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THE
SOURCES OF THE MIDRASH
ECHAH RABBAH.

DISSERTATION
FOR
THE ACQUISITION OF THE DEGREE
OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
FROM
THE UNIVERSITY OF LEIPSIC.
BY
JOSEPH ABRAHAMS.

DESSAU.

PRINTED BY H. NEUBÜRGER, PRINTING-OFFICE
OF THE DUCAL COURT OF ANHALT.
1881.

~~1902, May 9.~~
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TO THE MEMORY OF HIS DEARLY BELOVED FATHER

THE LATE REV. BARNETT ABRAHAMS, B. A., DAYAN
OF THE SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE JEWS' CONGREGATION,
LONDON; PRINCIPAL OF JEWS' COLLEGE, LONDON;

AND TO THE MEMORY OF

THE LATE JACOB ABRAHAM FRANKLIN, ESQUIRE,
FOUNDER OF THE JACOB FRANKLIN CHARITABLE TRUST
FUND,

THIS WORK IS DEDICATED BY THE AUTHOR.

Introductory Remarks.

“There was once a dense forest into which no one ventured to enter, for it was considered impossible to secure a safe journey back. One man, however, resolved at last to make an attempt. Accordingly, he began by gradually cutting away the trees, until he succeeded in forming a road, by means of which he could penetrate into the heart of the forest, without fear of going astray. The great difficulty was now removed, for every one was able to penetrate into the heart of the forest”.¹⁾

Even such a forest is presented to us by the multitude of Midrashim and Hagadoth; and I have availed myself of the path indicated by the profound scholar, who first succeeded in arriving at clear statements and definite conclusions with respect to the origin and arrangement of this branch of our Wise Men's labours. The present investigation is based on the following passages of “Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden”:²⁾

“The so-called Midrash Rabbah³⁾ is by no means the work of one author. The expression Midrash Rabbah was unknown to the older writers, who invariably cite the different books, each by its own special name; it came first into use when the Hagadoth on the Pentateuch and on the Five Megilloth were arranged together and joined to one body”. “The three Hagadoth, Bereshith Rabbah, Echah Rabbah, and Vayikra Rabbah, are the oldest of all.” “Bereshith Rabbah

1) Midrash Bereshith Rabbah, ch. XII.

2) Pp. 179–181, and —

3) Ibid End of ch. X.

was probably composed in the sixth century.⁴⁾ The next place⁵⁾ with respect to priority must be assigned to the Hagadah on the Lamentations. This Hagadah is usually called Midrash Echah Rabbathi; and in the work of Rabbi Nathan, by whom it is first mentioned, it bears the name of Megillath Echah. The introduction to this Midrash forms a prefatory Hagadah consisting of thirty-three sections (not numbered), all of which — except the last — begin with the words פתח . . . רבי. They contain discourses which are connected with the contents of the Lamentations though based on extraneous texts, and which tend to awaken mournful reflections on the downfall of our national independence. As a rule, each discourse ends with the first words of that book.⁶⁾ The introduction is followed by the Hagadah to the book itself arranged and divided into sections according to the verses of the text. It is interspersed with tales and legends describing the unhappy lot of the Jews, with instances of the talents and the genius of the Israelites (including ten narratives in which natives of Jerusalem and of Athens are introduced), with accounts of the persecutions by the Romans, and with a description of the manner in which the Jews were ridiculed in the Roman comedies. The work is full of extracts from the Talmud Yerushalmi⁷⁾ and from the Bereshith Rabbah; and since the story of the Mother of the Maccabees is related as having taken place in the time of the emperors, it seems that the author of Echah Rabbah did not know the Books of the Maccabees. One passage appears to hint at the Arabian rule.⁸⁾ The Hagadah on the first chapter is as

4) Vayikra Rabbah about the middle of the seventh century.

5) After the Bereshith Rabbah.

6) איכה ישבה בדד or איכה.

7) I wish it to be particularly noticed that no reference is given by Zunz in support of this assertion.

8) Ch. I, sec. 42. מִקֶּדֶן קֶשֶׁה מִחֻנָּה וְאֶדוֹם מִחֻנָּה יוֹן קֶשֶׁה וְאֶדוֹם מִחֻנָּה. "The Grecian rule was severe, but Edom's sway was gentle Macedonia's, severe, but Arabia's, gentle."

large as that on the remaining four chapters together, although the latter contain many repetitions; and in the fifth chapter the Midrash is reduced to a minimum. This leads to the conclusion that the last four chapters are all later additions; and the completion of the whole work cannot be fixed at a date prior to the second half of the seventh century, although the authorities quoted *by name*⁹⁾ are not younger than the Talmud Yerushalmi. Echah Rabbah was compiled in the same country as Bereshith Rabbah,¹⁰⁾ and it is worthy of remark, that a complete Latin phrase¹¹⁾ occurs therein. In our text we find many interpolations, explanatory notes and corrupted passages. After Rabbi Nathan, Rashi makes the first distinct use of this Midrash".

In the eleventh chapter of the same work, Zunz shows that, besides the two Midrashim known by the name of Pesikta¹²⁾ — Pesikta Rabbathi and Pesikta Zutarta — there must have existed a third Pesikta, different from the other two both as regards its form and its age. It was not a Midrash on the Torah;¹³⁾ but on twelve Haphtaroth;¹⁴⁾ and on the portions of the Law read on the Festivals, Shabbath Hanucah, and the four distinguished Sabbaths viz., Shekalim, Zachor, Parah, and Hachodesh; it contained twenty-nine Piskoth, and was composed about 700 c. E. Zunz thus discovered the lost Pesikta¹⁵⁾ solely by the aid of his

9) The italics are Znnz's.

10) i. e. Palestine.

11) "Vive domine imperator". וביבא מארי אפלמור. Ch. I, sec. 31.

12) I shall have occasion to explain the signification of the words Pesikta, Piska, and Piskoth, when I treat of the relation between Midrash Echah and the Pesikta derab Kahana. See. p. 46.

13) As Azulai asserts. Comp. Gottesdienstl. Vorträge, p. 194, note a.

14) דרשו: שובה: דברי ירמיהו: שמעו: איכה: נחמו: וחומר ציון: עניה סערה: אנכי אנכי הוא מנחמכם: רני עקרה: קומי אורי: שוש אשיש. Gottesdienstl. Vortr., pp. 203, 204, 220, 221, 222, 222, 223, 224, 224, 225, 225, 225, respectively.

15) Rapoport first called attention to the Pesikta quoted by the Aruch, but the merit of having described its characteristic features and having thus restored it, belongs to Zunz. Comp. Gottesd. Vortr., p. 199.

careful researches, and by the power of his penetrating intellect; his results have since been verified in a most remarkable manner. Thirty-six years after these conclusions had been published¹⁶⁾ Salomon Buber edited the "Pesikta derab Kahana",¹⁷⁾ with a learned introduction and instructive notes, under the auspices of the society "Mekitse Nirdamim". This work is printed from a MS. which was found in Zafed and copied in Egypt;¹⁸⁾ and it corresponds almost completely with the third Pesikta described by Zunz.¹⁹⁾ In the introduction the editor observes, that many of the Midrashim, and among them Echah Rabbah,²⁰⁾ frequently quoted this Pesikta anonymously.

It remains to be noticed that according to Frankel ("Mebo Hayerushalmi", p. 53), Echah Rabbah quotes freely from Talmud Yerushalmi, with explanations and additions of its own.²¹⁾ According to Rapoport ("Erech Millin", p. 253), the accounts of the Midrash and Talmud Babli respecting the Wise Men of Athens, are both drawn from the same source, and the account of our Midrash is much older than that of the Talmud.

To sum up: the opinion now generally in vogue is, *that*

16) In 1868 (Lyck).

17) This name was not unknown to Zunz, who says that it probably refers to the Hagadoth on the twelve Haphtaroth. Comp. Gottesdienstl. Vortr., p. 193.

18) The editor had three other MSS. before him — Oxford, Parma, Fez; he faithfully records the variations in the readings of the four MSS., in his הערות והקוננים. In his opinion the Pesikta was composed towards the end of the fourth century.

19) The differences between the real Pesikta and the one reproduced by Zunz, are enumerated by Buber in the Hebrew periodical "Haschachar", (edited by P. Smolensky Vienna,) 1871, pp. 49—66.

20) No proof is adduced for this statement; the reader is referred to the notes, where the variations in the readings of Echah Rabbah and the Pesikta are carefully given.

21) Three passages are brought in support of this view, all of which will be fully discussed in due order.

the Midrash Echah Rabbah is the work of one author; that it was composed in Palestine; and that its principal sources are the Talmud Yerushalmi, the Midrash Bereshith Rabbah, and the Pesikta derab Kahana.^{21a)}

The present investigation is an attempt to prove that all these propositions can only be received with qualification; because —

I. The Midrash Echah Rabbah, in its present form, is the work of at least *two* authors or compilers, the latter of whom was thoroughly acquainted with the Talmud Babli. Not only has he cited whole passages from that Talmud, but in many instances he has *altered the language of the original Midrash into that of the Babli*. The first recension of Midrash Echah was composed in Palestine, and the second, in Babylon.

II. So far from the assertion that the Talmud Yerushalmi is one of the chief sources of the Midrash Echah being self-evident, the latter, in its original form, was *completely independent of the Talmud Yerushalmi*.

III. Buber's view with respect to the relation between Echah Rabbah and the Pesikta derab Kahana can be strengthened in such a manner as to defy a direct refutation. Nevertheless, the counter-hypothesis viz., that the Pesikta is dependent on the Midrash, is at least *equally tenable*. The introduction consists of *thirty-eight* Piskoth.

IV. As regards the Bereshith Rabbah, I am at one with the general opinion in as far as it is regarded as a source of Midrash Echah: and the latter is older than the Vayikra Rabbah.

Of the earlier works which have been handed down to us, the author of the first recension can only have been acquainted with the Mishnah, Mechilta, Sifra, and Sifri, and Bereshith Rabba; he must, however, have known various collections of Hagadoth similar to, perhaps the same as, those which provided the material for a large portion of the Talmud Ye-

^{21a)} The number of introductory Piskoth is thirty-three in Zunz's opinion, and in the ordinary printed texts thirty-four.

rushalmi. In the second recension traces of both the Talmud Babli and the Yerushalmi may be noticed. Accordingly, the first edition of Midrash Echah was completed before the end of the fourth, and the second after the sixth century.²²⁾ The view which I take of the composition of this Midrash would go to support the opinion expressed by R. Hirsch Chajes;²³⁾ that the Hagadoth of the Yerushalmi are considerably younger than the Halachoth. The Targum on the Book of Lamentations is universally admitted to be young; it cannot therefore be regarded as a source of the Midrash. Nor need I take account of Targum Onkelos, since there are only very few passages which bear any resemblance whatever to sections of our Midrash.²⁴⁾ It is not within the province of the present work to investigate whether that Targum was really written by Onkelos; or whether it is a mere translation from the Greek version of Akylas, Onkelos being identical with Akylas, — as maintained by Graetz,²⁵⁾ and, after him, by Meier Lerner.²⁶⁾ The former theory is defended by

22) Comp. Gottesd. Vortr., pp. 53, 54. Wiesner is of opinion that the Talmud Yerushalmi was composed much later than the Babli, between the years 760—900. (See *Gibath Yerushalaim*, p. 52). Although this view is an isolated one, it is still interesting to enquire how my conclusions respecting Echah Rabbah would have to be modified, supposing it correct. According to this hypothesis, it is impossible for us to find an adequate and sufficiently definite epoch *before* which the completion of the first recension of our Midrash can be fixed; we must content ourselves by saying that it took place *after* the final revision of the Mishnah, Mechilta, Sifra, and Sifri, i. e. after the beginning of the fourth century. The period at which the second recension was finished, would remain unaltered by Wiesner's view, if we supposed — and the supposition, as such, were not improbable — that the compilers of the Midrash and of the Yerushalmi both used the same or similar sources. The former would then be, even in its present form, entirely independent of the latter.

23) "Igereth Bikoreth" (edited by Brill), p. 35 b, note.

24) Comp. "Gottesd. Vortr.", p. 63, note f.

25) "Geschichte der Juden", vol. IV, note 13, pp. 435—437.

26) "Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums" (edited by Drs. Berliner and Hoffmann, Berlin) 1880, p. 236.

R. Hirsch Chajes²⁷⁾ and Dr. Adler,²⁸⁾ who explain the fact that Onkelos is not mentioned by the authors of *Midrash Rabbah*,^{28a)} by assuming that his commentary was so well known as to require no special reference.

In holding *Midrash Echah* to be older than the *Talmud Yerushalmi* and, at the same time, younger than the *Bereshith Rabbah*, I tacitly affirm that the latter is also older than the *Yerushalmi* — a relation which I am not warranted in assuming, it may be urged. I am willing to admit that, should a conclusion legitimately drawn from my views be directly opposed to any fact firmly established beyond the shadow of a doubt, the insufficiency of my reasoning would be proved, and my theory must fall. But I venture to question whether the proposition, that the *Bereshith Rabbah* is dependent on the *Yerushalmi*, rests on so sure a footing. It is not for me to consider this point; it has been lately discussed by another. There is now appearing in the "*Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums*" a series of articles, by Meier Lerner, entitled "*Anlage des Bereschith Rabba und seine Quellen*", in which the author seeks to show, that this *Midrash*, in its original form, is independent of the *Talmud*. Whether the arguments there adduced be answerable or not, there is one thing certain, they must be met by the supporters of the opposite view, and the task will prove, I think, no easy one.^{28b)}

In all critical investigations it is of paramount importance to know, whether the material at our disposal is trustworthy or not. Zunz regards the ordinary text of *Midrash Echah* as corrupted. This is, however, a point which requires the utmost care. If too much stress be laid upon mistakes and interpolations of the copyist or the printer, there is an

27) "*Igereth Bikoreth*", p. 40 b, (edit. by Brüll).

28) Introduction to *לגור*.

28a) Except: *במ"ד פ"ט* (Introd. *לגור*).

28b) Through Herr Lerner's kindness, I had the advantage of reading his admirable essay while it was yet in manuscript.

end to all true research. Any proposition may be proved by pronouncing as corrupt every passage that might appear to contradict such a proposition. Therefore, while making due allowance for interpolations, explanatory notes and corrupted passages, in the long run, the critical judge, like the civil one, can only decide according to the evidence he has before him. (אין לו לדין אלא מה שענינו רואות²⁹).

There is another consideration of great moment. The language of the Hagadoth, the names occurring therein, the expressions by which biblical verses are introduced, the manner in which single passages are suited to the general context, these are the principal criterions which led Zunz to his conclusions. But he does not give any fixed rules by which the relation of the several Midrashim to each other could be established. Müller in the Hebrew periodical "Haschachar" (1870, p. 389), — in an article entitled "Bikkoreth Hapesikta", — lays down the following three canons.

1. "If similar passages occur in different Midrashim, we must first ascertain which of the latter is their source, their original place. In this endeavour we shall succeed, if we carefully study the sections themselves, if we seek to discover upon what foundations they rest, and how they are suited to the context in each Hagadah. Any additions to the original words can then be easily detected."

2. "If in one Midrash a strange and uncommon expression is found, instead of which in another Midrash a more familiar and common one is used, the latter is the younger of the two works. But particular care is indispensable to the correct application of this rule."

3. "As a rule the legends of all countries were at first short and concise both in substance and form; the national bards and poets enlarged them in the course of time. Even so is the case in regard to most Midrashim; the earlier Hagadoth are short, the later contain additions, both in the substance of the narratives, and in the quotations from Scripture."

²⁹) Niddah, 20b.

Müller proceeds to apply these canons to the problem before him -- how is the Pesikta related to Bereshith Rabbah on the one hand, and to Vayikra Rabbah on the other hand. He comes to the conclusion that the true order of succession is — Bereshith Rabbah, Pesikta, and Vayikra Rabbah.

In the next annual issue of the periodical "Hasehachar" there appears an article by Buber entitled "Sanguria" in which the writer says: "In my introduction to the Pesikta and also in my notes, I have frequently called attention to what Müller calls his third law. Nevertheless these laws are not sure guides by which we can determine for certain which Midrashim are earlier and which later." He argues as follows.³⁰⁾ Müller's first proof is that, of the Piska שור או כשב — which occurs in all three Hagadoth, — Bereshith Rabbah must be regarded as the source, for the principal "Derash" is constructed on the verse³¹⁾ ויזכר אלהים (אית נה וכו' — the compilers of Vayikra Rabbah and Pesikta introduced it afterwards into their works. But we can with equal positiveness aver the contrary — that the original place is in Vayikra Rabbah; and who shall decide? The whole passage in question is an exposition on a verse neither of Genesis nor of Leviticus but of Psalms³²⁾ צדקתך כהררי, שבעת ימים וכו' (אל זכו' as to ויזכר אלהים וכו'. Therefore this rule affords us no sufficient criterion. Nor are the second and third laws to be depended upon. Although Müller quotes instances showing that Bereshith Rabbah contains short and difficult sections; yet several Hagadoth are rendered in that Midrash with numerous details and with clear and familiar expressions, whereas in the Pesikta these same Hagadoth occur in a considerably abbreviated form, and couched in anything but easy language. If the correctness of Rules II and III be admitted, we are landed in a gross absurdity; for Bereshith Rabbah, inasmuch

30) See pp. 47, 48.

31) Gen. VIII, 1.

32) Ps. XXXVI, 7.

33) Lev. XXII, 27.

as on the one hand, it contains passages more concise than the corresponding sections in the Pesikta, — those adduced by Müller, — and on the other hand passages more detailed, — those brought forward by Buber, — must be, at one and the same time, both older and younger than the Pesikta.

I acknowledge that I am at a loss to comprehend the force of the first argument. We are told, that the most careful study of similar passages occurring in different Midrashim, does not guide us in fixing their relative dates of composition, *because* in the case of the Piska שור או כשב we are unable to discover in which Midrash it first appeared. That Rule I is not *universally applicable*, Buber has certainly proved; but its *intrinsic sufficiency* he has not examined. In other words; in answer to the question, *is a certain law valid*, he asserts, *a given instance is no case of that law*. This looks very much like an example of *Ignoratio Elenchi*.

Since he is of opinion, that Bereshith Rabbah, in its present form, is the work of one author, Buber is perfectly justified in his criticism on the second and third of Müller's canons: for they culminate in a difficulty which is really insurmountable. But it has been recently shown, to my mind conclusively, that this Midrash contains indubitable marks of the hand of a second reviser³⁴); further, that nearly every one of the passages cited by Buber is young, or at least of an uncertain character.³⁵) Viewed in this light, the apparently formidable dilemma breaks down, or at all events, one of its horns is blunt. The truth is, the Bereshith Rabbah *does* contain some sections which are older, and others which are younger than the Pesikta.

Notwithstanding the failure of Buber's reasoning to refute the three canons, it does not follow that they are correct. To the third, as stated above, I would give no assent. Let us examine the following cases, taken at random, and which could be easily increased a hundredfold: — Midrash,

34) "Anlage des Bereshith Rabba und seine Quellen."

35) Appendix C.

Shochar Tob, Ps. XVII, 'וכו' ויבנו שהיה וכו', ויאמר להם הקב"ה, Par. Shelach Lecha, Midrash Tanchuma, Par. Shelach Lecha, ויהנה דבר ה' אליו וכו': Yalkut, Bereshith, אדם בכיתום וכו' and the corresponding passages in Bereshith Rabbah, oh. LXXIX; Echah Rabbah, ch. I: and Bereshith Rabbah, ch. XLIV, respectively. The accounts in the former works are more concise than those in the latter; and if the rule in question be accepted, the Shochar Tob, Tanchuma, and Yalkut must belong to the older Midrashim, and the Bereshith Rabbah and Echah Rabbah to the younger, — propositions which every critic, including Müller, would pronounce to be absurd. Indeed it is surprising that Müller should have failed to appreciate such instances as those just adduced; but his omission can easily be accounted for. In his praiseworthy eagerness to simplify the subject, and to fix definite laws, which shall be always valid, he has overlooked one of the plainest truths, viz., that while a writer often dilates on his predecessors' compositions, yet he not unfrequently, for the sake of convenience or clearness, *shortens and condenses them*. The mere circumstance, then, that one account of a Derash is longer and more detailed than another, proves absolutely nothing.

We have now arrived at a rather unsatisfactory stage. Rule III is insufficient, Rule II is precarious, as the author himself indicates in the final clause, and Rule I cannot always be brought to bear, as Buber proves. Nor can I conceive any means of extrication from this difficulty. Owing to the countless differences in the readings of the Midrashim, the great variety in their modes of expression, and the endless considerations which must be taken into account, the particular instances are far too numerous and too complicated to admit of dogmatical generalization. If these three laws were our sole guides, we should be assailed on every side by the most conflicting opinions deduced from the same premises; for, as Buber so ably expresses it, "every man would judge according to his taste,"³⁶⁾ איש איש לפי חכו יטעם טעם.

36) "Haschachar", 1871, p. 47.

I am now in a position to describe, in a few words, the manner in which I conducted my enquiries. I was guided chiefly by circumstances. Yet there are two fundamental ideas, (based on Müller's observations), which have afforded me great assistance, and which are more or less applicable to all similar investigations. I would not assign to them the dignified name of "canons", I would rather term them "considerations" well worthy of the critic's notice. —

When similar passages occur in different Midrashim, we should examine them carefully, and look well into the context; by this means the original can *often* be detected.

If one account of a Derash is shorter than another, the relation between the two works containing those narratives cannot be determined by that fact alone. Should the longer (B) however, assume the form of a commentary on the more abbreviated version (A); or should it be perfectly clear, that the author of B used systematically a different mode of expression, and different language from that in which A is written; we are entitled to infer — 1) A is independent of B, 2) A is older than B, 3) B is younger than A.

That B is dependent on A we are not warranted in concluding: there remains the hypothesis that both B and A obtained their material from the same source. It was in order to bring out this antithesis that I mentioned propositions 1) and 3), both of which are contained in 2).

Yet another word of explanation. I commenced the present work under the influence of the general opinion that the Yerushalmi is one of the chief sources of Echah Rabbah. After a time I found out that this assumption is open to serious objections. I therefore cast all prejudice aside, and applied myself to the solution of this problem, — we have before us two works, is the relation between them one of dependence?

I shall now attempt to show the relation of Echah Rabbah 1) to Talmud Babli, 2) to Talmud Yerushalmi, 3) to Pesikta derab Kahana.

1. Talmud Babli.

I intend, in the first instance, to establish the fact, that one of the revisers of Echah Rabbah was acquainted with the Talmud Babli. This point, as the sequel will show, constitutes the chief corner-stone, on which the whole construction of my views rests: it is most unaccountably ignored by Zunz, and no critic has yet recognized its due significance.

Let us consider 1) Echah Rabbah ch. IV, sec. 18, and Maccoth, 24 a—b. The author of the Midrash very appropriately connects this narrative with the text 'על הר ציין וכו'; since the second half turns on this verse. And yet the original place for the whole account is in the Babli. It is there related that Rab says, that he trembles when he reads the verse 'ואכלה ארץ איביכם', but Mar Zutra seeks to remove his fears by reminding him that the verb 'אכל' need not necessarily signify "to consume entirely", it may also denote "eating as of herbs etc.", i. e. where only a part is destroyed, and the remainder is untouched; and in order to strengthen this exposition the narrative in question is adduced. Hence it is introduced by the words 'וכבר היה וכו'. Whereas in E. R. these words are quite inexplicable, unless we assume them to be a quotation. For how else can any one begin a paragraph 'על הר ציין ששם, וכבר היה נכנסין לרומי מהלכין בדרך' E. R. bearing in mind what follows, specializes the general expression 'מהלכין בדרך' into 'מפליטה'. The usual reading of the next word is, in the Babli, 'מפליטה'. In a marginal note the reading 'מפטילום' is given. Probably the author of E. R. had this second reading before him, since he writes 'מפטילום'. [In the opinion of the author of the commentary *Mattenoth Kehuna* it is the name of a

place.] The second half of the narrative appears in E. R. in a more developed form: e. g. עקיבא לעולם אתה מתמה עלינו ואם יבטלו וכו'. The author of E. R. has slightly altered the end of the passage so as to make it more suitable to his purpose. It is worthy of remark that he does not give the reduplication עקיבא נחמתנו עקיבא נה'. We shall have occasion to notice other similar omissions in the course of our enquiries.^{36a)}

2) E. R., ch. I, sec. 20, and Menachoth, 53b. The alteration of רבי יצחק into רב עקיבא proves nothing. The Midrash renders the whole narrative more lively and powerful by considerably enlarging the Babli text. Thus על עיסקי בני היכן הם is much more forcible than באתי; and לא היו בהן צדיקים is a more reasonable question than שמא בשוגג הטאו. Again, how could Abraham for one moment suppose that the Holy One Blessed be He, the same Merciful Father who would have spared Sodom and Gomorrah had he found ten righteous men there, that that God would have driven His children into exile for the sake of a small minority of wicked ones? The author of E. R. fully appreciating this consideration writes היה לך להסתכל שמא מיעוטן הטאו. He adds the explanatory phrase והיך כפרו בה: and, since he regards as foreign to his context the consolatory conclusion of the Babli, he omits it.

3) E. R., ch. I, sec. 24. א"ר איבו וכו', and Sanhedrin, 104b. A glance at this passage is sufficient to convince us that E. R. must have used the Babli. The Midrash adds בן השחורה ("a princely son", in the opinion of some; according to others "a son of her old age"), and also explains the immediate cause of Rabban Gamliel's weeping, viz., the remembrance of the destruction of the Temple.

4) E. R., ch. II, sec. 14; and Nedarim, 65a, from ונס במלך נבוכדנצר till ששמטו ברים מתהיהם. The account in the

^{36a)} An excellent illustration of the fact that E. R. quotes the Talmud Babli with the addition of a word of explanation here and there, is ch. I, sec. 51, compared with Yoma, 38 b.

Midrash looks more like a commentary on the Babli than a reproduction of the corresponding passage. It will be observed that not a single moment of material importance is added on; the leading ideas and the gist of the whole narrative remain the same in both works. The phrase *ובמה השביעו הפ'* *ר' יוסי בר' הנינא אמר במזבח הפ'* may have been suggested to the author by the *Pesikta derab Kahana*, Pis. 27, p. 168 b.

5) E. R., ch. I, sec. 3, and Sanhedrin, 104 a, *היתה כאלמנהו*, *וכו'*: The Midrash explains distinctly that the Derash is derived from the prefixed *כ*; and the following words are the same in both works.

6) E. R., ch. I, sec. 19, and Erubin, 53 b. Of the six anecdotes cited here by the author of the Midrash only three occur in Babli. The second and sixth appear to be developed forms of the Babli accounts. E. R., anticipating the child's answer, renders R. Joshua's question *איזו דרך קרובה* instead of *לעיר* *באיזה דרך נלך לעיר*: and adds also *אתה הוא* *ומעשה* suggests a quotation from another work, whereas in Babli, R. Joshua speaks in the first person; we may notice also the complement *כדרך שמיעטת הללו*. With respect to the first narrative I am inclined to think that E. R. obtained it from the same source which supplied the other three. For Babli explains distinctly why R. Joshua deserved the rebuke *כבשהו*. The counter-assumption that Babli is dependent on the Midrash, and that he purposely condensed the original text for convenience' sake, is refuted by the considerations respecting anecdotes 2 and 6. It likewise fails to account for the fact, that the most striking of all the incidents — the fifth — is omitted.

7) E. R., ch. I, sec. 45, and Gittin, 57 b. *מעשה בר'* *מאות ילדים וכו'*. This passage occurs in Babli among others depicting the sorrowful events which followed the downfall of our national independence. In the Midrash, grown up persons take the place of children, and the tyrant is mentioned by name (Vespasian). The division into three parts, the expiration with texts on the lips of the dying, and the

mourning of the *רוח"ק* are incidents added by the author of the Midrash.

8) E. R., ch. II, sec. 20, and Sanhedrin, 104 b. These words occur again in Ch. III, sec. פ. Inasmuch as the author of the Midrash wishes to describe the sin of the whole community, he renders the statement more general by omitting the word *מרגלים*.

9) E. R., ch. IV, sec. 3, and Gittin, 55 b—56 a. This section affords an excellent illustration of the manner in which a later writer works out and develops the text he has before him. E. R. adds on *על וישב בין האורחים*; and substitutes *שנאי* for the more difficult expression *בעל רבבא*. The Midrash explains the significance of the words *הואיל ואמאי שבקן* by writing *אל תביישני*. The author of E. R. makes Bar Kamza's offer — 1) to pay for what he consumes³⁷; 2) under the same circumstances to abstain from enjoying anything; 3) to defray the expenses of the whole banquet. According to Babli he is willing to pay for what he enjoys, then for half, lastly for the whole of the feast. The Midrash tells us distinctly that R. Zechariah ben Abkylas was present at the banquet and could have interfered, but remained silent, — thus rendering more intelligible the remark: "The modesty of Zechariah ben Abkylas was the cause of the burning of the Temple". In the Babli, this remark refers to R. Zechariah's excessive zeal in guarding against every thing which could be considered as a violation of the Law. The Midrash is careful to supply moments the absence of which renders the account in the Babli very improbable, — a Roman officer accompanied Bar Kamza, but the latter succeeded in eluding the vigilance of the officer. The Babli stops short at the end of the narrative; it leads us to infer that the offering was not brought, and that Bar Kamza was not slain, owing to R. Zechariah's objections. The Midrash causes the

37) *דמי דסעודתא* cannot mean the expenses of the *whole* banquet, for there would be no climax according to this translation. Again, in order to express "the whole feast" the Midrash writes *כל הדין סעודתא*. (See "Mathenath Kehuna.")

priest to change the offerings as his natural resource; it is therefore unnecessary to inform the reader that Bar Kamza inflicted such a blemish on the animal "as rendered it unfit for a sacrifice according to the Jewish Law, but perfectly suitable to the altar according to the heathen regulations." E. R. explains exactly how the matter ended.

10) E. R. ch. I, sec. 46, and Gittin, 58a. In spite of the similarity between these two narratives, they are independent of one another. The language of E. R. is not that of the Babli, but Palestinian Syriac; and the whole narrative — leaving the introduction out of account — beginning with the words *לבתר יומן איירתי* belongs to the original Midrash. The first author could not have used the Yerushalmi, for this passage does not occur there. He either composed it himself, or reproduced it from some collection of Hagadoth.

The first nine instances — six of which are taken from chapters I and II — are sufficient to prove, that one of the revisors of E. R. thought fit to insert passages written in the language of the Talmud Babli. These sections have all been shown to be younger than the corresponding ones in the Talmud; and we are naturally led to conclude, that the latter furnished the revisor with his material. The only hypothesis which can be suggested against it is, that the author of E. R. had at his disposal a collection of Hagadoth similar to those occurring in Babli. This gratuitous assumption — which should never be proposed except as a last resource — is, in the present instance, repugnant to all philosophical reasoning. For "the most important maxim in regulation of philosophical procedure when it is necessary to resort to an hypothesis" — says Sir W. Hamilton³⁸) — is the "Law of Parcimony", which implies that "neither *more* nor *more onerous* causes are to be assumed than are necessary to account for the phaenomena". And the signification of the expression "more onerous", for the particular

38) Appendix to Discussions, pp. 628—631.

question of Causality is³⁹): "that the explanation of an effect by a cause of which the very existence is hypothetical, is more onerous than its hypothetical explanation by a cause otherwise known to exist." Applying this rule to our case, it would be inconsistent with the true method of philosophical enquiry to assume, without the slightest reason, the existence of a collection of Hagadoth, when the fact that certain paragraphs occur in E. R. can be accounted for by the presence of the Talmud Babli.

All further considerations on this point must be deferred until we are in a position to examine the additional data, which are furnished by comparing E. R. with the Palestinian Talmud.

II. Talmud Yerushalmi.

If it were possible to conceive a universally accepted axiom in regard to the sources of our Midrash, that axiom would run: Echah Rabbah obtained the greater part of its material from the Talmud Yerushalmi. It has been already observed that Zunz does not think it necessary to adduce any proof whatever for this proposition, he expects that, on being stated, it will be at once received; Frankel does almost as much, though he goes the length of citing three examples. Let us see what we can gather from the facts of the case.

1) E. R., ch. III, sec. 10, 'ר' הוה פשיט קרייה וכו', and Yerushalmi, Chagiga, ch. II, 'כי הנה יוצר הרים וכו'. This passage belongs probably to the original Midrash. The Yerush. contains a long explanation to the verse 'ויאמר שמואל', even more detailed than the corresponding passage in the Babli (Chagiga, 4b.), and of this explanation not a single word occurs in the Midrash. The conclusion is quite different in both. In E. R. the question is 'ומי כותבן', and in Yerushalmi

³⁹) "Examination of Sir W. Hamilton's Philosophy" by J. S. Mill, p. 469 (First edition).

that it was found together with the really serviceable narratives in an older work, and the author of Yerushalmi adduced the whole passage as it originally stood. From the examination of the context, both in the Midrash and in the Talmud, in which our paragraph occurs, we are led to conclude that the former was the source of the latter. We have already noticed a few powerful reasons for assuming that Yer. is simply a lengthy account of E. R. Without pressing this point there is one thing certain, the Midrash is not dependent on the Talmud.

3) E. R., Petticha II, 'רבי הוה משלה וכו', and Yer., Chagiga, ch. I 'ר' יורה נשיא שלה וכו'. In the Yer. we meet with למעבר בקרייתא דארעא דישראל למתקני' לון ספרין ומתניין עלן לחד אחר ולא אשכחן לא ספר ולא מתניין אמרו וכו'.

The corresponding words are in

Pesikta dérab Kahana, Piska XV	Echah Rabbah.
דיפקון ויבדקון קרייתא דארעא	דיפקון ויתקנון קרייתא דארעא
דישראל והוון עלין לקרתא	דישראל והוון עלין לקרייתא
ואמרו וכו'	ואמרו וכו'

Again

Pesikta.	Echah Rabbah.	Yerushalmi.
אילין נטורי קרתא אילין	אילין נטורי קרתא אילין	אילין אינון נטורי קרתא
אינון הרובי קרתא	הרובי קרתא	לית אילין אלא הרובי קרתא

In these instances the Yer. is certainly clearer than both E. R. and Pesikta, and looks like an endeavour to render the subject more intelligible. But the concluding words שרם הוים וכו' are added in the Midrash which fact of itself would lead us to suppose that E. R. is seeking to explain the Yer. In this conflicting state of affairs our only resource is the hypothesis that E. R. and Yer. are independent of one another. The former is, however, closely connected with the Pesikta derab Kahana.

4) E. R., Pet. II, 'שמואל חני לה וכו' and Yer., Rosh Hashanah, ch. III 'שמואל אמר וצבא וכו'. [Compare also Pesikta derab Kahana, Piska 15.] This is one of the passages cited by Frankel. The אמרי of the Midrash would favour the supposition that the Yer. was used by the author of

E. R., but the *כל זמן* farther down in the paragraph, betrays its Pesikta origin. There is a very remarkable peculiarity which should not remain unnoticed. We find the two expressions *אימתי המלכות נזרחה נזרחה ומצלהת בשעה* and *כל זמן שישראל משליכין שישראל משליכין דברי תורה לארץ דברי תורה ומצלהת היא נזרחה ומצלהת*: side by side. How is this recapitulation to be accounted for? Let us omit the first part in E. R. till *בפשע בפשעה וכו'*, the whole of the latter portion is clearly an explanation and a more detailed reproduction of the corresponding section in the Pesikta; hence the *כל זמן*, and hence the *משליכין ד"ח וכו'*. The author of the Midrash wanted to deduce, from the verse itself, the idea of the necessary connection between the despising of the Law on the part of Israel and the success of the foreign powers. He found the *פשע* explained in the Pesikta before him; and a suitable exposition to *צבא* and *תמיד* he obtained from the Yerushalmi; in introducing which into the E. R. text he adhered to the language of that Talmud. He therefore retained the *אימתי* and the reduplication *וכו' משליכין וכו'*. This passage then is a composite one — an attempt to unite Yer. and Pesikta into a uniform whole; but the latter supplied its foundation. Accordingly it is young and probably the work of the later revisor, who, since he was acquainted with the Babli, was certainly in possession of the Yerushalmi also.

5) E. R., Pet. XXIII *לצולה וכו'* and Yer., Berachoth, ch. IV *הבא דמר ר' ירחנן האומר וכו'*. [Compare Bereshith Rabbah, ch. XXXVII *בארץ שנער וכו'*.] The beginning proves that this passage is independent of Yer. In the latter we read *זו בבל שהוא זמן של עולם* of which there is no trace in E. R. And *ירחנן* is mentioned twice in Yer., whereas in the Midrash his two dicta are blended into one. The order in E. R. is the same as that in Bereshith Rabbah: *השנק* comes before *הרומה ומעשר* and *מבעטין בתו'* is a correction for *מביטין* in B. R. The words *בלא שביעית* seem to be an addition.

6) E. R. ch. I, secs. 14 — 18, and Yer. Maaser Sheni, ch. IV *רבנן אמרין דברי הלומות וכו'*. These sections in the Midrash contain accounts of certain heathens who pretended

to be interpreters of dreams; it is also narrated how they were exposed by R. Ishmael ben Jose. The only point which the Yer. and the Midrash have in common is the dream itself and R. Ishmael's interpretation. Yet even here we notice many variations — variations which of themselves are almost sufficient to warrant us in concluding that the authors of Yer. and E. R. had each his independent source. In sec. 14: of the whole of the introduction till ארמא דר, and of the heathen's interpretation, there is no trace in Yerushalmi. Had the latter furnished the author of E. R. with his material, he might have added a word or two, even a phrase, of his own in explanation of a difficult expression; or he might have replaced a difficult word by an easier one. But he would hardly have introduced such a new moment as to give the whole narrative a totally different purport. According to the Midrash a heathen spreads a report that he is an interpreter of dreams; the news reaches the ears of R. Ishmael, who determines to counteract any evil influence which the impostor may attempt to acquire over the credulous multitude; he listens first to the false interpretation, and then gives the true meaning. The Yer. on the other hand simply tells us that R. Ishmael was asked to give the signification of a dream.

The second narrative is connected with the first in E. R. חד בר נש, in the Yer. it is quite separated from it, ארמא דורן. The author of the Midrash would scarcely have altered the explicit words of the Yer. עיני נשקה חביריה, and R. Ishmael's clear explanation לאחיה הוא הכים, into עיני דר בלעה חביריה, and תרין ברין אית ליה ודר מהון הכים לחבריה. Four dreams are now interposed in the Yerushalmi. They certainly appear later on in the Midrash, but the fact that there is no obvious reason for this change of order would be an argument for the independence of the one account from the other. The verses from which R. Ishmael inferred that the dreamer murdered an Israelite are quite different in E. R. (הבט נא השמימה) and in Yer. (דרך כובב). In the next dream we notice תיפה רוחיה דההוא נברא in the Midrash version, whereas these words are wanting in the Yer. Indeed the

latter uses this phrase only when the dreamer has committed a grievous crime, in all other cases R. Ishmael gives his interpretation without making any remarks. No such distinction is made in E. R. In E. R. we read אפי הוא תנורין את עבדי תרתין עיניך ועיניה דתנורא which is clearer than the corresponding solution in Yer. תנורין את עבדי תרתין עיניך ועיניה דתנורא. The following dream is related in Yer. as two separate events. Here again תיפח רוחיה וכו' is used indiscriminately in the Midrash and is absent in Yer. The first part of this dream remains without explanation in E. R., but is fully interpreted in Yer. The absence of תיפח רוחיה וכו' in several instances in Yer. and its continual presence in E. R. can be satisfactorily explained by regarding it, in the latter, as referring to the Kuthi, who invariably attempted to deceive his hearers, and therefore justly merited R. Ishmael's rebuke: whereas in the Talmud the phrase relates to the man himself who had the dream, and of course R. Ishmael felt himself warranted in censuring his conduct only when that conduct was truly sinful. The next dream: apart from the facts that the number is 24 in E. R. instead of 12, and מדרעא occurs for איסטווא, we find the important addition והא כתיב מן הכא וכו' which is not mentioned in the Yer. Both R. Ishmael and the Kuthi notice this point in their interpretations. It is unnecessary to examine the following dream minutely, for it is quite different in the two accounts. The last narrative in sec. 14 contains two separate dreams, out of which the Yer. makes three. There is a great difference in the wording of the dreams — in E. R. מיתמר לי הכן זרק אצבעותך and in Yer. דכל עמא מוחמק לי באצבעותי; further, in E. R. דכל עמא מנפחין לי בלועיהון ומקלסין לי and in Yer. מיתמר לי הכן תהוי נפח בפומך. — and also in their explanations inasmuch as in the Midrash the dreamer is informed that he will certainly suffer loss, while the Yer. leaves the question undecided. Sec. 15. The most important point of the whole narrative, namely, that the Kuthi had beheld no vision but that he invented a falsehood in order to ridicule R. Ishmael, is entirely wanting in E. R., but distinctly mentioned in the Yerushalmi. The phraseology of the two works, the expo-

sition of the various points, are by no means identical. In E. R., the punishment pronounced by R. Ishmael is death; in Yer., everlasting illness, (והיה נברא יתיב מדרך⁴⁰). The second half of the section is a continuation of the former narrative, and R. Ishmael is again consulted; in Yer. the order is different, and R. Jose bar Halephta is addressed. As to the passages themselves —

Echah Rabbah.	Yerushalmi.
זיחא בשעת נצבא:	לבוש חד כליל דזיח:
חמי נהור סנין:	דאת מתרוממת:
זיחא בשעת חבטא:	לבוש כלילא דזיח:
תקן הרציה למחאתה:	דאת מלקי:

the Yer. is clearer than E. R., in the last expression. Again the final remark 'דין המא בשעת וכו' is far less forcible in E. R. — where the exact seasons of the year are given — than in Yer., where the second applicant, although relating what had befallen him in almost the same words as those of his predecessor, received a totally different and highly unfavourable answer. Sec. 16. Apart from the fact that the event is recorded in the name of R. Jochanan in E. R., and R. Akiba in Yer., the words of the former חרע ולא חצר are explained in Yer. ומה דאת זרעליה את כנש. Sec. 17. —

Echah Rabbah.	Bereshith Rabbah. ⁴¹⁾	Yerushalmi.
פעלא:	פועליא:	מרלא:
עשרים:	עשרים:	עשר:
לית הינון עשרים וכו'	לית בהון עשרים וכו'	wanting
מלעילא לתתא וכו'	מן ראשיהון לסופ' וכו'	wanting
ומן הן יליף ליה וכו'	ומנין יליף ליה וכו'	wanting

All these considerations prove that E. R. is connected with B. R. and not with Yer. This passage is interesting, for it is quoted by Frankel as an example of the dependence of E. R. on the Talmud Yerushalmi. Sec. 18. —

40) עושה צרכיו.

41) Ch. LXVIII.

Echah Rabbah.	Bereshith Rabbah. ⁴²⁾	Yerushalmi.
שריתא דביתא פקעה: אולת וכן הוה לה: אשכחת תלמידוי יתבין בבי ספרא ורבהון לא הוה תמן:	שריתא דביתא תבירא: אולת והוה לה כן: אשכחיה תלמידיה יתבין תמן ורבהון לא הוה גביהון:	תינייתא דביתא מיתברא: אולה וילדה בר דבר: אמרין לה תלמידוי לית הוא הכא:

There can be no doubt that the Midrash Echah is simply a detailed form of B. R., and not of Yer. The fact that the woman came a second time, received the same tidings from R. Eleazar, and witnessed again the verification of the Rabbi's prediction, is an addition on the part of the author of E. R. According to Yer., the disciples inform the woman that she will bear a son, and that her husband will die. Of the first statement neither B. R. nor E. R. knows anything. After a time R. Eleazar returns and his disciples tell him what has happened — this is the Yer. account; in E. R. and B. R., the woman, on hearing the sad fate which awaits her, commences to weep bitterly, R. Eleazar hears her voice, asks his pupils the cause of her lamentation, and thus learns the truth. As an additional proof of the connection between E. R. and B. R. may be cited —

Echah Rabbah.	Bereshith Rabbah.	Yerushalmi.
איברתון גברא: לא כן כתיב וכו':	איברתון גברא: לא כן כתיב וכו':	קטלתון נפש: שנאמר וכו':

The Author of E. R. must have had a special source for the greater part of secs. 14—18, though he is dependent to some extent on Bereshith Rabbah and Pesikta.

7) E. R., ch. I, sec. 23, . . . ארשב' אמר הקב"ה לישראל וְעַל נַהֲרוֹת בְּכַל וְחֵשֶׁא כֹל הָעֵדָה וְכוּ, and Yer. Taanith, ch. IV, אַחַד בִּיהוּד מְדִינָתָא וְאֶחָד בְּבִבְלָא וְכוּ, especially when coupled with the name of

42) Ch. LXXXIX.

R. Jebudah bar Simon, is not simply an emanation from the mind of the author of E. R.; it is a reproduction from some collection of Hagadoth.

8) E. R., ch. I, sec. 51. ומה הנאה יש לעולם מן וכו'. and Yer., Taanith, ch. IV ר'ני אנשי משמר היו וכו'. The Yer. explains every statement by means of a biblical verse, and on one occasion in a very detailed and lucid manner ידי מאורות מארת כתיב. Of all these expositions E. R. knows nothing. The second half of this paragraph from וזה לא אין וכו' till בבה ארת וכו' has no corresponding passage in Yer. It is worthy of remark that a biblical verse is here introduced by a most unusual phrase וכתיב אחר אומר בדניאל. Altogether this section belongs to the original Midrash, and it is either the work of the author himself, or a citation from some work other than the Yer.

9) E. R., ch. I, sec. 54, אה מוצא בשועה שגלו ישראל וכו'; and Yer., Taanith, ch. I, ר'ני ר' שמעון בן יוהי בכל מקום וכו'. If this passage proved anything, it would prove that Yer. is dependent on E. R. One consideration will suffice to show this.

Echah Rabbah.	Yerushalmi.
גלו לעולם שכניה עמהם דכתיב ושמתי כסאי בעולם:	גלו למדי וגלת שכניה עמהם מה טעמא ושמתי כסאי בעולם ואין עולם אלא מדי כד"א ואני בשושן הבירה אשר בעולם המדינה:

The Talmud introduces a new moment מדי based on the word עולם which occurs in the Midrash. Accordingly the Yer. carries the deduction from the text one step further. Again, גלו למצרים כו' is wanting in E. R. These points compel us to assume that E. R. is independent of any known work: for although a connection between the Midrash and Mechilta⁴³⁾ is suggested by the occurrence of גלו לעולם in both, yet the absence of גלו למצרים וכו' in E. R. is sufficient to convince us that no such connection exists. And if we remember that the Mechilta commences with a prefatory

43) Parshath Bo, sec. 14.

generalization 'וכו' מקום וכו' of which there is no trace in E. R., our conviction becomes considerably strengthened.

10) E. R., ch. II, sec. 4. ר' יוחנן הוה דרש שיתין אפין נלכדה ביתר ר' הוה דרש, and Yer., Taanith, ch. IV, בבליע ה' וכו' וכו'. On reading the first passage of this long narrative we cannot fail to remark that the Midrash is very young, for we find the expression עקיבא כן (which is not the language of the original Midrash), and ובשעה שהיו ויצאין למלחמה is a translation of נפק לקרבה in the Talmud; further, the words מקבל אבני בליסטרא וכו' are not met with in Yer., and appear to be, not an original explanation of the revisor of E. R., but a reproduction of a current tradition. The passage קולו של יעקב צווח does not occur in E. R.; and after בני אדם רבוא שמונים אלף רבוא suggests that the author of Midrash Echah had Bereshith Rabbah (ch. LXV) before him. A highly important consideration is the following:

Echah Rabbah.	Yerushalmi.
והיה דורש ובוכה ומתנחם:	והוה דרש ואינון בכי ומשתתקן
היינו מלכא משירא:	וקיימן לון: דין הוא מלכא משירא:

Instead of the West or Palestinian Syriac of the Yerushalmi, we find either pure Hebrew, or the East Syriac of the Babli. Indeed the whole of sec. 4 is strongly impregnated with the language peculiar to the latter Talmud. In this instance the author of the Midrash has somewhat marred the effect of his text: the Yer. תעדין בן דוד לא יבא is rather more impressive than תעדין אינו בא. The whole account of R. Eleazar Hammodai is very young, for it is a commentary on, rather than a reproduction of its original text. This passage affords us another example of a peculiarity in the style of E. R. which has been pointed out above^{43a}, viz., the absence of the reduplication, אל חשב בדין, היום אל חשב בדין וכו'. And בעא ארדיאנוס מיל ליה is translated into נתן דעתו להזור. The speech of the Kuthi is length-

43*) P. 16.

ened to a considerable extent in E. R., and the words כל יומין דהורא תרנגולתא כו' are added on. The Midrash anticipates the events which follow by relating that the bystanders inform Bar Chozeba⁴⁴) that R. Eleazar is about to surrender the city to the enemy. The Yer. tells us that they simply brought the Kuthi to Bar Chozeba. The Kuthi's statement as given in E. R. differs considerably from the Yer. account, but the reason for this divergence is easily explained. The author of the Midrash found a great difficulty in understanding the words of Yer. — a difficulty which every attentive reader must encounter. The Kuthi says he would rather be sentenced to death by the king than be executed by Bar Chozeba, and he addresses that general in these terms: "If I tell thee what passed between us (i. e. between the Kuthi and the general's kinsman) I commit an act of treason against the king, if I remain silent I offend thee; I prefer to fall at the king's hand." As a matter of fact, he *does* reveal the supposed conspiracy. This great inconsistency in the man's conduct — on the one hand, his pretended loyalty to the king, and on the other hand, his deliberate treachery, — is avoided by the Midrash, according to which his words run: "I prefer to be punished by *thee*, so that the secrets of the king may not be divulged" ולא תתפרסם מיסטידין רמלכותא; and hence Bar Chozeba *inferred* the existence of a plot. This change for the purpose of connecting the various members of the context in an intelligible and logical manner, indicates a much younger epoch than that of the original Midrash. The commentary continues — נתמלא דאנא בצלוחי קאימנא וכו' רתזיה. Whereas the Yer. is clear in the exposition of the verse — הווי רועי האליל וכו' — the Midrash furnishes us with another peculiarity further examples of which will be forth-

⁴⁴) "Chozeba" is the name of a town. (In I Chron., IV, 22, it is spelt כִּזְבָּא). Bar Chozeba's enemies derived this word from the root כוּב "to lie" and thus designated him "The Impostor"; whereas his friends named him Bar Kochba, thus altering כוּזְבָּא (this is the spelling in the Midrash) to כּוּכְבָּא "The Star", with reference to the verse (Numbers XXIV, 17), "There shall come a Star out of Jacob."

coming. We read *סימת זרתן של ישראל וסימת עין ימינם* עין ימינם (thou hast blinded) can be used in reference to *זרתן של ישראל*, but it can hardly be applied to *זרתן של ישראל*. We next notice *גירזאי* a stronger term than *כותי*, and *זל ואיחיה לי* corresponds with the Yerushalmi *פטומיה רמי לי*. The Midrash uses the Babli term *עכנא* for "serpent" instead of the Yer. *חבינה*. Strange to say, in the next account the author of E. R. omits *מלא קומה ופישוט ידים*. The substitution of *הטוב שלא* for *הטוב שלא הסריחו* and *משנינו* for *יום שנינו* suggests that the author of E. R. had in mind Babli Taanith, 31a. The next passage begins at once with the narrative in E. R., and in Yerush. it is given in the name of R. Jose — a point which warrants us in doubting whether the Midrash is a later form of the Yer. Again, the Midrash *וכר הוה סליק הר מנהן* requires explanation: "When any one (*not* belonging to the "Bulitin") went up to Jerusalem etc." The difficulty lies in the word *מנהן* which, one should think, refers to the subject of the preceding sentence; but this gives no meaning, and we are compelled to assign to it the rather distorted signification pointed out above. On the other hand in Yer. there is no ambiguity *וכרו רהון חסי בר נש סליק*. For *ירושלים* the Midrash writes a contemptuous expression *הרא זיחא* "that corner". Now it is a well known fact that our Wise Men invariably attached great importance to the use of pure and unpolluted language. It is regarded as a special merit of R. Jochanan be Zachai⁴⁵), that on one occasion he said *ומסקין בטומאה ואין מוסקין בטהרה*. Can we imagine that a writer, belonging to the class of such men as R. Jochanan, would have designated Jerusalem, which is builded as a city that is compact together: whither the tribes go up, the tribes of the Lord, unto the testimony of Israel, to give thanks unto the name of the Lord: for there are set thrones of judgment, the thrones of the house of David — would have called this holy city *הרא זיחא* "that corner"? It is probable, nay certain, that, had the author of Yer. found this expression, he would have altered it to *ירושלים*.

45) Pesachim, 3 b.

But the supposition that the author of E. R. made the change which, if Yer. had been his source he must have done, is repugnant to the spirit of our Wise Men's writings. This passage, then, belongs to the original Midrash and is independent of Yer. E. R. narrates the next passage in the name of R. Jochanan, the Yer. adduces it anonymously. This dictum really seems to emanate from R. Jochanan, for we find something similar in Babli (Gittin, 58 a). But the *יש* of the Yer. shows that the Talmud had two different accounts; and the Midrash had but one source. This paragraph also is part of the original Midrash, and is not dependent on Yerushalmi. In the following paragraph —

Echah Rabbah.	Yerushalmi.
ולא הוון שבקין רומאי עבר	והוון רומים אולין עליהון
המן דלא הוון קטלי יתיה:	ומקטלין לון:
ניתי כלילא דאדריאנוס וניתיב	ניתי כלילא על רישיהון אמרין
בראשו של (אלו) שמעון דהא	מברקינן אוף חד זמן:
רומאי אתון:	

Here the Midrash explains the exact meaning of the personal pronouns in *ומקטלין לון*, it was the two brothers who harassed the Romans and not *vice versa*; and the second phrase is rendered quite clear in E. R. There is an uncertainty in the Midrash as to the reading *אלו* or *שמעון*. The author does not seem to have been certain whether both brothers were to have been crowned (*אלו*), or the leader alone (*שמעון*). This passage is clearly a working out of the Yer.; but it is young as the following observations will show. The whole of the passage occurring at the end of the account, of Bar Chozeba, beginning with the words *מאן קטיל אילין אמר* is repeated again in E. R. (and not in Yer.) with a remarkable alteration, which can be best illustrated by means of the following comparison.

Echah Rabbah.	Echah Rabbah.	Yerushalmi.
(Account of the 2 brothers)	(Bar Chozeba account)	(Bar Chozeba account)
אייתי לי פטומידיה	זיל ואייתידיה לי	רמי לי פטומידיה

These last words of E. R. are a combination of the

Yer. and the former narrative in the Midrash; and the Babli term עכנא is again used for the Yerushalmi רכינה. In the next narrative the Midrash has altered the complicated words of the Jer. חזו מוכרין ארבע חנויות מהורות into the intelligible expression 'היו ארבע חנויות של מוכרי מהר'. The words דמרקוע לקייטא כל ערובת שובאי are omitted in E. R., also the statement respecting the ריבה is omitted in Yer. This point, coupled with the facts that שהיו משחקין בכדור is introduced into the Yer. anonymously, in E. R., on the other hand, by the name of Rab Hunna, and qualified by בשבת at the end, would suggest that E. R. obtained its material from some source other than the Yerushalmi. The destruction of R. Elazar ben Harsum's property is not mentioned in the Midrash. Probably the author had Babli (Yoma, 35 b.) before him, and was anxious to leave on the mind of his readers an impression of the magnitude of R. Elazar's wealth. In the following narrative the Midrash differs, already at the beginning, in two points from the Talmud. In the former the locality of the cities is specified — in the South — further, they are termed עיריות (cities) and with reason, for the name כפר (village) is hardly appropriate to a town, the inhabitants of which number 1200,000 men, without reckoning women and children; and yet the Talmud has this latter word. E. R. explains לעבירה by the well known term אכסניא, and considerably expands the account of Chephar Dichrin. The words אר יורגן קפצה ארץ ישראל are quite out of place as they occur in the Midrash; but in Yer., where they are cited in the name of R. Haminah, they can be conceived to belong to the context. The following narrative in E. R. is hardly dependent on Yer. Notice the alterations: E. R., Rab Hunna, for Yer., R. Jochanan; E. R., 300, for Yer., 80; E. R., R. Jeremiah in the name of R. Chiya bar Abba, for Yer., R. Jochanan. Also the tale of the 80 priests (in the Talmud 80 pair of priests) is differently given in the two works. According to the Talmud, they were simply married beneath a vine; according to the Midrash, they were already married, and were executed, with their wives, under the vine. The dictum

of R. Jeremiah in the name of R. Chiya bar Bo respecting the 'שמונים שידות וכו' does not occur in the Midrash. The account of the avenging of Zachariah's blood occurs no less than three times in Midrash Echah, and a careful examination of it will lead us to a striking result. Notice the change at the beginning

E. R. Chs. II and IV.	E. R. Pethicha 23.	Yerushalmi.
בעזרת ישראל או בעזרת נשים אמר ליה לא בעזרת ישראל ולא בעזרת נשים:	בעזרת נשים או בעזרת ישראל א"ל לא בעזרת נשים ולא בעזרת ישראל	בעזרת הנשים או בעזרת ישראל א"ל לא בעזרת ישראל ולא בעזרת הנשים

Now it is clear that these two variations occurring in the Midrash have one object in view, viz., symmetry between the wording of the question and of the answer. In the one passage the words of the answer in E. R. are so arranged as to correspond with those of the question, which is cited in the exact form which the Talmud gives it. In the two remaining cases (chs. II and IV) the answer of the Yer. is retained and the question in E. R. is altered accordingly. How can we explain the circumstance that the same end is sought in two instances by one, and in the third instance by another method? In all probability we have before us the work of two authors,⁴⁶ both of whom give an independent version of the Yerushalmi. For if our Midrash were the product of one composer we should be compelled to tax him with great inconsistency: — he first altered the Yer., and then repeated himself faithfully in one case, and in a different manner on another occasion. The context shows that the Pethicha is not the original place for this narrative, since it is there suggested by the words והוא מזכיר עון להתפש זה עינו של זכריהו without reference to what precedes, and what comes after it. Nor can ch. IV (sec. 16) claim the priority, for it is there introduced, as a separate paragraph, as an exposition to the

⁴⁶ This is merely a point in itself. My principal argument for the fact that the Midrash is the work of two authors will be fully enunciated farther on. See p. 41, note 55.

verse מרמאת נביאיה, and the connection between this verse and the narrative must be established by the words על אותה שעה וכו'. Now the massacre of the Israelites depicted in this account is a very suitable appendage to the text בלע המל' ולא ה' under which it is quoted in ch. II, besides it occurs there among a number of similar sad events which befell the unfortunate Jews. These considerations prove that true order of occurrence, arranged according to priority, is: chapter II, chapter IV (both of which may have emanated from one writer), and Pethicha 23. The only differences between chs. II and IV, besides that already mentioned are; the latter adds the words גרין עילוייה before זכריה טובים וכו' (this is a minor point), and further ליה הכי for הכי, this must be explained as follows. According to the reading in ch. II the sense is: "And since he (Nebuchadnezzar) spake unto them thus (i. e. threatened them וכו' ממריקנא וכו'), they said unto him, wherefore shall we conceal the truth from thee etc."; according to ch. IV, "And since he spake to them, it is not so (i. e. you are trying to deceive me), they said etc." With these exceptions, ch. IV may be regarded as a repetition of ch. II; it will be sufficient for us to confine our attention to the latter and Pet. 23. In all three passages the Midrash places צבי before איל, no doubt because this is the order usually observed in the Torah.⁴⁷⁾ Ch. II writes, as the Yer. gives it, חמן כריב and Pethicha alters this to רכריב ביה. The fact that the same account is quoted from the same source in two different forms, is an indication of the existence of two different authors. The Midrash adds in all three cases והללו את השם, and without this, as in Yer., we must reckon שבת ויום כפורים as *two* transgressions in order to make up the seven. The expression קא רתח which occurs in ch. II is taken from the Babli (Sanhedrin);⁴⁸⁾ the Pethicha prefers the Yer. תוסם. Both words are equally intelligible. The substitution of מאי האי (ch. II), for the Yer.

47) e. g. Deut. XV, 22.

48) 57b.

זה is also due to the Babli; here again the Pethicha retains מה טיבו of the Yer. Ch. II omits דאישתפוך; and the Pethicha alters the Yer. ע"ג המזבח שהיינו מקרי' into שהיינו מקרי' ע"ג המזבח — both of which points find no equivalent in ch. II. We need but glance at the following paragraph to be convinced that E. R. in the three cases used the Babli and not the Yerushalmi. Ch. II comes back afterwards to the Yer. נחמלא הקב"ה וכו' though in very few words, and though ורהר נבזראדן וכו' is taken from Babli. But the Pethicha ends completely as the Babli, with the slight alteration פרשנא for פרטנא. The Pethicha quotes מאו נימא לך וכו' word for word from Babli, whereas ch. II works out this point in a very detailed manner. Strange to say, the connecting link of the Babli והא כמה שנים וכו' is omitted in ch. II and reappears in the Pethicha, where also the explanatory phrase is added לקיים מה שנ' פרצו וכו' which is wanting in ch. II. The Pethicha introduces from Yer. פ' אלף פרחי וכו' and adds עד שהגיע וכו' all of which is wanting in ch. II. The following is an interesting consideration —

Echah Rabbah. Ch. II.	Echah Rabbah. Pet. 23.	Babli.	Yerushalmi
רצונך שיאבדו כולם:	ניחא לך דליבלינהו לכולהו:	ניחא לך דאיקטלינהו לכולהו:	את בעי נובד כל אומתך עלך:

It is evident that the Pethicha is simply a reproduction of the Babli with a slight change; but ch. II is clearly a paraphrase, in easier language (pure Hebrew), of the Yerushalmi. I think that sufficient has been said to establish the following fact beyond doubt: — The two accounts of the avenging of Zechariah's blood, which occur in E. R., are emanations from two distinct writers, each of whom had the Babli and the Yerushalmi before him, and each of whom produced a different combination of the same two sources. The passage in the Yer. from א"ר יוחנן שמונים אור מוצל till אלים פידיי בהונה ברחו להם לתוך קלתותים וכו' does not occur in the Midrash. The following narrative

is cited in the name of R. Johanan in the Yerushalmi, and anonymously in E. R. The latter adds *ובירן מניני זרב*, and very properly brings the exclamation "Let us first drink" after having told us, that the Ishmaelites produced the salted food and the empty waterbottles; the author of the Midrash probably thought, that the words of the Yer. *הבו לן* ought to be omitted, since they anticipate too much. The whole passage is a detailed reproduction of the Talmud, and it is unnecessary to adduce proofs. The concluding paragraph of sec. 4 is probably dependent on the Bereshith Rabbah (ch. LVI) since R. Judan is quoted.

We have seen that the whole of Section 4, in its present form, is young, for the Babli is frequently cited. Nevertheless we have also observed that those portions which belong to the original Midrash are independent of the Talmud Yerushalmi.

11) E. R., ch. IV, sec. 23, and Yer., Shabbath, ch. XVI *ר' ור' הייא רבא ור' שמעאל בי ר' יוסי היו יושבין וכו'*. The Midrash omits R. Chiya and Raba, and writes *עם השכה*, for the Yer. *מן המורה ולמעלה*. According to E. R., Rabbi insists, that what has befallen him is a punishment for some sin which he has committed; but R. Ishmael says "Even if we were not engaged with this subject (i. e. with the verse⁴⁹) which is immediately afterwards cited), and this had happened to thee, I should have said so; now how much more reason have I to exclaim, 'The breath of our nostrils, the anointed of the Lord, was taken in their pits.'" The meaning is that Rabbi suffered for the sin of the whole community. Now the Yer. is remarkably clear and requires no explanation. When Rabbi accuses himself, R. Chiya says, "it is in consequence of our iniquities that thou sufferest, as it is written 'The breath of our nostrils etc.'" R. Ishmael continued, "even if we were not engaged with the subject we should be obliged to speak thus, how much more so now, since we are so occupied". Again, the latter half of this narrative as given in E. R. contains pure Halachah, and has

49) Lam. IV, 20.

nothing corresponding with it in the Talmud. This passage, then, is independent of the Yerushalmi; and the same source which supplied the author of E. R. with the second half, probably furnished him also with the first half of the account.

12) E. R., ch. V, sec. 15, and Yer., Sota, ch. IX, א"ר. The Midrash cites the verse בשי"ר היתה הכרזת בראשונה היא לא ישרו וכו' which occurs in the Mishnah. The accounts in E. R. and Yer. are very similar; both are written in the same language, viz. Hebrew, and both are very well suited to the context; so that it is impossible to decide which of the two is the older. It is true that the Yer. interpolates לא היו נפרעין אלא וכו' and that, had the author of E. R. used the Talmud, he would probably have quoted the whole passage as he found it; but I do not insist on this point, for he may have omitted these words, since they have no reference to his text. From this passage nothing can be proved.

13) E. R., Pet. 33; Yerushalmi, Taanith, ch. IV; Babli, 26b (Mishnah) and 30b—31a.

Echah Rabbah.	Babli.	Yerushalmi.
בנות יוצאות בנות ישראל	שבהן בנות ירושלים יוצאות	שבהן בני ירושלים יוצאים

The Midrash differs in three points from the Yer.: בנות, the more general term ישראל for ירושלים, and the verb is placed before the subject. Now the last two alterations are points of no great moment, although they tend to enhance the effect. But the important change בנות for בני was probably suggested to the author of the Midrash by the Babli. The following consideration removes all doubts as to the question whether E. R. is here dependent on the Babli or not.

Echah Rabbah	Babli	Yerushalmi.
בשלמא יום הכפורים יום סליחה וכפרה לישראל יום שנתנו בו לוחות אחרונות אלא ט"ו באב מאי היא:	בשלמא יום הכפורים משום דאית ביה סליחה ומחילה יום שניתנו בו לוחות האחרונות אלא ט"ו באב מאי היא:	ניהא ביום הכפורים שהוא כפרה על ישראל בט"ו באב למה:

The words 'יום שנת' do not occur in the Yerushalmi, and . . . בשלמא is the ordinary expression of the Babli. It would be difficult to find a stronger proof that the author of E. R. used the Babli, and preferred its language (for reasons which will be explained) to that of Yer. I am inclined to think that he had the Yer. before him in this instance, and that he thence obtained the words כפרה and ישראל; the order in which the separate portions of the whole narrative follow one another would lead us to the same result. But yet the whole passage ר' יהודה אמר שמואל ר' יהודה אמר שמואל till יום שהוחזרו מוסף יסף does not occur in Yer., and is taken from the Babli.

14) E. R., ch. I, sec. 51. 'כי רחוק ממני וכו'; Yer., Be-rachoth, ch. II 'רבנן אמרי וכו'; Babli, Baba Bathra, 75 b, and Sanhedrin, 98 b. The whole introduction (in E. R.) from 'כי רחוק ממני וכו' till ר' יהושע בן לוי is taken from the Babli. It is not at all strange that the author of E. R. added למרינתא רשמי, because that may have been a current proverb. The first thing that strikes us on examining the narrative itself is, that the beginning of the Yer. account is cited at the end of the Midrash version, after a long quotation from the Babli. The author did this possibly for the sake of the general effect. The Midrash alters יהודאי to בר נש, because farther on the Arabian asks the man what he is, and our author does not wish to anticipate. This drawing out of the words of Yerushalmi by the author of E. R. is anything but elegant. The following phrase, for instance, which occurs in the Talmud בר יהודאי שרי תורך וכו' is far more powerful than the corresponding tedious dialogue in the Midrash. The latter has ערבא ברבית לחם יהודה for קנקנך פרנך and מן בירת מלכא רבית לחם יהודה for קנקנך פרנך. According to E. R., the man asks the mother why she does not come forward and purchase; in Yer. it is related that, from the conversation of the women standing around him, he learns that Menachem's mother has bought nothing. The remarkable phrases קשי לינוקא, and, afterwards רהשיה קשיי אפילו על רגליה וכו', do not occur in Yer. The

Yer. ⁵⁰⁾ והטפניה is better suited to the context than מענוניה ⁵¹⁾. The Midrash repeats ולא כך אמרית וכו' and creates thereby a great difficulty. The first part of the mother's words על רגליו הריב was fulfilled, for the child was born just after the destruction of the Temple. But the second half has no meaning. As a matter of fact the Temple was *not* rebuilt during the lifetime of the child, nor even after his death. ⁵²⁾ This anomaly might perhaps be avoided in the Talmud by explaining ברגליה מתכני as follows: The man comforts the mother by instilling in her the hope, that the Temple may be rebuilt for her child's sake. ⁵³⁾ Although this hope was never realized, yet the man was fully justified in his endeavours to console the afflicted mother by means of it. The Midrash now adduces a passage from Babli, and places the dictum of R. Chanina before that of R. Janai. Neither in the Babli nor in the Yer. do we find ביבא סגוריא ר' ביבא סגוריא וכו'. This narrative as we have it is very young, since the Babli is so freely used. In all likelihood the original Midrash contained this account, but it was afterwards remodelled according to the Babli and Yerushalmi combined. There are points which render it difficult to assume that the E. R. is directly dependent on the Talmud Yerushalmi. Besides those mentioned, we must notice בר יצחק ר' שמואל בר יצחק in E. R. for רבנן in Yer. This is the third and last instance quoted by Frankel.

15) E. R., ch. IV, sec. 4; Yer., Horaioth, ch. III; Babli, Gittin, 58a. The Midrash על פתחו לברקו ועמר על פתחו בית האסורים and הלך ועמר על פתחו בית האסורים and הלך ר' יהושע לברקו כיון שהגיע על פתחו Yerushalmi. The application of the verse בני ציון היקרים המסולאים בפו, and further וזלנו עינינו דמעוה וכו' are taken from Yer., but the

50) "And snatched him away".

51) "And carried him off".

52) Compare my remarks on סימח ורוען וכו' (p. 31.).

53) The Yer. writes ברגליה and for רגליה the former of which expressions may possibly be translated "for his sake".

whole passage from *אני שמונתה* till *ישמעאל בן אלישע* is quoted almost *word for word* from the Babli.

We are now in a position to arrive at a definite result with regard to the composition of Midrash Echah Rabbah, in as far as the two Talmudim are concerned. Let us proceed to collect our premises. We have seen that the Midrash, in its present form, is written in two totally different styles; the West or Palestinian Syriac stands side by side with the East Syriac, and with the usual modes of expression peculiar to the Talmud Babli. This use of the Babylonian language is not confined to the last chapters,⁵⁴⁾ we have had occasion to notice a striking instance in one of the introductory Pethichoth. We have likewise observed that Midrash Echah not unfrequently exhibits a strong tendency to combine the Yerushalmi and Babli versions of the same narrative; that it often shows a decided preference in favour of the latter Talmud, by rendering in the Babylonian phraseology single words and whole sentences which, we have every reason to believe, were originally written in the Palestinian dialect. Lastly we have examined instances which point to the conclusion that, where similarity exists between Echah Rabbah and the Yerushalmi alone, the Midrash is independent of the Talmud. The question arises, what are we warranted in inferring from these data?

In the first place, it is clear that two such distinct styles as characterize the Midrash could never have emanated from one and the same writer; Echah Rabbah is, therefore, the work of at least two authors.⁵⁵⁾ *Secondly*; the later

54) Compare Zunz's remarks on the last chapters which are quoted at p. 3.

55) The two authors who wrote the different accounts of Zechariah's death (pp. 35—38) were both acquainted with the two Talmudim, and both belong to the later period. Accordingly I ought to have asserted, at the onset, that our Midrash is the work of *three* authors. But then we have only one example in favour of this assertion, and the writer of one of the accounts just mentioned may have confined his work to a very small portion of the Midrash

revisor was acquainted with both Talmudim. *Thirdly*; the first recension of Midrash Echah was composed in Palestine (the language in which it is written proves this), and the second recension, in Babylon. If Echah Rabbah contained passages cited word for word from the Babli, and sought occasionally to translate the original language of the Babli into the Palestinian dialect, we should be entitled to conclude that the second composer lived in Palestine. But as a matter of fact we find that the Babylonian dialect has been copiously used, even in cases where the Palestinian Talmud is adduced. There can be only one reason for this deviation from the words of the text. The author of the Midrash preferred the Babylonian dialect, because that dialect was best understood by his readers; in other words, because he was in Babylon. *Fourthly*; the original Midrash is independent of Talmud Yerushalmi. Our previous investigations have established the fact, that all those passages which are really taken from the Yerushalmi, are young. Since the original Midrash contains a large number of Hagadoth,⁵⁶) which have nothing corresponding with them in Yerushalmi, and since those sections which do correspond with similar narratives in the Talmud, are, as far as we have seen, independent, we are justified in asserting that the same source which supplied the author with the former, furnished him also with the latter.

The only passages which seem, at first sight, to militate against this position, but which on mature deliberation, prove to have a neutral effect, are the following.

16) E. R., ch. II, sec. 22; Yerushalmi, Berachoth, ch. I. There is a slight variation at the beginning. The Yerushalmi runs thus, ארבע אשמורות ביום וד' אשמורות בלילה, and the Midrash places לילה before יום, probably because the verse standing at the commencement of the section is קומי רוני

He would then not be entitled to be styled "a revisor or an author of the Midrash." Besides I am satisfied to make out my point, that Midrash Echah emanated from two authors *at least*.

⁵⁶) Compare ch. I, sees. 4—14.

העונה אחר מכ"ד לעת. Again the Midrash has העונה אחר מכ"ד לעת. and Yerushalmi העונה אחר מכ"ד לשעה: According to the Yerushalmi the העונה is 24×24 times as long as the עת, and 24 times as long as the עונה. The words of the Midrash are not intelligible.

The proof for R. Nathan's assertion that the night has only three watches — namely the words ראש אשמורה לא היה, is omitted in E. R. The latter substitutes לא היה אררא (נ"א שחרא) אהיא ומשכה בא ודוד ישן לרדו רמך. The passage from והיה יצרו till היה עושה is omitted in E. R. — a point which is rather suspicious if the Midrash is exclusively dependent on Yer. We have now a remarkable change to notice. According to the Yer. the Wise Men of Israel used to hear David playing the harp, thence they inferred that he was about to study the Law, and they thereupon considered themselves bound to follow so noble an example. They argued as follows: If the great King deprives himself of his sleep for the purpose of learning the signification of our Holy Precepts, surely we are bound to do so likewise. The Midrash, on the other hand, tells us that David was accustomed to rise in the middle of the night to play the harp. But here the account suddenly breaks off; a passage from the Babli (Berachoth, 3b) is interpolated *word for word* as it stands in the Talmud ר' לוי וכו'; and the narrative continues to the effect that *David* heard the sound of the harp, and thereupon rose and commenced his studies (as related in the Babli); then all Israel (not alone the Sages) heard David (not playing, but) learning, and they were thus induced to imitate the King's example. Here we have a characteristic feature of the Midrash with which we are by this time quite familiar — the Yer. and Bab. accounts of the same tale are blended together; and therefore, in spite of the agreement between the general outline of this passage as it occurs in E. R. with the corresponding Yer. account, it does not militate against my position, for it is the work of the second author. The language is, for the most part, Hebrew.

17) E. R., ch. I, sect. 47, 48; and Yer., Ketuboth, ch. 5, 'וכשמת וכו' והתני מעשה במרת'. The whole introduction till 'וכשמת וכו' is wanting in the Yerushalmi, though something similar occurs in Sifri, Deut., XXXI, 14. This fact together with the following variations, render it improbable to assume that E. R. is directly dependent on the Talmud. The Midrash after telling us that the Wise Men allowed Miriam a certain quantity of wine asks, how could they have done so, since a Boraitha distinctly says, it is not lawful to provide a widow with wine 'והא תניא אין פוסקין יין לאשה'. The Yer. knows nothing of this Boraitha. The whole passage from 'אע"פ בן' till 'אמן' is wanting in E. R. The end of sec. 47 in the Midrash is quite different from the conclusion in the Yer. narrative. Indeed the end of the first account in E. R. corresponds with the end of the second story in Yer., and the conclusion of the second narrative in E. R. with that of the first in Yer. The Midrash writes 'בתו של נקרימון' and the Yer. 'בתו של שמעון בן גורין', and the explanatory phrase of the Yer. 'ולא היתה אלה שומרת יבם' does not occur in E. R. The words (with which sec. 48 concludes) 'אל תקרי' are wanting in Yer. and occur in the Sifri. It is not unlikely that both Yer. and E. R. are dependent on the Sifri and on some other source now unknown to us; and that we have before us two independent reproductions of the same material. The language in which these sections are written, is Hebrew.

18) E. R., ch. I, sec. 52, 'א"ר ברכיה אמרה כנסת ישראל, לפני הקב"ה לשועבר הייתי וכו' and Yerushalmi, Bikkurim, ch. III, 'תנא ר' הלפתא בן שאול וכו'. The introduction till 'ובריבם' is wanting in the Yer., and since it is introduced by 'א"ר ברכיה' it is probably not an exposition of the author himself, but a citation from an old Boraitha. The language is Hebrew, with the exception of the last words 'ועכשיו ארדם רמומה' which are wanting in the Talmud, and which are an addition of the author.

19) E. R., ch. III, 'נחפשה דרכינו'; and Yer. Taanith, ch. II, 'ר' בא בר זבדא ור' תנחום בר עילאי ור' יאשיהו נפקו וכו'.

is dependent on Yerushalmi, but we have here the work of the second author. Let us examine the following point. —

Echah Rabbah.	Babli, Taanith, 16 a.	Yerushalmi.
אפילו טובל בכל מימי	שאפילו טובל בכל	אפילו טובל במי שילוח
בראשית אינו טהור	מימות שבעולם לא	או במי בראשית אין
לעולם השליך השרץ	עלתה לו טבילה	לו טהרה עולמית
מידועלתה לו טבילה	זרקו מידיו כיון שטבל	השליכו מידו מיד
במ' סאה:	במ' סאה מיד עלתה	טהור:
	לו טבילה:	

The general outline in E. R. corresponds with Yer., but the expressions עלתה לו טבילה and במ' סאה clearly show that we have, in this passage, another instance of the combination of the Yerushalmi with the Babli account. The Midrash נקשט עצמן ואה"כ נקשט אחרים: seems also to be a reproduction from the Yerushalmi נתקושש גרמן עד רלא נקושש אחרים, הורנין קשט עצמן ואה"כ קשט (Sanhedrin, 18 a) אחרים.

20) E. R., ch. V, sec. 16, and Yer., Sota, ch. IX, 'ר' ירמיה שיבשב וכו'. This passage consists of but three lines and is probably very young, introduced for the sake of giving some exposition to the verse נפלה עמרת ראשנו. It is dependent on the Talmud, but it might have been quoted by the second author.

III. Pesikta derab Kahana.

The Midrash Echah Rabbah opens with a prefatory Hagadah consisting of thirty-four⁵⁷⁾ sections, most of which commence with the formula פתח רבי and hence, of course, the word Pethicha is derived. When the dictum of an Hagadist is introduced with פתח, it generally implies

⁵⁷⁾ Although the true number is 38 (as I shall afterwards show) yet, in order to avoid confusion, I adhere throughout my work to the number which is usually given in the printed texts.

that the Hagadist usually commenced his exposition of a particular topic, or his lecture on a particular theme, with the words cited in that dictum.⁵⁸⁾ That this is the true explanation of the term we learn from Megillah, 10b, פתח ר' פתח, further the Yalkut (Sec. 942) writes ר' הושעיה רבה בר הוי ריש במעשה בראשית פתח, while the corresponding passage in Bereshith Rabbah (ch. I) runs ר' הושעיה רבה פתח. The Midrash, which in its outward form closely resembles the Introduction to Echah Rabbah, is the Pesikta derab Kahana. Of the composition and scope of this Midrash I have already spoken; and with respect to its name Zunz⁵⁹⁾ says: "The name Pesikta (from the root פסק to leave off, shut, cut off, divide,) signifies Paragraph or Section and is connected with Pasuk, Pesik, Piska; it is often used as denoting any division. Originally each separate paragraph received the name of Pesikta or Piska with the addition of its special title, which is expressed in the older works, especially in the writings of R. Nathan by the preposition ר. The whole work was called *Piskoth* i. e. the Piskas. But since it became usual to quote from this work without giving the name of the special section, the general expression Pesikta came to denote the complete contents, and therefore the whole book."⁶⁰⁾

It is generally supposed that this Pesikta derab Kahana is one of the principal sources of Echah Rabbah. No systematical attempt has yet been made to *prove* this assertion; wherever similarity exists between the Pesikta and Midrash Echah, the latter is assumed to be dependent on the former. Although this position is open to objections, its

58) "Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums", 1880, p. 172

59) 'Gottesdienstl. Vort.' p. 192.

60*) Rapoport asserts that the word *Pesiktoth* signifies the lectures which were delivered on those Sabbaths and Festivals for which special Haphtaroth were fixed from the earliest times. The Pesikta was the portion of the Prophets which formed the conclusion to the Portion of the Law. שפוסק ומסיים בקריאה ו' ('Erech Millin', p. 170).

supporters could strengthen their cause by the following three considerations.

A. Assuming the Pesikta and the Bereshith Rabbah to be older, and the Vayikra Rabbah younger than Echah Rabbah, the outward form of the two latter Midrashim could easily be accounted for. The author of Echah Rabbah had, according to this opinion, two models before him — the Bereshith Rabbah arranged according to the chapters of the Book of Genesis, and the Pesikta consisting of sections usually beginning with the formula פתח — a combination of which furnished him with the plan for the construction of Midrash Echah. The introductory Pethichoth are an imitation, to a certain extent a reproduction of the Pesikta, and the arrangement of the body of the work corresponds with that of the Bereshith Rabbah. The author of Midrash Vayikra, on the other hand, frequently dispenses with the prefatory Pethichoth, and commences at once with the exposition of this text.

B. Nearly every Pethicha concludes with the first words of the Book of Lamentations, usually preceded by כיון שרמאו כיון שרמאו בנין שרמאו. No such regularity is to be found in the Pesikta, and hence it is an older work than Echah Rabbah.

C. An examination of certain passages occurring in both works convinces us that Midrash Echah is dependent on the Pesikta.

1) E. R., Pet. I; and the corresponding passage in Pesikta derab Kahana, Piska XIII. This passage is complete in itself and is well suited to the context in both works. It concludes in the Pesikta with the verse רברי ירמיה, and in E. R. with איכה. The words צהלי קולך בבתי כנסיות are added on in E. R., whereas the phrase קולך לבלין קולך is omitted; in all probability it stood there originally but has since slipped out. E. R. has another addition הקשיבי לצדקות ומעשים טובים, but the Pesikta תורה רברי is altered to רברי נבואה, and the words רברי תוכחות are wanting. The Midrash is here younger than, and probably dependent on,

the Pesikta, and the words *הפורענות קונן עליהם איכה* emanate from the author of the Midrash.

2) E. R., Pet. 9; P. d. K. Piska XIX. In the Pesikta this passage is an exposition to the verse Ps. LXIX, 21, and although the greater part of the section is devoted to the first words *הרפה שברה לבי*, yet the conclusion of the text is also discussed, and serves to introduce the words which stand at the head of the Piska *אנכי אנכי הוא מנהמכם*. Now the object of the author of E. R. is not to console his readers, on the contrary, he wishes to lament on the downfall of the Temple, and on the desecrations which accompanied that sad event. He therefore chooses a different text, the leading idea of which coincides with that of Ps. LXIX, 21, but the conclusion of which is more closely connected with the subject of the narrative. He omits *ביון שגרמו וכו'*, but adds *ידו פרש צר וכו'*. He renders the description more vivid by writing *לא היו ישראל וכו'* in the 2nd. Pers. Pl. "Did ye not say (addressing the enemies), that this nation did not worship idols? Behold what we have found." He writes *באותה ווי ווי כולן כהרא הא כל אפיין שוין* 'ביון שרטאו גלו וכו' and ends with the usual *ביון שרטאו גלו וכו'*. In this instance the Midrash is younger than the Pesikta, though it is strange that the former brings this narrative in the name of R. Isaac, and the latter cites it anonymously.

3) E. R., Pet. 25; and P. d. K., Piska XIII *עשר מסעות*. There is a slight difference in the order in which the journeys took place — in E. R. *הנג למזבח מן* and *מחצו למזבח וממזבח לנג ומנג*, and in P. d. K. *המזבח לחומה לחומה*. With these exceptions the two accounts agree, and neither is connected with Babli (Rosh Hashanah, 31 a). The concise phrase of the Pesikta *ויצא וכו'* is rendered in E. R. by *ויצא לא היה צריך קרייה למימר אלא ויבא ואת וכו'* 'אומרת ויצא וכו' But Buber remarks that the Oxford and Parma MSS. have both the same reading as the Midrash. The author of E. R. adds *בכעם*, and alters *והיה מנשק בכתלים* into *היה חוזר ומנפף ומנפף בעמודי פלטין ובעמודי פלטין* into *היה חוזר ומנפף ומנפף בעמודי פלטין* thus clearly dilating on the words of P. d. K. The pathetic

exclamation 'הוי שלום בית יקרי וכו' is likewise due to the author of E. R. Buber considers the whole passage from 'א מהו אנך till 'ר יהודה בר' סימון בר' an addition by a casual reader, and that it is quite foreign to the subject. There is no doubt that the Midrash is here dependent on the Pesikta.

4) E. R., ch. I, sec. 33 'בומן שישראל וכו', and P. d. K., Piska XXVI. This section is clearly a detailed reproduction of the Pesikta account. E. R. writes 'ר לוי בר טרפון for the P. d. K. 'ר לוי בר פרטא, and Buber is of opinion that the reading in the Midrash is a typographical error. The whole explanation of the verse 'ורבנן בשם וילכו בלא כה וכו' from 'ר' הנינא is inserted in E. R., and does not occur in the Pesikta.

5) E. R., ch. I, sect. 57, and P. d. K., Piska XVI 'הטאו בראש'. The Midrash prefaces the words 'בראש בראש'. There is a slight variation in the order in which the several moments follow one another. The Pesikta invariably employs the following mode of expression 'הטאו בעין ולקו בעין ומסקרות עינים כו', whereas the Midrash, with the exception of the first instance, writes simply 'הטאו בראש רב'. This is no valid argument in favour of the seniority of E. R., for the author may have found the continual repetition of the same formula tedious, and he may have therefore chosen a more concise form. The Midrash brings a new point 'הטאו ביש'. E. R. is here dependent on P. d. K.

6) E. R., ch. II, sec. 6, 'השיב אהור ימיני וכו', and P. d. K., Piska XVII. The two narratives are remarkably similar, but the expression in E. R. 'עמו אנכי בצרה כתבתי בתורה' for P. d. K. 'עמו אנכי כתיב' appears to be younger. The Midrash commences with "R. Azariah in the name of R. Judah bar Simon", and in the Pesikta "R. Azariah and R. Abahu in the name of Resh Lokesh" are cited. It is strange that E. R. omits 'רבון העולמים' and 'כיוצא בו'. Towards the end the readings in E. R. and in P. d. K. are both corrupt, though E. R. is a little clearer than Pesikta. The Pesikta applies this exposition to the verse Ps. CXXXVII, 5; but the author

of the Midrash, finding that he had a suitable text in the Book of Lamentations (II, 3), naturally preferred it.

7) E. R., ch. III, וְשִׁיב לָהֶם נְמוּל, and P. d. K., Piska III. The Midrash places the destruction of the Temple at the commencement, because it is the subject special to the whole Echah Rabbah. The Pesikta אֲרָם הַרְאִשׁוֹן is rendered more general in E. R. אֲרָם, and in the passage וַיִּשְׁכַּף שְׂמוֹאל בֹּר' the author of the Midrash prefers to adhere to the literal meaning of his text, he therefore writes חֲרִיבוֹת חֲרִיבוֹת instead of זָרִים זָרִים. The Midrash is younger than the Pesikta, although it omits the words רִ' הוּנָא. Buber remarks that they occur only in the Oxford MS.

8) E. R., ch. V, sec. 1. וּמֶלֶךְ אֱלֹקִים. This appears to be a combination of two passages in P. d. K. viz., Piskoth, III and XVIII. Buber is of opinion that the reading in E. R. is corrupt; even in the Pesikta it is anything but clear. He suggests the following explanation. According to R. Abba bar Kahana, only the walls themselves were destroyed, but the foundations remained intact; according to R. Levi, the foundations shared the same fate as the walls. At all events the Midrash is younger than the Pesikta; it seeks to explain its text. We may notice the alteration of עַל דַּעְתֵּיהֶּם to מֵאֵן דַּאֲמַר.

These then are the considerations which support the opinion that Midrash Echah is dependent on the Pesikta. That they are not absolutely convincing we shall presently see.

A. If we assume that the Pesikta and Vayikra Rabbah are younger than Echah Rabbah, we can equally well explain the outward forms in which the former Midrashim are written. The Pesikta selected the style of the Introduction, to the exclusion of that of the body of Midrash Echah; the Vayikra Rabbah, on the other hand, preferred the latter to the former.

B. We must now arrive at a clear understanding with regard to the true number of Pethichoth. A Pethicha need not necessarily begin with פֶּתַח. No less than 69 instances occur in P. d. K. where sections are introduced without any

set form, and Pet. 34 of E. R. commences at once with the biblical verse. Now Pet. 2 contains two distinct sections, which are not connected with one another, and which both end in the same manner **מקונן עליהם איכה**. The second half, beginning with the verse **התבוננו וקראו** is complete and independent in itself, and owing to a printer's mistake, it has been connected with the preceding portion, because it does not happen to begin with **פתח**. In the same manner we must divide Pet. 31. When **ר"א** occurs in a Pethicha, it may signify a) a further explanation of the foregoing words, i. e. a continuation of the same Pethicha, or b) the commencement of a new Pethicha. It is in the latter sense in which it must be understood in Pet. 9, where again we have two distinct sections joined together. And lastly Pet. 25 must be divided, for **עשר מס'** begins a new subject, and occurs in P. d. K. apart from what precedes it in E. R. I subjoin a list of the Pethichoth arranged according to the true division, which is marked by the Hebrew letters.

	Ordinary Division.
ר' אבא בר כהנא פתח . . . כיון שבא המורענות קונן עליהם איכה	1.
ר' אבא בר כהנא פתח . . . וכיון שהשליכו דברי תורה לארץ התחיל ירמיה וכו'	2.
כה אמר ה' צבאות . . . וכיון שפתו כולם התחיל סקונן עליהם וכו'	
ר' אבא בר כהנא פתח . . . איכה ישבה בדר	3.
ר' אבהו פתח . . . וקוננתי עליהם וכו'	4.
ר' אבהו בשם ר' יוסי בר הנינא פתח . . . כיון שחטאו גלו וכו'	5.
ר' אבהו בשם ר' יוסי בר הנינא פתח . . . כיון שחטאו גלו וכו'	6.
ר' אבהו בשם ר' יוסי בר הנינא פתח . . . ישבו לארץ ידמו וכו'	7.
ר' יצחק פתח . . . כיון שחטאו גלו וכיון וכו'	8.
ר' יצחק פתח . . . כיון שחטאו גלו וכיון וכו'	9.
ד"א בושנו כו שמענו . . . כיון שחטאו גלו וכיון וכו'	
ר' יצחק פתח . . . איכה ישבה בדר	10.
ר' יצחק פתח . . . איכה ישבה בדר	11.
ר' הנינא בר פפא פתח . . . כיון שחטאו גלו וכו'	12.
ר' הנינא בר פפא פתח . . . כיון שחטאו גלו וכו'	13.
ר' הנינא בר פפא פתח . . . כיון שחטאו גלו וכו'	14.
ר' הנינא בר פפא פתח . . . ואומר להם איכה	15.
ר' אבהו פתח . . . והלקי אלהים לעולם	16.
ר' אבהו פתח . . . וקוראין קיגין ונהי ואיכה	17.
ר' אבין פתח . . . איכה ישבה בדר	18.
ר' אבין פתח . . . הוי על נהרות בבל א"כ	19.
ר' אלכסנדריא פתח . . . וישבתי לי לבדי איכה	20.
ר' אלכסנדריא פתח . . . איכה	21.

4*

	Ordinary Division.
כ"ד ר' יהושע דסכנין בשם ר' לוי פתח	22.
כ"ה ר' יהושע דסכנין בשם ר' לוי פתח	23.
כ"ו ר' יוחנן פתח	24.
כ"ז ר' יוחנן פתח	25.
כ"ח עשר מסערת	
כ"ט ר' נחמן פתח	26.
ל' ר' נחמן פתח	27.
ל"א ר' חמא בר חנינא פתח	28.
ל"ב זבדי בן לוי פתח	29.
ל"ג זבדי בן לוי פתח	30.
ל"ד ר' שמעון בן יוחאי פתח	31.
ל"ה ר' מראה ונגאלה	
ל"ו ר' חנינא פתח	32.
ל"ז ר' זעירא פתח	33.
ל"ח על ההרים אשא בכי ונהי	34.

XXXVIII.

The regular ending appears in 31 out of the 38 Pethichoth, the remaining 7 conclude with other biblical verses. Now in those cases where the usual formula occurs, we cannot fail to notice a vast difference in its suitability to what precedes. How pathetic and forcible is it in Pet. 13 (כ"ד)! "Had you deserved it, you would now be entitled to read in the Torah **איכה אשא לברי** but now since you have proved yourselves ungrateful children, you must read **איכה ישרה**." Let us contrast with this the final words of Pet. 23 (כ"ה). "R. Alexandri inferred it (i. e. the dictum that the captivity is to last just as long as the Israelites worshipped idols) from this verse (Lev., XIII, 46), 'All the days wherein the plague shall be in him, he shall be defiled.' Echah." The presence of "Echah" here — inasmuch as it has not the slightest connection with R. Alexandri's statement — appears to be an addition by some later editor, in order to preserve as far as possible a unanimity in the conclusions of the Pethichoth. This assumption is not so bold as it might otherwise appear, for we know that Midrash Echah is really the work of an older and a later author. No less than eight Pethichoth (viz., 6, 9, 11, 21, 22, 23, 29, 34: ט: ז: י"א: כ"א)

(כ"ב: כ"ג: כ"ט: ל"ד) bear testimony in favour of this view. The original Midrash contained at most 23 Pethichoth with the regular ending, though the number may have been much smaller, for there are very few instances where the conclusion is as well adapted to the context as in Pet. 23. The aim of the later reviser was to establish a universal agreement between the endings of the sections composing the Introduction. Why did he leave those seven instances, mentioned above, just as he found them? A very little reflection will give us the true reason. Pet. 26 (כ"ז) concludes as follows: "It is written (Jer., XXXI, 16), 'Thus saith the Lord: Refrain thy voice from weeping, and thine eyes from tears: for thy work shall be rewarded, saith the Lord: and they shall come again from the land of the enemy', and it is further written (v. 17), 'And there is hope in thine end, saith the Lord, that thy children shall come again to their own border'". Pet. 38 (ל"ח) ends with these words, "At some future time every thing will return to its former state, as it is written (Ezek., XXXVI), 'And the desolate land shall be tilled, whereas it lay desolate in the sight of all that passed by.'" It is evident that the writer of the Introduction was actuated by a strong desire to impress on the minds of his readers the great truth that, even when they be in the land of their enemies, the Almighty will not cast His people away, neither will He abhor them, to destroy them utterly, and to break His covenant with them, for He is the Lord their God. Accordingly, the mournful tone of the whole Introduction is changed here and there into a consolatory and cheerful strain. It would have been both unmeaning and absurd on the part of the reviser to place such words as "How doth the city sit solitary etc." after texts reminding us of the Allmerciful's lovingkindness and comforting promises. For this reason we find no addition at the end of Pethichoth 18 (י"ח), 27 (כ"ז), and 28 (כ"ח); in the last two cases the idea uppermost in the writer's mind is some good quality characteristic of the Jewish nation, viz., Honour evinced to the remains of king Hezekiah, and, The Israelites united themselves together as members of one family, after they had been driven into exile.

The non-occurrence of the usual set form of conclusion can be satisfactorily accounted for in five instances. Pet. 8 (ר) ends with the verse "The elders of the daughter of Zion sit upon the ground, and keep silence" which, since it is taken from Lamentations (II, 10), is sufficiently expressive in itself, and requires no further text to awaken sad memories of the past. Pet. 31. (נ"ב) is certainly much better as it stands than it would be if "Echah" were added on at the end. Nevertheless that word would be quite as appropriate here, as it is in Pet. 23, and it probably did stand in the text as revised by the second author, for its omission may be due to a typographical error. Even were this not the case, one solitary instance would not be sufficient to overthrow the theory here upheld, after the proofs which have been adduced.

The original Midrash contained at most 23 instances of regularity out of 38. The Pesikta derab Kahana consists of 32 Piskoth, of which 20 conclude with a regular ending. (See *Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, 1880, p. 207). There is a slight difference in the proportion in favour of Echah Rabbah's being less regular.

Should it be urged that the similarity in the conclusions of the sections of the Introduction goes to prove that Midrash Echah is younger than the Pesikta, I answer: This similarity is due to the later author, the original Midrash was not more regularly arranged than the Pesikta. Again, the employment of *זה שאמר הכתוב* to introduce a biblical verse is as a sign of the youth of a Midrash. And this expression occurs but once⁶⁰) in Echah Rabbah, and several times in the Pesikta derab Kahana.

C. An examination of the following passages will lead to some important results.

9) E. R., Pet. 34, and P. d. K., Piska XIII. This last Pethicha corresponds with no less than six sections in P. d. K. The order is quite different in the two works. The opening words of the first of the six sections in the Pesikta, are added later on in the Midrash. The passage respecting Ne-

60) Pet. 24.

buchaduezzar's three mandates is cited in E. R. in the name of R. Acha, and in the Pesikta anonymously. Had the author of the Midrash used the Pesikta alone, whence could he have obtained the name of R. Acha? The commencement of the narrative in E. R. is considerably more detailed than the corresponding portion in P. d. K. But is it probable that the Midrash would have altered *שכל הדין to דהא כמה שנים שנייא*? Farther on, the Midrash, explaining how the term "a shedder of blood" was applicable to Jeremiah, writes: "The king left several injunctions to the effect that thou shouldst suffer no injury, nevertheless thou wilfully desirest to suffer evil, so that the king may hear it and slay this man (i. e. the speaker)." The Pesikta runs: "For if the king should hear what thou hast done with thyself (although I have done nothing) he would send and execute this man (i. e. the speaker)." The former is evidently an attempt to explain the officer's speech. The expression in E. R. *ולא קבל עליי כמו* and the expression in P. d. K. *ולא קבל עליי כמו* look like a young phrase. The words *מרו ואני אמר ר' אהא כביכול אני והוא* are omitted in E. R. This fact is not surprising, for a similar exposition of the expression *מרו ואני אמר ר' אהא כביכול אני והוא* precedes the above mentioned words in P. d. K. The author of E. R. cited the explanation in the first instance, and, since he had an aversion to reduplications (as we have seen), he contented himself in the second case with *ורכוותיה כתיב ואני בתוך הגולה*. The Midrash now cites a passage with the following heading: "R. Jacob and R. Abba and there are some who say, R. Elazar and R. Jochanan." The names given in the Pesikta are "R. Elazar and R. Jochanan." Now it is evident that the writer of Midrash Echah had two accounts of the same narrative before him — one in the names of R. Jacob and R. Abba, and the other, (which may have been the Pesikta, but with equal probability the source from which the Pesikta derived this section), in the names of R. Elazar and R. Jochanan. Further, the principal source of the author of E. R. must have contained the names of the Rabbis first quoted; to the other source, (either identical with, or used by, the Pesikta), he could only have attached a secondary

importance, since R. Elazar and R. Jochanan are cited last, and since they are introduced by "and there are some who say." Again, R. Jochanan's dictum extends, according to E. R., as far as verse 16, *ושבו בנים לגננו*, and according to P. d. K., only as far as verse 10, *ונאלו מיד רזוק ממנו*. The whole exposition of the verse Jeremiah, IX, 9, as given in E. R., appears to be rather a commentary than a mere reproduction of the passage in P. d. K. For instance, instead of the Pesikta *על ההרים הנבוהים שנעשו מדבר אשא קינה*, Midrash Echah writes *על אוחם הרים נאים ומשובחים אשא בכי*. As to the next portion, it is very unlikely that the author of E. R. would have altered *עוף כנף* of the Pesikta to *עוף טס*. (This latter expression occurs in Yerushalmi, Taanith, ch. IV). A passage is now cited in E. R. from the Babli (Yoma, 54a) *בהמה בנימטריא נוי*; and the Pesikta specifies the particular fish more exactly *שיבוטא*, while E. R. writes simply *שיבוטא*. The passage beginning with "R. Zera said etc." is independent of the Pesikta, and owes its existence probably to the principal source mentioned above. Because the answer to the question "Wherefore does Palestine bring forth an abundance of fruit?" is given in the Pesikta anonymously *רדין*, whereas in Midrash Echah the Amoraim in question are distinctly mentioned; they are, R. Chanina and R. Joshua ben Levi. And the entire explanation of the manner in which the earth was dug and turned over *מה דלעיל* does not occur in E. R., and appears to be an addition on the part of the author of Pesikta. The conclusion of the Midrash from *מה שנאמר* has nothing corresponding with it in P. d. K. This Pethicha in its present form is young, for we find a quotation from the Babli, but the original Midrash was certainly based on some source other than the Pesikta, and was in all probability independent of the latter.

10) E. R., ch. I, sec. I, and P. d. K., Piska XV. *למטרונה כו*. All that the two works have in common is the parable itself, in which they agree almost word for word. The Midrash has *בכבודם* which is wanting in Pesikta, but

the latter has the explanatory word *בזרבינה* which does not occur in E. R. Accordingly as far as the narrative itself is concerned, the Pesikta, could just as well have been taken from the Midrash as *vice versa*. But there is another point to be considered. The author of *Echah Rabbah*, constructed his introduction out of the parable itself. Now if he had had the Pesikta before him, how could he have overlooked the excellent preface which that work supplies?

11) E. R., ch. I, sec. 23, and P. d. K., Piska 17. The usual form of words in the Pesikta is *לילה זה לילה ולילו של סנהריב לילה אחרו שכתוב בו* constituting, as Buber rightly remarks, a *גיזרה שוה* on the word *לילה*. The whole point is missed in E. R., where the form of expression is — *לילה זה לילה ולילו של סנהריב שכתוב בו* simply, and in the other instances the Midrash has instead of the last two words, the word *רביב*, whereas the Pesikta maintains a strict regularity throughout, and adds on two new moments which are wanting in E. R. — the passage referring to Ahasuerus and Haman. The Pesikta is also more detailed further on where *ואת אומר בשבילי* occurs for the Midrash *ואתה מרצה אותו בשבילי*. The Pesikta exposition of the verse (Ps. LXXVII, 10), "Hath God forgotten to be gracious?" assumes the form of a commentary on E. R. And now a peculiar alteration takes place. The dictum, which is given in E. R. in the name of R. Alexandrai, appears in the Pesikta in the name of R. Samuel bar Nachmeni; and what is related in the name of the latter in E. R., appears in the name of R. Alexandri in P. d. K. This point suggests the independence of the two works from one another. Although the Midrash omits *הולך רגל לבנה* which occurs in the Pesikta, but little importance can be attached to this omission, for it is probably a printer's mistake. Otherwise we cannot account for the plural *לשמישי* which follows, inasmuch as only the case of the sun is mentioned. Of the conclusion, *וציון אומרת בו*, was added on by the author of the Pesikta; it does not occur in E. R.

If these two narratives are not independent of one another, then the Midrash must have been the source of the Pesikta.

12) E. R., ch. III, sec. 'מ; and Pesikta derab Kahana, Piska VII. The beginning of this section is quite different in the two works. In the first place the Midrash cites sayings in the names of R. Levi and R. Berachya, which do not occur in P. d. K. Even the phrase which is quoted in both E. R. and Pesikta, is given in the former in the name of R. Hunna, and in the latter in the name of R. Judah. The introductory words in the Oxford MS. of Pesikta run thus, ר' אבא בר יודן מה יתאונן אדם והוא חי, ריו לאדם שהוא חי, א"ר ברכיה חיותך בידי והי ואתה מתאונן, א"ר לוי מה יתאונן אדם לחי העולמים אלא אם מבקש אדם להתאונן גבר על הטאיו:

Now although this almost corresponds with the Midrash, yet we notice: the dictum of R. Abba bar Yudan is given anonymously in the Midrash, and had the author of the latter been acquainted with the Pesikta, according to the Oxford MS., he would not have withheld the name⁶¹); the sayings of R. Berachya, R. Levi and R. Judah (which is afterwards cited) in the Oxford MS. are given in the Midrash in the names of R. Levi, R. Berachya and R. Hunna, respectively; the order is also different in the two works. The Pesikta בני תרעומני בני תרעומני is an improvement on, and more forcible than, the Midrash בני תורעמני, and the whole narrative in the P. d. K. appears to be a detailed account of the corresponding passage in E. R. For instance, the Midrash writes, אף ציון בן היא, ותאמר ציון עובני ה' וארני שכרני, אף ציון כך עושה לי אני עסוק עמה להעביר, whereas P. d. K. runs, את המלכות מן העולם, לא כבר העברתי בבל ומדי ויון, ותתיר אני להעביר את מלכות אדום, והיא מתרעמת לפני ואומרת עובני ושכרני. Here again, if the relation between E. R. and P. d. K. be one of dependence, it is the latter which obtained its material from the former.

We have seen that the author of Midrash Echah was acquainted with some work, now unknown to us, which contained narratives and expositions similar to those occurring in Pesikta derab Kahana; and further, that there are cases

⁶¹) Aboth, Ch. VI. כל האומר דבר בשם אומרו מביא גאולה לעולם:

in which the Pesikta accounts are decidedly younger than the Echah versions. There is nothing, scientifically speaking, to hinder us from going one step farther and asserting, that those passages which appear to be dependent on the Pesikta (see above examples 1–8) are in reality derived from the unknown work just mentioned. And since such a collection of Hagadoth must have existed, we assume no new work, we are therefore within the limits of Sir W. Hamilton's "Law of Parcimony." That Midrash Echah is older than the Pesikta; that the outward form of the latter and some modifications in its text are due to the Midrash; can be maintained with as much reason as the statement that Echah Rabbah is dependent on the Pesikta. Which of these two counter-hypotheses is the correct one, I do not undertake to decide.

IV. Bereshith Rabbah and Vayikra Rabbah.

A careful examination of the points of coincidence in Echah Rabbah and Bereshith Rabbah, and Echah Rabbah and Vayikra Rabbah, has convinced me that the B. R. is older, and the V. R., younger than Midrash Echah. Since this is also the view generally held, it is unnecessary to quote examples in support of it. But there is one instance which would point to a contrary conclusion with regard to V. R., but which, according to the view I take of the composition of the whole of E. R., admits of a very easy reconciliation.

E. R., ch. I, sec. 41, מִמְרוֹם שְׁלֹה אֵשׁ בֵּן, and V. R. ch. XXVI. Without going into details we see at once that E. R. is younger than V. R. In the first place the Echah account is longer; and secondly, it is evidently an interpolation, perhaps in order to introduce the concluding words בָּלַע הַמּוֹת לַנְּצֵרָה, whereas the corresponding account in V. R. is excellently suited to the context, and is much shorter. This

difficulty is, however, easily overcome when we bear in mind that this portion may be the work of the *second* author of E. R., and a part of the *original* Vayikra Rabbah.

Freely as I have ventured to disagree with some of the most eminent Midrash critics, I trust that I have always done so without violating that respect which is due to the careful study which they have devoted to the subject. As I remarked at the onset, I have simply endeavoured to follow in their footsteps, and⁶²), "it is the strength, not the weakness of a systematic intellect, that it does not shrink from conclusions because they have an absurd look, when they are necessary corollaries from premises which the thinker, and probably most of those who criticise him, have not ceased to regard as true."

⁶²) "Examination of Sir W. Hamilton's Philosophy", by J. S. Mill, p. 559.

V i t a.

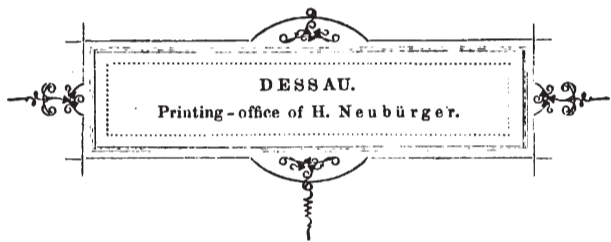
I was born in London on the 1st of April 1855, and am the son of the late Rev. Barnett Abrahams, B. A., Minister of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews' Synagogues, London, and Principal of Jews' College, London.

I received my elementary education at Jews' College School, and entered Jews' College in order to commence my rabbinical studies, (since I resolved to devote myself to the Jewish Ministry,) and also in order to prepare myself for the several London University Examinations. I passed the Matriculation Examination in January 1873, and the First Bachelor of Arts Examination in 1874. I then attended lectures at University College on the following subjects; Experimental Physics, Applied Mathematics, Astronomy, Philosophy of Mind, Logic, Animal Physiology and Classics. I passed the Second Examination for the Degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1875, and received my Diploma from the Chancellor on May 10th, 1876.

I continued my studies at Jews' College till April 1879, when I proceeded to Berlin in order to complete my education at the Rabbiner-Seminar, and at the Berlin University. I remained a Student of the Berlin University for three sessions, during which I attended lectures on the Oriental Languages, and on History of Philosophy.

And I take this opportunity of tendering my sincere thanks to all my teachers.

Joseph Abrahams.



~~JUN 1 1980~~

