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Art. XIII.—*Contributions to the History of Aiar and Nadan*

M. Gaster

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ART. XIII.—*Contributions to the History of Aḥikar and Nadan.* By M. GASTER.

THE history of Aḥikar and his nephew Nadan forms part of Eastern popular literature. When publishing my history of Roumanian popular literature seventeen years ago (Bucureesti, 1883) I devoted a special chapter to the Roumanian versions of this history (pp. 104–114). I was the first to recognize the connection between the Roumanian and Slavonic versions and those contained in the Arabian Nights. I then drew attention to the intimate relation between this legend and that which has entered the Greek life of Æsop. Since that time scholars have paid much attention to this legend, especially as through Meissner's studies it is being considered as one of the lost Apocrypha mentioned already in the Book of Tobit.

The whole material has now been collected under the title "The Story of Aḥikar, from the Syriac, Arabic, Armenian, Ethiopic, Greek, and Slavonic versions, by F. C. Conybeare, J. Rendel Harris, and Agnes Smith Lewis. London, 1898." In the Introduction (pp. vii–lxxxviii) the attempt is made to reconstruct the old Hebrew form of Aḥikar, especially in Chapters V and VI. Before examining this hypothesis, and many of the points touched upon in that Introduction, I will first give a direct contribution to the text itself by translating the Roumanian version. I have selected for this purpose, out of a number of manuscripts mentioned by me in my *History of Roumanian Literature* ("Grundriss der Romanischen Philologie," ed. Groeber), ii, 3, p. 387, the version contained in my manuscript No. 90, written 1777.

THE ROUMANIAN VERSION.

The History of Arkirie, the very wise, who taught his nephew Nadan in matters of wisdom and learning, that he should have sense and philosophy and good knowledge.

In the days of King Sanagriptu there lived in the land of Rodu (Doru) a man named Arkirie. This very wise Arkirie adopted a nephew, the son of his sister, of the name of Anadan (for he had no children). He fed him with white bread and honey and good wine, and taught him philosophy. And he said to him :

1. "My son, I teach thee first: Enter into no business with the mighty, nor buy anything from them, nor buy stolen goods, lest thy own goods perish with them.

2. "My son Anadan, honour thy father and thy mother, so that they should not curse thee, and let thy goods remain blessed and thou eat and rejoice in them (cf. Akyr. 25).¹

3. "My son Anadan, when thou servest a wicked master, do not tell him that he is wicked and that he should have mercy on thee, but do what he orders thee.

4. "My son, do not talk in the presence of thy master, for thou wilt err and he will hate thee.

5. "My son Anadan, go to church on each holiday, and on Sundays, for God will feed thee (cf. Akyr. 33).

6. "My son Anadan, wherever thou seest a man sad and in sorrow crying, go to him and comfort him, and remind him that he will also die (cf. Akyr. 41).

7. "My son, when thou reachest a high position, then bow before everyone, for with thy wisdom thou wilt reach a higher place still.

8. "Be not hasty in thine anger lest thou repent afterwards (cf. Akyr. 97).

9. "My son Anadan, whatever thou wishest to obtain from God, pray continually, for in time God will grant it to thee.

¹ The references in parentheses are to the Slavonic version in the above publication of Conybeare, etc.

10. "My son, keep thy hand from theft; do not murder, and do not speak evil (cf. Akyr. 119).

11. "My son Anadan, flee from unchastity, especially from married women, for thou wilt lose thy head (cf. Akyr. 119).

12. "My son, listen to the wise man, though he be poor, for that is the way in which God acts; one day he gives to one and the other day to the other.

13. "As long as thou livest, beware from digging a pit for others, for thou art sure to fall in it.

14. "A wise man listens (to words), but the fool, even when thou strikest him, will never learn anything (cf. Akyr. 49).

15. "My son Anadan, take no bribes, for bribes blind the soul and make thee lose it, and darken the eyes of man (cf. Akyr. 53).

16. "My son, better be served by a righteous slave than by a wicked brother (cf. Akyr. 61).

17. "It is better to lie on the gridiron than to live with a wicked wife, and do not confide thy advice and thy faith to anyone (cf. Akyr. 68).

18. "My son Anadan, when thou speakest to thy master let thy mouth be locked with three locks—one on the heart, and the other on the mind, and the third on the mouth—for when thou once hast spoken, the word cannot be caught back either on horse, or by wind hounds, or by the hawk.

19. "Again, my son Anadan, honour and support the good and the wise, though he be only wise in his way and not rich.

20. "My son Anadan, if thou hast a wicked neighbour do not neglect him, for God will have mercy upon thee, and he will not be able to harm thee.

21. "My son Anadan, be not a liar, for a lie first goes to the bottom as heavy as lead, and at last it floats like a leaf on the water (cf. Akyr. 74).

22. "My son, it is better to carry stones with the wise than to feast with a fool.

23. "My son, honour thy brothers and thy friends, lest he speaks nicely in thy presence, but behind thy back he will hurt thee and smite thee.

24. "My son, if anyone throws stones at thee, throw bread, for the bread will come back to thee and the stone will return to him who throws it.

25. "My son, it is better that a wise man beats thee than that the fool honours thee.

26. "My son, when thou sittest at other peoples' table do not sit high up, for other people and greater people will come and move thee to a lower place; but when thou sittest at a lower end, and when once they have called thee up, they will no more move thee down.

27. "Nor shalt thou invite anyone to a stranger's table.

28. "Do not sit too long; better sit a little and let them regret that thou dost not tarry longer.

29. "When thou art invited come properly dressed, otherwise better stay at home and let them regret thy absence, instead of going unprepared, for he wishes to honour thee, and thou puttest him to shame.

30. "My son, do not go out in the night without arms, for thou knowest not whom thou shalt meet.

31. "My son, when thou startest on a journey, carry thy own food with thee, and count not on that of thy companions, for thou wilt remain hungry (cf. Akyr. 78).

32. "My son, do not start alone on a journey, and on the way do not eat all thy food, relying upon thy companion, for when thy food comes to an end he will not give thee; (for fruit in a stranger's sack get easily bad and rancid).

33. "My son, if anyone give thee good advice listen to it, for it will be very useful to thee; it will be like fresh water from a pure fountain to a thirsty man.

34. "My son, do not go to other tables uninvited, and

35. "What thou dost not like for thyself do it not unto others.

36. "My son Anadan, take care of the top of the sack and not of the bottom, for the bottom is also the end."

When he had instructed him in all the philosophy and wisdom and knowledge, Arkirie took his nephew Anadan and brought him to the King Sanagriptu. Bringing him to Court, Arkirie said: "Honourable King, I will present my nephew Anadan that he serve your Majesty, for I have grown old, and am not able to serve any longer." And the King Sanagriptu, in reply, said: "I am very pleased to fulfil your wish, Arkirie." And Arkirie said unto the King: "May it be thy gracious will to appoint my nephew Great Logothet." And he was appointed to that post, and it went well with him, and he was greatly honoured at Court.

But Anadan harboured evil thoughts in his heart, and he thought how he could destroy his uncle Arkirie, so that he should get all his property. So he wrote a false letter without the knowledge of the King, and he wrote as follows: "I, Anadan, in the name of the illustrious king Sanagriptu, send greetings and good health to my beloved friend and father, the wise Arkirie. The moment when thou receivest this letter assemble the warriors from that part of the country and come as fast as thou canst, for the king is in great trouble." When Arkirie read this letter he at once gathered his hosts, and started to go with all his hosts to the King. When Anadan knew that his uncle had approached the place, he took the king by the hand and led him to a high tower and showed him the army. The king was greatly astounded, and said: "What can this mean?" Then Anadan said: "There is my uncle Arkirie, who has risen in rebellion against thee." And the king said: "What am I to do to save myself from this great danger?" And Anadan said: "When he will have come much nearer I will go out and meet him, and with good words I will persuade him to come with me, and I will bring him to thee." And the king said: "If thou bringest him, there will be no one greater than thee in this realm." And the king said, "Go."

And Anadan then went and said: "Greetings to Arkirie, to my father, welcome in health. The king is waiting for thee, for he is oppressed with dangers from many quarters."

And he kissed his hand and he repeated : "Greetings from the king." Arkirie said : "Hail unto thee, my son Anadan ; and how is the king ?—is it well with him ?" Anadan replied : "He is in great troubles, and he wishes thee to come to him as quickly as possible." And Arkirie replied : "With pleasure." So he got up and went to the king as a faithful servant, not knowing anything. Anadan made obeisance to the king with his uncle, and the king said : "Is it right that thou shalt come with hosts against me ? My father and I have been kind to thee, and there was no one more honoured in the kingdom, and now thou desirest to kill me, but instead of that thy punishment will overtake thee." Arkirie replied : "I know nothing of it, my lord." The king replied : "Why hast thou acted in that manner against me ?" And the king said to his counsellors : "How shall we punish him according to his deserts ?" Not one of them answered, but Anadan said : "The punishment shall be that his head be struck off and carried one hundred feet away from his body." And the king said to the great executioner : "Go and cut his head off."

And Arkirie said to the executioner : "Remember the kindness which I have done unto thee, and I pray unto thee speak to the king on my behalf, and tell him Arkirie prays that he be led to his own house to suffer there the punishment, so that his wife and his slaves may weep over him and bury him." And the executioner went to the king and repeated his words. And the king said : "Take him to his house and put him to death." So they brought him to his house. On the second day they sat down and feasted together, and Arkirie said to the executioner : "Remember—and it is right that man should remember the good that has been shown to him—that I have shown friendship unto thee, and now has the time come to return kindness to me. Put me not to death. There is a man in prison who is like myself ; strike off his head and bring it to the king." The executioner complied willingly with his request, and struck off the man's head and returned to the king. Arkirie made an underground dwelling in his

house, and there he lived for nine years, no one knowing anything of it with the exception of his wife. Anadan asked now from the king the houses and property that belonged to Arkirie his uncle. The king gave them to him. He went to the house of his uncle, and he began to beat the servants and slaves, and he held great feasts and dances over the grave of his uncle. And many other such things. Arkirie heard all this and suffered.

In another country there lived a king by name Pharaon. When he heard that Arkirie, the philosopher, had been killed, he sent a messenger to Annagriptu (l. Sanagriptu), saying: "I bid thee know, that the moment thou seest this my letter, thou shalt send me some workmen, for I wish to build a castle which shall be neither in heaven nor upon earth, and these workmen shall come, neither walking on foot nor riding on horseback; they shall be neither dressed nor naked. If thou wilt not do as I wish, then gather thy hosts for battle." When Sanagriptu saw this letter he was greatly disturbed and wondered how to do it, for he had no one to counsel him, and he said to his counsellors: "If Arkirie had been alive, I should have had some one to advise me, but you have caused me to kill him, and now I am sure to lose my country." And all the counsellors were greatly vexed and wondered what to do. Then the executioner said: "O illustrious king, if anyone would bring Arkirie back alive, what wouldst thou do to him?" And the king replied: "There shall be no greater man than him in my whole kingdom." So he went and brought Arkirie from his underground cell. When they brought him out, his hair reached to the ground, and his nails were like scythes, and his eyes were closed, for the hair of his lashes and eyebrows covered them completely; and they brought him to the king.

When the king perceived him he greatly rejoiced, and said: "O Arkirie, what am I to do, as the king Pharaon has sent a missive asking me to send master-workmen to build a castle which shall be neither in heaven nor upon earth, and those masters shall be neither dressed nor naked,

and they shall come neither on foot nor on horseback." Arkirie replied: "Be comforted, O king, and rejoice, for I will accomplish this thing, but give me ten days grace until I shall have recovered the sight of my eyes." The king granted his wish, and after the ten days Arkirie came to the king and asked him to give him two eaglets. He took these eaglets with him and entered a boat, taking the master-workmen with him dressed in fisher-nets, and so they came to the king Pharaon.

When they reached the place the king did not recognize him, and he asked them, "How did you come?" And Arkirie replied: "Neither on foot nor on horseback, and now, Pharaon, be ready for to-morrow." On the second day Arkirie took a boy and put him in a high bedstead (a cage), and he tied the two eaglets to that bedstead, and the two eaglets began to fly aloft, for the boy kept in his hands an iron spit with meat on the top of it. He showed it to them as if he were willing to feed them, and the eaglets were very hungry, as they had been kept for three days without food. The boy then cried: "Bring lime and stones, for the workmen are ready, and we wish to build the castle in the heights—neither in heaven nor upon earth." And Arkirie said unto the king: "Give orders to the people to carry up lime and stones, as the workmen are waiting for work." The king wondered at it, and he said: "In truth we are at fault now, as we cannot carry up the lime and stones."

The king then recognized that it was Arkirie, and he said unto him: "I want you to make me a rope of sand." Arkirie went and bored a hole through the wall of a room, and in the morning when the sun rose the rays of the sun penetrated the room through that hole, and Arkirie said to the king: "Send and tie the foals up quickly with that rope, so that I may twist another." And the king wondered and said, "Thou art truly the philosopher Arkirie!" and he said unto him, "I am it"; and he told him all that had happened to him, and how his nephew had spoken evil against him.

He returned then from that place, and came back and made obeisance to the king, and said: "I wish you to deliver up to me my nephew Anadan that I teach him my philosophy, for I have hitherto not taught him sufficiently well." And the king said, "Go and take him." And he got hold of him by the chest and brought him to his house.

And he made four iron staffs and four clubs of wood with nails sticking out of them, and he put Anadan down and began to beat him. And Anadan said: "Forgive me, my father, and let me be the meanest of swineherds, only let me live." But Arkirie said: "No, my son, thou hast acted towards me in the same manner as the wolf acted when he went to the teacher to be taught; for whilst the teacher said A B C D the wolf said: 'For the lambs' and 'for the sheep' and 'for the goats' and 'for the kids'; in the same manner hast thou acted towards me, my son."

And he began to beat him. And Anadan said: "Have mercy on me, and I will be a shepherd." And Arkirie said: "Thou hast acted towards me as the wolf who followed the sheep and met the shepherd, who said to him: 'Happy journey to thee, wolf.' The wolf replied: 'Thank thee.' And he asked him: 'Whither art thou going so fast?' And the wolf said: 'I follow the track of the sheep, for an old woman had told me that the dust of the sheep was wholesome for the eyes.' In the same manner hast thou acted against me."

And he began again to beat him, but Anadan said: "Have pity on me, and I will groom thy horses." But Arkirie said: "No, my son, thou hast acted towards me like a man who, leading an ass on the road, tied it with a loose rope. The ass broke the rope and ran away. On his way he met the wolf, and the wolf said unto him: 'Happy journey unto thee, ass!' And the ass replied: 'Unhappy it will be, for the man tied me up with a rotten rope, so that I broke it and ran away, and he did not tie me with a good rope.'" And Arkirie continued to beat him until he died.

Thus far the Roumanian version in this manuscript, which is distinguished by some peculiar features from all the other versions known. Whilst some of the riddles are omitted like that of the Peculiar Tree, we have here, on the contrary, more details concerning the master-workmen which had to be sent to Egypt. The source for this text is probably Slavonic, but here again the differences are very marked between this version and that published by Jagic and reprinted in the English translation in the above-mentioned book (pp. 1-23). The proverbs and maxims are less numerous than in the Slavonic, and a large number are missing altogether from the Slavonic. The Roumanian text thus reveals a much more primitive form of this legend in the Slavonic, or maybe in the Greek original, than has hitherto come to light. The incident connected with the flying of the boy in the cage or bedstead is here also much fuller than in the Slavonic text, and presents striking resemblance to the ancient Solomon legends with which this part of the history is undoubtedly connected. Nor should it be forgotten that this text is merely one out of a number of similar texts, of which I have given a short description in my book on Roumanian Popular Literature, and recently in my History of Roumanian Literature in Groeber's "*Grundriss der Romanischen Philologie*," ii, 3, p. 387. Although all these MSS., and the printed texts published by Anton Pann (1842) rest ultimately upon one Slavonic or Greek original, yet there is no absolute identity among them. Each text differs from the other, either through the omission of some minor incidents and similes at the end of the tale or in the maxims and sentences, of which one contains a larger, the other a smaller number, and some again have new maxims inserted which are missing in other versions. These changes are sometimes radical, and yet they have evidently taken place within the last two or three centuries, as none of these MSS. is older than the eighteenth century.

The fact that even in one literature, and within a comparatively short period, profound changes have been

introduced into it, is of no mean importance for the history of this tale. Similar changes have undoubtedly occurred also in the other versions of Aḥikar, and it is more than doubtful whether we have in the versions that have come down to us, all of a comparatively recent origin, the old and primitive form of the "Aḥikar" legend. The process of continual change is not limited to one period or to one circle alone. This is the rule for all popular books, and any conclusions that are derived solely from one or more versions, or even from all combined, must fall short of the truth so long as this factor is being ignored. In this change only the frame, i.e. the history of the hero, remains as a rule the abiding factor. The incidents are either amplified or altered according to the fancy of the copyist, and according to his greater or smaller amount of knowledge. The most fluctuant element is the gnomical—the maxims and proverbs that float about, as it were, in the air, and are eagerly caught up by the scribes to popularize the tale with the listeners for whom it is intended. These bear the imprint of the immediate environments; for they must have the local colour if they are to be retained by the copyist or translator. The figurative element will live longest in the East, the pregnant antithese will be appreciated everywhere.

I do not intend discussing here the history of the European proverbs. It suffices to point out the profound change which has taken place in the Greek proverbs. The Byzantine and modern Greek differ from the old not merely in form, but in tendency, as Krumbacher has convincingly shown. They resemble much more the Oriental conceptions and are also of a figurative character. In fact, they are identical with the Aḥikar type, which in its turn resembles the old Hebrew 'mashal,' the maxims of the Books of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Sirach. The Oriental proverbs have in their transmission from the East to the West a history of their own. Mutual borrowing can be followed up here no less clearly than in the case of tales and apologues. This branch of comparative folklore has, however, as yet scarcely

been touched upon in spite of the great work of Wander and others. How far the East, and in speaking of it in this connection I limit myself to the Christian and Muhammedan East—is indebted to the West, i.e. Greece, and *vice versa*, can only be matter of conjecture. In each country scores of witty sayings will have crystallized at one time or another round one prominent figure renowned for sharpness of wit and keenness of spirit. Collections of such proverbs have then been transferred from the one to the other. The similarity in many an incident and in a good number of maxims between Solomon, Aḥikar, Æsop, and Loqman, is due to these causes of identification and adaptation from one local hero to the other. In fact, the bulk of the final portion is taken over bodily from the old cycle of Solomonic legends and adapted to the Aḥikar cycle. The same has happened to individual maxims and proverbs. The route they take is not easy to follow. One single example must suffice to show how such maxims have come from the West to the East, to be enriched and amplified there, and to begin a new journey through the length and breadth of Europe.

It will at the same time disclose the true origin of the Ethiopic collection, which the editors do not seem to realize.

Honein b. Isaac translated in the ninth century from various languages—Greek, Syriac, and Hebrew—into Arabic a large collection of such maxims. It has deeply influenced European and also Oriental paroemiology. In the eleventh century already it was translated into Hebrew, and about the same time or a century later into Spanish. It forms the basis of Mubashir's collection, which in its turn is the basis of the Spanish "Bocados de Oro," translated then into French and English, not to speak of other translations dependent on either of these compilations (v. Steinschneider, "Uebersetzungen," p. 348 ff.). Among the component parts of Honein's collection we find also the so-called "Will of Loqman" and a goodly number of parallels to Aḥikar. Steinschneider maintains now that the Ethiopic text is borrowed from this compilation, and thus the theory of the

editors, who believed in an independent Ethiopic version of Aḥiḱar, falls to the ground.

In this transmission from literature to literature the links are often missing. Parallelism is not sufficient proof for determining the possible priority of one text over another. Nor is it by any means clear, because in some versions of the Book of Tobit, Aheiaharos and Nadan, and only the ingratitude of the latter, are mentioned, that it refers to the story in the form in which it has been transmitted. In the short reference to him in Tobit, not a single allusion is made to the teaching and to the maxims of Aḥiḱar. I see in the 'story' of Aḥiḱar the combination of two independent sets of tales. The first part of the tale—the adoption of Nadan and the treason of the latter—is one independent tale, whilst the 'wisdom' of Aḥiḱar is another, and it has been amalgamated with the former at a later period. The first is known only in connection with Aḥiḱar and Nadan, no other name having ever been substituted for either.

There is no parallel known to this tale in any other quarter. Wherever this tale occurs it is always associated with the same names—copyists' errors in one of the Greek texts of Tobit notwithstanding. Not so, however, with the second part, containing Aḥiḱar's journey to Egypt for the purpose of solving some riddles set by the king to the master of Aḥiḱar, and the successful accomplishment of his task. The very same incidents occur in the life of Æsop, and Loqman has been credited with identical exploits. But all these are merely the late reflexes of older cycles of legends clustering round the name of Solomon, the oldest embodiment of Oriental wisdom. The Queen of Sheba puts such riddles to him, according to ancient legends; they recur also in the recital of the riddles put to the same king by Hiram of Phœnicia. He is also flying through the air in the same manner as the boy in the legend of Aḥiḱar. This legend has afterwards been transferred to Alexander the Great. All these ancient sages are also credited with great wisdom, and the 'Will' or last ethical exhortation is the concluding portion of the narrative in each case.

I see, therefore, in this part of the Ahiḱar legend, which is common to so many reputed wise men, an older and at the same time an independent part of it. The same applies for many of the maxims and ethical principles put into the mouth of Ahiḱar. Their source must be sought in the collections connected with names, such as Solomon, Æsop, etc. Very much depended on the translator or copyists of the 'story.' They played often the rôle of authors, altering, omitting, and introducing such maxims as suited them best. Many a popular proverb has thus been introduced which was of a totally different origin. The one would favour Biblical reminiscences, the other look to the Qorân for inspiration, and a good many to other collections of proverbs and maxims.

How numerous such collections, e.g. of Greek proverbs and maxims, have been can be gathered from the very rich bibliography recently published by G. Polites in connection with his publication of the Neo-Greek proverbs. Such proverbs were easily taken over by another and incorporated into his work, to be borrowed anew from the latter by a third compiler, and so forth. To give again a modern example. Negrutzi published in 1852 a collection of Roumanian proverbs, into which he had incorporated verbatim almost the whole of the maxims of 'Arkirie' without even mentioning him! Pann, again, introduced other popular proverbs into his second and subsequent editions of Arkirie!

I adduce these examples because we can verify the sources. In the light of proven facts we are justified to assume similar procedures for ancient times, and we thus learn to guard against rash conclusions drawn from similarity between maxims or between single similes and incidents.

It needs hardly pointing out that under such circumstances, before formulating any opinion as to the age and origin of the Ahiḱar legend, the first thing to be done is to try and establish the primitive form. All the MSS. containing the story of Ahiḱar are of comparatively modern origin. They differ among themselves very much, and show undoubted traces of early indebtedness to the Bible in its widest

sense, and to many extraneous collections of maxims and apophthegms. An attempt to reconstruct a problematic Hebrew original is, to say the least, premature; and the attempt to penetrate behind the modern form with the intention of finding a book contemporary with the Psalter or with the Gospel narrative, as made in the Introduction, is not warranted by any of the facts hitherto adduced to strengthen this hypothesis.

I must dwell at some length on this point and on the relation which is presumed to exist between Aḥikar and Tobit. Much is made in the Introduction, p. xlviii ff., of the sentence that occurs in Tobit, iv, 10—"Alms doth deliver from death"—and the editor labours to prove the possibility that in an older form much of the almsgiving of Aḥikar may have been mentioned, but which is now missing. The difficulty is to be met, then, by the identification of 'righteousness' and 'alms,' both expressed by the Hebrew word 'sedaqah.' He takes pains to explain the advice of Tobit by means of finding also in Aḥikar "a suggestion of a confusion between 'righteousness' and 'alms.'" The passage in Tobit is, however, merely borrowed verbatim from Proverbs, x, 2, or xi, 4, in which we find the same words repeated twice: "but righteousness delivereth from death." In my edition of the Hebrew Tobit this very verse is found agreeing verbatim with Prov. xi, 4, thus dispelling any lingering doubt. This quotation has since become a popular Hebrew proverb, exactly with the same meaning as in Tobit and in Aḥikar, 'alms' taking the place of 'righteousness.' This change in the meaning of the Biblical proverb is due to the change of the meaning in the word 'sedaqah' which has taken place in post-Biblical times. The Rabbinic literature abounds with reference to 'almsgiving,' and the regular word for it is only 'sedaqah.' With this derivate meaning the word entered the Qorân. Its appearance with that meaning among the sayings of Tobit, and especially among the maxims of Aḥikar, proves with absolute certainty its late origin. The change had already taken place, and the proverb had become popular with the *altered* meaning

attached to it. Even now the sentence is written on the poor-box among the Jews, and it is repeated on occasions of burial, when the people are appealed to to give 'alms,' for "alms deliver from death."¹ There is nothing in it, therefore, that should "refer to the experience of Aḥiḱar," as is maintained in the Introduction, p. liv, and no doubt can be entertained that the borrowing is entirely on the side of Aḥiḱar.

Turning now to the parallels to the Psalms as given on p. lvii, the following sentence from Aḥiḱar is considered to be parallel to Psalm cxli, 4:—Aḥiḱar: "O my son, be not neighbour to the fool, and eat not bread with him." Psalm: "Incline not my heart to any evil thing, to practise wicked works with men that work iniquity, and let me not eat of their dainties." Much nearer, at any rate, is the following quotation from Proverbs, xxiii, 6: "Eat thou not bread with him that hath an evil eye, neither desire thou his dainties." It is significant that the next translation of Aḥiḱar agrees apparently better with the Greek version than with the extremely difficult Hebrew original. Much more interesting is the third example adduced by the editors. Aḥiḱar: "For he who digs a pit for his brother shall fall into it; and he who sets traps shall be caught in them." This is said to be a parallel to Psalm cxli, 10: "Let the wicked fall into their own nets, whilst that I withal escape." It has 'escaped' the editors that we have in Aḥiḱar merely the transcript of Psalm vii, 15: "He that makes a pit and digs it, falleth into the ditch which he has made."

These few examples show that, far from the Psalms "containing an actual memorial of Aḥiḱar," the very reverse has taken place. The sentences in Aḥiḱar proclaim their youth by the form in which biblical reminiscences are found among them. The question may now be asked whether the references to Aheiaharos in the Greek versions of Tobit belong to the original form of that text? The oldest Hebrew version extant (published by me) has no

¹ v. Tendlau, "Spruchwörter Deutsch-juedischer Vorzeit," No. 858.

reference whatsoever to Aheiaharos or to Nadan; and the Text of Jerome, which stands in close relation to this old Hebrew, has only one solitary allusion to this name. This is probably due to the influence of the Old Latin utilized by Jerome, which in its turn represents that Greek tradition which is found also in the Peshitto. Ilgen already in his commentary to Tobit pointed out that the two passages in which Aheiaharos occurs are probably due to a late interpolation. They interrupt the flow of the tale, and must therefore be of a different origin, introduced, as I believe, into the tale of Tobit in order to strengthen the moral weight of the ethical teaching contained in the 'Will' of Tobit.

All this tends to diminish the probability of a Hebrew original of the story of Aḥikar, readily assumed by the editors. Not a single trace of the first part of Aḥikar has thus far been found in the Hebrew literature. Numerous parallels to the second part exist, as remarked above, but they are independent of Aḥikar; though a far larger number of parallels to the maxims can be found in Hebrew than those few given by the editors.

Hebrew paroemiology offers a vast material, which has hitherto not yet been utilized. The comparisons should not be limited merely to such coincidences which find their reason and explanation in the fact that they derive from the Bible, which is a source common to both. There are other collections in which parallels to Aḥikar will be found. But which is the primitive source? An answer to this question must be reserved until a complete translation of some of the more important collections will have been published by me, especially of those that go under the name and authority of Judah the Prince, Elieser the Great, and "The Canopy of Elijah" ascribed to Elijah.

In most of these collections the sayings are arranged in numerical groups exactly in the manner in which they appear at the close of Aḥikar's teaching, which undoubtedly is an imitation of those old 'Wills.' Such groups are found also massed at the end of a book called "The Sayings of

the Fathers," by Rabbi Nathan, an extremely old compilation, dating probably from the fifth century. We find thus the following saying in "Maaseh Torah," ascribed to R. Judah, *sub* No. 4: "The sages say the following four sentences: 'The fool will then become wise when a black man rubbing with a sack will become white; the young will then be possessed of knowledge when the ass will walk up a ladder; the daughter-in-law will live peacefully with her mother-in-law when the kids will dwell peacefully among tigers; and when a white raven will be found then also a woman without blemish'" (cf. Akyr., No. 82; Khik., No. 83; Aḥik., No. 62; Haiq., No. 59).

From the Will of Elieser the Great: "My son, do not talk idle talk in the school-house, do not scoff at everything, do not scoff at everybody" (cf. Khik., No. 57).

"My son, honour the poor and assist him secretly, feed him in thy house, and turn thine eye away when he eats and drinks, for he is hungry and would leave off eating" (cf. Akyr. 81).

"My son, do not reveal thy secret to thy wife, be faithful and true to all; do not reveal thy secret to thy friend when thou art contending with him no more than when thou art at peace with him" (cf. Akyr. 68. 75; Haiq. 53; Khik. 59. 74).

"My son, do not cook in thy neighbour's pot (euphemism for 'do not marry a widow')" (v. Khik. 40).

"Be patient in anger" (Akyr. 97).

"My son, do not be without children, teach them the Law" (cf. Aḥik. 28; Haiq. 28; Khik. 20. 35).

"My son, do not wander about alone, nor be alone a judge, or judge and witness in one" (cf. Aḥik. 27. 56; Akyr. 27; Haiq. 27; Khik. 19).

"My son, be not a neighbour to the wicked, and do not associate with the slanderer"; and "My son, do not sit in the company of the slanderers and of the evil-tongued" (cf. Haiq. 19; Khik. 90).

"My son, rejoice not when thy enemy falls, lest God sees it and it displeases Him" (cf. Aḥik. 17. 60; Khik. 11. 97; Haiq. 58).

“My son, beware of a woman that is not worthy of thee, for she is sure to ruin thee” (cf. Akyr. 15; Aḥik. 19. 72; Khik. 13; Haiq. 8).

“My son, love the wise and run after them, know thy Maker, live in peace with everyone, and speak the truth” (cf. Aḥik. 12. 31; Khik. 6. 89; Haiq. 14).

These few examples suffice to show that many more parallels could be found in Rabbinic literature, though this parallelism proves very little for the Hebrew origin of Aḥiḱar.