

# ***Epitropos/Paqid* in the Parable of the Laborers in the Vineyard**

by R. Menahem

In his translation of the New Testament into Hebrew, Franz Julius Delitzsch (1813–90) rendered the Greek word *epitropos* with three different Hebrew words, each of which has its own connotations. 1) At Matthew 20:8, in the Parable of the Laborers in the Vineyard, he terms the *epitropos* (steward) of the master of the house a *paqid*. 2) At Luke 8:3, where various women healed by Jesus provide for him out of their property, one of them is Joanna the wife of Chuza, Herod's *epitropos* (steward), whom Delitzsch terms his *sokben*. 3) In Galatians 4:2, Paul states that the heir to great estates, while a child, is no different from a slave, since he is under the governance of *epitropoi* (guardians) and *oikonomoi* (trustees), whom Delitzsch terms *omenim* and *peqidei ha-bayit* respectively.

It is remarkable, however, that in none of these cases did Delitzsch chose to exploit the fact that *epitropos* itself occurs widely as a loan word in rabbinic Hebrew. Instead, he looked at the particular functional meaning of the word in the given New Testament context, be it in management or in economic and social administration, and selected an original Hebrew word that he judged appropriate. If necessary, he took a word that belongs more to biblical than to post-biblical Hebrew literature.

This study will examine what could justify Delitzsch's preference for *paqid* over *epitropos* in his translation of the Parable of the Laborers in the Vineyard (Mt. 20:1–16). It is, of course, the parable in which the master of the house hires laborers early in the morning, then at the third, sixth, ninth and eleventh hours. When evening comes, the master of the house orders his *epitropos* (verse 8) to pay them all the same wage, a *denarion*, which Delitzsch indeed renders *dinar*.

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The Hebrew original of this article was translated by Edward Levine. To our great sadness, the untimely death of R. Menahem prevented him from seeing it in proof. His wish was for the article to be "dedicated to David Flusser, who opened a pathway to both the Christian and Jewish sources."

In rabbinic literature, the task of the *epitropos* is by no means limited to paying the bills of the master of the house (*ba'al ba-bayit*, corresponding exactly to the Greek term *oikodespotes* in the Matthean parable, verse 1). Rather, he is the official in charge of his laborers. He may, in practice, be what in Greek is also called a *frontistes*, in the sense of a supervisor and official in charge of the property of the master of the house or the property of orphans.<sup>1</sup>

The *epitropos*, in the sense of the Matthean parable, is also called the *ben bayit* in rabbinic literature. The latter term is found in the rabbinic parable literature;<sup>2</sup> both terms occur, specifically, in the king parables,<sup>3</sup> some of which resemble the Matthean parable. The task of the *epitropos* was to be responsible for the property and its maintenance, and even "to reckon with him" what went in and out of the stores.<sup>4</sup> It should be mentioned, accordingly, that in the

1. See J.B. Frey, *Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum* (Vatican, 1936–52), Introduction, pp. xci–xcii. Also M. Stern, in M. Stern ed., *Ha-Qehillab ba-Yebudit ba-Olam ba-Helenisti-Romi* ("The Jewish Community in the Hellenistic-Roman World"; Jerusalem, 1983), p. 169, who identifies him as the official in charge of financial matters, which is confirmed by two burial inscriptions in Jaffa: Frey, nos. 918 and 919. Another inscription, in Lydda, includes the title "*frontistes* of orphans," i.e., the supervisor responsible for the interests of orphans. See M. Shuvah, "Ketovet Yevanit-Yehudit mi-Lod" ("A Greek-Jewish Inscription from Lydda"), *Tarbiz* 12–13 (1941), 230–233; L. Roth-Gerson, *Ha-Ketovot ba-Yevaniyot mi-Batei ha-Qeneset be-Eretz Yisrael* ("The Greek Inscriptions from the Synagogues in the Land of Israel"; Jerusalem, 1987), p. 174 and nn. there, and p. 115.

2. bShavuot 48b: "The son of the house [*ben bayit*] ... brings in his workers, and brings out his workers, brings in his produce and brings out his produce." See tKetovot 9:3 (Lieberman ed., p. 87, ll. 17–18, and p. 88, ll. 23–24); S. Lieberman, *Tosefta Ki-Fshutab: Naschim*, pp. 332, 336–37; *Tashlum Tosefta*, pp. 6 ff. For the status of the *ben bayit* in the parables of the Tannaim, see A. Goshen-Gottstein, "Elohim we-Yisrael ke-Av u-Ven ba-Sifrut ha-Tannait" ("God and Israel as Father and Son in the Tannaitic Literature"), Diss. Hebrew University (Jerusalem, 1987), para. 88, p. 92 and n. 48. See Sifrei Zuta, Num. 11:5 (Horowitz-Rabin ed., p. 275), and also Mekhilta de-Rabbi Ishmael, *wayebi* 5 (Horowitz-Rabin ed., p. 105), for the historical background of this source, without reference to the parable. Also Y. Heinemann, *Aggadot we-Toldoteihen* ("Aggadot and Their History"; Jerusalem, 1974), pp. 78–84; Goshen-Gottstein, para. 130, pp. 150–52. For *ben bayit*, see Sifrei Numbers 119 (Horowitz-Rabin ed., p. 148, l. 4); sections from midrashim from Genizah manuscripts, various collections edited by J. Mann in *The Bible as Read and Preached in the Old Synagogue* (New York, reprint, 1971), vol. 2, p. 228, l. 23; Numbers Rabbah 4:1. It should be mentioned that Yalqut Shimoni, *be-reshit* 34 (Hyman ed., p. 115, ll. 63–64) has a polemical background, against Jesus' special status and the trend to identify him as a *ben bayit*:

The king had a *ben bayit* and put him in charge of all he possessed, and then everyone began to say that he was his partner. What did the king do? He sent him away. And so: "Therefore He sent him forth from the Garden of Eden" (Gen. 3:23).

For the status of the *ben bayit*, see S. Krauss, *Paras we-Romi ba-Talmud u-va-Midrashim* ("Persia and Rome in the Talmud and in the Midrashim"; Jerusalem, 1948), p. 142.

3. An example is Pesiqta de-Rabbi Qahana, *shimu* 5 (Mandelbaum ed., p. 245, ll. 10–11): "To what was Pharaoh comparable? To a king who went to a country beyond the sea and entrusted [*hifqid*] all he possessed to his *ben bayit*" Cf. Yalqut Shimoni, *shemot* 176 (Hyman ed., p. 35, l. 42).

4. Pesiqta Rabbati, *ki-tisa* 10 (Friedmann ed., 35b), quoting Rabbi Levi:

king parables there are two appointed *epitroposim* in the land; we also hear of the *epitropos* of Agrippa.<sup>5</sup>

Why was *Keneset Yisrael* compared to wheat? Because the master of the household has a *ben bayit*, and *when he comes to make a reckoning with him*, what does he reckon? He says to him: "Consider how many baskets of straw you bring into the stores, or how many baskets of stubble are for the person responsible for the property of the master of the house."

- Likewise Aggadat Esther 8:2 (Buber ed., 34b): "And (Esther) set Mordecai over the house of Haman" (Esther 8:2) — she appointed him *epitropos* over the house, to bring in and to take out." See J. Klausner, *Yesbu ba-Notzri* ("Jesus of Nazareth"; Tel Aviv and Jerusalem, 5th ed., 1945), p. 179 and n. 1. For the *epitropos* who calculates his master's accounts, see Genesis Rabbah 7:7 (Albeck ed., p. 1072, l. 1): "He is an *epitropos* [as long as he fulfills the duties of] an *epitropos*; if he left the position of *epitropos*, he is as any person." See tBava Batra 2:5 (Lieberman ed., p. 133, l. 13); bBava Batra 47a; S. Lieberman, *Tosefta Ki-Fshutab: Neziqin*, p. 346. For the position of the *epitropos* and the beginning of the period when his legal status is in force, see tBava Batra 8:12–15, 17 (Lieberman ed., p. 158, ll. 26–39, p. 159, l. 40). Cf. mGittin 5:4, bGittin 52b, tTerumot 1:10 (Lieberman ed., p. 109). See S. Lieberman, *Tosefta Ki-Fshutab: Neziqin*, pp. 429–30; and *ibid.*, *Zeraim*, pp. 300–304. Also tBava Metzia 5:20 (Lieberman ed., p. 91, ll. 49–51): "If a Jew was appointed *epitropos* or *santer* by a non-Jew, it is permitted to borrow from him with interest, and if a non-Jew was appointed *epitropos* or *santer* by a Jew, it is forbidden to borrow from him with interest." Cf. jBava Metzia 5:7 (10c); S. Lieberman, *Tosefta Ki-Fshutab: Neziqin*, pp. 225–26, and tBava Qamma 4:4 (Lieberman ed., p. 15, ll. 20–21), where Rabbi Jose says: "They appoint an *epitropin* for him." See Genesis Rabbah 7:7 (Albeck ed., p. 1072, l. 1).
5. bShabbat 121a; tShabbat 13:9 (Lieberman ed., p. 60, ll. 46–49); jShabbat 16:7 (15d); jYoma 8:5 (45b); jNedarim 4:9 (38b); Deuteronomy Rabbah (Lieberman ed., p. 70); S. Lieberman, *Tosefta Ki-Fshutab: Moed*, pp. 212–13; S. Klein, *Eretz ha-Galil* ("The Land of Galilee"; Jerusalem, 2nd ed., 1967), p. 55 and n. 2, who identifies "King Agrippa" with Agrippa II; J. Klausner, *Historiah shel Bayit Sheni* ("History of the Second Temple"), vol. 4 (Jerusalem, 1952), p. 293; Y. Dan, "Agrippas ha-Sheni — Melekh u-Mamlakhah" ("Agrippa II — King and Kingdom"), MA Diss. Hebrew University (Jerusalem, 1968), p. 30. D. Schwartz identifies him as a local governor of King Agrippa in his *Agrippas Melekh Yehudab ha-Abaron* ("Agrippa, the Last King of Judea"; Jerusalem, 1987), p. 182 and n. 96.

Further, H. Graetz, *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 30 (1881), 483–85; Josephus, *Antiquities* 18, 193–94; Schwartz, *op. cit.*, p. 20 and n. 13, and p. 52, n. 33; M.D. Herr, in *Proceedings of the Fifth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, vol. 4 (1973), pp. 275–76, n. 40, and pp. 288–89, n. 137; M. Ya'ari, "Merod Bar-Kokhba: Meniaw, Mishatefaw, Manhigaw, we-Totza'otaw" ("The Bar-Kokhba Revolt: Its Motives, Participants, Leaders, and Results") Diss. Hebrew University (Jerusalem, 1984), p. 43; E.E. Urbach, in S. Pines ed., *Mi-Yehudab la-Galil: Sefer Zikkaron le-Y. Friedman* ("From Judah to the Galilee: Y. Friedman Memorial Volume"; Jerusalem, 1984), p. 65; bSukkah 27a; Sifrei Numbers 103 (Horowitz-Rabin ed., p. 102); Sifrei Deuteronomy 302 (Finkelstein ed., p. 331, ll. 1–7): "This is like a king who had two *epitroposim* in the country"; Midrash Heshkem, Ex. 5 (Gruenhut ed., in *Sefer ba-Liqqutim*, vol. 1, p. 3); Mekhilta de-Rabbi Ishmael, *ba-hodesh/Yitro* 5 (Horowitz-Rabin ed., p. 221, ll. 19–20). See also Yalqut Shimoni, Isaiah 387; Midrash Yelamdeinu on Deuteronomy, 1b:a (Y.D. Wilhelm ed.); *Qovetz Al Yad*, new series, Sifrei 6 (16), Part 1 (Jerusalem, 1966), p. 66 and note there.

For the "*epitropos* in the country," see Sifrei Numbers 103 (Horowitz ed., p. 102, ll. 13–16, and the editor's note there). See M. Kahana, "Aqdamot le-Hotza'ah Hadashah shel Sifrei Ba-Midbar" ("Introductory Notes to the New Publication of Sifrei Numbers"), Diss. Hebrew University (Jerusalem, 1982), p. 145 and n. 111. For the existence

In the Midrash, the *sarim* (high officials) are identified with the *epitropa* (a variant form),<sup>6</sup> who serves as an integral component among other institutions in the sphere of the administrative organization of the government. Consequently, the rabbinic midrashim functionally define the attendant of (the biblical) Joseph as an *epitropos*; for in their midrashim the sages copy the administrative apparatus of their time, identifying it with the ancient Egyptian administration.<sup>7</sup>

Among the diverse range of positions in the Roman administration, the *epitropos* held a legal position, generally an appointment over orphans.<sup>8</sup> At

of "an *epitropos* in the house and an *epitropos* in the field," see Midrash Ha-Gadol, Gen. 1:6 (Margulies ed., p. 26, ll. 7–11); Midrash on Psalms 24:5 (Buber ed., 102b); Midrash Ha-Gadol, Ex. 4:13 (Margulies ed., p. 30, ll. 9–16) and Deut. 32:1 (Fisch ed., p. 785, ll. 13–20); Yalqut Shimoni, Psalms 797; Mekhilta de-Rabbi Simeon ben Johai, *Yitro* 2:5 (Epstein-Melammed ed., p. 221); Yalqut Shimoni, *Yitro* 286 (Hyman ed., p. 445, ll. 9–15) and *be-ha'alotekha* 739 (ibid., p. 226, ll. 49–51, and p. 227, ll. 52–53). For the existence of "an *epitropos* in the city and an *epitropos* in the country," see Genesis Rabbah 6:4 (Albeck ed., p. 43, l. 4; the editor identifies them with "the *peqidim*"); Yalqut Shimoni, *be-resbit* 8 (Hyman ed., p. 30, ll. 1–2); S. Krauss, *Paras we-Romi*, op. cit. (note 2 above), p. 126 and n. 66.

6. Lamentations Rabbah 5:12 (Buber ed., 79a and n. 27). Also Sifrei Deuteronomy 11 (Finkelstein ed., p. 19, ll. 4–11); Deuteronomy Rabbah 3:4; Yalqut Midrashei Teiman, Deut. 1:11 (Wertheimer ed., p. 120). For the *peqidim* as an administrative function in the Roman government, see Midrash on Proverbs 15:30 (Buber ed., 40b); cf. Y. Dinur, "Ma'arekhet ha-Missim be-Eretz Yisrael ba-Teqifah ha-Romit" ("The Taxation System in the Land of Israel in the Roman Period"), Diss. Hebrew University (Jerusalem, 1982), pp. 80, 200, who identifies the "procurator" with "the *epitropos* of the king" in the rabbinic parables and in the New Testament; S. Lieberman, "Palestine in the Third and Fourth Centuries," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 36 (1946), 329–370, and 37 (1946), 31–34; M. Stern, "Ma'amad ha-Provincia Iudaea u-Netzighah bi-Yemei ha-Geisarat ha-Romit ha-Yulio-Qlaudit" ("The Status of Provincia Iudaea and Its Governors in the Roman Empire under the Julio-Claudian Dynasty"), *Eretz Yisrael* 10 (1971), 274–282, esp. p. 277 and n. 26; Josephus, *Antiquities* 16:191.
7. Targum Yonatan on Gen. 39:4–5; cf. bBerakhot 63a, Targum Yonatan on Gen. 41:34 and Gen. 41:40.
8. Sifrei Numbers 154 (Horowitz-Rabin ed., p. 205) and Sifrei Deuteronomy 11 (Finkelstein ed., p. 19); Genesis Rabbah 98 (Albeck ed., p. 128, l. 7); bGittin 52b: "An *epitropos* who was appointed the guardian [lit. father] of orphans"; tTerumot 1:10 (Zuckermandel ed., p. 26, ll. 1–2; Lieberman ed., p. 109, ll. 32–38). Cf. tBava Batra 8:14; jTerumot 1:1 (40b); jGittin 5:4 (47a); bQiddushin 41b; S. Lieberman, *Tosefta Ki-Fshutab: Zeraim*, pp. 300–1 and n. 24; Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah, Hilkhot Nabalot* 11:9. Also bPesahim 87a: "An orphan on whose behalf his guardians slaughtered," in the discussion of an injury-causing ox which belongs to a deaf-mute, mentally incompetent, or a minor, for whom an *epitropos* is appointed. See jBava Qamma 4:3 (Lieberman-Rosenthal ed., p. 11, ll. 45–46).

For his appointment by the court, see tTerumot, 1:1 (Lieberman ed., p. 107, ll. 5–6); S. Lieberman, *Tosefta Ki-Fshutab: Zeraim*, pp. 293–94. For the appointment by the court of an *epitropos* for orphans, see Z. Safrai, "Mivneh ha-Mishpahah bi-Teqifat ha-Mishnah we-ha-Talmud" ("Family Structure in the Period of the Mishnah and Talmud"), *Milteb* 1 (Tel Aviv, 1983), p. 132 and n. 8. Note esp. from the Midrash on Job (in Wertheimer ed., *Batei Midrasbot*, vol. 2, p. 179 and n. 33, and p. 121): "What is the source for the appointment of an *epitropos* for orphans? It is learned from: 'I was a father to the needy' (Job 29:16)." Also in Midrash Ha-Gadol, Num. 34:18 (Rabinovitz

the same time, we find positions parallel to an *epitropos* in the organizational administration of the Roman Empire, e.g., the *santer* (bailiff)<sup>9</sup> and the *hash-*

ed., p. 588, ll. 14–16), it is asked: “What is the source for the Court appointing an *epitropos* for debit and credit regarding the property of orphans?” Cf. Yalqut Shimoni, *Qorah* 787 (Hyman ed., p. 368, ll. 85–88); tSheqalim 1:8 (Lieberman ed., p. 202, ll. 26–28); S. Lieberman, *Tosefta Ki-Fshutab: Moed*, pp. 664–65; Y.K. Reinitz, “Ha-Epitropsut li-Yetomim ba-Mishpat ha-Ivri” (“Guardianship for Orphans in Jewish Jurisprudence”), Diss. Hebrew University (Jerusalem, 1984); Z. Falk, *Mavo le-Dinei Yisrael bi-Yemei Bayit Shenit* (“Introduction to Jewish Law During the Second Temple Period”; Tel Aviv, 1971), pp. 303–7.

The guardian appointed for orphans is called *mursheb* (bGittin 52a). See L.B. Levin, *Otzar ha-Geonim* on Gittin, p. 103, where the word *hirsbab* is parallel to *epitropos*. Also S. Lieberman, *Tosefta Ki-Fshutab: Nashim*, p. 357. In *Leshonenu* 32 (Tishrei/ Tevet 1967), p. 91, Lieberman shows that the word *epitropos* was not accepted everywhere; he conjunctures that in the ancient period the *epitropos* was called *darakh*, i.e., “representative.” Similarly, Avot de-Rabbi Nathan B 1 (Schechter ed., 3a); S. Lieberman, *Talmudah shel Qisarin — Sifrei Zuta (Midrashah shel Lud)* (“The Talmud of Caesarea — Sifrei Zuta [the Midrash of Lydda]”; New York, 1968), pp. 73–74; Pesiqta de-Rav Qahana, Lamentations 9 (Mandelbaum ed., p. 261, ll. 3–5). Cf. Yalqut Shimoni, Isaiah 391.

For the presentation of the *epitropsim* as caring for charity for the poor, in contrast with the leaseholders, see Pesiqta de-Rav Qahana, *aser ta'aser* 10 (Mandelbaum ed., p. 161, ll. 7–9); and Deuteronomy Rabbah (Lieberman ed., p. 36 and n. 10); S. Lieberman, *Jewish Quarterly Review* 36 (1946), p. 357; Lieberman, *Journal of Biblical Literature* 65 (1946), p. 69; Yalqut Shimoni, Proverbs 961.

9. S. Lieberman in *Jewish Quarterly Review* 35 (1945), pp. 37, 52; D. Sperber, *Tarbiz* 39 (1970), 96–97, and *Yewanit we-Latinit be-Sifrut ha-Tannaim we-ha-Amoraim: Qovetz Mehqarim* (“Greek and Latin in the Literature of the Tannaim and Amoraim: Collected Studies”; Jerusalem, 1982), p. 71, who views it as parallel to *custodela* or *custodia*. See Aggadat Bereshit 23 and *Beit ha-Midrash*, ed. Jellinek, Room 4, p. 37; jNedarim ch. 9 (41b). Further, S. Krauss in *Paras we-Romi*, op. cit. (note 2 above), p. 126; in *Griechische und lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud* (1898–89; repr. 1969), p. 515; in *Tel Aviv*, vol. 2, p. 106, and in *Tosefot Arukh ha-Shalem*, p. 248. Also G. Alon, *Toledot ha-Yehudim be-Eretz Yisrael bi-Tequfat ha-Mishnah we-ha-Talmud* (“History of the Jews in the Land of Israel in the Period of the Mishnah and Talmud”; Tel Aviv, 1955), vol. 2, pp. 183, 253; R. Yankelevitch, “Otzrot Mazon be-Eretz Yisrael bi-Tequfat ha-Bayit ha-Sheni” (“Food Stores in the Land of Israel during the Second Temple Period”), *Milleth* 1 (Tel Aviv, 1983), p. 115 and nn. 55–56; jBava Batra 4:6 (Lieberman-Rosenthal ed., p. 91, ll. 34–35, and the commentary there, pp. 198–99). Cf. bBava Batra 68a. Lieberman identifies the *santer* with the watchman of the forests and fields.

See further Z.M. Finliss, *Darko shel Torah* (“The Way of Torah”), p. 130; *Qohelet Rabbah* 1:118 (Hirschman ed., p. 25, and the explanations there, p. 20); Albeck, *Mavo la-Mishnah* (“Introduction to the Mishnah”; Jerusalem and Tel Aviv, 1974), p. 211; the commentary of Rashi on Sanhedrin 98b, q.v. *santer*; and *Qohelet Rabbah* (Hirschman ed., p. 359, ll. 127–28); Midrash Ha-Gadol, Num. 24:23 (Rabinovitz ed., p. 433, l. 18); Pesiqta de-Rav Qahana, *mitzvat ba-omer* (Mandelbaum ed., p. 138, ll. 6–7). Cf. mBava Batra 4:7; M. Asis, “Le-Va'ayat Arikhatah shel Masekhet Neziqin Yerushalmi” (“On the Problem of the Redaction of the Tractate of Neziqin in the Jerusalem Talmud”), *Tarbiz* 46(2) (1987), p. 162 and n. 8; Pesiqta de-Rav Qahana, *eikhab* 5 (Mandelbaum ed., p. 253, l. 11 and editor's note there); Lamentations Rabbah 2 (Buber ed., 11b and n. 8). Z. Safrai, “Ma'arekhet ha-Bitahon ha-Penimi ba-Ir ha-Yehudit bi-Tequfat ha-Mishnah we-ha-Talmud” (“The Internal Defense System in the Jewish City in the Period of the Mishnah and the Talmud”), *Qatedra* 22

*ban* (accountant),<sup>10</sup> whether in the framework of a legal appointment by a court as an *epitropos* of orphans,<sup>11</sup> or in the framework of other governmental appointments. We also find in the sources the “writ of *epitropos*,” with the meaning of the granting of power of attorney, and the appointment of a person as an agent for another’s property.<sup>12</sup>

The use of legal terms in rabbinic parables applies not only to officials, but also to those “interceding” before the “king” or the “master of the house” for his people or his laborers.<sup>13</sup> The relationships are treated as personal relations

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(December 1981), 44–45, postulates that the term *santer* at times was used in place of the word *noter* (constable): *ibid.*, n. 7. Also Genesis Rabbah 67:8 (Albeck ed., p. 763, ll. 3–4); Yalqut Shimoni, *toledot* 116 (Hyman ed., p. 564, ll. 56–57); Midrash Ha-Gadol, Gen. 27:41 (Margulies ed., p. 485, ll. 8–9); jHagigah 1:7 (76c); D. Sperber, *Heqrei Milim: Erkkei ha-Milon be-Hadasb* (“Word Studies: The Entries in the New Dictionary”), vol. 2 (1974), p. 108; Y. Gafni, “Le-Toledot ha-Qehillah ha-Yehudit ba-Tequfah ha-Romit” (“On the History of the Jewish Community in the Roman Period”), in the collection *Ha-Tequfah ha-Romit be-Eretz Yisrael* (“The Roman Period in the Land of Israel”; pub. Israel Geography Department of the Kibbutz Movement, 1973), p. 124 and esp. n. 9; Pesiqta Rabbati, *pri ba-omer* 18 (Friedmann ed., 91a and n. 9); Midrash Ha-Gadol, Deut. 32:1 (Fisch ed., p. 785, ll. 13–20). Note tBava Metzia 5:20 (Zuckerman ed., p. 382, ll. 26–27): “If a Jew was appointed as *epitropos* or *santer* for a non-Jew, it is permitted to borrow from him.” M. Gil, “Ha-Ma’avaq al ha-Qarqa — Beayot Agrariyot be-Eretz Yisrael ba-Meot ha-Shelishit we-ha-Revi’it la-Sefirah” (“The Struggle over the Land: Agrarian Problems in the Land of Israel in the 3rd and 4th Centuries C.E.”), MA Diss. Tel Aviv University (1968), p. 55 and esp. n. 199.

For the relationship between a *santer* and an *onqolmos* (“steward”; Greek *oikonomos*), see tBava Batra 3:5 (Lieberman ed., p. 139, ll. 25–26): “Rabbi Judah says a *santer* is sold, an *onqolmos* is not sold”; cf. mBava Batra 4:7. See jBava Batra 4:7 (14c) and bBava Batra 68b. S. Lieberman identifies the *santer* as an estate manager and the person responsible for the fields and forests (= *saltuarius*): *Tosefta Ki-Fshutab: Neziqin*, p. 365 and n. 47; see the novellae of Nahmanides on bBava Batra 68a; tBava Metzia 5:20 (Lieberman ed., p. 91, ll. 49–51). Cf. jBava Metzia 5:7 (10c); S. Lieberman, *Tosefta Ki-Fshutab: Neziqin*, pp. 225–226; tBava Metzia 9:14 (Lieberman ed., p. 113, ll. 36–39). For in the source, *santer* and *onqolmos* are joined; cf. jBava Metzia, beginning of ch. 9 (12a). In *Tosefta Ki-Fshutab: Neziqin*, p. 285, Lieberman identifies them as agricultural administration officials or officials on large estates who receive their wages from the village; see also Midrash Ha-Gadol, Lev. 23:10 (Steinsaltz ed., p. 736, ll. 6–14); Leviticus Rabbah 28:2 (Margulies ed., p. 752, l. 4) and 34:14 (*ibid.*, p. 805, l. 1); Genesis Rabbah 17:18 (Albeck ed., p. 154, l. 1); Midrash on Psalms 127:2 (Buber ed., 257a).

10. See the previous note. For *ba'al ba-sbuq* (the market commissioner) and his identification with the *logistes* — *hashbban*, see S. Lieberman, *Tosefta Ki-Fshutab: Neziqin*, p. 241, and the discussion, ll. 36–37, and Lieberman’s n. 30 there.

11. See note 8 above.

12. S. Lieberman, *Yewanit we-Yawanut be-Eretz Yisrael* (“Greek and Hellenism in the Land of Israel”; Jerusalem, 1963), pp. 10–11 and Lieberman’s notes there; *Tosefta Ki-Fshutab: Zeraim*, p. 302, in his discussion on l. 39. See bBava Metzia 42b.

13. Mekhilta de-Rabbi Simeon ben Johai, Ex. 14:15 (Epstein-Melamed ed., p. 58). Cf. Mekhilta de-Rabbi Ishmael, *wa-yehi* 3 (Horowitz-Rabin ed., p. 98); Leviticus Rabbah 1:7 (Margulies ed., p. 19); Midrash Ha-Gadol, Ex. 14:15 (Margulies ed., p. 166, ll. 11–15); Yalqut Shimoni, *be-shalah* 235 (Hyman ed., p. 284, ll. 42–43); and I. Abrahams, *Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels* (Cambridge, 1917; reprinted New York, 1967),

in the family sphere: the *ben* (son) or *bat* (daughter) of kings is transferred in these parables to God's relationship to the people of Israel.<sup>14</sup>

Why, then, did Delitzsch translate *epitropos* in the Matthean parable as *paqid*, although the rabbinic parables do not use the latter as a substitute for *epitropos*? Four aspects of the question should be considered. 1) Given his tendency to impart a biblical coloration to his translation, Delitzsch may have sought a biblical word that could replace the rabbinic loan word. 2) Both the biblical word *paqid* and the terms used in rabbinic literature have several meanings. (3) Delitzsch may have felt difficulty in using *epitropos*, an administrative and bureaucratic term, for a personality in the parable who may stand for the Son of God. 4) The appearance of this personality marks the transition from the realistic to the eschatological dimension in the parable; a tension exists between the reality and the belief in the changing of that reality in the messianic-eschatological dimension.

Since the parable, in its extant Greek form, seems to derive from a Hebrew original, the question also arises: Perhaps it was indeed *paqid*, and not *epitropos*, that occurred in the original? In that case, we would be talking about the connotations of the word not only for Delitzsch, but also for the author of the parable. The use of *paqid* in the parable could indicate that the master of the house is aware that what he possesses is a deposit (*piqqadon*), and does not belong to him. Or perhaps the *paqid* is the person to whom the master of the house entrusts (*mafqid*) the wages of the laborers.<sup>15</sup> Besides the distribution of wages, however, it is clear that the concept *p-q-d* also has the meanings of remembering (*z-k-r*)<sup>16</sup> and of calculating the hours of work.

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vol. 1, pp. 102 ff. A. Goshen-Gottstein, op. cit. (note 2 above), para. 87, pp. 90–91 and his notes there; *ibid.*, para. 120, p. 136; see esp. p. 303, n. 77; D. Noy, "Mishlei Melakhim shel Rabbi Shimon bar Yohai" (The King Parables of Rabbi Shimon bar Yohai), *Mahanayim* 56 (1961), 73–87, esp. pp. 74 and 86; Seder Eliyahu Rabbah (ch. 28) ch. 26 (Friedmann ed., p. 140), and (ch. 30) ch. 28 (*ibid.*, p. 150).

14. "This is comparable to the *daughter of kings* whose father appointed an *epitropos* for her": Pesiqta de-Rav Qahana, *mab nauu al be-harim* 5 (Mandelbaum ed., p. 466, l. 10); bSanhedrin 91b.
15. "Into Your hand I entrust [*afqid*] my spirit" (Ps. 31:6), and "When the soul is placed in man, as soon as it [the gender of the embryo] is decreed" (bSanhedrin 91b). See the long version of Midrash Tanhuma in J. Mann, op. cit. (note 2 above), vol. 1, p. 30, ll. 17–18 and n. 108. Also Midrash Ha-Gadol, Gen. 4:7 (Margulies ed., p. 115, l. 11): "From the time of entrusting [*pequddab*] or from the time of creation [*yetzirah*]; Genesis Rabbah 34:10 (Albeck ed., p. 321, ll. 2–5). Cf. the opposite concept in Midrash on Psalms 7:8 (Buber ed., 34b); Yalqut Tehillim on Ps. 7:8. Similarly Genesis Rabbah 53:5 (Albeck ed., p. 560, ll. 3–5): "And the Lord remembered [*paqad*] Sarah' (Gen. 21:1) — Rabbi Aha said, The Holy One, blessed be He, is the Master of charges [*piqedono*]." Genesis Rabbah 93:1 (*ibid.*, p. 1151, ll. 1–2) likewise makes a semantic connection between *piqqadon* and *puqdon*. Also Sifra, *hovav* 15:80, 16:6 (Weiss ed., 23d, 24a): "Come and testify to us that there belongs to me wheat which I entrusted [*sbe-bifqadt*] to him last night and which is before him."
16. Jer. 15:15; Ps. 106:4; Ps. 8:5: "What is man, that You are mindful [*tizkerennu*] of him? And the son of man, that You think [*tifqedennu*] of him?"; Hos. 9:9: "He will remember [*yizkor*] their iniquity, He will punish [*yifqod*] their sins"; Hos. 8:13; Jer. 14:10. In the rabbinic midrashim, see Mekhilta de-Rabbi Simeon ben Johai, *Yitro* 20:5

There is a perceptible ranking among the central characters in the parable: a) the master of the house, b) the *paqid*, c) the laborers. The ranking is simultaneously connected with the “day of judgment” for the distribution of wages to the laborers.

Clearly, in this parable the laborer receives his wages in accordance with the arbitrary inclination of the master of the house and out of his love. This provokes complaints from the laborers who worked all day long yet received no more than those who worked for barely an hour. In the rabbinic parables, too, there are cases where laborers complain that the distribution of wages is inequitable, but it is then pointed out that the inequity is only apparent and that actually the distribution of wages is based on justice.<sup>17</sup>

It is of interest that the master of the house in the Matthean parable restricts himself to a limited role, which consists mainly in going out to look for laborers. Even the payment of wages is delegated by him to the *paqid*, while he himself is not present in the vineyard and does not work it.<sup>18</sup>

(Epstein-Melamed ed., p. 148, l. 3): “*paqad: poqed* means only *mazkir*.” Midrash Ha-Gadol, Ex. 20:5 (Margulies ed., p. 406, l. 12); Yalqut Shimoni, *wa-yar* 92 (Hyman ed., p. 414, ll. 35–39), and Mekhilta de-Rabbi Ishmael, *be-sbalab*, Introduction (Horowitz-Rabin ed., p. 80): “He visited [*paqad*] you in this world, He will deposit [*yifqod*] you in the world to come”; Aggadat Be-Reshit 29:2, 23b. “Remember Your remembrance and visit our charge [*peqod piqdatenu*]” — the *qerovot* (liturgical hymns) for the Festivals, Yom Kippur, in Rabinovitz ed., *Mabzor Piyyutei Rabbi Yannai la-Torab we-la-Moadim* (“The Liturgical Poems of Rabbi Yannai According to the Triennial Cycle of the Pentateuch and the Holidays”), vol. 2, p. 219, l. 124; also the Festival prayerbook for Yom Kippur, Goldschmidt ed., p. 214, l. 8; M. Klein, *Hagsbamat ba-El ba-Targumim ba-Aramiyim la-Torab* (“The Personification of God in the Aramaic Targumim of the Torah”) (Jerusalem, 1982), pp. 94–95.

17. jBerakhot 2:8 (5c); Sifra, *be-buqqotai* 2:5 (Weiss ed., 111a); Genesis Rabbah 9:9 (Albeck ed., p. 72, ll. 6–9); Leviticus Rabbah 24 (Margulies ed., pp. 562–63); Deuteronomy Rabbah, *eqev* (Lieberman ed., p. 77) and *ki tetze* (ibid., p. 103); Pesiqta Rabbati 10 (Friedmann ed., 121b); Midrash on Samuel 5:3 (Buber ed., 29b); Midrash on Psalms 37:3 (Buber ed., 127a), 105:13 (ibid., 227a) and 118:7 (ibid., 241b); Seder Eliyahu Rabbah, ch. 1 (Friedmann ed., p. 5); Semahot de-Rabbi Hiyya 3:2 (Higger ed., pp. 220–21); Midrash Yelamdeinu, *eqev* 27 (in Gruenhut ed., *Sefer ha-Liqqutim*, 121a); the last chapter of Pirqei de-Rabbi Eliezer in Wertheimer ed., *Batei Midrashot*, vol. 1, pp. 242–43; Midrash Hillel (called *Sefer ha-Ma’asim*), in Jellinek ed., *Beit Ha-Midrash* 5 (Jerusalem, 3rd ed., 1967), p. 91; Yalqut Shimoni, *lekh lekha* 76 (Hyman ed., p. 296, ll. 81–83, and p. 297, l. 84) and *be-buqqotai* 672 (ibid., p. 816, ll. 83–95); Midrash Ha-Gadol, Gen. 10:17 (Margulies ed., pp. 142, ll. 19–23, and 143, ll. 1–3); Midrash Ha-Gadol, Deut. 32:1 (Fisch ed., p. 685, ll. 13–20); Yalqut Midrashei Teiman, Lev. 27:9 (Wertheimer ed., p. 270); Pitron Torah, *devarim* (Urbach ed., pp. 249–50) and *ki tetze* (ibid., pp. 272–73).
18. “Rabbi Simon said: ‘The king is not present in his field, neither when it is plowed, nor when it is sown, nor when it is reaped, but only when the piles are heaped up.’” See Midrash Yelamdeinu, *wa-yetze* 64, in Wertheimer ed., *Batei Midrashot*, vol. 1, p. 157, in contrast with other sources in the midrashic and talmudic literature. Thus mMa’aserot 2:7: “The hirer of a worker to reap with him the figs”; tBava Qamma 11:18: “The hirer of a worker to beat [the fruit trees] with him”; Genesis Rabbah 70:20 (Albeck ed., p. 819, ll. 6–7); Mekhilta de-Rabbi Ishmael, *be-sbalab* 8 (Horowitz-Rabin ed., p. 143, ll. 16–19); Leviticus Rabbah 25:8 (Margulies ed., p. 584, l. 5); Song of Songs



Whereas Delitzsch chose *paqid* for *epitropos* in the parable, he preferred *omenim* for the *epitropoi* — the “guardians” — mentioned in Galatians 4:1–2: “Now I say, as long as the heir is a child, he differs in no way from a slave, though he is lord of all, but is under guardians and trustees until the day set by the father.” The connotations of *omen* in the Hebrew sources<sup>19</sup> are not identical with those of *paqid*. At the same time, the presence of the “child” and the “lord of all” in rabbinic parables is to be seen in the context of the text in Galatians.<sup>20</sup>

It should be noted that the concept of *paqid* is connected with the meaning of “leader of the religious community,” who possesses good qualities. This usage is to be found in the *piyyut* (liturgical poem) literature: “*Peqidim* [i.e., the rabbinic leaders] were killed, sitting late in the synagogues/ full of good deeds like a pomegranate and like the corners [of the Altar].”<sup>21</sup> It supplies a background for Delitzsch’s choice of *paqid* to translate the Greek *episkopos* in New Testament passages where it means the ordained “overseer” (or “bishop”) of an early Christian community. An example is Acts 20:28: “Take heed to yourselves and to all the flock, in which the Holy Spirit has made you overseers to care for the church of God...” Others are the reference to “overseers and deacons” in Philippians 1:1 and the discussions of what is expected of an “overseer” in 1 Timothy 3:1 ff. and Titus 1:7.<sup>22</sup>

A context closer to that of the Matthean parable occurs in 1 Peter 2:25, where Delitzsch’s *paqid* translates the *episkopos* who is Christ: “And now you have turned to the shepherd and overseer of your souls.”<sup>23</sup> This choice of translation may have been prompted by the fact that in the Septuagint *episkopos* always renders words derived from the root *p-q-d* (*paqud*, *pequddab* and

Rabbah 1:4; bMenahot 85b; and similarly Sifrei Deuteronomy 355 (Finkelstein ed., p. 421, ll. 4–6).

19. For the term *omen*, see Y. Naveh, *Al Pesefas ha-Atiqim* (“On the Mosaic of the Early Ones”; Tel Aviv, 1978), p. 78, no. 47 and p. 23, no. 3; similarly, L. Roth-Gerson, *Ha-Ketuvot ha-Yevanuyot mi-Batei ha-Keneset be-Eretz Yisrael* (“Greek Inscriptions in Synagogues in the Land of Israel”; Jerusalem, 1987), pp. 29, 157, 164 (and bibliographic literature); M. Shoveh, *Tarbiz* 1:3 (1940), 139. For the word *omen* in the rabbinic sources, joined together with the Creation: Seder Rabbah de-Be-Reshit 3, in Wertheimer ed., *Batei Midrasbot*, vol. 1, p. 21; similarly *ibid.*, p. 365; Tanhuma, *bereshit* 1:5 (Buber ed., 2b, and the editor’s notes 34 and 35): “I was with Him as a nursling [*amon*] [Prov. 8:30] — rather read this as *oman* [artisan], one who deals with his craft”; Seder Eliyahu Rabbah (ch. 31) ch. 29 (Friedmann ed., p. 160); *Seridei Tanhuma Yelamdeinu*, in Urbach ed., *Qovetz al Yad* (new series), book 6, part 1 (Jerusalem, 1966), pp. 9–10.
20. Cf. Mekhilta de-Rabbi Simeon ben Johai, *Yitro* 20:5 (Epstein-Melamed ed., pp. 147–48); bPesahim 88b; bAvodah Zarah 54b.
21. In the *piyyut Eleh Ezkerab* in the Yom Kippur Musaf service (Goldschmidt ed., p. 871, l. 33).
22. 1 Timothy 3:1: “If anyone aspires to the overseership”; *ibid.*, 3:2: “an overseer”; Titus 1:7: “Indeed, an overseer has to be unimpeachable, God’s steward, so to speak.”
23. Liqqutei Midrashim, MS. B, in Wertheimer ed., *Batei Midrasbot*, vol. 2, p. 91: “And in all of them there are officials [*peqidim*] and governors appointed [*mufqadim*] to conduct the base world.”

*mufqad*, as well as *paqid*). Yet its aptness is also indicated by a Hebrew source closer in time to the New Testament, namely, the Dead Sea Scrolls. They treat the *paqid* as a significant leadership figure in their sect: "The man, the *paqid*, at the head of the many in his wisdom and in his deeds."<sup>24</sup> Licht identifies the institution of the *paqid* in the Dead Sea sect with the concept of the *mevaqquer* (examiner), both of whom have the same task.<sup>25</sup> The task filled by the *paqid* is that of the official in charge of others,<sup>26</sup> and therefore he also serves as *mevaqquer*, a term found in rabbinic literature as well as the Dead Sea Scrolls.<sup>27</sup>

24. Rule Scroll 6:14; War Scroll, Yadin ed., p. 72 and n. 42. M.Z. Kadari: *Ha-Hiyuv bi-Leshon ha-Megillot ha-Genuzot* ("The Positive Language of the Dead Sea Scrolls"; Jerusalem, 1968), p. 239. Cf. Damascus Covenant 13:11–12: "Whoever is added to his congregation will be accounted [*yifqodehu*] for his deeds, his intelligence, his power, his strength and his possessions." Also Thanksgiving Scroll 16:5 (Licht ed., p. 202).
25. Thanksgiving Scroll, *ibid.* This may be an exchange of the letter *bet* with the letter *peh* (*p-q-d/ b-q-r*). We know of other such exchanges from the early era of Hebrew inscriptions from the First Temple period. See Y. Aharoni, *Ketuvot Arad* ("The Arad Inscriptions"; Jerusalem, 1975), pp. 48 and 51, who concludes that in this period in Judah the *peh* and the *bet* were pronounced so similarly to each other without the *dagesh* (as *feh* and *veh*) that they were interchanged by scribes. Y.N. Epstein, *Mavo le-Nusab ha-Mishnah* ("Introduction to the Text of the Mishnah"; Jerusalem, 1948), pp. 1220–23, lists 15 words in which one of these letters was exchanged for the other. M. Moreshet, *Leksikon ha-Poal she-Nithaddesh bi-Leshon ha-Tannaim* ("Lexicon of Verbs That Were Renewed During the Period of the Tannaim"; Ramat Gan, 1980), p. 44 and n. 33, p. 113.
26. Jer. 37:13: "a captain of the ward [*ba'al peqidut*]." Cf. the "officers" (*pequddot*) of 2 Chron. 23:18–19 and 2 Kings 11:18, who are to be identified with the "overseers" of 2 Kings 12:12 (Qere *mufqadim*, Ketiv *pqdim*). This word has its origin in the Akkadian *paqdu*; see *Encyclopaedia Mikrait*, vol. 6, cols. 551–52, q.v. *peqidut*, *paqid/ nagid*. Also Jer. 20:1; Neh. 12:44; 2 Kings 7:17; and Is. 62:6: "Upon your walls ... I have set [*bifqadet*] watchmen." Similarly, at the time of Jeremiah's appointment as prophet in Jer. 1:10: "See, I have this day set you [*bifqadetikha*] over the nations"; Gen. 41:34; Esther 2:4.
27. The meaning of the word *mevaqquer* in rabbinic literature: bKetuvot 26a: "the inspectors of blemishes"; Genesis Rabbah 81:1 (Albeck ed., p. 968, ll. 3–4), commenting on "And after vows to make inspection [*levaqquer*]" (Prov. 20:25): "Rabbi Yannai said, If a man delays to fulfill his vow, his ledger is examined [*nitbaqquerab*]" (and see *ibid.*, lines 5–6; p. 972, ll. 3–4); M. Sokoloff ed., *Qitei Be-Reshit Rabbah min ha-Genizah* ("Portions of Genesis Rabbah from the Cairo Genizah"), p. 172, l. 3; similarly, Genesis Rabbah 93 (Albeck ed., p. 173, l. 4); Yalqut Shimoni, *wa-yeshev* 146 (Hyman ed., p. 722, ll. 38–39); E.Z. Melamed, *Leshonenu* 20 (1957), 211. For "And after vows to make inspection," see S. Elizur ed., *Piyyutei Rav Eliezer be-Rabbi Kollar* ("The *Piyyutum* of Rabbi Eliezer Kallir"), *wa-yigash*, p. 182, l. 2, linked to Prov. 20:25; *ibid.*, from the *yotzerot* (liturgical hymns) for the Book of Numbers, p. 260, l. 10: "And he raises th[em] to appoint and [to examine] it"; and *ibid.*, *ha-bodesh*, p. 381, l. 38: "He recorded to do the Passover [sacrifice], His commandments to examine (*levaqquer*)."
- In the Dead Sea Scrolls: E.Y. Kutscher, *Ha-Lashon we-ha-Reqa ha-Leshoni shel Megillat Yishayahu, Hasblamab mi-Megillot Yam ha-Melekh* ("The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll"; Jerusalem, 1959), p. 249, para. 8; M. Z. Kadari, *Ha-Hiyuv bi-Leshon ha-Megillot ha-Genuzot* (note 24 above), pp. 193–94, who notes that *mevaqquer* is not found in rabbinic literature with the meaning that it has in the Dead Sea Scrolls. See Damascus Covenant 13:5; *ibid.*, 13:7–8 and 11–13,

It has also been suggested that the early Christian group leader, the *episkopos*, was a sort of *mevaqger*.<sup>28</sup>

That the Essene sect had its governing officials is also mentioned by Josephus. He states that the members of the sect elected caretakers (*epimeletoi*) to deal with the various needs of the community.<sup>29</sup>

In this connection, we also find in the *piyyut* literature: "To visit [*lifqod*] the heavenly army in judgment/... As the shepherd's herding [*baqqarat*] his flock...."<sup>30</sup> Indeed, the term *paqid* has been borrowed from the domain of the

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15:7–8; Manual of Discipline 6:12, 19–20. H. Rabin identifies the word *mevaqger* in this meaning with an economic official of Hellenistic ritual groups. M. Weinfeld, *Defusim Irguniyim we-Taqqanot Onashim bi-Megillat Serab ha-Yabad* ("Organizational Patterns and Punitive Regulations in the Manual of Discipline"), in M. Weinfeld ed., *Sbenaton la-Miqra u-le-Heqer ha-Mizrab ha-Qadum* ("Bible and Ancient East Study Annual"), 2 (Jerusalem and Tel Aviv, 1977), 60–81, esp. pp. 64–65. See the article by Y. Baer, *Zion* 29 (1964), p. 35 and n. 45; H. Haqaq, "Yihudo shel Teqes ha-Berit be-Serah ha-Yahad" ("The Uniqueness of the Covenant Ceremony in the Manual of Discipline"), in H. Gruenfeld and M. Weinfeld eds., *Sbenaton la-Miqra u-le-Heqer ha-Mizrab ha-Qadum* 1 (Jerusalem and Tel Aviv, 1976), p. 159 and n. 11, which discusses "the official (*paqid*) over the many," and p. 161, n. 15, which discusses the *mevaqger*. Also in D. Schwartz, "Soferim u-Ferushim Hanafim — Mi Hem ha-Soferim ba-Berit ha-Hadashah?" ("Scribes and Pharisees, Hypocrites? — Who are the Scribes in the New Testament?"), *Zion* 50 (1985; Jubilee Volume 1936–1985), p. 129 and nn. 53–54, whose hypothesis is that the *maskil* and the *mevaqger* were identical. G. Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (Baltimore, 2nd ed., 1975), pp. 22–25; War Scroll, Yadin ed., p. 318 and n. there. For the "*maskil bil'nab*" (wise of understanding), see D. Mendeles, "Ha-Utopiyah ha-Helenistit we-ha-Issim" ("The Hellenistic Utopia and the Essenes"), in M. Weinfeld ed., *Sbenaton la-Miqra u-le-Heqer ha-Mizrab ha-Qadum* 4 (Jerusalem and Tel Aviv, 1980), p. 229 and n. 21, who attempts to identify the *zeqenim* (elders) with the *paqid* and the *mevaqger*. The task of the *mevaqger* evidently consisted of the acceptance of new members and, at the same time, the recording of the transgressions of the members of the group; War Scroll, Yadin ed., p. 55. Haberman identifies the *mevaqger* with the *doresh ba-Torah* (expounder of the Torah) in *Megillot Midbar Yebudab* ("The Scrolls from the Judean Desert"), p. 196, on Damascus Covenant 6:13, and n. there.

28. J. Jeremias, in *Jerusalem zur Zeit Jesu*, vol. 2 (1929), p. 132, proposes that he was the archetype of the Christian *episkopos*. For the identification of the *mevaqger* and the *paqid*, see F.M. Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran* (1958), p. 176, n. 81. An opposing view is presented by J.T. Milik, *Dix ans de découverts dans le Désert de Juda* (1957), p. 64, and in the article by V. Eis, "Misrat Manhig ha-Edah etzel ha-Issim we-ha-Kenesiyah ha-Notzrit" ("The Position of Leader of the Community among the Essenes and in the Christian Church"), in *Sidrat Mebqarim ba-Megillot ha-Genuzot* ("Dead Sea Scrolls Studies Series"), February 1964, p. 17.

29. Josephus, *War*, 2:123.

30. From the Musaf service for Rosh Ha-Shanah and Yom Kippur, in the *piyyut U-Netanneh Toqef*, Yom Kippur prayerbook, Goldschmidt ed., pp. 404–5. Cf. the hymn for Rosh Ha-Shanah eve, in Rabinovitz ed., *Mabzor Yannai* (note 16 above), vol. 2, p. 198. The editor notes that the term *paqid* in this *piyyut* refers to a *melitz yosher* (advocate). Cf. the *piyyut* of Rabbi Eliezer Kallir, *Efod me-Az*, for the Rosh Ha-Shanah Musaf service: "A *paqid* is prepared to correct Your festivals/ the flock to pass under the rod of Your witness." Also: "To the *paqid* who is second to him, he will not become impure in the divine service" — *qerovot* (liturgical hymns) for the Book of Leviticus, in *Mabzor Yannai*, vol. 1, p. 463, l. 90, and the editor's note there.

army:<sup>31</sup> *pequddab* (order) — *mefaqqed* (commander), which leads to the semantic development of *piqqud* meaning “law” or “commandment.”<sup>32</sup>

- Cf. bYoma 3a; in *sefer ha-avodah* (the order of the Yom Kippur service in the Temple), in *Azqir Gevurot* by Yose ben Yose, Mirsky ed., p. 151, l. 147: “*Sar* (prince), *paqid*, *nagid* (governor);” and *ibid.*, in the *piyyut Az be-Da’at*, p. 231, l. 94: *gavar ba-paqid*. And in *piyyut* 201, Kallir, “*Zekhor Av*” (“Remember, O Father” — a prayer for rain): “Remember the *paqid* who has immersed five times in water.” And in the *qerovot* for the Book of Numbers 118, in *Mabzor Yannai*, vol. 2, p. 79, l. 81, in the *piyyut Isbratab we-Imtzatab* (based on Num. 3:39): “The *peqidim* in charge of the appointed (*ba-pequdim*) Levites.” And in the prayerbook for Rosh Ha-Shanah and Yom Kippur, in the *piyyut Mi Lo Yirekba* (“Who Will Not Fear You?”), Goldschmidt ed., p. 185, l. 9: “The upright *paqid* and every judge shall fear You/ For where is Your hand today to render judgment?” Also *ibid.*, p. 126, l. 17, in the *piyyut Eder Yaqar Elay* (“The Goodly Price to Me”), and p. 174, l. 6, in the *piyyut Elekha we-Adekha Yavo Kol Basar* (“To You, to You, All Flesh Comes”).
31. E.Y. Kutscher, “Ha-Igrot ha-Ivriyot shel Bar Kokhba” (“The Hebrew Letters of Bar Kokhba”), in Z. Ben Hayim, A. Dotan and G. Tzarfati eds., *Mehqarim be-Ivrit u-va-Aramit* (“Studies in Hebrew and Aramaic”; Jerusalem, 1977), pp. 58–59. See 2 Kings 25:19; Jer. 52:25.
32. Ps. 119:9, 27, 45, 63 and others. In rabbinic language, Sifra, *qedoshim* 7:7 (Weiss ed., 90d): “What is the Sabbath? It is not the Sabbath you fear, rather the One who commanded [*piqqed*] the Sabbath?” Mekhilta de-Rabbi Ishmael, *kaspa, mishpatim* 19 (Horowitz-Rabin ed., p. 316, ll. 11–12): “He has no portion regarding the one who was in charge [*she-paqad*] of the interest.” Cf. tBava Metzia 6:17; *ibid.*, 3:25 (Lieberman ed., p. 79, l. 81); bBava Metzia 71a; Mekhilta de-Rabbi Simeon ben Johai, *be-shalah* 17:11 (Epstein-Melamed ed., p. 121, ll. 15–17): “To those who believe in what the Omnipresent commanded [*she-peqadol*] Moses.” Mekhilta de-Rabbi Ishmael, *Amaleq, be-shalah*, ch. 1 (Horowitz-Rabin ed., pp. 179–80): “Israel was looking at him and believing in the One who commanded [*she-piqqed*] Moses to act thus.” Yalqut Shimoni, *be-shalah* 265 (Hyman ed., p. 384); J. Mann, *op. cit.* (note 2 above), vol. 2, p. 195 (English section). Indeed, one source compares and identifies Moses as an *epitropos*, while “the king” is the Holy One, blessed be He: Midrash Ha-Gadol, Ex. 32:32 (Margulies ed., p. 693, ll. 9–15). Of interest in this source is the integration of the verse, “In the day when I visit [*paqadtil*], I will visit [*u-faqadtil*] their sin on them” (Ex. 32:34). Cf. Tanhuma, Ex. 21 (Buber ed., 7a), which may possibly clarify the connection between the *epitropos* and the *paqid*. Also Midrash Ha-Gadol, Ex. 35:1 (Margulies ed., p. 724, ll. 10–20) and Ex. 40:38 (*ibid.*, p. 796, ll. 11–21).
- Regarding Jacob as commanding his sons in the sense of *puqdon* (avoid this), see Yalqut Shimoni, *ba-midbar* 684 (Hyman ed., p. 7, ll. 5–7). In the same sense: “The Torah did not command [*piqqedab*] running after the commandments” — Yalqut Shimoni, *huqqat* 764 (*ibid.*, p. 460, l. 41). Or: “He did what he commanded them [*piqqedan*],” Midrash Ha-Gadol, Gen. 17:27 (Margulies ed., p. 281, l. 2, and the editor’s note there). *Ibid.* (p. 280, l. 10): “They did what they had been commanded [*she-nitpaqqedu*], and they did not disobey the decree of Moses.” And *ibid.*, Ex. 16:17 (p. 328, ll. 20–21); 16:24 (p. 330, l. 9): “They did what they had been commanded [*she-nitpaqqedu*];” Ex. 17:19 (p. 341, ll. 19–20, and p. 342, ll. 3, 6–7, 9). And in the *piyyut* literature, the *qerovot* for the Book of Genesis, in Rabinovitz ed., *Mabzor Yannai* (note 16 above), vol. 1, p. 182, l. 16. Further mRosh Ha-Shanah 3:8; Temple Scroll 57:3–4 (Yadin ed., p. 180 and his note there; and Introduction, vol. 1, p. 266, and his note there) and 62:5 (*ibid.*, p. 190). In the *piyyut* literature, see *qerovot* for the Book of Numbers, 224, in *Mabzor Yannai*, vol. 2, p. 116, l. 1: “Thou hast entrusted [*piqqadtab*] to the humble one an inheritance of the land/ an army according to His army will inherit the land”; and *ibid.*, p. 75, l. 18. Cf. Elizur ed., *Piyyutei Kollar* (note 27 above), p. 331, l. 35; *ibid.*, p. 333, l. 26: “They considered the

Let us now return to the question of Delitzsch's translation of *epitropos* as *paqid* in the Parable of the Laborers in the Vineyard. The *epitropos* is given the task of distributing the wages to the laborers at the end of the day. This role of the *epitropos* has an eschatological connotation, being connected with the concept of reward and punishment for the righteous and for the wicked. It corresponds to the act ensuing from the concept of *p-q-d* in the Dead Sea Scrolls.<sup>33</sup> Delitzsch's translation *paqid* thus finds a posthumous justification in the terminology of the Dead Sea Scrolls,<sup>34</sup> which also has a reflection in Sirach.<sup>35</sup>

Likewise, we can sense in the expression *yom pequddah* that it also apparently alludes to the term *yom ba-din* (the Day of Judgment), which is to be found in the Dead Sea Scrolls literature. The same holds for the expression *moed pequddah*.<sup>36</sup> The biblical source of the allusion is Isaiah 10:3: "And what shall you do in the day of visitation [*yom pequddah*]?" The expression is used

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command [*piqqad*] of the eternal King." Similarly, in the *qerovot* for the Festivals, the third "Sabbath of Calamity," in *Mabzor Yannai*, vol. 2, p. 306, l. 67: "The command [*piqqad*] spoken by the divine word/ a spoken and final counsel."

33. Thanksgiving Scroll 1:17 (Licht ed., p. 60): "[And their w]ay You established for generation after generation, and the order [*pequddah*] of their welfare." Cf. Manual of Discipline 3:14–15 (Licht ed., p. 90).
34. Thus in the Rule of the Congregation 1:14 ff. (*Discoveries in the Judean Desert* 1, p. 110), according to which it was King David who appointed (*paqad*) over the people officers of thousands and officers of hundreds. Regarding the connection between *paqad* and "true redeemer," there is a reflection of this in the debate about the identity of the redeemer in the midrashic literature, with the extra emphasis on his being "true." And in the context of *paqad*, in Pirqei de-Rabbi Eliezer, ch. 48. M.Z. Rabinovitz, *Halakhah we-Aggadah be-Fiyyutei Yannai* ("Law and Aggadah in the *Piyyutim* of Rabbi Yannai"; Tel Aviv, 1965), p. 42 and n. 4. For the connection between the first redemption and the last one, see Midrash Ha-Gadol, Gen. 50:24 (Margulies ed., p. 884, ll. 14–15) and Ex. 3:16 (*ibid.*, p. 57, ll. 19–20); Tanhuma, *ki tetze* 10.
35. Sirach 39:42 (Segel ed., p. 261): "All of these were created for their purpose and are stored up, and will prove good [*yifqedu*] in their proper season"; *ibid.*, 36:7 (p. 225): "Hasten the time and visit [*peqod*] the season/ For who shall say to You what You shall do?"
36. Manual of Discipline 4:19 (Licht ed., p. 102) and Damascus Covenant 7:21; *ibid.* 8:2–3; Rule Scroll 6:14; *ibid.*, 4:18–19, 26; *ibid.* 3:18. Cf. Damascus Covenant 5:15–16: "Previously the Lord visited [*paqad*] their deeds"; *ibid.*, 13:24: "The Lord visited [*paqad*] the earth"; *ibid.*, 8:2–3: "This is the day in which the Lord will visit [*yifqod*] the chief thing." Cf. the introduction from Is. 6:3: "And what will you do in the day of visitation [*pequddah*]." In the Yom Kippur prayerbook, Goldschmidt ed., p. 183, l. 6: "You have visited [*paqadta*] peace, You have promised to Your intimates"; see *ibid.*, p. 174, l. 6.

in the sense of punishment and the granting of reward, and with the meaning of the day in which the deeds of men are remembered.<sup>37</sup>

This concept is also expressed in the Rosh Ha-Shanah and Yom Kippur Musaf prayer, in the *piyyut* known from its opening words as *U-Netanneh Toqef* ("Let us declare the holiness of this day..."). It includes the lines: "And the angels shall make haste/ fear and trembling shall seize them/ and they shall say, 'Here is the day of judgment/ to visit [*lifqod*] the heavenly army in judgment.'" This has its parallel in the sequel: "As the shepherd's herding [*baqqarat*] his flock/ passing his sheep under his rod."<sup>38</sup> The *piyyut* continues: "So you shall let pass and shall count [*we-tispor*] and enumerate/ and visit [*we-tifqod*] every living creature." Elsewhere, indeed, the linguistic pair *p-q-d/s-p-r* is also to be found with a single meaning.<sup>39</sup>

In conclusion, it may be said that Delitzsch's use of the term *paqid* in the Parable of the Laborers in the Vineyard was a felicitous one, albeit partly on account of a source (the Dead Sea Scrolls) that was not available in his time. We have seen it to be a term that can both signify a bearer of authority in human affairs and imply an eschatological dimension. Accordingly, it fits well the figure in the parable who, in the early Christian conception, stands for Jesus as both "son of man" and "Son of God."<sup>40</sup>

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37. Lev. 18:25; Ex. 20:5 and 34:7; Num. 14:18; Deut. 5:9; Jer. 11:22; Gen. 50:24–25. Cf. Ps. 59:6: "Arouse Yourself to punish [*lifqod*] all the nations"; Hosea 12:3: "And will punish [*we-lifqod*] Jacob according to his ways"; *ibid.*, 9:7: "The days of visitation [*ba-pequddab*] have come, the days of recompense [*ba-shillum*] have come"; Micah 7:4: "The day of your watchmen, even your visitation [*pequddatkha*], has come"; Sifra, *abarei mot* 13:16 (Weiss ed., 86c): "And I will visit [*afqid*] its season on it; when I open the ledger, I immediately exact everything"; Midrash Ha-Gadol, Lev. 18:25 (Steinsalz ed., p. 528, ll. 15–16). See Licht, "Mitat Olam we-Am Pedut El" ("The Plant Eternal and the People of Divine Deliverance"), in Y. Yadin and H. Rabin eds., *Mebqarim ba-Megillot ba-Genuzot: Sefer Zikaron le-E.L. Sukenik* ("Essays on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Studies in Memory of E.L. Sukenik"; Jerusalem, 1961), p. 50, esp. n. 8.
38. See note 30 above; cf. Ezek. 34:12; Lev. 27:32; Zech. 10:3: "My anger is kindled against the shepherds, and I will punish [*efqod*] the he-goats, for the Lord of Hosts has remembered [*paqad*] His flock."
39. Num. 3:16, 42; Hos. 8:10; 1 Sam. 13:15; 2 Sam. 18:1; 2 Kings 3:6; 1 Sam. 11:8; Judg. 20:15, 17; *ibid.*, 21:9; 2 Sam. 24:9 = 1 Chron. 21:5. Similarly, the two roots interchange in parallel texts: 2 Sam. 24:2 = 1 Chron. 21:2. Apparently, there is an additional interchange between the Masoretic Text of Is. 38:2 and the text in Scroll A from Qumran. See A. Weiss, *Leshonenu* 30 (1966), 179–80. And in the Yom Kippur prayerbook (Goldschmidt ed., p. 662, l. 15): "He enumerates [*sofer*] and counts [*u-foked*] every listener."
40. Regarding *peqidab*, there is a midrash of great interest in the eschatological and messianic plane: Pesiqta Rabbati, *we-ba-Shem paqad et Sarah* 42 (Friedmann ed., 178b). For more on the identification of the *kevasim* (sheep) as against *pequdim*, see Numbers Rabbah 14:29.