

Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum

26

Marcus van Loopik

The Ways of the Sages and the Way of the World



Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum

herausgegeben von
Martin Hengel und Peter Schäfer

26

The Ways of the Sages and the Way of the World

The Minor Tractates of the Babylonian Talmud:
Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah
Derekh 'Eretz Zuta
Pereq ha-Shalom

Translated on the basis of the manuscripts
and provided with a commentary
by

Marcus van Loopik



J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck) Tübingen

CIP-Titelaufnahme der Deutschen Bibliothek

Loopik, Marcus van:

The ways of the sages and the way of the world : the minor tractates of the Babylonian Talmud: Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah, Derekh 'Eretz Zuta, Pereq ha-Shalom / transl. on the basis of the ms. and provided with a commentary by Marcus van Loopik. – Tübingen : Mohr, 1991

(Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum ; 26)

ISBN 3-16-145644-0

ISSN 0721-8753

NE: GT

978-3-16-158704-7 Unveränderte eBook-Ausgabe 2019

© 1991 by J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), P.O. Box 2040, D-7400 Tübingen.

This book may not be reproduced, in whole or in part, in any form (beyond that permitted by copyright law) without the publisher's written permission. This applies particularly to reproductions, translations, microfilms and storage and processing in electronic systems.

The book was typeset and printed by Gulde-Druck in Tübingen on acid free stock paper from Papierfabrik Buhl in Ettlingen and bound by Heinrich Koch in Tübingen.

Printed in Germany.

Preface

The texts in this book contain the translation and commentary of the Derekh 'Eretz tractates. The book may contribute to a better understanding of early rabbinical literature. The interpretation of these tractates leads us to a deeper insight into the relation between law and morality and between the law and the spirit of the law. It shows us the customs, rules, and the way of life of the Torah scholars and of Early Chasidim. It also shows us the spiritual and social background of the New Testament and of the rabbinical period of the first centuries and later.

Some years ago Rabbi Y. Aschkenasy from Hilversum asked me to accept the heavy task of making a new critical edition of the Derekh 'Eretz tractates. I decided to carry the plan into execution, because I knew the need of a new critical translation and commentary of these texts and because of the great importance of these texts for the history of the Jewish religion and its ethical insights. The existing translations are lacking for critical notes and do not supply much parallels and commentary. During the research I could make use of the manuscript-copies, which were collected by Rabbi Y Aschkenasy.

I express thanks to Drs. T. de Bruin and Drs. D. van Uden, who did much work by collating a great part of the Mss. I also express my thanks to the "Makhon Kitbei Jad" in Jerusalem for the supply of photographs and micro-films of Mss. and I am very grateful to Mrs. K. Deen, who translated the text and the commentary from Dutch into English. The translation was subsidized by the B. Folkertsma-foundation for Talmudic Studies in Hilversum. Three years of the research were subsidized by the Dutch Organisation for Scientific Research (N.W.O.). I hope that this study may be of value to all who desire to study rabbinic literature and to learn from the words of the sages.

Great is the Torah for it gives to those that practise it life in This world and in the World to Come, as it is said: "For they are life to those that find them and health to all their flesh" (Prov. IV,22). M'Abot VI,7.

Marcus van Loopik

Contents

Preface	V
List of abbreviations	IX
Introduction	1
List of manuscripts	19

Translation and commentary

D. E. R. I	29
II	56
III	82
IV	88
V	99
VI	104
VII	114
VIII	121
IX	130
X	137
XI	153
D. E. Z. I	172
II	219
III	237
IV	252
V	265
VI	273
VII	281
VIII	289
IX	301
X	314
XI	333

Bibliography

Works referred to in the book	365
Editions, description and commentary	372
Parts of Derekh 'Eretz in the sources	374

Index

Index of Rabbis	377
Index of subjects	380
Index of references	383

List of abbreviations

'Ab. Zar.	'Abodah Zarah
'Ar.	'Arakhin
A. R. N.	'Abot de-Rabbi Natan
A. S. T. I.	Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute
Ag. Ber.	Aggadat Be-Reshit
Ag. Sam.	Aggadat Samuel
Am.	Amos
Ant.	Antiquitates
– B. B.	Baba Batra
– B. M.	Baba Metzi'a
– B. Q.	Baba Qama
Bam. Rab.	Ba-Midbar Rabbah
Bar.	Baruch (Barukh)
Beg.	Beginning
– Bekh.	Bekhorot
Bel.	Bellum Judaicum (The Jewish War)
Ber. Rab.	Be-Reshit Rabbah
– Ber.	Berakhot
– Bik.	Bikkurim
C. E.	Christian Era
ca.	circa
Cant.	Canticles
cat.	catalogue
cf.	confer (conferatur)
chap.	chapter
char.	character
Chron.	Chronicles
curs.	cursorius (in italics)
D. E. R.	Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah
D. E. Z.	Derekh 'Eretz Zuta
Dan.	Daniel
De Virt.	De Virtutibus
De Spec. Leg.	De Specialibus Legibus
Deb. Rab.	Debarim Rabbah
– Dem.	Demai
Dt.	Deuteronomium
E. J.	Encyclopedia Judaica
'Eb. ha-'Ez.	'Eben ha-'Ezer
ed.	edition; editor; edidit

– 'Ed.	'Eduiot
'Eikh. Rab.	'Eikhah Rabbati
En.	Enoch
- 'Er.	'Erubin
Est.	Esther
Ex.	Exodus
Ez.	Ezekiel
fol.	folio (foliant)
Gad.	Gadol
Gal.	Galatians
Gen.	Genesis
Germ.	German
Gerush.	Gerushin
Gez.	Gezeilah
– Git.	Gittin
h.	halakhah
H. T. R.	Harvard Theological Review
– Hag.	Hagigah
Heb.	Hebrew
Hebr.	Hebrew; Hebrews
Hil.	Hilkhot
– Hor.	Horaiot
Hos.	Hosea
Hosh. Mishp.	Hoshen Mishpat
HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual
– Hul.	Hullin
Is.	Isaiah
Isr.	Israelitish
'Issur. Bi'ah	'Issurei Bi'ah
J. B. L.	Journal of Biblical Literature
J. Q. R.	Jewish Quarterly Review
J.Th.S.	Jewish Theological Seminary
Jac.	Jacobus (James)
Jad	Jad ha-Hazaqah = Mishneh Torah
Jalq.	Jalqut (Shim'oni)
Jalq. ha-Makh.	Jalqut ha-Makhiri
Jalq. Re'ub.	Jalqut Re'ubeni
J. E.	Jewish Encyclopedia
– Jeb.	Jebamot
Jer.	Jeremiah
Jor. De'ah	Joreh De'ah
Josh.	Joshua
Jub.	Jubilees
Jub. Vol.	Jubilee Volume
Judg.	Judges
Kal.	Kallah
– Kel	Kelim

- Ker.	Keritot
- Ket	Ketubot
Lag.	Lagarde
l.c.	loco citato
Lev.	Leviticus
M-	Mishnah
M. G. W. J.	Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums
- Ma'as.	Ma'aserot
- Ma'as. Shen.	Ma'aser Sheni
Macc.	Maccabees
- Mak.	Makkot
- Makhsh.	Makhshirin
Mal.	Malachi
Mas. Soph.	Massekhet Sopherim
Mas.	Massekhet
Mas. Kal.	Massekhet Kallah
Mas. Kal. Rab.	Massekhet Kallah Rabbati
Mas. Sem.	Massekhet Semahot
Mat.	Matthew
- Meg.	Megillah
Mekh.	Mekhilta
Mekh. de-R. Jishm.	Mekhilta de Rabbi Jishma'el
Mekh. de-R. Shim. bar Johai	Mekhilta de Rabbi Shim'on bar Jochai
- Men.	Menahot
Mi.	Micah
Midr. Leq. Tob	Midrash Leqah Tob
Midr. Ag.	Midrash Aggadah
Midr.	Midrash
Midr. Tan.	Midrash Tanna'im
Midr. Teh.	Midrash Tehillim
Midr. ha-Gad.	Midrash ha-Gadol
- Miqw.	Miqwa'ot
Mishl.	Mishlei
- M. Q.	Mo'ed Qatan
Ms(s).	manuscript(s)
N. S.	New Series
Nah.	Nahum
- Naz.	Nazir
- Ned.	Nedarim
Neh.	Nehemiah
- Nid.	Niddah
Num.	Numeri (Numbers)
op. cit. (o.c.)	opero citato
Opp.	Oppenheimer
'Or. Haj.	'Orah Hajjim
O. S.	Old Series

par.	parashah; paragraph
per.	pereq
– Pes.	Pesahim
Pes. Zut.	Pesiqta Zutarta
Pes. Rab.	Pesiqta Rabbati
Petiht.	Petihta
P. R. E.	Pirquei de-Rabbi 'Eli'ezer
Prov.	Proverbia (Proverbs)
Ps. de-R. K.	Pesiqta de-Rab Kahana
Ps.	Psalms
– Qid.	Qiddushin
Qoh. Rab.	Qohelet Rabbah
Qoh.	Qohelet
R.	Rabbi; Rab
r.	remez
– R. ha-Sh.	Rosh ha-Shanah
R. E. J.	Revue des Etudes Juives
Rab.	Rabbah; Rabbati
Rabad	Rabbi 'Abraham ben David
Rabb.	Rabbinic
Radbaz	Rabbi David ben Solomon ibn Abi Zimra
Rambam	Rabbenu Mosheh ben Maimon
Ramban	Rabbi Mosheh ben Nahman
Ran	Rabbenu Nissim (Gerondi)
Rashba	Rabbi Shelolmo ben 'Abraham 'Adret
repr.	reprint
Riph	Rabbi Jitzhaq Alphasi
Ritba	Rabbi Jom Tob ben 'Abraham 'Asulai
Rosh	Rabbenu 'Asher
S. E. R.	Seder 'Eliahu Rabbah
S. E. Z.	Seder 'Eliahu Zuta
Sam.	Samuel
– Sanh.	Sanhedrin
Sed. 'Ol.	Seder 'Olam
Seph.	Sepher
– Shab.	Shabbat
– Sheb.	Shebu'ot
– Shebi.	Shebi'it
Shem.	Shemot
Shem. Rab.	Shemot Rabbah
– Sheq.	Sheqalim
Shir ha-Shir. Rab.	Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah
Shul. 'Ar.	Shulhan 'Arukh
sim.	siman (§)
Soph. Sal.	Sophia Salomonis
– Sot.	Sotah
Span.	Spanish

squa.	square
– Suk.	Sukkot
Syr.	Syrian
– Ta'an.	Ta'anit (Ta'aniot)
– Tam.	Tamid
Tan.	Tanna'im
Tanh. (Jash.)	Tanhuma (Jashan)
Targ. Pseudo Jon.	Targum Pseudo Jonatan
Targ.	Targum
Tb-	Talmud Babli
Teh.	Tehillim
– Tem.	Temurah
– Ter.	Terumot
Test. Iss.	Testament of Issahar
Tj-	Talmud Jerushalmi
Tos-; Tos.	Tosephta
vs.	verse
Waj. Rab.	Wa-Jiqra Rabbah
Za.	Zachariah
– Zeb.	Zebahim
Zut.	Zutarta

Introduction

The Minor Tractates *Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah*, *Derekh 'Eretz Zuta*, *Pereq Ha-Shalom*

1. *The Minor Tractates*

Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah, *Derekh 'Eretz Zuta* and *Pereq ha-Shalom* are part of the so called 'Minor Tractates' of the Babylonian Talmud. *Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah* and *Derekh 'Eretz Zuta* contain mainly standards of decent behaviour and rules of etiquette customary to the circles of Tannaitic as Amoraic Torah scholars and students. *Pereq ha-Shalom* contains a collection of mainly Tannaitic and Amoraic statements concerning peace, ending with a statement about seven qualities of the sage and seven qualities of an uneducated an uncivilised person, extracted from M'Abot V,7.

The names *Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah* and *Derekh 'Eretz Zuta* are not original, as appears from the arrangement of the manuscripts of these Minor Tractates, which are part of the Babylonian Talmud. Yet, these tractates are mentioned under the names of *Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah* and *Derekh 'Eretz Zuta* (and *Pereq ha-Shalom*) in very early publications of the Talmud, together with the so called Minor Tractates: *M'Abot*, *'Abot de Rabbi Natan* [a], *Massekhet Sopherim*; *Massekhet Semahot*; *Massekhet Kallah*; *Massekhet Kallah Rabbati*; *Massekhet Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah*; *Massekhet Derekh 'Eretz Zuta*; *Pereq ha-Shalom*; *Massekhet Gerim*; *Massekhet Kutim*; *Massekhet 'Abadim*; *Massekhet Sepher Torah*; *Massekhet Tephillin*; *Massekhet Tzitzit* and *Massekhet Mezuzah*. In most Talmud editions the Minor Tractates are fit into Seder Neziqin, after *Massekhet 'Edujot*. However, in the Edition Vilna (1843) the tractates have been added after *Massekhet Baba Qamma*. *Derekh 'Eretz* is included in Ms. Munich, a manuscript of the Babylonian Talmud from the fourteenth century.¹

There is a division of opinion about the number of tractates that belong to the Minor Tractates of the Babylonian Talmud. For instance, Me'iri (*Beit*

¹ See Ms. München (1342), Kön. Hofbibliothek, (M. Steinschneider), no. 95, fol. 565b-567a. See facsimile edition of H. Strack, Leyden 1952. This Manuscript has D.E.Z. I–IX and D.E.R. III–IX, placed after M'Abot! D.E.R. I is rendered under the denominator of '*Arajot Pereq 'Aleph* in the Mishnah-codex Kaufmann A 50, at the end of Seder Nashim; see the facsimile edition of G. Beer, Jerusalem 1968, p. 525.

ha-Behirah) and Ramban (comments on Neziqin a.1.) made an enumeration of the Minor Tractates without mentioning *Derekh 'Eretz*, *Massekhet Semahot*, *M'Abot* and *'Abot de Rabbi Natan*.² In the first edition of the Babylonian Talmud (Venice 1532) *Massekhet Semahot*, *Massekhet Kallah* and *Massekhet Sopherim* were added, but not the tractates of *Derekh 'Eretz* and *'Abot de Rabbi Natan*, which were not included until the third edition of Venice (1550).³ Probably, the parts of *Derekh 'Eretz*, which originally were autonomous units, have been integrated in the Babylonian Talmud, in some versions of it, in post-Gaonic days.

2. The concept 'derekh 'eretz'⁴

In the tractates of *Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah* and *Derekh 'Eretz Zuta*, a compilation of a number of more or less aggadic statements and stories has been formed under the denominator of the concept 'derekh 'eretz'. For a better understanding of what connects these statements and stories, which have, for the major part, been linked together associatively, a further explanation of the concept 'derekh 'eretz' is needed.

Literally, 'derekh 'eretz' means 'the way of the earth' or 'the way of the world', and the concept refers, in a broad sense, to human behaviour and human observations in general.⁵ The term 'derekh 'eretz' is one of the most

² See *Derech Erez Sutta*, ed. A. J. Tawrogi, Königsberg 1858, introduction, p. I.

³ For a short survey, see introduction to *Pseudo Eliahu Zuta*, ed. M. Friedmann, Jerusalem 1969, pp. 1–2. In, for instance, the third Venician edition of the Babylonian Talmud (1550), tractates of *Derekh 'Eretz* were admitted. See also the survey of the rendering of the *Derekh 'Eretz* tractates by M. Higger, *Massekhot Ze'ivot*, repr. Jerusalem 1970, p. 175. See also M. Steinschneider, *Catalogus Librorum Hebraearum*, Berolini 1852, copy Hildesheim 1964, no. 1405, no. 1410, no. 1636, no. 1637. C. Wolff, *Bibliotheca Hebraea*, vol. II, Bologna 1967, p. 1283, n. 139. See note 1, in Ms. München of the Babylonian Talmud the tractates of *Derekh 'Eretz* can be found and D. E. R. I can be found in the Mishnah Ms. Kaufmann A 50.

⁴ See in connection with the different notions of the concept 'derekh 'eretz', for instance, S. Krauss, in: *R. E. J.*, XXXVII (1898), p. 37 ff. M. Higger, *Massekhot Ze'ivot*, Jerusalem 1970, introduction, p. 1 ff. M. Kadushin, *Worship and Ethics*, A Study in Rabbinical Judaism, Northwestern University Press 1964, chap. III. M. Kadushin, *Organic Thinking*, New York 1938; repr. New York s. a., pp. 117–130 a. o.

⁵ Alternative terms are: 'orah hajjim', 'minhag (ha)-'olam', 'derekh ha-'olam', 'darkhan shel benei 'adam', 'noheg she-be-'olam', 'minhag derekh 'eretz', 'nimus 'olam', 'millei de-'alma', 'millei de-derekh 'eretz'. Cf. for instance the introduction to *Pseudo Eliahu Zuta*, ed. M. Friedmann, p. 5; TbPes. 122a; TbBer. 7b; TbShab. 33b and Mas. Kal. Rab., ed. N. N. Coronel, 11a and 11b.

differentiated terms in the rabbinical tradition. The term is found only a few times in the tractates of *Derekh 'Eretz*, namely in the sense of a rule of decent conduct⁶, a rule about proper table manners⁷, and a form of refinement which may be expected of pious Torah scholars.⁸

Based on the use of the expression 'derekh kol ha-'aretz' in the Tenakh and the use of the term 'derekh 'eretz' and related expressions within the rabbinical traditions, one can distinguish roughly between the following meanings. In the Tenakh the concept points to sexuality as a form of universal behaviour⁹ and to natural death of human beings.¹⁰ It is likely that, in that period, the concept has pointed to all human customs concerning sexuality and death.¹¹ In the rabbinical tradition the concept of 'derekh 'eretz' points to: 1) natural processes and observations concerning fixed rules of nature's ways in general; 2) natural processes and events and man's reactions to them, which have to do with his physical existence, like, for instance, a disease with a natural course, or a natural death, or the moving of one's bowels; 3) rules concerning matters that influence health favourably or unfavourably and that are, in one way or another, related to proper care of one's body and the ways the body should function. For instance, in *Derekh 'Eretz* one finds rules concerning the visiting of the privy or the bathhouse, rules for proper dressing and undressing, nourishment, blood-letting and such; 4) sexual behaviour as a form of general human behaviour; 5) practical, normative and ethically coloured rules about sexuality and intramarital relationships; 6) work as a form of general behaviour; 7) practical and, sometimes strongly, ethically coloured rules for civilised behaviour in social contracts and especially in the conduction of trade; 8) human reactions and motives to act; 9) practical rules of life and advice; 10) standards of decent behaviour, for instance, concerning the relationships between the young and the old, Torah scholar and student, parents and children, students among themselves, husband and wife etc.; 11) table manners; 12) normative rules with a moral tenor (often to be combined with the uses of the concept mentioned above); rules that belong to this category are often derived from the Torah; 13) proper religious customs; 14) advises

⁶ Cf. D. E. Z. III,1 and D. E. R. V,1-b.

⁷ See D. E. R. VI, 7-b.

⁸ See D. E. R. V,3. See also the opening of D. E. Z. I: 'The ways of the sages are ...'

⁹ See Gen. 19:31 and cf. Gen. 31:35 referring to menstruation, which is natural to mankind.

¹⁰ See II Kings 2:2.

¹¹ See introduction to *Pseudo Eliahu Zuta*, ed. M. Friedmann, p. 2–3.

and, in certain circles compulsory, aggravations of general standards, a way to express special piety.

The concept 'derekh 'eretz' has a descriptive as well as a prescriptive notion. In the descriptive sense the concept points to experiences and observations that are universally human, concerning both man himself and his relation with surrounding nature and its laws. Where 'derekh 'eretz' refers to these laws of nature the concept sometimes has a pseudo-scientific character and a prophesying notion which is here and there incorporated into practical advice. In relation to man himself the concept points to acts which are characteristic to man, and to reactions which are universally human. The concept has a prescriptive notion where it points to standards of decent conduct, practical rules of life and rules of conduct stated by a sense of morality. One specific way of using the concept of 'derekh 'eretz' is using it to refer to the atmosphere of the ethical. In the early rabbinical traditions one will seek in vain for a definition of ethics or a systematic approach of ethical questions, since there was no distinction between ethical and other religious obligations. There was, however, a strong sensitivity for matters with ethical implications. It is this sensitivity for the field of ethical matters which is denoted with the concept 'derekh 'eretz'.¹²

The relation between the descriptive and the prescriptive use of the concept 'derekh 'eretz' had been phrased by M. Kadushin, as follows: 'It denotes at once universal human traits and those human traits that are "proper", good. Such a double use of the term reveals in a single phrase the assumptions which together constitute the rabbinic "definition" of the ethical: Good actions, motives and outlooks have their ground in human nature; good actions, therefore, can and should be universal human traits.'¹³ Within the rabbinical tradition the concept 'derekh 'eretz' is mentioned in relation with good actions and rules of life which were not first revealed to Israel on Mount Sinai, but had been known to earlier generations of all mankind, because they relate to common sense and to universal rules of civilisation which are indispensable conditions for the proper functioning of a human society.¹⁴ The term 'derekh 'eretz' refers to social and civil conduct resting in universal human insights.

¹² In connection with this, see M. Kadushin, *Worship and Ethics*, chap. III ("The Sphere of Ethics and Morality") and introduction.

¹³ See M. Kadushin, *Organic Thinking*, p. 122.

¹⁴ Cf. the explanation of Abrabanel in his commentary on M'Abot III,17. See also the commentary of Almosnino on M'Abot I.c. Compare Rambam, *Shemoneh Peraqim* V, a. o.

In the rabbinical tradition the rules under the denominator 'derekh 'eretz' can be derived from the Torah, which is understandable on the basis of the fact that the Torah gives, apart from the rules that apply only to Israel, a number of universal rules of decent and civil conduct. This is the origin of the rabbinical expression: 'The Torah teaches us "derekh 'eretz"'.¹⁵ In a number of cases, however, the term 'derekh 'eretz' points to rules of conduct borne on religious motives, which can, in fact, only apply to Israel, such as the advice to light the lights of Sabbath as early as possible on Friday evening in order to add to the holiness by extending the duration of the Sabbath as much as possible.¹⁶ Sometimes 'derekh 'eretz' is counted among the commandments that are compulsory for Israel, as can be understood from the statement: 'It is the undeveloped who possess 'derekh 'eretz' (civilisation and good manners) and the rest of the commandments' (but no knowledge of the explanation of the Scripture in the oral tradition).¹⁷

By studying the rules compiled in the tractates of *Derekh 'Eretz* under the denominator of the concept 'derekh 'eretz', one acquires insight in the way in which, in certain circles, the concept was realised in practice; one learns its relation with rules of conduct which applied to said circles. Much of what can be found in *Derekh 'Eretz* concerning rules of conduct is the reflection of a lifestyle which was customary in the groups of pious Torah scholars and their students. These rules could be denoted with the term 'derekh hasidut', 'the way of the pious'. The sages imposed on themselves severe aggravations of norms and adhered to extra rules, apart from the rules which applied to everyone, to remain far from transgression or even the suspicion of transgression and to avoid putting any fellowman to a disadvantage or to advance oneself. In this way the rules of *Derekh 'Eretz* form a sharpening as well as a broadening of the existing norms and *halakhah*.¹⁸

From the tractates of *Derekh 'Eretz* one acquires a special understanding of the sharp notion of the rabbis concerning the ethical, and insight in the way the sages and the early Hasidim lived. Characteristics of the practical piety which hasidic sages who lived in accordance with the rules of *Derekh 'Eretz* tried to connect with intensive study of the Torah are: emphasis on a

¹⁵ Cf., for instance Siphrei, Be-Ha'alotekha, pisqa 102; Ber. Rab. XX,12; Ber. Rab. XXXI,10; Waj. Rab. XXVI,7; TbSot. 44a; TbHul. 84a and many other sources.

¹⁶ See Mekh. de-R. Jishm., Be-Shallah, ed. M. Friedmann, 25b. TosSot. IV,1 and TbShab. 23b.

¹⁷ See S. E. R., ed. M. Friedmann, p. 69.

¹⁸ *Halakhah* is literally 'the path', i.e. 'the path man must take' as denomination of accepted standards which are lawful within the community.

positive social attitude through acts of charity and giving help to the poor; combining the appeal to love God with the appeal to love and honour one's neighbour; combining piety with humbleness and tolerance; emphasizing trying to avoid transgression (expressed in the appeal to 'jir'at het' (fear of transgression, fear of God); accepting aggravations of common rules to keep oneself and others far from transgression and to practise cleanness of thought and intentions; striving toward an asymmetrical position of oneself and one's fellowman by estimating the honour and the interests of the other higher than one's own; sobriety; emphasis on the act next to study; maintaining reserve in the contact with woman, for fear of being seduced into transgression; fulfilling one's religious and social duties for the sake of Heaven and not for one's own; a strong consciousness of the presence of the Shekhinah¹⁹; exemplary love and reverence for the Torah and the handling of holy texts; and especially characteristic for those who live according to the rules of *Derekh 'Eretz* great caution in the contact with sectarians and illiterates who think lightly of the instructions of the Torah and who may have a bad influence.

3. Backgrounds

As said, the rules of life one finds in the tractates of *Derekh 'Eretz* have functioned notably in circles of Torah scholars.²⁰ The Major part of these rules originated from these circles and have not been popularised and started to function in wider circles until later. Compared to *Derekh 'Eretz Zuta*, *Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah* contains more stories; however, the opinion that the stories in *Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah* were intended to popularise the rules stated in *Derekh 'Eretz Zuta* and to introduce them into wider circles, is not correct, since *Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah* contains a lot of material that cannot be found in *Derekh 'Eretz Zuta* and the statements in *Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah* also were primarily directed at the circle of Torah scholars.²¹ The names *Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah* (the Major *Derekh 'Eretz*) and *Derekh 'Eretz Zuta* (the Minor *Derekh 'Eretz*) are not, as the names may indicate, a larger and smaller reflection of the same discussion, but refer to two independent collections of statements. In *Derekh 'Eretz Zuta* as well as in *Derekh 'Eretz*

¹⁹ The immanent presence of God in the world.

²⁰ See also M.B. Lerner, in: *The Literature of the Sages*, I, (Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum), ed. S. Safrai, Assen / Maastricht 1987, p. 397 ff.

²¹ See S. Krauss, in: *R. E. J.*, XXXVII (1898), p. 213; S. Krauss regarded D. E. R. as a popular version of the rules in D. E. Z.. See, on the other hand, the opinion of M. B. Lerner, op. cit. in note 20, p. 380.

Rabbah one often finds references to the ‘talmid hakham’, the sage and Torah scholar.²²

The piety, the ‘hasidut’ in the tractates of *Derekh ’Eretz* does not belong to the piety of the simple and illiterate pious men, but to the piety of the Torah scholars who try to combine study with practical piety. It is remarkable that in a number of places in *Derekh ’Eretz* there are warnings against contact with the “am ha-’aretz’, the compatriot who is more interested in worldly matters than in holy matters, notably against sharing a meal with one of them, because of the danger of eating something which is prohibited and not prepared according to the refined prescriptions of the oral tradition.²³ It is even more remarkable to find in *Derekh ’Eretz* the direct context of the warning not to share a meal with a (priest who is also an) “am ha-’aretz”²⁴ for fear of eating prohibited food, and the warning of being reserved in taking the vow and oath, and in the contact with women. This combination was typical for the milieu of the so-called ‘associated’ or ‘haburim’. The term ‘haburim’ refers to groups of ‘united’ who were characterised by their strict observance of all religious prescriptions (notably those concerning cleanness) and who tried to keep as much distance as possible between them and those who did not live strictly by the rules.²⁵

In a number of places in *Derekh ’Eretz* customs are mentioned, which are in parallel texts ascribed to certain pious and specially refined circles in Jerusalem.²⁶ In A. R. N. [b] XXVI (26b) a statement is referred to from the so-called *Megillat Hasidim* (The Role of the Pious), which is also mentioned in D. E. Z. II,23.²⁷

²² For confirmation of this allegation one can refer to a number of places: D. E. Z. I (beginning); D. E. Z. II (ending); D. E. Z. IV (beginning); D. E. Z. VI (beginning); D. E. Z. VII (beginning); D. E. Z. VIII,12. See also D. E. R. V,4 and D. E. R. VI,3-d. Further cf. S. E. R. VI, ed. M. Friedmann, p. 33: “Any sage in whom there is no knowledge, an animal is better than he.” And see M. Friedmann, op. cit., introduction to *Pseudo Eliahu Zuta*, p. 6, where he explains the word ‘knowledge’ in the statement mentioned above as ‘knowledge of “derekh ’eretz”’. Cf. Waj. Rab. I,6 and A. R. N. [a] (64a) a. o.

²³ See D. E. Z. I,15 and D. E. Z. IV,1 · Compare the well-known statement of Hillel from M’Abot, as rendered in D. E. Z. III,15: ‘And an “am ha-’aretz” cannot be a pious man (other version: “parush” = segregated = Farisean) . . .’

²⁴ See D. E. Z. I,15 and D. E. R. I,35.

²⁵ Cf. TosDem., II,2.

²⁶ See D. E. Z. V,3 and cf. TbGit. 87b (Mishnah); TbSanh. 23a; Mekh. de-R. Jishm., Mishpatim, par. 20, ed. M. Friedmann, 98b.; ‘Eikh. Rab. IV,4. See also D. E. R. VIII, 2 and cf. TosBer. IV,9; TjDem. IV [24a]; Tj’Ab. Zar. [39c]; TbB.B 93b..

²⁷ For further details cf. S. Safrai, (‘Teachings of Pietists in Mishnaic Literature’), in:

4. *The oldest literary information*

In general, the tractates of *Derekh 'Eretz* contain gnomic statements, i. e. sharply formulated statements of wisdom, and practical rules. One can determine a great resemblance in style with the *Book of Proverbs*, *Sepher ben Sira*, *Sophia Salomonis* and *Pseudo-Phocylides*.²⁸ One must not forget, however, that the rules of *Derekh 'Eretz* are much less universal statements of wisdom and much more concrete rules of conduct, tied to very specific human situations, and much like the ones found in the halakhah.²⁹

Characteristic for the style of *Derekh 'Eretz* is the, very often anonymous, oral tradition of statements which are, in other parts of the tradition, clearly ascribed to certain persons.³⁰

A lot of material in *Derekh 'Eretz* is derived from traditions from the Talmud and Midrash, but in a large number of cases original traditions have been preserved in *Derekh 'Eretz*, for which no direct parallels can be found in the tradition. It is proved from parallels that early *Derekh 'Eretz* literature has existed which dates back to the Tannaitic period.³¹ This was referred to by the Amoraim³² in their discussions concerning the *Mishnah*. For instance, in a discussion in the Babylonian Talmud³³ it appears that, as early as the times of Rabbi Jehudah ben 'Ilai (Tanna of the fourth generation), a collection of rules by the name of *Hilkhot Derekh 'Eretz* must have been known which (see context) apparently was regarded as a secondary collection of traditions, apart from the rest of the oral traditions. It is not correct to suggest that the name *Hilkhot Derekh 'Eretz* in itself is a reference to a collection which is cognate to *Pirqei ben 'Azzai*.³⁴ For the manuscripts refer to *Derekh 'Eretz Zuta* (I–IX) as being *Hilkhot Derekh 'Eretz* (see below). In his comment on the said Talmud text, Rashi refers to,

J.J.S (1965), pp. 15–33. And see S. Safrai, ('Mishnat Hasidim be-Siphrut ha-Tanna'im'), in: *'Ein Joseph. Qobetz le-Zikhro shel Y. Amora'i*, Tel Aviv 1973, p. 136 ff.

²⁸ See S. Krauss, in: *R. E.J.*, XXXVII (1898), p. 58 ff.

²⁹ Indeed the first chapter of D. E. R. consists mainly of halakhic formulations concerning sexual relationships, most of which have been recorded in later halakhic works.

³⁰ On the other hand, the tractates of D. E. contain credited statements which had been handed down anonymously in other parts of the tradition. This points possibly to the old age of the texts and their independence.

³¹ This is from the first two centuries of the Christian era and it precedes the finishing of the editing of the *Mishnah* by Rabbi Jehudah ha-Nasi, about 210 C. E.

³² The generation between the finishing of the *Mishnah* (about 210 C. E.) and the finishing of the Babylonian Talmud (about 500 C. E.).

³³ See *TbBer.* 22a.

³⁴ I. e. D. E. R. III–IX. See B. Lerner, in: *The Literature of the Sages*, I, p. 387.

among others, *Darkhan shel Talmidei Hakhamin*.³⁵ In TjShab. VI,2 under the header of 'derekh 'eretz', a custom is mentioned – known as a Tannaitic tradition in the time of Rabbi Johanan and Rab Shaman bar 'Abba – which matches a rule of conduct from *Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah* (beginning). In '*Abot de Rabbi Natan*'³⁶ referring to *Megillat Hasidim*, a statement is made which is also handed down in *Derekh 'Eretz Zuta* (II). This might indicate that *Derekh 'Eretz Zuta* I–III, as a literary unit is a Tannaitic collection from the circles of early Hasidim, which was already referred to in '*Abot de Rabbi Natan*'. Therefore the assumption that *Derekh 'Eretz Zuta* I–III (IV) roughly dates back to Tannaitic times, is justified.³⁷ This does not alter the fact that, presumably, the final editing did not take place until Gaonic times.³⁸ Countless Tannaitic traditions that are quoted in the Talmud and the Midrash, can also be found in the tractates of *Derekh 'Eretz*, sometimes even in a more original form. In *Massekhet Kallah Rabbati* a kind of 'gemara'³⁹ is given with traditions from *Derekh 'Eretz Zuta* (I–III) and *Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah* (III–XI), and with some traditions which can be found in other places of *Derekh 'Eretz*. M. Friedmann has the opinion that a large part of the content of *Massekhet Kallah Rabbati* was formed in the school of Raba (third century) whose name is often mentioned in *Massekhet Kallah Rabbati*.⁴⁰ This implies, at least, that the major part of the traditions from *Derekh 'Eretz Zuta* I–III and *Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah* III–XI and a number of statements from other parts of the tractates of *Derekh 'Eretz* must have been known quite some time before the Babylonian Talmud was finished in 500 C.E. Another opinion says that Raba in *Massekhet Kallah Rabbati* refers to Raba, the Gaon of Pumbeditha (seventh century).⁴¹ Most likely *Massekhet Kallah Rabbati* is a product of Gaonic times. From Gaonic times the traditions from *Derekh 'Eretz* were handed down by

³⁵ D. E. Z. I, 1 ff.

³⁶ A. R. N. [b], XXVI (p. 52).

³⁷ See L. Ginzberg, in: *J. E.*, IV, col. 530 and see M. Higger, *Massekhtot Derekh 'Eretz*, New York 1935, introduction p. 19; and D. Sperber, *Massekhet Derekh 'Eretz Zuta*, Jerusalem 1982, p. 179. Cf. also P. Rubanov, in: *Horeb*, VII (1943), p. 214.

³⁸ See M. B. Lerner, in: *The Literature of the Sages*, I, ed. S. Safrai, pp. 382–383.

³⁹ I.e. a kind of explanation which can be compared to the discussions of the Babylonian Amoraim about the Mishnah in the Babylonian Talmud, called 'gemara'.

⁴⁰ See among others M. Friedmann's opinion in his edition of S. E., introduction to *Pseudo Eliahu Zuta*, p. 15.

⁴¹ See M. Higger, *Massekhet Kallah*, New York 1936, introduction, p. 113. See also A. Aptowitz's opinion, 'Le Traité de "Kallah"', in: *R. E. J.*, LVII, 1909, p. 248. A. Aptowitz connected the name Raba with the eighth century student of Rab Jehudai Gaon. See also B. Lerner, in: *The Literature of the Sages*, I, ed. S. Safrai, p. 396.

different names, connected with the originally separate units *Derekh 'Eretz* is compiled of.⁴²

There is a special relation between the tractates of *Derekh 'Eretz Zuta* and the sixth chapter of *Pirquei 'Abot*, called the *Pereq Qinjan Torah* (The chapter of the acquiring of the Torah).⁴³ On Sabbath-afternoons, as early as Gaonic times, other traditions were studied under the name of *Pereq Qinjan Torah* (or *Pereq Rabbi Me'ir* or *Baraita de 'Abot*), of which a part has been preserved in a number of Mahzorim⁴⁴, next to the statements which, according the rendering in *Pirquei 'Abot* in the *Mishnah*, make up the sixth chapter of *Pirquei 'Abot*. In a number of cases these traditions include parts of the first chapters of *Derekh 'Eretz Zuta*.

Rab Shalom Gaon already mentioned the Babylonian custom of studying the sixth chapter of *Pirquei 'Abot* on Sabbath afternoons.⁴⁵ In the version of the Siddur by Rab 'Amram Gaon⁴⁶ (died about 875), parts of the first chapters of *Derekh 'Eretz Zuta* are found in the rite of Sabbath afternoons, obviously to be studied after midday's prayers. This custom is confirmed by a remark in the Siddur of Rab Sa'adjah Gaon (882–942), in which studying of the sixth chapter of *Pirquei 'Abot* and *Jir'at Het* (denoting the first four chapters of *Derekh 'Eretz Zuta* in old scripts) is prescribed.⁴⁷ Based on all this, it is quite understandable that parts of the tractates of *Derekh 'Eretz* were handed down into a large number of Mahzorim, since it was the custom to study parts of *Derekh 'Eretz* on Sabbath afternoon. Also, other than liturgical sources confirm that in Gaonic times parts of *Derekh 'Eretz* were known.⁴⁸

⁴² For a detailed listing of these early sources see, among others M. Higger, *Massekhetot Derekh 'Eretz*, introduction, chap. IV. See also D. Sperber, *Massekhet Derekh 'Eretz Zuta*, p. 167ff.

⁴³ See M. Higger, 'Pereq Qinjan Torah', in: *Horeb* II (2) (1935); en M. Higger, 'Massekhet 'Abot u-Pereq Qinjan Torah', in: *Horeb*, IV (1937); See M. Hacohen, in: *Sinai Jub. Vol.*, 1985, ed. J. L. Maimon, p. 419ff. See also D. Sperber, *Massekhet Derekh 'Eretz Zuta*, pp. 147–145. S. Sharbit, 'Minhag ha-Qeri'ah shel 'Abot ba-Shabbat . . .', in: *Bar Ilan*, XIII (1976), p. 169ff.

⁴⁴ Special books of prayers with ritual, often poetic, additions for the holy days.

⁴⁵ See Siddur Rashi, sim. 516, ed. S. Buber / I. Freimann, p. 529.

⁴⁶ See ed. N. N. Coronel, Warsaw 1865 (repr. Jerusalem 1965), Seder Minhah le-Shabbat, pp. 30–31; the edition Warsaw is based on Ms. British Library, Or. 1057 (Marg. 206), a manuscript with additions that are not original; the parts cannot be found in other versions. In this matter, see *Seder Rab 'Amram Gaon*, ed. G. Goldschmidt, Jerusalem 1972, in notes on p. 80. See also remarks of D. Sperber, *Massekhet Derekh 'Eretz Zuta*, p. 172.

⁴⁷ See ed. I. Davidson a. o., pp. 122–123.

⁴⁸ Rab Sherira Gaon, for instance, the father of Haj Gaon, mentioned *Hilkhot Derekh*

5. Some remarks concerning the manuscripts

As was mentioned above, the arrangement of the tractates of *Derekh 'Eretz* as can be found in the editions of the Babylonian Talmud, is not original. The manuscripts give arrangements entirely different from the one of *Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah*, *Derekh 'Eretz Zuta* and *Pereq ha-Shalom*. In this matter the manuscripts of *Derekh 'Eretz* can be arranged in four groups.⁴⁹

I Manuscripts by the name of *Jir'at Het* (Fear of Transgression) as a separate denotation of *Derekh 'Eretz Zuta* I–IV and IX.; and by the name of *Derekh 'Eretz Ze'irah* (*Qetannah*) (the Minor *Derekh 'Eretz*) as a denotation of *Derekh 'Eretz Zuta* V–VIII. This arrangement is undoubtedly the oldest as appears from the mention of these parts of *Derekh 'Eretz* by Gaonic sources.⁵⁰

II Manuscripts by the name of *Massekhet Derekh 'Eretz* or *Hilkhot Derekh 'Eretz*, as denotation of *Derekh 'Eretz Zuta* I–IX and by the name of *Pirqei ben 'Azzai* as denotation of *Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah* III–IX. As for *Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah* this is the most original arrangement.⁵¹

III Manuscripts by the name of *Derekh 'Eretz* or *Derekh 'Eretz Zuta* as denotation of *Derekh 'Eretz Zuta* I–IX, and by the name of *Massekhet Derekh 'Eretz* or *Hilkhot Derekh 'Eretz* as denotation of *Derekh 'Eretz*

'Eretz as one of the *baraitot keti'ot* (minor independent Tannaitic traditions); see 'Iggeret Rab Sherira Gaon, ed. M. B. Lewin (1922), p. 47; and see *Teshubot ha-Geonim*, ed. A. E. Harkavy, sim. 380. Another example could be the testimony of the Karaite Qirqisani (first half of the tenth century) who mentioned *Jir'at Het* as one of his sources (the name of D. E. Z. I–IV). See also W. Bacher, in *J. Q. R.*, VII (1895), pp. 697–698. See I. Abrahams, in: *J. Q. R.*, X (1898), p. 660; and see I. Abrahams, in: *M. Steinschneider Festschrift*, repr. Hildesheim 1975, p. 72, referring to *Kitab al Anwar*, ed. A. E. Harkavy. See also A. Büchler, *Types of Jewish Palestinian Piety*, London 1922, p. 33, note 1. See *Perush Rab Haj Gaon*, on Seder Tohorot, ed. Berlin 1921, p. 37ff. See S. A. Poznanski, in *M. G. W. J.*, LXI (1917), p. 229ff. See *Halakhot Gedolot*, ed. I. Hildesheimer, Berlin 1888 (Ms. Roma, about 1000), containing D. E. R. II, D. E. Z. I–IV, D. E. Z. V–VIII and D. E. Z. IX; and many other sources. See S. Safrai, 'Teachings of Pietists in Mishnaic Literature', in: *J. J. S.* (1965), p. 27.

⁴⁹ See for the arrangement following in the text: M. Higger, *Massekhtot Ze'ivot*, pp. 7–8; see M. Higger, *Massekhtot Derekh 'Eretz*, introduction, p. 15ff. See also D. Sperber, *Massekhet Derekh 'Eretz Zuta*, appendix 7, p. 178.

⁵⁰ As with Rab 'Amram Gaon, Rab Sa'adjah Gaon, in *Halakhot Gedolot*, with the Karaite Qirqisani and others. For details see the literature mentioned under note 48. This arrangement can also be found in a number of genizah fragments.

⁵¹ A manuscript with a similar arrangement was, for instance, known to Rashi, to the author of *Mahzor Vitry*, to the Tosaphists, to Rabbi 'El'azar ben Jehudah of Worms and to the author of *Seph. ha-Roqeah* and others.

Rabbah III–XI (sometimes supplemented with the first chapters of *Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah*).⁵²

IV Manuscripts by the name of *Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah* (or *Massekhet Derekh 'Eretz* or *Middat Derekh 'Eretz*) denoting *Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah* I–XI, and by the name of *Massekhet Derekh 'Eretz Zuta* denoting *Derekh 'Eretz Zuta* IX–XI (V–VIII or I–XI).

M. Higger (see note 43) marked group I as the Gaonic arrangement. This arrangement is in fact the oldest. Group II was marked by him as the French version and Group III as Sefardic version (Spanish), which also must include the fourth group.⁵³ Opposing an arrangement of the manuscripts on different critical apparatuses based on the groups mentioned above, as in the edition of M. Higger, it must be said that some manuscripts correspondent more, in many places, with manuscripts from other groups than with manuscripts from their own group. More confusing still is that M. Higger has placed the less reliable rendering of the *Derekh 'Eretz* tradition in the *Musar* literature within the apparatus of the manuscripts. Based on the arrangement of certain manuscripts no conclusion can be made regarding their disposition and quality. Choosing a certain version must be done case by case, also taking into consideration criteria concerning the content of the text.

As basic text for the translation of *Derekh 'Eretz Zuta* in this book Ms. Oxford Bodleian (cat. A. Neubauer, no. 896) was chosen, a manuscript written in Lybia in 1203, according to the catalogue A. Neubauer – A. E. Cowly. As basic text for the translation of *Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah* Ms. New York, Jewish Th. Sem (cat. E. N. Adler, no. 2237) was chosen. This manuscript was written in the Provence in 1271 (see cat. E. N. Adler, Cambridge 1921, p. 81). For the translation of the text of *Derekh 'Eretz Zuta* X and *Pereq ha-Shalom* we used the same manuscript cat. E. N. Adler, no. 2237.

⁵² Strikingly, in some manuscripts with this arrangement the second chapter of D.E.R. is combined with the third chapter of D.E.R. Cf. for instance Ms. Oxford Bodleian (cat. A. Neubauer no. 2239) and Ms. Oxford Bodleian (cat. A. Neubauer no. 2257) and Ms. New York, Jewish Th. Sem. (cat. E. N. Adler no. 1909) and Ms. New York, Jewish Th. Sem. (cat. E. N. Adler no. 2237) and Ms. Epstein, *Mi-Qadmoniot ha-Jehudim*, II 1887; and in *Mahzor Vitry*, ed. S. Hurvitz, repr. Jerusalem 1963, p. 721 ff. and Talmud Babli, third ed., Venice.

⁵³ See M. B. Lerner, in: *The Literature of the Sages*, I, ed. S. Safrai, p. 381 note 89, referring to M. Higger. D. Sperber, *Massekhet Derekh 'Eretz Zuta*, p. 178, denotes this group as being Italian, without motivation.

The basic text for the translation of *Derekh 'Eretz Zuta* I–IX is a manuscript with the oldest arrangement and with a reliable and complete rendering of the text. Its versions, as a rule, correspondent with genizah fragments and they can be defended on the basis of criteria regarding content. Indeed, the manuscript of *Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah* and *Derekh 'Eretz Zuta* X–XI does contain a younger arrangement of the text (group IV), but still it dates back to the thirteenth century and it renders the text completely and in reliable way (in its commentary *Derekh 'Eretz Zuta* XI is corrected here and there on the basis of other manuscripts). The fragmentary character of many other manuscripts made these unsuitable for serving as a basic text.

6. Structure

Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah I is also called *Pereq 'Arajot* (The chapter of the prohibited sexual relationships) on the basis of its designation in the *Mishnah Ms. Kaufmann A 50*. The content of this chapter consists mainly of Tannaitic halakhic statements.⁵⁴ This fact is, however, mitigated by the fact that this chapter also clearly contains post-Talmudic material.⁵⁵ In *Ms. Kaufmann* this chapter is mentioned at the end of Seder Nashim. In *Halakhot Gedolot* (ed. A. Hildesheimer; repr. Jerusalem) *Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah* I is mentioned separately under the denominator of *Hilkhot 'Arajot*. In *Pes. Zut.*, 'Aharei Mot, at Lev. 18,23 (ed. S. Buber) *Massekhet 'Arajot* is referred to as being a part of the Mishnah.⁵⁶

Apparently the content of *Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah* I was regarded as part of the Mishnah, under the name of *Massekhet 'Arajot*. There has been a division of opinions about the relation of *Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah* I with *Massekhet Kallah*. It is often expressed that *Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah* I originally was a part of *Massekhet Kallah*.⁵⁷ However, it is more acceptable that *Massekhet Kallah* was part of the *Derekh 'Eretz* traditions in general, since sexual relationships also belong to the notions of the concept 'derekh

⁵⁴ See M. Higger, *Massekhtot Ze'ivot*, pp. 21–22, 31.

⁵⁵ Cf. M. B. Lerner, in: *The Literature of the Sages*, I, ed. S. Safrai, p. 385, referring to M. Higger. See also our commentary on this chapter.

⁵⁶ Cf. M. B. Lerner, in: *The Literature of the Sages*, I, ed. S. Safrai, p. 383, referring to *Halakhot Gedolot*, ed. S. A. Traub., 81b.

⁵⁷ See among others, the opinion of the Gaon of Wilna on D.E.R. I, and cf. S. Krauss, in: *R.E.J.*, XXXVI (1898), p. 32ff. and J. Reiffman, 'Kunteres ruah hadashah', in: *Beit Talmud*, IV (1885), p. 84 a. o.

'eretz'. In their present forms *Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah I* and *Massekhet Kallah* are to be regarded as clearly separate literary units.⁵⁸ *Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah* contains very old Tannaitic traditions, but also some of later date. From the arrangement of those manuscripts which have *Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah III–IX* but not *Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah I*, it becomes clear that this chapter was only added much later to the tractates of *Derekh 'Eretz* which are known to us. At the ending of *Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah I* there is mention of the grandson of Rabbi Jehoshua ben Levi, a much later tradent than those mentioned in other parts of *Derekh 'Eretz*. On many counts the content of this chapter depends on discussions in the Babylonian Talmud, which means that the editorial closing of the material in this chapter took place after the closing of the Babylonian Talmud.

Originally, the second chapter of *Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah* (*Pereq ha-Minim*) was like *Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah I* a separate unit and was added to *Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah III–IX* only later. Indeed, there are manuscripts which mention *Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah III–IX* by the name of *Pirquei ben 'Azzai* but leave out *Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah II*. In *Massekhet Kallah Rabbati* there are comments on the statements of *Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah III–IX*, but there is a notable absence of the traditions of *Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah I* and *II*. *Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah II* has a structure entirely its own, and a very methodical composition. The first part of the chapter consists of a summing up of twelve rows of unvirtuous persons, each row followed by quotations from Scripture. Following these, twelve rows of virtuous persons are mentioned, also followed by quotations from Scripture. The rest of the chapter has an entirely different form and content. The ending, an explanation of Dt. 32:1, is a mystical text of which the style is similar to the style of mystical works from the Gaonic era.⁵⁹ The language at the beginning of this chapter as regards the virtuous and unvirtuous persons is in many places very archaic by nature.

Based on the beginning of the summing up of the unvirtuous persons, this chapter is usually called *Pereq ha-Minim* (the Chapter of the Sectarious). In Ms. E.N. Adler, no. 1745, however, this chapter is called *Pereq ha-Ma'asim* (the Chapter of the Acts).

Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah III–IX, called *Pirquei ben 'Azzai* in manuscripts with the oldest arrangement, also originally constituted a separate literary unit, closed with an admonition. However, one can argue that, originally,

⁵⁸ See introduction to *Pseudo Eliahu Zuta*, ed. M. Friedmann, p. 13; and cf. M. Goldberg, *Derech Erez Rabba*, Breslau 1888, introduction, p. VI.

⁵⁹ For details see commentary.

Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah III was not attached to *Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah* IV-IX. It was connected to *Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah* IV-IX only later on and has given them the name *Pirquei ben 'Azzai*. In other places in the tradition, a lot of material from the said chapters is quoted as baraita. Save one possible exception, none of the tradents mentioned in this unity is of later date than Rabbi, which makes the supposition of M. Goldberg, that most part of *Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah* IV-IX had found its fixed form by the end of the third century, a plausible one.⁶⁰

In TbPes. 86b (see the comments of Rashi on this tradition), as early as 200, it is referred back to traditions of norms of decent conduct accepted by the sages, which are mentioned in *Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah* VI and VIII. Cf. the mention of 'good manners' according to a tradition in *Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah* VI in the second generation of Amoraim in a tradition in TbBeitza 25b.

It is part of the universally accepted views that *Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah* III strongly bears on traditions from 'Abot de-Rabbi Natan XIX.⁶¹ The content of *Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah* III mainly consists of statements of wisdom, whereas the contents of *Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah* IV-IX for the greater part consists of rules of etiquette. The majority of statements from *Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah* (I)III-IX as well as the statements from *Derekh 'Eretz Zuta* I-IV date back to as early the Tanaitic era. From all sorts of overlaps in the text it appears that this literary unity of *Derekh 'Eretz Zuta* III-IX must have been built up from originally much smaller units which are very difficult to reconstruct.

Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah IV as well as *Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah* V start off with the words 'le-'olam' (always). S. Krauss spoke of *Pirquei le-'Olam* basing himself on the fact that the opening words are the same and the contents of the two chapters are coherent to a high degree.⁶² Both chapters describe norms of decency for Torah scholars concerning their social behaviour and support them with examples. The words 'Therefore Rabbi Jehoshua ben Levi says . . .' at the ending of *Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah* V may be regarded as a closing to *Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah* IV-V.⁶³

⁶⁰ See M. Goldberg, *Derech Erez Rabba*, introduction, p. V.

⁶¹ Cf., for instance, M. Goldberg, *Derech Erez Rabba*, introduction, p. V. M. Higger, *Massekhtot Ze'ivot*, introduction, p. 13 and 23. M. B. Lerner, in: *The Literature of the Sages*, I, ed. S. Safrai, p. 386, note 136, proposes that reading 'R. Natan' in Ms. A. Epstein is a possible reference to A. R. N.

⁶² See S. Krauss, in: *R. E. J.*, XXXVI (1898), p. 32.

⁶³ See S. Krauss, in: *R. E. J.*, XXXVI (1898), p. 35.

Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah VI and *Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah VII* are also related as regards content. Chapter VI contains quite some stories and rules about table manners, which the opening of chapter VII links up to. Next, rules are given on how someone is to behave in the privy. S. Krauss denotes these two chapters as *Pereq ha-Nikhnas* based on the opening words of *Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah VI*.⁶⁴

Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah VIII and *IX* are called *Pereq ha-Nikhnas II* by S. Krauss, based on the opening words of chapter VIII. Like *Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah VI* and *VII*, in the manuscripts these chapters are distinguished clearly as separate units. Chapter VIII deals with table manners and soon reverts to rules of conduct that have a strong ethical nature, implicating one must not create false expectations with one's neighbour and that one must not disadvantage one's neighbour in any way. Chapter IX contains rules concerning table manners, supplemented with narrative material for illustration. In a number of manuscripts the ending of *Pirquei ben 'Azzai* is explicitly indicated at the closing of *Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah IX*.

Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah X and *Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah XI* are called *Pirquei ha-Nikhnas III*, by S. Krauss (see note 62). However, the two chapters are entirely different and they must have been handed down separately from the chapters I–IX (see all the manuscripts that have *Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah I–IX* but not *Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah X* and *XI*. Chapter X is devoted to conduct in the bathhouse and in this matter a number of old traditions have been changed as regards their meaning. *Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah XI* contains rules that contribute to one's wellbeing and health, and is supplemented with a number of statements of wisdom at the ending, after which it is closed with some blessings.

In a number of manuscripts *Derekh 'Eretz Zuta I–IV* and *Derekh 'Eretz Zuta IX* are called *Massekhet Jir'at Het* (Fear of Transgression). This title, *Jir'at Het* can already be found in the Siddur of Sa'adjah Gaon (see above) and with the Karaite *Al Qirqisani* (see under note 48). This part of *Derekh 'Eretz* consists mainly of short statements and contains no narrative material. It breathes the atmosphere of *Pirquei 'Abot* and *'Abot de Rabbi Natan*, statements in the New Testament and in *Didache*. Here in particular, one finds the characteristics of the admonitions from the circles of the Hasidim, such as the emphasis on humility, forgiving, tolerance, charity, asceticism, joy

⁶⁴ See S. Krauss, in: *R. E. J.*, XXXVI (1898), p. 32.

in fulfilling the commandments, voluntary aggravations in order to remain far from transgression, and such. The reference mentioned above of *Megilat Hasidim* in 'Abot de Rabbi Natan [b] XXVI notably relates to a statement in *Derekh 'Eretz Zuta* II. Elsewhere in the Rabbinic tradition a number of statements are referred to as being of Tannaitic origin.⁶⁵

Jir'at Het belongs, as we see it, to the oldest parts of the *Derekh 'Eretz* literature (see above). The closing part of chapter I, in which rows of persons are mentioned who have remained undamaged after death, or who have entered paradise alive, was not added until much later (presumably not sooner than the tenth century).⁶⁶ The mention of Rabbi Jehoshua ben Levi at the end of the last row is based on Talmudic tradition and in itself it proves that the addition must have been made later.

Almost all statements in *Derekh 'Eretz Zuta* I–IV are anonymous, in *Derekh 'Eretz Zuta* IV only Tannaitic spokesman are mentioned. It is remarkable that *Derekh 'Eretz Zuta* IV is not incorporated in *Massekhet Kallah Rabbati*, contrary to the chapters I–III. It is not unlikely that chapter IV was added to I–III in a later stage and that the closing admonition of chapter IV served as a conclusion of I–IV in total. Chapter IX, considered to be a part of *Jir'at Het* in a number of manuscripts, is an originally independent chapter that was added later (this explains why a number of manuscripts mention chapter IX only after *Derekh 'Eretz Zuta* V–VIII and not directly after chapter IV).⁶⁷ Chapter IX is also greater in size than the other chapters.⁶⁸ At the end of *Derekh 'Eretz Zuta* IX, one finds a closing formula of the same kind as the closing formula of *Derekh 'Eretz Zuta* IV. This closing formula can be found in the manuscripts which consider *Derekh 'Eretz Zuta* I–IV and IX a unity as well as those which don't place chapter IX after chapter IV. This is why it is not unlikely that this closing formula originally functioned as a closing of chapter IX as an independent unit. It must be clear that there is a considerable time interval between the origin of the independent units and their final editing as a

⁶⁵ See the commentary and cf. M.B. Lerner, in: *The Literature of the Sages*, ed. S. Safrai, p. 382, note 99.

⁶⁶ See the commentary and cf. the opinion of A.J. Tawrogi, *Derech Erez Sutta*, Königsberg 1885, introduction, p. II. On the other hand, see the opinion of S. Krauss, in: *R. E. J.*, XXXVII (1898), p. 45.

⁶⁷ See also D. Sperber, *Massekhet Derekh 'Eretz Zuta*, p. 180, referring to L. Ginzberg.

⁶⁸ Cf. in particular S. Krauss, in: *R. E. J.*, XXXVI (1898), pp. 31–32, pp. 44–45. According to A.J. Tawrogi, *Derech Erez Sutta*, introduction, p. III, *Derekh 'Eretz Zuta* IV served as an example for the realisation of *Derekh 'Eretz* IX.

unity. *Derekh 'Eretz Zuta V-VIII* is also an originally independent unit, called *Massekhet Derekh 'Eretz Ze'ira* (the Minor *Derekh 'Eretz*). In the Talmud editions as from *ed. Frankfurt* (1720–1723) (they are not mentioned in *ed. Frankfurt* 1699) these capita are said to be borrowed from the *Mahzor Vitry*. The chapters contain many anonymous rules for the right conduct of Torah scholars and their students, which are found in practically all other rabbinical sources. It was added to *Jir'at Het* much later and it is probably written by a single author (it is much more a unity than *Jir'at Het*) in the post-Talmudic era.⁶⁹ M. B. Lerner points to a number of polemic statements at the end of chapter VIII, which indicate, according to the author, that *Massekhet Derekh 'Eretz Ze'ira* must have played a part in an anti-Karaite polemic.⁷⁰

Derekh 'Eretz Zuta X, Pereq Rabbi Shim'on, this is also an originally independent chapter with a clear-cut closing formula. It was named after the man who made the statement mentioned first in the text. Its beginning is based on Talmudic messianic traditions. Certain anti-Karaite tendencies are not foreign to its content.⁷¹ In manuscripts with the oldest arrangement it is not mentioned.

Derekh 'Eretz Zuta XI. In a number of manuscripts this chapter is mentioned at the end of *Derekh 'Eretz Zuta*, but clearly distinguished from it (only after the specification of the end of *Derekh 'Eretz Zuta* this chapter is mentioned separately). The designation of this chapter as *Derekh 'Eretz Zuta XI* is in fact not correct and serves only purposes of convenience. *Pereq ha-Shalom* is a completely independent unit of a strongly stylized collection of statements about peace, borrowed from the Talmud and the Midrash. Based on the manuscripts it is evident that *Pereq ha-Shalom* was added to the rest of *Derekh 'Eretz* only much later.⁷²

⁶⁹ See A. J. Tawrogi, *Derech Erez Sutta*, introduction, p. IIff. See D. Sperber, *Massekhet Derekh 'Eretz Zuta*, p. 179.

⁷⁰ See M. B. Lerner, *The Literature of the Sages*, I, ed. S. Safrai, p. 383.

⁷¹ Cf. M. Higger, *Massekhtot Derekh 'Eretz*, p. 248.

⁷² See also D. Sperber, *Massekhet Derekh 'Eretz Zuta*, p. 181.

List of Manuscripts

New York, Jewish Theological Seminary, cat. E. N. Adler, p. 81, no. 2237. Miscellany, partly described by A. Neubauer, *R. E. J.*, X, 100. Written by Jacob Machir called 'Camprat Dawjan de Vives', ca. 1271, censored 1575. Cf. the description by M. Higger, *Massekhtot Derekh 'Eretz*, introduction, pp. 44–45. D. E. R. I–IX; D. E. Z. I–IV, IX, X, V–VIII.

Oxford, Bodleian, cat. A. Neubauer, I, p. 190, no. 896. Fol. 1–224. Minhagim (Siddur) in Arabic, of Rabbi Shelomo ben Natan, containing 30 chapters, of which the last is headed: '... *Massekhet 'Abot we-Qinjan Torah we-Jir'at Het we-Derekh 'Eretz*', preceded by the preface. The latest authority quoted by the author is Rabbi Jitzhaq. Over some words in 'Abot is written the Arabic translation in Magrebi char. The manuscript is written in 1203 in Qa' la Barqa (cyrenaica) in Lybië. D. E. Z. I–IV, IX, V–VIII.

Oxford, Bodleian, cat. A. Neubauer, I, p. 785, no. 2257. Talmudical treatises: *Hilkhot Sopherim*, *Massekhet Semahot*, *Massekhet Kallah*, fol. 111b: *Massekhet Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah*, fol. 118: *Massekhet Derekh 'Eretz Zuta*, and fol. 121b: *Pereq ha-Shalom*. The treatises-mentioned are written in Ital. Rabb. char.

End date 1582. Cf. the description by M. Higger, *Massekhtot Derekh 'Eretz*, introduction, p. 41. D. E. R. I–XI; D. E. Z. I–IV, IX–X, *Pereq ha-Shalom*.

Oxford, Bodleian, cat. A. Neubauer, I, p. 815, no. 2339. Midrashim and Agadic treatises. Fol. 9: *Derekh 'Eretz Zuta*, the end of IV, IX and X. Fol. 11b: *Pereq ha-Shalom*. Fol. 54b: *Middat Derekh 'Eretz*, identical with *Massekhet Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah* (II and III in the editions make in the Ms. one chapter). Fol. 67: *Derekh 'Eretz Zuta*, I–IV, continuation of fol. 9ff. Syr. Rabb. char. Cf. the description by M. Higger, *Massekhtot Derekh 'Eretz*, introduction, p. 40. D. E. R. I–XI; D. E. Z. I–IV, IX–X, *Pereq ha-Shalom*.

Oxford, Bodleian, cat. A. Neubauer, I, p. 784, no. 2255. Fol. 58. *S' Derekh 'Eretz*, beg. with chap. I–III; V (= VII and VIII in editions); end with beg. of VII (= X in editions). Germ. Rabb. char. (many pages are obliterated and injured). Cf. the description by M. Higger, *Massekhtot Derekh 'Eretz*, introduction, pp. 27–28. D. E. R. III–VIII, IX.

Oxford, Bodleian, cat. A. Neubauer, I, p. 306, no. 1100. Opp. no. 59. Siddur acc. to Rabbi Simha of Vitry (Mahzor Vitry acc. to modern title page; see Luzzato, *Qeren Hemed*, III, p. 200ff.). Part IV *Hosha'not*. Fol. 243: beg. with introduction *Darkhan shel Talmidei Hakhamim* and seven chapters. At the end: *Seliqa Darkhan shel Talmidei Hakhamim*. Next comes *Pereq ben 'Azzai* and five chapters: *Le-'olam tehe*, *Lo jippater*, *Ha-nikhnas le-beit*-, *Shenajim she-haju*, and *Lo 'adam*. Germ. Rabb. char. (the oldest hand approaches to the square char.), most of the liturgies with vowel points. Cf. the description by M. Higger, *Massekhtot Derekh 'Eretz*, introduction, p. 33. D. E. Z. I–IX; D. E. R. III–IX, X (begin) XI (begin).

Oxford, Bodleian, cat. A. Neubauer, I, pp. 301–302, no. 1098. Miscellaneous. Fol. 105: *Massekhet Derekh 'Eretz*, six chapters (the printed *Massekhet Derekh 'Eretz Zuta*. Chap. I ends 'Ajn tobah . . . , beg. of the third chapter of the editions. II = III of the editions. III = IV; IV = V, ends 'midda'at ha-beriot'; V = VI; VI = VII, VIII and IX of the editions). Fol. 108b: . . . *u-Peraqim de ben 'Azzai*. . . : six chapters (the printed *Massekhet Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah*. I = III of the editions; II ends 'Hareni niphtar' (= IV); III = V; IV = VI; V (end wanting) = VII; VI (begin wanting) = VIII, with additional par., many variations from the editions.

The copy was made by 'A' "zaq (fol. 81). On fol. 69b birth of Shemarjah, twelfth of Nissan 5330 = 1570. Old Germ. curs. char. The margins of the last five leaves are mended with fragments of an old French poem (char. of the end of the 13th or beginning of the 14th century. Cf. the description by M. Higger, *Massekhtot Derekh 'Eretz*, introduction, pp. 25–26. D. E. Z. I–IX; D. E. R. III–IX.

Oxford, Bodleian, cat. A. Neunauer, I, p. 19, no. 120. Fol. 193: sentences in Hebrew and Arabic. Fol. 194: . . . *Shemu'el ha-Qatan 'omer*. . . Ibid. *Qinjan Torah* (chap. VI of M'Abot). Fol. 199: sentences (*Jir'at Het*). Fol. 205: *Nathil Derekh 'Eretz*. At the end of the Ms.: prayer in Arabic. Written by Jishma'el ben Joseph ha-Sopher ben Shemu'el ha-Melammed. Span. Rabb. char. Two hands.

Cf. I. Abrahams in: *J. Q. R.* X (O. S.), 660–661. M. Steinschneider *Festschrift*, pp. 72–75. W. Bacher, *J. Q. R.* (O. S.) VII, 679–698. Cf. the description by M. Higger, *Massekhtot Derekh 'Eretz*, introduction 19. *Jir'at Het* (D. E. Z. I–IV, IX) and *Derekh 'Eretz Ze'ira* (D. E. Z. V–VIII). The text agrees closely with the text in *Halakhot Gedolot*, ed. A. Hildesheimer.

Oxford, Bodleian, cat. A. Neubauer, I, p. 83, no. 38 Fol. 133b: *Jir'at Het*. Fol. 143b: *Derekh Eretz*. Owner: Jehudah ben Jitzhaq ben Jehudah. Syr. Rabb. char. See for further information what is said about Ms. Oxford, Bodleian, cat. A. Neubauer, no. 120. D. E. Z. I–IV, IX, V–VIII.

Oxford, Bodleian, cat. A. Neubauer, I, p. 194, no. 904. Fol. 215b *Hilkhot Derekh 'Eretz* (cf. cat. A. Neubauer, no. 120). Only four chapters. Owner: Rabbi Jitzhaq (at beginning injured and pale). Written by Joseph ben Shemu'el "ha-Qatan" (?); (another part of the Ms. was finished 5241 = 1481). Span. Rabb. char. D. E. Z. I–IV (IV: partly).

Oxford, Bodleian, cat. A. Neubauer, I, p. 853, no. 2422. Fol. 57: *Mas' Gerim, Seder Tanna'im we-'Amora'im*. Ms. additions to *Mas' Derekh 'Eretz* and *Taqqanot* of Rabbenu Gershom and Rabbenu Tam. Germ. curs. char. D. E. Z. V–IX

London, Montefiore Libr., H. Hirschfeld, *Descriptive Catalogue of Hebrew Mss of the Montefiore Library*, London 1904, no. 64. *J. Q. R.* (O. S.) XIV, p. 173. *Kisse Kabod*. The tractates *Kallah, Sopherim, Derekh 'Eretz*, with the commentary of Judah Abbas. In the last named tractate chapters III and IV are written as one chapter. It is also incomplete, and contains only about a third of chap. VI. After fol. I lacuna. With regard to the author, see M. Steinschneider in: *J. Q. R.* (1899), p. 333. Span. Rabb. char. D. E. R. I–VI (VI: partly).

London, Jews College, A. Neubauer, *Catalogue of the Hebrew Mss. in the Jews College*, London, p. 11, no. 28^o. Fol. 146b–150: *Massekhet Derekh 'Eretz (Zuta)*. Fol. 150ff. *Massekhet Kallah*. Germ. Rabb. char. D. E. Z. I–IX.

London, Montefiore Libr., H. Hirschfeld, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Hebrew Mss. of the Montefiore Library*, London 1904, no. 431²¹. Fol. 76: *Darkhan shel Talmidei Hakhamim* · No.'s 15–22 Ital Rabb. char. Various hands. End 15th century? D.E.Z. I–IX (IX: partly).

Cambridge UB, S.M. Schiller Szinessy, *Catalogue II* (never published), p. 96, no. 40²⁰. D.E.Z. V–IX.

Cambridge UB, TS SN 329/482. D.E.Z. VII and VIII.

Mishnah codex Kaufmann A 50. See the facsimile edition of G. Beer, Jerusalem 1968, p. 525. '*Arajot Pereq A*'. D.E.R. I. Cf. M. Higger, *Massekhtot Derekh 'Eretz*, p. 15.

New York, Jewish Theological Seminary, cat. E.N. Adler, no. 4465a. See the description by M. Higger, *Massekhtot Derekh 'Eretz*, introduction, p. 29, no. 6. D.E.Z. I–IX (*We-zeh Hilkhot Derekh 'Eretz...*) and D.E.R. III–IX (*Pirqei ben 'Azzai*).

New York, Jewish Theological Seminary, cat. E.N. Adler, no. 7246. D.E.Z. I–IX.

New York, Jewish Theological Seminary, cat. E.N. Adler, p. 72, no. 428. Mishlei with Jewish Persian translation. *Mas' Derekh Eretz* ditto. Cf. M. Higger, *Massekhtot Derekh 'Eretz*, introduction 16. D.E.Z. V–VIII.

New York, Jewish Theological seminary, cat. E.N. Adler, p. 19, no. 2542. Begin: *Nathil be-Derekh 'Eretz Qetannah*. D.E.Z. V, VI (begin).

New York, Jewish Theological Seminary, cat. E.N. Adler, p. 19, no. 1909. '*Abot de Rabbi Natan, Massekhet Derekh 'Eretz* (Rabbah and Zuta), *Massekhet Kallah* and *M'Abot* with commentary. D.E.R. I–XI; D.E.Z. I–IV, IX, X; *Pereq ha-Shalom*.

Milaan, Ambr., C. Bernheimer, *Codices Hebraici Bibliothecae Ambrosianae*, Milaan 1933, no 14⁶. I. Textus interior: Pentateuchus vocabulus, accentibus... II. Textus maginalus: inc. fol. 226ff.: *Massekhet Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah. Ha-meqaddesh 'ishah hare zeh 'oser 'alaw sheba 'arajot ...* Sacer textus caractere italico huente, marginalis rabbinico exeratus (saec. XV).

München, Kön. Hofbibl., cat. M. Steinschneider, *Die Hebr. Handschriften der Kön. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in München*, no. 95. Fol. 565b–567a: *Derekh 'Eretz*. Written in 1342. Cf. H. Strack's facsimile edition, Leiden 1912. Fol. 565b second col.: '*Ahel Mas' Pereq 'Eretz ...*' = D.E.Z. I. Fol. 566b, first col.: *Seliq Mas' Derekh 'Eretz ...*' = D.E.Z. IX, end. Fol. 566b, first col. *Hai lekha Pirqei ben 'Azzai* = D.E.R. III. Fol. 567a, second col.: *Shalemu Pirqei ben 'Azzai* = D.E.R. IX, end. Cf. the description by M. Higger, *Massekhtot Derekh 'Eretz*, introduction, pp. 28–29. D.E.Z. I–IX, D.E.R. III–IX.

München, Kön. Hofbibl., cat. M. Steinschneider, o.c., no. 232¹⁰. Fol. 85: '*Injan Derekh 'Eretz*, from *Derekh 'Eretz Zuta*. Chap. V–VIII, I–IV (fol. 86b,5); IX (fol. 88b,2) with var.; then, sayings with numbers: *Sheba debarim tzawah ha-qadosh rabbeinu 'et beno ...* Many notes, which are partly removed. Sabb. ben Mosheh, physician from ??... , acquired the Cod. as inheritance with the brothers Hillel and Sal... (or...) 1380 (or 1420?). Ital Rabb. char. (ca. 1400).

München, Kön. Hofbibl., cat. M. Steinschneider, o.c., no. 264⁵. Miscellaneous. Fol. 96: *Hilkhot Derekh 'Eretz*. Span. curs. f. 192ff., a. 1363. D.E.Z. I, II, (partly).

Moscow, cat. A. Katsh, *Ginzei Russya*, no.249. D. E. Z. I–IV, IX.

Vatican, cat. S. E. Assemani, p.290, no.303. Anonymous. Fol. 225a-229: *Hilkhot Derekh 'Eretz*. Begin: *Darkhan shel Talmidei Hakhamim* Rabbinicis litteris exaratus, olim Palatinus. 16th century? (Is codex partim decimoquarto, partim decimosexto Christi seculo videtur exeratus).

Oxford, Bodleian, cat. A. Neubauer – A. E. Cowley, no. 2643. Ms. Heb. d.46. Cowl. 39. 14b (fol. 85). Fragment of *Massekhet Derekh 'Eretz*, beg. *Mishnah middah she-notelin 'aleha sahar*, followed by the chap. *Rabbi 'Eli'ezer ha-Kappar*, incomplete. Syr. Rabb. char. D. E. Z. IV, IX.

Oxford, Bodleian, cat. A. Neubauer – A. E. Cowley, no. 2661. Ms. Heb. c.17. Cowley 56. Fol. 6b: *Derekh Eretz Zuta*, ends *U-tepajjes 'otam*. Syr. squa. char. See the description by M. Higger, *Massekhtot Derekh 'Eretz*, introduction, p. 19. D. E. Z. I.

Oxford, Bodleian, cat. A. Neubauer – A. E. Cowley, no. 2261. Ms. Heb. c.17. Cowley 56. Fol. 10: *Derekh 'Eretz Zuta*, II *we-'eino she-lekha* to III *'al menat – le-shallem we-'im*. No sections for *'Abot* or *Derekh 'Eretz*. Large Syr. char. D. E. Z. II–III.

Oxford, Bodleian, cat. A. Neubauer – A. E. Cowley, no. 2669. Ms. Heb. d.47. Cowley 67. Fol. 14: *'Abot* VI,9 (*kol ha-niqra*), ending with *Seleq Pirqa*. *Seleq 'Abot we-Qinjan Torah*; followed by *Derekh 'Eretz Zuta* (headed *Jir'at Het*). Syr. squa.char. D. E. Z. I (partly).

Oxford, Bodleian, cat. A. Neubauer – A. E. Cowley, no. 2669. Ms. Heb. d.47. Cowley 67. Fol. 15: D. E. Z. I, beg. *'Al jehi Pirqekha*, to II *'eini jodea*. Fol. 16: D. E. Z. IX, beg. “om' mahaloqet”, ending with *Seleq Jir'at Het*, followed by the common prayer *Jotzer 'Or*, with variations. Syr. squa. char. D. E. Z. I–II, IX.

Oxford, Bodleian, cat. A. Neubauer – A. E. Cowley, no. 2833. Ms. Heb. b.10. Cowley 267. Fol. 84 D. E. Z. IX (*she-lo jahseru* to the end of the chapter, with the colophon *Seleq Derekh 'Eretz Rabbah*, followed by the chapters V–VIII, headed *Derekh ('Eretz Zuta)*. Syr. Rab. char. D. E. Z. IX, V–VIII.

Oxford, Bodleian, cat. A. Neubauer – A. E. Cowley, no. 2833. Ms. Heb. b.10. Cowley 266. Fol. 66. D. E. R., par. 8 (*lo jishlah 'adam*) to the end of the section, followed by par. 10, headed *Pereq H(et)'*, to *'arumim ruban*. Fol. 66b is blank. Syr. Rabb. char. See the description by M. Higger, *Massekhtot Derekh 'Eretz*, introduction, p. 45. D. E. R. VIII, X.

New York, Jewish Theological Seminary, cat. E. N. Adler, p. 19, no. 229. The like of *Derekh 'Eretz Zuta*. Parts of D. E. Z. VI–VIII.

New York, Jewish Theological Seminary, cat. E. N. Adler, no. 409. *Massekhet 'Abot, Pereq Qinjan Torah, Jir'at Het. Jir'at Het* beginning: *Talm' Hakkam*, end: *Be-Mosheh mah katub* Cf. the description by M. Higger, *Massekhtot Derekh 'Eretz*, introduction p. 20. D. E. Z. I (partly).

New York, Jewish Theological Seminary, cat. E. N. Adler, no. 1111. Fragments of D. E. Z. VIII. Cf. the description by M. Higger, *Massekhtot Derekh 'Eretz*, introduction, p. 22.

New York, Jewish Theological Seminary, cat. E.N. Adler, no. 1177. Fragment of D.E.Z. I(end)-II(begin). Cf. the description by M. Higger, *Massekhtot Derekh 'Eretz*, introduction, p. 22.

New York, Jewish Theological Seminary, cat. E.N. Adler, p. 19, no. 1329. Parts of D.E.Z. I-III. See the description by M. Higger, *Massekhtot Derek 'Eretz*, introduction, p. 20.

New York, Jewish Theological Seminary, cat. E.N. Adler, p. 19, no. 1745. Parts of D.E.R. II.

New York, Jewish Theological Seminary, cat. E.N. Adler, p. 19, no. 2101. The like of *Derekh 'Eretz Ze'ira*. Scribe: Jitzhaq ben Mosheh ben Shemu'el ha-Sephardi, ca. 1135. Fragments of D.E.Z. II (from *'Im haphetz 'atta le-hitrahheq* [II]), D.E.Z. III, D.E.Z. IV (from: *she-lo shimmashita ke-jozte bo* , D.E.Z. V (numbered as chap. I) VI (numbered as chap. II), VII (numbered as chap. IV and VIII (numbered as chap. IV). Cf. the description by M. Higger, *Massekhtot Derekh 'Eretz*, introduction, p. 17.

New York, Jewish Theological Seminary, cat. E.N. Adler, no. 2149. Fragments of D.E.Z. I-III. See the description by M. Higger, *Massekhtot Derekh 'Eretz*, introduction, p. 22.

New York, Jewish Theological Seminary, cat. E.N. Adler, no. 2157. Fragments from the beginning of D.E.Z. VII.

New York, Jewish Theological Seminary, cat. E.N. Adler, no. 2840. Parts of D.E.Z. VIII. See also the description by M. Higger, *Massekhtot Derekh 'Eretz*, introduction, pp. 22-23.

New York, Jewish Theological Seminary, cat. E.N. Adler, no. 3051. Fragments of D.E.Z. VII from *Shomea u-mosiph* (VII). See the description by M. Higger, *Massekhtot Derek 'Eretz*, introduction pp. 23-24.

Cambridge, Westm. Coll., no. 97-98. Fragments of D.E.Z. I.

London, OR 5558A (PS 103707). Parts of D.E.Z. I ('Jir'at Het'). From *Darkhei Talmidei Hakhamim* to *Harheq me-ha-ki'ur u-min ha-domeh*.

Cambridge UB, TS III, 32. Last word of D.E.Z. VI. Begin of D.E.Z. VII (numbered as chap. III), end: *she jehe tzanua be-ma'asaw*. (VII,12).

Cambridge UB, TS III 142. End of D.E.Z. I, from *'Am ha-'aretz shema tehallel qodshei shamajim* (I) to end of D.E.Z.I, D.E.Z. II from begin to *we-da she-bein ha-jom le-mahar*.

Leningrad, cat. A. Katsh, *Ginzei Russya*, no. 4. *Jir'at Het* = D.E.Z. I, parts of D.E.Z. II, IV, IX. *Derekh 'Eretz*: D.E.Z. V, VI, parts of D.E.Z. VII and VIII. See the description by M. Higger, *Massekhtot Derekh 'Eretz*, introduction p. 24.

Leningrad, cat. A. Katsh, *Ginzei Russya*, no. 6. *Jir'at Het* = D.E.Z. I-IV, part of D.E.Z. IX. See the description by M. Higger, *Massekhtot Derekh 'Eretz*, introduction, pp. 24-25.

Cambridge UB, TS 12.729. Cf. S. Schechter, *J. Q. R.*, XIV (1902); pp. 509–510. Square char. with a turn to cursive, but of earlier date than fragm. XL (= 14th century) . . . The second leaf reproduces a few passages from the minor tractate D. E. Z. Text reproduces on p. 475–476.

Cambridge, UB TS, III 33. Part of D. E. Z. VII. From begin to *Talmid hakham tzarikh she-jehe tzanua be-ma'asaw*.

Cambridge, Trinity College Library, cat. H. Loewe, pp. 64–65, no. 74. Leafs of liturgy. In the margin, top, bottem and sides portions of *Massekhet Kallah* and *Derekh 'Eretz*. Date: 14th century. Text and notes in the margin in Franco-German hand.

Ms. A. Epstein. For Ms. Epstein in *Mi-Qadmoniot ha-Jehudim* (1887) see bibliography. Cf. M. Higger, *Massekhtot Derekh 'Eretz*, introduction pp. 45–46.

Leningrad, cat. G. Katsch, *Genzei Russya*, no. 215 (Geniza). D. E. Z. I–III.

London, BM, br. 1389. Cf. G. Margolianth, *Cat. of the Hebr. and Samaritan Mss.*, London 1915, IV, p. 153. Moral and ethical excerpts from Talmud and Midrash, divided into 11 sedarim. Imperfect. Possibly compiled by a rabbi of Auevin, England. Date 14th century. See A. Marmorstein, *J. Q. R. N. S.*, XIX, p. 17f.

New York, Jewish Theological Seminary, cat. E. N. Ádler, p. 141, no. 2345. Hebrew-Persian miscellany. Containing *Derekh 'Eretz*.

Oxford, Bodleian, cat. A. Neubauer, no. 563. Fol. 141b, parts of D. E. Z. I. In the middle: *Hilkhot Derekh 'Eretz*. End of the page: chap. II, begin. Fol. 124a-b: rest of chap. II. and begin of D. E. Z. III (numbered as chap. I). Fol. 134a: D. E. Z. III to the end, begin of D. E. Z. IV (numbered as chap. II). Fol. 134b-144a: rest of D. E. Z. IV and begin of D. E. Z. V (numbered as chap. III). Fol. 144b: rest of D. E. Z. V, D. E. Z. VI and begin of D. E. Z. VII (numbered as chap. IV). Fol. 145a: rest of chap. VII, begin of D. E. Z. VIII (numbered as chap. V) Fol. 145b: rest of D. E. Z. VIII to “sopho lehitnasse bahem she-n” (VIII,8). Begin of D. E. R. VI. Fol. 146a-146b: rest of D. E. Z. VI to *We-lo johez 'adam perusa*.

Paris, Consistoire Israelite, no. 94 (82). Lost in the Second World War. Cf. M. Schwabe, “Les Mss. du Consistoire de Paris”, in: *R. E. J.*, LXII, (1911).

Paris, Consistoire Israelite, no. 102. Lost in the Second World War. Cf. M. Schwabe, “Les Mss. du Consistoire de Paris”, in: *R. E. J.*, LXIV, (1912).

Paris, Bibl. Nationale, H. Zotenberg, *Catalogue des Mss. Hebreux et Samaritains a la Bibliotheque Imperiale*, p. 115, no. 716. Fol. 273–274: *Derekh 'Eretz Zuta*. Date: 14th century.

Paris, Bibl. Nationale, Hebreu, no. 1391. *Massekhet Derekh Eretz Zuta*. A lot of sentences in D. E. Z. I–II are missing. Fol. 1a: D. E. Z. I), part of D. E. Z. II (begin). Fol. 1b: end of D. E. Z. I, D. E. Z. II, (part). Fol. 2a: rest of D. E. Z. II, begin of D. E. Z. III. Fol. 2b: rest of D. E. Z. III. Begin D. E. Z. IV. Fol. 3a: end of D. E. Z. IV. Begin of D. E. Z. V., begin of D. E. Z. VI. Fol. 3b: end of D. E. Z. VI, D. E. Z. VII. Fol. 4a: D. E. Z. VIII, begin of D. E. Z. IX. Fol. 4b-5a: rest of D. E. Z. IX, begin of D. E. Z. X. Fol. 5b: rest of D. E. Z. X and addition of a hasidic text. Fol. 6a -7b: *Pereq ha-Shalom XI* (short version). (The text of *Pereq ha-Shalom* does not concur with the Basic Ms., but

with the other manuscripts). Writing, cf. the char. of Ms. New York, cat. E.N. Adler, no. 2237.

Strassburg (Strasbourg), University Library, no. 172/3. Provided with vowels. Fol. 2b: D. E. Z. II, 13 – D. E. Z. II, 21 (from “tebaqqesh ‘elbonekha” to “hewe ratz”). Fol. 3a: D. E. Z. I, 34 – D. E. Z. I, 41 (from “le-Dawid ‘abdi” [Ps. 89,4] to “we-Serah bat ‘Asher we-jesh ‘om’”). Genizah.

Vatican, cat. S. E. Assemani (*Codices Hebr. et Samar.*, Rome 1756, p. 33), no. 44.: *Massekhet Derekh ‘Eretz’* Tractatus de Viae Terrae . . . This text, however, is not of D. E.

Wien, Cat. A. Z. Schwarz, *Die Hebr. Mss. in Osterreich*, (Bibl. Isr. Kultusgemeinde Wien), Leipzig 1931, pp. 17–18. no. 32. Lost in the Second World-War. A) *Massekhet Derekh ‘Eretz*. Begin fol. 1: *Ben ‘Azzai ‘omer kol ha- noten . . .* end: fol. 7: . . . *bi-mehera be-jameinu . . . Seleq dabar ‘eret.* D. E. R. I–XI. A. Z. Schwartz l.c.: “Varianten aus dieser Ms. bei A. Epstein *Miqqadmoniot ha-Jehudim*, p. 113ff. M. Goldberg in der Edition (Breslau 1888) gibt pag. XV, Anm. nur an, diese abgedruckten Varr. benützt zu haben, bringt aber unter H 1 auch eine Reihe von anderen, die zum Teil nicht in dieser Ms. stehen.” B) *Derekh ‘Eretz Zuta*. Begin fol. 7: *Darkhan shel Hakhamim*. End fol. 10: . . . *we-khen jehi ratzon . . . Seleq* (end D. E. Z. IX). Variants of this Ms. have been used by A. J. Tawrogi (ed. of D. E. Z.). Date: 14th century. Germ. Rabb. char.

The description of some other Mss. of less interest is found in M. Higger, *Massekhtot Derekh ‘Eretz*, introduction, p. 18ff.

