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 *sokhen*. 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 choose 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*.
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 ha-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.1

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;2 both terms occur, specifically, in the king parables,3 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.4 It should be mentioned, accordingly, that in the


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 tKetuvot 9:3 (Lieberman ed., p. 87, ll. 17–18, and p. 88, ll. 23–24); S. Lieberman, Tosefta Ki-Fshutah: Nashim, 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 Mekhila de-Rabbi Ishmael, wa-yehi 5 (Horowitz-Rabin ed., p. 105), for the historical background of this source, without reference to the parable. Also Y. Heinemann, Aggadot we-Toldoteiben (“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-resbit 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 Pesiqtat 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 [bifqiid] all he possessed to his ben bayit” Cf. Yalqut Shimoni, shemot 176 (Hyman ed., p. 35, l. 42).

4. Pesiqtat Rabbati, ki-tisa 10 (Friedmann ed., 35b), quoting Rabbi Levi:
king parables there are two appointed epitropsim in the land; we also hear of the epitropos of Agrippa.5

Why was Kneset 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. 153, l. 13); bBava Batra 47a; S. Lieberman, Tosefta Ki-Fshubat: 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-Fshubat: Neziqin, pp. 429-30; and ibid., Zerait, 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-Fshubat: 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).


In the Midrash, the sarim (high officials) are identified with the epatropa (a variant form), 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.

Among the diverse range of positions in the Roman administration, the epitropos held a legal position, generally an appointment over orphans. At "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-ba'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 pegidim"); 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.


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 (Zuckerman 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-Fshutah: Zeraim, pp. 300–1 and n. 24; Maimonides, Mishneh Torah, Hilkhot Nahalot 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-Fshutah: Zeraim, pp. 293–94. For the appointment by the court of an epitropos for orphans, see Z. Safrai, "Mivneh ha-Mishpahah bi-Tequfa' ha-Mishnah we-ha-Talmud" ("Family Structure in the Period of the Mishnah and Talmud"), Milletb 1 (Tel Aviv, 1983), p. 132 and n. 8. Note esp. from the Midrash on Job (in Wertheimer ed., Batei Midrashot, 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) and the bash-


The guardian appointed for orphans is called mursheh (bGittin 52a). See L.B. Levin, Otzar ha-Geonim on Gittin, p. 103, where the word birkshab is parallel to epitropos. Also S. Lieberman, Tosefta Ki-Fsbutab: Nasbim, p. 357. In Leshonenu 32 (Tishrei/Tevet 1967), p. 91, Lieberman shows that the word epitropos was not accepted everywhere; he conjectures 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 (Midrasbah shel Lud) ("The Talmud of Caesarea — Sifrei Zuta [the Midrash of Lydda]"); New York, 1968), pp. 73–74; Pesiqtah 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 Pesiqtah 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 9.


See further Z.M. Finlish, Darko sbel Torab ("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 (Rabinowitz ed., p. 435, l. 18); Pesiqtah de-Rav Qahana, mizzwah 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; Pesiqtah 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'arekhat 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), whether in the framework of a legal appointment by a court as an epitropos of orphans, 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.

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. The relationships are treated as personal relations.


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 (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-Fshutah: 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-Fshutah: 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-Fshutah: 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).

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10. See the previous note. For ba' al ba-shuq (the market commissioner) and his identification with the logistis — hashban, see S. Lieberman, Tosefta Ki-Fshutah: Neziqin, p. 241, and the discussion, ll. 36-37, and Lieberman's n. 30 there.

11. See note 8 above.


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.\(^{14}\)

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.\(^{15}\) Besides the distribution of wages, however, it is clear that the concept *p-q-d* also has the meanings of remembering (*z-k-r*)\(^{16}\) and of calculating the hours of work.

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\(^{14}\) This is comparable to the *daughter of kings* whose father appointed an *epitropos* for her: Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana, *mah nawu al he-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 Tanhumah in J. Mann, 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).

\(^{16}\) 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, II. 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 [piqonedot]” Genesis Rabbah 93:1 (ibid., p. 1151, ll. 1-2) likewise makes a semantic connection between *piqadon* and *puqdon*. Also Sifra, *hovah* 15:80, 16:6 (Weiss ed., 23d, 24a): “Come and testify to us that there belongs to me wheat which I entrusted [she-hifqadti] 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 [tifqadon] 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 simul-
taneously 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.  

It is of interest that the master of the house in the Matthean parable re-
stricts 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.

(Epstein-Melamed ed., p. 148, l. 3): "paqad: poged means only mazkir." Midrash Ha-
Gadol, Ex. 20:5 (Margulies ed., p. 406, l. 12); Yalqut Shimoni, wa-yar 92 (Hyman ed.,
p. 414, l. 35–39), and Mekhila de-Rabbi Ishmael, be-shalab, Introduction (Horowitz-
Rabin ed., p. 80): "He visited [paqad] you in this world, He will deposit [yifgod] you
in the world to come", Aggadat Be-Reshit 29:2, 23b. "Remember Your remembrance
and visit our charge [pegod pqodatenu]" — the qerovot (liturgical hymns) for the
Festivals, Yom Kippur, in Rabinowitz ed., Mabzor Piyyutei Rabbi Yannai la-Torah
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 ha-
El ba-Targumim ba-Aramiyim la-Torah ("The Personification of God in the Ara-
maic Targumim of the Torah") (Jerusalem, 1982), pp. 94–95.

17. jBerakhot 2:8 (5c); Sifra, be-buggotai 2:5 (Weiss ed., 111a); Genesis Rabbah 9:9
(Albeck ed., p. 72, ll. 6–9); Leviticus Rabbah 24 (Margulies ed., pp. 562–63); Deuteron-
omy Rabbah, egev (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.,
p. 220–21); Midrash Yelameineu, egev 27 (in Gruenhut ed., Sefer ba-Liqqutim,
121a); the last chapter of Pirgei de-Rabbi Eliezer in Wertheimer ed., Batet
Midrasbot, vol. 1, pp. 242–43; Midrash Hillel (called Sefer ba-Ma'asim), in Jellinek
76 (Hyman ed., p. 296, ll. 81–83, and p. 297, l. 84) and be-buggotai 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
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
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); Mekhila de-Rabbi Ishmael, be-shalab 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 are not identical with those of *paqid*. At the same time, the presence of the “child” and the “lord of all” in rabbinitic parables is to be seen in the context of the text in Galatians.

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 rabbinitic leaders] were killed, sitting late in the synagogues/ full of good deeds like a pomegranate and like the corners [of the Altar].” 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.

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.” This choice of translation may have been prompted by the fact that in the Septuagint *episkopus* always renders words derived from the root *p-q-d* (*paqud*, *pequddah* and *Rabbah* 1:4; bMenahot 85b; and similarly Sifrei Deuteronomy 355 (Finkelstein ed., p. 421, ll. 4–6).


21. In the *piyyut Eleb Ezra* in the Yom Kippur Musaf service (Goldschmidt ed., p. 871, l. 33).

22. 1 Timothy 3:1: “If anyone aspires to the overseeship”; 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 Midrashot*, 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."\(^{24}\) Licht identifies the institution of the paqid in the Dead Sea sect with the concept of the mevaqker (examiner), both of whom have the same task.\(^{25}\) The task filled by the paqid is that of the official in charge of others, and therefore he also serves as mevaqker, a term found in rabbinic literature as well as the Dead Sea Scrolls.\(^{27}\)


25. Thanksiving 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-Nusah 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 ba-Poal she-Nithaddesh bi-Leson 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'alphepqidut]." 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 [hifqadeti) 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 mevaqker 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 [levaqker]" (Prov. 20:25): "Rabbi Yannai said, If a man delays to fulfill his vow, his ledger is examined [nitbaqqerah]" (and see ibid., lines 5–6; p. 972, ll. 3–4); M. Sokoloff ed., *Qitet Be-Resbit Rabbah min ha-Genizah* ("Portions of Genesis Rabbah from the Cairo Genizah"), p. 372, l. 3; similarly, Genesis Rabbah 93 (Albeck ed., p. 173, l. 4); Yalqut Shimon, *wa-yigash* 146 (Hyman ed., p. 722, ll. 38–39); E.Z. Melamed, *Lesbonenu* 20 (1957), 211. For "And after vows to make inspection," see S. Elizur ed., *Piyutim Rav Eliezer be-Rabbi Kol- lar* ("The Piyutim 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 them[sl] 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 (levaqker)."

It has also been suggested that the early Christian group leader, the *episkopos*, was a sort of *mevaqqer*.28

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.29

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...."30 Indeed, the term *paqid* has been borrowed from the domain of the

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30. From the Musaf service for Rosh Ha-Shanah and Yom Kippur, in the *piyyut U-Netanneh Togeif*, 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 yosber* (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" — *gerovot* (liturgical hymns) for the Book of Leviticus, in *Mabzor Yannai*, vol. 1, p. 463, l. 90, and the editor's note there.
army; 31 pequddab (order) — mefaqqed (commander), which leads to the semantic development of piqqud meaning “law” or “commandment.” 32

Cf. bYoma 3a; in seder ba-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 the piyyut 201, Kallir, “Zekhor Av” (“Remember, O Father” — a prayer for rain): “Remember the paqiq who has immersed five times in water.” And in the gerovot for the Book of Numbers 118, in Mabzor Yannai, vol. 2, p. 79, l. 81, in the piyyut Isbratah we-Imtzatah (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 Yirekha (Who Will Not Fear You?), Goldschmidt ed., p. 185, l. 9: “The upright paqiqud 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 Yagur Elay (“The Goodly Price to Me”), and p. 174, l. 6, in the piyyut Elekha we-Adeka Yavo Kol Basar (“To You, to You, All Flesh Comes”).


32. Ps. 119:9, 27, 45, 63 and others. In rabbinic language, Sifra, “When did Moses die? and they did not disobey the decree of Moses.” And ibid., Ex. 32:34. C f. Tanhuma, Ex. 21 (Buber ed., 7a), which may possibly clarify the connection between the epitropos and the paqiq: Also Midrash Ha-Gadol, Ex. 35:1 (Margulies ed., p. 724, l. 10-20) and Ex. 40:38 (ibid., p. 796, l. 11-21).

Regarding Jacob as commanding his sons in the sense of pugdon (avoid this), see Yalqut Shimon, ba-midbar 684 (Hyman ed., p. 7, l. 5-7). In the same sense: “The Torah did not command [piqqed] running after the commandments” — Yalqut Shimon, buqqat 764 (ibid., p. 460, l. 41). Or: “He did what he commanded them [piqqedim],” 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, l. 20-21); 16:24 (p. 330, l. 9): “They did what they had been commanded [she-nitpaqqedu];” Ex. 17:19 (p. 341, l. 19-20, and p. 342, l. 3, 6-7, 9). And in the piyyut literature, the gerovot 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 gerovot for the Book of Numbers, 224, in Mabzor Yannai, vol. 2, p. 116, l. 1: “Thou hast entrusted [piqqadim] to the humble one an inheritance of the land/ an army according to His 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. Delitzsch’s translation *paqid* thus finds a posthumous justification in the terminology of the Dead Sea Scrolls, which also has a reflection in Sirach.

Likewise, we can sense in the expression *yom pequddah* that it also apparently alludes to the term *yom ha-din* (the Day of Judgment), which is to be found in the Dead Sea Scrolls literature. The same holds for the expression *moed pequddah*. 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

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


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 Pirqi de-Rabbi Eliezer, ch. 48. M.Z. Rabinovitz, *Halakhah we-Aggadah be-Pyyutim Yannai* (“Law and Aggadah in the Piyutim 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, l. 14–15) and Ex. 3:16 (ibid., p. 57, l. 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.37

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 Tosef_ ("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 [baarqarat] his flock/ passing his sheep under his rod."38 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.39

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.”40

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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, _Lessbonenu_ 30 (1966), 179–80. And in the Yom Kippur prayerbook (Goldschmidt ed., p. 662, l. 15): “He enumerates [sofer] and counts [u-fokecR] every listener.”

40. Regarding _peqidab_, there is a midrash of great interest in the eschatological and messianic plane: Pesiqa Rabbati, _we-ba-Shem paqad et Sarah_ 42 (Friedmann ed., 178b). For more on the identification of the _kevasim_ (sheep) as against _peqidim_, see Numbers Rabbah 14:29.