me; all Your breakers and billows swept over me [ברוך וגליך עלי עברו] (Jonah 2:4). The author (or the scribe) of PRE is picking up on this intertextual link, perhaps suggesting Jonah's own song was inspired by this clan of Levites, buried alive under the surface of the Temple. In fact, as we will discuss, they inspire Jonah to a true prayer of supplication in the end. The fourth wonder, the foundation pillars of the Earth, links us back to the Leviathan, the "Elusive Serpent [נחש בריח]" which held the hinge of the world between its two fins, the prooftext for this being v. 7: "the Earth *on its hinges* stood by me forever [הארץ בריחיה בעדי] [לעולם]."¹⁰⁷ The En866 manuscript places this as the penultimate wonder, and conflates the foundation pillars with the seven mountains on which Jerusalem stands.¹⁰⁸ Yet the identification of the foundations of the Earth with the mountainous base of the holy city is not far from PRE's notion of the geography of the underworld, as our discussion on the Foundation Stone will show.

For the fifth and sixth wonders, Sheol and Gehenna, there is considerable confusion as to what constitutes the prooftext for each of them throughout the manuscript tradition. Where it might be obvious, simply on a linguistic basis, that verse 7, "ותעל משחת חיי ה'" would refer to Gehenna, and verse 3, "מבטן שאול שועתי," would refer to Sheol, there is no consistency among the manuscripts. Yet, for the most part, the order – from the deepest level of Sheol to Gehenna – is preserved (with the exception of En866). PRE sets out to deepen the prophet's descent. Sheol, the abode of the dead (also known as the pit [בור] or the grave [שחת]), is roughly equivalent to the underworld or Hades; according to midrashic tradition, there are seven levels, and Jonah is

¹⁰⁷ On the foundation pillars see Ps. 104:5, 1 Sam. 2:8, and *b. Hagigah* 12b.

¹⁰⁸ On the image of Jerusalem's foundation on several mountains, see Pss. 125:2.

taken to its lowest one [שאול תחתית].¹⁰⁹ From there, he moves on to Gehenna. According to the Talmud, “there is one gate to Gehenna in the sea of Tarshish” (*b. Eruvin* 19a); Jonah has arrived at the intended *alternative* destination in his flight from the original mission (Jonah 1:3), albeit below the surface of the Earth.

This is the turning point in his sojourn, for from that point Jonah begins his steep ascent up for air, to pray at the base of the Temple in Jerusalem. There he encounters the ultimate destination of his journey, the Foundation Stone, the “navel of the world,” from which the Earth emerged from the seas in the Act of Creation.¹¹⁰ This place embodies what Mircea Eliade calls the myth of the *axis mundi*, the sacred center – the meeting point of heaven, earth, and the underworld.¹¹¹ In his foundational study, *The Ideas of the Western Semites Concerning the Navel of the Earth*, Wensinck characterizes the *axis mundi*, the navel of the earth, as 1) a place that is exalted above the territories surrounding it, 2) identified as the origin of the earth, as the navel is the origin of the embryo, 3) the center of the earth, and 4) the place of communication between the earthly and the upper worlds.¹¹² The Temple is placed at this center in order to symbolically re-enact, through ritual sacrifice, the meeting of heaven and earth, consummated at Creation, *in illo tempore ab origine*. According to the Talmud: “Rabbi Yitzhak says: the Holy One threw a stone into the sea, and from there the world was established... And the Rabbis say, the world was created from Zion” (*b. Yoma* 54b). The author of PRE presents a harmonization of the two positions – Rabbi Yitzhak’s and the Rabbis’ – by suggesting

¹⁰⁹ For the image of seven levels to Gehenna see “*Masekhet Gehinom*” in Jellinek’s *Beit Midrash* 1939 1:147–149. For the biblical imagery of Sheol and its ancient near eastern parallels see Lewis 1992 2: 101–105.

¹¹⁰ The term Foundation Stone [*even shtiyah*] appears in Tannaitic literature: *M. Yoma* 5:2 and *T. Yoma* 2:14. On the variants between the sources and their significance see Lieberman 1962 5: 772–773; in Amoraic literature: *b. Yoma* 54b, and *y. Yoma* 5:4, 42c, and in later midrash: *Tanhuma Pequdei* 3 and *Qedoshim* 10, and PRE 35 (in association with Jacob’s vision of the ladder at Bet El, ‘relocated’ to Mount Moriah). See the discussion in Rubenstein 1996: 131–159, Goshen-Gottstein 1996: 58–77, and my own exploration of this motif in “Midrash, Myth, and Bakhtin’s Chronotope: The Foundation Stone and the Itinerant Well in *Pirqa de-Rabbi Eliezer*” (*JJTP*, forthcoming). The term Foundation Stone [אבן שתייה] presumably derives from the verb שית, “to put, set.” For a philological study of the term, see Liebes 1977: 377.

¹¹¹ See Eliade 1965: 12–17.

¹¹² Wensinck 1916: xi. See also Stein’s discussion of the Foundation Stone in PRE 2004: 284.

that the Foundation Stone lies under the Temple Mount, at Zion, where dry land originally emerged from the sea – like the Greek legend of the Omphalos at the oracle of Delphi. This locus is the apex of Jonah's journey.

THE INSPIRATION OF KORAH'S SONS

There, on the Foundation Stone, the sons of Korah stand, representatives of pious worshippers from the other world. According to the Talmud, they were swallowed by the earth (along with their father and his followers), but they did not die.¹¹³ Instead they remained alive, below the surface of the earth in a kind of purgatorial state, "at the highest level of Gehenna," underneath the Temple, where their psalms surfaced and were sung as part of the Temple canon.¹¹⁴ Both parties, Jonah and the sons of Korah, meet the same fate of being swallowed alive – one by the great fish, and the others by the mouth of the Earth. But this is where the comparison falls short. For Jonah was swallowed in order to be saved from drowning and re-directed on his mission (in the biblical story); whereas the swallowing of Korah and his gang was a form of punishment, from which they were not meant to re-surface. The author of PRE intuits the inter-textual links between the Psalms of the sons of Korah and Jonah's song.¹¹⁵ But where the Psalms attributed to the Korahites contain images of drowning in the heart of the seas and the descent to Sheol as *metaphors* for human suffering, vulnerability, isolation, and the absence of God, Jonah's prayer is truly an expression of salvation from drowning in the biblical passage. Their prayers serve as penitential ones, expressions of a desire for spiritual salvation, whereas Jonah's is an expression of gratitude for *physical* salvation.

¹¹³ Based on the verse in Numbers: "the sons of Korah did not die" (Num. 26:11).

¹¹⁴ See *b. Megillah* 14b, *b. Sanhedrin* 110a, and Rashi on Num. 26:11. Radal points out that the position of Korah's sons, on the Foundation Stone in PRE, does not imply a 'purgatorial' position at all (i.e. they are not doing penance); whereas in the aggadic passages above they are *condemned* to Gehenna and from there they pray as penitents (PRE 10, Radal's note 68).

¹¹⁵ For example Jonah 2:3–6 contains parallels to Ps. 42:8, and 88:7–8.

In another midrashic account (*Midr. Pss.* on Ps. 44 and 45), the three surviving sons become models of penitence: “They were swallowed, along with all of Korah’s entourage, and descended to the depths of Sheol, and despite their sense of regret, could not confess out of sheer terror and despair... Then, through prophetic insight, they uttered Hannah’s words, “The Lord deals death and gives life” (1 Sam. 2:7), and they rose, as it says, “[He] casts down into Sheol and raises up” (*ibid.*)... a pillar arose in Sheol upon which they seated themselves, and there they sang, and there the righteous come to visit them, to sing.”¹¹⁶ Perhaps this midrash was influenced by PRE 10, and motivated by the need to account for origins of the psalms attributed to the Korahites.¹¹⁷ In this rendition, not only do the sons of Korah repent, but they recall, in their despair, the very prayer (originally Hannah’s) that is placed in Jonah’s mouth as a demand. The author of PRE has set up yet another foil for Jonah; Korah’s sons pray for salvation, despite being buried alive, and Jonah refuses to pray, at least until this moment, out of a sense of self-righteousness.

The sons of Korah (or, in En866, the fish)¹¹⁸ then turn to Jonah and tell him to pray:

PIRQE DE-RABBI ELIEZER, CHAPTER 10 CONT...

9) The fish then said to Jonah, “Behold, you are now standing below the Temple of God. Pray and you will be answered.” Jonah said to the fish, “Stand on your tail, for I would like to pray.” He began to pray: “Master of all the Worlds, Whom we call ‘He-who-casts-down and He-who-raises-up,’ I have gone down, now raise me up! You Who are called ‘He-who-causes-death, and He-who-grants-life,’ I have reached death, now raise me up, bring me back to life!”¹¹⁹ But he was not answered until he uttered the following words: “Whatever I vowed I shall fulfill” (Jonah 2:10) – to slaughter the Leviathan before You on the day of Israel’s salvation. “And I, with a voice of gratitude, will sacrifice to You” (*ibid.*.)” As soon as he said this, the Holy One, blessed be He, indicated to the fish

¹¹⁶ This my paraphrase of a series of midrashim found in *Midr. Pss.* 44–45 (ed. Buber 1965: 269–270 and 272–273). See also Ginzberg 1928 3: 300–301 and 6: 104, note 588.

¹¹⁷ The Psalms attributed to the Korahites (*bnei Korah*) are: Ps. 42, 44–49, 84, 85, 87, 88. The plain meaning, of course, is that this clan of Levites were descendants of Korah. Not all of Korah’s progeny died, apparently, as a consequence of his rebellion (as told in Num. ch. 16, cf. Num. 26:11).

¹¹⁸ In some versions, it is the sons of Korah who tell him to pray (Ca2858, Paris and Warsaw); but in En866 Leh, and Ci75, the fish does.

¹¹⁹ An allusion to Hannah’s prayer (1 Sam. 2:6).

to vomit Jonah up onto dry ground as it says: "And God told the fish to vomit Jonah up onto dry ground" (v. 12).

According to the midrash, what prompts Jonah to pray from within the belly of the fish? Has he, in any way, reconciled himself to his initial mission? No reference is made to the original assignment to call unto the Ninevites over the course of the prayer. In the biblical context, the song ends with a desire to return and to worship God in the Temple (2:8), in order to offer sacrifices in fulfillment of a vow (2:10). The midrash then suggests that the final verses of the song point to the heart of his *alternative mission* – to fulfill his promise to sacrifice the Leviathan.

THE MOTIF OF THREE DAYS AND THREE NIGHTS

According to the biblical text, Jonah was in the belly of the fish for three days and three nights (Jonah 2:1), a time reference which resonates with many journeys of transformation throughout the Bible. It was the length of time the Israelites originally requested of Pharaoh to go out into the wilderness to "sacrifice to their God" (Exod. 3:18, 5:3); the time-span of the arduous journey without water after the splitting of the Reed Sea (Exod. 15:22); the length of time given to prepare for the Revelation at Sinai (Exod. 19:11); and when they finally left Sinai, it was to set out on a three day journey (Num. 10:33). The expression "on the third day" also connotes the final stage in an emotionally fraught journey – Abraham and Isaac on the way to Mount Moriah (Gen. 22:4), for example. Especially noteworthy, is the example in the book of Jonah – the great city of Nineveh takes *three days* to cross (Jonah 3:3). However, the only other time the term "three days *and three nights*" occurs in the Bible, outside of the book of Jonah, is when David and his men happen upon an Egyptian slave who has not eaten or drunk for that length of time (1 Sam. 30: 12). As George Landes points out, those "three days and nights" may be the maximal amount of time a human can normally live without sustenance. For Jonah in the belly of the fish, the addition of the phrase "and three *nights*" (Jonah 2:1) serves to emphasize the endurance of hardship over a long period.¹²⁰

¹²⁰ Landes 1967a: 446.

Most significant is the passage in Hoseah, which is understood by PRE as emblematic of the End of Days and the resurrection of the dead (PRE 51): “In two days He will make us whole again; On the third day He will raise us up, and we shall be whole by His favor” (Hos. 6:2). Despite the irony intended in the original context,¹²¹ the author of PRE assumes that this is a prophetic reference to the End of Days, when all the residents of the Earth will taste death, and on the third day, God would renew all and quicken the dead (PRE 51). Landes points out that “the three days and three nights” motif may be an allusion to the length of time it takes to confirm the permanence of death – “the idea being that until that time had elapsed, the soul was conceived as still lingering near the individual, encouraging the hope of revival.”¹²² In the New Testament, Jesus is presumed to be in a liminal state, between death and resurrection, which took place on “the third day” (Luke 9:22, 24:7, 21, and Matt. 16:21, 17:23, 20:19, 27:63).

In Sumerian mythology, according to Landes, “three days and three nights” was the length of time Inanna required to complete her descent into the underworld. “So also the fish is assigned the same time span to return Jonah from Sheol to dry land.”¹²³ But Landes claims that the prophet’s residence in the fish is “not the same thing as being in the Deep or in Sheol, and the fish is not employed as a personification of the chaotic waters or the realm of the dead. It is clearly *before* Jonah is swallowed by the fish that he is threatened by the sea and in danger of permanent residence in the netherworld.”¹²⁴ This is certainly true in the biblical context – the fish saves his life – but the midrash reads the journey within the belly of the fish and Jonah’s prayer as an exploration of the netherworld and of Sheol, itself, assuming the prophet has actually died. He is then brought to life, not (as in the biblical text) to resume his mission, but to fulfill his vow in the End of Days. Jonah’s sojourn belongs to the genre of forays into the netherworld, like the

¹²¹ In the original biblical context, this quote is projected into the mouths of the people as a hypothetical prayer, to which God has a scathing response: “What shall I do with you, O Ephraim... your love is like a morning cloud, like the dew that goes early away...” (Hos. 6:4). That is their supposed prayer is for an undeserved salvation, an expression of false piety, as ephemeral as the dew. According to Ackerman, God is exasperated by the people who characterize Him as a “vegetation deity whose return is as sure as the spring rains – not dependent on Israel’s return to and respect for the covenant law” (Ackerman 1981: 220).

¹²² Landes 1967a: 446.

¹²³ Landes 1967a: 449.

¹²⁴ Landes 1967a: 450.

journey of Si-Osire, in Egyptian mythology, deemed by scholars to be the source for Jesus' parable of Lazarus and the rich man in the realm of the dead (Luke 16:19–31).¹²⁵ Jonah, like Si-Osire, is a “wonder child” who has not one, but two encounters with death. Si-Osire initially belongs to the Other World, while Jonah is ‘brought back’ from that other world as a child by Elijah. Both, however, serve the purpose of vanquishing, with their special knowledge, some sort of power – for Si-Osire, it is a Nubian magician, for Jonah it is the mythical sea monster, the Leviathan.

CONCLUSION

What is unique about PRE's narrative on Jonah's sojourn in the netherworld is the systematic link established between the primordial time of Creation (cosmogony) and eschatological time, the End of Days, a manifestation of the pattern *Urzeit wird Endzeit*. The chapter opens with an allusion to creation on the fifth day – when the great fish, *on that very day*, was designated to swallow Jonah, and, in turn, to be swallowed by the Leviathan. It then concludes with the prophet's promise to vanquish the Leviathan in the eschaton. As satire, perhaps a critique of the Christian use of the “sign of Jonah,” the midrash amplifies the ironies in the original biblical text, where the know-it-all prophet is pitted against the pious sailors and the Ninevites in his assertion of absolute ‘truth’ over divine mercy. While at first Jonah strikes a maudlin pose, more concerned with his reputation as “false prophet” than the divine mission, he modulates into a heroic figure once he enters the netherworld and discovers his alternative mission. In his confrontation with the Leviathan, Jonah discovers a mirror of himself. Like Alice through the Looking Glass, the midrash presents the world turned topsy-turvy, the image of the biblical prophet inverted. Instead of prevaricating over God's compassion and the dubious repentance of the gentiles, he asserts the possibility of resurrection and the defeat of the sea monster, the embodiment of chaos, unbridled evil, and will. By checking the appetite of the Leviathan, Jonah comes to question his

¹²⁵ For a summary of this legend, see Bauckham 1992 2: 147, and for the original (in translation) Lichtheim 1980: 138–151. Ilana Pardes argues that Jonah's tale belongs to the genre of “sojourn stories,” though she does not necessarily imply the prophet's trip is a journey into the underworld (Pardes 2002: 13–20).

own presumption to evade the will of God – on the surface, he succumbs to the original mission, to call unto the Ninevites, on the deeper level, he promises to fulfill the ultimate sacrifice in the End of Days. I have outlined the process of inversion in a chart:

Jonah Through the Looking Glass

	The Revealed Mission (in the biblical text and the first half of the midrash)	The Concealed Mission (revealed in the second half of the midrash)
The Sender	God	God and Jonah
The Messenger	Jonah (reluctant prophet) [הַבּוֹרַח]	Leviathan, the Elusive Serpent [הַנְּחָשׁ הַבְּרִיחַ]
The Goal	To bring about the repentance of Nineveh	To sacrifice the Leviathan (as the Messiah of the tribe of Joseph?)
The Mode of Transportation	The ship – to bring it instantly to port, a distance of two days	The great fish – to make the Leviathan flee, instantly, a distance of two days
The Direction (spatial)	From dry land to sea (in flight from his mission)	From sea to dry Land (to travel <i>towards</i> his mission)
The ‘Time Zone’ (temporal)	‘real time’ or ‘historical time’ (biblical narrative)	‘End Time’ or ‘eschatological time’ (midrashic narrative)
The Prayer	Thanksgiving for being saved from drowning	Travel log of the wonders of the netherworld; images of death and resurrection
The Foils	The Sailors (Jonah prompts their conversion)	The Sons of Korah (they prompt Jonah to pray)

This remarkable chapter in *Pirque de-Rabbi Eliezer* marks the beginning of the transition from myth as an expression of a divine encounter with the cosmos – the defeat of the Sea, along with its allies – to myth as an allegorical representation of an internal, human, psychological experience. The narrative is not yet full-fledged allegory, as it will become in the Zohar and later mystical writing, and it still follows the biblical text, preserving the semblance of an exegetical character. Nevertheless, there are hints – in word play, parallel imagery, and plot devices – of a psychological and religious transformation, indeed a “resurrection” of the prophet after his journey through the looking glass of the sea.

CONCLUSION

In this book, I set out to explore the overall narrative design of the early medieval midrash, *Pirqe de-Rabbi Eliezer*. Following traces of repressed exegetical motifs from the non-canonical, para-biblical compositions (commonly known as the *Sefarim Hitzonim*), I demonstrated how and why they would resurface in PRE. Like the Second Temple period, the 8th c. C.E. in which the author lived and wrote, was marked by the proliferation of sectarianism and messianic fervor. The composition reflects that “sense of an ending,” in form, function, and content – by establishing a new genre, by reading ‘myth’ as a precedent for ‘praxis’, and by recycling motifs and resurrecting biblical figures (such as Jonah and Elijah) in view of their messianic purpose. In this conclusion, I will summarize some of my basic tenets, reference examples already given, and reiterate some lingering questions.

One of my primary objectives was to uncover the underlying mythic patterns in the midrash. I adopted Mircea Eliade’s definition of myth as a narrative of origins that takes place in primordial time, before the dawn of history, when the sound of God was still heard rustling in the Garden at the breezy time of day.¹ Accordingly, myth is a sacred story about the gods, or God, which cannot be expressed by abstract language, but is embodied, rather, in a poetic narrative form.² The term ‘myth’ is derived from the Greek ‘mythos’, meaning simply story, and has acquired the connotation of being a *fictional* account of a foundational event on the part of the gods or legendary heroes *in illo tempore ab origine* (in those days at the beginning of time). Myths also come to answer questions of origin: Why does this given ritual exist? How did a specific people come to be the recipients of God’s Law? Why are certain things forbidden? Myth engenders history, prosaic time as we know it, with meaning. Yet, as Paul Ricoeur notes, myth has often been juxtaposed to history, for history is the narrative of *real* circumstances, facts that take place in ‘human time’, extending progressively

¹ An allusion to Gen. 3:8.

² See Liebes’ definition in his essay “De Natura Dei,” 1993a: 2, and 153, n. 5.

from recent events to the distant past; whereas myth is conceived as the time of the gods, 'divine time'.³

The dichotomy between myth and history, however, blurs when myth informs the very interpretation of history within which any cultural expression is formed. As Ricoeur emphasizes, "If...history does not necessarily take the place of myth but may exist alongside it within the same culture, together with other types of narrative, then the question of the relations between myth and historiography must be approached from the perspective of a classification of the various kinds of narratives that are produced by a particular society at a particular moment."⁴ With this injunction, my first task was to describe the genre of PRE, as a narrative expressing a unique dynamic between myth and history, seen through the prism of an interpretation of the biblical text. I argued that PRE is a reformulation of the biblical text in terms of the author's own vision of the unfolding of historical truths. In his reading, the dichotomy between 'divine time' and 'human time' does not apply, for God did not create the world in Six Days only to abandon it. Rather God enters history periodically, according to PRE, over the course of 'Ten Descents', as the One who punishes, redeems, and forgives. The author believed he lived on the verge of the 'Tenth Descent', the very earth quaking beneath his feet. With the messianic era nigh, his reading of the Bible expresses, in its every nook and cranny, the sense of the immanence of the End of Days. I'd like to adopt Michael Fishbane's neologism 'mythistory', defined as "an account of mundane events where God...[is] involved from beginning to end,"⁵ and apply this term to PRE in an attempt to overcome the false dichotomy between myth and history, between the 'era of the gods' and human time. For the author of this composition, God hovers over historical time *as* mythic time, in the way divine providence hovers between the lines of Scripture, just as His Spirit once hovered over the dark waters of the Deep.

In the Introduction (chapter one), I described the genre but rejected the term the 'Rewritten Bible', which many scholars before me applied to PRE, because it failed to distinguish between this late midrashic form and the earlier compositions of the Second Temple period.

³ Ricoeur on "Myth and History," 1986–87 10: 273–282.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 274.

⁵ M. Fishbane, "Five Stages of Jewish Myth and Mythmaking," 1998: 92.

Instead, I coined a new term – ‘Narrative Midrash’ (מדרש סיפורי) – which accounts for the coherent story-form of many of the passages, while admitting its dependence, as ‘midrash’, on the creative enterprise of interpretation. I went on, in chapter two, to define the pseudographic nature of PRE – why this composition, crafted by the hand of a highly poetic visionary, was attributed to the arch-conservative, rabbinic scholar, Eliezer ben Hyrcanus. In PRE 2, R. Eliezer is described as an “overflowing well-spring,” a source of fresh insights into the interpretation of Torah, in contrast to his tannaitic reputation as being a “cistern that doesn’t lose a drop,” a vessel of acquired knowledge never to be forgotten. The author wished to claim that he, like R. Eliezer, was the repository and emissary of the Sinaitic tradition, *ha-mesorah*, as well as a source of innovation, *hidush* – a cistern and a well-spring in one. The story of Eliezer’s ‘Coming of Age’ serves as an introduction to the unique hermeneutics underlying PRE, which attempts to dissolve the tension between exegesis and eisegesis. That is, the midrash seems to engage in an interpretive enterprise, filling in the gaps in the biblical text in an attempt to explain some unusual word or phrase or some problem in the plot,⁶ while imposing new meanings in its alternative renditions of the biblical stories. It does so by disguising itself as a tannaitic source on par with *Pirqe Avot*, as well as the other ‘pseudo-tannaitic’ composition based on that work, *Avot de-Rabbi Natan*. However, the form of this composition is altogether unique – to be differentiated from its exegetical and homiletical predecessors – more akin to the so-called ‘Rewritten Bible’, such as *Jubilees* and *Biblical Antiquities* (L.A.B.), of the Second Temple period. Despite the apparent likeness, I pointed out the critical points where the two genres, ‘Narrative Midrash’ and the ‘Rewritten Bible’, differ.

In chapter three, with an analysis of PRE 30, I described the historical context and provenance of the composition, and why the author believed he lived on the brink of the messianic age. The Islamic conquest and the refurbishment of the Temple Mount gave rise to the proliferation of messianic movements such as the *‘Isawiyya* led by the messianic pretender, Abu ‘Isa al Isfahani. The image of this failed ‘messiah’ did not dampen the author’s “sense of an ending,” but may

⁶ This is based on James Kugel’s definition of midrash as ‘narrative expansion’ (*In Potiphar’s House*, 1990: 276).

have encouraged his imaginative portrayal of other deluded leaders of the Redemption.⁷

In Part Two, I explored the theological problem of the origin of moral evil, and the tendency to project the origins of ‘the Fall’ outward, onto a demonic figure, in this case Samael. Drawing upon the threads of a combat myth in ancient Near Eastern sources, I trace the development of the myth surrounding this ‘fallen angel’, from the biblical sources to its fuller expression in the literature of the Second Temple period – the Book of Watchers (1 Enoch) and Jubilees, as well as Gnostic sources. While the classic rabbinic sources reject these accounts of the origin of sin – the banishment from the Garden of Eden, and the myth of the Fallen Angels – they are fully developed in the later midrash, PRE. The author links the origin of evil to Samael’s seduction of Eve, both figuratively and literally, in convincing her to eat of the Tree and in siring Cain, the ‘bad seed’. This story ties in to the story of the seduction of the Fallen Angels. However, this time it is the daughters of Cain, carrying that congenital disease of evil, who seduce the celestial beings. Consistent with image of *placating* the Prince of Evil, in Jubilees and 1 Enoch, PRE links Samael with the Scapegoat offering on Yom Kippur (Leviticus 16). The mythic ‘resolution’ of evil, then, occurs on the Day of Judgment, emblematic of the End of Days, when ‘the Adversary’ to man’s creation becomes his advocate on Yom Kippur.

In Part Three, “Myth and Praxis in *Pirque de-Rabbi Eliezer*,” I applied the patterns in the author’s cosmogony and eschatology to etiologic narratives on ritual: Havdalah, Rosh Hodesh, and the tradition of Elijah’s chair at the *brit milah* ceremony. I compared the gift of fire to Adam upon his banishment from the Garden, portrayed as “the First Havdalah” in PRE 20, to the Greek myth of Prometheus. Both the Titan and Adam abrogate ‘the will of the gods’ – the former in stealing fire from Heaven, the latter in eating from the forbidden tree.

⁷ For example, the tribe of Ephraim followed Yignon (or Ganun, or Nun depending on the manuscript), preempting the Exodus by eighty years (PRE 48). They were slaughtered by the Egyptians and the oppression of the Israelites followed. A similar name, Yinnon (or Yignon), is given to the King Messiah (in PRE 32, based on Pss. 72:17) – though here, there is no hint of a historical context or false pretensions. For a note on the warrior messiah, descendant of Ephraim (or Joseph), see ch. 11, footnote 3. See also J. Heinemann 1974: 450–461. He, however, does not connect this version of the midrash to the false messiah, descendant of Joseph, and the messianic movements of the 8th c. C.E. See ch. 3, footnote 12.

But, whereas Zeus maintains a posture of animosity towards man on Earth, God helps man, in what Claude Lévi-Strauss calls the ‘transition from nature to culture’ through the gift of fire upon his exile from that idyll. In my second example – Rosh Hodesh – PRE links the exemption from work for women at the New Moon festival to their refusal to participate in the sin of the Golden Calf. I suggested that the connection between women and the lunar measure of time was to be found in the etiological narrative for the cause of the moon’s diminishment in Genesis, and the renewal of that luminary in the End of Days. In the narrative expansion on Elijah *redivivus* and his relationship to *brit milah*, the author identifies the prophet with the zealot, Phinehas, resurrecting a tradition that can be traced back to Pseudo-Philo (L.A.B.) of the Pseudepigrapha. I pointed out that this association of Elijah with the high priesthood may have been repressed in the rabbinic tradition because of the early Christian equation of the prophet with John the Baptist, as forerunner of the Christian Messiah. I also showed that even in the etiological narratives on *halakhah* or *minhag*, the author imposes the mythic pattern of *Urzeit wird Endzeit*. Elijah’s role, for example, as harbinger of the Messiah, who brings about the ultimate repentance and reconciliation between father and son (Mal. 3:23–24), is shown to be consistent with his role as the visitor at every *brit milah*.

In Part Four, the penultimate chapter, I applied many of the principles that had been examined in a ‘modular fashion’ to the analysis of a whole chapter, PRE 10 – “Jonah’s Sojourn in the Netherworld.” The journey in the belly of the Great Fish was described as a descent into the Underworld and a resurrection. The first mission of the reluctant prophet was a ‘cover’ for his true, messianic mission, hinted at in his confrontation with the Leviathan, where he promises to hook him and serve him up to the righteous in the End of Days. I followed Yehuda Liebes’ lead, and suggested that Jonah is characterized as a messianic figure, motivated by a polemic against the appropriation of the prophet as a ‘sign’, in the Gospels and Church Fathers, foreshadowing the resurrection of Jesus. To reinforce this point, I showed how the Christian appropriation of the Repentance of the Ninevites to denigrate the Jews, is satirized in PRE 43. This is consistent with the Palestinian exegetical tradition, as Ephraim Urbach claims, portraying the transformation of Nineveh as superficial and short-lived. In PRE, both Jonah and Elijah are portrayed in highly particularistic terms as

prophets who zealously guard the interests of the Israelite nation. This is consistent with the author's polemics against the Islamic and Christian appropriation of many biblical and midrashic motifs – such as the 'Foundation Stone', the 'Sign of Jonah', and 'Elijah as the harbinger of the Messiah'. The author reclaims these traditions in order to assert his vision of the immanent redemption of the people of Israel, despite the bleak circumstances in which he lived.

Several questions were raised but left unresolved over the course of the book. The author expands the residual myths found in the Bible, drawing extensively from sources in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, which were repressed in the classic rabbinic literature and resurface in this late midrash – a phenomenon I dubbed 'the return of the repressed' (borrowing from Boyarin, who adapted it from Freud). Did the author have direct access to these apocryphal works, such as *L.A.B.*, 1 Enoch, and the Book of Jubilees? If so, was he aware of the taboo surrounding these works, or had their status changed, somehow? Three possibilities must be entertained. Either there were scrolls to which the author had direct access, as testified by manuscripts of the *Damascus Document* and the *Aramaic Levi* (of the Qumran sect) found in the Cairo Genizah; or perhaps the author had access, through translations into Greek, Latin, or Syriac, of works such as the *Vitae* or *Jubilees*, which were preserved by different branches of the Christian Church. Alternatively, many of these sources may have been filtered through the Islamic oral tradition, the *Hadith*. I suggest that the very audacity with which the author draws from these controversial works informs his apocalyptic vision of history and his lack of inhibition in re-writing the biblical text. One further question remains: did the author of PRE affiliate with a messianic Jewish sect, such as the *'Isawiyya*, with close ties to Muslim and/or Christian circles engaged in studying these texts? If so, what theological tenets does he 'import' into his reading that were later sanctioned by the medieval exegetes as a result of his effective pseudepigraphy?

APPENDIX A

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PRE AND LITURGY¹

Blessing from the 'Amidah	Chapter/citation from PRE	With whom is the blessing associated	The Biblical Context	Greater Thematic Context	Parallel and Secondary Sources
שמע ישראל וחזרת הש"ץ למוסף (The Qedusha) ²	End of PRE 4 ובשתים מעופפין ומקלסין ומעריצין ומקדישין, זה עונה וזה קורא, וזה עונה ואומר קדוש קדוש קדוש ה' צבאות. והחיות עומדות אצל כסא כבודו ואינן יודעות מקום כבודו, ועונות ואומרות בכל מקום שכבודו שם ברוך כבוד ה' ממקומו, וישראל שהם גוי אחד בארץ מיחדים שמו הגדול בכל יום ואומ' שמע ישראל ה' אלהינו ה' אחד, והוא משיב לעמו ואומ' אני ה' אלהיכם המציל אתכם מכל צרה	Angels and Israel	Creation on the 2nd Day, The creation of the angels	The omnipresence of God, "קדוש קדוש קדוש ה' צבאות מלא כל הארץ כבודו" (ישע' ו:ב-ג) The threefold response of the Qedushah: 1st the angels, 2nd Israel, and 3rd God	See the midrash, "Ma'aseh Merkavah" in Wertheimers, <i>Batei Midrashot</i> ; ³ Parallel with <i>1 En</i> 4:9–22 (Friedlander 1981: 26, n. 10). See Fleischer 1969: 255–284. The Qedushah was only recited in Palestine on the Sabbath and festivals, as shown by the Qerovot of the Palestinian <i>Piyutim</i> (Elbogen 1993: 64).

¹ See Zunz-Albeck 1947: 134, and. 417, n. 7, who pointed out eight connections. See also Radal's commentary to PRE, Introduction, paragraph 7 and 8. For insights into the early Palestinian liturgical tradition I have drawn on Elbogen 1993: 38–57. I also refer to *Seder Rab Amram Gaon*, critical edition of the Siddur published by D. Hedegård, Jerusalem 1951; see also *Seder Rab Amram Gaon*, ed. Goldschmidt, Jerusalem 1971). Stein (2004: 28) and Friedlander (1981: xvii–xviii) both follow Zunz' list.

² The characterization of the tripartite relationship, here, between the angels, the humans, and God in this midrashic formulation of the Qedushah may reflect the author's association with *Merkabah* mystical circles. See Elbogen's comment, *ibid.*, p. 60 and G. Scholem *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism and Talmudic Tradition* (New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1960).

³ Wertheimer, *Batei Midrashot* 1980 1: 55–62 (see esp. his introduction, pp. 49–54).

Appendix A (cont.)

Blessing from the 'Amidah	Chapter/citation from PRE	With whom is the blessing associated	The Biblical Context	Greater Thematic Context	Parallel and Secondary Sources
#1. מגן	End of PRE 27 וענו העליונים ואמרו ברוך אתה ה' מגן אברהם	Abraham	"The Covenant between the Pieces" (Gen. 15), and the war against the Canaanite Kings, Abraham's 6th trial	God as the Redeemer from Exile (of the Four Kingdoms)	Zunz-Albeck 1947: 417, n. 7; Friedlander 1981: 196, n. 196; See also <i>Gen. Rab.</i> 44:4; Sir 51:10; Elbogen 1993: 38–39
#2. גבורות "תחיית המתים"	Middle of PRE 31: וידע יצחק שכך המתים עתידים להחיות, באותו שעה פתח ואמר: ברוך אתה ה' מחיה מתים. End of PRE 34 (not explicit only implied)	Isaac	The <i>Aqedah</i> (Gen. 22) -מוריד הטל, as the agent of resurrection		Zunz-Albeck loc. cit.; Friedlander 1981: 228, n. 7; Spiegel 1967: 30–33; Elbogen 1993: 39
#3. קדושת השם "האל הקדוש"	End of PRE 35 וענו עליונים ואמרו בא"י האל הקדוש.	Jacob	Jacob's Ladder and the Foundation Stone at Bet El = Har Moriah (Gen. 28) (Isa. 5:16)		Zunz-Albeck loc. cit.; Friedlander 1981: 267, n. 4; Elbogen. 1993: 40
#4. חונן הדעת	End of PRE 40 וראו העליונים שמסר הקב"ה [לו] סוד שם המפורש למשה, וענו ברוך אתה ה' חונן הדעת	Moses	The Burning Bush and the Secret of Redemption (Exod. 3–4)		Zunz-Albeck loc. cit.; Friedlander 1981: 317, n. 5; Elbogen 1993: 41
#5. תשובה "הרוצה בתשובה"	End of PRE 43 ברוך אתה ה', הרוצה בתשובה	Elijah	Mal. 3: 23–24	<i>Teshuvah</i> (Repentance)	Zunz-Albeck loc. cit.; Friedlander 1981: 344, n. 9; Elbogen 1993: 42. See discussion in ch. 10, footnote 72.

Appendix A (cont.)

Blessing from the 'Amidah	Chapter/citation from PRE	With whom is the blessing associated	The Biblical Context	Greater Thematic Context	Parallel and Secondary Sources
#6. סליחה Formula: ברוך אתה ה' חנון המרבה לסלוח	Not explicit, End of PRE 46: אלא אמר: סלח , נא לעוונותיהם של ישראל על מעשה העגל, אמר לו הקב"ה: הרי כדבריד עשיתי , שנ' "ויאמר ה' סלחתי כדבריד" (במדבר ד:כ).	Israel in the wilderness	Exod. 33–34	Sin of the Golden Calf and God's Forgiveness	Zunz-Albeck loc. cit.; Friedlander 1981: xviii; Elbogen 1993: 42.
#7. גאולה ברוך אתה ה', גואל ישראל [questionable]	End of PRE 51, -not explicit	Messianic	Ezek. 47		Zunz-Albeck loc. cit.; Friedlander 1981: xviii; Elbogen 1993: 42–43.
#8. רפואה ברכת החולים ב'א ה' רופא חולי עמו ישראל	PRE 54, after the healing of Miriam: הכל מקלסין אותך ומברכין אותך ואומרין לך. ב'א י"י רופא חולי עמו ישראל (כ"י א', כ"י ק')	Miriam (and Moses' prayer for her)	Num. 12		Zunz-Albeck loc. cit.; Friedlander 1981: xviii; Elbogen 1993: 43–44.
#10. קיבוץ גלויות "מקבץ נדחי עמו ישראל"	End of PRE 33 באותה שעה אמר הקב"ה לנביא לך אמור להם: חי אני שאעמיד אתכם בתחית המתים לעתיד לבא ומקבץ את כל ישראל לקבוץ גלויות לארץ ישראל שנ' "הנה אני פתח את קברותיכם" (יחזקאל לו:יב)		The Ingathering of the Exiles and the Resurrection of the Dead Ezek. 37		This may indicate that this chapter "On Resurrection" should have followed the last chapter [54], and not the chapter on Isaac (PRE 32); Elbogen 1993: 44–45

Appendix A (cont.)

Blessing from the 'Amidah	Chapter/citation from PRE	With whom is the blessing associated	The Biblical Context	Greater Thematic Context	Parallel and Secondary Sources
#13. ברכת הצדיקים In Palestine: "על גוי הצדק יהמו רחמך ותן שכר טוב עם עושי רצונך בא"ה מבטח לצדיקים	End of PRE 10 [not explicit reference to the blessing of the 'Amidah] ועליהם הוא אומר: על הגרים "גרי הצדק"	The Sailors who converted to Judaism	Jonah 1	Righteous converts	Friedlander 1981: 73, n. 1; Elbogen pointed out that this formula is unique to Palestine 1993: 46–47. Albeck connected this blessing to PRE 17 and 23 (Zunz-Albeck loc. cit.). See my com- ments, in ch. 11, footnote 60. The contem- porary formula: "משען ומבטח לצדיקים" In <i>Seder Rab Amram Gaon</i> : על הצדיקים ועל החסידים ועל גרי הצדק in the opening of the blessing
#15. ברכת דוד [questionable]	End of PRE 30: ומשם בן דוד יצמח ויראה באבדן של אלו ואלו ומשם יבא לארץ ישראל, שג' "מי זה בא מאדום חמוץ בגדים מבצרה זה הדור בלבושו צעה ברב כחו אני מדבר בצדקה רב להושיע" "ישע' סג:א).	The Messiah, the 'branch of David' (צמח דוד)	Isa. 63:1	The Messianic Age	See Sir 51:28. Ps. 132:17, Elbogen 1993: 48–49, see ch. 3, footnote 25.

APPENDIX B

AN DIPLOMATIC EDITION OF PRE 1 AND 2
THE BIOGRAPHY OF ELIEZER BEN HYRCANUS

פרקי דרבי אליעזר פרק א-ב

(כ"י ענעלאו 866, ניו יורק, הבסיס למהדורת "האקדמיה ללשון העברית", עם השלמות משה כ"י)¹

1א) מעשה בר' אליעזר בן הורקנוס שהיה לאביו חורשין הרבה.² והוא היה חורש בטרשין והן היו חורשין על גבי המענה. מיד ישב והיה בוכה.

1ב) אמר לו אביו: בני, מפני מה אתה [בוכה].³ שמא אתה מצטער שאתה חורש בטרשין ואנו חורשין ע'ג⁴ המענה? לך אתה חרוש ע'ג המענה ואנו חורשין בטרשין.

1ג) מיד ישב ע'ג המענה והיה בוכה.

אמר לו אביו: בני, מפני מה אתה בוכה? שמא אתה מצטער שאתה חורש ע'ג המענה?

אמר לו: לאו.

אמר לו: ומפני מה אתה בוכה?

אמר לו: מפני שאני מבקש ללמוד תורה?

אמר לו [הירקנוס לאליעזר]: בני, והרי בן עשרים ושמונה שנה אתה ואתה מבקש ללמוד תורה? אלא מוטב שתלך ליקח לך אשה ותוליד ממנה בנים זכרים⁵ ותוליכם לבית הכנסת לסופר⁶ ללמדן תורה.

2) והלך ועשה שתי שבתות שלא (יטעום) [טעם]⁷ כלום עד שנגלה עליו אליהו ז"ל ישב והוא בוכה.⁸

אמר לו: בן הורקנוס, מ[פני]⁹ מה אתה בוכה?

אמר לו: מפני שאני מבקש ללמוד תורה.

¹ Based on En866. See the code for the editions and manuscripts in "List of Short Forms and Editions."

² המילה הזו לא מופיעה בד'1.

³ השלמה מכ"י ק'1, ס'1, וד'1.

⁴ על גבי.

⁵ "זכרים" לא בכ"י של היגער או בד'1.

⁶ בכ"י של מהדורת היגער וד'1: מוליכין לבית הספר.

⁷ תיקון מבוסס על כ"י של מהדורת היגער וד'1.

⁸ המילים הללו לא בכ"י של היגער או בד'1.

⁹ תיקון מבוסס על כ"י של מהדורת היגער וד'1.

אמר לו: אם אתה מבקש ללמוד תורה לך עלה לירושלים אצל רבן יוחנן בן זכאי.

(3) {ומיד}[עמד ועלה לו לירושלם אצל ר' יוחנן בן זכאי].¹⁰ ישב והיה בוכה.

אמר לו: מפני מה אתה בוכה?

אמר לו: מפני שאני מבקש ללמוד תורה.

אמר לו: בני. בן מי אתה?

ולא הגיד לו.

אמר לו: ומימך לא למדת קיש [קריאת שמע] ולא תפלה ולא ברכת [ה]מזון?

אמר: לאו.

ועמד ולימדו שלשתן.

(4) מיד ישב והיה [בוכה].

אמר לו: בני. מפני מה אתה בוכה?

אמר לו: מפני שאני מבקש ללמוד תורה ועשה לו שתי הלכות כל ימות השבת,¹¹ ובשבת חזר עליהן ובדקן.¹²

(א5) ועוד עשה שבעת¹³ ימים לא טעם כלום עד שיצא ריח מפיו אצל רבן יוחנן בן זכאי. מיד העמידו מלפניו. וישב והיה בוכה.

אמר לו: בני, מפני מה אתה בוכה?

אמר לו: מפני שהעמדתי מלפניך כאדם שהוא מוכה בשחין רע ומעמידין אותו.¹⁴

אמר לו: כשם שיצא ריח מפך לפני כן יעלה מפך חוקי תורה לשמים.

(ב5) אמר לו: בני, בן מי אתה?

אמר לו: בן הורקנוס אני.

אמר לו: הלא בן גדולי עולם אתה שהרי לא הוגד לי אלא¹⁵ היום (אמר לו) אתה סועד אצלי!

אמר לו: כבר סעדתי אצל בני אכסניים (שלך) [שלי].¹⁶

אמר לו: ומי הם בני אכסניים (שלי) [שלך]?¹⁷

אמר לו: ר' יהושוע בן חנינה ור' יוסי הכהן.

¹⁰ השלמה מכ"י של מהדורת היגער וד'1.

¹¹ בד'1 וכ"י ק'1: כל ימי השבוע.

¹² בכ"י של מהדורת היגער וד'1: מדבקן.

¹³ בד'1 ובכ"י של היגער: שמונה ימים.

¹⁴ בכ"י של מהדורת היגער וד'1: מוכה שחין (בלי "רע ומעמידין אותו").

¹⁵ בד'1 ובכ"י של מהדורת היגער:

אמר לו: בני בן מי אתה

אמר לו: בן הורקנוס אני.

והלא בן גדולי עולם אתה ולא היית מגיד לי?

אמר לו חייך היום אתה סועד אצלי.

¹⁶ תיקון מבוסס על כ"י של מהדורת היגער וד'1.

¹⁷ תיקון מבוסס על כ"י של מהדורת היגער וד'1.

6) שלח ואמר להם: אצלכם סעד אליעזר היום?
אמרו לו: הרי יש לו שמונת ימים שלא (יטעם) [טעם] 18 כלום.
ולמה? לקיים מה שנ' "מבכי נהרות חבש ותעלומה יוציא אור" (איוב
כה:יא).¹⁹

פרקי דרבי אליעזר פרק ב

1) אמרו בניו להורקנוס אביהם: לך עלה לירושלים לנדות את אליעזר
בנך מנכסיד.

עלה לו לירושלים לנדותו. נמצא יום טוב אצל רבן יוחנן בן זכאי והיו כל
גדולי בני המדינה סועדין אצלו. ואלו הן: בן ציצת-הכסף²⁰ (שהיה מיסב
למעלה מכל גדולי ישראל) ונקדימון בן גריון וכלבא-שבוע.

2) ולמה נקרא [שמו בן] ציצת-הכסף? שהיה מיסב למעלה מכל גדולי
[ירושלים].²¹

אמרו עליו על נקדימון בן גריון שהיו לו בית [ארבע]²² כורין שהיו גגותיהן
טוחין בזהב.

ולמה נק[רא שמו] כלבא-שבוע? שהיה לו מזון (שלוש שנים) [שלוש
סאים קמח]²³ לכל [אחד ואחד] שבירושלים.²⁴ וכשעמדו צדוקים²⁵ ושרפו
(כל המלאים כל טוב) [כל האוצרות]²⁶ שבירושלים מדדו ומצאו שם
שלוש [מאות וששים] {שנים לכל אחד}²⁷ ואחד שבירושלים.

3) באותה שעה אמרו לו לרב' יוחנן בן זכאי שהרי אבא ש[ל]אליעזר
בא.

אמר להם: עשו לו מקום אצלכם.

ועשו לו מקום והושיבו אותו אצלם.

4א) מיד נתן פניו²⁸ רבן יוחנן בן זכאי בר' אליעזר.

אמר לו: בני, אמור לפנינו דבר אחד מן התורה.

¹⁸ תיקון מבוסס על כ"י של מהדורת היגער וד'1.

¹⁹ כל השורה הזו לא מופיעה ב כ"י של מהדורת היגער וד'1.

²⁰ בד'1, וכ"י ק'2 וק'3 "הכסת", אך באבד"ר פרק יג "ציצית הכסף".

²¹ תיקון מבוסס על ד'1, וכ"י ק'2 וק'3.

²² תוספת מבוססת על ד'1 וכ"י של מהדורת היגער.

²³ תיקון מבוסס על ד'1, וכ"י ק'2 וק'3.

²⁴ לפי ד'1: אמרו על נקדימון בן גריון שהיה לו מזון שלשה סאים קמח לכל אחד ואחד
שהיו בירושלם אמרו עליו על בן כלבא שבוע שהיה לו בית ארבע כורין של גנות טוחנין
בזהב (כך גם בכ"י של מהדורת היגער).

אך באדר"נ פ"ג יש לנקדימון ארבעים כורים של גנות מזהב, והיה לכלבא שבוע ג'
שנים לכל אחד ואחד שבירושלים (כמו בכ"י א').

²⁵ בכ"י ק'1 וק'2: הסיקרין. ק'3: סקרין.

הסיפור המלא לא מופיע בד'1 רק: שהיה לו מזון שלשה סאים קמח לכל אחד ואחד
שהיו בירושלם.

²⁶ תיקון מבוסס על כ"י של מהדורת היגער.

²⁷ תיקון מבוסס על כ"י ק'1 וק'2 ואבד"ר (ב) יג, בכ"י ק'3: שלושה סאין קמח לכל
אחד ואחד שהיה בירושלים.

²⁸ "נתן עיניו" בד'1 ובכ"י של מהדורת היגער.

אמר לו: אמשול לך משל למה אני²⁹ דומה: (לבאר) [לבור]³⁰ הזה שאין בכוחו להוציא מים ביותר יתר ממה שהוא מכניס.³¹ כך אין אני יכול לומר דברי תורה יתר ממה שלמדתי ממך.

(ב4) אמר לו: רבן יוחנן בן זכאי: בני, אמשול לך משל למה הדבר דומה: למעין הזה שהוא נובע ומוציא מים ביותר יתר ממה שהוא מכניס, כך אף אתה יכול לומר דברי תורה יתר ממה (שהתלמדת) [שקבל משה מסיני].³²

(ג4) אמר לו: בני, שמא אתה מתבייש. הרי אני עומד והולך לי לחוץ. [מיד עמד רבן יוחנן בן זכאי והלך לו לחוץ].³³

(5) והיה ר' אליעזר יושב ודורש בדברי תורה. והיו פניו מאירות כאור החמה וכצאת השמש³⁴. ומאיר כל היום וקרנותיו יוצאות (כקרני תוארו) [כקרנותיו]³⁵ שלמשה רבינו ואין אדם יודע אם הוא יום או לילה.

(6) מיד עמד רבן יוחנן בן זכאי ונשקו לר' אליעזר על ראשו. ואמר לו: (אשריך אליעזר. יש נאה דורש ואין נאה מקיים. נאה מקיים ואין נאה דורש. אלעזר בן ערך נאה מקיים ונאה דורש).³⁶ (אשריך אברהם אבינו מה יצא מחלציד) [אשריכם אברהם יצחק ויעקב שיצא זה מחלציתכם].³⁷

אמר לו הורקונוס: למי אמרת כך?

אמר לו: לאליעזר בנדך.

אמר לו: (צריך לו: אשריך אברהם שיצא מחלציד? אף אתה מ' לו שיצא מחלציו).

[לא כך היה לו לומר אלא אשרי אני שיצא מחלציו?!]³⁸

(7) והיה ר' אליעזר יושב ודורש תורה והורקונוס אביו עומד על רגליו. וכיון שראה [אביו]³⁹ עומד על רגליו נבהל מפניו.

ואמר לו: שב לך. [שאיני]⁴⁰ יכול לומר דברי תורה בשעה שאתה עומד על רגלך.

²⁹ "הדבר דומה" בד' ו בכ"י של מהדורת היגער.

³⁰ תיקון מבוסס על כ"י של מהדורת היגער וד' 1.

³¹ הדפוסים משובשים כאן: שאינו יכול להוציא מים יותר ממה שהיה מוציא. כ"י ק' 1 וק': "יתר ממה שהוא מכניס" ק' 3: "יותר ממה שמכניסין בו".

³² התיקון מבוסס על כ"י ק' 2, ק' 1. בד' 1: ממה שקבלו מסיני, ק' 3: ממה שקבלת ממני.

³³ תוספת מד' 1, וכ"י של מהדורת היגער.

³⁴ המילים הללו לא בכ"י של מהדורת היגער או בד' 1.

³⁵ התיקון מבוסס על ד' 1 וכ"י של מהדורת היגער.

³⁶ כל המפשט הזה לא מופיע בדפוסים או בכ"י של מהדורת היגער או באדר"ג (ב) יג.

³⁷ התיקון מבוסס על ד' 1 וכ"י ק' 3.

וכ"י ק' 1 וק' 2: אמ' להם: וכן היה צריך לומר אשריכם אברהם יצחק ויעקב מי יצא מחלציתם, אלא אשרי אני מי יצא מחלציתם?!

³⁸ התיקון מבוסס על ד' 1 וכ"י של מהדורת היגער.

³⁹ תוספת מד' 1 וכ"י ק' 1, ק' 2.

⁴⁰ תוספת מד' 1 וכ"י ק' 2, ק' 1.

אמר לו: בני, לא באתי כן אלא לנדוּתך מנכסי. עכשיו הרי אחיך מנודים מנכסי והם לך מתנה.

אמר לו: אבא, הרי אני שווה כאחד מהם? שאלו קרקעות בקשתי מלפני הקב"ה היה לפניו מה ליתן לי, שנ' "ליי" הארץ ומלואה" וגו' (תה' כד:א), ואלו כסף וזהב בקשתי מלפני הקב"ה היה לפניו ליתן לי, שנ' "לי הכסף ולי הזהב" וגו' (חגי ב:ח)

עתה ל[א] בקשתי מלפני הקב"ה אלא ליתן חלקי להגות בתורה, שנ' "על כן כל פקודי כל ישרתי כל אורח שקר שנאתי" (תה' קיט:קכח), וכתיב "כי טוב סחרה מסחר כסף" וגו' (משלי ג:יד), וכתיב "טוב לי תורת פיך מאלפי זהב וכסף" (תה' קיט:יב).⁴¹

⁴¹ הפסוקים האלה לא נמצאים בכ"י של מהדורת היגער או בדפוסים.

APPENDIX C

A DIPLOMATIC EDITION OF PRE 30
THE BANISHMENT OF ISHMAEL AND HAGAR
(ABRAHAM'S PENULTIMATE TRIAL)

פרקי דרבי אליעזר פרק ל

כ"י ענעלאו 866, ניו יורק, הבסיס למהדורת "האקדמיה ללשו העברית", עם השלמות משה כ"י¹

1א) הנס [הנסיון]² התשיעי. נולד ישמעאל בקשת ונתרבה בקשת. שני "ויהי אלהים את הנער [ויגדל וישב במדבר ויהי רובה קשת]" (בר' כא:כ). נטל קשת וחצים והיה יורה אחר (הפנות) [העופות].³
1ב) וראה את יצחק יושב לבדו וירה עליו (את החצי) [חץ]⁴ להרגו. וראת אותו שרה והגידה לאברהם. אמרה לו. כזה וכזה עשה ישמעאל ליצחק. אלא קום כתוב כל מה שנשבע הקב"ה לתן לך ולזרעך⁵ שאין ישמעאל יורש עם יצחק, שני "ותאמר לאברהם גרש האמה הזאת ואת בנה" (בר' כא:י).⁶

2א) בן תימה אומר:⁷ אמרה שרה לאברהם. קום כתוב גט גירושין ושלח את האמה הזאת ואת בנה מעלי ומעל יצחק בני מן העולם הזה ומן העולם הבא. ומכל הרעות שעברו על אברהם רע בעיניו הדבר הזה, שני "וירע הדבר מאד בעיני אברהם [על אודות בנו]" (שם שם יא).

2ב) ר' יהודה הנשיא⁸ אומר: באותה הלילה נגלה הקב"ה על אבינו אברהם ואמר לו: אברהם, אין אתה יודע ששרה ראויה לך לאשה ממעי אמה.⁹ היא חברתך ואשת בריתך¹⁰. לא נקראת שרה שפחתך אלא

¹ Based on En866. See the code for the editions and manuscripts used in "List of Short Forms and Editions."

² המונח המופיע בדפוסים.
³ בד"ל וברד"ל: העופות, כ"י ק'2 וילקוט: הפרגוד, אך בכ"י א', ק'1: הפנות. כ"י של פרידלנדר: פוגות ("birds").
⁴ תיקון מבוסס על כ"י ק'1 והדפוסים.
⁵ מוסיפים הדפוסים לשון שבוע: חייד.
⁶ הקבלות לקטע 1: תוספתא סוטה ו:ו-יא, ב"ר נג:טו, ת"ב בבא בתרא צ', מדרש שכל טוב, ילקוט (בראשית) צד.
⁷ לא מופיע המילים הללו בדפוס, בכ"י ק'1: יהודה בן תימא.
⁸ לא מופיע בדפוסים או בכ"י ק'1.
⁹ לא מופיע ברד"ל.
¹⁰ בדפוסים: אשת געוריד.
מלאכי פרק ב
(יד) וְאִמְרָתָם עַל מָה עַל פִּי יִקְוֶה הַעֵיד בְּיַד וּבִין אֵשֶׁת גְּעוּרִיד אֲשֶׁר אֶתָּה בְּגִדְתָּהּ בָּהּ וְהִיא חֲבֵרְתָּךְ וְאֵשֶׁת בְּרִיתְךָ:

אשתך (שרה), שני' "ויאמר אלהים אבל שרה אשתך [ילדת לך בן]" (בר' יז:ט). ולא נקראת הגר אשתך אלא שפחתך. כל מה שדברה שרה באמת דברה. אל ירע בעיניך [על הנער ואל אמתך, שני' "ויאמר אלהים אל-אברהם אל-ירע בעיניך על הנער" וגו' (שם כא: יב)]¹¹

א3) השכים אברהם בבקר וכתב גט גירושין ושלח את האמה ואת בנה,¹² שני' "וישכם [אברהם] בבקר ויקח לחם וחמת מים" (שם שם יד). ושלחה בגט גירושין.¹³

ב3) לקח רדיד¹⁴ אחד וקשר לה במתניה. שיהא [שוח!ק!] [שוחף]¹⁵ אחריה לידע שהיא שפחה. ולא עוד אלא כשירצה אברהם לראות את ישמעאל בנו ולראות את הדרך שהלכו בה. כיון שהוא הולך הוא רואה היכן הוא הולך. [ובזכות אברהם, לא חסרו המים מן החמת ו...]¹⁶ כיון שהגיעה לפתח המדבר (תחלה) [התחילה]¹⁷ תועה אחר עז' שלאביה¹⁸, שני' "ותלך ותתע במדבר באר-שבע" (בר' כא:טו) [ומיד חסרו המים מן החמת לפיכך "ותשלך את הילד" (שם שם טו)].¹⁹

ג3) בן שבע-עשרה²⁰ שנה היה ישמעאל בצאתו מבית אביו²¹ ויצחק בן ארבע²² שנים. [שני' "ותלך ותתע" (שם טו) אין 'ותתע' אלא עבודה זרה²³ דכתיב בה "הבל המה מעשה תעתועים" (ירמ' יטו)]²⁴ (ובזכות אברהם לא חסרו המים מן החמת). ועיפה נפשו שלישמעאל מצמא.

But you ask, "Because of what?" Because the Lord is a witness between you and the wife of your youth with whom you have broken faith, though she is your partner and covenanted spouse. (Mal. 2:14, NJPS translation).

¹¹ תוספת מד'1.

¹² בדפוסים מוספים: וישלחה מעליו ומעל יצחק בנו מעולם הזה ומעולם הבא.

¹³ המונח "וישלחה" (בר' כא:יד) מובן, לפי חז"ל, כגירושין בגט (לפי דברים כד:א-ד): "וכתב לה ספר כריתות...ושלחה...".

¹⁴ ד'1: הדרדור, ד'1: הרדיד, כ"י ק'1: בגד אחד, ילקוט: הרדיד, כ"י ק'2: הרביד,

Friedlander "veil"

¹⁵ ד'1: סוחף, כ"י ק'1: שוטף, כ"י ק'2: שוחף לאחריה.

¹⁶ תוספת מד'1, ד'1, רד"ל וכ"י ק'.

¹⁷ תיקון מכ"י ל', והדפוסים.

¹⁸ ד'1 מוסיף: של בית פרעה אביה.

¹⁹ תוספת מד'1, ד'1, רד"ל וכ"י ק'.

²⁰ ד'1: עשרים וארבע, ד'1: בן כ"ז, כ"י ק'1: בן שבע עשרה שנה.

²¹ ד'1 מוסיף: מבית אברהם.

²² ד'1: עשר ושנים, כ"י ק'1 וכ"י של פרידלנדר (משובש): ארבעים.

²³ רד"ל: גלולים.

²⁴ תוספת מד'1, ד'1, רד"ל וכ"י ק'.

3ד) הלך והשליך נפשו תחת חרולי המדבר²⁵ להיות דשן עליו ואמ': אלהי אברהם אבי. יש לפניך תוצאות המות. קח את נפשי ממני ולא אמות בצמא. ונעתר לו,²⁶ שנ' "וישמע אלהים את קול הנער" (בר' כא:יז).
 3ה) ושם נפתחה להם אותה הבאר הנבראת בין השמשות, שנ' "ויפקח אלהים את עיניה וטרא באר מים" (שם שם יט). הלכו ושתו ומל[א]ו את החמת מים.²⁷ הלכו כל המדבר עד שהגיעו למדבר פארן ומצאו שם מוצאי מים וישבו שם, שנ' "וישב (במדבר) במדבר פארן".
 4א) שלח ישמעאל ולקח לו אשה [מבנות]²⁸ מואב ועישה²⁹ היה שמה. לאחר ג' שנים רצה אברהם לראות את ישמעאל בנו ונשבע לשרה שאינו יורד מעל הגמל במקום שישמעאל שרוי שם.
 4ב) והגיע לשם בחצי היום ומצא את אשתו. אמר לה. היכן הוא ישמעאל. אמרה לו. יצא הוא ואמו לרעות את הגמלים במדבר³⁰. אמ' לה. תני לי (ו)מעט מים (מ(?)ש?ט) [ומעט]³¹ לחם. כי עיפה נפשי מדרך המדבר. אמרה לו. אין לי לא לחם ולא מים.
 4ג) אמר לה. כשיבא ישמעאל מן המדבר הגידי לו שבא זקן אחד מארץ כנען לראותך ואמ'. חלף מפתן ביתך³² שאינה טובה. והלך.
 4ד) וכשבא ישמעאל הגידי לו את הדבר. ובן חכם כחצי תכם³³ הבין ושלחה.
 4ה) שלחה אמו ולקחה לו אשה מבנות אביה ופאטמה³⁴ היתה שמה. ולאחר שלש שנים רצה אברהם לראות את בנו ישמעאל. ונשבע לשרה פעם שניה³⁵ שאינו יורד מעל הגמל במקום שישמעאל שרוי שם.
 4ו) והגיע לשם בחצי היום ומצא אשתו. אמ' לה. היכן הוא ישמעאל. אמרה לו. יצא הוא ואמו להביא לנו פירות תמרים מן המדבר.³⁶ אמר

²⁵ The term, in the Bible, is simply "תחת אחד השיחים;" the poetic expression חרולי שיחים ינהקו תחת חרול יספחו" – the midrash recalls the verse form Job 30:7, NJPS trans.).
 braying among the bushes, huddling among the nettles" (Job 30:7, NJPS trans.).

²⁶ ד' 1: רבון העולמים, אם יש לפניך רצון להשקות אותי מים, השקני ולא תצא נפשי בצמא, כי משונה הוא מיתת הצמא וקשה מכל המיתות. ושמע הקב"ה תפלתו.

²⁷ ד' 1 מוסיף: שנ', "ויפתח אלהים את עיניה" (שם שם יט), ושם הגיחו הבאר, ומשם נשאו את רגליהם ו...
²⁸ תיקון מכ"י ק' 1, בדפוסים והרד"ל: מערבות מואב.

²⁹ ד' 1, וד' 1: עישה, גרסת רד"ל: עיפה, כ"י ק' 2: עישה.

³⁰ ד' 1 ורד"ל, וכ"י ק' 1: להביא פירות ותמרים מן המדבר.
 רד"ל מציע פירות רתמים מבוסס על הפסוק " וְשָׂרָשׁ רְתָמִים לְחֶמֶם" (איוב ל:ד) [עין בב"ר פ' נ"ג].

³¹ תיקון מבוסס על הדפוסים וכ"י ק' 1.

³² בדפוסים: שסף הבית אינה טובה.

³³ הפתגם הזה לא מופיע בדפוסים. כ"י ק' 1: וב"ן חכ"ם כחצ"י חכ"ם.

³⁴ בדפוסים: פטומה, כ"י ק' 1: פטימה.

³⁵ בדפוסים: כפעם ראשונה.

³⁶ ד' 1 וק' 1: לרעות את הגמלים במדבר.

לה. תני לי מעט לחם ומעט מים כי עיפה נפשי מדרך המדבר. הוציאה ונתנה לו.

14) ועמד אברהם והתפלל על ישמעאל בנו ו[נ]תמלא ביתו מכל טוב ממון³⁷ וברכות. וכשבא ישמעאל הגידה לו את הדבר. וידע ישמעאל שעד [עתה]³⁸ רחמי אביו עליו, שנ' "כרחם אב על בנים" (תה' קג:יג).

15א) ולאחר מיתתה שלשרה שלח אברהם ולקח את גרושתו, שנ' "ויו[ס]ף אברהם ויקח אשה ושמה קטורה" (בר' כה:א). ולמה "ויוסף". שפעם ראשונה היתה אשתו [ו]עוד הוסיף לבוא עליה.

15ב) "ושמה קטורה". שהיתה [מקוטרת]³⁹ מכל מיני בשמים. ד"א. "ושמה קטורה". שהיו נאים מעשיה כקטורת.

16א) וילדה ששה בנים וכולם נקראו על שמו של [בני] ישמעאל, שנ' "ותלד לו את זמרן [ואת יקשן ואת מדן ואת מדין ואת ישבק ואת שוח]" (בר' כה:ב). וכאשה שהיא מתגרשת מבעלה כך עמד אברהם ושלחן [מעל יצחק בנו]⁴⁰ מן העולם הזה ומן העולם הבא,⁴¹ שנ' "ולבני הפילגז שים אשר לאברהם" (שם שם ו). "וישלחם". בגט גירושין.

16ב) (על שם שלישמעאל) [על שם בניו של ישמעאל]⁴²: "קדר" (בר' כה:יג) נקראו בני 'קידר', שנ' "לקדר ולממלכות חצר אשר הכה נבוכד-נצר מלך בבל כה אמר יי' קומו עלו אל קדר ושדדו את בני קדם" (ירמ' מט:כח). על שם בנו [ישמעאל] 'וקדמה' (בר' כה:טו) נקראו (בניו) בני 'קדם', שנ' "לבני קדם עמון נתתיה למורשה למען לא תזכר בני עמון בגוים" (יחז' כה:י).⁴³

16ג) והלא כל בני קין נכרתו בדור המבול. אלא לשם אחזת קין שהיו שם נקראו בניו בני קין, שנ' "וחבר הקני נפרד מקין מבני חובב חתן משה ויט אהלה עד אלון-בצעננים אשר [בין] קדש" (שופ' ד:יא).⁴⁴

16ד) ואלה ע'ש אחזת קין שהיו שם נקראו בניו בני קין, שנ' "כי אם יהיה לבער קין [עד מה אשור תשבך]" (במד' כד:כב). אם יהיה לבער מזרעו שלישמעאל הן ישבו מלכי אשור.

17) אמר בלעם: שבעים לשונות ברא הקב"ה. מאחד מהם לא שם שמו אל אלא לישראל. הואיל והשוה הקב"ה שמו שלישמעאל לשמו שלישמעאל

³⁷ ד' וק'1: ממין הברכות.

³⁸ תוספת מכ"י ל', בד'1 וק'1: עכשיו.

³⁹ תיקון מבוסס על הדפוסים וכ"י ק'1.

⁴⁰ תוספת מבוססת על הדפוסים וכ"י ק'1.

⁴¹ המילים הללו לא מופיעות ברד"ל.

⁴² תיקון מבוסס על הדפוסים וכ"י ק'1.

⁴³ לא מופיע הפסוק הזה בדפוסים וק'1, אלא: "וקדמה" (בר' כה:טו) נקראו בני קדם, שנ' "את בני קדם" (ירמ' מט:כח).

⁴⁴ הפרשנות יותר ברורה בדפוסים וכ"י ק'1: על שם שישבו באחוזת קין נקראו בני קין, [שנ'] "וחבר הקני נפרד מקין" (שופ' ד:יא). והלא כל בני קין נפרדו בדור המבול אלא על שם שישבו באחוזת קין נקראו בני קין שנ' "כי אם יהיה לבער קין עד מה אשור תשבך" (במד' כד:כב).

- אוי מי יחיה בימיו, שנ' "וישא משלו ויאמר אוי מי יחיה משומו אל" (שם שם כג).
- 8א) ר' ישמעאל אומר: חמשה-עשר דברים עתידין בניו ישמעאל לעשות בארץ באחרית הימים ואלו הן⁴⁵:
1. ימדדו את הארץ בחבלים.
 2. ויעשו בית הקברות מרבץ צאן אשפתות.
 3. ימדדו מהן ובהן על (הארץ) [ראשי]⁴⁶ ההרים.
 4. וירבה השקר.
 5. ויגזז⁴⁷ האמת.
 6. וירחק חוק מישראל⁴⁸.
 7. ותרבה (עניות) [עונות]⁴⁹ בישראל.
 8. ויתערב [ו] שני (ה) [ו] תולעת⁵⁰ בצמר.
 9. ויקמל (הנזר והקמוס) [הנייר והקולמוס]⁵¹.
 10. ויפסל סלע מלכות.
 11. ויבנו את הערים החרובות. ויפנו הדרכים.
 12. ויטעו גנות ופרדסים.
 13. ויגדרו פרצות חומות בית המקדש.
 14. ויבנו בנין בהיכל.
 15. ושני אחים יעמדו עליהם נשיאים. ובימיהן בן דוד יצמח, שנ' "ובי-מיהון די מלכיא אנון יקים אלה שמיא מלכו" (דניאל ב:מד).
- 8ב) ועוד היה ר' ישמעאל אומר. שלש מלחמות גדולות עתידין בני ישמעאל לעשות בארץ באחרית הימים, שנ' "כי מפני חרבות נדדו" וגו' (ישע' כא:טו). ואין 'חרבות' אלא מלחמות. אחת ביער (ואחת במערב) [בערב (ישע' כא:יג)]⁵², שנ' "מפני חרב נטושה" (שם). ואחת בים, שנ' "מפני קשת דרוכה" (שם). ואחת בכרך גדול שלמלכות רומי והיא כב(ו) ד משניהם, שנ' "מפני כובד מלחמה" (שם).
- 8ג) ומשם בן דוד יצמח⁵³ ויראה באבדן שלא לו ואלו ומשם יבוא לארץ-ישראל. שנ' "מי זה בא מאדום חמוץ בגדים מבצרה זה הדור בלבושו צועה ברוב כוחו אני מדבר בצדקה רב להושיע" (ישע' סג:א).

⁴⁵ חסר כל קטע 8 ממהדורת רד"ל, בגלל צנור.

⁴⁶ תיקון מבוסס על כ"י ק' 1 וד' 1.

⁴⁷ בדפוסים כתוב: ותגש.

⁴⁸ חסר במהדורת היגער.

⁴⁹ תיקון מבוסס על הדפוסים, כ"י ק' 1 וס' 1.

⁵⁰ תיקונים מבוססים על כ"י ס' 1. בדפוסים ובכ"י ק' 1 חסר פועל: שני תולעת בצמר,

לפי פרידלנדר: "worm crimson will be in the wool".

⁵¹ תיקון מבוסס על מהדורת היגער והדפוסים.

⁵² תיקון מבוסס על מהדורת היגער והדפוסים.

APPENDIX D

A DIPLOMATIC VERSION OF CHAPTER 13
ADAM, EVE, AND SAMAEL IN THE GARDEN OF EDEN

פרקי דרבי אליעזר פרק יג (ד'1 והשלמות מכ"י)¹
(א) "הקנאה והתאוה והכבוד מוציאים את האדם מן העולם."²
(ב) אמרו מלאכי השרות לפני הקב"ה: רבון כל העולמים
'מה אדם ותדעהו' (תה' קמד:ג), 'אדם להבל דמה' (שם שם ד), 'אין
על-עפר משלו' (איוב מא:כה).
(ג) אמר להם: מה שאתם [כלכם]³ מקלסים אותי בעליונים, הוא מיחד
אותי⁴ בתחתונים,
(ד) ולא עוד אלא יכולין אתם לעמוד ולקרוא שמות לכל הבריות?
עמדו ולא יכלו. מיד עמד אדם וקרא שמות לכל הבריות, שנ' "ויקרא
אדם שמות לכל הבהמה" (בר' ב:כ).
(ה) וכיון שראו מלאכי השרת [שבו לאחוריהם]⁵, אמרו: אם אין אנו
באים בעצה⁶ על אדם שיחטא לפני בוראו אין אנו יכולין [לעמוד]⁷ בו.
(א) והיה סמאל השר הגדול בשמים.⁸ וחיות [מארבע כנפים]⁹, ושרפים
משש כנפים,
וסמאל משתים עשרה כנפים.

¹ This text of the 1st ed. and has been checked against Börner-Klein 2004: 133–141. I have added punctuation and references to the exact citations from the Bible, and supplemented the printed edition with reference to four manuscripts, as well as Radal's edition (Warsaw 1852) and the 2nd ed. See the code for the editions and manuscripts in "List of Short Forms and Editions."

² פרקי אבות ד': כא: רבי אליעזר הקפר אומר הקנאה והתאוה והכבוד מוציאים את האדם מן העולם.

³ תוספת מכ"י א', ק'. ד'1.

⁴ כתוב בכ"י ס'1: "הוא מיחד שמי בתחתונים."

⁵ תוספת מכ"י ק'.

⁶ כ"י ס'1 "בעצה ובעלילה".

⁷ תוספת מכ"י ס'1, וס'2.

⁸ Samael was the chief minister until his fall, when Michael superceded him, cf. PRE27

פרד"א פרק כז (דפוס): "שבשעה שהפיל הקב"ה את סמאל וכת שלו ממקום קדושתם, אחז בכנפו של מיכאל להורידו ולהפילו, ופלטו הקב"ה מידו.

⁹ תוספת מכ"י ק'. ס'1. . בכ"י א', וס'2, הפך הסדר: ושרפים בשש כנפים, והחיות בארבע כנפים.

On the description of the 'seraphim' see Isa. 6:2, and the 'Hayot' (of the Chariot) see Ezek. 1:5, 13–14.

(ב) לקח את הכת שלו וירד¹⁰ וראה כל הבריות שברא הקב"ה ולא מצא חכם להרע כנחש, שנ' "והנחש [היה] ערום מכל חית השדה" (בר' ג:א).

(ג) והיה דמותו כמין גמל ועלה ורכב עליו.¹¹
 (ד) והתורה היתה¹² צווחת¹³ ואומרת: סמאל, עכשו נברא העולם ועת למרוד (במקום) [במרום]?!¹⁴ "כעת במרום תמריא" (איוב לט:יח), רבון העולמים "תשחק לסוס ולרכבו" (שם שם).¹⁵

(א) משל למה הדבר דומה: לאדם שיש בו רוח רעה, וכל מעשים שהוא עושה מדעתו הוא עושה? וכל דברים שהוא מדבר מדעתו הוא מדבר? והלא אינו עושה אלא מדעת רוח רעה שיש עליו.

(ב) כך הנחש, כל מעשיו שעשה וכל דבריו שדבר, לא דבר ולא עשה אלא מדעתו של סמאל, עליו הכתוב אומר "ברעתו ידחה רשע" (משלי יד:לב).

(א) משל למלך שנשא אשה והשליטה בכל מה שיש לו (באבנים טובות ומרגליות).¹⁶

אמר לה: כל מה שיש לי יהא בידך, חוץ מתבית זו שהיא מלאה עקר-בים.

(ב) נכנס אצלה זקן אחד כגון שואל ממנה חומץ.

אמר לה: מה המלך נוהג לך?

אמרה לו: כל מה שיש לו נתן לי והניח בידי, חוץ מתבית זו שהיא מלאה עקרבים.

אמר לה: הלא כל (קומיא)¹⁷ [קוסמין] של מלך הרי (היא) [הן]¹⁸ בחבית זו, ולא אמר לך כך אלא שהוא מבקש לישא אשה אחרת וליתנם לה.

(ג) כך המלך זה אדם, והאשה זו חוה, זקן שואל חומץ¹⁹ זה הנחש, ועליהם הוא אומר,

¹⁰ The descent of the angels recalls the myth of the Fallen Angels; Friedlander points to the following pseudepigraphic sources: *1 En.* 6, and *Jub.* 4:15; cf. Luke 10:18.

¹¹ With regard to the original Serpent having the form of a camel see *Gen. Rab.* 19:1, b. *Sanhedrin* 59b.

¹² "והיתה התורה", בכ"י א'. ס'ו, וס'2.

¹³ כתוב "צועקת" בכ"י ק'. א'. וס'2.

¹⁴ תוספת מכ"י א'. ק'. ס'1 וס'2.

¹⁵ According to the parable, 'the rider' רוכב, in this verse, would be Samael and the horse, the Serpent, and the one calling out in scorn, the Torah (note the feminine form of the verb תשחק).

¹⁶ המלים האלו לא מופיעות בכ"י ס'ו, וא', רק: "והשליטה על אשר לו" (ס'1) או "והשליטה על כל מה שיש לו" (א').

¹⁷ בכ"י ס'ו: 1: ק?מדיה, כ"י ק' קוזמיא, כ"י א' קוסמין, כ"י ס'2 קוסמיו.

See ch. 5, footnote 40 on the meaning of the term קוזמיא or קוסמין as jewelry.

¹⁸ בד'1: "היא", ובשאר כ"י "הן".

¹⁹ On the significance of the "beggar of vinegar [שואל חומץ]" see ch. 5 footnote 39.

”שם נפלו פועלי אוך” (תה’ לו:יג.)
 (א5) דן דין נחש בינו לבין עצמו ואמר: אם אני אומר לאדם, יודע אני שאינו שומע לי (שהאיש קשה לעולם להוציאו מדעתו)²⁰, [שהאיש לעולם קשה שנ’ ”והאיש קשה וגו’” (שמ”א כה:ג)]²¹
 (ב5) אלא הריני אומר לאשה, (שדעתה קלה עליה)²², שאני יודע שהיא שומעת לי, שהנשים (נשמעות) [שומעות]²³ לכל הבריות, שנ’ ”פתיות ובל ידעה מה” (משלי ט:יג).
 (ג5) הלך הנחש ואמר לאשה: אמת שאף אתם מצווים על פירות האילן הזה?
 אמרה לו: הן, שנ’ ”ומפרי העץ אשר בתוך הגן [אמר אלהים לא תאכלו ממנו ולא תגעו בו פן תמתון]” (בר’ ג:ג).
 (ד5) מתוך דבריה מצא לו פתח להכנס בו.²⁴
 (ה5) אמר לה: אין צווי זה אלא עין רעה,²⁵ שבשעה שאתן אוכלין ממנו תהיו כאלהים.
 מה הוא²⁶ בורא עולמות (ומחריב עולמות)²⁷, כך אתם יכולין לברוא עולמות (ולהחריב עולמות). מה הוא ממית ומחיה, אף אתם יכולין להמית ולהחיות, שנ’ ”כי יודע אלהים כי ביום אכלכם ממנו ונפקחו עיניכם [והייתם כאלהים ידעי טוב ורע]” (בר’ ג:ה).
 (ו5) הלך הנחש ונגע באילן, והאילן צווח ואמר: רשע אל תגע בי, שנ’ ”אל תבואני רגל גאזה [ויד רשעים אל תנידני], (שם נפלו פעלי אוך)²⁸” (תה’ לו:יב-יג).
 (ז5) הלך הנחש ואמר לאשה: הריני נגעתי באילן ולא מתי, אף את געי בו ולא תמותי.
 (א6) הלכה האשה ונגעה באילן וראתה מלאך המות שבא כנגדה,²⁹ אמרה: אוי לי³⁰ [שנגעתי באילן]³¹, עכשיו אני מתה והקב”ה עושה לו אשה אחרת ונותנה לאדם.

²⁰ לא מופיע בכל כ”י, אך ורק בד’ וד’1.

²¹ תוספת מכ”י ס’1, ס’2, א’, וק’.

²² לא מופיע בכל כ”י, אך ורק בד’ וד’1.

²³ תיקון מכ”י ס’1, כתוב בכ”י ק’ ”הנשים נשמעות”, ובכ”י א’, וס’2: ”שהנשים נשמעות” (כמו בדפוס)

²⁴ See *b. Sanhedrin* 29a, ARNa 1 and ARNb

²⁵ On the expression ”עין רעה” (lit. ”evil eye”) see ch. 5, footnote 57.

²⁶ ד’1: תוספת ”עושה” כך: ”מה הוא עושה? בורא עולמות ומחריב עולמות.”

²⁷ ”להחריב עולמות” לא מופיע בכ”י א’. ס’1, ד’1. בכ”י ק’: ”מה הוא בורא יחיד שני עולמות, אף אתם יכולים לבראות עולמות ולהחריב עולמות.”

²⁸ המלים האלו לא מופיעות בכ”י, וגם לא באבות דרבי נתן ב 1.

²⁹ See the parallel in *ARNb* 1, and *Gen. Rab.* 19:5.

³⁰ ד’1: ”אולי עכשיו”, אך ”אוי לי” בכ”י ס’1, ק’, ס’2. וא’.

³¹ לא מופיע בכ”י ס’1, ק’, ס’2, וא’.

ב6) אלא הריני גורמת לו שיאכל עמי. אם (נמות) [אמות]³² שנינו נמות, ואם (נחיה) [אחיה]³³ שנינו נחיה. ולקחה ואכלה מפירות האילן ונתנה מפירותיו גם לבעלה שיאכל עמה שג' "ותקח מפריו ותאכל ותתן גם לאשה" (בר' ג:ו). ג6) כיון שאכל אדם מפירות האילן ראה את עצמו ערום ונתפקחו עיניו וקהו שיניו.³⁴ אמר לה: מה הוא זה שהאכלתני שנתפקחו עיני וקהו שיני (על דעתי) [עלי]³⁵? כשם שקהו שיני כן יקהו שיני כל הדורות.

³² תיקון מכ"י ק',
³³ תיקון מכ"י ק'. בכ"י ס' 1 כתוב: אם נמות נמות שנינו. בכ"י א' וס' 2: אם נמות נמות שנינו. ואם נחיה נחיה שנינו.

³⁴ See ch. 5, footnote 64.

³⁵ כ"י ס' 2, ק', א'.

APPENDIX E

A DIPLOMATIC VERSION OF CHAPTER 22
THE FALLEN ANGELS

פרק כב (ד' והשלמות מכ"י)¹
 (1) כתיב, "ויחי אדם מאה ושלישים שנה ויולד בדמותו כצלמו" (בר' ה:ג),
 מיכאן את למד שלא היה קין מזרעו ולא מדמותו, ולא מעשיו דומים
 למעשה הבל אחיו,² עד שנולד שת שהיה מזרעו ודמותו, ומעשיו דומין
 למעשה הבל אחיו,³ שנ' "ויולד בדמותו כצלמו" (שם שם).
 (2) ר' ישמעאל⁴ אומר: משת עלו ונתיחסו (כל הבריות)⁵ וכל דורות הצדי-
 קים, ומקין עלו ונתיחסו כל דורות הרשעים הפושעים והמורדים⁶ שמרדו
 במקום,⁷ ואמרו: אין אנו צריכין לטיפת⁸ גשמיך ולא לדעת⁹ את דרכיך,
 שנ' "ויאמרו לאל סור ממנו" (איוב כא:יד).¹⁰
 (3) ר' מאיר אומר: גלויי בשר ערוה היו הולכין דורות של קין, האנשים
 והנשים (כבהמה)¹¹ [היו]¹² מטמאין בכל זנות, איש באמו ובבתו, ובאשת
 אחיו [ובאשת רעהו]¹³ בגלוי וברחובות וביצר הרע [של]¹⁴ (ו) במחשבות
 לבם, שנ' " (וַיֵּרָא ה' כִּי רַבָּה רָעַת הָאָדָם בְּאָרְץ וְכָל יֵצֵר מַחְשֶׁבֶת לִבּוֹ
 רַק רָע פֶּל הַיּוֹם" (בר' ז:ה).

¹ This text of the 1st ed. and has been checked against Börner-Klein 2004: 235–243. I have added punctuation and references to the exact citations from the Bible, and supplemented the printed edition with reference to four manuscripts, as well as Radal's edition (Warsaw 1852) and the 2nd ed. See the code for the editions and manuscripts in "List of Short Forms and Editions."

² מלים האלו לא מופיעות בכ"י.
³ גם המילים האלו לא מופיעות בכ"י. כנראה, יד הסופר מעורבת כאן, והוא מנסה ליחס את הבל עם "הזרע הטוב" – שת.
⁴ ר' שמעון בכ"י א', ק', ס', וס'2.
⁵ הפרוזה "נתיחסו כל דורות [של] הצדיקים". לא מופיעות בכ"י – רק "כל הבריות"
⁶ מבוסס על יחזקאל כ:לח "המורדים והפושעים ביי".
⁷ בכ"י א', ובס'2: "בתח ביוצרם" ובכ"י ק', ס', וס'1, "ביוצרן", אך בכ"י אפשטין (הבסיס לתרגום האנגלי של פרידלנדר) כתוב "בצורם" – (Friedlander's English trans.) their rock –
⁸ בבכ"י א' ס'2: לנטפי גשמיך.
⁹ בכ"י ק' וס'1: ללכת בדרכיך.
¹⁰ הקטע הסה גם מופיע בד'1 ובד'1 (בסעיף שלישי).
¹¹ "כבהמה" לא מופיע בכ"י א' או ק'.
¹² תוספת מכ"י א', ס', וס'2.
¹³ תוספת מכ"י ק', א', ס'1 וס'2.
¹⁴ תוספת מכ"י ק', א', וד'1.

- 4) ר' אומר: ראו המלאכים שנפלו ממקום קדושתן מן השמים את בנות קין מהלכות גלויות בשר ערוה ומכחלות עיניהן כזונות, ותעו¹⁵ אחריהם ולקחו מהן נשים, שנ' "וַיֵּרְאוּ בְנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים אֶת בְּנוֹת הָאָדָם וְגו'" [פי טבת הַנְּהָה וַיִּקְחוּ לָהֶם נָשִׁים מִכָּל אֲשֶׁר בְּחָרוּ] (בר' ו:ב).
- 5) ר' יהושע בן קרחה אומר: המלאכים אש לוחטים, שנ' "משרתיו אש לוחט" (תה' קד:ד). והאש בא כבעילה בבשר ודם ואינה שורפת את הגוף? אלא בשעה שנפלו מן השמים ממקום קדושתן, כחן וקומתן כבני אדם, ולבושן גוש עפר, שנ' "לבש בשרי רמה וגוש עפר" (איוב ז:ה).
- 6) ר' צדוק אומר: מהם נולדו הענקים המהלכין [בזדונות]¹⁶ בגובה קומה, ומשלחים ידם בכל גזל וחמס ובשפיכות דמים. [מניין שמהם נוצרו הענקים?]¹⁷ דכתיב "ושם ראינו את הנפילים וגו'" (במדבר יג:לג), ואומר "הנפילים היו בארץ" (ברא' ו:ד). [בני ענק מן הנפילים היו].¹⁸
- 7) אמר ר' יהושע בן קרחה: ישראל בני האלהים, שנ' "בנים אתם לה' אלהיכם" (דברים יד:א), והמלאכים נקראו בני האלהים, שנ' "ברן-יחד ככובי בקר ויריעו כל בני אלהים" (איוב לח:ז), ואלו עד שהיו במקום קדושתן נקראו בני אלהים, שנ' "וגם אחרי-כן אשר יבואו בני אלהים" (בר' ו:ד).¹⁹
- 8א) ר' לוי אומר: היו מולידין את בניהם ופרין ורבין כמין שרץ גדול, ששה בכל לידה ולידה. באותה שעה היו עמדים על רגליהן ומדברים בלשון הקדש ומרקדים לפניהם, שנ' "ישלחו כצאן עויליהם" (איוב כא:יא).
- 8ב) אמר להם נח: שובו מדרכיכם וממעשיכם הרעים שלא יבא עליכם את מי המבול ויכרית כל זרע בני אדם.
- 8ג) אמרו לו: הרי אנו מונעים עצמנו מפריה ורביה שלא להוציא זרע בני אדם. מה היו עושיין? כשהן באין אצל נשותיהן היו משחיתים מקור זרעם על הארץ, כדי שלא להוציא זרע בני אדם, שנ' "וירא אלהים את הארץ והנה נשחתה וגו'" (בר' ו:יב).
- 8ד) אמרו: אם מי המבול יבא עלינו, הרי אנו גבוהי קומה ואין המים מגיעים על צוארנו, ואם מי תהומות מעלה עלינו, הרי פרסות רגלינו לסתום²⁰ את התהומות.
- 8ה) מה היו עושיין? פושטין כפות רגליהם וסתמו את כל התהומות.

¹⁵ בכ"י ק' וס'1 כתוב "וטעו", ובכ"י א' וס'1 כתוב "ותעו".
¹⁶ תוספת מכ"י א', בבכ"י ס'1: "בזונות בגובה קומה"

Friedlander's manuscript is similar to Higger's: "who walked with pride in their heart."
¹⁷ תוספת מכ"י ס'1 וא'.

¹⁸ המשפט הזה לא מופיע בכ"י ק', אך כן כתוב בכ"י א', ס'1, וס'2.

¹⁹ חסר הקטע הזה ב כ"י א', ס'1, ס'2.

²⁰ בכ"י א', ס'1, וס'2: "יש בכפות רגלינו לחתום", ובכ"י ס'2 "יש בכפות רגלינו לסתום".

18) מה עשה הקב"ה? הרתיח מי תהומות, והיו ושולקין²¹ את בשרם ופֹר־שטין את עורן מעליהם, שנ' "בעת יזורבו נצמתו בחומו נדעכו ממקומם" (איוב ו:יז), אל תקרי "בחומו" אלא "בחמימו"²².

²¹ חלט ברותחים, יצק מים רותחים על מזון או שרה אותו ברותחים כדי לבשלו ולה-כשירו לאכילה

- Meaning "to scald" or even boil.

²² בכ"י א': "אל תהי קורא כן אלא "בחמימו ידעכו ממקומו"
[read: 'in his hot waters [*behamimav*], they disappear where they are'].

APPENDIX F

A DIPLOMATIC VERSION OF PRE CHAPTER 20
THE BANISHMENT FROM EDEN AND THE FIRST HAVDALAH

פּרְקֵי דְרַבִּי אֱלִיעֶזֶר פֶּרֶק כ"י

(כ"י ענעלאו 866, ניו יורק, הבסיס למהדורת "אקדמיה ללשון העברית", עם השלמות משה כ"י)

(1) "וַיִּגְרַשׁ אֶת הָאָדָם" (בר' ג:כד), נגרש ויצא אדם וישב לו חוץ לגן עדן בהר המוריה, ששער גן עדן סמוך להר המוריה. משם לקחו ולשם החזירו ממקו' שלקח, שנ' "לְעֵבֶד אֶת הָאָדָמָה אֲשֶׁר לָקַח מִשָּׁם" (שם כג).²

(2) ר' יהודה אומר: הקב"ה שמר שבת ראשונה בעליונים ואדם שמר השבת ראשונה בתחתונים, והיה יום השבת משמרו מכל רעה ומנחמו (מסרעפו) [מכל שרעפו]³ לבו, שנ' "ברוב סרעפי בקרבי תנחומיך ישע־שעו נפשי" (תה' צד:יט).⁴

(3) ר' יהושע בן קרחה אומר: מן האילן שנתחבאו תחתיו לקחו עלים ותפרו, שנ' "וַיִּתְּפְרוּ עֵלֶה תְּאֵנָה" (בר' ג:ז).

(4) ר' אליעזר⁵ אומר: מן העור שפשט הנחש לקח הקב"ה ועשה כתנת כבוד⁶ לאדם ולעזרו, שנ' "וַיַּעַשׂ ה' אֱלֹהִים לְאָדָם וּלְאִשְׁתּוֹ כְּתָנוֹת עוֹר וַיְלַבְּשֵׁם" (בר' ג:כא).

(5) בין השמשות בשבת היה אדם מהרהר בלבו ואומר: אוי לי שמא יוצא נחש שהטעה אותי ויבוא בערב וישופני עקב, "אך חשך ישופני ולילה אור [בעדני]" (תה' קלט:יא).⁷ ונשתלח לו עמוד שלאש ולהאיר לו ולש-

¹ Based on En866. See the code for the editions and manuscripts in "List of Short Forms and Editions."

² במהדורת רד"ל וד' 1: במקום שנלקח, שנ', " ויקח ה' אלהים את האדם... " (ב:טו). מאיזה מקום לקחו? ממקום ב"ה [בית המקדש], שנ', "לְעֵבֶד אֶת הָאָדָמָה אֲשֶׁר לָקַח מִשָּׁם" (ג:כג).

Instead of this quotation, the first editions cite Gen. 2:15: "And the Lord God took the man," and then they add: "From what place did He take him? From the place of the Temple, as it is said: "To work the earth from which he was taken" (Gen. 3:23).

³ במקרא כתוב: "שרעפי" (תה' צד:יט), אך ברוב כ"י ה"ש" מתחלף עם "ס" גם בציטוט וגם בנרטיב. הביטוי "ומנחמו מכל שרעפי לבו" מופיע בכ"י ק', ס' 1', ד' 1', ד' 2'.

⁴ תהלים פרק צד פסוק יט: בְּרַב שְׂרַעְפֵי בְּקִרְבֵי תִנְחֹמֶיךָ יִשְׁעֶשְׂעוּ נַפְשֵׁי: ר' אלעי לפי כ"י ק', וס' 1'.

⁵ כ"י ק': כתונת עור, כ"י ק', וס' 1': "כתונת עור לאדם ולעזרו", שאר כ"י זהה עם כ"י א'.

⁶ כ"י א' וס' 1' מצטטים תה' קלט. לפי כ"י ק' וס' 1' אין ציטוט. ובמהדורת רד"ל, ד' 1', ד' 2' הציטוט הוא: "תְּשִׁפְנֶנּוּ עֵקֶב" (בר' ג:טו).

מרו מכל רע, וראה אדם עמוד שלאש ושמה בלבו, ופשט את ידיו לאור האש ואמר: באי [ברוך אתה ה'] בורא מאורי האש. וכשהרחיק ידיו מאור האש אמר: עכשו אני יודע שנבדל יום הקדש מיום החול. למה? שאין להבעיר אש ביום השבת. ובאותה שעה אמר: באי המבדיל בין קדש לחול.

6א) רבי מנא אומר: (באיזה צד) [כיצד] חייב להבדיל?⁸ בכוס שליין ובאור האש. אומר: באי בורא מאורי האש. וכשירחיק ידיו מאור האש אמר: באי יי המבדיל בין קדש לחול.

6ב) ואם אין יין, פושט ידיו לאור ומסתכל בצפרניו שהן לבנות מן הגוף, ואומר: (באי יי המבדיל בין קדש לחול) [באי יי אל' מ'ה בורא מאורי האש].⁹ וכשירחיק¹⁰ ידיו מאור האש אומר: באי יי המבדיל בין קדש לחול.

6ג) ואם היה בדרך¹¹, פושט ידו לאור הכוכבים שהן שלאש ואומר: באי בור' מא' האש. ואם נתקדרו שמים בעבים תולה¹² אבן מן הארץ, ואומר: באי יי אמ'ה המבדיל בין קדש לחול.

7) [רבי אליעזר אומר: לאחר ששזתה אדם כוס של הבדלה, מצווה להטיל מעט מים בכוס של הבדלה ושזתה כדי לחבב את המצוות. ומה שישאר בכוס מן המים מעבירו על גבי עיניו. למה? משום שאמרו חכמים שיורי מצווה¹³ מעכבין את הפורענות].¹⁴

8) ר' צדוק אומר: כל מי שאינו מבדיל על היין במוצאי שבתות [ול]א(ו) שומע מן המבדילים [אינו] רואה סימ' ברכה לעולם. וכל מי שהוא מבדיל על היין במוצאי שבת או שומע מן המבדילים, הקב'ה קורא לו קדוש וסגולה ומצילו מצרות העמים, שנ' "והייתם לי קדושים [כי קדוש אני ה' ואבדיל אתכם מן העמים להיות לי]" (ויקרא כ:כו).¹⁵

9) באחד בשבת נכנס אדם למימי גיחון העליונים עד שהגיעו המים עד צוארו והיה מתענה שבע שבת? ו?ת ימים עד שנעשה גופו כמין ירוקה,¹⁶ ואמר: חטאתי. וידעו כל הדורות שיש תשובה. מיד עשה תשובה והקב'ה

⁸ לפי ד' וד'2 ומהדורת רד"ל: כיצד חייב לברך?

⁹ תיקון מדפוס, ומכ"י ס'1, ס'2, ומהדורת היגער (כ"י ק').

¹⁰ לפי ד'1 וד'2 ומהדורת רד"ל: "כשמחזיר".

¹¹ "אם אין לו אש" מופיע בד'1, וד'2. ובכ"י ק', ס'1, ס'2, "אם היה בדרך".

¹² לפי מהדורת רד"ל וד'1 "תולש", ובד'2: נוטל, כ"י ס'2 מגביה, וכ"י ק' "תולה אבן מן החוף".

¹³ עיין בת"ב סוכה לח.: "שירי מצוה מעכבין את הפורענות", ות"ב מנחות סב.: "שירי מצוה מעכבים את הפורענות".

¹⁴ קטע 7 רק מופיע במהדורת רד"ל, ד'1, וד'2. טרייטל טוען שהקטע הזה תוספת מדפוס קונסנטינופול ואילך (תשס"ב, עמ' 61, הערה 214).

¹⁵ כ"י ס'2 ומהדורת רד"ל וד'1 מוסיפים את הציטוט: "והייתם לי סגולה" וגו' (שמות יט:ה).

¹⁶ ברוב כ"י כתוב "ירוקה" (או "יריקה"). רק בדפוס המילה "כברה" מופיעה.

פשט את יד ימינו והעביר את חטאתו מעליו, שנ' "חטאתי אודיעך ועוני לא כסיתי [אמרתי אודה עלי פשעי לה' ואתה נשאת עון חטאתי סלה]" (תה' לב:ה). 'סלה' מן העולם הזה ומן העולם הבא.¹⁷

10) ישב אדם ודרש בלבו ואמר: "ידעתי כי מות תשיבני ובית מועד לכל חי" (איוב ל:כג). עד [שאני בעודי אבנה לי בית מלון לרבעי. וחצב ובנה לו בית מלון לרבעו חוץ להר]¹⁸ המוריה. אמ' אדם: הלוחות שהן עתידין להכתב באצבע מי הירדן לברוח מפניהם, גופו שגבלו שתי ידיו ורוח נשמת פיו שנפח באפי עאכז¹⁹, שלאחר כן יבואו כל הבריו' ויקחו כל עצמותי ויעשו להם ע'ז, אלא הרי אני מעמיק את ארוני שלמטה לארץ. לפ'כ ניקראת מערת המכפלה שהיא כפולה, מערה לפנים מן המערה. ושם הוא נתון אדם ועזרו, אברהם ועזרו, יצחק ועזרו, ויעקב ועזרו,²⁰ לפ'כ נקרא קרית-ארבע [שנקברו בה ד']²¹ זוגות, ועליהם הוא אומ' "יבא שלום ינוח[ו] על משכבותם הולך נכוחו" וגומ' (ישע' נז:ב).

¹⁷ המילה "סלה" מופיעה פעמיים בתה' לב, ואז הדרש מבוסס על כפל הלשון.

The last word of the previous verse is *Selah*, and the verse quoted concludes with *Selah*. The word is used in the sense of "so be it," or perhaps it suggests "pardon" (סלח).

¹⁸ תוספת מכ"י ק', ס'1, ס'2, ד'1, וד'2.

¹⁹ על אחד כמה וכמה.

²⁰ הכינוי "עזרו" או "עזרתו" לחווה ייחודי לפרד"א. בדפוס (ד'1 וד'2) מופיעים השמות של הנשים: חווה, שרה, רבקה ולאה.

In the first editions instead of "helper" the names are given, namely, Eve, Sarah, Rebecca, and Leah.

²¹ תוספת מד'1 וד'2.

APPENDIX G

A DIPLOMATIC VERSION OF A SELECTION FROM PRE 29¹
THE COVENANT OF CIRCUMCISION

פרקי דרבי אליעזר פרק כט (ד'1 והשלמות מכ"י)

1) וכך היו ישראל נהוגין למול עד שנחלקו לשני ממלכות
2) ומלכות אפרים מנעו מהם את המילה ועמד אליהו ז"ל וקנא קנאה גדולה ונשבע על השמים שלא להוריד טל ומטר על הארץ² ושמע איזבל ובקשה להרוג אותו.
3א) עמד אליהו והיה מתפלל לפני הקב"ה.
אמר לו הקב"ה: "טוב אתה מאבותיך?." [ברח!!]³
3ב) עשו בקש להרוג את יעקב⁴, שנ' "יקרבו ימי אבל אבי ואהרגה את יעקב אחי" (בר' כז:מא)
וברח מלפניו⁵ ונמלט, שנ' "ויברח יעקב שדה ארם" (הושע יב:ג).
3ג) פרעה בקש להרוג את משה וברח מלפניו ונמלט, שנ' "[וישמע פרעה את הדבר ויבקש להרוג את משה] ויברח משה מפני פרעה" (שמ' ב:טו).
3ד) שאל בקש להרוג את דוד וברח מלפניו ונמלט, שנ' "ודוד ברח וימלט" (ש"א יט:יח).⁶

¹ This text of 1st ed., and has been checked against Börner-Klein 2004: 331–335; I have added punctuation and references to the exact citations from the Bible, and supplemented the printed edition with reference to three other manuscripts, as well as Radal's edition (Warsaw 1852) and the 2nd ed. See the code for the editions and manuscripts used in "List of Short Forms and Editions."

² כ"י א': שלא להוריד טל ומטר. כ"י ס'1: שלא להוריד טל, וכ"י ק': שלא להוריד טל ומטר על הארץ (כמו בדפוס).

כ"י ס'1 מביא הפסוק: שנ' "ויאמר אליהו התשבי מתשבי גלעד אל אחאב חיי יי"י צבאות אשר וגו'".

מלכים א פרק יז

(א) ויאמר אליהו התשבי מתשבי גלעד אל אחאב חי ידוד אלהי ישׂראל אשר עמדתי לפניו אם יהיה השנים האלה טל ומטר כי אם לפי דברי:

³ המילה "ברח" לא מופיעה בד'1, בד'1, בכ"י א' או במהדורת רד"ל, אך כן מופיעה בכ"י ק', וס'1.

⁴ ד'1: את יעקב להרוג.

⁵ ד'1: יעקב ברח.

⁶ בכ"י א' מופיע מהמשך של הסיפור: שנ' "ודוד ברח וימלט ויבוא אל שמואל הרמתה" (ש"א יט:יח) וכת' אח' אומ' "ויברח דוד מגיות-ברמה" (ש"א כ:א).

בכ"י ק' הציטוט כולל ההזרה: שנ' "אם אין אתה ממלט את נפשך" (ש"א יט:יא), וכתבי אחר אומ' "ודוד ברח וימלט" (ש"א יט:יח).

- 3ה) ללמדך שכל מי שהוא בורח נמלט.
 4) עמד אליהו וברח מארץ ישראל ונמלט⁷, שנ' "ויקם ויאכל וישתה" (מ"א יט:ח)⁸
 5א) נגלה עליו הקב"ה ואמר לו "מה לך פה אליהו?" (שם שם ט), אמר לו "קנא קנאתי [ליי אלהי צבאות כי עזבו בריתך בני ישראל את מזבחתיך הרסו ואת נביאיך הרגו ואתר אני לבדי ויבקשו את נפשי לקחתה]"⁹ (שם שם י).
 5ב) אמר לו הקב"ה "לעולם אתה מקנא! קנאת בשטים על גלוי עריות, שנ' "פנחס בן אלעזר [בן אהרן הפהן השיב את חמתי מעל בני ישראל בקנאו את קנאתי בתוכם ולא כליתי את בני ישראל בקנאתי]"¹⁰ (במ' כה:יא). וכאן אתה מקנא. חייך שאין ישראל עושין ברית מילה עד שאתה רואה בעיניך.
 6) מכאן התקינו חכמים שיהו עושין מושב כבוד למלאך הברית¹¹. [שנקרא אליהו ז"ל מלאך הברית]¹², שנ' "הנני שלח מלאכי ופנה דרך לפני ופתאם יבוא אל היכלו האדון אשר אתם מבקשים"¹³ ומלאך הברית אשר אתם חפצים הנה בא וגו'" (מלאכי ג:א).
 7) (אליהו ישראל יחיש ויביא בחיינו משיח לנחמנו ויחדש לבבנו, שנ' "והשיב לב אבות על בנים" (שם כד).¹⁴

⁷ כ"י א': "ועמד אליהו ז"ל וברח מארץ-ישראל עד שבה להר סיני.
 כ"י ק': . ועמד אליהו ז"ל וברח לו להר חורב.
 כ"י ס': ועמד אליהו ז"ל וברח מארץ ישראל אל הר סיני, שנ' "ויקם וילך אל נפשו וגו'" (מ"א יט:ג) [הציוט שונה].
⁸ מלכים א פ"ק יט (ח)
 ויקם ויאכל וישתה וילך בכח האכילה ההיא ארבעים יום וארבעים לילה עד הר האלהים הרב:
⁹ כ"י א' וס' מביאות את הפסוק בשלמותו.
¹⁰ כ"י ס' מביאה את הפסוק בשלמותו.
¹¹ בכ"י ק': כסא אחד מכובד למלאך הברית.
¹² תוספת מכ"י א' וק'.
¹³ כ"י א' וס' מביאות את הפסוק כמעט בשלמותו.
¹⁴ המשפט והציוט האלה לא מופיעים בכ"י א', ק', או ס', אך כן בד' 1, ד' 1, ומהדורת רד"ל.

APPENDIX H

A DIPLOMATIC VERSION OF A SELECTION FROM PRE 47¹
THE ZEAL OF PHINEHAS

פרקי דרבי אליעזר פרק מז (ד'1 והשלמות מכ"י)

(א1) רבי אומר כל ישיבה שישבו ישראל במדבר עשו להם ע"ז,² שנ' "וישב העם לאכל³ ושתו ויקמו לצחק" (שמ' לב:ו), מה כתיב אחריו "ועשו להם [עגל]" (שם ח).⁴

(ב1) וכתוב אחר אומר "וישב יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּשָׁטִים" (במ' כה:א), מה כתיב שם "ויחל העם לזנות אל בנות מואב" (שם שם), זה ע"ז.⁵

(א2) ר' יהודה אומר "עצת רשעים רחקה מני" (איוב כא:טז), זה עצתו⁶ של בלעם שיעץ למדין נפלו מישראל כ'ד' אלף, אמר להם: אין אתם יכולין לפני העם הזה אלא אם כן חטאו לפני בוראן.⁷

(ב2) מיד עשו חנויות חוץ למחנה ישראל והיו רואין⁸ את בנות⁹ מדין מכוחלות עיניהן כזונות¹⁰ ותעו אחריהן, שנ' "ויחל העם לזנות אל בנות מואב" (במ' כה:א).

¹ This text of the 1st ed. and has been checked against Börner-Klein 2004: 637–645. I have added punctuation and references to the exact citations from the Bible, and supplemented the printed edition with reference to two other manuscripts, as well as Radal's edition (Warsaw 1852) and the 2nd ed. See the code for the editions and manuscripts used in "List of Short Forms and Editions."

² מהדורת רד"ל: גלולים.

³ ד'2: "לאכול ... ויקומו"

⁴ ד'2: ע"ז, כ"י א': מה אחריו. התחילו לעשות ע"ז. שנ' "ויקומו לצחק", כ"י ק': מה כתוב שם ויקומו לצחק, התחילו עובדים ע"ז.

Friedlander's version (based on the Epstein manuscript) similarly reads: What is written here? "And they rose up to play" (ibid.); they commenced to worship idols.

⁵ מהדורת רד"ל: פעור. כ"י ק': התחילו בזנות. הקטע לא מופיע בכ"י א'.

Friedlander's manuscript is similar to Ca2043: "They commenced to be immoral."

⁶ ד'2: ועצתו, וורשא: בעצתו.

⁷ כ"י ק': קוניהם.

⁸ כ"י ק': והיו מוכרין כל ממכרן בשוק, וכן עשו, והיו בחורי ישראל יוצאין חוץ למחנה ישראל.

כ"י א': והיו מוכרין כל ממכר והיו בחורי ישראל רואין בנות מדין

⁹ ד'2: לבנות...מכחלות.

¹⁰ כ"י ק': ולקחו להם נשים.

Again Friedlander's manuscript is similar to Higger's (Ca2043): "The young men of Israel went beyond the camp of Israel and they saw the daughters of Midian, who had painted their eyes like harlots, and they took wives of them..."

- א3) שמעון ולוי קנאו על הזנות¹¹ שנ' "הכזונה יעשה את אחותנו" (בר' לד:לא)¹².
- ב3) והנשיא של שבט שמעון לא זכר מה שעשה זקנו ולא גער (בבכורי) [בחורין]¹³ ישראל, אלא הוא בעצמו בפרהסיא בא בזנות על המדינית, שנ' " וְשֵׁם אִישׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל הַמֶּכָּה אֲשֶׁר הִכָּה אֶת הַמְּדִינִית [זְמַרְי בֶּן סְלוּא נְשִׂיא בֵּית אָב לְשִׁמְעוֹנִי]" (במ' כה:יד).
- ג3) וכל הנשיאים ומשה ואלעזר ופנחס ראו למלאך המות¹⁴ והיו יושבין ובוכין ולא היו יודעין מה לעשות.
- ד3) וראה פנחס את זמרי שבא בפרהסיא¹⁵ על המדיינית וקנא קנאה גדולה וחסף מידו של משה את הרומח ורץ אחריו ודקרו מאחרי בריתו¹⁶ ויצא הרומח בקבה של האשה,
- ה3) לפיכך נתן לו הקב"ה מאכל קיבה.¹⁷
- ו3) ואמץ את זרעותיו והעמיד את הרומח בארץ ונמצאו תלויים בראש הרומח, זה למעלה מזה, האיש למעלה מן האשה,¹⁸ ונתפדרו הלחיים, הלחי של איש מלחיה של אשה,
- ז3) לפיכך נתן לו הקב"ה מאכל לחיים, שנ' "ונתן לכהן הזרע"¹⁹ והלחיים והקבה" (דברים יח:ג).
- ח4) קם כדין גדול ושופט לישראל, שנ' "ויעמד"²⁰ פנחס ויפלל" (תה' קו:ל).²¹ כשם שאתה אומר "ונתן בפללים"²² (שמ' כא:כב).
- ט4) והיה מכה (את בכורי) [לבחורין]²³ ישראל ומשכו²⁴ אותן בכל זויות מחנה ישראל כדי שיראו העם וייראו.²⁵

¹¹ מהדורת רד"ל: הזמה. כ"י ק' מוסיף: הרבה מאד.

¹² כ"י ק' מוסיף: ולקחו איש חרבו והרגו את אנשי (סדום) [שכס"],

Again Friedlander's manuscript is similar to Ca2043: Each man took his sword and they slew the men of Shekhem.

¹³ בדפוסים כתוב: בכורי, התיקון מכ"י א' וק'.

¹⁴ כ"י ק': מלאך המשחית. Friedlander: "the angel who was to destroy the people".

¹⁵ כ"י ק': שבא בפרהסיא בזנות על המדיינית.

¹⁶ כ"י ק': ודקרו מאחרי ביתו וינח הרומח בקובתה של האשה.

¹⁷ מהדורת רד"ל: מתנות כהונה, כ"י ק': לפי נתן הב"ה שכר טוב לו ולבניו במאכל הזרוע.

Friedlander: Therefore the Holy One, blessed be He, gave a good reward to him and to his sons with the food of the shoulder

כ"י א': לפי נתן לו הקב"ה מאכל

¹⁸ כאן כ"י א' מוסיפה: לפי נתן לו הקב"ה את הקבה.

¹⁹ ד"ד: הזרוע.

²⁰ ד"ד: ויעמוד.

²¹ כ"י ק' מוסיף: מה הלשון הזה ויפלל כדין גדול.

²² ד"ד: בפללים.

²³ תיקון מ' ד', א', ק': לבחורי.

²⁴ כ"י א': ומשוטט.

²⁵ כ"י ק' מוסיפה: שנ' "וכל ישראל ישמעו וייראו" (דברים כא:כא).

- 14) וראה הקב"ה מה שעשה פנחס²⁶ ועצר את המגפה מעל ישראל שנ' "ותעצר המגפה" (במ' כה:ח).
- 15) ר' אלעזר²⁷ אומר חשב²⁸ הקב"ה שמו של פנחס כשמו של אליהו ז"ל מתושבי הגלעד שעשה ישראל תשובה בארץ גלעד שנ' "בריתי היתה אתו החיים והשלום" (מלאכי ב:ה).
- 16) ונתן לו חיי העולם הזה וחיי העולם הבא.²⁹
- 17) ונתן לו ולבניו שכר טוב בין הצדיקים³⁰ למען כהונת עולם, שנ' "והיתה לו ולזרעו אחריו ברית כהנת עולם" (במ' כח:יג).
- 18) ר' אלעזר המודעי אומר: עמד פנחס והחרים על ישראל בסוד שם המפורש ובכתב שנכתב על הלוחות בחרם בית דין העליון ובחרם בית דין התחתון שלא ישתה אדם מישראל מיינם של גוים כי אם מרפס רגליהם³¹, שנ' " וְצִאֲנֵי מִרְמַס רַגְלֵיכֶם תִּרְעְיֶנָּה וּמִרְפֶּשׁ רַגְלֵיכֶם תִּשְׁתַּיְנָה" (יחזקאל לד:ט).
- 19) שכל יינם של גוים לעבודה זרה ולזנות שהן לוקחין ראשית תירושם לע"ז ולזנות, שנ' "זנות ויין ותירוש יקח לב" (הושע ד:יא). וכתוב אחר אומר "אל תהי בסובאי יין בזוללי בשר למו" (משלי כג:כ).
- 20) ר' פנחס אומר: אמר הקב"ה למשה: זוכרים אתם מה שעשו לכם המדינים שנפלו מישראל כ'ד' אלף איש אלא עד שלא תאסף נקום נקמתן, שנ' "נקום נקמת בני ישראל" (במ' לא:ב).
- 21) מה עשה משה? לקח אלף איש מכל שבט ושבט משבטי ישראל הרי שנים עשר אלף, והמקנא על הזנות³² נשיא עליהם, ולקחו את כלי הקדש וחצוצרות התרועה בידם והלכו ושבוי³³ את בנות מדיין והביאו אותם.
- 22) ושמע משה ויצא לקראתם וראה אותם ואמר לו: על אלו נפלו מישראל ארבעה ועשרים אלף, שנ' "הן הנה היו לבני ישראל בדבר בלעם" (במ' לא:טז).
- 23) התחיל כועס עליהם שנ' "ויקצף משה על פקודי החיל" (שם שם יד), ובכעסו נסתלקה רוח הקדש ממנו.
- 24) מכאן אתה למד שהקפדן מאבד את חכמתו.

²⁶ כ"י ק' מוסיפה: ומיד נתמלא רחמים.

Friedlander: "forthwith was He filled with compassion; the plague was stayed."

²⁷ מהדורת רד"ל: אליעזר, גם כ"י ק'.

²⁸ מהדורת רד"ל וכ"י א': השב, כ"י ק': קרא.

Friedlander: "He called the name of Phineas by the name of Elijah."

²⁹ המשפט הזה לא מופיע בכ"י ק'

³⁰ ד'2: בין רשעים, כ"י א': מצדיקים ומרשעים, מהדורת רד"ל: ונתן לו ולבניו שכר למען כהונת עולם.

³¹ כ"י ק': שכר טוב ולבניו הצדיקים. Friedlander: to his sons a good reward.

³² ד'2: רגלם, מהדורת רד"ל: מרפס רגלם, כ"י ק': ברפס רגליהם.

³³ מהדורת רד"ל: זמה.

ד'2: וישבו.

8ה) קרא לאלעזר וקבל מאחריו,³⁴ שנ' ויאמר אלעזר הכהן אל אנשי הצבא אשר צוה יי' את משה" (שם שם כא). אמר להם למשה צוה ואותי³⁵ לא צוה.

³⁴ כ"י א' ק': וראה אלעזר וקבל מאחריו.

³⁵ מהדורת רד"ל: אותו.

APPENDIX I

A DIPLOMATIC VERSION OF PRE CHAPTER 10
JONAH'S SOJOURN IN THE NETHERWORLD

פרקי דרבי אליעזר פרק י'

(כ"י 866 Enelow, ניו יורק, הבסיס למהדורת "האקדמיה ללשון העברית", עם השלמות משה כ"י וד'1)

1א) בחמישי ברח יונה מפני אלהיו, ולמה ברח? שפעם ראשנה שלחו להשיב את גבול ישראל ועמדו דבריו, שנ' "הוא השיב את גבול ישראל מלבוא חמת עד ים הערבה כדבר יי"י אלהי ישראל אשר דבר ביד עבדו יונה בן אמת הנביא מגת החפר" (מ"ב יד:כה).

1ב) פעם שניה שלחו הקב"ה לירושלים להחריבה, {וכיוון שעשו תשובה}² ועשה הקב"ה ברחמיו וניחם על הרעה ולא החריבה והיו ישראל קוראין אותו נביא שקר.

1ג) פעם ג' שלחו לנינוה להחריבה. דן דין יונה בינו לבין עצמו ואמר: יודע {אני}³ שהגוים קרובי תשובה הם. עכשיו הם עושין תשובה, הקב"ה מתמלא עליהם רחמים ושולח רוגזו על [שונאיהן של] ישראל.⁴ ולא די שישראל קוראין אותי נביא שקר אלא אף אומות העולם (ויהיו קוראין אותי נביא השקר).

2) אלא הרי אני עומד ובורח לים מלפניו למקום שלא נאמר כבודו שם. על השמים נאמר כבודו שם, שנ' {"על השמים כבודו" (תה' קיג:ד)}.⁵ על הארץ נאמר כבודו, שנ' "מלא כל הארץ כבודו" (ישע' ו:ג), אלא הרי אני בורח לים למקום שלא נאמר כבודו שם.

3) ירד יונה ליפו ולא מצא אניה לירד בה. והאניה שירד בה יונה היתה רחוקה מיפו מהלך שני ימים לנסות את יונה. מה עשה הקב"ה? הביא עליה רוח סערה (ל){ב}ים והחזירה ליפו. וראה אותה יונה ושמח בלבו ואמר: עכשיו אני יודע שדרכי מיושרת לפני.

¹ Based on En866. See the code for the editions and manuscripts in "List of Short Forms and Editions."

לפי רוב כתבי היד, הפרק על יונה הוא הפרק העשירי, חוץ מכ"י ק' ו', ופ', שהוא הפרק התשיעי.

² השלמה מכ"י ס'1, אך חסר ברוב כתבי היד האחרים.

³ השלמה מכ"י ס'1, ל', ד'1 וד'2.

⁴ לשון סגן נהור, בכתבי יד א', ס'1, וגם ל'. שאר כתבי היד והדפוסים: שולח רוגזו על ישראל.

⁵ כאן משוחרר הטקסט מס'1, ס'2, ק', פ', ו', וגם ל'.

4) אמר להם יונה: (נבוא) {ארד}⁶ עמכם באניה. אמרו לו: הרי אנו הולכים לאיי הים תרשישה. אמר להם: (נבוא) {אבוא}⁷ עמכם. ודרך כל אניות שלאדם יוצא מהן הוא נותן שכרו. ויונה בשמחת לבו הקדים ונתן שכרה, שנ' "ויתן [שכרה] וירד בה" (יונה א:ג). 5א) פירשו מהלך יום {אחד ועמד עליהם רוח סערה בים מימינם ומשמאלם}⁸ והיו כל האניות עוברות ושבות בשלום בשתיקת הים, והאניה שירד בה יונה היתה בצרה גדולה להשבר, שנ' "והאניה חשבה להישבר" (יונה א:ד). 5ב) ר' חנניה אומר: משבעים לשונות היה שם באניה, וכל אחד {ואחד}⁹ מהם אלהיו בידו והשתחוויתו¹⁰ בידו. אמרו: יקרא איש בשם אלהיו, והאלהים שיענה ויצילנו מן הצרה הזאת הוא האלהים. ועמדו וקראו איש בשם אלהיו ולא הועילו מאומה. 5ג) יונה בצרת נפשו נרדם וישן לו. אמר לו רב החובל: הרי אנו עומדין בין מות לחיים ואתה נרדם וישן? מאיזה עם אתה? אמר להם, "מעברים אנכי" (שם ט). אמרו לו: והלא שמענו שאלהי העברים גדול הוא מכל האלהים? קום קרא אל אלהיך אולי יעשה ככל נפלאות שעשה לישראל בים סוף. אמר להם: בשבילי הצרה הזאת באה עליכם. "שאוני והטילוני אל הים וישתוק הים מזעפו עליכם" (שם יד). 6) ר' שמעון אומר: לא קבלו האנשים עליהם להשליך את יונה לים. לקחו את כל הכלים שבאניה והשליכו אותם לים ולא הועילו מאומה. בקשו לחזור ליבשה, ולא יכלו, שנ' "ויחתרו האנשים לשוב אל היבשה ולא יכלו" (שם יב). מה עשו? לקחו את יונה ועמדו על {גבי ירכתי}¹¹ הספינה. ואמרו: אלהי עולם יי אל תתן עלינו דם נקי שאין אנו יודעין מה טיבו של איש הזה, והוא אמר לנו בשבילו הצרה הזאת באה עליכם. הטילו אותו עד קרסוליו, ועמד הים מזעפו. לקחו אותו אצלן, והים היה הולך וסוער עליהם. הטילו אותו עד ארכבותיו ועמד הים מזעפו. לקחו אותו אצלם, והים הולך וסוער עליהם. הטילו אותו עד טבורו, ועמד הים מזעפו. לקחו אותו אצלם, הים הולך וסוער עליהן. הטילו אותו עד צוארו, ועמד הים מזעפו. לקחו אותו אצלן, הים הולך וסוער עליהן עד שהטילו

⁶ בכ"י ק', ס'1, ס'2, ובדפוסים: ארד עמכם.

⁷ בכ"י ק', ס'1, ס'2, בד'2: אבוא עמכם, בד'1: אבא עמכם.

⁸ השלמה מבוססת על כ"י ס'1, ס'2, ק', פ', ו', ד'1.

⁹ השלמה מ כ"י ס'1, ס'2, ק', פ', ו', ד'1.

¹⁰ בדפוסים: שקוצו.

¹¹ השלמה מבוססת על כ"י ו', ד'1, ס'1, ס'2.

את כולו {לים ומיד שתק הים מזעפו},¹² שנ' "וישאו את יונה ויטילוהו אל הים" (שם טו).

7) ר' טרפון אומר: ממונה היה הדג מששת ימי בראשית לבלוע את יונה. {שנ' "וימן ה' דג גדול לבלוע את יונה" (יונה ב:א)}.¹³ ונכנס לתוך פיו כאדם שנכנס לבית כנסת גדולה¹⁴ ועמד והיו עיניו שלדג כחלונות אפמיות¹⁵ מאירות. והיה רואה כל מה שבים ובתהומות. ר' מאיר אומר: מרגלית אחת היתה תלויה במיעיו שלדג והיתה מאירה לו כל מה שביי מים ובתהומות. ועליו הכתוב אומר: "ז[א]ור זרוע לצדיק" וג' (תה' צז:יא).

אמר לו הדג ליונה: אין אתה יודע שבא יומי להיאכל בתוך פיו שלליותך?

אמר לו יונה: הוליכני אצלו ואני מציל אותך ואת נפשי מפיו. והוליכו אצלו. אמר לו ללוייתך: בשבילך ירדתי לראות את מדורך [בים], ולא עוד אלא שאני עתיד לירד ולתן חבל בלשוני ולעלות אותך ולזבוח אותך לסעודה גדולה שלצדיקים לעתיד לבוא, שנ' "התמשוך לויתן בחכה ובחבל תשקיע לשונו" (איוב מ:כה). ולא עוד אלא הרי חותמו של אבינו אברהם. הביט לברית¹⁶ וברח. וראה לויתן חותמו לאבינו [ו]ברח מלפני יונה מהלך שני ימים.

8) אמר לו יונה לדג: הרי הצלתיך מפיו שלליותך, הראיני כל מה שבימים ובתהומות. והראהו שבילי ים סוף שהלכו ישראל בהם, שנ' "סוף חבוש לראשי" (יונה ב:ו). והראהו נהר גדול (שלעוקינוס) {שלאוקינוס}¹⁷, שנ' "ונהר יסובבני" (שם ד). והראהו מקום שמשברי הים וגליו יוצאין, שנ' "כל משברך וגליך עלי עברו" (שם ד). והראהו גהינם, שנ' "מבטן שאול שועתי" (שם ג). והראהו שאול תחתית, שנ' "ותעל משחת חיי יי' אלהי" (שם ז). והראהו עמודי ארץ במוכנן, שנ' "לקצבי הרים ירדתי" (שם ז). מכאן אתה למד שירושלים על ז' הרים היא עומדת. והראהו אבן שתיה שהיא קבועה בתהומות, וראה שם את בני קרח עומדים ומתפללים שם, וידע שהוא תחת היכל יי'.

9) אמר לו הדג: הרי אתה עומד תחת היכל יי', התפלל ואתה נענה.¹⁸ אמר לו יונה לדג: עמוד במקום עמדך, שאני מבקש להתפלל.

¹² השלמה מבוססת על כ"י ק', פ', ו ד'1

¹³ השלמה מבוססת על כ"י ס'1, ס'2, ק', פ', ו ד'1.

¹⁴ או "כאדם הנכנס לבית הכנסת הגדולה" – לפי ד'1, פ', ס'2.

¹⁵ המילה "אפמיות" משתנה כמעט בכל כ"י: ס'1 "אמטיות", ק': "אמפומיות", ס'2 "אפומיות", פ' "אמפומיות", ו' "אפיפמיות", ד'1 "שפומיות".

¹⁶ ע"פ תה' עד:ב.

¹⁷ יש שגיאית כתיב בכ"י א', שאר כתבי היד מאיית את המילה: "אוקינוס".

¹⁸ יש גרסאות אשר בני קורח אמרו לו להתפלל (כ"י ק', פ') ולא הדג.

התחיל מתפלל ואמר: רבון כל העולמים, נקראתה "מוריד ומעלה", הרי ירדתי העלני. נקראת "ממית ומחיה",¹⁹ הרי הגיעה נפשי למות [העליני] החייני.

ול < [א] נענה עד שיצא הדבר הזה מפיו ואמר "אשר נדרתי אשלימה" (יונה ב:י). לזבח את לוייתן לפניך ביום ישועת ישראל, שנ' "ואני בקול תודה אזבחה לך" (שם י). באותה שעה רמז הקב"ה לדג והקיא אותו ליבשה, שנ' "ויאמר יי' לדג ויקיא את יונה ליבשה" (יונה ב:יא).

10) וראו המלחים כל הגבורות והנפלאות שעשה הקב"ה ליונה, והשליכו איש את אלהיו, שנ' "משמרים הבלי שוא חסדם יעזבו" (יונה ב:ט). וחזרו ליפו ועלו לירושלים ומלו את בשר ערלתן מעליהם, שנ' "וייראו האנשים יראה גדולה את יי' ויזבחו זבח ליי' וידרו נדרים" (יונה א:טז). וכי זבחו זבח? אלא זה דם ברית מילה שהוא כדם (מילה) זבח, ונדרו להביא איש (את) אשתו ואת בנותיו {ואת בניו ואת כל אשר לו}²⁰ להראות לאלוהי יונה. ונדרו ושלמו.²¹ ועליהם הוא אומר על הגרים, גירי צדק.

¹⁹ ע"פ ש"א ב:ו.

²⁰ השלמה מכ"י ס"ו, ק'. ופ'.

²¹ ע"פ ישעיהו יט:כא.

SHORT FORMS AND EDITIONS OF TEXTS

TRANSLITERATION

I follow, for the most part, the SBL guidelines for transliteration. The letter ה (*het*) is represented by *h*, י (*yod* as a consonant) by *y*, כ (*khaf*) by *kh*, ק (*qof*) by *q*, צ (*tzadik*) by *tz* (as in *yetzer*), ז (*zion*) by *z*, א (*ayin*) by *ʿ*, and א (*aleph*) by *ʾ*.

For the English Translation

[] lacuna in the manuscript

[xxx] text in need of emendation, or the Hebrew (original or transliteration)

(xxx) text added for clarification, often the continuation of a biblical quote

{xxx} text restored from another manuscript

For the Hebrew Edition

<...> lacuna in the manuscript

<xxx> text seemingly added in the manuscript

(xxx) version in original manuscript, in need of significant alternative/correction

{xxx} emendation based on another manuscript or the printed edition

[xxx] text added for clarification, often the continuation of a biblical quote

RABBINIC AND RELATED TEXTS

(Based on the SBL Handbook 1999 and Stemberger, 2nd ed., 1996: 375–377)

ARNa and **ARNb**, Avot de-Rabbi Natan, Aleph and Beit (respectively), ed. S. Schechter, Vienna, 5647/1887. English trans. of ARNa by Judah Goldin, *The Fathers According to Rabbi Nathan*, Yale University

- Press, New Haven, 1955. English trans. of ARNb, by A. J. Saldarini, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975.
- Breshit Rabbati**, of R. Moshe HaDarshan, ed. H. Albeck, Jerusalem 1966/7.
- b.** = Babylonian Talmud, standard printed edition, Vilna.
- Cant. Rab.** = Shir HaShirim Rabbah, standard printed edition, Vilna 1875 (וילנא תרל"ח).
- Gen. Rab.** = Breshit Rabbah, ed. H. Albeck and J. Theodor, 3 vols., Berlin, 1912–31. Repr. Jerusalem 1965.
- Deut. Rab.** = Devarim Rabbah, ed. S. Lieberman, *Midrash Devarim Rabbah*, 3rd ed., Jerusalem 1974.
- Eccl. Rab.** = Kohelet Rabbah, standard printed edition, Vilna 1878, (וילנא תרל"ח).
- Exod. Rab.** = Shemot Rabbah, 1st section (Parashot 1–14), ed. by A. Shinan, Tel Aviv: Devir 1984; 2nd section, ed. A. Mirkin, Tel Aviv: Yavneh 1960.
- Lam. Rab.** = Eikhah Rabbah, standard printed edition, Vilna 1875 (וילנא תרל"ח).
- Lev. Rab.** = VaYikra Rabbah, ed. M. Margulies, 5 vols., 3rd ed., Jerusalem 1993.
- M.** = Mishnah, standard printed edition.
- Mek.** = Mekhilta de-Rabbi Ishmael, eds. H. S. Horovitz and I. A. Rabin, Frankfurt 1931, 2nd ed. Jerusalem 1960; English trans. by J. Lauterbach, 3 vols., Philadelphia 1933–35.
- Mek.R.S.** = Mekhilta de R. Shimon b. Yoḥai, ed. D. Hoffman, Frankfurt 1905.
- Midrash Aggadah**, (from the school of R. Moshe HaDarshan), ed. S. Buber, Jerusalem 1971.
- Midr. Pss.** = Midrash on Psalms (*Midrash Tehillim* or *Shoḥer Tov*), Hebrew: ed. S. Buber, Vilna 1891. Repr. Jerusalem 1965.
- Midr. Prov.** = Midrash Mishlei, ed. S. Buber, Vienna 1893. Repr. Jerusalem 1965.
- MHG** = Midrash HaGadol, ed. M. Margulies, Jerusalem, 1956.
- Num. Rab.** = BaMidbar Rabbah, standard printed edition, Vilna 1875 (וילנא תרל"ה).
- Pes.R.** = Pesiqta Rabbati, ed. M. Ish Shalom, Tel Aviv, 1951.
- P.R.K.** = Pesiqta de-Rab Kahana, ed. B. Mandelbaum, 2 vols., New York, 1962; English trans. by W. G. Braude and I. J. Kapstein, Philadelphia, 1975.

- S.E.R.** = Seder Eliyahu Rabbah [also *Tanna de'bei Elyahu*], including Seder Eliyahu Zutta, **S.E.Z.**, and **P.Y.**, *Pirqei Yeridot*, ed. M. Ish Shalom, Vienna 1902. Repr. 3rd ed., Jerusalem: Wahrmann 1969.
- Seder Rab Amram Ga'on**, ed. D. Hedegård, Jerusalem 1951.
- Sifre Deut.** = Sifre Devarim ed. A. Finkelstein, Berlin 1939. Repr. New York, 1969.
- Sifre Num.** = Sifre BaMidbar [also *Siphre D'be Rab*], ed. Horowitz, Leipzig 1917, 2nd ed. Jerusalem, 1966.
- Sifra** [*Siphre D'be Rab*], or *Sefer Torat Kohanim* (on Leviticus) ed. A. Finkelstein, A., New York, 1989.
- S.O.R.** = Sedor Olam Rabbah, ed. Leiner, Warsaw 1905 (מהדורת ליינר, (ורשא תרס"ה).
- T.** = Tosefta, ed. Lieberman, New York, 1950, also **TSK** = *Tosefta ki-feshutah*, S. Lieberman, 12 vols., New York, 1962.
- Tanhuma** = *Midrash Tanhuma-Yelammedenu*, 1st ed., Constantinople (Kushta), 1520–1522, and the standard printed edition, republished Jerusalem, 1971; English trans. S. A. Berman, Hoboken, NJ: Ktav Publishing House, 1996.
- TanhumaB** = *Midrash Tanhuma HaKadum ve'haYashan*, ed. S. Buber, S., Vienna 1885. English trans. J. T. Townsend, *Midrash Tanhuma*, Hoboken, NJ: Ktav Publishing House, Inc., 1989–2003 (3 Vols.).
- Tg. Ps.-J.** = Targum-Pseudo-Jonathan (also know as the *Targum Yerushalmi* on the Torah), ed. E. G. Clarke, Hoboken, NJ: Ktav Publishing House, Inc., 1984.
- y.** = Palestinian Talmud, standard printed edition, Venice 1523.
- Yalkut** = Yalkut Shimoni, ed. I. Shiloni, Mosad HaRav Kook, Jerusalem, 1977.
- Yannai**, *Maḥzor Yannai* (The Liturgical Poems of Rabbi Yannai according to the Triennial Cycle of the Pentateuch and the Holidays), ed. Zvi Meir Rabinowitz, Jerusalem: Bialik, 1985.

EDITIONS OF PIRQE DE-RABBI ELIEZER (PRE)
AND MANUSCRIPTS

The standard text quoted will be based on the 2nd edition, unless otherwise noted. All the English translations are my own, unless otherwise noted.

1'ד, or 1st ed., Constantinople 1514, based on the manuscript from L. Barth's website: <http://www.usc.edu/projects/pre-project/graphics/index-04.html>, which also appears at the back of the new edition: ספר פרקי דרבי אליעזר, זכרון אהרון: ירושלים, תשס"ה. D. Börner-Klein uses it as the basis for the bilingual Hebrew-German edition, Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2004, with reference to the 2nd printed ed. and Warsaw 1852 in the footnotes.

2'ד, or 2nd ed., Venice 1544.

Radal, Warsaw 1852, with the commentary of R. David Luria. Repr. Jerusalem 1963.

Friedlander, Pirke = G. Friedlander's English translation with annotations, based on a manuscript that belonged to Abraham Epstein of Vienna,¹ *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer*, [first edition, London: 1916], fourth edition, New York: Sepher-Hermon Press, 1981.

Higger (מהדורת היגער):

היגער מ', פרקי דרבי אליעזר מהדורת היגער, ניו יורק, ירושלים: חורב (1944–1948).

Horowitz (רח"מ הורביץ), the so-called 'critical edition', with suggest corrections to the 2nd ed., reproduced in facsimile form Jerusalem: Mevor 1972.

כתבי יד, ומהדורות של פרד"א

ענעלאו 866 ניו יורק = א' (כתב היד המופיע ב"אקדמיה ללשון

העברית) [טרייטל ת1] En866

דפוס ראשון קושתא 1514 = ד'1 [טרייטל ד'1] first edition

דפוס וונציה 1544 = ד'2 second edition

דפוס וורשא 1852 = מהדורת רד"ל. Radal

פריס 710/16 = פ' [טרייטל מ1] Paris

להמן ניו יורק 24645 = ל' [טרייטל ת2] Lehman

וורשא 2405 = ו' [טרייטל א1] Warsaw

סינסינטי HUC = 75 ס'1 [טרייטל ס'1] Ci75

¹ The Epstein manuscript is not included in Barth's list of manuscripts: <http://www.usc.edu/dept/huc-la/pre-project/agendas.html>; he suggests that it may have not have survived WWII (Barth, 1999: 19 n. 15). It is, nevertheless, very similar to the base manuscript used by Higger ('כ"י ק').

As found on Barth's website: <http://www.usc.edu/projects/pre-project/graphics/index-04.html>

Ci2043 [טרייטל ת5] 2'ס = 2043 HUC סינסינטי

Also found on Barth's website: <http://www.usc.edu/projects/pre-project/graphics/index-05.html>

קזנטנוזה 2858 = ק' or 1'ק' (כ"י ב' במהדורת היגער) [טרייטל א4],
ק'2 (כ"י א' למהדורת היגער), ק'3 (כ"י ג' למהדורת היגער) Ca2858

The first, 1'ק' (or more often simply 'ק'), is the source for the edition of *Proyekt Ha'shut*, the Bar Ilan Database. Higger's version of the first three chapters (originally published by Horowitz) presents three manuscripts in parallel; the following chapters present only one, 1'ק', with alternative versions in the footnotes, 2'ק' and 3'ק'.

TRANSLATIONS OF THE BIBLE

All the translations of the Hebrew Bible (also referred to in the body of the work as are my own, unless otherwise indicated. But the NJPS translation (Philadelphia 1985) was used extensively. Others short forms include

NRSV = New Revised Standard Version 1989

NEB = *The New English Bible* (the Old and New Testament with the Apocrypha), 2nd ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970.

RSV = Revised Standard Version

MT = Masoretic text of Scripture

LXX = The Septuagint with Apocrypha: Greek and English, Grand Rapids, Mi: Zondervan Publishing House, 9th printing 1982.

Vulgate = *Biblia Sacra: iuxta Vulgatam versionem*, Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1983.

ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN TEXTS, THE NEW TESTAMENT,
APOCRYPHA AND PSEUDEPIGRAPHA

- ANET** = *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, Ed. J. B. Pritchard, 3rd ed., Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969.
- Charlesworth OTP** = *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. by James H. Charlesworth, 2 vols., New York: Doubleday, 1983 and 1985.
- L.A.B.** = *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* (also known as Pseudo-Philo's *Biblical Antiquities*) translated from the Latin by D. J. Harrington, in Charlesworth OTP, 2: 304–377.
- Vita** = *The Life of Adam and Eve*, translated from the Latin by Gary Anderson in *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*, ed. Anderson G. and Stone, M., 2nd revised edition, Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999.
- ApMos** = The Apocalypse of Moses, translated from the Greek by M. D. Johnson, in Charlesworth OTP, vol. 1, pp. 259–295, compared with Johannes Tromp, *The Assumption of Moses: A Critical Edition with Commentary*, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1993.
- Jubilees** (or **Jub.**) = translated from the Ethiopic by O. S. Wintermute, in Charlesworth, OTP, 2: 52–142; compared with the version edited and translated by James C. VanderKam, Lovanii: E. Peeter, 1989.
- 1 Enoch** (or **1 En.**) = translated from the Ethiopic by E. Isaac, in Charlesworth, OTP, vol. 1, pp. 13–89; compared with M. A. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2 vols., Oxford: Clarendon, 1978; J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch – Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976.

REFERENCE AIDS

- Arukh** = *Aruch Completum*, Kohut A., Berlin: Menorah, 1926.
- B.D.B.** = *A Hebrew Lexicon of the Old Testament*, ed. Francis Bow, S. R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs, Oxford, 1907.
- Sokoloff** = *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period*, 2nd ed., Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan University Press, 2002.
- The Anchor Bible Dictionary**, ed. D. N. Freedman, New York: Doubleday, 1992.
- Ben Yehuda, Milon** (מילון הלשון העברית), *A Complete Dictionary of Ancient and Modern Hebrew*, by Eliezer Ben Yehuda, New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1959.

- EJ = *Encyclopedia Judaica*, Jerusalem: Keter Publishing Ltd., 1971.
Ginzberg, Legends = Louis Ginzberg *Legends of the Jews*, 7 Vols., Philadelphia, 1908–38.
Stith Thompson Motif Index = Thompson, S. *Motif Index of Folk Literature*, Bloomington: Indiana U. Press, 1956.
Jastrow = M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi and the Midrashic Literature*, 2 vols., London and New York, 1903. Repr. New York: Judaica Press Inc., 1992).
JE = *Jewish Encyclopedia*, New York and London: Funk and Wagnalls Co., 1905.
EI = *Encyclopedia of Islam*, Leiden: Brill, 1999.

LIST OF SHORT FORMS FOR JOURNALS

AJSR	Association of Jewish Studies Review
CCAR Journal	Central Conference of American Rabbis Journal
DSD	Dead Sea Discoveries
HTR	Harvard Theological Review
HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JBQ	Jewish Bible Quarterly
JJSt	Journal of Jewish Studies
JJTP	Journal of Jewish Thought and Philosophy
JQR	Jewish Quarterly Review
JSOT	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament
JSQ	Jewish Studies Quarterly
JSS	Journal of Semitic Studies
PAAJR	Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research
SBLSP	Society of Biblical Literature: Seminar Papers
ZAW	Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, Berlin

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ackerman, J. S.
1981 "Satire and Symbolism in the Song of Jonah," in *Traditions in Transformation*, eds. B. Halpern and J. Levenson (Eisenbrauns: Winona Lake, Inc.), 213–246.
- Adelman, R.
2003 "Re-creating Eve," in *Traditions and Celebrations for the Bat Mitzvah*, ed. O. Wiskind Elper (Jerusalem and New York: Urim Publications), 161–172.
2008 "The Poetics of Time and Space in the Midrashic Narrative: The Case of *Pirkei deRabbi Eliezer*," (Ph.D. Diss., Hebrew University)
Forthcoming "Midrash, Myth, and Bakhtin's Chronotope: The Itinerant Well and the Foundation Stone in *Pirke de-Rabbi Eliezer*," *JJTP*.
- Adler, E. N.
1896 "Ms. Of the Haftaras of the Triennial Cycle," *JQR* 8: 527–528.
- Albeck, H.
1966/7 *Midrash Breshit Rabbati*, Jerusalem: Mekitse nirdamim.
- Alexander, P. S.
1972 "The Targumim and Early Exegesis of 'Sons of God' in Genesis 6," *JJSt* 23: 61–71.
1983 "3 (Hebrew Apocalypse of) Enoch," in *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* 2 vols., ed. J. H. Charlesworth (New York: Doubleday), 1: 223–251.
1988 "Retelling the Old Testament," in *It is Written – Scripture Citing Scripture; Essays in Honour of Barnabas Lindars*, eds. D. A. Carson and H. G. M. Williamson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 99–121.
1992 "The Fall into Knowledge: the Garden of Eden – Paradise in Gnostic Literature," in *A Walk in the Garden*, eds. P. Morris and D. Sawyer (Sheffield: JSOT Press), 91–104.
- Alter, R.
1981 *The Art of Biblical Narrative* (New York: Basic Books)
- Altmann, A.
1981 "The Gnostic Background of the Rabbinic Adam Legends," in *Essays in Jewish Intellectual History* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England), 1–16.
- Anderson, G. A.
1989 "Celibacy or Consummation in the Garden? Reflections on Early Jewish and Christian Interpretations of the Garden of Eden," *HTR* 82, 2: 121–148.
1997 "The Exaltation of Adam and the Fall of Satan," in *JJTP* 6: 105–134.
2001a "The Garments of Skin in Apocryphal Narrative and Biblical Commentary," in *Studies in Ancient Midrash*, ed. James Kugel (Cambridge: Harvard University Press), 101–143.
2001b *The Genesis of Perfection* (Louisville, London and Leiden: Westminster John Knox Press)
- Anderson, G. A., and Stone, M., eds.
1999 *A Synopsis of the Book of Adam and Eve*, 2nd ed. (Atlanta: Scholars Press)

- Anderson, G. A., Stone, M., and Tromp, J., eds.
2000 *Literature on Adam and Eve: Collected Essays* (Leiden: E. J. Brill)
- Anderson, G. K.
1965 *The Legend of the Wandering Jew* (Providence: Brown University Press)
- Apollodorus
1921 *The Library*, trans. by Sir James Frazer (Cambridge: Harvard University Press)
- Aptowitz, V.
1927 *Parteipolitik der Hasmonäerzeit im rabbinischen und pesudepigraphischen Schrifttum* (Vienna: Verlag der Kohut-Foundation)
- Auerbach, E.
1957 *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*, trans. Willard R. Trask (New York: Doubleday)
- Ayali, M.
1994 "Eliyahu me-heikhan b'a: yihuso u-motza'o shel eliyahu ha-navi be-drashot Hazal," [Where does Elijah come from: his genealogy and origins in rabbinic homilies] in *Tur'a* 3: 43–66.
- Bachelard, G.
1964 *The Psychoanalysis of Fire*, trans. A. Moss (Boston: Beacon Press)
- Bacher, W.
1892–1899 *Die Agada der Palästinensischen Amoräer*, 3 vols. (Strassburg: K. J. Trübner)
- Bakhtin, M. M.
1981 "Forms of Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel," in *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, ed. Michael Holquist; trans. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press), 84–258.
1984 *Problems of Dostoevsky's poetics*, trans. Caryl Emerson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press)
- Bal, M.
1997 *Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press)
- Bamberger, B. J.
1952 *Fallen Angels* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society)
- Barker, M.
1980 *Reflections on the Enoch Myth*, JSOT Supplement 15: 14–15.
- Barth, L.
1987 "Lecture on the Second Day of Rosh Hashanah: A Homily Containing the Legend of the Ten Trials," *HUCA* LVIII: 1–48.
1996 "Electronic Edition of the Midrash Pirke Rabbi Eliezer: Creating an Encoding Manual," ALLC-ACH '96: Conference Abstracts (University of Bergen: Norway, June 25–29, 1996)
1997 "The Ban and The 'Golden Plate': Interpretation in *Pirke D'Rabbi Eliezer* 38," in *The Quest for Context and Meaning*, eds Craig A. Evans and Shemaryahu Talmon (Leiden: E. J. Brill), 625–640.
1999 "Is Every Medieval Hebrew Manuscript a New Composition? The Case of *Pirke Rabbi Eliezer*," in *Agenda for the Study of Midrash in the 21st Century*, ed. Marc Lee Raphael (Williamsburg, Virginia: 1999), pp. 43–62, re-published as: <http://www.usc.edu/dept/huc-la/pre-project/agendas.html>.
- Bauckham, R.
1992 "Descent to the Underworld," in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, 6 vols. ed. D. N. Freedman (New York: Doubleday), 2: 145–159.

- Bergson, H.
1956 *Laughter*, trans. from the French, *Le Rire*, by Cloudeley Brereton and Fred Rothwell, in *Comedy*, ed. Wylie Sypher (New York: Doubleday), 61–190.
- Berkovits, E.
1973 *Faith after the holocaust* (New York: Ktav Pub. House)
- Bernstein, M.
1999 “Pseudepigraphy in the Qumran Scrolls: Categories and Functions,” in *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives – The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. E. Chazon and M. Stone (Leiden: E. J. Brill), 1–26.
2005 “‘Rewritten Bible’: A Generic Category which has outlived its usefulness?” *Textus* 22: 169–196.
- Bickerman, E.
1967 *Four Strange Books of the Bible* (New York: Schocken Books)
- Blau, L.
1905 “Soferim (Scribes – the Talmudic treatise),” in *JE*, ed. Isidore Singer (London: Funk and Wagnalls Co.), 11: 426–428.
- Blenkinsopp, J.
2000 *Isaiah 1–39*, The Anchor Bible Series (New York: Doubleday)
- Bloom, H.
1997 *The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press)
- Boccaccini, G.
1998 *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis: The Parting of the Ways between Qumran and Enochic Judaism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans)
- Börner-Klein, D.
2004 *Pirke de-Rabbi Elieser: Nach der Edition Venedig 1544, unter Berücksichtigung der Edition Warschau 1852* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter)
- Boyarin, D.
1990 *Intertextuality and The Reading of Midrash* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press)
1993 *Carnal Israel – Reading Sex in Talmudic Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press)
- Bregman, M.
1981 “The Triennial Haftarat and the Perorations of the Midrashic Homilies,” *JJSt* 32: 74–84.
1982 “*Temunat ha-’ayal be-tziur ha-’aqedah be-tzirfat ha-pesifas mi-beit ’alf’a*,” [The Depiction of the Ram in the *Aqedah* Mosaic at Beit Alpha] *Tarbiz* 51, 2: 306–309.
1999 “Pseudepigraphy in Rabbinic Literature,” in *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives – The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. E. Chazon and M. Stone (Leiden: E. J. Brill), 27–41.
- Brock, S., (ed. and trans.)
1990 *St. Ephrem the Syrian: Hymns on Paradise* (Crestwood N.Y.: St. Valdimir’s Press)
- Brooke, G. J.
2000 “Rewritten Bible” in the *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. L. H. Schiffman and J. C. VanderKam (New York: Oxford University of Press), 2: 777–781.
2002 “The Rewritten Law, Prophets and Psalms: Issues for Understanding the Text of the Bible,” in *The Bible as Book: The Hebrew Bible and the Judaean Desert Discoveries*, eds. Edward D. Herbert and Emanuel Tov (London, New Castle and Grand Haven: The British Library & Oak Knoll Press in association with The Scriptorium: Center for Christian Antiquities), 31–41.

- Browne, Sir Thomas
1906 *The Religio Medici* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd.)
- Broyde, I.
1903 "Eliezer (Lieber) ben Hyrcanus," in *JE* ed. Isidore Singer (London: Funk and Wagnalls Co.), 5: 113–115.
- Buber, M.
1988 *Eclipse of God* (Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press International)
- Büchler, A.
1894 "The Triennial Reading of the Law and the Prophets," *JQR* 6: 1–73.
- Cassuto, Umberto
1961 *Commentary on Genesis – Part One, From Adam to Noah*, Jerusalem: Magnes Press.
1973–75 "The Israelite Epic," in *Biblical and Oriental Studies*, 2 vols., trans. Israel Abrahams (Jerusalem: Magnes Press), 2: 69–109.
- Charles, R. H.
1917 *The Book of Enoch*, trans. from the Ethiopic (London: S.P.C.K.)
1972 *The Book of Jubilees*, trans. from the Ethiopic text, with introduction, notes and indices, London, 1902. Repr. 1972 (Jerusalem: Makor)
- Civil, M.
1969 *The Sumerian Flood Story*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cohen, G. D.
1968 "Esau as Symbol in Early Medieval Thought," in *Jewish Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, ed. A. Altmann (Cambridge Ma: Harvard University Press), 19–48.
- Cohen, L.
1898 "Apocryphal Work Ascribed to Philo of Alexandria," *JQR* 10: 277–332.
- Cohen, N. J.
1981 "Structure and Editing in the Homiletic Midrashim," *AJS Review* 6: 5–6.
- Cohen, P.
1969 "Theories of Myth," *Man* 4: 337–353.
- Cohen Stuart, G. H.
1984 *The Struggle in Man Between Good and Evil: An Inquiry into the Origin of the Rabbinic Concept of Yeşer Hara'* (Kampen: J. H. Kok)
- Cohon, S.
1948 "Original Sin," *HUCA* XXI: 275–330.
- Collins, J. J.
1979 *Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre*, *Semeia* 14 (Missoula MT: Scholars Press)
1997 *Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age* (Louisville, Ky: Westminster John Knox Press)
1998 *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids, Mi: Eerdmans)
- Cover, Robert M.
1983 "Nomos and Narrative," *97 Harvard Law Review* 4–68.
- Daiches, S.
1913 *Babylonian Oil Magic in the Talmud and in Later Jewish Literature*, London 1913. Repr. in *Three Works of Ancient Jewish Magic*, eds. and trans. Moses Gaster and Samuel Daiches (London: Chthonios Books, 1986).
- Dan, J.
1963 "Sarei kos ve-sarei bohen," [The Princes of Thumb and Cup] *Tarbiz* 32: 359–69 (Heb.)
1974 *Ha-sipur ha-ivri be-yamei ha-beinayim* (Jerusalem: Keter) (Heb.)
1976 "The Desert in Jewish Mysticism: The Kingdom of Samael," *Ariel* 40: 38–43.
1980 "Samael, Lillith, and the Concept of Evil in Early Kabbalah," *AJS Review* 5: 17–40.

- 1998 "Samael and the problem of Jewish Gnosticism," in *Perspectives on Jewish Thought and Mysticism*, eds. Alfred L. Ivry, Elliot R. Wolfson, and Allan Arkush (Amsterdam: Academic Pub.), 257–276.
- Day, J.
1985 *God's Conflict with the Dragon and the Sea* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press)
1992 "Leviathan," in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, 6 vols. ed. D. N. Freedman (New York: Doubleday), 4:295–297.
- Day, P.
1988 *An Adversary in Heaven: Satan in the Hebrew Bible* (Atlanta: Scholars Press)
- Delcor, M.
1976 "Le Mythe de la chute des anges et l'origine des geants comme explication du mal dans le monde dans l'apocalyptique juive: Histoire des traditions," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 190: 3–53.
- Derenbourg, J.
1975 "Essai sur l'histoire et la géographie de la Palestine d'après les thalmuds et les autres sources rabbiniques" (Paris, 1867). Repr. 1975 (Hildesheim: Gerstenberg)
- Dimant, D.
1974 "'The Fallen Angels' in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphic Books Related to Them," Ph.D. Diss., Hebrew University (Heb.)
1978 "1 Enoch 6–11: A Methodological Perspective," *SBLSP* 13, 1: 323–339.
- Dundes, A., (ed.)
1984 *Sacred Narratives: Reading in the Theory of Myth* (Berkeley: University of California Press)
- Eagleton, T.
1990 "J. L. Austin and the Book of Jonah," in *The Book and the Text*, ed. Regina Schwartz (Oxford: Basil & Blackwell), 231–36.
1996 *Literary Theory – An Introduction*, 2nd ed. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press)
- Edelman, R.
1986 "Ahasuerus, the Wandering Jew: Origin and Background," in *The Wandering Jew*, eds. G. Hasan-Rokem and A. Dundes (Bloomington: Indiana University Press), 1–10.
- Elbaum, J.
1986a "From Sermon to Story: The Transformation of the Akedah," *Prooftexts* 6, 2:97–116.
1986b "'Od 'al aggadot ha'aqedah," *Jerusalem Studies in Hebrew Literature* 9: 341–356. (Heb.)
1986 "On the Character of the Late Midrashic Literature," *Proceedings of the Ninth World Congress of Jewish Studies* 4 vols. (Jerusalem: World Congress of Jewish Studies), 3: 57–62. (Heb.)
1992 "*Ha-melitzah, ha-motif, ve-ha-'inyan: le-derekh 'itzuv shel ha-sipur be-Pirque de-Rabbi Eliezer*," [Rhetoric, Motif and Subject-Matter-Toward an Analysis of Narrative Technique in Pirke de-Rabbi Eliezer] in *Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Folklore* 13/14: 99–126. (Heb.)
1996 "*Meshihiut be-Pirque de-Rabbi Eliezer – Apoqalipsa u-Midrash*," in *Te'udah* 11: 245–266.
- Elbogen, I.
1993 *Jewish Liturgy – A Comprehensive History*, trans. R. P. Scheindlin, based on the 1913 German ed. and the 1972 Hebrew ed. (Philadelphia and Jerusalem: Jewish Publication Society)
- Eliade, M.
1958 *Patterns in Comparative Religion* (New York: Sheed and Ward, Inc.)

- 1963 *Myth and Reality* (New York: Harper & Row)
- 1965 *The Myth of Eternal Return* (or, *Cosmos and History*) (Princeton: Princeton University Press)
- Eshel, E.
1999 *Demonology in Palestine during the Second Temple Period* (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University of Jerusalem) (Heb.)
- Eshel, H.
2007 "The Damascus Document's 'three nets of Belial': a reference to the 'Aramaic Levi Document'?" in *Heavenly Tablets; Interpretation, Identity, and Tradition in Ancient Judaism*, ed. L. LiDonnici and A. Lieber (Leiden: E. J. Brill), 243–255.
- 2003 "'Arba'at Mizmorim Alef Betayim," in *Ve-zot le-Yehudah – meḥkerim be-toledot erez yisrael ve-yishuvah mugashim le-Yehudah ben Porat*, ed. Y. ben Aryeh and E. Reiner (Jerusalem: Yad ben Tzvi), 39–56. (Heb.)
- Eshkoli, A. Z.
1987 *Ha-tenu'ot ha-meshiḥiyyot be-yisrael* (Jerusalem: Mosad Bialik) (Heb.)
- Fackenheim, Emil L.
1999 *God's Presence in History* (Northvale: N.J.: Jason Aronson).
- Faiersstein, M.
1981 "Why do Scribes say that Elijah must come first," *JBL* 100 1: 75–86.
- Fernández, Pérez M.
1984 *Los Capítulos de Rabbi Eliezer*, Valencia.
- 1986 *Berith: En memoria del profesor Alejandro Díez Macho*, ed. D. Muñoz León (Madrid 1986), 471–87.
- 1987 "Sobre los textos mesiánicos del Targum Pseudo-Jonatán y del Midrás Pirqué de Rabbí Eliezer," *Estudios Bíblicos* 45, 1–2: 39–55.
- Finesinger, Sol
1937–38 "The Custom of Looking at the Fingernails at the Outgoing of the Sabbath," *HUCA* XII–XIII: 347–365.
- Finkelstein, L.
1981 "Akiba, Scholar Saint and Martyr," Philadelphia 1936. Repr. 1981 (New York: Atheneum)
- Firestone, R.
1990 *Journeys in Holy Lands* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press)
- 1991 "Difficulties in Keeping a Beautiful Wife: The Legend of Abraham and Sarah in Jewish and Islamic Tradition," *JJSt* 42: 196–214.
- 1991 "Abraham's Association with the Meccan Sanctuary and the Pilgrimage in the Pre-Islamic and Early Islamic Periods," *Le Museon Revue d'Etudes Orientales* 104: 365–393.
- 2001 "Abraham," in *Encyclopedia of the Qur'an*, ed. J. D. McAuliffe (Leiden: E. J. Brill), 1: 5–10.
- Fisch, H.
1980 "Elijah and the Wandering Jew," in *Rabbi Joseph H. Lookstein Memorial Volume*, ed. Leo Landman (New York: Ktav Pub. House), 125–135.
- Fishbane, M.
1979 *Text and Texture* (New York: Schocken Books)
- 1991 "The Holy One Sits and Roars': Mythopoesis and the Midrashic Imagination," *JJTP* 1: 1–21.
- 1998 *The Exegetical Imagination in Jewish Thought and Theology* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press)
- 2003 *Biblical Myth and Rabbinic Mythmaking* (Oxford: Oxford University Press)
- Fleischer, E.
1969 "The Diffusion of the Qedushshot of the 'Amidah and the Yozer in the Palestinian Jewish Ritual," *Tarbiz* 38: 255–284. (Heb.)

- 1984 "Hadutah, Hadutahu, Hedvet'a," *Tarbiz* 53: 71–96. (Heb.)
- 1985 "Le-pitaron she'elat zmano u-makom pe'iluto shel R. Elazar birabbi Qilir" ["Solving the Qiliri Riddle"], *Tarbiz* 54: 383–427. (Heb.)
- 1990 "Piyut ve-tefilah be-mahzor eretz Yisrael – Codex Genizah," *Kiriyat Sefer* 63: 207–262. (Heb.)
- Fokkelman, J.
- 1975 *Narrative Art in Genesis: Specimens of Stylistic and Structural Analysis* (Assen: Van Gorcum)
- 1986 *Narrative Art and Poetry in The Books of Samuel – The Crossing of Fates*, vol. 2 (Assen: Van Gorcum)
- Forsyth, N.
- 1987 *The Old Enemy – Satan and the Combat Myth* (Princeton: Princeton University Press)
- Fraade, S. D.
- 1978 *The Generation of Enoch* (Chico Ca: Scholars Press)
- 1987 "Interpreting Midrash 1: Midrash and the History of Judaism," *Proof-texts* 7: 178–194.
- 2005 "Nomos and Narrative Before *Nomos and Narrative*," *Yale Journal of Law and Humanities* 17, 1: 81–96.
- 2006 "Rewritten Bible and Rabbinic Midrash as Commentary," in *Current Trends in the Study of Midrash*, ed. Carol Bakhos (Leiden: E. J. Brill), 59–78.
- Fraenkel, Y.
- 1981 "Remarkable Phenomena in the Text-History of the Aggadic Stories," in *Proceedings of the Seventh World Congress of Jewish Studies* (4 vols.; Jerusalem: World Congress of Jewish Studies), 3: 67–69. (Heb.)
- 1991 *Darkhei ha'aggadah u-ha-midrash*, 2 vols. (Givatayim: Yad le-talmud) (Heb.)
- 1997 *Midrash ve-aggadah* (Tel Aviv: Open University) (Heb.)
- Frazer, J. G.
- 1919 *Folklore in the Old Testament*, 3 vols. (London: Macmillan & Co.)
- 1963 *The Golden Bough*, 11 vols. (New York: Macmillan & Co.)
- Friedlander, G.
- 1981 *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer*, [first ed., London 1916], fourth ed. (New York: Sepher-Hermon Press)
- Friedlander, I.
- 1910–1913 "Jewish-Arabic Studies," *JQR* 1: 183–215; 2: 481–517; 3: 235–300.
- Fromm, E.
- 1951 *The Forgotten Language: an Introduction to the Understanding of Dreams, Fairy Tales, and Myths* (New York: Grove)
- Frye, N.
- 1971 "The Mythos of Winter: Irony and Satire," in *Satire: Modern Essays in Criticism*, ed. by Ronald Paulson (Engelwood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall Inc.), 233–248.
- Garb, J.
- 2004 "Ritual ve-Mitos," [Power, Ritual, and Myth – a Comparative Methodological Proposal] in *ha-Mitos be-Yahadut: historyah, hagut, sifrut* [Myths in Judaism – History, Thought, Literature] ed. Moshe Idel and Itamar Gruenwald (Jerusalem: The Zalman Center for Jewish History), 53–74. (Heb.)
- Gaster, T. H.
- 1969 *Myth Legend and Custom in the Old Testament* (New York: Harper & Row) "Myth and Story," in *Sacred Narratives, Readings in the Theory of Myth*, ed. Alan Dundes, Berkley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1984, pp. 110–136.

- Geertz, C.
1973 *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic)
- Geiger, A.
1970 *Judaism and Islam*, 1st ed. Leipzig 1902. Repr. in 1970 (New York: Ktav Pub. House)
- Gil, M.
A History of Palestine (634–1099), trans. from the Hebrew by Ethel Broido (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)
- Gilat, Y.
1984 *R. Eliezer ben Hyrcanus – A Scholar Outcast* (Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan University Press)
1968 *Mishnato shel Rabbi Eliezer ben Hyrcanos: u'mekoma be-toledot ha-halakhah* (Tel Aviv: Devir) (Heb.)
- Ginzberg, L.
1919 *Mahzor Yannai: A Liturgical Work of the 7th c.*, eds. Israel Davidson and L. Ginzberg (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary)
1928 *The Legends of the Jews*, 7 vols., trans. Henrietta Szold (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society)
1929 *Genizah Studies in Memory of Doctor Solomon Schechter*, ed. Louis Ginzberg (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary)
1937 *Jewish Folklore: East and West* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press)
1976 *An Unknown Jewish Sect* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary)
- Goitein, S. D.
1979 "Meeting in Jerusalem: Messianic Expectations in the Letters of the Cairo Geniza" *AJS Review* 4: 43–57.
1999 "Kubbat al-Šakhra," in *EI* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1999), 5: 125–126.
- Goldberg, A.
1969 "Kain: Sohn des Menschen oder Sohn der Schlange?" *Judaica* 25: 203–221. Repr. in Arnon Goldberg. *Mystik und Theologie des rabbinischen Judentums. Gesammelte Studen I*, eds. M. Schlüter and P. Schäfer, P. 1997. [Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum 61] (Tübingen: Mohr), 275–288.
- Good, E. M.
1965 *Irony in the Old Testament* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press)
- Goodenough, E. R.
1953–1968 *Jewish Symbols in Greco-Roman Period*, 13 vols. (New York: Pantheon Books)
- Gordon, C. H.
1966 "Leviathan: Symbol of Evil," in *Biblical Motifs: Origins and Transformations*, ed. Alexander Altmann, Brandeis Texts and Studies (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press), 1–9.
- Goshen-Gottstein, A.
1995 "Is *Ma'aseh Breshit* part of Ancient Jewish Mysticism," *JJTP* 4, 2: 185–201.
1996 "The Myth of *Ma'aseh Bereshit*," in *Myth in Judaism*, ed. by H. Pedaya (Jerusalem: Mosad Bialik) (Heb.)
- Gottlieb, Z.
1944 "Targum Yonatan ben Uziel 'al ha-Torah," in *Melilah* 1:26–34 (Heb.)
- Graetz, H.
1859 "Die mystische Literatur in der gaonäischen Epoche," *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums* 8.
1905–06 *Geschichte der Juden von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart*, (Leipzig: Leiner)

- 1972 *Sefer Divrei Yamei Yisrael*, trans. S. P. Rabinowitz, 9 vols. (Jerusalem: Makor) (Heb.)
- Greenberg, M.
1983 *The Anchor Bible Ezekiel 1–20*, The Anchor Bible Series (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday)
- Grossman, A.
1983 “Aliya in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries,” *Jerusalem Katedra* 3: 174–187.
- Gruenwald, I.
1993 “Midrash and the ‘Midrashic Conditon’: Preliminary Considerations,” in *The Midrashic Imagination: Jewish Exegesis, Thought and History*, ed. Michael Fishbane (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press), 6–22.
2003 *Rituals and Ritual Theory in Ancient Israel* (Leiden: E. J. Brill).
2004 “*Mitos ve-emet historit*,” [Myths and Historical Truth – Can Myths be Shattered?] in *ha-Mitos be-Yahadut: historyah, hagut, sifrut* [Myths in Judaism – History, Thought, Literature] ed. Moshe Idel and Itamar Gruenwald (Jerusalem: The Zalman Center for Jewish History), 15–52. (Heb.)
- Grünbaum, M.
1898 *Neue Beitrage zur Semitischen Sagenkunde* (Leiden: E. J. Brill)
- Gunkel, H.
1897 *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht)
1964 *The Legends of Genesis: The Biblical Saga and History* (New York: Schocken)
- Haag, H. J.
1978 *Magisterarbeit, PIRQE DERABBI ELEI’EZER KAP 43: Aufbau und traditions-geschichtliche Analyse* (M.A. dissertation, University of Köln)
- Ha-Cohen, E.
1996 “*Imanta ta’al le-nimharim’ Qedushta Kilirit le-shabbat shuvah*,” *Kovez ‘al yad* 13:1–42. (Heb.)
- Halivni, D. W.
1991 *Peshat and Drash: Plain and Applied Meaning in Rabbinic Exegesis*, (New York: Oxford University Press)
- Halpern Amaru, B.
1999 *The Empowerment of Women in the Book of Jubilees*, Supp. *JSJ* 60 (Leiden: E. J. Brill)
- Handelman, S.
Forthcoming *Make Yourself a Teacher: The Mentor-Disciple Relation in Jewish Thought and Contemporary Criticism* (Seattle: University of Washington Press).
- Hanneken, T. R.
2006 “Angels and Demons in the Book of Jubilees and Contemporary Apocalypses,” *Henoah* 28: 14–18.
- Hanson, P. D.
1976 “Apocalypse, Genre” and “Apocalypticism,” in *The Interpreter’s Dictionary of the Bible: Supplementary Volume*, ed. by Keith Crim et al (Nashville: Abingdon Press), 27–34.
1979 *The Dawn of the Apocalyptic* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press)
1977 “Rebellion in Heaven: Azazel and Euhemeristic Heroes in I Enoch 6–11,” *JBL* 96/2: 195–233.

- Hartman, G. H. and Budick, S., eds.
 1986 *Midrash and Literature* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press)
- Hasan-Rokem, G.
 1993 "Withing Limits and Beyond: History and Body in Midrashic Texts," in *International Folklore Review* 9: 5–12.
 1999 "Communication with the Dead in Jewish Dream Culture," in *Dream Cultures*, eds. D. Shulman and G. Stroumsa (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 213–232.
- Hasson, I.
 1996 "The Muslim View of Jerusalem – the Quran and Hadith," in *The History of Jerusalem – The Early Muslim Period 638–1099*, eds. J. Prawer & H. Ben-Shammai (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi), 349–382.
- Havelin, S. Z.
 1994 "*Lehavanat yesodot darkei ha-limmud shel Hazal*," in *Mehkarim be-halakhah u-be-mahshevet Yisrael mugashim le-khvod ha-rav prof. Menahem Amuyal be-higiyo le-gvurot*," ed. M. Bar (Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan Univ. Press), 73–89. (Heb.)
- Hayman, A. P.
 1976 "Rabbinic Judaism and the Problem of Evil," in *Scottish Journal of Theology* 29: 461–76.
- Hayward, R.
 1978 "Phinehas – the same is Elijah; the origins of a Rabbinic tradition," *JJSt* 29: 22–34.
 1989 "Targum Pseudo-Jonathan and Anti-Islamic Polemic," *JSS* 34: 77–93.
 1991 "Pirqe de Rabbi Eliezer and Targum Pseudo-Jonathan," *JJSt* 42: 215–146.
- Heinemann, I.
 1970 *Darkhei ha-Aggadah* [The Methods of Aggadah] (Jerusalem: Magnes Press) (Heb.)
- Heinemann, J.
 1966 *Ha-tefilah be-tekufat ha-tan'aim ve-ha-a'amor'aim* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press) (Heb.)
 1968 "The Triennial Lectionary Cycle," *JJSt* 19: 41–48.
 1973 "*David ha-melekh ve-hitpartzut mei tehom*," in *Mehkerei sifrut mugashim le-Shimon Halkin*, ed. E. Fleischer (Jerusalem: Magnes), 23–34. (Heb.)
 1974a *Aggadot ve-Toledotav* [Aggadah and Its Development] (Jerusalem: Keter) (Heb.)
 1974b "The Messiah of Ephraim and the Premature Exodus of Ephraim," *Tarbiz* 40: 450–461.
- Heller, B.
 1925 "Muhammedanisches und Antimuhammedanisches in des Pirkei Rabbi Eliezer," *Manatsschrift für Geschichichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 48: 47–54.
- Hendel, R.
 1987 "Of Demigods and the Deluge: Toward an Interpretation of Genesis 6:1–4," in *JBL* 106: 13–26.
- Henshke, D.
 2000 "*Le-mashma'o shel sefer Yonah ve-yahaso le-yom ha-kipurim*," *Megadim* 29:75–90. (Heb.)
- Herr, M. D.
 1971a "Pirqe de Rabbi Eliezer," *EJ* 16 vols. eds. Cecil Roth and Geoffrey Wigoder (Jerusalem: Keter), 13: 558–559.
 1971b "Pirkoi ben Baboi," in *EJ* 16 vols. eds. Cecil Roth and Geoffrey Wigoder (Jerusalem: Keter), 13: 559–560.
 1972 "Persecutions and Martyrdom in Hadrian Days," *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 13: 85–125.

- Heschel, A. B.
 1951a *Man is Not Alone* (New York: Harper & Row).
 1951b *The Sabbath: Its Meaning for Modern Man* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Young)
- Hesiod
 1973 *Theogony and Works and Days*, trans. by D. Wender, Middlesex and (New York: Penguin Books)
- Hill, A. E.
 1998 *Malachi – A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, The Anchor Bible Series (New York: Doubleday)
- Himmelfarb, M.
 1984 “R. Moses the Preacher and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriachs,” *AJS Review* 9: 55–78.
 1990 “Sefer Zerubbabel,” in *Rabbinic Fantasies*, ed. David Stern (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society), 67–90.
 1993 *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (Oxford: Oxford University Press)
 1994 “Some Echoes of Jubilees in Medieval Hebrew Literature,” in *Tracing the Threads: Studies in the vitality of Jewish Pseudepigrapha*, ed. J. C. Reeves (Albanta: Scholars Press), 115–141.
 2006 *A kingdom of priests: Ancestry and Merit in Ancient Judaism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press)
- Hirschberg, J. W.
 1951–52 “The Sources of the Moslem Traditions concerning Jerusalem” *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* XVII: 314–350.
- Hirshman, M.
 1988 “The Greek Fathers and the Aggada on Ecclesiastes: Formats of Exegesis in Late Antiquity,” *HUCA* 59: 138–65.
 1991 “The Preacher and His Public,” *JJSt* 42: 108–114.
- Holm-Nielsen, S.
 1960 *Hodayot: Psalms from Qumran* (Copenhagen: Copenhagen University)
- Horovitz, S. Y.
 1892 *Beit ‘Eked – ma’asaf ma’amarim, shirim, ve-sipurim*, Berditshov (Heb.)
- Idel, M.
 1990 “Enoch is Metatron,” *Immanuel* 24, 5: 220–240. Original Hebrew published in *Early Jewish Mysticism*, ed. J. Dan (Jerusalem: Magnes), 151–170.
 2004 “The Leviathan and his Partner: from Talmudic Myth to Kabbalistic Myth,” in *ha-Mitos be-Yahadut: historyah, hagut, sifrut* [Myths in Judaism – History, Thought, Literature] ed. Moshe Idel and Itamar Gruenwald (Jerusalem: The Zalman Center for Jewish History), 145–186. (Heb.)
- Ish Shalom, B.
 1986 “*Tanin, Leviatan, ve-nahash – le-pesharo motiv aggadi*,” in *Da’at* 19: 79–101. (Heb.)
- Ish Shalom, M.
 1969 *Seder Eliyahu Rabbah ve-Seder Eliyahu Zuta*, incl. “*Pirqe de-Rabbi Eliezer*,” and “*Pirqe ha-Yeridot*,” in the addenda (Jerusalem: Wahrmann) (Heb.)
 1969 “*Pirqe de-Rabbi Eliezer*,” in the addenda to *Seder Eliyahu Rabbah ve-Seder Eliyahu Zuta* (Jerusalem: Wahrmann), 26–50 (Heb.)
 1969 “*Pirqe ha-Yeridot*,” in the addenda to *Seder Eliyahu Rabbah ve-Seder Eliyahu Zuta* (Jerusalem: Wahrmann), 50–56 (Heb.)
- Jacobson, Y.
 2004 “The Concept of Evil and Its Sanctification in Kabbalistic Thought,” in *The Problem of Evil and Its Symbols in Jewish and Christian Tradition*, eds. Henning Graf Reventlow and Yair Hoffman, JSOT Supplement Series 366 (London: T. & T. Clark International), 97–121.

- James, M. R.
1971 *The Biblical Antiquities of Philo*, 1st ed. London 1917. Rev. and repr. (New York: Ktav Publishing House)
- Jellinek, A.
1938 "Adam-Prometheus" (in German), in *Beit ha-Midrash*, 5 vols. (Jerusalem: Wahrmann), xlvi–xlix.
- Jonas, Hans
1967 *The Gnostic Religion: The Message of the Alien god and the Beginnings of Christianity* (Boston: Beacon Press)
1987 "The concept of God after Auschwitz: a Jewish voice" *Journal of Religion* 67, 1: 1–13.
- Jonge, M. and Tromp, J.
1997 *The Life of Adam and Eve and Related Literature* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press)
- Kagan, Z.
1967 "Teivat Pandorah be-mitos ha-yavani u-be-aggadat yisrael," *Maḥanayim* 112: 130–135. (Heb.)
1971 "Divergent Tendencies and Their Literary Molding in the Aggadah," *Scripta Hierosolymitana (Studies in Aggadah and Folk-literature, Jerusalem)* XXII: 151–170.
- Kanarfogel, E.
2000 *Peering through the Lattices* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press)
- Kaufmann, Y. (or Ibn Shmuel)
1954 *Midreshei Ge'ulah*, Jerusalem: Mosad Bialik.
1937–1956 *The History of the Israelite Faith from Ancient Times to the End of the Second Temple Period* vol. 1–8 [Hebrew] (Tel Aviv: Mosad Bialik/Debir)
1972 *The Religion of Israel*, English abridgement by M. Greenberg (New York: Schocken)
- Kedari, T.
2002 "Midrash Teshuvat Yonah ha-Navi," *Kovetz 'al Yad* 16: 67–84. (Heb.)
- Kermode, F.
1966 *The Sense of an Ending*, Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1966.
- Kisch, G.
1949 *Pseudo-Philo's Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* (Notre Dame: Publications in Mediaeval Studies, the University of Notre Dame)
- Kister, M.
1988 "Legends in *Tafsir* and *Hadith* Literature: The Creation of Adam and Related Stories," in *Approaches to the History of the Interpretation of the Quran*, ed. A. Rippin (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 82–114.
1994 "Observations on Aspects of Exegesis, Tradition, and Theology in Midrash, Pseudepigrapha, and Other Jewish Writings," in *Tracing the Threads: Studies in the Vitality of Jewish Pseudepigrapha*, ed. by J. C. Reeves (Atlanta: Scholars Press), 1–34.
1998 *'Iyunim be-'Avot de-Rabbi Natan* (Jerusalem: Yad Yitzhak ben Zvi) (Heb.)
- Klausner, J.
1955 *The Messianic Idea in Israel*, trans. from the 3rd Hebrew ed. W. F. Stinespring (New York: The Macmillan Company)
- Kluger, R. S.
1967 *Satan in the Old Testament* (Evanston: Northwestern University)
- Knibb, M. A.
1978 *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press)

- 1982 "Prophecy and the Emergence of the Jewish Apocalypses," in *Israel's Prophetic Tradition: Essays in Honour of Peter Ackroyd*, eds. R. Coggins et al., (Cambridge, U.K.; New York: Cambridge University Press), 160-161.
- Knohl, I.
1979 "Qabalat qorbanot min ha-nokhrim," [The Acceptance of Sacrifice from the Gentiles] *Tarbiz* 48: 341-345. (Heb.)
- Koch, K.
1972 *The Rediscovery of the Apocalyptic*, trans. From the German by Margaret Kohl (London: S.C.M. Press)
- Kraeling, C. H.
1979 *The Synagogue* (New York: Ktav Pub. House)
- Krieger, M.
1979 "Poetic Presence and Illusion," *Critical Inquiry* 5: 601-602.
- Kugel, J.
1990 *In Potiphar's House* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press)
1997 *The Bible as it Was* (Cambridge and London: Belknap Press, 1997).
1998 *Traditions of the Bible* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press)
2007 *How to Read the Bible* (New York: Free Press)
- Kushner, H.
1980 *When Bad things Happen to Good People* (New York: Macmillan)
- Kvanvig, H. S.
2004 "Jubilees – Between Enoch and Moses: A Narrative Reading," *JSJ* 35, 3: 243-45.
- Lachs, S. T.
1965 "Serpent Folklore in Rabbinic Literature," in *Jewish Social Studies* 27: 167-184.
1974 "The Eve-Pandora Motif in Rabbinic Literature," *HTR* 67: 341-345.
- Lambden, S.
1992 "From Fig Leaves to Fingernails: Some Notes on the Garments of Adam and Eve in the Hebrew Bible and Select Early Post-Biblical Jewish Writings," in *A Walk in the Garden*, eds. P. Morris and D. Sawyer (Sheffield: JSOT Press), 74-90.
- Lambert, W. G. and Millard, A. R.
1999 *Atra-hasis: The Babylonian Story of the Flood*, with M. Civil, *The Sumerian Flood Story* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns)
- Landes, G. M.
1967a "The 'Three Days and Three Nights' Motif in Jonah 2:1," *JBL* 86: 446-450.
1967b "The Kerygma of the Book of Jonah: The contextual Interpretation of the Jonah Psalm," *Interpretation* 21: 3-31.
- Lasker, D.
2000 "The Jewish-Christian Debate in Transition: from the Lands of Ishmael to the Lands of Edom," in *Judaism and Islam: Boundaries, Communications, and Interaction* (essays in honor of William M. Brinner), eds. Benjamin H. Hary, John L. Hayes and Fred Astern (Leiden: E. J. Brill), 53-65.
- Leaman, O.
1995 *Evil and Suffering in Jewish Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)
- Levenson, J.
1985 *Sinai and Zion: An Entry into the Jewish Bible* (Minneapolis: Winston Press)
1988 *Creation and the Persistence of Evil* (San Francisco: Harper & Row)
1993 *The Death and Resurrection of the Beloved Son* (Yale, New Haven and London: Yale University Press)

- Levinas, E.
1990 "To Love the Torah more than God," in *Difficult Freedom – Essays on Judaism*, trans. by Seán Hand (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press), 142–145.
- Levine, B.
2000 *Numbers 21–36*, The Anchor Bible Series (New York: Doubleday)
- Levinson, J.
2004 "Dialogical Reading in the Rabbinic Exegetical Narrative," *Poetics Today* 25, 3: 497–528.
2005 *He-sipur she-lo supar* [The Twice Told Tale] (Jerusalem: Magnes Press) (Heb.)
- Lévi-Strauss, C.
1955 "The Structural study of myth," in *Journal of American Folklore* 68: 428–44.
1969 *The Raw and the Cooked* (New York: Harper & Row)
1972 *Structural Anthropology*, 2 vols. trans. Claire Jacobson and Brooke Grundfest Schoepf (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books)
- Lewis, B.
1988 "Hazon Apocalypiti 'al toledot ha-Islam," in 'Alei Historia – Qovetz Mehkharim, ed. R. Simon (Jerusalem: Yad ben Tzvi), 194–214.
- Lewis, T. J.
1990 "The Abode of the Dead," in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, 6 vols. ed. D. N. Freedman (New York: Doubleday), 2: 101–111.
- Licht, Y.
1996 *The Thanksgiving Scroll* (Jerusalem: Mosad Bialik) (Heb.)
- Lichtheim, M.
1980 *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 3 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press)
- Lieberman, S.
1962 *Tosefta ki-feshutah* 10 vols. (New York, Jewish Theological Seminary)
- Liebes, Y.
1982 *Peraqim be-milon sefer ha-zohar* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University Press) (Heb.)
1983/4 "Jonah as the Messiah ben Joseph," in *Studies in Jewish Thought* 3 1–2: 269–311. (Heb.)
1993a "De Natura Dei," in *Studies in Jewish Myth and Jewish Messianism*, in *Studies in the Zohar*, trans. Batya Stein (Albany: State University of New York Press), 1–64.
1993b "The Messiah of the Zohar: On R. Simeon bar Yohai as a Messianic Figure," in *Studies in the Zohar*, trans. Batya Stein (Albany: State University of New York Press), 1–84 and 163–193.
1993c "How the Zohar was Written," in *Studies in the Zohar*, trans. Batya Stein (Albany: State University of New York Press), 85–138 and 194–227.
- Livneh-Kafri, O.
1994 "'Tabur ha-aretz' ba-mesoret ha-Islam," *Qatedra* 69: 79–105.
- Loewenstamm, S.
1987 *Masoret yetsi'at Mitsrayim be-hishtalshelutah* [The Evolution of the Exodus Tradition] (Jerusalem: Magnes Press) (Heb.)
- Long, B.
1968 *The Problem of Etiological Narrative in The Old Testament* (Berlin: Verlag Alfred Töpelmann)
- Maccoby, Hyam
1986 "The Wandering Jew as Sacred Executioner," in *The Wandering Jew*, eds. G. Hasan-Rokem and A. Dundes (Bloomington: Indiana University Press), 236–260.
- Mack, H.
1992 "Kinato shel Pinhas ben Elazar ben Aharon ha-Cohen," *Maḥanayim* 5: 122–129. (Heb.)

- Mackie, J. L.
1990 "Evil and Omnipotence," *Mind* 64 (1955) 200–212. Repr. in *The Problem of Evil*, ed. M. M. Adams and R. M. Adams (Oxford Readings in Philosophy; Oxford: Oxford University Press 1990), 25–37.
- Maher, M.
1992 Targum Pseudo-Jonathan – Genesis, translated with introduction and notes (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark Ltd)
- Maimonides
1956 *Guide for the Perplexed*, trans. by M. Freidländer (New York: Dover Publications)
- Mann, J.
1966–1971 *The Bible as Read and Preached in the Old Synagogue* 2 vols. (New York: Ktav).
- Margulies, M.
1960 *Eliyahu ha-navi be-sifrut Yisrael* (Jerusalem: Kiriya Sefer) (Heb.)
- Martínez, García F.
2004 "Samma'el in Pseudo-Jonathan and the Origin of Evil," *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages* 30, 2: 19–41.
- Martone, C.
2004 "Evil or devil? 'Belial' between the Bible and Qumran," in *Henoch* 26, 2: 115–127.
- Martyn, J. L.
1976 "We have found Elijah," in *Jews, Greeks and Christians*, eds. R. Hamerton-Kelly and R. Scroggs (Leiden: E. J. Brill), 181–219.
- Meir, O.
1980 "*ha-Sipur ha-Darshani baMidrash Kadum u-Me'uḥar*," in *Sinai* 86: 246–266. (Heb.)
1987 *ha-Sipur ha-Darshani ba-Breshit Rabbah* (Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuchad) (Heb.)
- Meltzer, S.
1996 "The Midrash on Jonah as Represented in *Pirqa Rabbi Eliezer*," (Thesis submitted in Partial Fulfillment of Rabbinic Ordination, New York: Hebrew Union College)
- Miles, J. A.
1974–75 "Laughing at the Bible: Jonah as Parody," *JQR* 65: 165–181.
- Milgrom, J.
1978 "Moses Sweetens the 'Bitter Waters' of the 'Portable Well'; an Interpretation of a Panel at Dura-Europos Synagogue," *Journal of Jewish Art* 5: 45–47.
- Milik, J. T.
1976 *The Books of Enoch – Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon Press)
- Milikowsky, C.
1981 "Jacob's Punishment – A Study in the Redactional Process of Midrash Tanhuma," *Bar-Ilan University Year Book* 18/19: 144–49. (Heb.)
- Miller, P. D.
1978 *Genesis 1–11: Studies in Structure and Theme*, JSOT Supplement 8 (Sheffield: University of Sheffield)
- Mirsky, A.
1977 *Piyutei Yossi ben Yossi* (Jerusalem: Mosad Bialik)
- Murphy, F. J.
1993 *Pseudo-Philo: Rewriting the Bible* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press)
- Murphy, R. E.
1958 "Yeṣer in the Qumran Literature," *Biblica* 39: 334–44.

- Najman, H.
2003 *Seconding Sinai* (Leiden: E. J. Brill)
- Neusner, J.
1973 *Eliezer ben Hyrcanus – The Tradition and The Man*, (3 vols.) (Leiden: E. J. Brill)
- Newby, G.
1989 *The making of the last prophet: a reconstruction of the earliest biography of Muhammad* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press)
2000a “Text and Territory: Jewish-Muslim Relations 632–750 C.E.,” in *Judaism and Islam: Boundaries, Communications, and Interaction* (essays in honor of William M. Brinner), eds. Benjamin H. Hary, John L. Hayes and Fred Astern, (Leiden: E. J. Brill), 83–96.
2000b “Rethinking the End of Time; Apocalypticism in ‘Pirque Rabbi Eliezer’ and the biography of Muhammad,” Symposium: Judaism and Islam, in *CCAR Journal* (Fall 2000), 16–28.
- Newsom, C.
2004 *The Self As Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran* (Leiden: E. J. Brill)
- Nickelsburg, G. W. E.
2001 *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1–36, 81–108* (Minneapolis, Mn: Fortress Press)
- Nitzan, B.
2004 “Evil and Its Symbols in the Qumran Scrolls,” in *The Problem of Evil and It’s Symbols in Jewish and Christian Tradition*, eds. Henning Graf Reventlow and Yair Hoffman, JSOT Supplement Series 366 (London: T. & T. Clark International), 83–96.
- Noam, V.
2006 “*Bein Pulmus le-mahloket*” [Polemic and Dispute: Why Rabbi Eliezer Was Excommunicated] *Massekhet* 5: 125–144. (Heb.)
- Nordström, C. O.
1971 “The Water Miracles of Moses in Jewish Legends and Byzantine Art,” *Orientalia Suecana* VII, 1958–59, re-printed in: *No Graven Images*, ed. J. Gutmann, (New York: Ktav), 277–308.
- Noy, D.
1960 “*Eliyahu ha-navi be-leil ha-seder*,” *Maḥanayim* 44: 110–117. (Heb.)
1964 “*Histaklut be-tzipornaim be-sha’at ha-havdalah*,” *Maḥanayim* 85–86: 166–173. (Heb.)
1998 “The Story of Abel’s Burial: The Interrelationship of Myth and Custom,” *Norveg-Foklivsgransking* 21: 138–153.
2003 “*Eliyahu ha-navi be-yetzirat Yitzik Manger*,” *Derekh ha-Aggadah* 6: 137–141. (Heb.)
- Odeberg, H.
1973 *3 Enoch*, (New York: Ktav)
- Oden Jr., R. A.
1981 “Transformations in New Eastern Myths: Genesis 1–11 and the Old Babylonian Epic of Atrahasis,” *Religion* 11: 30–34.
- Ohana, M.
1975 “La Pôlemique Judea islamique et l’image d’Ismaël dans le Targum Pseudo-Jonathan et dans Pirke de Rabbi Elieser,” *Augustinianum* 15: 379–380.
- Ouakinin, M. and Smilevitch E.
1983 *Pirqé De Rabbi ‘Eliezer: Leçons De Rabbi ‘Eliezer*, traduit de l’hebreu et annoté par Marc-Alain Ouaknin et Eric Smilevitch, suivi d’une etude de Pierre-Henri Salfati (Lagrasse: Verdier)

- Ovid
1955 *Metamorphoses*, trans. Mary M. Innes (New York: Penguin Books)
- Pagels, E.
1985 "The Politics of Paradise: Augustine's Exegesis of Genesis 1–3 Versus that of John Chrysostom," in *HTR* 78, 1–2: 67–95.
1988 *Adam, Eve and The Serpent* (New York: Random House)
1995 *The Origin of Satan* (New York: Random House)
- Pardes, I.
2002 "Ba-beten she'ol: sefer yonah ke-sipur masa'," in *Hutim netuvim: reshito shel sugot sifrutiot be-tarbuyot 'atikot*, ed. N. Wasserman (Jerusalem: Magnes), 13–20.
- Pelikan, J.
1996 *Mary through the Centuries* (New Haven: Yale University Press)
- Porter, Frank C.
1901 "The yetzer hara': a study in the Jewish doctrine of sin," in *Biblical and Semitic Studies: Critical and Historical Essays by the Members* (New York: Scribner's), 91–156.
- Pritchard, J.
1969 *Ancient Near Eastern Texts* (Princeton: Princeton University Press)
- Puterkovsky, M.
2003 "Rosh Hodesh – The Women's Holiday," in *Traditions and Celebrations for the Bat Mitzvah*, ed. O. Wiskind Elper (Jerusalem: Matan/Urim Publications), 217–249.
- Rabinowitz, Z. M.
1965 *Halakh ve-aggadah be-piyutei Yannai* (New York; Tel Aviv: Keren Alexander Kohut) (Heb.)
1979 "Qitei genizah mi-Pirqe de-Rabbi Eliezer," *Bar Ilan* 16–17: 102–111. (Heb.)
1985 *Liturgical Poems of Rabbi Yannai* (Jerusalem: Mosad Bialik) (Heb.)
- Rapaport, A., and Patai, R.
1966 *Myth and Legend of Ancient Israel* (New York: Ktav Pub. House)
- Ratner, R. J.
1989–90 "Garments of skin (Genesis 3:21)," *JBQ* 18, 2: 74–80.
- Reed, A. Y.
2001 "Asael and Semihazah to Uzzah, Azzah, and Azazel: 3 Enoch 5 (par. 7–8) and Jewish reception-history of 1 Enoch," *JSQ* 8, 2: 105–136.
2004 "Heavenly Ascent, Angelic Descent, and the Transmission of Knowledge in 1 Enoch 6–16," in *Heavenly Realms and Earthly Realities in late antique religions*, eds. by Raanan S. Boustan and Annette Yoshiko Reed (Cambridge, U.K.; New York: Cambridge University Press), 51–96.
2005 *Fallen Angels and the History of Judaism and Christianity: The Reception of Enochic Literature* (Cambridge, U.K.; New York: Cambridge University Press)
- Ricoeur, P.
1967 *The Symbolism of Evil*, trans. Emerson Buchanan (Boston: Beacon Press)
1984 *Time and Narrative*, trans. Kathleen McLaughlin and David Pellauer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press)
1986–87 "Myth: Myth and History," in *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, ed. M. Eliade, (New York: Macmillan), 10: 273–282.
- Robinson, J. M., (ed.)
1997 *The Nag Hammadi Library* (Leiden: E. J. Brill)
- Rosen-Zvi, I.
2008 "Two Rabbinic Inclinations? Rethinking a Scholarly Dogma," *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 39, 4: 513–539.

- Rosenberg, E.
1961 *From Shylock to Svengali: Jewish Stereotypes in English Fiction* (London: P. Owen)
- Rosenblatt, J.
2006 *Renaissance England's Chief Rabbi: John Selden* (Oxford: Oxford University Press)
- Rubenstein, J.
1996 "From Mythic Motifs to Sustained Myth: The Revision of Rabbinic Traditions in Medieval Midrashim," *HTR* 89, 2: 131–159.
- Rubin, N.
1995 "*Reshit ha-hayim, tiksei leidah, milah, pidayom ha-ben be-meqorot Hazal*" [The Beginning of Life – Rites of Birth, Circumcision, and Redemption of the First-born in the Talmud and Midrash] (Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuchad) (Heb.)
- Ruiten, J. van
1997 "The Interpretation of Genesis 6:1–12 in Jubilees 5:1–19," in *Studies in the Book of Jubilees*, eds. M. Albani, J. Frey, and A. Lange (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 59–75
- Russell, J. B.
1977 *The Devil – Perceptions of Evil from Antiquity to Primitive Christianity* (Cornell: Cornell University Press)
1981 *Satan – The Early Christian Tradition* (Cornell: Cornell University Press)
- Sacchi, P.
1997 *Jewish Apocalyptic and its History*, trans. W. J. Short, JSP Sup 20 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press)
- Sacks, S.
Forthcoming *Midrash and Multiplicity: Pirke de-Rabbi Eliezer and the Renewal of Rabbinic Interpretive Culture*, Series: Studia Judaica (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter)
- Saldarini, A.
1975 *The Fathers according to Rabbi Nathan (Abot deRabbi Nathan) version B: A Translation and Commentary* (Leiden: E. J. Brill)
- Sasson, J. M.
1990 *Jonah: A New Translation with Introduction, Commentary, and Interpretation*, The Anchor Bible Series (New York: Doubleday)
- Schäfer, P.
1975 *Rivältat zwischen Engeln und Menschen: Untersuchungen z. rabbin. Engelvorstellung* (Berlin; de Gruyter)
1981 *Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literature* (Tübingen: Mohr)
1992 *The Hidden and the Manifest God: Some Major Themes in Early Jewish Mysticism* (Albany: SUNY Press), 123–138.
- Scholem, G.
1961 *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, (first published in 1941), repr. 1961 (New York: Schocken Books)
1971 "Samael" in *Encyclopedia Judaica*, 16 vols. eds. Cecil Roth and Geofrey Wigoder (Jerusalem: Keter), 14: 719–722.
1974 *Kabbalah* (Jerusalem: Keter)
- Schürer, E.
1986 *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* (175 B.C.–A.D. 135), rev. and ed. by Geza Vermes (Edinburgh: T&T Clark)
- Schussman, A.
1980 "*Mekoro ha-yehudi ve-magamato shel sipur bikure Avraham 'etzel Yishm'ael*" [Abraham's Visits to Ishmael – the Jewish Origin and Orientation], *Tarbiz* 3/4 49 (1980), 325–345. (Heb.)

- Schwarzbaum, H.
1971 "Prolegomenon," M. Gaster (ed. and trans.) *Chronicles of Jerahmeel* (New York: Ktav Pub. House)
- Segal, Michael
2005a "Between Bible and Rewritten Bible," in *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran*, ed. M. Henze; *Studies in Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans), 10–28.
2005b "The Relationship between Legal and Narrative Passages in Jubilees," in *Reworking the Bible*, eds. E. Chazon, D. Dimant, and R. Clement (Leiden: E. J. Brill), 203–228.
2007 *The book of Jubilees: Rewritten Bible, Redaction, Ideology, and Theology* (Leiden: E. J. Brill)
- Segal, Moshe Tzvi
1958 *Sefer ben Sira* (Jerusalem: Mosad Bialik) (Heb.)
- Segal, S. M.
1935 *Elijah, A Study in Jewish Folklore* (New York: Behrman)
- Shinan, A.
1991 *Targum ve'aggadah bo* [*The Embroidered Targum – The Aggadah in Targum Pseudo-Jonathan of the Pentateuch*] (Jerusalem: Magnes Press) (Heb.)
1996 "Bein midrash le-targum, 'al targum ha-Torah ha-meyuhas le-Yonatan u-midrash Pirqe de-Rabbi Eliezer," *Te'udah* 11: 231–243.
2005 "Yonah ha-navi me-heikhan ba?" [Jonah, the prophet, where is he from?] in *Ha-yashan yiḥadesh ve-ha-ḥadash yitkadesh – 'al zehut, tarbut, ve-yahadut*, eds. Y. Friedlander, U. Shavit, and A. Sagi (Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuchad), 182–195. (Heb.)
- Sidersky, D.
1933 *Les origine de légendes musulmanes dans le Coran et dans les vies des Prophètes* (Paris: P. Geuthner)
- Silver, A. H.
1959 *A History of Messianic Speculation in Israel* (Beacon Hill: Beacon Press)
- Simon, U.
1999 *The JPS Bible Commentary: Jonah* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society)
- Soloveitchik, H.
1976 "Three Themes in the Sefer Hasidim," *AJS Review* 1: 311–357.
- Sperber, D.
1994 *Magic and Folklore in Rabbinic Literature* (Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan University Press)
- Sperling, S. D.
1999 "Belial," in *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*, eds. K. van der Toorn, B. Becking, and P. W. van der Horst (Leiden: E. J. Brill), 166–171.
- Spiegel, Shalom
1967 *The Last Trial*, trans. Judah Goldin from the Hebrew: *Piyut 'al Sh'hitat Yitzhak ve-teḥiato le-Rabbi Efraim Mi-Bonn* New York 1950 (New York: Pantheon Books)
- Spiegel, Y.
1975 "Hosafot ha-Radal le-biuro 'al Pirqe Rabbi Eliezer," *Sinai* 77: 146–156. (Heb.)
- Spiro, A.
1953 "The Ascension of Phinehas," *PAAJR* 22, 1: 91–114.
- Stein, D.
2004 *Meimra, magia, mitos – Pirqe de-Rabbi Eliezer le-'or ha-sifrut ha-'amamit* [*Maxims, Magic, Myth: A Folkloristic Perspective of Pirkei de-Rabbi Eliezer*] (Jerusalem: Magnes Press) (Heb.)
- Stein, E.
1931–32 "Die homiletische Peroratio im Midrasch," *HUCA* 8–9: 353–371.

- Stemberger, G.
1996 *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash*, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark)
- Stern, D.
1990 "Jonah and the Sailors from Pirkei de-Rabbi Eliezer," in *Rabbinic Fantasies*, ed. by David Stern (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society), 59–66.
1991 *Parables in Midrash* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press)
1996 *Midrash and Theory* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press)
- Sternberg, M.
1987 *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press)
- Stuedel, A.
2000 "God and Belial," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997*, eds. L. H. Schiffman, E. Tov, J. C. VanderKam (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society in cooperation with the Shrine of the Book), 332–340
- Stone, M.
1984 "Apocalyptic Literature" in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period*, ed. Michael E. Stone (Assen: Van Gorcum), 392–94.
1990 *Fourth Ezra: A Commentary on the Book of Fourth Ezra* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press)
1992 *A History of the literature of Adam and Eve* (Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press)
1996a "Testament of Naphtali," *JJSt* 47: 311–321;
1996b "The Genealogy of Bilhah," *DSD* 3, 1: 20–36.
- Strack, H.
1969 *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash* (New York: Atheneum)
- Strack, H. A., and Billerbeck, P.
1965 *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch* (Muenchen: C. H. Beck)
- Stroumsa, G. A.
1984 *Another Seed: Studies in Gnostic Mythology* (Leiden: E. J. Brill)
- Stuckenbruck, L. T.
2004 "The Origins of Evil in Jewish Apocalyptic Tradition: The Interpretation of Genesis 6:1–4 in the Second and Third Centuries B.C.E.," in *The Fall of the Angels*, eds. C. Auffarth and L. T. Stuckenbruck Themes in Biblical Narrative 6 (Leiden: E. J. Brill), 87–118.
- Su-Min Ri, Andreas
1987 *La Caverne des Trésors. Les Deux Recensions Syriaques* (Louvain: E. Peeters)
2000 *Commentaire de La Caverne Des Trésors* (Louvain: E. Peeters)
- Syrén, R.
1986 *The Blessings in the Targums* (Abo: Abo Akademi)
- Ta Shma, Y. T.
1985 "Sifriat shel Hokhmei Ashknaz," *Kiriyat Sefer* 60: 298–309. (Heb.)
2004 "Rabbi Moshe ha-Darshan ve-ha-Sifrut ha-Hitzonit," in *Knesset Mehqarim – Iyunim be-sifrut ha-rabanit be-yamei ha-beinayim: Italia u-Byzantium*, 3 vols. (Jerusalem: Mosad Bialik), 288–201. (Heb.)
- Tawil, H.
1980 "Azazel, the Prince of the Steepe: A Comparative Study," *ZAW* 92, 1: 43–59.
- Tennant, P. R.
1968 *The Sources of the Doctrines of the Fall and Original Sin*, 1st ed. Cambridge: University Press 1903. Repr. 1968 (New York: Schocken)
- Thompson, Alden L.
1977 *Responsibility for Evil in the Theodicy of IV Ezra: A Study Illustrating the Significance of Form and Structure for the Meaning of the Book* (Missoula: Society of Biblical Literature)

- Thompson, S.
1956 *Motif Index of Folk Literature*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press)
- Todorov, T.
1984 *Mikhail Bakhtin: The Dialogic Principle*, trans. Wald Godzich (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press)
- Treitel, E.
2001 "‘Edei ha-nusah shel Pirqa de-Rabbi Eliezer miyun muqdam," (M.A. diss., Hebrew University)
- Tromp, J.
1993 *The Assumption of Moses: A Critical Edition with Commentary* (Leiden: E. J. Brill)
- Tur-Sinai, N. H.
1954–1960 *Ha-lashon ve-hasefer*, 3 vols. (Jerusalem: Mosad Bialik)
1967 *The Book of Job – A New Commentary* (Jerusalem: Kiryat Sefer)
- Turner, J. D.
1998 "The Gnostic Seth," in *Biblical Figures Outside the Bible*, eds. Michael E. Stone and T. E. Bergren (Harrisburg: Trinity Press International), 33–58.
- Tyler, E. B.
1958 [1871, 1873] *The Origins of Culture and Religion in Primitive Culture*, Volumes I and II of the 1873 edition of *Primitive Culture*. (New York: Harper & Brothers)
- Urbach, E. E.
1949 "The Repentance of the People of Nineveh and the Jewish-Christian Dispute," *Tarbiz* 29: 118–122. (Heb.)
1979 *The Sages – Their Concepts and Their Beliefs*, trans. Israel Abrahams (Jerusalem: Magnes Press)
- Urowitz-Freudenstein, A.
1994 "Pseudepigraphic Support of Pseudepigraphical Sources: The Case of *Pirqa de Rabbi Eliezer*," in *Tracing the Threads: Studies in the Vitality of Jewish Pseudepigrapha*, ed. by J. C. Reeves (Atlanta: Scholars Press), 35–53.
- Van der Horst, P. W.
2006 "A Note on the Evil Inclination and Sexual Desire in Talmudic Literature," in *Jews and Christians in Their Graeco-Roman Context: Selected Essays on Early Judaism, Samaritanism, Hellenism, and Christianity* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck), 59–65.
- VanderKam, J.
1989 *The Book of Jubilees*, ed. and trans. by James C. VanderKam (Louvain: E. Peeters)
1999 "The Angel Story in the Book of Jubilees," in *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives: The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, eds. E. G. Chazon and M. E. Stone (Leiden: E. J. Brill), 151–70.
2001 *The Book of Jubilees* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press)
2003 "The Demons in the Book of Jubilees," in *Die Dämonen*, eds. A. Lange, H. Lichtenberger and K. F. Diethard Römheld (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck), 341–50.
- Vermes, G.
1973 *Scripture and Tradition: Haggadic Studies* (2nd rev. ed.; Leiden: E. J. Brill)
1986 in E. Schürer, *History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, 2 vols., revised by G. Vermes (Edinburgh: F. Millar and M. Goddman)
- Veyne, Paul
1988 *Did the Greeks believe in their myths? An essay on the constitutive imagination* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press)

- Von Rad, Gerhard
 1972 *Genesis: A Commentary*, trans. by John H. Marks (London: SCM Press)
- Wagner, W.
 1996 "Interpretation of Genesis 6:1–4 in Second Century Christianity," *Journal of Religious History* 20: 137–155.
- Wasserstrom, S. M.
 1992 "Who were the Jewish Sectarrians under Early Islam?" in *Jewish Sects, Religious Movements and Political Parties*, ed. Menahem Mor (Omaha: Ceighton University Press), 101–113.
 1992 "The 'Isawiyya Revisted," *Studia Islamica* 75: 57–80.
 1994 "Jewish Pseudepigrapha in Muslim Literature: A Bibliographical and Methodological Sketch," *Tracing the Threads: Studies in the Vitality of Jewish Pseudepigrapha*, ed. by J. C. Reeves (Atlanta: Scholars Press), 87–114.
 1995 *Between Muslim and Jew* (Princeton: Princeton University Press)
- Weiss, Isaac Hirsch
 1924 *Dor Dor ve-Dorshav*, 5 vols. (Berlin and New York: Platt and Mincus)
- Wensinck, A. J.
 1916 *The Navel of the Earth* (Amsterdam: Johannes Müller)
 1918 *The Ocean in the Literature of the Western Semites* (Amsterdam: Johannes Müller)
- Werman, C.
 1995 "Le-goyim be-sefer ha-yovlim u-be-sifrut Qumran – be-hashava'a le-halakhah ha-tana'it ha-qedumah hitzonit be-hateqkfah," Ph.D. Diss., Hebrew University. (Heb.)
- Werman, G. S.
 1995 *Milton and Midrash* (Washington D.C.: Catholic University Press)
- Whertheimer, S. A.
 1980 *Batei Midrashot* (Jerusalem: Ketav ve-Sefer) (Heb.)
- Whitman, J.
 1987 *Allegory: The Dynamics of an Ancient and Medieval Technique* (Cambridge, Ma: Harvard University Press)
- Wiener, A.
 1978 *The Prophet Elijah in the Development of Judaism* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul)
- Wiesel, E.
 1968 *Legends of Our Time* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston)
- Wimsatt, W. K. and Beardsley, M.
 1954 "The Intentional Fallacy," 1946, rev. 1954, in *The Verbal Icon: Studies in the Meaning of Poetry* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press), 3–18.
- Wink, W.
 1968 *John the Baptist in the Gospel Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)
- Wischnitzer, R
 1948 *The Messianic Theme in the Paintings of the Dura Synagogue* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press)
- Wolfe, Z.
 2003 *Midrash Tana'im (Helek Rishon: Pirqe de-Rabbi Eliezer*, 1st ed. Vilna 1838. Repr. 2003 (Lakewood: Makhon Mishnat Rabbi Aharon)
- Wolpe, D.
 1997 "Hester Panim in Modern Jewish Thought," *Modern Judaism* 17, 1: 25–56.
- Yadin, A.
 2006 "Resistance to midrash? Midrash and "halakhah" in the halakhic midrashim," in *Current Trends in the Study of Midrash*, ed. Carol Bakhos (Leiden: E. J. Brill), 38–58.

- Yahalom, Y.
 1984 *Piyutei Shimon bar Mages* (Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities) (Heb.)
 1996 *Az be-en kol: seder ha-'avodah ha-Erets-Yisreeli ha-qadam le-Yom ha-kipurim* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press) (Heb.)
- Yamauchi, E. M.
 1973 *Pre-Christian Gnosticism: A Survey of the Proposed Evidences* (London: Tyndale Press)
- Yasif, E.
 1974/75 *Aqedat Yitshak: meḥkarim ba-hitpathutah shel masoret sifrutit* (Jerusalem: Mekor) (Heb.)
- Yerushalmi, H.
 1982 *Zakhor – Jewish History and Jewish Memory* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press)
- Yisraeli, O.
 2003 “The Zealotry of Elijah in the Tradition of the Midrash and the Zohar,” in *Derekh Aggadah: bit'on ha-Merkaz le-hora'at ha-Aggadah* [Pathways through Aggadah] 6: 103–124. (Heb.)
- Zornberg, Avivah Gottlieb
 2009 “Jonah: A Fantasy of Flight,” in *The Murmuring Deep* (New York: Schocken), 75–105.
- Zunz, L., and Albeck, T.
 1947 *Ha-drashot be-Yisrael*, 1st publ. in German as *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden, historisch entwickelt*, Frankfurt 1892. Trans. into Hebrew and annotated by Theodor Albeck, 1st ed. 1947, repr. 1974 (Jerusalem: Mosad Bialik) (Heb.)

INDEX OF MODERN AUTHORS

- Ackerman, J. S., 213, 227, 228, 242, 249, 256
 Adelman, R., 24, 36, 37, 40, 173
 Adler, E. N., 191
 Albeck, H., 3, 23, 35, 116, 117, 133
 For Theodor-Albeck 1965 see Genesis
 Rabbah
 Alexander, P., 7–12, 25, 77, 111, 115,
 116, 117, 202
 Altmann, A.,
 Anderson, G. A., 51, 55, 56, 74, 75, 76,
 77, 79, 80, 98
 Anderson, G. A. and Stone, M., 79, 104
 Appolodorus, 61, 162, 163, 164
 Aptowitz, V., 200
 Ayali, M., 199, 200, 201, 203
- Bachelard, G., 166
 Bacher, W., 77, 158
 Bakhtin, M. M., 208, 241, 252
 Bamberger, B. J., 119
 Barker, M., 121
 Barth, L., 11, 26, 35, 42, 43, 306–307
 Bauckham, R., 312
 Bergson, H., 233
 Berkovitz, E., 50
 Bernstein, M., 8, 25, 26, 202
 Bickerman, E., 211, 214, 215
 Blau, L., 35
 Blenkinsopp, J., 67, 68
 Bloom, H., 1997
 Börner-Klein, D., 15, 18, 23, 28, 38, 39,
 40, 43, 72, 89, 98, 99, 106, 112, 125,
 156, 170, 172, 179, 187, 194, 205, 227,
 238, 244, 281, 285, 293, 295, 306
 Boyarin, D., 19, 20, 50, 52, 54, 84, 88,
 89, 105, 145, 181, 182, 246, 264
 Bregman, M., 7, 14
 Brock, S., 74, 100, 250
 Brooke, G. J., 81
 Browne, Sir Thomas, 237, 240
 Broyde, I., 28
 Buber, M., 50
 Büchler, A., 191
- Cassuto, Umberto, 111–112, 114, 225,
 226, 246
 Charles, R. H., 129, 130
 Charlesworth, J. H., 61, 77, 79, 104, 118,
 119, 120, 121, 122, 128, 129, 130, 202,
 203
 Cohen, G. D., 16
 Cohen, Herman, 128
 Cohen, L., 202
 Cohen, P., 148
 Cohon, S., 55, 56, 57
 Collins, J. J., 52, 69
 Cover, Robert M., 145–146
- Daiches, S., 160
 Dan, J., 4, 61, 142
 Day, J., 246
 Day, P., 64, 65
 Derenbourg, J., 28
 Dimant, D., 116, 119, 121, 129
- Eagleton, T., 19, 213, 215, 216, 221
 Elbaum, J., 4, 7, 11, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18,
 23, 25, 27, 36, 37, 39, 41, 142, 179,
 230, 243
 Elbogen, I., 39, 265–268
 Eliade, M., 5, 80, 146–148, 155, 206, 208,
 218, 252, 259
 Eshel, E., 59
 Eshel, H., 135
- Fackenheim, 50
 Faierstein, M., 185, 196, 200, 204
 Fernández, Pérez M., 6
 Finesinger, S., 158–160
 Finkelstein, L., 28
 Firestone, R., 36, 135
 Fisch, H., 185, 192
 Fishbane, M., 5, 132, 146, 147, 148, 155,
 218, 241, 245, 246, 260
 Fleischer, E., 42, 217, 218, 265
 Fokkelman, J., 228
 Forsyth, N., 61, 64, 65, 68, 118, 119
 Fraade, S. D., 8, 13, 77, 143
 Frazer, J. G., 91, 127, 145, 148, 151, 153,
 161, 162, 163, 180, 182
 Friedlander, G., 4, 6, 10, 18, 24, 25, 26,
 38, 39, 40, 72, 84, 95, 99, 100, 106, 113,
 124, 126, 143, 158, 160, 161, 169, 170,
 178, 179, 180, 187, 194, 217, 231, 235,

- 240, 242, 250, 265–268, 276, 282, 285,
286, 295, 296, 297, 306
- Fromm, E., 249
- Frye, N., 216–217, 233
- Garb, J., 5
- Gaster, T. H., 148
- Geiger, A., 134
- Gil, M., 5, 39, 41, 134
- Gilat, Y., 28
- Ginzberg, L., 35, 75, 78, 97, 116, 162,
191, 200, 212, 254, 309
- Goitein, S. D., 37, 39
- Goldberg, A., 105
- Good, E. M., 213
- Goshen-Gottenstein, A., 252
- Gottlieb, Z., 6, 43
- Graetz, H., 44
- Greenberg, M., 177
- Grossman, A., 42
- Gruenwald, I., 5, 132, 145, 147
- Grünbaum, M., 36
- Gunkel, H., 141
- Haag, H. J., 42, 43
- Halivni, D. W., 50
- Hanson, P. D., 68–69, 129
- Hasan-Rokem, G., 145, 224
- Hayman, A. P., 52
- Hayward, R., 6, 195, 200, 201, 202
- Heinemann, I., 23, 68, 135
- Heinemann, J., 4, 7, 35, 36, 185, 262
- Heller, B., 36
- Hendel, R., 112
- Herr, M. D., 35, 40, 115, 187
- Heschel, A. B., 51, 156
- Hesiod, 87, 162–166
- Hill, A. E., 186
- Himmelfarb, M., 5, 117, 133
- Hirshman, M., 13
- Holm-Nielsen, S., 59
- Horovitz, S. Y., 5, 18, 77
- Horowitz, Chaim Meir, 42, 43, 306, 307
- Idel, M., 77
- Ish Shalom, M., 23, 190, 191, 199, 200, 212
- James, M. R., 202
- Jellineck, A., 5, 41, 90, 116, 162, 164,
165, 219, 223, 252
- Jonas, Hans, 50, 59
- Kagan, Z., 29, 84
- Kanarfogel, E., 175
- Kaufmann, Y. (or Ibn Shmuel), 5, 37,
41, 50
- Kedari, T., 219
- Kermode, F., 4, 21
- Kister, M., 26, 30, 32, 33, 42, 135
- Klausner, J., 196, 200
- Kluger, R. S., 64, 65
- Knibb, M. A., 119, 120, 121, 129
- Knohl, I., 233
- Koch, K., 169
- Krieger, M., 181–182
- Kugel, J., 51, 57, 60, 105, 106, 119, 141, 262
- Lachs, S. T., 84, 91, 100
- Lambert, W. G. and Millard, A. R., 68
- Landes, G. M., 255–256
- Lasker, D., 16
- Levenson, J., 50, 246, 247
- Levinas, E., 51
- Levine, B., 64
- Levinson, J., 12–14, 19
- Lévi-Strauss, C., 14, 145, 149, 151, 155,
164, 167, 263
- Lewis, B., 41, 42
- Lewis, T. J., 239, 252
- Licht, Y., 59
- Lichtheim, M., 257
- Lieberman, S., 115, 252
- Liebes, Y., 27, 45, 174, 175, 176, 181,
182, 212, 237, 252, 259, 263
- Loewenstamm, S., 20, 246
- Long, B., 199, 203
- Mack, H., 199, 203
- Mackie, J. L., 59
- Mann, J., 7, 27
- Margulies, M., 16, 98, 185, 199
- Martínez, García F., 95, 102, 105
- Martone, C., 60
- Martyn, J. L., 204
- Miles, J. A., 248
- Milik, J. T., 117, 119, 120, 129
- Milton, John, 67, 71, 72, 73, 83, 91, 95,
109, 114, 123
- Mirsky, A., 6
- Murphy, R. E., 59
- Najman, H., 8
- Neusner, J., 28
- Newby, G., 37, 37
- Newsom, C., 59
- Nickelsburg, G. W. E., 111, 119, 121
- Noam, V., 28
- Noy, D., 159, 160, 185

- Odeberg, H., 116, 117
 Ohana, M., 6
- Pagels, E., 55, 64
 Pardes, I., 213, 257
 Pelikan, J., 56
 Porter, Frank C., 52
 Pritchard, J., 226
 Puterkovsky, M., 175
- Rabinowitz, Z. M., 3, 24
 Reed, A. Y., 59, 119, 121, 133–134
 Ricoeur, P., 5, 55, 97, 131, 132, 148, 155, 250, 260
 Robinson, J. M., 105
 Rosen-Zvi, L., 51, 52, 54, 55, 59
 Rosenberg, E., 192
 Rosenblatt, J., 67
 Rubenstein, J., 20, 147, 155, 252
 Rubin, N., 188, 197
- Sacks, S., 23
 Saldirini, A., 23, 29, 85, 98
 Scholem, G., 27, 61, 127, 128, 265
 Schussman, A., 36, 135
 Schwarzbaum, H., 36
 Segal, Alan, 107
 Segal, Michael, 8, 59, 60, 119, 143, 202
 Segal, Moshe, 56, 197
 Segal, S. M., 192
 Shinan, A., 6, 201, 218
 Silver, A. H., 38, 40
 Simon, U., 220, 222, 223, 242, 248
 Soloveitchik, H., 161, 175
 Spiegel, S., 43, 266
 Spiro, A., 202
 Stein, D., 3, 5, 8, 23, 24, 26, 28, 29, 30, 33, 42, 72, 144, 145, 185, 218, 241, 252, 265
 Stein, E., 14
 Stemberger, G., 3
 Stern, D., 7, 13, 14, 84, 85, 88, 89, 90, 212, 240
 Sternberg, M., 213, 214
 Studel, A., 60
 Stone, M., 52, 57, 58, 69, 80, 133
- Strack, H., 18, 19
 Stroumsa, G. A., 61, 103, 104, 106
 Su-Min Ri, Andreas, 80
 Syrén, R., 201
- Ta-Shma, Y. T., 3, 134
 Tawil, H., 125
 Thompspon, Alden L., 51, 52, 57
 Thompson, Stith, 87, 151, 309
 Todorov, T., 5
 Treitel, E., 11, 23, 24, 26, 27, 42, 43, 44, 217
 Tur-Sinai, N. H., 63, 64, 65
 Tzoref, S., 117
- Urbach, E. E., 50, 55, 57, 58, 218, 223, 236, 263
 Urowitz-Freudenstein, A., 4
- Van der Horst, P. W., 54
 VanderKam, J., 121, 122, 130, 308
 Vermes, G., 4, 9, 202
 Von Rad, Gerhard, 112
- Wasserstrom, S. M., 37, 135
 Weiss, I. H., 43
 Wensinck, A. J., 252
 Werman, C., 117, 118, 202
 Werman, G. S., 67, 73
 Whertheimer, S. A., 24, 25
 Whitman, J., 182
 Wiener, A., 185, 188, 197, 198, 199
 Wimsatt, W. K. and Beardsley, M., 19
 Wink, W., 204
 Wolpe, Z., 50
- Yadin, A., 143
 Yahalom, Y., 6, 37
 Yamouchi, E. M., 59
 Yerushalmi, H., 68
 Yisraeli, O., 190, 199, 200, 201
- Zornberg, A. G., 44, 237
 Zunz, L. and Albeck, H., (Zunz-Albeck), 4, 23, 24, 28, 35, 37, 142, 143, 265–268

INDEX OF ANCIENT JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN SOURCES

I. HEBREW BIBLE

<i>Genesis</i>		4:2	110, 114
1:1	226	4:25	104, 123
1:2	225	5:1	53
1:7	226	5:3	103, 106
1:8	3	6	75
1:9	227	6:1-4	28, 62, 110, 114, 116
1:14	181	6:2	4, 115
1:16	75, 181	6:4	109, 111, 113, 116
1:20-22	217	6:5	52, 112
1:21	241, 244	6:11-12	112
1:26	75, 76, 77	7:11	225
1:27	53	8:21	52
1:28	165	9:6	53
1:31	53	9:17	141
2:3	157	9:23	118
2:7	53, 81	10:10	17
2:15	289	11	75
2:16-17	85-86, 90	11:7	75
2:17	57, 173	14:1	31
2:19	53, 80	15	27, 266
2:20	73	15:8	192
2:21	228, 101	15:12	37, 228
3:1	78, 81, 86, 101	17:11	141
3:2-3	89, 90, 90, 92, 93, 173	17:17	141
3:3	99, 100	18:12	177
3:3-4	94	19	186
3:5	93, 94, 165	19:25, 29	215
3:6	60, 72, 95, 96	21	36
3:7	156	21:1	192
3:8	259	22	266
3:9-10	85	22:3	35
3:10	51, 86	22:4	255
3:11	88	25:30	15
3:14	100, 101	25:33	15
3:14-15	83	26:27	11
3:15	152, 157	27:12	152
3:16-19	57, 182	27:41	60, 130
3:19	57, 73, 81, 84	28	266
3:20	86	28:12	3
3:21	101, 156	31:34	152
3:22	51, 76, 93	31:52	11
3:23	289	32:5	192
3:24	85, 89, 99	32:33	142
3:26	75, 76	37	11
4:1	99, 102, 104	41:57	17
		46:11	193

49:13	238	16:8	125, 126, 136
49:18	199	16:21	129
49:23	60, 130	16:22	116, 124, 126,
50:15	60, 130		127, 129
Exodus		16:33	126
1: 17	233	18	117
3-4	266	19:2	179
3:18	255	19:19	142
4:13	191	20	117
5:3	288	27:28-29	119
6:18	191, 200	Numbers	
7:11	203	5:14, 30	191
10:21	152	10:33	255
13:21-22	158	11:29	191
14:2	158	12	267
14:5	215	13:33	111, 113
14:29	231, 250	14:14	158
15:16	192	18:14	119
15:22	255	21:6	157
17:8-16	10	22:11	205
18:11	231	22:22	64, 203
19:3	172, 173	23:16, 11, 180	
19:11	255	24:21	41
20:5	191	25	137, 191, 196
21:6	110	25:1-10	191
21:7-8, 27	110	25:1-2	193
23:20-23	197	25:8	194
24:7	172	25:11	188, 191, 197, 205
31:13	141	25:12-13	194, 195
31:17	141	25:12	195, 199, 207
31:18	255	25:12-13	194, 195
32:1	172	25:13	191, 195, 199
32:2	168, 170, 172,	26:11	253, 254
	177	28:55	181
32:3	174	31:16	203
32:4	170	Deuteronomy	
32:5	170	4:2	90
32:20	153	4:24	191
33-34	267	5:29	191
33:3	171	8:15	157
33:4-6	177	11:13	53
33:6	177	18:9-14	121
33:22	190	18:21-22	121
34:6-7	190	20:19	99
34:6	214	22:11	142
34:14	191	25:17-19	10
35:2	171	27:15	170
35:22	171	28:29	152
38:8	172	30:4	191
40:10	191	30:15	10
Leviticus		30:19	56
16	120, 124, 129, 262	31:18	50
16:5-10	116	31:21	52

32:13	172	17:4	202
32:39	92	17:5	238
33:11	201	17:13	200
Joshua		17:17–19	212
2:10	233	18:10	17
2:11	233	18:26–29	230
5:2–3	187	18:36	217
7	11	18:40	186, 189
13:25	199	19	186, 191, 197
18:28	199	19:8	202, 187
22:13, 30, 31, 32	199	19:4–5	230
24:33	199	19:10, 14	189, 191, 193
Judges		19:11	190
2:1–5	197	19:18	193
2:1	195	20:15	17
3:7	198	21:21–22	189
6:25–32	198	22:29–22	76
8:24	171	2 Kings	
17:3,4	170	1:8	204
10:28	190, 199	1:10–12	189
11:30–40	199	2:11–12	186, 192
20:28	190, 199	2:11	199, 202
1 Samuel		9:11–12	221
2:1	248	14:24–25	238
2:6	92, 254	14:25	219, 220
2:7	254	17:16	198
2:8	251	21:2	198
2:27	191	Isaiah	
10:9	215	1:7	215
14	11	2:18	18
14:17, 20	110	5:16	266
15	10	6:2	78, 281
19:28	110	6:3	224
26:12	228	6:8	76
29:4	64	13:10	66
30:12	255	14	79
2 Samuel		14:12–15	66, 67, 227
1:24	177	14:12	104
11:11	192	14:29	157
18:23	64	19:21	234
24:11	65	21:15	39
1 Kings		44:6	18
4:21	17	45:6–6	49
5:18	64	46:4	75
10:25	17	27:1	241, 244, 245
11:14, 23, 25	64	30:6	157
16:32–33	198	30:26	152, 179, 180,
17–21	137		181, 183
17:1	186, 187, 189, 194,	34:4	179, 180
	199, 202	40:31	178, 182
17:3	200	47:15	54
		49:18	177
		51:9	226

52:8	18	Jonah	
59:19	233	1	268
63:1	39, 269	1:2	11, 211, 213
65:17	69, 179	1:3	222, 228, 245, 252
Jeremiah		1:4	222, 229
1:5, 13-14	281	1:6	215, 231
2:20	193	1:7	231
3:2-4	193	1:12	215, 222, 230
5:22	226, 227	1:13	230
9:1	193	1:15	230
13:23	215	1:16	233, 234
18:6-8	216	2:1	240, 241, 255
23:5	39	2:2-10	242
31:14	175	2:2	248
31:29	95	2:3-10	247-251
49:16	16	2:3-6	253
Ezekiel		2:3	239
1	10	2:7	239
1:5, 13-14	78, 281	2:8	255
1:22	243	2:9	233, 234
7:19	170, 174	2:10	254, 255
16	177, 193	2:12	255
16:6	177	2:16	233, 234
16:7	177	3:3	255
16:11	177	3:4	215, 220, 235, 243
18:2	95, 96	4:2-3	214
21:26	160	4:2	214, 215, 220
23	193	4:3	239
28:2-19	66	4:6	239
34:15	18	4:7	241
44:2, 9	119	4:8	239, 241
47	267	4:11	235
Hosea		9:2-4	225
4:12	194	Micah	
5:3-5	193	5:4-5	223
6:2	256	Nahum	
6:4	256	1:3	214
6:10	193	2:4-3:19	223
7:4	193	Habakkuk	
9:7, 8	60	3:8	225
10:12	200	3:9	226
11:8	215	Zephaniah	
12:14	200	3:9	215
14:2-12	235	Zechariah	
Joel		1:14	191
2:13	214	3:1-2	63
Amos		3:2	63
3:6	49	3:8	39
4:11	215	4:10	225
9:2-4	225	6:12	39
		14:9	18

26:12	226	Esther	
26:13	241	Book of	10
28:3	154	1:1	18
30:7	277	2:14	175
33:12	153	8:8	221
33:15	228	9:22	215
34:22	225		
38:7	76	Daniel	
39:18	78, 82	3:25	115
40:3	245	4:10, 20	119
40:17	244	4:14	60
40:19–32	244	12:2	243
40:25	241, 244, 245	Ezra	
40:29	245	10:8	119
41:25	73, 74		
Ruth		Nehemiah	
2:14	84	13:2	215
Lamentations		1 Chronicles	
3:38	49	21:1	65
Ecclesiastes (or Qohelet)		2 Chronicles	
2:5	38	26:28	17
4:4	54	32:30	218

II. APOCRYPHA AND SEPTUAGINT

Septuagint (LXX)		Psalms	
Gen. 4:25	123	151	135
Gen. 6:2	115	Sirach (Ecclesiasticus, or Ben Sira)	51, 56, 186, 196
Isa. 14:12	67, 104	15:14–20	52
Mal. 4:5–6	186, 192, 196	15:17	56
Ps. 8:6	74	25:24	56
Additions to Esther		45:24	197
Tg. Esth. I, II 1:1	18	48:10	186, 197, 200, 206
1–2 Maccabees		50:24–26	197
1 Macc. 1:48	187	51:10	266
1 Macc. 2:26	200	51:28	39, 268
1 Macc. 2:54	200	Wisdom of Solomon	
3–4 Maccabees		2:24	60
4 Macc. 18:7–8	60		

III. OLD TESTAMENT PSEUDEPIGRAPHA

<i>Apocalypse of Sedrach</i>		<i>2 Baruch</i> (Syriac Apocalypse)	
4:5	60	56:10–16	115
<i>The Apocalypse of Moses</i> (Greek, <i>ApMos</i>)	8, 59, 79	<i>3 Baruch</i> (Slavonic Apocalypse)	
1:3	104	4:8	60
16:4	60	<i>3 Baruch</i> (Greek Apocalypse)	
19:3	79	2:1	250
		9:7	60

<i>Cave of Treasures</i>	77, 80	5:10	130
2:10–3:6	80–81	7:20–24	115
1 <i>Enoch</i> (Ethiopic)	8, 59, 61, 62, 262,	7:21	59
	264	7:22–23	111
4:9–22	265	10	115
6–11	129	10:7–11	130
6–7	115	10:8–9	60
6	61, 282	10:9–12	59
6:1–4	119–120	10:11	130
7:1	121		
7:2	111	<i>Liber Antiquatum</i>	
8, 10, 19	59	<i>Biblicarum</i> (Pseudo-	
10:11–12	129–130	Philo, or Biblical	
17:5	250	Antiquities)	4, 7, 45, 261,
60:6	60		263, 264
26:28	17	5:2	202
60:6	60	28:2,4	203
69:18	227	47:41	203
		48:1–3	201–202
		48:1	200
2 <i>Enoch</i> (Slavonic)		50:3	202
6–7	115		
31:4–6	60	The Life of Adam	
31:6	100	and Eve (<i>Vita</i>)	8, 59, 75, 77,
3 <i>Enoch</i> (Hebrew)	77, 116		79, 80, 107
4 <i>Ezra</i>	51, 57–78	13:1–15:1	78–79
3:7–23	57	21:3	104
3:20–26	52	4 Maccabees 18:7–8	60
4:30	52, 57		
7:116–122	52	<i>Testament of the</i>	
4 Macc. 18:7–8	60	<i>Twelve Patriarchs</i>	133, 200
		<i>T. Dan</i> 5:10–11	59
		<i>T. Dan</i> 5:10	200
		<i>T. Joseph</i> 19:11	200
		<i>T. Judah</i> 18:1	200
		<i>T. Judah</i> 19:4	61
		<i>T. Judah</i> 25:3	59
		<i>T. Levi</i> 18:12	59
		<i>T. Levi</i> 19:1	59
		<i>T. Reuben</i> 4:8, 11	59
		<i>T. Reuben</i> 5:6	59, 115, 118
		<i>T. Reuben</i> 6:6	200
		<i>T. Simeon</i> 7:1–3	200
		<i>Testament of Abraham</i> 8	250
Jubilees (<i>Jub.</i>)	4, 7, 60, 62, 108,		
	133, 135, 142, 143,		
	202, 261, 262, 264		
3:31–32	117		
4:15	119, 121, 282		
4:17–18	142		
4:22	59		
5:1–12	122		
5:1–7	59		
5:1–5	115		
5:7–9	122		

IV. DEAD SEA SCROLLS

<i>Thanksgiving Scroll</i> (1QH)	59	4QBerkhot (4Q286–287)	59
<i>Community Rule</i> (1QS)	59	4Q180 I, 22	120
<i>War Scroll</i> (1QM)	59	4Q202 iii, 15	121
1QapGen (Genesis Apocryphon)	59	4Q202 I, ii:9	121
		4Q215 (Testament of Naphtali)	133

V. PHILO AND JOSEPHUS

<i>Antiquitates Judaicae</i>	1, 73	116
(Jewish Antiquities, <i>Ant.</i>)	9, 29	199
1, 3:1	115	

VI. NEW TESTAMENT

Matthew		11:29–32	223, 234
1:18	115	11:32	236
3:4	204	16:19–31	257
11:1–6	186	24:7, 21	256
11:7–15	186		
12:39–41	223, 234	John	
12:39	236	1:1–4	56
16:14	204	1:21	204
16:21	256	3:17–18	56
17:10–13	203, 244	Romans	
17:23	256	5:12–21	55, 58
20:19	256	5:21	58
27:46	204	1–2 Corinthians	
27:49	204	1 Cor. 15:20–22, 44–49	58
27:63	256	1 Cor. 15:21–22	55
Mark		1 Cor. 15:22	56
1:2–8	186	2 Cor. 4:4	61
9:12–13	203	2 Cor. 11:3	100
15:33	204	1–2 Timothy	
15:35	204	1 Tim. 2:14–15	100
Luke		2 Tim. 3:8	203
1:16–18	203	1–2 Peter	
1:16–17	186	1 Pet. 3:19–20	59
1:26–35	115	2 Pet. 2:4	67
7:24–27	204	Revelations	
9:8	204	12:9	60
9:22	256	20:2	60
10:18	67, 282		

VII. APOSTOLIC FATHERS AND EARLY CHRISTIAN EXEGESIS

Augustine	55, 97	Irenaeus	
Confessions 1:11	55	<i>Adv. Haer.</i> (Against	
City of God 13–14	55	Heresies) I. 31:1	104
On Original Sin	55	Justin Martyr	
Ephrem the Syrian (Ephraem Syrus)		Second Apology	59
Commentary on		Dialogue with Trypho 8–9	200
Genesis	74, 100, 250	Dialogue with Trypho 103	60
<i>De Poenitentia</i>		Dialogue with Trypho 107	236
<i>Ninivitarum</i>	226, 236	Origen	
II Opp. Syr. Lat.	236	On John 6:7	191
Jerome	220	Pseudo-Jerome	
Epistle 53	236	On 1 Sam. 2:27	191

VIII. NAG HAMMADI CODICES, NEW TESTAMENT APOCRYPHA AND PSEUDEPIGRAPHA

<i>Apocryphon of John</i>		<i>Trimorphic Portentia</i>	
18:16–21	61, 104–105	39:20–25	104
24:16–25	104	<i>On the Origin of the World</i>	
<i>Gospel of Philip</i>		100:1–2	60, 61
55:27–31	106	116:13–19, 25–29	105
61:5–10	106	123:4–11	105
<i>Hypostasis of the Archons</i>		<i>Protevangelium of James</i>	
86:27–87:3	104	13:5	100
87:1–3	61	<i>Pseudo-Clementines (Homilies)</i>	
87:3–4	60	3:39	60, 61
89:18–29	104, 105	8:12–13	59
90:1–16	105	<i>Testimony of Truth</i>	
94: 25–26	61	47:3–6	60
1 Tim. 2:14–15	100		
2 Tim. 3:8	203		

IX. MISHNAH, TOSEFTA, AND TALMUD

<i>Mishnah (M.)</i>		b. Berakhot 19a	26
<i>Avot</i> 1:1	96, 90	b. Berakhot 32a	26
<i>Avot</i> 2:8	28, 30	b. Berakhot 52a	26
<i>Avot</i> 2:11	92	b. Berakhot 61a	52, 53, 54
<i>Berakhot</i> 9:5	53	y. Berakhot 2 (5b)	95
<i>Sanhedrin</i> 10:1	4, 132	y. Berakhot 2 (5b)	95
<i>Ta'anit</i> 2:1	23	y. Berakhot 7d	84
<i>Yoma</i> 5:2	252	y. Berakhot 8:6 (12b)	124
<i>Yoma</i> 6:4–8	129	b. Eruvin 18a	78
<i>Yoma</i> 6:8	129	b. Eruvin 19a	252
<i>Tosefta (T.)</i>		b. Eruvin 43b	185
<i>Ketubbot</i> 1:1	115	b. Eruvin 53a	18
<i>Orlah</i> 8	26	b. Gittin 46a	114
<i>Sotah</i> 6:5	74, 76	b. Hagigah 5a	50
<i>Yoma</i> 2:14	252	b. Hagigah 12a	97, 152, 226
<i>Talmud (b. and y.)</i>		b. Hagigah 12b	251
b. <i>Avodah Zarah</i> 22b	58, 97	b. Hagigah	169
b. <i>Bava Batra</i> 16b	15	y. <i>Horayot</i> 3 (49c)	201
b. <i>Bava Batra</i> 74a–b	64, 218, 244–246	b. <i>Ketubbot</i> 2a	114
b. <i>Bava Batra</i> 74b	148, 226, 227	b. <i>Ketubbot</i> 3b	115
b. <i>Bava Batra</i> 121b	195, 199	y. <i>Ketubbot</i> 1 (25a)	114
b. <i>Bava Metzī'a</i> 49a–b	26	y. <i>Ketubbot</i> 1:5 (25c)	115
b. <i>Bava Metzī'a</i> 59b	28	b. <i>Megillah</i> 11a	18
b. <i>Bava Metzī'a</i> 90b	152	b. <i>Megillah</i> 14b	253
b. <i>Bava Metzī'a</i> 107b	92	b. <i>Megillah</i> 19b	190
b. <i>Bava Metzī'a</i> 114b	200, 237	b. <i>Megillah</i> 22b	169, 170
b. <i>Berakhot</i> 6a	26	b. <i>Megillah</i> 31b	217
b. <i>Berakhot</i> 7a	127	b. <i>Menahot</i> 95a	203
b. <i>Berakhot</i> 17a	84	b. <i>Mo'ed Qatan</i> 26a	199
		y. <i>Mo'ed Qatan</i> 3:1	26
		b. <i>Nedarim</i> 50a	185
		b. <i>Niddah</i> 61a	116, 117

b. Pesahim 13a	185	y. Shabbat 6 (8d)	115
y. Nedarim 4 (38e)	84	y. Shabbat 8 (12b)	152
b. Pesahim 22a	142	y. Sheqalim 6 (49d)	201
b. Pesahim 54a	155, 190	b. Sotah 2a	152
y. Pesahim 4:1 (30d)	169	b. Sotah 7a	114
b. Qiddushin 71a	17	b. Sotah 9b	101
b. Rosh HaShanah 31a	17	b. Sotah 11a–b	203
b. Sanhedrin 7a	170	b. Sotah 11b	172
b. Sanhedrin 29a	90, 283	b. Sotah 13b	26
b. Sanhedrin 38b	75, 98, 127	b. Sotah 48b	26
b. Sanhedrin 39a	95	b. Sotah 49a	26
b. Sanhedrin 42a	181	y. Sotah 8 (23c)	201
b. Sanhedrin 44a–6	203	b. Sukkah 28a	28
b. Sanhedrin 54b	24	y. Sukkah 5:1 (55a)	212, 238
b. Sanhedrin 58a	114	b. Ta'anit 16a.	223
b. Sanhedrin 59b	78, 282	y. Ta'anit 2:2 (65b)	223
b. Sanhedrin 68a	32	y. Ta'anit 1:6 (64c)	169
b. Sanhedrin 98b	40	b. Yevamot 63b	116
b. Sanhedrin 100b	4, 132	b. Yevamot 103a–b	58
b. Sanhedrin 106a	203	b. Yevamot 103b	97
b. Sanhedrin 110a	253	y. Yevamot 11:1 (11d)	114
y. Sanhedrin 10:1 (50a)	4	b. Yoma 54b	252
y. Sanhedrin 10:2 (28b)	50, 190	b. Yoma 67b	116, 117
b. Shabbat 145b–146a	58, 97	y. Yoma 5:4 (42c)	252
b. Shabbat 150b	159	y. Yoma 6 (43c)	152
b. Shabbat 88a	178	y. Yoma 8 (44d)	95
y. Shabbat 2:7	32	b. Zevahim 101b	199

X. MIDRASH

<i>Pirqe de-Rabbi Eliezer</i>		11	6, 10, 17, 18,
1–2	27, 29, 33,		74, 97, 98–99
	89, 192, 212,	13	62, 72–98,
	269–273		113, 173,
1	25, 30, 185		281–284
2	29, 33, 261	14	23, 62, 79,
3–12	217		81, 83, 89,
3–9	10		97, 109, 113,
3	3, 16, 18, 27,		166, 182
	35	15	192
4	10, 79, 81,	16	144
	243, 265	17	35, 144, 268
5	226–227	18	35
6–7	35	19	17, 24, 37,
6	6, 181		212, 241
8	17, 35, 144	20	24, 35,
9	217, 218,		97, 142,
	241, 244–245		156–159,
10	10, 11,		164, 160,
	25, 144,		166, 262,
	211–258,		289–291
	263,	21	25, 62, 82,
	299–302,		99–100, 102,
	268		103, 104,
			106, 142

22	4, 28, 62, 66, 81, 100, 112, 142, 194, 268, 285–287	50 51	10 12, 17, 23, 176, 179, 180, 181, 2
23	25, 106–107, 112–123, 240	53	56, 267 25
24	23, 24, 230, 236	54	10, 23, 24, 25, 267
25	23, 192, 236		
26–31	24, 26	<i>Avot de Rabbi Natan</i> (Aleph and Bet)	
27	62, 80, 205, 266	ARNa 1	78, 85–91, 93, 98, 173, 283
28	12, 16, 17, 37	ARNb 1	78, 85–95, 98
29	16, 17, 24, 25, 142, 186–193, 193, 196, 187, 207	ARNa 6 ARNb 8	29, 30, 133, 189 97
30	17, 24, 36, 37, 38–41, 123, 135, 192, 261, 268, 275–279	ARNb 13 ARNb 37 ARNb 13	27, 29, 30, 31, 33, 89, 283 23 185
31	10, 17, 24, 35, 62, 124, 136, 205, 266	ARNa 20 ARNa 25	32, 84 32
32	10, 15, 17, 35, 62, 124, 136, 262, 267	ARNa 34 ARNb 42	23 89, 98
33	10, 17, 35, 212, 237–238, 267	ARNb 47	190
34	10, 17, 35, 266	<i>Breshit Rabbati</i>	
35	3, 15, 24, 37, 205, 266	Intro. by Albeck 61, 117, 166	23, 35, 133
36	11		
37	15, 17, 37, 142, 192	<i>Canticles Rabbah</i> (or <i>Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah</i>)	
38	11, 16, 35	1:3	32
39–41	23	1:29	190
39	23	4:1	171
40	17, 23, 24, 205, 266	6:1	171
41	10, 23, 172	<i>Derekh Eretz Rabbah</i>	
42	10, 17, 25, 172	56b	32
43	10, 17, 35, 97, 128, 137, 186, 192, 193, 197, 205–206, 223, 235–239, 263, 266	<i>Deuteronomy Rabbah</i> (<i>Deut. Rab.</i>)	
44–47	10	2	84
44	10, 17, 25	5:10	78
45	10, 24, 62, 124, 136, 169–171, 174–183	11:9	61
46	10, 24, 62, 124, 125–125, 121, 136, 267	<i>Ecclesiastes Rabbah</i> (or <i>Qohelet Rabbah</i>) (<i>Eccl. Rab.</i>)	
47	194, 178, 180, 181, 186, 191, 193–195, 205, 237, 295–298	12:12	4, 132
48	24, 27, 192, 262	7:23	75
49	10, 25	<i>Exodus Rabbah</i>	
		1:8	152
		1:12	172
		15:6	175
		15:22	226
		18:5	61
		27:5	61
		28:2	173–174
		41:7	170

43:1	127	<i>Lamentations Rabbah</i>	
46:4	178	24	178
51:8	178	<i>Leviticus Rabbah</i>	
<i>Genesis Rabbah</i>		1:1	195
2:5	57	2:1	171
3:1	152	5:1	114
6:3	181	10:3	169
7:4	244	11:7	152
8:1	97	16:8	84
8:5	76	20:2	35
8:9	77	22:3	224
8:10	74	29:1	98
9:7	52, 53–54	29:2	16
11:1	152, 154–158, 161, 164	32:5	114
12:6	152	37:2	199
14:4	54	<i>Mekhilta de-Rabbi Ishmael (Mek.)</i>	
17:4	74	Bo 1	1 90, 208, 212, 220
18:5	101, 114	Yitro 3	23
19:1	78, 100, 282	BeShallah 5	190
19:3	75, 94, 101	<i>Midrash Aggadat Breshit</i>	
19:4	90	(Buber)	40
19:5	283	<i>Midrash on Psalms (Midrash Tehillim or</i>	
19:9	84	<i>Shoh(er Tov) (Midr.Pss.)</i>	
19:10	85–91, 94, 95	1:29	190
20:5	101	6:1	171
21:3	97	8 (73)	75
21:5	76	44–45	254–255
22:2	98, 102–103	92:4	154, 158, 161
22:5	101	93:5	227
24:2	97	103	195
26:5	28, 109, 114–116	103:5	225
31:12	95	139 (539)	97
34:10	52	<i>Midrash Mishlei (on Proverbs</i>	
36:1	114	<i>Midr.Prov.)</i>	
38:8	76	9:3	200
41:3	50	<i>Midrash Yonah</i>	219, 222
44:4	266	<i>Midrash Teshuvat Yonah</i>	
41:14	29, 31, 33	<i>HaNavi</i>	219
44:17	37	<i>Numbers Rabbah</i>	
56:1	35	2	84
56:4	61	16:1	195
56:7–8	62	21:3	195
60:3	199	<i>Pesiqta Rabbati (Pes.R.)</i>	
71:6	92	4	237
71:9	199	4:2	200
71:11	199	5	152
78:6	142	<i>Kallah Rabbati</i>	
78:9	95	53b	32
91:6	92		
98:13	212		

14 (59b)	75	Shmini 8	98
46	152	Tazria 8	97
46:2	98	Qedoshim 10	252
Ki Tissa 10	178	Nasso 23	240
<i>Pesiqta de-Rab Kahana (P.R.K.)</i>		Beha'alotekha 14	170
1	223	Shelah 1	195
3	10	Shelah 13	178
4 (34a)	75	Hukat 1	227
10 (86a–86a)	193	Hukat 6	75
23:2	16	Pinhas 1	195
23:3	127		
24	235	<i>Tanhuma Buber</i>	
17:1	190	Breshit (18)	98
<i>Seder Eliyahu Rabbah (S.E.R.)</i>		Lekh Lekha 10	29, 31, 33
Ish Shalom's intro.	191, 199, 200, 212	VaYikra (30)	98
Addendum	23	Tazria 10	97
18	199, 200, 212	<i>Yalkut Shimoni</i>	
<i>Seder Eliyahu Zutah (S.E.Z.)</i>		Gen. 44	116
8	190	Exod. 391	170
15	199	Num. 732	84
<i>Seder 'Olam Rabbah (S.O.R.)</i>		Ruth 601	84
19	221	Jonah	219
8	190	Ps. 842	240
<i>Sifre Deuteronomy</i>		Prov.. 944	200
355	177	Zohar	
<i>Sifre Numbers</i>		In general	27, 117
93	23	Gen. 35b	100
131	195	Gen. 95a	187
<i>Sifra, or Sefer Torat Kohanim</i>		II, 197a	239
(on Leviticus)		III, 79a–b	176
Qedoshim 10:11	114	Exod. 92a	170
<i>Tanhuma</i>		Exod. 192a	187
In general	12–13	<i>Or Zaru'a</i>	158, 161, 174–176
VaYera 18	275	<i>Mysteries of Shimon</i>	
Vayera 23	35	Ben Yohai	5
Tetzaveh 10	170	<i>Midrash on the</i>	
Ki Tissa 19	170, 172, 187	Ten Kings	5
Pequdei 3	74, 252	<i>Menorath Ha-Maor</i>	80, 187
Pequdei 9	172	<i>Sefer Hasidim</i>	74, 175, 182
VaYikra 8	219, 225, 229	<i>The Apocalypse of</i>	
		Zerubbabel	5, 37
		<i>The Prayer of Rabbi</i>	
		Shimon Ben Yohai	5

XI. TARGUM

<i>Samaritan (Syriac)</i>		<i>Targum Onqelos</i>	
Gen. 6:2	116	Gen. 4:1	102
<i>Targum Neofiti</i>		Gen. 6:2	115
Gen. 4:1	102	<i>Targum Pseudo-Jonathan</i>	
Gen. 6:2	115	Gen. 1:16	181
		Gen. 4:1	102

Gen. 6:2	115	Lev. 16:21	129
Gen. 6:4	116	Num. 22:22	203
Gen. 46:17	193	Num. 25:12	195
Exod. 4:13	191, 199	Deut. 30:4	191, 199
Exod. 6:18	191, 199, 200	Deut. 33:11	201
Exod. 40:10	191, 199		

XII. LITURGY

'az be-'ayn kol	6	<i>Piyutim</i> on Elijah	217–216
'oto ha-yom	37	<i>Qerovot</i> tradition	24, 265
R. El'zar b. Qilir, <i>Sillug</i> for Tish 'a be-'Av	41	<i>Seder Rab Amram Gaon</i>	3, 258–260, 265, 268
<i>Piyutei Yossi ben Yossi</i>	6		

XIII. LATER RABBINIC WORKS AND OTHER JEWISH TEXTS

Arukh	3, 84, 152	Rashi	
Maimonides (Rambam)	3	Gen. 3:1	101
Saadia Gaol	49, 116, 220	Gen. 3:14	101
Vilna Gaon	235	Gen. 6:2	116
Ibn Ezra		Gen. 6:4	116
Gen. 3:5	76	Gen. 18:12	177
Gen. 3:22	76	Gen. 25:30	15
Gen. 6:2	116	Gen. 6:2	116
Gen. 6:4	116	Gen. 6:4	116
Gen. 11:7	76	Num. 26:11	253
Lev. 16:8	125	1 Kgs. 19:11	190
Isa. 27:1	245	2 Kgs. 9:11–12	221
Jonah 2:2–10	242	Jonah 1	220
Mal. 3:1	196	Jonah 2:2–10	242
Ps. 139:11	153	Jonah 3:4	215
Nachmanides (Ramban)		Mal. 2:5	195
Gen. 1:8	3	Mal. 3:1	196
Gen. 2:17	57	Ps. 89:38	181
Gen. 6:2	116	Ps. 1035	182
Gen. 6:4	116	Ps. 139:11	153
Gen. 11:7	76	b. Sanhedrin 39a	95
Lev. 16:8	125	b. Megillah 22b	169, 170
Metsudat David		<i>Shulḥan Arukh, Oraḥ</i> <i>Ḥaim</i> 417	169
Mal. 3:1	196	<i>Shulḥan Arukh, Oraḥ</i> <i>Ḥaim</i> 552:5	15
Radak		<i>Shulḥan Arukh, Yoreḥ</i> <i>De'ah</i> 193:	160
Gen. 6:2	116	<i>Shulḥan Arukh, Yoreḥ</i> <i>De'ah</i> 265:11	188
Gen. 6:4	116	Pseudo-Rashi	
2 Kgs. 9:11–12	221	<i>Gen. Rab.</i> 14:4	54
Isa. 27:1	245	<i>Gen. Rab.</i> 26:5	115
Ezek. 21:26	160		
Mal. 2:5	195, 199		
Mal. 3:1	196		

Radal (R. David Luria)	43, 44	PRE 30	38, 192
Intro. to PRE	3, 24, 25, 28, 35	PRE 35	15
PRE 11	98	PRE 43	205, 235
PRE 13	84, 96, 125	PRE 45	170–171, 174
PRE 10	220, 221, 253	PRE 47	194
PRE 20	155, 159		