Scholastic Rabbinism

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CHAPTER FOUR
THE THEMATIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHAIN OF TRADITION

The first section of both versions of ARN is the chain of tradition from Moses to the last of the pairs, Hillel and Shammai. The chain itself is a special genre with an intercultural background and a complex purpose. This chapter will analyze how the chain is used and developed thematically in each of the versions of ARN. In the next chapter we shall look at the chain as a special structure and genre in order to understand its function and meaning in PA and both versions of ARN. The special relationship of Johanan ben Zakkai to the chain and also of the princes, Gamaliel, Judah the Prince, etc., will be considered in chs. 5 and 6.

As usual in Rabbinic commentaries, diverse materials have been gathered without strict logical and thematic unity. Many items have entered ARN through association with relevant materials or because a topic was popular in the tradition. Despite the variety of materials collected in both versions of ARN, certain major themes persist throughout the section on the chain of tradition. Torah, given by God and taught by the sages, stands at the center and dominates the appearance of all other themes. The study of Torah, the authority of Rabbinic teaching, master-disciple relationships and appropriate behavior for one who adheres to Torah capture much of the interest of the commentators in ARN. These themes and the very form of the chain suggest that both versions of ARN are addressed to the members of the Rabbinic school, both masters and disciples. Schools in antiquity promoted ways of life with study of their central teachings at their core. Philosophical schools and similar religious organizations proliferated in the Greco-Roman world, especially in the Eastern Mediterranean. The Rabbinic way of life, a Torah centered life, is presented as a school in the structure and themes of ARN. This hypothesis will be tested in this and subsequent chapters and will be developed at length in ch. 6.

Each version of ARN will be treated in turn so that each may be seen individually. Major themes will be pointed out and unities which hold the works together will be noted. ARNA will be presented at greater length; ARNB will be treated with reference to ARNA both to avoid lengthy repetition when they are substantially the same and to highlight the characteristics of each when they differ.
"Moses was sanctified by the cloud and received Torah at Sinai." ARNA comments on its initial statement by recording a traditional dispute concerning Moses' preparation to receive the Torah on Mt. Sinai. R. Jose the Galilean says that Moses was covered by a cloud for six days to be purified (Ex. 24:16), but R. Akiba says that the cloud covered "it", i.e., the mountain, for six days and that Moses was called up only on the seventh day, as an honor. This dispute is a fitting introduction to the chain of tradition and to Torah, the main theme of ARNA, because it makes the reader look closely at Moses, the man who received Torah, and consider carefully the attitudes and preparation proper to receiving and learning Torah.

Moses' status is made clear by the conflicting comments of R. Nathan and R. Mattiah ben Heresh. Nathan says that Moses was "purged of all food and drink in his bowels before he was sanctified and became like the ministering angels." Moses unique role has led to a claim for him of suprahuman status, a claim already feared and refuted by Akiba's previous denial of a special period of sanctification for Moses. Mattiah responds to this danger by reaffirming Moses' humanity; the seven day waiting period was only to fill him with awe before receiving Torah. Moses' purification and preparation are implicitly paralleled with the priority and attention to be given to the study of Torah by the ideal scholar, an ideal expounded in the story immediately following in which Mattiah rebukes his teacher, Josiah, for leaving study of Torah to attend to worldly business. Both Moses and scholars must show great respect for Torah.

One final polemical assertion establishes Torah as a firm foundation for the chain of tradition and the way of life drawn from it: "By the hand of Moses was the Torah given at Sinai." Paul attacked the law by saying it was only temporary and was given by angels, not God himself (Galatians 3:19), but the verses quoted here say that God himself gave Torah to Moses and that Moses was only the middleman between God and Israel.¹ Torah's origin and authority are clear and unquestionable; the first link in the chain, God to Moses, was not broken by the intervention of others, even angels.

After presenting the Torah and the recipient of Torah, ARNA expounds on the notion of sanctification. Moses consecrated Aaron and his sons as priests. Their being set apart is subsequent to and subordinate to the setting apart of Moses, the lawgiver and
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teacher of Torah. By implication the later Rabbis, the guardians of Torah, are superior to the priests.

Subsequent links in the chain of tradition are presented, each with a supportive verse from Scripture: Joshua, the elders, the judges and the prophets. The final Biblical link in the chain is Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi, traditionally identified as the last of the prophets. The Men of the Great Assembly follow; they and all the subsequent non-Biblical members of the chain identify themselves through a saying. The saying of the Men of the Great Assembly, a group seen in the tradition as the link between Biblical and Maccabean times, becomes a charter for the study of Torah as practiced by the author of ARNA. "Be deliberate in judgment" now refers to interpreting difficult and shocking passages in Proverbs, the Song of Songs and Qoheleth. A second, natural interpretation, that one should be patient, is also applied to Torah: Moses forgot what God had told him because he became angry. Anger leads to forgetting the words of Torah and forgetfulness is the bane of scholars who memorize the tradition. Though the instruction to "Be deliberate in judgment" may have been originally addressed to judges, here it is turned toward the scholars and students who study, interpret and teach Torah. Scripture, Moses and passing on Torah occupy the center of this way of life and fill the early part of ARNA.

The chain of tradition up to the Men of the Great Assembly continually discusses topics crucial to the nature, preservation and interpretation of Torah. Moses and Mt. Sinai, preparation for and proper attitudes toward the word of God, the origin and authority of Torah and the study of Torah all contribute to the discussion. Events at Sinai, texts from the Bible and the current concerns of the author and audience are interwoven into one whole under the aegis of Torah. The emphasis on study and on the authority of the teaching suggest that ARNA is directed toward scholars, students and teachers in a scholastic setting.

The Hedges

ARNA next interprets the third clause of Simeon's saying, "Make a hedge about the Torah." J. Goldin suggests that the change in order is a deliberate midrashic decision. Since the first clause has been referred to Torah (the sages are to be deliberate in their teachings), it is natural that the hedge should follow, since it too is applied to the way they teach Torah.

Comments on the hedge continue the themes already begun in the previous sections, especially the interpretation and explanation
of Scripture and ideas central to Scripture. Eight figures are said to have made a hedge about Torah: God, Adam, Torah itself, Moses, Job, the Prophets, the Writings and the Sages. This series forms a sub-chain of tradition and functions in an analogous way. For the author, making a hedge, which is a process of explaining, arguing, reasoning, defending and interpreting, is not a late human creation or an arbitrary exercise of human reason perpetrated on the written word of God. Even God knew that his word would be misunderstood and attacked, so he too built a defense, a hedge. Adam, the first human, erected a badly constructed hedge and caused problems. Yet, to engage in the process is necessarily human. Job, an ancient and a non-Jew according to much of the tradition, did it and Moses, the Jew who received the Torah and initiated the chain of tradition, did it. Each of the divisions of Scripture, Torah, Prophets and Writings, make a hedge, or to de-personify them, have hedges built into the text. It is of the nature of Scripture to be explained and interpreted. Finally, the Sages, the heirs to Moses and the interpreters of Scripture in the author's day, erect hedges. The author of ARNA himself is continuing the process of interpreting and explaining, that is, of making a hedge.

The hedges made by God and prophets concern God and defend God against Scriptural statements which might be misunderstood. The hedges made by Adam, Torah, Moses, Job and the Writings all concern male-female relations, sexual relations or ritual purity. The hedge erected by the Sages concerns the time for prayer and is a classic example of a Rabbinic rule constructed more strictly than a Biblical rule to avoid any infraction. The choice of examples reflect two of the traditional triad of sins thought characteristic of Gentiles and characteristically avoided by Jews (idolatry, murder and illicit sexual relations).

God's hedge is found in Dt. 29 where destruction of the land is promised if Israel sins. The destruction will be so severe that strangers passing by will ask, "Why has the Lord done thus to this land." (Dt. 29:23) God has already provided an answer to that question in the succeeding verses which charge that Israel broke the covenant and committed idolatry. The author of ARNA addresses an urgent question of theodicy brought on by the ruins of the Temple which existed in his day. In his view God himself in Scripture anticipated questions about his justice and provided an apologetic answer, an answer which was extremely useful in the period after the destruction of the Second Temple, and which also provided a model for the apologetic work done by later generations of scholars.
After God, Adam the first human put a hedge around his words. The section concerning Adam's hedge is much longer than any of the others because it is replete with digressions and haggada. Stories and interpretations of Scripture concerned with Adam were popular in Rabbinic lore and have been freely woven into the narrative with some even repeated.

God ordered Adam not to eat from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil (Gen. 2:16-17). Adam in turn told Eve not to touch the tree (Gen. 3:1), thus creating a hedge about God's command. The serpent then tricked Eve by touching the tree and shaking it until its fruits fell; Eve saw the serpent unharmed and ate. "Hence it has been said: If a man puts an (excessive) hedge around his words, he shall not be able to stand by his words. Hence it has also been said: Let no man add to what he hears." Adam's sin is also explained by the story that the serpent ate of the tree and did not die and so Eve concluded that "All the things about which my master (rabbi) admonished me at first are false." Both the excessive hedge and the disregard of the "Rabbi's" instructions led to sin for Adam and Eve and by implication will lead to sin in the author's world too. An alternate tradition, that the tree cried out in protest and so the serpent did not touch it, may be a defense against the criticism that the hedge Adam put about his words led to Eve's touching the tree and so to sin. Though the section in general advocates making hedges, Adam's hedge manifests the dangers inherent in this process.

Adam himself sinned by disobeying God, that is, not accepting and acting according to Torah. The disobedience of Adam is conveyed by two parables concerning a woman's disobedience to her husband. Lust after kingship and rebellion against authority are developed by several comments and stories: Titus stood at the altar and foolishly challenged God; the serpent wanted to be king over the whole world and so tempted Adam and Eve; the serpent was jealous of Adam who was being served like a king by the ministering angels. A series of Psalms associated with each day of creation stress God's majesty and power. Eve is convinced by the serpent that her "Rabbi," her master, has lied to her, so she rejects his instructions. The conflict which led to the first sin seems centered around a desire to be king as opposed to obeying the real king, God.

A number of traditional accounts of creation and the effects of Adam's sin are scattered throughout the chapter. The contrast between God's creation and sin vividly captures the contradictions.
of human existence and the dangers facing humans in their response to God. Implicitly, obedience to God's word (Torah) as expounded by the sages is proposed as the corrective to Adam's sin with all its consequences.

Torah and Moses

After God and humans, Torah itself made a hedge about its words (ch. 2). ARNA has probably moved Torah to third place in the sequence, away from the other two divisions of Scripture (the Prophets and Writings) in order to give it special prominence.4 Torah, which is God's revelation as a whole, is closely associated with its author, God, and its recipients, humanity.

The hedge which Torah made about its words is found in Lev. 18:6 and 19: "None of you shall approach any one near of kin to uncover her nakedness while she is in her menstrual uncleanliness." The verb "You shall not approach" is stringent and absolute; to avoid sin in relations with women, the law forbids most contact. Naturally, the detailed interpretation of this hedge leads us into Rabbinic rules concerning relations with wives, female relatives and women in general. Husbands and wives are not to embrace nor lie side by side during menstrual uncleanness; men are not to be alone with their mothers-in-law or daughters-in-law; in public a man should not talk with or walk behind a woman, or even his wife, for appearance sake.

The author asserts that a series of detailed customs governing male-female relations derive directly from Scripture and are a hedge built into Scripture to prevent humans from even approaching a transgression of the difficult and delicate laws governing ritual purity in marital relations. The disputes among the sages show clearly that Scripture is in fact being interpreted, but the author holds that these interpretations are part of Scripture itself; written and oral Torah are simply Torah.

The difficulty and importance of obeying the commandment to refrain from intercourse during the woman's menstrual uncleanness is reinforced by the story of an otherwise pious husband whose early death is explained by infraction of the regulation not to lie side by side. The serious implications of infraction against even one minor commandment are reinforced by an interpretation of Song 7:3 "Your belly is a heap of wheat hedged in with lillies." The minor commandments are the heap of wheat or alternately the lillies which are tender. These commandments are kept in the privacy of one's home and are easily broken. They hedge Israel in
and see that Israel remains faithful. As in previous sections, emphasis placed on voluntary obedience and the importance of Torah as one indivisible whole.

The hedge which Moses built about his words continues the theme of relations with women and it uses the tactics of Adam's hedge. Moses changes a command given by God into a more strict demand. God said: "Go to the people and consecrate them today and tomorrow." (Ex. 19:10) Moses told them: "Be ready by the third day," (Ex. 19:10) and ARNA interprets this to mean that Moses added a third day of purification. Moses the founder of the Hebrew nation, succeeds where Adam, the founder of the human race, failed. The reason offered for the third day of purification, that a woman might discharge semen on the third day and render someone ritually impure as they receive the Torah, presumes the Rabbinic law which considered semen no longer a life force after three days and so no longer a source of uncleanness. Consequently, Moses is shown changing even the direct command of God to achieve harmony with Rabbinic law.

The very fact that Moses changed a command of God provokes a serious and extended reflection which takes up most of this section and strikes at the ambiguity of "making a hedge." ARNA introduces this discussion with the thematic statement:

This is but one of the things which Moses did of his own accord. He reasoned by inference and his judgment coincided with God's: He kept away from his wife....He kept away from the tent of meeting....He broke the tablets of the Commandments, and his judgment coincided with God's.

The author clings to the assertion that Moses reasoned and decided independently, but he hastens to add that his judgment coincided with God's, that is, he was correct in his interpretation of the implications of the law and its real meaning. The presentation of the three other cases when Moses acted independently is qualified by apologetic traditions which say that in separating from his wife and in breaking the tablets Moses did not act on his own (a denial of the original point of all these materials!) but only acted when directly ordered to do so by God. Moses' separation from his wife seems to contradict the positive command to increase and multiply (Gen. 1:28). The breaking of the tablets with God's word on them seems blasphemous and so it is put last and qualified by a mass of apologetic material. In its final form ARNA is profoundly uneasy with the statement that Moses decided independently. Second century authorities concerned with establishing Rabbinic practice and Torah as central to Judaism (Akiba, Meir, Judah ben Bathyra
and Eleazar ben Azariah) are cited to show that God told Moses what to do. These commentators understand Rabbinic law as directly revealed by God and do not accept the interpretation that Moses decided for himself. The doctrine of the oral and written Torah, both given at Sinai, is precisely an attempt to establish that "interpretations" were explicitly revealed by God himself.

In an elucidation of the hedge about Torah, Moses who received Torah on Sinai is obviously a key figure. The examples of Moses' decision making and behavior are culled from events connected with the giving of the Torah on Sinai. More significantly, all of Moses' decisions manifest respect and awe for the Torah or for God himself, the giver of Torah. Moses tries to prepare the people to receive the Torah by ritual purification and to protect them from sin by smashing the tablets. He profoundly alters the pattern of his own existence by deciding to separate from his wife and stay out of the tent of meeting. Moses is a model for how Israel should respect and guard God's Torah.

The review of cases in which Moses reasoned for himself and decided on a course of action which was approved subsequently by God addresses the substantial issue of how Torah is to be interpreted and lived. These stories teach that humans may and must play an active part in discerning the meaning and implications of God's commandments. Implicit in them is a defense of the creation of Rabbinic rules and laws not set forth in Scripture. Moses, first person in the chain of tradition, gives an example for all subsequent generations. This is a very frank and daring defense of the Rabbi's authority to decide the meaning and practice derived from divine law and a justification of the intense study of Torah carried on in Rabbinic schools.

Job, Scripture and the Sages

Job, who was a "blameless (tam) and upright man, who fears God and turns away from evil," (Job 1:8) made a hedge about his words, or more accurately his behavior, by keeping "himself far from things which lead to transgression, from what is hideous and whatever seems hideous." That Job was tam, that is blameless, whole, perfect, leads to the assertion that he was born circumcised, since circumcision makes a male Jew complete (ch.2). Twelve others from Adam to Zerubbabel who were also born circumcised are listed after this comment. The author of ARNA argues against the usual opinion that Job was a Gentile and includes him, by a divine intervention, within Israel. An example of Job's careful avoidance
of occasions of sin is drawn from his relations with women, a subject which has come up in the hedges of Adam, Moses and Torah. Job 31:1 says: "I have made a covenant with my eyes; how then could I look upon a virgin?" The interpretation, that Job would not look even at an unmarried woman whom he might marry, provokes a corollary and a reason. The corollary is that he would all the more refrain from looking at another man's wife. It states explicitly what is forbidden by the commandments, coveting another man's wife, and by implication emphasizes the strictness of Job's behavior. This is explained by the reason: "If I should look upon her today and on the morrow another man comes and weds her, it will turn out that I have been looking upon another man's wife."

In contrast to the hedges which humans build to protect themselves in matters of sexual behavior the prophetic books concentrate on God himself. Descriptions of God use metaphors, but God exceeds the limits of the metaphors. For example, "The Lord goes forth like a mighty man," (Is. 42:13) must by understood so that God is "not merely like one mighty man but like all the mighty men in the world." Amos 3:8, "the lion has roared" and Ez. 43:2, "the sound of many waters," are interpreted similarly. ARNA concludes "But the eye is shown what it can see and the ear is permitted to hear what it can hear." The hedge protects God's transcendence which can never be directly seen or understood by humans and it protects humans, giving them only what they can bear of God. More prominent than either of these hedges is the hedge the Rabbis erect about the words of the prophets here, as they emphatically assert that God is greater than the metaphorical language used of him.

The hedge which the Writings made about their words is found in the warning against the wayward woman in Prov. 5:8, "Keep your way far from her, and do not go near the door of her house." This warning is applied to the two concerns which have predominated in the discussion of the hedges: relations with women and the correct interpretation of Torah. ARNA continues its stress on Torah by interpreting the "her" in the verse to mean:minut, heresy; a person is warned against associating with or even listening to sectarians. A second paragraph, based on Prov. 9:2 that she has prepared a meal, may allude to Christian common life or worship (Acts 1-5) and it warns that once a person is in the circle of heretics they will reclaim what they gave him. A second interpretation of Prov. 5:8 reinforced by Prov. 7:26, "For many a victim has she laid low," contains the standard warning against prostitutes.
The hedge of the Writings, like the hedge of the Torah, demands caution and restraint in any behavior which might lead to sin.

The sages, like the Torah and the Writings, put a hedge around their words through regulations which keep the believer far from sin (ch. 2, end). Their teaching, that a man should recite the Shema before midnight (m. Berachot 1:1, the first mishna of the entire collection and a symbol for the whole?), guards against a person sleeping through the night and failing to say the Shema before dawn, the last moment it may validly be said. ARNA, true to its stress on study, urges that a person go to the study house and even if he does not read Scripture or Mishna, at least he should say the Shema there.

The hedges made by God, Adam, Torah, Moses, Job, the Prophets, the Writings and the sages reinforce the authority of the chain of tradition and the necessity for study of it. Not only has Torah been handed down from God and Moses, but the tradents have preserved Torah's meaning. As they affirm that hedges are built into Scripture and that the rules derived from Scripture are fully Torah themselves, the rabbinic authorities who created this section of ARNA show the twentieth century observer that they were indeed interpreting and justifying those interpretations as coming from God. Since God himself and Scripture itself made hedges, subsequent authorities can do no differently. The types of hedges made by the eight authorities correct two major tendencies toward sin: the tendency toward misperception of God and heresy and the tendency toward sexual licence. All of this supports a Torah centered way of life founded on study of and obedience to the Torah and it demands that the task of guarding and promoting this way of life be carried on through the study and close fraternal relations characteristic of an ancient school.

The final phrase of the saying of the Men of the Great Assembly, "Raise many disciples," continues the central concerns of the Rabbinic way of life (ch. 3). A dispute between the Schools of Shammai and Hillel about who should study initiates the discussion. The School of Shammai restricts study to the talented, meek, aristocratic and rich; the School of Hillel opens study to everyone because even sinners have been drawn to Torah. The rest of ch. 3 is filled with sayings and stories about Rabbi Akiba with special emphasis on generosity to the poor. At first glance most of the sayings appear irrelevant to the topic at hand (except the interpretation of Qoh. 11:6, "In the morning sow your seed and in the evening withhold not your hand," applied to raising disciples),
but J. Goldin has shown that Akiba is presented as the archetype of the student who is poor and begins study late, and that giving alms to the poor is carefully coordinated with study as part of living Torah. This same balance will be found in the teachings attributed to the pairs.

**Simeon and Antigonus**

Simeon the Righteous' saying, "On three things the world stands—on Torah, on the Temple service and on acts of loving kindness," is used to explain the transition from worship at the Temple to study of Torah and good deeds. An extended description of the loss of the Temple also gives expression to the mourning which accompanied this event (ch.4). Each phrase of Simeon's saying is quoted separately. ARNA understands Torah specifically as study and teaching of Torah by sages. Hos. 6:6, "I desire loving kindness and not sacrifice, the knowledge of God rather than burnt offerings," supports this interpretation. The second half of the verse identifies study of Torah as more beloved than burnt offerings. "Hence, when a sage sits and expounds to the congregation, Scripture accounts it to him as if he had offered up fat and blood on the altar." ARNA replaces the lost Temple sacrifices with study of Torah and continues its emphasis on study, but it does not attempt to explain why the destruction occurred.

ARNA expands its discussion of Torah and action by taking up the well known problem of whether to interrupt study to join a marriage or funeral procession, a very serious duty. The evidence presented is mixed. First, a moderate rule is given: leave study to join a procession if too few people are in the procession. This rule assumes that the command to process must be fulfilled, but it is better fulfilled by a non-scholar. Secondly, Judah bar Ilai is presented teaching his disciples to join a marriage procession in imitation of God's attendance on Adam and Eve at their wedding. The fundamental need for marriage and begetting children in marriage is reinforced by a citation of Gen. 2:23 on the creation of Eve. Rabbi Judah's argument defends the importance of marriage, yet ARNA so places these materials as to stress the (equal or greater?) importance of studying Torah. The tension is commented on, but remains. These discussions of value and principle pertain especially to full time scholars and students connected with an organized school.

In explaining the second phrase of Simeon's saying, "on the Temple service," ARNA cites the common belief that agricultural fertility depends on proper worship in the Temple. Dt. 11 and
Haggai 2:15-16 (where the prophet recalls scarcity before the Temple was built) are cited. Hag. 1:9 is used to show why the Temple was destroyed and 2:18-19 gives a promise of prosperity if it is rebuilt. Mention of the Temple brings up the anguish of its loss in 587 B.C.E. and again in 70 C.E. along with problems of theodicy and hopes for the future.

"Acts of loving kindness" (gēmūlēt ḥasādim) are interpreted through Hos. 6:6, "I desire loving kindness (ḥesed) and not sacrifice," as a replacement for the sacrifices and worship no longer possible because of the loss of the Temple. The commentary on this phrase of Simeon's saying implicitly answers the problem raised above concerning the difficulties engendered by the loss of the Temple. This major shift in Jewish religious practice is justified by a three step argument in ARNA. The fundamental importance of loving kindness to the existence of the world itself as well as human existence is established by citing Ps. 89:3, "The world is built with loving kindness." Acts of loving kindness are not just deeds people do; they are intergral to and constitutive of the world itself. Secondly, Rabbi Joshua asks Johanan ben Zakkai how sins will be atoned for now that the Temple (and the sacrifices of the Day of Atonement) are at an end. Johanan replies that acts of loving kindness are an effective atonement and cites Hos. 6:6. Thus the most solemn and crucial Jewish ritual is replaced by this bold interpretation and the way is opened for adjusting other aspects of Judaism to make up for the loss of the Temple. Finally, Daniel is cited as an example of a Jew living without the Temple who engages in acts of loving kindness rather than sacrifices: "He used to outfit the bride and make her rejoice, accompany the dead, give a perutah to the poor, and pray three times a day—and his prayer was received with favor." What Daniel did after the loss of the first Temple, a pious Jew can do after the loss of the second Temple. Loving kindness was instrumental in the creation of the world, atones for sins and replaces the worship of the Temple as the center of a Jew's life.

ARNA concludes ch. 4 on Simeon's saying with the story of Johanan ben Zakkai's escape from Jerusalem, the story of the high priests throwing the keys of the Temple back to heaven, some verses which speak of mourning, and finally a discussion of the three things in which God made humans differ from one another. This final group of three forms an inclusion with Simeon's tripartite saying at the beginning of ch. 4. The story of Johanan's escape has at its core an account of the founding of the Rabbinic school
The final materials provide background to the loss of the Temple and stress again what it led to, a new Jewish way of life.

The saying of Antigonus of Soko (ch.5) with its Greek background, is made to refer to the dispute over resurrection of the dead and the rise of the sects. It functions as an explanation of how disputes arose within Judaism and as an apologetic for the Rabbinic belief in resurrection of the dead. Antigonus' saying makes an analogy between the master/slave and God/believer relationships. "Be not like slaves who serve their master for the sake of their allowance" refers to the normal situation in the Greco-Roman world in which a master committed himself to maintain a slave who worked for him. "Be rather like slaves who serve their master with no thought of an allowance" refers to the less common and less desirable relationship which prevailed especially when food prices were high: the master would make the slave hire himself out, in addition to his regular work, to earn money for food. The final clause, "and let the fear of heaven be upon you," reinforces the application by analogy to the relations of humans with God. Respect for God and acceptance of one's situation on earth should lead one to worship and obey God, whether one receives rewards and happiness or not.

Since the relationship of humans and God must include God's justice toward humans and since reward for the just after death and the resurrection of the dead were major foundations of the Pharisaic and Rabbinic world views, it is almost inevitable that Antigonus' saying about reward be turned to that problem. In ARNA the very text of the saying has been altered with the addition, "and you will receive a reward, both in this world and in the world to come, as if you had done it yourself." ARNA then relates the saying to the dispute among Jewish sects over whether there is a resurrection from the dead. According to the author of ARNA Antigonus' disciples reasoned that he did not teach resurrection from the dead and so they "withdrew from the Torah," a statement made from a later polemical, Rabbinic stance. Two sects arose, the Sadducees from Sadok and the Boethusians from Boethius.

The author of ARNA understands resurrection to be implied by Antigonus' saying and defends it against a natural challenge. The saying also serves as an occasion to explain the existence of alternate views. Note that the presentation of Antigonus' disciples and disciples of those disciples is arranged in a sorites, a common Greek rhetorical form.
The author of ARNA is eager to lay the foundation of his own belief and explain the emergence of his opponents as a mistake. As in the chain of tradition as a whole, Rabbinic beliefs are seen as original and unchanged. This whole section identifies the Rabbinic school of thought and defends its validity by attacking alternate schools.

The Pairs

The early part of the chain of tradition ends with five pairs of teachers. The first two pairs have balanced teachings. Jose ben Joezer of Zeredah speaks of listening to the sages and Jose ben Johanan of Jerusalem talks about care for the poor in one's house and relations with women. Similarly, the second pair, Joshua ben Perahyah and Nittai the Arbelite, speak of having a teacher and fellow students and of keeping away from evil. In each case the first of the pair teaches study of Torah and the second good deeds.

Jose ben Joezer's tripartite saying (ch. 6) encourages welcoming and listening carefully to the teachers of the law: "Let your house be a meeting place for the sages, and sit in the dust at their very feet, and thirstily drink in their words." ARNA explains that the sages should be so familiar with one's house that they arrange to meet there. And of course, the householder ought to sit on the floor (the usual position for a student) and listen with awe. Surprisingly, ARNA also counsels that if a scholar visits the house asking to be taught, the householder ought not refuse him. This reversal of roles may project an ideal situation in which all people are able to teach one another.

The bulk of ch. 6 is filled with stories of Eliezer and Akiba as models who overcame obstacles to study Torah. The stories about Akiba stress his late start in the study of Torah, his poverty as a student and his eventual success at learning Torah bit by bit. The narrative about Eliezer chronicles his father's initial opposition and then eventual acceptance of his role as student and teacher, his initial poverty as a student and his brilliance as a youthful expounder of Torah.

The stories concerning the difficulties faced by Akiba and Eliezer when they wanted to study suggest that a person who wants to study will overcome age, poverty, family obligation and parental opposition. They also show the power of learning and its cumulative effect for one who learns, as well as the necessity for humble attitudes and a willingness to learn. The story of Eliezer's studies with Ben Zakkai in Jerusalem as well as the added
stories of the three wealthy men who attended the sages, Sisit Hakkeset, Nakdimon ben Gorion and Kalba Sabua, paint an ideal picture of the center of Judaism before the destruction of the Temple and of the prominence of the Rabbinic school and teachers even then. Everyone, even the rich leaders, assembled to learn and all were eager students and pious in their good deeds and giving of alms.

The saying of Jose ben Johanan of Jerusalem (ch. 7) provides a balance and complement to that of Jose ben Joezer. Jose ben Joezer treats study and the master-disciple relationship. Jose ben Johanan teaches conduct toward the poor and among members of the household. In the previous saying the home was treated as a center for learning and in this saying it is a source of sustenance for the poor and a harmonious base for life. The first two clauses, "Let your house be opened wide and let the poor be members of your household," are more closely tied to one another than they are to the third, "Talk not overmuch with women," though this clause too is related to behavior in the household.

"Let your house be opened wide" means that a house should be open or have doors on all four sides, as Job's did, so that the poor may easily enter. The first clause is understood in terms of the second. The second clause, "Let the poor be members of your household," might be literally understood to mean that the poor should move in as family members. ARNA demurs and says "Not actually members of your household." Rather, the poor, like the sages in the previous saying, should be familiar with your house and constantly meeting each other on the way there. ARNA stresses generosity and zeal in caring for the poor and the needy traveler through the examples of Abraham and Job. The home, the center of life, is to be mobilized for the care of the poor and opened to them unrestrictedly, for it is a center for charity.

The word for poor, ἀνή, is close to the word for humble, ἀνάω, and the two meanings are related because a household of humble people (especially the wife) lives more harmoniously and welcomes the poor more readily. Consequently ARNA generates a new saying, cited twice with commentary: "Teach the members of your household humility."

The final clause of Jose's saying, "Talk not overmuch with women," has been expanded to continue "even with your own wife, and needless to say with your fellow's wife. For so long as a man talks overmuch with women he brings evil upon himself, neglects the study of Torah and in the end Gehenna is his portion." ARNA
comments on this with an anecdote about a man bringing home the story of a dispute in the study house to his wife and thus bringing shame on himself and the other man. ARNA stresses domestic harmony and the threat to it from gossip.

The commentary on the three causes of Jose ben Johanan's saying focuses on charity to the poor, peaceful and orderly domestic relations through humility and restraint in relations with women, even one's wife. In tandem with the previous saying of Jose ben Joezer it gives a rounded picture of the attitudes and activities which make up the Rabbinic ideal: Torah and good deeds.

The form and contents of the sayings of Joshua ben Perahyah and Nittai the Arbelite, the second pair, (chs. 8-9), are balanced and complementary as were the sayings of the previous pair. Each saying has three clauses with the first two closely connected. Joshua's concerns relations among teachers and students; Nittai's warns about relations with evil neighbors. In the commentary ARNA stresses that a student should thoroughly study all branches of learning (Mishna, Midrash, Halaka, Haggada) with one teacher so that the teacher will have ample opportunity to cover everything. By contrast, a student with many teachers is compared to a man whose attention is fragmented among several fields. "Get yourself a companion" means someone with whom you constantly associate, both when you study and when you eat, drink and sleep. Qoh. 4:9-10 provides the reason for getting a companion: "Two are better than one because they have a good reward for their toil. For if one falls, the other will lift up his fellow." Companions in study will correct one another's errors. To this basic text are added two well known series of texts showing that God blesses different sized groups of scholars who study Torah. The blessing on even one scholar studying is illustrated by a parable of a son studying without his father's prompting. In general, the interpretations of the first two clauses of Joshua ben Perahyah's saying describe a school: learning is a communal activity; truth and accuracy are assured by interaction among teachers, students and colleagues.

Interpretations of the third phrase of Joshua's saying, "Judge everyone with the scale weighted in his favor," consist of a series of stories about pious ones (hāṣidīm) found in very suspicious circumstances yet correctly given the benefit of the doubt by others. Though this clause of the saying is not explicitly about Torah, it does describe the proper relationship among companions who are closely associated with one another, such as the members
of a school. It also presents an ideal type of observant Jew doing good under difficult circumstances.

Nittai the Arbelite's saying instructs the listener about dealing with evil in society and in life. One should avoid evil people and keep an eye out for possible disasters. The saying is structured like the previous one by Joshua ben Perahyah and its content complements Joshua's: the world at large and its evils are not consonant with the more harmonious world of Torah and scholars.

One should "flee from an evil neighbor" because when plagues come to the house of an evil person (the narrative assumes that this will happen) they will undermine the common wall separating his house from the just man's (cf. Lev. 14:33-45). Mention of evil leads quickly to a discussion of sins and their punishments with reference to famous Biblical sinners. ARNA cites the slander spread by the spies (Num. 14), Miriam in her opposition to Moses (Num. 12) and Gehazi who told a lying tale (2 Kings 5). The example of Miriam is greatly elaborated because of her association with Moses. Finally, Uzziah is cited.

The second clause of Nittai's saying, "Do not associate with the wicked," is similar to the first. ARNA cites three Scriptural examples of one person leading another into sin. The main message is that one should exercise care in those voluntarily associated with. The third clause, Jal titya'ëś min happur'änüt can be translated in two ways: "Do not shrug off all thought of calamity" and "Do not lose hope of the final reckoning." The text has interpretations to fit both meanings.

The comments on Nittai's saying are varied and at times uncoordinated. They balance the previous saying about relations among teachers, students and colleagues within the Rabbinic school. Lacking the overarching theme of Torah this saying treats the whole of society which includes the wicked and the disasters which can come upon a person in the normal course of things.

The sayings of Judah ben Tabbai and Simeon ben Shetah (ch. 10) are addressed to judges and concern fairness in examining witnesses and making judicial decisions. Both are treated briefly, perhaps because they are not directly related to Torah and good deeds, the main interests thus far in the chain of tradition in ARNA. ARNA does bring in Torah to a limited extent when it interprets "Do not play the part of chief justice" to mean that a person in the study house should ask the meaning of a statement of halaka rather than hastily dispute it.

Shemaiah's saying, "Love work, hate lordship and seek no intimacy with the ruling powers," receives full commentary in ch. 11
while Abtalyon's saying, which warns against deciding anything not in accordance with Torah and thus misleading one's disciples receives only the briefest treatment. This imbalance may be caused by an understanding of Abtalyon's saying which unites it closely to Shemaiah's and makes further comment superfluous; still Abtalyon deals with masters and disciples and teaching and we would expect fuller treatment. The fact that the connection with Torah is not developed may explain the more brief development of the commentary.

The first clause of Shemaiah's saying, "Love work," is illustrated by ten sayings and stories which relate work to Torah, Sabbath observance and obedience to God's word. This is a popular theme and the materials collected here are not tightly organized. Oddly enough, the second clause of Shemaiah's saying, "Hate Lordship," is directed at a proper attitude toward Torah and not Jewish difficulties with occupation governments or their own leaders. Four sayings, one anonymous and the others by Akiba, Ben Azzai and Jose, all center on not exalting oneself above Torah. The third clause, "Seek no intimacy with the ruling powers," receives a plain interpretation centering around the readiness of foreign governments (and robbers) to seize the property of or use those known to them.

Abtalyon's saying explicitly mentions the teaching of Torah, but this major theme of ARNA strangely is not developed here in the brief comments.

"Sages, watch your words lest you decide something not in accord with the teaching of the Torah, and incur the penalty of exile and be carried off to a place of evil waters; and your disciples also who come after you decide in your name something not in accord with the teaching of the Torah, and they incur the penalty of exile and be carried off to a place of evil waters."

The clause "lest you decide something not in accord with the teaching of Torah" is added by ARNA, consistent with its great emphasis on Torah. It also has the enigmatic interpretation: "'Evil water' means just that"; this probably refers to heresy. For the rest, a verse is quoted to show that the heathen nations are the evil waters and that mingling with them will get people carried off to forced labor. These comments relate to Shemaiah's mention of work and foreign governments, but they are surprisingly underdeveloped.
The final pair in the chain of tradition are Hillel and Shammai. Hillel was the most popular sage in the Rabbinic tradition and the variety of materials marshalled in ARNA, ch. 12 (in contrast to the brief chapter on Shammai) bespeak that popularity. Ch. 12 begins with a citation of PA 1:12-14. Within the chapter two Hebrew sayings, PA 1:12 and 14 and then two Aramaic sayings, PA 2:6 and 1:13 are commented on. The rest of Hillel's sayings from PA 2:4b-7 are cited at various points in the commentary. Hillel's first saying begins, "Be of the disciples of Aaron, loving peace and pursuing peace." The central tradition is that Aaron used to shame the wicked into behaving and reconcile people who were angry with one another. Aaron's effect on people produces a series of stories about their great mourning for him, in contrast to the mourning for Moses who was less beloved because he had to act as judge. Moses was so struck by the mourning for Aaron that he asked for a death like Aaron's. This statement leads to some legendary accounts of Moses' death in which he resisted the angel of death, the angel of death had to search for him and God put his soul under his throne.

Two comments should be made concerning the interpretations made about peace, Aaron and Moses. Peace is a favorite theme in midrashic literature and a number of stories and comments have been gathered here. Hillel, like Aaron before him, is pictured as a gentle, patient man beloved by the people. Second, the mention of Aaron leads to treatment of Moses, his relations with Aaron and his death. Implicitly, Hillel, the great teacher of Torah, is linked to Moses, who received the Torah from God. (Later Hillel is also compared to Abraham.) The themes of peace and greatness associate Hillel with Aaron and Moses and place him in their category. The favorite theme of peace serves the dominant theme of Torah. Note, too, that the long haggadic digressions on Moses attest to his popularity in story and imagination, but Moses is put in his place in relation to Aaron, a theme common in the literature.

The last two phrases of Hillel's first saying receive more brief comment. "Loving mankind" produces the reflection that because the people at the tower of Babel loved one another they were only dispersed, in contrast to the inhabitants of Sodom who were destroyed because they hated each other. "Drawing them to Torah" is exemplified by Abraham who brought Gentiles to Torah. In both cases punishment or reward is associated with the saying and this
same theme is continued in the following: "If not I for myself, who then? And being for myself, who am I? If not now, when?"

This strange expression stimulates reflection on laying up merit for the world to come and on the opportunity to repent available to the living and not the dead.

Another saying, not found in PA, is cited and commented on: "If you will come to My house, I shall come to your house; to the place My heart loves, My feet lead Me." It is applied to one who goes to the study house and is rewarded in the world to come and to one who makes a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and is protected by God's presence. The themes of reward, punishment and pilgrimage are continued in the final section of the chapter which contains several Aramaic sayings, including PA 5:22-23 (here attributed to Hillel). A final story about a priest who did not eat food according to the rules of the sages and who was rebuked by Rabbi Joshua confirms the view that the sages have authority over priests and that their interpretation of the Torah is the basis for reward and punishment in this world and the next.

In the final chapter of this section, ch. 13, Shammai's saying, "Make your (study of) Torah a fixed practice; say little and do much; and receive all men with a cheerful countenance," contradicts the usual caricature of Shammai as an impatient old man and reflects a pro-Shammai picture of a teacher urging study of Torah, eager performance of good works and harmonious personal relations. The commentary on this saying interprets $qb^4$ to mean learn accurately or carefully, practice and teach.

Abraham practicing generous hospitality to his three angelic visitors (Gen. 18) is cited as the major example of doing much as ordered by the second clause and this parallels cheerful giving in the third clause of the saying. An example of the opposite of this is Ephron (Gen. 23).

Shammai comes off rather well in this chapter in comparison with some of the caricatures of him elsewhere. The materials must come from a time or group when it was not important to downgrade Shammai in comparison with Hillel. Were these materials very early, something hard to prove, they would come from a Shammaite source. The themes of his saying tend to balance and relate study of Torah and good works which have dominated the discussion thus far.

Summary of ARNA

Torah, the study of Torah and good deeds which flow from obedience to Torah dominate the chain of tradition as it is
explained and defended in ARNA. Torah produces a way of life which fits the model found in ancient schools in the Greco-Roman world: study, preservation of a tradition, interpretation of that tradition and behavior consistent with it. The chain of tradition and the hedges put around Torah establish the authority of Torah by identifying Torah with its interpretation and application. All come from God and exist as an inextricable unity; disobedience to a rule of the Sages is a denial of the whole integral structure and a danger to the harmony of life under Torah, a life preeminently of masters and disciples united in study and practice.

A Torah-centered way of life rests upon assiduous study of Torah and study requires close attention to the master-disciple relationship, communal study, methods for clarifying uncertainties in Scripture and law and a rational mode of carrying on discourse. In addition, the more ordinary virtues of hospitality, generosity, compassion, sexual restraint and patience receive emphasis. The themes in ARNA project, in an unsystematic way, a humane, devout and God-centered school and society built on Torah.

The Torah has produced heroes and models. Moses, the receiver of Torah, enjoys frequent mention and exemplifies intimate acquaintance with Torah and God. Adam, the first human, communicates the human predicament in its primal form, especially the tension between God's gifts and human disobedience. Aaron, Abraham and Job each offer encouragement and instruction to the believer. Among post-Biblical figures, Hillel is outstanding as teacher and human being. The author of ARNA cherishes the presence of early named authorities, Simeon the Just, Antigonus of Soko and the pairs, though he knows little about them. Among later scholars, Akiba and Eliezer stand out.

The themes outlined above have an internal unity and coherence not evident in the structure of ARNA. Students who read the section on the chain of tradition come away knowing the origins of their school, what is expected of them and how to respond. The lack of rigid and logical development of themes matches the irregular and changing demands of life, even of a life centered on Torah from heaven.

Part II: ARNB

ARNB exhibits a structure and thematic core similar to ARNA. Clearly they both arose from one tradition but each developed independent wording, content and order in certain chapters or sections within chapters. To avoid repetition, reference will be
made to the presentation of ARNA when the themes of both versions are substantially identical. Nevertheless, care will be taken to present ARNB as a unified whole. Major differences between the versions will be pointed out, but detailed comparisons and nuances of interpretation will appear in ch. 5.

Since the foundation of the chain of tradition is the revelation of God to Moses on Mount Sinai, ARNB introduces the chain with a discussion of Moses' status in relation to God and his place within the events at Mount Sinai. "No one who glorifies himself is (truly) great unless someone greater than he glorifies him. The King over the kings of kings, the Holy One, blessed be He, glorified Moses, and the King over the kings of kings sanctified him...." This statement both praises Moses and puts him firmly in his place. The Bible and the Rabbis treated the man who had spoken to God with great awe and told many stories to elucidate his special and even unique status among humans. Fittingly, ARNB affirms the wonder and sanctity of Moses and implicitly of the meeting with God at Mt. Sinai. But the same comment establishes God's primary and Moses' secondary role in the extraordinary events at Mount Sinai.

The subsequent dispute concerning Moses' purification on Mount Sinai reinforces the main point, Moses is merely human. The subject of purification is continued in an account of the purification of Aaron and his sons as priests, in the rite of the red heifer and in a list of seven things which require a seven day period of purification (flux, menstruation, death, etc.). These associated ideas link together the lawgiver with the priest and Sinai with repeated events of ordinary life. ARNB's introduction to the chain of tradition is more brief and less centered on Torah than ARNA's.

The whole chain of tradition from Moses to the Men of the Great Assembly is recited in preparation for a series of comments on each member of the chain. For most members a Scriptural verse is given. The verses in ARNB vary in most cases from those cited in ARNA. This variation is the same as that found by W. Sibley Towner in his study of the enumeration form in the Mekilta and indicates that the verses were added to the chain after it was already in existence. The desire to establish the authenticity and authority of the chain of tradition would easily lead to the addition of Scriptural verses. Also, the extended comments on the sayings of the Men of the Great Assembly and those following them encourages some elucidation of the early links in the chain here.
Moses stands out, as he did in ARNA, as the recipient of Torah from God: "Not from the mouth of an angel and not from the mouth of a Seraph, but from the mouth of the King over the kings of kings, the Holy One, blessed be He, as Scripture says: "These are the statutes and ordinances which the Lord made between him and the people of Israel on Mount Sinai by Moses!" (Lev. 26:46) Another verse is given to show that God himself wrote out the commandments for Moses.

Eli and Samuel are added to the chain of tradition in ARNB and they increase the members of the chain of tradition to sixteen. Given that fourteen is probably a traditional number for the members of the chain (see ch. 5), and that other sources lack them, it seems that ARNB added these names. Why they would be added is not clear. Eli was a priest (1 Sam. 1:9) and Samuel was a Levite (1 Ch. 6:18-23) and their presence in the early part of the chain corrects the omission of these sacred classes which are consistently neglected in Rabbinic tradition for polemical reasons.

Note that Simeon the Just is not identified as a high priest, but as the last of the Men of the Great Assembly. Perhaps the editor of ARNB sees Eli as the last of the Elders and Samuel as the first of the Prophets. Or at a later date, after Rabbinic authority was established and the priesthood a thing of the past, the editor may have been anxious to keep alive the memory of the lost priesthood and Levitical class by including them among the conveyors of the tradition. The additions are literarily infelicitious because they interrupt the harmonious sequence of generic classifications, Elders, Judges and Prophets. Also, Eli's failure with his sons and loss of the priestly house makes him an ambiguous figure to include in the chain.

ARNB parallels ARNA in its treatment of the first clause of the saying of the Men of the Great Assembly, "Be deliberate in judgment." It discusses interpretation, canon and memory, but more briefly than ARNA. On the second clause concerned with making a hedge about Torah, ARNB retains the original chronological order of those who made a hedge: God, Adam, Job, Moses, Torah, Prophets, Writings and Sages. ARNB introduces its list of eight who made a hedge about Torah with a paragraph which warns against the dangers of making an excessively large hedge, a warning proper to the hedge made by Adam: "No one should make the fence more important than what is to be fenced in—for if the fence falls down, then it will cut down the plants. For this is what we find in connection with Adam...." The editor of ARNB has chosen the only example
of a hedge which caused harm, most probably because he had seen abuse of the process in his own setting. Since Adam causes problems by making his instructions to Eve too restrictive, and since Rabbinic interpretation of the hedge was precisely as regulations which protected the Biblical commandments, the introductory paragraph may reflect a protest against excessive zeal and strictness in making laws.

God's hedge guards against the objection brought by nations when they see the destruction of the land (Dt. 29:23). ARNB expands on the question in Scripture, "Why has the Lord done thus to the land," with a series of hostile charges made to Moses by the nations of the world concerning Babel and Sodom: "Because He is the ruler of the world, He kills whomever He wants and leaves alone whomever He wants." These ancient events are alleged to be preludes to the destruction and first exile visited upon Israel itself. The editor has identified the first and second destructions and the questions which each provoked. God is protected by Dt. 29 from the allegation that he is arbitrary both in antiquity ("What did the men of the [generation of the] flood do to him that he made them float like leather bottles in the water?") and in the editor's own day when the Temple lay in ruins.

ARNB has an extended treatment of Adam and his hedge, which is nevertheless more brief than ARNA's. Like ARNA, ARNB shows that Adam's hedge was defective because it let the serpent outwit Eve. There is a lament over the serpent who could have been such a boon to humankind, for even such a sinister creature as a serpent would have been a benefit in paradise. Two parables show that Eve was gullible and careless. ARNB is organized differently from ARNA in that its account of Adam and Eve cites Gen. 3:1, 2, 3, 5 and 6 in order, thus producing a brief commentary on the beginning of Gen. 3. Other themes may be discerned: the serpent suggests that God's grudging nature caused his prohibition of the tree. This common Rabbinic theme may be a response to an ancient polemic against the Jews or to a common misunderstanding of Gen 3. The serpent also says that if Eve eats she will be able to create worlds and kill and revive, that is, she will be a god as described in the previous section on God's hedge. ARNB also stresses the immediate awareness of sin and its effects in that Eve sees the angel of death coming toward her and Adam feels his teeth set on edge. The life and death issues and ambiguities which link God, the serpent, Adam, Eve and evil predominate.
After Adam the first human treated is Job, the Gentile, and not Abraham his contemporary (ch. 2). Job's hedge concerns sexual behavior toward women, a topic treated in the Noachite commandments and pertinent to Gentiles. The editor of ARNB includes all of humanity in the hedge-making process by citing Adam, the common progenitor, and then Job, a Gentile, and Moses, the recipient of Torah. Job 1:8 and 31:1 demand, as in ARNA, modesty in looking at any woman, especially another man's wife. Then ARNB cites Job 31:2 concerning Job's portion from God and interprets it to mean that one should be satisfied with one wife, like Adam. Since polygamy was permitted in the Bible, looking at an unmarried woman would be permitted, but Job's stringent behavior is explained by his position on marriage. This argument suggests an ongoing polemic against polygamy in Rabbinic literature.

The very reserved Rabbinic attitude toward women and relations with women appears in both versions of ARN. This theme corresponds to Eve's susceptibility to temptation and influence on Adam in the previous section and also fits the polemic against polygamy. This theme of relations with women continues in the following sections on Moses and Torah.

Moses' command to the people to abstain from sexual relations for three days instead of two and the three other cases where he decided for himself are presented briefly and without the extensive polemical material found in ARNA. However, after three of the four cases the editor cites a verse to show that God agreed with Moses' decision. The four cases in ARNB show the sanctity and uniqueness of Moses' call. He commands all to abstain from sexual relations before the revelation on Sinai. Because he was so close to God, Moses abstains permanently. In breaking the tablets he keeps Israel from being condemned for breaking its contract with God and finally, Moses does not approach the tent of meeting until called. Moses is seen as very close to God and yet assuming nothing in his relationship with God. Throughout, male-female relations are used as a symbolic vehicle for speaking of relations with God.

ARNB next shows that Scripture itself, that which was revealed to Moses on Sinai, also puts a hedge about its words in each of its three parts, the Torah, Prophets and Writings (ch. 3). Making a hedge is not an accretion to or modification of Scripture, but part of Scripture itself. The hedges proposed by Torah and the Writings concern relations with women, as did previous hedges. The Torah safeguards the prohibition of sexual relations with one's
wife during the menstrual period and the Writings warn against being enticed by a prostitute, a common theme in Wisdom literature. In addition, the wayward woman is interpreted as heresy, another common Rabbinic theme. The prophets used metaphors to speak of God not so much to safeguard God, but "so that the ear be unoffended and able to hear." ARNB itself makes a hedge about the prophets so that their metaphorical language will not be misunderstood.

Finally, the Sages put a hedge about their words by saying a man should recite the Shema before midnight, even though it is a violation only if it is not done before sunrise. ARNB envisions a man in bed reciting the Shema (and then possibly studying) in contrast to ARNA which imagines a person stopping off at the study house. ARNB further stresses the need for obedience by showing the dire consequences of disobedience and the temptation which follows, as developed through Qoh. 10:8, "He who digs a pit will fall into it; and a serpent will bite him who breaks through a wall."

Like ARNA, ARNB begins its comments on "raise many disciples" (ch. 4) with a dispute between the Schools of Shammai and Hillel concerning who ought to be taught. But ARNB bases its position on prudent foresight: if one teaches all the students who come, some will turn out well. Qoh. 11:6, "In the morning sow your seed and in the evening withhold not your hand," is applied to this point as well as to actual sowing, giving to charity and begetting children. A loose chain of sayings and interpretations of Qoh. 11:6 fill out the picture of what a good disciple ought to be. Both teachers and students must be charitable, endure poverty and be models of good and prudent behavior. ARNB is organized in a radically different way from ARNA, ch. 3 which proposes Eliezer and Akiba as models of these virtues.

Simeon's saying that the world stands on Torah, the Temple service and deeds of loving kindness (ch. 5) occasions an explanation of the Temple's destruction and its replacement by Torah and good deeds in Jewish life. ARNB implies that the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple was caused by neglect of Torah when it cites four Biblical cases where neglect of Torah caused destruction and exile. The examples concern the northern tribes, Judah and Benjamin, and also Jerusalem and Israel (the people and the land). Each example is supported by a Scriptural statement that the people have disobeyed or rejected God's Torah. As is sometimes the case, ARNB stresses action (here obedience) rather than study of Torah (ARNA). ARNB reinforces the covenant theology that
survival depends on obedience and that disobedience will bring destruction and exile. This line of argument both explains the loss of the Temple in 70 C.E. and exhorts the readers to a better life.

In explaining the next phrase, "on the Temple service," ARNB presumes that the Temple has been destroyed and so it evokes an aura of "the good old days." "While the Temple service existed, the world was blessed, low prices were prevalent and grain and wine were plentiful; people ate until satisfied and domestic animals ate until satisfied." ARNB expounds this comment using Hag. 2:15-16 (found in ARNA) and then develops a phrase by phrase interpretation of Hag. 1:6 and Hab. 3:17, which details the effects of the loss of various Temple rituals; the midrash ends with the traditional hope that the Temple will be rebuilt in the future. These extended midrashim prepare for the next two chapters (6 and 7) which describe the destruction of the Temple.

In ARNB the account of the Temple's destruction is occasioned by the mention of the Temple service in Simeon's saying. Unlike ARNA, ARNB interrupts its commentary on Simeon's saying and substantially expands the account of the loss of Jerusalem and the Temple with stories of the siege and of the vengeance visited upon Titus, its destroyer. After the story of Johanan's escape from Jerusalem and interview with Vespasian which leads to the founding of the Rabbinic school, ARNB (ch. 7) returns to the sufferings in Jerusalem, the final attack, Titus' blasphemous entry into the Temple and challenge to God and Titus' humiliating and horrible death. Mourning for the loss of Jerusalem overshadows the replacement of the Temple with study and good deeds, which is taken up in the following chapter.

In Ch. 8 ARNB applies Hos. 6:6 both to the words of Torah and to acts of loving kindness. Holocausts are the more important category of offerings and are replaced by the words of Torah. Sacrifices belong to a lesser category and are replaced by acts of loving kindness. These transformations are broadened by 1 Sam. 15:22 which says, "To obey is better than sacrifice," and by a remark of Rabbi Simeon, "More precious to Me is study of the words of Torah than burnt offerings and sacrifices." Although ARNB is interpreting the phrase "acts of loving kindness," it first explains that the Temple sacrifices have been replaced. Then loving kindness is expounded by a catena of four Scriptural verses which show that loving kindness fills the earth and extends above the sky. It is not merely an aspect of life, but dominant in the cosmos. (In ARNA it was instrumental in creation.) Finally, Johanan
ben Zakkai's teaching to Rabbi Joshua that loving kindness atones in place of the Temple and the dispute about whether to continue studying or join a funeral and marriage procession complete the discussion of study of Torah and acts of loving kindess.

The dispute about whether to join a marriage procession mentions that God adorned Eve as a bride. This, plus the general topic of hesed, leads to a long digression (chs. 8-9) on the creation of Adam and the natural relations of males and females. Ch. 8 cites Ps. 139:5, "You have formed me behind and in front," and ch. 9 cites Gen. 2:23, "Bone of my bones." Much of the material concerns Adam and Eve and is found in other sources. Probably the popularity of such materials led to their inclusion here. The effect of this long digression is to turn attention from the grief associated with the destruction of the Temple and toward the creation of life, marriage and sexual attraction. In addition, Adam and Eve's sin shows the radical ambiguity of human existence which manifested itself also in the destruction of the Temple.

Like ARNA, ARNB uses the saying of Antigonus of Soko, (ch. 10) to explain the emergence of the Sadducees and Boethusians as groups who rejected teaching of resurrection because they misunderstood the saying of their master, Antigonus. In the second half of ch. 10 ARNB also has a commentary on each clause of the saying, something lacking in ARNA. It gets into the difficult question of partial reward in this life and its relation to reward in the next life. In addition, it discusses the motives of love and fear, opting for fear as the better motive. The discussion is very compressed and plagued by manuscript difficulties, but it lays part of the foundation for the Rabbinic school's way of life.

The Pairs

ARNB interprets Jose ben Joezer's saying at great length, giving a chapter to each clause. Even so, comments under the first clause refer to the whole saying and it is clear that a large group of traditional materials has been arranged without sharp divisions between parts of the saying. In ch. 11 ARNB encourages welcoming the sages and their disciples because they bring blessings on the house. This is proved by three Scriptural examples of blessings coming on a house because of the presence of Jacob, Joseph and the ark. The sages are implicitly presented as the contemporary equivalents of major Biblical figures; they are explicitly said to be of more value than the ark, which contained only the two tables of the commandments, presumably because the Sages "contain"
the whole Torah, written and oral. A second interpretation of "Let your house be a meeting place for the sages," stresses the respect, fear and awe that should be shown the sages, like that of Joshua toward Moses. The third and fourth interpretations explain what a "meeting place" means. The fifth interpretation repeats the second with the men of Jerusalem's respect for Ezekiel (Ez. 20:1) replacing Joshua and Moses as the Biblical example. The theme of Ez. 20, God's fidelity to Israel and rebuke of the men of Jerusalem who question his word, implicitly equates the teachings of the sages with the word of God which must be treated with awe and respect. Further Biblical passages show the value of associating with a wise teacher.

Chs. 12 and 13 recount the stories about Akiba and Eliezer, found also in ARNA, which show the attitudes and exertions necessary for success in study of Torah. ARNB presents the same materials on Jose ben Johanan's saying concerning generosity to the poor with the notable addition of a series of interpretations of Is. 58 which defines the "homeless poor" (58:7) and enumerates the curses and blessings attendant on generosity or its lack.

For the next two pairs, Joshua ben Perahiah and Nittai the Arbelite and Judah ben Tabbai and Simeon ben Shetah, ARNB attributes the saying of the second member to the first and vice versa (compared to the attributions found in PA and ARNA). No obvious reason explains the transpositions, though one suggestion may be made. The preceding saying by Jose ben Johanan concerned treatment of the poor, the household and women. By its transposition ARNB has continued the discussion with a saying concerning relations with neighbors ("Flee from an evil neighbor..."). The last clause of Nittai's saying (according to the text of ARNB), "Judge with the scale weighted in his favor," leads smoothly into the sayings by Judah ben Tabbai and Simeon ben Shetah which concern legal process.

The materials collected to comment on Joshua's saying (chs. 16-17) have the same general thrust as that found in ARNA, but the Scriptural examples vary and ARNB is more brief. This lack of a common tradition in details argues to uncertainty about the exact meaning of the saying, especially since it does not immediately relate to Torah, the main theme of both versions.

ARNB begins its commentary of Nittai's saying (chs. 18-19) by two additions to the saying: "Provide yourself with a teacher for wisdom, and get yourself a companion for mishna." The companion is to help in oral repetition and memorization; the teacher provides
guidance. Comments on the first two clauses of the saying are generally parallel. Like ARNA, ARNB illustrates the third clause, "Judge everyone with the scale weighted in his favor," with a series of stories. Each version has its own stories (with one in common and one roughly similar). These variations can be explained by the extreme imaginativeness and improbability of the stories. Though this clause is not explicitly about study of Torah, it does govern the relationships among companions and between master and disciples (Rabbi Joshua and his disciples). Even this generalized instruction is focused on a problem created by the close association of master, disciples and colleagues in a school.

The sayings of Judah ben Tabbai and Simeon ben Shetah (ch. 20) are reversed, as was noted above. They are treated with great brevity, as in ARNA. The observation that an official learns to cling to power fits better in ARNA in connection with the instruction "Do not play the part of chief justice," rather than in connection with "Again and again examine the witnesses...." in ARNB. Shemaiah's saying (chs. 21-22) receives extensive commentary and Abtalyon's hardly any at all, just as in ARNA. The first clause of Shemaiah's saying, "Love work," is illustrated by 14 stories all beginning with the stereotyped formula, "Great is work because...." Eight of the stories are common to both versions, but the order of the items and attributions to sages vary considerably. No consistent principle orders the stories though some themes unite two or three items. In some, work is related to Torah, Sabbath observance or obedience to God's word. The materials have been loosely edited as is customary with popular themes and materials.

The second clause of Shemaiah's saying, "Hate lordship," is first applied to a proper attitude toward Torah, as in ARNA. Then ARNB has a comment more appropriate to the lemma, that lordship buries those who wield it, and cites three Scriptural examples of rulers who died before their elders: Joseph, Joshua and Solomon. ARNB, ch. 22, also has a long digression on the fates of the just and wicked. This discussion, in the names of Jose and Akiba, is unconnected to the context except at the very end. Both versions are similar in treating the last phrase of Shemaiah's saying and Abtalyon's whole saying.

The last sentence of ch. 22, "Hillel and Menahem did not differ; Menahem went forth and Shammai entered," serves as a transition to the next chapter which treats Shammai and the subsequent
ones which deal with Hillel. Who Menahem was and what this tradition means has been the subject of much controversy. His name may have been placed here by the editor of ARNB who was puzzled by the mention of Menahem in other traditions and wanted to ensure that he was not left out. Thus Menahem is included but not clearly identified. (See ch. 5 for a discussion.)

ARNB contains two further peculiarities in the transition to the last pair. There is no introductory formula saying that Shammai and Hillel took over from them (Shemaiah and Abtalyon) and Shammai's saying precedes Hillel's, contrary to the order in PA and ARNA. The introductory formula may have been dropped through homoeoteleuton or a similar manuscript confusion. The change in the order of names must be deliberate and Finkelstein makes a reasonable case that the order Shammai—Hillel is original, since later generations would probably not have put Hillel in second place. Since the section on Shammai does not caricature him, but presents him in a favorable light, his precedence here is logical, even if we do not say with Finkelstein that this is an early Shammaite source. Another possibility is that the editor wanted Hillel, the sage viewed by later generations as the founder of their school, in the final and climactic position. The section on Hillel then leads smoothly into the account of Hillel's death-bed acknowledgement of Johanan ben Zakkai (ch. 28) which introduces Johanan as the successor to Hillel.

Shammai, (ch. 23), receives the same positive treatment in ARNB that he received in ARNA. In commenting on "Make your study of Torah a fixed practice," ARNB adds to the interpretation of the meaning "equally" or "consistently" and applies it to judgments about the law. One is not to be lenient with others and strict with oneself or the opposite.

Chs. 24-27 contain a wealth of sayings and stories by and about Hillel. The order and contents are roughly those found in ARNA without any significant changes in thematic stress. As always Hillel serves as a popular focal point for discussions of Torah and virtue as found among Biblical figures and the sages.

Summary

The major themes found in ARNB resemble closely those found in ARNA. Both versions of ARN share a common core of traditions derived from an early point in their developments. Each speaks most directly to a school of Rabbis, teachers and students, studying Torah, interpreting its laws and living according to its
precepts. Each version makes its points in varied ways, but no
great differences emerge. J. Goldin's insight that ARNA stresses
Torah on a number of occasions when ARNB stresses good deeds stands
up to scrutiny. However, Torah and study of Torah still domi-
nate both versions.

ARNB is notable for its development of some Scriptural pas-
sages such as Qoh. 11:6 in ch. 4 and Hag. 1:6/Hab. 3:17 in ch. 5.
It has more material on the loss of the Temple in chs. 6 and 7 and
it examines the nature of humanity and its plight in chs. 8 and 9.
(Conversely, it develops materials concerning Adam less extensively
than ARNA when Adam comes up in the section on the hedges.) In
ch. 21 ARNB, true to its emphasis, includes a long praise of work.
These and other occasional themes, such as purification in ch. 1,
dot the text of ARNB, but they do not change its central emphasis
noted in the treatment of ARNA.

Now that we have seen how the two versions of ARN use and de-
velop the chain of tradition, we must examine the chain itself as
it occurs in PA and ARN. The chain of tradition has some peculi-
arities of structure with a complex background and purpose; it is
a genre which will further elucidate the meaning of the first sec-
tion of PA and ARN.